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THE EXPOSITION OF IDEAS

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Exposition of Ideas

BY

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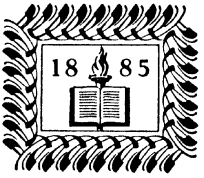

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Those who have handled sciences have been either men of experiment or men of dogmas. The men of experiment are like the ant; they only collect and use: the reasoners resemble spiders, who make cobwebs out of their own substance. But the bee takes a middle course; it gathers its material from the flowers of the garden and of the field, but transforms and digests it by a power of its own. Not unlike this is the true business of philosophy; for it neither relies solely or chiefly on the powers of the mind, nor does it take the matter which it gathers from natural history and mechanical experiments and lay it up in the memory whole, as it finds it; but lays it up in the understanding altered and digested.

From FRANCIS BACON'S *Novum Organum*

Preface

FROM all sides we are deluged with words: in newspaper articles, radio broadcasts, lectures, and advertisements, on billboards, in magazines, in the speech of friends. Words swarm upon us and fuse with our thoughts as they have done in no other period in history. The techniques of influencing men by suggestion and by appeals to the emotions of fear, pride, and ambition and to mass prejudices have never been more fully employed than they are today. In the midst of this flood of words the college student tries to keep his attention fixed on the words that communicate honest thought, on the words by which sincere men and women attempt to bring order out of chaos and make valid comments about the shifting patterns of experience. At least this is what the ideal college student should attempt to do. His main object is learning, and learning necessarily involves contact with reputable thoughts of others as they are expressed in words. He does not want his instructors to fool him by the use of the irrational methods of the advertiser or the propaganda devices of the demagogue. His interest, for the present at least, is in words that make sense, that is, words that can be tied down to the realities they name.

In turn, the college student must learn how to use words so that they will make sense, for he must express his thoughts about his own experiences so that others will understand what he means. His natural instinct is to imitate the models that he finds on all sides, to cast his thought into the molds established by his predecessors and contemporaries. His problem is to choose the form best suited to the ideas he wants to express.

Within the limits of honest thought there are many kinds of prose, and one of the major requirements in learning to write well is to understand the nature of thought and the prose structures that correspond to the several kinds of thinking. The intention of a writer should determine the structure of his writing. Knowledge of sound structure is one of the goals toward which every writer should aim.

If we are concerned with sense, we are not concerned with words as detached entities, nor with writing problems as devices for decorating the substance of thought. The thought itself is of prime importance and must determine the words used to communicate it adequately. Clever writing which divorces words from thought may temporarily tickle the reader's fancy, but the writer who falls into the habit of striving for temporary effect is going in the wrong direction if he wishes to learn to write well.

It is with the expression of ideas which he has thought out for himself that the writer faces the full problem of organization. When he duplicates the ideas of another writer, his attention is really upon the words rather than upon the ideas they represent and much of his work has thus been done for him by another. Even in writing an account of a process or a description of a mechanism, the student writer is relying upon the thought and the organization of another – on the inventor of the process or mechanism. For this reason this book avoids discussion of the kinds of prose that go by the names of "Exposition of a Process" or "Exposition of a Mechanism" and limits itself to original perception and thought.

The student is asked to work with the expression and substantiation of ideas, and, more particularly, with the kind of ideas that can be substantiated. He must not generalize wildly nor use words without regard for the communicable meanings that the words should carry. The standards used in this book for distinguishing among different kinds of thinking and writing are: (1) the subjectivity or objectivity of data, and (2) the level of particularity or generality, that is, concreteness or abstractness, of statements based upon data. By analyzing writing in terms of these standards, the student can come to know better what ideas are and what makes them sound or unsound.

An understanding of the differences between levels of generalization is important. A generalization is a statement not about individuals doing particular things about classes of things. The statement "My

brother fed his dogs at six o'clock this evening" is a relatively concrete statement. It concerns one person doing a certain thing at a certain time. The statement "He is fond of pets" is more general since it is not limited to one particular time or to one particular pet. The statement "Human beings like pets" is far more general. The best test for the level of generalization of any statement is to ask how many particular actions or perceptions it comprises. Before accepting a general statement, we might ask ourselves how many separate experiences the writer must have had to be absolutely certain of the truth of his conclusion.

When a writer wishes to make statements which the reader can recognize as valid, he must speak from concrete experiences that have a bearing upon the point he is making. As readers, we cannot be sure that we are dealing with sense unless we can translate the generalizations made by the writer into concrete experiences and test them against these experiences. If a writer tells us that "Politicians are a heartless race of men with no care for the well-being of society" we test the truth of his statement by referring it to politicians we know. We must beware of the generalization based upon little or no concrete experience.

It is true that by inference we can often make certain sound generalizations about large classes of things upon the basis of experience of a few instances only. When a biologist has explored the anatomy of a few lobsters and has found similar intestinal tracts in all of them, we do not ask that he examine the intestinal tracts of all lobsters before drawing conclusions about them. Here, however, the reasoning involved is partly deductive; that is, it is based upon larger generalizations already accepted. We already believe that lobsters are animals and that other animals have intestinal tracts. Likewise, we have learned to rely up to a point on the constancy of nature. The experiences out of which we generalize are, indeed, often not our own; provided that we have faith in the reliability of the statements others make about their experiences, we accept them and can base our conclusions upon them as well as upon our own experiences.

But something is seriously wrong when adult minds readily accept generalizations that come fully manufactured in the form of whisperings from the world about us, when they trust these generalizations without inquiring into the experiences upon which they are based or into the trustworthiness of the person doing the generalizing. Often

no set of concrete experiences does in reality exist, and usually the identity of the original generalizer is unknown. The generalization is merely a "fairyland" statement, a part of a world of words that does not correspond to real life experiences. Writing that contains unchecked generalizations of this kind is likely to be bad writing – or worse, dangerous writing. It is not aimed at truth. By its aid, groups in society continue to believe what they want to believe, ignoring the real world.

Many well-intentioned writers commit errors of faulty generalization by writing on subjects about which common sense should tell them that they lack a sufficient fund of concrete experiences. The high school orator who knows just what the Security Council of the UN should do about, say, Yugoslavia is usually making this error. Without having been to Yugoslavia, without knowing much about the economic conditions there or how they affect individual men, women, and children, without knowing who controls those economic conditions, without understanding the emotions of the people or the causes of those emotions, often without even reading carefully firsthand accounts of reporters on the scene, he somehow feels capable of solving Yugoslavia's problems by applying a few elementary principles of political science learned in the classroom. Perhaps he will find, if he attempts to get to the bottom of politics in his own home town, that human problems are a little more complex than he thinks.

Arriving at sound generalizations is, then, a difficult task. Nevertheless, sound ideas are manufactured by human beings essentially like ourselves. How do they do it? First, they turn to matters about which they know something, matters with which they have had experience. Or, if they have not had a sufficent number of experiences relating to their idea, they devise means of having more. Finally, they use methods of observation and thought which should carry a reasonable degree of reliability. The average student is capable of following these procedures.

This book does not, for the most part, contain the sort of essay, full of high level generalizations, which is often put before the college student of composition as a model to imitate. True, most of us should read, during the years when we are coming to maturity, the writings of men of wide learning and deep insight, of men who face the difficult questions of the significance of life on our planet. But if we hope to arrive at that same point of experience and wisdom, we should serve an apprenticeship nearer the base of the pyramid. The selections in

this book often deal with important problems, but they deal with them in such a way that the student can see the methods by which the authors have reached their conclusions. The student is thus able to understand how to embark upon investigations that will enable him to duplicate the models set before him.

The arrangement of the articles in the text is from the concrete to the abstract. The first section is concerned with the reporting of concrete fact. The student will learn how good writers have a knack of seeing particulars accurately and clearly. The second section presents essays that arrive informally at generalizations. The writers of these essays perceive related facts and draw conclusions without embarking upon the extensive research necessary for scientific accuracy. The third section presents secondary source papers typical of the kind of "library paper" that has proved valuable in college courses. The articles in the fourth section are based on primary source materials. These articles differ from those in the second section in that the approach to the material is more formal. The fifth section, comprised of case histories, once more shows clearly the relationship between the concrete and the abstract, the general and the specific, in the creation of ideas. The sixth section gives examples of numerous kinds of organization useful in the orderly presentation of ideas. The seventh section, consisting of "appreciations," illustrates human value judgments, subjective and often personal. The eighth section, refutations, has obvious utility in providing models for student writing. The final section, which gives an example of high level generalization, offers the only form which the student cannot expect to duplicate well.

BAXTER HATHAWAY
JOHN MOORE

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THE EXPOSITION OF IDEAS

1. OBSERVING AND REPORTİNG

1

Observing and Reporting

ALTHOUGH it is possible to reason logically upon false assumptions, the ideas and conclusions which are the result of a thought process are only as sound as the facts which set that process in motion. If the facts are not to be trusted, the conclusions drawn from them are not to be trusted. Therefore, the first principle of sound thinking and good writing is accuracy of observation.

Unfortunately, habit is one of the most dangerous enemies of accuracy of observation, for we often look at things without seeing them at all. When we look at familiar objects what we see is determined largely by what we expect to see. It is true that if these commonplace things have undergone a sudden change since we last saw them, we are jarred out of our mental lethargy and look at them afresh. If the change is gradual, however, we fail to notice it.

Sometimes we accept a formula for an object or situation without troubling to check it against our own original observation. For example, the society around us tells us that a girl coming home from a dance is always "starry-eyed." For years students have written in themes that girls coming home from dances are starry-eyed. Perhaps we can legitimately ask if they really are. Are all of them starry-eyed? Is the observer really looking at them as individuals or is he merely taking for granted that they look like that because the stereotype tells him so?

A writer whose work contains such stereotypes may be called deductive minded. He applies to each situation a neat set of reactions and ready-made formulas without bothering to check them against the actual facts. The inductive minded writer, on the other hand, is

constantly aware of the changeability of the world around him. He knows that no two objects or situations, however familiar, are exactly alike and that no set of principles can be applied, untested, truthfully more than once. He looks directly at the situation he wishes to describe or evaluate and reports what he sees as accurately as he can. The deductive minded person has the simpler time of it but he is not the better writer.

Stereotyped writing is not good writing. The writer bores his reader because he does not tell him anything new. He is not looking at the world through his own eyes and consequently has little to say that is worth the saying. Stereotyped thinking, upon which such writing is based, is more dangerous. In this kind of thinking the writer arrives at judgments that are based upon stereotypes – upon preconceived notions of what, for example, any individual in a class is like. The rich woman is arrogant and selfish; the Negro janitor is lazy, light-hearted, and irrepressibly fond of singing; the old professor is lovable but absent-minded and pedantic. Judgments about individuals based upon such stereotypes can cause trouble because often they are not based upon reality. We do not see at all what is in front of us. Instead we see, as if in a mirror, the picture that is already in our minds. Too often we do not know how the picture got into our minds in the first place, but when we analyze our reactions we realize that we did not consciously put it there. Instead, we absorbed it from the people around us; they absorbed it from others; and on and on the chain goes.

Writing and thinking both come hard when the writer cannot see for himself. Observing is his first step toward having ideas of his own that are worth communicating. The nonobserver usually tries to hide the poverty of his observing by writing about something with which he can have had few contacts; he frequently denies the possibility of originality of thought and expression because he supposes that everybody else borrows ideas just as he does. He forgets that men make ideas by looking at the world around them and telling what they see there.

The observer who looks for himself soon finds plenty of ideas in his head. Because he has built up for himself a mass of material of his own about which he can say something, he no longer belongs to the class of student writers who have nothing to say. Most of us need to orient ourselves by looking at the world around us. It is the dulling force of habit that leads us to believe that the world is brighter and more ex-

citing somewhere else. Brightness and excitement are made by the minds of men who see meaning in what they touch upon.

All reporting, even of simple sense perceptions, reflects somewhat the individual doing the perceiving. It is impossible to be entirely objective. For purposes of discussion, however, we may say that a writer is being objective when he describes sensations as they are immediately apparent to his five senses. As soon as he makes a judgment or describes the train of thought started in his own mind by these sensations his reporting becomes subjective.

The selections that follow present the kind of writing in which few judgments are made. The writers are coming to few conclusions; principally they are looking at the world and telling what they see there. They are presenting scenes, attempting to communicate to the reader concrete experiences. As will be noted elsewhere in this book, one of the best ways to create good writing of any kind is to keep vivid this sense of concrete experience. The student should begin here observing how the writers of these passages obtain their effects.

The observations presented in this section fall into two main categories. The first, of which the selections from Faulkner, Prokosch, Dos Passos, and to a lesser extent Perry are examples, exhibits considerable subjectivity. The things and events described are seen through the eyes of a particular observer and colored by his state of mind. The second kind — the group comprised by Parkman, Thoreau, and Fairfax Downey — represents greater objectivity. These writers distinguish more clearly what is outside themselves from what is inside.

Paradoxically, objective reporting is the more sophisticated or artificial of the two kinds of observation. The child divides a perception into its subjective and objective parts less readily than an adult does. For many special purposes the growing child gradually learns to make the distinction. The adult writer must sometimes relearn the art of infusing objective reporting with the subjective at those times when it is desirable to do so. It must be remembered, however, that in many kinds of writing — newspaper writing, for instance — any admixture of the subjective is undesirable.

WAGON ON THE ROAD*

By William Faulkner

1. THE WAGON mounts the hill toward her. She passed it about a mile back down the road. It was standing beside the road, the mules asleep in the traces and their heads pointed in the direction in which she walked. She saw it and she saw the two men squatting beside a barn beyond the fence. She looked at the wagon and the men once: a single glance all-embracing, swift, innocent and profound. She did not stop; very likely the men beyond the fence had not seen her even look at the wagon or at them. Neither did she look back. She went on out of sight, walking slowly, the shoes unlaced about her ankles, until she reached the top of the hill a mile beyond. Then she sat down on the ditchbank, with her feet in the shallow ditch, and removed the shoes. After a while she began to hear the wagon. She heard it for some time. Then it came into sight, mounting the hill.

2. The sharp and brittle crack and clatter of its weathered and ungreased wood and metal is slow and terrific: a series of dry sluggish reports carrying for a half mile across the hot still pinewiney silence of the August afternoon. Though the mules plod in a steady and unflagging hypnosis, the vehicle does not seem to progress. It seems to hang suspended in the middle distance forever and forever, so infinitesimal is its progress, like a shabby bead upon the mild red string of road. So much is this so that in the watching of it the eye loses it as sight and sense drowsily merge and blend, like the road itself, with all the peaceful and monotonous changes between darkness and day, like already measured thread being rewound onto a spool. So that at last, as though out of some trivial and unimportant region beyond even distance, the sound of it seems to come slow and terrific and without meaning, as though it were a ghost traveling a half mile ahead of its own shape.

* From *Light in August* (1932), by William Faulkner. Reprinted by courtesy of Random House, Inc.

ANALYSIS

1. At first reading this selection may well appear to be the simple, perceptive reporting of a static scene. Is it really that?
   a. What is the difference between the scene reported in the first paragraph and that in the second?
   b. From whose point of view is the whole scene seen and heard and felt?
2. Consider particularly the use of verbs in this selection.
   a. What do you notice about the time element as indicated by the verb tenses? What are the significant changes and why are they made?
   b. Has the problem of time any bearing on the larger one of perception, of reporting what one sees?
3. *a.* Is the girl who appears in the first paragraph still the central person in the second?
   b. Is she experiencing the thoughts and sensations recorded in the second paragraph?
4. Are there any evidences of subjective reporting in this selection? If so, what are they?
5. Is there any point to this selection, any generalization which the reporting leads up to? Or is the writer presenting a scene for its own sake?
6. *a.* What words or phrases in this passage have precise, literal applications? What ones do not?
   b. List the figures of speech in this passage.
   c. Which of the following phrases are used literally? Which are used figuratively?
   "The sharp and brittle crack and clatter"
   "Dry sluggish reports"
   "Hot still pinewiney silence"
   "Mules plod in a steady and unflagging hypnosis"
   "Like a shabby bead upon the mild red string of road"
   "Like already measured thread being rewound onto a spool"
   "As though it were a ghost traveling a half mile ahead of its own shape"
   d. Do figurative expressions aid in making the reporting more subjective?
   e. If some other person were looking at this scene might his perceptions be different from the ones given here?
   f. How important are figures of speech in the communication of the exact "feeling" of a perception?

AFTER THE CRACK-UP*

By Frederic Prokosch

1. THE CLOUDS parted, the sun appeared once more. In less than a minute all the moisture seemed to have been sucked back out of

* From *The Asiatics* (1935), by Frederic Prokosch. Published by Doubleday and Company, Inc.

the earth. The wet glimmer faded from the rocks, the grasses grew sere and mottled again.

2. And it was hot. Unbearably so for a few minutes, until the air grew dry and light again. Even after the sky had become solidly blue once more, some faint oppression remained hanging in the air. High overhead I saw three hawks circling. I could see their shadows in the hollow declivity at my side, twisting and turning like strange creatures under water.

3. I sat down on the brown gravel. Alone in the middle of enormous Asia. But, thought I, this isn't solitude; this isn't real loneliness at all. The whole sun-stricken country seemed alive, each pebble shone with vitality.

4. I walked toward a small mound not far from the plane. I didn't want to be near the plane itself. It terrified me. It looked like a great clumsy bird shattered upon the rocks, its tiny head folded forward, nothing left to it at all, dead and hollow with fright.

5. I felt very thirsty. I stood upon the hillock and looked all around. To the north, the haze of the hills and the remote forests; to the south, the glistening salty stretches; to the east, endless brown earth; to the west, endless brown earth. Below me on my right a serpentine path ran through the mounds and the boulders. It was a dried-up river bed, cracked with the spring sunlight, shimmering like copper dust.

6. I walked down toward the tufted shore. Everything was dry. Not a drop.

7. But then I saw in a dark hollow a little red gleam. Yes, there among the shadows of the rocks a few drops of water were still waiting. Waiting to be sucked into earth and air until nothing was left.

8. I lay down flat and leaned over the little red pond. The water smelled like corroded lead. I drank, and I could feel it gliding all the way down into my belly like a slim warm snake. I looked at the water again and I could see tiny red animalcules floating in its hairy recesses. I began to feel sick again.

9. I started to rise, but a delicate weariness tugged at me and held me back. So I turned back and lay down upon the smooth brown river dust and closed my eyes.

10. Physical uneasiness can instill odd thoughts into the mind – thoughts frilled up in all their elaborateness, in all the bizarre intuitive fullness of a dream. I thought for a few seconds that I was dying, was on the very verge of death, was almost dead. "Are you afraid of death?" I could hear the old countess whimpering through the perfumed curtains: "What do you think of death? When do you want to die?" Dimly I could hear her voice continuing. "Think about death," she whispered, "think of these thousands of creatures, here in Teheran, here in Persia, here in Asia. Moving across the sand, living in mud, crawling through the alleys of the dark neglected cities, dying in the reeds beside a river without a name, living and dying with nothing, not even a scrap of paper to state that they existed; dying and living, living and dying, the two processes growing faster and faster as our world grows older and staler, now almost as indistinguishable as the colors in a revolving wheel. Where's the one? Where's the other? Here's a living one that's dead, here's a dead one still alive, a living one's dead life slowly dying, a dead one's living death slowly dying. What can you make of it? Anything? Anything at all?"

11. I was feverish, of course. This is what I thought – that for a brief while I actually had died, that for a few seconds I was dead, had entered the darkness, was experiencing the first throbs of a dissolution about to spread inside me as at the sound of a gong. And then, there was a confusion of signals. Something went wrong at the switches, some misunderstanding occurred, some slight error on the control boards. By the merest accident I slipped back into life. I was alive.

12. But everything exists forever, nothing ever vanishes completely. Each second goes off into space and is held there forever, traveling and spreading with unalterable speed, the sight of it now reaching Betelgeuse on an unbelievable arrow of light, the tiniest ray of it now filtering through the circles around Saturn. Somewhere now is flashing the sight of Hannibal crossing the Alps, of Xerxes passing into Asia Minor, of the first apeman rising out of the green twilight of the swamps. And somewhere, I thought, I am still dead. At some point in space a million miles away a flash of light is now carrying me outward caught in the momentary state of death. And

now ten thousand miles farther. And now still farther. Somewhere I am still dead, thought I, and I'll carry the thought of that with me for the rest of my life.

13. I opened my eyes. It was growing dark already. A mile away across the waste I could see the plane leaning upon the rocks like a huge moth, wings brittle in death. Now I felt really and profoundly alone. It was a new thing; I could never have imagined it. It was as if I were wearing a mask, or were made out of wax, or were growing scales instead of skin. My body was beginning to feel unreal. The fading light on the dead stalks two feet away might as well have been the gleam of a star in the deep heaven.

14. I turned and looked at the dry river bed. High above it, passing slowly through the gathering dusk, I could see faint shapes passing westward. The shapes of the newly dead. A regular caravan of them. There they were, the dim astonished spirits moving out of their old life. To hell, or to heaven? There was no telling. Some looked stiff and virtuous, others limp and degenerate. Some appeared to be overwhelmed with delight, others bleak with detestation. Most of them surprised me; they were people of a kind whose existence I should never have suspected. People who had spent their life in some sort of hiding. But now they had to move into the open; they couldn't hide any longer: women with their hair shaved, hands clasped in prayer; others without eyes, horribly fat, the capitalists of the spirit; others dead of starvation, with faces like lamps in a forsaken alleyway; others hideously, exhaustingly insane; a few with faces made wonderfully expressive by lust, revealing every possible variety of degradation and decay; the unemployed ones, dead without hope, eyes not knowing where to look for mercy and mouths wide open in a voiceless, grief-stricken shriek of accusation; several quite rigid with solitude, men like dried trees, arms raised in supplication — cripples and suicides; those dead in battle, lips pressed together with a sudden devastating understanding, eyes bleeding; four or five with eyes exquisitely tender — there were the protected ones, the stupid ones, the lucky flowerlike ones whom life hadn't touched; and finally the children, with hard malicious eyes and bodies beautiful as ferns. More and more of them, more and more thickly they seemed to pass, now like a herd of dark slender animals, now like a great funnel of fog

swiftly expanding. Then they grew hazy. The sky grew darker. Soon they would be gone, soon it would all be over, none would be left. None at all, nothing, not a trace.

15. When I opened my eyes again the sky was dark, the land was hidden in a strange flickering shadow. Firelight. And high above me, the usual stars. Then I felt my body moving gently, and when I looked again I saw that I was lying on a couch and that a dark bare-chested man was gently massaging me.

16. When he saw that I was awake he stopped and looked at me questioningly. He murmured in a rich low voice something that I couldn't understand. I stared blankly. He murmured something else. Still I didn't answer. Then he said, in a broken almost incomprehensible accent, "Perhaps Englishman, speaking English?"

17. I nodded. He looked pleased.

18. I raised my head and glanced around. I was lying on a rug outside a tent, and beside this tent stood another tent, and beyond this a third one, large and elaborate. I could see slender tree trunks shining in the firelight, and lying on the grass in front of the fire four great spotted dogs, jowls resting between their paws.

19. "Very sick," said the big brown man, "very sick." He shook his head sadly. "But better now, much better." He nodded his head.

I breathed deeply. "Did you find me?" I asked him.

He looked puzzled for a moment. Then he smiled and nodded again.

"And you brought me here?"

He thought for a moment. "No, camel brought you here."

I pointed at the tents. "Your home?"

20. He smiled again, a great white-toothed rich-lipped smile. Sweat was dripping from his bearded chin and his eyebrows. "No, not home." He nodded toward the largest of the tents. "Prince Ghuraguzlu he go hunting here."

21. I could see naked, sweating boys passing back and forth in front of the fire, carrying pots and dishes in and out of the tent. A fierce-eyed old man in a huge white turban was squatting beside the fire, stirring and stirring away in a big black bowl.

22. "Do you serve Prince Ghuraguzlu?" said I. He nodded. "What is your name?"

23. He looked embarrassed. "Rama Singh," he replied, gazing down-

ward. His eyelids shone like satin, his lashes cast long slanting shadows on his cheek bones.

24. He must have brought me several miles, thought I. We were in the hills, the earth smelled rich and mossy, the larch trees were rustling in the hot night wind.

25. Presently Rama Singh rose and walked into the big tent. A minute or two later he reappeared. He leaned over me. "Feeling better?"

I nodded.

"Prince Ghuraguzlu desiring to see you."

26. He put his strong male-smelling arm under me and helped me to my feet. Then he led me slowly into the tent.

ANALYSIS

1. Make an outline of this selection.
   a. What are the main divisions of your outline?
   b. Are they based on chronological sequence? On the distinction between hallucination and sanity?

2. *a.* When you are trying to describe the sensations you have had in an hallucination or a dream can you express your experiences in the same way that you would if you were describing a real-life situation?
   b. To which of the five senses do you refer most in describing a dream?
   c. If you can trace the component parts of your dream back to experiences you have had in real life, do you find that your memory of these real experiences is more or less vivid than your memory of the dream? How do the elements of your description compare with those in this passage?

3. *a.* At what point does the first part of this selection end?
   b. Has the observation up to this point been primarily objective or primarily subjective?
   c. Might any observer be expected to note precisely the same objects and to have the same feelings about them?
   d. Is it clear at all times which of the observations given here are objective and which are colored by the narrator's feelings?

4. List the metaphors and similes used in this selection. Compare these figures of speech with those used in the Faulkner selection.

5. Underline the particular words and phrases that indicate to the reader the transitions from observation of the external world to observation of the world of the narrator's mind.

6. Note that during his hallucination the narrator is expressing many generalizations that would normally be made only after much observation. Some of these generalizations are translated into concrete form, as when he sees people representing problems of morality rather than the problems themselves.

a. How does this reporting of sensation and perception differ from the reporting in the first part?

7. *a.* Are more figures of speech in the part concerned with the narrator's mental wanderings than in the more objective parts?
b. Are the figures from the first part similar to those in the second? How do they differ?

THE CAMERA EYE (14)*

By John Dos Passos

1. SUNDAY NIGHTS when we had fishballs and baked beans and Mr. Garfield read to us in a very beautiful reading voice and everybody was so quiet you could have heard a pin drop because he was reading *The Man without a Country* and it was a very terrible story and Aaron Burr had been a very dangerous man and this poor young man had said "Damn the United States; I never hope to hear her name again" and it was a very terrible thing to say and the grayhaired judge was so kind and good and the judge sentenced me and they took me far away to foreign lands on a frigate and the officers were kind and good and spoke in kind grave very sorry reading voices like Mr. Garfield and everything was very kind and grave and very sorry and frigates and the blue Mediterranean and islands and when I was dead I began to cry and I was afraid the other boys would see I had tears in my eyes
2. American shouldn't cry he should look kind and grave and very sorry when they wrapped me in the stars and stripes and brought me home on a frigate to be buried I was so sorry I never remembered whether they brought me home or buried me at sea but anyway I was wrapped in Old Glory

ANALYSIS

1. Compare this selection with the one by Frederic Prokosch.
a. How are they alike? How do they differ?
b. Are the similarities and differences determined by the kind of reporting or observing in each?
2. How much of this selection deals with concrete material? How much of it does not?

* From *The 42nd Parallel* (1930), by John Dos Passos. Published by Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted by permission of the author.

3. Is there any evidence in the organization or the writing in this passage to indicate a "point," a judgment that the author is making? If so, what is the nature of the judgment?
4. Examine the words Dos Passos uses here and comment on their effectiveness in aiding or obscuring the kind of reporting and observing the author is doing.

NIGHT IN THE WOODS*

By George Sessions Perry

1. LATER, there being two axes and Harmie having a cold, Sam went with Mamma to cut some wood and was beaten at it and proud of Mamma. Then, near dark, the wind lay and Sam ate a couple of sweet potatoes, called the dogs, and went to the woods.
2. Now he was a tall man striding through the naked woods, which were clothed only with falling night, to hunt down the furred animals; following Zoonie and the cur, who were busily reading and editing the tangle of trails on the woods floor, disregarding the field-mice and rabbit trails, the bird tracks and those of the domestic stock that had wandered here, and the faint, lingering traces of squirrel musk.
3. The dogs were transfigured. They were no longer whiners after buttermilk or fire heat, were no longer slinkers or sluggards, but were roaming the dark woods with the strange dignity of things doing what they were born to do, of things afire with mastery and fierce intention.
4. Now Zoonie was chipping the brittle night to pieces with his small, fast, sharp bark, and Sam knew an animal was marooned in the night there above the little dog. It proved to be a possum, and as Sam climbed the blackjack tree, armored as it was with toothed bark, he was full of the hot flush of the chase and the haunting minor dissonance of sympathy that goes out to a thing that is alone and is doomed and that knows it.
5. Sam could not push it out on the ground because the dogs would slash it and ruin the fur. So with a stick and the light he toyed with the beast until it began to play dead. Once it began the pretense, Sam knew it would continue that all night.

* From *Hold Autumn in Your Hand* by George Sessions Perry. Copyright 1941 by George Sessions Perry. Reprinted by arrangement with The Viking Press, N. Y.

6. Soon he climbed down the tree with it, holding onto its hairless tail, and fought off the dogs, though the cur was so fierce in his determination to get his teeth into the possum that Sam was for a moment afraid of him. Even so, Sam pretended not to be, and beat him away with a heavy stick.
7. When the dogs were launched again and Sam had walked two hundred yards, he heard a rattling in the leaves nearby and went to it. Suddenly the light fell on a skunk, all shining and black in the radiance of the lantern, perfectly confident that whatever manner of creature was approaching, that creature would know what would happen to him if he came any closer.
8. As Sam set the lantern down, the skunk, with thrilling poise, turned his stern to Sam and eyed him critically over his shoulder, sure of his weapon.
9. Sam was afraid that the slight but abrupt noise of cocking the gun would startle the skunk and launch him on his offensive of chemical warfare. But Sam also knew that in any conflict the worst thing of all is to be afraid. Firmly his right thumb drew back the hammer which would drive home the firing pin. At the resultant clicking sound, which seemed sharp and loud in the tense silence, a tremor ran over the skunk. Then through the notch in the rear sight and just above the lump of darkness which was the front sight, Sam could see the skunk's left eye, bright and calm. Slowly, so as not to spoil the aim, Sam's trigger finger closed, and in a single instant the skunk was a dead thing.
10. Where a moment ago it had been all loveliness and calm certain threat, it was now a lump of meat to be denuded with great care, to be robbed of its shining coat and left in nakedness to freeze and thaw and rot.
11. And now the dogs were barking somewhere off in the night, far ahead, to be reached before the quarry should run through the intermeshing treetops and escape. Sam picked up his things and began running to them.
12. When Sam came in next morning just at dawn, having taken a sight on the north star — which was the only one he knew definitely, since the two stars that form the front of the cup of the Big Dipper point outward toward it — he had the hides of seven possums, one skunk, one coon and one ring-tail, and an amount of

respect for Mamma's yellow cur that was Mamma-big. In the first place, to tree a ring-tail is not a sorry dog's job, and the coon, which had made his final stand on a log in the middle of a creek, had fought that yellow dog magnificently and shrewdly, had half drowned him several times. But the yellow dog had never yielded an inch, oblivious of everything except his driving desire to fight and kill, while Zoonie attacked from the rear, until Sam had been able to shoot the coon.

13. There had also been some pretense made at a fox race when the dogs happened on one, but he was out of their class when it came to speed and soon convinced them.

14. Now Sam was coming into the yard and the kids ran to meet him and he let them take his burdens. Mamma, who was standing in the kitchen door, said come tank up on breakfast and then get some sleep and she'd wake him up later for a big roast-possum dinner. Sam had brought home four, it being out of the question to carry more, and Mamma said she'd just roast them all and use the left-overs for sandwich meat for the kids.

15. After breakfast he got out of his clothes and went to bed, falling almost immediately into that exotic, delicious daytime sleep that waits for those who have hunted hard, who have not slept through, but lived through, the raw violence of the night.

ANALYSIS

1. Study the author's methods of describing feelings and large, complicated perceptions.
   a. Mark off the outstanding descriptions.
   b. Rewrite four of these descriptions and try to give the same meaning in terms of precise detail, rather than through figurative language.
2. *a.* Point out the passages where the author has carefully put in details; for example, "the skunk's left eye" instead of simply "the skunk's eye"; "Firmly his right thumb drew back the hammer which would drive home the firing pin."
   b. Rewrite these sentences by using summary phrases; for example, "He cocked the gun."
   c. How important are the details to the effectiveness of the whole selection?
3. Note where the detailed account of the night's actions breaks off and the summary begins. Note also that the author describes in some detail two or three other adventures in the middle of the summary.
   a. Why did he not proceed to these before starting to summarize?
   b. What would the effect have been if he had described in detail all the events of the night?

4. Note that two incidents are described in detail in the first part of the selection: the killing of the possum and the killing of the skunk.
   a. How many paragraphs are devoted to the possum incident? How many to the skunk?
   b. Would one paragraph have been sufficient for each of these incidents?
   c. What is gained or lost by treating these incidents so fully?
5. *a.* How many major divisions can you find in the entire selection? Or to ask the same question in another way: the paragraphs can be reduced to what number without undue violence to customary principles of paragraphing?
   b. Why has the author made many more paragraphs than this minimum number?
6. To what extent is the paragraphing based upon logical divisions of thought? To what extent upon chronological divisions?
7. Is this selection primarily subjective or objective reporting? Defend your decision.

THE BUFFALO*

By Francis Parkman

1. THE GROUND was none of the best for a race, and grew worse continually as we proceeded; indeed, it soon became desperately bad, consisting of abrupt hills and deep hollows, cut by frequent ravines not easy to pass. At length, a mile in advance, we saw a band of bulls. Some were scattered grazing over a green declivity, while the rest were crowded together in the wide hollow below. Making a circuit, to keep out of sight, we rode towards them, until we ascended a hill, within a furlong of them, beyond which nothing intervened that could possibly screen us from their view. We dismounted behind the ridge, just out of sight, drew our saddle-girths, examined our pistols, and mounting again, rode over the hill, and descended at a canter towards them, bending close to our horses' necks. Instantly they took the alarm: those on the hill descended, those below gathered into a mass, and the whole got into motion, shouldering each other along at a clumsy gallop. We followed, spurring our horses to full speed; and as the herd rushed, crowding and trampling in terror through an opening in the hills, we were close at their heels, half suffocated by the clouds of dust. But as we drew near, their alarm and speed increased; our horses, being new to the work, showed signs of the utmost fear, bounding

* From *The Oregon Trail* (1920), by Francis Parkman. Published by Little, Brown and Company.

violently aside as we approached, and refusing to enter among the herd. The buffalo now broke into several small bodies, scampering over the hills in different directions, and I lost sight of Shaw; neither of us knew where the other had gone. Old Pontiac ran like a frantic elephant up hill and down hill, his ponderous hoofs striking the prairie like sledge hammers. He showed a curious mixture of eagerness and terror, straining to overtake the panic-stricken herd, but constantly recoiling in dismay as we drew near. The fugitives, indeed, offered no very attractive spectacle, with their shaggy manes and the tattered remnants of their last winter's hair covering their backs in irregular shreds and patches, and flying off in the wind as they ran. At length I urged my horse close behind a bull, and after trying in vain, by blows and spurring, to bring him alongside, I fired from this disadvantageous position. At the report Pontiac swerved so much that I was again thrown a little behind the game. The bullet, entering too much in the rear, failed to disable; for a buffalo requires to be shot at particular points, or he will certainly escape. The herd ran up a hill, and I followed in pursuit. As Pontiac rushed headlong down on the other side, I saw Shaw and Henry descending the hollow on the right, at a leisurely gallop; and in front, the buffalo were just disappearing behind the crest of the next hill, their short tails erect, and their hoofs twinkling through a cloud of dust.

2 At that moment I heard Shaw and Henry shouting to me; but the muscles of a stronger arm than mine could not have checked at once the furious course of Pontiac, whose mouth was as insensible as leather. Added to this, I rode him that morning with a snaffle, having the day before, for the benefit of my other horse, unbuckled from my bridle the curb which I commonly used. A stronger and hardier brute never trod the prairie; but the novel sight of the buffalo filled him with terror, and when at full speed he was almost incontrollable. Gaining the top of the ridge, I saw nothing of the buffalo; they had all vanished amid the intricacies of the hills and hollows. Reloading my pistols, in the best way I could, I galloped on until I saw them again scuttling along at the base of the hill, their panic somewhat abated. Down went old Pontiac among them, scattering them to the right and left; and then we had another long chase. About a dozen bulls were before us, scour-

ing over the hills, rushing down the declivities with tremendous weight and impetuosity, and then laboring with a weary gallop upward. Still Pontiac, in spite of spurring and beating, would not close with them. One bull at length fell a little behind the rest, and by a dint of much effort, I urged my horse within six or eight yards of his side. His back was darkened with sweat: he was panting heavily, while his tongue lolled out a foot from his jaws. Gradually I came up abreast of him, urging Pontiac with leg and rein nearer to his side, when suddenly he did what buffalo in such circumstances will always do: he slackened his gallop, and turning towards us, with an aspect of mingled rage and distress, lowered his huge, shaggy head for a charge. Pontiac, with a snort, leaped aside in terror, nearly throwing me to the ground, as I was wholly unprepared for such an evolution. I raised my pistol in a passion to strike him on the head, but thinking better of it, fired the bullet after the bull, who had resumed his flight; then drew rein, and determined to rejoin my companions. It was high time. The breath blew hard from Pontiac's nostrils, and the sweat rolled in big drops down his sides; I myself felt as if drenched in warm water. Pledging myself to take my revenge at a future opportunity, I looked about for some indications to show me where I was, and what course I ought to pursue; I might as well have looked for landmarks in the midst of the ocean. How many miles I had run or in what direction, I had no idea; and around me the prairie was rolling in steep swells and pitches, without a single distinctive feature to guide me. I had a little compass hung at my neck; and ignorant that the Platte at this point diverged considerably from its easterly course, I thought that by keeping to the northward I should certainly reach it. So I turned and rode about two hours in that direction. The prairie changed as I advanced, softening away into easier undulations, but nothing like the Platte appeared, nor any sign of a human being: the same wild endless expanse lay around me still; and to all appearance I was as far from my object as ever. I began now to think myself in danger of being lost, and reining in my horse, summoned the scanty share of woodcraft that I possessed (if that term is applicable upon the prairie) to extricate me. It occurred to me that the buffalo might prove my best guides. I soon found one of the paths made by them in their passage to

the river: it ran nearly at right angles to my course; but turning my horse's head in the direction it indicated, his freer gait and erected ears assured me that I was right.

3. But in the meantime my ride had been by no means a solitary one. The face of the country was dotted far and wide with countless hundreds of buffalo. They trooped along in files and columns, bulls, cows, and calves, on the green faces of the declivities in front. They scrambled away over the hills to the right and left; and far off, the pale blue swells in the extreme distance were dotted with innumerable specks. Sometimes I surprised shaggy old bulls grazing alone, or sleeping behind the ridges I ascended. They would leap up at my approach, stare stupidly at me through their tangled manes, and then gallop heavily away. The antelope were very numerous; and as they are always bold when in the neighborhood of buffalo, they would approach to look at me, gaze intently with their great round eyes, then suddenly leap aside, and stretch lightly away over the prairie, as swiftly as a race horse. Squalid, ruffianlike wolves sneaked through the hollows and sandy ravines. Several times I passed through villages of prairie dogs, who sat, each at the mouth of his burrow, holding his paws before him in a supplicating attitude, and yelping away most vehemently, whisking his little tail with every squeaking cry he uttered. Prairie dogs are not fastidious in their choice of companions; various long, checkered snakes were sunning themselves in the midst of the village, and demure little gray owls, with a large white ring around each eye, were perched side by side with the rightful inhabitants. The prairie teemed with life. Again and again I looked toward the crowded hillsides, and was sure I saw horsemen; and riding near, with a mixture of hope and dread, for Indians were abroad, I found them transformed into a group of buffalo. There was nothing in human shape amid all this vast congregation of brute forms.

4. When I turned down the buffalo path, the prairie seemed changed: only a wolf or two glided by at intervals, like conscious felons, never looking to the right or left. Being now free from anxiety, I was at leisure to observe minutely the objects around me; and here, for the first time, I noticed insects wholly different from any of the varieties found farther to the eastward. Gaudy butterflies fluttered about my

horse's head; strangely formed beetles, glittering with metallic luster, were crawling upon plants that I had never seen before; multitudes of lizards, too, were darting like lightning over the sand.

5. I had run to a great distance from the river. It cost me a long ride on the buffalo path, before I saw, from the ridge of a sandhill, the pale surface of the Platte glistening in the midst of its desert valley, and the faint outline of the hills beyond waving along the sky. From where I stood, not a tree nor a bush nor a living thing was visible throughout the whole extent of the sun-scorched landscape. In half an hour I came upon the trail, not far from the river; and seeing that the party had not yet passed, I turned eastward to meet them, old Pontiac's long swinging trot again assuring me that I was right in doing so. Having been slightly ill on leaving camp in the morning, six or seven hours of rough riding had fatigued me extremely. I soon stopped, therefore, flung my saddle on the ground, and with my head resting on it and my horse's trail-rope tied loosely to my arm, lay waiting the arrival of the party, speculating meanwhile on the extent of the injuries Pontiac had received. At length the white wagon coverings rose from the verge of the plain. By a singular coincidence, almost at the same moment two horsemen appeared coming down from the hills. They were Shaw and Henry, who had searched for me a while in the morning, but well knowing the futility of the attempt in such a broken country, had placed themselves on the top of the highest hill they could find, and picketing their horses near them, as a signal to me, had lain down and fallen asleep. The stray cattle had been recovered, as the emigrants told us, about noon. Before sunset, we pushed forward eight miles farther.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* How does this selection compare with the two preceding as to the subjectivity of the reporting?
   b. At what points do the writer's feelings color his perceptions?
   c. Does this subjectivity affect the tone of the selection as a whole?
2. Does the fact that the author is taking part in the action described affect the nature of the reporting of the action?
3. The paragraphs are long here. Could they be broken into smaller paragraphs without change of wording?
   a. Examine especially Paragraph 2 in this connection. Note that the order is almost entirely chronological.

b. In what respect do Paragraphs 3 and 4 violate the strict chronological pattern?

4. In Paragraphs 3 and 4 Parkman is generalizing upon perceptions. He is not describing each perception as it comes to him, but is making general statements about groups of perceptions. His generalizations are, however, so close to single perceptions here that we would call the passage highly concrete.
   a. Examine these two paragraphs closely to see exactly what is meant here.
5. What metaphors and similes can you find in this selection?

ICE*

By Henry David Thoreau

1. THE POND had in the meanwhile skimmed over in the shadiest and shallowest coves, some days or even weeks before the general freezing. The first ice is especially interesting and perfect, being hard, dark, and transparent, and affords the best opportunity that ever offers for examining the bottom where it is shallow; for you can lie at your length on ice only an inch thick, like a skater insect on the surface of the water, and study the bottom at your leisure, only two or three inches distant, like a picture behind a glass, and the water is necessarily always smooth then. There are many furrows in the sand where some creature has traveled about and doubled on its tracks; and, for wrecks, it is strewn with the cases of caddis worms made of minute grains of white quartz. Perhaps these have creased it, for you find some of their cases in the furrows, though they are deep and broad for them to make. But the ice itself is the object of most interest, though you must improve the earliest opportunity to study it. If you examine it closely the morning after it freezes, you find that the greater part of the bubbles, which at first appeared to be within it, are against its under surface, and that more are continually rising from the bottom; while the ice is as yet comparatively solid and dark, that is, you see the water through it. These bubbles are from an eightieth to an eighth of an inch in diameter, very clear and beautiful, and you see your face reflected in them through the ice. There may be thirty or forty of them to a square inch. There are also already within the ice narrow oblong perpendicular bubbles about half an inch long, sharp cones with the apex upward; or oftener, if the ice is quite fresh, minute spherical bubbles

* From *Walden* (1854).

one directly above another, like a string of beads. But these within the ice are not so numerous nor obvious as those beneath. I sometimes used to cast in stones to try the strength of the ice, and those which broke through carried in air with them, which formed very large and conspicuous white bubbles beneath. One day when I came to the same place forty-eight hours afterward, I found that those large bubbles were still perfect, though an inch more of ice had formed, as I could see distinctly by the seam in the edge of a cake. But as the last two days had been very warm, like an Indian summer, the ice was not now transparent, showing the dark green color of the water, and the bottom, but opaque and whitish or gray, and though twice as thick was hardly stronger than before, for the air bubbles had greatly expanded under this heat and run together, and lost their regularity; they were no longer one directly over another, but often like silvery coins poured from a bag, one overlapping another, or in thin flakes, as if occupying slight cleavages. The beauty of the ice was gone, and it was too late to study the bottom. Being curious to know what position my great bubbles occupied with regard to the new ice, I broke out a cake containing a middling sized one, and turned it bottom upward. The new ice had formed around and under the bubble, so that it was included between the two ices. It was wholly in the lower ice, but close against the upper, and was flattish, or perhaps slightly lenticular, with a rounded edge, a quarter of an inch deep by four inches in diameter; and I was surprised to find that directly under the bubble the ice was melted with great regularity in the form of a saucer reversed, to the height of five eighths of an inch in the middle, leaving a thin partition there between the water and the bubble, hardly an eighth of an inch thick; and in many places the small bubbles in this partition had burst out downward, and probably there was no ice at all under the largest bubbles, which were a foot in diameter. I inferred that the infinite number of minute bubbles which I had first seen against the under surface of the ice were now frozen in likewise, and that each, in its degree, had operated like a burning glass on the ice beneath to melt and rot it. These are the little air guns which contribute to make the ice crack and whoop.

ANALYSIS

1. Is Thoreau's report of Walden Pond in winter subjective reporting or objective reporting? What evidence can you find in support of your opinion?
2. *a.* What order does Thoreau follow in examining the ice?
   b. Does he follow some clearly marked path from general or over-all picture to one that is more minute?
   c. Does he merely assemble details that seem to him to be significant; or does he allow the picture of the pond to grow on the reader through the accumulation of the details?
3. *a.* Is Thoreau trying to make a "point" or "points" in this selection?
   b. If so, what is the relation between his points and the details of observation that he makes?
4. Study the words used here — the adjectives, the verbs, the images.
   a. To what extent does word choice indicate objective or subjective reporting?
5. *a.* What is the function of time in this selection?
   b. How does it help the kind of reporting Thoreau is doing here?
6. Thoreau wrote this passage as one long paragraph.
   a. Into how many main parts can this paragraph be divided?
   b. Mark off the places where one subdivision ends and the next begins.
   c. Which of these divisions receives the fullest treatment?
7. Note the places where Thoreau attempts to give precise measurements for ice and bubbles.
   a. Does this accuracy influence perceptibly the effect of the piece on the reader?

LAST DAYS OF ST. PIERRE*

By Fairfax Downey

I

THE PLANTER

1. How GRACIOUSLY had fortune smiled on Fernand Clerc! Little past the age of forty, in this year of 1902, he was the leading planter of the fair island of Martinique. Sugar from his broad cane fields, molasses, and mellow rum had made him a man of wealth, a millionaire. All his enterprises prospered.
2. Were the West Indies, for all their beauty and their bounty, sometimes powerless to prevent a sense of exile, an ache of homesickness in the heart of a citizen of the Republic? Then there again fate had

* From *Disaster Fighters*, copyright, 1938, by Fairfax Downey. Courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

been kind to Fernand Clerc. Elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies, it was periodically his duty and his pleasure to embark and sail home to attend its sessions – home to France, to Paris.

3. Able, respected, good-looking, blessed with a charming wife and children, M. Clerc found life good indeed. With energy undepleted by the tropics, he rode through the island visiting his properties. Tall and thick grew the cane stalks of his plantation at Vivé on the slopes of Mont Pelée. Mont Pelée – Naked Mountain – well named when lava erupting from its cone had stripped it bare of its verdure. But that was long ago. Not since 1851 had its subterranean fires flared up and then but insignificantly. Peaceful now, its crater held the lovely Lake of Palms, whose wooded shores were a favorite picnic spot for parties from St. Pierre and Fort-de-France. Who need fear towering Mont Pelée, once mighty, now mild, an extinct volcano?

4. Yet this spring M. Clerc and all Martinique received a rude shock. The mountain was not dead, it seemed. White vapors veiled her summit, and by May second she had overlaid her green mantle with a gown of gray cinders. Pelée muttered and fumed like an angry woman told her day was long past. Black smoke poured forth, illumined at night by jets of flame and flashes of lightning. The grayish snow of cinders covered the countryside, and the milky waters of the Rivière Blanche altered into a muddy and menacing torrent.

5. Nor was Pelée uttering only empty threats. On May fifth, M. Clerc at Vivé beheld a cloud rolling from the mountain down the valley. Sparing his own acres, the cloud and the stream of smoking lava which it masked, enveloped the Guerin sugar factory, burying its owner, his wife overseer, and twenty-five workmen and domestics.

6. Dismayed by this tragedy, M. Clerc and many others moved from the slopes into St. Pierre. The city was crowded, its population of twenty-five thousand swollen to forty thousand, and the throngs that filled the market and the cafés or strolled through the gorgeously luxuriant Jardin des Plantes lent an air of added animation, of almost hectic gaiety. When M. Clerc professed alarm at the behavior of Pelée to his friends, he was answered with shrugs of shoulders. Danger? On the slopes perhaps, but scarcely here in St. Pierre down by the sea.

7. Thunderous, scintillant, Mont Pelée staged a magnificent display of natural fireworks on the night of May seventh. Whites and Negroes

stared up at it, fascinated. Some were frightened but more took a childlike joy in the vivid spectacle. It was as if the old volcano were celebrating the advent of tomorrow's fête day.

8. M. Fernand Clerc did not sleep well that night. He breakfasted early in the household where he and his family were guests and again expressed his apprehensions to the large group of friends and relatives gathered at the table. Politely and deferentially — for one does not jeer a personage and man of proven courage — they heard him out, hiding their scepticism.

9. The voice of the planter halted in midsentence; and he half rose, his eyes fixed on the barometer. Its needle was actually fluttering!

10. M. Clerc pushed back his chair abruptly and commanded his carriage at once. A meaning look to his wife and four children, and they hastened to make ready. Their hosts and the rest followed them to the door. *Non, merci,* none would join their exodus. *Au revoir. A demain.*

11. From the balcony of their home, the American Consul, Thomas Prentis, and his wife waved to the Clerc family driving by. "Stop," the planter ordered and the carriage pulled up. Best come along, the planter urged. His American friends thanked him. There was no danger, they laughed, and waved again to the carriage disappearing in gray dust as racing hoofs and wheels sped it out of the city of St. Pierre.

The Governor

12. Governor Mouttet, ruling Martinique for the Republic of France, glared up at rebellious Mont Pelée. This *peste* of a volcano was deranging the island. There had been no such crisis since its captures by the English, who always relinquished it again to France, or the days when the slaves revolted. A great pity that circumstances beyond his control should damage the prosperous record of his administration, the Governor reflected.

13. That miserable mountain was disrupting commerce. Its rumblings drowned out the band concerts in the Savane. Its pyrotechnics distracted glances which might far better have dwelt admiringly on the proverbial beauty of the women of Martinique. . . . Now attention was diverted to a cruder work of Nature, a sputtering volcano. *Parbleu!* It was enough to scandalize any true Frenchman.

14. Governor Mouttet sighed and pored over the reports laid before him. He had appointed a commission to study the eruption and get at the bottom of *l'affaire Pelée,* but meanwhile alarm was spreading. People were fleeing the countryside and thronging into St. Pierre, deserting that city for Fort-de-France, planning even to leave the island. Steamship passage was in heavy demand. The *Roraima,* due May eighth, was booked solid out of St. Pierre, one said. This would never do. Steps must be taken to prevent a panic which would scatter fugitives throughout Martinique or drain a colony of France of its inhabitants.

15. A detachment of troops was despatched by the Governor to St. Pierre to preserve order and halt the exodus. His Excellency, no man to send others where he himself would not venture, followed with Mme. Mouttet and took up residence in that city. Certainly his presence must serve to calm these unreasoning, exaggerated fears. He circulated among the populace, speaking soothing words. *Mes enfants,* the Governor avowed, Mont Pelée rumbling away there is only snoring soundly in deep slumber. Be tranquil.

16. Yet, on the ominous night of May seventh, as spurts of flame painted the heavens, the Governor privately confessed to inward qualms. What if the mountain should really rouse? Might it not then cast the mortals at its feet into a sleep deeper than its own had been, a sleep from which they would never awaken?

The Chief Officer

17. Ellery S. Scott, chief officer of the Quebec Line steamship *Roraima,* stood on the bridge with Captain Muggah as the vessel bore down on Martinique. A column of smoke over the horizon traced down to the 4500-foot summit of Mont Pelée. So the old volcano was acting up! Curiosity on the bridge ran high as anchor was dropped in the St. Pierre roadstead about six o'clock on the morning of May eighth. But all seemed well ashore. The streets, twisting and climbing between the bright-colored houses, were filled with crowds in gay holiday attire.

18. Promptly the agents came aboard. The volcano? But certainly it was erupting and causing inconvenience. But there was no danger, regardless of the opinion of that Italian skipper yesterday who had said that had he seen Vesuvius looking like Pelée, he would have de-

parted from Naples as fast as he was going to leave St. Pierre. Although the authorities refused him clearance and threatened penalties, he had sailed in haste, with only half his cargo.

19. By the way, the agents continued, the passenger list was to be considerably augmented: sixty first-class anxious to leave St. Pierre. Here they were boarding now with bag and baggage. Could they be humored, and the *Roraima* sail for St. Lucia at once, returning to discharge its Martinique cargo? the agents inquired of Captain Muggah.

20. Chief Officer Scott, ordered below to inspect the stowage, thought of his boy in the forecastle. A good lad this eldest son of his. Used to say he'd have a ship of his own some day and keep on his father as first mate. No, his father planned a better career than the sea for him. The boy was slated to go to college and be a lawyer. This would be his last voyage.

21. Stowed shipshape and proper as Scott knew he would find it, the cargo plainly could not be shifted without a good deal of difficulty. The Martinique consignment lay above that for St. Lucia, and it would be a heavy task to discharge at the latter port first. Scott so reported.

22. The agents hesitated briefly. To be sure, sixty first-class passengers were to be obliged if possible but — ah, well, let them wait a little longer. The *Roraima* would sail as soon as the upper layer of cargo was landed.

23. Ship's bells tolled the passing hours. Pelée yonder growled hoarsely and belched black smoke. A little before eight, Chief Officer Scott apprehensively turned his binoculars on the summit.

The Prisoner

24. It was dark in the underground dungeon of the St. Pierre prison, but thin rays of light filtered through the grated opening in the upper part of the cell door. Enough so that Auguste Ciparis could tell when it was night and when it was day.

25. Not that it mattered much unless a man desired to count the days until he should be free. What good was that? One could not hurry them by. Therefore Auguste stolidly endured them with the long patience of Africa. The judge had declared him a criminal and caused him to be locked up here. Thus it was settled and nothing

was to be done. Yet it was hard, this being shut out of life up there in the gay city – hard when one was only twenty-five and strong and lusty.

26. Auguste slept and dozed all he could. Pelée was rumbling away in the distance – each day the jailer bringing him food and water seemed more excited about it – but the noise, reaching the subterranean cell only as faint thunder, failed to keep the Negro awake. . . .

27. Glimmerings of the dawn of May eighth filtered through the grating into the cell, and Auguste stirred into wakefulness. This being a fête day, imprisonment was less tolerable. What merriment his friends would be making up there in the squares of St. Pierre! He could imagine the sidelong glances and the swaying hips of the mulatto girls he might have been meeting today. Auguste stared sullenly at the cell door. At least the jailer might have been on time with his breakfast.

28. The patch of light in the grating winked out into blackness. *Ai! Ai!* All of a sudden it was night again.

II

29. On the morning of May eighth, 1902, the clocks of St. Pierre ticked on toward ten minutes of eight when they would stop forever. Against a background of bright sunshine, a huge column of vapor rose from the cone of Mont Pelée.

30. A salvo of reports as from heavy artillery. Then, choked by lava boiled to white heat by fires in the depths of the earth, Pelée with a terrific explosion blew its head off.

31. Like a colossal Roman candle it shot out streaks of flame and fiery globes. A pall of black smoke rose thousands of feet in the air, darkening the heavens. Silhouetted by a red, infernal glare, Pelée flung aloft viscid masses which rained incandescent ashes on land and sea.

32. Then, jagged and brilliant as the lightning flashes, a fissure opened in the flank of the mountain toward St. Pierre. Out of it issued an immense cloud which rushed with unbelievable rapidity down on the doomed city and the villages of Carbet and Le Precheur.

33. *In three minutes that searing, suffocating cloud enveloped them, and forty thousand people died!*

34. Fernand Clerc, the planter, watched from Mont Parnasse, one

mile east of St. Pierre, where he had so recently breakfasted. Shrouded in such darkness as only the inmost depths of a cavern afford, he reached out for the wife and children he could not see and gathered them in blessed safety into his arms. But the relatives, the many friends he had left so short a while ago, the American consul and his wife, who had waved him a gay goodbye—them he would never see alive again. . . .

35. In that vast brazier which was St. Pierre, Governor Mouttet may have lived the instant long enough to realize that Pelée had in truth awakened and that eternal sleep was his lot and his wife's and that of all those whose flight he had discouraged. . . .

36. Down in that deep dungeon cell of his Auguste Ciparis blinked in the swift-fallen night. Through the grating blew a current of burning air, scorching his flesh. He leaped, writhing in agony and screaming for help. No one answered.

37. Leaving a blazing city in its wake, the death cloud from the volcano rolled over the docks, and the sea, hissing and seething, shrank back before it. Aboard the *Roraima,* Chief Officer Scott lowered his glasses precipitately from Pelée. One look at that cloud bearing down like a whirlwind and he snatched a tarpaulin from a ventilator and pulled it over him. The ship rolled to port, almost on her beam ends, then back to starboard. Her funnels and other superstructure and most of her small boats were swept off by the mighty blast laden with scalding ashes and stone dust. Badly scorched, Scott emerged from his refuge to catch a glimpse of the British steamer *Roddam* plunging by toward the open sea, her deck a smoking shambles. Of the other sixteen vessels which had been anchored in the roadstead there was no sign.

38. Staggering toward the twisted iron wreckage of the bridge, the Chief Officer beheld the swaying figure of Captain Muggah. From the hideous, blackened mask that had been his face a voice croaked:

39. "All hands! Heave up the anchor!"

40. All hands! Only Scott, two engineers, and a few members of the black gang who had been below responded. In vain Scott scanned the group for his son. He never saw the lad again.

41. The anchor could not be unshackled. "Save the women and children," the captain ordered. During attempts to lower a boat, the

captain disappeared. Later he was pulled out of the water in a dying condition.

42. Now the *Roraima* was afire fore and aft. Amid the shrieks and groans of dying passengers, Scott and three more able-bodied men fought the flames, helped by a few others whose hands, burned raw, made it torture to touch anything. Between dousing the fire with bucketfuls from the sea, Scott tried to give drinks of fresh water to those who begged pitifully for it, though their seared, swollen throats would not let them swallow a drop. Tongues lolling, they dragged themselves along the deck, following him like dogs.

43. When the French cruiser *Suchet* steamed up to the rescue, the only survivors among the passengers were a little girl and her nurse. Twenty-eight out of a crew of forty-seven were dead.

44. The eyes of all aboard the *Suchet* turned toward shore. There at the foot of a broad, bare pathway, paved by death and destruction down the slope of Mont Pelée, lay the utter ruins of the city of St. Pierre.

III

45. Not until the afternoon of May eighth did the devastation of St. Pierre cool sufficiently to allow rescuers from Fort-de-France to enter. They could find none to rescue except one woman who died soon after she was taken from a cellar.

46. "St. Pierre, that city this morning alive, full of human souls, is no more!" Vicar-General Parel wrote his Bishop. "It lies consumed before us, in its winding sheet of smoke and cinders, silent and desolate, a city of the dead. We strain our eyes for fleeing inhabitants, for men returning to bury their lost ones. We see no one! There is no living being left in this desert of desolation, framed in a terrifying solitude. In the background, when the cloud of smoke and cinders breaks away, the mountain and its slopes, once so green, stand forth like an Alpine landscape. They look as if they were covered with a heavy cloak of snow, and through the thickened atmosphere rays of pale sunshine, wan, and unknown to our latitudes, illumine this scene with a light that seems to belong to the other side of the grave."

47. Indeed St. Pierre might have been an ancient town, destroyed in

some half-forgotten cataclysm and recently partly excavated — another Pompeii and Herculaneum. Cinders, which had buried its streets six feet deep in a few minutes, were as the dust of centuries. Here was the same swift extinction Vesuvius had wrought.

48. Here was no slow flow of lava. That cloud disgorged by Pelée was a superheated hurricane issuing from the depths of the earth at a speed of ninety miles an hour. Such was the strength of the blast, it killed by concussion and by toppling walls on its victims. The fall of the fourteen-foot metal statue of Notre Dame de la Garde — Our Lady of Safety — symbolized the dreadful fact that tens of thousands never had a fighting chance for their lives.

49. But chiefly the death cloud slew with its lethal content of hot steam and dust. So swiftly did it pass that its heat did not always burn all of the light tropical clothing from its prey, but once it was inhaled into the lungs — that was the end. Some had run a few frantic steps; then dropped, hands clutched over nose and mouth. Encrusted by cementlike ashes, corpses lay fixed in the contorted postures of their last struggle, replicas of the dead of Vesuvius preserved in the Naples museum. Fire had charred others or incinerated them to a heap of bones. A horrible spectacle was presented by bodies whose skulls and abdomens had been burst by heat and gases.

50. People who had been indoors when the cloud descended perished where they stood or sat, but the hand of death had marked most of them less cruelly. They seemed almost still alive, as each shattered building disclosed its denouement. There a girl lay prone, her arms about the feet of an image of the Virgin. A man bent with his head thrust into a basin from which the water had evaporated. A family was gathered around a restaurant table. A child held a doll in her arms; when the doll was touched, it crumbled away except for its china eyes. A clerk sat at his desk, one hand supporting his chin, the other grasping a pen. A baker crouched in the fire pit under his oven. In one room of a home a blonde girl in her bathrobe leaned back in a rocking chair. Behind her stood a Negro servant who apparently had been combing the girl's hair. Another servant had crawled under a sofa. Not far away lay the body of a white woman, beautiful as a Greek statue, and — like many an antique statue — headless.

51. Mutilated or almost unmarred, shriveled in last agony or seeming

only to have dropped into a peaceful sleep, lay the legions of the dead. After the finding of the dying woman in a cellar, the devastation was searched in vain for survivors.

52. Then four days after the catastrophe, two Negroes walking through the wreckage turned gray as they heard faint cries for help issuing from the depths of the earth.

53. "Who's that?" they shouted when they could speak. "Where are you?"

54. Up floated the feeble voice: "I'm down here in the dungeon of the jail. Help! Save me! Get me out!"

55. They dug down through the debris, broke open the dungeon door, and released Auguste Ciparis, the Negro criminal.

56. Some days later, George Kennan and August F. Jaccaci, American journalists arriving to cover the disaster, located Ciparis in a village in the country. They secured medical attention for his severe burns, poorly cared for as yet, and obtained and authenticated his story. When the scorching air penetrated his cell that day, he smelled his own body burning but breathed as little as possible during the moment the intense heat lasted. Ignorant of what had occurred, not realizing that he was buried alive, he slowly starved for four days in his tomb of a cell. His scant supply of water was soon gone. Only echoes answered his shouts for help. When at last he was heard and freed, Ciparis, given a drink of water, managed with some assistance to walk six kilometers to Morne Rouge.

57. One who lived where forty thousand died! History records no escape more marvelous.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* Examine carefully the divisions of this selection and try to determine why the author organized his material in this way.
   b. What effect on the whole pattern of the reporting does the account of different individuals and their actions have?

2. *a.* Why did the author choose the particular persons he did?
   b. Is his choice intended to be representative?
   c. Is it intended to cover, by specific and typical instances, what might have been covered by a more generalized reporting?

3. *a.* Is there any evidence in the passage that the author was present and that he is therefore giving an eye-witness account of the disaster?
   b. What changes in organization and approach seem to indicate that the material here has been gained through other than first-hand sources?

4. Can you find any places in this selection which might be classified as subjective reporting?

SAMPLE THEME SUBJECTS

An Indian stick game
An evening spent at a wake
A native village in New Guinea
The last day of fishing on the Blackfoot
Old men watching an excavation
A sorority tea
Hayrakers
A family of immigrants
A race-track tout in action
Children buying candy
Women in a hat shop
Men on the production line
A game of bridge in the afternoon
On the subway
Circus people
A library reading room
Sensations on regaining consciousness
Sensations in a dentist's chair
Gloomy Sunday
Homesickness

These are subjects that do not involve generalizations. In handling them, simply present a scene that would correspond to action shots taken by a movie camera. If more than one paper is written here, make one objective and one subjective.

2. INFORMAL INDUCTIONS

2

Informal Inductions

AT THIS POINT we begin to concern ourselves with making generalizations and arriving at conclusions. When we generalize, we have in mind not one situation but many situations that are related in some way. We think of many situations having certain elements in common, and we arrive at conclusions we consider true about these elements. Consider, for instance, the article "I Pick 'Em Up" on page 70. The writer is in the habit of picking up hitchhikers. He is not writing about one experience only; he has had many. He is trying to express his general attitude toward picking up hitchhikers. Again, W. E. B. DuBois, in "The Negro Scientist," is acquainted with the life stories of several Negro scientists. By examining somewhat closely the case of each, he attempts to determine whether or not Negroes can become competent scientists. This process of arriving at conclusions about a class of people, objects, or ideas is what logicians call induction.

Suppose you notice that your neighbor's Siamese cat has a kink in its tail. At first you assume that the kink is merely a peculiarity of the single animal. Perhaps it has had an accident. But later on you come across another Siamese cat with a kink in its tail. Your interest now aroused, you check on other Siamese cats and find that each has a similar kink. You have by now become thoroughly convinced that Siamese cats as a class have kinks in their tails. In arriving at a conclusion about the class of animals, you are making a generalization or induction.

An informal induction is one in which the writer does not endeavor seriously to make a thorough study of all the members in the class about which he is writing; or, as the case often is, does not set up any

research machinery by which he can reasonably expect to arrive at a demonstration that should satisfy every reader. Although the line between informal and formal inductions [1] is sometimes hard to draw, the distinction can be made practically by using the writer's method of approach to his material as a measuring stick. If he has noticed somewhat at random or from his chance experiences with his subject some related phenomena and has drawn conclusions from them, the result is informal induction. It is not implied here that informal inductions are inferior products; some of the ideas that govern our lives were arrived at informally. The formal induction, however, is an investigative job. The writer of such a piece outlines his problem and determines what he needs to do to arrive at sound conclusions; he devises methods for gathering his material and maintains scientific or objective control of it.

In writing articles that carry informal inductions, the student should turn to his own experiences. He should go not to the unusual experiences he has had but to the ones that recur constantly. There is a knack to the discovery of subjects for these papers but mastery of it is not at all difficult, and when the student has achieved his mastery he should no longer have trouble in finding subjects to write about. The key to the knack lies in the act of turning away from the unusual to the usual as subject matter, in the act of turning away from the one striking experience to the little experiences which do not amount to much individually, but which taken together amount to an idea of more significance than strange happenings or violent accidents can ever give.

THIRTY MILLION NEW AMERICANS*

Louis Adamic

1. WITHIN its population of slightly less than one hundred and thirty million, the United States has today over thirty million citizens — the overwhelming majority of them young citizens — who are the American-born children of immigrant parents of various

[1] For formal inductions see Section IV, *Primary Source Papers.*

* From *My America* (1938), by Louis Adamic. Published by Harper and Brothers. Copyright, 1938, by Louis Adamic.

nationalities: German, Italian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Bulgarian, Jewish, Russian, Carpatho-Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Finnish, Hungarian, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, French, Flemish, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Armenian, Syrian, Lett, Albanian, Greek, Turkish, and, of course, English, Scotch, and Irish. The country as a whole is but dimly cognizant of this fact and its implications which, in my opinion, are of fundamental and urgent importance in America's contemporary social and cultural scene. It should perhaps particularly interest those Americans who consider themselves of the old Anglo-Saxon stock: for here is a tremendous new element — what will it do to the old stock? — to the country? — how will it affect the development of civilization and culture, of racial types on this continent?

2. These questions had vaguely interested and perturbed me already in the late 1920's and the earliest 1930's, but I did not really go into them till 1934. I have told that in the spring of that year I went on a lecture tour. It took me to the great industrial centers of New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, where the population is preponderantly "foreign." Actually, however, my trip was not so much a series of speaking engagements as an attempt — a device — to get some clear idea, if possible, of this immense mass of so-called "second-generation" citizens, numerically predominant in some of the most important cities and towns, whom I choose to designate the New Americans. I spoke, or rather tried to speak, more or less on the subject of this chapter, to about fifty audiences of anywhere from one hundred to twenty-five hundred men and women and young people, in big towns like Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Akron, Detroit, Chicago, South Bend, Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Duluth, and smaller communities like McKeesport, Canonsburg, Ambridge, Farrell, Sharon, and Strabane, Pennsylvania; Lorain, Ohio; Flint, Michigan; and Hibbing and Eveleth, Minnesota. Some of my audiences were almost wholly "foreign," others mixed "foreign" and old-stock American. At the time I knew very little about the subject; I merely sensed its importance; and, to keep going for an hour or so, I discussed things more or less akin to it and at the end, admitting my ignorance, invited my listeners to

get up and say anything they liked in relation to my remarks. Those who were too diffident to talk in a crowd, I asked to speak to me after the lecture or call me at the hotel or write me a letter. Many of them, both old-stock Americans and New Americans, responded to this invitation. Some of them then asked me to their homes. Others wrote me long letters. And the result was that before my tour was half over I began to think that these New Americans — twenty-six million of them in 1930 and increasing at the rate of perhaps more than a million a year — constituted one of the greatest and most basic problems in this country; in some respects, greater and more basic perhaps than, say, the problem of unemployment, and almost as urgent.

3. This problem has existed, in nearly the same proportions that it exists today, for a long time, but few people have shown eagerness and ability to deal with it in a broad, fundamental way, or even to discuss it. Much attention — most of it, as already suggested, ill-focused — has been paid to the problem of the foreign-born; but not to that of their children, the American-born second generation. There is no acute or intelligent appreciation of it. Very little is being done about it; and the longer it is neglected the worse it will become, both for the New Americans and in the long run for America as a whole.

4. In this chapter it is not my ambition to present the problem in all its details, ramifications, significances, for it is a vastly complicated one and different in every locality and in every racial group; and, frankly, I still have a great deal to learn about it. My purpose here is merely to give as strong and broad a general suggestion as I can of its character and what I think might be done concerning it.

5. The chief and most important fact (the only one I shall stress here) about the New Americans is that all too many of them are oppressed by feelings of inferiority in relation to their fellow-citizens of older stock, to the main stream of American life, and to the problem of life as a whole; which, of course, is bad for them as individuals, but, since there are so many of them and their number is still rapidly increasing, even worse for the country.

6. These feelings of inferiority are to some degree extensions of their parents' feelings of inferiority as immigrants in a country so

drastically different from their native lands. The fathers and mothers of these millions of New Americans were naturally at a disadvantage even in the most friendly surroundings, and the surroundings were seldom wholly and continually friendly. As foreigners, in many cases not speaking the English language, they occupied inferior positions in the country's social, economic, and political life. Most of them were workers, performing, by and large, the meanest tasks and receiving meager wages. All too often in one form or another, they bumped up against racial or general anti-immigrant prejudice. Old-stock American workers looked askance at them. When work slackened, they were laid off, as I suggest in the first chapter of this section, before native employees. Many of them lived in the worst districts of their cities and towns, and were called Hunkies or Bohunks, Squareheads, Dagoes or Wops, Polacks or Litvaks, Sheenies or Kikes. They were frequently — and unavoidably — discriminated against. And in the face of all this, they inevitably felt, as individuals and as members of their immigrant groups, somewhat inferior in their relation to America and to other people here, and their tendency was to segregate themselves and mingle as much as possible only with their own nationals. And, just as inevitable, that feeling and that tendency were extended to the children, these New Americans, who shared their parents' lives and experiences, and who too were (and still are) called Hunkies and Dagoes by children of Anglo-Saxon origin, and whose names — names like Zamblaoskas, Krmpotich, and Wojiezkowski — were (and are) subjects for jokes on the part of ignorant teachers, at which the whole school laughed.

7. But in this respect the majority of New Americans, as individuals, are in an even more unfortunate and uncomfortable position than were (or still are) their immigrant parents. The latter, even if they were uneducated peasants or laborers, living here on the lowest social-economic levels, had in them a consciousness, or at least a powerful instinctive feeling, of some kind of racial or cultural background. They knew who they were. They remembered their native lands. They were Italians or Croatians, Finns or Slovenians; and that meant something to them. Many came from countries which culturally and perhaps in some other respects were superior to the United States, which as a new country had not

yet had time to develop along those lines; and when oppressed by feelings of inferiority induced by their circumstances in America, could take partial refuge in their racial and cultural backgrounds. Some of the better educated ones, who did not have merely instinctive feelings about the culture and history of their old countries, but were also intellectually conscious of their heritage, could even look down upon America and consider themselves superior to old-time Americans, thus counterbalancing or compensating themselves as persons from time to time for the unpleasant feelings about their immigrant status in the New World. This was unhealthy socially in the long run, for it was not reaching out toward an understanding with America, real or basic, but it did help individual immigrants to stand up as men and women.

8. Unlike their parents, who are (or were) aware not only of their European background but of having made the transition from Europe to America and gained a foothold here, most New Americans have no consciousness or instinctive feeling of any racial or cultural background, of their being part of any sort of continuity in human or historic experience. Some of them seem almost as if they had dropped off Mars and, during the drop, forgotten all about Mars. I know this to be so; I talked to scores and scores of them in more than a dozen different cities and towns, not only during that tour in 1934, but on several occasions and in various connections since then. In the majority of cases, the immigrant parents — uneducated working people or peasants from the various European countries — were too inarticulate to tell their sons and daughters who they (the parents) really were, and thus transmit to them some feeling or knowledge of their background.

9. The average Slavic peasant, for instance, who came to this country during the last twenty or thirty years in nine chances out of ten is unable to inform his children adequately who he is, what his old country is like, what his background (which, *ipso facto,* is his children's background) consists of. He tells his numerous sons and daughters that he is a Pole, a Croatian, a Slovak, a Slovenian; but that is about all. The children do not know what that really means. The man acts as if he were proud of being what he is, at least in the privacy of his home; for his instincts and his memories of the old country occasionally make him act that way. To

his children, however, who are growing up under anything but the best influences of American life and who do not know that behind their father's pride is a rich and vital past, he very often seems not a little ridiculous, certainly not worthy of their respect. To them he is just a Hunky or Polack, a "working stiff," a poor, pathetic creature constantly at somebody's mercy and repeatedly stepped upon, and as such not much according to American standards – standards which they pick up in the movies and from other powerful agencies in American life. Often they are half ashamed of him. The immigrant mother frequently finds herself in the same situation. There is a mutual lack of understanding; the children as they grow older have begun to grasp at superficial and obvious American realities, and sink themselves in America as far as they can by adopting the easiest, most obvious ways of the country of their birth. And the results are unsatisfactory family life, personal tragedies of all sorts, maladjustments, social perversities.

10. It is not unusual for boys and girls in their late or even their middle teens to break away from the homes of their immigrant parents, and eventually to repudiate entirely their origin and to Anglicize their Polish, Croatian, Finnish, or Lithuanian names, which old-time Americans find so difficult to pronounce and so amusing. But that, of course, does not solve their problem. In most instances it only makes it worse, though as a rule they do not realize that. I met New Americans of this type; they were invariably hollow, absurd, objectionable persons.

11. However, the situation of many of those who do not break with their parents, change their "foreign" names, and wholly repudiate their origin is but little better than of those who do. They were born here and legally, technically, are citizens of the United States; but few – even in the most fortunate homes – have any strong feeling that they belong here and are part of this country. For, by and large, the education which is inflicted on them in public schools and high schools and in parochial schools, or in colleges, fails to make them Anglo-Saxon Americans or to give them any vital and lasting appreciation of the American heritage, while their Anglo-Saxon schoolmates, purposefully-by-accident stumbling over their feet and calling them Hunkies and Dagoes, and their teachers,

making fun of their names, increase their feeling that they are not indigenous Americans, but outsiders who are more or less tolerated. Their instincts, if they have any, are at cross-purposes. They are bewildered persons, constantly oppressed, as I have said, by feelings of inferiority. Their personalities are faint, lopsided, out of focus.

12. These feelings of inferiority manifest themselves variously. Some of the New Americans turn themselves inside out and become chauvinistically patriotic; only their chauvinism has no basis in any vital feeling. It is insecure, empty, mere lip-service, intended only to impress the dominant Anglo-Saxon element, with which they have to cope; and hence worse — for the development of their own characters — than chauvinism that has some basis in conviction or feeling in racial or national background. And where there is any sincerity in this sort of "patriotism" it is based solely on shallow materialistic concepts, which they have picked up in school and elsewhere. "This is the greatest country . . . we have the biggest buildings . . . the best ice cream . . . more automobiles, more bathtubs than all the rest of the world," etc. Without realizing it, these New Americans are ready for any sort of shallow, ignorant nationalist or fascist movement which will not directly attack the new racial strains in America's population; and thousands of them perhaps would have no great trouble in bringing themselves to deny their parents, pose as old-stock Americans, and serve even a movement which would terrorize the immigrants and their children as the Hitler movement in Germany terrorized the Jews.

13. Other New Americans turn their inferiority inside out in another way. They become loud and tough, sometimes actively anti-social. But let me hasten to repeat that this last group is not so numerous as generally imagined by those who occasionally glance at crime and the juvenile-delinquency statistics, or who read the headlines. The surprising thing to me is that there is not more delinquency among the New Americans. And I should add too that the chauvinists mentioned above are not very numerous either. These categories together include less than five per cent of the New Americans.

14. The majority of the grownup New Americans just hang back from the main stream of life in this country, forming a tremendous

mass of neutral, politically lifeless citizenry; while their younger, fellow New Americans, boys and girls in their teens (about twelve million of them), now – in 1938 – attending public and parochial schools and high schools, show dangerous signs of becoming the same kind of neutral, unstirring citizens unless something is done about it. There is among them little aggressiveness, little spirit of any sort. Most of them merely hope to get along, to get by, somehow. Without a vital sense of background, perennially oppressed by the feeling that they are outsiders and thus inferior, they will live outside the main stream of America's national life. This is especially true of groups which linguistically and culturally are farthest removed from the Anglo-Saxon, and still more of groups which, besides being unrelated to the Anglo-Saxon, are (or till lately have been) suppressed or subject nationalities in Europe.

15. And these widespread personal inferiority feelings are producing in large sections of this New American element *actual* inferiority in character, mind, and physique. There is no doubt, by and large, in bodily and personal qualities many of the immigrants' children do not favorably compare with their parents. They cannot look one in the eye. They are shy. They stutter and stammer. If an old-stock American, or anyone of some standing, is due to come to their house, they fuss and fret with their parents. They force their peasant mothers to go to the hairdresser, to put on American ladies' dresses and high-heeled shoes which often make the mothers incongruous figures. Then, when the visitor arrives, they tremble at what the old lady or old man might say, or that he might mispronounce English words even worse than usually. Their limp handshakes gave me creepy feelings all the way from New York to the Iron Range in Minnesota. Those handshakes symbolized for me the distressing tendency on the part of this vast and growing section of America's population toward characterlessness, lack of force and spirit, and other inferior personal qualities.

16. From whatever angle one looks at it, this is a serious matter for the New Americans as individuals and for America. Thirty million – or even fifteen or twenty million, a probable number to which most or all of my generalizations here are directly applicable – are a lot of people, and this "second generation" will be (many already are) the fathers and mothers of the third generation, and

it is not impossible that in two or three decades half of the population of the United States will be of these new cultural and national strains.

17. What then should be done – what can be done about it?

18. In going about the country in 1934, and subsequently, I met several New Americans of whom most of the things I say above are not true. None of them was totally free of personal inferiority feelings (in fact, I find that even very few old-stock Americans are entirely free of them), but they were, nevertheless, fine-looking young men and women, boys and girls, keen and alert, articulate, ambitious, personally charming. Some were still in high school, one or two in college, and doing well as students; in fact, rather better than old-stock American students. Three or four of the boys were locally prominent football and baseball players.[1] Their handshakes were firm and they looked me in the eye. A few had a lively sense of humor which they could apply to themselves. Their laughter had a healthy ring. They knew something of what was going on in the country, in the world. Some of them, although still very young, seemed to know what they wanted from life. Two or three had literary ambitions. One told me he would try to get into politics "in a big way," by which I understood that the United States Senate was not beyond his gaze; and his name was Wojciezkowski. Another, attending the University of Pittsburgh, thought he would get a job in a steel mill and become a labor leader. In a bleak iron town in Minnesota I met a pretty girl of Slovenian parentage who was the best student in her school, had a vivid personality, and seemed entirely normal in all her attitudes. And so on, and so on. They impressed me as real, solid persons who would be an asset to any country.

19. Nearly all of them, in their childhood and later, had been unpleasantly affected by their parents' humiliating experiences as immigrants and industrial workers, and had had disagreeable experiences of their own which touched them vitally. They had been called Hunkies, Polacks, Litvaks, Dagoes. Many of them had had

[1] Athletes with "foreign" names, as generally known, are not unusual. But most of them, in high schools and colleges as well as in more or less professional sports, are New Americans who are exceptional in the sense as stated in this and the ensuing few paragraphs.

(and were still having) difficulties with their names. A young man of Lithuanian parentage in Pittsburgh, and attending the university there, who was attractive, "clean cut" in the best American sense, but whose surname was Lamblagoskas, told me that when he was a young boy in McKeesport the teacher had been too lazy or too indifferent to take the trouble to pronounce his name, so she had called him only Johnnie, while all the other children in class had both a first name and a surname. Then the two-name children had begun to call him "Just Johnnie" or "Johnnie the Litvak," which annoyed him very much. As in hundreds of thousands of similar instances, this, in conjunction with other experiences of that nature, produced in him an acute inferiority complex which oppressed him for years — "until," as he put it, "I sort of worked myself out of it."

20. A young man of Slavic origin, whose surname also was difficult for Anglo-Saxon tongues, told me that in his boyhood he had suffered a great deal because old-stock American boys called him "Sneeze-it," because in school one day the teacher had said that his name could not be pronounced but thought that perhaps she could sneeze it. "But now," he said to me, "things like that don't bother me very much."

21. Others in this category with whom I came in contact had had and were still having — inevitably, let me repeat — other troubles on account of being immigrants' children; but these troubles were not seriously affecting them, were not preventing them from developing into balanced, strong and healthy, charming human beings.

22. Why? There are at least two explanations. One is that most of them lived, during at least part of their lives, in comparatively favorable economic circumstances, and their parents managed to give them some schooling in addition to the legal requirement, which helped them more or less to work themselves out of their various second-generation complexes. The other explanation (probably not unrelated to, but I think more important than, the first) is that, in all cases without exception which came to my attention, their fathers and mothers were wise and articulate enough to convey to them something of their backgrounds in the old countries; tell them what it meant to be a Finn, a Slovenian, a Serbian, a

Croatian, a Slovak, a Czech, a Pole, or a Lithuanian, and inspire in them some respect for that meaning; make them conscious of their backgrounds and heritage, give them some sense of continuity, some feeling of their being part of America, in which immigrants like themselves played an important role — part of something bigger and better than the bleak, utterly depressing existence led by them and their neighbors in the grimy steel mill and iron and coal mining towns where they lived.

23. During my 1934 trip and later I met, as I say, scores of these New Americans. Among them were some of the most attractive people I have encountered anywhere. Some of these I already have mentioned. Another was a girl born and still living in Cleveland whose father and mother were Slovenians; and there is no doubt in my mind that much of her charm issued from the fact that she was keenly conscious of her parents' native land and culture. Two years before they had taken her on a visit to Slovenia, and she had discovered a tiny country which is physically as lovely as anything she had seen in America, with an old, mellow culture, a rich folklore, a considerable modern literature, and interesting folkways behind which there are centuries of wisdom and a long, unbroken chain of experience on the part of a quiet, peace-loving little nation that has lived there for a thousand years.

24. Still another of these exceptional New Americans was a young six-footer of Finnish parentage on the Iron Range in Minnesota. He had never been to Finland, but knew a good deal about the basic cultural qualities of that country from his mother's word-pictures of it. He also had a fluent command of the Finnish language which did not interfere with — indeed, enriched — his English. He knew dozens of Finnish folk ballads and lyrics and sang them well, and had read and reread in the original the great Finnish epic poem "The Kalevala." He was quietly proud of his people's achievements on the Iron Range both in the mines and on the land, and thought that Minnesota was his country. Despite the bleakness of the region, and the hard life led there by most of the people, especially the Finns, he loved the Iron Range. His people had worked and suffered there for decades and converted great parts of it into farming country, although before they came nobody had thought it could ever be made suitable for anything.

25. In short, he was conscious of his background; he had a sense of continuity, of being part of a great human experience, which was part of the still greater American adventure. Largely, I think, in consequence of this, a strength of character was discernible in his every move and utterance.

26. I could give several more such cases of exceptional New Americans, but that would be, in the main, repeating what I tell of the girl in Cleveland and the boy in Minnesota. All of them — representing, however, but a small minority — were conscious and, in a greater or lesser degree, proud of their racial groups' background in the old countries, and some also of their racial groups' background and history in this country. They had a sense of continuity, a feeling of being a part of something. And they, I think, are the answer to the question: What should be done about the problem sketched in this chapter?

27. The answer is that the New Americans, whose inarticulate and otherwise inadequate — through no fault of their own — parents have been unable to give them much along these lines, should be helped to acquire a knowledge of, and pride in, their own heritage and makeup; and this help should come, in very large part, from already established and functioning social and cultural institutions and agencies — schools, libraries, settlement and community houses, newspapers, lecture forums, and so on — in cooperation with a central organization which should be formed for the purpose of devising ways to disseminate information about the several racial or national groups represented among the thirty million "second generation" citizens, of studying the problem and working out programs of action for its gradual solution or amelioration, from the point of view of honest, intelligent concern for the country's future.

28. By now it is obvious to many people interested in the problem that it is impossible and, what is more, *undesirable* to make the offspring of Lithuanians or Serbians into Anglo-Saxons; that the aim should be rather to help them become real men and women on the pattern of their own natural cultures. There should be recognition of the fact that America is not purely an Anglo-Saxon country; if only by virtue of numbers, it is also something else. ***A new conception of America is necessary.*** There is no doubt that

in the few places where no attempts have been made by "patriotic" old-time Americans to force immigrants' children into the old-stock American mold — as, for instance, in the Bohemian communities in Nebraska and Texas, where Bohemians already are in the fourth generation; in the little city of Hamtramck near Detroit, where the public school system consistently encourages the large Polish group there to keep its individuality; in O. E. Rölvaag's Norwegian settlements in the northwest; in some of the foreign "colonies" in New York City, notably the Ukrainian one on the Lower East Side; or in several small Polish, Italian, and Finnish rural communities in New England, upstate New York, and elsewhere — the development of character, mentality, and physique in the New American element has been vastly more felicitous than where such attempts have been made.

29. Social and cultural institutions and agencies in various cities and towns where the problem stares them all in the face wherever they turn already are beginning to do things to help New Americans develop more or less on the pattern of their backgrounds. To give a few examples: in Cleveland the excellent public library organization, with its scores of branch libraries, has begun to help the New Americans to learn something about themselves, their parents' native lands and their national groups' history in this country, particularly in Cleveland. All three of the big newspapers there have special reporters covering the "foreign sections" of the city, and print feature articles about the various foreign groups' contribution to the growth and development of Cleveland. Public school and high school teachers in Cleveland, as in one or two other cities, whose classes are anywhere from forty to eighty per cent "foreign," are becoming eagerly interested in "second-generation problems" which face them in the form of numerous neurotic and backward or "problem" children who, for no apparent reason, burst out crying in the middle of a lesson. Of late teachers nearly everywhere, I am told, have advanced so far that they take the trouble to learn the correct pronunciation of difficult Polish, Yugoslav, Lithuanian, Czech, Finnish, and Slovak names, and to caution the old-stock American boys and girls not to call the New American children Hunkies, Wops, and other such names of derision.

30. In more than half of the cities and towns which I visited in 1934 and since I found the so-called International Institutes, some of them part of the Y.W.C.A., which – with their clubrooms, reading rooms, lectures, social affairs, exhibits of European peasant arts, and printed matter – are beginning to attempt to do something for the second generation, especially the girls. In Flint, Michigan, in Toledo, Ohio, and in one or two other places, I came upon purely local organizations, some of them officered and run by such exceptional New Americans as I have described above, aiming to help the general run of New Americans to fight their feelings of inferiority.

31. I came upon professional social workers who were doing research in certain phases of the problem and knew a great deal about the local departments thereof. The directors of most of the settlement-houses in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee were more or less awake to the situation as it existed locally and – in most cases, however, without having any real understanding of it – were also trying to do something about it. The same could be said of various settlement-house workers, teachers, a few ministers, and other agencies elsewhere.

32. All these efforts or, rather, beginnings of efforts are local, however; usually honest enough but very restricted in scope, The International Institutes, for instance, appeal largely to girls. There is no central or national organization interested in the thing as a countrywide problem, which it undoubtedly is, and, as I have tried to show here, a tremendous and important one – important to old-stock Americans and to Americans of the third and fourth generation no less than to these New Americans, and to America as a whole.

33. The organization I have in mind, which let us designate here as XYZ, would have, during the next twenty or thirty years, a vast and complicated task to perform – namely, to give these millions of New Americans a knowledge of, and pride in, their own makeup, which, to some extent, would operate to counteract their feelings of inferiority about themselves in relation to the rest of the country; and, simultaneously, to create a sympathetic understanding toward them on the part of older Americans, so that the latter's anti-"foreign" prejudice, which is partly to blame for inferiority

feelings in the new racial groups, would tend to lessen and ultimately be reduced to a minimum.

34. It would be a great educational-cultural work, the basic aim of which would be: (1) to reach, in one way or another, almost everybody in this country with the fact that socially and culturally the United States, as it stands today, is an extension not only of the British Isles and the Netherlands but, more or less, of all Europe; (2) with constant reiteration and intelligent elaboration of that fact, to try to harmonize and integrate, so far as possible, the various racial and cultural strains in our population without suppressing or destroying any good cultural qualities in any of them, but using and directing these qualities toward a possible enhancement of the color and quality of our national life in America.

35. Probably the first group to be reached by XYZ are the public school and high school teachers in communities with large "foreign" populations. They should be helped to find out who these youngsters filling their classrooms and responding to such names as Adamovicz, Kotchka, Zamblaoskas, Hurja, Balkovec, and Pavelka really are. They should be informed that the children of Yugoslav — Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian — parents, for instance, have, by virtue of their birth, a great heritage which reaches a thousand years into European history and almost five hundred years into American history — that there is good reason for believing that Yugoslavs were on Columbus' ships when he discovered this continent — that Yugoslav marines touched this continent in their own ships only a few years after Columbus — that Yugoslavs were in California before the Yankees arrived there, and were pioneers in two of California's now most important industries, fruit-growing and fishing — that in the last fifty years Yugoslavs, hundreds of thousands of them, have been among the competent workers in America's most important industries, mining and steel-making, and as such have contributed enormously to the upbuilding of this country — that Nikola Tesla and Michael Pupin came from Yugoslavia — that Henry Suzzallo, one of America's most important educators, was a second-generation American, born in California, of Yugoslav parents — that Ivan Mestrovich, the sculptor, whose works are to be seen in Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, New York, and elsewhere, is a Yugoslav; and so on. I mention here what the

teachers should be helped to find out about the Yugoslav strain, because I know more about it than any other; but they should be informed also about the Polish, Czech, Slovak, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and the other strains – so that occasionally, preferably at some dramatic moment, as, for instance, after a clash between an Anglo-Saxon boy and a "Hunky" boy, they could talk about them in class.

36. The XYZ might develop a special literature on the subject of New Americans, addressed to teachers; it might have competent speakers able to address teachers' conventions, college student bodies and faculties, women's clubs, and other groups.

37. It might start a campaign for the revision of history textbooks, giving recognition to recent immigrant groups from Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and elsewhere for their contributions to the upbuilding of America as she stands today. Such revisions should mention, perhaps, that in this upbuilding of modern America at least as many "Hunkies" and "Dagoes" died or were injured as early American colonists were killed in subduing the wilderness and in the War for Independence. The part played by the newer groups should be fitted into the history of the American adventure as a whole. This revision of textbooks might, indeed, be among its first and most important tasks.

38. It might start a press service for English-language newspapers published in cities and towns whose population includes a large proportion of "foreigners" and for English pages of foreign-language newspapers. This service should include vividly written, authentic material on the backgrounds, history, culture, and contributions of the different "foreign" groups to the upbuilding of America, and stories of individual and group achievement.

39. It might publish pamphlets in English dealing with various phases of the problem; start a library of all available literature and material on the subject; make special efforts to stimulate interest and participation in the folk arts.

40. It might utilize the radio for this work, with special programs including, let us say, music and folksongs of the various nations. It might try to draw the motion picture industry into its enterprise. Eventually it might arrange essay contests dealing with the history and contribution of the different "foreign" groups and other

appropriate topics, open to New Americans in high schools and colleges, with suitable prizes such as scholarships or trips to the native countries on which New Americans could discover their parents' old countries.

41. But enough of these suggestions. I make them largely to elucidate the problem further. Perhaps, if the national XYZ organization is not formed in the near future — though I feel certain that eventually something like it will be formed — local groups already interested in the matter possibly will find them helpful.

42. I realize, of course, that the problem I sketch here is closely tied up with the socio-economic system under which we live; that, next to their being more or less strangers here, the worst factors behind the inferiority feelings of these millions of New Americans are poverty and its sister-evil, ignorance, both of them brought over by the immigrants and then fostered by conditions here; and that the cure for most of the second-generation ills lies, ultimately, in the solution of our socio-economic problem. I doubt, however, whether the latter problem will be quickly and satisfactorily solved in this country if we permit to develop in our population a vast element, running into tens of millions, which is oppressed by acute feelings of inferiority and, largely as a result of those feelings, is becoming actually inferior human material — bewildered, politically neutral, economically unaggressive, culturally nowhere. If this element is left alone in the face of its growing economic difficulties, and in the face of the organized and unorganized prejudice against it on the part of "patriotic" older Americans, there might eventually be no help for it. I imagine that hundreds of thousands of New Americans already are hopeless as potential constructive elements in any sort of vital, progressive civilization and culture; and if their number is permitted to increase, they will — let me repeat — profoundly affect the future of this country in a way that no one would want to see it affected.

43. On the other hand, if something is done about the problem in the spirit of the above general suggestions, I believe that the majority of the New Americans and the generation that they will produce will have an opportunity to become a great body of self-respecting, constructive citizenry; and that, with the diverse racial and cultural backgrounds they inherited from their immigrant

parents, they will enrich the civilization and deepen the culture of this New World.

ANALYSIS

1. This essay is subject to more formal controls than are most informal inductions. The problem was defined and a device created to enable the writer to arrive at his answers before the journey was begun that was to provide the material.

   a. Analyze carefully Paragraph 2 to determine how rigidly controlled the investigation actually was. Do you come to the conclusion that Mr. Adamic kept careful tab on his findings throughout his trip? That he put each of his human guinea pigs through the same routine of questions so that he would be sure of having constants to work with? That his problem allows for exact conclusions of the kind that can be tabulated on a chart? Is this, in other words, an exact analysis of a controlled investigation, or is it the purposeful but uncontrolled gathering of material in the course of a lecture tour?

2. *a.* If Paragraph 2 tells the reader how the problem has been set up, what does Paragraph 1 do?
   b. Would it be wise to reverse the order of these paragraphs?

3. Show how Mr. Adamic narrows the scope of his inquiry in Paragraphs 4 and 5.

4. In Paragraphs 6–11 the writer gives a somewhat detailed explanation of the conditions that exist and their causes.
   a. How often in this extended passage does he refer to specific cases?
   b. Do we have confidence that he has specific cases in mind while he is making his analysis?
   c. What techniques does he use to bring his discussion down to the concrete?

5. Note the partition of "feelings of inferiority" into the principal subclasses in Paragraphs 12–15, and the paragraphing that devotes one paragraph to each of the first two subclasses and two to the third.
   a. How is the topic of each of these four paragraphs developed?
   b. Why is the third class given two paragraphs?

6. Why is Paragraph 17 so short?

7. Paragraphs 18–21 give us an insight into the exceptions, into the part of the evidence that Mr. Adamic has not explained as yet, since it runs counter to the main body of his evidence.
   a. How is he using this material? Explain the logic of his procedure here.
   b. Is his use of the material an example of the saying that the exception proves the rule? Note the more extended use of cases from his experience in this section.

8. Paragraphs 22–26 attempt to explain why these exceptional cases are exceptional.
   a. Go back to Paragraph 17. How is Mr. Adamic's development answering the question asked there?
   b. How can you describe this method of development?

9. Note the development given to the two causes. Why is so little space devoted

to the first (one third paragraph) and so much to the other? Note again the use of examples.

10. Note how Paragraph 27 once more shifts our attention to the main body of evidence. How does it follow naturally after Paragraph 26?

11. Paragraph 28 describes a goal to be reached. Paragraphs 29–32 show the efforts being expended to reach this goal. In what sense are the final concluding paragraphs 42 and 43 necessary?

HOW SERIOUS ARE THE COMICS?*

By Lovell Thompson

I

1. EVER SINCE the turn of the century when the Yellow Press was named after Outcault's Yellow Kid, the war of the comics has been savagely fought. It has been a bitter civil war with parents on one side and their children on the other. Under leaders like Charles W. Eliot and Kate Douglas Wiggin, and publications like the *New Republic* and the *Chicago Daily News*, the parents have been winning the battles but losing the war. That is because the elders find themselves regularly reading the comics and have to fall back on that old line: "We read them to see how bad they are." After half a century of successful attack by the comics we ought to be considering the terms of surrender. We should rise above the battle and take the cold long view.

2. The newest outrage of the enemy has been the comic magazine. It is only a few years old but it is deeply entrenched. The best evidence of this is the fact that it has forced out the marble as childhood's medium of exchange.

3. The child's marble, curving, pellucid, used to carry a mystery in its center. The alley, impenetrable, unyielding, self-contained, had in its depth an answer such as no jewel ever gave. When you had it in your hand, you knew it was a sphinx's eye. The future that children sought beneath the marble's surface has for a moment almost become explicit in the comic magazine.

4. If you have ever found yourself guiltily reading one of your child's comic books and exchanging it hastily for the *Times Book Review* as someone enters the room, you know that there seems a

* From the *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1942. Reprinted by permission of the author.

sinful unreality about this superworld. It is too easy and too inhuman. There are no real problems and no real answers. It is a long procession of tawdry Charles Atlases accompanied by a minimum of reading matter of no distinction whatever. It is the world of the Batman and Captain Marvel, of Superman and the Phantom. It is a criminal world and an idealistic world; it is sadistic and romantic. In it time and space are reduced to secondary nuisances. You may have the career of Jimmy Doolittle and that of Michelangelo side by side and Flash Gordon's rocket ship not much more than a stone's throw from Jimmy. Can a mind nurtured on this predigested wood pulp hope to have form or direction when it grows up?

5. Thinking back in search of an answer, I have often wondered why our parents forbade us such comics as Buster Brown, who lived in the days of Alexander's Ragtime Band and the leg-o'-mutton sleeve. He was a moral if misguided little boy. His virtues are clear when you compare him with a modern killer of fiends such as the Batman, a fiend's fiend. Whatever may be the vices of Superman, Buster was hopelessly good. In retrospect he looks like Little Lord Fauntleroy.

6. There are many strips which look similarly harmless. Moon Mullins still devotes himself exclusively to the simple old vices of wine, women, and song; and the improbabilities of Orphan Annie are lost in the flow of refugee children. Will our children in their turn look back and find Superman as far short of reality, and are we repeating the error of our parents? Did our parents forbid us Buster because they knew that Batman follows Buster? (And what could follow Batman I know not.) They said that the funny page was bad training for the grown-up world. It was not a way to nurture the habit of reading and study. That was what they said, but it wasn't quite what they meant; the comics are not a bad preparation for *Life* magazine or the "Roto" section.

7. Today only a library will yield forth Buster and his blacksheep brother the Yellow Kid, but if you look back there you will find that they represent the two sides of the industrial revolution. Times changed, but not the soul of Buster. Annie, too, has her fixed period. Hers is the generation between wars — the lost generation. Sad, wise, humorless little Annie is the child of *Farewell to Arms.*

8. Only on December 7 did the world catch up even to such comics as Terry and the Pirates. Terry had been Far East-minded since his beginning in the middle 1920's. He is a transfigured boy scout learning to cope with the wisdoms and cruelties of the East. He seems to grow at half-speed, and even at this leisurely pace it has taken us half a generation to catch up to his time by putting an army of Terries in China. Being Terry-minded hasn't done any of those soldiers any harm, and some are likely to read Terry nostalgically for many years. When you read Moon Mullins you're back three decades to the era when father carried his shoes in his hand if he came in after midnight. When you exchange Moon for Annie you move from the old prewar world to the newer postwar world. When you read Terry you have moved on from the era of the lost generation into today. And when you read a really recent strip like Superman? Do not doubt it, you read a caricature of tomorrow.

9. The tendency of the comics is to prolong a period by anticipating it before it arrives, sustaining it during its brief passage, and maintaining its illusion after it is gone.

II

10. Man has always feared change. When he has been shown the future he has resented it. When he finds it in the comics he resents it no less — and he forbids his child to have anything to do with it. That is why our parents were instinctively against Buster. For us the problem is the same as it was for our parents, and it is really our problem, not our children's.

11. There are only two ways to meet this problem: one is to shut your eyes to it, and the other is to open your arms to it. In terms of their generation, all that is said about the comic magazines by parents who confine themselves to the daily or Sunday funnies is true. It was bad enough when four pages became eight and when all eight came out in color. But to be able to sit down and read sixty-four pages of colored comics — for ten cents — and then read sixty-four more on a swap, and finally become a child with a library of this feebly vicious material, certainly seems the goalless excess of decadence. This is a sub-hell where the devil himself is disciplined.

12. True or not, this is true for you. In Buster our parents felt a new, picture-minded world and they resented it. Like our parents, we scent a changed world in the comics that our children read and we stick with Moon, with Orphan Annie, and with Terry, finding there a refuge from the front page and from the Batman.

13. Do not let a tempted eye which has strayed out of the lost world of Mutt and Jeff and Gasoline Alley into the present of Terry and the Pirates and Smilin' Jack Martin go into the world of tomorrow. There you are afraid. There only the men of tomorrow can take it. Do not try to deal with the world of Flash Gordon. Don't try to get around with Zatara the magician, with Captain Marvel, or with the Shadow, or the Flame, or the Torch, or the Phantom, or Toro, or Lightning, or Captain America and Bucky, or Spy Smasher, or Magno, or Bullet Man and his flame Bullet Girl. Don't slip into the new dark age with Prince Valiant. Even Superman can hardly take that stuff. Leave the world of tomorrow to the men of tomorrow, but remember that the men of tomorrow are the children of today.

III

14. That is how to shut your eyes to the menace. If you are to open your arms to it, you must look more deeply into your own guilty reading of the comics and into that of your child whose guilt you have cultivated. Suppose that you wish to look into the sphinx's eye. How can the nightmares that you see there come true?

15. For one thing, when you look at the comics you read and the comics your child reads, you will realize – and perhaps nobody has ever had such a chance to realize it before – how different is your child's stake in the world from your own. Before your eyes, and with the dime that he chisels off you, that child is planning the new world, searching for new strength to deal with the old evil which has found wheels and wings. He has already discounted your world – the old world.

16. His search is not without effort and discrimination. You will find, for example, that a few of the thoughtful people interested in child education have begun to point out that the children who read comics are also the children who read books. They are, in fact, simply children who read. It's even thought that the comics tend

slightly to make readers of children who might not otherwise get the reading habit. Children develop definite patterns of taste in comics: some like it hot, some like Mickey Mouse, some prefer to dwell even in the familiar old, old world of their grandparents with the Katzenjammers. A "good" child will select what at first glance will look to you like the worst comics. Each child's selection will give you something of a glimpse of his particular world problem. If you know the gamut of the comics, there can be for you a terrifying pathos in that pile of magazines in your child's life. For there are the dangers he accepts, which you, as you cling to Annie and Terry to escape the headlines, try not to foresee.

17. Not all comics deal with imaginary men of tomorrow. There is a comic magazine called *True Comics*. It is intended to be uplifting and is a fight-fire-with-fire sort of tactic, started by *Parents' Magazine*. It was bad to start with, but now it is full of hard fact in a Superman package. Your child reads it and he thinks that everyone knows that Chiang Kai-shek was a stockbroker who got wiped out in a depression in 1920 and that he divorced a first wife to marry Mayling Soong. He has a method of learning certain kinds of information far more efficient than any you encountered. The picture-caption-diagram-caption never was put to really effective use in the days when our minds were open, the days when we learned the things we remember. In the comics this most effective technique works overtime, and the things that it teaches are very far from the trivial misdemeanors of Buster Brown. This is the making of 1960, for that is when some of these children will find themselves in power.

18. As you go yet more deeply into the pile of comics, you will see how, under the stimulus of the comic horror of tomorrow, this same child begins to turn to the practical side of miracle making. Next the shelf that holds the comics you will find a shelf of magazines with titles such as *Mechanix Illustrated* and *Modern Design*. You will find them amongst the mess of model airplane parts not far from the discarded streamlined train. With the same affection that you learned to spot an Overland or Maxwell these children identify a P-40 or a B-26. They live in a world of strange machines, a less social world than ours – more lonely; a world where the law is likely to fail and a man must be able to look out for him-

self. Those are a few of the ways by which the comic is transmitted into fact. And there are other more contemporary ways in which you can watch this unreal world of tomorrow being converted into the real world of today.

IV

19. Our comics are on the noses of our fighting planes, and do you remember where you met the Jeep? He was sent to Olive Oyl from the heart of Africa by her Uncle Ben Zene. He was almost Segar's last gift to the world before he died and Thimble Theatre passed into other hands. In 1936 Olive would have sold you that Jeep — his name was Eugene — for five bucks. The Jeep was a magic little animal who looked to be by Rikki-Tikki-Tavi out of Krazy Kat; he had a very red nose and all the answers. He had to be fed orchids. Well, there are a lot of Yankee mechanics concocting spare parts for jeeps in a land where there are plenty of orchids and no spare parts.

20. In the comic world a top-flight German official flew secretly to England from Germany only a short time before Hess did. To a comics-reading child the Hess flight would seem a thing to be expected. Finally, I know a little girl who wears her cardigan sweater buttoned once at the neck and flung back over her shoulders, the arms hanging free like dislocated wings. That's Superman style and it will be a mode in ten years when that little girl is grown.

21. When I was a child, my friends and I fought a war with lead soldiers that lasted nearly a year. It outstripped the war of '14 then in progress. It became by spring a war with a fluid front based on strong points, a highly mechanized force, and enormous fire-power concentrated in the hands of one man. A few of our tactics still grimly await fulfillment.

22. So, as the war of '39 has always been my War and Terry's War and perhaps even Daddy Warbucks's War, the struggles of '60 are those that go on now in the comics which we wisely denounce. Like all men in the storybooks and out of them, when we are shown the future we scoff with our minds — and with our souls we fearfully await fulfillment. Meanwhile, however, if you have stomach for tomorrow, don't feel guilty about adding the Phantom to

your repertoire. You can have the Twentieth Century all at once instead of day by day. Between *Puck*, the comic weekly founded around 1900, and *Planet Comics* you have time on a map. You can determine your progress and know what's around the bend.

23. It's all, all right with me. I can take it if the children can; there's only one thing that worries me, and that is: How will those children face their children, who will be the men of the day after tomorrow? After Captain America – what?

ANALYSIS

1. An understanding of the thought process behind this article may not be easy to arrive at. The following suggestions should be of some help:
   a. The main idea of the article is to be found in the single sentence that comprises Paragraph 9.
   b. The author had, no doubt, arrived at his main point in his own mind, in part at least, before he thought of the specific examples mentioned in Paragraphs 5–8. These specific examples he then cited first to carry the reader with him to his main point.
   c. In Paragraphs 19–21 the author gives four more concrete examples. These he could not well have thought of unless he had first had in mind the idea that they support.
   d. The other parts of the article contain little concrete evidence. They contain speculation upon the evidence given elsewhere.
   e. Therefore, we will conclude that the author first framed a question for himself – the question stated at the end of Paragraph 4. The second step in the thought process was to arrive at a hypothesis, a tentative answer after a preliminary examination of the evidence at his command. The third step, an important one, was to check this hypothesis by bringing to bear upon it all the items of evidence that he could think of.
   f. This process, though informally used here, is roughly the scientific method of procedure in induction.
   Go through the article carefully with these items in mind. At what points does the reasoning fall short of the scientific method?

2. Of what use is the introductory material that precedes the framing of the question at the end of Paragraph 4?

3. *a.* What kinds of comics does the author use to illustrate and support his generalization?
   b. Has he left out any significant groups?
   c. Is he under any obligation in an informal article to cover the whole field?

4. *a.* Are there any places in the article where the conclusions are stated along with a specific body of particulars?
   b. Do any other articles in this chapter employ the same technique?

5. *a.* Has Paragraph 11 been given any concrete foundation or is this thought unattached?

b. Why are there only two ways? Is the author convincing us here? Note that the topic sentence of Paragraph 11 is also the topic sentence for the section including Paragraphs 11–18.

AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN OHIO*

By Mrs. Trollope

1. MOHAWK, as our little village was called, gave us an excellent opportunity of comparing the peasants of the United States with those of England, and of judging the average degree of comfort enjoyed by each. I believe Ohio gives as fair a specimen as any part of the Union; if they have the roughness and inconveniences of a new state to contend with, they have higher wages and cheaper provisions; if I err in supposing it a mean state in point of comfort, it certainly is not in taking too low a standard.

2. Mechanics, if good workmen, are certain of employment, and good wages, rather higher than with us; the average wages of a laborer throughout the Union is ten dollars a month, with lodging, boarding, washing, and mending; if he lives at his own expense he has a dollar a day. It appears to me that the necessaries of life, that is to say, meat, bread, butter, tea, and coffee (not to mention whiskey), are within the reach of every sober, industrious, and healthy man who chooses to have them; and yet I think that an English peasant, with the same qualifications, would, in coming to the United States, change for the worse. He would find wages somewhat higher, and provisions in western America considerably lower; but this statement, true as it is, can lead to nothing but delusion if taken apart from other facts, fully as certain, and not less important, but which require more detail in describing, and which perhaps cannot be fully comprehended, except by an eye-witness. The American poor are accustomed to eat meat three times a day; I never inquired into the habits of any cottagers in western America, where this was not the case. I found afterward in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other parts of the country, where the price of meat was higher, that it was used with more economy; yet still a much larger portion of the weekly income is thus ex-

* From *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832).

pended than with us. Ardent spirits, though lamentably cheap,[1] still cost something, and the use of them among the men, with more or less of discretion, according to the character, is universal. Tobacco also grows at their doors, and is not taxed; yet this too costs something, and the air of heaven is not in more general use among the men of America than chewing tobacco. I am not now pointing out the evils of dram-drinking, but it is evident, that where this practice prevails universally, and often to the most frightful excess, the consequence must be, that the money spent to obtain the dram is less than the money lost by the time consumed in drinking it. Long, disabling, and expensive fits of sickness are incontestably more frequent in every part of America than in England, and the sufferers have no aid to look to, but what they have saved, or what they may be enabled to sell. I have never seen misery exceed what I have witnessed in an American cottage where disease has entered.

3. But if the condition of the laborer be not superior to that of the English peasant, that of his wife and daughters is incomparably worse. It is they who are indeed the slaves of the soil. One has but to look at the wife of an American cottager, and ask her age, to be convinced that the life she leads is one of hardship, privation, and labor. It is rare to see a woman in this station who has reached the age of thirty, without losing every trace of youth and beauty. You continually see women with infants on their knee, that you feel sure are their grandchildren, till some convincing proof of the contrary is displayed. Even the young girls, though often with lovely features, look pale, thin, and haggard. I do not remember to have seen in any single instance among the poor, a specimen of the plump, rosy, laughing physiognomy so common among our cottage girls. The horror of domestic service, which the reality of slavery, and the fable of equality, have generated, excludes the young women from that sure and most comfortable resource of decent English girls; and the consequence is, that with a most irreverend freedom of manner to the parents, the daughters are, to the full extent of the word, domestic slaves. This condition, which no periodical merrymaking, no village fête, ever occurs

[1] About a shilling a gallon is the retail price of good whiskey. If bought wholesale, or of inferior quality, it is much cheaper.

to cheer, is only changed for the still sadder burdens of a teeming wife. They marry very young; in fact, in no rank of life do you meet with young women in that delightful period of existence between childhood and marriage, wherein, if only tolerably well spent, so much useful information is gained, and the character takes a sufficient degree of firmness to support with dignity the more important parts of wife and mother. The slender, childish thing, without vigor of mind or body, is made to stem a sea of troubles that dims her young eye and makes her cheek grow pale, even before nature has given it the last beautiful finish of the fullgrown woman.

4. "We shall get along," is the answer in full, for all that can be said in way of advice to a boy and girl who take it into their heads to go before a magistrate and "get married." And they do get along, till sickness overtakes them, by means perhaps of borrowing a kettle from one and a teapot from another; but intemperance, idleness, or sickness will, in one week, plunge those who are even getting along well into utter destitution; and where this happens, they are completely without resource.

5. The absence of poor-laws is, without doubt, a blessing to the country, but they have not that natural and reasonable dependence on the richer classes which, in countries differently constituted, may so well supply their place. I suppose there is less almsgiving in America than in any other Christian country on the face of the globe. It is not in the temper of the people either to give or to receive.

6. I extract the following pompous passage from a Washington paper of February, 1829 (a season of uncommon severity and distress), which I think justifies my observation.

7. "Among the liberal evidences of sympathy for the suffering poor of this city, two have come to our knowledge which deserve to be especially noticed: the one a donation by the President of the United States, to the committee of the ward in which he resides, of fifty dollars; the other a donation by a few of the officers of the war department to the Howard and Dorcas societies, of seventy-two dollars." When such mention is made of a gift of about nine pounds sterling from the sovereign magistrate of the United States, and of thirteen pounds sterling as a contribution from one of the

state departments, the inference is pretty obvious, that the sufferings of the destitute in America are not liberally relieved by individual charity.

8. I had not been three days at Mohawk-cottage before a pair of ragged children came to ask for medicine for a sick mother; and when it was given to them, the eldest produced a handful of cents, and desired to know what he was to pay. The superfluous milk of our cow was sought after eagerly, but every newcomer always proposed to pay for it. When they found out that "the English old woman" did not sell any thing, I am persuaded they by no means liked her the better for it; but they seemed to think, that if she were a fool it was no reason they should be so too, and accordingly the borrowing, as they called it, became very constant, but always in a form that showed their dignity and freedom. One woman sent to borrow a pound of cheese; another half a pound of coffee; and more than once an intimation accompanied the milk jug, that the milk must be fresh and unskimmed: on one occasion the messenger refused milk, and said, "Mother only wanted a little cream for her coffee."

9. I could never teach them to believe, during above a year that I lived at this house, that I would not sell the old clothes of the family; and so pertinacious were they in bargain-making, that often, when I had given them the articles which they wanted to purchase, they would say, "Well, I expect I shall have to do a turn of work for this; you may send for me when you want me." But as I never did ask for the turn of work, and as this formula was constantly repeated, I began to suspect that it was spoken solely to avoid uttering that most un-American phrase "I thank you."

10. There was one man whose progress in wealth I watched with much interest and pleasure. When I first became his neighbor, himself, his wife, and four children, were living in one room, with plenty of beefsteaks and onions for breakfast, dinner, and supper, but with very few other comforts. He was one of the finest men I ever saw, full of natural intelligence and activity of mind and body, but he could neither read nor write. He drank but little whiskey, and but rarely chewed tobacco, and was therefore more free from that plague-spot of spitting which rendered male colloquy so difficult to endure. He worked for us frequently, and often

used to walk into the drawing-room and seat himself on the sofa, and tell me all his plans. He made an engagement with the proprietor of the wooded hill before mentioned, by which half the wood he could fell was to be his own. His unwearied industry made this a profitable bargain, and from the proceeds he purchased the materials for building a comfortable frame (or wooden) house; he did the work almost entirely himself. He then got a job for cutting rails, and, as he could cut twice as many in a day as any other man in the neighborhood, he made a good thing of it. He then let half his pretty house, which was admirably constructed, with an ample portico, that kept it always cool. His next step was contracting for the building of a wooden bridge, and when I left Mohawk he had fitted up his half of the building as an hotel and grocery store; and I have no doubt that every sun that sets sees him a richer man than when it rose. He hopes to make his son a lawyer, and I have little doubt that he will live to see him sit in Congress; when his time arrives, the woodcutter's son will rank with any other member of Congress, not of courtesy, but of right, and the idea that his origin is a disadvantage, will never occur to the imagination of the most exalted of his fellow citizens.

11. This is the only feature in American society that I recognize as indicative of the equality they profess. Any man's son may become the equal of any other man's son, and the consciousness of this is certainly a spur to exertion; on the other hand, it is also a spur to that coarse familiarity, untempered by any shadow of respect, which is assumed by the grossest and the lowest in their intercourse with the highest and most refined. This is a positive evil, and, I think, more than balances its advantages.

12. And here again it may be observed, that the theory of equality may be very daintily discussed by English gentlemen in a London dining room, when the servant, having placed a fresh bottle of cool wine on the table, respectfully shuts the door, and leaves them to their walnuts and their wisdom; but it will be found less palatable when it presents itself in the shape of a hard, greasy paw, and is claimed in accents that breathe less of freedom than of onions and whiskey. Strong, indeed, must be the love of equality in an English breast if it can survive a tour through the Union.

13. There was one house in the village which was remarkable for

its wretchedness. It had an air of *in*decent poverty about it, which long prevented my attempting an entrance; but at length, upon being told that I could get chicken and eggs there whenever I wanted them, I determined upon venturing. The door being opened to my knock, I very nearly abandoned my almost blunted purpose; I never beheld such a den of filth and misery: a woman, the very image of dirt and disease, held a squalid imp of a baby on her hip bone while she kneaded her dough with her right fist only. A great lanky girl, of twelve years old, was sitting on a barrel, gnawing a corn cob; when I made known my business, the woman answered, "No, not I; I got no chickens to sell, nor eggs neither; but my son will, plenty I expect. Here, Nick" (bawling at the bottom of a ladder), "here's an old woman what wants chickens." Half a moment brought Nick to the bottom of the ladder, and I found my merchant was one of a ragged crew, whom I had been used to observe in my daily walk, playing marbles in the dust, and swearing lustily; he looked about ten years old.

14. "Have you chicken to sell, my boy?"

"Yes, and eggs too, more nor what you'll buy."

15. Having inquired price, condition, and so on, I recollected that I had been used to give the same price at market, the feathers plucked, and the chicken prepared for the table, and I told him that he ought not to charge the same.

16. "O, for that, I expect I can fix 'em as well as ever them was, what you got in market."

"You fix them?"

"Yes, to be sure, why not?"

"I thought you were too fond of marbles."

He gave me a keen glance, and said, "You don't know I. When will you be wanting the chickens?"

17. He brought them at the time directed, extremely well "fixed," and I often dealt with him afterward. When I paid him, he always thrust his hand into his breeches pocket, which I presume, as being *the keep*, was fortified more strongly than the dilapidated outworks, and drew from thence rather more dollars, half-dollars, levies, and fips, than his dirty little hand could well hold. My curiosity was excited, and though I felt an involuntary disgust towards the young Jew, I repeatedly conversed with him.

18. "You are very rich, Nick," I said to him one day, on his making an ostentatious display of change, as he called it; he sneered with a most unchildish expression of countenance, and replied, "I guess 'twould be a bad job for I, if that was all I'd got to show."

19. I asked him how he managed his business. He told me that he bought eggs by the hundred, and lean chicken by the score, from the wagons that passed their door on the way to market; that he fatted the latter in coops he had made himself, and could easily double their price, and that his eggs answered well too, when he sold them out by the dozen.

20. "And do you give the money to your mother?"

"I expect not," was the answer, with another sharp glance of his ugly blue eyes.

"What do you do with it, Nick?"

His look said plainly, what is that to you? but he only answered, quaintly enough, "I takes care of it."

21. How Nick got his first dollar is very doubtful; I was told that when he entered the village store, the person serving always called in another pair of eyes; but having obtained it, the spirit, activity, and industry, with which he caused it to increase and multiply, would have been delightful in one of Miss Edgeworth's dear little clean bright-looking boys, who would have carried all he got to his mother; but in Nick it was detestable. No human feeling seemed to warm his young heart, not even the love of self-indulgence, for he was not only ragged and dirty, but looked considerably more than half starved, and I doubt not his dinners and suppers half fed his fat chickens.

22. I by no means give this history of Nick, the chicken merchant, as an anecdote characteristic in all respects of America; the only part of the story which is so, is the independence of the little man, and is one instance out of a thousand, of the hard, dry, calculating character that is the result of it. Probably Nick will be very rich; perhaps he will be president. I once got so heartily scolded for saying that I did not think all American citizens were equally eligible to that office, that I shall never again venture to doubt it.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* What is the relationship between the comparison of the peasants of the United States with those of England and the whole purpose and conclusion of the article?
   b. Where does Mrs. Trollope state her conclusion?
2. *a.* Explain the function and purpose of the first five paragraphs.
   b. Are there any particulars in this part of the essay that support the frequent generalizations?
   c. Did Mrs. Trollope, however, have concrete evidence in mind?
3. *a.* Point out the number and kinds of particulars Mrs. Trollope uses in the essay. What main kinds are there?
   b. Does she use material wholly substantiated by personal experience or does she rely on occasion upon more indirect evidence?
4. *a.* What do you think of Mrs. Trollope's reasoning and conclusion?
   b. Does it seem justified in view of the evidence she uses?
5. Why is this passage called "informal" induction? Explain.

I PICK 'EM UP*

By Bergen Evans

1. WHEN A BOY of high school age was sentenced in St. Louis last year for the murder of five different people from whom he had begged rides along the highway, a hundred tales of horror were substantiated.

2. You hear them everywhere: X had his pocket picked by a hitch-hiker, Y was sued, and Z now sleeps in the old churchyard! And when the wind cries in the chimney and the lights burn blue, we are told even more eerie things. There is the seductive girl in sables who said that her Duesenberg had broken down and begged a lift to the next town. Overpowered by her charm, the simple Samaritan forgot that the next town was just across the state line and just under the Mann Act, and now he is the haggard and bankrupt victim of blackmail. Then there is the fragile old lady from beneath whose petticoat peeped the cuffs of a man's trousers or from whose knitting bag protruded the muzzle of a machine gun — I forget which. At any rate, the kindhearted motorist who was about to let her get into his car saw it in the nick of time and

* From *Scribner's Magazine*, February, 1939. Reprinted by permission of the author.

stepped on the accelerator. She's become quite a legendary figure, this dear old menace. She flits in the dusk on the outskirts of Chicago and appears in the dawn southwest of Denver. Late revelers have passed her on the Boston Post Road and the winter visitor sees her in Florida, where her artillery is sometimes hidden under Spanish moss and sometimes wreathed in orange blossoms.

3. She proves that "You *never* can tell." And the narrator of her exploits has an unfailing warning: "Don't pick 'em up! Don't pick *any* of 'em up!"
4. Still, I go on picking them up.
5. There *is* an element of danger in picking up a stranger along the highway. Not all of the stories are myths. People *have* been robbed, people *have* been sued, and people *have* been murdered by chance passengers.
6. Even so, I believe that for every instance of murderous ingratitude on the part of those who have begged rides there could be cited many instances of sincere gratitude.
7. I have picked up scores of vagrants. They have driven for me, have helped me with the tires and have fixed things about the car, and not one has ever threatened me.
8. That is, I think not one. There is one experience about which I am still uncertain. It was in California, south of Salinas on the way to Los Angeles. The man was standing by a railroad crossing, and I was too intent upon the possibility of an approaching train to examine him carefully, or I would never have stopped, for he was one of the toughest mugs I have ever seen. Tough in every way — his appearance, his manner, and his speech. There was an alarming friendliness about him too, a tendency to thwack me on the back or dig me in the ribs at critical moments on hills and curves. But as the day wore on, my concern vanished; he seemed to be a simplehearted bear, boisterous and boastful but innocent enough. After dark, however, he became silent, and my first impression of him revived a little. Beyond Ventura we had to make a detour. It was spitting rain, and the dirt road twisted through an impenetrable blackness. After about half an hour of complete silence, in which time we had passed no houses or cars, he suddenly said, "What'd you do if somebody stuck you up, some guy you'd

picked up maybe?" Startled, I could think of nothing but the truth: "I would *try* to stop the car," I said, "but I would probably be so scared that I would step on the gas and go over the cliff." And then, having regained my composure a little, "There's a lot of insanity in my family."

9. He didn't say a word, simply kept as far over on his side of the seat as he could get, with his hands plainly visible and motionless in his lap, until we came to the first street lights of Los Angeles; then he seized his paper parcel and, asking me to stop, scrambled out.

10. Safety, one way or the other, though, hasn't very much to do with it. I pick them up because I am sorry for them. Their appeal is elemental; they are footsore, tired, and hungry, and it's a little thing to let them sit in the car for a while.

11. But chiefly I pick them up because they are amusing and interesting. Strangers have none of the middle ground of talk; there is nothing between the weather and the stuff they live by.

12. You'll find everything, if you pick enough of them up, from rebellious boys ("*Anything* to get outa *that* dump!") to quiet, bewildered men reduced to vagabondage by some swift change in the methods of production. They have spent their best years learning a trade and cannot believe that they are no longer wanted; somewhere in the world there *must* be use for a man who can blow glass or work in wrought iron. They plead their cases with a tired persistence while the tires whine the miles away.

13. In contrast are those who are wanderers because they like the life and who support themselves by various ingenious occupations. The most bizarre member of this group that I ever encountered was a tattooed sword swallower. The tattooing, he told me, was to hold the interest of the crowd until enough people had collected to make it worth his while to swallow the sword. He allowed me to examine the short, dirty saber and the dirtier poker which he was accustomed to thrust into his vitals, and on my expressing the proper degree of astonishment, he even offered to teach me the art. Since it required, however, years of practice with polished ivory rods on an empty stomach, I declined with thanks. You got used to it in time, he urged; *he* could do it on a full meal. But I still declined. Later I had the queasy satisfaction of watching him per-

form. He recognized me in the audience, honored me with a gesture of salutation, and insisted that I was not to contribute.

14. More pleasant to remember is a little boy I picked up one summer evening in Utah, between Nephi and Moroni, where the road turns east and south to pass between the Nebo and the San Pitch ranges. I had been crawling all afternoon at about five miles an hour through great herds of sheep that were moving north towards Provo. The air had been acrid and choking with dust, and the bleatings and patter of hoofs — at first pleasant — had become highly irritating after three or four hours. One of the herders told me that I would find a clear road twenty miles to the east, and so at Nephi I cut over to it.

15. And it was on the connecting road, on the brow of a rise between the mountain ranges, that I came on this boy, a child of about ten, trudging along with a lamb in his arms. He did not ask for a ride, but he seemed so tiny, so alone in the vastness of the hills and the twilight, that I stopped and asked him if he would like to get in. He said, yes, thank you, he would like it very much because it would get him home in time for supper; he had ten miles to go and was hungry. Seated in the car with the lamb in his lap, half-hidden under his jacket, he explained that it was a *lostling,* one whose mother had died. Ordinarily, he said, the shepherds feed them from bottles or find a sheep whose lamb has died and tie the dead lamb's skin around the orphan — for the ewes, though they will not feed a strange lamb, seem to know their own solely by smell. But during the annual migrations there is no time for such attentions and the lostlings, too weak from lack of food to keep up with the herd, are left to die.

16. The sheepherders will gladly give them to anyone who wants them. And so he had taken to walking along behind the herds, waiting for a chance stray. It was hard work for a child. The day that I picked him up he had followed the herds fifteen miles and had carried the lamb five on the way home. He had started, he told me, early in the morning, carrying a lunch, and if I had not given him a ride he would not have reached home before midnight. The possibility did not alarm him; he had often walked that far before. His father, a farmer, staked him to skim milk to feed his lambs. The year before, he had acquired a flock of thirty-four

and this year already had eighteen. At the mention of such numbers I became more respectful; I had picked up a man of substance.

17. I don't generally pick up boys in their teens, but I make an exception of CCC boys. I like their energy and cheerfulness and their enthusiasm for the camps. I have picked them up by the dozens, in all parts of the country, and have yet to find one who was disgruntled or bitter. They are proud of being members of their camps. Many of them are beginning to be conscious of society, its benefits and responsibilities, and are thrilled at the discovery.

18. One CCC boy whom I picked up in western Pennsylvania only a few months ago asked me if I would stay and have supper with him at the camp. I was astonished to learn that he was allowed to have a guest, and he was astonished that I was astonished. And a little hurt. Why shouldn't he have a guest? What did I think it was, a prison? Ashamed, I made some floundering apology and stayed for a very good supper.

19. College boys, on the other hand, are rarely interesting. A college sticker on a suitcase is as good as a green light to me. They've all had too much psychology and spoil the natural charm of their ignorance by trying to be charming. They are little Dale Carnegies and proceed to put you at your ease.

20. They are too anxious to find out *your* interests. Whereas it is the man with overmastering interests of his own who makes the way seem short. Give me a crank or a crackpot every time, a fellow who can't wait to get into the car before he starts to expound or argue. Communism or some crazy diet, it's all one with me so long as he is excited about it.

21. One of my most vivid recollections is of a man whom I did *not* pick up. His name was Brother John, and I saw him in Prescott, Arizona, one morning several years ago. A rodeo was scheduled for the afternoon, and the streets were gay with ten-gallon hats, fleecy chaps, bright shirts, brisk little cow ponies, and all the other paraphernalia of the professional West. A microphone had been set up on the steps of the courthouse, and through rumbling amplifiers ballads and ballyhoo came in intermittent thunder. Now and then the man at the mike would ask some local celebrity to say

a word or two. Several politicians had assured the crowd of their undying devotion to its interests when a more interesting possibility presented itself in the form of Brother John. He was a prophet, he said, and his ruddy face, magnificent white beard, and flowing locks bore him out. He was barefooted and dressed in a sort of toga of white samite or percale, or whatever it was that prophets were wearing that season. In his hand he held a staff to which a banner was attached, and around his neck was hung on a red cord what seemed to be the nozzle of a fire hose.

22. The announcer asked him if he would care to address the people, and he said that he would. Thrusting himself through the crowd, he mounted the courthouse steps with solemn dignity and, applying the small end of his fire nozzle to his lips, blew into the microphone a blast which when amplified, almost tore away the cornice. And then in a voice scarcely less terrible, cried out the single word "Repent!"

23. *That* were a man to pick up! I never round a curve without looking eagerly down the road to see if he is not striding before me. And someday I will overtake him and offer him a ride. And then — with his bare feet on the dashboard and his trumpet clearing all before us — what brave things I shall learn! He will tell me of God's wrath, of Judgment Day and all the hardships of a prophet's life. He will speak of Beulah and of Signs to Come, lay bare the mystery of Mormon underwear, and justify the Amish Brethren because they use no buttons!

24. What a poor thing is safety compared with this!

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* What is the conclusion or generalization that the induction points to in this article? Is it clearly stated? Where?
   b. Could such a conclusion be arrived at through other sources of information than those the author uses? What are they?
2. Note carefully the way the article begins.
   a. Is this beginning a clear part of the inductive pattern?
   b. How does it fit in with the rest of the article?
   c. Where in the text does the author turn from the beginning to the actual body of the article?
   d. Point out the writing devices he uses to make this and other transitions between parts of his organization.

3. *a.* How many specific or particular incidents does the author use to support and clarify his conclusion?
   b. Do these incidents follow a clearly arranged and logical order, or a rhetorical order, one that is used merely because it has interest and creates emphasis?
4. *a.* Does Evans state his conclusion more than once?
   b. Does he relate directly his conclusion to each incident used to support it?
5. What changes would have to be made in this article to "formalize" the induction, that is, to shift the pattern away from informal induction?
6. Note the concessive pattern of the organization of the article as a whole, with the break coming at Paragraph 10. Note also the pattern of classification that is to be found from Paragraph 10 to the end.

THE NEGRO SCIENTIST*

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

1. I WAS on a dining car in Ohio last November when a little brown boy and his mother stopped at my table. She said he wanted to meet a man who had known his grandfather. I soon learned who the boy was. He had passed an intelligence test in Cincinnati lately and scored an I.Q. of 170, one of the highest in the city. I also remembered his grandfather. A—— always represented to me a tragedy in science. He was thin, brown, had close-curled hair, was ill-dressed and excessively shy. This man, a born student, was graduated from the University of Z—— in 1891 and became assistant in the Department of Biology. There he began his study of insects. His chief was called to the new University of Chicago when it was organized in 1892 and invited A—— to be his assistant. But unfortunately the chief soon died and no one at Z—— or Chicago desired a colored assistant.

2. A—— became a teacher in a small colored Methodist school in South Atlanta which had at the time about a dozen college students, no laboratories and few books. He received inadequate pay and a heavy teaching load. Nevertheless he stuck to his work. Between 1908 and 1933 he published nine interesting studies of insect behavior in *Psyche,* the *Biological Bulletin,* and the *Journal of Animal Behavior.* He watched the dance of the mellissodes and the habits of the mud dauber, the bees and the ant lion. These

* From *The American Scholar,* Summer, 1939. Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the author.

brought him notice and attention among scientists in both America and Europe; but the only appointment carrying a living wage that he was able to get was in the Negro Sumner High School in St. Louis. There he stayed until he died of overwork. He was a promising scientist; with even fair opportunity he ought to have accomplished much; but his color hindered him.

3. Some time ago a great American scientist noted in public print how few Negroes had made their mark in science. They were heard of in music and literature, on the stage, in painting and in some departments of public life, but not often in exact science. I called his attention to the fact that it was not easy for an American Negro to pursue science and he admitted that there might be difficulties. But I think that along with most Americans his private belief was that the exact and intensive habit of mind, the rigorous mathematical logic demanded of those who would be scientists is not natural to the Negro race.

4. I believe he was wrong and for that reason I am going to point to the careers of several Negroes, in addition to A——, who seem to have had the mental equipment requisite for scientific accomplishment and who have done work of a high order, but who never had the best facilities or even a good opportunity to accomplish first-rate work opened to them. To avoid unpleasant notoriety I have substituted letters for the names of persons and institutions. Judgment here is of course not infallible and it is quite possible that in some cases difficulties of temperament and personality, inability to fulfill the earlier promise of a career and a number of other things hampered these men rather than a mere matter of color prejudice. But I do not think so and to show the reasonableness of my thesis I want to set down the main facts of their careers. There are twelve Negro scholars listed in *American Men of Science.* Of these, eight were teaching in Negro colleges; three were teaching in white institutions and one was in a museum of Natural History. Two or three men, like B—— whom I mention below, were omitted although they deserve inclusion.

5. Dr. B—— entered medical school just as S. Weir Mitchell gave the hospitals for the insane that bitter drubbing in which he accused them of simply incarcerating the insane while they did nothing to further the study of insanity. Out of this attack arose a new

movement in American psychiatry. Dr. B—— was one of the earliest workers in the new field. He was graduated at the Y—— Medical School and given a place on the staff of X—— Insane Asylum in New England. There he became in succession intern, assistant pathologist, pathologist and director of psychiatry from 1891 to 1920. He began systematic and laboratory experiments, from time to time read the results of his findings before the American Medico-Psychological Society and other organizations, and was a member of the chief psychiatric societies of the United States. He was regarded as one of the leading authorities on psychiatry in the United States — evidenced by the fact that as work in psychiatry was organized in various points throughout the nation, Dr. B—— was time and again asked to join the new staff being brought together. As soon, however, as it was learned by correspondence or interview that he was colored the invitations were withdrawn or the matter was allowed to drop.

6. Between 1909 and 1931 Dr. B—— was connected with the medical school of Y—— University and taught there for twenty-two years as Instructor in Neurology, Lecturer in Neuropathology, Assistant Professor and Associate Professor of Neurology. During his last five years with the institution he served as the actual head of the Department of Neurology, a position which was vacant, but he never received the title. Finally a white assistant professor was made professor and placed at the head of the department. Dr. B—— resigned. He refused to complain. "I thoroughly dislike publicity of that sort and despise sympathy. I regard life as a battle in which we win or lose. As far as I am concerned, to be vanquished, if not ingloriously, is not so bad after all." He does, however, admit that "with the sort of work I have done, I might have gone farther and reached a higher plane, had it not been for my color."

7. Another case is that of C——. C—— is an instructor in the W—— Medical School and chief of the Wassermann Laboratory in the State Health Department. His test for syphilis is said to be better than the Wassermann test in some respects. Yet this man, who is one of the foremost authorities on syphilis in the United States, has received no promotion at W——, occupies no assured position and recently refused a distinction conferred upon him by

a Negro organization for fear that emphasis upon his color would handicap him even more than it has already.

8. D—— is professor of zoology at a Negro university. His work in the biology of the cell surface is outstanding. He has contributed a chapter to Cowdry's *General Cytology* and to a similar German work. His own volume, *The Biology of the Cell Surface,* has just been published. For twenty-five years he has worked during the summers at the celebrated laboratories at V——. As the leading authority in methods there he was consulted by staff and students alike. Contrary to almost invariable precedent, however, he has never been named an instructor at V—— and has never but once received a call from a leading university. That came in his earlier career and was an offer of an assistantship. Although he was a friend of the greatest American scholar of general physiology, a man who admired him and his work, D—— was never invited to occupy a research position. Finally he ceased going to V—— because of the treatment which his wife had to endure one summer when he took her with him. D—— was once vice president of the American Society of Zoologists but he never became president, a quite usual promotion. There seems to be no explanation for the treatment of D—— but his color. Personally both he and his wife are modest, pleasant and unassuming.

9. E—— was professor of chemistry at a colored university but was forced to resign for reasons which the president and many of the trustees did not regard as adequate. There was no question as to his training and his ability in chemistry. He became Graduate Research Counselor at U——, a well known Western university. From 1934 to 1937 his course in chemistry was currently reported to be the most popular in the institution and despite his Negro blood he stood well with the president and the administration. But any chance for continuing his work there or for securing promotion was frustrated by the propaganda of the American Legion. He resigned and became the head of the Research Department of the T—— Company where he has twelve white chemists working under him. Commerce welcomed what the educational world rebuffed.

10. F—— is Associate Professor of Pathology at S—— University. He was a long time in getting his promotion and according to latest

information has never had any classes assigned him. Yet he is said to know his subject well.

11. Discrimination has also been evident in the social sciences. For years O—— University had a Negro librarian. He was a man of training and ability, was handsome and alert, held office in the state organization and stood high among librarians. But he told me he was convinced his library would not be developed and would get no adequate appropriation so long as he remained in charge. The authorities would not oust him but they would not foster the library or follow his recommendations. He believed that there he was at the end of his career and he resigned to become librarian of a colored college where he felt he was at least wanted and needed.

12. It has been difficult for Negroes to become fellows of the American College of Surgeons. Many years ago a Negro from Chicago was elected. Since that time there have been several others who according to general report deserved election but could not get it. H—— had done excellent work in research, had had several papers published and was head surgeon in one of the greatest hospitals of America – but it was a hospital that served a Negro neighborhood. After many rebuffs he was elected to the College – reputedly because he was backed by white colleagues who belonged to N——, one of the most powerful political organizations of America. Without their determined assault it is very doubtful that despite his outstanding work he would have been accepted on his merits.

13. As I have said, it would not be possible for an outsider to prove that in all these instances the scientific work was flawless or that difficulties of personality did not in some cases hinder promotion. Yet certainly, taking them all together and examining the work done and the character of mind and technique, it seems fair to conclude that had these men not been of Negro descent they would have been offered a broader and better chance to carry on scientific work.

14. For a young man a career in science depends almost entirely upon academic appointment and promotion. Even persons of independent means need the academic atmosphere, the use of labora-

tories, scientific collections and other facilities and the inspiration of intercourse with scientific men. What usually happens, therefore, is that a young man of ability in any particular field is during or after his college years picked out by a department and given an appointment as laboratory assistant or instructor. After that his rise to a permanent position and to an opportunity to do first-class work depends in large part upon his own capacities.

15. In the case of Negroes, however, these gates to selection are usually closed. One president of a leading New England college said of G—— (a cream-colored young man with curly hair) that he was the "most brilliant student of a generation." In addition he was handsome, healthy, well-bred and had pleasing manners. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, led his class and was valedictorian. He was never offered a position at any first-class institution. Instead he became an instructor at a Southern Negro institution but was unhappy in his work. He changed his specialty from English to anthropology and studied abroad. His work on blood groups is quoted with approval by Huxley and Haddon. He is now on a fellowship at R—— University.

16. White instructors throughout the country testify that they have had in their classes Negroes of unquestioned ability to pursue careers in science. One of them says:

> Nineteen of the leading professors of chemistry in the great universities of the country were questioned as to their experience with the Negro graduate student in chemistry. Their replies were highly gratifying to one interested in the advance of the Negro in higher education. . . . One biochemist of international reputation speaks of a Negro student who, to his mind, "is one of the most promising young physiological chemists in America. He has a keen, analytical mind, remarkable research technique, and in spite of the fact that he was the only Negro doing major work in our department, he was accepted as an equal by the forty or more graduate students majoring in this division." . . . Professors W. A. Hopkins, W. A. Noyes, and J. H. Reedy (by quotation) of the University of Illinois, listed nine Negro chemists (all but two of them former students at Illinois) who have done outstanding work or give great promise of productive careers in chemistry. A chairman of a great university department of chemistry, himself known internationally for his work in analytical and physical chemistry, writes of a Negro student and doctoral candidate, who, in a class of ninety in organic chemistry "easily

held his own with the best white students. In all of his chemical work, he has shown the same proficiency." [1]

17. It is probable that similar testimony might be gathered from other areas of the scientific world. Nevertheless most institutions, even those of first rank, shrink from facing this matter of color discrimination and appointing a man of ability despite his color. For instance, one president of Q—— during his three years' incumbency simply refused to admit Negro students. A professor at A—— objected to granting a fellowship to a colored man. The student's ability and desert were unquestioned – but "what could he find to do after he pursued such a course" and consequently "would he not become bitter like Du Bois?" Fortunately he was overruled and the fellowship was granted.

18. I once received from the Department of Economics at W—— College, one of the oldest and greatest in the land, very flattering testimony of the work in economics done by a Negro graduate student, H——, and a request to use my influence to have him placed in a colored institution. The matter was brought to the attention of the president of Atlanta University and he went to W——. He was told that H—— was a student of marked ability and had done first-class work. "Indeed," said the head of the department who was talking to Mr. Hope, "if he were not a colored man we would give him an appointment here." Mr. Hope looked so white it is possible the speaker did not realize to whom he was speaking.

19. At certain universities there has been evidence of discrimination in granting the Ph.D. degree to Negroes. At S—— University, for example, it is said that because of the unbending prejudice of one professor the doctorate in history is almost never granted to a Negro. In a recent comprehensive examination passed by a Negro candidate, M——, the secretary of a national scientific association, said to me, "I am glad Professor —— was not present or he would never have passed!"

20. From all this it is obvious that if young colored men receive scientific training almost their only opening lies in the Negro university of the South. This in itself has much to commend it. It

[1] S. W. Geiser, Fellow of the A.A.A.S.; head of the Department of Biology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas; author of "Lecture Outlines in General Biology," *Opportunity*, February, 1935.

should mean that some of the best-trained Negroes are going to teach their own youth and give them the advantage of superior education. But the difficulty here, of course, is that very few of these institutions have the facilities for research, nor can they grant teachers the time to devote to it. The young scientist who goes to such an institution is usually given a heavy load of teaching covering several branches of scientific work. If he can find any time for research he not only has few facilities at his disposal at the institution, but he has a body of college students handicapped by restricted high school and elementary school training. Few of them have seen laboratories before coming to college or have been used to rigorous scientific methods. Their English and their mathematics have suffered from poor teachers and short school terms.

21. Not only does the young Negro scientist find difficulty in pursuing scientific research in a Negro institution. He lives usually in an intellectual desert so far as the surrounding world is concerned. State libraries will lend books to colored students but usually the reader must be segregated in separate and often inconvenient rooms. Even in the Federal State Department in Washington, K—— (the dean of a colored college who was working in the archives) was placed in a room by himself. The libraries of colleges for white students will often lend books to colored institutions. Throughout the South some social study gatherings and some learned societies admit Negroes, but with various discriminations. In general the libraries, museums, laboratories, and scientific collections in the South are either completely closed to Negro investigators or are only partially opened and on humiliating terms.

22. Of course those colored graduates of Northern colleges who live in the South are never affiliated with the local alumni groups. This even goes so far as to discrimination against colored members of Phi Beta Kappa. One man (L——) writes me, "Some years ago I refused to make the full payment on my pledge for the construction of the new Phi Beta Kappa building at W——, because I had heard that Negroes were not to be admitted to the exercises at the opening."

23. In the matter of scholarships and prizes difficulties are often raised in the case of colored candidates. Today it is practically im-

possible for a Negro in the South even to enter the Rhodes Scholarships examinations. The Institute of International Education long hesitated to send colored men abroad as exchange students but lately has been prevailed upon to change its policy. In the high schools, through vocational advice and the general direction that teachers exercise over students, Negroes are repeatedly turned from contemplated careers in science. When a boy or girl wants to specialize in physics or biology he is asked, "Why do you choose this subject? What career will there be for you in it?" I have had many letters from students telling me of such advice and asking if it is true that there would be no chance for Negroes in certain lines of scientific work.

24. In the semiscientific, technical field, Negroes have a fair representation. The National Technical Association, as their society is called, has a membership of three hundred, made up of one hundred thirteen mechanical and electrical engineers, thirty-eight architects, twenty-three chemists and five men engaged in physical and biological research. It is interesting to remember that Lewis H. Latimer, a colored man, was one of the original Edison Associates.

25. One may say in answer to all this: so what? After all there are plenty of white men who can be trained as scientists. Why crowd the field with Negroes who certainly can find other socially necessary work? But the point is that ability and genius are strangely catholic in their tastes, regard no color line or racial inheritance. They occur here, there, everywhere, without rule or reason. The nation suffers that disregards them. There is ability in the Negro race — a great deal of unusual and extraordinary ability, undiscovered, unused and unappreciated. And in no line of work is ability so much needed today as in science.

26. I can remember the disappointment I myself met with in pursuing a scientific career. I started to work many years ago in sociology, a science then so new that Harvard would not recognize it and gave me a Ph.D. in history instead. Nevertheless I intended to use social science for the solution of the problems of the Negro and in November, 1897, I submitted to the American Academy of Political and Social Science my plan for an inquiry into that difficult area of social relationships. In 1899 I followed that up with a

book, *The Philadelphia Negro,* in which I pointed out that the study of the Philadelphia Negro had been made along the lines laid down in 1897, and was "thus part of a larger design of observation and research into the history and social condition of the transplanted Africans." I went on to say:

> It is my earnest desire to pursue this particular form of study far enough to constitute a fair basis of induction as to the present condition of the American Negro. The department of history and economics of Atlanta University, where I am now situated, is pursuing certain lines of inquiry in this general direction. I hope that funds may be put at our disposal for this larger and more complete scheme. Finally, let me add that I trust that this study with all its errors and shortcomings will at least serve to emphasize the fact that the Negro problems are problems of human beings; that they cannot be explained away by fantastic theories, ungrounded assumptions or metaphysical subtleties. They present a field which the student must enter seriously, and cultivate carefully and honestly. And until he has prepared the ground by intelligent and discriminating research, the labors of philanthropist and statesman must continue to be, to a large extent, barren and unfruitful.

27. I then went to Atlanta University where for thirteen years I worked at the carrying out of the plan. During those years I published fourteen monographs on the Negro problem. In the monograph of 1912 I said:

> There is only one sure basis of social reform and that is Truth — a careful, detailed knowledge of the essential facts of each social problem. Without this there is no logical starting place for reform and uplift. Social difficulties may be clear and we may inveigh against them, but the causes proximate and remote are seldom clear to the casual observer and usually are quite hidden from the man who suffers from, or is sensitive to, the results of the snarl. . . . The study is, therefore, a further carrying out of the plan of social study of the Negro American, by means of an annual series of decennially recurring subjects covering, so far as is practicable, every phase of human life. This plan originated at Atlanta University in 1896. The object of these studies is primarily scientific — a careful research for truth conducted as thoroughly, broadly and honestly as the material resources and mental equipment at command will allow. . . . In this work we have received unusual encouragement from the scientific world, and the published results of these studies are used in America, Europe, Asia and Africa. Very few books on the Negro problem, or any phase of it, have been published in the last decade which have not acknowledged their indebtedness to our work.

28. But to my great disappointment the work had to be given up. We asked only $5000 a year for its continued pursuit and out of that was paid my salary of $1200. The work was not of first-rate importance. It was handicapped by lack of funds, lack of trained personnel and faulty scientific method. The astonishing thing about those Atlanta University publications was that from 1896 to 1910 we were the only institution in the world to make a social study of the results of the contact of the white and Negro race in America; and no matter how poorly that work was done it was recognized as important and unique by leaders of thought in practically every country in the world. For a quarter-century no study of the Negro or of race conditions in the South could be published without reference to and quotation from our work. Some of the best-known students of social science of our day – Frank B. Sanborn, Booker T. Washington, Jane Addams, Walter F. Wilcox, Florence Kelley, J. H. Dillard, Franz Boas – attended our conferences and cooperated in our work. Yet we were unable to raise the $5000 a year necessary to keep it going.

29. For twenty-five years I had to turn my attention to a career of propaganda, in an effort to convince the people of this country that Negroes ought to be given chances as men. In the last few years large sums of money have been given to Southern institutions, white and colored, and to departments of Northern institutions for pursuing under more favorable circumstances, with larger resources, with better technique and with better-trained people the same program of work we had begun in 1896. It is perhaps too much to say that our work failed solely because Negroes were doing it, but certainly America was not disposed to help until white folk took it up.

ANALYSIS

1. The following gives you, briefly, the organization of this article: (1) introduction, (2) statement of the problem, the thesis maintained, and discussion of the method used, (3) examination of cases, (4) general causal analysis, with two principal subdivisions, (5) conclusion, (6) author's own case.
   a. Go through the article carefully with this organization in mind marking off the division points.
2. What is the effect of introducing the selection with a concrete scene? Is this device a common one? Is it one that you might well use in writing of your own?

3. Note that the author also states his problem in terms of a concrete situation: the public statement by a great American scientist. Student writing all too often is in a vacuum, unattached to any particular body of ideas or events. Most students, consequently, need to learn how to give their papers focus by using a reference similar to the one made by the author here to the great American scientist.
4. The structure of this selection is quite formal. There may be some doubt about the rightness of including it in this section on informal induction. In Paragraph 5, for instance, the author takes considerable space to discuss the limitations of his study, his methods of procedure, and his omissions. These are usually features of a formal research paper. Some of the selections in Section IV may actually be less formal.
   a. Can you discover the reasons for its inclusion here under informal induction? Is the author claiming demonstration, or is he proceeding somewhat carefully in showing what he means?
5. Is there any pattern behind the order in which the cases appear?
6. Note the topic sentences in Paragraphs 11 and 12.
7. *a.* Why has the author not used his case material that appears in Paragraphs 15–20 in the earlier presentation of cases?
   b. What is the main point of the section comprised by these paragraphs?
   c. Study the pattern of the causal reasoning involved.
8. *a.* How does the subject matter in Paragraphs 21–24 differ from the subject matter in Paragraphs 15–20?
   b. Does Paragraph 14 prepare for discussion of all the material in Paragraphs 15–24?
9. If Paragraph 25 is the real conclusion, what is the author doing thereafter? What effect has this continuation?

WESTCHESTER WOMEN*

By Bruce Bliven

1. I HAVE been talking lately to my friend Beatrice, whom I have known for many years and of whose reliability as a witness I am certain. Beatrice, patting her permanent delicately with two fingers and smoothing down her neat tan uniform, with its white piqué collar and cuffs, deposes and says:
2. "I am a member of the sales force in one of New York's big smart stores. I work in the branch up in Westchester County. Never mind the exact name of the town; let's not get personal. Sure, I'm a college graduate: Wellesley '33. Lots of the girls are college

* From the *New Republic,* July 27, 1938. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

women, nowadays. Some of them don't have to work, and do it for fun. I need to, like most of the others.

3. "Our customers in the branch store are drawn exclusively from the upper-middle-class women of Westchester. The poor people who are within buying distance are afraid to enter our door, on account of the high prices. In three years I have learned plenty about wealthy women: plenty to turn your stomach, I mean. Don't get me wrong; I don't suggest that Westchester is a bit worse than any other place in the whole country where the average income in normal times is $10,000 a year and up. The women I see are good typical specimens of what happens when a lot of people don't have to work for their livings, have never had any real education, and exercise power that outruns the limits of their character.

4. "The most striking thing about these women is their amazing rudeness. I don't mean that they deliberately set out to hurt your feelings. I mean that they are so naively selfish and egotistical that it never occurs to them to respect the wishes, or to have consideration for the sensibilities, of people whom they class as servants — which means everyone they meet, except their own circle. Girls in the beauty shop tell me that two of these women will come in together and loudly discuss the most horrifyingly personal details of their own lives and those of their friends as though they were being served by robots instead of human beings. If there was ever anybody who believed in the divine right of royalty, it is the American upper class, thinking about itself. Maybe this is why they hate Roosevelt so terribly — because he is the only person who ever said boo to them and said it in such a way that they had to listen.

5. "Another impressive thing about them is that so many are dishonest. Our store, like all others in its class, has charge accounts and permits the return of unsatisfactory merchandise. The way Westchester women abuse this privilege is a disgrace. I am confident that our prices could be a good deal lower if it weren't for the financial burden caused by this kind of business.

6. "One of these women will come in and spend the morning shopping when she has no intention of buying anything. It gives her somewhere to go while her husband is in town, and she likes to

look at the new merchandise. She will 'buy' hundreds of dollars' worth, taking up hours of the time of one or more sales people. It will be delivered next morning, and the following day, back it all comes. She knows she doesn't intend to keep it, and the salesgirl knows, but we're not allowed ever to hint at this knowledge, though we may try gently to discourage her from sending home an unreasonable amount.

7. "Perhaps even worse is the woman who buys far beyond her husband's ability to pay. She simply tries to blackmail him into permitting her an impossible degree of extravagance. You'd be surprised if you knew how many Westchester women have had their charge accounts in all stores closed, on orders from their husbands.

8. "Many of them, regardless of their financial status, will abuse the charge-account privilege in another way, by ordering goods, using them and then sending them back to the store. Even if they have plenty of money, they think it is 'smart' to trick the store in this way. A woman who is going to an important social affair will buy an evening gown, have it altered and sent home, and then a few days later she sends it back on the ground that she did not like it. The gown shows conclusively that it has been worn for many hours, perhaps several times. They will do the same thing with hats, coats and even household equipment. Our chinaware department will tell you of women who have sent home a complete set of dinner ware and then returned it for credit without even having it washed thoroughly, so that remnants of food are still on the plates.

9. "An all-time record for this kind of thing, in my experience at any rate, was a woman who came into the shop wearing, under her dress, a bathing suit she had bought a few days earlier. She went into a dressing room, peeled off the suit, said calmly, 'This suit just simply didn't work out,' and asked for a credit on her account. Only the other day, an important customer came in with a coat that she had had for a week, announced she didn't like it and asked us to take it back. We found in one pocket a very dirty handkerchief, and in the other a lipstick. It will cost dollars to have that coat made presentable again so that it can go back in stock. Much of the merchandise sent back for credit has been so

badly used that it can never be sold again, at least to our clientele at our prices.

10. "The customers don't seem to know it, but they do a salesgirl harm if they order merchandise through her that afterwards comes back. The girl is of course penalized by having the amount deducted from her total sales; that is only fair. But more than that, if an unusually large percentage of her sales don't stick, she is likely to be discharged, on the ground that there must be something wrong with her selling ability or she wouldn't have so many dissatisfied customers.

11. "One thing I must say is that older women are usually the worst offenders. If the daughter of one of these wealthy families goes to college and then takes a job of any kind, she seems to absorb some feeling of business ethics. Some of these younger women buy the way a man does — walk in, say what they want, look at a couple of choices, make a selection, and are out and away. No man ever returns anything he has bought for himself, and business women are pretty good about it, too. The only complaint I can make about the men who come into our store, trailing behind a Westchester woman, is that about sixty per cent of them will make a pass at you if they get a chance. Well, I'm not *complaining* exactly; I would feel worse if they didn't, I guess.

12. "I don't want to go philosophical on you, but I must say that looking at the kind of women I meet makes me a little gloomy about the future of our civilization, and whither are we trending, and all that. These women and their husbands and fathers are supposed to be the finest flower of American civilization. Some of them, certainly, are swell; I'm not talking about the exceptions, but the averages. If all the money and advantages leave the average with very few morals or manners that will bear inspection, what's the answer?"

13. To which the reporter can only echo, What, indeed?

ANALYSIS

1. In talking about the structure of this selection, we are, of course, talking about the long quotation. The first and last paragraphs merely provide a framework for the quotation. The second and third paragraphs introduce the idea. Note that Paragraph 2 (like Paragraph 4 of *The Negro Scientist*) discusses limita-

tions, scope of the problem, and exceptions, and gives the speaker's credentials.

2. The charges against Westchester women fall into two classes.
   a. Mark off the places in the text where these occur. How many paragraphs are devoted to each?
   b. Are any actual cases cited to support the first of these? Is the support adequate?
   c. Are any actual cases cited to support the second? Is the support adequate?
3. In outlining this selection, what do you do with Paragraphs 11 and 12?
4. Where is the main point stated? Does it arise from the secondary generalizations or directly from the cases cited?

PALEFACE AND REDSKIN*

By Philip Rahv

1. VIEWED historically, American writers appear to group themselves around two polar types. Paleface and redskin I should like to call the two, and despite occasional efforts at reconciliation no love is lost between them.

2. Consider the immense contrast between the drawing-room fictions of Henry James and the open air poems of Walt Whitman. Compare Melville's decades of loneliness, his tragic failure, with Mark Twain's boisterous career and dubious success. At one pole there is the literature of the low-life world of the frontier and of the big cities; at the other the thin, solemn, semiclerical culture of Boston and Concord. The fact is that the creative mind in America is fragmented and one-sided. For the process of polarization has produced a dichotomy between experience and consciousness — a dissociation between energy and sensibility, between conduct and theories of conduct, between life conceived as an opportunity and life conceived as a discipline.

3. The differences between the two types define themselves in every sphere. Thus while the redskin glories in his Americanism, to the paleface it is a source of endless ambiguities. Sociologically they can be distinguished as patrician vs. plebeian, and in their esthetic ideals one is drawn to allegory and to the distillations of symbolism, whereas the other inclines to a gross, riotous

* From *The Kenyon Review,* Summer, 1939. Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the author.

naturalism. The paleface is a "highbrow," though his mentality – as in the case of Hawthorne and James – is often of the kind that excludes and repels general ideas; he is at the same time both something more and something less than an intellectual in the European sense. And the redskin deserves the epithet "lowbrow" not because he is badly educated – which he might or might not be – but because his reactions are primarily emotional, spontaneous, and lacking in personal culture. The paleface continually hankers after religious norms and tends toward a refined estrangement from reality. The redskin, on the other hand, accepts his environment, at times to the degree of fusion with it, even when rebelling against one or another of its manifestations. At his highest level the paleface moves in an exquisite moral atmosphere; at his lowest he is genteel, snobbish, and pedantic. In giving expression to the vitality and to the aspirations of the people, the redskin is at his best; but at his worst he is a vulgar anti-intellectual, combining aggression with conformity and reverting to the crudest forms of frontier psychology.

4. James and Whitman, who as contemporaries felt only disdain for each other, are the purest examples of this dissociation. In reviewing *Drum Taps* in 1865 the young James told off the grand plebeian innovator, advising him to stop declaiming and go sit in the corner of a rhyme and meter school,[1] while the innovator, snorting at the novelist of scruples and moral delicacy, said "Feathers!" Now this mutual repulsion between the two major figures in American literature would be less important if it were mainly personal or esthetic in reference. But the point is that it has a profoundly national and social-historical character.

5. James and Whitman form a kind of fatal antipodes. To this, in part, can be traced the curious fact about them that, though each has become the object of a special cult, neither is quite secure in his reputation. For most of the critics and historians who make much of Whitman disparage James or ignore him altogether, and vice versa. Evidently the high valuation of the one is so incongruous with the high valuation of the other that criticism is chroni-

[1] In *A Backward Glance* Edith Wharton relates that in his old age James liked to recite Whitman's poetry. But if he changed his mind about Whitman he certainly kept it a secret so far as any public expression is concerned.

cally forced to choose between them – which makes for a breach in the literary tradition without parallel in any European country. The aristocrat Tolstoy and the tramp Gorky found that they held certain values and ideas in common, whereas James and Whitman, who between them dominate American writing of the nineteenth century, cannot abide with one another. And theirs is no unique or isolated instance.

6. The national literature suffers from the ills of a split personality. The typical American writer has so far shown himself incapable of escaping the blight of one-sidedness: of achieving that mature control which permits the balance of impulse with sensitiveness, of natural power with ideological depth. For the dissociation of mind from experience has resulted in truncated works of art, works that tend to be either naive and ungraded, often flat, reproductions of life, or else products of cultivation that remain abstract for the reason that they fall short on evidence drawn from the sensuous and material world. Hence it is only through intensively exploiting their very limitations, through submitting themselves to a process of creative yet cruel self-exaggeration, that a few artists have succeeded in warding off the failure that threatened them. And the later novels of Henry James are a case in point.

7. The palefaces dominated literature throughout the nineteenth century, but in the twentieth they have been overthrown by the redskins. Once the continent had been mastered, with the plebeian bourgeoisie coming into complete possession of the national wealth, and puritanism had worn itself out, degenerating into mere respectability, it became objectively possible and socially permissible to satisfy that desire for experience and personal emancipation which heretofore had been systematically frustrated. The era of economic accumulation had ended and the era of consummation had arrived. To enjoy life now became one of the functions of progress – a function for which the palefaces were temperamentally disqualified. This gave Mencken his opportunity to emerge as the ideologue of enjoyment. Novelists like Dreiser, Anderson, and Lewis – and, in fact, most of the writers of the period of "experiment and liberation" – rose against social conventions that society itself was beginning to abandon. They helped

to "liquidate" the lag between the enormous riches of the nation and its morality of abstention. The neo-humanists were among the last of the breed of palefaces, and they perished in the quixotic attempt to re-establish the old values. Eliot forsook his native land, while the few palefaces who managed to survive at home took to the academic or else to the "higher" and relatively obscure forms of writing. But the novelists, who control the main highway of literature, were and still are nearly all redskins to the wigwam born.

8. At present the redskins are in command of the literary situation, and seldom has the literary life in America been as intellectually impoverished as it is today. The political interests introduced in the nineteen thirties have not only strengthened their hold but also brought out their worst tendencies; for the effect of the popular political creeds of our time has been to increase their habitual hostility to ideas, sanctioning the relaxation of standards and justifying the urge to come to terms with semi-literate audiences.

9. The lowbrow writer in America is a purely indigenous phenomenon, the true-blue offspring of the western hemisphere, the juvenile in principle and for the good of the soul. He is a self-made writer in the same way as Henry Ford is a self-made millionaire. On the one hand he is a crass materialist, a greedy consumer of experience, and on the other a sentimentalist, a half-baked mystic listening to inward voices and watching for signs and portents. Think of Dreiser, Lewis, Anderson, Wolfe, Sandburg, Hemingway, Steinbeck, Saroyan: all writers of genuine and some even of admirable accomplishments, whose faults, however, are not so much literary as faults of raw life itself. Unable to relate himself in any significant manner to the cultural heritage, the lowbrow writer is always on his own; and since his personality resists growth and change, he must constantly repeat himself. His work is ridden by compulsions that depress the literary tradition, because they are compulsions of a kind that put a strain on literature, that literature more often than not can neither assimilate nor sublimate. He is the passive instead of the active agent of the *Zeitgeist,* he lives off it rather than through it, so that when his particular gifts happen to coincide with the mood of the times he seems modern and contemporary, but once the mood has passed he is in danger of being quickly discarded. Lacking the qualities of surprise and renewal,

already Dreiser and Anderson, for example, have a "period" air about them that makes a rereading of their work something of a critical chore; Faulkner's horror stories do not always retain any recognizable value; and one suspects that Hemingway, that perennial boy-man, is more accurately understood as a descendant of Natty Bumppo, the hero of Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking tales, than as the portentously disillusioned character his legend makes him out to be.

10. As for the paleface, in compensation for backward cultural conditions and a lost religious ethic, he has developed a supreme talent for refinement, just as the Jew, in compensation for adverse social conditions and a lost national independence, has developed a supreme talent for cleverness. (In this connection one might recall T. S. Eliot's description of Boston society, as "quite uncivilized, but refined beyond the point of civilization.") Now this peculiar excess of refinement is to be deplored in an imaginative writer, for it weakens his capacity to cope with experience and induces in him a fetishistic attitude to tradition; nor is this species of refinement to be equated with the refinement of artists like Proust or Mann, as in them it is not an element contradicting an open and bold confrontation of reality. Yet the paleface, being above all a conscious individual, was frequently able to transcend or to deviate sharply from the norms of his group, and he is to be credited with most of the rigors and charms of the classic American books. While it is true, as John Jay Chapman put it, that his culture is "secondary and tertiary" and that between him and the sky "float the Constitution of the United States and the traditions and forms of English literature" — nevertheless, there exists the poetry of Emily Dickinson, there is *The Scarlet Letter,* there is *Moby Dick,* and there are not a few incomparable narratives by Henry James.

11. At this point there is no necessity to enter into a discussion of the historical and social causes that account for the disunity of the American creative mind. In various contexts a number of critics have disclosed and evaluated the forces that have worked on this mind and shaped it to their uses. The sole question that seems relevant is whether history will make whole again what it has rent asunder. Will James and Whitman ever be reconciled, will they finally discover and act upon each other? Only history can

give a definite reply to this question. In the meantime, however, there are available the resources of effort and of understanding, resources which even those who believe in the strict determination of the cultural object need not spurn.

ANALYSIS

1. State in as simple a sentence as you can the generality, the final judgment or conclusion, that Mr. Rahv reaches in this article. Underline sentences in the text that express this conclusion.
   a. Is the conclusion stated at the beginning, end, or in both places?
   b. What is the value, for an article of informal induction, of the position in the article that the conclusion occupies?
2. *a.* Point out in the article the place where the author begins his assembly of instances that make up the inductive procedure.
   b. How many specific incidents or illustrations does he use?
3. Consider the first sentence in the third paragraph. How does the author demonstrate the validity of the statement? Is this a pattern of induction?
4. What, basically, determines the "informal" nature of the induction in this article?
5. *a.* To what extent does the author rely on the use of James and Whitman as "typical" illustrations of his point?
   b. Can you name others that might also illustrate much the same thing, other writers you are familiar with unmentioned by Mr. Rahv?
   c. Could illustrative instances be used from fields other than writing and literature? What are some?
6. Explain the nature of the last paragraph in the article, its relationship to the rest of the selection, its importance as a conclusion to the inductive process.

SAMPLE THEME SUBJECTS

Is it worth while for children to take music lessons against their wills? Think of as many examples as you can, analyze them, draw conclusions, explain.

I notice in this morning's paper that Superman says "Thisaway" for "This way." Can a casual search through one set of comic strips give you enough evidence for some analysis and generalization upon the nature of the language used by comic strip characters?

Are high school teachers better teachers than college professors? Your experience with college teaching techniques may be limited as yet, but you should be able to draw some tentative conclusions.

Have you read many detective stories? If so, what can you say about them? Are detective stories today as good as they used to be? Is it true that the murderer is always the character from whom you least expect evil action? Are the plots of detective stories becoming more intricate? In what ways does one detective story differ from another?

Do you know a number of people who read detective stories? Why do they do it? Does their reading harm them? Are they wasting their time? Can you marshal evidence from your experiences to support whatever assertions you choose to make?

Why do we speak only of detective stories? About what other kinds of reading matter are you an authority or semiauthority? Western stories? Love romances? True Story magazines? James Joyce (*Ulysses* communicated important meanings but *Finnegan's Wake* is too experimental)? Magazine verse? Do modern novels contain too many "four letter words"? The number of possible subjects here is almost infinite.

Did art classes in grade school help those students who had no natural aptitude for drawing or modeling? Think of examples, several of them, before you come to rigid conclusions.

Do athletics prove harmful to classroom work? Here again, as with the rest of these suggested subjects, think of as many instances as you can. Are athletes "dumb"?

What are the effects on college freshmen of being away from home for the first time?

Do college students have as much "school spirit" as high school students? (Note the difference between this subject and the hackneyed subject, "School Spirit." An essay on "School Spirit" usually involves many borrowed generalizations, unchecked, subjective, and unoriented to actuality, and it can usually be written without reference to actual experience. This subject demands specific analysis of actual behavior.)

The hitchhiker's point of view (the opposite face of the article by Bergan Evans).

Can you arrive at any generalizations about the food served in restaurants? To what extent do the restaurants of your region specialize in the kind of cookery that is peculiar to the region? What can you say about tipping from your experiences?

The manners of customers (for anyone who has clerked in a store).

Are businessmen, in general, honest or dishonest?

Is it true that teachers, generally, have certain favorites and give them better marks than they deserve?

Is there a caste system in the army?

In Chaucer's day, if we can judge by Chaucer's testimony, one could tell a man's occupation by his dress and by his mannerisms. To what extent is this true today?

How religious is the average man today?

Tastes in furniture, in pictures over the mantlepiece, in domestic architecture, in bric-a-brac.

What comments can you make, from your own observation, about the prevalence of certain species of game, birds, or plants in your region? One may notice that, in many of these suggested subjects, two lines of development are possible: (1)

to work out a new, rather specific idea, applicable often to a limited territory; (2) to handle an old, more general subject from the fresh point of view of your own experiences with it. Of the latter kind of development here, you might try to determine how well cats, dogs, possums, or any other kind of animal with which you are acquainted, can think.

3. SECONDARY SOURCE PAPERS

3

Secondary Source Papers

A KIND of writing with which every college student is faced sooner or later is the secondary source paper, or, as it is often referred to, the library investigative paper or the term paper. It should be clearly understood at the beginning that this kind of writing differs radically from most kinds in that it frankly involves the use of facts, interpretations, and opinions that are the property of other writers. Papers of this kind are original in a different sense from most papers. Because the materials are borrowed, it is necessary to indicate by means of footnotes the extent and the source of all borrowing even though the footnotes occupy a large amount of the space on each page. The chief originality of such papers lies in the blending, or putting together of information, interpretations, and authoritative opinion taken from many different sources, together with the organizing anew of these materials and the sound interpretations that bind the materials together.

Even if English instructors in their weaker moments say that they can tell the value of a library paper by examining the footnotes it contains, the student should not be led to believe that he has only to get together a loose string of quotations. Quotations appear frequently in most library papers, but they must be well integrated into the paper. The student must remember that he is still the writer of the paper and must control his material. His is still the brain that fits the pieces together and fabricates the unity which every good piece of writing should possess. Quotations or paraphrased passages he must use as he would use other material more clearly his own.

The library paper is a compilation of materials that have already been sifted from raw material by other writers; hence it is called a secondary source paper. The writer is collecting and arranging facts and judgments from other writers. He may discriminate between true and false data as he finds them treated by other writers, but he does not undertake an extensive search for primary data himself. In theory, the student should be able to write a primary source paper more easily than a secondary source paper; in practice, the opposite is true, since in his scholastic experience he has been required more often to put together the thoughts of other writers than to create thoughts from raw material. For this reason, the progression in this book is from secondary source papers to primary source papers.

The library paper is, then, the kind of job that entails work with secondary sources, with articles, chapters of books, compilations of material that deal with the subject of the student's choice. Usually he picks a topic for investigation, goes to the library, familiarizes himself with the bibliographical guides that should prove useful to him in finding the available material on his subject, uses the card catalogue of the library to find what pertinent books it has, and checks with the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* to discover what recent magazine articles touch upon his subject. While he is working with these bibliographical aids, he assembles a list of books, articles, and newspaper items that appear to have bearing on his subject. This list is the working bibliography. It is wise to assemble this bibliography on three-by-five cards, one bibliographical item on each card, so that some of the cards can be rejected and the whole alphabetized, with some cards separated from the others as more important. The student who tries to keep lists of references on standard notebook or typewriting size sheets of paper will soon find himself confused by the tangled mass of materials he possesses.

After he has achieved a promising looking bibliography, and not until then, the student should collect the volumes he needs from the library stacks and begin his reading. As he reads he should take notes. Since note-taking is an art in itself, some further comment will be made on it later. Notes also should be taken on cards, not on full-sized pieces of paper. The notes all taken, the student is then ready to begin his writing, provided his bibliographical references have uncovered a sufficient amount of pertinent material. By organizing his notes to

make them correspond to the outline he has decided upon for his paper, he has his materials at his side and can start to write.

Footnotes acknowledging the source of all borrowed ideas, information, or opinions are inserted at the bottom of the page on which the material is used (for form of footnotes, see below). Quotations less than three lines long are inserted normally into the text and are surrounded with quotation marks. Quotations longer than three lines are single spaced and slightly indented. In manuscripts a line is drawn across the bottom of the page between text and footnotes. A bibliography is made up, and, except for necessary revisions, the job is done. The student who follows this process step by step will find that the task is not so difficult as it may at first appear, but he should not put off beginning work until shortly before the paper is due. He will find himself overwhelmed if he does. He will be wise to follow directions.

Since a few special problems require fuller treatment here, these will now be taken up separately in more detail.

Finding a Sufficiently Small Subject

Most students try to tackle massive problems, problems which, if handled properly, would call for the writing of a large book. The first job, then, is to find a limited subject. Say the student is interested in Indians. That is a big subject. Consequently, he must limit it. He narrows his subject to the Navajos. The subject is still too big. He cuts it down to "The Economics of Navajo Life." That is better but perhaps still too big. He finally settles upon, "Changes in the Patterns of Navajo Economic Life Due to the Introduction of Modern Agricultural Machinery." Now he has a subject that he can exhaust, that he can fully develop in the time and space at his disposal. If, by using his ingenuity in the library, he cannot find enough material on this narrow subject, he may need to broaden it again somewhat. But if he can find the material scattered in many places, he should have a good paper as a result of the narrowing.

A special caution here is to avoid the subject already fully handled in some work available in the library. The average student is incapable of resisting the temptation to rely too heavily on a job that is already well done and even tries to hide the fact of his dependence somewhat dishonestly. If he is well along in his work and suddenly discovers an article that does just what he is doing, he should try to change

his subject so that he can still use the material he has gathered but with emphasis on a different point.

Learning When to Use Footnotes

You should use footnotes whenever you use ideas, information, or opinions that are not your own, whether you quote this material or paraphrase it. At times, when you use extensive material from one place in one source, you can make one footnote reference to all the material. In such cases, you should usually let the reader know at the time when you begin your borrowing that you are going to embark upon a large-scale borrowing. The single footnote reference then appears at the end of the passage. More commonly, however, you will use materials from several sources on each page. In these more typical cases, you insert the number referring to the footnote after each segment of borrowing. A footnote referring to a very small borrowing comes after the first mark of punctuation following the borrowing.

Learning to Make Footnotes in Proper Form

Although forms used in footnoting vary considerably from journal to journal or department of human inquiry to department of human inquiry, most journals and departments of human inquiry are sticklers for consistent and intelligible form. Consequently, the student should learn one system so that he can handle it well. It is not practicable to describe all variants, but one form is presented here. It is recommended that the student learn to use this form accurately for immediate use. If he discovers later that the department within which he is working specifies a different form, he can without much difficulty learn the new form simply because he has come to understand the main principles.

A. References to books in one volume:

[1] John Brown, *The Casablanca Conference* (New York, 1945), p. 62.
[2] C. D. Abrams, *Europe Today* (Boston, 1941), pp. 37–46.

B. References to books in more than one volume:

[1] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Edinburgh, 1787), II, 377.
[2] Wilson Williams, *Aspects of Sociology* (Boston, 1910), III, 227.
[3] Adam Protheroe, "Remarks on Junius" (1785), *British Essayists of the 18th Century*, ed. J. M. Markham (London, 1866), VII, 97–99.

C. References to periodicals:

[1] Raymond B. Ball, "In Defense of Women," *Scribner's Magazine,* CLXXXV (1942), 677.
[2] Richard Johnson, "The World We Live In," *Collier's,* XCI (June 5, 1933), 87.
[3] "How Magnesium Is Made," *Fortune,* XXVII (September, 1940), 82–87.

D. References to newspaper articles:

[1] Martin S. Lewis, "Senator Lodge Attacks Tariff Bill," Chicago *Tribune* (July 7, 1919), p. 17.
[2] "More Grass in the Parks," Lewiston *Journal* (May 10, 1940), p. 2.
[3] "Truman Attends Wheat-Growers' Convention," New York *Times* (November 20, 1946), p. 18.

E. References to standard editions of plays and poetry:

References are made to plays by author, title, act, scene, and line; to poems by author, title, canto (if the poem is divided into cantos), and line (abbreviate to v. or vv. for "verse" and "verses").

[1] William Shakespeare, *King Lear,* V, iii, 17–22.
[2] Thomas Otway, *Venice Preserv'd,* II, i, 46.
[3] John Milton, *Paradise Lost,* VI, 66–71.
[4] Robert Frost, "Mending Wall," vv. 17–18.
[5] Alexander Pope, "Windsor Forest," v. 216.

After a reference has once been made to a certain work, future footnote references to that work are often shortened:

[17] John Brown, *The Casablanca Conference,* p. 64.
[18] Ball, "In Defense of Women," p. 680.
[19] Williams, *Aspects of Sociology,* II, 79.

Sometimes, instead of this shortened form for later references, standard abbreviations are used. These are:

a. *ibid.* — an abbreviation for *ibidem,* meaning "in the same place," underlined to indicate italics since it is a Latin word. *Ibid.* can be used if the footnote being made refers to the same work as that described in the footnote just preceding it. If a new page in the same work is specified, the page number follows:

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 80.

b. *loc. cit.* — meaning "in the place cited," usually used with author's name.

c. *op. cit.* — meaning "in the work cited," likewise usually used with author's name. *Op. cit.* will take the place of the title. It cannot be used,

of course, if more than one work by one author has already been referred to.

[21] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Other abbreviations often used are:

cf. – compare this with
passim – scattered throughout these pages
ff. – and the pages following
ed. – edited by

It should prove interesting to the student to compare this suggested form in the construction of footnotes with the forms used by the writers of the two research articles given in this section.

Learning How to Take Notes

In your reading it is well to take notes on cards that are approximately four by six inches. Only one segment of material should be put on one card. If the student has any notion that he may use the material he is gathering from the page in front of him in more than one place in his own paper, he should take his notes on more than one card, so that he can shuffle the notes around to fit his own organization. This is an important principle in note-taking. When a student has to use material on one card in more than one place, he is likely to lose sight of part of his material.

The student should avoid taking too many notes. It is a waste of time to attempt to copy out whole articles. The proper taking of notes involves a certain amount of guesswork in deciding what material is essential and what is not. Long passages can often be summarized so that later reference can be made to them if necessary. Any material representing direct quotation should be transcribed with utmost fidelity, and the original author's words – other than key words – should not appear in paraphrases on note cards. If paraphrase is called for, the student should use his own words. Furthermore, he should mark off distinctly quoted passages from paraphrased passages on his note cards. A good system to use is to surround quoted passages with clear quotation marks, surround one's own thoughts or comments with brackets, and leave paraphrased material with no distinct marking. Notes should be full, in complete sentences, legibly written, so that they remain clear when cold.

THE CAUSES OF FAILURE OF THE WHITE MAN IN THE TROPICS*

By A. Grenfell Price

1. Excellent research on the West Indies by British and American historians makes it possible to enumerate and examine some of the reasons for the failure of a number of these settlements.[1]

2. The discovery of the West Indies by Christopher Columbus in 1492 was followed by a great burst of Caribbean colonization, so that by 1502 there were 12,000 Europeans in the island of Haiti. But Spain was not left for long in her monopoly. France was in the field before the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1562–1563 John Hawkins brought England into the slave trade, and from 1586 onwards Dutch and Flemish ships traded in the Caribbean. Colonization followed. In 1607 the French attempted to grow tobacco in Cayenne. English efforts to settle Guiana failed, but in 1623 Thomas Warner established in St. Christopher the first English colony in the Caribbean. In 1625 an English expedition occupied Barbados. The deluge of northern whites had begun.

3. The following years, 1625–1637, were vital in West Indian history. "Swarms of English and French colonists poured like flies upon the rotting carcase of Spain's empire in the Caribbean." [2] By 1643 there were 37,200 whites in Barbados, a population of more than two hundred to the square mile. The whole island was divided into plots of from five to thirty acres, upon which small white planters and their white servants raised tobacco or cotton. St. Kitts and Nevis were densely populated by small planters, each holding a few acres and cultivating them with the help of white servants.[3] The north European settlement of Jamaica came later, but events moved on similar lines. When the English captured

* From A. Grenfell Price: *White Settlers in the Tropics,* published by the American Geographical Society of New York.

[1] See, for example, Lord Olivier, *Jamaica: The Blessed Island* (London, 1936).

[2] A. P. Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493–1688* (London, 1933), p. 149.

[3] C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration* (Cambridge, 1921).

the island in 1655 it was estimated that the population of the capital was "half Spanish and Portuguese or their descendants, and half slaves." [4] Owing to deaths from yellow fever and dysentery, the English had difficulty in populating the island, but, according to Bryan Edwards, there were, by 1673, 7768 whites as contrasted with 9504 Negroes.[5]

4. For reasons to be discussed in detail the ensuing period saw a fall in white population. In some islands this fall was absolute, and in all islands ruled by north Europeans it was relative to the number of Negroes. The table below of the white and black or colored population in Barbados, St. Kitts, and Jamaica, illustrates the decline.

BRITISH WEST INDIES POPULATION TYPES: HISTORICAL *

	BARBADOS		ST. KITTS		JAMAICA	
	White	*Black or Colored*	*White*	*Black or Colored*	*White*	*Black or Colored*
1640–1643	37,000	6,000	20,000 to 30,000	. . .	. . .	. . .
1667–1678	20,000	40,000	1,897	1,436	8,500	9,500
1786–1791	16,167	62,115	1,900	20,435	23,000	260,093
1807–1809	15,566	69,119	. . .	. . .	15,000	356,070
1911	. . .	. . .	1,348	24,935	. . .	. . .
1921–1922	15,000	180,000	. . .	. . .	14,476	817,643

* Statistics mainly from V. T. Harlow, *History of Barbados* (Oxford, 1926), Appendix B, p. 338; C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 145; L. J. Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833* (New York, 1928), pp. 30, 124.

5. A great mass of evidence indicates that the experiment of establishing north European workers in the West Indian tropics failed, at any rate in the British islands, partly through the poor quality of the workers and their inadequate numbers. The period of the "Great Emigration," 1618–1648, saw many Englishmen of good type cross the seas to avoid the tyranny of the Stuart kings; but when the Civil War broke out in 1642, the tide ceased to flow.

[4] F. Cundall, *Historic Jamaica* (London, 1915), p. 6.

[5] Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1793), I, 244.

Further, North America proved more attractive to the best English immigrants than did the Caribbean, to which flocked adventurers and persons of low character who were anxious to make money rapidly by any legal or illegal means. In the words of Ragatz:

> No considerable body of persons inspired by motives higher than the desire to extract the greatest possible amount of wealth from them in the shortest possible time ever reached the smiling shores of the Caribbean colonies. Save during the civil wars of the sixteen hundreds, no haven of refuge from persecution was sought there. Few landed to establish homes and to raise their station in a new world. Instead, the islands became the goal of spendthrift bankrupts, eager to recoup their wasted fortunes, of penniless younger sons of gentility desirous of amassing means sufficient to become landed proprietors in the homeland, and the dumping-ground for the riffraff of the parent country.[6]

6. Like the Spaniards, the English on some islands at first attempted to utilize Indian labor, but the Caribs soon died out under slavery, and the estate owners turned to white labor and to Negroes. White servants came from three sources — rebellions, kidnapping, and indentures — but in almost all cases these servants were little better than slaves. It was a disgraceful policy, shamefully executed, and it filled the British West Indies with undesirables from the motherland, with foreigners from any European country that would offer a supply, and with Negroes. "As could only be expected in such a community, all ideas of a decent colonial society, of a better and greater England overseas, were swamped in the pursuit of an immediate gain."[7] To quote Whistler's "Journal of the Barbados" (1655), "This Illand is the Dunghill wharone England doth cast forth its rubidg."[8] About the same time Venables described the planters as "fearful, prophane, debauch'd persons." Later writers, such at Pitman, Higham, Harlow, and Ragatz, drew sad pictures of a selfish, ill-educated, and cruel planter aristocracy tyrannizing over a poverty-stricken mass of enslaved white servants.

[6] L. J. Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833* (New York, 1928), p. 3.

[7] J. A. Williamson, "The Beginnings of an Imperial Policy," in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* (New York and Cambridge, England), I (1929), p. 236.

[8] *Henry Whistler's Journal*, March, 1654–55, in C. H. Firth, ed., *Narrative of General Venables* (London, 1900), pp. 145–147, quoted in F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763* (New Haven, London, 1917), p. 6.

7. Nor were many of the officials and military much better. During the administration of Governor Ricketts in Barbados a comely Negress reigned at Government House and enjoyed most of the privileges of a wife.[9] The rank and file of the West Indian regiments consisted of the lowest grade of men wearing the British uniform. Governor Valentine Morris of St. Vincent wrote in 1777 that "those which have been sent out these last twelve months, are in general the very scum of the earth. The Streets of London must have been swept of their refuse, the Gaols emptied . . . I should say that very Gibbets had been robbed to furnish such Recruits . . . literally, most of them fit only to fill a pit with." [10]

8. While the character of the white workers in the West Indies was so unsatisfactory as to render failure likely, the treatment that many received was sufficiently scandalous to render that failure almost assured. Contemporary eyewitnesses, such as Ligon in Barbados, give examples of the most barbarous undernourishment, cruelty, and overwork.[11] Governor Russell, writing from Barbados in 1695, stated that the whites were "domineered over and used like dogs, and this in time will undoubtedly drive away all the commonalty of the white people and leave the Island in a deplorable condition." [12] Harlow, Pitman, and others who have used the original documents, consider that "brutal treatment and miserable conditions were prevalent" and sketch a ruinous labor regime. Conditions seem to have been been similar in the French islands. Du Tertre (1667) notes that the French, who colonized Guadelupe and Martinique, experienced a heavy mortality owing to famine, sickness, and the cruelty of the overseers who treated the enfeebled colonists "worse than the slaves in Barbary," driving them "by blows and by severity to work in clearing the woods in all weathers." [13]

9. Returning to the subject of the British islands, one finds that there was a general agreement among contemporary writers that

[9] Ragatz, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.
[11] Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657), pp. 43–45.
[12] *Calendar of State Papers,* Colonial Series, America and West Indies (London, 1693–1696, No. 1738), p. 446.
[13] R. P. du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles* (Paris, 1667–1671), I, pp. 78–81.

the European servant was in a less favored position than the Negro.[14] A slave was a permanent possession, and it was to the advantage of the master to preserve him. On the other hand, a white laborer was available only for a restricted period, during which a master might work him to death in order to avoid paying him the stipulated amount of sugar at the end of his time. Contemporary records show that cases of murder and torture were not infrequent and that sick servants were turned off and left to perish miserably.

10. There were, of course, good masters and conditions, and diet improved when the governments and planters became alarmed at the growing preponderance of Negroes and attempted to increase the ratio of whites to blacks by the so-called Deficiency Laws, which compelled every master to keep a proportion of white servants. Yet, as late as 1695, Governor Russell noted that there was a great dearth of white servants owing to neglect and sickness. Servants received no encouragement, as they were paid only forty shillings when their time expired. In contrast, the other colonies offered much greater inducement, and servants left Barbados as soon as they were free. The Governor advocated that white peasant proprietors should receive votes in the Assembly, in the belief that planters would "sometimes give the poor miserable creatures a little rum and fresh provisions and such things as would be of nourishment to them . . . in the hopes of getting their votes."[15] But matters were beyond remedy. As Jeaffreson wrote from St. Kitts, the terms offered failed to attract "a sufficient number of honest immigrants," for, whereas the early planters had had a superabundance of European recruits of the best quality, the rage for adventure had by then diminished, and petty tradesmen and peasants of the old country had received discouraging reports of the insecurity of life in islands "infested by pirates, destructive fevers and bloody wars."[16] Hence, the planters had to look for labor to African slaves or to English convicts, while the free immigrants went to New England, where life was more orderly, decent, and devout than in the unhappy West Indies, from which one governor could write that for forty orthodox parishes he had one

[14] V. T. Harlow, *History of Barbados* (Oxford, 1926), Chapter 7.
[15] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1693–1696, p. 447.
[16] J. C. Jeaffreson, *A Young Squire of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1878), Vol. I, Chapter 7.

drunken orthodox priest, one drunken sectary priest, and one drunken parson who had no orders.[17]

11. From circumstances such as these, the Deficiency Laws failed to raise the ratio of white to black. Even when groups of white settlers were brought in, as after emancipation (in 1834), they received no preferential treatment over the Negro and were quickly absorbed. On the whole, one can fully agree with Harlow that "generally speaking . . . the weight of evidence proves incontestably that the conditions under which white labor was procured and utilized in Barbados" (and one could add other islands) were "persistently severe, occasionally dishonorable, and generally a disgrace to the English name."[18] One can, perhaps, go further and say that under such a policy and treatment it was almost impossible for white workers to succeed.

12. A third cause of the white decline was international warfare and private buccaneering, which ruined several of the islands and assisted in giving the West Indies their bad name. Higham, for example, writes:

> The French War of 1666–67 marks a turning point in the history of the Leeward Islands; before the war the islands had progressed steadily, and had been largely settled; by the French successes the islands were practically ruined, and had to start their economic life anew. The exodus from St. Christopher is estimated by Du Tertre at 8000, but probably the number was about 5000 exclusive of slaves.[19]

At this time, Barbados, "the principal pearl in his Majesty's crown," was almost bankrupt of men and money, while Surinam had fallen to the Dutch. Buccaneering also discouraged good immigrants and induced the bad to take up that profitable profession. A contemporary wrote of the Scottish Jacobites sent to the West Indies in 1716: "The greatest part of them are gone and have induced others to go with them a Pyrating . . . the few that remains proves a wicked, lazy, and indolent people."[20] Jeaffreson's remarks, quoted above, indicate how greatly warfare and buccaneering conspired together to give the West Indies a bad name.

13. A fourth cause of the failure of the whites lay in the administrative

[17] *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series No. 7, 1669–1674.
[18] Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
[19] Higham, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–144.
[20] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

mistakes, both of the island authorities and of the English government, which controlled their destiny from outside. In Barbados and the Leeward Islands the rapid increase of white population quickly exhausted the soil and forced out the small white settlers who could not afford expensive fertilizers.[21] The same thing occurred in Jamaica, where small planters were driven off the land — cattle and sheep appearing in their place. Heavy taxes, costly provisions, high risks, and the low prices for produce accelerated a process under which the large proprietors gobbled up the small planters, and many families emigrated to North America to avoid debt. The class of big planters, which then arose, consisted in many cases of absentees who frequently left their servants to cruel and extravagant bailiffs. Even the sons of resident planters were estranged by education in England and comparatively few returned. Nor was the English government sympathetic or helpful to their white subjects in the Indies; for the motherland crippled them by a 4½ per cent duty on exports and other taxes, by the Navigation Acts, by the slaving monopoly of the Royal African Company, by the engrossment of all patronage by the king's ministers, and by the quartering of troops.[22]

14. Harlow's research on the documents of Barbados emphasizes the importance of economic and administrative factors in causing this decline.

The decrease in the white population was chiefly attributable to the concentration of land into the hands of a few great landowners and the ousting of white labor by black.

A writer of 1667 gives a striking picture of the tide of emigration from Barbados: "At least 12,000 former landholders and tradesmen have gone off, 'wormed out of theire small settlements by theire more suttle and greedy neighbours' — between 1643 and 1647 to New England 1200; to Trinidad and Tobago, 600; between 1646 and 1658 to Virginia and Surinam 2400; between 1650 and 1652 to Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mariegalante, Grenada, Tobago and Curazoa 1600; with Colonel Venables to Hispaniola and since to Jamaica 3300." More than 5000 left Barbados on the various expeditions to the Leeward Islands during the wars with the French and Dutch, very few of whom ever returned. After 1667 the exodus of time-expired servants and others to Carolina and elsewhere

[21] *Ibid.*, Chapter 2.

[22] J. A. Williamson, "The Colonies after the Restoration," in *The Cambridge History*, I, p. 243.

consistently outnumbered the arrivals in Barbados from the Mother Country. In 1670 no less than 2000 colonists left Barbados for other plantations.[23]

15. Other islands experienced the same drift. Governor J. Hart of Antigua wrote in 1724: "The real cause why there are so few White People is, that the wealthy Inhabitants of this Island have Ingross'd such vast Tracts of Land that there is not Room for a Number of poorer Inhabitants to invite them to Settle amongst You." [24]

16. The same trend appeared in Jamaica, although at a later date. Richard Harris told the Board of Trade (March 20, 1724–25) "The decrease of Small Freeholds, was by reason of the greater Eating up or buying out all the lesser planters and keeping vast tracts of Land unoccupied." [25] The rural aristocracy of the West Indies came from the class that created a similar depopulation in England. The small white landholders gradually disappeared, and in their place came cattle and sheep pastures, vacant land, or great sugar estates.[26]

17. While servants faced conditions of life and labor that almost ensured failure, the upper classes showed a calamitous inability to meet the tropical environment in vital matters of housing, clothing, and diet. Most of the settlements were located so as to fulfill the agricultural and shipping requirements of the planters and, consequently, stood on the hot coastal plains. In the early years nearly all the houses were of wood, and fires were frequent and destructive. Even as late as the latter half of the eighteenth century many of the buildings were miserable, thatched hovels, hastily put together with wattles and plaster, damp, unwholesome, and infested with every species of vermin.[27]

18. Then again, the planter's table was one of rude plenty and con-

[23] Harlow, *op. cit.*, pp. 339–340.

[24] Address to Assembly December 5, 1724, Leeward Islands, 1691–1782, "Original Correspondence with the Board of Trade," *Colonial Office Papers*, Class 152, XV, R. 130 (quoted from Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 100). See also Ragatz, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2, for evils of "large estates, monoculture, absenteeism and antiquated methods."

[25] Jamaica, 1689–1782. "Original Correspondence with the Board of Trade," *Colonial Office Papers*, Class 137, XVI, R. 8 (quoted from Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 108).

[26] Pitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109.

[27] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), II, p. 22.

trary to every law of modern tropical diet. Drunkenness was prevalent and gambling a consuming vice.[28] Many a young West Indian immigrant of good family drank himself to death. Friends notified his parents that he had died of "fever," and that good old whipping horse, the tropical climate, took the blame. Clothing was equally unsuited to the tropical conditions. In the words of one writer, "Our English Belles . . . do not scruple to wear the thickest winter silks and satins; and are sometimes ready to sink under the weight of rich gold or silver brocades. . . . The winter fashions of London arrive here at the setting in of hot weather. . . . Surely nothing can be more preposterous and absurd than for persons residing in the West Indies to adhere rigidly to all the European customs and manners which . . . are certainly improper, ridiculous, and detrimental in a hot climate." [29]

19. While the diet and clothing of the planter class were excessive, the poor suffered from the reverse. Ligon states that the Barbadians of 1650 worked their white servants from 6 A.M. to 11 A.M. and from 1 P.M. to 6 P.M. on potatoes mashed in water, or on loblolly, which consisted of crushed Indian corn. "The servants," he wrote, "[had] no bone meat at all unlesse an Oxe dyed." He paints a sad picture of their housing: "Their lodging at night [is] a board, with nothing under, nor any thing a top of them. . . . If they be not strong men, this ill lodging will put them into a sicknesse: if they complain, they are beaten by the Overseer; if they resist, their time is doubled." [30] Some of the planters, of course, were more humane, particularly in later years. Yet, inadequate housing, clothing, and diet continued to produce great harm.

20. A fundamental cause — perhaps the main cause — of the failure of white settlement in the Caribbean was the importation of the Negro. It is usually said that the introduction of this race was due to the necessities of the environment and that the Negro was a hardy exotic, admirably equipped for the tropics, whereas the white was a tender, unsuitable plant. Yet other factors enter the picture. The planters could force the Negro to work at an economic and social level that entailed the degeneracy of emigration of white

[28] Ragatz, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[30] Ligon, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44.

workers, and for the first few centuries the black was sufficiently backward, weak, and docile to suffer this exploitation.

21. The English were interested in the Caribbean slave trade from the time of John Hawkins' voyage of 1567–1568, but they delayed the wholesale introduction of black slaves, owing to the scarcity of Negroes and the hope of securing white labor. When, for example, the French captured and ruined the Leeward Islands in the war of 1666–1667, the slaves on the English part of St. Christopher numbered only about four hundred, although the English occupation had lasted more than forty years.[31] As early as 1651, however, Barbados contained 20,000 Negroes, for the planters visited Brazil to learn sugar planting from the Dutch and purchased slaves from them. Great prosperity rewarded the new economic and racial policy, but the result was tragic to the whites. By 1667 no less than 12,000 "good men" had left the island for other plantations, the 11,200 small holdings of 1645 had been included in 745 large estates, and the Negroes had increased to 82,023.[32] The sufferings of the displaced whites were terrible. Faint echoes reached England and Scotland, and men began to realize that the most cruel fate for political prisoners was to be "barbadoed." [33] Twenty years before, the West Indies had been the goal of hopeful emigrants. They were now the dreaded haunts of black slavery, savage cruelty, and vice.[34]

22. The Leeward Islands and Jamaica quickly followed the Barbadian example, with the same results. The usual evils of *latifundia* appeared in absenteeism, a decreasing white population, a fluctuating one-crop industry, and the growth of a class of degenerate poor whites. In the past the small planters and their time-expired servants had formed a sturdy yeomanry, which increased the white population and provided a valuable militia and a variety of crops. Now the islands were devoted almost entirely to the one-crop sugar industry, worked on large estates for absentee capitalists by overseers and Negro slaves. As the proportion of blacks increased and the Deficiency Laws failed, the planters inevitably became more oppressive. Slave rebellions were crushed with fiendish cruelty. In

[31] Higham, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[32] Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 295.
[34] Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

many cases Negro leaders were burnt alive. Nevertheless, the slave trade continued on a vast scale. In a report to the Privy Council, Liverpool merchants estimated that British ships carried 38,000 Negroes annually. Between the years 1744 and 1760 Jamaica alone purchased more than 100,000 slaves. Owing to the low cost of upkeep the planters began to train the Negroes as artisans, so that slaves invaded the field of skilled labor. In the words of one observer, "I have seene thirty, sometimes forty Christians, English, Scotch and Irish at worke in the parching sun without shoe or stockin', while theire negroes have bin at worke at theire respective Trades in a good condition." [35]

23. The growth of the plantation system brought two customary but damning evils: a half-caste element in the population and a class of poor whites. In a few striking sentences Edwards traces the tragic position of the browns — social outcasts, hated and envied by the natives and lorded over by the dominant race. "Their spirits," he wrote, "seem to sink under the consciousness of their condition." The whites forced good-looking women to be their mistresses and then, refusing to marry them, accused them as a class of incontinency. "The unhappy females here spoken of, are much less deserving reproach and reprehension than their keepers, . . . excluded as they are from all hope of ever arriving to the honor and happiness of wedlock, insensible of its beauty and sanctity; ignorant of all Christian and moral obligations; threatened by poverty, urged by their passions, and encouraged by example, upon what principle can we expect these ill-fated women to act otherwise than they do?" [36]

24. We cannot tell how soon the Negro immigration produced a typical poor white stratum, but later occurrences show that the evolution is usually swift and inevitable, even when the whites are not debased by semislavery, cruelty, and neglect. In most of the island communities white men of the upper classes ravished the slave women, while the lower class of whites came into economic competition with the Negroes, were riddled with Negro diseases, and sank rapidly to the Negro standard of life. Here and there white groups, such as the "Redlegs" of Barbados, the "Cha-

[35] Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
[36] Edwards, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 21–22.

chas" of St. Thomas, or the British-Dutch of Saba, refused to mingle and maintained their racial purity, but miscegenation and absorption went on in almost every community and is gradually coloring the white groups that still survive. The "Black Irish" of Montserrat and of Jamaica are typical communities in which the "negrodation" of the whites is complete. The German community of Seaford, Jamaica, is an excellent example of the process in operation and indicates how far it can proceed in less than a hundred years.[37]

25. It is the basic argument of Gorgas and other apologists for tropical climates that the white failures have been due to tropical diseases and that, with the progress of scientific medicine, the white man can thrive as strongly in the tropics as in the temperate zone. This vital problem has received little attention from West Indian historians. Nevertheless, there peeps from the pages of their histories a story of tropical sickness, which was undoubtedly an important cause of the British decline.

26. The whites introduced many diseases to the tropics, either from Europe or through the importation of African slaves. How terrible could be the mortality among nonimmune persons when confronting exotic diseases two examples will show. In 1520 a sick Negro in the train of Narvaez introduced into Mexico an epidemic of smallpox so appalling that it broke the resistance to Cortez.[38] In St. Louis, Mauritius, an epidemic of malaria killed 22,231 persons out of 80,000 in 1867–1868 and might easily have depopulated the island in the same way that the disease is believed to have devastated ancient Greece and large tracts of Italy and Spain.[39] Among white immigrants to the West Indies the mortality was very grave. When, in 1635, the French colonized Guadelupe and Martinique with *pauvres, engagez* from Dieppe, they experienced a heavy mortality from the sickness that followed upon famine and overwork.[40] The British, too, complained greatly about health. Ligon wrote that in Barbados, about 1650, the inhabitants and shipping "were so grievously visited with the plague, (or as killing a dis-

[37] See pp. 92–94, above.
[38] H. R. Carter, *Yellow Fever: An Epidemiological and Historical Study of Its Place of Origin* (Baltimore, 1931), p. 53.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[40] Du Tertre, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 78–81.

ease,) that before a month was expired, after our Arivall, the living were hardly able to bury the dead." [41] The voyage, said the same author, "takes many passengers," as did "ill dyet" and "strong waters," through which many brought diseases on themselves. The men suffered particularly. Ten men died for every one woman, for the men were "the greater deboystes [debauched]." Barbadian dispatches in the "Calendar of State Papers" contain numerous laments such as the following: "Sickness and bad weather have been very prevalent, and we have lost many from small-pox and violent fevers." [42]

27. Among the military forces in the tropics the mortality was nothing short of frightful. Of 19,676 men sent to the British West Indies in 1796, no less than 17,173 died within five years, and departure for Caribbean service was viewed as a voyage to the grave. To this many factors contributed. Physically the soldiers were of poor stamp. Primary laws of hygiene and diet were ignored. Barracks were generally located on waste land near marshes, and yellow fever took its toll. Quarters were neither roomy, airy, nor clean. Bathing was infrequent. The authorities forced men to wear the traditional scarlet, designed for use in European climates, and issued salt meat five times a week under the standard Old World rationing. Lastly, new rum, a veritable poison, formed the customary drink. Under such conditions the home governments were appalled by shocking death returns and in 1795 sought to solve the problem of West Indian defence by organizing Negro companies, recruited through purchase from among the best-conditioned slaves.[43]

28. So far we have traced a variety of factors that contributed to the failure of the whites in the British West Indies. There remains the fundamental and most mysterious problem of all – the question of how far the collapse was due to the tropical climate per se.

29. There is a vast amount of evidence in West Indian history that appears to indicate that the climate affected the whites unfavorably and prevented them from engaging in hard work. Pitman be-

[41] Ligon, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[42] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1685–1688, Nos. 374, 540, 871; 1693–1696, No. 1738; quotation from No. 540, 1686, p. 139.

[43] Ragatz, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

lieves that the English moral constitution broke down under a tropical sun and that by the second generation it became apparent that only African slaves could withstand the tropical conditions.[44] Ragatz considers that "climatic conditions made an economic system based on free European workers impossible."[45] Yet, as we have seen, the white settlement of Barbados was extensive and vigorous before it was ruined by war, capitalism, overcrowding, soil exhaustion, and the introduction of the Negro with his diseases. Landowners, such as Christopher Jeaffreson of St. Kitts (1676–1686), made no complaint that the white workers were unsuitable or ineffective, but demanded more white servants, even of the criminal class.[46] About the same date Colonel Codrington of St. Kitts emphasized the greater superiority of the colonial troops over soldiers from England. In his opinion "a hundred disciplined men enured to hardships will be worth four hundred of mere new-raised men; . . . for we in these parts are generally accustomed to a hardy and active kind of life."[47] The island regiments were specially selected for severe mountain work, and they acquitted themselves well.

30. One hundred years later, in 1788, when Negro slavery was all-important, a Committee of the Lords and Commons made an extensive survey of the West Indies, in order to ascertain whether the sugar industry could be worked with white labor or with freed Negroes. As might be expected, the evidence, which was largely that of the planters, was strongly against any liberation of the slaves. European witnesses stated almost unanimously that under such a climate the whites could not carry out the hard labor of the sugar industry, however well they were fed. "As far as experience can determine," they wrote, "the same exposure to the sun which cheers the African is mortal to the European. Nine in ten of them would die in three years."[48] French planters expressed the same belief.[49]

[44] Pitman, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
[45] Ragatz, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[46] Jeaffreson, *op. cit.*, Chapter 7.
[47] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1689–1692, No. 977, p. 293.
[48] *Report of the Lords of the Committee of the Council Appointed for the Consideration of All Matters Relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations*, 1788–89, Part 3, A 37, 39.
[49] *Ibid.*, Appendix, Q. 37, 38, 39.

31. Yet, amid a welter of condemnation from biased sources comes the significant opinion of a small planter in Barbados. It was "very possible," he said, that free Negroes could cultivate canes, while Europeans, inured to common labor and not unduly proud, "might also cultivate their lands well," especially for cotton, where the labor was much lighter than for canes. "The constitution of the human body, when brought up to hard labor, soon accustomed itself to the climate by opening the pores to easy perspiration, but men of debauched habits of mind or body would seldom live to a second year." [50]

32. As previously indicated, a number of communities of north European peasant workers have survived in the West Indies until the present time, and some of these show less deterioration than one would expect, considering their fight against isolation and other factors not purely climatic in type.

33. Writing about 1793, Bryan Edwards, the Jamaican historian, gives some views on West Indian planters that are extremely important for the light they throw on the evolution of tropical whites. Edwards thought that the West Indian climate displayed its influence more strongly on the persons of the native-born than on their manners or on the faculties of their minds. They were obviously a taller race than the Europeans but in general not proportionately robust. They were all distinguished by freedom and by suppleness of joints, which enabled them to move with ease and agility and gracefulness in dancing. They also excelled in penmanship and in the use of the small sword. Their eye sockets were deeper than among the natives of Europe, which guarded them against the continuous glare of the sun. Their skin felt cooler than that of the European, which proved that nature had contrived some peculiar means of protecting them from the heat. Possibly the climate increased their sensibility, which contributed to create an impatience of subordination. On the whole this attitude was beneficial as awakening frankness, sociability, benevolence, and generosity. Though the method of living differed in no respect from that of the European residents, they were rarely liable to those inflammatory disorders that frequently proved fatal to the latter. The women lived calm and even lives, marked by habitual

[50] *Ibid.*, Paper No. I, Appendix, p. 30, Questions 32, 33, Aug. 18, 1787–88.

temperance and self-denial. They took no exercise, except dancing, and had no amusement or avocation to compel them to much exertion of either mind or body. Their diet was abstemious to a fault, and lemonade was their strongest beverage. Their food at the principal repast was a vegetable mess, seasoned with cayenne pepper. Their mode of life and the hot oppressive atmosphere produced lax fiber and pale complexions. They seemed to have just risen from a bed of sickness. Their voices were soft and spiritless, and every step betrayed languor and lassitude. Eminently and deservedly applauded for heart and disposition, no women on earth made better wives or better mothers.

34. Under the climate the children's mental powers developed early, exceeding those of European children of the same age in a degree that was unaccountable and astonishing. Subsequent mental acquirement did not keep pace with early progress, but that might be due to the want of proper objects for exercising the faculties. The climate undoubtedly encouraged early and habitual licentiousness, which was against mental improvement. Among such of the native-born as escaped the contagion and enervating effects of youthful excesses were found men of capacities as strong and permanent as among any people whatever. Edwards strongly denied that the Creole whites in general possessed less capacity and stability of mind than Europeans or that they had less quality of heart. Frank, kindly, and truthful, they treated the slaves far better than did the adventurers from Europe. Indolence was too predominant, but it was rather an aversion to serious thought and deep reflection than due to slothfulness and sluggishness of nature. When the springs of the mind were set in motion both sexes had warm imaginations and high spirits.[51]

35. Although Edwards is describing a planter aristocracy which obviously suffered from isolation, insufficient exercise, and contact with a substratum of Negroes, we shall see that his description is applicable in certain respects to the present generation of north Queensland whites, and that here, too, a tendency to conserve muscular, heat-producing energy is appearing, which possibly forecasts some decline.[52]

[51] Edwards, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 10–14.

[52] R. W. Cilento, *The White Man in the Tropics,* Commonwealth of Australia,

36. The history of these British West Indian Islands has been closely examined in order to enumerate and examine the complex controls that caused the failure of most white settlements in the western hemisphere. In Barbados, St. Kitts, and Jamaica the British established for a considerable period flourishing groups of white workers, which were ultimately destroyed by war, faulty economic policy and administration, bad housing, diet and liquor, cruelty, the influx of workers of a lower economic standard, the plantation system, the exhaustion of the soil, diseases, and possibly climate per se. The historical method, ably applied by experienced students, has listed factors that produced the British failures, but what scientist would dare to evaluate from this evidence the relative importance of the various controls? Nevertheless, two outstanding and incontestable factors deserve emphasis. First, the prescientific invasions showed that white races, both northern and Mediterranean, could survive in favorable parts of the tropics for many generations in the face of stupendous difficulties and without modern scientific aids. Second, there were very few examples of the white man's successful resistance in the tropics to the competition of races of lower economic and social status.

ANALYSIS

1. Study first the organization of the article. The body of the article lists causes for the failure of white settlers in the West Indies. With what paragraph does this listing begin?
2. *a.* If we assume that the introduction has the task of preparing for the listing of causes, what are the main subdivisions in the introduction?
   b. How are facts arranged in Paragraphs 2 and 3?
3. In a research paper of this kind it is customary for the author to state near the beginning the scope of his undertaking and the conditions that exist or that have been created to make discussion possible and sound conclusions probable; in addition there is usually a distinct marking off of the limits of the inquiry. To what extent does Paragraph 1 satisfy these demands?
4. In the body of the article seven distinct causes are listed.
   a. What are these causes?
   b. Mark off the areas devoted to the discussion of each one.
5. What is the topic sentence in Paragraph 5? Study the development of the discussion beginning this paragraph.

Department of Health, Service Publication (Tropical Division), No. 7 (1925), pp. 73–74.

6. Paragraphs 6–10 form one division of thought. What has the author done by inserting Paragraph 7 into the middle of this section?
7. In Paragraph 7, why has the author made reference to conditions on French islands, when he is primarily concerned with British islands?
8. Is Paragraph 9 an explanation of Paragraph 8?
9. Note the concessive pattern of paragraph development in Paragraph 10. Note also how the last half of Paragraph 10 picks up the idea expressed in Paragraph 5.
10. What is the internal organization of Paragraph 13? Of which of the subdivisions of Paragraph 13 are Paragraphs 14–16 an amplification?
11. How is the general conclusion of the article foreshadowed in Paragraph 17?
12. Note the division into rich and poor in Paragraphs 18–19 for purposes of analysis. This may be called the partition of a problem.
13. How important is Paragraph 20 in the scheme of the whole article? As summary? As statement of the principal thesis?
14. How is the discussion of the slave trade that begins with Paragraph 21 slanted toward the thesis expressed in Paragraph 20? Trace out carefully the lines of the causal reasoning found here.
15. Note the causal pattern of paragraph development in Paragraph 27.
16. Note the concessive pattern of the argument in Paragraphs 29–32.
17. What principle has been used in the division of material in Paragraphs 33–34?
18. Note that Paragraph 35 provides a conclusion for the discussion of climate as a factor and that Paragraph 36 summarizes the findings of the whole article.
    a. Is the author too careful in his concluding remarks?
    b. Has he actually convinced us of more than he claims to have done?
    c. How satisfactorily does this concluding paragraph pull together all of the parts of the article?
19. Much of this article is summary of generally known historical facts. Some of the facts are less known and require special documentation and reference.
    a. Make a study of the author's principles of documentation. Does he primarily quote opinions of historians, generalizations made by historians, evidence from first hand observers, or statistical evidence?
    b. Does he expend disproportionate energy in attempting to find support for certain points he wishes to make?
20. Study the forms of the footnotes and explain why each form is used.
21. Explain the use of footnotes at the end of paragraphs in which the footnote does not follow quotations.

POPULAR SPORTS IN AMERICA, 1850–1865*

By Frank Luther Mott

1. HORSE racing and prize fighting were the spectacular sports of the day. Physical culture exercises made gains in some educational institutions, but the total effect was not impressive. "Physical culture is on the top of the wave," wrote one of the leaders of the movement, Dr. Dio Lewis, in the *Atlantic* in 1862, "but it is as yet in the talk stage. Millions praise the gymnasium; hundreds seek its blessings."[1] Harvard, Yale, and Amherst built gymnasiums in 1859 – the first of any adequacy in the country.[2]

2. About sports in which people in general could participate one reads comparatively little in the magazines of the times. There were some beginnings, but the wave of popular sport interest did not break over America until after the war. The Autocrat wrote in the *Atlantic Monthly* just before that conflict:

> I am satisfied that such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste-complexioned youth as we can boast in our Atlantic cities never before sprang from the loins of Anglo-Saxon lineage. . . . We have a few good boatmen, no good horsemen that I hear of, nothing remarkable I believe in cricketing; and as for any great athletic feat performed by a gentleman in these latitudes, society would drop a man who would run around the Common in five minutes.[3]

3. Interest in horse racing grew almost to a frenzy at some of the meets during the war, when money was plentiful. The sport may be followed best in the *Spirit of the Times.* Flora Temple trotted a mile in 2.19¾ in 1859; and Dexter, for which Robert Bonner of the New York *Ledger* later paid $33,000, beat that mark in 1865 with 2.18¼. Bonner and Commodore Vanderbilt were rivals among nonprofessional drivers of fast trotters: at an exhibition contest between them (no money being wagered, as Bonner never bet on a horse race) Bonner drove a team two miles[4] in 5.01¼.

* Reprinted by permission of the publishers from Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines,* Volume II, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938.

[1] *Atlantic Monthly,* X (August, 1862), p. 129.
[2] *Science,* VIII (July 2, 1886), p. 1.
[3] *Atlantic Monthly,* I (May, 1858), p. 881.
[4] *Science,* XXI (May, 1868), p. 523.

4. But the greatest popular excitement in sports was aroused by certain prize fights of the period. The outstanding hero of fisticuffs was the "Benecia Boy" – John C. Heenan. The Morrissey-Heenan bout in 1858, the drawn battle between Heenan and Sayers in England in 1860, and the Heenan-King fight in 1863 were the high points of the period. When Heenan lost to the Englishman King after twenty-five rounds, there was as much mourning in some quarters as over a lost battle in the Civil War. When Heenan left for England in 1860 to encounter Tom Sayers, *Vanity Fair* published "The Benecia Boy's Farewell," ending:

> I'll wind our colors 'round my loins –
> The blue and crimson bars –
> And if Tom does not feel the stripes,
> I'll make him see the stars! [5]

Leslie's Lady's Magazine printed a picture of two boys caught fighting and explaining their black eyes to their mammas: "We've only been playing at being Tom Sayers and the Benecia Boy!" [6] There was, of course, much moral indignation vented against the brutality of these fights. *Leslie's Illustrated* began by condemning prize fighting as "identified with all the coarsest, lowest vice of our cities" and declaring it "the very last subject that should be mentioned in a paper which finds its way into decent families"; [7] but it ended by sending a special correspondent and a trained artist to London to report the Heenan-Sayers battle and by giving many pages to affairs of the ring. Religious and other journals generally attacked prize fighting, however: the Heenan-King bout was "disgraceful to England and not much less so to America," concluded the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*.[8]

5. Baseball was showing its first indications of popularity. We read of games of twenty or thirty innings, with scores of seventy to fifty and thereabout. Pitchers are warned against pitching too wildly; umpires are commended for firmness. "Carriages surrounded the grounds, and the smiles of the fair encouraged the players." A Chicago correspondent of *Porter's Spirit of the Times* says: "The

[5] *Vanity Fair*, I (January 14, 1860), p. 45.
[6] *Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine*, XV (October, 1864), p. 288.
[7] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, IX (December 31, 1859), p. 66.
[8] *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, XII (January 6, 1864), p. 6.

Excelsior is the pioneer ball club of the city; it was organized a year ago this Spring [1858]. We have now four clubs that play under the New York rules, and one or two in process of organization." [9] The same journal, which ordinarily reported baseball games alongside cricket matches, recorded the founding of the first important league — the National Association:

> The first convention was, it will be remembered, held last year [1857] to devise a new set of Rules and Laws for Baseball. The call originated with the old Knickerbocker Club. . . . A strong effort will be made [this year] to have eleven fielders on a side.[10]

6. The *Sunday Mercury,* of New York, claimed the title "the Father of Baseball," as it had been the first to encourage the sport by reporting matches.[11]
7. Boat races, especially in intercollegiate sport, and chess and billiards were followed in the *Spirit of the Times* and, after 1853, in Frank Queen's *New York Clipper.* Croquet was a new fad, just imported from England. The "stirring, healthful conflict" of this game, as played by women in hoopskirts and men in top hats, was decidedly picturesque.[12] As to billiards, the *Round Table* remarked in 1865: "There is no more exquisite foolery of our day than the mania for playing billiards which has developed itself in this country in the last five or six years." [13] The *Billiard Cue* (1856–74) was a modest monthly of four folio pages edited by the famous billiardist, Michael Phelan, as a house organ for his manufacturing business. The *Chess Monthly* (1857–61) was also a New Yorker.
8. The greatest general sports periodical of these years was *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times,* which was begun in 1859 by George Wilkes, founder of the *National Police Gazette* and a former editor of *Porter's Spirit of the Times.* Within two years Wilkes's paper, aided by the beginning of the war, had put the old *Spirit* out of business.[14] Racing, field sports, and the stage came within the pur-

[9] *Porter's Spirit of the Times,* VI (June 25, 1859), p. 216.
[10] *Ibid.,* IV (March 13, 1858), p. 21.
[11] See *Journalist* (January 7, 1888), p. 3.
[12] *Saturday Evening Post* (December 26, 1863), pp. 1, 4.
[13] *Round Table,* II (October 14, 1865), p. 88.
[14] See Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741–1850* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1938), p. 480. But note the following data: Porter withdrew from the original *Spirit of the Times* in 1856 and, with George Wilkes as associate editor, founded *Porter's Spirit of the Times*

view of *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times.* The *California Spirit of the Times* was a sports weekly in San Francisco.[15] The *New York Clipper* was founded in 1853 by Frank Queen as a sporting and amusement journal; but it was very miscellaneous and printed some fiction, verse, and music. Eventually it became the great news journal of professional performers on the stage, in circus rings, and on athletic fields. Its news of all sports and of the details of the stage in many cities makes it an invaluable record up to the middle eighties.[16]

ANALYSIS

1. Since this article is taken from a history of American magazines, it is apparent that Frank Luther Mott was not attempting to make a complete and independent study of popular sports in America during the period between 1850 and 1865. Had he attempted that task, the article would have been much longer and he would have turned to many other sources of information. Instead, the area that he is investigating is much narrower than the title given it here suggests.

   a. Write a title of your own that more accurately describes what he has done in his article.

(1856–59). Porter died in 1858, and Theodore E. Tomlinson and other friends continued to conduct the paper. With these men Wilkes soon disagreed, and he withdrew angrily from association with them and began on September 10, 1859, *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times. Porter's Spirit of the Times* suspended some weeks later, and the original *Spirit of the Times* ended June 22, 1861, leaving Wilkes in command of the field. He dropped his own name from the title in 1868, and in 1873 adopted numbering to conform to his claim that his was the original *Spirit of the Times.* (As to numbering, see Mott, *op. cit.,* p. 480n. The assumption of that footnote that the *Spirits* were all in one line was owing to Wilkes's own purposely misleading statements.) See *New York Clipper,* XXX (October 28, 1882), p. 521, which, though incorrect in details of the origin of the first *Spirit,* is helpful. Wilkes's paper, from which Wilkes himself retired in 1875, leaving E. A. Buck as half owner and editor, was merged in the *Horseman* in 1902. See George P. Rowell and Company, *Centennial Newspaper Exhibition* (New York, 1876), p. 186.

[15] It began as the *Fireman's Journal,* giving special attention to sports. In 1878 it became an insurance journal, under the name *California Spirit of the Times and Underwriter's Journal.* The inclusive dates are 1854–94.

[16] Harrison Trent was owner for the first two years, and James Jones was part owner 1856–57; otherwise Queen was editor and publisher until his death in 1882. T. Allston Brown was on the editorial staff and furnished a series of sketches of actors for early volumes. After Queen's death the estate conducted the *Clipper* for a time, with Benjamin Garno as managing editor, after which A. J. Borie became editor and publisher. The paper deteriorated and was purchased by *Variety* in 1923. See *Variety,* CI (December 31, 1930), 10, 51; but for its history before the death of Queen, see *Clipper,* XXX (October 28, 1882), p. 521.

b. Is this limitation apparent in the first paragraph?
c. Are there places in the article where the material is tangential to his main purpose?

2. Since it is a segment of a larger work, this article lacks an adequate introduction. Supply an introductory paragraph for it.
3. Because of what condition of authorship in the mid-nineteenth century is Professor Mott unable to supply authors' names in his footnotes?
4. To what other sources could Professor Mott have gone for material had he been making a thorough survey of sports at the time of the Civil War?
5. *a.* How closely does the paragraphing correspond to the outline of the article?
b. Is any one section given more than one paragraph?
c. How does the subject matter change in the final paragraph?
6. Point out the places in the article where Professor Mott draws inferences from his evidence.
7. *a.* Can you point out places where fuller documentation is possible?
b. The writer of a research paper usually does not give footnote references to material that is common knowledge. Are any of the statements here of this kind?
8. *a.* In Paragraph 2, what statement does the quotation from the Autocrat support? Who was the Autocrat?
b. What is the topic sentence of this paragraph?
c. What connection do you find between it and the rest of the paragraph?
9. Note the development of Paragraph 4, on prize fighting. What are the major subdivisions of the paragraph?
10. What can you say in general about Professor Mott's methods of developing paragraphs?
11. What are the principal features of the sentence construction here? How effective is the result?

SAMPLE THEME SUBJECTS

The development of jet-propelled aircraft
South American students in the United States
The "One Hundred Great Books" concept of higher education
The Negro and the labor unions
The effectiveness of youth centers in preventing juvenile delinquency
The conflict between consumers' cooperatives and small business enterprises
Should TVA be subject to taxation as private utility corporations are?
Standards of living in coal mining areas
Freight rates and the development of Western industry (or Southern industry)
The effect of air transportation on city planning
The effect of the Erie Canal on the settlement of the Western Reserve
The development of mass production methods in industry
The breakup of Tory estates following the Revolutionary War
The biography of Sara Teasdale, Joe Louis, Henry Ford II, or Orson Welles
The licensing of radio stations

The block-booking system in the motion picture industry
The frontier is still open in Alaska
The use of airplanes in the forest service
Uses of the light metals
American sailing craft of the nineteenth century

4. PRIMARY SOURCE PAPERS

4

Primary Source Papers

THE PRIMARY source paper, like the secondary source paper, involves direct research or investigation. To see the difference between these two kinds of research papers it is necessary first of all to distinguish between primary and secondary sources. The library paper, which we discussed in the preceding section, works with secondary sources.

If, in making a study of the kinds of trees to be found on the campus, we go directly to the trees themselves, to identify them, to count the number of each species, to note their groupings, or to make other observations about them, the trees become primary source material in our investigation. If, on the other hand, our search takes us to the library where we dig out articles about the trees on the campus (if any such articles are to be found there), we are turning to secondary sources. The secondary source, in other words, is the treatment of the material with which we are concerned, or some part of it, by another writer. The raw material has already been passed through his mind, and while it is our task when dealing with secondary sources to create a unity of our own by putting together evidence or details gathered from many sources, we do not then come into direct contact with the raw material found in a life situation.

We should not suppose, however, that library materials cannot be used as primary sources. Take, for instance, a paper in which the writer is making a study of changes in advertising techniques over the last fifty years. Presumably, in gathering material, he goes to magazines and newspapers of the period under consideration and looks at the advertisements to be found there. Each single advertisement in

that case is as much a primary source for evidence as each tree on the campus is for a paper on campus trees. When he turns from a study of advertisements themselves to search for articles on advertising, he is turning to secondary sources. The article "Yarning in the Eighteen Fifties" that appears later in this section deals with primary sources. We note that the author is not turning to critical judgments about the literature of the 1850's, even though he could find plenty of them if he looked for them. Instead, he is himself going directly to the stories and novels, and arriving at conclusions after a study of what he finds there. Literary research is often of this kind. Studies can be made of the characters created by a novelist, of the verse techniques or the figures of speech used by a poet, or his attitude toward women or politics or religion as he reveals it in his writings. Although studies that take the researcher to animate objects are more commonly found, the primary source study that concerns the contents of books, magazines, newspapers, directories, or catalogues must be considered in the same broad classification.

As a research paper, the primary source paper usually exhibits more complete research machinery than does the informal induction. This machinery may include the formal demarcation of a field for investigation, the setting up of the boundaries within which the writer intends to make a thorough study, and the adoption of methods of approach to the material by which sound conclusions can be anticipated. Consequently, the writer often devotes some space in his paper to a discussion of his demarcations and of his methods.

Several kinds of primary research are open to the student writer. An obvious one is the reportorial investigation, in which the writer goes to the field, makes inquiries among those who may know the answers to his questions, finds leads to other sources of information, and attempts to collect all the pertinent data. Of this kind is Bertram Fowler's "Sharecroppers of the Sea" included in this collection. A sample of research among books, Paul Fatout's "Yarning in the Eighteen Fifties," has already been mentioned. A third kind is the "poll" paper, representing an attempt to draw conclusions on the state of public opinion. In such a paper the writer is not interested in authoritative opinion but in discovering what people as a mass are thinking. Since it is usually impossible to interview all the members of the group in question, the writer must devise a satisfactory cross section to represent the

whole. The setting up of this cross section often demands careful attention. It also is necessary to formulate questions carefully so that clear-cut answers will result. Unless the writer asks several closely integrated questions of each person interviewed or receiving the questionnaire, he is likely to find himself with insufficient data upon which to build satisfactory conclusions.

The average student in a college class in composition will find the exercise in writing this kind of paper of considerable practical value to him in his later life. The other kinds of writing discussed in this book are of equal importance, but they are called for less often in the routine business of everyday professional life. More important than practice in the application of the principles involved in this sort of paper is the benefit that accrues from the careful, objective — often scientific — analysis of a problem.

THIRTY DOLLARS A WEEK*

By George Gallup and Saul Forbes Rae

1. THE AVERAGE person in any community cannot fail to notice how sharply different levels of income and comfort cut across the American social scene. He is aware of the plight of families on relief, of the middle-class families struggling to make ends meet, and of the people who are well to do and economically secure. Through the movies and the daily newspapers he comes to know about the Joads and café society. How does he react to the economic and social differences he sees about him? Is America becoming "class conscious," as the proletarian writers of the last few decades have confidently predicted? What does the ordinary citizen think "the American standard of living" should be?
2. As America enters a strange new decade, public opinion research already provides some tentative answers to these questions. The subject will figure conspicuously in future public-opinion studies — studies which will have weather-vane significance for the kind of country America is to be. Let us look at the present indicators.
3. As far as the economic reality is concerned, the picture is clear.

* Reprinted from *The Pulse of Democracy* by George Gallup and Saul F. Rae by permission of Simon and Schuster, Inc. Copyright, 1940, by George Gallup and Saul F. Rae.

Even in the boom of 1929, only about six million families had incomes of $3000 a year or more; the great majority earned far less. Eighteen million families — more than half the population of the United States — earned less than $1500. Then came the cataclysm, and within two or three years the national income of the United States had dwindled to almost half what it had been in 1929, dragging living standards downward all along the line. Especially hard hit were the eighteen million families who had been getting along on less than $1500 a year. The shrinkage in family income provided little chance to build even a small reserve against such hazards as unemployment, old age, and sickness.

4. The economic protest of these sectors of the population was translated into political terms in 1932. In the presidential election of that year, American voters cast twenty-three million ballots for Franklin D. Roosevelt. It just equaled the total Democratic vote cast for Al Smith in 1928 together with the total Democratic vote obtained by John W. Davis in 1924. It was the largest vote any presidential candidate had ever polled, and it announced the beginning of political action among the millions of American families with small incomes. Even in 1937 the underlying problem of insecurity among the lower economic levels still existed. Standing in the Washington rain to deliver his Second Inaugural, on January 20, 1937, President Roosevelt declared that the need to solve it was the greatest challenge to American democracy. "In this nation," he said, "I see tens of millions of its citizens — a substantial part of the whole population — who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards today call the necessities of life. I see," he summarized, "one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished."

5. Many Americans are concerned over the same picture which the President painted. But despite the inequalities of life at different levels of the economic pyramid, there is little evidence that the people themselves are dividing into self-conscious class blocs. If there are problems to solve, the dominant attitude is still that they will be solved not through the impact of hostile classes, but through unified national effort. The historian Charles A. Beard placed his finger on the central reason for this when he wrote of the "sub-

jective consciousness" of the American people, a consciousness not solely of immediate economic surroundings such as unemployment and scanty diet, but also of common membership in a "middle class" which has a future as well as a past. The extent of this consciousness of belonging to the middle class — culturally and socially — was clearly indicated in an Institute survey conducted in 1939.

6. "To what social class in this country do you think you belong," voters were asked, "the middle class, the upper, or the lower?" It made little difference whether the voter was a Democrat or a Republican, whether he lived in a city or in the country, whether he worked in a factory or owned the factory himself. In all cases, nearly nine Americans in ten said they viewed themselves as members of the middle class:

Upper Class	6 per cent
Middle Class	88 per cent
Lower Class	6 per cent

7. With the sense of belonging to the middle class goes a whole pattern of thought. The average American believes in most of the traditional accompaniments of middle-class life. He believes in the value of education. If he could have more of it, he would like to have more training in business subjects and English. He believes in "opportunity" — although not quite as firmly as he once did — and he believes in property and in owning some himself if he can manage it.

8. Side by side with his subjective belief in a middle-class status, however, the average American has a sharp realization that his life is not secure. The facts here were revealed in another 1939 survey in which the Institute asked: "If you lost your present job (or business) and could not find another, how long do you think you could hold out before you would have to apply for relief?" The survey found seventeen persons in every hundred *already* on relief or on one of the Federal government's work projects. Nineteen out of a hundred said they could hold out one month or less, sixteen could hold out one to six months, thirteen could hold out six months to three years, and thirty-five thought they could hold

out three years or more. *If the groups who say they could hold out for six months or less are added to those persons now on relief, the total includes a majority of the people of the entire country.*

9. The study showed that, although skilled and unskilled laborers suffer from the greatest insecurity, many members of the white-collar classes – clerks, office workers, and people in the service trades – fear the future too. Indeed, nearly a quarter of these people told interviewers they would exhaust their reserves within a month's time.

10. When the same poll asked to what *income group* people felt they belonged, nearly a third said "the lower class":

Upper-Income Group	1 per cent
Upper Middle	6 per cent
Middle	41 per cent
Lower Middle	21 per cent
Lower	31 per cent

11. It is not strange, then, that American elections have seen a noticeable class factor at work ever since the early 'thirties. Millions of lower- and middle-income voters crossed over to the Democratic party in 1932 and have remained there since. During this period, the Republican party has had its center of gravity in the upper-income levels, while the Democratic center of gravity has been among the "lower third" and voters on relief.

12. Simple proof of this growing relationship between economic insecurity and the political alignments of recent years can be found in the survey breakdowns of this insecurity question asked in 1939:

	For Roosevelt	*Against Roosevelt*
Persons now on relief	81 per cent	19 per cent
Those who could hold out one month or less	61 per cent	39 per cent
One month to six months	58 per cent	42 per cent
Six months to three years	56 per cent	44 per cent
Three years or more	55 per cent	45 per cent

13. The key to why people now vote Democratic or Republican lies in the economic stratification of the American people. At the ex-

tremes of the economic scale, political positions are coherent and, to a large extent, predictable. But between the extremes lies the middle-income group which is likely to become an increasingly decisive factor in future elections.

14. All through the first and second administrations of President Roosevelt the Institute has found this middle group holding the balance of power — on issues as well as in elections. What income characterizes this group? If you put that question at random to a few well-to-do brokers and bankers they are likely to tell you, "About $5000 a year" — just as Mr. Morgan identified the middle class, before a Senate committee, as those families which could afford to have a servant. *But actually the middle-income group in the United States, numbering nearly one half of the whole voting population, averages between $1000 and $2000 a year per family.*

15. John Jones is a typical member of this group. He lives in a small Eastern city. He works for a hardware store. He has a wife and two children. He earns $30 a week. Nearly every dollar he earns goes for immediate necessities such as rent, food, clothing, and carfare. Yet, whether he knows it or not, he is a "typical" member of the middle-income group, and on his vote the course of American political life probably depends.

16. What is an adequate standard of living for the average American family? The Great Depression first focused attention on this vital question, and provoked response from many economists, experts, and welfare associations. A few years ago the government considered that the average family of four required at least $2500 a year for continued subsistence. Certain New Deal planners like Mordecai Ezekiel set an objective of $2400 or $2500 for a family of this size. William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, has named a goal of $3600 for the skilled workman and his dependents.

17. The Institute therefore felt it would be valuable to let the people express themselves on the question of income standards, and to add the view of the general public to the estimates of the theorists and social planners.

18. Five hundred interviewers covered voters in every state and every income group in the country and found almost all persons

interviewed eager to express their own ideas. People in all walks of life were asked:

19. "What is the smallest weekly amount a family of four must have to live decently?"

20. And:

21. "How much income a year do you think the average family of four needs for health and comfort?"

22. No sums were suggested. The voters wrote in whatever sums they chose. Their aggregate answers to the first question established for the first time a nation-wide consensus on what the minimum standard of "decency" should be. The sum averaged $30 a week – approximately $1560 a year for the typical family of four – among all those interviewed.

23. Professional workers, businessmen, and skilled laborers named a higher figure for decency than other groups. Farmers, who frequently enjoy a noncash income in farm produce and other things, named a lower figure. Similarly, city dwellers named a higher amount than residents in small towns and rural districts:

24. Typical persons living in the "ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished" lower third gave $23 as the weekly sum needed, or approximately $1200 a year.

25. Here are median amounts named by important population groups throughout the United States:

		Median Weekly Amount for Decency (in Dollars)	*Same on Yearly Basis (in Dollars)*
IN THE OPINION OF:	Professional and white-collar workers	35	1820
	Merchants and businessmen	35	1820
	Skilled laborers	35	1820
	Farmers	25	1300
	"Lower Third"	23	1196
	U. S. average (median)	30	1560

26. What would public opinion's idea of the "decency" standard of $30 a week mean? Undoubtedly it would continue to mean a very modest standard of living. The typical family spends about thirty-three cents out of every dollar for food today, and a $30-a-week income allows about $10 a week to feed four persons. The next

highest amount goes for the home, including rent, light, heating, and furniture. The family with $30 a week has about $9 a week to spend on its home. This leaves ten or twelve cents out of every dollar for clothing and ten or twelve cents for transportation. When these slices have been taken out, a family with a $30 income has between $4.50 and $6 for everything else — for medicine and doctor's bills, for books and education, for entertainment and insurance and savings. When the second question was asked to find out what voters thought would be necessary for a "health-and-comfort" standard, the median figure set was $38 a week, or $1950 a year. According to the surveys, almost two thirds of all American families in 1937 were living well below the health-and-comfort standard set by public opinion. The difference between the two standards in real terms would be a difference of quality in food, perhaps a bit more for rent and for comforts, laborsaving devices, and recreation.

27. Across the United States there is, of course, the widest variation in cost of living. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that voters in the Institute's income-standard survey tended to set somewhat different money standards depending on where they lived.

28. In the South, public opinion set a $20 median as the decency standard, but the paradox is explained by the fact that the South includes millions of Negroes living at depressed standards who expressed their delight at the thought of getting $12 or $15 a week. When the Institute's investigators talked with Negro men and women, many of them replied that they could "get along" on four or five dollars. The average sum these Southern Negroes named was only $12, which is far below the minimum standards set by both public opinion and income economists. With Negroes excluded, the average income wanted by white Southern families was $25 a week.

29. The farm states of the Middle West asked less than the figure of the national average, while the Pacific Coast states and the industrial states of the Middle Atlantic area asked more. States in the Great Lakes (East Central) and those in the Rocky Mountain section voted for $30.

30. The following table shows how much money the voters of the

different sections considered necessary (1) for minimum decency, and (2) for health and comfort:

Sections	*Decency Standard (per week)*	*Health-and-Comfort Standard (per week)*
New England states	$30	$39
Middle Atlantic states	35	39
East Central states	30	38
West Central states	25	33
South (excl. Negroes)	25	33
Rocky Mountain states	30	38
Pacific Coast states	35	38
U. S. average (median)	30	38
Southern Negroes	12	—

31. How did this picture of "what ought to be" compare with the actual state of affairs? Government research studies on the division of the national income indicate that the typical family of four lives on far less than the amount which public opinion feels to be essential for a "decency" minimum standard. The research figures for income vary with different estimates. But the main lines of the income-distribution study conducted by the Brookings Institution for 1929 still hold good. And in that year the Institution found that nearly six million families had less than $1000 and that twelve million families, or more than 42 per cent, had less than $1500.

32. Such studies of income distribution, whether condensed in the official estimates or in the stories people tell of their own insecurity, acquire profound importance when measured against what public opinion thinks the standards ought to be. So long as this chasm remains between what people have and what they think they need, protest movements and welfare legislation are bound to have a real basis in our democracy. The discovery, that, while 88 per cent of the American people feel themselves members of the middle social class, 31 per cent place themselves in the lower economic class, illuminates one of the grave social facts of our times. But such discrepancies between aspirations and actualities must first be brought to light before they can be solved. The people's own story, as told through such surveys of public opinion, may one day play a part in the ultimate solution.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* What do the authors propose to do with the findings of their public opinion poll?
   b. Is the formulation of this question made before or after the results of the poll are known?
   c. What significance does the position of this formulation have in a primary source paper?
2. *a.* What restrictions or limitations are placed on the data used in this survey?
   b. What checks are used to assure a reasonably accurate cross section and a reasonably accurate conclusion?
3. Examine the nature of the tabulated results and the means the authors use to explain and generalize from these results.
4. *a.* Make a brief outline of this article to show the order and organization followed.
   b. What is the relation of this order to the pattern of reasoning?
5. List the similarities and the differences between this article and "Training for Citizenship in the Secondary Schools of New York City." Compare especially the areas covered in each survey and the resulting chances for accuracy of prediction from the findings in the two areas.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE VARIOLAE VACCINAE, KNOWN BY THE NAME OF THE COW-POX *

By Edward Jenner

1. THE DEVIATION of man from the state in which he was originally placed by nature seems to have proved to him a prolific source of diseases. From the love of splendor, from the indulgence of luxury, and from his fondness for amusement he has familiarized himself with a great number of animals, which may not originally have been intended for his associates.
2. The wolf, disarmed of ferocity, is now pillowed in the lady's lap. The cat, the little tiger of our island, whose natural home is the forest, is equally domesticated and caressed. The cow, the hog, the sheep, and the horse, are all, for a variety of purposes, brought under his care and dominion.
3. There is a disease to which the horse, from his state of domesti-

* Edward Jenner (1749–1823), an English physician, examined twenty-three cases under this heading in 1798, from which three have been chosen to illustrate his methods.

cation, is frequently subject. The farriers call it the grease. It is an inflammation and swelling in the heel, from which issues matter possessing properties of a very peculiar kind, which seems capable of generating a disease in the human body (after it has undergone the modification which I shall presently speak of), which bears so strong a resemblance to the smallpox that I think it highly probable it may be the source of the disease.

4. In this dairy country a great number of cows are kept, and the office of milking is performed indiscriminately by men and maid servants. One of the former having been appointed to apply dressings to the heels of a horse affected with the grease, and not paying due attention to cleanliness, incautiously bears his part in milking the cows, with some particles of the infectious matter adhering to his fingers. When this is the case, it commonly happens that a disease is communicated to the cows, and from the cows to dairy maids, which spreads through the farm until the most of the cattle and domestics feel its unpleasant consequences. This disease has obtained the name of cow-pox. It appears on the nipples of the cows in the form of irregular pustules. At their first appearance they are commonly of a palish blue, or rather of a color somewhat approaching to livid, and are surrounded by an erysipelatous inflammation. These pustules, unless a timely remedy be applied, frequently degenerate into phagedenic ulcers, which prove extremely troublesome. The animals become indisposed, and the secretion of milk is much lessened. Inflamed spots now begin to appear on different parts of the hands of the domestics employed in milking, and sometimes on the wrists, which quickly run on to suppuration, first assuming the appearance of the small vesications produced by a burn. Most commonly they appear about the joints of the fingers and at their extremities; but whatever parts are affected, if the situation will admit, these superficial suppurations put on a circular form, with their edges more elevated than their center, and of a color distantly approaching to blue. Adsorption takes place, and tumors appear in each axilla. The system becomes affected — the pulse is quickened; and shiverings, succeeded by heat, with general lassitude and pains about the loins and limbs, with vomiting, come on. The head is painful, and the patient is now and then even affected with delirium. These symptoms,

varying in their degrees of violence, generally continue from one day to three or four, leaving ulcerated sores about the hands, which, from the sensibility of the parts, are very troublesome, and commonly heal slowly, frequently becoming phagedenic, like those from whence they sprung. The lips, nostrils, eyelids, and other parts of the body are sometimes affected with sores; but these evidently arise from their being heedlessly rubbed or scratched with the patient's infected fingers. No eruptions on the skin have followed the decline of the feverish symptoms in any instance that has come to my inspection, one only excepted, and in this case a very few appeared on the arms: they were very minute, of a vivid red color, and soon died away without advancing to maturation; so that I cannot determine whether they had any connection with the preceding symptoms.

5. Thus the disease makes its progress from the horse to the nipple of the cow, and from the cow to the human subject.

6. Morbid matter of various kinds, when absorbed into the system, may produce effects in some degree similar; but what renders the cow-pox virus so extremely singular is that the person who has been thus affected is forever after secure from the infection of the small-pox; neither exposure to the variolous effluvia, nor the insertion of the matter into the skin, producing this distemper.

7. In support of so extraordinary a fact, I shall lay before my reader a great number of instances.

8. *Case I.* Joseph Merret, now an under gardener to the Earl of Berkeley, lived as a servant with a farmer near this place in the year 1770, and occasionally assisted in milking his master's cows. Several horses belonging to the farm began to have sore heels, which Merret frequently attended. The cows soon became affected with the cow-pox, and soon after several sores appeared on his hands. Swellings and stiffness in each axilla followed, and he was so much indisposed for several days as to be incapable of pursuing his ordinary employment. Previously to the appearance of the distemper among the cows there was no fresh cow brought into the farm, nor any servant employed who was affected with the cow-pox.

9. In April, 1795, a general inoculation taking place here, Merrett was inoculated with his family; so that a period of twenty-five

years had elapsed from his having cow-pox to this time. However, though the variolous matter was repeatedly inserted into his arm, I found it impracticable to infect him with it; an efflorescence only, taking on an erysipelatous look about the center, appearing on the skin near the punctured parts. During the whole time that his family had the smallpox, one of whom had it very full, he remained in the house with them, but received no injury from exposure to the contagion.

10. It is necessary to observe that the utmost care was taken to ascertain, with the most scrupulous precision, that no one whose case is here adduced had gone through the smallpox previous to these attempts to produce that disease.

11. Had these experiments been conducted in a large city, or in a populous neighborhood, some doubts might have been entertained; but here, where population is thin, and where such an event as a person's having had the smallpox is always faithfully recorded, no risk of inaccuracy in this particular can arise.

12. *Case II.* Sarah Portlock, of this place, was infected with the cow-pox when a servant at a farmer's in the neighborhood, twenty-seven years ago. In the year 1792, conceiving herself, from this circumstance, secure from the infection of the smallpox, she nursed one of her own children who had accidentally caught the disease, but no indisposition ensued. During the time she remained in the infected room, variolous matter was inserted into both her arms, but without any further effect than in the preceding case.

13. *Case XVII.* The more accurately to observe the progress of the infection I selected a healthy boy, about eight years old, for the purpose of inoculating for the cow-pox. The matter was taken from a sore on the hand of a dairymaid, who was infected by her master's cows, and it was inserted on the fourteenth day of May, 1796, into the arm of the boy by means of two superficial incisions, barely penetrating the cutis, each about an inch long.

14. On the seventh day he complained of uneasiness in the axilla and on the ninth he became a little chilly, lost his appetite, and had a slight headache. During the whole of this day he was perceptibly indisposed, and spent the night with some degree of restlessness, but on the day following he was perfectly well.

15. The appearance of the incisions in their progress to a state of

maturation were much the same as when produced in a similar manner by variolous matter. The difference which I perceived was in the state of the limpid fluid arising from the action of the virus, which assumed rather a darker hue, and in that of the efflorescence spreading round the incisions, which had more of an erysipelatous look than we commonly perceive when variolous matter has been made use of in the same manner; but the whole died away (leaving on the inoculated parts scabs and subsequent eschars) without giving me or my patient the least trouble.

16. In order to ascertain whether the boy, after feeling so slight an affection of the system from the cow-pox virus, was secure from the contagion of the smallpox, he was inoculated the first of July following with variolous matter, immediately taken from a pustule. Several slight punctures and incisions were made on both his arms, and the matter was carefully inserted, but no disease followed. The same appearances were observable on the arms as we commonly see when a patient has had variolous matter applied, after having either the cow-pox or smallpox. Several months afterwards he was again inoculated with variolous matter, but no sensible effect was produced on the constitution.

17. After the many fruitless attempts to give the smallpox to those who had had the cow-pox, it did not appear necessary, nor was it convenient to me, to inoculate the whole of those who had been the subjects of these late trials; yet I thought it right to see the effects of variolous matter on some of them, particularly William Summers, the first of these patients who had been infected with matter taken from the cow. He was, therefore, inoculated from a fresh pustule; but, as in the preceding cases, the system did not feel the effects of it in the smallest degree. I had an opportunity also of having this boy and William Pead inoculated by my nephew, Mr. Henry Jenner, whose report to me is as follows: "I have inoculated Pead and Barge, two of the boys whom you lately infected with the cow-pox. On the second day the incisions were inflamed and there was a pale inflammatory stain around them. On the third day these appearances were still increasing and their arms itched considerably. On the fourth day the inflammation was evidently subsiding, and on the sixth day it was scarcely perceptible. No symptoms of indisposition followed.

18. "To convince myself that the variolous matter made use of was in a perfect state I at the same time inoculated a patient with some of it who never had gone through the cow-pox, and it produced the smallpox in the usual regular manner."

19. These experiments afforded me much satisfaction; they proved that the matter, in passing from one human subject to another, through five gradations, lost none of its original properties, J. Barge being the fifth who received the infection successively from William Summers, the boy to whom it was communicated from the cow. . . .

20. Although I presume it may not be necessary to produce further testimony in support of my assertion "that the cow-pox protects the human constitution from the infection of the smallpox," yet it affords me considerable satisfaction to say that Lord Somerville, the President of the Board of Agriculture, to whom this paper was shown by Sir Joseph Banks, has found upon inquiry that the statements were confirmed by the concurring testimony of Mr. Dolland, a surgeon, who resides in a dairy country remote from this, in which these observations were made. . . .

ANALYSIS

1. What is the purpose and accomplishment of the first part of this article (From the beginning to "Case I")?
   a. Is the author here reasoning with later evidence in mind or is he proceeding from the unknown to the known?
2. Point out the evidences in the text that indicate Jenner's awareness of the scope and the limitations of his subject in each of the "cases" given here.
   a. Why is it essential here that the author place controls on his area of inquiry?
3. In what ways is this paper similar to "Thirty Dollars a Week"? How do the two articles differ? List the points of similarity and the points of difference.
4. Does it seem to you from the cases given here that Jenner has covered a large enough area to get a "cross section" that makes his conclusion valid?
5. What importance does the last specific experiment explained in the final paragraphs of the article have on the whole article?
6. You will notice that this article is dated 1798.
   a. Examine the article and list evidences that you find in the style that seem to mark it as having been of an earlier time.
   b. What kinds of words do you find that seem to indicate its age?
   c. What are the dominant sentence patterns?
   d. Read a contemporary scientific account of an experiment and compare the methods of writing with those of Jenner. What conclusions do you arrive at concerning changes in style?

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK CITY*

By Madge M. McKinney

1. EDUCATORS are justly perturbed that election scandals and inefficiency in government have not declined with increased educational facilities. They are eagerly groping for methods by which higher standards of citizenship can be developed. Their points of view sometimes diverge; they do not always agree upon what is good training or upon what are the best civic attitudes. Their terminology is not always uniform; what one calls patriotism, another calls nationalism, but they all seek the same end — the development of an intelligent, interested, and active citizenry. Many serious observers believe that until such standards are attained the morale of the American government will not be improved.

2. A knowledge of present conditions is essential to the development of new standards. The following article represents a survey of the citizenship training in nine of New York City's largest high schools. The material was obtained from answers to a questionnaire filled in by three hundred and nine students who had recently graduated from these schools, and from statements made by the teachers of the social sciences, by the heads of the departments of history and civics, by the director of civics, and by the associate superintendent in charge of the high schools. Such sources have their limitations. The questionnaire was presented to groups of college freshmen and sophomores in four institutions of higher learning in New York City. They represented a selected group of high school graduates; the large number that never attended college were not reached. Most of the questions, however, were objective in character, and it is doubtful that they would have been answered differently by non-college students.

3. It was intended originally that the survey should cover all of the New York City high schools. This undertaking proved to be too ambitious, and nine representative schools were selected. They included a girls' school, a boys' school and a coeducational school

* From *The Social Studies,* November, 1934. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

from each of New York's largest boroughs – Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. Two of them professed to be college preparatory, and their students were selected on a scholarship basis; but the data obtained from them proved that they were not unlike the other schools with regard to civic training. All were academic institutions; the conclusions are not applicable to industrial schools.

4. Every effort was made to obtain as accurate information as possible. The papers of the students who had spent less than three years in the high school from which they were graduated were discarded and most of the students whose answers were used had spent four years in the same institution. In general, the answers checked themselves – when thirty-five or forty students from the same school answer a factual question in the same way, the chances are that their memories serve them well. Where the questions pertain to an attitude rather than a fact, the answers are less conclusive; but even then group reactions are significant.

5. The survey can be divided into three fields of inquiry: (1) Formal civic education or classroom work. Most of this information was obtained from staff members. (2) The development of nationalism outside of the classroom. (3) Political experience obtained in school and civic attitudes developed through this experience.

6. The requirements for graduation from the New York high schools include one unit in American history and civics, and an additional half unit in civics.[1] The half unit, in community civics, is usually given in the first year of high school. The unit in American history and civics is generally given in the senior year. The civics in this course pertains to our national government and occupies about six weeks of the time. This means that in the four years of high school training only about thirty classroom hours are set apart for the formal study of the problems of the federal government and the machinery with which it attempts to solve them.

7. The textbooks were selected by heads of departments from an approved list drawn up by a committee appointed by the associate superintendent in charge of the high schools. Eight of the schools had adopted Rexford's *Our City – New York*[2] as a text for

[1] *Requirements for Graduation* is published in a leaflet issued by the Superintendent of Schools. One unit is five periods per week for one year.

[2] Rexford, Frank A., ed., *Our City – New York*. New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1924–1930. Dr. Rexford was formerly director of civics in the New York

community civics. All nine of the schools used Muzzy's *History of the American People* [3] for the history course, although some of them supplemented it with other texts. There was less uniformity in the choice of texts for the course in advanced civics. Magruder's *American Government,*[4] Woodburn and Moran's *The Citizen and the Republic,*[5] Guitteau's *Government and Politics in the United States,*[6] and Mathews' *Essentials of American Government* [7] were variously selected by the different schools. One school did not use a text.

8. A few questions were asked of the students in an effort to discover what materials, other than textbooks, were used, and what special attitudes, interests, and habits were cultivated. In answer to the question, *Were you required to keep abreast with current events in connection with your study of civics and American government?* two hundred and fifty-two students said *Yes,* thirty-two said *No,* twenty-five did not answer. Evidently the majority of the classes did spend some time on current events of a civic nature. But where did they get their information? One hundred and ninety-three said they subscribed to small current-events papers through their school. Classroom bulletin boards were devoted to news articles in all the schools, and about one third of the students made scrap books of political events. More than half of the students said they were tested on this part of the work. These answers indicate that the study of civics was well seasoned with information upon current questions, but they do not show how comprehensive such information was, nor does it follow that the students were developing a taste for the longer articles of the popular press.

9. They were next asked if they were encouraged to read the governmental news in the daily papers, and if so to indicate whether conservative, liberal, or radical papers were recommended.

10. The answers to this question are set forth in the following table:

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schools. The first edition of this book was written by high school students. It was later revised to conform with the new laws. Civics teachers assisted in the revision.

[3] Muzzy, David S., *History of the American People.* Boston: Ginn & Co., 1927.

[4] Magruder, Frank Abbot, *American Government.* New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1927–1932.

[5] Woodburn, James Albert and Moran, T. F., *The Citizen and the Republic.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921–1928.

[6] Guitteau, William Backus, *Government and Politics in the United States.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911–1918.

[7] Mathews, J. M., *Essentials of American Government.* Boston: Ginn & Co., 1927.

TABLE I

TYPES OF PAPERS THE STUDENTS WERE ENCOURAGED TO READ

Papers	*Number of Mentions*	*Papers*	*Number of Mentions*
Conservative	52	Liberal and Radical	2
Liberal	21	All types	11
Radical	0	Not encouraged at all*	79
Conservative and Liberal	20	No reply	124

* These students wrote "No" after all types.

11. Any interpretation of the answers must take into consideration the fact that this question was more subjective than most of those included in the questionnaire. The large number that omitted it also detracts from its value. Unfortunately it was so framed that an omission may have been intended to indicate that the student was not encouraged to read any paper – probably that was the purpose back of some of the omissions. One or two things about these answers, however, do seem significant. First, nearly half of those who answered it wrote *No* after all types of papers, or wrote – sometimes in very large letters – *Not encouraged at all.* Second, the type of paper most generally read is interesting. Conservative papers lead the list. This may not be so significant as it seems because of the subjectiveness of the question and because conservative papers frequently contain more governmental news and are therefore more useful in a civics course. That thirty-three students said they were encouraged to read more than one type of paper indicates that a few teachers are trying to develop the students' powers of discrimination. The fact that the radical papers were not exclusively recommended by any teacher will cause no great surprise among educators but it might be used to contradict the statement occasionally made in the press that New York educational institutions encourage radicalism.

12. In answer to the question, *Were controversial questions freely discussed in the classroom?* the majority of the students in every school said they were and that all sides of the questions were presented. There was, however, more disagreement on this question than on most of them, and probably the only conclusion that can

be drawn is that the majority of the students questioned were not conscious of suppression.

13. New York students are frequently accused of being provincial. Doubtless, students everywhere are inclined to judge the rest of the country through the stereotypes of their community, but in New York City this tendency is emphasized by the fact that most of the teachers are born, raised, and educated within the metropolitan area. Illustrations of provincialism are plentiful. A graduate of one of the New York City high schools once said to the writer, "How was the eighteenth amendment ever adopted, I have never met anyone who believed in it?" Again in 1928 many students were sure that Alfred E. Smith would be elected, and, if the memories of the graduates are at all reliable, it is still being taught in some of the schools that nothing but his religion prevented him from becoming President. All other elements that entered into that campaign such as Coolidge prosperity, the influence of Tammany Hall, and prohibition are given little or no weight in the New York stereotype of that election. One question was put into the questionnaire to see whether any effort was being made to counteract this tendency. The question was *Were you encouraged to read the newspapers of other localities?* It may not have been a fair criterion of the broadening influence that it was designed to measure, particularly in a city that has so many excellent newspapers, and the answers are given without any attempt to evaluate them. One hundred and ninety-eight students answered *No,* fifty-five answered *Yes,* and fifty-six did not answer.

14. Still another type of educational activity was investigated. How far was the government itself used as a primary source in the study of civics? Was its structure and operation a part of the laboratory equipment?

15. All but one of the schools studied had conducted student trips to Washington so that those students who could afford to go could visit the seat of the Federal government. These trips were carefully supervised and could easily be called a part of the formal training of those who participated in them. About twelve per cent of the students questioned had gone on these trips; probably a still smaller percentage of the entire student body had had such

an opportunity since those who go to college usually represent the more prosperous families. Local trips, more easily afforded, might have had a wider influence. These seem to have been neglected.

TABLE II

PLACES VISITED IN CONNECTION WITH THE SCHOOL WORK

Places	*Extra Credit for Visiting*	*Required to Visit*	*Conducted Trip*	*Total Visits*
City Hall	11	38*	2	51
Statue of Liberty	20	10*	12	42
Fraunces' Tavern	8	25*	6	39
Ellis Island	8*	9*	12*	29
A Court	13	9	3	25
Museum of the City of New York	10	9*	5	24
Jumel Mansion	6	12*	0	18
Museum of the American Indian	7	7	3	17
Roosevelt House	6	5	5	16
Dyckman House	4	6	2	12
Van Cortlandt House	4	4	0	8
New York Historical Society	2	5	0	7

* Practically all of these were from the same high school. Note: Seventeen volunteered the information that they were not encouraged to make any such visits.

16. A number of local places of historic and civic interest were listed and the students were asked to indicate those they were given extra credit for visiting, those they were required to visit, and those to which they were conducted by a teacher. The city hall received the most visits. Only about one sixth of the students had visited it and most of them were from the same school. Approximately one eighth of the students had been to Fraunces' Tavern, and about one seventh had visited the Statue of Liberty in connection with their school work. Ellis Island, where it is possible to see a Federal agency at work, was visited by less than one tenth of the students questioned, and a still smaller percentage had visited the other places listed. These numbers seem very small considering the cheap and rapid transportation facilities in New York City.

17. It is only fair to note that at the very time that this material was

being collected, Dr. Frank A. Rexford, Director of Education at the Museum of the City of New York, was arranging and publishing itineraries to many places of historic and civic interest in New York City, so that this type of education is now being stimulated, and greatly facilitated, by an outside force.

18. One other question pertained to the method of presenting the information concerning the government. This question was:

Was there any dramatization of the following in your high school?

A *A party caucus*
B *A national convention*
C *A city council*
D *League of Nations Assembly*
E *Other governmental bodies*
F *A presidential election*

19. According to the answers, the League of Nations Assembly had been dramatized in one school. It evidently had made a great impression for nine tenths of the students remembered it. Ten others said there had been some dramatization, but their answers were so scattered — usually one from a school — as to make them incredible.

20. A few general conclusions can be drawn from this section of the survey. It has been noted that there is considerable liberty in the selection of the textbooks. It is significant that three times as many hours are spent upon the government of New York City as are given to the national government and that only about thirty hours in the entire high school curriculum are formally assigned to the latter. In spite of the fact that the former director of civics maintained that "the city itself is the text and laboratory for the study of Civics in the Schools," [8] relatively few of the students who were questioned in this study had seen the different governmental bodies of the city or had visited its historic museums as a part of their formal training. Little use was made of newspapers or of other materials than textbooks, but with such tools as they had the students were given freedom to think as they would, and in most cases to express their thoughts. There was little or no evidence that the tools were selected for the purpose of developing one particular point of view.

[8] This is quoted from Dr. Rexford in a booklet by Harold G. Campbell, *Beyond the Classroom*, New York: Herald-Nathan Press, 1930, p. 99.

TABLE III

PICTURES RECALLED BY THE STUDENTS

Pictures	*Number of Mentions*	*Pictures*	*Number of Mentions*
American Pictures		Foreign Pictures	
Historic scenes*	128	Religious pictures	34
Presidents' portraits	126	Famous paintings	32
Statesmen's portraits	29	Scenic places	27
Martha Washington	25	Roman scenes	20
Government buildings	23	Authors and orators	20
War memorials	21	Greek scenes	17
American colleges	20	Warriors	12
American educators	13	Cathedrals	11
American authors	11	Scientists	7
Scenic places	5	Artists	6
American reformers	1	Musicians	3
American actors	1	Others	24
Total	403	Total	213

* Historic scenes included such pictures as *Washington Crossing the Delaware, The Landing of the Pilgrims, The Purchase of Manhattan.*

21. Much has been written of the nationalistic training in other countries. We are told that Germany, Italy, and Russia surround their youth with national symbols and patriotic ceremonies. An attempt was made to find out what influences of this type existed in the New York high school training, outside of the classes in history and civics.

22. The bylaws of the board of education lay the foundation for such influences; they require that all teachers either be citizens or have made application for citizenship. They also provide that assembly periods be held at least once a week which shall include exercises of a patriotic nature, a salute to the flag, and the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner." These requirements were generally carried out in the schools investigated. Assembly periods were sometimes less frequent than the law prescribed but the nature of the exercises followed the spirit of the law.

23. Two of the very first questions on the questionnaire were aimed at this phase of the student's training. They were:

What picture do you remember that hung on the walls of either the classrooms, the auditorium, or the halls of your high school building?

What songs do you remember singing most often in (a) the assembly, (b) the music class?

24. These questions were placed at the beginning so that they would be answered before the students were conscious of the nature of the study, and the papers were collected too soon for the answers to be changed. The response may be judged by the following tabulation of the answers.

TABLE IV

SONGS RECALLED BY THE STUDENTS

Songs		*In Assembly: Numbers of Mentions*	*In Music Class: Number of Mentions*
Patriotic Songs			
The Star-Spangled Banner		198	10
America		56	12
American Folk Songs*		34	74
America the Beautiful		28	5
Others		22	10
	Totals	338	111
Non-Patriotic Songs			
School Songs**		181	47
Hymns***		83	34
Opera		44	169
Foreign Folk Songs		24	57
War Songs		1	18
Others		48	71
	Totals	381	396

* Negro Spirituals and Indian Songs were included in American Folk Songs.

** Many school songs were of a patriotic nature, such as "When De Witt Clinton Was Governor of New York."

*** "God of Our Fathers" was one of the hymns most frequently mentioned; many others were semipatriotic.

25. Almost two thirds of the pictures remembered were distinctly American, and seven eighths of the American pictures were definitely historic or patriotic in character. Nearly half of the mentions of songs that the students recalled singing in assembly periods had nationalistic themes. If we included in this group the hymns and school songs which were semi-patriotic, there would remain only sixteen per cent which had no patriotic influences. The spread is somewhat different in the music class but even there more than

one fifth of the songs remembered were of a patriotic nature. It is true that these statements are a little ambiguous; the "number of mentions" is not synonymous with the number of songs sung, for the same song was recalled by many students. Table III is open to the same criticism. It is probable, however, that the songs remembered by a large number of students were most frequently sung, and that the pictures most often mentioned were hung in the most prominent places. In any case the recurrence of the same names on many papers indicates that they made a vivid impression on the students' minds. The mentions, therefore, offer a tangible, though a crude way of weighing such influences.

26. Answers to subsequent questions gave evidence of other nationalistic stimuli. The salute to the flag was generally given at assembly meetings. National holidays were usually celebrated with patriotic speeches or patriotic music. In two schools, arrangements were made so that the students could listen to the President's inaugural address over the radio. Armistice Day was observed by a few minutes of silence in all the schools. Besides pictures, other American symbols adorned the rooms. Two hundred and twelve students remembered that American flags were displayed in the buildings, twenty-six recalled seeing armor used in American wars, and thirteen said other war relics decorated the buildings. Patriotic plays or pageants had been given in all the schools. And finally, in fulfillment of the requirements for graduation from the high schools all candidates for graduation had to sign a pledge of loyalty to the United States and to the State of New York, unless they were excused by the associate superintendent in charge of the high schools. As near as the associate superintendent could remember only four students had been so excused in the preceding six years. One was the son of a British consul; the others were not explained.

27. An attempt was made to find out the extent to which nationalistic materials were generally used in the classrooms. It has already been indicated that patriotic music was sung during the music period. Did other departments use similar material? A list of patriotic speeches, poems, etc., was submitted and the students were asked to check once any that they had studied during their high

school course and twice any that they had memorized in full or in part. Table V shows how they responded.

28. Since these selections scarcely would have been studied in the assembly period, nationalistic material must have been used in the classrooms. Some of them must have been studied in connection with courses other than history and civics. Other departments therefore must be presenting material which tends to produce an emotional reaction in the student and helps to develop a nationally conscious citizenry.

TABLE V

NATIONALISTIC MATERIAL USED IN THE CLASSROOM

Patriotic Selections	*Studied by*	*Memorized in Full or Part by*
Washington's Farewell Address	153	15
Burke's Conciliation Speech	143	14
Lincoln's Gettysburg Address	130	118
The Man Without a Country	108	4
Preamble to the Declaration of Independence	98	88
Preamble to the Constitution	79	131
Paul Revere's Ride	65	18
Old Ironsides	65	39
Cooper's The Spy	50	0
Franklin's Autobiography	49	1
Scott's Love of Country	49	58
Barbara Frietchie	44	5
Concord Hymn	43	18
Irving's Life of Washington	43	1
A Perfect Tribute	35	5
Sheridan's Ride	34	2
The Blue and The Grey	27	8

29. One question more objective in character was included. The students were asked how many stanzas they could repeat of a number of patriotic songs. Their answers make one skeptical of the effectiveness of this type of training. Over three fourths of them thought they knew the words of one or more stanzas of the first three songs on the list, but it seemed rather surprising that less than half of them said they could repeat as many as two stanzas of The Star-

Spangled Banner. Even this cannot be attributed entirely to school training, since these songs are often heard at church, club or theatre.

30. One question was directed at these outside influences. It was *What patriotic motion picture shows have you seen in the last year?* A total of three hundred forty-one visits to such plays was reported. The picture *Abraham Lincoln* led the list with ninety-six visits; *All Quiet on the Western Front* came next with fifty-two visits. Eighteen students said they had been given time out of school to see such pictures. Strictly speaking, the question is relevant to this study in their case only. The popularity of these plays, however, does point to one more nationalistic influence, and it suggests an interest in historic and patriotic things that may have been awakened in the school room.

31. One other patriotic influence is the Junior Red Cross. There is a branch of this society in each of the schools. Its chief function seems to be to raise money to help handicapped children receive an education. Its nationalistic influence lies in its affiliation with the National Red Cross whose patriotic purposes and traditions are common knowledge. This organization cannot have a great influence in the schools, for very few of the students questioned were cognizant of its existence.

32. Lack of space eliminated from the study other nationalistic influences, among them being the very names of the schools, most of which are those of presidents, governors or other statesmen. There are also influences which might prove to be nationalistic if they were analyzed; among these are the student publications, particularly those sponsored by the history departments. An analysis of these sheets, however, would take considerable time, and without such an analysis no conclusions can be drawn.

33. In summary it can be said that New York City does not trust its youth to the influence of foreign teachers, that it surrounds them with nationalistic symbols and pictures in the school buildings, that nationalistic songs are sung and patriotic rites are performed in assembly meetings, that patriotic literature is frequently used in the classroom, and patriotic plays are presented by various school organizations, and finally that the students are required to sign a pledge of allegiance before graduation. Thus from matriculation

until graduation the student is under the influence of stimuli that are intended to arouse a loyalty to his country.

TABLE VI

PATRIOTIC SONGS MEMORIZED BY THE STUDENTS

SONGS	NUMBER OF STANZAS THEY COULD REPEAT				*Number of Students not Answering*
	None	*One or More*	*Two or More*	*Three or More*	
The Star-Spangled Banner	2	284	131	66	23
America	3	262	166	71	53
America, The Beautiful	9	236	139	62	64
The Battle Hymn of the Republic	24	142	62	29	143
Kipling's Recessional	63	27	16	7	219
Hail Columbia	29	130	26	19	150
John Brown's Body	49	38	18	10	222

ANALYSIS

1. Study the approach to the problem that this article handles. Be able to explain clearly how this article differs from those in the section on Secondary Source Papers.
2. What limitations are placed here on the field of inquiry covered? Why is such limitation necessary? What is its significance?
3. Explain the main technique used in this paper to gather the materials that lead to the conclusion. Are there any evidences that the conclusion is in any way anticipated before the results of the survey are known?
4. Make a careful study of the kinds of questions asked in the survey and be able to explain the nature and function of each. Are any questions asked that require more than a brief, easily tabulated answer? Why not?
5. Study the statistical tables and comment on the significance of such a device for clarifying material of this nature.
6. *a.* Explain the technique used to generalize and comment on the results of the survey.
   b. Are comments placed in a single division or do they follow each parallel grouping of the questions?
   c. What significance does the order used have on the clarity and validity of this as a primary source paper?

SHARECROPPERS OF THE SEA*

By Bertram B. Fowler

1. THERE are a hundred places like the cove in Frenchman's Bay where George Bradley has his shack. Some of them are better, some worse. The coast is dotted with shacks like George's. Some of them, also, are better. And some are worse. The coves and the shacks along the strip of coast from Portland to the Canadian border represent a new problem. Or, perhaps I should say, the sign of a trend. Something has happened to Maine, just as it has happened to the farmers of the Middle West. It is the appearance of the same evil that has blighted the whole of the South. Tenancy has come to replace ownership. It is there, showing the same face of ugliness along the Maine coast that one finds in the sharecroppers' shacks from Arkansas through the South and East to the coastal plain and the sea.

2. Let us study more closely the case of George Bradley who lives in the cove on Frenchman's Bay. His shack faces the massive bulk of Cadillac Mountain and Bar Harbor. He can see the yachts of the summer people lifting white wings against the sharp blue of the sky. The nearer view isn't so impressive. Waist-deep in the tide wash stands an old canning factory. It is several hundred yards out from the rocky shore, out where there was sufficient depth of water for boats to pull alongside and unload their fish.

3. The boats have vanished now. The pier that connected the cannery with the shore has rotted away. Here and there a pile leans disconsolately, a perch for the scavenging sea gulls. The cannery, with its blank windows staring out of the still substantial brick walls, stands as a monument to a day that has passed, to a prosperity that to George has become like a half-forgotten legend.

4. There are thousands of such monuments along the coast. There are the wharves, sagging, season by season slipping into the water. There are the funereal heaps of lobster pots rotting in the fog and bleaching in the sun. There are the fish-drying racks — the wreck-

* From *Scribner's Magazine*, May, 1937. Copyright, 1937, by Bertram B. Fowler. Reprinted by permission of the author.

age of some of them are still there – reminders of a day when the fishing communities along the Maine coast were communities of owners, the prosperous symbols of a democracy that was authentic and apparent.

5. Look at George's shack and you are looking at a segment of a pattern that is appearing. The shack is unpainted, unlovely, standing on high piles just above the high-water line. It has two rooms – kitchen and bedroom. There are seven in the Bradley family – five children, George, and his wife. In the two rooms there are no comforts or conveniences, only a squalor that is deadening and depressing.

6. Perhaps, in some of the blighted areas of Alabama or Kentucky or Arkansas, George's shack would not rate more than passing comment. But this is Maine! And when Americans think of Maine they are conscious of a sensation of something like smugness. Maine is so sound, so stable. Its people are sturdy, self-reliant, self-respecting. Which was true – once.

7. Americans by the thousands whir through Maine on their wheels of air and rubber. The change has taken place beneath their eyes without their understanding what has happened. They see for the most part the great midway of the filling stations, the tourist homes, the We Take You Inns, the clusters of roadside cabins with such esthetic titles as "Maine Idyll." These people usually miss the shacks of the George Bradleys. The coves they visit are studded with summer cottages, hotels, and inns. If they do see the shacks, they fail to notice and understand the trend of which they are symbols.

8. The reason is there, in the piled-up lobster pots, in the unpainted boats careened on the beaches. It is written in the smudge of smoke that the beam trawler traces across the blue of the sky off Bar Harbor. The shacks, the rotting wharves, the disintegrating fishing gear and lobster pots – all these are effects. Cause and effect pass unnoticed by the summer visitors. To them the grayness of the shacks, the fantastic angles taken on by falling wharves are picturesque. The tragedy is softened by the esthetic shades with which sun and wind and rain paint their damage.

9. Mass production in fishing, the centralization of ownership and

control of the industry, the depredations worked by unsound methods of fishing, the disappearance, one by one, of the fish by which they live – these constitute the cause of the change.

10. Let us look more closely at George Bradley's case. He did not always live in a shack on the rim of the cove. There was a time when he reaped an abundant harvest from the sea. In a lobster season he has made as high as fifty dollars a day. He has made twenty dollars a day hand trawling. He has seen the season when he and his neighbors cleared thousands of dollars on the herring catch. Such figures speak of prosperity. But they shrink a little when one stops to figure the hazards of the trade. There are days when no boats can go out. There are lobster traps lost in storms. There is the wreckage of trawl gear during the season. There is the upkeep of boats and motors.

11. George has always kept the accounts of his fishing. His books showed the results of three months' lobster fishing this spring. For the three months he averaged twenty-three cents a day above expenses. Here are the figures that can be duplicated a thousand times along the coast, the figures that show the swift and relentless extinction of the lobster, the harvest upon which five thousand families along the Maine coast depend. Here George's economic problem is linked directly to the tragedy of waste that is wiping out one more of the national resources.

12. This spring George, like hundreds of others, turned his back on lobster fishing. He admitted, after years in which his catch had fallen off steadily, that as a livelihood, lobster fishing was finished.

13. He started trawling. He got up at three in the morning to start in his motor boat for the fishing grounds. He set his two or three miles of hook-festooned line and fished for hake. Once it had been haddock. But now market catches of haddock by the individual fishermen are part of the past. In the past, hake was a despised fish, with practically no market value. The inexorable urge of circumstances forced the markets to sell hake to the consumers, even as it had been forced years earlier to popularize the then-despised haddock.

14. Having set his two or three miles of trawl, George waited an hour, then hauled the interminable length of line back into his boat. An average day's catch was a thousand pounds. He freighted

that to the buyer at the fish stand in a neighboring cove and got forty cents a hundred for his fish. With his four dollars he went home, paid a dollar for the gasoline he had used, a dollar and a half for bait for the next day. There were other incidentals, lubricating oil, motor repairs, fishing gear — all to come out of the four dollars. The result is there for all to see in the shack on the rim of the cove, in George's boat that will one day be unfit to venture to sea in. It is tragically apparent in George's children, who get an insufficiency of milk and eggs. George himself shows the result. He works too long hours, suffers from exposure on an unbalanced diet, too much fish, not enough of meat and proteins.

15. Leave the cove in which George lives and go along the coast. The problem will be before you as you go. It is there, the hopelessness that in some instances is degenerating into shiftlessness and chronic despair. For, in all the blighted sections of America, the pattern is uniform. First, poverty, destroying self-respect and courage. Later, hopelessness, bitter and enervating. The last stage is the stage of shiftlessness, the abandonment of hope, a supine willingness to accept relief, to lie down when standing upright becomes impossible.

16. In one town I walked on the beach and found a fisherman calking the widening seams of an upturned boat. I asked him if he were getting ready to go fishing. He looked at me and laughed.

17. "What's the use of goin' fishin'?" he said, "I fished for three weeks this spring. At the end of three weeks I was just four dollars deeper in debt than I had been when I started. What's the use?"

18. I decided to follow the question through. I decided to try to find out what had happened to this community. The blight was apparent. It screamed at me from the unpainted houses, the slovenly streets, the dour suspicion with which the inhabitants looked at the stranger who asked questions.

19. I talked to a local fish dealer. He sold the fishermen their boats, gear, gasoline, and oil. He bought their fish when they came back from fishing. He stared sourly out of his window onto the bay. There were three wharves immediately below us. All three were sagging, falling into the tide.

20. "The fishermen are no good!" he said bitterly. "They don't want to work. They're shiftless! They're lazy. They'd rather live on relief

than make an honest living fishing." He said a lot more things about the fishermen, none of them complimentary.

21. "There was a time," he went on, "when you could get them to fish. But not now!" He turned away from the window. "Me, I'm through. I've made a little money in thirty years of hard work. I'm going to retire. I'm going to get out of it." He brightened while he said it. He looked like a man who saw an escape from some sort of a nightmare.

22. I inquired further. I found a merchant who leaned over his dusty counter and gave another angle of the problem. He told me about the fish dealer. That man owned more than fifty per cent of the boats that fished out of the harbor. The fisherman who sold his fish to any one but that particular dealer lost his boat. He had to sell to the one market at the price offered. The fishermen had thus become sharecroppers of the sea. They worked on the owners' terms or sat in rebellious idleness.

23. Up on the hill I found the minister, but he couldn't tell me anything. He was new to the community — a weary old man who had not even been accorded the housewarming customary in the Maine of old. Perhaps his treatment was not indicative, but the sagging wharves were. And so was the careened boat on the beach.

24. I traveled along the coast and stopped again. There was a fisherman to whom I talked. A baby played in the yard. It was a barren yard, devoid of flowers or any touch of an owner's pride. The wife came to the door and looked at me with a dull boredom that was freighted with the same tragedy that I had seen in the old minister's eyes.

25. "I went out today," the fisherman told me. "I went out at four o'clock. I got back at noon. After I got my fish unloaded and my trawl baited it was nigh night. I just figured out the day. I made just fifty cents over and above bait, gas, and oil. Sure, I'll go out tomorrow. Perhaps the catch will be bigger. Perhaps prices will be a little better. But I doubt it."

26. What he said, and his manner of saying it, echoed the cry that is so commonly heard along the coast. "Tomorrow, maybe. But I doubt it." It is a sort of universal monotone, the accents of hopelessness.

27. The cause is there on the surface for all to see. There had been an era in which these people had been owners of an industry. They

caught their fish and brought them to a port where the people owned their own units of processing. They split their fish, salted and dried them. When they sold they sold a partially finished product.

28. Then came the change that the modernization of marketing methods has worked. Iced or frozen fillets began to replace the salt fish. The local fish dealers began to buy fish direct from the boats as the fishermen came in. The local dealer sold to another dealer in Portland, who in turn sold to a dealer in Boston, who sold again to the retail outlets. All had to have a profit. Retail prices remained practically unchanged. Therefore, prices to the fishermen dropped lower and lower, until they were swallowed by production costs and poverty swept a whole section of the population into its embrace. The fishermen were carrying on their backs a vicious system of distribution.

29. Prices have not borne any relation to the abundance of the supply. The lobster dinner at hotel or restaurant, for example, has been priced the same for nearly twenty years. Yet, twenty years ago the fishermen caught many times the weight of lobsters per trap as he does today. He gets practically the same price per pound for his twenty-pound catch today as he did for his one hundred-pound catch ten years ago.

30. With the change in the marketing methods of fish other than lobsters there appeared a new technique in fishing, or rather a modernization of an old technique. The beam trawler appeared on the fisherman's horizon and began a system of fishing that today threatens to deplete the fishing grounds and do for some of our most valuable food fish what an earlier generation did for the passenger pigeon, the heath hen, and the buffalo. The modern, high-powered beam trawler drags its net across the bottom, taking whatever is before it. It kills the young fish by the countless millions. It drags its way across the spawning grounds and destroys millions of pounds of fish that should be the catch of years to come. It is mass production in the fishing industry, giving the consumer the immediate benefit of low prices and quantity production. But, unrestrained by laws or regulations, it is wiping out the existing supply of fish. And as the fish go, so goes the coast of Maine.

31. Not all the villages have been ruined by marketing methods or the beam trawlers. There are other causes of the prevalent poverty.

In out-of-the-way corners of the coast you can find the disconsolate clusters of houses slipping into ruin. These are the deserted villages, the communities where the inhabitants gave up the unequal struggle and went south to the factory towns.

32. I found two or three such villages at the mouth of the Kennebec. The streets were grass-grown lanes. In front of the villages the surf growled on the rocks, and the gulls screamed over the desolation. I found an old native and talked to him about what had happened here. When I asked him why, he swung his arm toward the river and said, "Shad!"

33. In this particular section every one looked to the spring and the annual shad run. The people made most of their livings on their tiny farms. The shad came in the spring as a cash crop. Before them came the smelts, another cash crop. Now, with the river polluted by industrial plants, the shad have vanished. The smelts come, but in decreasing numbers. So the villages stand deserted.

34. The old native I talked with was making hay. He needed help and couldn't get any. Some of the unemployed were working on the roads under WPA. These fellows didn't care about leaving relief to take such a seasonal job as haying. It was too hard to get back on relief again. To some of the others haying was too strenuous. But that wasn't all the native told me. He was above the average level of intelligence. He knew what was happening to the section of the country in which he had lived his life. He had thought things through. "Even if I could get one of those fishermen, I'd have to feed him up for three weeks before he'd be of any use to me."

35. This man knew the havoc that unbalanced diets had worked among the fishermen. Others do not, and snort derisively about shiftlessness and laziness. But the native is right. A whole section of the population does not change without cause. There is a reason for shiftlessness and inability in Maine, as in any other section of the country.

36. In Maine the trend is clear and well-defined. The rulers of distribution fit into the picture with the plantation owner of the South, with the absentee owner of the Middle West. The pattern is the national pattern of tenancy. When the primary producer loses ownership, he becomes a sharecropper. In the West and South it is owner-

ship of the land that has been lost. In Maine it is ownership of the units of individual production, the boats and fishing gear.

37. In Maine you will find the remnants of what was once an authentic democracy. The town halls are still there, those institutions that were so essentially the symbols of democracy. In these town halls the citizens gathered to take an active part in the government of their social, political, and economic affairs. To my mind, they voted intelligently because they voted as property owners, as men in whom the interest of the community was vested. They constituted the economic foundation which governs the political setup – which seems fundamentally sound. The owners of the wealth of a nation should, in my opinion, control the political destinies of the nation.

38. Ownership is vanishing along the Maine coast. Therefore, the dereliction of old political beliefs. Ownership has gone, and with it the self-reliance and responsibility which accompanied it. Therefore the following of strange banners, the flocking of the old people to the standard of the Townsendites. When ownership vanishes, democracy disappears.

39. The slide from ownership to tenancy in Maine has been accompanied step by step by the disintegration of a section of the population. The route of the march from democracy during the past few decades is so clearly defined as to allow of no doubt as to the cause. The wharves have rotted and fallen into the water, the houses have degenerated into shacks, the fish houses and the drying racks have tumbled down in exactly the same ratio to the inexorable downward trend of the morale of the people and the decadence of the communities.

40. To the east of Maine lies Nova Scotia, where on a section of the coast the same situation existed for years. There St. Francis Xavier University carried out a plan of education and action and began to salvage the villages. In Nova Scotia, cooperation has proven the truth of the theory of democracy. The renaissance of the Nova Scotian fishing villages has paralleled exactly the return of ownership to the people of the communities.

41. There, the people began to own cooperatively those things which a system of modern distribution had made impossible of ownership individually. Cooperatively, the people in the Nova Scotian villages

began to unite to win back ownership. United, they were invincible. They have proved this by remaking a whole section of the coast.

42. One way or another Maine must do it also. Otherwise, it will continue to slip until it is just another blighted area, its people chronically hopeless and inherently shiftless. It will slip until Washington finds itself facing another area of the nation where a costly scheme of resettlement has become vitally necessary.

ANALYSIS

1. Study the first paragraph closely. Since the author is concerned with a whole region, why does he give the reader the impression at the beginning that he is especially concerned with George Bradley and Frenchman's Cove?
   a. How do you characterize this technique?
   b. Does the first paragraph tell us plainly what the article as a whole is about?
2. *a.* Does the author really begin to look at George Bradley's case in Paragraph 2? If not, where does he begin?
   b. Is he merely making concrete references when his eye is on the generality all the time here?
3. What do Paragraphs 6 and 7 add? Could they be left out easily?
4. Note the insertion of the first attempt to explain the causes for the conditions, in Paragraphs 8 and 9.
5. This is a research study that takes the author into the field to gather material.
   a. How much does he tell us of his movements up and down the Maine coast.
   b. Are we satisfied that he has done all that he should have done?
   c. What are the natural limits of his problem?
6. *a.* Where does the study of George Bradley's case end? Why has he looked in detail at this one case?
   b. If he had so wanted, could the author have used as well other cases from among those he has mentioned? The minister's? The fish dealer's?
   c. Determine what new material the author has gained from each new interview that he reports.
7. *a.* Are there any areas in the field of the author's inquiry that are not touched in the article?
   b. How does their omission affect the conclusions reached here, if at all?
8. Note the search for causes again in Paragraphs 27–35. The causal pattern of reasoning deserves careful study here.
9. What is the author doing in Paragraphs 36–39?
10. Note the comparison with Nova Scotia in Paragraph 40. This is both a rhetorical and a logical device. Study it.
11. Does the author propose any solutions that lie beyond the immediate area covered by his data? What are they?
12. Note the use of concrete details in the development of Paragraph 7.
13. Are there any evidences of bias on the part of the author? Point them out and explain what they do to the effectiveness and validity of the article as a whole.

YARNING IN THE EIGHTEEN FIFTIES*

By Paul Fatout

The sobbing and sighing is endless. Everybody . . . goes about with an enormous sorrow at his heart.[1]

1. When Edgar Allan Poe died in 1849 the stimulus he had brewed for American writers died with him. His famous 1842 review of *Twice-Told Tales,* memorable because of its original rules for a new genre, the short story, was ignored by his contemporaries. Exerting little or no influence during his own time by virtue either of criticism or example, he remained a literary pariah. And after his death his life served only as a horrible example for Puritans of polite letters to shudder over. Today, more than eighty years after, time flips a gesture of derision at the shades of Poe's detractors. His reputation, boomeranged from Europe with the tag of foreign approval dear to all good patriots, has grown to a luxuriance tropic enough to make him a twentieth century candidate for psychological dissection. Fame has reached its apogee.

2. In the decade following his death, however, Poe was forgotten as completely as if he had never lived. These ten years were low tide in American letters. The ebb left rank malarial flats breathing a miasma poisonous with affectation and sentimentality. The air was loaded with the very germs Poe tried vainly to destroy. Save Hawthorne no writer of tales survived the epidemic. To be sure there was the brief glory of Fitz-James O'Brien but even he, despite the valiant aid of an edition of his stories as late as 1925,[2] is almost lost in undisturbed dust that mercifully covers forgotten years. There are no high points in the fifties. The now dusty landscape was submerged then in a deluge of feminine fiction that flowed to low tide in rivers of sticky complacency and floods of enervating tears. As Hawthorne testily wrote to Ticknor in 1855:

> America is now wholly given over to a d——d mob of scribbling women. I should have no chance of success while the public taste is oc-

* From the *American Scholar,* Summer, 1934. Reprinted by permission of publishers and the author.

[1] Review of *Fashion and Famine* by Ann S. Stephens. *Putnam's.* Vol. 4. August, 1854. pp. 218–19.

[2] *Collected Stories* by Fitz-James O'Brien. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. 1925.

cupied with their trash — and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed. What is the mystery of these innumerable editions of *The Lamplighter,* and other books neither better nor worse — worse they could not be and better they need not be when they sell by the hundred thousand.[3]

3. The success of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 when one hundred thousand copies were sold in eight weeks probably induced many a woman to attempt a novel. Sara Willis Parton's first book, *Ruth Hall,* sold fifty thousand copies in eight weeks in 1854. Maria Cummins, author of the lachrymose *Lamplighter,* "one of the best and purest of its class that has emanated from an American mind,"[4] Susan Warner who wrote *The Wide Wide World,* very popular throughout the fifties, the polynomic Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth; and others of their kind must have been glittering examples spurring on platoons of hopeful aspirants. Their efforts so littered the literary scene that even editors, like Hawthorne, sometimes viewed them with alarm. A reviewer in *Putnam's* comments a little fearfully:

> A most alarming avalanche of female authors has been pouring upon us the past three months, nearly all of whom are new.[5]

Knickerbocker's is more irritable and brutal:

> We now have women-poets, women-sentimentalists, women-statesmen, women-historians, women-preachers, and women-doctors, *et id omne genus,* and the cry is, "still they come."[6]

The North American Review, fondly reproachful, waves a chiding finger:

> It is apparent to any one who will take the trouble to look over the books which make up the burden of a bookseller's counter, that it has become a wonderfully common piece of temerity for a lady to make a book. . . . We trust the appetite for book-making notoriety is not so alarmingly on the increase among our fair friends as from the mere number of names we might forbode.[7]

4. The fair friends, however, deterred by no such mild reproofs, kept right on industriously spreading purple ink. Indeed, women's mania

[3] *Letters of Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor 1851–1864.* Vol. I, p. 75. 1910.
[4] *Godey's Lady's Book.* July, 1854. p. 84.
[5] *Putnam's* Vol. 4, July, 1854. p. 110.
[6] *Knickerbocker's Magazine.* Vol. 45, May, 1855. p. 525.
[7] *North American Review.* Vol. 72, January, 1851. pp. 151–153.

for bursting into print became of itself something to make stories about.

> Isabel Bernard [we learn] was young and an authoress . . . [she] could support herself comfortably and look forward to a future that contained the greatest of worldly blessings — plenty of well-paid appreciated work.[8]

And Fitz-James O'Brien broadly satirized the hysteria by making the heroine of *Sister Anne* a young country girl who goes to New York, gets a job on the *Weekly Gong,* writes sketches entitled *Lichens,* attends literary soirées, and in six months is ready to publish a book. For Sister Anne writing is as effortless as breathing. An astonished editor says to her:

> "You the author of those charming poems that have appeared from time to time in the *Aloe?* Why it's impossible. You can't be more than fourteen."
> "I'm fifteen," answered Sister Anne, ". . . here are ten more poems."[9]

5. The results of all the frantic turmoil in crinoline were dull, priggish, fearfully soppy books that sold literally "by the hundred thousand" to a reading public, made up almost entirely of women, who must have been psychologically similar to tabloid addicts and of the same mental age as movie audiences. Novel reading, heretofore regarded as frivolous, even morally suspect, became respectable. The genteel went in for it — provided always the novels were the right sort. What the right sort was may readily be learned from the following opinion of the *North American Review:*

> The popularity of a pure and practically useful style of fiction, recommending itself to the moral sense as well as the sympathetic passions of the story-loving public, shows that the standard to which all beneath must strive to conform, is continually rising. It is encouraging to reflect that the obscene wit and vulgar scenes of the old romances and dramas would not now be tolerated in the lowest and least pure of the tales now so cheaply offered to the public, and so eagerly read. In many of the very humblest of these a good aim is apparent, and even the affectation of a moral purpose shows that the public taste demands it.[10]

[8] "Isabel Bernard's Lesson." *Harpers.* Vol. XIX, No. CXI, August, 1859. p. 363.
[9] "Sister Anne," *Harper's.* Vol. XII, No. LXVII, December, 1855. p. 94.
[10] "Female Authors," *North American Review.* Vol. 72, January, 1851. pp. 156–7.

6. These righteous principles, applied by reviewers to the particular yarns that came to them, infect criticism of the eighteen fifties with an air of complete falseness. For one thing critics, dazzled by the pure white radiance of fragile womanhood, abrogate whatever critical standards they may possess and approach the shrine with fatuous chivalry intent upon praise at whatever cost to art. Thus:

> Minerva's helmet and sword are a joke, and her shield is only useful to lean upon. Her fair face softens all manly hearts. He who should put her arms to the proof, even in a just cause, would cut but a sorry figure. Whoever it may be that she may have broken her lance upon, he can but shrug his shoulders, and leave her in possession of the field.[11]
>
> . . . a charming book by a charming authoress. Gaze on the likeness of the fair writer and you see "Living and Loving" written in the sweet, happy face, and beaming from the deep, lustrous eye.[12]
>
> The anonymous author (of *Busy Moments of an Idle Woman*) is a lady who writes with the customary grace and facility of expression which belong to her sex.[13]

7. Strange words these to the ear of the nineteen thirties! But stranger still are the book reviews. Among fulsome notices about sad sugary essays prettily entitled *Rural Hours* or *Broken Blossoms* or *Gems by the Wayside* or *Gathered Lilies*, among pious observations entombed in *Summer Gleanings, Stray Meditations, Voices of the Heart*, and many more by regiments of forgotten divines, one comes upon exhibits like the following culled from early issues of the blue-blooded *Atlantic Monthly*:

> *Twin Roses: a Narrative*, by Anna Cora Ritchie . . . the sentiment of the book is so pure, fresh and artless, its moral tone so high, its style so rich and melodious, and its purpose so charitable and good, that the reader is kept in pleasant attention to the end, and lays it down with regret.[14]
>
> *Vernon Grove: or Hearts as They Are.* . . . It is an interesting story, of marked, but not improbable incidents, involving a few well-distinguished characters, who fall into situations to display which requires a nice analysis of the mind and heart, developed and graceful and flowing narrative, enlivened by natural and spirited conversations. The atmosphere of the book is one of refined taste and high culture. . . . The peo-

[11] "Female Authors," *North American Review*. Vol. 72, January, 1851. p. 163.
[12] Review of *Living and Loving* by Virginia F. Townsend, *Godey's Lady's Book*. February, 1858. p. 187.
[13] *Putnam's*. Vol. III, January, 1854. p. 109.
[14] *Atlantic Monthly*. Vol. I, No. VII. May, 1858. p. 892.

ple in it, with scarce an exception, are people who mean to be good, and who are handsome, polite, accomplished and rich . . . it is a book marked by a high tone of moral and religious as well as artistic and esthetic culture . . . it embodies many worthy lessons for the mind and heart.[15]

The allegedly intellectual *North American Review,* commenting upon the novels of E. P. Roe, joins the aseptic parade:

. . . his stories have the very purest and loftiest aim, and indicate an author mildly conservative, rigidly conscientious, and sincerely devout. In fine, Mr. Roe has . . . moral characteristics which would make us thankful to have their circulation definitely increased.[16]

A stray note in *Putnam's,* while expressing the regulation "sentiments," carries with it a neat backhanded slap that damns at one stroke the myriad of slipshod sentences that passed over editors' desks in those sanctified and dreadful days:

Ida Norman . . . Mrs. Phelps' novel . . . in addition to the purity of its motives . . . has the not trifling merit of being grammatically written.[17]

Another succinct note, unearthed from *The Ladies' Repository,* is a summary pair of tongs consigning the defiling book to the everlasting bonfire:

Trumps. A Novel. By G. W. Curtis. Having read "Trumps" on the title-page, we went no further.[18]

Finally, *Fraser's* presents a wistaria festoon of sweet thoughts:

[*Light and Shade*] may be said to be a religious novel in its spirit, which is sweet and full of goodness. . . . The moral and religious tone of the story is at once earnest and unobtrusive . . . (it is) pure in sentiment, simple and touching in expression, and sound in principle.[19]

8. The foregoing review, in a synopsis of the story, makes plain the kind of human misbehavior that made dramatic conflicts in the eighteen fifties. The exposition is worth a short digression:

[15] *Ibid.* Vol. III, No. XV. January, 1859. p. 133.
[16] *North American Review.* Vol. 85. July, 1857. p. 272.
[17] *Putnam's.* Vol. 4. November, 1854. p. 565.
[18] *Ladies' Repository* devoted to Literature and Religion. Vol. XXI, No. 5. May, 1861. p. 315.
[19] *Fraser's Magazine.* Vol. 47. April, 1853. p. 465.

> Angel Moore [the heroine] . . . gay, young, and charming . . . good and kind . . . is tempted on a visit to the country house of some fashionable relations, where, surrounded by a crowd of idle admirers, she is drawn into a round of private theatricals and frivolous excesses of all kinds, including amongst the rest sundry amusements which her severer friends regard as a desecration of the Sabbath.[20]

And so on. Her rigidly upright suitor, Templeton, gives her up as a lost soul, but she reforms in time for a happy ending.

9. Criticism in the eighteen fifties was made of just such fantastic stuff which is representative of "Literary Notices" fogged with considerations "pure," "refined," "elevated," "religious," "good," and "moral." They are as musty as the cobwebby old volumes that contain them. Could our ancestors really have been the suffocating bores they make themselves out? Whatever they were, in print, at least, a virulent piety ruled. Philistines held the field and the intelligentsia had no shock troops. The literary giant of the day, despite feverish efforts of authoresses to usurp his place, was N. P. Willis, "a poet, a humorist, a man of taste, culture, and travel, and withal possessed of many prominent and piquant idiosyncracies." [21] He wrote *Hurry Graphs, Dashes at Life With a Free Pencil, The Rag-Bag, Fun Jottings,* and other profundities, and was praised out of all reason. Verbal skyrocketings in his honor were as gaudy as dust cover blurbs. *Harper's* maintained:

> No writer has so unvariedly and so entirely won the admiration of readers of the most refined sentiment and daintiest fancy. . . . He is essentially the man of genius.[22]
>
> . . . even the dusty roadside grows delightful under Willis's blossom-dropping pen, and when we come to the mountain and lake, it is like reveling in all the fragrant odors of Paradise.[23]

10. Another prominent ornament of the times was Ik Marvel who wrote *Fudge Doings* and the languishing *Reveries of a Bachelor.* He too entranced swarms of myopic adherents who credited him with opening "a new vein of gold in the literature of his country," "almost Shakespearian fidelity to nature," and "the most beautiful revelations that can be drawn from the depths of a rich experience." [24]

[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *North American Review.* Vol. 89. July, 1859. p. 274.
[22] *Harper's.* Vol. XVI, No. XCII. January, 1858. p. 166.
[23] *Ibid.* Vol. III, No. XIII. June, 1851. p. 140.
[24] *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. IX. January, 1851. p. 281.

George William Curtis crashed into favor with innocuous stories and drowsy ramblings in the *Dream Life* manner. In view of these concepts it is not surprising that the times were fruitful for the Fanny Ferns, the Grace Greenwoods, the Fanny Forresters, the Minnie Myrtles, and other feminine flora who did not assume vegetable pseudonyms but nevertheless vegetated.

11. Though busily writing novels they found time, alas, to dash off short stories for magazines which by mid-century had sprung to life all over the country. A few editors, like those of *Graham's* and *Fraser's,* seemed honestly bent on raising literary standards; more, like Mr. Godey, forswore standards in favor of quantity production for the benefit of the undiscriminating. Popular magazines were published by the dozen in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Even outlandish Chicago had thirteen and the Ohio valley strenuously asserted its literacy with ninety different publications.[25] Sprouting primly as "Monthlies," "Journals," or topheavy under titles like *Mirror and Ladies' Parterre* and *Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West* they flourished mushroomwise, for a brief period, and died.

12. Digging into these archeological remains the explorer discovers first an array of guileless titles in the best tradition of the Oliver Optic books. They might be used without change by the master minds of Hollywood. Consider: *Twice in Love, Sentiment and Action, Love Snuffed Out, How Women Love, Winifred's Vow, Rachel's Refusal, Esther Benner's Love and Hate, Head and Heart, The Lady's Revenge, Bertha's Love, Faithful Margaret, Love's Venture, Married to the Man of Her Choice, Jessie's Courtship, Nancy Blyn's Lovers, The Fair Dona Belle.* These, like old melodramas, are amusing but the tales they head up are dreary stuff. Strictly nonintoxicating, it is poured into trite molds built usually according to one of three plans, namely:

1. Lovelorn maiden pines for man who has died, who has left home to make his fortune, who has run off with another woman, who is in love with her sister, who has done none of these things but whom, for some vague reason, she will not marry. The conflict is resolved by: (a) vague removal of the vague difficulty barring the marriage; or (b) death of the heroine; or (c) continued pining

[25] Tassin, Algernon. *The Magazine in America.* 1915. p. 201.

of the heroine and absence of the hero; or (d) return, in the closing paragraphs, of the presumably dead, wandering, or faithless lover as alive and faithful as ever.

2. Lovelorn maiden marries young gallant only to find that he is a brute who makes her life miserable by gambling, by staying out late at night, by not going to church. Either: (a) she dies; or (b) he leaves her; or (c) he is disposed of by drowning, fall from runaway horse, or a tumble off a cliff, the lady promptly marrying the man who has been patiently waiting for her all these years.

3. Haughty, soulless maiden, supremely beautiful and egregiously arrogant, consistently snubs the honorable advances of eligible suitors. The snubbing goes on until she gets her comeuppance by: (a) shattering of her pride in loss of wealth or position: or (b) making a supposedly brilliant match that turns out badly; or (c) desertion of discouraged suitors and last resort marriage with an also-ran; or (d) spinsterhood with consequent bitter realization that she has allowed the prize male of the lot to escape.

13. Of course there are variations. Sometimes an ardent young man pines for a fair flirt who apparently bestows her smiles promiscuously. But just as the reader becomes interested in this individualist he is likely to find that she is smiling at her cousin or her husband, both entitled to receive her smiles without damage to anyone's reputation. Occasionally she turns out to be a mild sort of adventuress who reaps the just rewards of disrespectability in a bad end; or she brings the story back to brownstone tranquility by a sudden decision to marry the young man and to stop all extramarital smiling.

14. When not occupied with such peccadillos fiction turns to the persecuted child. Orphaned at a tender age, rescued from a sordid infancy in which she has been all but beaten and starved to death, she is an example of sweetness and light, a super-Pollyanna ready to drip scriptural texts pat to any occasion. With angelic soul, confiding eyes, and insufferable self-righteousness she lingers through tearful paragraphs and sinks into an early grave. Her sufferings are an overwrought motif played forte with the tremolo stop wide open.

15. So tremulous is the wavering note sounding through the eighteen fifties that writers must have written with a permanent tear in the eye, a permanent catch in the larynx. They threw over all human behavior the stagey glow of rose-colored sentimentality. Even

nature served not as a realistic background but as a splendid opportunity to halt the story for a burst of florid emotion. The narrative waits while a sweet essay on sunset, winding river, November landscape is daintily penned. It seems that:

> The sea floated its foam-caps upon the gray shore, and murmured its inarticulate love-stories all day to the dumb rocks above; the blue sky was bordered with saffron sunrises, pink sunsets, silver moonfringes, or spangled with careless stars; the air was full of south winds that fluttered the hearts of a thousand roses and a million violets with long, deep kisses, and then flung the delicate odors abroad to tell their exploits and set the butterflies mad with jealousy and the bees crazy with avarice.[26]

16. Whatever the virtues of the fifties, restraint was not one of them. Writers enthusiastically let go in all directions. They overdid handsomely by whatever they set their pens to. Pictures of nature, lavish enough, are sober compared with resplendent portraits of the marionettes that pass for human beings. Observe a stock model 1850 heroine:

> Young, beautiful, accomplished, and even learned was Miss Amarynth St. Quillotte, when she was deserted by her lover and affianced husband, Mr. Emerond, the celebrated philosopher. . . . [She had] a smooth olive skin, beneath whose deep hue burned in the velvet cheeks crimson roses; eyes large, dark, soft, and yet gleaming; hair long, flowing, silken, by the side of whose jetty luxuriance the raven's plumage would have looked brown; a form alight, elegant and thorough-bred; a mixture of Spanish and quadroon gracefulness; teeth — but there, I have no more hackneyed similes at hand; pearls will not suffice; ivory grows yellow in remembrance of those bright, regular, dazzling teeth, while lighted the full crimson mouth, as it were, with a sunbeam.[27]

Miss Amarynth, as it happens, is something of an adventuress; consequently, by definition, she is obliged to be beautiful. But on the other hand the truehearted and virtuous, simpering in the noble light of their own virtue, are also prodigally endowed by sappy creators. Roguishly displaying seventeen-year-old teeth in pearly smiles they trip gayly through many a tale like an incomparable Broadway chorus every one of which is the most beautiful girl in the world. Possessed of natural charms fairer than the best efforts

[26] "Maya, the Princess." *Atlantic Monthly.* Vol. I, No. III. January, 1858. p. 263.

[27] "The Lady's Revenge." *Harper's.* Vol. X, No. LVI. January, 1855. p. 239.

of the most ingenious beauty shoppe, the glorified American girl is an 1850 institution.

Miss Hallie was just sixteen and a half. Shall I draw her outline with a dash of the pen? Fancy, as our Gallic brethren say, a forest sylph, clad in a bright pink dress, defining every outline of a figure, slender, graceful, undulating . . . a rosy face full of mischief . . . the lips crimped by suppressed laughter . . . add white bare arms — a foot "like a mountain deer's" — a quantity of raven curls descending at their own wild will on the plumpest neck imaginable.[28]

The following choice specimen is only a fragment of a rhapsodic eruption of dazzling fireworks that shower stars of rhetoric over almost a page of *Godey's* fine print. Like previews of next week's talkies it leaves no more superlatives to conquer.

A lady entered. . . . She was young, and oh how beautiful, as the soft subdued light fell on her spiritual face and queenlike form. . . . The perfection of her beauty . . . stood revealed in the feminine curve of her delicate nostril and superbly moulded lip, and spoke out in the symmetrical eyebrow, in the noble development of her swan-like neck, and the meaning grace of her full, rounded chin . . . she was ruled by an inherent and spontaneous spirit of native dignity, which taught the beholder . . . that she on whom he gazed was a rare and peculiar specimen of womanhood, challenging the criticism of the most carping, and entrancing the senses of the beholder with that crystal adamant, a maiden's pride and purity. She stood before the eyes like a white flower, which . . . the roughest fear to touch irreverently . . . because there is a majesty in innocence, intellect, and beauty combined which awes even vice, while it commands the admiration of virtue.[29]

17. Beaten down by the fierce barrage of incredible pulchritude the reader longs mightily for the sight of a homely face. But rarely does he find it. If a writer so far forgets himself as to admit that his heroine is a little plain he richly compensates her for her plainness.

Rachel was a singular compound — she was neither beautiful nor pretty, but peculiarly attractive . . . [she was] tall, slight, at times haughty; yet free and careless in action as a deer; eyes that oftenest spoke the soul of softness, yet forever changeful, could burn with passion, flash with anger, or crystallize with scorn; a head powerful and noble; a figure transfused into gracefulness by the power of vivid emotions; a voice that vibrated to every thought within.[30]

[28] "The Red Bracelet." *Harper's.* Vol. XVII, No. XCIX. August, 1858. p. 349.
[29] "Charles Maitland." *Godey's Lady's Book.* May, 1858. p. 403.
[30] "Rachel's Refusal." *Harper's.* Vol. XV, No. XC. November, 1857. p. 797.

Brunettes are strong, silent, often sinister; blondes are ethereal, effervescent, brittle, agog to fall in swoons on convenient sofas. Ever and anon occur lyrical references to "resonant" voices, "dark and unfathomable" eyes, "sun-tinted, forest-shadowed" complexions, "pure, transparent" natures, "flashing orbs," "beautifully rounded" forms, "glowing" cheeks, foreheads "white as marble." Or "handsome," "gorgeous," "elegant" there is no end. The beauty fixation makes queens of uncomely spinsters, jaunty Don Juans of thieves, Byrons of actors, Apollos of everything in trousers.

Turn we now to our traveller. Tall, athletic, and well-formed, with laughing blue eyes and clustering brown curls upon his noble brow, he was a speciman of manly beauty.[31]

18. Transposed into action the fixation appears as a wholesale grace of manner. A favorite mode of doing things is the "dashing" mode. People walk with a dashing stride, ride horseback in a dashing way, write letters in dashing hands, woo in dashing style, live their whole lives, some of them, just so. They are as lissom as deer, as quick and airy as birds, as lithe and powerful as lions. And when they open their mouths to speak they stalk downstage to fling sonorous sentences in the manner of an old tragedian delivering a soliloquy. Listen to the turgid words of a young man in love:

"I know I have been presuming, impertinent, audacious, in thus intruding myself upon you, and acknowledge that you would be but severely just in banishing me instantly from your bright presence, and in withdrawing from me forever the light of your adorable eyes. Oh those eyes," he continued, clasping his hands in an ecstasy of loverlike enthusiasm, — "those wild, sweet orbs! Can they not quicken even as they slay? Oh, gentle lady, be like her of Verona! — be gracious, be kind, or, at least, be merciful, and do not banish me —

'For exile hath more terror in his look,
Much more, than death; do not say banishment!' "[32]

The lady could hardly refuse to applaud such a fine peroration. More ante bellum amour:

"Leon — Leon," she whispered. "What madness is this?"

"Chide me not, dearest," he replied as he clasped her to his breast, "could I know that the noblest and bravest in Genoa were this night paying homage to its fairest flower, nor seek to win one smile for myself? "

[31] "Principle." *Godey's Lady's Book.* August, 1859. p. 126.

[32] "Zelma's Vow." *Atlantic Monthly.* Vol. IV, No. XXI. July, 1859. pp. 80–81.

"But you have enemies here, dear Leon; depart quickly, I pray. You need no fresh assurance of my affection."

"No, lovely one," replied the youth proudly. "I both believe and trust you. I know that although the highest in Genoa sighs for her love, the daughter of the Marchese Albertini prefers above them all the adoration of Leon Carlemonte. And see," he continued, as he took an ebony cross of exquisite workmanship from his vest and placed it in the hands of Adeline, "I am come likewise to offer you a tribute on your birthday; and a suitable one, is it not, sweet, for one so pure and guileless? You will prize it, although no brilliants glitter round it, and when you think of him who gave it, breathe a prayer for him when he shall be far from hence." [33]

A short and decisive dialogue plainly setting forth the penalty for skepticism in the eighteen fifties:

With her whole frame trembling with emotion, Alice lifted a mental prayer for strength, and answered gently, but firmly: "Arthur, I have resolved, and nothing shall move me. The 'narrow road' I find it hard to keep, even in my humble village home. I dare not venture my feeble faith amid the gayeties of army life, with him whom I love, neither loving nor acknowledging my Maker. Strictly and piously educated I have been taught that

'The meanest pin in nature's frame
Marks out some letter in His name';

and to my faith I will cling."

"Well, Alice, you have dashed from my lips the cup of happiness, just as I was about to taste it. You doom me to despair. Desolate and miserable, I will at once quit this place which I entered a gay light-hearted man. My heart and hopes are both alike withered," and the strong man in his agony shed tears of bitter sorrow.[34]

An oration evidently charted with notes and gestures:

"Not attend the most splendid party of the season! Why, Rose Traverse, are you crazy? Stay at home, indeed, and give your famous rival, Rose Arlington, a chance to captivate your handsome Ernest? Rose, she is perfectly lovely — not *your* noble beauty, darling — but a tiny, blue-eyed, golden-haired fairy, beautiful as rose-tinted evening clouds, or like one of those glorious crimson and gold sunsets we saw last year in the land of sunny skies — bright Italia. But pshaw! Rose, I cannot be poetical.

[33] "The Promise Redeemed." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.* Vol. II. November 24, 1869. p. 11.

[34] "Principle." *Godey's Lady's Book.* August, 1859. p. 126.

I have mentioned the two most beautiful things my eyes ever rested upon and now am at the 'end of my string,' always excepting the beautiful slumbrous light in your own glorious dark eyes, darling. What ails your eyes tonight, Rose Traverse? Their look is wierd [sic] and unearthly." [35]

19. These are the accents of the bloodless bookish. They engage in absurdly romantic goings on that are ridiculously sexless and completely maddening. Consideration of a few dozen of these pale flowers of the imagination forces the unescapable conclusion that the eighteen fifties were in favor not of Poe's unity of effect but rather of unanimity of effect – the effect of boredom. It is all as safe and bland as a cup of weak tea. For the historian and for the casual reader willing to be amused by foibles he knows he has comfortably outgrown, the scribbling women and accompanying male sissies of the feminine decade contribute a museum piece, a literary knick-nack to excite momentary curiosity like the whatnot full of carved seashells, china figures, yarn mottoes, and wax flowers under glass.

ANALYSIS

1. Explain in your own words the author's purpose here. What relationship does the mention of Poe have to this purpose?
2. *a.* What is the scope of the author's field of inquiry?
   b. Why is it limited to one decade? What particular importance does this particular decade have to the study made here?
3. Study the sources the author uses here. Does he make any special restrictions on the field – that is, does he concern himself with short stories and nothing else, novels and nothing else, or what?
4. *a.* Be able to explain why the materials used here are "primary" sources.
   b. Are there any "secondary" sources used here? If so, what are they and how are they used?
5. *a.* Look up Poe's review of Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* and make a summary of Poe's definition of a short story.
   b. Explain the importance of this information in connection with the conclusions this article about writing in the eighteen fifties reaches.
6. *a.* Point out evidences in the words and phrases and figurative speech of the author that seem to show a definite leaning toward his conclusion.
   b. What is the attitude of the author to the kind of writing he is finding current in the eighteen fifties?
   c. What seem to be his reasons for his belief?
7. *a.* Make a study of some of the longer passages quoted here from some of the stories of the time. Study the style of writing: the sentence lengths, the sentence patterns, the use of adjectives, the use of clichés and figures of speech.

[35] "The War of the Roses." *Godey's Lady's Book.* September, 1863. p. 217.

b. Now write a well-developed paragraph that attempts to explain, in the light of your findings, how the ways of writing have changed since the eighteen fifties.

SAMPLE THEME SUBJECTS

Many of the sample subjects listed at the end of the section on Informal Inductions can be used as subjects for primary source studies with a shift of method. The difference is largely the difference between a random collection of materials in an area and a thorough investigation of materials in the area. The area is also usually more sharply defined.

Make a study of the use of "fear" psychology in current advertising practice. The fear technique is the kind found in ads concerning halitosis, dandruff, or "B.O." It makes the public afraid of social ostracism or worse.

Compare and contrast the make-up of five selected magazines over a fifty year period.

Make a study of the time devoted to "commercials" on your local radio station.

Pick a limited number of women's magazines of comparable circulation. Study the short stories in each over a representative length of time. What conclusions can you reach?

Consult the *Congressional Digest.* Determine how your congressman has voted over a period of time.

Pick a news event of national importance. Determine how differently this event is handled by a number of newspapers of differing editorial policies. Consult also the news weeklies.

Study the use of "localisms" in Robert Frost's poetry. Is his language distinctly New England language? To what extent?

Dig out the newspaper listings of building permits over a period of time. How many of them pertain to new construction? To extensive repairs? To minor repairs? What other conclusions can you reach?

Find a book containing many plates of paintings by artists of the Renaissance. Look for portrayals of animals. Are they lifelike? What definite stylistic traits do you find in the portrayals?

Make a study of the operation of student cooperatives on the campus.

Make a study of the opportunities for recreation in your community. Is playground space for children adequate? What about facilities for other age groups?

Investigate housing conditions in the "over the tracks" section.

Make a study of wages and working conditions faced by student workers on your campus or in your community.

Go to the city health office to investigate records of dairy inspections.

Study the architecture of the buildings in the older areas in your town.

Make a public opinion poll study of the amount of money necessary to clothe a college girl for a year.

What are the prevalent opinions on campus toward labor unions?

What is the state of public opinion toward an issue in local campus politics?

Do most people like or dislike double-feature movies?

How much money do students expect to earn after they get out of college? Ask freshmen, ask sophomores, ask juniors, ask seniors.

5. CASE HISTORIES

5

Case Histories

THE CASE HISTORY method of presenting material and arriving at conclusions is commonly encountered in the social sciences and in psychology. The reasons why this is true should be apparent, for the social sciences and psychology deal with human beings and with human problems in precisely those areas where one human being differs from another. The physiologist who studies the glands, the liver, or the stomach of human beings looks at objects that remain more constant than do the minds of human beings. Variations he finds, surely, but fewer of them. Change he finds also – organs grow old, become diseased, or are modified by environmental conditions – but the sociologist and the psychologist are faced constantly by phenomena in a state of flux. In the social world everything is always changing, and the writer about social affairs must take his generalizations as he runs.

Consequently, causal factors are more important in sociology and psychology than they are elsewhere. In determining the meaning to be found in any situation, the sociologist and psychologist have to spend more time than the natural scientist does in looking at the history, the growth of the situation. The features that they see in it have to be understood in terms of their origin and the conditions that they have encountered. The case history method is valuable in getting at phenomena in a state of flux or change.

Let us consider a typical problem – juvenile delinquency. Several juvenile delinquents who are in jail together may react in approximately the same way. The writer who is attempting to tell what they are like and how they got that way may make inaccurate generalizations if he considers them only as they are today. He may be fooled into thinking

that he can solve their problems by concerning himself with them as end products. Should he, on the other hand, examine the process by which they have arrived at their present plight, he will probably discover that their cases are not all alike, that the real meaning may be found in the process and nowhere else. However, he may also discover certain similarities in the processes and arrive at generalizations about careers of juvenile delinquents or about the forces which usually cause juvenile delinquency.

In this text, the term "case history" is used in a somewhat broader sense than it is usually used by the psychologist and the sociologist. Simply stated, the case history method, as it is here defined, is a way of presenting generalizations by analyzing at length a typical instance, by mirroring the generalization in the particular case. Such cases may be either "natural" or "artificial." An artificial case is one that is manufactured by the writer in order to illustrate his point or to show how the principle he is describing actually operates in human life. An illustration of this kind in this section is Donald Davidson's "Brother Jonathan and Cousin Roderick." Instead of writing always in generalities, Mr. Davidson devises two typical characters and makes them move through the actions that suggest the generalities.

The natural case history, on the other hand, is one in which the writer turns to an actual case, either to illustrate his point or to discover within the case the meaning that he is after. Artificial cases can easily be made to conform exactly to the requirements of the generality, natural cases less easily. To be worth much in a case history, even a natural case must conform closely to type. There is little use, so far as general principles are concerned, in spending much time and energy in examining a freak case. Even in the case that closely conforms to type there are usually minor features that are freakish or accidental. Some of these are irrelevant and them the writer ignores. Some departures from the norm are, however, not irrelevant, and the writer must give as much attention to these as to behavior that is normal for the problem.

The case history method, then, presents an analysis of one example of a problem. The student, in writing case histories of his own, should start with the problem and then hunt for a good case to exemplify it. If he starts with a case without thinking what generalization the case illuminates, he will perhaps find himself writing a narrative with no general meaning at all.

The student should at this point ponder the relation between the general and the concrete in most kinds of writing. The case history method emphasizes the concrete elements. Fiction likewise is meaningful to the extent that it mirrors generalizations while emphasizing the concrete. As an aid to communication, concrete illustrations and examples are useful even in writing that is purely abstract; that is, that deals almost entirely in generalities. How often we say, when we are confronted with abstract propositions, "Give me an example." We test the generality by the example. By seeing it in terms of an example we know better if it makes sense or not. The case history is, of course, an elaborated example.

We should notice that case histories, as they are defined here, can show examples of other phenomena than human beings in action. The example of Kimball Young's "Intracommunity Conflict" in the pages that follow illustrates the use of one town as an example of towns in general. In "Three Southern Towns" Willson Whitman picks out three typical communities to illustrate certain problems of life in the South. These are case histories just as the others are.

PROJECTION OF PARENTAL AMBITIONS UPON CHILDREN*

By Kimball Young

1. NOT INFREQUENTLY parents thrust upon their children their own unfulfilled wishes and ambitions. The children may identify themselves with the parents' desires and fulfill the roles laid down for them, or they may revolt from such control and either take up the expected roles with indifferent success or in the end escape into something else.
2. In the case of Mina cited below, the mother who was denied educational advantages projected upon her daughter her personal wishes for higher social status. Such a program proved to be greater than the child could manage, and she finally escaped the parental domination by getting out of the home and marrying.

* From *Source Book for Sociology* (1935) by Kimball Young. Reprinted by permission of the American Book Company.

The Case of Mina

3. In my position as director of educational guidance in a city school system, problems concerning boys and girls who are suffering because of unwise projection of parental ambitions upon them are constantly before me. One type of parent whose children are to be found in this group is the mother or father whose mentality is limited and whose education has been very meager. This parent has the idea that all that is needed to educate a child is to send him to school regularly and to "make him study." The parent frequently expects his efforts to be rewarded by having his child graduate from college with honors, secure a white-collar job, and earn easy money and social prestige. Having had little academic experience himself, and being otherwise mentally limited, this parent cannot comprehend the difficulties of his child, who is likewise of meager mentality. The case cited below is an example of this situation.

4. Mrs. A. is termed by her neighbors "a good mother"; this means that she keeps her children scrupulously clean and instills into them the principles of "law and order." Her mental horizon is distinctly limited, and as she stopped school in the fifth grade, she has no conception of higher education. She makes very few contacts outside of her home and never reads anything. Her four children tested dull and very dull on the Otis intelligence test. They got along with little friction in grade school because they were placed in ability groupings suited to their levels and because they were what teachers term "good children," meaning that they seldom transgressed the sacred laws of classroom order.

5. When Mina was ready to leave the junior high school three years ago, the guidance director, Mrs. A., and Mina held a consultation concerning the latter's choice of subjects in senior high school. Mrs. A. had her plans well in mind when she appeared for this conference. She had studied the high school handbook and knew what was required for a college course. Her mind was fully made up: Mina was to be a teacher and to have the benefits of a full education. . . . Mina was very docile about the whole affair; what suited her mother suited her, or so it seemed. When the guidance director attempted to point out that Mina's experiences with mathematics and English in junior high school did not warrant plunging her into

higher mathematics and languages, Mrs. A. waved aside the objections. Mina would study harder next year and would go to summer school to strengthen her foundation in mathematics – and perhaps the teachers at senior high school would be a little more generous with assistance and report-card grades than those in the junior high school. Mrs. A. carried the day, and in spite of the plea of the guidance director that Mina be given at least one year of lighter work in which to adjust herself to the new school, Mina entered the college preparatory class at the senior high school.

6. She failed in three subjects during that first year in senior high. She revolted against school authority and played truant several times before the offense came to her mother's ears. When she came up for conference with the guidance director, she showed signs of extreme nervousness. She had bitten her finger nails down to the quick, and her facial muscles twitched. The school authorities compelled her to drop one subject, mathematics, much against the wishes of her mother. Mina declared that she hated school and wished that she might return to the junior high school, where she "had never gotten in bad." Her mother was sure that the high school teachers did not give Mina any "attention" in her struggles with Latin.

7. Mina's second year in high school was not quite so hectic, because outwardly, at least, she had become better adjusted, and because she was repeating work in two subjects. The teachers, anxious to get her off their hands, were allowing her to drift along with grades in the D class. She had found friends in a group of youngsters of her own mental level, but from homes not nearly so carefully supervised as hers. There was constant friction at home because Mina insisted on painting her face excessively and attracted considerable attention by her boisterous manners in public. Neighbors felt sorry for Mrs. A. because Mina was fast becoming "unmanageable."

8. During the summer Mina spent most of her time away from home in company with her chosen companions. She could not bring them to her home because of her mother's objections. She tried getting jobs at housework (much to her mother's chagrin) but held her places only a few days at a time. Toward the close of the summer, she startled her family and the whole neighborhood by eloping with

a young lad she had known for only a few weeks and who was entirely unknown to her family. Sympathy was all with Mrs. A., for she had been "such a good mother."

ANALYSIS

1. Examine this selection carefully, for it represents quite clearly the field in which "case history" as a technique has perhaps its widest and most exact use. Try to explain, from this selection, some of the notable characteristics of the method.
2. Where, in this selection, is the generalization, the end product in the inductive reasoning in which the case of Mina is used as typical of a large field?
3. *a.* How does the generalization rise out of the case? Does it come from certain marked particulars? If so, what are they?
   b. Does it come from the totality of the case, the cumulative effect of it?
4. *a.* What kinds of details are noted and stressed? What sorts of things are left out? Why?
   b. What principles can you formulate from this study concerning the process of selection and rejection that case history technique demands?
5. Keep this article in mind when you read J. B. Martin's "The Ring and the Conscience." Note similarities and differences.

THE RING AND THE CONSCIENCE*

By John Bartlow Martin

I

1. THE HOMICIDE officers reported: "Answered call to the 100 block of Hawthorne and found the above deceased lying on a vacant lot, 43 feet from the south curb line. . . . The deceased was lying on her back near some shrubbery; her feet were pointing north and her head south. Her dress up around her waist and her blouse was torn away on the left side." Near the body the officers found her purse and a wedding band. The ring lay beneath her left knee and it was inscribed with three initials which the police noted. Only a few minutes after the body had been found, a girl identified the body as that of her roommate, Clara Belle Penn. They lived across the street at 112 Hawthorne Street.
2. Clara Belle, who was twenty-six, attractive, and called Blondie

* From *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1945. Reprinted by permission of the author.

by her friends, had been strangled. Thumb marks were plainly visible on her throat. In the very manner of her dying, as well as in the way she spent so many nights, was crystallized a basic social conflict of this war, which has uprooted so many private lives.

3. Homicide detectives found in her purse a snapshot of a soldier, inscribed "Love, Tommy" and mailed from New Guinea; a winged Army Air Forces shoulder patch, and a small well-filled address book on the first page of which was written her name and "Co 'I' 3rd Regiment Ft Des Moines, Iowa." (The purse also contained the trinkets which always seem so inexplicably pathetic when their dead owner is surrounded by detectives and photographers: a shoe-repair stub, a bus ticket, a rent receipt for $3.34, a doctor's receipted bill, a box of face powder and a powder puff, some bobby pins, lipstick, rouge, and eyebrow tweezers, one "Tussy Cosmetique for Eyebrows," a cinco pesos note on the Banco Central de Chile that apparently was a keepsake, and a small mirror backed with a souvenir photo of the Alamo, the shrine of an old war which sightseeing soldiers visit today in nearby San Antonio.)

4. Clara Belle was murdered in a quiet residential district of Houston, Texas, sometime after midnight on December 14, 1944, and her body was discovered at 7:50 A.M. Since the crime occurred in the South, the police were told of a Negro's attempt, previously unreported, to rape a white girl at this same spot a few weeks earlier. Some neighbors thought they had heard a car and loud voices at the scene about 3 A.M.; others had heard nothing. Clara Belle's landlady, Mrs. William Wolman, said her police dog didn't bark during the night.

5. Large oak trees and a few palms lined Hawthorne Street in front of Mrs. Wolman's big old house. About seventeen young women roomed there; Clara Belle had moved in about a week previously. In her room detectives found correspondence with servicemen, some of them overseas. In an unmailed letter to a soldier in New Guinea she had enclosed her own Army discharge paper. Why she was sending the document to him was not explained. She had been a private in the WAC about five months; enlisted May 19, 1944, in Oklahoma City, discharged October 23, 1944. The circumstances of her discharge were not made public; however, one detective recalled that the discharge was marked "Not eligible for re-enlist-

ment." It showed she was born August 11, 1918, in Kansas City, Missouri, and listed her occupation as waitress. After being discharged she had worked briefly for Douglas Aircraft in Oklahoma City, then had come to Houston. Recently she had been working as a waitress in the Forum Cafeteria downtown on Main Street. Her parents and other relatives still lived in Kansas City. Her father was a stationary engineer. The day before she was killed she had received a letter from her mother, who had planned to visit her and take her back to Kansas City in a few days.

6. Her roommate, Jane McSpadon, who attended Elliott Business College, said, "Every night when I get home, Clara Belle is getting dressed and waiting for a call. . . . If she did not get the call, she would go off and say, 'If I get a call, tell them to meet me at the Lido.' I do not know any of the men whom she had dates with. I have heard her mention an 'Eddie' who is a lieutenant in the Air Corps, and a 'Steve.' . . . Since Clara Belle has been rooming here she has only spent two nights at home."

7. It was to the Lido Club that the dectectives went next, for Clara Belle, leaving the rooming house about 7 P.M., had told her roommate, "If anyone calls, I will meet them at the Lido," and she had told another roomer, "I think I will go to the Lido and see if my lieutenant is there."

8. The sign at the door on Main Street about a mile and a half from the heart of Houston read:

LIDO CLUB
DANCING
BEER

The Lido Club had as many windows as an automobile showroom but they were painted an opaque blue and heavily curtained so that from the outside, even at the height of an evening, the place looked deserted except for the pale blue and red light bulbs ringing the marquee. At that time there was an admission charge, termed a "couvert charge," of thirty cents per person. Under Texas law no liquor could be sold over the bar but you could buy a bowl of ice for sixty cents and a bottle of club soda for sixty cents and you could put your own bottle of liquor on the table. Beer cost twenty-five and thirty-five cents. Small flags of the United Nations hung over

the bar in the front room; large American flags were draped over the doors marked "Men" and "Women." In the back room were tables and chairs, a small dance floor, and an enormous red and yellow juke box. Near the bar in the front room was a pinball machine; airplanes and the word "Victory" lit up on the payoff board when you hit. The walls of the Lido were the same dark blue as the windows; a few small light bulbs hung unshaded from the checkered ceiling.

9. The Lido, together with a couple of other places, was a favorite spot for servicemen. "If they're in town more than a day or two they wind up here," Homer Skeeter, a husky man sometimes referred to as the floor manager, has said. During this war Houston has not been overrun with servicemen in the same sense that, say, Little Rock, Arkansas, or San Antonio, Texas, have been. There has been no huge infantry camp on its outskirts. Moreover, it is so big that there has been room for ordinary civilian life side by side with the liberty life of soldiers and sailors. Nevertheless, it is a rail center of Texas, where enormous numbers of men have been trained and shipped, its busy port has brought many sailors to it, and last December several nearby Army camps were filled; so at the time Clara Belle was murdered, you could not go downtown in Houston without seeing, just as you would see in a score of other Army towns, lonely young men in uniform threading the crowds on the streets aimlessly, a peculiar, uncertain, questing expression on their faces as they paused to peer into store windows or barrooms. And you would see their shapeless sleeping faces in bus and railroad stations, you would see them sitting in dives with prostitutes, or jitterbugging – shockingly young and callow – at the Lido and the Chinese Duck and at a place advertised as "Roseland Ballroom, Houston's Only Taxi Dance Hall." Who were they and what did they want? To the uncomprehending civilians they all looked alike in their uniforms, but each one was alone, really, each had just come from some particular place and each was on his way to some particular new and equally strange place; each had but little time to spend, perhaps only a few hours between trains, perhaps overnight shore liberty or a three day pass.

10. "Clara Belle was in here every night of the week," said Homer Skeeter of the Lido. "She were very lenient with servicemen – she'd

talk to all of 'em. She had a different one every night." Usually she drank only beer. "She was a nice girl," said Skeeter, a tolerant man, and explained: "She never made trouble, never argued, never got drunk and mean. We have some troublemakers. The town was crowded with GI's then and it was crowded with hustlers. I threw the hustlers out."

11. Skeeter remembers Clara Belle as "silly." "She giggled all the time. She'd make eyes at me, just kidding of course. She talked all the time. She moved fast – she'd run over here, run over there, run out of the place, run back in. You know the type. Good-natured." She usually wore suits and a sweater but she kept the coat to her suit on and, Skeeter has said, "She was not what you would call a sweater girl." She was a chunky girl – the physician who performed the autopsy reported her height at five feet one and her weight at between 125 and 135 pounds; "well-developed, well-nourished, slightly obese." Her eyes were gray and her hair platinum blonde.

12. She liked to dance, though Skeeter did not consider her a good dancer. ("Ninety per cent of the girls come in here are not. But you see a lot of servicemen that are really good.") "She was strictly Navy – I never seen her leave but with one soldier, a lieutenant in the Air Corps. He left here one night with her. Whenever he was here she was with him."

13. Usually she was with a girl named Vadah Belle Vaughan, who was called Little Bit and who, twenty-three years old, worked at the shipyards. They had met at the Lido. They frequently danced together until sailors cut in. Sometimes they sat with a couple of other girls. This group comprised one of the cliques of regulars at the Lido. "There were several clicks," Skeeter has said. "Girls from the shipyards, from cafeterias, from theaters – you know: different little clicks. Sometimes there would be four or five at one table." The Lido opened at 6 P.M., and by eight thirty there was a crowd. By then, too, Clara Belle usually was on hand.

II

14. On the night she was murdered she borrowed a dime for bus fare to the Lido. (A detective recalls that she owed small sums of up to a quarter to many of the roomers.) But she must not have gone there immediately, for when she arrived, between seven thirty and

eight o'clock, she was with a civilian. Skeeter was surprised: "I'd never seen her with a civilian before and I said to the cashier, 'Look — she's with a 4-F tonight.'" This was only a manner of speaking: the man was about fifty years old. His identity is unknown. He and Clara Belle sat alone for an hour, then left. They were gone about an hour. Where they spent that hour can only be conjectured. When they returned they sat at a center table near the dance floor and ordered two beers. Clara Belle excused herself immediately and went to the women's room. She was gone about twenty minutes. Skeeter and a waitress saw her in the doorway of the women's room, surreptitiously watching the civilian. He drank both beers and finally he left, alone.

15. Clara Belle came out at once and sat down with Little Bit at a table near the stove. Little Bit, a small girl, was wearing boots. Soon two sailors came in and sat at the table next to them. One of them asked Little Bit to dance. "We dance one dance," she later told the police, "and he ask if he might join us at our table. And we told him yes." He and his friend sat down with the girls. Presently another sailor, a friend of these two, came in with a girl and joined the party.

16. They all left together at closing time. Skeeter saw them no more. He was routed out of bed next morning by Lieutenant A. C. Thornton of Homicide and Inspector of Detectives C. V. Kern. He had never seen the sailors before, nor did he know Little Bit's address. That night he sent a waitress out with the police to look for them but they did not appear on the streets or in the bars. However, that night at the Lido another sailor told Skeeter casually that he had taken Little Bit home the preceding Saturday. He led the police to her house.

17. She said she knew none of the three sailors' names. The detectives took her, Skeeter, and the waitress to the Navy base and the ordnance depot. They found a merchant vessel which had been loading munitions for several days. The captain called his gun crew, about twenty men, on deck. The wanted three were not there. But, under pressure, Little Bit said that the sailor who had taken her home was named Kelinske. They found him below, August Gustave Kelinske, twenty-three, seaman first-class. He named his two companions of the night before; one was John Edward Bencik and the

other we shall here call Ralph J. Lith. His initials corresponded to those on the wedding ring found by the police. Both men were called up on deck, identified, and taken to the police station. Thirty minutes later their ship sailed. By that time, Ralph J. Lith, seaman second-class, based with the Armed Guard Center at New Orleans, had confessed that he had choked Clara Belle "until she offered no resistance."

18. Now Lith, twenty-five years old, was a husky young man, blond, soft-spoken, with sad blue eyes, good teeth, a ruddy complexion, and a chin cleft by a dimple. "An orphan boy" in a Texas town, he had been adopted when he was five by a local farmer. Ralph Lith was "pretty sure" he had completed the second year of high school — his foster father said, "I disremember in what grade he quit school" — and then he went to live on the farm. "I helped my father with the crops," he said, and his foster father, when asked on the witness stand, "Did Ralph ever give you any trouble?" replied, "No, sir, none on this earth."

19. When he was nineteen Ralph Lith went to a neighboring town in Texas, and there he married. (A few months later Hitler's troops marched into Poland.) He took his bride back briefly to the farm but they did not stay long, they moved to the city, to Dallas. That was in May of 1940; France fell soon, and a few months later Lith registered for the draft. In Dallas he went to school for machine-shop training, worked briefly for a transfer and storage company, and then went to work as a mechanic in what still was called a defense plant. This was North American Aviation.

20. About this time their daughter was born. Lith moved his family into a modest cottage in a good neighborhood inhabited by working people. A man who testified that he "could hear his [Lith's] conversation and his wife's conversation through my windows" called Lith "a very good neighbor." Other witnesses described him as "a quiet, peaceful, law-abiding citizen."

21. Lith was still working for North American when, on June 30, 1944, he entered the U. S. Navy. After his boot training at Great Lakes near Chicago, he went home to his wife and daughter for a week's leave. He was sent to Gulfport, Mississippi, for more training and was assigned to a ship five or six weeks later. At the time of his arrest he was in the Armed Guard; that is, he was a member of

a gun crew aboard a merchantman; sailors consider this a "good deal."

22. But is any deal a "good deal" for a soldier or a sailor who has been obliged to leave his established home and his wife and his child? Many men in Lith's position — lonely, far from home — are miserable these days. Some try to keep their homes together; their wives and children follow them from Army camp to Army camp so long as they remain in the States. "So long as they remain in the States" — we can read the desperation that phrase holds in the results of the camp-following: restive children crying in railroad stations or romping in the littered aisles of day coaches, dreary, bitter quarrels in OPA offices with rooming-house operators who charge over-the-ceiling rents, harried nights in cheap hotels, missed buses and changed orders and nervous weeping women stranded in strange places. Many wives are not temperamentally able to follow their husbands, many do not because they simply cannot afford it (the allotment is $80 with one child; the rent for a one-room tourist cabin, often the only place which will accept children, is $70 to $100 a month). And if there is more than one child it is really nearly impossible. So some couples compromise: she leaves the children with her mother and goes to visit him for a few weeks, until their money runs out or he is shipped somewhere else; then she goes back home, saves her money, and visits him briefly again. But this way he cannot see the children, and he and she are strange together in a hall bedroom without them. Besides, each forced parting after these visits means a new readjustment; and she goes home wondering if it was worth it.

23. If the wives stay at home, what do the husbands do? One married sergeant spoke unwittingly one of the bitterest lines of the war: "My girl friend's going to give a party for me as soon as she gets her allotment check." Her husband was overseas. This is what the Jeremiahs mean when they thunder, "What is happening to the American home?" But do they know that many of the young husbands never hunt women? When they go to town it is to drink or eat or walk the streets, nothing more. (Only a very few are able to stay in the benumbing camp or aboard the gray ship every Saturday night.) In town they telephone their wives far away — "Say hello to Daddy, honey" — and they sit in bars and watch the un-

shaven sailors of seventeen, the infantrymen of eighteen, dancing with the girls, the girls like Clara Belle Penn. "The Army isn't a bad deal for a young kid but it's no good for us," said one. Ralph Lith's attorney said, "I ask you if you had ever been out with another girl since you were married," and Lith replied, "One time." The kids are out for a good time; they are fun for a girl to be with. But sometimes your married man winds up with a girl, too, almost without wanting her. "A dogface isn't safe on the streets of Little Rock after dark" is strictly a gag; but the barroom is small and crowded, so small and crowded that it is impossible to avoid catching a girl's eye, and your married man is lonely just watching from outside. And here is the peculiar thing: often if he does get a girl, your married man will almost hate her all the time he is with her, for she offends his conscience, her very gaiety rebukes him. The Cynaras of this war are numberless. One infantryman said, "I don't know why I go out with these pigs — they're not half the woman my wife is." If he is lucky the thing does not trouble his conscience, it does not touch his marriage, not really, in his mind. Ralph Lith was not lucky.

24. Lith's attorney, in summation, described him as a country boy unskilled in the ways of the wicked city. But this story is not really the story of the stripling in uniform beset with perils, so often discussed from the pulpit these days. Lith had six years of marriage behind him; he had had his own home, had known the responsibility of a family. And neither was Clara Belle a romantic child in bobby-socks, though she might have wished she still were; she was a young woman of twenty-six, and she was not getting any younger as the war continued to keep the boys away from home. Her problems, and Lith's, were not those of the very young who are in this war and whose very real agonies have been described frequently, to the neglect of the drab unheroic unhappiness of older men and women also involved.

III

25. Lith's ship docked at Houston on Wednesday. He got shore liberty and, at 5:30 P.M., he went into town "with another seaman by the name of Kelinske." (A civilian chooses a close friend for an evening's companion; a serviceman often goes to town with another

whose name he doesn't even know.) "We went to shows and visited USO clubs and servicemen's centers on Main Street." At the Servicemen's Center Lith and Kelinske drank coffee. They went to the Coney Island Café, also on Main Street, where they ran into two other seamen from their ship, John Edward Bencik, and "a fellow named Shradder," who had come ashore together. They all drank a bottle of beer together, then Bencik and Shradder left. In a few minutes Lith and Kelinske went to the Crawford Inn; Bencik was there and they drank some more beer and Bencik bought a bottle of whisky. By this time Shradder was gone. Their restless wandering, their meeting and separating and rejoining each other continued, for this was why they had come to town in the first place, this is why they all come to town — to meet and wander — and if they became separated during the evening, what matter? The three of them started toward the Lido Club, a few blocks down Main Street, and on the way Bencik met a girl he knew. She was Donna Louise Tomlinson, she was twenty-one, and she called Bencik "Junior." The three of them wanted to take Donna to the Lido with them but she had to get her coat, so Kelinske and Lith went on to the Lido alone. Thus Lith met Clara Belle Penn.

26. She and the girl called Little Bit were still alone at a table though it was by that time about ten thirty. The foursome got together "practically when we first got there," Lith testified. "The tables were close together and we started talking and later they invited us to their table. . . . We started dancing," and he danced first with "the Penn girl." "Who danced with Kelinske?" the attorney wanted to know, and Lith replied, "I don't know. Kelinske was sitting by her [Clara Belle] and talking to her but I don't know it he danced with her." She appeared impartially interested in both of them, and in Junior Bencik too, when he arrived with his girl Donna, she in her coat. Indeed, one witness described Clara Belle as being "with three sailors." Kelinske had made the first move to join the girls; Lith, older, followed. Kelinske had selected Little Bit for the first dance. Thus as matters developed Clara Belle was thrown with Lith.

27. They did not dance much. They were not notably gay; sometimes they sat while the other two couples danced. Donna and Junior Bencik danced a good deal. Once, about eleven thirty, Clara Belle excused herself to make a phone call; she who, it will be recalled,

had already spent the first half of the evening with a middle-aged civilian, now called her roommate to see if anybody had phoned. No one had. Testimony on the drinks varied. One witness said that all six drank beer, another that the girls drank beer, and the sailors whisky. The autopsy showed that Clara Belle had had "at most" two bottles of beer. None of the six was drunk when they left the Lido. Kelinske and Little Bit went south and the other two couples started toward town. They walked a block or so, then they too separated. Clara Belle and Lith were alone together for the first time. They caught a bus headed for her home.

28. "Did she know your name at that time?" asked his attorney.
"No, sir."
"Did you know her name at that time?"
"No, sir."

29. They were riding on the late bus together when she asked to see his ring. This ring, a plain wedding band, meant a lot to him. His wife had given it to him six years before, when they were married. His wife had its mate.

30. But Clara Belle wanted to try the ring on, so Lith let her. While they still were on the bus, riding to her home, he asked her to give it back, but — and we must remember Skeeter's description of her as "silly, giggling" — she refused. She had other souvenirs in her purse — the picture of the Alamo, the AAF shoulder patch, the photo from New Guinea. She and this man had met so casually, two hours before, and now he was taking her home, as others had.

31. The bus stopped almost in front of her rooming house. The hour was late; Hawthorne Street was quiet and dark and deserted. At her house he asked her again for his ring. "She was looking at it and trying it on and she wanted me to come back Thursday night and get it. I told her I couldn't come back for it. . . . I was supposed to return to the ship [which was due to sail] and I couldn't tell her that. I kept asking her for my ring and she wouldn't give it to me and then I asked her where I could catch the bus. She still wouldn't let me have the ring and she started making love to me. . . . I tried to get her to go in her apartment first but she said no men were allowed in there. . . . She wouldn't let me have the ring. I tried to get my ring off the finger and she hit me on the side of my face and we started fighting. . . . I did not want to harm her.

. . . When I came to myself. . . . I heard her trying to holler and I ran. . . . I never did recover my ring. . . ."

32. She had not tried to "holler"; she was dead. He said he didn't know this. He caught a bus back downtown, met Kelinske and Bencik at the bus station, and went to a restaurant with them; and at about 5 A.M. they went back to their ship. He told them nothing. The next time he saw his ring was when Lieutenant Thornton of Homicide showed it to him and took him off his ship.

33. Lith readily made a statement to the police. He maintained, simply, "I wanted my ring and we got in a fight and I lost my head." He probably didn't know her name till the police told him; chances are she never did learn his. Locked up, he telephoned his wife, who came to him by bus and told him at his cell, according to the newspapers, that he was not to worry. "I'll stick by you." He thanked her and said, "How's the baby, honey?" She was wearing the mate to his ring.

34. She sat by his side at the counsel table during his trial. The Grand Jury, which had recessed for the Christmas holidays, had been recalled and had indicted him for murder. He went to trial January 15, 1945, and a jury was chosen by 2:30 P.M. All the evidence was in three hours later. After an hour's deliberation the jury found him guilty of murder without malice and recommended a five-year suspended sentence. This was imposed by Judge Frank Williford, Jr. Lith, freed quickly and without fanfare by Texas (Houston newspapers played the story down), was turned over to Navy authorities; they made no public announcement of the action they took, but it is said that he was discharged from the Navy and that he has since returned, a civilian, to live with his wife and daughter.

35. For several nights after Clara Belle's death, her young lieutenant in the Army Air Forces went back to the Lido alone. Homer Skeeter of the Lido said recently, "The lieutenant seemed to hate it very bad that she was killed." He also said, "There's a girl that comes in here now and she looks so much like Clara Belle that the first time she came in, it scared the cashier. Her size and makeup and everything. I don't know her name either."

ANALYSIS

1. After you have read the whole article carefully, study the beginning and note the technique used to get the article under way.
   a. Has the reader an immediate idea that this is using the case history method to present its point?
   b. Where do you first become aware of the nature of the organization as case history?
2. Go through the article carefully and point out the places where the author generalizes from the material in the case study.
   a. Is this generalization all in a body or scattered throughout the article?
   b. Why are the generalizations placed where they are? Note especially the position in relation to the whole case of the generalizations in Paragraphs 22–24.
3. *a.* What important facts concerning the people involved in this study are given?
   b. How are these facts made to appear typical of a larger, more general situation?
4. *a.* What are the main differences between this article and Kimball Young's study of Mina?
   b. In what ways has the author of this article enlarged upon his material, made the study longer?
5. *a.* Point out evidences in the reporting of the case itself in which you feel that the author is observing and reporting imaginatively.
   b. What effect does such reporting have on the validity of the case history?
6. *a.* What has the author had to do to get this material?
   b. Where does he use court testimony?
   c. Where material gathered from interviews?
   d. Would the organization be materially different if he had put in one part of the paper all that he had learned from interviews and in another part all that he had selected from court testimony?
   e. What is the basis of his organization of concrete materials?
7. What is the significance of the final quotation in the final paragraph?

PSYCHOLOGY OF ALCOHOLISM*

By Edward A. Strecker and Francis T. Chambers, Jr.

1. THE STUDY of the sober personality gives little or no clue to underlying drinking abnormalities. Many of our patients are potentially adequate to meet reality, and, indeed, are often superior in endowment. Perhaps we have overlooked the possibility of a degree of abnormality that is neither contained in mental disease nor in the neurosis, but is obtained only by the use of toxic agents that

* From *Alcohol: One Man's Meat* (1938), by Edward A. Strecker and Francis T. Chambers, Jr. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

alter the ways of thinking and being. In other words, are many abnormal drinkers perhaps too stable to become insane or to accept the minor psychosis which we call the neurosis, and having made bad adjustments to environment, unconsciously discovered in alcohol a quasi-neurotic escape that would be denied them without the use of a toxic agent? It seems reasonable to believe that a large segment of alcoholism is a psychoneurotic reaction type.

2. Many neurotics are capable of facing life quite successfully, even though they feel insecure and distrust their capacities. Threatened defeat in the battle of life is anticipated and to some extent discounted by the expedient of setting their subjective standards too high. Thus, the insult to the ego is lessened. From a normal, objective point of view, they are not inferior personalities, but only think themselves inferior because with unconscious purpose they have placed their standards so much higher than the average. The proof of this is to be found in many neurotics who, no matter how badly they themselves may have failed in taking their rightful place in reality, always expect and demand too much of those who have made adequate adjustments. It seems as if they are unwilling to compromise with life, and their philosophy is, "If I can't be perfect, why try to be anything? However, I do expect and demand perfection in those who have the audacity to pretend that they have made an adequate adjustment."

3. When a potential neurotic of this type of personality becomes an abnormal drinker, we may see how he uses destructively the state of mind that demands perfection in others, and for a long time his attitude of "Who are you to tell me what to do?" will be a stumbling block in the way of his submission to treatment. Should the therapist be a normal drinker, the patient at once pounces on this fact, refusing to recognize that there are plenty of people who can drink in moderation in a controlled manner. He can see in the gesture of drinking in others only the morbid condition that exists in regard to his own drinking. Such a state of mind, supercritical concerning those who are trying to help him, is, of course, a resistance on the part of the abnormal drinker against getting well, as it is, too, a symptom of the immature level on which the personality has chosen to face life. This is perhaps akin to the gradual dawning in the mind of the child of the knowledge that his mother and father are not omnipo-

tent, and the subsequent shock that takes place when he finds that his parents are of but the same clay of which other adults are fashioned. One wonders if this recruit for the army of alcoholism, both introverted and potentially neurotic, may not, because of his power to see so much subjectively, get a frightening glimpse in adolescence of the full burden that will be demanded of him if he allows himself to mature, and being untrained and uninformed as to how to accept maturity, he rebels and remains fixed at an adolescent level. Subsequently, his lot is thrown with people who have adjusted to maturer levels, and his position becomes uncomfortable and untenable. To compensate for this, he develops a system of escape which he hopes will be acceptable to his environment. These escapes are, after all, but complicated varieties of a childish malingering. One sees in the alcoholic neurosis a parallel to the age-old trick of having a headache and being very sick indeed because one is unprepared for school. Seemingly, the patient is demanding that the environment accept him as a weakling. Nevertheless, his ego rebels at this social measurement, so in an alcoholic breakdown he sometimes attains the neurotically enviable position of being an important weakling. Such personalities can stand anything but being ignored, and the fuss and worry brought about by his alcoholic problem are unconsciously welcomed and gloried in.

4. The following short account given us by a frank patient and a member of his family during an early interview is illustrative of much that has been written in this chapter.

5. Mr. X. was born of an excellent family of Quaker and Dutch ancestry. There was no history of mental disease and, with the exception of an uncle on his maternal side, no record of abnormal drinking. The grandparents had been successful in business, and his parents were comfortably established with little incentive to further enhance their pecuniary resources. The mother might be described as a typical society woman. She had married the man who was chosen by her parents and approved by her social set. However, in her youth she had fallen in love with a man of whom her family disapproved because, although acceptable and attractive as a potential husband, he was socially unimportant. Like a dutiful daughter, she unwisely acquiesced in her parents' desire and eventually married her family's choice rather than expose herself to

their criticism. The result was a humdrum, uninteresting union, and to escape she engaged in all kinds of club work, social service, and philanthropic activities. As her only son grew older, she became more and more solicitous about him, and consequently overprotected him in every way, thus denying him the normal "give and take" of everyday existence.

6. The father of the patient, on the other hand, was disappointed in the outcome of this marriage, in which there was no real love and little understanding. As time went on, he devoted himself more and more to business and club life, avoiding a home which fell far short of his expectations and ideals. As his son matured, the father endeavored to act as a counterfoil to the pampering attitude of the mother. He felt the boy's disaster was inevitable unless he attempted to compensate by handling the boy in a stern, austere manner. The result of this environment on the child is rather obvious. He found himself "out on a limb," uncertain which way to jump. Being human, he leaped to his mother's arms where he was overprotected, flattered, and completely untrained for the battle of life. Although he admired his father, he was terrified by his unnatural sternness and domineering tactics.

7. When eighteen years of age, the boy entered college, and again found himself "out on a limb," but this time there was no place to jump. He was released from both the solicitous pampering of his mother, and the dominant commands of his father. Mr. X. thus describes his feelings and reactions: "I was torn between a stimulating feeling of independence on the one hand, and insecurity on the other. I found myself totally bewildered by the matter-of-fact manner with which my contemporaries faced the problems of existence. They appeared so capable and unafraid in meeting their everyday problems. I craved their approval and wanted to be considered one of them; but I had no technique with which to establish a friendly relationship.

8. "I remember my first visit to the village inn and my excitement and relief at discovering that alcohol would dissipate my feelings of insecurity and inferiority to the point where I felt socially secure. In this environment I was accepted by a 'fast' group who were rendered uncritical by their use of alcohol. The Inn became a Mecca to which I made frequent pilgrimages. Here was afforded, at small

expense and no effort, a sense of well-being and importance. While under the influence of a few drinks, I fancied myself an outstanding member of my class; and my drinking companions flattered me by welcoming me into their circle. Even the recital of some drunken prank in which we had all participated made me feel important and pleasantly conspicuous. This zest for recognition soon led to my seeking out bizarre things to do while under the influence of liquor. My drinking companions always applauded. Eventually, in my freshman year, I was called before the dean, who symbolized my father's stern personality. As I recall, he was kindly and gave me good, wholesome advice which was promptly rejected because it was so like my father's guidance.

9. "When I had to leave college, I returned to a family wherein open warfare had been declared. My father blamed my mother for my failure at college; and my mother accused my father of almost everything imaginable. A position in a bank was secured for me, and I soon discovered that my inferiority feeling, due to my failure at college, could be dissipated by the use of my new found friend, alcohol. The next five years constituted a makeshift escape from unpleasant reality due to the conflict at home, and my resentment against both my mother's overprotection and my father's discipline. I found myself living more and more at the club, and almost entirely preoccupied in a mad search for excitement amidst the social activities offered every young bachelor in a large city. During this period I drank a great deal, but had no realization that I was addicted to, or dependent upon alcohol. I persisted in my endeavor to become conspicuous when under its influence, and soon I found I had a reputation, at first, for being very gay; but later I sensed the gossips' whisper, 'Isn't it too bad he drinks so much?'

10. "At the end of five years, I married. During those first two years of married life, my wife and I devoted ourselves to a whirl of social engagements, most of which seemed to demand that I use alcohol almost continuously. Then our first child was born. My drinking had now become a problem to me and my wife. I was getting a little bit tighter than anybody else at parties. I was beginning to look forward to lunch at the club merely to remedy my shaky hands and 'awfully gone' feeling with a few drinks at the bar. It was not long before I concluded that a morning eye-opener would be advisable

in order to brace me sufficiently and tide me over until lunch time. At length, because of my alcoholic breath and inefficiency, I was 'hauled on the carpet' in the president's office, where I was warned that it was imperative that I get hold of myself and learn to control my drinking. This frightened me. Like the dean in college before, the president no doubt was the admired and dreaded surrogate of the stern father of my boyhood. I tried going 'on the wagon,' and was surprised to learn it was not so difficult to do without alcohol. It was painful, however, to endure the boredom and restlessness caused by abstinence. . . . My drinking companions at the club became rather dull, silly human beings, and I felt excluded from their conversation about drinking escapades. I became petulant and terribly sorry for myself. My home life was very dreary, and my wife's worried attitude concerning my drinking made me guiltily furious. My moroseness had a repercussional effect so that marital life became a 'cat and dog' existence. After two months of abstinence from alcohol, I decided that I could drink in moderation. I was welcomed back into the arms of my drinking companions, and even my wife admitted that things seemed to be going better now that I had 'control of myself.' This seminormal control lasted four months, during which time I thought I was able to limit my drinking comparatively well. However, at the end of this period, my shaking hands had to be quieted by a heavy drink before breakfast; and the next time I was summoned to the president's office, I was fired.

11. "Self-pity now became extreme. The hours normally spent at the office were now spent at the club with other men whose working interfered with their drinking. Every evening the return home became more cloudy and vague. At first, I was just tight at dinner. Pretty soon I was dead drunk by that time and had to be assisted to bed by the servants. From this time on, a sanatorium was necessary to sober me up. It seems as if I have spent the last five years in sobering up, and then looking forward to the day when I could drink again. I realize that it cannot go on any longer because I am physically, mentally, and morally so far down the ladder that destruction appears inevitable. I am willing and anxious to do anything that will help me, provided you think I can be shown what to do."

12. Naturally, we did not make a casual diagnosis of Mr. X.'s case from the brief account cited above. All it gives is a vague picture of an environment destructive to mature emotional growth, and the patient's own account of how he used alcohol abnormally during the period of adolescence and maturity up to the time he consulted us. The history signified a state of mind so maladjusted in facing reality on a normal basis that the use of alcohol or some other way of eluding reality seemed inevitable. The fact that it was the misuse of alcohol that showed itself as a symptom of maladjustment seems to us in this instance and in many others merely a matter of chance, augmented by an environment in which drinking is common and socially acceptable. In other circumstances and in another environment, Mr. X. might have shown other neurotic symptoms without the necessity of using alcohol. Because his symptom happened to take the form of chronic alcoholism, there was little incentive for him to seek any other path of escape.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* Outline this article on the basis of particulars and generalities.
   b. Show by your outline where both particulars and generalities come in the article.
   c. Explain why the generalities come where they do in the article.
2. *a.* Indicate by parallel columns the particulars in the case study of Mr. X. that correspond to the generalities that the author covers.
   b. Does the author seem to cover each aspect of the man's behavior and relate such separate aspects to corresponding generalities?
3. *a.* To what extent does the case study here deal with backgrounds, particularly heredity?
   b. How does he show the significance of such material?
4. Compare the material contained in the last paragraph with that in the first two paragraphs.
5. *a.* Compare this article with Kimball Young's "Projection of Parental Ambitions upon Children." Point out similarities and differences in style.
   b. Now compare this article with J. B. Martin's "The Ring and the Conscience." What are the main differences in treatment between them?
6. *a.* If you have read Charles Jackson's *The Lost Weekend*, write a brief paper in which you show to what extent his book could be called a "case history."
   b. Can you think of other books of fiction which use, primarily, this method for the ends of imaginative literature?

WOMEN AVAILABLE*

By Ruth L. Porterfield

1. HERE ARE the case histories of five unemployed college women whom I know in New York. This factual account of the situation in which they find themselves may explode the common theory that it is the unfit who have not survived the depression and that those endowed with education and experience have come through unscathed. These girls, it is true, still have a few friends to help them out occasionally, but they are fast approaching the depths of destitution to which unemployed women of the working classes have already fallen. Theirs is a fair cross section of the experiences of thousands of similarly well educated young women in all parts of the country.

VERA

2. Vera has never had a job. Almost every day of her first year in New York was spent in the discouraging routine all too familiar to the inexperienced college graduate looking for work. Employment agencies and prospective employers were equally indifferent to her plight when they discovered her lack of experience. And the money that she spent on stamps for answering want ads was wasted; her letters never elicited replies.

3. For a time she lived on a small inheritance. But by the summer of 1934 it was gone and she seemed as far as ever from any hope of getting a job. Despite the intense heat and the growing nausea and weakness of slow starvation she continued to look for work for a month after her funds gave out. During this period she did not pay any rent for her furnished room and for food she depended almost entirely on occasional dinner invitations from her friends. There were not many of these invitations because she did not tell anyone how desperate her situation really was. Sometimes, though, she would borrow a dollar which usually went for carfare when she got so tired she couldn't walk farther, or, contrary to her better judgment, for food.

* From *The American Mercury*, XXXIV (1935), by permission of the publishers and the author.

4. After four weeks of assuring her landlady that she would soon get a job and pay her rent she came home one night to find that all her clothing and personal belongings had disappeared during her absence. Frantic, she appealed to the landlady who told her that everything would be returned when she paid her rent. The value of her possessions was of course far greater than the amount of her unpaid rent and she asked friends to loan her twelve dollars, the sum of her indebtedness. When she went home that night to redeem her possessions she found that a new lock had been put on the outside door of the house and that her key no longer fitted it. She rang the bell and knocked for a long time, but there was no answer.
5. In a daze, she went to the park and sat on a bench and cried until a policeman threatened to arrest her on a charge of vagrancy if she stayed any longer. That night she slept, or tried to sleep, in the waiting room of the Grand Central. Once a guard told her to leave, but when he discovered she was so weak and sick that she couldn't stand he relented. Later she discovered that homeless women often sleep in the big stations, pretending to be waiting for a morning train. She also found women lying behind the heating and ventilating shafts in subway toilets. In spite of the fact that the weather was exceptionally hot, most of them were wearing several suits of underclothing and two or three dresses. Not having any place to leave their belongings they had to wear everything they owned.
6. Vera herself slept in all the Y.W.C.A.s in town in rotation: homeless girls can spend one night in each. Finally someone directed her to the Girls' Service League. By that time she was reduced to a state of thinking that it would be a privilege to work without a salary — anything for some food and a dependable roof over her head. She was sent out for an interview with a prospective employer, but never got there. It was very hot and, except for a little bread, Vera had had nothing to eat for three days. She isn't sure what happened. But she remembers leaving the Girls' Service League and feeling especially dizzy and sick. The next thing she knew she was in a bed in Bellevue Hospital. Vera lay there three weeks: in falling she had struck her head on the pavement and suffered a severe concussion.
7. When she was discharged from Bellevue she was still too weak to look for a job. Consequently, she was forced to appeal to the few

friends that she has in the city. But, since they are none too well off themselves, she refuses to take more than a small sum from them each month. She is living in a ramshackle tenement, sharing a room with a homeless woman whom she met at the Girls' Service League. The room is without improvements, except for cold running water and a gas plate. The paint is dirty and no amount of washing seems to have any effect on it.

8. A mutual friend recently took me to see Vera. It was early evening and the two girls were having their dinner which consisted of rice and carrots. While they ate, cockroaches ran across the table. For weeks they have been trying to get rid of them and of the other vermin that infest the place, but so far their efforts have been unavailing. The walls separating the apartment from the others in the building are so thin that we could hear almost every sound in the house: water running, dogs barking, children crying, and angry voices raised in interminable quarreling.

9. A few days before our visit someone had thrown a stone through one of the windows and cold blasts of air increased the discomfort of an interior that is always tomblike and damp. The girls were wearing winter coats; their fingers were blue with the cold; we could see our breath as we talked. The broken window had been called to the attention of the owner who promised to get around to it when he could. "In the meantime, stuff the hole with rags," he advised, "fresh air is good for you." He is similarly indifferent to the fact that the ceiling is falling: a few inches come down every day when there are fist fights in the apartment upstairs.

10. Vera is now in the third year of her unemployment. If she is completely discouraged, she does not say so. In fact, she told me she had recovered sufficiently from her fall to start looking for work again. "Only I'll have to have something to wear first," she said. "No one will hire me looking this way." Her one dress has been cleaned and mended until there is nothing left of it; she has no hat and there are large holes in her shoes. Lately she applied for relief, but so far nothing has come of it. The woman who was sent to interview her by the Home Relief Bureau spent the morning discussing her own religious problems and trying to convert Vera to Christian Science. After much talk about the "free flow of a supply

of light" she suddenly announced that she was "frozen to death" and left in a great hurry, promising to return in a few days. So far she has not returned.

MARGARET

11. Margaret presents a strong contrast to Vera: her morale has been completely shattered by the depression. Eight years ago this past June she was the pride of the graduating class of one of the best known women's colleges in the country. She was offered a fellowship, but felt that she should decline it in favor of working and trying to help her family in the Middle West. She went into publishing in which she did exceptionally well, partly because publishing was in its heyday and partly because of her ability. She sent money home and had an attractive apartment.

12. Her magazine stood the first two years of the depression, but in 1931 it went under and she was out of a job. At first she looked for a position as good as the one she had lost, but there were not many like that in 1931. And the weary months, during which her savings went like snow in the sun, taught her to take anything she could get. She ran the gamut of cheap typing jobs: fourteen dollars a week and a lame back were all she could show for the longest, hardest days she had ever known. If she typed less than two thousand form letters a week her salary was cut to twelve dollars. And when the nervous strain of such work and living in a cold room made her ill and she stayed away from the office for a day or two, she got fired.

13. By 1933 she seemed to be permanently out of a job. She spent much of that year looking for work but could find nothing and now she has stopped looking. She can no longer bring herself to face the self-assured indifference of receptionists when they turn her out at the mere mention of the word job. A well-developed inferiority complex makes her think that her misfortunes are her own fault and no one can convince her that this is not the case.

14. The tables are reversed now: her family sends her a few dollars each month — enough for the rent of a bleak loft. They are in bankruptcy themselves and cannot afford even the little that they give her. Nor can they afford to have her come home; they think that in the city she will soon find work. Not having seen her in a long time

they have no idea of the tragedy of her situation; in her letters to them she tries to conceal the truth. If it were not for her friends she would starve. They have a regular routine for entertaining her so that she has a dinner invitation almost every night. Dinner is her only meal. When one of the friends forgets that it is her turn to be hostess, Margaret doesn't eat at all.

15. She knows that she should reward the hospitality that is offered her by seeming her former gay self, but it is almost impossible for her to be anything but apathetic and apologetic. She feels herself a burden and she knows that her appearance is anything but attractive: she hasn't even the facilities for keeping clean. Worst of all, she has lost almost half her teeth, although she is not yet thirty. Dental clinics will extract an aching tooth without charge, but fillings and inlays run into money.

Frances

16. A little over a year ago Frances lost her job when the advertising agency in which she had been employed since her graduation from college failed. Since then she has found that education, six years of experience, and the most tireless energy can count as nothing in the search for work. Her terror at being jobless was intensified by the fact that in a small upstate town she had a mother and younger sister who were almost completely dependent on her for support: each week she had sent them part of her salary. Because of this generosity she was not fortified by much of a savings account when the disaster of unemployment came and her downfall has been unusually rapid.

17. At present Frances seems as far as ever from finding anything, although her days are still given over to an intensive program of job hunting. She would rather be out in the cold streets and winter storms than in her tiny hall bedroom with its one window opening on an airshaft and its nauseating odor of grease, kerosene, illuminating gas, and defective drains. The absence of light and heat and air she finds as nothing compared with the horror of this overpowering and inescapable stench. However, she has tried enough cheap rooming houses to know that they all have similar drawbacks.

18. Besides looking for work, her other major preoccupation is the everlasting struggle to keep up appearances – to look well dressed

on nothing a year. If she is shabby she will never find work. But without running water or electricity she finds it practically impossible to keep herself or her clothing clean and so she takes her laundry with her when she goes to see friends and utilizes their facilities. On such occasions she bathes, too; there is no tub in her house.

19. Frances has sold her fur coat and all her more valuable clothing. First she had to part with her furniture at a great financial loss and then her clothes; and by Christmas she was reduced to selling her books. Every other day she took six of them to a secondhand shop, and if they were nicely bound and in good condition she got twenty cents for the six. That was all the money she had for food. She had fallen behind in her rent, too, and was being threatened with eviction.

20. Always ravenously hungry, Frances decided to apply for a Christmas basket from one of the relief agencies: if she were careful, she could make such a supply of food do for a week or more. The day before Christmas the basket was delivered. Visualizing fruit and a cold, roasted chicken, Frances tore frantically at the paper; she was so hungry that she couldn't wait to untie it. Inside the basket there was a purplish slab of raw beef and an uncooked chicken. Since she had no cooking facilities she asked her landlady to cook the meat in exchange for a share of it. The arrangement was eagerly assented to but, unfortunately, the landlady, filled with holiday spirit, got drunk and let both roasts burn up.

21. Some time ago Frances applied for relief, because she felt that such a course would be less distasteful than accepting money from her friends. Last week, after the usual procedure of investigation, she was notified that her application had been acted on favorably. This means that from now on her rent will be paid and that, every two weeks, she will receive $6.60 for food, clothing and other necessities of existence.

JANET

22. I climbed four flights of rickety stairs to see Janet and her mother. The room was very cold, and her mother was lying on a couch shivering beneath a pile of blankets. At the clinic they said she cannot live more than a few months: cancer, advanced stage.

23. Janet sat with a scarf round her neck and her hand spread over one side of her face. She always sits that way now, trying to conceal her birthmark – a reddish, purple patch that covers one side of her neck and part of a cheek. In other and better years she was able to afford a certain patented product that completely hid the blemish. Twice a day she painted her face and neck with this cosmetic that meant all the difference between the normal life she once lived and the life of the shrinking social outcast that she is today. Although the lotion is worth its weight in gold to her, she cannot afford it; the price is ten dollars a bottle and she has no money and no job. Furthermore, she is afraid that she never will have one as long as her disfigurement is so apparent. She tries to cover it with ordinary face powder, but without success.

24. The room would be unspeakably dreary if it were not for the fact that there are a great many books. Books are a liability, though, if you have to go on relief, as Janet and her mother discovered a few months ago. The investigator who came to see them was "shocked" to note such evidence of former prosperity and suggested that they sell the books at once. Unimpressed by their explanation that the books would bring practically nothing, she asked them if they didn't regret not having saved their money. Later she sent a colleague around to see what he would make of the strange situation. After urging them at some length to "come clean," he was finally convinced that they were not millionaires in disguise and endorsed their application for relief.

25. Except for this relief they have absolutely no money. It is a far call from the day, not so long ago, when Janet held a good position in the personnel department of a large bank. The depression meant consolidations, amalgamations, and retrenchments that finally left her without a job. Her experience and the fact that she is an alumna of a famous New York university and has done graduate work at Oxford do not seem to have helped her much in the two years that she has been looking for work. She couldn't even get a job in a department store during the Christmas rush last year. "You have to be very chic to do merchandising these days," she was told by a young girl in the employment bureau.

26. Just now she probably couldn't take a job because the days when her mother is so ill that she can't be left alone are increasingly fre-

quent. On relief it is impossible to buy the expensive medicine, the morphine, the thousand and one things that a sick person has to have. Janet denies herself literally everything so that she will have more money for these necessities. She lives largely on potatoes, and not very many of them. The brother of a college friend, who is interning in a local hospital, tries to prescribe for her mother, but there is little he can do.

Louise

27. A newspaperman discovered Louise while he was on an assignment and later took me to see her. She is a college graduate with five years' experience as a teacher in a secretarial school. Two years ago the school closed and she was not able to get another job. Her savings went quickly, especially since she was ill — threatened with tuberculosis — and had to spend a few months in a sanatorium. When her money gave out she knew what it was like to be hungry and she was evicted from more than one furnished room and cheap boarding house.

28. Finally she came down to sleeping in the various emergency shelters that have been provided for women since the depression. In the daytime she wandered about in a stupor of hunger and fatigue, looking for any kind of work — however menial and however badly paid. By that time she was too miserable to be very efficient or to know exactly what she was doing. And after a night or two in each of these shelters she had to think of some other place to go: there is a rule that the shelters are for temporary emergencies only.

29. There was nothing left but the municipal lodging house. She was trying to reconcile herself to going there when another unemployed girl whom she had met at one of the shelters invited her to spend a few nights with her and two of her friends. The three of them had found a room for which they did not have to pay any rent and, with characteristic generosity, they asked Louise to share their meager quarters.

30. These girls have been there for several months now. One of them is on relief and she shares her biweekly stipend of $6.60 with the others. That is all the money they have. The owner of the house lets them stay without paying any rent because the room is so undesirable that she can't get a tenant for it. If she does have a chance

to rent it, they will have to go. The room is small and there is no heat, artificial light, or running water. The girls have to sleep in shifts because there are only two cots. Other furniture is at a minimum, but they do not mind that as much as they do the absence of cooking facilities. Because they can't cook they have to live on bananas: they read somewhere that bananas are more filling than anything else at the same price.

31. Pooling their resources in the way of clothing, the girls have one costume fit to appear on the street. They try to keep it clean and in repair, and in rotation each of them wears it for a day and goes out job hunting. While she is gone the others sit around in their rags and talk about food. Sometimes they are so hungry that they visit the owner of the house around meal time, hoping she will offer them something to eat. It is a foolish idea, though, because she looks at them and says, "Did you know that if you're hungry a good drink of water will take away your appetite and do you as much good as food?"

32. Louise has no family. If she has friends in the city she will not admit it – probably because she does not want them to see her desperate poverty. She insists that she will either get a job soon or else be successful in going on relief and that, in any case, there is no cause for concern about her. But she looks tragically tired and worn, and she has an ominous cough.

ANALYSIS

1. Comment on the use of the first paragraph of this article. What necessary points does it make concerning the use of the case history technique in handling this particular problem?
2. As the introduction says, this is an effort to deal with "factual" material.
   a. Point out in each of the cases particulars that fall under this category of "factual."
   b. Explain the kinds of facts used. Are similar kinds used in all five of the cases?
3. Does the author do any generalizing in any of the cases? Where? Why?
4. Explain why five cases are used here. Could not one case serve as well? Why? Why not?
5. *a.* Point out any significant differences between the cases.
   b. What influence, if any, do these differences have on the conclusion?
   c. Are any of these cases too untypical to be useful? Do they all bear out the point?

6. Compare the technique and style used here with that used in Kimball Young's case study of Mina and Strecker and Chambers' "Psychology of Alcoholism."
7. *a.* Does the author show any bias toward the problem that these case histories represent? Where?
   b. Is the article slanted? Toward what end?

A CASE STUDY OF INTRACOMMUNITY CONFLICT*

By Kimball Young

1. CONFLICT may arise within a community between opposing factions as well as between one community and another. The following case describes a struggle between two sections of a small city. The principal occasions were first, a controversy about the location of a union passenger station, and second, the dispute regarding the location of the city high school building. In addition to these, for years there have been minor and milder conflicts growing directly out of business and political rivalry.
2. Leeds, the county seat of Bain County, ———, lies 43 miles southeast of Junction City, which itself is a center for a rich agricultural and mining region. Leeds was first settled about 1850, and has grown slowly until in 1910 it had slightly more than 8000 inhabitants. The town is served by two transcontinental railroad systems and is an important service center for the surrounding agricultural and mining communities. A small denominational college is located there.
3. The city has long been divided in sentiment into the West Side and the East Side. There are no natural barriers, but Millrace Street served as the boundary between the two sections. Along this street runs a canal and a stub railroad line of one of the two major railroads. The roots of the intracommunity opposition go back to pioneer days. The West Side was for decades the dominant center, but as the city grew to the east and northeast, a rival business center, located at and near the intersection of Fernando Avenue and Centre Street, arose in the newer portion of the community. The West Side business section, in contrast, is stretched out along the western half of Centre Street west of Millrace Street.

* From *Source Book for Sociology* (1935), by Kimball Young. Reprinted by permission of the American Book Company.

4. There has long been a belief among the West-Siders that the East-Siders had an advantage over them. The college, which originally was located in the western section of the city, had been moved in the middle nineties to the northeastern quarter of the city. A larger number of the well-to-do residents and community leaders lived in the eastern section, although the West Side was not lacking in vigorous and effective leadership. During municipal elections the struggle frequently became sectional rather than strictly political. The two rather dilapidated railroad stations were also located in the southeastern section of the city.
5. It was, in fact, the proposal to build a union passenger station to serve both transcontinental railroads that gave rise to the most bitter conflict. The East-Siders wanted the new station to be erected near the site of the two older stations. The West-Siders countered with a proposal to place the station in the southwestern quarter of the city. Since the project involved the question of a municipal franchise and also the matter of purchasing the land needed for the new building, the railroad companies left the decision more or less to the citizens.
6. Out of the discussion of the issue, especially among the business and professional groups, there arose two publics, one favoring the West, the other the East. Leadership in the controversy was recruited largely from business and professional men. Wealthy individuals from both sides offered to purchase land for the railroads upon which to erect the new station. In fact, the principal motivation of the struggle was economic, each side feeling that there would be increased business for their section if the traffic to and from the station were routed through their particular business section. It was finally agreed to hold a referendum vote to decide the issue. Traditional political party lines were forgotten. Men who had been enemies in earlier and other political struggles united in the cause of one side or the other, depending on where they resided and where their business or professional interests lay. Public debates and rallies were held. Slogans and acrimonious accusations were flung freely back and forth. Speakers on both sides accused their opponents of attempting to dominate the community. The college administration for the most part favored the East-Siders, whose spellbinders pointed out to those college students living outside the city the dis-

advantages which would arise from locating the new station so far away in the southwestern part of the town. (The proposal of the East-Siders would still leave the new station well over a mile from the college, while that of the West-Siders, if adopted, would add only about one quarter of a mile in the total distance from the college to the station.)

7. The issue was finally decided in favor of the West Side proposal. But the bitterness of the controversy remained for years afterwards, reflecting itself in mayoralty campaigns, in plans for public holidays and public festivals, and in church activities. The West-Siders even built a new bank and withdrew their patronage from the dominant and strongest bank of the whole county, located in the eastern business area.

8. Curiously enough, the particular advantage of the West-Siders' triumph was shortlived. Within a few years after the new station was built, an interurban electric line was constructed which linked up Leeds with a whole chain of towns and cities halfway across the state. The Leeds station for this electric road was put in the eastern business section. Its efficient service soon took most of the local intrastate passenger traffic and much of the local freight service away from the two transcontinental railroads. Then within a few years more, when the coming of the automobile brought good highways in its wake, the interurban road itself felt the force of new competition from busses and automobile travel.

9. The second outbreak of the intracommunity conflict came about five or six years after the first one. It arose over the proposal to erect a large public high school. When definite plans began to be formulated, the old opposition again became apparent. There was much public discussion. Meetings were held and leadership on both sides became active in propaganda for their own side of the question. In this instance the public discussion was directed toward influencing the Board of Education, since it had the legal right to decide the issue. Once again the West Side won. The high school was placed just one block away from the assumed center of the West Side business district in an obviously poor location (because of limited space for future buildings and nearness to the business section), but the West-Siders had triumphed again.

10. Today [1935] the feeling between the two sections of the city is

much improved. Some years ago a third conflict developed over the location of the new city and county building, but it did not become so bitter and so intense as the other two. The city has grown to a population of over 15,000. A steel mill has been built just outside the city to the southeast, business has improved, the college has increased its enrollment, and the city has grown most along the eastern and northeastern periphery. The Rotary and Kiwanis clubs have fostered kindlier relations among the business and professional men irrespective of their sectional affiliations. The educational aspects of the second major controversy have been somewhat obviated by the building of a new junior high school in the eastern part of the community. The next step doubtless will be the erection of a second senior high school in the same section.

11. The principal features of this intracommunity conflict may be summarized as follows: (1) the long-standing rivalry of two sections of the city, going back to early days; (2) the sentiment among West-Siders that the East-Siders were snobbish; (3) the rise of an intense conflict, motivated largely on economic grounds, over the new union passenger station; (4) the development of group solidarity on each side, the rise of leaders, the use of public discussions, and the employment of accusations and other verbal weapons to influence the final public decision; (5) the shortlived triumph of the West Side; (6) the continuation of a certain bitterness, and psychological readiness for another outbreak; (7) the recurrence of the controversy over the establishment of the public high school; (8) the repetition of the old conflict but without so much intensity; (9) the success of the West-Siders again; (10) the later compromise by building a new junior high school in the eastern section; and finally, (11) the gradual dissipation of the controversial attitudes as the town has grown and as service and other agencies have influenced cooperative attitudes.

ANALYSIS

1. In this study you will notice that the area of the problem has shifted from individuals to the larger area of the community.
   a. What changes does this shift bring about in the nature of the generality or conclusion to the article?
   b. State the conclusion. Where in the article do you find it stated?

2. *a.* What changes in the presentation of the particulars that make up the case study come about because this is a study of a community?
   b. List the main facts of the community that the author places most stress upon.
   c. What does he do to build up in the reader's mind an understanding and knowledge of the community?
   d. What facts about the community are important here?
3. Explain the function of the final paragraph of the selection.
4. *a.* What reservations or limitations does the author make in clarifying the problem of the typicality of this particular town?
   b. How much of what was true with this specific town would also be true with any town?

THREE SOUTHERN TOWNS*

By Willson Whitman

I. Tupelo: Feudalism and TVA

1. The Tennessee Valley has no big cities but a hundred county seats. These valley towns differ, as the seven valley states differ, in history and character; but more interesting than their local color is the fact that arrested Southern economy has preserved intact various stages of economic progress, each of which may be almost perfectly exemplified in some one town. To consider in turn Tupelo, Mississippi, Huntsville, Alabama, and Kingsport, Tennessee, is to range all the way from rugged individualism through decadent capitalism to streamlined industrial planning, or from feudalism to fascism in three hard lessons.
2. Tupelo, Mississippi, is called "the TVA city" by the local chamber of commerce. In 1933 Congressman John E. Rankin persuaded his home town to plug in government power, and now it is known throughout the country as the satisfied first customer of TVA current.
3. Mr. Rankin admits that it took some argument, but argument in Tupelo is simple because you can do most of it with one man. Suppose you wanted to talk to the vice-president of the Tupelo Cotton Mills, or the president of the Tupelo Garment Company, or the president of the Citizens' Bank of Tupelo; or suppose you had business with the Tupelo Brick and Tile Company, or with R. D. Reed and Company, the Main Street department store — in each case you

* From *The Nation*, December 31, 1938, January 7 and January 21, 1939. Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the author.

would ask for Mr. Rex Reed. Or you might be interested in the local hospital, or the Red Cross, or the Tupelo Rotary Club, or have an inquiry for the state board of public welfare; again the best man to see would be Mr. Rex Reed. Of course there are other business men in Tupelo, a town with a population of some 6000, and others who believe with Mr. Reed that the road to success is service, but there is not much business, public or private, that is not somehow connected with the Reed enterprises.

4. It was rumored that the Tupelo Cotton Mills saved $18,000 on their power bills the first year they had TVA power. Norman Thomas wondered out loud if companies which saved money by the use of government power would pass on their savings to their workers. The answer was given at Tupelo: just about the time the cotton mill counted its savings, the Supreme Court invalidated the NRA; so wages instead of being raised were lowered. This was hard, because the workers in the cotton mills lost money in another way when TVA power was plugged in. They lived in company houses, and since their lights were on the company line, they had paid at the industrial rate — fifty cents a month. For TVA power they paid the regular residential rate, with a seventy-five cent minimum. Electricity was cheaper now for everybody else in the town but two bits higher for them. The two bits counted. With a $4000 weekly pay roll, the mill had four hundred employees; you can figure the average wage for a forty-six-hour week.

5. In the spring of 1937, when everybody was doing it, the mill workers had the spunk to start a sitdown strike. Jimmy Cox, a machinist in the mill for seven years, was the leader. Jimmy had a wife and two small children to worry about, but he was young and hopeful. They asked for a 15 per cent raise in wages and a forty-hour-week. Of course they didn't stand a chance to get it. The mill offered to compromise on 10 per cent, but it wasn't to be a raise; it would have to be a bonus at Christmas. And the management wouldn't reduce hours at all. As the strike started in April, Christmas seemed a long way off; so Jimmy Cox, with a two-to-one vote to back him, stood pat.

6. The management said that if the workers were going to be ugly about it, they would have to shut down the mill. Last summer the mill building, with a square tower like a feudal fort, was still shut.

Southern workers do not break windows, and the glass was therefore still intact. But scarlet trumpet vines were holding the fort, and on the door a card read, "This property is now in the hands of the receiver appointed by the Chancery Court of Lee County, Mississippi." The mill cottages on the streets between the railroad tracks and the cotton fields bore the same placards. When evictions were tried during the strike, Jimmy Cox asked the Red Cross for tents because the mill workers had joined the Red Cross by a payroll checkoff, but Mrs. Rex Reed, the Lee County chairman, had no tents available. Nobody could say what the people lived on, for there is no "home relief," as Northerners know it, in Mississippi.

7. Congressman Rankin, in Washington, charged that the National Labor Relations Board was "conspiring with communistic influences to destroy Southern industries," and that "the ruthless manner in which they helped to destroy and forced the liquidation of the cotton mill in Tupelo, throwing all the employees out of work, and the brutal manner in which they are now trying to destroy the garment factories in that city is enough to stir the people of my state to revolt."

8. After the cotton-mill strike a loudspeaker was put in the garment factory to tell the girls how well off they were and that unions were not to be trusted. But wages were as low as $5 a week, and some of the girls were discontented enough to listen to Tupelo's first outside organizer. Ida Sledge came from one of the best families in Memphis, but she had been corrupted by Wellesley and social work. So Miss Sledge was asked to leave Tupelo by a committee of loyalists from Reed Brothers, and actually escorted out of town by a group of local businessmen. It may be embarrassing for Southern gentlemen to have to treat a lady in this fashion, but Southern papers, discussing Tupelo's trouble, had referred to the Wellesley girl as "an influx of CIO agitators."

9. When the girls who had joined the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union lost their jobs, they appealed to the Labor Board — and Tupelo got busy organizing company unions. Members of the Chamber of Commerce, the City Council, and the Kiwanis formed a Citizens' Committee, which entertained loyal workers with patriotic speeches, a dinner at the Hotel Tupelo, and a barbecue at the Legion hut; the mayor issued a statement against agitators; and

the sheriff announced his determination to "protect Tupelo's industries from outsiders," City ordinances sought to discourage distribution of union circulars, and both papers refused union advertising; the Tupelo *News* gritted its teeth over the need to keep "the virgin Southland free from a communistic organization," and dared the Labor Board to invade Dixie. Both papers printed the page advertisements of the Tupelo Garment Company urging industrial "cooperation" by all "true, red-blooded Americans." The citizens telegraphed Congressman Rankin and Senator Pat Harrison demanding defeat of the wage-hour law and congratulated Congressman Rankin when he warned Washington that the streets of Southern towns might be "stained with the blood of innocent people as a result of the activities of these irresponsible representatives of the so-called Labor Relations Board."

10. The nearest thing to bloodshed in Tupelo was the experience of Jimmy Cox. Tupelo was Jimmy's home town, just as it was Congressman Rankin's and Mr. Rex Reed's; he had taken civil service examinations and was first on the list of eligible substitutes at the Tupelo post office. The cotton mill had been in receivership for a year. One day as he was walking along the streets a car drove up and a man told him to get in. Since another car was behind, with twelve men in the two, there was no use arguing. They took Jimmy twenty miles out into the country, tied a rope around his neck, and started to tie the other end to the rear axle of the first car. He talked them out of that, or maybe they were just trying to scare him; at any rate they stretched him over a log instead and beat him with their belts. The people who took care of him afterward said he was pretty badly hurt – it was feared he might lose an arm. He had to go for treatment to the new hospital, dedicated shortly before by Mr. Rex Reed.

11. That was last spring. Last summer Tupelo industry faced its crisis. All three factories had company unions, and more than twenty girls had been fired for membership in the I.L.G.W.U. Or so the union was prepared to prove by depositions taken in the Holiness Church. Since the Tupelo courthouse was not available for the NLRB hearing – "Tupelo don't want no riffraff in its courthouse," explained the farmer husband of one of the witnesses – lawyers and examiner moved over to Aberdeen, the next county

seat, a smaller, older town peacefully asleep under its magnolia trees. Everybody expected the hearing to last for weeks, but it was over in two days. First two, then all of the girls discharged were ordered reinstated with back pay. Company unions were ordered dissolved, with a word about unfair practices.

12. The Labor Board works quickly in such cases because it is dealing with a familiar condition. Except for its TVA power, Tupelo resembles other little Southern towns as one "houn' dawg" resembles another; and in such little towns all over the South industrial feudalism is making its last stand. Of course the "loyal" girls who had saved on Coca Colas to pay for the company union were surprised. The Tupelo *Journal*, announcing the result of the hearing, headlined its story "NLRB Turns Down Garment Workers' Plea," and quoted local opinion that the board was "under the thumb of John L. Lewis and his CIO unions and it was useless to expect any just verdict." The *News* managed to make the decision sound favorable to the factories.

13. During the Civil War a Yankee general who had won a little engagement near Tupelo was persuaded to retreat and leave his wounded behind. Now, after the NLRB examiner had gone back to New York, there were casualties to be counted and a similar confusion as to which side had won. The union girls had their wages and a chance to sew more TVA-brand shirts, but one garment factory and the cotton mill would stay shut. And what good does reinstatement in a job do you if the big boss and the foreladies and right-thinking people in the town are still against you? The board may say "without prejudice" but it can't enforce it. It isn't as if there were jobs enough to go round.

14. There is no doubt about what the best people think. To learn their views you have only to attend Sunday school at Mr. Rex Reed's church. There, the week of the hearing, the teacher of an adult class departed from the regular lesson to say what a great mistake it was to think we could substitute social service for true faith. Some churches made that mistake and some modern schools, and our President made it when he planned to regulate wages and hours of work.

15. Tupelo is typical of that large section of the South which is willing to accept New Deal benefits, unwilling to undertake New Deal

reforms. Right now, with a new reduction in rates and a profit of $40,000 on TVA power last year, it might be unsafe for anti-Administration forces to ask Tupelo to vote on a clear-cut choice between TVA plus NLRB or neither. What Tupelo wants is feudalism with electric fans.

16. In the state that inveigled WPA into subsidizing school manufacture of hosiery, TVA is not the only agency to be made an unwilling accessory to unfair enterprise. But the Tupelo labor case could have, for TVA, a greater significance than the Congressional hearings at Knoxville. The government as a manufacturer of power regulates its resale to domestic consumers; what about its use in industry? Congressman Rankin, one of the authors of the TVA act, insisted that passage of the wage-hour bill would mean "the end of civilization as we know it." In Tupelo, the day after the union victory, he was happy to talk about TVA and how much the Hotel Tupelo was saving on its light bill, but he wouldn't discuss labor questions. He didn't, he said, know what the cotton mill had paid its people. Congressman Rankin was re-elected by a comfortable majority in the fall, and there can be no doubt that he is, for Tupelo, the perfect representative.

17. It is less certain that it will be desirable for the country to make good in all respects a prophecy which President Roosevelt, in the first flush of enthusiasm over TVA achievements, voiced at Tupelo four years ago: "What you are doing here is going to be copied in every state in the Union."

II. Huntsville: Yankee Industry Welcome

18. At the time of the Civil War they say that Huntsville, Alabama, was full of Federal sympathizers who held a meeting of protest against secession. But it wasn't a matter of principle so much as of money; people in northern Alabama did their trading with Tennessee, and as long as Tennessee stayed on the fence they wanted to do the same. The odd thing is that Huntsville's financial ties, which made it favor the Federal side in '63, pulled the other way in '33, to make the town look coldly on the New Deal and decide to keep itself an island of high rates in TVA territory. Even nearby Scottsboro and Decatur have voted to take TVA power, but not Huntsville. Nowadays it isn't just a matter of selling farm produce over the

state line in Tennessee. It isn't a matter of local money at all; Huntsville is far beyond the simple feudalism of little Tupelo. Huntsville is a stronghold of the Alabama Power Company and a textile-manufacturing center, with its big mills owned in the North.

19. More people live in the surrounding mill villages – Lincoln and Merrimack and Dallas – than in the town of Huntsville; the population of the town is 11,000, that of the villages 15,000. Huntsville, in polite phrase, polices its suburbs; the state law forbids picketing, and there are special city ordinances about loitering or talking in groups, and entry and search. But the mill people can't vote in Huntsville elections, and a stranger has no trouble telling where the town stops and the mill territory begins. It isn't the houses, which are better than a lot of those in Huntsville, or the stores and public buildings – at the Merrimack mills they have good-sized, white-painted houses, with yards, a nice red-brick school with white colonial pillars, and two white churches. The difference is that the mill property is behind galvanized wire fencing, with strands of barbed wire at strategic points.

20. In the minds of Huntsville citizens there is an equally sharp division between town dwellers and mill people, but of course mill wages spent in Huntsville keep the town alive. When the mills closed down last year Huntsville blamed the unions. There was no strike, and the mills said they closed for lack of orders, but maybe there was some truth in the idea that they hoped to kill the unions the way TVA kills mosquitoes in its reservoirs, by opening and shutting the dam sluices. Huntsville, though, was alarmed, and when the Dallas mills threatened to close for good, the daily paper, owned in Birmingham, became excited over the loss of what it called a two-million-dollar industry. The paper not only blamed the workers; it warned them that one person out of five in Madison County was out of work, that only one applicant out of ten could get a WPA job, that unemployment insurance might stop at any time. It said the outside labor leaders — "foreigners" from Atlanta, Georgia, and Gadsden, Alabama – were as bad "as anything they ever had in Chicago gangs," and it threatened those workers who joined the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee. "You will be blacklisted until your dying day," it declared. "If you turn back to the farm there is no hope for you."

21. Huntsville citizens then had the bright idea of going to Montgomery to ask the Governor for "state protection" in reopening the mill. By this they meant, of course, martial law to break a strike, in case there should be one. A committee composed of city and county officials made plans for "Save Huntsville Day," April 20, 1938. The Mayor said, "Huntsville and Madison County are confronted with the most serious and tragic situation in our history." They closed the schools, the courthouse, the banks, the wholesale houses, and the cotton warehouse, and the *Times* suspended publication for the day so that everybody could drive to Montgomery. About a thousand Huntsville citizens actually went. They saw the Governor, but it didn't do much good; Governor Graves is a New Dealer, and he seemed to side with the unions. He said the union had agreed to arbitration, and he invited the mill to sit in. That wasn't what the Huntsville people had come for, so they booed the Governor and drove home.

22. But the big mills stayed closed, and shopkeepers grew low in their minds. Around the square they said the whole trouble had started with the NRA, when Washington first undertook to tell a man how to run his own business and egged on the mill hands to look for high wages. Then these agitators came. Even the Negroes living in shacks between the town and the mills said they couldn't see why the white folks had to go and make trouble with those unions. They were earning good money before, but when the unions came nobody could get work. The better people said it wasn't as if the mill workers hadn't been well treated before; the mills had built them houses and a hospital, and paid teachers' and preachers' salaries. Have an influence on what they taught and preached? Why, they could say anything they liked as long as they stuck to the schoolbooks and religion.

23. CIO headquarters exhibited more normal business activity and more traditional Southern hospitality than any other place in Huntsville. The union men said that a long history of organization in Huntsville rather than any sudden enthusiasm accounted for the strength of the unions. They had begun long ago when conditions were really bad, in the old mills that had closed down in Hoover's time. In those days they had all sorts of trouble, but they had got a start; some things that had happened, like the favorite Southern

trick of kidnapping the organizer, had helped build morale. And now they knew what they were doing. They still had their troubles, of course, but they figured they could stick it out. No one bothered to mention a typewritten note recently received: "You and your kind are not wanted in Huntsville. We advise you to get out at once." They were careful, though, to padlock the office when they went out.

24. At the mill offices nobody would talk. The Dallas mill had some local stockholders, but its directors met in New York, and the only qualified spokesman was "out of town – couldn't be reached." As their names show, the Lincoln and the Merrimack mills are owned in the North; so local employees were justified in referring inquiries to Boston.

25. One mill in Huntsville was running; a little mill locally owned, had signed the T.W.O.C. contract. Its wage scale was low, but that wasn't what the union was fighting about. There was no barbed wire around it, and the owner, right there in his office, could be seen. He proved to be as Southern as the T.W.O.C. organizer, and as practical in his way. How come he is running when the other mills aren't? Well, maybe he's got extra good people, intelligent people, working for him. Intelligent enough to hold out for a CIO contract? Well, maybe, if you want to put it that way. He's not afraid of unions – his son, up in New York, belongs to the musician's union, and he has a brother in the Railway Brotherhoods. It's an experiment, he says, to see how long he can run and make ends meet with competition from mills paying lower wages. On the other hand, he figures, keep everybody everywhere underpaid, and who's going to buy the goods? He adds that, in his opinion, the NRA was all right; and you notice a rarity in Huntsville, a picture of the President hanging on the wall.

26. "So you're scabbing on the capital strike?"

27. He laughs at that. He doesn't, he says, know what the other mills are doing. Maybe they haven't any orders, as they said.

28. He is no sentimentalist about the unions. He has heard they didn't do right over at the Dallas mill, and he isn't sure he approves of the checkoff, but if his people want it, it's their business. This mill owner's attitude may be due in part at least to his family connections with unions. But he could also be considered a good ex-

ample of the old-fashioned small capitalist who arrived by rugged individual effort and has retained some human regard for his workers. He had, he said, started in a mill when he was a boy, and he could tend a machine again if he had it to do. Of course he could hire only two hundred people while one of the big mills would take a thousand, and he didn't go in for housing or church-building. But he was asking no more from the little mill than a living for himself and his family, and he lived in a plain frame house. The superintendent of the big Lincoln mill was far more elegantly housed in a big brick mansion.

29. Huntsville, so hostile to foreign invasion, doesn't seem to mind absentee ownership. And it doesn't seem to realize that the Alabama Power Company isn't a local enterprise; a hardware man with a store on the square said he figured that the government's proposal to sell cheap power was just like a chain store coming in and competing with a local store. It wasn't fair. Huntsville people will tell you, too, about the taxes that Alabama Power pays the state, not realizing that the company had to be converted to that. Its founder once complained that the power to tax was the power to destroy. But then the Yankee financiers came in, advising, as Merlin H. Aylesworth said at Birmingham in 1924, "Don't be afraid of the expense. The public pays the expense."

30. Of course the public pays the Alabama Power Company's taxes, indirectly. Many persons wish current were cheaper so they could use more, but few understand the iniquity of a sales tax, direct or indirect. Nearly all, moreover, have a great distrust of interference from Washington, acquired in Civil War and Reconstruction days. Last year a Huntsville ice and coal company put in a claim for losses due to TVA's "social experiment," and Huntsville cherishes many tall tales about the errors of TVA. Government juice, they say, is too strong – blows the radio tubes right out. Then they have to write to Washington before they can make repairs. And all the fuss TVA is making over malaria mosquitoes is certain to ruin the fishing.

31. The county agent admits that TVA phosphate is all right, but they won't let you have it for row crops, and of course Madison County is the biggest cotton-raising county in Alabama. Change to other crops? Why, this is a cotton country and it isn't going to

change. But it's not true that tenants aren't encouraged to raise garden stuff, they could if they weren't shiftless and lazy. Rural electrification? Well, the Alabama Power Company has done a lot to develop this county, and they're building new lines right now.

32. It won't be easy to change the cotton farming, though the warehouses are stuffed with last year's crop. Changing the mill setup by federal legislation may be easier. The small local mill was bound to be helped by the wage-hour law, making general the scale it was paying. Lately the big mills have given up their open-and-shut tactics and resigned themselves to Labor Board elections; the Dallas mill, with its local connections, was the first to sign the T.W.O.C. contract. The Lincoln mill is still holding elections, hoping perhaps that the independent union of the A. F. of L. will gain strength, although the T.W.O.C. is ahead. In the Merrimack mill elections the T.W.O.C. won, and the contract calls for the mill to reopen this month with a thousand workers employed.

33. In a final struggle before this contract was signed, workers were evicted from the Merrimack houses, and the union found shelter for evicted families in an old hotel on the outskirts of town. The women's auxiliary set up cooperative kitchens, and the T.W.O.C. was able to add to its Huntsville history a successful experiment in group living, outside the wire fence. The town has shown no such adaptability, and this suggests that the worst barriers in Madison County are not the barbed-wire fences around the mill property. On the better residence streets of Huntsville the hedges are of rose-colored crepe myrtle, but the people living in the nice old houses are set apart behind less pleasant barriers of the mind.

34. They say that though these people may vote Democratic they pray Republican. And Huntsville boasts the first Garner-for-President club to be organized in the South.

III. Kingsport: They Planned It

35. Most Southern towns just grew, but in the Tennessee Valley is a town that is supposed to show you what American business can do when it turns its hand to civic planning. Kingsport, Tennessee, was "deliberately planned for a city of industrial efficiency, civic beauty, and human happiness."

36. The quotation is from "Kingsport, a Romance of Industry," first

published in 1928 and still to be had in abridged form from the Kingsport boosters. The book contains affecting stories of how the romance began. One tells of a visiting financier who expressed curiosity about how the sunbonneted women in the nearby hills made a living. His local informant admitted that this was a problem, but said they might learn to make hosiery, whereupon "the financier was silent for a time, studying. Then the gracious, big-hearted man replied, 'Meet me at eight o'clock in the morning and we will select the site for the hosiery mill.'"

37. In another tale the visitor is taken to a little school in the hills, and the assembled Anglo-Saxon children are told that this great man from the East has it in his mind to build a big factory that will bring the blessings of prosperity to Kingsport. A little boy stands up and says, "Please, mister, build your plant here." So the plant was built. This second story was repeated last summer in the *Saturday Evening Post*, and therefore must be true. It is undisputed that Yankee industry came to Kingsport because of eager, tow-headed boys and women willing to work. Or, in the words of a report to the Labor Board, "One of the chief inducements held out . . . in securing these industries was the plentiful supply of cheap labor." In telling of Kingsport's origins, the report says:

> A certain New York banker named Dennis, with railroad and other interests in northeast Tennessee, conceived the idea of building an industrial city in this section of the country. He enlisted the services of one J. Fred Johnson, then a small merchant in Kingsport, which was at that time but a hamlet. Johnson turned out to be a man of unusual vision and salesmanship and soon became and still remains a kind of patron saint of the community.
>
> Dennis, Johnson, and associates formed a corporation called the Kingsport Improvement Company, which purchased practically all the land in what is now the incorporated limits of the city; and beginning in the year 1917 started a real estate development which resulted in attracting several large manufacturing establishments from the North. . . .

38. The city fathers have always made much of their planning; planning is all right if the right people do it. In December, 1937, the *Nation's Business* published an article explaining in detail that Kingsport was a "yardstick" of good planning by private enterprise,

while Norris was an example of bad planning by the government. As the boosters would put it, at the birth of the little city all the good fairies of industry presided. The happy parents were the Clinchfield railroad and the land company; the fairy godparents were the Eastman Company, the Corning Glass Company, and the Kingsport Press of New York, the Borden and the Holliston mills of Massachusetts, the Mead Fiber Company of Ohio, and the Pennsylvania-Dixie Cement Corporation. Deliberate planning for industrial efficiency meant that these industries were linked together. The paper and cloth used for books turned out by the Kingsport Press are manufactured in Kingsport; the paper mill gets its wood pulp from the Eastman plant, and so on. For the industries the advantage is obvious. For the town the idea is that there shall be no dependence on one employer, as at Tupelo, or even on one industry, as at Huntsville.

39. As for civic beauty, private enterprise can do well enough with physical planning as long as it is willing to spend money. At Kingsport the money lasted until there had been produced a handsome common with red-brick colonial buildings reminiscent of New England or Virginia, a wide main street, and even an artistic filling station. Civic administration was also carefully planned, with a charter examined and amended by the bureau of Municipal Research of the Rockefeller Foundation. Could anything more be done to insure that third consideration of the planners, human happiness?

40. You wouldn't think so to read about beautiful Kingsport or even to look at it if you didn't wander too far from the Inn or Watauga Street, where the well-to-do people live. Of course the Kingsport industries built model houses for their employees; you can read about a Borden mill village where the houses have bathtubs. In 1928 there were sixty-two houses in two Eastman villages – at that time 422 persons were employed in the Eastman plant. Afterward the number of employees grew to five thousand, and of course the owners built a beautiful new plant. They didn't, though, build a new town.

41. Where do the workers live? In theory they are healthfully established all over the neighboring countryside, on their own little farms, from which they drive to work in their own cars. Actually

many of them live crowded together on Long Island in the Holston River, which the early settlers of Kingsport foolishly took away from the Indians. No self-respecting Indian would live there now. But plenty of Kingsport workers do; the island is built over with shacks that would do no credit to a cotton plantation, although they rent for $10 a month. They are worse than plantation shacks to live in, because they are jammed so close together and there are no sewers on the island. The healthful combination of rural and industrial life in this part of Kingsport means that you have rural sanitation with city crowding, and the real miracle is that there has been no typhoid epidemic.

42. Long Island folk are not pampered with fancy public buildings, either. The beautiful brick churches on the common are for those who live on Watauga Street; if the Long Island people want a church they will have to build one. Their school is a little shack so crowded that the children attend in three shifts.

43. What's wrong with the Long Island people? Nothing at all. But you remember that low wages were one of the industrial attractions of Kingsport. Of course the Kingsport Press has to pay some skilled workmen, though they can't expect to make what printers get up North; and the Eastman plant has to have technicians for the *ersatz* articles it makes out of wood pulp. But the cotton mill, until the wage-hour law went into effect, had the usual $5-to-$15 Southern scale, and plenty of people in the other industries were at that wage level. They couldn't pay much over $10 a month for a house, and so they lived on Long Island.

44. You don't have much luck buying your own little home, in Kingsport. Of course with the real-estate company behind the town, and brick and cement and lumber among the local products, the authorities would like to see the workers invest, and therefore they arrange loans and mortgages; but it always seems to work out that families trying to buy a house end by losing it. Even in Kingsport employment is irregular.

45. You can't expect, of course, to take the blessings of industry and reject any little discomforts that come, too, such as the pall of cement dust that hangs over Kingsport within a wide radius of the cement works, or the pollution of the Holston River by chemicals dumped by the Eastman plant. These things go along with being

what the Labor Board report calls "perhaps the most completely integrated industrial community in America."

46. If you wonder how the Labor Board came to get a report on this industrial paradise, it must be whispered that there was actually a strike in Kingsport two years ago, in the silk mill that is closed now, and last year the T.W.O.C. called for a hearing on the cotton mill. The complaints were, as usual, intimidation and discharge of workers joining the union, efforts to foster a company union, and so on. But the NLRB examiner considered that the peculiar local conditions had a bearing on the case. He noted that instead of the familiar political bosses, Kingsport had an "oligarchy composed of the 'founding fathers'" working with the industrialists:

> Practically all real estate has been sold by the Kingsport Improvement Company, with suitable restrictions and strict selection to preserve unity and cooperation in the industrial development conceived by the "founding fathers" aforesaid, so that the latter have exercised at all times, and continue to exercise by this and other means, a very real, if not apparent, control of the government and its affairs.

To show how this works out, the Mayor of Kingsport at the time of the hearing was plant superintendent at the cotton mill. Cooperation of this kind is found everywhere, of course, but the careful industrial planning in Kingsport makes it easier to attain. J. Fred Johnson runs Kingsport just as Rex Reed runs Tupelo; only Mr. Johnson does not act for himself alone but as agent for the coordinated industries.

47. It is true that in the last election a little upset occurred. It seems that odd things can happen about taxes in Kingsport. Perhaps a piece of land is considered a park and not taxed, until the land company has a good offer for it; but you wouldn't expect back taxes to be collected on it then as commercial property, would you? People aren't fussy about such things in Kingsport, but they did get to watching poll taxes, as Southern minorities do, and in the last election a local lawyer who opposed the oligarchy of the founding fathers bought radio time outside the town and told what he found out. So they elected a sheriff that didn't belong, instead of the paper-mill man who was slated for the job. The sheriff's office could stand a little reform because it had had as many as

seventy-eight deputies sworn in at one time. But it will take more than one election victory to change Kingsport. With everything owned up North the way it is, about the only hope lies in the intervention of the national government.

48. Kingsport is probably no worse than many other industrial towns over the country; what lays it open to criticism is its own claim to be a "yardstick." It sets itself up as the industrial ideal; and if it is, there can be but one answer. On a tent in a shanty section where a revival meeting was being held one of the less prosperous citizens of Kingsport lettered this excellent advice: "Ye Must Be Borned Again."

ANALYSIS

1. Note particularly the threefold division of this article into what appear to be three separate case histories.
   a. Explain the author's purpose in so dividing the project.
   b. How does the totality of the three cases become a general case history? Of what is it the case history?
2. Construct three parallel columns and in each put parallel facts in such a way as to demonstrate the parallel lines of development that the author uses to build the conclusion. (Note the time span covered in each case, the choice of an area of time that has particular significance.)
   a. Point out any places where there appears to be a large divergence or difference in the particulars treated.
3. Point out the places in which the author makes clear to the reader
   a. that these cases are representative
   b. that the generality made is contained in each of the cases
   c. that the main generality is contained in the over-all picture of the three cases.
4. Compare this study with the study of intracommunity conflict by Kimball Young in this same chapter.
   a. Point out elements of similarity and elements of difference.
   b. What principles can you find in each of these articles that you can use in writing a case history that deals with communities, with larger groupings of individuals?
5. *a.* Comment on the validity of the case history method as it is used in this article to present a social problem and a social solution involving social change.
   b. What seems to be the author's solution for the problems presented here? Is it stated or implied?
6. *a.* Point out any evidences of bias that you find here. What seems to be the author's point of view or belief against which the article is written?
   b. Study the style of the article. What kinds of words (particularly adjectives) are used to build an attitude toward the material? How effective is such usage?

BROTHER JONATHAN AND COUSIN RODERICK*

By Donald Davidson

1. Brother Jonathan lives in Yankeetown — for a place name is often a "town" in New England, and less often a "ville" or a "burg" as in the South. He is a wizened little chip of a man, with blue eyes and a bald head, and he looks frail enough for any northwest wind to blow away. But there is not a wind on this planet strong enough to blow Brother Jonathan off his mountain farm. If any wind contrived to do so, he would climb right back again in the matter-of-fact way that Robert Frost describes in *Brown's Descent* — he would "bow with grace to natural law, And then go round it on his feet."

2. Brother Jonathan is past seventy years, and his wife Priscilla is well over sixty, but between them they still manage to do most of the daily work, in house and field, for a two hundred-acre farm, most of which is in woodland and meadow. Nathaniel, their adopted son, helps some now and then; but Nathaniel, who is carpenter, mechanic, cabinetmaker, mountain guide, and tax collector combined, is busy putting up the new house into which he and Sophronia, his wife, will soon move — they are building it extra large, to take in summer boarders. Sophronia helps Priscilla as much as she can, but she has her own small children to look after. Later on, Brother Jonathan hopes to get a twelve-year-old boy from the orphanage, who will do the chores for his keep. But now, Brother Jonathan must be up at daylight to start the kitchen fire and milk the cows. If it is haying time, he is out in the meadow early with the mowing machine, which he has sharpened and greased with his own hands, or repaired at his own smithy if it needs repairing. The mower bumps and clicks through the rough meadow, tossing the little man to and fro as he warily skirts the outcrops of stone that will have to be circled with a scythe to get the last wisp of hay.

3. Later, he changes the patient old horses from mower to wagon and starts in with a pitchfork. It is a sight to see him navigating

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the loaded wagon from the upper field to the barn, past jutting boulders and through deep ruts. But his pace is easy; he keeps it up all day without undue perspiration or agony, and after supper cuts his wood and milks his cows again in unruffled calm. He does not seem tired or bored. As he milks, he philosophizes to the listening stranger. Yes, times are not what they were, but a man can get along if he will be careful and honest. Foolish people, of course, never know how to manage. The harm all comes from people of no character that do things without regard to common decency. The stars are shining when he takes the pails of milk into the kitchen. Under the hanging oil lamp he reads the *Burlington Free Press* or *The Pathfinder* until he begins to nod.

4. All the arrangements on Brother Jonathan's farm are neat and ingenious — the arrangements of a man who has had to depend largely on his own wits and strength. The barn is cleverly arranged in two stories, with a ramp entering the upper story for the convenience of Brother Jonathan and his hay wagons, and running water on the lower story, for the convenience of the animals. One well, near the barn, is operated by a windmill; it supplies the stock. Another well, higher up, supplies the house, for Brother Jonathan has a bathroom in the upper hall and faucets in the kitchen. He has no telephone or electric lights. A man can dig and pipe his own wells, and they are finished; but telephone and electric lights, not being home contrivances, require a never-ending tribute to Mammon. He has his own sawmill and his own workshop, where he can mend things without losing time and money on a trip to the village. His garage, occupied at present by Nathaniel's four-year-old car (which is not being used!), contains a carpenter's bench and a small gas engine rigged to do sawing and turning. There are pelts drying on the walls.

5. The house is built to economize space and retain heat. For all its modest proportions, it is convenient and comfortable. The kitchen is spacious and well equipped. The pantry and cellar are stored with vegetables, fruits, and meats that Priscilla has put up with her own hands. The dining room, with its long table covered with spotless oilcloth, is eating room, living room, and children's playground combined. Here all gather after supper: the women with their tatting and embroidery; the lively dark-eyed boy from

the village, with his homemade fiddle; a summer boarder or two, or a visiting relative; and always Brother Jonathan with his newspaper. In one corner is a reed organ, on which Brother Jonathan occasionally plays hymns. In another corner is a desk, filled with miscellaneous papers, books, and old magazines. On the walls hang a glass frame containing butterflies, the gift of a wandering entomologist; an 1876 engraving of General Washington being welcomed at New York, with pictures of all the presidents, up to Hayes, around the border; and a faded photograph of a more youthful Brother Jonathan with his fellow baggage clerks, taken in the days when he went west and got a job in Chicago. Brother Jonathan talks of Chicago sometimes, but he never reveals why he, unlike many other Yankees, came back to Vermont.

6. The temper of the household is a subdued and even pleasantness, which the loud alarms and excursions of the world do not penetrate very far. The progress of Nathaniel's new house; the next morning's arrangements for gathering vegetables and canning; what Brother Jonathan shall say in the speech he is to make at the approaching celebration of the Timothys' golden wedding — such topics take precedence over the epic contentions of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt. Priscilla may go so far as to marvel that anybody can doubt the goodness of Mr. Hoover. (She does not add, as she well might, that Mr. Roosevelt, as a "Yorker," inherits the distrust of Vermont.) Or Brother Jonathan may warm up to politics enough to announce his everlasting distrust for liquorish Al Smith and to confess that, out of firm disapproval for vice, he has once or twice bolted the Republican ticket and voted for the Prohibition party's candidate. But in the South, he supposes, he would be as good a Democrat as the next one. They are all curious about the South — about Negroes — and whether the Southern people still have hard feelings against the North (on this point they seem a little anxious and plaintive). But the talk soon shifts to the Green Mountain Boys, from one of whom Brother Jonathan is descended, or to stories of his childhood, when bears were as thick as porcupines are now — he tells of how seven bears were once killed in the same tree. In these stories Brother Jonathan may put in a dry quip or two, by way of garnishment. He has a store of homely jokes and extended metaphors, to which he fre-

quently adds a humorous gloss to be sure the stranger gets the point. Then maybe there is a game of anagrams — or on another evening, a corn roast, with a few cronies and kinfolks from the village, who talk the clipped Yankee-talk that seems, to Southern ears, as pure an English as can be, with only a little of the twang that dialect stories have taught one to expect.

7. Brother Jonathan is not dogmatic to the point of testiness, but he is firmly rationalistic on many points. He declares it incredible, for instance, that Catholics can believe in transubstantiation — how can bread and wine *actually* turn into the blood and body of Jesus Christ? Yet oddly enough, Brother Jonathan is neither Congregationalist nor Unitarian, but Methodist, and does not mind repeating the Apostles' Creed, with its formidable references to the Trinity and the Resurrection. I am led to suspect that it is not the doctrine but the authority to which Brother Jonathan is temperamentally hostile. He is used to depending on himself; he does not like to be told things. And his independence is of a piece with the whole conduct of his life. Years ago, when a famous local character eccentrically bought up all the surrounding woodland and farm land and turned it into a forest reserve which he bequeathed to a neighboring college, Brother Jonathan did not sell out. He held on then, he holds on now, with a possessiveness that would be the despair of Communists. He will continue to hold on, as long as trees yield maple syrup — which he will never, never basely dilute with cane syrup — and boarders return summer after summer.

8. For Brother Jonathan belongs in spirit to the old republic of independent farmers that Jefferson wanted to see flourish as the foundation of liberty in the United States. To conserve that liberty he has his own Yankee arrangements: the "town," which the Southerner had to learn consisted of a village and a great deal of contiguous territory up to the next "town line"; and the town meeting, at which Brother Jonathan could stand up and tell the government what he thought about it. Of the uses of town meetings Priscilla has something to say, which comes, I reflect, with a little feminine sauciness. A certain individual, she relates, was criticized for not painting the "community house," as he had been employed to do; and when he excused himself on the ground that paint was lacking, his own wife sprang up in the town meeting and cried: "Don't

believe a word he says. That paint's setting in the cellar this minute!"

9. But the Southerner could reflect that such family intimacy might have civic advantages. Brother Jonathan's local government is composed of nobody more Olympic or corrupt than his own neighbors and relations. For him it is not something off yonder, and he visualizes the national government (though a little too innocently) as simply an enlarged town meeting, where good management ought to be a matter of course. In Yankeetown, good management is a matter of course: it maintains a library, it looks after roads, it sees that taxes are paid and well spent. If the state government does not behave, Nathaniel himself will run for the legislature and see that it does behave.

10. In all this there was much for a Southerner to savor curiously and learn about — as he savored and learned about the strange food that appeared on Brother Jonathan's table: doughnuts for breakfast, maple syrup on pie and cereal, the New England boiled dinner, the roasting ears that were really roasted in the old Indian fashion. Just as Brother Jonathan's menu suited the soil and the people, so his tidiness and responsibility suited the unobtrusive integrity of his character. With emphasis, one could say: Vermont is upright, vertical, and, even yet, Puritan — why not?

11. And almost two thousand miles away, with an unconcern about the state of the world that parallels but differs from Brother Jonathan's, Cousin Roderick of Rebelville is achieving another salvation somehow not recorded in the auguries of socialistic planning. Autumn is beginning, the scuppernongs are ripe, and he invites everybody to come over and join him in the scuppernong arbor. In the late afternoon a merry crew gather around the great vine, laughing and bantering as they pick the luscious grapes and crush them against their palates. Sister Caroline is there, with a figure as trim and a wit as lively at eighty as it must have been at twenty. Young Cousin Hector and his wife are there — they are "refugeeing" from the industrial calamity that overtook them in a northern city. And there are numerous other vague cousins and sisters and children, all munching and passing family gossip back and forth between bites. Cousin Roderick's own Dionysian laughter goes up heartiest of all among the leaves, as he moves to and fro, rapidly gathering

grapes and pressing them upon the visitors. "Oh, you are not going to quit on us," he says, "you must eat more than *that*. Scuppernongs never hurt a soul." The scuppernong vine, he declares, is a hundred years old and nearly always fruitful. But not so old, never so fruitful, puts in Sister Caroline, as the scuppernong vine at the old place, that as barefoot children they used to clamber over.

12. Then the meeting is adjourned to Cousin Roderick's great front porch, where one looks out between white columns at sunset clouds piling up into the deep blues and yellows of a Maxfield Parrish sky. Down the long street of Rebelville, between the mighty water oaks set out by Cousin Roderick's kin, after the Confederate War, the cotton wagons are passing, heaped high with the white mass of cotton and a Negro or two atop, and the talk goes on, to the jingle of trace chains and the clop of mule hoofs on the almost brand-new State highway, which is so much better for rubber tires than mule hoofs. Over yonder lives Cousin Roderick's Aunt Cecily, a widow, the single indomitable inhabitant of a stately mansion where economics has not yet prevailed against sentiment. Next door is Uncle Burke Roderick, a Confederate veteran who at ninety still drives his horse and buggy to the plantation each morning; he is the last survivor of three brothers who were named Pitt, Fox, and Burke, after their father's eighteenth-century heroes. All around indeed, are the Roderick kin, for Cousin Roderick, whose mother married a Bertram, bears the family name of his mother's people, a numerous clan who, by dint of sundry alliances and ancient understandings, attend to whatever little matters need attention in the community affairs of Rebelville, where Jefferson's "least government" principle is a matter of course. Before supper, or after, some of the kinfolks may drop in, for there is always a vast deal of coming and going and dropping in at Cousin Roderick's.

13. As he takes his ease on the porch, Cousin Roderick looks to be neither the elegant dandy nor the out-at-elbows dribbler of tobacco juice that partisans have accredited to the Southern tradition. He is a fairly tall, vigorous man, plainly dressed, with the ruddiness of Georgia sun and good living on his face. His eyes are a-wrinkle at the corners, ready to catch the humor of whatever is abroad. His hand fumbles his pipe as he tells one anecdote after another

in the country drawl that has about as much of Mark Twain and Sut Lovengood in it as it has of the elisions and flattenings supposed to belong to Southern patrician speech. In fact, though he is really patrician (as the female members of his family can assure you) he does not look anything like the Old Colonel of legend, and in spirit he, too, belongs to the Jeffersonian constituency. He has some of the bearing of an English squire, and a good deal of the frontier heartiness that Augustus Baldwin Longstreet depicted in *Georgia Scenes.* He assumes that the world is good humored and friendly until it proves itself otherwise. If it does prove otherwise, there is a glint in his eye that tells you he will fight.

14. Cousin Roderick is the opposite of Chaucer's Man of Law, who ever seemed busier than he was. Cousin Roderick is busier than he seems. His air of negligence, like his good humor, is a philosophical defense against the dangerous surprises that life may turn up. Really, he is not negligent. He does not work with his own hands, like Brother Jonathan, or his Southern brothers of upcountry and bluegrass; but in the past he has worked a-plenty with his hands and knows how it should be done. On his several tracts of land, the gatherings of inheritance and purchase, are some one hundred and fifty Negroes whom he furnishes housing, food, and a little money; they do his labor — men, women, children together — they are his "hands." He is expected to call them by name, to get them out of jail, to doctor them, even sometimes to bury them when "lodge dues" may have lapsed. They are no longer his slaves; but though they do not now utter the word, they do not allow him to forget that he has the obligations of a master.

15. As Cousin Roderick makes the "rounds" of his fields — no more on horseback, as of old, but in a battered Chevrolet — he sets forth his notions of economy. As for the depression, that is no new thing in Rebelville. People here have got used to ruination. After the Confederate War came Reconstruction; after Reconstruction, Tom Watson and the Populist turmoil of the nineties; a while later, the peach boom, and its collapse; then the Florida boom, with its devastations; and now, this new depression. Like most of his kin, Cousin Roderick has simply retreated into the old plantation economy. He tells how, when he was a young fellow, just beginning to take charge, his father came out to the plantation one day

and asked for a ham. Cousin Roderick explained that hogs were up to a good price; he had sold the entire lot, on the hoof, and had good money in the bank. "Sir," said the old man, "let me never again catch you without hams in your smokehouse and corn in your crib. You've got to make this land take care of itself." "And that," says Cousin Roderick, "is what I aim to do." From the land he feeds his own family, the hundred and fifty Negroes, and the stock. Whatever is left, when taxes and upkeep are deducted, is the profit. Anything that grows, he will plant: asparagus, peaches, pecans, onions, peppers, tomatoes, and of course the great staple crops, grain, hay, and cotton. Especially cotton, for no matter how low the price, cotton is money. It is ridiculous, he thinks, to talk of getting people who are hard up for money to reduce cotton acreage. For his part, Cousin Roderick intends to make every bale his land will produce. But if cotton fails, he still can sell cattle, or cabbage, or timber from his baronial holdings. Land is the only abiding thing, the only assurance of happiness and comfort. He wants more land, not less.

16. One suspects that Cousin Roderick, however hard-pressed he may be at the bank, is fundamentally right. If he is not right, how does he manage, in these times, to send a daughter to college, and entertain his friends, and keep a cheerful face before the world? The portraits of his ancestors, looking down from their frames above great-grandfather's sideboard or his wife's new grand piano, eternally assure Cousin Roderick that he is right. They won this Eden of sandy earth and red clay, where all things grow with a vigor that neither winter nor drouth can abate. Not soon, not soon will their son give it up.

17. To the designs of experts who want to plan people's lives for them, Cousin Roderick gives no more than the indulgent attention of a naturally kindhearted man. He reads the anxious thunderings of the young men who reproduce, in the *Macon Telegraph*, the remote dynamitical poppings of the *New Republic*, and is unmoved; the young men are like the mockingbird who sat on the cupola of the courthouse while court was in session and so learned to sing: *Prisoner-look-upon-the-jury! Jury-look-upon-the-prisoner! GUILTY! GUILTY! GUILTY!* It is a little incredible that so much planning should need to be done. Don't people know how to live?

As for politics, long since it became tawdry and uncertain. Politics is for lawyers. Cousin Roderick would no more think of running for the legislature than he would think of moving to China. In that, perhaps, he lamentably differs from his ancestors. But in Rebelville political action is generally no more than a confirmation of what has been talked around among the clans. If you really want things done, you speak quietly to Cousin So-and-So and others that pass the word to everybody that counts. And then something is done.

18. In Rebelville the politics and economics of the bustling world become a faint whisper. All that matters is to see one's friends and relatives and pass from house to house, from field to field, under Georgia skies; to gather at a simple family dinner where only three kinds of bread and four kinds of meat are flanked by collards, sweet potatoes, corn, pickles, fruits, salads, jams, and cakes; or at a barbecue for fifty or more, for which whole animals are slaughtered and, it would seem, entire pantries and gardens desolated; or to sit with the wise men in front of the store, swapping jokes and telling tales hour after hour; or to hunt for fox, 'possum, coon, and quail, in swamp and field; or (for the ladies) to attend meetings of U.D.C.'s, D.A.R.'s, and Missionary Societies; or church service, or district conference or the tender ceremonies of Confederate Memorial Day, or the high school entertainment; or to hear the voices of Negroes, sifting through the dusk, or the mockingbird in moonlight; or to see the dark pines against sunset, and the old house lifting its columns far away, calling the wanderer home. The scuppernongs are gone, and cotton is picked. But already the pecans are falling. And planting begins again while late roses and chrysanthemums are showing, and, even in the first frosts, the camellias are budding, against their December flowering. What though newspapers be loud, and wars and rumors threaten — it is only an academic buzzing, that one must yet tolerate for manners' sake. Sowing and harvest go together, and summer runs into winter, and in Georgia one is persuaded to take the horizontal view.

19. By some it may be said that dark clouds hang over Yankeetown and Rebelville — and clouds of menace, maybe of destruction. I do not deny their presence, but my story is not of such clouds. In this

strange modern world it may be observed that men talk continually of the good life without producing a specimen of it, to convince an inquirer. Brother Jonathan and Cousin Roderick do not talk about the good life. They lead it. If government is intended to serve human interests, what does it propose to do about them? If science is really intelligent, what does it mean by conniving to put a stigma upon them or to destroy them? I cannot believe that a government or a science which ignores or deprecates them is very trustworthy. I believe that government and science will fail unless they are taken into account. They, and others, are the incarnations of the principle of diversity through which the United States have become something better than Balkan, and without which the phrase "my country" is but a sorry and almost meaningless abstraction.

ANALYSIS

1. Point out the conclusion that Mr. Davidson reaches in this essay. Where is it stated?
2. *a.* Are Brother Jonathan and Cousin Roderick real people or fictions of the author's mind? How can you tell?
   b. What, after all, are the important characteristics of these people, to Mr. Davidson's way of thinking? List them.
3. *a.* What similarities exist between the two cases used here?
   b. What is the significance of these similarities to the case history technique as a whole?
4. *a.* Why is it essential to use two cases here?
   b. As far as the conclusion to the essay is concerned, can these two cases be considered as one? Why?
5. It is obvious that Mr. Davidson here is arguing a point about which he feels deeply.
   a. Assuming that you wished to demonstrate the opposite point of view, outline a paper in which you use Mr. Davidson's case history technique to arrive at a different, perhaps opposite conclusion.
   b. Could his same people, Brother Jonathan and Cousin Roderick, be used?
   c. Could the same characteristics that they possess here be used toward a totally different end?
   d. Comment on the conclusions you have reached concerning the use of this technique in the writing of controversial matters.
6. Find the topic sentences and explain the methods used in developing them in paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 14, and 15.

SAMPLE THEME SUBJECTS

Many of the subjects already suggested in the sections on Informal Inductions and Secondary Source Papers can be subjected to the case history technique if typical examples are stressed.

Various subjects are given in the form of character types. The student should realize, however, that in writing case histories his business is to find a problem first or an idea for exemplification, and then create a case by which to analyze the idea or problem.

The failing student

The working student

The shoplifter

The bully

The little boy who runs away from home all the time

The dime-a-dance girl

Class consciousness in the small town (take a typical one for study)

Economic problems in towns made up largely of retired farmers

Relations between minority groups and majority groups in a society (racial groups, religious groups, occupational groups)

Attempts of immigrant groups to assimilate

Are the unemployed shiftless? Study a typical example

The effect of a chain store on its competitors in a community

The effect of large-scale mechanized farming on a community

Deterioration from occupational hazards or diseases

Erosion problems (take a typical one)

Case study of mass hysteria

Spoiled children

The child of divorced parents

Effects of early rushing for fraternities or sororities

Effects of athletic scholarships on academic careers

6. TRADITIONAL PATTERNS IN ORGANIZATION

6

Traditional Patterns in Organization

ALTHOUGH in a sense it is true that every idea has its own private organization which it shares with no other idea, just as no two fingerprints are alike, actually there are certain organizational patterns that occur again and again in our experience. Often these recurring patterns form only parts of larger organizations — are subassemblies in the larger process of assembling all the parts of an idea. The student should not try to avoid using these traditional patterns, but should avail himself of their assistance whenever he can. Many of the best writers the world has known have been content to cast their ideas into them, and with good reason, for clarity of structure is an important ingredient in clarity of thought. The student sometimes forgets that simplicity of organization is a virtue, and that it is foolish on most occasions to obscure in any way the simple relations between the ideas with which he is working. The simpler the structure, the more complete is the communication. If I wish to turn from a discussion of the prevalence of typhoid fever in a community to the causes of the prevalence, I should not want to hide in any way what I am doing. Instead, I should want to make the turn as obvious as possible. If I am writing about communicable diseases, I should be happy to fall back upon an obvious structural pattern like classification in laying out my thought in orderly fashion.

The student can come more quickly than otherwise to an ability to handle structures by learning when and how to fall back upon traditional structural patterns. Structural patterns are in themselves tools

for creating thought as well as the channels through which thought flows. By the use of the machinery involved in analogy or comparison or classification, the writer may arrive at answers that otherwise might have been unobtainable. If he is trying, for instance, to pin down a vague idea he has about Hitler, he may find that a comparison between Hitler and Napoleon will lead him easily to his answer. It may well be that our ability to think depends somewhat upon our first conceiving certain configurations of relations between one thought and another.

The traditional patterns with which this section deals are not the only patterns that exist in organizations of ideas. There are other recognizable patterns, although many of them are combinations of the ones here presented. Those given here are examples of frequently recurring structures.

The organization which makes use of enumeration breaks up a body of material into some of its salient features. Homer Croy, in writing the article, "You Wouldn't Know the Old Farm Now," surely did not intend to imply the changes he lists are *all* the changes that can be isolated. He enumerates as many items as are necessary to illustrate his introductory proposition.

Logical classification, on the other hand, divides an area on a clear and single basis. It creates mutually exclusive parts and divides the whole area so that no part of it is not comprised in one or another of the division. Thus, if one makes a classification of levels of society, the classification must include all members of society even if it must contain a "miscellaneous" class. The classification of mankind into the young, the middle-aged, and the old includes every member of society. The divisions in a classification consequently have relations with other divisions, for their boundaries are contiguous.

A common method of organizing ideas is the one called here component parts, a method that looks at a topic in terms of the parts — the elements — that, when taken together, make up the whole. In such a pattern of organization the writer approaches his topic not from a single point of view that he wishes to demonstrate or prove, but merely from the desire to understand the whole subject more clearly by seeing how it is divided into its component parts.

Causal patterns are patterns that derive from extended causal reasoning; that is, from an attempt to trace an effect back to its cause or a cause to its effect. In conformity with the structure of such reasoning,

the causal pattern is sometimes a chain pattern. After the first cause is found, the writer often turns to a search for the cause of the first cause, and then to the cause of the second cause, and so on. However, other causal patterns show several contributory causes to one effect and then the pattern is not much unlike listing or classification. Even more complicated causal patterns result when the search for causes leads to a study of concomitant variations. In one way or another the patterns of causal reasoning tend to differ from the patterns of inductive reasoning, since there is a fundamental difference in purpose between them.

The concessive pattern, which appears either as part of a larger organization or as a total organization in itself, contains normally either two or three main divisions. If there are three divisions, one usually finds the following: (1) a somewhat elaborated statement of a proposition, (2) concessions that need to be made, arguments on the other side that need to be considered or disposed of, and (3) a return to the affirmation to show how the proposition has not been materially damaged by the concessions. When there are two divisions, the first of the three is usually omitted. This pattern is, one notices, a pattern often used in disputation, either in anticipating the case of one's opponent or in rebuttal against it. To be noticed also is the difference between this kind of organization and the pro-and-con organization, which is usually more inconclusive and flabby than the concessive pattern.

The student should also have some acquaintance with the analogical pattern as a common instrument of thought and organization. An analogy is an attempt to demonstrate a point by comparing one situation to another. Sometimes, it is true, an analogy is more an illustration than an attempt at demonstration. The writer who constructs an analogy is interested primarily in only one of the two situations compared and uses the other situation as a tool.

Comparison, the last of the organizational patterns with which this section deals, is, on the other hand, an attempt to discover truths of value by comparing two situations when the writer is equally interested in both or is primarily interested in neither and is using the comparison as a tool to get at the answer in which he is interested.

These organizations, let it be said, are found most frequently as parts of larger organizations. The writer ordinarily does not use one or another of them to the exclusion of others. He may begin with a logical classification, devote a second section to a search for causes, make cer-

tain concessions, add an analogy or a comparison, and finally end with an enumeration. Or his organization may involve more subtle condensations and combinations of these. The important point, toward which this whole section works, is that the student in a composition course should learn to rely more upon obvious and immediately communicative organizations.

FIRST PATTERN: *Enumeration*

THE CHANGING WORLD*

By William Ernest Hocking

1. THE ADVANTAGE which naturalism enjoyed in the nineteenth century in clarity and imaginableness and the consistency of its scientific structure in all its parts, – that advantage has vanished. With the advent of a new outlook in physics, which we may date roughly from Roentgen's discovery of the X rays in 1895, a discovery which gave us the instrument for exploring the subatomic levels of the universe, physical conceptions have entered upon a period for which "transition" would be too tame a word. These changes, so far as they affect our world picture, may be résuméd roughly as follows:

2. *a.* The simple and unchangeable atom has shown itself to be a minute world of much internal complexity, capable of composition and decomposition, and of turning on occasion into some other kind of atom. The discoveries of the electron and of radioactivity have revealed motion and change in what was formerly thought eternally stable.

3. *b.* The fixed difference between matter and energy is no longer clear. Nothing is more obvious to common sense and to nineteenth-century physics than that you can change the rate of motion of a body ad libitum without changing the mass of the body. In taking an inventory of the physical universe, you had always two quantities to consider, the amount of matter, and the amount of motion: these were independent facts. No matter could ever be created or destroyed. The same of energy, a function of mass, motion and posi-

* From *Types of Philosophy* (1929), by William Ernest Hocking. Reprinted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

tion. There was a "conservation" of matter, and another "conservation" of energy. Now it appears that matter and radiant energy are convertible one into the other; and it is not inconceivable — or rather it is not physically impossible whether we can conceive it or not — that the substance of the physical world is being transported gradually from place to place, taking wings in the form of radiation, and being precipitated in remote regions as newborn atoms. By a sort of universal convection or Gulf-Streaming, the resources of the sidereal systems are forever redistributing themselves with the speed of light. If there is any conservation, it must be of some union of matter and energy rather than of either alone.

4. *c.* The law of continuity is in difficulties. There is hardly any principle of science of greater dignity than this law: *natura non facit saltum.* If a body is to get from one place to another, it must go through a continuous series of intermediate places, except in dreams and fairy tales. If a revolving flywheel is to increase or reduce its speed, it must do so by going through all intermediate speeds. But we are now asked (by such theories as Planck's theory of quanta, and by such facts as the Compton effect) to consider that periodic motions may be "granular" or discontinuous like the series of whole numbers, that electrons may jump from one orbit to another without at any time being anywhere between, that radiant energy may go off into space in a series of distinct darts at once wave-wise and lump-wise. We are not asked to picture these events, we are simply warned that we may be required to believe them. Any a priori prejudices we may have in behalf of the continuity of all changes must be prepared to yield as gracefully as possible.

5. *d.* The independence of time and space is likewise under suspicion — since the publication of Minkowski's memoir in 1908. Not that time is to be considered a form of space, nor space a form of time; but that space and time have to be taken together for purposes of measurement, and that how much space and how much time are occupied by any given event are questions which cannot be answered independently of one another. The theory of relativity at present is to be regarded as a fundamental inquiry into the principles of physical measurements, rather than into the nature of space and time; but it has made clear that however distinct our ideas of space and time may be (can you think of time without

space, or of space without time?) we must consider them one manifold for scientific purposes. And further, we must take them together with the events which, as we say, occur "in" space and time: for apart from these events it is questionable whether space and time, as empty regions, would so much as exist.

6. When Herbert Spencer made up his list of "ultimate scientific ideas" he mentioned five – space, time, matter, motion, force (to which he added consciousness, as another sort of thing) – and these five he regarded as alike inconceivable, if we ask what they are in themselves. He also held it to be unbelievable that these five are completely independent entities, and so proposed that the others are all manifestations of force, though how this could be he thought must remain unknowable. Physical science seems to be entering by necessity the region of these "inscrutable" relationships of ultimate ideas: and in so doing makes at least so much clear, that the apparent clarity of materialism was an illusory advantage. If we explain the world in terms of physical elements we are no longer explaining the unknown by the known, but the known by the unfamiliar and unpicturable, possibly even the unthinkable. Naturalism can no longer claim support from the human instinct to take the solid as the real.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* Discover and state clearly the use the author makes of the logical device known as enumeration.
   b. Does the nature of his subject warrant the use of enumeration? Why?
2. *a.* Is there any inherent order followed in this enumeration?
   b. Would it be possible without changing the fundamental nature of the whole article to change the order of the parts listed?
3. Does this enumeration make any pretense of being complete, or is the purpose for which it is used such that completeness is not necessarily essential? Explain.
4. *a.* Does each part of the enumeration get equal treatment by the author?
   b. What seems to govern the length and fullness of the treatment here?
5. *a.* Make a study of the paragraph development.
   b. Point out, in the third paragraph, devices the author uses to enlarge on his point (such things as examples, analogies, figures of speech).
   c. What is the topic sentence here?
6. *a.* Examine the meaning of such words as *naturalism* and determine to what degree the author defines them through their usage in the article.
   b. Does he do likewise with the Latin quotations?
7. What is the function of the final paragraph?

YOU WOULDN'T KNOW THE OLD FARM NOW*

By Homer Croy

I

1. HALF A MILE from the Missouri farmhouse where I was brought up was the Knabb School (don't pronounce the K). During the winter we would have debates, not us scholars, but our parents. How well I remember some of the subjects. One was, "*Resolved,* a college education is more to be desired than a thousand dollars." A thousand dollars! It was a tremendous sum. How smart a person seemed who had been "off" to college. I had never in my life seen anybody who had been to college, and I suppose that hardly anyone else in attendance had. Our fathers didn't know anything about college, but that didn't keep them from debating its merits.

2. One night the subject was "*Resolved,* the next fifty years will not see as many great inventions as the past fifty years." My father was one of the debaters; he said that about everything useful to man had been invented. And that did, indeed, appear true; for we had a McCormick reaper that could do the work of three men, and a steam thresher which to us seemed the last word in human ingenuity. Rubber tires for buggies had come in, and we had, in our home, a wonderful invention called a "gramaphone." It had a tremendous horn, and when we wound the contrivance up and put on a record, it played music and talked! I can still see the title of one record; it was printed in a semicircle around the hole in the middle: *Flogging Scene from Uncle Tom's Cabin with Incidental Music.* For a long time I thought poor Uncle Tom had been flogged to music. My Uncle Will Sewall had a zither; he would put a coiled steel spring on his index finger, push down some felt keys, rake that coiled spring across the strings and make some mighty lovely music.

3. But this wasn't the end of our wonderful inventions. In fact, it's only a smattering. So you would think my father would win, for he had only to mention the things we had and include the new double-action pump that was now hooked up to windmills. Logic

* From *Harper's Magazine,* October, 1946. Reprinted by permission of the author.

was on his side, but he lost. He went home, pretty well discouraged; the judges must have been prejudiced.

4. All this I cite as a contrast to the astonishing things we now have. And they are really, truly amazing. I'm sure the next fifty years can't hold a candle to them. I'm like Pa; human ingenuity can't go any further.

5. First, machinery. When I was a young shaver, a farmer, working by himself, could take care of eighty acres of land. That is, he would exchange work with the neighbors who would come in and help with the haying, hog-ringing, butchering, and mule-breaking. Of course he really had more land, usually a quarter-section. But also he had sons who would go into the field at twelve or fourteen; thus a farmer, with family help, could manage one hundred and sixty acres. Today, with modern machinery, a farmer can easily handle two hundred acres himself, if need be, without sons. This is why the farms are losing population, although production stays up. I used to shell corn with a hand sheller; there was a little chute on the back; I pushed the corn in with one hand and with the other turned a crank which kept an iron flywheel running. (We used to shell our black walnuts that way, too.) Well, today this section has what is called "custom shelling." A man comes with motor equipment, pulls into the barnyard, sets his machine going, and in no time he has shelled all the corn a farmer has raised. Pretty easy.

6. Haying was the most exciting event of the year. Our neighbors would come to help; Pa would also get four or five men from town; they were never any good. Twenty men we would have and three or four neighbor women to help cook. (Boys always had to eat last —sometimes I would get pretty weak.) Sometimes, of mornings, there would be dew, and the men would sit on the hayframes and tell funny stories. That was the best part of haying. Then the sun would come out and we'd have to go to work. I tell you it was hell. I had to drive the horse that lifted the hay fork up to the tremendous track in the top of the barn; along this overhead track the hay would go like a mammoth umbrella. "Dump!" the man in the mow would shout; the man on the wagon would pull the trip rope, and down the hay would come, spreading out as big as a tent.

7. That's all gone. Hay is now baled in the field. A machine lopes along, snatches up the hay, compresses it into a bale and blithely

drops it into a truck-trailer which goes lumbering off to the barn. And I'll be damned if there isn't a motor there to lift the bales into the mow. I haven't heard in ten years of a boy, during haying time, having to wait until the second table. No neighbor woman ever comes in to help the cook. No funny stories in the field. I tell you haying today is pretty tame.

8. No waiting for the dew to dry. On some farms the hay is brought in damp, and shoved into the barn loose, to be dried inside. On the floor of the haymow is a vast system of dryers, which blows through the hay. My father would never have believed it; I blink a little myself.

II

9. Machinery everywhere. The usual owner-tenant contract calls for the tenant to furnish the machinery. Spide Logan, on the Croy Farm, has $2800 invested in machinery.

10. In my day a lister cost $20 — a great deal of money, indeed. The other day I was looking at a lister Spide had bought; it had disks and gadgets I had never heard of. And it cost $112. My eyes popped. And right here, in that simple thing, is the story of the change in farming from the simple, one-man affair of my father and my boyhood to the tremendously complicated, highly mechanized matter that farming has become. And right here, as I've pointed out elsewhere, is why the veterans, returning home from the war, have so much difficulty getting located on farms and in business for themselves.

11. In my day corn gathering was — next to manure hauling — the hardest, most back-breaking work on a farm. The cursed thing lasted a month, sometimes two. Farmers would tell whoppers of how many bushels they could shuck in a day. Some of them pushed it up to a hundred. But I never knew a man in my life who could pick and scoop one hundred bushels of corn in a day. The average was in the neighborhood of fifty. (Me? Well, forty on good days.)

12. Today a giant mechanical picker goes out at dawn and brings in twelve hundred bushels before dark. Some are four row affairs, truly behemoths. Of course, not every farmer can afford to own one himself, so there is "custom picking." That is, a man who owns a picker goes from farm to farm husking corn at so much a bushel. In other

words, a farmer can hire all his corn shucked in one day. It is incredible. I don't blame you for not believing it.

13. I have mentioned the worst of all farm work — manure hauling. The time I decided I would leave the farm was one day when I was forking manure from our cattle lot into a wagon. I was wearing gum boots and had a four-tined, square-shouldered manure fork. Well, that's all changed, thank God. The manure in the feed lots is scraped up by a bulldozer and toted away to the field in a spreader. And there, by means of a little traveling track and whirling blades, it is scattered over the ground. If the thing had been managed that way when I was a boy, I might not have left the farm, at least when I did.

14. Plowing was almost as bad. Once I plowed out a rattlesnake. I was barefooted. I gave a leap that landed me just abreast of the horses. I loosed a tug and killed the snake, but I was so badly shaken that I unhitched the team and went to the house. I half expected my father would make me go back, but he didn't; and for a moment I had a deep and moving flash of love for him.

15. Today plowing is a sitting-down job. A plowing tractor is geared at about six miles an hour and dashes across a field at an amazing speed. Some farmers like to plow at night; electric lights are arranged ahead and are also pointed down to show the furrows. Sometimes there are night bugs; then Spide puts on a kind of beekeeper's mask and plows gaily along. Nor does he get so lonely, either, for he has a radio. I tell you if they'd had that, I'd never have left.

16. Sunday dinner was a great event. It was always my job to run down a chicken. How I hated picking it. Then the singeing. Do you remember that? Those pinfeathers? And how, when you were holding the chicken over the blaze, you would get nipped by the flame? Now comes the most astonishing item of all. Farmers have chicken pickers run by electricity. A series of rapidly revolving rubber "fingers" snatch off the feathers and shoot them into a bag. I mean it. Mrs. Logan hasn't got one, but there's one in the neighborhood, and when she is going to stow chickens in the cold storage locker, she borrows the picker. Thank God, no device has come along to supplant Sunday eating.

17. Milking! how I hated it. (I'm getting embarrassed at how many kinds of work I hated.) I had a one-legged milk stool which I kept in a crack in the milk lot fence; I would sit down on the stool, edge my shoulder under the cow and begin squirting. Mud, dust, and filth. Today it's all machinery. A cow's head is stanchioned, harness is thrown over her, suction cups are attached at the proper places, and the farmer sits down and rests. I would have liked that.

18. Another torture was flies. A cow would lash you with her tail; or in order to get a fly off, she would flinch her skin like a shimmy dancer. Then she would kick. Well, that's over, too, thanks to fly-spray, a great deal of it developed during the war. When a cow goes into her stall, you spray her and she stands there peacefully and contentedly, and never once knocks the daylights out of you.

19. But this is not all. As I write this, "custom" fly-spraying is coming in. A man with motorized equipment dashes up and sprays the barn or dairy with DDT and then speeds away. At present, the spray will eliminate flies for from thirty to forty days; when they again become bothersome, the farmer telephones the custom fly-sprayer and the man comes dashing around again. It's curious how many outside people mix in with a farmer's work these days. In my day Pa and I did it all.

20. The most completely amazing bit of machinery is the sow milker. Yes, that's exactly what I mean. It's a device for securing the milk from its natural source and testing it out for pigs. If a litter of pigs is not doing well, the milk is tested and the mother put on a diet. That's right, too — sows are now dieted. The fourth and fifth weeks are the critical ones in the life of a small pig; if he pulls through them he is pretty well set for hoghood. So, to make sure his nourishment is all right in these dangerous days, the sow milker is used. The thing was invented and developed by the Hormel Foundation, Austin, Minnesota. I'm glad Pa never knew about it.

21. Before I finish with machinery, I want to tell about something else that was the bane of my life. Posthole digging. It's the hardest work in the world; get out there and dig and dig. Then, just as you think you're finished, your father comes along and says, "It'll have to go a couple of inches deeper." Well, how do you suppose it's done today? By machinery. A giant auger is poised over the

place where the hole is to be, a man touches a lever, and before you know it the hole is dug. Why is it that all progress hit the farm after I left?

22. Oh, yes! One more bit of machinery that made me gape when I came upon it for the first time. The electric prod. In the old days cattle were driven by means of a whip; horses, too. Today the driver has a prod about as long as your arm and as big around as your wrist; inside is a dry battery and at the grip end is a switch. The man touches a steer, or a horse, with the prod and pushes on the switch with his thumb — and gets immediate results. It sounds cruel, but it is not as cruel as a whip; it leaves no lash mark and lets the skin recover more quickly. In handling a team, the other horses are not frightened by the whip; only the laggard pays.

III

23. But machinery has its toll. It is always getting out of whack, and this has brought in the Fix It Man who travels around repairing equipment that has begun to act up. He carries everything — seemingly — in his truck; it's a rolling storehouse of parts and replacements. And it's a job that many mechanically trained men took up at the end of the war.

24. Here's a list of the things the Fix It Man does: wires houses and barns, installs water-softeners, puts in bath tubs and sewage systems, fixes the spring on the screen door, clears out the kitchen drain, overhauls the tractor, puts new shoes on the spring-tooth harrow, finds out what is wrong with the refrigerator, welds a new point on the plowshare, repairs the radio, and dispenses the neighborhood news. On rainy days the farmer used to try to do these things himself, but now he telephones the Fix It Man. It was vastly different when Pa and I did it. I mean Pa.

25. A tree trimmer! That's another. In the fall, Pa and I would climb up on a stepladder and saw away at a limb, the stepladder craftily watching for a chance to hurl us to the ground. But it's not done that way any more. The Fix It Man comes with a "hot wire," loops it over a limb, turns on the electricity, and pretty soon the limb is off. Sometimes I wonder what the farmer of today has to do, anyway.

26. For cutting down trees there is a round, whirling-blade, cruel-looking saw. The device is wheeled up — on rubber tires — and the edge of the saw is placed against the tree. The thing is run by kerosene. You pull a cord, and the blade tears into the tree with a savage, heart-breaking snarl; at least that's the way it sounds to a person who hates to see a tree — even an old one — yield up its life.

27. Changes not connected with machinery are also taking place. One is health insurance. At first the idea was considered revolutionary — but aren't all new ideas? Time after time farmers had suffered from ruinous medical bills; it was a saying that when a man began to "doctor" he was opening a door called Debt. It is appalling to think of the aches and pains and, sometimes, death that farm families have suffered rather than place themselves in the hands of doctors. And so farmers have organized cooperative health associations, each grouped around a community hospital, and now farmers pay monthly assessments for health protection. That, indeed, is revolutionary. I do believe there is nothing more so in all the corn belt.

28. As a result, farmers now have preventive medical care; yes, and preventive dental care. Snaggle teeth are taken care of, as they never were before. New words are coming to farmers: obstetrician, urologist, pediatrician, orthopedist, gynecologist. They can't pronounce them, but they know what they mean. And they get shots and serums and treatments that once went only to city people.

29. Why in God's name shouldn't they? No group in this country works so hard as farmers; and what do they get out of it? Very little indeed, compared to the sleek people of the cities. It's easy to say, "Why don't they give up farming?" But it's far more involved than that. They have inherited farms, they have not been able to get much schooling — all they know is farming.

30. It's not simple to pull away from the land; a thousand ties hold one there, especially the fathers and mothers and old folks. There are always "old folks" — Grandpa and Grandma who live in the L, or in the room behind the kitchen. My heart breaks when I see them — those brown, gnarled hands that have worked so hard and got so little out of life.

31. The good news is that farm babies are now being born in hos-

pitals. Of all the boys and girls I grew up with, not a single one was born in a hospital. But their children are being born there and are getting service comparable to what the city people get. Farm health has been a disgrace to the country, and I rejoice that it is being bettered.

32. Now and then my father would have to borrow money to "feed out" the steers. How he dreaded it. Also a kind of shame hung over it. There, on one side of the counter, would be Pa in his Sunday clothes and "vici" shoes – no tie; on the other side would be Joseph Jackson in his silk vest, his gold watch chain, and ascot tie. Pa would lean over the counter and say in a guarded voice, "Joe, could I see you privately?"

33. "Yes, Amos, in the back room."

34. Mr. Jackson would open the door and Pa would follow him into the mysterious "back room."

35. After a while Pa would come out and get away as fast as he could. Borrowing money was a big – a kind of shameful – occasion.

36. Today it's done by mail. Des Moines is filled with places that lend money by mail. One of the lines in their advertising says: "The entire transaction is handled without friends or relatives being notified, or contacted." Just fill in a few lines, sign here and there – and the money is yours. No slipping in, leaning over the counter and dropping your voice. Maybe it's a little too easy.

37. Two other changes have come that I believe the public has heard little about. One is the tremendous increase in popcorn; this is supposed to have got a start during the war when candy was not to be had for the asking. So important has become the sale of popcorn in movie theaters that the Fox Midwest Amusement Corporation, in Kansas City, has about four thousand acres in popcorn; in addition, it has contracts with neighboring farmers. I saw one farm, near Tarkio, Missouri, that had six hundred acres in popcorn. Practically all of this goes on sale in movie theaters. The crunching must be terrific. In addition, popcorn is put in little round bowls in cocktail lounges. The crunching here is of a more refined nature.

38. The second change is the tremendous growth of waxy-maize corn. This, too, is supposed to have come about as a result of the

war. Until the war cut it off, imported tapioca was generally used to make the adhesive on envelope flaps and on postage stamps. Then it was found that waxy-maize corn would do the trick, and since that time the growing of this particular kind of grain has increased amazingly.

39. An item appearing in the daily papers just now has to do with farmers taking to the air. Indeed, there is an organization called "The Flying Farmers." A confirmed city man, reading these dispatches, would assume that a new and tremendously important factor has come into farm life. These new stories tell how a farmer hunts lost cattle, looks for down fences, patrols for grasshoppers, and I don't know what all.

40. But the sum and substance of it is that a farmer seriously using an airplane for farming has been kicked by a mule. No farmer, in the corn section, has a farm so big that he has to hunt for his cattle by going up in the air. It gets down to this: a few rich farmers have planes (they make their money some other way) and have organized clubs, just as people organized automobile clubs in the early days, and they fly around in these planes and tell how useful the plane is. It makes a good story, but alas! there's not a word of truth to it. A plane on the farm, in the foreseeable future, is a fifth wheel.

IV

41. The biggest swing, at the moment, is to something that a few years ago didn't even have a name. The name had to be made up out of whole cloth, and here it is: *Chemurgy.* Wheeler McMillen, editor of the *Farm Journal,* who is the founder of the idea, tells me that a group put some possible names down on paper and pounced on this. Some say it is the biggest idea in farming in the Twentieth Century. But I am a little distrustful of "biggest ideas" in the Twentieth Century; I've seen too many go up the flue. Anyway, there are four main purposes in the farm chemistry idea:

1. To develop new nonfood uses for farmers' crops — for instance, garment fibers out of casein, which comes from milk.
2. To put crops into industrial uses: soybeans into steering wheels, sweet potatoes into high-grade starch.

3. To make use of farm products that would otherwise go to waste: as an example, cigarette papers from flax straw.
4. To find new profitable crops. Soybeans are fairly new. Ramie is a fiber new to this country. Anguar has been introduced into the United States from India and is now being grown in Arizona. It is used in the making of paper.

42. Anyway, people who know far more about this than I do say that chemurgy is the biggest thing around the corner. But there is plenty more around the same corner, all bringing a host of changes into farm life. Here are a few:

1. Hybrid corn, which already has put millions in the pockets of the corn farmers.
2. Frozen foods. Nearly every farm has its cold storage locker in the community plant. Some of these plants are not in a town, but out in the country, sometimes at a crossroads.
3. Home demonstration agents. Specially trained women come to farm homes, neighborhood clubs, and rural schoolhouses and show the women the newest in canning and cooking. One home demonstration agent I heard spoke on "How to Fit a Dress Form." She had me popeyed.
4. The amazing number of uses that soybeans can be put to. The number, as I write, is about two hundred. One is to eat them.
5. A drug effective against chiggers. A few drops spread on your ankles will knock chiggers silly.
6. A machine that will clean chicken houses. Ah, me!
7. Truck driver contests. All the states are having them; sometimes they call them "roadeos." The men demonstrate their skill in backing ponderous trucks to platforms and turning in narrow spaces — lots of fun and examples of unbelievable skill.
8. Weed killers. What a godsend they would have been in the 1900's.
9. New grasses, such as crested wheat grass, brome grass, Cossack alfalfa.
10. The fall-off in attendance on Saturday afternoon in town. Farmers, especially during crop season, now go to town when it rains and they can't get into the fields. Revolutionary.
11. The number of farmers going to town by bus. Every filling

station on the highway is a bus stop, and every crossroads store. When there is a passenger, a red flag is hung out. Wish to God they'd had it in my time.

12. Seeing-Eye dogs on farms. Some are for veterans.
13. The great number of men and women — young and old — who get seasonal work at de-tasseling hybrid seed corn. Machines are used to convey the de-tasselers through the fields, to make it easier to reach the top of the stalks.
14. The giant motorized machines being used to fight the European corn borer; they spray a solution of DDT on the stalks.

43. And now to something a little on the delicate side; artificial insemination. If you don't know what that is, you are not going to find out here. So far it is chiefly practiced on dairy farms, but it will spread to the beef-producing sections and the steak you find on your table will be bigger and juicier because of it. And more milk will be produced and more cheese. So new, so recent is this that the first bull used in Iowa is still living. He doesn't seem to be very happy.

ANALYSIS

1. Although the major pattern of organization in the selection is a random list, two or more other principles can be discovered in action: (1) there is a shadowy partition of the items on the list into mechanical and nonmechanical changes; (2) during the treatment of the early items on the list the author compares the farm today with the farm of yesterday; consequently, he employs temporarily the principle of comparison.
   a. With what paragraph does the major enumeration of changes on the farm begin?
   b. In enumeration, does he make any pretense to completeness?
   c. Does he follow any inevitable order in putting down the items?
2. *a.* Mark off the introduction. How effective an introduction is it?
   b. Is it formal or informal — that is, does it state the problem of the article directly or does it come to it indirectly?
3. *a.* Analyze the article in respect to the phrases illustrating the author's viewpoint: "I blink a little myself," "I might not have left the farm," "I hated many things," "It has all become easy."
   b. Enumeration is a loose form of organization; how does the weaving together of these phrases help to strengthen the organization? We are looking here at the principle of "counterpoint" in organization — the overlaying of one organization by another. Note how complicated the counterpoint is in this selection.
4. Do you detect a note of nostalgia for the past in Paragraph 7? Anywhere else?

5. *a.* Describe the tone of the article. Does the shortness of many of the sentences play an important part in creating this tone?
b. Is the author trying to talk like a farmer?
6. Note the brief lists that appear within the main enumeration: Paragraph 24, Paragraph 37, Paragraphs 41, 42.

THE RESULTS DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN*

By James Bryce

1. To TEST democracy by its results as visible in the six countries examined, it will be convenient to consider how far in each of them the chief ends for which government exists have been attained, taking these ends to include whatever the collective action of men associated for the common good can do for the moral and material welfare of a community and the individual citizens who compose it, helping them to obtain the maximum that life can afford of enjoyment and to suffer the minimum life may bring of sorrow.

2. These ends may be summed up as follows:

Safety against attack on the community from without.

Order within the community — prevention of violence and creation of the consequent sense of security.

Justice, the punishment of offenses and the impartial adjustment of disputes on principles approved by the community.

Efficient administration of common affairs, so as to obtain the largest possible results at the smallest possible cost.

Assistance to the citizens in their several occupations, as, for example, by the promotion of trade or the regulation of industry, in so far as this can be done without checking individual initiative or unduly restricting individual freedom.

3. These may be called the primary and generally recognized functions of government in a civilized country. Other results, needing a fuller explanation, will be presently adverted to. I take first the five ends above named.

4. 1. Safety against external attack. — In all the six democracies this end has been attained as fully as in most non-democratic

* From *Modern Democracies,* Volume II (1924), by James Bryce. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

governments, and in one respect better attained, because the necessary preparations for defense have not given reasonable ground to other nations to fear that armaments were being increased with a view to hostile aggression.

5. 2. In most of the six, internal order has been well maintained, best perhaps in Switzerland, least perhaps in parts of the United States, where, although the Federal Government has done its duty faithfully, some state governments have tolerated lynching and failed to check other breaches of the law. Rioting in connection with Labor disputes has occurred everywhere, but except in some Australian cases the constituted authorities have shown themselves able to deal with it.

6. 3. Justice has been honestly and capably administered, quite as well as under other forms of government, in Switzerland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and in France also, though perhaps with not so full a confidence of the people in the perfect honor of all the Courts. In the United States the Federal Courts are staffed (with few exceptions) by upright and capable men, and the same is true of certain states. In others, however, the Judiciary is below the level of its functions, and in a few it is not trusted, while criminal procedure is cumbrous and regrettably ineffective.

7. 4. Civil administration has long been conducted with efficiency in France and Switzerland, and is now, since the partial abolition of the "Spoils System," beginning to be so conducted in the United States Federal Government and in many of the state governments. A similar improvement is visible in Canada. Australia and New Zealand have permanent services which are honest but as yet not more than fairly competent. Still possessed by the notion that one man is as good as another, the new democracies have not yet duly recognized the increased call for thorough knowledge and trained skill in handling the widened functions now imposed on governments, both in determining the principles of economic and social policy to be adopted and in carrying them out in a scientific spirit. That the management of national finances has, in every country except Switzerland, been lavish and frequently wasteful is the fault not of the civil services but of ministers and legislatures who have spent vast sums in that form of electioneering bribery

which consists in making grants of money to particular classes (as in the United States to those who professed to be Civil War Veterans), or to constituencies under the pretense of executing public works. This kind of bribery, like the indulgence extended to lawbreakers whose displeasure can be shown at elections, is directly attributable to democracy.

8. 5. What further services, beyond those already mentioned, government may render to a community or to any class of its citizens by acquiring property to be used for the common benefit, or by aiding individuals to do so, is a question on which opinions differ so widely that no standard exists whereby to estimate the merits or defaults of governments. The only two countries that have gone far in this direction are New Zealand and Australia, with results which raise doubts whether democracy is a form of government fitted for such enterprises. Other matters, however, which are now generally deemed to fall within the sphere of legislation such as public health and the conditions of labor and the regulation of the means of transportation, have received in all the six countries due attention, the newer democracies being in no wise behind their elder sisters.

9. Of the conduct of foreign policy, once deemed a department in which popular governments were inconstant and incompetent, nothing need be added to what has been said in a preceding chapter except that the errors of the peoples have been no greater than those committed by monarchs, or by oligarchies, or in democracies themselves by the small groups, or the individual ministers, to whose charge foreign relations had been entrusted.

10. Outside and apart from these definite duties, legally assigned to and discharged by government, there is a sphere in which its action can be felt and in which both its form and its spirit tell upon the individual citizen. When political institutions call upon him to bear a part in their working, he is taken out of the narrow circle of his domestic or occupational activities, admitted to a larger life which opens wider horizons, associated in new ways with his fellows, forced to think of matters which are both his and theirs. Self-government in local and still more in national affairs becomes a stimulant and an education. These influences may be called a by-product of popular government, incidental, but precious. Who-

ever has grown up in a household where public affairs were followed with interest and constantly discussed by the elders and friends of the family knows how much the boy gains by listening, asking questions, trying to understand the answers given; and the gain to the budding mind is greatest when the differences of opinion he hears expressed are most frequent. In Britain and America every general parliamentary or presidential election marked for many a boy an epoch in the development of his thought, leading him to reflect thenceforth on events as they followed one another. In the six democracies described this kind of education is always going on, and the process is continued in an even more profitable form where the citizen, when he has reached the voting age, is required to vote not only at elections, but also, as in Switzerland and some of the American states, on laws submitted to the people by Referendum and Initiative.

11. Could this examination be extended to six other European countries, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the results to be described would not differ materially from those set forth as attained in the six countries examined in Part II. In none has justice or order or the efficiency of civil administration suffered in the process of democratization which all have undergone within the last ninety years, and in most these primary duties of government are better discharged. We may accordingly treat the results our inquiry has given for the six as substantially true for European democracies in general.

ANALYSIS

1. What is the author's main purpose in using the device of enumeration? Where does he explain it?
2. Is the order of the enumeration inherent in the nature of the material treated or imposed arbitrarily? How can you tell?
3. *a.* Is there anything in the article that tends to explain why the author lists but five main results of democratic government?
   b. Can you think of others that he might have mentioned, or is his enumeration complete and final?
4. *a.* Compare this article with the others in this group and explain clearly their points of likeness and their points of difference.
   b. Formulate some working principles concerning the use and effectiveness of this method of organization.
5. Note the summary in Paragraph 2 and the subsequent expansion of these points. Is this device effective? In what ways?

SECOND PATTERN: *Classification*

BALLADS OF THE OKIES*

By Charles Todd and Robert Sonkin

1. THE SONGS of our country are as varied as its geography. From Tin Pan Alley and the cotton lands, from the lumber camps of the Northwest and the Georgia chain gangs, from the railroads and the levees, from the Great Lakes and the coast towns, come songs that belong to the people of America.
2. There are "blues" and "hollers," "shanties" and "break-downs," "sinful" songs and "Christian" songs; there are songs addressed to mules, ponies, rattlesnakes, jackrabbits, boll weevils, geese, chickens, pigs, and crawdads. There are ditties about rye whisky and cocaine. There are "ballits" which tell of the death of Dewey Lee, the fate of Edward Heckman, the hanging of John Hardy, the shooting of Jesse James, and the betrayal of Bold Jack Donahue. In short, name your favorite American institution, be it a bucking bronco, a groundhog, or a public enemy, and, with a little traveling, you'll probably find a song about it somewhere.
3. With other nations torn by war and hostile ideologies, America is becoming more and more conscious of her priceless possessions. Among other things, we are slowly rediscovering our heritage of song. The record companies and the radio have responded to the present mood, finding an enthusiastic audience for singers like Woody Guthrie of the Dust Bowl, Leadbelly of the chain gangs, and the Golden Gate Quartet. Behind this popular interest stands the music division of the Library of Congress in Washington, which for many years has been tirelessly engaged in collecting and preserving the songs that the people of America sing. Among the most recent acquisitions of the Library of Congress in this field is a collection of more than two hundred acetate recordings of the songs of the "Okies," those modern forty-niners from the depleted farm lands of the Southwest who are still "looking for a home" in the valleys and deserts of California.

* From The New York *Times Magazine*, November 17, 1940. Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the authors.

4. Whenever Americans have pulled up stakes and "made a change in the business" they seem to have had songs for the occasion. The rebellious colonies had their "Yankee Doodle," the gold rush had its "Oh Susannah," the A.E.F. had its "Mademoiselle from Armentières," the CCC boys, far from home, have their "Loveless CCC." As for the Okies, they have their "Going Down the Road Feelin' Bad."
5. The songs of the Okies do not end there, however, for these people came from regions where the fiddle, the dulcimer, the "git-tar," and the human voice have been getting together for more than a century out of sheer love and need for singing. They are the people from isolated farms in the Ozarks, the Panhandle, and the mountains farther east. They are people who still speak intimately of "play-parties," "break-downs," "fiddlin' bouts," and unbelievable song-fests at "hog-killin' time." They are a people many of whose songs came down to them from their parents' parents, singers of "sad songs" about lords and ladies who rode on milk-white steeds and avenged betrayals with the "silver dagger" or the "wee penknife." Finally, they are the people who were "dusted out," "blowed out," or "tractored out" of their ancestral homes, and to whom singing is one of the few things that remain constant in a strange new land where prosperity is measured by the amount of gasoline in a battered tank.
6. It is a somewhat bewildering experience to travel a few miles inland from the modern, sophisticated cities of the California coast to the hot valley of the San Joaquin, where many of the Okies have made their homes in government camps, private camps or in roadside tents and shelters. Geographically it is still California, but for the collector of songs it is another and far more fascinating world. Strolling in the evening through one of the big Farm Security Administration's camps, past long rows of tents and metal "units" one hears fragments of tunes that a more prosperous America has forgotten in the process of growing up and getting rich.
7. Modern music is making inroads, of course, but the majority of the Okies still prefer the old tunes. Even at the Saturday night dances which are popular in most of the government camps it is a tune like "Sally Goodin" or "The Tennessee Waggoner" which sets the feet to dancing rather than the latest song-hit.
8. The songs the Okies sing may be divided roughly into three cate-

gories, though there are a good many songs which defy classification. There is the traditional ballad with early English or Scottish antecedents, the more recent, "late" song of the American Southwest (hillbilly, cowboy, "outlaw'd" etc.), and the original song celebrating events of the migration. The first is the favorite of the older people. The other types are found among all groups.

9. The Okie, in singing an old ballad, is intensely serious. Tears come to a woman's eyes as she moans of "George Collins" and a sweetheart faithful even after death:

> She followed him up, she followed him down,
> She followed him to his grave . . .

although her youngsters may wriggle with embarrassment when their mother "gets so silly over an old song."

10. Then, too, the Okie often takes these ballads quite literally. In the case of "The Waco Girl," a song well known in many of the camps, the singer may conclude his rendition by informing you that the story is a "real-life" one about a familiar case of murder in the vicinity of Waco, Texas:

> I wound my hand in her dark brown hair
> And drug her round and round,
> I drug her down to the water side,
> And threw her in to drown . . .

11. There is no use informing him that the ballad appears in several old English collections with another title and was sung centuries before the town of Waco was incorporated. The same is true of "Barbara Allen," whose hero changes his identity, depending upon the singer, from "Young William" to "Jimmy Gray from the Western States" — with splendid disregard for the memory of Samuel Pepys, who listened to the song back in the seventeenth century.

12. The Okie singer does better with these ballads when he is unaccompanied, for the tunes are often pitched in a difficult minor key, but, above all, it is the story which really counts. Primarily, these are stories of frustrated love and of death by violence, with frequently a warning moral at the end.

13. "Sad Songs," these songs are called — the songs of a lonely race to whom individual tragedy is far more real than the clash of empires. It seldom matters if in the course of transmission from one genera-

tion to another lines and words lose their meaning. The collector may puzzle over "Mother, Oh, Mother, Go Rittle Your Sports" in an Arkansas version of "The Brown Girl," but the Okie seldom bothers his head about it. The people know the story and that is enough.

14. The Okie is no less serious about his "late" songs than he is about the ballads (and this fact has been recognized by the advertising managers of those California radio stations who drench the ether from morning till night with Carter family records and "singing cowboys"). There is a curious monotony in the tunes, but the stories these songs tell are full of the flavor of life in the old Southwest. Gospel singers, harsh and strident, blend with the "git-tar" in "Fire Brands for Jesus," or "Forgive Me, Lord, and Try Me One More Time."

15. An old Texas migrant, heading for Oregon in search of a "piece of land," recalls lilting little childhood songs his daddy sang to him — songs like "Along Come Old Jinny On-a-Fine Summer Day" (with references to "the fightin' down Mexico way"), and an endless "pile-up song" which begins:

> I had a hen and the hen pleased me;
> I fed it down in yonder tree
> An' the hen goes chim-chack, chim-chack,
> Fiddle-I-fee. . . .

16. Then there are the "blues" songs: "The Carter Blues," "Liddle Biddy Blues," "Jackrabbit Blues," "Deep Ellum Blues" and old "breakdowns" such as "Grady Watson's Favorite" or "Billy in the Low Ground." A jolly, gray-haired old lady from Arkansas recalls "Skip to My Lou" and "Shoot the Buffalo," play-party songs which she and her husband helped to "holler off" at those Ozark get-togethers where fiddlers were banned by the "pesky old folks" and the only music allowed was what the youngsters could supply by singing. A red-headed miss of ten years struggles valiantly through the many verses of "The Great Speckled Bird" or "The Convict and the Rose," and a lad of seven, "seconded on the git-tar" by his young father, raises a lusty treble to the strains of "An' you ought to see John Hardy git away." Finally there is the inevitable cowboy, long-legged and lean, who is always welcome so long as he has songs like "Zebra Dun" or "Little Joe the Wrangler" to sing.

17. With these "late" songs, as with the ballads, it doesn't make much difference if a line slips out that makes no sense whatever. Mrs. W. has always sung the "Wildwood Flower" with that line, "As I twine with my mingles and wavy black hair," and if the poor collector doesn't know what "mingles" are – well, neither does Mrs. W.

18. The popularity of the "outlaw'd" songs among the Okies might give rise to some theorizing on the part of the sociologists if it were not for the fact that most ballad makers from the time of Robin Hood have been partial to public enemies. Some commentators have used the "rob the rich and give to the poor" theme of many of these songs to prove the class consciousness of folk singers, but such reasoning seems a little forced. The Okies are rugged individualists of the old school, and any legend that deals with a gallant brigand who robbed a Chicago bank or stood off a possé singlehanded is bound to be a popular one. Thus, the story of Bold Jack Donahue, a song claimed by some to have originated in Australia and come to America by way of Nova Scotia, ends with these words:

> Nine men he forced to bite the dust
> before the fatal ball
> Had pierced the heart of Donahue,
> which caused him for to fall,
> And when he closed his trembling eyes
> he bade this world adieu.
> Dear Christians all, pray for the soul of
> Bold Jack Donahue.

19. These, and many more, are the songs of the Southwest that the Okie has brought with him to California – songs he will always sing no matter where the tides of migration carry him. The old minstrelsy that gave birth to these songs has by no means been inhibited by a change of scenery. The "Oh Susannahs" are still being written as the westward trek goes on.

20. "How did you happen to write it?" one asks. "Oh," says the composer of one of these "Migratious" songs, "I was jist a-pickin' on my git-tar one night and the words sorta come to me." That, most often, is how it is done. You get to thinking about home, about the trip across the desert in the old jaloppy, and before you know it you have something like this:

We were out in Arizona
On the Painted Desert Ground;
We had no place to call our own
And work could not be found.

We started to California,
But our money it didn't last long.
I want to be in Oklahoma,
Be back in my old home.

The tune is easy. You borrow one from another song, or just make one up to fit the words.

21. A little later, perhaps, your mood changes. You get mad at California, mad at the people who told you this was the land of milk and honey. You want a fast tune, not nearly so sad and pretty, for a song that ends like this:

But listen to me, Okies,
I came out here one day,
Spent all my money gettin' here,
Now I can't get away.

22. Somewhere out in California, scuttling along in the back seat of an old jaloppy, is the twelve-year-old daughter of an Arkansas sharecropper who found one of the loveliest of the old mountain tunes and set these words to it:

Way down in Old St. Francis Bottom,
Where they call it the Devil's Den,
Many a poor tenant has lost his home,
And me, Ah God, I'm one . . .

The song ends, after five verses, with these childishly poignant lines:

Oh Boss, don't you see where you done wrong
When you run me outa my shack?
I had to build me a home
Out of my old pick-sack.

23. And up near Shafter, California, lives a sturdy little fellow, aged fourteen, who livens up the camp "socials" with a song hit of his own composition about the cotton-picker. It is a catchy tune, with stanzas like this in it:

I have no care like a millionaire,
No grief to make me blue,
But I pull my pack from day to day
And paddle my own canoe.

24. The pea-picking country in California has produced "Pea-Pickin' Poppa's Got the Pea-Pickin' Blues," as well as the "Pea-Picker's Dream," which ends in this fashion:

Oh, I'd like to be a pea-boss,
I'd buy up all the peas
Then plow them under way down deep—
And let them rot and freeze!

25. In the same spirit is an old blues number in which the Okies have made a few appropriate changes. After a few verses in which the singer testifies that he is going to "shoot poor Thelma just to see her jump and fall," he concludes that he'd

Rather drink muddy water,
Sleep in a holler log,
Than to be in California,
Treated like a dirty dog.

26. For the most part, however, the Okie minstrels are appreciative of what is being done for them in California. A woman in the Arvin Camp, after a long recitation of the rigors of the migration, ends with the following popular sentiment:

The people they were friendly
And ready to lend a hand.
Of all the states we've worked in
By this one we will stand.

27. There are "homesick" songs about the good things to eat back in Arkansas: "peanuts, pumpkins, buttermilk, and good old turnip greens"; there are songs of "social significance" such as "Seven-Cent Cotton and Forty-Cent Meat" or "I'd Rather Not Be on the Rolls of Relief"; and there are made-up songs which are just plain songs, with titles like "Come Sit by My Side, Little Darlin'," or "Moonlight and Skies." Finally there is the one that has become almost the theme song of the Okies, the "Oh Susannah" of the migration of the nineteen thirties:

I'm goin' where the climate fits my clothes,
I'm goin' where the climate fits my clothes,
I'm goin' where the climate fits my clothes, Lord, Lord,
And I ain't a-gonna be treated this-a-way.

28. There is no need to fear that a people who can sing as these people do will vanish from the earth. They may be "dusted out" and "tractored out," but they are not down and out — not so long as they go on singing songs like these, with "git-tars" to "second" them. As Carl Sandburg says of the people of America,

> The people so peculiar in renewal and comeback,
> You can't laugh off their capacity to take it. . . .

And somehow, as one hears these many songs of the people of America, one becomes doubly certain of their ability to take it.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* Explain the function of the first three paragraphs of this article.
   b. What do they tell the reader concerning the kind of organization that is likely to be followed here? Point out places to support your conclusion.
2. *a.* Point out where the logical classification begins in the article.
   b. Of what use is the material up to this point?
3. One must have a logical and clear basis for classification, a breaking down of a subject into its component parts.
   a. Discover the basis for the classification used in this article.
   b. Does the basis serve to include all the types of ballads or only those types that the authors feel they should treat?
4. *a.* Point out the divisional points in the text marking the end of each of the categories handled here.
   b. What transitional words or phrases do the authors use to get from one category to another?
5. *a.* How does this method of classification relate to the conclusion that the authors reach in this article?
   b. Is the method of classification inherently a part of the subject matter, or is it an artificial device used for clarity?
6. *a.* How does logical classification differ from enumeration?
   b. How does this technique differ from classification on component parts patterns? Explain.
7. Consider this article as an example of a primary source paper. Is classification the primary purpose of the article?

ON VARIOUS KINDS OF THINKING*

By James Harvey Robinson

1. WE DO NOT think enough about thinking, and much of our confusion is the result of current illusions in regard to it. Let us forget for the moment any impressions we may have derived from the philosophers, and see what seems to happen in ourselves. The first thing that we notice is that our thought moves with such incredible rapidity that it is amost impossible to arrest any specimen of it long enough to have a look at it. When we are offered a penny for our thoughts we always find that we have recently had so many things in mind that we can easily make a selection which will not compromise us too nakedly. On inspection we shall find that even if we are not downright ashamed of a great part of our spontaneous thinking it is far too intimate, personal, ignoble or trivial to permit us to reveal more than a small part of it. I believe this must be true of everyone. We do not, of course, know what goes on in other people's heads. They tell us very little and we tell them very little. The spigot of speech, rarely fully opened, could never emit more than driblets of the ever renewed hogshead of thought — *noch grösser wie's Heidelberger Fass.* We find it hard to believe that other people's thoughts are as silly as our own, but they probably are.

2. We all appear to ourselves to be thinking all the time during our waking hours, and most of us are aware that we go on thinking while we are asleep, even more foolishly than when awake. When uninterrupted by some practical issue we are engaged in what is now known as a *reverie.* This is our spontaneous and favorite kind of thinking. We allow our ideas to take their own course and this course is determined by our hopes and fears, our spontaneous desires, their fulfillment or frustration; by our likes and dislikes, our loves and hates and resentments. There is nothing else anything like so interesting to ourselves as ourselves. All thought that is not more or less laboriously controlled and directed will inevitably circle about the beloved Ego. It is amusing and pathetic to observe this tendency in ourselves and in others. We learn politely and gen-

* From *The Mind in the Making* (1921), by James Harvey Robinson. Copyright, 1921, by Harper and Brothers.

erously to overlook this truth, but if we dare to think of it, it blazes forth like the noontide sun.

3. The reverie or "free association of ideas" has of late become the subject of scientific research. While investigators are not yet agreed on the results, or at least on the proper interpretation to be given to them, there can be no doubt that our reveries form the chief index to our fundamental character. They are a reflection of our nature as modified by often hidden and forgotten experiences. We need not go into the matter further here, for it is only necessary to observe that the reverie is at all times a potent and in many cases an omnipotent rival to every other kind of thinking. It doubtless influences all our speculations in its persistent tendency to self-magnification and self-justification, which are its chief preoccupations, but it is the last thing to make directly or indirectly for honest increase of knowledge.[1] Philosophers usually talk as if such thinking did not exist or were in some way negligible. This is what makes their speculations so unreal and often worthless.

4. The reverie, as any of us can see for himself, is frequently broken and interrupted by the necessity of a second kind of thinking. We have to make practical decisions. Shall we write a letter or no? Shall we take the subway or a bus? Shall we have dinner at seven or half past? Shall we buy U. S. Rubber or a Liberty Bond? Decisions are easily distinguishable from the free flow of the reverie. Sometimes they demand a good deal of careful pondering and the recollection of pertinent facts; often, however, they are made impulsively. They are a more difficult and laborious thing than the reverie, and we resent having to "make up our mind" when we are tired, or absorbed in a congenial reverie. Weighing a decision, it should be

[1] The poet-clergyman, John Donne, who lived in the time of James I, has given a beautifully honest picture of the doings of a saint's mind: "I throw myself down in my chamber and call in and invite God and His angels thither, and when they are there I neglect God and His angels for the noise of a fly, for the rattling of a coach, for the whining of a door. I talk on in the same posture of praying, eyes lifted up, knees bowed down, as though I prayed to God, and if God or His angels should ask me when I thought last of God in that prayer I cannot tell. Sometimes I find that I had forgot what I was about, but when I began to forget it I cannot tell. A memory of yesterday's pleasures, a fear of tomorrow's dangers, a straw under my knee, a noise in mine ear, a light in mine eye, an anything, a nothing, a fancy, a chimera in my brain troubles me in my prayer." — Quoted by Robert Lynd, *The Art of Letters*, pp. 46–47.

noted, does not necessarily add anything to our knowledge, although we may, of course, seek further information before making it.

5. A third kind of thinking is stimulated when anyone questions our belief and opinions. We sometimes find ourselves changing our minds without any resistance or heavy emotion, but if we are told that we are wrong we resent the imputation and harden our hearts. We are incredibly heedless in the formation of our beliefs, but find ourselves filled with an illicit passion for them when anyone proposes to rob us of their companionship. It is obviously not the ideas themselves that are dear to us, but our self-esteem, which is threatened. We are by nature stubbornly pledged to defend our own from attack, whether it be our person, our family, our property, or our opinion. A United States Senator once remarked to a friend of mine that God Almighty could not make him change his mind on our Latin-American policy. We may surrender, but rarely confess ourselves vanquished. In the intellectual world at least peace is without victory.

6. Few of us take the pains to study the origin of our cherished convictions; indeed, we have a natural repugnance to so doing. We like to continue to believe what we have been accustomed to accept as true, and the resentment aroused when doubt is cast upon any of our assumptions leads us to seek every manner of excuse for clinging to them. *The result is that most of our so-called reasoning consists in finding arguments for going on believing as we already do.*

7. I remember years ago attending a public dinner to which the governor of the state was bidden. The chairman explained that His Excellency could not be present for certain "good" reasons; what the "real" reasons were the presiding officer said he would leave us to conjecture. This distinction between "good" and "real" reasons is one of the most clarifying and essential in the whole realm of thought. We can readily give what seem to us "good" reasons for being a Catholic or a Mason, a Republican or a Democrat, an adherent or opponent of the League of Nations. But the "real" reasons are usually on quite a different plane. Of course the importance of this distinction is popularly, if somewhat obscurely, recognized. The Baptist missionary is ready enough to see that the Buddhist is not such because his doctrines would bear careful inspection, but

because he happened to be born in a Buddhist family in Tokio. But it would be treason to his faith to acknowledge that his own partiality for certain doctrines is due to the fact that his mother was a member of the First Baptist Church of Oak Ridge. A savage can give all sorts of reasons for his belief that it is dangerous to step on a man's shadow, and a newspaper editor can advance plenty of arguments against the Bolsheviki. But neither of them may realize why he happens to be defending his particular opinion.

8. The "real" reasons for our beliefs are concealed from ourselves as well as from others. As we grow up we simply adopt the ideas presented to us in regard to such matters as religion, family relations, property, business, our country, and the state. We unconsciously absorb them from our environment. They are persistently whispered in our ear by the group in which we happen to live. Moreover, as Mr. Trotter has pointed out, these judgments, being the product of suggestion and not of reasoning, have the quality of perfect obviousness, so that to question them

> . . . is to the believer to carry skepticism to an insane degree, and will be met by contempt, disapproval, or condemnation, according to the nature of the belief in question. When, therefore, we find ourselves entertaining an opinion about the basis of which there is a quality of feeling which tells us that to inquire into it would be absurd, obviously unnecessary, unprofitable, undesirable, bad form, or wicked, we may know that that opinion is a nonrational one, and probably, therefore, founded upon inadequate evidence.[2]

9. Opinions, on the other hand, which are the result of experience or of honest reasoning do not have this quality of "primary certitude." I remember when as a youth I heard a group of businessmen discussing the question of the immortality of the soul, I was outraged by the sentiment of doubt expressed by one of the party. As I look back now I see that I had at the time no interest in the matter, and certainly no least argument to urge in favor of the belief in which I had been reared. But neither my personal indifference to the issue, nor the fact that I had previously given it no attention, served to prevent an angry resentment when I heard *my* ideas questioned.

10. This spontaneous and loyal support of our preconceptions – this process of finding "good" reasons to justify our routine beliefs – is

[2] *Instincts of the Herd*, p. 44.

known to modern psychologists as "rationalizing" — clearly only a new name for a very ancient thing. Our "good" reasons ordinarily have no value in promoting honest enlightenment, because, no matter how solemnly they may be marshaled, they are at bottom the result of personal preference or prejudice, and not of an honest desire to seek or accept new knowledge.

11. In our reveries we are frequently engaged in self-justification, for we cannot bear to think ourselves wrong, and yet have constant illustrations of our weaknesses and mistakes. So we spend much time finding fault with circumstances and the conduct of others, and shifting on to them with great ingenuity the onus of our own failures and disappointments. *Rationalizing is the self-exculpation which occurs when we feel ourselves, or our group, accused of misapprehension or error.*

12. The little word *my* is the most important one in all human affairs, and properly to reckon with it is the beginning of wisdom. It has the same force whether it is *my* dinner, *my* dog, and *my* house, or *my* faith, *my* country, and *my* God. We not only resent the imputation that our watch is wrong, or our car shabby, but that our conception of the canals of Mars, of the pronunciation of "Epictetus," of the medicinal value of salicine, or the date of Sargon I, are subject to revision.

13. Philosophers, scholars, and men of science exhibit a common sensitiveness in all decisions in which their *amour-propre* is involved. Thousands of argumentative works have been written to vent a grudge. However stately their reasoning, it may be nothing but rationalizing, stimulated by the most commonplace of all motives. A history of philosophy and theology could be written in terms of grouches, wounded pride, and aversions, and it would be far more instructive than the usual treatments of these themes. Sometimes, under Providence, the lowly impulse of resentment leads to great achievements. Milton wrote his treatise on divorce as a result of his troubles with his seventeen-year-old wife, and when he was accused of being the leading spirit in a new sect, the Divorcers, he wrote his noble *Areopagitica* to prove his right to say what he thought fit, and incidentally to establish the advantage of a free press in the promotion of Truth.

14. All mankind, high and low, thinks in all the ways which have

been described. The reverie goes on all the time not only in the mind of the mill hand and the Broadway flapper, but equally in weighty judges and godly bishops. It has gone on in all the philosophers, scientists, poets, and theologians that have ever lived. Aristotle's most abstruse speculations were doubtless tempered by highly irrelevant reflections. He is reported to have had very thin legs and small eyes, for which he doubtless had to find excuses, and he was wont to indulge in very conspicuous dress and rings and was accustomed to arrange his hair carefully.[3] Diogenes the Cynic exhibited the impudence of a touchy soul. His tub was his distinction. Tennyson in beginning his "Maud" could not forget his chagrin over losing his patrimony years before as the result of an unhappy investment in the Patent Decorative Carving Company. These facts are not recalled here as a gratuitous disparagement of the truly great, but to insure a full realization of the tremendous competition which all really exacting thought has to face, even in the minds of the most highly endowed mortals.

15. And now the astonishing and perturbing suspicion emerges that perhaps almost all that had passed for social science, political economy, politics, and ethics in the past may be brushed aside by future generations as mainly rationalizing. John Dewey has already reached this conclusion in regard to philosophy.[4] Veblen [5] and other writers have revealed the various unperceived presuppositions of the traditional political economy, and now comes an Italian sociologist, Vilfredo Pareto, who, in his huge treatise on general sociology, devotes hundreds of pages to substantiating a similar thesis affecting all the social sciences.[6] This conclusion may be ranked by students of a hundred years hence as one of the several great discoveries of our age. It is by no means fully worked out, and it is so opposed to nature that it will be very slowly accepted by the great mass of those who consider themselves thoughtful. As a historical student I

[3] Diogenes Laertius, book v.

[4] *Reconstruction in Philosophy.*

[5] *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization.*

[6] *Traité de Sociologie Générale, passim.* The author's term *"derivations"* seems to be his precise way of expressing what we have called the "good" reasons, and his *"residus"* correspond to the "real" reasons. He well says, *"L'homme éprouve le besoin de raisonner, et en outre d'étendre un voile sur ses instincts et sur ses sentiments"* — hence, rationalization. (p. 788.) His aim is to reduce sociology to the "real" reasons. (p. 791.)

am personally fully reconciled to this newer view. Indeed, it seems to me inevitable that just as the various sciences of nature were, before the opening of the seventeenth century, largely masses of rationalizations to suit the religious sentiments of the period, so the social sciences have continued even to our own day to be rationalizations of uncritically accepted beliefs and customs.

16. *It will become apparent as we proceed that the fact that an idea is ancient and that it has been widely received is no argument in its favor, but should immediately suggest the necessity of carefully testing it as a probable instance of rationalization.*

17. This brings us to another kind of thought which can fairly easily be distinguished from the three kinds described above. It has not the usual qualities of the reverie, for it does not hover about our personal complacencies and humiliations. It is not made up of the homely decisions forced upon us by everyday needs, when we review our little stock of existing information, consult our conventional preferences and obligations, and make a choice of action. It is not the defense of our own cherished beliefs and prejudices just because they are our own — mere plausible excuses for remaining of the same mind. On the contrary, it is that peculiar species of thought which leads us to *change* our mind.

18. It is this kind of thought that has raised man from his pristine, subsavage ignorance and squalor to the degree of knowledge and comfort which he now possesses. On his capacity to continue and greatly extend this kind of thinking depends his chance of groping his way out of the plight in which the most highly civilized peoples of the world now find themselves. In the past this type of thinking has been called Reason. But so many misapprehensions have grown up around the word that some of us have become very suspicious of it. I suggest, therefore, that we substitute a recent name and speak of "creative thought" rather than of Reason. *For this kind of meditation begets knowledge, and knowledge is really creative inasmuch as it makes things look different from what they seemed before and may indeed work for their reconstruction.*

19. In certain moods some of us realize that we are observing things or making reflections with a seeming disregard of our personal preoccupations. We are not preening or defending ourselves; we are not faced by the necessity of any practical decision, nor are we

apologizing for believing this or that. We are just wondering and looking and mayhap seeing what we never perceived before.

20. Curiosity is as clear and definite as any of our urges. We wonder what is in a sealed telegram or in a letter in which some one else is absorbed, or what is being said in the telephone booth or in low conversation. This inquisitiveness is vastly stimulated by jealousy, suspicion, or any hint that we ourselves are directly or indirectly involved. But there appears to be a fair amount of personal interest in other people's affairs even when they do not concern us except as a mystery to be unraveled or a tale to be told. The reports of a divorce suit will have "news value" for many weeks. They constitute a story, like a novel or play or moving picture. This is not an example of pure curiosity, however, since we readily identify ourselves with others, and their joys and despair then become our own.

21. We also take note of, or "observe," as Sherlock Holmes says, things which have nothing to do with our personal interests and make no personal appeal either direct or by way of sympathy. This is what Veblen so well calls "idle curiosity." And it is usually idle enough. Some of us when we face the line of people opposite us in a subway train impulsively consider them in detail and engage in rapid inferences and form theories in regard to them. On entering a room there are those who will perceive at a glance the degree of preciousness of the rugs, the character of the pictures, and the personality revealed by the books. But there are many, it would seem, who are so absorbed in their personal reverie or in some definite purpose that they have no bright-eyed energy for idle curiosity. The tendency to miscellaneous observation we come by honestly enough, for we note it in many of our animal relatives.

22. Veblen, however, uses the term "idle curiosity" somewhat ironically, as is his wont. It is idle only to those who fail to realize that it may be a very rare and indispensable thing from which almost all distinguished human achievement proceeds, since it may lead to systematic examination and seeking for things hitherto undiscovered. For research is but diligent search which enjoys the high flavor of primitive hunting. Occasionally and fitfully idle curiosity thus leads to creative thought, which alters and broadens our own views and aspirations and may in turn, under highly favorable circumstances, affect the views and lives of others, even for generations to

follow. An example or two will make this unique human process clear.

23. Galileo was a thoughtful youth and doubtless carried on a rich and varied reverie. He had artistic ability and might have turned out to be a musician or painter. When he had dwelt among the monks at Valambrosa he had been tempted to lead the life of a religious. As a boy he busied himself with toy machines and he inherited a fondness for mathematics. All these facts are of record. We may safely assume also that, along with many other subjects of contemplation, the Pisan maidens found a vivid place in his thoughts.

24. One day when seventeen years old he wandered into the cathedral of his native town. In the midst of his reverie he looked up at the lamps hanging by long chains from the high ceiling of the church. Then something very difficult to explain occurred. He found himself no longer thinking of the building, worshipers, or the services; of his artistic or religious interests; of his reluctance to become a physician as his father wished. He forgot the question of a career and even the *graziosissime donne.* As he watched the swinging lamps he was suddenly wondering if mayhap their oscillations, whether long or short, did not occupy the same time. Then he tested this hypothesis by counting his pulse, for that was the only timepiece he had with him.

25. This observation, however remarkable in itself, was not enough to produce a really creative thought. Others may have noticed the same thing and yet nothing came of it. Most of our observations have no assignable results. Galileo may have seen that the warts on a peasant's face formed a perfect isosceles triangle, or he may have noticed with boyish glee that just as the officiating priest was uttering the solemn words, *ecce agnus Dei,* a fly lit on the end of his nose. To be really creative, ideas have to be worked up and then "put over," so that they become a part of man's social heritage. The highly accurate pendulum clock was one of the later results of Galileo's discovery. He himself was led to reconsider and successfully to refute the old notions of falling bodies. It remained for Newton to prove that the moon was falling, and presumably all the heavenly bodies. This quite upset all the consecrated views of the heavens as managed by angelic engineers. The universality of the laws of gravi-

tation stimulated the attempt to seek other and equally important natural laws and cast grave doubts on the miracles which mankind had hitherto believed. In short, those who dared to include in their thought the discoveries of Galileo and his successors found themselves in a new earth surrounded by new heavens.

26. On the twenty-eighth of October, 1831, three hundred and fifty years after Galileo had noticed the isochronous vibrations of the lamps, creative thought and its currency had so far increased that Faraday was wondering what would happen if he mounted a disk of copper between the poles of a horseshoe magnet. As the disk revolved an electric current was produced. This would doubtless have seemed the idlest kind of an experiment to the stanch businessmen of the time, who, it happened, were just then denouncing the child labor bills in their anxiety to avail themselves to the full of the results of earlier idle curiosity. But should the dynamos and motors which have come into being as the outcome of Faraday's experiment be stopped this evening, the businessman of today, agitated over labor troubles, might, as he trudged home past lines of "dead" cars, through dark streets to an unlighted house, engage in a little creative thought of his own and perceive that he and his laborers would have no modern factories and mills to quarrel about had it not been for the strange practical effects of the idle curiosity of scientists, inventors, and engineers.

27. The examples of creative intelligence given above belong to the realm of modern scientific achievement, which furnishes the most striking instances of the effects of scrupulous, objective thinking. But there are, of course, other great realms in which the recording and embodiment of acute observation and insight have wrought themselves into the higher life of man. The great poets and dramatists and our modern storytellers have found themselves engaged in productive reveries, noting and artistically presenting their discoveries for the delight and instruction of those who have the ability to appreciate them.

28. The process by which a fresh and original poem or drama comes into being is doubtless analogous to that which originates and elaborates so-called scientific discoveries; but there is clearly a temperamental difference. The genesis and advance of painting, sculpture, and music offer still other problems. We really as yet know

shockingly little about these matters, and indeed very few people have the least curiosity about them.[7] Nevertheless, creative intelligence in its various forms and activities is what makes man. Were it not for its slow, painful, and constantly discouraged operations through the ages man would be no more than a species of primate living on seeds, fruit, roots, and uncooked flesh, and wandering naked through the woods and over the plains like a chimpanzee.

29. The origin and progress and future promotion of civilization are ill understood and misconceived. These should be made the chief theme of education, but much hard work is necessary before we can reconstruct our ideas of man and his capacities and free ourselves from innumerable persistent misapprehensions. There have been obstructionists in all times, not merely the lethargic masses, but the moralists, the rationalizing theologians, and most of the philosophers, all busily if unconsciously engaged in ratifying existing ignorance and mistakes and discouraging creative thought. Naturally, those who reassure us seem worthy of honor and respect. Equally naturally those who puzzle us with disturbing criticisms and invite us to change our ways are objects of suspicion and readily discredited. Our personal discontent does not ordinarily extend to any critical questioning of the general situation in which we find ourselves. In every age the prevailing conditions of civilization have appeared quite natural and inevitable to those who grew up in them. The cow asks no questions as to how it happens to have a dry stall and a supply of hay. The kitten laps its warm milk from a china saucer, without knowing anything about porcelain; the dog nestles in the corner of a divan with no sense of obligation to the inventors of upholstery and the manufacturers of down pillows. So we humans accept our breakfasts, our trains and telephones and orchestras and movies, our national Constitution, or moral code and standards of manners, with the simplicity and innocence of a pet rabbit. We have absolutely inexhaustible capacities for appropriating what others do for us with no thought of a "thank you." We do

[7] Recently a reexamination of creative thought has begun as a result of new knowledge which discredits many of the notions formerly held about "reason." See, for example, *Creative Intelligence,* by a group of American philosophic thinkers; John Dewey, *Essays in Experimental Logic* (both pretty hard books); and Veblen, *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization.* Easier than these and very stimulating are Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy,* and Woodworth, *Dynamic Psychology.*

not feel called upon to make any least contribution to the merry game ourselves. Indeed, we are usually quite unaware that a game is being played at all.

30. We have now examined the various classes of thinking which we can readily observe in ourselves and which we have plenty of reasons to believe go on, and always have been going on, in our fellowmen. We can sometimes get quite pure and sparkling examples of all four kinds, but commonly they are so confused and intermingled in our reverie as not to be readily distinguishable. The reverie is a reflection of our longings, exultations, and complacencies, our fears, suspicions, and disappointments. We are chiefly engaged in struggling to maintain our self-respect and in asserting that supremacy which we all crave and which seems to us our natural prerogative. It is not strange, but rather quite inevitable, that our beliefs about what is true and false, good and bad, right and wrong, should be mixed up with the reverie and be influenced by the same considerations which determine its character and course. We resent criticisms of our views exactly as we do of anything else connected with ourselves. Our notions of life and its ideals seem to us to be *our own* and as such necessarily true and right, to be defended at all costs.

31. *We very rarely consider, however, the process by which we gained our convictions.* If we did so, we could hardly fail to see that there was usually little ground for our confidence in them. Here and there, in this department of knowledge or that, some one of us might make a fair claim to have taken some trouble to get correct ideas of, let us say, the situation in Russia, the sources of our food supply, the origin of the Constitution, the revision of the tariff, the policy of the Holy Roman Apostolic Church, modern business organization, trade unions, birth control, socialism, the League of Nations, the excess-profits tax, preparedness, advertising in its social bearings; but only a very exceptional person would be entitled to opinions on all of even these few matters. And yet most of us have opinions on all these, and on many other questions of equal importance, of which we may know even less. We feel compelled, as self-respecting persons, to take sides when they come up for discussion. We even surprise ourselves by our omniscience. Without taking thought we see in a flash that it is most righteous and expedient to discourage birth control by legislative enactment,

or that one who decries intervention in Mexico is clearly wrong, or that big advertising is essential to big business and that big business is the pride of the land. As godlike beings why should we not rejoice in our omniscience?

32. It is clear, in any case, that our convictions on important matters are not the result of knowledge or critical thought, nor, it may be added, are they often dictated by supposed self-interest. Most of them are *pure prejudices* in the proper sense of that word. We do not form them ourselves. They are the whisperings of "the voice of the herd." We have in the last analysis no responsibility for them and need assume none. They are not really our own ideas, but those of others no more well informed or inspired than ourselves, who have got them in the same careless and humiliating manner as we. It should be our pride to revise our ideas and not to adhere to what passes for respectable opinion, for such opinion can frequently be shown to be not respectable at all. We should, in view of the considerations that have been mentioned, resent our supine credulity. As an English writer has remarked:

33. "If we feared the entertaining of an unverifiable opinion with the warmth with which we fear using the wrong implement at the dinner table, if the thought of holding a prejudice disgusted us as does a foul disease, then the dangers of man's suggestibility would be returned into advantages." [8]

34. The purpose of this essay is to set forth briefly the way in which the notions of the herd have been accumulated. This seems to me the best, easiest, and least invidious educational device for cultivating a proper distrust for the older notions on which we still continue to rely.

35. The "real" reasons, which explain how it is we happen to hold a particular belief, are chiefly historical. Our most important opinions – those, for example, having to do with traditional, religious, and moral convictions, property rights, patriotism, national honor, the state, and indeed all the assumed foundations of society – are, as I have already suggested, rarely the result of reasoned consideration, but of unthinking absorption from the social environment in which we live. Consequently, they have about them a quality of "elemental certitude," and we especially resent doubt or criti-

[8] Trotter, *op. cit.*, p. 45. The first part of this little volume is excellent.

cism cast upon them. So long, however, as we revere the whisperings of the herd, we are obviously unable to examine them dispassionately and to consider to what extent they are suited to the novel conditions and social exigencies in which we find ourselves today.

36. The "real" reasons for our beliefs, by making clear their origins and history, can do much to dissipate this emotional blockade and rid us of our prejudices and preconceptions. Once this is done and we come critically to examine our traditional beliefs, we may well find some of them sustained by experience and honest reasoning, while others must be revised to meet new conditions and our more extended knowledge. But only after we have undertaken such a critical examination in the light of experience and modern knowledge, freed from any feeling of "primary certitude," can we claim that the "good" are also the "real" reasons for our opinions.

37. I do not flatter myself that this general showup of man's thought through the ages will cure myself or others of carelessness in adopting ideas, or of unseemly heat in defending them just because we have adopted them. But if the considerations which I propose to recall are really incorporated into our thinking and are permitted to establish our general outlook on human affairs, they will do much to relieve the imaginary obligation we feel in regard to traditional sentiments and ideals. Few of us are capable of engaging in creative thought, but some of us can at least come to distinguish it from other and inferior kinds of thought and accord to it the esteem that it merits as the greatest treasure of the past and the only hope of the future.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* How much of the beginning of this article is "introductory" material? Point out its extent in the text.
   b. What is the function of this material in relation to the pattern of organization that the author follows?
2. Make a brief topic outline of the main portions of this article to indicate the number of divisions in the classification.
   a. Copy out the key sentences for each division.
   b. Copy out the phrases or sentences that the author uses to establish the transition between each division.
3. Indicate on your outline of the article what you believe to be the logical basis for the classification followed here. Indicate the basis on which the author orders his separate items of the classification.

a. Is the progression from one part to another based on a clear principle? What is it?

b. Could item three, for instance, just as well be item two? Explain.

4. Explain the kinds of illustrations and examples the author uses to clarify each of the various kinds of thinking. Comment on their aptness.

5. Make a comparative study of the styles of this article and Todd and Sonkin, "Ballads of the Okies." The latter article is what one might loosely call "journalistic" writing. In your examination of these two articles, indicate the main characteristics of "journalistic" writing.

a. How does the writing in Robinson's article differ? Point out specific places, specific techniques of difference (word usage, sentence patterns, figurative speech).

6. Aside from Robinson's desire to clarify his ideas through his classification of the various kinds of thinking, has he a further point to make, a belief he expresses in the article? If so, what is it? Comment on it.

7. Note the use of restatement as a device for paragraph development in Paragraph 2, the use of concrete illustrations in Paragraph 4 and elsewhere.

8. In Paragraph 34 the author states his purpose in writing this essay. Does his statement correspond to what he has actually done in it?

THIRD PATTERN: *Component Parts*

GERMANIA

By Tacitus

1. GERMANY is separated from Gaul, Rhaetia, and Pannonia, by the rivers Rhine and Danube; from Sarmatia and Dacia, by mountains and mutual dread. The rest is surrounded by an ocean, embracing broad promontories and vast insular tracts, in which our military expeditions have lately discovered various nations and kingdoms. The Rhine, issuing from the inaccessible and precipitous summit of the Rhaetic Alps, bends gently to the west, and falls into the Northern Ocean. The Danube, poured from the easy and gently raised ridge of Mount Abnoba, visits several nations in its course, till at length it bursts out by six channels into the Pontic sea: a seventh is lost in marshes.

2. The people of Germany appear to me indigenous, and free from intermixture with foreigners, either as settlers or casual visitants. For the emigrants of former ages performed their expeditions not by land, but by water; and that immense, and, if I may so call it, hostile ocean, is rarely navigated by ships from our world. Then,

besides the dangers of a boisterous and unknown sea, who would relinquish Asia, Africa, or Italy, for Germany, a land rude in its surface, vigorous in its climate, cheerless to every beholder and cultivator, except a native? In their ancient songs, which are their only records or annals, they celebrate the god Tuisto, sprung from the earth, and his son Mannus, as the fathers and founders of their race. To Mannus they ascribe three sons, from whose names the people bordering on the ocean are called Ingaevones; those inhabiting the central parts, Herminones; the rest, Istaevones. Some, however, assuming the license of antiquity, affirm that there were more descendants of the god, from whom more appellations were derived; as those of the Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi, and Vandali; and that these are the genuine and original names. That of Germany, on the other hand, they assert to be a modern addition; for that the people who first crossed the Rhine, and expelled the Gauls, and are now called Tungri, were then named Germans; which appellation of a particular tribe, not of a whole people, gradually prevailed; so that the title of Germans, first assumed by the victors in order to excite terror, was afterwards adopted by the nation in general. They have likewise the tradition of a Hercules of their country, whose praises they sing before those of all other heroes as they advance to battle.

3. A peculiar kind of verses is also current among them, by the recital of which, termed "barding," they stimulate their courage; while the sound itself serves as an augury of the event of the impending combat. For, according to the nature of the cry proceeding from the line, terror is inspired or felt: nor does it seem so much an articulate song, as the wild chorus of valor. A harsh, piercing note and a broken roar are the favorite tones; which they render more full and sonorous by applying their mouths to their shields. Some conjecture that Ulysses, in the course of his long and fabulous wanderings, was driven into this ocean, and landed in Germany; and that Asciburgium, a place situated on the Rhine, and at this day inhabited, was founded by him, and named Ἀσκιπύργιον. They pretend that an altar was formerly discovered here, consecrated to Ulysses, with the name of his father Laertes subjoined; and that certain monuments and tombs, inscribed with Greek characters, are still extant upon the confines of Germany and

Rhaetia. These allegations I shall neither attempt to confirm nor to refute: let everyone believe concerning them as he is disposed.

4. I concur in opinion with those who deem the Germans never to have intermarried with other nations; but to be a race, pure, unmixed, and stamped with a distinct character. Hence a family likeness pervades the whole, though their numbers are so great: eyes stern and blue; ruddy hair; large bodies, powerful in sudden exertions, but impatient of toil and labor, least of all capable of sustaining thirst and heat. Cold and hunger they are accustomed by their climate and soil to endure.

5. The land, though varied to a considerable extent in its aspects, is yet universally shagged with forests, or deformed by marshes: moister on the side of Gaul, more bleak on the side of Noricum and Pannonia. It is productive of grain, but unkindly to fruit trees. It abounds in flocks and herds, but in general of a small breed. Even the beeve kind are destitute of their usual stateliness and dignity of head: they are, however, numerous, and form the most esteemed, and, indeed, the only species of wealth. Silver and gold the gods, I know not whether in their favor or anger, have denied to this country. Not that I would assert that no veins of these metals are generated in Germany; for who has made the search? The possession of them is not coveted by these people as it is by us. Vessels of silver are indeed to be seen among them, which have been presented to their ambassadors and chiefs; but they are held in no higher estimation than earthenware. The borderers, however, set a value on gold and silver for the purposes of commerce, and have learned to distinguish several kinds of our coin, some of which they prefer to others: the remoter inhabitants continue the more simple and ancient usage of bartering commodities. The money preferred by the Germans is the old and well-known species, such as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They are also better pleased with silver than gold; not on account of any fondness for that metal, but because the smaller money is more convenient in their common and petty merchandise.

6. Even iron is not plentiful among them; as may be inferred from the nature of their weapons. Swords or broad lances are seldom used; but they generally carry a spear (called in their language *framea*) which has an iron blade, short and narrow, but so sharp

and manageable, that, as occasion requires, they employ it either in close or distant fighting. This spear and a shield are all the armor of the cavalry. The foot have, besides, missile weapons, several to each man, which they hurl to an immense distance. They are either naked, or lightly covered with a small mantle; and have no pride in equipage: their shields only are ornamented with the choicest colors. Few are provided with a coat of mail; and scarcely here and there one with a casque or helmet. Their horses are neither remarkable for beauty nor swiftness, nor are they taught the various evolutions practiced with us. The cavalry either bear down straight forwards, or wheel once to the right, in so compact a body that none is left behind the rest. Their principal strength, on the whole, consists in their infantry: hence in an engagement these are intermixed with the cavalry; so well accordant with the nature of equestrian combats is the agility of those foot soldiers, whom they select from the whole body of their youth, and place in the front of the line. Their number, too, is determined; a hundred from each canton: and they are distinguished at home by a name expressive of this circumstance; so that what at first was only an appellation of number, becomes thenceforth a title of honor. Their line of battle is disposed in wedges. To give ground, provided they rally again, is considered rather as a prudent stratagem, than cowardice. They carry off their slain even while the battle remains undecided. The greatest disgrace that can befall them is to have abandoned their shields. A person branded with this ignominy is not permitted to join in their religious rites, or enter their assemblies; so that many, after escaping from battle, have put an end to their infamy by the halter.

7. In the election of kings they have regard to birth; in that of generals, to valor. Their kings have not an absolute or unlimited power; and their generals command less through the force of authority, than of example. If they are daring, adventurous, and conspicuous in action, they procure obedience from the admiration they inspire. None, however, but the priests are permitted to judge offenders, to inflict bonds or stripes; so that chastisement appears not as an act of military discipline, but as the instigation of the god whom they suppose present with warriors. They also carry with them to battle certain images and standards taken from the

sacred groves. It is a principal incentive to their courage, that their squadrons and battalions are not formed by men fortuitously collected, but by the assemblage of families and clans. Their pledges also are near at hand; they have within hearing the yells of their women, and the cries of their children. These, too, are the most revered witnesses of each man's conduct, these his most liberal applauders. To their mothers and their wives they bring their wounds for relief, nor do these dread to count or to search out the gashes. The women also administer food and encouragement to those who are fighting.

8. Tradition relates, that armies beginning to give way have been rallied by the females, through the earnestness of their supplications, the interposition of their bodies, and the pictures they have drawn of impending slavery, a calamity which these people bear with more impatience for their women than themselves; so that those states who have been obliged to give among their hostages the daughters of noble families, are the most effectually bound to fidelity. They even suppose somewhat of sanctity and prescience to be inherent in the female sex; and therefore neither despise their counsels, nor disregard their responses. We have beheld, in the reign of Vespasian, Veleda, long reverenced by many as a deity. Aurima, moreover, and several others, were formerly held in equal veneration, but not with a servile flattery, nor as though they made them goddesses.

9. Of the gods, Mercury is the principal object of their adoration; whom, on certain days, they think it lawful to propitiate even with human victims. To Hercules and Mars they offer the animals usually allotted for sacrifice. Some of the Suevi also perform sacred rites to Isis. What was the cause and origin of this foreign worship, I have not been able to discover; further than that her being represented with the symbol of a galley, seems to indicate an imported religion. They conceive it unworthy the grandeur of celestial beings to confine their deities within walls, or to represent them under a human similitude: woods and groves are their temples; and they affix names of divinity to that secret power, which they behold with the eye of adoration alone.

10. No people are more addicted to divination by omens and lots. The latter is performed in the following simple manner. They cut

a twig from a fruit tree, and divide it into small pieces, which, distinguished by certain marks, are thrown promiscuously upon a white garment. Then, the priest of the canton, if the occasion be public; if private, the master of the family; after an invocation of the gods, with his eyes lifted to heaven, thrice takes out each piece, and, as they come up, interprets their signification according to the marks fixed upon them. If the result prove unfavorable, there is no more consultation on the same affair that day; if propitious, a confirmation by omens is still required. In common with other nations, the Germans are acquainted with the practice of auguring from the notes and flight of birds; but it is peculiar to them to derive admonitions and presages from horses also. Certain of these animals, milk-white, and untouched by earthly labor, are pastured at the public expense in the sacred woods and groves. These yoked to a consecrated chariot, are accompanied by the priest, and king, or chief person of the community, who attentively observe their manner of neighing and snorting; and no kind of augury is more credited, not only among the populace, but among the nobles and priests. For the latter consider themselves as the ministers of the gods, and the horses, as privy to the divine will. Another kind of divination, by which they explore the event of momentous wars, is to oblige a prisoner, taken by any means whatsoever from the nation with whom they are at variance, to fight with a picked man of their own, each with his own country's arms; and, according as the victory falls, they presage success to the one or to the other party.

11. On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community; yet with this circumstance, that what is referred to the decision of the people, is first maturely discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, unless upon some sudden emergency, on stated days, either at the new or full moon, which they account the most auspicious season for beginning any enterprise. Nor do they, in their computation of time, reckon, like us, by the number of days, but of nights. In this way they arrange their business; in this way they fix their appointments; so that, with them, the night seems to lead the day. An inconvenience produced by their liberty is, that they do not all assemble at a stated time, as if it were in obedience to a command; but two or three days

are lost in the delays of convening. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on this occasion a coercive power. Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard; and gain attention rather from their ability to persuade, than their authority to command. If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur; if it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms.

12. Before this council, it is likewise allowed to exhibit accusations, and to prosecute capital offenses. Punishments are varied according to the nature of the crime. Traitors and deserters are hung upon trees: cowards, dastards, and those guilty of unnatural practices, are suffocated in mud under a hurdle. This difference of punishment has in view the principle, that villainy should be exposed while it is punished, but turpitude concealed. The penalties annexed to slighter offenses are also proportioned to the delinquency. The convicts are fined in horses and cattle: part of the mulct goes to the king or state; part to the injured person, or his relations. In the same assemblies chiefs are also elected, to administer justice through the cantons and districts. A hundred companions, chosen from the people, attend upon each of them, to assist them as well with advice as their authority.

13. The Germans transact no business, public or private, without being armed: but it is not customary for any person to assume arms till the state has approved his ability to use them. Then, in the midst of the assembly, either one of the chiefs, or the father, or a relation, equips the youth with shield and javelin. These are to them the manly gown; this is the first honor conferred on youth: before this they are considered as part of a household; afterwards, of the state. The dignity of chieftain is bestowed even on mere lads, whose descent is eminently illustrious, or whose fathers have performed signal services to the public; they are associated, however, with those of mature strength, who have already been declared capable of service; nor do they blush to be seen in the rank of companions. For the state of companionship itself has its several degrees, determined by the judgment of him whom they follow; and there is a great emulation among the companions,

which shall possess the highest place in the favor of their chief; and among the chiefs, which shall excel in the number and valor of his companions. It is their dignity, their strength, to be always surrounded with a large body of select youth, an ornament in peace, a bulwark in war. And not in his own country alone, but among the neighboring states, the fame and glory of each chief consists in being distinguished for the number and bravery of his companions. Such chiefs are courted by embassies; distinguished by presents; and often by their reputation alone decide a war.

14. In the field of battle, it is disgraceful for the chief to be surpassed in valor; it is disgraceful for the companions not to equal their chief; but it is reproach and infamy during a whole succeeding life to retreat from the field surviving him. To aid, to protect him; to place their own gallant actions to the account of his glory, is their first and most sacred engagement. The chiefs fight for victory; the companions for their chief. If their native country be long sunk in peace and inaction, many of the young nobles repair to some other state then engaged in war. For, besides that repose is unwelcome to their race, and toils and perils afford them a better opportunity of distinguishing themselves; they are unable, without war and violence, to maintain a large train of followers. The companion requires from the liberality of his chief, the warlike steed, the bloody and conquering spear: and in place of pay, he expects to be supplied with a table, homely indeed, but plentiful. The funds for this munificence must be found in war and rapine; nor are they so easily persuaded to cultivate the earth, and await the produce of the seasons, as to challenge the foe, and expose themselves to wounds; nay, they even think it base and spiritless to earn by sweat what they might purchase with blood.

15. During the intervals of war, they pass their time less in hunting than in a sluggish repose, divided between sleep and the table. All the bravest of the warriors, committing the care of the house, the family affairs, and the lands, to the women, old men, and weaker part of the domestics, stupify themselves in inaction: so wonderful is the contrast presented by nature, that the same persons love indolence, and hate tranquillity! It is customary for the several states to present, by voluntary and individual contributions, cattle or grain to their chiefs; which are accepted as honorary gifts,

while they serve as necessary supplies. They are peculiarly pleased with presents from neighboring nations, offered not only by individuals, but by the community at large; such as fine horses, heavy armor, rich housings, and gold chains. We have now taught them also to accept of money.

16. It is well known that none of the German nations inhabit cities; or even admit of contiguous settlements. They dwell scattered and separate, as a spring, a meadow, or a grove may chance to invite them. Their villages are laid out, not like ours in rows of adjoining buildings; but every one surrounds his house with a vacant space, either by way of security against fire, or through ignorance of the art of building. For, indeed, they are unacquainted with the use of mortar and tiles; and for every purpose employ rude unshapen timber, fashioned with no regard to pleasing the eye. They bestow more than ordinary pains in coating certain parts of their buildings with a kind of earth, so pure and shining that it gives the appearance of painting. They also dig subterraneous caves, and cover them over with a great quantity of dung. These they use as winter retreats, and granaries; for they preserve a moderate temperature; and upon an invasion, when the open country is plundered, these recesses remain unviolated, either because the enemy is ignorant of them, or because he will not trouble himself with the search.

17. The clothing common to all is a sagum fastened by a clasp, or, in want of that, a thorn. With no other covering, they pass whole days on the hearth, before the fire. The more wealthy are distinguished by a vest, not flowing loose, like those of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but girt close, and exhibiting the shape of every limb. They also wear the skins of beasts, which the people near the borders are less curious in selecting or preparing than the more remote inhabitants, who cannot by commerce procure clothing. These make choice of particular skins, which they variegate with spots, and strips of the furs of marine animals, the produce of the exterior ocean, and seas to us unknown. The dress of the women does not differ from that of the men: except that they more frequently wear linen, which they stain with purple; and do not lengthen their upper garment into sleeves, but leave exposed the whole arm, and part of the breast.

18. The matrimonial bond is, nevertheless, strict and severe among them; nor is there anything in their manners more commendable than this. Almost singly among the barbarians, they content themselves with one wife; a very few of them excepted, who, not through incontinence, but because their alliance is solicited on account of their rank, practice polygamy. The wife does not bring a dowry to her husband, but receives one from him. The parents and relations assemble, and pass their approbation on the presents — presents not adapted to please a female taste, or decorate the bride; but oxen, a caparisoned steed, a shield, spear, and sword. By virtue of these, the wife is espoused; and she in her turn makes a present of some arms to her husband. This they consider as the firmest bond of union; these, the sacred mysteries, the conjugal deities. That the woman may not think herself excused from exertions of fortitude, or exempt from the casualties of war, she is admonished by the very ceremonial of her marriage, that she comes to her husband as a partner in toils and dangers; to suffer and to share equally with him, in peace and in war: this is indicated by the yoked oxen, the harnessed steed, the offered arms. Thus she is to live; thus to die. She receives what she is to return inviolate honored to her children; what her daughters-in-law are to receive, and again transmit to her grandchildren.

19. They live, therefore, fenced around with chastity; corrupted by no seductive spectacles, no convivial incitements. Men and women are alike unacquainted with clandestine correspondence. Adultery is extremely rare among so numerous a people. Its punishment is instant, and at the pleasure of the husband. He cuts off the hair of the offender, strips her, and in presence of her relations expels her from his house, and pursues her with stripes through the whole village. Nor is any indulgence shown to a prostitute. Neither beauty, youth, nor riches can procure her a husband: for none there looks on vice with a smile, or calls mutual seduction the way of the world. Still more exemplary is the practice of those states in which none but virgins marry, and the expectations and wishes of a wife are at once brought to a period. Thus, they take one husband as one body and one life; that no thought, no desire, may extend beyond him; and he may be loved not only as their husband, but as their marriage. To limit the increase of children, or put to death any of the

later progeny, is accounted infamous: and good habits have there more influence than good laws elsewhere.

20. In every house the children grow up, thinly and meanly clad, to that bulk of body and limb which we behold with wonder. Every mother suckles her own children, and does not deliver them into the hands of servants and nurses. No indulgence distinguishes the young master from the slave. They lie together amidst the same cattle, upon the same ground, till age separates, and valor marks out, the freeborn. The youths partake late of the pleasures of love, and hence pass the age of puberty unexhausted: nor are the virgins hurried into marriage; the same maturity, the same full growth, is required: the sexes unite equally matched, and robust; and the children inherit the vigor of their parents. Children are regarded with equal affection by their maternal uncles as by their fathers; some even consider this as the more sacred bond of consanguinity, and prefer it in the requisition of hostages, as if it held the mind by a firmer tie, and the family by a more extensive obligation. A person's own children, however, are his heirs and successors; and no wills are made. If there be no children, the next in order of inheritance are brothers, paternal and maternal uncles. The more numerous are a man's relations and kinsmen, the more comfortable is his old age; nor is it here any advantage to be childless.

21. It is an indispensable duty to adopt the enmities of a father or relation, as well as their friendships: these, however, are not irreconcilable or perpetual. Even homicide is atoned by a certain fine in cattle and sheep; and the whole family accepts the satisfaction, to the advantage of the public weal, since quarrels are most dangerous in a free state. No people are more addicted to social entertainments, or more liberal in the exercise of hospitality. To refuse any person whatever admittance under their roof, is accounted flagitious. Every one according to his ability feasts his guest: when his provisions are exhausted, he who was late the host, is now the guide and companion to another hospitable board. They enter the next house uninvited, and are received with equal cordiality. No one makes a distinction with respect to the rights of hospitality, between a stranger and an acquaintance. The departing guest is presented with whatever he may ask for; and with the same freedom a

boon is desired in return. They are pleased with presents; but think no obligation incurred either when they give or receive.

22. Their manner of living with their guests is easy and affable. As soon as they arise from sleep, which they generally protract till late in the day, they bathe, usually in warm water, as cold weather chiefly prevails there. After bathing they take their meal, each on a distinct seat, and at a separate table. Then they proceed, armed, to business; and not less frequently to convivial parties, in which it is no disgrace to pass days and nights without intermission, in drinking. The frequent quarrels that arise amongst them, when intoxicated, seldom terminate in abusive language, but more frequently in blood. In their feasts, they generally deliberate on the reconcilement of enemies, on family alliances, on the appointment of chiefs, and finally on peace and war; conceiving that at no time the soul is more opened to sincerity, or warmed to heroism. These people, naturally void of artifice or disguise, disclose the most secret emotions of their hearts in the freedom of festivity. The minds of all being thus displayed without reserve, the subjects of their deliberation are again canvassed the next day; and each time has its advantages. They consult when unable to dissemble; they determine when not liable to mistake.

23. Their drink is a liquor prepared from barley or wheat brought by fermentation to a certain resemblance of wine. Those who border on the Rhine also purchase wine. Their food is simple; wild fruits, fresh venison, or coagulated milk. They satisfy hunger without seeking the elegances and delicacies of the table. Their thirst for liquor is not quenched with equal moderation. If their propensity to drunkenness be gratified to the extent of their wishes, intemperance proves as effectual in subduing them as the force of arms.

24. They have only one kind of public spectacle, which is exhibited in every company. Young men, who make it their diversion, dance naked amidst drawn swords and presented spears. Practice has conferred skill at this exercise, and skill has given grace; but they do not exhibit for hire or gain: the only reward of this pastime, though a hazardous one, is the pleasure of the spectators. What is extraordinary, they play at dice, when sober, as a serious business: and that with such a desperate venture of gain or loss, that, when every-

thing else is gone, they set their liberties and persons on the last throw. The loser goes into voluntary servitude; and, though the youngest and strongest, patiently suffers himself to be bound and sold. Such is their obstinacy in a bad practice – they themselves call it honor. The slaves thus acquired are exchanged away in commerce, that the winner may get rid of the scandal of his victory.

25. The rest of their slaves have not, like ours, particular employments in the family allotted them. Each is the master of a habitation and household of his own. The lord requires from him a certain quantity of grain, cattle, or cloth, as from a tenant; and so far only the subjection of the slave extends. His domestic offices are performed by his own wife and children. It is usual to scourge a slave, or punish him with chains or hard labor. They are sometimes killed by their masters; not through severity of chastisement, but in the heat of passion, like an enemy; with this difference, that it is done with impunity. Freedmen are little superior to slaves; seldom filling any important office in the family; never in the state, except in those tribes which are under regal government. There, they rise above the freeborn, and even the nobles: in the rest, the subordinate condition of the freedmen is a proof of freedom.

26. Lending money upon interest, and increasing it by usury, is unknown amongst them: and this ignorance more effectually prevents the practice than a prohibition would do. The lands are occupied by townships, in allotments proportional to the number of cultivators; and are afterwards parcelled out among the individuals of the district, in shapes according to the rank and condition of each person. The wide extent of plain facilitates this partition. The arable lands are annually changed, and a part left fallow; nor do they attempt to make the most of the fertility and plenty of soil, by their own industry in planting orchards, inclosing meadows, and watering gardens. Corn is the only product required from the earth: hence their year is not divided into so many seasons as ours; for, while they know and distinguish by name Winter, Spring, and Summer they are unacquainted equally with the appellation and bounty of Autumn.

27. Their funerals are without parade. The only circumstance to which they attend, is to burn the bodies of eminent persons with some particular kinds of wood. Neither vestments nor perfumes are

heaped upon the pile: the arms of the deceased, and sometimes his horse, are given to the flames, the tomb is a mound of turf. They contemn the elaborate and costly honors of monumental structures, as mere burthens to the dead. They soon dismiss tears and lamentations; slowly, sorrow and regret. They think it the women's part to bewail their friends, the men's to remember them.

28. This is the sum of what I have been able to learn concerning the origin and manners of the Germans in general.

ANALYSIS

1. It is likely that an essay which breaks up its whole subject into its component parts will have a "noun" subject rather than a "thesis" subject. The subject "Cats" is a "noun" subject; the subject "Cats Make Good Pets" is a thesis subject. The distinction cannot be made from a title alone, since many essays with thesis subjects are given noun titles. The noun subject concerns some kind of entity that can be approached from many angles. The predicate of the thesis in the thesis subject usually limits the approach to one angle.
   a. Make up three noun subjects and three thesis subjects and devise brief outlines for each subject.
   b. How do the organizations of the two kinds differ?
   c. Look now at the organization of *Germania.* To which of the types does it belong?
2. *a.* Does Tacitus achieve unity in his paragraphs? Examine, for instance, Paragraphs 2 and 3. Does not Paragraph 4 develop better the topic sentence of Paragraph 2 than Paragraph 2 does?
   b. Is there any excuse for the insertion of the alien material that comes between?
   c. Note how the subject matter shifts in Paragraphs 5 and 6 from climate to agriculture to mining to weapons to military organization to cowardice in battle. What controls this progression of ideas; that is, how did they happen to come out in this order?
3. *a.* Make a list of the aspects of life among the German tribes that Tacitus discusses.
   b. Can you rearrange these aspects under a smaller number of headings to get a more distinct partition of the subject matter?
   c. Would the material in Paragraph 14, for instance, find a more natural lodging place elsewhere?
4. It is to be remembered that when Tacitus wrote this treatise the Romans back home had grown soft and were given to luxurious living.
   a. Note places in the treatise where the comments on German life were meant to have particular pertinence to life in Rome.
   b. Is the comparison that is implied always favorable to the Romans?
5. Note the brevity of both introduction and conclusion.

HOW TO ROUND UP CANNON FODDER*

By Bruce Winton Knight

I

1. As LONG as peace rages with the vigor of the last few years in Europe and the Far East, the technique of assembling cannon fodder is no mere academic question for Americans. Of course, the assassination of a king and a brace of prime ministers will not "cause" a war. Neither will a menacing trial-balloon speech from an officially unofficial source in the Orient. But these things are symptoms of the more fundamental fact that nationalism, imperialism, and balance-of-power diplomacy are still doing business at the 1914 stand.
2. And our foreign policy, especially in the Pacific, makes the chances of American participation in the next major war so great that we ought to face this fact frankly: conscription, as the preferred method of raising armies, has fastened itself on mankind with a grip which is not likely to be relaxed until war is either abolished or radically changed in character. In the event of war against a first-rate opponent, our geographical situation may make it possible for a large force of well-drilled troops to fend off the enemy until our wartime recruits are adequately trained. It may be possible to prepare a sufficient standing army by volunteer recruitment, and it may not. Assuming that this can be done, however, it will not be practicable to secure enough supplementary troops without conscription.
3. Even men in high places have not always understood why this is true. In a preparedness speech at Chicago in January, 1916, President Wilson said:

> I have been asked by questioning friends whether I thought a sufficient number of men would volunteer for training or not. Why, if they did not, it is not the America that you and I know; something has happened.

4. Incidentally, something had happened. The young men already slaughtered in Europe far outnumbered the entire population of New York City. But the main point is that in "the America that you and I know," if we do know it, volunteering never was a success,

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and for more than a century it had not been a success anywhere else. A little over a year after the aforementioned speech, Mr. Wilson had his Secretary of War and his Judge Advocate General at work on the blueprints for compulsory enlistment. The corresponding plans for our next war are already prepared. The reasons lie in certain historical developments, not only in America, but in the world at large.

5. Universal service amounting to conscription dates back to ancient times. In early Egypt, only the varlets possessing less than six acres of land were denied the "privilege" of being soldiers. The first chapter of Numbers tells us how Moses, acting on instructions from *Der Fuehrer* of his day, recruited 603,550 soldiers by drafting everyone over twenty years old. Demosthenes assured his fellows that they must be soldiers to remain free. "There is one source, O Athenians," he said, "of all your defeats. It is that your citizens have ceased to be soldiers." In Rome, Lombardy, Milan, Pisa, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and the Swiss Cantons, each in its time, universal service was the rule. If it was not conscription, it might as well have been: any real alternative to the service was what John R. Commons calls "an unavailable option."

6. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the complexity of economic and social life in Europe became such that unless the majority of men stuck to their knitting at home during war, organized existence would have collapsed. For this reason universal military service gave way to the system of a relatively small professional standing army, supplemented during war by volunteers. The new system itself, however, could not endure long. The expansion of the known world and of economic opportunities which attended the commercial and industrial "revolutions" made the professional army inadequate. At the same time that the job of conquest and defense grew, the attractions of civilian life increased and the emotional appeal of war was largely lost. Volunteers became more and more difficult and expensive to secure, until potentates who took the sword began to perish by the taxes.

7. In the French monarchy of the late seventeenth century, the reverberation of an empty treasury foretold conscription. In 1688, citizens were drawn by lot from nonexempt classes in the parishes. At first, the service was only temporary; and the conscripts, instead of

being merged with the regular troops, were used only to guard interior posts and lines of communication and to help occupy conquered areas. But during the War of the Spanish Succession conscripts drafted by lot were employed with the professional armies; and this system came to be used constantly during the chronic wars of the eighteenth century. It was far from being popular. We are told that the black ticket was drawn with "trembling hand and frozen heart"; and drafting was among the grievances helping to bring on the French Revolution.

8. Yet the new republic established by the Revolution found volunteering inadequate to prevent the restoration of the Bourbons. Various experiments with drafting led up to the law of 1793, which made liable to compulsory service all able-bodied men from eighteen to twenty-five years old. For two reasons the measure was fairly successful: civil life had become uncertain, and the men within the draft ages were too small in number to resist the will of the rest. The principle of conscription was embodied in the Constitution of 1798. Napoleon Bonaparte long used French regulars supplemented with conscripts, although toward the end of his career he was relying largely on foreign mercenaries. During the Restoration, regulars supplemented with conscripts predominated. Napoleon III overthrew the Second Republic with a small professional force, and was so fearful of arming the rabble that he adopted the standing army as a general principle. The Third Republic, however, returned once more to conscription, which has been well established in France ever since. At present, every French citizen, beginning with the age of twenty, is liable to compulsory service for twenty-eight years of his life.

II

9. Prussia was convinced by Napoleon I of the virtues of conscription. By the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, the professional army, once the glory of Frederick the Great, was reduced to 42,000. But Baron von Stein and General von Scharnhorst soon accomplished wonders with the wreck. First they got rid of mercenaries and foreigners, abolished municipal and class exemptions, and apportioned military service by territories. Then, by a system of training 42,000 men in one year and sending them home, training another 42,000 the next year, and so on,

they had better than a quarter of a million well-drilled troops ready to take the field by 1813. In the following year, conscription was incorporated permanently into law. The results were evident in the overthrow of Napoleon, and in the smashing victories over Austria in 1866 and France in 1871. Following the Franco-Prussian War, England was the only great European power which had not adopted conscription, even in time of peace.

10. Meanwhile, what about Japan, our most probable opponent in another major war?

11. It may be remembered that, as late as eighty years ago, the civilization of Japan was unsatisfactory to the United States. Under a political system of feudalism and an economy of small-scale agriculture and household economy resembling medieval Europe, Japan had been virtually self-sufficient. Her foreign trade had been limited almost exclusively to an insignificant amount carried on with the Dutch. And so, in the spring of 1854, Commodore Perry, U.S.N., returned to Japan for an answer to the ominous question which he had put during his visit of the summer before: Wouldn't it be a good idea for the Japanese to extend trading rights and a few other privileges to Americans? The Japanese took another look at Perry's warships and decided that Western culture was irresistible. An agreement was made to open two ports to American ships; and in rapid succession similar agreements were entered into with other foreign powers. But in the amazing development of civilization which followed, it was not merely Western economy which was adopted.

12. For the preceding three centuries, Japan had been at peace with the outside world. This is not to say that all had been quiet at home. The domestic racketeering bossed by various shoguns had produced enough fighting among the rival gangs of Samurai, the exclusive military caste, attached to these feudal barons, and the Emperor had been reduced to an impotent symbol. But the strife had been confined to Japan, and conducted by rules so antiquated that anybody who shot a man at a distance, instead of meeting him with cold steel, was considered a poor sport. For a century and a half, too, the population had remained stable at about thirty millions. But Western culture changed all this in short order. Population swelled with the growth of trade (it now expands at the world's record rate of a million a year), and Japan reached for outside markets and raw ma-

terials. Whatever might have been the best way to make her trade dependable, she imitated the West in this as in other things. She accepted imperialism and the consequences of imperialism. The Meiji restoration of 1868 elevated the Emperor to dignity and power; the arrogant Samurai were ousted; and military service was opened to all classes. In 1873 Japan adopted her first conscription act, and turned over to a French military mission the instruction of her conscripts. From 1885 to 1894, the military mission and training were German. Since 1894, conscription for all classes, even in peacetime, has been well established. At present, all males from seventeen to forty are liable to compulsory service.

13. So we see that at the opening of the [first] World War only two great powers, Britain and the United States, had escaped conscription as a fixture of the peace that ends in war. Insular position and genius for alliances in the case of England, and remoteness from powerful neighbors in the case of the United States, had been largely responsible for these islands of volunteering in a sea of conscription. Two main factors now forced these two powers into line with the rest. First, the Central Powers had huge armies of well-trained conscripts. Second, the changed character of warfare called for much larger numbers of victims. Frontal assaults on entrenchments stood no chance unless they were preceded by artillery barrages which so cut up the ground that advances over it were a slow process. Neither airplanes, nor high explosives, nor poison gas, nor even tanks, could break the deadlock, which was made only the more binding because private armament firms had done their best to supply both sides impartially with the best killing tools and defenses. The result was a war of attrition, in which killing and the destruction of wealth continued until one side collapsed from exhaustion.

14. On paper, Britain had in 1914 some 700,000 soldiers, composed of various Regulars, Army Reserves, Special Reserves, and Territorials. In practice, only the regulars were ready; and they were so scattered about the earth that the first expeditionary force to France, "the contemptible British army," numbered barely 60,000. In this predicament, volunteering was given every chance.

15. England declared war on August 4, 1914. "The first hundred thousand" volunteers were not secured until August 28. For a time after this, propaganda and the bombing of British cities brought re-

cruits faster. By September 10 the number was a little over a half-million. But that was the high tide, and thenceforward the rate declined progressively. Another two months brought only 200,000 more; and a six-week's drive beginning in mid-November netted only 120,000. By the New Year, the total was only a million. Only: for nearly four millions were considered necessary.

16. Yet volunteering was relied on for another year. Its subsequent stages need not be detailed. Three facts especially stand out. First, the "volunteering" became more and more coercive. Every device designed to produce mass hysteria was employed; and social ostracism was the lot of men without stars, certificates, and the like, to show that they were exempted for industrial reasons. Second, the data on manpower was defective. At first, men were classified according to age and whether they were married or single, although the presence or absence of special qualifications for industry was more important. When economic classification was adopted, failure to keep track and control of manpower still prevented an intelligent distribution of men between military and industrial needs, and among the various branches of each. Third, at the end of the year there were still a million and a half eligibles who had refused to volunteer. Conscription was adopted early the next year. When Russia collapsed, England extended the draft age to include every available man under fifty-one years old, and she implored America for speed.

III

17. Meanwhile, the United States had learned much from British experience with volunteering. She may have learned something also from her own. Though popular history creates the impression that our wars were triumphs of the volunteer system, the unvarnished facts about "the America that you and I know" are these: that it was very difficult to get volunteers to the front and keep them there, and that generally the volunteers were poor soldiers while they were in action. There was nothing wrong with the volunteers as men. When decently equipped and trained, they proved themselves the equals of any soldiers. As a rule, however, they were only half-fed and clothed, and much less than half-trained. Because there were not enough seasoned troops to hold the line until recruits could be

trained, the volunteers were pitched into battle untutored in the arts of slaughter, unsteeled against its horrors, and even unsupplied with experienced leaders. The result was unreasonably to prolong our wars, and to increase their cost in lives and wealth correspondingly.

18. In the Revolutionary War, the first difficulty was to get volunteers and keep them in service. Washington complained that the men even refused to enlist until they knew their colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major and captain. On November 28, 1775, he wrote as follows to the President of the Continental Congress:

> I am sorry to be necessitated to mention to you the egregious want of public spirit which reigns here. Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country, which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted in a most critical time. Those that have enlisted must have a furlough, which I have been obliged to grant to fifty at a time, from each regiment.

On the same day he wrote to Joseph Reed:

> Such a dearth of public spirit and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another in this great change of military arrangement I never saw before, and pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again.

19. Certain Connecticut troops left camp wholesale as soon as their short-term enlistments were terminated, some of them taking their arms and ammunition along. The next year, following the British occupation of Long Island and New York, Washington wrote:

> The same desire of retiring into a chimney corner seized the troops of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, so soon as their time expired, as had wrought upon those of Connecticut, notwithstanding many of them made a tender of their services to continue till the lines could be sufficiently strengthened.

As a story about [first] World War deserters had it, the men in the Revolutionary War had been instructed to "strike for country and for home," so some of them let the others strike for country while they struck for home. Of this spirit General Schuyler wrote as follows:

> Nothing can surpass the impatience of the troops from the New England colonies to get to their firesides. Near three hundred of them arrived a few days ago, unable to do any duty; but as soon as I administered that grand specific, a discharge, they instantly acquired health, and rather

than be detained a few days to cross Lake George, they undertook a march from here of two hundred miles with the greatest alacrity.

20. Bounties for enlisting for the period of the war were of little avail. Chaos was guaranteed by the competition of State with Congressional bounties, and by the ambitions of military adventurers, foreign and domestic, who sought soft jobs at high pay.

21. But if the process of getting and holding volunteers proved disheartening, the qualities displayed by volunteers in battle proved no less so. Volunteer officers in 1775 were ranked, not according to military ability, but by wirepulling and the number of recruits they could bring in. Green volunteer troops performed not badly whenever they were commanded by seasoned officers and secured behind strong works. This was the case at Bunker Hill. Putnam pointed out that "the Americans are never afraid of their heads, they think only of their legs, shelter them and they will fight forever." Otherwise, the results were doleful. It is true that in 1777 the Americans captured Burgoyne's army at Saratoga. But they outnumbered their foes three to one, and they failed to follow up their advantage by investing Howe at Philadelphia. The training received by some of our troops from Von Steuben was an exceptional case. At Camden, the volunteers who composed the bulk of our right flank exchanged a single fire with the enemy and then relied on footwork for safety. Tarleton, the victor at Camden, fared less handsomely at Cowpens the next year, and for this interesting reason: the seasoned Continentals were drawn up behind the raw volunteers, so that it was more dangerous for the latter to run than to fight. Stevens, whose command had deserted him at Camden, later employed the Cowpens device at Guilford Courthouse.

22. The war was ended by the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown by the combined forces of Washington, Lafayette, and a French fleet. How had the volunteer system worked? Although 395,000 men had been called out during the course of the war, 89,000 had been the most to take the field in any given year. The greatest force Washington had ever led in battle had been 17,000, and at Trenton and Princeton he had less than 4000. With a population of three millions, and with the assistance of France, it had taken us seven years to expel an enemy which never numbered over 42,000.

23. The experience with volunteering was substantially the same in the War of 1812. At the outbreak of this conflict our population was seven millions; and the entire British force in Canada was 4500. Probably 15,000 well-trained American troops could have ended the war in a single campaign. Having no such force, we resorted again to the volunteer system. And again troops proved hard to secure, harder to get into action, and grossly unprepared when they got there.

24. At the outset, the Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to furnish their quotas of 100,000 authorized militia (state volunteers whose training has been notoriously inferior to that of the Federal "regulars"). Their argument was that individual states must decide for themselves when it was necessary, according to the Constitution, to put militia at the service of the Federal government in order to enforce the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion. While Congress was debating measures to fill the ranks, New England representatives, including Quincy and Daniel Webster, preached states' rights and nullification; and in 1814 some of the New England Federalists entered upon a definite movement for secession. Not to be outdone by statesmen in aptitude for Constitutional law, militiamen mustered into the Federal service more than once refused to cross over into Canada, because, they argued, the Constitution did not require them to serve outside the United States. Some of General Hull's force behaved in this fashion at Detroit in 1812. The remainder crossed over, and returned without inflicting any damage, after which the entire garrison surrendered Detroit without firing a shot. In the same year the heights at Queenstown had to be abandoned because the small band of regulars who had taken them was refused support by militia over on the American side.

25. Stung to the quick by such humiliations, one General Smyth issued "to the men of New York" a proclamation running like this:

> In a few days the troops under my conmmand will plant the American standard in Canada. . . . They will conquer or they will die. Will you stand with your arms folded and look on this interesting struggle? . . . Must I turn from you and ask the men of the Six Nations to support the government of the United States? . . . Shame, where is thy blush! No. Where I command, the vanquished and peaceful man, the child, and the

matron shall be secure from wrong. If we conquer, we will "conquer but to save."

Men of New York, the present is the hour of renown. . . .

And so on. Smyth raised about 4500 men of New York. On November 28, they started to cross the Niagara River, but changed their minds and came back. On December 1, some one hundred and fifty men refusing even to start, the first line of boats was recalled after going about a quarter of a mile, and the expedition was called off. At about the same time, Constitutional law was invoked by 3000 militiamen near Lake Champlain to stay out of Canada. In 1813 and 1814, two separate Vermont Governors forbade the use of their militia in the Federal service, although in both cases the governors were disobeyed.

26. In battle, the behavior of the volunteers was typical of untrained men. In 1812, no less than 65,000 men drew pay from our government, and yet we lost the Northwest to less than 1500 British regulars and such Indians as they could muster. The British and Americans both fled the "battlefield" at Frenchtown, Ohio, in 1813, the British because they were greatly outnumbered, and the Americans because they were panic-stricken. Our volunteers evacuated Fort George without a struggle; and the British destroyed Buffalo and Lewiston practically unopposed. Volunteers who had been intensively drilled proved themselves the equals of British regulars at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane in 1814. At Washington, however, a defending army of 5400, mostly volunteers, suffered casualties of only eight killed and eleven wounded before running for dear life from 1500 British regulars. At New Orleans, in 1815, it was again demonstrated that volunteers under seasoned officers can stand their ground behind strong breastworks. For the madness of advancing across flat ground against works so strong that the Americans lost only seven killed and six wounded, Packenham paid with his life and the lives of 2000 British regulars in less than half an hour. And yet, while this was happening, a division of our raw troops on the west bank of the Mississippi needed nothing but the sight of battle to send them running headlong into New Orleans.

27. Experts have said that a small but well-drilled army could have won the War of 1812 handily in a single season. Under the volunteer system, half a million American troops, all told, were called out;

three years were required to conquer British regulars whose number never exceeded 16,500; and our losses in killed and wounded were greater than the total force of British in America at the beginning of the war.

28. The unbroken string of victories against superior numbers in the Mexican War seemed to prove the case for volunteering. In reality, it did not. Rather it showed that, against opposition of doubtful quality, regulars were able to bear the brunt until volunteer recruits had been thoroughly drilled.

IV

29. Volunteering was its old self again in the Civil War. Expecting a short conflict, President Lincoln in April, 1861, raised 75,000 volunteers for a period of three months. The North was so short of experienced officers that the recruits received little real training. But popular demand for action before the expiration of their term pushed them into the Battle of Bull Run. It is history that they did the bulk of the running. While running anywhere from fifty to several hundred yards to the rear, they kept firing high in the air, thus obliging those still in front to retire also. A battalion of regulars which covered the retreat of the terrified rookies withdrew in perfect order. This rout, together with other Rebel victories of the same year, gave the Confederacy substantial advantages in initiative and morale.

30. By the end of March, 1862, the North had 600,000 three-year men; the South, only 200,000 one-year men. Had it employed conscription from the first, the North would have had at that time enough trained soldiers to bring the war rapidly to a close. Actually, the Confederacy was given time to adopt conscription and greatly strengthen its army. The North began to employ the draft the following year, but too late to prevent the war from dragging through four of the bloodiest years in history. It is not unlikely that the South would have won had its manpower and resources been anywhere near equal to those of the North. Against a really first-rate opponent who employs conscription, you must employ conscription even to hold your own.

31. The Spanish War proved little, save that a vastly superior navy and a mixture of volunteers and regulars could defeat a weak

adversary. But even in this successful conflict the impulses of volunteers might have proved detrimental had they not been overbalanced by professional judgment. For example, a Regular Army sergeant told the writer of having seen Theodore Roosevelt expose himself in foolhardy fashion.

32. In the [first] World War, the United States largely escaped not only the blunder of volunteering but also the main mistakes which attended drafting during the Civil War. The war was well sold to the people. Allied propaganda and channels of transmission far excelled anything the Germans could offer. Wealthy persons were not allowed to escape merely by purchasing discharges or hiring substitutes, although, as Grover Cleveland Bergdoll illustrated, money was sometimes useful in dodging the draft. Local feelings were not ruffled, as in the Civil War, by having officials in Federal uniforms invade homes to enroll and draft men. Instead, the draft was executed through the customary political divisions and subdivisions. "As if they were going to vote," men were registered in their own voting precincts, usually by personal acquaintances.

33. The announcement of Lincoln's draft had too far preceded the actual drafting. People had had time to look at it more and more, and to like it less and less. Four months had not sufficed to complete the registration, but it had proved enough for the killing or wounding of about a hundred Federal registrars. In the rioting which had attended the drafting itself, three hundred persons had been killed and over two million dollars' worth of property destroyed in New York City alone. To say that the [first] World War draft was all arranged before the public heard about it is stating the facts mildly. The main outlines were determined upon before Congress began to debate the measure, and local precincts and officials were supplied with blank forms far in advance. Only about three weeks intervened between the enactment of the measure and the date set for registration; and, before this period began, the trick plays designed to score on the people were well rehearsed. In the debate at Washington, of course, the legendary virtues of volunteering were dusted off, and conscription was viewed with alarm. General Crowder was warned that if he accepted the job of Chief Provost Marshal his name would be the most odious in America. Senator Champ Clark declared, in round numbers, that conscript and con-

vict were all the same to Missourians; and Senator Reed of Missouri guaranteed rivulets of blood in our streets.

34. None the less, the draft worked pretty well. It rounded up nearly four fifths of the men it went after, which probably compares well with the Canadian Mounted. To be sure, it missed some 337,000 balkers. These consisted of "dodgers" and "conscientious objectors"; and the objectors, in turn, of those who objected, respectively, with and without benefit of clergy. It was the objectors who based their case on reason instead of emotion who caught particular hell. Their most merciless opponents were the especially pious elements of America, who would not raise a hand to defend them from excessive prison sentences. A good example of the rational objector was Carl Haessler, Rhodes scholar and teacher of philosophy. He did not believe that the war was being fought to save democracy, or even to end war. And so he was led off in handcuffs to improve his education at prison labor. Despite such inconveniences, however, our draft was successful in getting 100,000 young Americans killed. Conscription throughout the civilized world at this time was a major triumph; it assembled enough men to kill thirteen million directly and extinguish another twenty-five million or so as an indirect result.

35. Conscription, especially when extended to peacetime, seems to have some objectionable features. It takes men from productive occupations, brings hardship to their families, and gives them training which is no offset for the civilian training they might have got in the same length of time. It develops urban at the expense of rural life. Towns grow up, or expand, to serve garrisons and to manufacture war materials; and drafted country boys acquire a taste for the bright lights. The shortage of young women near the troops, and of young men in civilian life, stimulates prostitution in the former sector and vicious competition among young women in the latter. Nationalist and militarist sentiment is aggravated. When it comes to war, the conscripts are so young that they do not relish the prospect of being or making corpses or invalids.

36. And yet conscription is not especially to blame. If war is accepted, any other system of recruiting would be yet more prodigal of life and wealth. As long as imperialism necessitates saving the institutions under which it flourishes, conscription is incomparably superior to the volunteer system. As long as armament manufacture is a

private enterprise disturbing peace and protracting war, conscription is a fixture. As long as armament firms sell the latest and best to friend and foe alike, thus creating an even balance between attack and defense, minimizing surprise and finesse, and turning the once mobile art of war into a clinch in which the winner is the people which can starve and freeze and die the longer, it will be impracticable to round up enough cannon fodder without conscription. Modern conscription is so inseparable from modern war that if you approve the latter you are unreasonable to condemn the former.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* What direct connection does the title have with the material covered in the selection itself?
   b. Is the selection a series of directions to be followed to round up cannon fodder? What is its larger purpose?
2. *a.* Examine and explain how this purpose is accomplished in terms of the organizational pattern of the article.
   b. Why does the author use a pattern of component parts here?
   c. Where does the introduction begin and how is it developed?
3. *a.* Point out the manner by which the author has gained a complete understanding of his subject by investigating its parts.
   b. Could the author have used other material had he wished to treat his subject more fully?
   c. Would the author have reached the same conclusion in paragraph 36 had this selection been written after the second World War?
   d. Make an outline of this selection. Now add component parts from your knowledge of conscription in the second World War.
4. *a.* Can you find any evidence in the writing of the author's point of view on the conscription problem? What is it?
   b. Does he announce it or does he conceal it in hints and suggestions?
   c. Comment on the presence or absence of bias or point of view in this selection, supporting your statements with evidences from the text.
5. Make a careful comparative study of this selection and the one by Tacitus. Try to formulate some working principles for the use of component parts as an organizational technique.

FOURTH PATTERN: *Cause*

RUMOR

By James Fenimore Cooper

1. THE PEOPLE of the United States are unusually liable to be imposed on by false rumors. In addition to the causes that exist elsewhere, such as calculated and interested falsehoods, natural frailty, political machinations, and national antipathies, may be enumerated many that are peculiar to themselves.
2. The great number of, and the imperfect organization of the newspaper establishments, as has already been shown, is a principal reason; necessity, in some degree, compelling a manufacture of "news" when none exists in reality.
3. The great extent of the country, the comparative intelligence of the inhabitants, an intelligence that is often sufficient to incite inquiry, but insufficient for discrimination, the habit of forming opinions, which is connected with the institutions, the great ease of the population, which affords time for gossip, and the vast extent of the surface over which the higher intelligence, that can alone rebuke groundless and improbable rumors, is diffused, are so many reasons for the origin and increase of false reports.
4. Falsehood and truth are known to be inseparable, everywhere, but as rumor gains by distance, they are necessarily more mixed together in this country, than in regions where the comparative smallness of surface renders contradiction easier.
5. The frequency and all-controlling character of the elections keep rumors of a certain sort in constant circulation, bringing in corruption and design in support of other motives.
6. The ability to discriminate between that which is true and that which is false, is one of the last attainments of the human mind. It is the result, commonly, of a long and extensive intercourse with mankind. But one may pass an entire life, in a half-settled and half-civilized portion of the world, and not gain as much acquaintance with general things, as is obtained by boys who dwell in regions

* From *The American Democrat* (1838).

more populous. The average proportion between numbers and surface in America, is about twelve to the square mile, whereas, it approaches three hundred, in the older countries of Europe! On this single fact depends much more, in a variety of ways, than is commonly believed.

ANALYSIS

1. In this short selection the main problem is to discover how close the pattern of causation is to the subject itself.
   a. How much of this pattern is devoted entirely to the effort to discover causes? How much of the passage does something else?
2. Does Cooper explain in much detail the effect for which he is finding these causes? Explain.
3. Try to determine how the causal pattern is related to the general subject matter of this selection and why such a pattern works well here.
4. You will note that this article was published in 1838. Study the manner of writing Cooper uses here and list characteristics (word choice, sentence patterns, etc.) that seem to you to indicate that it was written a little over a century ago.
5. Are Cooper's findings at all valid today? Explain.

MICE AND MEN*

By Julian S. Huxley

I

1. EARLY in 1927 the newspapers contained accounts of the havoc being wrought in California by field mice. These little creatures, increasing beyond all ordinary bounds, had forced themselves by sheer quantity upon the notice of man. In ordinary seasons they levy a modest toll on the fruits of the earth, wild and cultivated – a toll scarcely noticed by the farmer, still less by the community at large. In this year and region, however, they had become a grave menace to agriculture, and the resources of the state were being mobilized against them.
2. A similar plague occurred on the other side of the Atlantic in 1892–93. In Scotland during that season vast hordes of field mice ravaged the farms and again became such a serious pest that they were deemed worthy of a Government investigation. In this Scotch plague the mouse mainly responsible was the short-tailed field

* From *Man Stands Alone* (1927), by Julian S. Huxley. Published by Harper and Brothers. Copyright, 1927, by Julian S. Huxley.

mouse or vole, *Microtus hirtus*. But other field mice were abnormally abundant at the same time, such as the long-tailed field mouse and the bank vole. This would indicate at the outset that some general conditions in the season were responsible for the sudden abundance, and not any specific conditions favoring one kind of mouse only.

3. These plagues are accompanied by great gatherings of birds which prey upon the mice. In 1892 large numbers of kestrels and still larger numbers of short-eared owls assembled at the feast, though by what means they received intelligence of it is a mystery. So great was the supply of food that the owls prolonged their breeding season right into November, and even then produced broods much larger than the normal.

4. In a mouse plague which occurred in Nevada in 1907 three-quarters of the alfalfa acreage of the state was destroyed. The whole ground, for square mile after square mile, was riddled with mouse holes till it was like a sieve. It was estimated that the several thousand mouse-eating birds and mammals busily gorging on mice in the affected district were killing over a million mice a month; and yet the numbers of the mice continued to increase in spite of this toll.

5. Why these sudden outbursts of generative energy on the part of rodents? That is a problem for animal ecology, the branch of biology which might be called scientific natural history — the study of animals in nature and their relations with their environment and with other animals and plants. The first thing the ecologist discovers is that the plagues are not such isolated phenomena as at first sight might appear. They are merely exaggerations of one part of a regular cycle. All small rodents (not at present to go beyond this group) appear to have the life of the species strung on a curve of numerical ups and downs, a cycle of alternating abundance and scarcity. Field mice in England, for instance, have their ups every three or four years. There was a moderate degree of abundance in 1922, and again in 1926.

6. The best known of all such cases of cyclical abundance, however, is the lemming of Scandinavia, which has become almost mythical. In the sixteenth century, this animal was reported "by reliable men of great probity" to fall down from the sky in huge numbers during storms of rain. The truth is not much less remarkable. The European

lemmings live on the mountains in southern Scandinavia (and, farther north, at sea level on the treeless tundra). Every few years they become enormously abundant in their mountain homes, and set off upon a strange migration. They move off in all directions downhill from the mountains, crossing roads and rivers and railways on their march. If they reach the seacoast they start to swim out to sea, and swim until they drown. After a lemming march the beach will be strewn with lemming corpses. But it is not only drowning and the accidents of the route which kill off the little creatures. Epidemics always seem to break out in years of abundance and slaughter thousands. The animals which migrate are almost exclusively young animals. The old ones stay at home, on their breeding-grounds; but there they too may succumb to the spread of the epidemic. These years of overpopulation occur with considerable regularity, and not only with regularity, but with the same rhythm as that which characterizes the rhythm of abundance in British field mice. The average length of the cycle in both kinds of animals is close to three and a half years.

7. But the lemming introduces us to another fact of very great interest. Lemmings occur not only in Europe but also in Greenland and Canada. Here too there are years of abundance and of dearth, and the cycle appears to be the same or nearly so in both continents. Causes are at work which are simultaneously influencing the little rat-like animals on the Barren Grounds of Canada and in the mountains of southern Norway.

8. Before going farther in our analysis it will be well to remind ourselves that many other kinds of animals show the same sort of cyclical rise and fall in numbers. The year 1927 was of interest to English ornithologists because it witnessed a considerable irruption into England of that remarkable bird, the crossbill, with its mandibles crossed over each other for the purpose of feeding upon pine cones. These irruptions come westward from the pine forests of central Europe, and occur at more or less regular intervals. One, in the sixteenth century, brought prodigious numbers of the birds, which did great damage, since they discovered that their beaks were admirably adapted for slicing apples in half as well as for obtaining the seeds from pine cones. The dates of crossbill irruptions, however, have not been quite so well recorded as those of two other kinds of

birds, the Siberian nutcracker and the sand grouse. The nutcracker is an inhabitant of the vast coniferous forests of Siberia. It has invaded western Europe at intervals of eleven years, with what would be extreme regularity if it were not for the fact that now and again one of the invasions is "skipped." Although observations on the spot in Siberia are not forthcoming, it appears almost certain that the migrations are due to overpopulation in the birds' natural home, coupled with a bad harvest of the pine cones upon which they feed. Doubtless, when the failure of the pine crop is less extreme than usual, the pressure on population is not so great, and the wave of migration spends itself before reaching Europe.

9. Pallas' sand grouse, on the other hand, is a bird of the steppes and deserts of central Asia, where it lives upon the scanty vegetation of the salty soil. In every so many years the bird leaves its home in huge flocks, migrating both eastward into China, and westward into Europe, even as far as the British Isles. Here again, a cycle of eleven years is pretty closely adhered to, with the additional fact that the alternate migrations are much bigger. As the records go, we seem safe in prophesying the invasions at regular intervals. The cause of the emigration again seems to be relative overpopulation, or, what comes to the same thing, food shortage, owing to their food-plants being covered by snow or heavy frosts.

10. The periodic migrations of locust and cricket swarms, literally eating up the country in their advance, are well known. Unfortunately a full analysis of them has not yet been made. This is partly due to the fact that the direction of insect migration is entirely at the mercy of the wind, and that a periodic increase of locusts in one spot will cause emigration to various different countries according to the accident of wind direction. In addition, insects, with their lack of a constant temperature, are more likely than birds and mammals to show the effects of short periods of very exceptional weather, less likely to sum up, so to speak, the effect of moderate and irregular but long-continued change. However, there seems little doubt that investigation will reveal, in these and other insects, such as the cockchafer, periodic cycles of abundance similar to those found in birds and rodents.

11. However, the most remarkable facts on the problem of periodic fluctuations in animal numbers are provided by the books of the

Hudson's Bay Company. This great trading concern has kept records of the number of skins of all the various kinds of fur-bearing animals brought in each year by its trappers. The records show cycles of abundance and scarcity in muskrats, Canadian rabbit or varying hare, skunk, fisher, mink, wolverine, marten, lynx, red fox, and arctic fox. The most spectacular changes, perhaps, are to be noted with the Canadian rabbit (*Lepus americanus*). One year these animals will be enormously abundant over vast areas of the continent. Next year an epidemic will set in, and in the succeeding season a rabbit will be a great rarity.

12. But more remarkable even than the change of abundance is the regularity of the cycle. The Hudson's Bay record goes back to 1825. The record for annual number of lynx skins, for example, when plotted as a graph, has the regularity of a temperature chart. At about every eleven years comes a peak, when the number of skins brought in averages about fifty thousand — always over thirty thousand, and sometimes seventy thousand. Halfway between these peaks are depressions, in which the average number of skins sinks to well below five thousand, occasionally approaching zero. If records were available from single areas, the ups and downs would be even more marked, for the maxima and the sudden drops are not synchronous over the whole continent, although they do not vary in any one locality more than two or three seasons each way from the mean for the whole continent.

13. Both lynx and rabbit have a cycle of just over eleven years in length. The lynx eats the rabbit; and, accordingly, the lynx's maxima are one to two years later than the rabbit's.

14. Not merely are there more rabbits in existence at a period of maximum abundance, but they are reproducing faster. In bad years there will be only one brood in a season, and about three young in a brood; in very favorable years there will be two or three broods, and eight or ten young in each brood. The Indian trappers are said to prophesy the prospects of next season's rabbit crop by counting the number of embryos in this season's rabbits. The same sort of thing occurs in field mice in England, as was first established by Mr. C. S. Elton at Oxford; though the number of young per brood is not increased in favorable years, and the number of months in the year during which no breeding animals are to be found diminishes.

15. When the different records for all kinds of animals and birds from all over the temperate regions are analyzed, it turns out that in most cases the average length of the cycle of abundance is either just about eleven years, or else one third of this, namely about 3.7 years. But of course a periodically fluctuating curve of abundance might be due to two separate cycles, interacting with each other. By mathematical analysis, however, when such is the case, the two components can be separated from each other. When such analysis is applied to the Hudson's Bay records, it is found that in fact the curves for the numbers of many animals are thus compound. Sometimes a curve which clearly has maxima every eleven years will be revealed as possessing in addition a minor rhythm of about three and a half years. This, for example, is the case with the red fox. On the other hand, the more northern arctic fox has an obvious period of about three and a half years; but when this is eliminated from the curve, lo and behold a minor, but none the less definite, eleven-year cycle remains. Is there any virtue in this period of eleven years? Every astronomer would at once exclaim "sun spots"; for the number of sun spots visible on the sun's disc shows a well-marked fluctuation, and this cycle, too, has a period of just over eleven years. This cycle does, in fact, correspond with that of number in various animals, the sun-spot minima about coinciding with the animal's maxima. What is more, the sun spots do not always keep strictly to their eleven-year period, but may anticipate or delay matters a year or so: and when this is so, the animals' curve of abundance is usually found correspondingly shifted.

II

16. There is little doubt that spots on the sun have an effect upon weather on the earth. They cause great magnetic storms; and, in addition, the amount of energy radiated by the sun appears to be greater at sun-spot maxima, less when sun spots are few. One of the chief facts of terrestrial climate which seems to be definitely correlated with sun-spot number concerns the track of storms. If the tracks followed by heavy storms are plotted on a map, it will be found that, in North America for instance, there is in any one year a zone along which the majority of storms travel. Now this zone shifts up and down with considerable regularity from year to year,

returning to the same position about every eleven years. Such a shift in the storm tracks will obviously mean a slight shift of the margins of all the great climatic zones. It will mean that there will be cycles of rainfall, some areas getting more than the average every eleven years, while other zones in the same years will be getting less than the average; and this, according to the careful investigations of O. T. Walker, is what actually occurs. Such changes are likely to have the most noticeable effect upon plants and animals where conditions are difficult for life. For instance, a small change in rainfall in a semi-desert region will have much more effect than the same change in a well-watered country; and quite small temperature changes in the Arctic will have disproportionately large effects on the animals and plants which live there.

17. The three and one half year period, on the other hand, has not so far been correlated with any meteorological facts. This, however, need not surprise us. What the meteorologist records are variations in single factors of climate such as temperature, rainfall, sunshine, and sometimes humidity. It is by no means likely that any one of these by itself is going to be the main factor responsible for the abundance or scarcity of a plant or animal. It is much more likely that what favors the growth of an organism beyond normal will be a particular combination of, say, temperature, moisture, and sunshine, probably no single one of the factors at work being either at its maximum or its minimum. Something of the sort can often be traced with life. For instance, the optimum geographical zone for white men is one of moderate temperature, moderate rainfall, moderate sunshine, and a good deal of changeable weather: no extremes are involved in it.

18. Though the sun spots undoubtedly affect the weather and so the growth of plants, the growth of small herbivorous animals, and this in turn the abundance of their carnivorous enemies, the correlation of sun-spot cycles with the cycles of animal abundance is not fully proved. The animal cycle may be an independent one, of a slightly shorter period.

19. The abundance of rodents is thus an indicator for certain *combinations* of meteorological factors. The meteorologists themselves have not yet invented any instrument for recording these particular combinations of factors – indeed, they would not have suspected

their existence but for the facts unearthed by the biologist. The lemming or the field mouse or the Canadian rabbit is thus, from one point of view, a sensitive meteorological instrument for integrating and summating a number of different agencies which affect the weather, and transmuting a particular combination of them into an increase of numbers which catches the eye of observant man.

20. That important biological and meteorological effects are exerted by sun-spot cycles is rendered certain by corroborative evidence from other quarters. Professors Huntington and Douglass have examined the growth of the big trees (Sequoias) of California, as recorded in the thickness of their annual rings of wood. This biological record goes back over three thousand years; and in it they find a quite definite eleven-year cycle corresponding perfectly with the cycle in sun-spot numbers. Besides this, changes in the mean level of various large lakes, notably Victoria Nyanza, have been analyzed and, as Brooks has shown, here too a correlation is apparent between rise and fall of water level and increase and decrease of sun-spot number. It may be noted that lake level will not be dependent on any single one of the factors usually measured by meteorologists, but will represent a balance between precipitation and evaporation, which latter in its turn will depend partly on temperature and partly on humidity. The lake thus integrates a number of weather components, as does an organism.

21. In passing, it should be observed that the short-period cycles, of three and one half years, would be expected to affect only small animals which reach maturity in a year or less. Larger animals have lives which are too long to be upset by such small cycles. In precisely the same way, the choppy little waves which are so unpleasant to the inmates of a row boat have no effect upon the bulk of a liner. Even the eleven-year cycles will have little effect upon animals like deer or wild asses. There are indications of fluctuations, however, in the larger herbivores, but these are of much longer range, a fact which in itself makes it more difficult to collect statistics on the subject.

22. It is of great interest to find that the beaver, almost alone among the smaller fur-bearing mammals of Canada, shows no periodicity in its numbers. This fact is doubtless to be correlated with its remarkable mode of life. It lives, not on shortlived herbs or grass, but on

the bark of trees. It constructs dams by which it regulates its water supply; and brings tree trunks from considerable distances to serve as food-stores. When the local supply of trees is exhausted it migrates elsewhere. Since it lives in small, isolated colonies it does not suffer from widespread epidemics. Here we seem to have a good proof that the fluctuations in numbers which affect other animals are not due to mysterious cyclical fluctuations in the animal's inherent reproductive capacities, but to a normal though indirect action of climatic influences via the animal's food, its parasitic enemies, and so forth.

23. A great deal has been heard recently of this theory of inherent or spontaneous changes in reproductive capacity, apropos of the fall in the human birthrate which has been so noticeable during the last half-century among most civilized peoples; and the upholders of this view attempt to support their conclusions concerning man by referring to the cycles obtaining in mice and lemmings. Far from lending them support, however, the biological facts tell in the opposite direction. We know of no single case of an animal changing its reproductive capacity, whether number of broods per year, or number of young per brood, so long as it is kept under really uniform conditions, while we know of a great many cases in which improved conditions of temperature, food, etc., do bring about an increase in reproductive output.

24. As Sir William Beveridge has ably pointed out, there is nothing in the fall of the human birthrate which cannot be accounted for by increased prudence . . . ; nor is there anything, even in the most spectacular disappearance of the marauders, which cannot be accounted for by causes simpler and more familiar than an otherwise unknown fluctuation in reproductive potency. Once conditions such as food begin to favor a small herbivorous mammal, the shortness of its life-span enables it to outrun the constable of its carnivorous enemies, which are handicapped through being of larger size, and so requiring longer to complete each generation. However, as the density of herbivore population increases, parasites will be able to spread more rapidly from one individual to another. Finally a density is reached at which some disease-germ can pass from mouse to mouse with great rapidity, with the result that a fulminating outbreak of disease occurs. This violent outbreak of epidemic disease

has been reproduced experimentally with mice. The same bacillus, the same mice: but with one density of mouse population there are only isolated cases of disease, while with five times the density of population a devastating epidemic breaks out. The same appears to be true for animals kept under semiartificial conditions for sporting purposes. For instance, the commission appointed to investigate grouse disease in Britain came to the conclusion that the mere fact of overstocking a moor would cause disease, by permitting a normally innocuous coccidian parasite to pass so rapidly and in such numbers from bird to bird that mass-infection and consequent disease resulted.

25. It appears to be a constant rule that the rapid increase consequent on outrunning larger, carnivorous enemies always has as consequence the running into new conditions more favorable to the invisible parasitic enemies of the species. As a result, an epidemic follows, and the numbers of the species are reduced below normal. This reduction may then be carried still farther by unfavorable seasons.

26. This has one interesting consequence of general biological interest. The evolutionist normally assumes that the pressure of natural selection will be approximately equal, in natural conditions, over long periods of time. This may be so for animals like the beaver; but it will clearly not hold for those like lemmings or field mice. In these, after a period of minimum numbers has been well passed, and the animal is filling the empty landscape once more under increasingly favorable conditions, natural selection will clearly be much less intense than normal, for there will be next to no competition due to population pressure, and weather and food conditions will be more favorable than normal. The shoe will pinch unusually hard twice in each cycle – once when weather and food conditions are most unfavorable, and once when the inevitable epidemic breaks out. Thus, as Elton puts it, the animals will be subjected in each cycle to two severe examinations of different type, while they will be hardly troubled by schoolmistress Nature during the rest of the time.

27. But when violent epidemics come, disease resistance will indeed be at a premium, since only one in a thousand or even one in a hundred thousand will survive, and from those scattered survivors the

whole species will be reproduced. That is natural selection with a vengeance.

III

28. Important consequences of another type flow from the facts. If lemmings and rabbits and mice are killed off in thousands by epidemics, may not rodent cycles bear some relation to human disease? The answer is not only that they may, but that they do. Most people know now that bubonic plague is spread to man from rats and other small rodents like gerbils by means of the animals' fleas. The years when the small rodents in Central Asia or South Africa show maxima in numbers the incidence of human plague increases.

29. After lemming migrations, visitations of disease are not uncommon among the human populations of the Norwegian valleys. The matter has not yet been properly investigated; but it is at least possible that some bacillus, acquiring new virulence by its rapid passage through its rodent victims, may produce this human disease. Hardly any work has been done on the causes of these natural epidemics of animals. The whole question would well repay investigation, both on account of its intrinsic interest, and because of its possible bearing on human health.

30. Immediate practical questions arise as to means of coping with the periodic pests as they arise. All kinds of paradoxes here present themselves. The obvious course, and that naturally enough demanded by the suffering agriculturist, is the wholesale destruction of the voles or mice which are taking toll of his crops. Destruction, however, is often no easy matter. It is difficult to get at such small creatures which live in holes, swarm in myriads, and in a few weeks' time are grown up and ready to reproduce their kind. Both trapping and poison have their drawbacks and defects. Furthermore, killing the animals once they are so abundant that they are easy to kill is like locking the stable door after the horse had been stolen.

31. The bird-protectionist sees one step further. He reminds us that owls and many hawks prey upon small rodents, and would have us keep down the mice and moles by encouraging the predatory birds. But then steps in the ecologist and points out that both human destruction and avian enemies will have as their effect merely the slowing down of the geometrical increase of the mice (for cer-

tainly not even the dense hordes of owls and kestrels in 1892 served actually to decrease the numbers of the voles, and man's methods have hitherto proved a good deal less efficient than Nature's); and all that this can be expected to do is to delay the outbreak of the epidemic which alone can reduce the creatures to manageable numbers. The ecologist, on the contrary, would prefer to try some method which would actually encourage the multiplication of the rodents in the hope that the epidemic would come sooner, the agony would not be so prolonged, and the losses to agriculture consequently not so great. As alternatives he would suggest the effect of various bacterial cultures, which might provoke an artificial epidemic at an earlier stage of the cycle; or possibly some biological treatment such as that proposed by Rodier for rats, of trapping, killing all the females captured, but releasing all the males, in the hope that the minority of females would be pestered out of successful breeding.

32. Common sense, however, may rightly ask one or two questions of the ecologist. It seems, for instance, to be a fact that epidemics set in among mice in all years of maximum abundance, whether the overpopulation becomes so intense as to constitute a real plague, or is so moderate as to be noticeable only by the professional naturalist on the lookout for such phenomena. How is it that the epidemic does not break out in the plague years as soon as the population intensity attained at the ordinary maximum has been reached? Clearly some other factor must come in — possibly a time factor, or, what comes to much the same thing, one involving the number of generations run through by one or all of the parasites of the rodent.

33. What is clear, however, is that no quite simple, straightforward methods will serve. The biological thinking of the man in the street — and of the professional biologist, too, for that matter — is much too much obsessed by military metaphor for him to be able yet to see quite straight on ecological problems. He is brought up to believe in a struggle for existence, which he envisages as a regular battle between an inoffensive herbivore and its enemies, or a sort of athletic competition between a carnivore and its prey. In both cases he thinks of the struggle as something in which victory is to be achieved, as in war or sport. As a matter of fact, it is nothing of the kind. A herbivorous animal without carnivorous enemies would

tend to overpopulate its territory, to be diseased and undernourished, even to condemn itself to starvation by eating down its own food supply; a carnivorous species which was restricted to one kind of prey, and a kind which it could too easily catch, would inevitably bring its own race to extinction by eating itself out of hearth and home. Both eventualities have, through the interference of man, been realized. When red deer were introduced into New Zealand they throve on the succulent forest and bush, and multiplied exceedingly owing to the absence of all carnivorous enemies. But after a few decades they had changed the face of the country where they were abundant, and today the fine heads of heavy beasts are found only on the outskirts of the deer range, where they are still advancing into virgin country. Elsewhere the herds are full of stunted specimens and malformed antlers, and the authorities have been forced to play the part of natural enemy, and to adopt a vigorous policy of periodic thinning-out to save the stock.

34. As an example of the opposite effect, I may quote from Elton's *Animal Ecology* the curious case of Berlenga Island, off the coast of Portugal. "This place supports a lighthouse and a lighthouse-keeper, who was in the habit of growing vegetables on the island, but was plagued by rabbits which had been introduced at some time or other. He also had the idea of introducing cats to cope with the situation — which they did so effectively that they ultimately ate up every single rabbit on the island. Having succeeded in this, the cats starved to death, since there were no other edible animals on the island."

IV

35. We are often told that it is very important for children to select their parents wisely. It is becoming clear that a wise choice of enemies is an asset to an organism! One can hardly, perhaps, speak of an animal's enemies as part of its adaptations; but at least they are vital to its survival. The fact is, of course, that in almost every case the word "enemy" is only applicable when we are thinking in terms of individuals: as soon as we think of the species, the individual "enemy" usually turns out to be a racial benefactor.

36. The two things needful are patience and research — patience is needed in face of the popular demand for immediate action which is

raised every time a plague of mice or a dearth of fish is experienced, research to unravel the excessively complicated threads of the web of life.

37. The picture gained by research looks something like this, though we are not sure of the sun-spot influence on certain animal cycles: — The fluctuation in the number of sun spots is probably connected with the distance of the great planet Jupiter from the sun's incandescent surface. The sun-spot fluctuations change the tracks of storms, brim and depress the waters of our lakes, alter our weather. The weather-changes make the giant trees put on more or less wood, promote the multiplication of rabbits, mice, and lemmings, cause an alternation of fat and lean years in the fur department of the Hudson's Bay Company, inflict periodic losses, through vole plagues, upon the world's agriculture. The multiplication of the rodents, besides reverberating upon fox and lynx, hawks and owls, affects our human health returns. Verily the dreams of astrology, even if they suffered from the defect of not being true, had at least the merit of simplicity in comparison with this web of cosmic influence spinning out from one corner of the solar system to another!

38. But the very complexity of what we do know, or can reasonably surmise, bids us take an infinity of pains to unearth the still greater complexities that are still hidden from us, if we are to control nature efficiently. Modern agriculture, with its massing of huge numbers of individuals of one species of plant or animal, is a deliberate invitation to parasites and pests to revel in the unaccustomed profusion. And when we come to tropical agriculture, we must remember that the tropical heat raises the insect to be the equal in activity of the warm-blooded mammal, including our own species. The mechanical and chemical triumphs of the last hundred years must give place in this century to biological triumphs of equal magnitude if man is to retain his dominant position on the earth.

39. Until synthetic chemistry has progressed a great deal farther, the control of the plant kingdom is man's only means of supplying himself with the bulk of the food and the raw materials which he needs. The success of this control, as more and more of the earth's surface is given over to such vegetable exploitation, will come to depend more and more upon detailed knowledge about the animal and plant enemies, actual or potential, of the crops. We talk a great

deal about safeguarding the food supply of the country in time of war. In fifty years' time we are much more likely to be talking about safeguarding the world's food supply in time of peace. And we shall not be looking to machinery for our safeguards, nor even to light cruisers, or other forms of naval strength, but to the laboratories of entomology, mycology, and all the other branches of pure and applied ecology.

ANALYSIS

The reasoning exhibited in this essay is involved and illustrative of several of the thought processes commonly employed by the natural scientist. Although the work as a whole is primarily concerned with problems of cause and effect, the first half of the essay is filled with inductions, with the formation of generalizations upon observable data. The causal pattern is to be seen most clearly in Paragraphs 15–25. In Paragraphs 25–37 we are not looking at causes of the conditions described as much as seeing other effects that derive from the same causes. Thus in this section we find further variations of the principles of causal reasoning.

1. The author, we notice, uses the word *correlation* frequently. What is the connection between correlation and causation?
2. The problem of the essay is set for us in Paragraph 5 in the question that is asked there. Note that it asks for a search for causes.
   a. Why has the author waited until this point to let us know what his main concern is?
   b. What has he been doing until this point is reached?
   c. Has he as yet generalized extensively upon the examples that he cites?
3. Why, after he has asked his main question, does he proceed to cite more instances, to make many generalizations? That is, why has he inserted his question about causes into the essay before he is ready to discuss causes?
4. Since he wishes to correlate generalizations, is it imperative that he first explain the generalizations?
5. Chart the main outlines of the causal chain. Does Paragraph 18 represent a tentative answer to his main question?
6. *a.* Study the nature of the evidence in Paragraph 20. How is it useful?
   b. This is reasoning from effect to effect. What does this mean?
7. Some may say that the author cites the beaver in Paragraph 22 as the exception that proves the rule. Is this true?
8. Note the refutation involved in Paragraphs 23 and 24.
9. What underlying principle of causal reasoning can be drawn from the following statement taken from Paragraph 24: "Nor is there anything, even in the most spectacular disappearance of the marauders, which cannot be accounted for by causes simpler and more familiar than an otherwise unknown fluctuation in reproductive potency"?
10. Note that the expanded answer to the main question comes in Paragraphs 24 and 25.

FIFTH PATTERN: *Concession*

MAN'S MORAL RESPONSIBILITY*

By Clifford Barrett

I

1. WHAT IS MAN *anyhow? What am I? What are you?*
2. So Walt Whitman phrased the most universal and the most fundamental of all questions. To it, the mechanistic theory offers an answer. Man is one among an innumerable company of living things that inhabit the earth. His life span is brief. His powers are pitifully inadequate to his needs. Continually he finds himself confronted by forces that are greater than his own. They regulate his actions and determine his happiness. They even have shaped his being, body, and mind. They provide the possibilities of life and experience — and the certainty of final darkness.
3. Yet, in man, some senseless whirl of atoms has created a strange creature — a being who not only thinks but who supposes that what he thinks, feels, and strives for really matters. Failing to recognize that his every act and desire is determined by the forces that produced and that sustain him, this creature, man, imagines himself to be free. Supposing that there are things which he *ought* to do, he endures both the censure of his fellows and the remorse of his own "conscience" when he fails to fulfill the "moral responsibilities" that constitute his besetting illusion. In plain fact, he has no moral responsibilities. His thoughts, his emotions, and his supposed "moral choices," like everything else in the universe, are due to causes beyond his control. What he does he must do — and what he does because he cannot do otherwise deserves neither praise nor blame.
4. Here is a clear reply to the question of what man is. Some of its contentions, furthermore, are beyond reasonable challenge. Man's life *is* short. Frequently, it *is* beyond his power to control the situations in which he is placed. The universe and man *do* operate according to causal law — if *causal law* be taken in its now generally accepted sense in the sciences, that is, as suggesting no *creative*

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force but only a regular, observable order in the sequence of events. Nor is it to be doubted that inherited capacities deeply affect what we are and may become. The moron certainly is not free to become a Plato, and, within narrower limits than such extremes, physical and mental aptitudes are very real and must be recognized. Further, states of health are closely related to mental and temperamental attitudes. If our destiny does not lie in our glands, at least it is likely to be distinctly affected by their behavior. Through language and early training, as well as a persisting fear of social ostracism, established customs and beliefs, concepts and ways of conduct are ceaselessly impressed on us. By no means least important among shaping forces is a too ruthless economic system, on which we are dependent for daily bread itself and the decencies of life, as well as for so many opportunities of action and personal development.

5. All of this, indeed, must be only too readily granted. But, with full and frank recognition of every dire evil that brings wretchedness and frustration to any human being, the question still remains whether facts and sound thinking actually lead to the mechanist's extreme conclusions. Doubtless, not all of any man's actions are free, and, possibly, not any of his actions is altogether free. Yet, if we consider calmly the facts and then the meaning of freedom and moral responsibility, it becomes apparent, I think, that both really exist and are present in varying degrees in our decisions and activities.

II

6. It is agreed that human beings possess ideas and that these ideas arise in large part from the necessity of coping with hostile elements in their environment. It is a fact of first importance, furthermore, that reason actually has proved itself a match for senseless forces in the physical world and for numerous forms of oppression in society. Its achievements have been sufficient to encourage all but the most impatient. Long ago, men came to realize that they were not able, by main strength, to destroy many of the forces that opposed their purposes. But they learned, too, that often they might manipulate these forces in such a way as to make them serve chosen ends. Cleverly, new means were discovered for cutting across usual orders of cause and effect. Electricity is deadly, but it can be made

to work for us. Smallpox is devastating, but vaccination is possible. Glandular insufficiency may give rise to mental instability, but the deficiency can be supplied, and a normal endocrine balance re-established. The universe *may* be indifferent to our desires, but our desires can make themselves effective in it. We need not merely accept facts. We also may shape policies. There is a power of body over mind, but there is also a power of mind over body. The world in which we live is a complicated field of interacting energies. Purposes, intelligently chosen and acted on, can affect the balance and bring new adjustments which we desire. The motor-driven ship, no less than the sailless and rudderless derelict, must travel seas where winds and currents, storms and reefs need to be taken into account – but the motor ship is not altogether at their mercy. A port of destination may be selected and, barring mishap, it may be reached through intelligent manipulation.

7. It happens that in man's evolution two notable characteristics are evident. Man has adapted himself to his environment – as was necessary if he was to survive. At the same time, gradually he has transformed the environment to meet his needs and desires – as also was necessary if he was to mature as a *man* and satisfy the demands of his intelligence. To this, every irrigation and drainage project, every cultivated farm, every advance in industry and trade, every step in the development of equitable law and government, every advance in science and education bears witness.

8. There is a further fact which calls for attention. At one time, numerous observers believed the human mind to be passive. It was compared to an empty cupboard, waiting to be filled, and to a blank tablet, on which experience must write whatever the individual was to know or think. No competent psychologist, of course, would hold such a theory in the light of modern knowledge. The external world stimulates our senses and provides material for thought, but the mind is not passive. Constantly, it selects that which is to receive attention. What comes to it literally as feelings of color, sound, hardness, or other qualities it puts together and interprets as objects and events with meanings and values. Our *experiences* are our reactions to stimuli which the world provides. We react in terms of our own natures, and it is these reactions that determine what objects and events are to be for each of us. Hence the same object or event may

hold diverse interests and values for different people. Two brothers may react differently to the same environment and follow widely varied courses in life. One man may see in bankruptcy only a cause for utter despondency, while another views it as a challenge for new effort. Only the idiot really takes the world passively as it comes to him – but the idiot, alas, never comes to recognize that it is a world, but only bits of confusion.

9. To this ever present fact of interpretation in human thought must be added the related facts of evolution and creativity, which always are present in some form in the world. In man's development, there have dawned new powers of thought and appreciation. In addition to physical, chemical, and biological relations, he has become capable of esthetic, intellectual, and – I venture to add – moral relations. A machine changes, but it never evolves new powers and characteristics. A purely mechanical cause may reshape what exists, but it cannot create anything genuinely new. Essentially, this is an ongoing world. Growth and novelty plainly are characteristics of its history. What we are has been determined in large measure by our own past reactions. Our present responses to situations largely shape our actions. Our actions, in turn, bring innovations into the course of events.

III

10. With these facts in mind, we may turn to the question of *what actually can be the meaning of freedom.* Mechanism often urges that freedom is impossible because there is no chance in the world. All things have causes, and the law of cause and effect is inexorable. But, if chance did exist, it could not be trusted. In a world of chance, we never should be able to foresee the outcome of any action. Similarly, if our choices represented no well-defined nature of our own but only vagrant and disorganized desires as they flitted through consciousness, we never should have any reason to suppose that the fulfillment of a present desire would yield satisfaction a moment hence. Choice involves preference and a reliable order of things within which one's purposes can be worked out. Preference, in turn, requires that we know what we want – what our natures actually will find most compatible – and it requires a world in which causes and effects are related in a reliable way to one another.

11. The question of freedom, then, does not ask whether our choices and actions have a cause but what their cause may be. When we ourselves – that which we actually are – are the cause, we are free. For, surely, I should not be free if I were obliged to express *no* particular tastes or interests in my choices – nor would I be free if obliged to express those of some nature that was not my own. The number of possible alternatives in a choice is not paramount. Whether other possibilities are open or not, I am free when I can do the thing which I desire to do. If a boy wishes only to be a lawyer, he is free whether any other occupations are or are not open. On the other hand, though a thousand young ladies hopefully await an invitation from a campus hero, if the chosen one cold-heartedly declines, his freedom is limited. There may be many reasons to take account of the factors which have affected what one is; but, as far as freedom at any time is concerned, it is simply the possibility of expressing what, at that time, one really is and desires. Since precisely what anyone ever is or desires may never be fully discovered, freedom may remain limited. Yet it is genuine and, with increased intelligence, it may grow.

12. Freedom, in this sense of self-determination, involves moral responsibility. In a society where labor is divided and all men, as specialists, are dependent on one another, the absence of some sense of mutual respect of rights and obligations must bring catastrophe. The battle, then, would be to the stronger, in a warfare of all against all. Such a doctrine, practically applied, might seem a godsend to tyrant and exploiter, but to mankind it must mean chaos.

13. But, regardless of consequences, what are the facts? It is reasonable to treat anything – whether a stone, a dog, or a person – in a manner consistent with its nature. Likewise, to be a reasonable being is to possess the capacity to consider things not only in terms of their physical characteristics, such as size and weight, but also in terms of their meaning and worth. The logical and moral claim of an individual that he possesses certain rights and that these should be respected by other reasonable beings like himself is simply a demand that worth as well as brute force be recognized and that he be regarded as the kind of being he actually is. Now what he is is a being capable of spiritual as well as physical pleasures and pains, a being who can appreciate purposes and achievements, a being

who can act rationally – and reason demands that other intelligent beings recognize these capacities in their dealings with him. *I must* expresses a compulsion of force and circumstance; *I ought* represents the compulsion of an intelligent being's own nature to act in the most reasonable way – that is, in the way which will have the greatest worth. This is to act morally. And to be a morally responsible person is to be one whose decisions and actions are determined not solely by the push of blind forces but, at least in part, by a sense of values. We are morally responsible in so far as our actions are based on our view of the worth of things.

14. If the manager of a bakery is faced by numerous competent applicants for work and if he selects one whom he knows to be a carrier of an infectious disease, is he not morally responsible? If a citizen votes for a candidate whom he knows to be incompetent and dishonest, rather than for his able and honest opponent, merely because of a promise to have his street repaved, is he not morally responsible? If prison authorities are willfully indifferent to possibilities for more intelligent segregation and treatment of criminals, are they not morally responsible? If a young man or woman wittingly neglects opportunities for self-improvement for no good reason, is there no moral responsibility involved?

15. What, then, would the mechanist wish to deny in order to maintain his conclusion? Would he insist that our actions cannot influence external events – or would he hold that our purposes can have no effect on our actions? Would he deny that our purposes result from the responses which our minds make to the world around us – or would he believe that our sense of values and our interpretations of things have nothing to do with what we desire and strive for? If the possibility of determining what is to happen by our own sense of what is valuable and desirable is not freedom – will he tell us what freedom would be? If my own sense of its worth and my consequent desire for anything is the cause that brings it about, who or what is responsible for it if I am not? To say that I am its cause, but still not *morally* responsible is to forget that it was no blind force that compelled me to act in the way I did – but rather my own sense of what is valuable and desirable.

ANALYSIS

1. A concessive pattern in controversy involves the understanding and statement of a thesis or proposition, followed by a statement and acknowledgment of the opposing arguments, and, at last, a restatement of the original thesis and an assertion of its validity in spite of the opposed ideas.
   a. Point out as clearly as you can each of these main divisions in the article.
2. *a.* List and explain the main points that the author concedes.
   b. Do these seem to be important points, points that might well wreck the argument, or are they subordinate points, ones the acknowledgment of which will make little difference in the validity of the main proposition?
3. *a.* Where does the turnback to the main thesis come?
   b. What provision does the author make to assure the reader that he has only conceded something, that he has not given in the whole argument?
4. *a.* What effect does this pattern have on the strength and clarity of the whole argument?
   b. What principles can you formulate about the use of concession as a pattern of writing?
5. *a.* Does the author show any bias, any deception in his writing?
   b. Does he use any elements either of style or of reasoning that seem to deviate from the straight line of his pattern? Explain.
6. Note the use of concrete illustration in Paragraphs 6 and 8, or in Paragraph 14.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR *

By Ralph Waldo Emerson

1. THE NEXT great influence into the spirit of the scholar is the mind of the Past — in whatever form, whether of literature, of art, of institutions, that mind is inscribed. Books are the best type of the influence of the past, and perhaps we shall get at the truth — learn the amount of this influence more conveniently — by considering their value alone.

2. The theory of books is noble. The scholar of the first age received into him the world around; brooded thereon; gave it the new arrangement of his own mind and uttered it again. It came into him life; it went out from him truth. It came to him short-lived actions; it went out from him immortal thoughts. It came to him business; it went from him poetry. It was dead fact; now it is quick thought. It can stand and it can go. It now endures, it now flies, it now inspires.

* Part of a larger essay entitled *The American Scholar* by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Precisely in proportion to the depth of mind from which it issued, so high does it soar, so long does it sing.

3. Or, I might say, it depends on how far the process had gone of transmuting life into truth. In proportion to the completeness of the distillation, so will the purity and imperishableness of the product be. But none is quite perfect. As no air pump can by any means make a perfect vacuum, so neither can any artist entirely exclude the conventional, the local, the perishable from his book, or write a book of pure thought that shall be as efficient, in all respects, to a remote posterity as to contemporaries, or rather to the second age. Each age, it is found, must write its own books; or rather, each generation for the next succeeding. The books of an older period will not fit this.

4. Yet hence arises a grave mischief. The sacredness which attaches to the act of creation, the act of thought, is transferred to the record. The poet chanting was felt to be a divine man: henceforth the chant is divine also. The writer was a just and wise spirit: henceforward it is settled the book is perfect: as love of the hero corrupts into worship of his statue. Instantly the book becomes noxious: the guide is a tyrant. The sluggish and perverted mind of the multitude, slow to open to the incursions of Reason, having once so opened, having once received this book, stands upon it and makes an outcry if it is disparaged. Colleges are built on it. Books are written on it by thinkers, not by Man Thinking; by men of talent, that is, who start wrong, who set out from accepted dogmas, not from their own sight of principles. Meek young men grow up in libraries believing it their duty to accept the views which Cicero, which Locke, which Bacon have given; forgetful that Cicero, Locke, and Bacon were only young men in libraries when they wrote these books.

5. Hence, instead of Man Thinking, we have the bookworm. Hence the book-learned class, who value books as such; not as related to nature and the human constitution, but as making a sort of Third Estate with the world and the soul. Hence the restorers of readings, the emendators, the bibliomaniacs of all degrees.

*6. Books are the best of things, well used; abused, among the worst. What is the right use? What is the one end which all means go to effect? They are for nothing but to inspire. I had better never see a book than to be warped by its attraction clean out of my own orbit,

and made a satellite instead of a system. The one thing in the world of value is the active soul. This every man is entitled to; this every man contains within him, although in almost all men obstructed and as yet unborn. The soul active sees absolute truth and utters truth, or creates. In this action it is genius; not the privilege of here and there a favorite, but the sound estate of every man. In its essence it is progressive. The book, the college, the school of art, the institution of any kind stop with some past utterance of genius. This is good, say they — let us hold by this. They pin me down. They look backward and not forward. But genius looks forward: the eyes of man are set in his forehead not in his hindhead: man hopes: genius creates. Whatever talents may be, if the man create not the pure efflux of the Deity is not his — cinders and smoke there may be but not yet flame. There are creative manners, there are creative actions, and creative words; manners, actions, words, that is, indicative of no custom or authority but springing spontaneous from the mind's own sense of good and fair.

7. On the other part, instead of being its own seer, let it receive from another mind its truth though it were in torrents of light without periods of solitude, inquest, and self-recovery, and a fatal disservice is done. Genius is always sufficiently the enemy of genius by over-influence. The literature of every nation bears me witness. The English dramatic poets have Shakespearized now for two hundred years.

8. Undoubtedly there is a right way of reading, so it be sternly subordinated. Man Thinking must not be subdued by his instruments. Books are for the scholar's idle times. When he can read God directly the hour is too precious to be wasted in other men's transcripts of their readings. But when the intervals of darkness come, as come they must — when the sun is hid and the stars withdraw their shining — we repair to the lamps which were kindled by their ray to guide our steps to the East again where the dawn is. We hear, that we may speak. The Arabian proverb says, "A fig tree, looking on a fig tree, becometh fruitful."

9. It is remarkable, the character of the pleasure we derive from the best books. They impress us with the conviction that one nature wrote and the same reads. We read the verses of one of the great English poets, of Chaucer, of Marvell, of Dryden, with the most modern joy — with a pleasure, I mean, which is in great part caused

by the abstraction of all *time* from their verses. There is some awe mixed with the joy of our surprise when this poet, who lived in some past world two or three hundred years ago, says that which lies close to my own soul, that which I also had well-nigh thought and said. But for the evidence thence afforded to the philosophical doctrine of the identity of all minds, we should suppose some pre-established harmony, some foresight of souls that were to be, and some preparation of stores for their future wants like the fact observed in insects, who lay up food before death for the young grub they shall never see.

10. I would not be hurried by any love of system, by any exaggeration of instincts, to underrate the Book. We all know that as the human body can be nourished on any food, though it were boiled grass and the broth of shoes, so the human mind can be fed by any knowledge. And great and heroic men have existed who had almost no other information than by the printed page. I only would say that it needs a strong head to bear that diet. One must be an inventor to read well. As the proverb says, "He that would bring home the wealth of the Indies, must carry out the wealth of the Indies." There is then creative reading as well as creative writing. When the mind is braced by labor and invention, the page of whatever book we read becomes luminous with manifold allusion. Every sentence is doubly significant and the sense of our author is as broad as the world. We then see, what is always true, that as the seer's hour of vision is short and rare among heavy days and months, so is its record, perchance, the least part of his volume. The discerning will read, in his Plato or Shakespeare, only that least part — only the authentic utterances of the oracle — all the rest he rejects, were it never so many times Plato's and Shakespeare's.

11. Of course there is a portion of reading quite indispensable to a wise man. History and exact science he must learn by laborious reading. Colleges, in like manner, have their indispensable office — to teach elements. But they can only highly serve us when they aim not to drill but to create; when they gather from far every ray of various genius to their hospitable halls, and by the concentrated fires, set the hearts of their youth on flame. Thought and knowledge are natures in which apparatus and pretension avail nothing. Gowns and pecuniary foundations, though of towns of gold, can never

countervail the least sentence or syllable of wit. Forget this and our American colleges will recede in their public importance, whilst they grow richer every year.

12. . . . Let [the scholar] not quit his belief that a popgun is a popgun, though the ancient and honorable of the earth affirm it to be the crack of doom. In silence, in steadiness, in severe abstraction, let him hold by himself; add observation to observation, patient of neglect, patient of reproach, and bide his own time — happy enough if he can satisfy himself alone that this day he has seen something truly. Success treads on every right step. For the instinct is sure that prompts him to tell his brother what he thinks. He then learns that in going down into the secrets of his own mind he has descended into the secrets of all minds. He learns that he who has mastered any law in his private thoughts is master to that extent of all men whose language he speaks, and of all into whose language his own can be translated.

ANALYSIS

1. What attitude toward books is the author here opposing?
2. List the elements of truth which he concedes to this attitude.
3. Is his argument for his own thesis everywhere convincing?
4. Indicate the devices the author uses to amplify his paragraphs. Are they successful?
5. Compare this selection and Barrett's "Man's Moral Responsibility" both as concessive patterns of argument and as pieces of organized thought.

SIXTH PATTERN: *Analogy*

ART CRITICISM FOR HUMAN BEINGS*

By Dorothy Grafly

1. TWENTY years ago when first I began to write for newspapers I was assigned to cover a certain learned institution in Philadelphia. It was my job to dig up stories that had popular appeal. The institution was so nearly dead that sections of it were being cut off almost annually from public view because it could not foot the bills

* From *Education* (Vols. 63, 64), *Some Aspects of Art Criticism* by Dorothy Grafly. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

for light and care. It needed desperately the sort of general interest that would bring people into its halls.

2. I interviewed the learned heads of its various departments. What they told me might have had meaning in a scientific journal. Then, suddenly, we were discussing eels. Not eels in hermetically sealed glass cases, but eels in the rivers around Philadelphia; the habits of eels. And as the scholar warmed to his subject he told me about the love life of the eels. But he talked within the web of his own language. I translated it; jazzed it, if you will. It made news—a good feature story. And for years I was *persona non grata* in that institution.

3. Today that museum is one of the best publicized in the city. It is no longer afraid of meeting the public on its own ground, and I can't help feeling that the first germ of change might be traced back to that story on the love life of eels.

4. What is true of biology is true, also, of art. Do you think for a minute that the great success of the Van Gogh exhibition was due to twaddle about Van Gogh's art? No. In great measure it came from canny publicity that was not afraid to use the story about Van Gogh's bloody ear, wrapped and delivered to a girl in a brothel. Disgusting, you say. But it brought millions to see the exhibition, and once there the millions were faced with Van Gogh's art. They did not come because they had read a schoolman's treatise on the painter's technique. They came because they were interested in Van Gogh as a human being. And it is the dramatization of the human aspect of art that is of real importance in breaking through public apathy.

ANALYSIS

1. Point out in the text where you first discover that the pattern here is analogy.
2. The success of an analogy rests upon the closeness of the two things that are held up for extended comparison.
   a. Examine the parallel elements in the analogy here and attempt to discover how close together they are.
   b. Are there any significant differences which would make the analogy false?
   c. Does the analogy cover enough specific characteristics of each part?
3. Explain how you think the use of the analogy here serves to clarify and strengthen the point the author wants to make.

ARE CHILDREN VEGETABLES?*

By Wilson Follett

1. THE HAYFIELDS are extensions of our lawn, or our lawn a theft from the hayfields, and from time to time a spear of timothy creeps in. Timothy, in the fertile manured fields hereabout, grows waist-high; in a wet season it will even attain the height of a tall man's shoulder. It is interesting to watch the spear in the lawn in its summer-long struggle for self realization. Clipped back as often as it gets a good start, the plant learns week by week to modify its aspirations and, almost, its nature. A potential giant among grasses in early May, it is a pygmy by late July. Its first answer to the discouraging environment is a frantic acceleration of growth; it is trying desperately to achieve its natural stature in the negligible interval between mowings. Thwarted again and again, it discovers that gigantism is getting it nowhere and gradually adopts a more modest aim. Taught and driven by its innate need, it seeks completion, perpetuation, on a miniature scale, and by the first week of August it presents to the hostile blade a formation as complete and mature as that of its uninhibited cousins in the field — a plant finished and perfect from root-crown to seed-spike, but rearing that triumphant spike scarcely an inch and a half above the ground.
2. It has obeyed the law of its being; it has fulfilled itself — after a fashion.
3. As a father of very young children whose growth, development, and early education are matters of prime concern to me, I can never run a lawn mower over this small drama of adaptation without seeing in my act a faithful analogy of what our civilization is perpetually doing to the minds of its young. The infant intelligence enters the world with an inherent capacity for growth of which no one has ever yet ascertained the limit; and we promptly set bounds to its growth — arbitrary bounds of our own preconceiving. The young mind puts out new shoots of amazing health and vigor; and we forthwith clip them down. The mutilated organism, disillusioned and sensing that it has a hostile environment to cope with,

* From *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1938. Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the author.

resorts for a while to freakish and frantic behaviors; witness the number of children hardly out of the teething stage who are distraught, addled, peevish, almost impossible to interest, and incapable of amusing themselves except by experiments in deliberate mischief. (Some of them are still that way at twenty-five — forty — sixty.) In the end the child unlearns its instinct of untrammeled growth, for it finds that there is no other way to self-adjustment, survival, or any growth whatsoever. It submits itself to the conditions imposed; it curtails its aspirations; it grows here a little and there a little, stealthily, when and as it can; and presently, with luck, it attains the mental shape, the structure, the development, but not the stature, of an adult human being. When we have got through the season of running our lawn mowers over it, it is complete and mature — and a dwarf.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* State the main purpose of the selection.
   b. Is this purpose given in the text of the selection? Where? If not, how do you arrive at it?
2. *a.* Where does the analogy first become evident?
   b. Why has the author chosen this particular kind of comparison?
   c. Is writing that uses this device more apt to be circuitous or direct in its approach to its main point?
   d. What is to be gained by such indirection? Is it gained in this article?
3. *a.* Outline the parallel elements in each part of the analogy.
   b. How well do the parts parallel each other?
   c. Are there any important differences that might change the nature of the conclusion? What are they?
4. *a.* Compare this article with Grafly, "Some Aspects of Art Criticism." Which contains the longer, more exhaustive analogy?
   b. Which succeeds better, to your way of thinking? Why?
5. *a.* Make a study of sentence patterns in the last paragraph of this article. Point out dominant ways of working subordinate material into the sentences.
   b. What can you discover about sentence length and its relation to clarity of idea?

ITALIAN NOTEBOOK: 1938*

By Hamilton Basso

1. YESTERDAY we rode in the *automotrice* from Florence to Siena. An *automotrice* is a sort of combination daycoach and motorbus that runs on tracks. This particular one was crowded, and since the day was wet and windy, all the windows were tightly shut. We all sat in a noisy chattering steamy intimacy, the two foreigners stared and stared at, a salesmany-looking man nodding on the seat facing us and beside him a little girl of eleven or twelve holding her schoolbag, very grave and beautiful, with enormous sea-green eyes.
2. This being a local *automotrice,* we stopped at every station: and if you are merely seeking the sinister in Italy, you can go to the first railroad station, take one good look at the military sentries who are always there, and go back home. The first time I saw these sentries, in Genoa, I got my first chill from this regime: and not just because they looked like old playmates of Dutch Schultz either. No, it was simply that they were there: booted, belted, revolvers slung over their shoulders, the skirts of their green overcoats flaring.
3. Why are these sentries at every railroad station? The principal reason, though I am leaving out a lot of complications, is because even Italians, traveling in Italy, must have a card of identification similar to a passport: and if they haven't — well, that's one case where the military comes in.
4. I am not building up, however, to any dramatic climax. No one's papers were found to be out of order, no one was brutally treated, no one was discovered as a spy. All that happened was that three of the military got on the *automotrice* at a little country station to ride the rest of the way to Siena. They got on and the car started and the little girl looked at them with her grave and beautiful eyes and then, very suddenly, five or six men began hailing the soldiers as though they were their brothers who had not been home in years and years. I watched them, wishing I could understand all they said, the few words and phrases I caught being like a hole in a circus tent, just enough to make you want to hear and see more,

* From *The New Republic,* June 15, 1939. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

recalling the stressed politeness, the almost servile but smiling deference, that the military and particularly the officers of the military, are accorded all over Italy: and then, stubbornly refusing to accept the handy idea of brute force, of crushing suppression and nothing else, seeking for some point of reference in my previous experience, I remembered the "Elysian Fields."

5. The "Elysian Fields" was a gang of boys in New Orleans who took their name from a street in our neighborhood. For "Elysian Fields," I said to myself, substitute "Fascism." And in place of Tick Meagan — Tick being the leader of the "Elysian Fields" — put the title Il Duce. It is not an exact analogy, no analogy ever is, but it is more helpful in trying to tell what it is like in Italy than all the empty and hackneyed propaganda words.

6. The "Elysian Fields," and they were nobody's sissies either, controlled a certain neighborhood. Here that neighborhood becomes all of Italy. If you belonged to the "Elysian Fields," as I did not, you had certain rights and privileges: just like the military and the bureaucracy here. The boys in the gang, to identify themselves, used to print an EF in a circle on their forearms. In Italy that encircled EF has been glorified into the whole dazzling array of Fascist uniforms.

7. The "Elysian Fields," also, and this is what I would stress, were the pride, the enormous irrational ridiculous pride, of practically all the kids in the neighborhood. These kids had to pay tribute to get across the railroad tracks to school, a nickel a week — or else; they had to divide their lunches whenever the "Elysian Fields" felt unusually hungry, often going without any lunch at all; they had to take long devious detours to avoid meeting some member of the gang who was "looking" for them — they had to do all these things and others, and yet, despite this "brutal domination," they were as proud of the "Elysian Fields" as if they were in the gang themselves.

8. This is why.

9. The "Elysian Fields" was the gang of "our" neighborhood. Whenever it emerged victorious from a rock-fight, driving off the "Irish Channels" or the "Basin Blues," all the other kids, the "exploited and oppressed" ones, gained a sort of vicarious triumph. "Our" gang had won. There would always be a celebration on the wharves

after one of these victories, the "Elysian Fields" hailed as heroes, all full of boasting and bragging, and it was always the non-gang kids who did most of the celebrating: even though one of them invariably got bashed for popping off his mouth too much.

10. The "Elysian Fields," too, had a large number of hangers-on: practically all the kids in the school. The young ones (in Italy they call them the Sons of the Wolf) used to hang around the boys in the gang in wonder and awe and admiration, hoping that some day they too would belong to the gang. The few independent spirits, and there were a few, had a very unhappy time of it.

11. It is not, as I have said, exactly an analogy, for the "Elysian Fields" never indulged in murder or imprisonment, but that is something of the way it is like in Italy. This regime has turned most of the Italian people, a people of charm and warmth who are the direct inheritors of much that is finest in our history, into the camp followers of a tough and ruthless gang. I have no doubt that they grumble, I know full well that they do, but most of them, while grumbling, are proud of the gang as well. The ones who are *not* proud, the men of independent spirit, are nowhere to be found. They are silent or not alive.

ANALYSIS

1. Where does the analogy start? What introduces it and why is the introduction important for the clarity of the analogy?
2. How closely related are the two elements of the analogy, the situation as the author sees it in Italy and the "Elysian Fields"?
3. What exactly does the author accomplish by the use of the analogy?
   a. Is it mere mental clarification of the situation; is it understanding; is it an emotional awareness of things in Italy as Basso sees them? How can you tell?
4. Indicate the parallels that exist between the two main elements that make up the analogy.
5. Explain the purpose of the last paragraph in strengthening the analogy.
6. The two preceding selections begin with an analogy that does not directly carry the thesis; that is to say, the two selections are not concerned primarily with biology or timothy.
   a. How does the structure differ here? Can you say that one way is more effective than the other way?
7. Note the very short Paragraph 8. Why is this device effective? Do you ever use it in your own writing?

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ADVERTISING ART*

By Paul Parker

I

1. THE MEN and women who illustrate advertisements have to convey to us a clear and immediate effect. There must be no undue complexity in the pattern of their pictures, no perplexing "atmospheric" effects; and they must run no risk of confusing us by portraying individual men and women when clearly recognizable types will convey an instant meaning to us. Everything must help us to classify at once what we see.
2. Hence the sexes are carefully distinguished in advertising art. The males can be reduced to the blocking-in method of figure construction with angular heads, wide shoulders, triangular torsos narrowing to the hips. Women, on the other hand, can be reduced to ovals. Everything is expressed in curves — the head, the breasts, the hips, the abdomen, the legs, the buttocks. Hence too there are clear-cut distinctions among various types within each sex. Men fall quite easily into economic and occupational groups — the laborer, the salesman, the merchant, the scientist, the man-about-town, and so on. Each has his own special attributes, just as inevitably as do the figures in Christian or pagan religious art. They lend themselves to study as iconographic types: as the images which people the advertisers' ideal world — a best possible world of material things.
3. Consider the Scientist. He is grave, efficient, deliberate, unlikely to be swayed by carnal passions. He is shown at his work desk looking through a microscope or inspecting a test tube or some curious mechanism. All about him is a medley of retorts, bunsen burners, and carboys of magical ingredients — in fact, all the attributes of the scientific passion. He may be shown alone, or with disciples of only slightly less probity. This subject is so common that one is tempted to believe it would lack any appeal. But it is common because it personifies Faith, and Faith is, apparently, a universal necessity. This modern savior, the embodiment of the shibboleth of Science, is the court of appeal of the advertiser. Proof,

* From *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1938. Reprinted by permission of the author.

in advertising, only too often consists of the significant words: "Modern Science tells us . . ." The Scientist is one of the few characters in the advertising pantheon who never smiles. He is felt to be even above humor. In this modern day He is the Man Who Knows. He is the magician who makes the ideal world created by advertising possible.

4. Sometimes the disciples of the Modern Scientist are to be seen in their tasks of carrying out His Mission. They are common in automobile advertising. They may carry the voice of authority, or again the humblest workman may bring forth His ideals to the world. Whether high or low, the disciples still do not smile. They too are deadly serious, their faces lined with care.

5. Since most people have more acquaintance with the medical than the engineering profession, it is necessary to humanize the doctor. His is rather the role of the Saviour at the Feast of Cana. He is still remote, but he speaks directly to us. He is often shown as talking, and if he smiles it is with the proper reserve and dignity. The Vienna doctors of certain advertising campaigns wore beards, but there seemed to be something faintly ridiculous about giving a beard to an American doctor, so now he is mustached. He is of course middle-aged. And just as the Scientist, by an anthropomorphizing process, becomes also Science, so the doctor is also Medicine.

6. The dentist is of a lowlier station than the M.D. The latter can talk learnedly on all things from vitamins to cigarettes: his domain properly includes teeth as well. But the dentist talks only for his own profession. As one who is not quite so omniscient, he is shown as much younger and more handsome, a sort of Philip among the faithful. He is calculated to impress women with his soul as well as his tact. His face is entirely hairless. His attributes are his white jacket and his mirror.

7. To descend from Olympus, we may consider two common types — the salesman and the businessman, or buyer. The buyer may or may not have a mustache, but the salesman (like the dentist) never does — sales manuals warn against the mustache because it distracts attention from the message. The salesman stands (Talk on your Feet!) and leans forward (Project your Personality, Look

your Man in the Eye!). The buyer is interested but not too eager, attentive but not ingenuous. He personifies the solidity of big business, just as the salesman, a kind of Hermes, portrays the romance and adventure. But as though this were not enough to distinguish between the two types (and from an advertising standpoint it is not), attributes are present to clear up any possible doubt; or rather, to make identification immediate as well as complete. The salesman has a brief case or demonstration portfolio, and the businessman has a telephone and desk. Thus the mobility of the one and the stability of the other are suggested.

8. It may seem like splitting hairs to draw a distinction between attributes and environment, but the distinction is fundamental and necessary. If the commercial artist were interested in verism he could sketch a background of a saloon with two gentlemen sitting at the bar engaged in imbibing tall drinks; or the setting could be a golf course or a night club or any other place where business is transacted. In any other than the office setting, however, the environment would be a distraction. The setting is ordinarily of no importance except in the broad sense that it is an office and offers a proof that business is taking place.

9. (If, however, the advertiser were selling office equipment and wished to prove how important it is that the businessman's possessions should impress the casual visitor, the figures would be shoved back somewhat in the composition so that they would not have such heroic proportions, and every detail in the room would be polished.)

10. As for industrial types, note that while a workman may be shaved and wear clean overalls, he is shown with his attributes – a pick and shovel, a machine beside him, or some special uniform. He is never identified, that is to say, by purely artistic means – he is one particular kind of laborer, the kind you would have confidence in, and not a conception of the laboring man in general. A most common type of workman is the filling-station attendant, identifiable by his cap or badge. He is always young, but his inexperience is more than balanced by an intelligent servility. He looks like a college man from one of the better fraternities. He is an anthropomorphic conception of the oil business in general and of Service in par-

ticular. Since most gasolines are about equal in magical properties, it is some gain if gasoline is sold by the promise of better windshield-wiping and rest-room facilities in an ideal world of fast travel.

11. An apparent exception to male iconographic types is the man-about-town, who often proves himself to be such precisely because there is no definite series of attributes associated with him, but rather luxury objects in general. Or more subtly, no attributes are shown at all. There is nothing quite as swanky as the *Esquire*-like portrait of a man doing nothing. He is independent of occupational and social obligations. His is the most conspicuous consumption, time. One feels sure that the salesman would be lost without his brief case, that it accompanies him everywhere, that it is associated with all his social as well as his business activity. But when a man of dignified unemployment, of the conspicuous leisure class, is shown with, let us say, a dog and a gun, we realize that this temporary flurry of activity will be superseded on the morrow by sailing, fishing, or drinking in his club, or – best of all – by doing nothing.

II

12. Women in advertising art are not divided into as many types as the men because of the onerous task of the artist to make women young and beautiful. I recall an art director's instructions to a friend of mine regarding a dry brush drawing. The scene was to be a kitchen, with the housewife taking a roast from a hot oven, and the husband just coming through the door. The only difficulty was the housewife. "Make her a sort of rural type," said the art director. "This is for a Kansas City paper, some power company. But put a little class in her dress. Make her look tired, but young and with some sex appeal. Don't make her an ingénue, but maybe a young mother with two or three kids. Not matronly, though. Say about twenty-five. No, that's too old. Say about twenty-four."

13. As in English fiction, where the hero is thirty-five and the heroine a maximum of twenty-four, we find that the women of advertising art are twenty-four or younger until they are fifty.

14. As a tribute to her emancipation, a woman is almost never portrayed in a laboring or menial occupation. Domestic servants are

butlers or Negroes; if a maid is shown she is very superior and French, not American. Men in offices or stores may be thought of as white collar workers; but the girls working in stores, offices, or beauty parlors are "in the business profession." The stenographer, by the definition of the copywriter, is a secretary; the alchemy of the commercial artist makes the cognomen seem almost reasonable. A "professional woman" such as these represents the lowest possible economic level of the fair sex as the advertisers view it. She looks as though she made at least sixty dollars a week. Her presence in advertising is determined by the exigencies of the advertiser, who may wish to bring pressure to bear on a purchasing agent by appealing to his employees, just as the breakfast-food manufacturers appeal to the children. The professional girl is well turned out and is an example of the peculiar ability of artists, whether in advertising or Hollywood, to combine in one person such binary pairs as femininity and efficiency, affection and independence, virginity and sophistication. She goes into ecstasy, however, only over the latest gadgets on a typewriter or the magical ingredients of a bond paper which will in turn perform magic for the company purchasing it. One is made to understand that she is not in business to make money as much as to be, somewhat vaguely, in a profession — thus is the stigma of money-grubbing erased in the ideal world created by advertising.

15. A unique variation of the professional-girl type is to be seen in the nurse. She is more the Neysa McMein than the McClelland Barclay pretty girl, with a wide face, high cheekbones, and dark hair. She is young but competent, and being toward the buxom rather than the petite side, is felt to be "of good stock." Although her lips are curved in a slow smile, the smile is never pronounced enough to show the teeth; it expresses a knowledge of tragedy and suffering which could have been so easily avoided had the patient only tried the right medicament.

16. Inasmuch as the nurse can represent the hospitalization phase of the medical profession, and because her cap makes a quickly identifiable attribute, she often appears only as a symbol. It is not necessary to illustrate her in an action pose or demonstrating some gadget or cure — a head-and-shoulders portrait may be sufficient to imply the magical virtues of the product. She is of course by

way of being an acolyte to the medical profession, and in some cases to the Modern Scientist. But she has sufficient potency in her own right to appear occasionally as the votaress of sanitary preparations and proprietaries.

17. Of the same age is the debutante type, so useful for cigarettes and cosmetics. She always smiles except in those rare instances when she has to "wonder." She may be with or without attributes for, like the man-about-town, she toils not. She varies from the demure, high-school-heartbreak type of *True Story* all the way to the brittle sophistication of *Vogue*. The *Vogue* debutantes have a way of denying their wiles; in a masterly fashion the wiles are advertised by conscious omission. But the composite picture of the debutante is the familiar pretty girl; if she wonders it is never for long.

18. The only older woman (except the *Vogue* wife, who can be called thirty and can defend her seemingly untenable position by a recourse to displaying her material possessions) is the woman occasionally called on to play character bits on the advertising stage.

19. But among the women of the advertising pages the most important of all is the housewife. She is twenty-four, married, has two children, is suburban, gadget-conscious. Her antecedents are doubtful — she could have graduated either from the "professional" or the debutante class. She has the "married look." As the buyer of the nation's food, household equipment, and clothing, she has been placed on a pedestal. She lives in a passionless *Ladies' Home Journal* world; in the women's mass magazines one feels that her Joseph works at the office all day while she gracefully retires from the strife she renounced upon leaving the business profession or the fluffiness of her debutante years. She never perspires, she never has a Victorian dew on her upper lip. The cure for all physical torments comes to her in bottles and packages; her tranquillity is a result of the conquest of toil by the Modern Scientist. In fact, she is the patron saint of advertising.

20. Sometimes she strikingly suggests the madonna of religious art — as in certain insurance advertisements in which mother and child look wistfully off into space; the child, like a Christ-child of Mantegna, has the prescience of an uncertain future. Considerable at-

tention is paid to the slender hands, the long type of head, the smooth brunette hair, the sober restraint.

21. Children in advertising offer the advertiser the surest sort of approach to the emotions of his audience. There may be an inhibition against showing too close a parallel between mother-and-child pictures and religious prototypes, but the innocent babe can be portrayed in the Christ-child role with no fear of offending. In a recent tire advertisement, with a large photograph of a seated baby, the halo is not limited merely to the head; on the contrary, the entire body appears to give off an ectoplasmic emanation. He is gifted with a truly remarkable cognition: his upraised hand, in a gesture of blessing, indicates his understanding of the relationship between *his* safeguarding and that of his parents — with good automobile tires. A little child shall lead them.

22. When children grow older they are presented in somewhat more earthy activities — playing games, eating food, and the like. Yet they are capable nowadays of planning their life's course; of advising mother as to the proper breakfast food or even toilet paper. Children receive these revelations not only from intuition or a divine status, but from reading advertising and hearing it over the radio. Thus their choices have an intellectual validity denied the children of a former generation.

23. The family group scene of parents and children is presented in a quasi genre fashion, as in a Rubens Holy Family. The touch is usually quite folksy. Father is reading the paper or amusing the children, mother is knitting, the children are romping on the floor. The props of the background prove the family to be average middle-class. It may be worth noting that the layout and typography with this kind of illustration tend to be symmetrical and conservative, thus expressing the traditional conservatism of the home-owning group.

III

24. There is a great deal more than an analogy between the iconography of religious art and that of advertising art. Advertising art is, in fact, itself a religious art. It uses clichés, set subjects, and types, some of them innovations, some borrowed from other art forms — just as in Early Christian art Orpheus and the Good Shep-

herd are taken from pagan art, and remolded to take their part in the church dogma. The new religion is of course the American Standard of Living.

25. Advertising has done its job so well that it is difficult for the average person to believe that a materialistic ideal world has not always been the goal of people everywhere, in all classes, in all ages. But the most casual survey of cultural history will disclose that the pursuit of conspicuous consumption as an evidence of status – to borrow Veblen's terminology – has in the past been confined quite rigidly to the classes who could indulge the expenses incident to the pursuit, and that an ideal of bodily cleanliness to the point of fetishism is new and uniquely American. In our superiority we cannot imagine how people could have walked casually from one place to another instead of speeding at a homicidal sixty miles an hour, or how people could have endured the body odors and dirty underwear of their husbands, wives, and friends. We are apt to forget that the possession of foibles would hardly seem essential to a society which in the large was not only unacquainted with foibles as objects of adoration but also with foibles as a means of advancement up the ladder.

26. The part that advertising has played in spreading an emulative culture is difficult to overestimate. It has codified and written the gospel and painted the didactic pictures for the religion of the American Standard of Living. Just as we look at Gothic cathedrals, miniatures, and altarpieces to understand the medieval mind, so must we examine advertising art to come to any understanding of the materialistic phase, at least, of the modern American milieu.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* What is the analogy here? What is compared to what? For what purpose?
   b. State the main point of the article in one sentence.
   c. Could the author have made his point without recourse to the analogy, or is it an essential part of the point?
2. *a.* Precisely what do the areas compared have in common? Parallel item with item.
   b. Where does the author say that the comparison is significant?
3. *a.* Does the author first explain one "wing" of his analogy and then the other, as the others of the preceding three selections have done, or does he allow the

idea of the comparison to remain in the reader's mind as background? Why? To what effect?

b. In which paragraphs does he make reference to religious iconography?

4. *a.* Is the author especially concerned with making a comment on advertising art or upon American society? Give reasons for your answer.

b. To the extent that he comments upon advertising art, is he apologizing for it or condemning it? How can you tell?

c. Does the author slant his writing to create a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward advertising in the mind of the reader? Hunt out evidence to back up your answer.

5. The body of this article actually presents us with a classification.

a. Where does the classification start? Where does it end? What are its major divisions?

b. Is the classification complete? What purpose does it serve?

c. How do you know that the paper has not been written just to make the classification?

6. Using all four articles in this section as guides, formulate some general working principles for the use of analogy in writing. Where does the device seem best to succeed?

SEVENTH PATTERN: *Comparison*

JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON TODAY*

By James Truslow Adams

I

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, — that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

— *Jefferson*

"The People, your People, Sir, is a great Beast."

— *Hamilton*

1. Rhetoric and sentimentalism have always appealed almost equally to the American people. "Waving the flag" and "sob stuff" are the two keys which unlock the hearts of our widest publics. It is not, therefore, perhaps wholly unfair to take the most rhetorical and emotional of the utterances of Jefferson and Hamilton with relation to their fundamental political philosophies to head this article. The complete divergence of the two men could be shown in many

* From *Our Business Civilization* (1929), by James Truslow Adams. Reprinted by permission of Albert and Charles Boni, Inc.

quotations more carefully worded, but would appear only the more clearly. That divergence was sharp-cut and complete. Their views as to the relation of the people at large to government were as far asunder as the poles. In examining the writings of both these statesmen, it has been borne in upon me that if, as Lincoln said, a nation cannot live half slave and half free, neither can it live half Hamilton and half Jefferson, especially when the two ingredients are mixed, as they now are, in the blurred mentalities of the same individuals.

2. The two men themselves knew this well in their own lifetimes. Each fought valiantly for his own beliefs. Each felt that one or the other, and one philosophy or the other, must conquer. Neither believed that the two could lie down together, lion and lamb, in that curious and conglomerately furnished mental apartment, the American consciousness. That this has come to be the case merely shows for how little ideas really count in modern American political life, a life which is almost wholly emotional and financial rather than intellectual. Ideas are supposed to be explosive. In America, apparently, they are as harmless as "duds." Even the Civil War, our greatest "moral" struggle, was largely a matter of emotion; and as for the last war, anyone who, like myself, was in a position to watch the manufacture of propaganda can say whether it was directed to the heart or to the head of the multitude.

3. There are certain ways in which conflicting ideas may be held in the same community without hypocrisy. In every age, for example, there has been one set of beliefs for the learned, the cultivated, and the sophisticated, and another for the mob. The mob in the past was never educated, and even "the people" today, in spite of a smattering of "book knowledge," are not educated in the same way that the cultivated and, in an uninvidious sense, the privileged classes are. Here and there one may find a case of a mechanic, a farmer, a saleslady, or what not who really uses his or her mind, but how rare the cases are I leave to anyone who is not afraid to come out and tell the truth as he has found it, speaking broadly. Merely reading a newspaper, even if not of the tabloid variety, or tucking away unrelated bits of information uncritically, is not thinking. Between the man who critically analyzes, compares, and thinks, and the one who merely reads, there is a great gulf fixed as to ideas.

4. Such a case has always been common in religion, from the medi-

cine man or the Egyptian priest down to the Archbishop of Canterbury or a cardinal in Rome. The dogmas of the Christian religion, for example, as held by the two latter are quite different "ideas" from the same as held by a person who has had no philosophical training and who could not if he would, and would not if he could, undertake the course of study necessary to get the point of view of the bishop or the cardinal. In this sense, ideas which are so different as to be almost, if not quite, contradictory may nevertheless live on side by side in the same society without hypocrisy. They may, indeed, be considered as expressions of the same idea merely attuned differently to be caught, as far as possible, by minds of different "pitch."

5. Again, we may have ideals which apparently conflict with the practice of society, but they *are* ideals and, however far practice may fall short of attainment, there is no real conflict, because in fact a certain amount of effort, however slight and however sporadic, is made to attain them. The conflict is not between clashing ideas or ideals, but between ideal and practice.
6. Once more, contradictory ideas may exist in the same society without hypocrisy if they are held by different individuals or parties who openly avow them and who either honestly agree to differ in peace or who struggle to get one or the other set of ideas accepted by all.
7. But the odd thing about the contradictory Hamilton-Jefferson ideas is that they are not held by different social classes – the one set of ideas as a sort of esoteric doctrine and the other publicly proclaimed – nor are they any longer the platforms of two parties, as in the days when the two statesmen themselves fought honestly, courageously, and bitterly for them in the open. And I say this even though the portrait of Hamilton may adorn the walls of Republican clubs and that of Jefferson those of the Democratic ones. The present situation is anomalous.
8. Hamilton and Jefferson each had a fundamental premise. These were as utterly contradictory as two major premises could possibly be. From each of these respectively each of the men deduced his system of government with impeccable logic. Yet what of these men and their philosophies in our politics today? There is scarcely a politician of any party who would dare to preach Hamilton's main de-

ductions, while not a single one could be elected to any office if he did not preach Jefferson's premise. The Republicans claim to be followers of Hamilton, yet they would not dare to preach Hamilton's most fundamental assumption, that on which his whole structure was based. The Democrats claim to be followers of Jefferson, yet they have departed far from some of his most important deductions. On the whole, I confess I think they show the greater intellectual integrity of the two parties, yet, so far, I have always voted Republican, which is a sample of the intellectual muddle our politics are in.

II

9. Before going further, let us examine very briefly what the ideas of the two men were.

10. Jefferson's fundamental idea, his major premise, was an utter trust in the morality, the integrity, the ability, and the political honesty of the common man of America, at least as America was then and as Jefferson hoped it would remain for centuries. He made this point again and again, and from it deduced his whole system. Based on that belief, he wrought out the doctrine that the only safety for the State depended on the widest possible extension of the franchise. "The influence over government must be shared among all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates in the ultimate authority, the government will be safe." "It is rarely that the public sentiment decides immorally or unwisely." "It has been thought that corruption is restrained by confining the right of suffrage to a few of the wealthier of the people; but it would be more effectually restrained by an extension of that right to such numbers as would bid defiance to the means of corruption." He dreaded the power of wealth, the growth of manufacturers, the development of banks, the creation of a strong central government, a judiciary which was not elected and readily amenable to the will of the majority. He wished for as little government as possible, with few hampering restrictions on the individual expression of the citizen. He was for free trade and universally diffused free education. He wished to preserve the state governments in all their vigor, which, at that time, meant practically independent and sovereign commonwealths. To the Federal government he would allot the most meager of functions, merely those dealing with foreign nations

and concerning such acts in common as it would be impracticable for the states to perform individually. His ideal was "a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." "This," he added, "is the sum of good government."

11. On the other hand, let us turn to Hamilton. The remark prefixed to this article, although made in a moment of vexation, expresses his attitude toward the common people, whom he never trusted. In his writings for the public, he had, of course, to be more discreet in his utterances, but his statements, and still more his acts, are clear enough. "Take mankind as they are, and what are they governed by? Their passions . . . One great error is that we suppose mankind more honest than they are." "It is a just observation that the people commonly *intend* the *public good.* This often applies to their very errors. But their good sense would despise the adulator who should pretend that they always *reason right* about the *means* of promoting it. . . . When occasions present themselves, in which the interests of the people are at variance with their inclinations, it is the duty of the persons whom they have appointed to be the guardians of those interests, to withstand the temporary delusions." "The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God: and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true to fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge right or determine right." "Can a democratic Assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good?" "The difference [between rich and poor] indeed consists not in the quantity, but kind of vices, which are incident to the various classes; and here the advantage of character belongs to the wealthy. Their vices are probably more favorable to the prosperity of the State than those of the indigent, and partake less of moral depravity." "It is an unquestionable truth, that the body of the people in every country desire sincerely its prosperity. But it is equally unquestionable that they do not possess the discernment and stability necessary for systematic government."

12. As a corollary from this fundamental assumption, Hamilton devoted all his great abilities to the development of as strong a central

government as possible. He would remove power as completely as might be from the hands of the common people and place it in those who had inherited or acquired wealth and position. For this purpose he deliberately set about to tie the wealthy classes to government by his Funding Act, by the creation of manufactures, by a protective tariff, by the establishment of banks, and in other ways. He felt that human nature had always been the same and would not change. Public education did not interest him. His one interest was the establishment of a strong government in strong hands, and he evidently felt that a smattering of book knowledge, such as our people even yet get in grade and high schools, would not alter their characters and make them safe depositories for political power. In fact, and this is an important point to note in his system, the development of the industrial state would tend to make the people at large even less capable than in his day by creating, as it has done, a vast mass of mere wage earners, floating city dwellers, on the one hand, while it built up his wealthy class on the other. The great mass of the people, he reasoned, would always have to be governed in any case, and the more powerful and influential the wealthy could be made, the stronger would they be for governing. Out of these simple assumptions, the banks, the vast "implied powers" of the central government, the funding of the national debt, the rise of a manufacturing industry, and the formation of a tariff designed not merely to protect infant industries but to create a dependence of wealth upon government favor, were developed as clearly and logically as a theorem in Euclid.

13. Thus, very briefly, and perhaps a trifle crudely, we have stated the real bases of Jeffersonianism and Hamiltonianism. Their whole systems of government sprang logically from their differing premises. Jefferson trusted the common man. Hamilton deeply distrusted him. That was a very clear-cut issue from 1790 to 1800, and both men, and the people themselves, recognized it as such. Stupendous consequences would follow from the success in practical politics at that time of either of those theories of human nature. For the first decade of our national life Hamilton beat Jefferson in practical politics, and in a very real sense created the United States as we know it today, a vast manufacturing nation with its Federal government eating up all the state governments like an Aaron's rod, with its

trust and its money power and its Chinese wall of a protective tariff, and all the rest. There is no doubt of the strength of the present government. There is no doubt of the support it derives from the wealthy classes. There is no doubt of the colossal success of the industrial experiment as a creator of wealth.

14. The Republican Party may well look back to Hamilton as its High Priest, but the odd thing is that Hamilton created all this heritage of strength and power and banks and tariffs for a very simple reason, and that reason the Republican Party would not dare to breathe aloud in any party convention, campaign, or speech. "The People, your People, Sir, is a great Beast." Imagine that as an exordium of a keynote speech to nominate Calvin Coolidge or Herbert Hoover. Hamilton deliberately set about to create special privileges for certain classes so that those classes would in turn support the government and control the people. What does the Republican Party do? It hangs on for dear life to all those special privileges, it preaches Hamilton's corollaries as the one pure political gospel, and then it steals Jefferson's major premise, and preaches the wisdom and the nobility and the political acumen of the common people! One feels like inquiring in the vernacular, with deep emotion, "How did you get that way?" As when watching a prestidigitator, one's jaw drops with amazement as the rabbit pops from the one hat we could not possibly have expected it from.

15. On the other hand, how about the Democrats? They too preach Jefferson's major premise — the wisdom, the ability, and the political acumen of the common people. But what have they done with most of Jefferson's deductions? They certainly do not evince any strong desire to reduce the functions of government and bring it down to that "wise and frugal" affair their leader visioned. They are more inclined to increase government bureaus and supervision and interference with the affairs of the citizen. As to the tariff, they have capitulated completely and in the last campaign scarcely mentioned the dangerous topic, for fear of losing money and votes. They preach their founder's major premise and hurrah for the common people, but beyond that I cannot penetrate at all through the murky fog which hides all real political issues in the United States today. There is the vague sense of expectancy one has during the entr'acte at the theater. There is nothing to see, but eventually the curtain

will go up again. Meanwhile the sceneshifters are supposedly busy. I have an idea that before long the sceneshifters will not be our spineless politicians, but the Fates.

III

16. And now, lastly, let us consider one more curious thing about this preaching and living of Hamilton's conclusions illogically from Jefferson's premise.

17. Is that premise really valid today for either party? Would even Jefferson believe it to be? There is no telling what he would say if he came back, but it must be remembered that he did not believe in the common people always and under all circumstances. He drew a distinction many times between those living in the simple agricultural America of his time and those in the crowded cities of Europe. In a long and interesting letter to John Adams, he wrote: "Before the establishment of the United States, nothing was known to history but the man of the old world, crowded within limits either small or overcharged, and steeped in the vices which that situation generates. A government adapted to such men would be one thing; but a very different one, that for the man of these States. Here every one may have land to labor for himself, if he chooses; or, preferring the exercise of any other industry, may exact from it such compensation as not only to afford comfortable subsistence, but wherewith to provide for a cessation from labor in old age. . . . Such men may safely and advantageously reserve to themselves a wholesome control over their public affairs, and a degree of freedom, which, in the hands of the *canaille* of the cities of Europe, would be instantly perverted to the demolition and destruction of everything public and private." Again he says that our governments will surely become corrupt when our conditions as to crowded cities shall have approximated those of the Europe of his day.

18. Without here attempting to pass any judgment on the success of Hamilton's work in its human rather than its financial and governmental aspects, we shall have to admit that it had brought about the very conditions which Jefferson dreaded and under which he feared that his common man would become corrupt and incapable of self-government. The tremendous demand for labor resulted in our importing by the millions those very *canaille,* in Jefferson's

phrase – people from the lowest classes of overcrowded Europe – in whom he had no confidence whatever, whom he considered incapable of self-government. We have ourselves developed overcrowded conditions. There are three times as many people in the metropolitan area of New York today as there were in the entire United States in Jefferson's day. Over fifty per cent of our population now live in cities and are beginning, in the larger ones at least, to develop the vices of a city mentality. In fact the corruption is worse here than in Europe in many respects. London has a larger population than New York, yet it costs $180,000,000 a year to run that city and $525,000,000 to run New York. Even making all allowances for difference in prices, there is no escaping a most unpleasant conclusion from those figures.

19. Yet Jefferson claimed that if he was right in his assumption that the common man was honest, able, and capable of self-government, the governments most honestly and frugally conducted would be those nearest to him, the local rather than the Federal. Jefferson's whole philosophy was agrarian. It was based on the one population in the world he thought worthy of it – a population of which ninety per cent were farmers, mostly owning their own homes. He hoped it would remain so for many hundreds of years and believed that it would. It did so for only a few decades.

20. How long are we to go on preaching Jefferson and practicing Hamilton? Jefferson's philosophy develops from his premise and hangs together. So does Hamilton's. But the two do not mix at all, as both men recognized in deadly earnest. We have been trying to mix them ever since, oratorically at least. We practice Hamilton from January 1 to July 3 every year. On July 4 we hurrah like mad for Jefferson. The next day we quietly take up Hamilton again for the rest of the year as we go about our business. I do not care which philosophy a man adopts, but to preach one and to practice the other is hypocrisy, and hypocrisy in the long run poisons the soul.

21. Personally I prefer Jefferson as a man to Hamilton. In this spirit I believe he was far more of an aristocrat than Hamilton ever was, with all his social pretensions. I prefer the America which Jefferson visualized and hoped for to that which Hamilton dreamed of and brought to pass on a scale he never could measure. On the other hand, I believe that the future will be, as the past has been, Hamil-

ton's. His hopes and Jefferson's fears have come true. The small farmer, the shopkeeper, the artisan are being more and more crowded out from the interest of a plutocratic government. A Hamiltonian philosophy or government cares nothing for them as compared with the large manufacturer and larger trust.

22. If we want to know why they should not be helped or protected as well as corporations which can declare hundreds of per cent in stock dividends and then cash dividends on the stock dividends and so on ad infinitum, we must go back to Hamilton and the beginning of his system. I do not see now that any other system is possible. Perhaps some day we may secure a lowering of the tariff to less swinish levels and certain other reforms, but as a whole the system must stand. Jefferson's dream of a new and better world at last opened to men, with a whole continent at their back over which as freeholders they could slowly expand for ages, has passed. We have swallowed our heritage almost at a gulp. We have become as a nation colossally rich. But if anyone thinks we have become more honest or more capable of self-government, let him study the records.

23. If we are to accept Hamilton's conclusions and system, why not be honest and accept, instead of Jefferson's, his own premise, the only real basis for his conclusions and, as he believed, the only real buttress for his system? That system was based upon the deep, honest, and publicly avowed belief that the people could not govern themselves. That they do so, except to the extent of sometimes impeding action at a crisis, is, I believe, far less true than they believe, unpalatable as that remark may be. Of course, "public opinion" has to be considered, but anyone who knows how public opinion is manufactured can take that at its real value. Of course, again, there is a lot of bunkum talked, but that can also be taken at its real value. There are two passages in "Uncle" Joe Cannon's *Autobiography* that, taken together, are very amusing. In one of the chapters he describes how Mark Hanna had the nomination for President of the United States absolutely in his own hand. The sole choice "the people" had was to vote for or against Hanna's man. Yet Cannon ends his book by saying that America is ruled from the homes and the firesides! As for public opinion, it is far from always being salutary. I have good reason to believe that, had it not been for public opinion in the Middle West, Wilson would have entered

the war long before he did; it would have ended far sooner; and the world would have been saved much of all that has happened since. Had it not been for public opinion, which really meant popular emotion, in about twenty countries after the Armistice, the men gathered at Paris to make the Peace Treaty would have been able to make a far more sensible one than they did.

24. One last point. Hamilton believed in giving special privileges to certain classes so as to secure their adherence and support. That is understandable, and is good Republican doctrine today. But those who did not get those privileges were to be kept as far as possible from any control of government. That may sound a bit cold-blooded, but it also is logical and understandable. Jefferson believed in privileges for none and a voice in the government for all. Again, given his premise, that is a logical and understandable position. But where is the logic, and what will happen, when you give the power to all and still try to retain special privileges for some? For a while the patient may be kept quiet with strong doses of "hokum," but some day we may find that the opposing views of the two statesmen of 1800 cannot be fused as innocuously as we have tried to fuse them.

25. Hamilton and Jefferson. Honest men both, and bitterest of foes in a fight over premises and principles which they knew were fundamental. How amazed they would be could they return and find us preaching the one, practicing the other, and mixing their clear-cut positions together! Hamilton might be pleased to see the stupendous growth of all he had dreamed, but would ask why, when all had gone so perfectly according to his plans, political power had been transferred to the people at large. Jefferson would say, why preach theoretically his fundamental assumption and then do all and more than his bitterest foe could do to nullify it practically? Both might say, hypocrites, or addlepates.

26. Our apologetic answer for the last century might be — democracy. The answer for the next century is hidden, but is deeply troubling the thoughtful or the wealthy of every nation except the prosperous class in America, which is too gorged with profits to think about anything

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* State clearly the nature of the problem that the author proposes to handle in this article. Where does he state it?
   b. Does he give the reader any hint of his solution to the problem at the beginning or does he there merely introduce the problem?
2. *a.* Is the comparison a means to an end or an end in itself? That is, has the author written this article to make this comparison, or has he chosen this comparison as a means of getting across the idea that he wishes to communicate?
   b. Where do you first find evidence of the use of comparison?
3. *a.* What is the job done by the section that begins with Paragraph 2 and ends with Paragraph 7?
   b. Can you find a topic sentence in Paragraph 2?
   c. The point made in the first sentence of Paragraph 3 controls the thought of how many paragraphs? What then is the topic sentence for Paragraph 3? Does it also control Paragraph 4?
   d. What is the function of Paragraph 7 in respect to this section? Characterize the kind of reasoning found in this section.
4. How then does Paragraph 8 fit into the organization of the whole article?
5. Note the author's use of the short transitional paragraph, as in Paragraphs 9 and 16. How effective is this device?
6. *a.* List the elements as they appear in the comparison.
   b. Is the comparison balanced — are qualities and characteristics on one side balanced with an equal number on the other side?
7. Is the author primarily interested in pointing out similarities between Hamilton and Jefferson, or differences?
8. *a.* Does the author take sides here?
   b. Does he have a political, social, or economic belief that governs the choice of elements used here in the comparison?
   c. What is his point of view? How does it affect his conclusion?
9. At what point does the author leave his comparison? Are there any paragraphs toward the end that pull the ideas back to comparison?
10. Explain the differences between a pattern of analogy and a pattern of comparison, as organizational devices, in terms of this article and one of the articles in the section on analogy.

AMERICA AND EUROPE*

YESTERDAY'S INFLUENCE ON TODAY

By Aldous Huxley

1. A STUDY of the *effect* of the Past on the Present. Strange things (it may seem a paradox, but it is nevertheless the truth) are easier

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to understand than those we know too well. The nearer, the more everyday and familiar an event is, the greater the difficulty we find in comprehending it or even realizing that it *is* an event — that it actually takes place. Habit causes us to react automatically to the things which surround us. Confronted by the unknown, we are forced to think; hence our passionate dislike of unfamiliar things; but in the face of the known, we are hardly better than machines. When we live habitually, we function with the greatest practical efficiency, the least possible waste of energy; but we are scarcely more aware of the world in which we are living and acting than the automobile is aware of the landscape through which it is being driven. For the conscious, thinking part of us, habit abolishes the environment by making it too familiar. We must make a great mental effort if we would analyze and comprehend the things we take for granted. The people who do not take for granted, who are not content merely to live in the familiar world, but want to understand it too, are called philosophers and men of science. They are not numerous. Most of us are content to live in our immediate surroundings as fishes live in water, taking it for granted that our particular mode of existence is the only possible mode, and so completely familiar with the element which we inhabit, that we are not conscious of its nature and hardly, even, of its bare existence.

To travel is to change one's element. Passing from a liquid into a windy world, the most unscientifically minded of fish is suddenly enabled to criticize and comprehend the water which, as an inhabitant, it had ignored. And the traveler discovers in foreign countries many obvious facts about his own — facts which he had overlooked while at home, because they were too close to him. Thus, it was while journeying in India that I came to understand the inward nature of our European civilization. Talking with Orientals whose mentality was prescientific, I realized, as never before, the significance of that scientific outlook which has become the world-view of the contemporary West. And it was in America — in the country which, for all practical purposes, has no history — that I discovered the importance to us Europeans of our past and the extent to which (though we may be quite unaware of it) it influences our thoughts and actions in the present.

3. In externals, life on one side of the Atlantic looks very much like life on the other. Western Europe is as completely and intensively industrialized as America. Huge populations of propertyless wage earners inhabit the cities of each continent. In both, business is the principal occupation of the better educated classes, and the great industrialists and financiers wield almost, if not quite, as much political power in England, France and Germany, as they do in the United States. True, there is one important difference. America, being a very large and opulent continent inhabited by a relatively very small population, is much richer than Europe; there is still, in America, more than enough to go round. Europe, on the other hand, is overcrowded, as America will begin to be some hundred years hence when the present population has doubled or trebled itself. Prosperity creates self-satisfaction and optimism; and contemporary America is as full of these spiritual commodities as was middle-class England in the palmy days of her industrial supremacy, between 1840 and 1900. But though the level of prosperity is lower in Europe than in America, the courses of European wealth, such as it is, are the same as those of American wealth, and the externals of life in the great industrial and commercial centers of both continents are very similar. And yet, in spite of this external similarity, Europe and America remain profoundly foreign to one another. The European's outlook, his standards, his point of view are, in many important respects, quite unlike the American's. So much so, that an Englishman will often find it easier to understand the mentality of an Austrian or a Frenchman than that of an American. The American, it is true, speaks his language; but the Frenchman and the Austrian are Europeans and, inhabiting the same continent, share the Englishman's historical background. Their views about man and things will be closer to his than those of the American, who comes from a country that has not known the Middle Ages. St. Francis of Assisi and the Holy Roman Empire, Scholastic Philosophy, the Guilds, the Feudal System seem remote enough. Nevertheless they continue to exercise their influence on modern Europe. A visit to America makes one realize how great that influence is, how profoundly our contemporary ideas about many of the most important aspects of social life are modified by the past. I propose in this article to give one or two of the most striking examples of the way in which history has con-

ditioned the European point of view, making it different from the American.

4. Business being the main activity of the educated classes in both continents, one would expect the attitude toward it to be the same in Europe as in America. And yet, for purely historical reasons, it is not. In America it is true to say business is accepted wholeheartedly as an end in itself, to which the highest activities of the best men can be worthily devoted. I have read pronouncements by American clergymen who affirmed, in so many words, that "Business is Religion." And it has become a commonplace of the modern American sermon, newspaper article and advertisement that the businessman is doing service of the highest kind. "Service" is the modern American businessman's favorite word. It was also one of the favorite words of the Founder of Christianity and of his most remarkable medieval disciple, St. Francis of Assisi. But the same word does not always mean the same thing. When we demand the precise signification of the eminently Christian word "service," as used by successful businessmen, we find that it means roughly this: Selling the public what it wants (or what it can be persuaded by means of advertising to imagine it wants) in an efficient way and with the maximum profit compatible with legal standards of honesty. Would Christ or St. Francis have defined it in the same way? One wonders. In any case, that is the definition of "service" current in business circles. The word hallows the thing. The aura of service shines round the American businessman like a halo.

5. In Europe the businessman finds it more difficult to persuade his fellows that his is a noble existence of perpetual service and he himself the highest of human types. For Europe is still haunted, in spite of all the changes of the last seven hundred years by the ghost of the medieval tradition. In the eyes of the medieval church, avarice or the love of money, was one of the deadly sins. Nor was the church satisfied with deploring abstractly and on principle the activities of those who tried to get rich quick. Religious condemnation was reflected in legal practice by a host of enactments limiting and controlling the activities of financiers, manufacturers and middlemen. Interest, when it was permitted at all, might not exceed a certain moderate rate; speculative profits were regarded as illegal; monopolists were prosecuted on earth as well as condemned to

eternal torments in another world; the man who made a "corner" in necessary commodities was not only damned, but fined also and imprisoned. The medieval state, which was for all practical purposes a manifestation of the medieval church, thought it a part of its duty to curb men's lust for money, just as it curbed and regulated their sexual instincts and their passions of violence and revenge.

6. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the churches had ceased to regard economics as a province of human activity in which they were entitled to interfere. But their previous protests against avarice remained on record, and the tradition that they had once interfered in economic matters still lingered, even though they interfered no longer. States shortly followed the example of the churches and left their subjects to settle their economic problems among themselves – with what appalling results any student of the early history of industrialism is familiar. The political economists of the new generation did not condemn the lust for money, as their religiously minded predecessors had done, and instead of trying to control and regulate it, demanded that it should be allowed to express itself freely, without interference by religion or law. For the economist, avarice is simply the motive power that works the economic machine, in precisely the same way that water is the motive power that works the mill. The faster the mill wheel turns, the better. If the flow of water is interfered with, the wheel will turn more slowly. Therefore there must be no interference. The modern state accepts this conception with but few modifications, interfering only to prevent the weak from being too brutally exploited by avaricious employers and the consuming public from being too unconscionably swindled by avaricious producers and middlemen. It continues, like its medieval predecessor, to condemn the intemperate manifestations of sexuality and rage, but leaves the avaricious man almost entirely free to satisfy his lust for money and even rewards him, when successful and rich, with honors and political power.

7. This state of things holds good on both sides of the Atlantic. But whereas it would be true to say that, in America, the attitude of the economists and of the state is substantially the attitude of the public at large, in Europe, on the contrary, public opinion is not quite so wholeheartedly convinced of the moral excellence of business and businessmen. The influence of the Middle Ages still faintly persists

in the Old World. It is now exactly seven hundred years since St. Francis of Assisi sang the praises of the Lady Poverty and devoted himself to her service. But something of his spirit survives even today, so that industrialism and business, though triumphant in fact, do not in Europe receive the homage to which their predominance seems to entitle them. They rule the external world, but not men's minds. Poverty, particularly if it is poverty for the sake of some idea, is still rather respectable in Europe and the enriched businessman is not looked up to as the highest type of citizen. Indeed, the aristocratic tradition unites itself with the religious tradition of the Middle Ages and causes him actually to be disparaged and looked down upon, even while he is envied and obeyed. Of the aristocratic tradition I shall have more to say later. Meanwhile, I should like to point out another result of the medieval ethico-religious tradition. Europe is notoriously far more tolerant of the class of ideas labeled "socialistic" than is America, where they are looked upon with horror, as positively criminal. The rich European businessman probably objects to socialism quite as strongly as does his brother on the opposite side of the Atlantic; but public opinion at large is not so violently opposed to it as it is in America. Indeed, the ideas of socialism seem familiar and almost obvious to minds on which the religious teaching of the Middle Ages still exerts a certain influence. Politically, medieval Europe was a collection of despotisms, large and small. But its economic system, based on the assumption that the love of money is a sin which must be repressed and controlled like any other undesirable natural proclivity, bore a close resemblance to modern state socialism. Human beings are only frightened by the things they do not know. Obscurely and almost unconsciously, the European is familiar with the ideas of socialism, because they are to a great extent implicit in the religious beliefs (still predominantly medieval) with which he has been brought up. The American public, cut off from the Middle Ages and unfamiliar with these ideas, finds them stupid, wicked and worthy of violent suppression.

8. Another heritage from the Middle Ages – a heritage which conditions the modern European outlook and makes it different from the American – is the tradition of aristocracy. Hereditary aristocracies have ceased in almost all European countries to possess spe-

cial privileges and exercise special political powers. In England, it is true, the Second Chamber still consists of hereditary peers. Certain political theorists object to these legislators, whose only qualification to be law-givers is that they happen to have been born with a title. Theoretically, they may be objectionable: but I cannot see that they do their business any worse than an assembly consisting of an equal number of men chosen at random, as a jury, would do it. And as a democrat, I for one would always prefer the present House of Lords to any specially elected or nominated assembly of financiers, industrialists, retired colonial governors, superannuated experts in various branches of applied science and so forth, whose training and habits of mind would tend to make them far more meddlesome and tyrannous than the sporting country gentlemen who form the majority of the English Second Chamber today. But that is by the way. The English aristocracy still possesses political power, but vastly less than it did; and its special privileges have long since been abolished. It is no longer an oppressive ruling class. The same applies to other parts of Europe. In all countries the hereditary aristocracy is only the ghost of what it was. And yet its influence on contemporary social life and on current ideas is still important. How important, a European only realizes when he has visited a country which has not known the Middle Ages and where the idea of hereditary aristocracy is not only foreign but even traditionally odious.

9. In a country where there is no hereditary aristocracy the leaders of society are the rich. This is not the case in countries where aristocracy survives as a social and political institution or even as a mere tradition. Wealth, it is true, can almost always force its way into an aristocratic clique; but in no circumstances is it equivalent to aristocracy. Wealth as such does not carry, in an aristocratic country, the prestige which belongs to it in a society founded on a different principle. Money, in an aristocratically organized society, can command and control men's actions (as it does in other societies), but not their thoughts; one cannot buy the respect which an ancient name evokes in the minds of those who have been brought up in the aristocratic tradition, nor its romantic glamour. The enriched businessman may buy his way into the exclusive world of hereditary aristocracy; but he will be secretly, or even openly,

looked down upon by those whose company he frequents. Commerce was regarded as degrading in the Middle Ages; an aristocrat did not buy and sell. The tradition dies hard.

10. Snobbery for snobbery, there is not much to choose between a snobbery whose object is the titled and a snobbery which adores the very rich. They are equally comic. But snobbery is not the only fruit of traditional aristocracy. It has other by-products of a much more interesting nature. The most important of these by-products is the more or less complete indifference to public opinion which characterizes the members of a hereditary aristocracy. It is obvious that, if you are born with a certain acknowledged social superiority, which is independent of material circumstances (for a poor aristocrat is still an aristocrat) and of which nothing can deprive you, you need not feel preoccupied about public opinion. "What will the neighbors say?" You do not care two pins what they say. What they say can do nothing to damage your position, which you hold by something approaching a divine right. This indifference to public opinion is the cause, among those who feel it, of a good deal of stupid and uncontrolled behavior. Liberty easily turns to license; it takes a strong man to be free with dignity. Rich and foolish young men who happen to be hereditary aristocrats probably behave worse, on the average, than rich and foolish young men whose fathers were manufacturers or bankers. If the aristocratic indifference to public opinion resulted only in this, it would hardly be worth talking about. But not all aristocrats are foolish. A strong and intelligent man who feels himself to be above public opinion will not behave badly; he will behave independently, doing what he thinks right and rational, regardless of the prejudices of the crowd. Among the European aristocracies there is always to be found a good supply of unyielding independent characters, whose eccentricity, fostered by their sense of superiority, can sometimes attain almost to the pitch of madness.

11. In our too completely standardized world a leavening of strong-minded eccentrics is a most desirable thing; the tradition of hereditary aristocracy produces them almost automatically. The eccentric aristocrat does good by his example. Careless of public opinion himself, he gives to eccentricity a certain respectability which it cannot possess in countries where public opinion rules every class of so-

ciety, even the richest, and where all departures from the average are looked on with grave suspicion. Moreover, aristocracies have always been the patrons of the arts and letters, even to a certain extent of the sciences. To play with new ideas has been one of the traditional sports, along with hunting and love-making, of the more intelligent of European aristocrats. They have protected otherwise defenseless innovators coming from the lower strata of society and have shielded them with their prestige and power from the rage of the ignorant and therefore conservative mob, to which all novelty, every attempt to change established prejudices, is abhorrent. Personal liberty – the liberty of every man to act and think, within reasonable limits, as he likes – is undoubtedly greater in Europe than in America, where "liberty" means the liberty of the majority to impose its will on the minority and to make compulsory by law and, still more, by the force of public opinion, a general uniformity of habits, customs and beliefs. Legal and nonlegal interference in the private lives of individuals has gone to extraordinary lengths in America! In many parts of the United States unfamiliar, and therefore unpopular, ideas are persecuted with violence. People who hold unpopular beliefs and whose habits of life are different from those of the majority enjoy in Europe a degree of freedom which would never be accorded them in most of the states of America. This freedom is largely due, I believe, to the influence of the surviving hereditary aristocracies, to whom the idea of personal liberty is sacred and who therefore do their best to protect, not only their own, but even other people's freedom to think and behave as they like.

ANALYSIS

1. Indicate the author's purpose in this article. Point out where in the text he announces it.
2. To what extent is the pattern of comparison inherent in the author's subject matter?
3. List the main elements that are compared. Why is the author concerned only with business and aristocracy? Is the comparison complete?
4. Is the author interested mainly in pointing out similarities or differences? Does he do both? Where?
5. The paragraphs are uniformly long here. Study the paragraphing and the kinds of devices of paragraph development used.

6. Compare this article with Adams' "Jefferson and Hamilton Today."
   a. Which of the two seems to you more concrete? Why?
   b. Which seems to use a more solid basis for the comparison? Why?
7. In the light of these two articles try to formulate some working principles concerning the use of the pattern of comparison in writing.

SAMPLE THEME SUBJECTS

Enumeration:

Some characteristics of cutover land

Aspects of living in the city

The basic principles of swimming (or basketball, football)

Changes the war has brought to my town

Classification:

Kinds of public building architecture in my town

Types of campus trees

Component Parts:

Growing air transportation and its effect on the country

The spreading of Hollywood fads throughout the country

Cause:

Why do children read the comic books?

Causes of population growth (or decline) in my town

Why certain advertisements are effective

The causes of popularity of historical novels

Concession:

The movies may be demoralizing, but . . .

Though athletic scholarships are bad things, there is some good in the system.

Labor unions may be guilty of bad practices; yet the labor movement is unchanged in its accomplishments and benefits.

In spite of all that has been said about caste systems in college sororities and fraternities, they are nevertheless worthwhile organizations.

Analogy:

"Habit is the enormous flywheel of society."

To understand society, one must understand the organization of ants or bees.

One can understand the movement of wind in terms of fluid currents.

The chronic radio listener is really a dope addict.

Comparison:

Two towns — a comparison

The guild union and the trade union

Newsweek and *Time* magazines — a comparison

The college student of today and the college student of my father's generation

7. APPRECIATIONS

7

Appreciations

THE CONFUSION that besets the minds of so many amateur writers of prose in our day, especially when they are thinking about ideal forms, about forms worthy of imitation, or about the effects to be achieved by the use of one or another of several forms, would be considerably lessened if those writers would perform a recapitulation of the history of prose over the past few centuries. For, to begin with, the forms of prose that we use today had, for the most part, definite origins at definite times in the past, and the origins are to be identified with intellectual novelties of their times. We forget that the essay, for instance, came into being during the Renaissance, in the sixteenth century, at the hands of Michel de Montaigne and, later, Francis Bacon, and that the essay allowed its innovators to express shadings of ideas which the predecessors of Montaigne and Bacon had neither the desire to express nor the forms in which to express them. Whether or not the absence of the forms prevented the growth of the shades of feelings is to us a relatively unimportant point. When, however, we, as inhabitants of the twentieth century, call all kinds of expository prose essays, we are in effect returning our understanding of prose to the period before Montaigne and Bacon, since the term no longer has any specific meaning.

In the beginning, essays were not treatises. They were not systematic expositions of the materials of arts and sciences. Nor were they used in disputations. Instead, relatively speaking, they were written in a vacuum and expressed high level generalizations with no great amount of substantiation, at least with only scant attempts at demonstration. These essays were personal in the sense that they expressed the ideas of the

writer without demonstration, but they were not personal in the sense that they tried to say something about the peculiarities of the author.

In the eighteenth century the essay form was "personalized"; that is, we begin to find in the prose of that time what are known as "personal essays." Personal essays still expressed ideas often, but their important feature was their ability to express feelings or intuitions that logical demonstration could not easily approach. When Charles Lamb, in the nineteenth century, wrote his essay on "Old China," he took the human mind into new areas of thought; he expressed kinds of thought that most of his predecessors had either not cared to express or not discovered how to express, in prose. Poetry had been to that time the province in which expression of those kinds of thought had appeared.

All this is a lengthy introduction to the subject of appreciative prose. We are not talking here precisely about the personal essay, but the personal essay is one form that appreciations can take. Personal essays attempt to communicate the value of certain feelings or insights that a writer has experienced. These values cannot be demonstrated but they can be communicated, and, as a result of the communication, the reader can find out if they are values for himself also. He can, in other words, acquire knowledge about what is valuable to another human being. The knowledge communicated here is subjective knowledge, a knowledge that is every bit as important to man as his objective knowledge, but it is communicable only because one human being resembles another, even though sometimes it is possible to come to understand an alien kind of human being best by attempting to understand his appreciations. For instance, an understanding of Chinese poetry may give us a better idea of the core of Chinese mentality than can an understanding of abstract Chinese ideas.

Criticism of works of painting, music, and literature can be either appreciative or judicial. Judicial criticism deals with objective features of a work of art and judges in terms of conformity to rules, norms, or standards. Judicial criticism is thus comment about art that approximates other kinds of induction. Appreciative criticism, on the other hand, attempts to communicate subjective reactions to art works, to recreate the feeling or thought expressed in them. Anatole France defined appreciative criticism as the "adventures of a sensitive mind among masterpieces." Appreciations involve a kind of communication of a special sort simply because there is no objective data by which to check the ac-

curacy of observations. The value feelings that attach to a Donatello statue cannot be measured as easily as can our perceptions in regard to the number of people in a room or the distance between one town and another.

The term "feeling" has been used here to describe our mental reactions in the area of appreciations, but the reader should beware lest he confuse "feeling" with "emotion." By "feeling" is meant here a perception of a subjective reality, and it may be called an insight, an intuition, or simply a perception if we agree that a perception need not concern an objective reality.

NIGHT AND ITS MELANCHOLY MYSTERIES *

THE NOCTURNES OF CHOPIN

By James Huneker

1. JOHN FIELD has been described as the forerunner of Chopin. The limpid style of this pupil and friend of Clementi, his beautiful touch and finished execution, were certainly admired and imitated by the Pole. Field's nocturnes are now neglected — so curious are Time's caprices — and without warrant, for not only is Field the creator of the form, but in both his concertos and nocturnes he has written charming, sweet and sane music. He rather patronized Chopin, for whose melancholy pose he had no patience. "He has a talent of the hospital," growled Field in the intervals between his wine drinking, pipe smoking and the washing of his linen — the latter economical habit he contracted from Clementi. There is some truth in his stricture. Chopin, seldom exuberantly cheerful, is morbidly sad and complaining in many of the nocturnes. The most admired of his compositions, with the exception of the valses, they are in several instances his weakest. Yet he ennobled the form originated by Field, giving it dramatic breadth, passion and even grandeur. Set against Field's naïve and idyllic specimens, Chopin's efforts are often too bejewelled for true simplicity, too lugubrious, too tropical — Asiatic is a better word — and they have the exotic savor of the heated con-

* From *Chopin, the Man and His Music* (1900), by James Huneker. Reprinted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

servatory, and not the fresh scent of the flowers reared in the open by the less poetic Irishman. And, then, Chopin is so desperately sentimental in some of these compositions. They are not altogether to the taste of this generation; they seem to be suffering from anemia. However, there are a few noble nocturnes; and methods of performance may have much to answer for the sentimentalizing of some others. More vigor, a quickening of the time-pulse, and a less languishing touch will rescue them from lush sentiment. Chopin loved the night and its soft mysteries as much as did Robert Louis Stevenson, and his nocturnes are true night pieces, some with agitated, remorseful countenance, others seen in profile only, while many are whisperings at dusk. Most of them are called feminine, a term psychologically false. The poetic side of men of genius is feminine, and in Chopin the feminine note was overemphasized — at times it was almost hysterical — particularly in these nocturnes.

2. The Scotch have a proverb: "She wove her shroud, and wore it in her lifetime." In the nocturnes the shroud is not far away. Chopin wove his to the day of his death, and he wore it sometimes but not always, as many think.

ANALYSIS

1. What is the objective field of the author's subject matter? With what actual body of material in the concrete world is he concerned?
2. *a.* Think of ways in which statements could be made about this material whose truth could be demonstrated.
   b. Make up titles for two objective articles about this material.
3. How does the appreciative approach differ from the objective approach here?
4. *a.* Make a list of phrases in the selection that exhibit value judgments about Chopin's Nocturnes.
   b. Does a phrase like "Chopin is so desperately sentimental in some of these compositions," imply a value judgment? Find other similar phrases.
5. Point out the phrases in which the author has used words figuratively to express the feelings the music gives him.
6. Are these figurative expressions often a part of value judgments? Point out examples.
7. Are any assertions in the selection of the kind the truth of which can be demonstrated?
8. *a.* If you are familiar with Chopin's Nocturnes, do you find yourself in complete agreement with the author's interpretations and judgments?
   b. Is your reaction as "right" or "true" as his? In dealing with appreciative judgments can one apply any other standard than "Each man to his own taste"?

9. *a.* Do any of the author's statements fail to communicate his meaning?
   b. Can we understand what he means even if we choose to find other meanings or values in Chopin's Nocturnes?
10. This selection was originally an introductory section to a detailed commentary upon each of the Nocturnes in turn. The unbalanced length of the two paragraphs can thus be understood.
   a. Can the long paragraph be broken into two or more shorter ones?

THE "CONQUISTADOR" OF ARCHIBALD MACLEISH*

[A Review]

By Stephen Vincent Benét

1. It runs from the beginning of these continents, as we, the inheritors, know them — the savage dream — the great fable — the treasure to be ravished by right of conquest — and, with the search and the accomplishment, the despoiling of the land. Some day a history of the Americas may be written in these terms alone, and, when it is, it will be a valuable one, for the fate is not yet worked out and the strength is still in the loadstone. But in the conquest of Mexico by Cortés and his companions we see the dream at its fantastic apogee. The whole tale of the Conquest is a tale that could not have happened. And it was real — as real as the gold and the wounds and the dry thirst after the battle. It is this reality — this sense of living men — which Mr. MacLeish has captured in the pages of "Conquistador." Reality like that of an orchard or a ship.

> And we heard them laugh in their hands: and the voice of de Avila
> Filling the slack of the surf like a boy's bugle —
> "Did they eat the tongues from the root of your throats like calves?
> "Have they taken the words from your mouths, Veterans?" — screwing the
> Sneer in the twist of his teeth: and the wind suddenly
> Fresh out of that shore and the smoke moving:
> And the smell under the smoke of the burning blood:

2. This is both a new kind of writing and a very old one. The assonant beat, the occasional, deliberate throwing away of emphasis, the hard, rebellious texture are of our own time. But there is some-

* From *High Achievement* (1932), by Stephen Vincent Benét. Copyright, 1932, by the Saturday Review Company, Inc. The excerpts from *Conquistador* by Archibald MacLeish are quoted by permission of the publisher, Houghton Mifflin Company.

thing behind them that goes back to very old things, to the first plowed earth, the first corn harvests, the feel of wood and water and stone in the hand. Mr. MacLeish, at times, has done work that was in a fashion and will pass with that fashion. But his best work has never had anything to do with fashion — and the quality that makes for its endurance is a quality outside of time. "Everything we have done has been faithful and dangerous," he says in another poem, speaking not of any one tribe or nation, but of men themselves, anonymous, stubborn, and forgotten, the ancestors, the old beyond eld, the worshippers of Wind and Knife. The ship has long been sunken, but the planks were well hewn and truly fitted, even the lines of the earthwork have disappeared, but, while it stood, it was strong. And it is this deep-rooted, primitive sense of elemental things and forces — a sense almost tactile in its definiteness — which gives "Conquistador" some of its amazing vitality. The note is struck at once in the Prologue.

> Time done is dark as are sleep's thickets:
> Dark is the past: none waking walk there

and in the calling up of the Conquerors from the shadowy beaches:

> And Sandoval comes first and the Palos wind
> Stirs in the young hair: and the smoky candle
> Shudders the sick face and the fevered skin:
>
> And still the dead feet come: and Alvarado
> Clear in that shadow as a fagot kindled:
> The brave one: stupid: and the face he had
> Shining with good looks: his skin pink:
> His legs warped at the knee like the excellent horseman:
> And gentleman's ways and the tail of the sword swinging:
>
> . . . And still they came: and from the shadow fixes
>
> Eyes against me a mute armored man
> Staring as wakened sleeper into embers:
> This is Cortés that took the famous land:
>
> The eye-holes narrow to the long night's ebbing:
> The gray skin crawls beneath the scanty beard:
> Neither the eyes nor the sad mouth remember:
> Other and nameless are there shadows here

Cold in the little light as winter crickets:
Torpid with old death: under sullen years

Numb as pale spiders in the blind leaves hidden:
These to the crying voices do not stir:
So still are trees the climbing stars relinquish:

And last and through the weak dead comes — the uncertain
Fingers before him on the sightless air —
An old man speaking: and the windblown words . . .

3. It is Bernál Díaz who tells the tale. "That which I have myself seen and the fighting." Sometimes the voice is indeed like the broken whisper of a ghost, sometimes it is strong and resonant, the voice of the young, hard soldier, able for all things, unbeaten yet by success. But always it tells the tale, and the tale moves with it — and always, beyond it, there is the feel of the land and a people and an army — of men marching endlessly — men sleeping the sleep of exhaustion after the march — men, at last, come dazzled and wondering to a clean, princely city and living there like gods for a little while. Then follows the tragedy which was more than Alvarado's massacre or the Noche Triste — the tragedy of the conquest achieved, the gold won, the city looted, and the followers of conquest inheriting the land.

And those that had jeered at our youth (but the fashion changes)
They came like nettles in dry slash: like beetles:
They ran in the new land like lice staining it:

They parcelled the bloody meadows: their late feet
Stood in the passes of harsh pain and of winter:
In the stale of the campments they culled herbs. . . .

. . . Old . . . an old man sickened and near death:
And the west is gone now: west is the ocean sky . . .

O, day that brings the earth back, bring again
That well-swept town those towers and that island. . . .

4. So the tale ends, after all the labors. I have not attempted even to sketch the bare outlines of the tale — it is better to read the poem. But it is one of the great tales of the world, and it is here presented not merely faithfully, but as if it came today from the mouth of a

living man. Occasionally, as through the whole of the Tenth Book, the verse is extraordinarily rich, beautiful, and colorful; sometimes, as in certain passages of the first few books, it moves as if in a trance, lit with sudden sharp pictures – the trance of an old man, between sleep and waking, remembering brokenly and muttering names and words in our ears whose import we do not yet comprehend. But, from the moment the actual march toward Mexico City begins, it gathers force, impetus, and movement, and mounts steadily till the end.

5. There are few individual portraits, except in the Prologue – though, running throughout the verse, there are pictures of individual men at single moments, brief, sharp, and definite as sketches on the edge of a muster-roll. We have men's words and their acts, but there is no attempt, for instance, to draw a full-length portrait of Cortés in the traditional, biographic sense, or even to get inside his mind. But, for the purposes of the poem, such portraits would be unnecessary and out of key. We know the narrator, we see the strange things through his eyes. And all around us is the stir of men and the unknown landscape, the mountains, the plains, the foes in feather-armor, the odor of noon, the odors of blood and dust. "We drank of the milk of the aloe and were drunk." "We set the flame to the thatch and they fell like the burning bees where the winds toss them." That is how it happened. Afterwards we may think and remember, as Díaz remembers at the beginning and the end. But while we marched, Cortés was not history but Cortés. The history, the tangling of motives, came later on. One man saw this with his eyes.

ANALYSIS

1. In appreciative criticism of this kind, Mr. Benét, himself a distinguished poet, is attempting to communicate the meanings and effects of Archibald MacLeish's long poem "Conquistador" by recreating the meanings and effects, partly by summary, partly by translation, partly by quotation, and partly by making value judgments. Some of the statements here follow the main principles of induction as we have been looking at them. There are generalizations the evidence for which can be checked. When he says, for instance, "There are few individual portraits, except in the Prologue," we can check with the poem to see if the generalization is true.

a. Point out other statements in the passage that are likewise open to substantiation.

2. Many of the statements are value judgments: "Occasionally, as through the whole of the Tenth Book, the verse is extraordinarily rich, beautiful and colorful. . . ."
   a. Point out other statements that are likewise value judgments.
   b. Can the truth of these statements be demonstrated? Is there any validity in them?
3. Note the attempts to communicate subjective meanings: "But there is something behind them that goes back to very old things, to the first plowed earth, the first corn harvests, the feel of wood and water and stone in the hand."
   a. Find similar sentences in the passage. Attempt to explain more fully the kind of communication that these sentences represent.
4. Do the rhythms of MacLeish's poem have any effect upon the prose rhythms Benét uses in talking about the poem? Can you explain your answer?
5. What purposes are served by the quotations from the poem?
6. Discern the order of the organization. Find the topic sentence for each paragraph.

ONCE MORE TO THE LAKE*

By E. B. White

1. ONE SUMMER, along about 1904, my father rented a camp on a lake in Maine and took us all there for the month of August. We all got ringworm from some kittens and had to rub Pond's Extract on our arms and legs night and morning, and my father rolled over in a canoe with all his clothes on; but outside of that the vacation was a success and from then on none of us ever thought there was any place in the world like that lake in Maine. We returned summer after summer — always on August first for one month. I have since become a salt-water man, but sometimes in summer there are days when the restlessness of the tides and the fearful cold of the sea water and the incessant wind which blows across the afternoon and into the evening make me wish for the placidity of a lake in the woods. A few weeks ago this feeling got so strong I bought myself a couple of bass hooks and a spinner and returned to the lake where we used to go, for a week's fishing and to revisit old haunts.
2. I took along my son, who had never had any fresh water up his nose and who had seen lily pads only from train windows. On the journey over to the lake I began to wonder what it would be like. I wondered how time would have marred this unique, this holy spot

* From *One Man's Meat* (1941), by E. B. White. Published by Harper and Brothers. Copyright, 1941, by E. B. White.

— the coves and streams, the hills that the sun set behind, the camps and the paths behind the camps. I was sure that the tarred road would have found it out and I wondered in what other ways it would be desolated. It is strange how much you can remember about places like that once you allow your mind to return into the grooves which lead back. You remember one thing, and that suddenly reminds you of another thing. I guess I remembered clearest of all the early morning, when the lake was cool and motionless, remembered how the bedroom smelled of the lumber it was made of and of the wet woods whose scent entered through the screen. The partitions in the camp were thin and did not extend clear to the top of the rooms, and as I was always the first up I would dress softly so as not to wake the others, and sneak out into the sweet outdoors and start out in the canoe, keeping close along the shore in the long shadows of the pines. I remembered being very careful never to rub my paddle against the thwart for fear of disturbing the stillness of the cathedral.

3. The lake had never been what you would call a wild lake. There were cottages sprinkled around the shores, and it was in farming country although the shores of the lake were quite heavily wooded. Some of the cottages were owned by nearby farmers, and you would live at the shore and eat your meals at the farmhouse. That's what our family did. But although it wasn't wild, it was a fairly large and undisturbed lake and there were places in it which, to a child at least, seemed infinitely remote and primeval.

4. I was right about the tar: it led to within half a mile of the shore. But when I got back there, with my boy, and we settled into a camp near a farmhouse and into the kind of summertime I had known, I could tell that it was going to be pretty much the same as it had been before — I knew it, lying in bed the first morning, smelling the bedroom, and hearing the boy sneak quietly out and go off along the shore in a boat. I began to sustain the illusion that he was I, and therefore, by simple transposition, that I was my father. This sensation persisted, kept cropping up all the time we were there. It was not an entirely new feeling, but in this setting it grew much stronger. I seemed to be living a dual existence. I would be in the middle of some simple act, I would be picking up a bait box or laying down a table fork, or I would be saying some-

thing, and suddenly it would be not I but my father who was saying the words or making the gesture. It gave me a creepy sensation.

5. We went fishing the first morning. I felt the same damp moss covering the worms in the bait can, and saw the dragonfly alight on the tip of my rod as it hovered a few inches from the surface of the water. It was the arrival of this fly that convinced me beyond any doubt that everything was as it always had been, that the years were a mirage and there had been no years. The small waves were the same, chucking the rowboat under the chin as we fished at anchor, and the boat was the same boat, the same color green and the ribs broken in the same places, and under the floorboards the same fresh-water leavings and debris — the dead hellgrammite, the wisps of moss, the rusty discarded fishhook, the dried blood from yesterday's catch. We stared silently at the tips of our rods, at the dragonflies that came and went. I lowered the tip of mine into the water, tentatively, pensively dislodging the fly, which darted two feet away, poised, darted two feet back, and came to rest again a little farther up the rod. There had been no years between the ducking of this dragonfly and the other one — the one that was part of memory. I looked at the boy, who was silently watching his fly, and it was my hands that held his rod, my eyes watching. I felt dizzy and didn't know which rod I was at the end of.

6. We caught two bass, hauling them in briskly as though they were mackerel, pulling them over the side of the boat in a businesslike manner without any landing net, and stunning them with a blow on the back of the head. When we got back for a swim before lunch, the lake was exactly where we had left it, the same number of inches from the dock, and there was only the merest suggestion of a breeze. This seemed an utterly enchanted sea, this lake you could leave to its own devices for a few hours and come back to, and find that it had not stirred, this constant and trustworthy body of water. In the shallows, the dark, water-soaked sticks and twigs, smooth and old, were undulating in clusters on the bottom against the clean ribbed sand, and the track of the mussel was plain. A school of minnows swam by, each minnow with its small individual shadow, doubling the attendance, so clear and sharp in the sun-

light. Some of the other campers were in swimming, along the shore, one of them with a cake of soap, and the water felt thin and clear and unsubstantial. Over the years there had been this person with the cake of soap, this cultist, and here he was. There had been no years.

7. Up to the farmhouse to dinner through the teeming, dusty field, the road under our sneakers was only a two-track road. The middle track was missing, the one with the marks of the hooves and the splotches of dried, flaky manure. There had always been three tracks to choose from in choosing which track to walk in; now the choice was narrowed down to two. For a moment I missed terribly the middle alternative. But the way led past the tennis court, and something about the way it lay there in the sun reassured me; the tape had loosened along the backline, the alleys were green with plantains and other weeds, and the net (installed in June and removed in September) sagged in the dry noon, and the whole place steamed with midday heat and hunger and emptiness. There was a choice of pie for dessert, and one was blueberry and one was apple, and the waitresses were the same country girls, there having been no passage of time, only the illusion of it as in a dropped curtain — the waitresses were still fifteen; their hair had been washed, that was the only difference — they had been to the movies and seen the pretty girls with the clean hair.

8. Summertime, oh summertime, pattern of life indelible, the fade-proof lake, the woods unshatterable, the pasture with the sweetfern and the juniper forever and ever, summer without end; this was the background, and the life along the shore was the design, the cottages with their innocent and tranquil design, their tiny docks with the flagpole and the American flag floating against the white clouds in the blue sky, the little paths over the roots of the trees leading from camp to camp and the paths leading back to the outhouses and the can of lime for sprinkling, and at the souvenir counters at the store the miniature birchbark canoes and the post cards that showed things looking a little better than they looked. This was the American family at play, escaping the city heat, wondering whether the newcomers in the camp at the head of the cover were "common" or "nice," wondering whether the people who drove up for

Sunday dinner at the farmhouse were turned away because they were Jews or because there wasn't enough chicken.

9. It seemed to me, as I kept remembering all this, that those times and those summers had been infinitely precious and worth saving. There had been jollity and peace and goodness. The arriving (at the beginning of August) had been so big a business in itself, at the railway station the farm wagon drawn up, the first smell of the pine-laden air, the first glimpse of the smiling farmer, and the great importance of the trunks and your father's enormous authority in such matters, and the feel of the wagon under you for the long ten-mile haul, and at the top of the last long hill catching the first view of the lake after eleven months of not seeing this cherished body of water. The shouts and cries of the other campers when they saw you, and the trunks to be unpacked, to give up their rich burden. (Arriving was less exciting nowadays, when you sneaked up in your car and parked it under a tree near the camp and took out the bags and in five minutes it was all over, no fuss, no loud wonderful fuss about trunks.)

10. Peace and goodness and jollity. The only thing that was wrong now, really, was the sound of the place, an unfamiliar nervous sound of the outboard motors. This was the note that jarred, the one thing that would sometimes break the illusion and set the years moving. In those other summertimes all motors were inboard; and when they were at a little distance, the noise they made was a sedative, an ingredient of summer sleep. They were one-cylinder and two-cylinder engines, and some were make-and-break and some were jump-spark, but they all made a sleepy sound across the lake. The one-lungers throbbed and fluttered, and the twin-cylinder ones purred and purred, and that was a quiet sound too. But now the campers all had outboards. In the daytime, in the hot mornings, these motors made a petulant, irritable sound; at night, in the still evening when the afterglow lit the water, they whined about one's ears like mosquitoes. My boy loved our rented outboard, and his great desire was to achieve singlehanded mastery over it, and authority, and he soon learned the trick of choking it a little (but not too much), and the adjustment of the needle valve. Watching him I would remember the things you could do with the old one-cylinder

engine with the heavy flywheel, how you could have it eating out of your hand if you got really close to it spiritually. Motor boats in those days didn't have clutches, and you would make a landing by shutting off the motor at the proper time and coasting in with a dead rudder. But there was a way of reversing them, if you learned the trick, by cutting the switch and putting it on again exactly on the final dying revolution of the flywheel, so that it would kick back against compression and begin reversing. Approaching a dock in a strong following breeze it was difficult to slow up sufficiently by the ordinary coasting method, and if a boy felt he had complete mastery over his motor, he was tempted to keep it running beyond its time and then reverse it a few feet from the dock. It took a cool nerve, because if you threw the switch a twentieth of a second too soon you would catch the flywheel when it still had speed enough to go up past center, and the boat would leap ahead, charging bull-fashion at the dock.

11. We had a good week at the camp. The bass were biting well and the sun shone endlessly, day after day. We would be tired at night and lie down in the accumulated heat of the little bedrooms after the long hot day and the breeze would stir almost imperceptibly outside and the smell of the swamp drift in through the rusty screens. Sleep would come easily and in the morning the red squirrel would be on the roof, tapping out his gay routine. I kept remembering everything, lying in bed in the mornings – the small steamboat that had a long rounded stern like the lip of a Ubangi, and how quietly she ran on the moonlight sails, when the older boys played their mandolins and the girls sang and we ate doughnuts dipped in sugar, and how sweet the music was on the water in the shining night, and what it had felt like to think about girls then. After breakfast we would go up to the store and the things were in the same place – the minnows in a bottle, the plugs and spinners disarranged and pawed over by the youngsters from the boys' camp, the fig newtons and the Beeman's gum. Outside, the road was tarred and cars stood in front of the store. Inside, all was just as it had always been, except there was more Coca-Cola and not so much Moxie and root beer and birch beer and sarsaparilla. We would walk out with a bottle of pop apiece and sometimes the pop would backfire up our noses and hurt. We explored the streams, quietly, where the turtles

slid off the sunny logs and dug their way into the soft bottom; and we lay on the town wharf and fed worms to the tame bass. Everywhere we went I had trouble making out which was I, the one walking at my side, the one walking in my pants.

12. One afternoon while we were there at that lake a thunderstorm came up. It was like the revival of an old melodrama that I had seen long ago with childish awe. The second-act climax of the drama of the electrical disturbance over a lake in America had not changed in any important respect. This was the big scene, still the big scene. The whole thing was so familiar, the first feeling of oppression and heat and a general air around camp of not wanting to go very far away. In midafternoon (it was all the same) a curious darkening of the sky, and a lull in everything that had made life tick; and then the way the boats suddenly swung the other way at their moorings with the coming of a breeze out of the new quarter, and the premonitory rumble. Then the kettle drum, then the snare, then the bass drum and cymbals, then crackling light against the dark, and the gods grinning and licking their chops in the hills. Afterward the calm, the rain steadily rustling in the calm lake, the return of light and hope and spirits, and the campers running out in joy and relief to go swimming in the rain, their bright cries perpetuating the deathless joke about how they were getting simply drenched, and the children screaming with delight at the new sensation of bathing in the rain, and the joke about getting drenched linking the generations in a strong indestructible chain. And the comedian who waded in carrying an umbrella.

13. When the others went swimming my son said he was going in too. He pulled his dripping trunks from the line where they had hung all through the shower, and wrung them out. Languidly, and with no thought of going in, I watched him, his hard little body, skinny and bare, saw him wince slightly as he pulled up around his vitals the small, soggy, icy garment. As he buckled the swollen belt suddenly my groin felt the chill of death.

ANALYSIS

1. It may not be an easy task to discover the central theme in this essay, since there are three or four themes in it that parallel one another: (1) this is an appreciation of life at a fresh-water lake; (2) this is an appreciation of a kind

of life that emphasizes peace, goodness, and jollity; (3) this is an appreciation of summertime; (4) this is an appreciation of the feeling of identification of father with son through memory.

a. Can you think of any other theme here that can be ranked with these four?

b. Can you determine which of these four is the most important?

c. Do the ideas here represent a group of unrelated thoughts brought together simply because all pertain to the lake? That is, is this a unified body of experience from which several unlike thoughts arise?

d. Is the author's intention to communicate a state of mind?

2. If appreciation is an attempt to communicate the value of something, what value is being communicated here?

3. *a.* Note where each of the four themes listed above appear in the essay. Are they mingled together or treated separately? Is he sometimes aiming at more than one at one time?

b. Upon what basis is the material organized here? Does any one of the themes control the organization?

4. *a.* If this essay is an appreciation, how do the details contribute to the appreciation?

b. What kinds of details does the author use most, details that appeal to what particular senses?

c. Are these details universal in the sense of appealing to the experience of the average reader, or are they noteworthy because they are new to the reader?

5. *a.* What paragraphs in particular follow the time sequence?

b. What change in the handling of time takes place in Paragraph 11?

c. What paragraphs are outside of time, logical rather than chronological units?

6. Study the selections in this section in an attempt to formulate principles of the writing of appreciations.

SAMPLE THEME SUBJECTS

The Full Flavor of Living: The Waterfront Restaurant

Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D minor

Homesickness for the Mountains

Swimming at Night

Boogie Woogie: What Is It Good For?

Charlie Chaplin: An Appreciation

Neighborliness, A Cardinal Virtue

Mood Melancholy

Picasso's Blue Period

An Essay on Honor

The Music of Stephen Foster: a Deluge of Sentimentality

Tennyson, Master of the Maudlin

In Defense of the Open Spaces

The Quakers: An Appreciation

Georgian Architecture: Symbol of Order

Calf Love
Circuses: Weren't They Wonderful?
Shakespeare in High School
Messing Around in Boats
High Mass

8. REFUTATIONS

8

Refutations

MOST of the sections of this book have dealt with the presentation of affirmations and the construction of positive inductions leading to positive conclusions. Some space, however, should be devoted to refutation, writing which, instead of establishing a new idea, attempts to demolish an old one. Like other kinds of inductive writing refutation demands that the writer examine the facts carefully. He must use the conclusions he has drawn from these facts against the conclusions he wishes to refute. He will often find that he must organize his material according to the pattern of his opponent's argument.

Of the selections that follow, Theodore Dreiser's "If Man Is Free, So Is All Matter" is an attempt to refute the ideas in Clifford Barrett's "Man's Moral Responsibility," page 342. The selection from Thomas Paine shows a major part of his famous endeavor to refute the arguments presented by Edmund Burke in *Reflections on the Revolution in France.* Burke was pleading for gradual organic change in government rather than sharp, sudden change by revolution. Max Wylie's "Washboard Weepers," which brings us closer to a smaller, more specific issue of our own day, defends the "soap operas" of radio.

One of the primary tasks in refutation is to find the issues and to hold fast to them. An issue in an argument is the line which separates one side from the other. Since the validity of every idea can potentially be denied, it is important for writers to remember that the more clearly they recognize the issues, real or potential, contained in the material they are handling, the more vital their presentation becomes. Dull reading is often the result of failure to recognize what aspects of a problem need most attention.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION*

By Thomas Paine

1. AMONG the incivilities by which nations or individuals provoke and irritate each other, Mr. Burke's pamphlet on the French Revolution is an extraordinary instance. Neither the people of France, nor the National Assembly, were troubling themselves about the affairs of England, or the English Parliament; and that Mr. Burke should commence an unprovoked attack upon them, both in Parliament and in public, is a conduct that cannot be pardoned on the score of manners, nor justified on that of policy.

2. There is scarcely an epithet of abuse to be found in the English language, with which Mr. Burke has not loaded the French Nation and the National Assembly. Everything which rancor, prejudice, ignorance or knowledge could suggest, is poured forth in the copious fury of near four hundred pages. In the strain and on the plan Mr. Burke was writing, he might have written on to as many thousand. When the tongue or the pen is let loose in a frenzy of passion, it is the man, and not the subject, that becomes exhausted.

3. Hitherto Mr. Burke has been mistaken and disappointed in the opinions he had formed of the affairs of France; but such is the ingenuity of his hope, or the malignancy of his despair, that it furnishes him with new pretences to go on. There was a time when it was impossible to make Mr. Burke believe there would be any Revolution in France. His opinion then was, that the French had neither spirit to undertake it nor fortitude to support it; and now that there is one, he seeks an escape by condemning it.

4. Not sufficiently content with abusing the National Assembly, a great part of his work is taken up with abusing Dr. Price (one of the best-hearted men that lives) and the two societies in England known by the name of the Revolution Society and the Society for Constitutional Information.

5. Dr. Price had preached a sermon on the fourth of November, 1789, being the anniversary of what is called in England the Revolution, which took place in 1688. Mr. Burke, speaking of this sermon, says, "The political Divine proceeds dogmatically to assert,

* From *The Rights of Man* (1791).

that by the principles of the Revolution, the people of England have acquired three fundamental rights:

A. To choose their own governors.

B. To cashier them for misconduct.

C. To frame a government for ourselves."

6. Dr. Price does not say that the right to do these things exists in this or in that person, or in this or in that description of persons, but that it exists in the *whole;* that it is a right resident in the Nation. Mr. Burke, on the contrary, denies that such a right exists in the Nation, either in whole or in part, or that it exists anywhere; and, what is still more strange and marvellous, he says, "that the people of England utterly disclaim such a right, and that they will resist the practical assertion of it with their lives and fortunes." That men should take up arms and spend their lives and fortunes, *not* to maintain their rights, but to maintain they have *not* rights, is an entirely new species of discovery, and suited to the paradoxical genius of Mr. Burke.

7. The method which Mr. Burke takes to prove that the people of England have no such rights, and that such rights do not now exist in the nation, either in whole or in part, or anywhere at all, is of the same marvellous and monstrous kind with what he has already said; for his arguments are that the persons, or the generation of persons, in whom they did exist, are dead, and with them the right is dead also. To prove this, he quotes a declaration made by Parliament about a hundred years ago, to William and Mary, in these words: "The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of the people aforesaid [meaning the people of England then living], most humbly and faithfully *submit* themselves, their *heirs* and *posterities*, for EVER." He also quotes a clause of another act of Parliament made in the same reign, the terms of which, he says, "bind us [meaning the people of that day], our *heirs* and our *posterity*, to the end of time."

8. Mr. Burke conceives his point sufficiently established by producing those clauses, which he enforces by saying that they exclude the right of the Nation for *ever.* And not yet content with making such declarations, repeated over and over again, he farther says, "that if the people of England possessed such a right before the Revolution [which he acknowledges to have been the case, not only in Eng-

land, but throughout Europe, at an early period], yet that the *English Nation* did, at the time of the Revolution, most solemnly renounce and abdicate it, for themselves, and for *all their posterity, for ever.*"

9. As Mr. Burke occasionally applies the poison drawn from his horrid principles (if it is not profanation to call them by the name of principles) not only to the English Nation, but to the French Revolution and the National Assembly, and charges that august, illuminated and illuminating body of men with the epithet of *usurpers,* I shall *sans cérémonie,* place another system of principles in opposition to his.

10. The English Parliament of 1688 did a certain thing, which, for themselves and their constituents, they had a right to do, and which it appeared right should be done: but, in addition to this right, which they possessed by delegation, *they set up another right by assumption,* that of binding and controlling posterity to the end of time. The case, therefore, divides itself into two parts; the right which they possessed by delegation, and the right which they set up by assumption. The first is admitted; but with respect to the second, I reply –

11. There never did, there never will, and there never can, exist a Parliament, or any description of men, or any generation of men, in any country, possessed of the right or the power of binding and controlling posterity to the *"end of time,"* or of commanding for ever how the world shall be governed, or who shall govern it; and therefore all such clauses, acts or declarations by which the makers of them attempt to do what they have neither the right nor the power to do, nor the power to execute, are in themselves null and void. Every age and generation must be as free to act for itself *in all cases* as the ages and generations which preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man; neither has any generation a property in the generations which are to follow. The Parliament or the people of 1688, or of any other period, had no more right to dispose of the people of the present day, or to bind or to control them *in any shape whatever,* than the Parliament or the people of the present day have to dispose of, bind or control those who are to live a hundred or a thousand years hence. Every

generation is, and must be, competent to all the purposes which its occasions require. It is the living, and not the dead, that are to be accommodated. When man ceases to be, his power and his wants cease with him; and having no longer any participation in the concerns of this world, he has no longer any authority in directing who shall be its governors, or how its government shall be organized, or how administered.

12. I am not contending for nor against any form of government, nor for nor against any party, here or elsewhere. That which a whole Nation chooses to do, it has a right to do. Mr. Burke says No. Where, then, does the right exist? I am contending for the rights of the *living*, and against their being willed away, and controlled and contracted for, by the manuscript assumed authority of the dead; and Mr. Burke is contending for the authority of the dead over the rights and freedom of the living. There was a time when Kings disposed of their Crowns by will upon their deathbeds, and consigned the people, like beasts of the field, to whatever successor they appointed. This is now so exploded as scarcely to be remembered, and so monstrous as hardly to be believed; but the Parliamentary clauses upon which Mr. Burke builds his political church are of the same nature.

13. The laws of every country must be analogous to some common principle. In England no parent or master, nor all the authority of Parliament omnipotent as it has called itself, can bind or control the personal freedom even of an individual beyond the age of twenty-one years. On what ground of right, then, could the Parliament of 1688, or any other Parliament, bind all posterity for ever?

14. Those who have quitted the world, and those who are not yet arrived at it, are as remote from each other as the utmost stretch of mortal imagination can conceive. What possible obligation, then, can exist between them; what rule or principle can be laid down that of two nonentities, the one out of existence and the other not in, and who never can meet in this world, the one should control the other to the end of time?

15. In England it is said that money cannot be taken out of the pockets of the people without their consent. But who authorized, or who could authorize, the Parliament of 1688 to control and take away the freedom of posterity (who were not in existence to give or to

withhold their consent), and limit and confine their right of acting in certain cases for ever?

16. A greater absurdity cannot present itself to the understanding of man than what Mr. Burke offers to his readers. He tells them, and he tells the world to come, that a certain body of men who existed a hundred years ago, made a law, and that there does not now exist in the Nation, nor ever will, nor ever can, a power to alter it. Under how many subtilties or absurdities has the divine right to govern been imposed on the credulity of mankind! Mr. Burke has discovered a new one, and he has shortened his journey to Rome by appealing to the power of this infallible Parliament of former days; and he produces what it has done as of divine authority, for that power must certainly be more than human which no human power to the end of time can alter. . . .

17. It requires but a very small glance of thought to perceive that altho' laws made in one generation often continue in force through succeeding generations, yet that they continue to derive their force from the consent of the living. A law not repealed continues in force, not because it *cannot* be repealed, but because it *is not* repealed; and the non-repealing passes for consent.

18. But Mr. Burke's clauses have not even this qualification in their favor. They become null, by attempting to become immortal. The nature of them precludes consent. They destroy the right which they *might* have, by grounding it on a right which they *cannot* have. Immortal power is not a human right, and therefore cannot be a right of Parliament. The Parliament of 1688 might as well have passed an act to have authorized themselves to live for ever, as to make their authority live for ever. All, therefore, that can be said of those clauses is that they are a formality of words, of as much import as if those who used them had addressed a congratulation to themselves, and in the oriental style of antiquity had said: O Parliament, live for ever!

19. The circumstances of the world are continually changing, and the opinions of men change also; and as government is for the living, and not for the dead, it is the living only that has any right in it. That which may be thought right and found convenient in one age may be thought wrong and found inconvenient in another. In such cases, who is to decide, the living, or the dead?

20. As almost one hundred pages of Mr. Burke's book are employed upon these clauses, it will consequently follow that if the clauses themselves, so far as they set up an *assumed usurped* dominion over posterity for ever, are unauthoritative, and in their nature null and void; that all his voluminous inferences, and declamation drawn therefrom, or founded thereon, are null and void also; and on this ground I rest the matter.

21. We now come more particularly to the affairs of France. Mr. Burke's book has the appearance of being written as instruction to the French Nation; but if I may permit myself the use of an extravagant metaphor, suited to the extravagance of the case, it is darkness attempting to illuminate light.

22. While I am writing this there are accidentally before me some proposals for a declaration of rights by the Marquis de la Fayette (I ask his pardon for using his former address, and do it only for distinction's sake) to the National Assembly, on the eleventh of July, 1789, three days before the taking of the Bastille; and I cannot but remark with astonishment how opposite the sources are from which that gentleman and Mr. Burke draw their principles. Instead of referring to musty records and moldy parchments to prove that the rights of the living are lost, "renounced and abdicated for ever," by those who are now no more, as Mr. Burke has done, M. de la Fayette applies to the living world, and emphatically says, "Call to mind the sentiments which Nature has engraved in the heart of every citizen, and which take a new force when they are solemnly recognized by all: For a Nation to love Liberty, it is sufficient that she knows it; and to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it." How dry, barren, and obscure is the source from which Mr. Burke labors; and how ineffectual, though gay with flowers, are all his declamation and his arguments compared with these clear, concise, and soul-animating sentiments! Few and short as they are, they lead to a vast field of generous and manly thinking, and do not finish, like Mr. Burke's periods, with music in the ear, and nothing in the heart. . . .

23. "We have seen," says Mr. Burke, "the French rebel against a mild and lawful Monarch, with more fury, outrage, and insult, than any people has been known to rise against the most illegal usurper, or the most sanguinary tyrant." This is one among a thousand other in-

stances, in which Mr. Burke shows that he is ignorant of the springs and principles of the French Revolution.

24. It was not against Louis XVI, but against the despotic principles of the government, that the Nation revolted. These principles had not their origin in him, but in the original establishment, many centuries back; and they were become too deeply rooted to be removed, and the Augean stable of parasites and plunderers too abominably filthy to be cleansed, by anything short of a complete and universal Revolution. When it becomes necessary to do a thing, the whole heart and soul should go into the measure, or not attempt it. That crisis was then arrived, and there remained no choice but to act with determined vigor, or not to act at all. The King was known to be the friend of the Nation, and this circumstance was favorable to the enterprise. Perhaps no man bred up in the style of an absolute king, ever possessed a heart so little disposed to the exercise of that species of power as the present King of France. But the principles of the Government itself still remained the same. The Monarch and the Monarchy were distinct and separate things; and it was against the established despotism of the latter, and not against the person or principles of the former, that the revolt commenced, and the Revolution has been carried.

25. Mr. Burke does not attend to the distinction between *men* and *principles;* and, therefore, he does not see that a revolt may take place against the despotism of the latter, while there lies no charge of despotism against the former.

26. The natural moderation of Louis XVI contributed nothing to alter the hereditary despotism of the Monarchy. All the tyrannies of former reigns, acting under that hereditary despotism, were still liable to be revived in the hands of a successor. It was not the respite of a reign that would satisfy France, enlightened as she then was become. A casual discontinuance of the *practice* of despotism, is not a discontinuance of its *principles;* the former depends on the virtue of the individual who is in immediate possession of the power; the latter, on the virtue and fortitude of the nation. In the case of Charles I and James II of England, the revolt was against the personal despotism of the men; whereas in France, it was against the hereditary despotism of the established government. But men who can consign over the rights of posterity for ever on the author-

ity of a moldy parchment, like Mr. Burke, are not qualified to judge of this Revolution. It takes in a field too vast for their views to explore, and proceeds with a mightiness or reason they cannot keep pace with.

27. But there are many points of view in which this Revolution may be considered. When despotism has established itself for ages in a country, as in France, it is not in the person of the King only that it resides. It has the appearance of being so in show, and in nominal authority; but it is not so in practice and in fact. It has its standard everywhere. Every office and department has its despotism, founded upon custom and usage. Every place has its Bastille, and every Bastille its despot. The original hereditary despotism resident in the person of the King, divides and subdivides itself into a thousand shapes and forms, till at last the whole of it is acted by deputation. This was the case in France: and against this species of despotism, proceeding on through an endless labyrinth of office till the source of it is scarcely perceptible, there is no mode of redress. It strengthens itself by assuming the appearance of duty, and tyrannizes under the pretence of obeying.

28. When a man reflects on the condition which France was in from the nature of her Government, he will see other causes for revolt than those which immediately connect themselves with the person or character of Louis XVI. There were, if I may so express it, a thousand despotisms to be reformed in France, which had grown up under the hereditary despotism of the monarchy, and became so rooted as to be in great measure independent of it. Between the Monarchy, the Parliament, and the Church, there was a *rivalship* of despotism; besides the feudal despotism operating locally, and the ministerial despotism operating everywhere. But Mr. Burke, by considering the King as the only possible object of a revolt, speaks as if France was a village, in which everything that passed must be known to its commanding officer, and no oppression could be acted but what he could immediately control. Mr. Burke might have been in the Bastille his whole life, as well under Louis XVI as Louis XIV, and neither the one nor the other have known that such a man as Mr. Burke existed. The despotic principles of the government were the same in both reigns, though the dispositions of the men were as remote as tyranny and benevolence.

29. What Mr. Burke considers as a reproach to the French Revolution (that of bringing it forward under a reign more mild than the preceding ones) is one of its highest honors. The Revolutions that have taken place in other European countries, have been excited by personal hatred. The rage was against the man, and he became the victim. But, in the instance of France we see a revolution generated in the rational contemplation of the rights of man, and distinguishing from the beginning between persons and principles.

30. But Mr. Burke appears to have no idea of principles when he is contemplating governments. "Ten years ago," says he, "I could have felicitated France on her having a government, without inquiring what the nature of that government was, or how it was administered." Is this the language of a rational man? Is it the language of a heart feeling as it ought to feel for the rights and happiness of the human race? On this ground, Mr. Burke must compliment all the governments in the world, while the victims who suffer under them, whether sold into slavery, or tortured out of existence, are wholly forgotten. It is power, and not principles, that Mr. Burke venerates; and under this abominable depravity he is disqualified to judge between them. Thus much for his opinion as to the occasions of the French Revolution. I now proceed to other considerations.

31. I know a place in America called Point-no-Point, because as you proceed along the shore, gay and flowery as Mr. Burke's language, it continually recedes and presents itself at a distance before you; but when you have got as far as you can go, there is no point at all. Just thus it is with Mr. Burke's three hundred and fifty-six pages. It is therefore difficult to reply to him. But as the points he wishes to establish may be inferred from what he abuses, it is in his paradoxes that we must look for his arguments.

32. As to the tragic paintings by which Mr. Burke has outraged his own imagination, and seeks to work upon that of his readers, they are very well calculated for theatrical representation, where facts are manufactured for the sake of show, and accommodated to produce, through the weakness of sympathy, a weeping effect. But Mr. Burke should recollect that he is writing history, and not *plays,* and that his readers will expect truth, and not the spouting rant of high-toned exclamation.

33. When we see a man dramatically lamenting in a publication in-

tended to be believed that *"The age of chivalry is gone!* that *the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever!* that *the unbought grace of life* (if any one knows what it is), *the cheap defense of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise is gone!"* and all this because the Quixotic age of chivalry nonsense is gone, what opinion can we form of his judgment, or what regard can we pay to his facts? In the rhapsody of his imagination he has discovered a world of windmills, and his sorrows are that there are no Quixotes to attack them. But if the age of aristocracy, like that of chivalry, should fall (and they had originally some connection), Mr. Burke, the trumpeter of the Order, may continue his parody to the end, and finish with exclaiming: *"Othello's occupation's gone!"*

34. Notwithstanding Mr. Burke's horrid paintings, when the French Revolution is compared with the revolutions of other countries, the astonishment will be that it is marked with so few sacrifices; but this astonishment will cease when we reflect that *principles,* and not *persons,* were the meditated objects of destruction. The mind of the nation was acted upon by a higher stimulus than what the consideration of persons could inspire, and sought a higher conquest than could be produced by the downfall of an enemy. Among the few who fell there do not appear to be any that were intentionally singled out. They all of them had their fate in the circumstances of the moment, and were not pursued with that long, cold-blooded, unabated revenge which pursued the unfortunate Scotch in the affair of 1745.

35. Through the whole of Mr. Burke's book I do not observe that the Bastille is mentioned more than once, and that with a kind of implication as if he were sorry it was pulled down, and wished it were built up again. "We have rebuilt Newgate," says he, "and tenanted the mansion; and we have prisons almost as strong as the Bastille for those who dare to libel the Queens of France." As to what a madman like the person called Lord G——G—— might say, to whom Newgate is rather a bedlam than a prison, it is unworthy a rational consideration. It was a madman that libeled, and that is sufficient apology; and it afforded an opportunity for confining him, which was the thing that was wished for. But certain it is that Mr. Burke, who does not call himself a madman (whatever other people may do), has libeled in the most unprovoked manner, and in the grossest style

of the most vulgar abuse, the whole representative authority of France, and yet Mr. Burke takes his seat in the British House of Commons! From his violence and his grief, his silence on some points and his excess on others, it is difficult not to believe that Mr. Burke is sorry, extremely sorry, that arbitrary power, the power of the Pope and the Bastille, are pulled down.

36. Not one glance of compassion, not one commiserating reflection that I can find throughout his book, has he bestowed on those who lingered out the most wretched of lives, a life without hope in the most miserable of prisons. It is painful to behold a man employing his talents to corrupt himself. Nature has been kinder to Mr. Burke than he is to her. He is not affected by the reality of distress touching his heart, but by the showy resemblance of it striking his imagination. He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird. Accustomed to kiss the aristocratical hand that hath purloined him from himself, he degenerates into a composition of art, and the genuine soul of nature forsakes him. His hero or his heroine must be a tragedy-victim expiring in show, and not the real prisoner of misery, sliding into death in the silence of a dungeon. . . .

ANALYSIS

1. Refutation implies the existence of an argument, one side of which is being contested, argued against, refuted.
   a. After you have read this selection carefully, indicate the nature of the argument against which Paine is directing his attention.
   b. Where in the text does the author state this argument? How is it stated?
2. *a.* Point out where you think the actual refutation begins.
   b. Does the author use refutation in his statement of the opposite argument? How?
3. Good arguing necessarily involves getting down to "cases," boiling the arguments down to the simplest form of statement and issue. Does Paine do so here? Where? How?
4. Does Paine organize his refutation in any way to clarify it? Where?
5. What common devices of argumentation can you find here? (Such things as an appeal to emotions, overstatement of opposition points, the logic whereby the extreme results of following a suggested pattern is indicated, ridicule, satire, irony, etc.)
6. To what extent do you feel that Paine's refutation succeeds?

IF MAN IS FREE, SO IS ALL MATTER*

By Theodore Dreiser

I

1. Mr. Barrett [1] bases his conviction that man has free will and is therefore morally responsible for his actions on two facts, mainly: First of all, that man has intelligence, reason, and ideas, means by which he is able to manipulate his environment to his own advantage. Secondly, that man fulfills his own being, expresses his own nature. According to Mr. Barrett, the expression of one's own nature is freedom; man is free. Altogether, since man by the use of the above mentioned devices expresses himself and also, by using them, chooses the path of his action, he is morally responsible for the consequences of his acts, is bound to choose "good" rather than "evil," and has based a highly complex social life on the idea of moral responsibility.
2. Mr. Barrett admits that there are restrictions on freedom. These restrictions depend on a hazily drawn line, an implied separateness between physical and mental causes. This leads to the admission that man has many activities that are not free at all and that he is not even entirely free in any act. If we insert Mr. Barrett's definition of freedom here, that it is *an expression of the intrinsic nature of whatever being*, the above statement is equivalent to saying that man commits many acts not expressive of himself at all and that, in fact, in no act does he express his own nature completely, without restriction. Further than this, Mr. Barrett, by implication throughout, seems to be distinguishing between man and the other species on this earth, as the highly favored recipient of increasing freedom through the growth of intelligence, reason, and ideas. He seems further to be distinguishing between reason, intelligence, and ideas as something opposed to "senseless force" which operates the rest of nature.
3. When the suggestion was first made for this article, I had intended to base my argument on the more or less familiar mechanistic out-

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[1] For the essay in question, "Man's Moral Responsibility," see pages 342–348.

line of the causes of human activities as being imbedded in the obviously physical nature of themselves and the obviously physical nature of their environment, picking my supporting facts from modern researches in psychology and biology. However, because of Mr. Barrett's insistence on the nature of freedom as *self-expression,* regardless of the kind of causes which produce the "self," I have decided to devote this remaining space to a discussion of such freedom, with the result, I hope, of proving that freedom on that basis exists everywhere or nowhere. If man is free in this sense, he shares this freedom with the most senseless forces. And, if his moral responsibility depends on the possession of freedom in this sense, then storms, hurricanes, and earthquakes are no less morally responsible. Therefore, do not think that I am evading the issue because I am neglecting to point out certain facts as to the sources of being or to discuss the matter of chance.

II

4. In the first place, if freedom is self-expression, what energy or matter is there in the universe – electrical, chemical, or physical – which is not also expressing itself? An apple falls to the ground, thereby expressing itself as a material object, which intrinsically it certainly is. An element excited to a certain intensity gives off wave lengths of light expressing its special and intrinsic atomic character, peculiar to it and no other. A fish swims, lives in water, dies in air, thereby expressing itself in its fishy character. Mr. Barrett says that a man freely expresses himself if he wants to be a lawyer and is one, regardless of his other possibilities, and that a college hero's freedom is inhibited if, in spite of the numerous other ladies he might choose, the lady of his choice refuses to accompany him to some college festivity. A light ray proceeding from some distant star travels for some millions of miles in its original direction. Then it hits the mirror of some astronomer's telescope, and is deflected. How are the examples from the "senseless forces" different from the ordinary procedures of human life? Are we not always expressing ourselves, whether successful or not? Is that not also the very commonest feature of all else in nature – to express itself?

5. Freedom, in this sense, is nothing other than victory, triumph, sur-

vival. And freedom is inhibited by every encroachment on the "original direction," like the "encroachment" of the lens on the light ray or my arm against your fist "willed" to hit me. Is not this the familiar picture of stresses pitted against each other, of waves against the shore, the large fish against the small ones, one species against another, the planets against the sun and each other, a "battle" in which we are all helplessly taking part? We think ourselves free when we are not too much encroached on. Human freedom – how is it any different from, superior to, the freedom which is shared by every living thing?

6. And now for reason, intelligence, and ideas. I am perfectly willing to admit that humans have such qualities. How else this refutation of their importance? But how connected with our "freedom"? Mr. Barrett implies that these qualities help man to manipulate his environment, to determine what he is, with the end in view of helping him better to express himself successfully, in other words, to triumph over whatever seems to inhibit him. In other words, reason, intelligence, and ideas are not ends in themselves but means to that other end of self-expression. But so are the beaks of birds, the webs of spiders, the tropisms of fish and insects – all are means to the ends of successful self-expression or survival. It makes no difference in this classification of our so-called mental faculty as a means that it serves diverse ends, can manipulate, seem to serve itself. It serves the whole organism. What is expressed, whether by humans' using intelligence, etc. or by other animals' using "instincts," their beaks, claws, etc., is with due regard to the whole organism. This separation of one part of the activities from those of another part is only a seeming separation. In humans certainly and in other animals obviously, there are intrinsic inconsistencies of direction which before any exterior expression can be achieved must fight it out with each other, often to the defeat of any exterior expression at all.

7. What about the desire for rest and the desire for money? Suppose a man wants very much to spend his time in reading, resting, contemplating; suppose he wants also money, power, etc. Which is his true self? Which choice will be made freely? Will intelligence, reason, or the possession of ideas enable him to distinguish? Certainly not, I say. They can help him to be successful in the one end

or the other but they are not the causes of the desires or the judges of them. If intelligence, etc. could make us free, then it would be creative. But it is created, as a means, not an end.

8. And this is the crux of the whole proposition. Nature is not consistent. Self-expression is not one-directional, and the more complex the object in question – the more possibilities it has – the less is the direction to be determined by itself. Within us, at least, are basic divergences. And, no matter how clever, how intelligent, how reasoning we are, we cannot do more than serve – that is, react to – what is there already. The creative process works through us. All our causes are out of our hands. We did not make ourselves or anything we see. And the choices that we make involve no more freedom, whether successfully or unsuccessfully expressing ourselves, than do the activities or choices equally of other objects in nature. The very concept of freedom itself, that we can think of it at all, is based on a typical basic inconsistency and limitation of ourselves.

9. Obviously, man cannot hold in consciousness the causes of his actions, even the more immediate ones. It is only through afterthought, the mechanism called memory, that the complex of causes even occurs to us – and then only partially. And, the less we know of the diversity of causes involved in any single act, the freer we think we are. The very feeling we have of freedom, that comes to us, say, when we order with plenty of money in our pockets, a particularly appealing dinner, can stay only as long as we do not inquire into its causes. A man will board a train and depart for the place of his choice. He marries the woman of his choice. He picks the friends he wants. He does, in a word, as he pleases – he thinks. He expresses himself. But let him examine closely into the reasons for any of his actions, and his illusion will vanish. He will find himself caught in all his acts, in every "thought," in every evaluation, in a tangled complex of suggestions, necessities, and compulsions, which can be regarded as free only if they are thought of as isolated from the rest of nature and self-created – which, of course, is nonsense. Whether life defeats him at every turn or whether it seems to fall in with him, there is no freedom for him. And why not so? This is surely no galling fate, for it allows as much satisfaction as we have, minus the feeling of responsibility which the other view tries to force on us.

III

10. And now we come to the question of moral responsibility. Is a man morally responsible for freedom in the sense of self-expression? If so – that is, if he can be called responsible – then so can all other objects in nature which also express themselves; the lion for instance, when it expresses itself in killing the lamb, should feel guilty, for it has moral responsibility. Also the wind, when it rushes as a tornado; the rain, when it falls and feeds crops or swells rivers.

11. Yet it is not necessary to have moral responsibility as the basis of social organization. Look at the ants, bees, schools of fish, the temporary families of animals, herds and so on. Certainly there you have social life, carried on for the greater benefit of the individual through the group, to a very successful degree. The ants and bees in fact seem more successful than we in this respect and must therefore be of a considerably greater moral stature. The spiders do moral and immoral things (as *we* see them) but seemingly in order to preserve the spider race, and they do not seem to be aware of our standards. But why not? They are evolved, the same as we are. The same forces that environ them environ us. They hold their young up to the sun to make them grow. They display astounding skills – genius no less, as we see genius. But we say that they have no minds or that consciousness that we have; that we are superior and therefore moral and therefore responsible. But are we? Who is to say that? Mr. Barrett? Or has he heard someone else say it – has it not been historically repeated, and may he not be mechanistically repeating what he has heard? If he had never heard of our so-called *moral law*, our *responsibility*, would he be able to "think" or "speak" of those things? Actually how long do you think that morals and responsibility would remain in their present reality if their administration were left to intelligence, reason, ideas – that is, if chemical responses to exterior and interior stimuli were not in us automatic, not a matter of "will" or "thought"?

12. Mr. Barrett admits that these human faculties can be used for evil ends as well as good. And what determines the good ends? What enforces them, even so far as they are enforced? Is it not always the threat of punishment, retribution? Do not morals even threaten the basis of freedom, self-expression, according to Mr. Barrett? As I

have already pointed out it is possible, as all who have any experience of life must admit, for a person to have within himself two, three, or more compulsions to *be* (what Mr. Barrett would call *will*), each of them incompatible with the fulfillment of the others and perhaps all of them immoral in a social sense. The unfortunate victim of such desires (for even Mr. Barrett could hardly hold a human being responsible for his own generation) expresses himself — perhaps he rapes a girl, perhaps he steals some money or an idea, perhaps he loafs away his life, wasting his talents. Mr. Barrett holds up the awful picture of society divested of moral responsibility. What he is really talking about is a society divested of jails, prisons, stigmas, social distinctions, economic distinctions, insane asylums. I sadly fear that moral sense in the long run — and especially where there are questions of the common good — depends on the continuing existence of such institutions or ones like them. The feeling of guilt is only a reflection of their more concrete reality. For certainly man, even in his most unsocial acts, is expressing himself, just as much as in his most social. And therefore he must be free then, according to Mr. Barrett. And morals plus the concept of responsibility can inhibit even his freedom on which it depends. A sorry picture.

IV

13. Just in closing I should like to ask this one question. The whole problem of freedom arises — why? Because in many ways we must at once admit we are slaves. Freedom is a relative state. Its realest sense — and the only practical one for us — is just what Mr. Barrett says it is — the least inhibited self-expression. And it is only the simplest logic to concede that successful self-expression is common throughout nature. In every conflict there is a victor and a vanquished, the victor free, the vanquished a slave.

14. If freedom is more than that in our lives, we never experience it. But behind that? It seems to me that true freedom cannot be conceived of in this way. We have never a chance to say what we will be "free" to do. We are born into this world with a heritage of physical and mental being, with internal conflicts set forth from the beginning. The world we are born into we are helpless to affect *a priori*. What effect we do have must be according to the bodies we

are born with, as these contend with what we find here. And after all that is death. No one has successfully answered any fundamental questions as to why all this is. And we can say all we want – that we have free will, that we are responsible, that we have this marvelous mechanism of intelligence – these are just words, and we want to make them into physical effects. Well, the words themselves are physical effects, but they carry conviction and force only, in fact *are* only, as long as they stand out against a whole world of fact that we do and must ignore, because we are merely parts of an enormous and complicated mechanism or process which cannot be defined as good or evil but only in part and at times – and because, again, of unexplained internal conflicts, within ourselves and our particular limitations and ignorance.

15. In the last paragraph but one of his argument, Mr. Barrett offers four of what he must assume to be irrefutable illustrations of moral responsibility. And they may look irrefutable to some. There is not room here for all four, so I will take at random number two – the voter who votes for the politician whom he knows to be incompetent and dishonest, because the politician promises to have the voter's street repaved. Concerning this, he asks: *Is not the voter morally responsible?* My answer is no – not unless you define the prevailing social opinion or local law as moral; and, again, not unless you assume that the action of the person who does not obey it is based on a conscious or intelligent knowledge or grasp of this current public opinion or law or custom or taboo; and, further, not unless you agree that he agrees that, for reason of benefits received – or to be received – from this public or its agreed-on government, he owes it to it to coincide with or at least to obey its conviction as to the fairness and worth-whileness of the services of the honest candidate as opposed to the dishonest candidate.

16. But who is to decide that? I, Mr. Barrett, or the voter in question? Why was his street unpaved? And why, under a thoroughly equitable social arrangement, would he feel it necessary to bribe the politician with his vote? Were the executives of his local public all *honest?* Would they have paved his street as quickly as that of another? It is so easy to speak of honest and dishonest politicians. But defining one – taking all his acts and deeds in order – is not so easy. For, speaking of an honest politician, an act of his that might look

honest and be honest to one group of men would not necessarily be – let alone look – the same to another. To the poor it might seem just, to the rich, confiscation, or vice versa; to the intelligent, fair and just, to the unintelligent, class legislation as against mass need; and so on.

17. As you can see for yourself, no hard-and-fast proposition such as this can *intelligently* be propounded. Too many *ifs* are involved, too many mental or temperamental and social angles. Actually the voter might have been right in bribing the politician. It would depend on how necessary the paving of this street was; how long it had been delayed; what losses or deprivations or irritations, if any, it had entailed. In fact, if arrested for bribery, the voter might have been able to prove to a jury that he was justified (by injuries or ills suffered) in agreeing to vote for the crooked politician. Even Mr. Barrett might have been one on a jury to vote not guilty – not because the accused was not guilty of bribery, but because to vote not guilty would be the only way Mr. Barrett would have of indicating that essentially equity was on the side of the voter and not on that of the prosecuting public which was seeking to hold him morally responsible. Selah.

18. As I have done in this case, so I can do in the other three.

ANALYSIS

1. State the fundamental problem that Dreiser is attempting to refute. To this end it would be well to refer again to Clifford Barrett's "Man's Moral Responsibility," which takes the other side of this argument.

2. *a.* Does Dreiser simplify the issues?
   b. Does he state the issues as he sees them? Where? What are they?

3. Point out where the refutation proper begins.

4. *a.* On what kinds of logic or argumentative technique does Dreiser base a large part of his argument?
   b. Of what significance is the title of the article as an indication of the kind of approach Dreiser uses here?

5. Point out places that seem to you illustrative of Dreiser's efforts to base his reasoning on experience, on concrete knowledge and observation. Does he do much of this?

6. *a.* Compare the two sides of this argument as they are presented in these two parallel articles.
   b. Which seems to you to succeed more completely? Why?

WASHBOARD WEEPERS*

A SMALL CASE FOR RADIO

By Max Wylie

I

1. RADIO is accused of a multitude of sins, by a multitude of persons. Senators, cranks, and congressmen attack it. Lawyers, psychiatrists, doctors, educators, editors, and clergymen all take swipes at it. Many of these people are important and their views are often given wide publicity. Many, alas, are neither informed nor fair.

2. By far the greatest amount of abuse — and some of the least justified — is directed at the lowly serials, better known as soap operas or washboard weepers. This is not surprising, since there are so many of them; many more than enough in the opinion of radio's critics. I have been up to my ears in these weird wonders for quite a time, and I believe I can set down a fair statement of what we in radio think is behind them and why we believe there is justification for their more or less dismal continuance. These super-hardy sunflowers of backyard fiction have crowded the daylight radio hours on weekdays for more than ten years. At night they crawl back in the ditto machines; on weekends they relax entirely after a flamboyant Friday outburst; and many of them estivate all summer. They can be moved from the Red Network to the Blue without turning purple, often without knowing they were transplanted. They can go unnourished for weeks without losing their Hooper. They can stick their roots in a bar of soap and bloom as if it were Wheaties. Aspirin revives them. So does anything in a tube. As flowers go, they are tough babies, but if they are hard to classify, they are harder to kill.

3. Strangely enough, most of the arguments against daytime serials are based on charges that are entirely justified. Here are the charges: the stories are depressing; the stories are badly written; the stories drag; one story follows another in weary and continuous sequence; one network does what the other does; serial stories dominate pro-

* From *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1942. Reprinted by permission of the author.

gram schedules all day for most of the week; the stories, most of them, are dreadful and some are salacious.

4. The argument then proceeds to tells us that these shows are detrimental to listeners; that they are undermining the American home; that they are thereby undermining America; and that they should therefore be stopped.

5. Broadcasters do not see it this way. In general they admit the charges. They know all about it first; they knew about it before the facts became charges. But they flatly deny two things: first, that the charges constitute an argument, and second, that there is any validity in the conclusion.

6. Broadcasters not only deny that the shows are detrimental to listeners. They insist that they are necessary to them, that they have been constructed for them, and that they would not be on the air unless audience response demanded it. To a very generous extent I share this opinion because I can see nothing wrong in the reasoning. I have been more hotly pursued by backstage wives, orphans of divorce, and women in white than most men. I have made my living from these forlorn females. In some cases I have even determined when and whom they should marry and when they should cease to be married, and I once had the problem of supervising a case of literary parthenogenesis on sixty-eight stations for a large coast-to-coast network. I can modestly say that I know what some of these girls are up to, and some of the writers put them up to it.

7. Four characteristics are present in nearly all the criticisms of daytime radio that broadcasters have to contend with. Here they are:

8. Most of those who criticize daytime radio do so because they can find there no entertainment values *for themselves.*

9. Most of those who sit down to the task of preparing statements that will improve radio end up by scolding radio. They are on a hunt for evil and they immediately find evil.

10. Most of those who criticize daytime shows either do not listen to enough shows, or do not listen to any given show long enough, to arrive at any constructive opinion as to what the serials may be doing culturally or psychologically to the listener who follows them all the time.

11. Few of the critics are steady listeners or general listeners. The great majority are most casual in their listening habits, and some

even advise us in their opening sentence that they never listen at all. They tell us they "gave up."

12. Concluding paragraphs of their attacks usually wind up in a shellburst of challenge and dismay. "Why aren't there shows about happy homes and happy people?" they ask. "Where are the great American themes?" "With the world afire, why can't writers find inspiration in the courageous performance of our soldiers?" "Is Democracy so sick it can get nourishment from this sort of hokum?"

II

13. We may as well take care of the primary complaint right away — "Why don't you have shows about happy homes and happy people?"

14. We have a few — a very few — and they are comedy shows. Most of the shows are about unhappy homes and unhappy people. The main reason of course why radio has so many stories about trouble-ridden families is that the picture of the well-adjusted family presents no problem and hence no story. It is a well-adjusted, comfortable American family, minding its own business, paying its rent, sending its normal children to normal school, going to church, and living at all times, despite the day's weather or the year's season, at room temperature. A writer would lose interest in it in a day's visit, and a listener in a single show. That is the flat answer to a question that any man or woman could answer for himself if he considered it for long. But this is only half of radio's reasoning. Radio knows a handful of sociological verities so unpleasant that the critics hesitate to mention them. Radio not only mentions them. It buys them and sells them and insists upon them, and puts them on live networks so that they can be heard all over the country and then puts them on acetate recordings so that they can be heard in New Zealand and Hawaii. It even translates them so that they can be heard in Polish, Yiddish, Portuguese, and Italian.

15. What are these verities, if verities they be? They are more fundamental than the adage about misery loving company. They actually presume that most people are more preoccupied with the unhappy aspects of their present lives and past recollections, and more preoccupied about the uncertainty of their futures, than they are with the endurable or, in rare cases, the downright happy *status quo* of the moment. They presuppose that not only the secret and subcon-

scious mind of womankind, but the conscious mind itself, is packed with more memories of loneliness and frustration and unrealized romantic reverie than memories of past delight or present fulfillment. They presuppose that the great mass of all mankind – with the women worse off than the men – is cramped and poor and troubled and tired; ungifted, without a future, and insecure; adventuresome, vain, and seeking.

16. Women of the daytime audiences are having physical and psychic problems that they themselves cannot understand, that they cannot solve. Being physical, they feel the thrust of these problems. Being poor, they cannot buy remedies in the form of doctors, new clothes, or deciduous coiffures: being unanalytical, they cannot figure out what is really the matter with them; and being inarticulate, they cannot explain their problem even if they know what it is. "There isn't anything the matter with me that a million dollars wouldn't cure" is no passing gag, and no sincere psychiatrist will call it a gag.

17. Radio doesn't think it's a gag either and does one of two things. It takes them into their own problems or into problems worse than their own (which is the same thing, only better). Or it takes them away from their problems. It gives listeners two constant and frequently simultaneous choices – participation or escape. Both work.

III

18. Radio's critics like to think of themselves as the true and suitable norm, and in all the arts save radio this is not only a safe presumption; it is a necessary one. The book critic talks to book readers and book lovers. In so far as he can, he reads and criticizes what his instinct and past experience tell him is the most important or most significant or most promising book in any given day or week. He writes for people who read books or who wish to seem to have read them.

19. The same holds true for the critic of art exhibits, the dance, serious music, statuary, drama, architecture, poetry, epicureanism, flower arrangement, landscape gardening, and street planning. All such critics must concentrate on a field whose limits are pretty well known and accepted. As specialists, they have less to cover and fewer to cover for. Chotzinoff does not have to know what Fadiman knows and he is not expected to. Richard Watts does not have to

know much of what Fadiman knows, and nothing at all of what Chotzinoff knows. But the radio critic should know what all these men know. And in addition to this he must be an expert in forensics, elocution, debate, and psychology, and he must also be a sound newspaperman. A radio critic would have to be omniscient.

20. That is why radio is almost without competent critics. That is why it has had to be its own critic. That is why it is vulnerable to criticism from any outsider who wants to come in with criticism. That is why it cannot protect itself from these outsiders, and therefore why outsiders proliferate without disturbance.

21. For mass-consumption purposes, in order to carry a case against daytime radio, it would seem to be necessary for the critics to demonstrate that these shows are worse than other avenues of mass entertainment in the matter of violence, or misery, or vulgarity, or in their suggestion and intention.

22. Let us set up an average man of twenty and see what he has read, heard, and looked at in the course of a normal American education. Before he learned how to read he could recite thirty or forty Mother Goose rhymes. He knew "Goosey, Goosey, Gander," in which he found an old man who wouldn't say his prayers, and being a correct young man of four, he did the only thing possible. He took that old man by his left leg and threw him down the stairs. He saw a spider frighten a Miss Muffett off her tuffet. He saw a farm woman cut off the tails of three blind mice with a carving knife. He saw London Bridge fall and Scotland burn. He knew a kid named Simon who couldn't buy anything from a pieman because he was flat broke. He knew a girl with bonny brown hair who was being stood up for the first time because a fellow named Johnny didn't come home from the fair. Our young friend is now sophisticated enough to know some babes. These seemed to be lost in a wood. Nothing happened to them except that they sobbed and they cried and they lay down and died. And he was the intimate of the children who got spanked soundly and sent to bed because their old lady didn't know what else to do, living in a shoe the way she did.

23. Except for a merry old soul who liked fiddle players, our young friend has seen little enough that is pleasant. It looks like a troubled world to him, full of lost and impoverished youngsters, homeless and whimpering in the dark; a world of homely parents, most of

whom are ancient and cruel; a place of shadows, ridiculous economic structures, and cows with crumpled horns. This wearies him a great deal and he goes to bed in a tree top comforted by the news that the whole works is likely to come crashing to earth any minute.

24. Presently he learns how to read, and his storybooks introduce him to a man who hangs his wives to rafters by their hair; to a little match girl freezing in the snow; to a boy bumping around Germany in the fire box of a big stove; to a boy who kills giants with a pickax; to wolves, devils, pirates, kidnappers, and people who can unscrew their eyes. Children disappear into a mountain cleft and never come back to Hamelin. Children disappear into a Crusade and never come back to England. A boy gets shot out of a tree and falls dead before Garibaldi. A boy gets his legs shot off, hangs his drum to a bough, and beats the charge till his blood runs out. A French maiden is burned alive. A queen is beheaded.

25. Comic strips begin to feature more prominently in his development, and he devours panel after panel of the fastest moving four-color melodrama that man's ingenuity can devise. He does this, it is to be presumed, to relax from the urbane suavity of Poe, the eupeptic exuberance of Hawthorne, Thomas Hardy's irrepressible wise-cracking, and the glyptic inertias of Jack London, Ambrose Bierce, and Bret Harte; Conrad, Wells, Kipling, Scott, and Dickens — all of whom he has been reading in small daily doses for a year or two because they were part of his syllabus. When he is only sixteen our young student is obliged to memorize great sections of a story which when slightly compressed and rephrased might read like this:

26. Joe's girl, a gun moll, suspects that he's too soft for the killings he's got to undertake. So the next night she pours liquor into the victim's bodyguards, gets them drunk, takes their guns, gives them to Joe, and tells him to go in and do the killing — which he does. But the next night there is good reason to kill the gang leader's lieutenant, and Joe is so scared that he pays a couple of local boys to do the job with clubs. By this time Joe keeps seeing the lieutenant, probably because he isn't there. His nerves are shot. He decides that if he doesn't kill everybody in his way, they'll kill him. But the mob turns on him, kills him, and cuts his head off to make sure.

27. There is no sex in this story at all. It is the sort of story that you have read in the newspapers in one form or another, and it will be going on in the papers as long as there are men living who do not have what they want, or who do not have what their wives want, which is usually more newsworthy.

28. I have paraphrased the story just recounted because I wished to conceal its authorship. I think it is a story of violence, a yarn not far removed in many of its features from the very sort of story that has been lambasted all over the four networks. (In May of this year five daytime shows on the Red Network alone were dealing with murder.)

29. Nobody knows who wrote this story. Some say Holinshed and some say George Buchanan. It doesn't matter in the least. What does matter is that an alert and busy Englishman stumbled upon it, was fascinated by it, rewrote it, and called it "Macbeth."

30. I do not see any reason to go on with this. The point is clear. All our childhoods were sadistic. Our formative years were explosive, reckless, and packed with excitement. Lyricism, if any, we managed to catch on the fly. By the time the normal American is eighteen he has seen men killed every way it can be done. By the time he is twenty there is almost nothing in the category of classical misconduct he doesn't know. Much of this he has learned by reading, and much of it by reading what was put into his hands by those responsible for his education. I grant of course that he has also read much that was light and easy on the nerves, but his reading thrills were thrilling because they treated of violence or of a promise of violence. (We won't even mention the movies.)

31. Critics of radio will insist that these stories of exalted adventure are classic stories and therefore improving. This is true. But radio answers this by pointing out that less than one per cent have gone on reading the classics after their limited compulsory exposure to them in school.

32. That is the thing radio men know. They know other things. They know that most members of American radio homes don't give a hoot for a symphony. Only about six and a half million individual listeners really enjoy symphonic music. About twice this many may pretend to like it, which splits the normal symphony audience into

two parts, at a ratio of two fakers for every fan. Culturally this may not be flattering, but factually, though it may be of no interest to critics, it is of compelling interest to broadcasters. It limits the amount of good music this country shall hear. But radio has more harrowing evidence than this. Radio is in fourteen million homes where there are no magazines. It is in eight million homes where there are no bathtubs. These are the homes of America's poor.

33. Radio believes that these people are limited in a way not understood by radio critics, or it would have been mentioned by them. The critics have criticized radio because there are major aspects of radio they do not like *for themselves.* It is they themselves who do not like soap operas. Wittingly or not, they all speak for themselves or for a plane of privilege and discrimination and social criteria totally unknown to the multitudes. They would exchange the bad taste of these multitudes for their personal idea of good taste. This might get better programs on the air and poor programs off the air, but it would sink radio inside of a year. It would pull the sea cocks out of her, and she would subside in a wail of woodwinds, bow-heavy with artistic mash, logy with prose.

IV

34. Here is the fatal flaw running through all the criticism of radio to date, irrespective of source, corrective, or intention. Radio, to be free, must be radio *for all the people.* That is why it is so strong and open-throated in America. Everybody has a piece of it here. That is why it is dead in Europe. It doesn't belong to the listeners.

35. Today radio is being badgered and squeezed by the neck. Its eyes are beginning to start. It needs help. Up to now it has handled its fights by itself. Alone it cannot win them all and has already lost some big ones. It has consistently refused to pre-empt its own power to win any converts to its cause, for radio really believes that American broadcasting is owned and operated by its public.

36. You are its public, and if you like radio stick up for it. If you don't like it complain about it. But complain in the charitable terms that bespeak your recognition of the tastes and the rights of others.

37. No man in American radio has ever said that everything in radio is right, and no radio man ever will. But they will all tell you this: if you make radio a public issue, radio will bring it to the public.

Broadcasters have never flinched from a public issue and as long as democracy exists they never will.

38. Public trust is radio's only security, public response its mold.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* What is the argument that the author attempts to refute in this article? Point it out in the text.
   b. Is it a single argument or a complex one?
   c. Does the author "color" the argument in his statement of it? How?
2. *a.* Point out any evidences you find of the author's efforts to simplify the argument in his process of refuting it.
   b. Does he oversimplify it? Explain. (Note especially Paragraphs 22–30.)
3. Where does the author's refutation begin? How does he divide this part of his article? Why?
4. *a.* List the main points used by the author to refute the argument advanced against the radio.
   b. How does he handle the ones concerning soap operas?
   c. Does he evade the issue? Is his argument here straightforward or circuitous? Is it valid? Explain.
5. Here, as in the other selections in this part of the book, look closely at the technique of controversy. Look, in this article especially, for evidence of deceptive patterns of reasoning (fallacies of all kinds, such as the one whereby an artificial case is set up merely to be demolished, under the guise of having demolished the real case, which, all the while, remains untouched). Look to see if the arguments succeed without the necessity of being deceptive or, ultimately, false. Look to see if the arguments really get at the core, the foundation, the real case; that is, is the issue worth the controversy.
   a. From this study, make a critical commentary on the three articles in this section and a summary of the main principles to be used in writing refutations.

SAMPLE THEME SUBJECTS

College life does not prolong adolescence.

Those who claim that slang is vigorous language fail to recognize that large areas of slang show weakness, laziness, and inadequacy.

The state of nature is far less idyllic than the Romantic writers described it.

One encounters too frequently attacks on Hollywood movies. Hollywood's interpretation of life is a better one than that found in the popular magazines.

The younger generation is not going to the dogs.

Woman's place is not in the home.

Athletics do not noticeably breed a sense of fair play in athletes.

The notion that advertising is worthwhile because it alone makes possible the standard of living found in this country is riddled with fallacies.

Social standing in this country is not, as is so often thought, dependent upon wealth alone.

The spirit of science is not inimical to the spirit of religion.

Unlike the conception of it fostered by books like Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street,* the small town does not provide a shallow, valueless sort of life.

Grading on a curve in college is not realistic.

Modern poetry is not so incomprehensible as it seems to be.

Patriotism is a desirable quality, but the patriotism that deifies all the well-known figures in our history is dangerous to the successful operation of a democracy.

The railroads will not be supplanted in the discernible future by air transportation.

Working one's way through college is not advisable in most cases.

We do not have a free press.

Classical music is not boring to anyone who understands it; the boredom merely accompanies ignorance.

Leaning on hobbies does not improve us; it merely makes us pass our time innocuously.

Vocationalism in college is not as practical as it seems to be at first glance.

9. HIGH LEVEL GENERALIZATIONS

9

High Level Generalizations

HIGH LEVEL generalizations are generalizations far removed from the mass of perceptions upon which thought is, or should be, based. The task of pushing them back to the concrete level to check their accuracy is an arduous one. Because such generalizations represent conclusions drawn from large bodies of evidence, on subjects of wide scope, they are valuable when they are accurate. An advanced civilization cannot well exist without them, but it can also fall because of them. They are food for the trained mind but poison for the mind that takes thought on hearsay or wanders easily into fairylands of no-meaning. When high level generalizations are sound, they are expressed by wise men, by men who have had extensive experience in checking and rechecking the validity of ideas in special areas of thought, by authorities in their fields, or by research workers trained at assembling data turned up by other research workers. More often, however, they are myths — broad ideas which we live by without either the inclination or the ability to test their ultimate validity.

The example given here is not for the average undergraduate to imitate. Perhaps he is as capable of indulging in the pastime of generalizing as some of his elders but he is not justified in imitating their mistakes. The generalizations learned by children in many of our schools are too often presented without reference to the facts. Perhaps at times we become confused in our thinking by failing to distinguish between high level generalizing which makes broad assertions in a positive manner and pure speculation which ponders only the possibilities. The ability to speculate is rare and should be cultivated by all students. High level generalizations, however, should be left to those qualified to handle them.

A WESTERNER VIEWS THE U.S.A.*

By Edward M. Miller

1. MANY A WESTERNER holds to the vague belief that his beginnings date back no farther than the covered-wagon days, when his great-great-grandparents, or his grandparents, made choice of the west. Actually the Westerner is the terminal product of an American process that began more than three hundred years ago when ambitious peoples, fed up with the inequities and restraints of Europe, set out to establish a world where the individual might flourish. A good many of the early comers were singularly ill equipped for the job. Plymouth folk learned the hard way – by experience.

2. Time brought stability and comfortable institutions, however, and many were content. There were others who preferred not to await the fruition of the clipper ship and the flowering of political genius in Virginia. These were the Westerners, the restless ones, and the settlement of the Tidewater served both as reason and excuse for malcontents to roam inland and onward in search of more space and better fortune. Progress was slow. Dating from Plymouth, two hundred years were required to push modest distances beyond the Mississippi, and it was not until 1843 that the first substantial group of migrants set out from Missouri for the Pacific Northwest. There were earlier settlements in California, but the tide did not reach its height until the discovery of California gold in 1848. Thus, pertinent time for Westerners stems from the 40's to the 80's. During those years most of the livable areas of the west, save for earlier Spanish and Mexican settlements in the Southwest, saw their first homesteaders.

3. The great migration to the far West, in which the migrant of the early 1840's was a zestful participant, represented the culmination of an amazing group of fortuitous circumstances. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had evolved a magnificent political philosophy calculated to dignify and inspire an individual – a philosophy with which by the early 1800's the American people had been imbued and which had found workable expression in the exuberant confidence of Jeffersonian democracy.

* From *The American Scholar*, Autumn, 1943. Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the author.

4. The Western migration took place at a time when the American people were no longer amateurs in the business of bending a wilderness to their needs. Fortune smiled on the Westerners when she gave them blood sufficiently kindred to permit effective, efficient colonization; and time had released the bonds of early inhibitions stemming from secularized religion.
5. World events conspired to make the Western lands available exactly when preparations were complete. Napoleonic ambition provided all Louisiana, the controversy with Britain was a signboard and a spur to the Oregon country, and Mexico's tenuous hold on California was an evident temptation. Finally, the resources of the West were to prove adequate for the encouragement and support of a high standard of living.
6. Never in all the history of the world had so many peoples, so admirably equipped, set out to emblazon their destiny on slate so clean.
7. Such were the legacies to the Westerner-to-be. As an individual he displayed vital American characteristics destined to gain new vigor from the men who bore them; dogged enterprise, ingenuity, and a sublime confidence in God, himself, and the Bill of Rights. To these must be added a restless, feverish enthusiasm for his own forthright version of social security, "Oregon or Bust," scrawled on the side of his wagon. The cynical will ascribe his delirium to the lure of free lands. (Congress, in due course, allotted 320 acres to each emigrant. With a wife he got 640.) True, ordinary greed fairly designates the motives of many who sought gold and lands, but it does not suffice to explain the tormenting fever that compelled men to snatch wives and children from established homes and to thrust them into the hazards of Indians, flood, and famine. Acres, alone, do not provide explanation.
8. No, the peoples of the wagon trains were willing victims of the frontier, questers for an illusive substance, which today we call the American Dream – new words to identify the compelling urge and confident hope for a better world.
9. For all the spiritual legacies and ties with the past, it should not be forgotten that the long, dangerous trip across the plains was the most spectacular of all the American breaks with the past, both in fact and in the minds of the participants. If their going was an af-

firmation of hope in a beckoning future, it was also a breaking away from the shackles, real or imagined, they had known in the East. In the fullness of the break they were discarding residual accumulations of time, contagious behavior patterns, to which the attitudes and actions of men are inevitably susceptible. There was stern symbolism when, to ease the strain on thinning oxen, the migrants ruthlessly tossed aside their few keepsakes of an ordered past. Spiritual legacies had been stripped of all trimmings and trappings when their bearers gained Pacific saltwater.

10. The newcomers to the West were to find need of all their resources. Nature decreed the West should be desolate and beautiful and tough – and the beauty should be that of the bold, sweeping stroke. Here were the nation's tallest mountains, wildest rivers, biggest canyons, tallest trees, heaviest rains, deepest snows, driest deserts. In later times such items were to wring profit from tourists. To early settlers they were nightmares come true.

11. First came the Rockies, a massive range sprawling from Canada to Mexico. Beyond and parallel to the Rockies the migrants encountered an arid trough six hundred miles wide. It was laced and interlaced with canyons of great rivers. It was strewn with ten thousand named and nameless errant buttes and mountains and was centered by the Great Salt Lake.

12. Beyond the trough a second major range of mountains, called the Cascades in the north and the Sierra Nevadas in the south, offered towering snow capped peaks. With final mountains surmounted, the migrants spilled down into the valleys at or near Pacific tidewater where they founded the future large cities of the coast. The vast expanse between the Pacific and the Rockies soon became dotted with settlers from the East or by others who backwashed from the Pacific.

13. Now began the great adventure, the great question mark: Would the Western men and women, thrown on their own resources, utilize to full measure the gifts and talents fortune had bestowed? The West forced a new factor into the colonization of America; namely, the conquest of aridity. Few Easterners realize the extent to which aridity and semi-aridity prevail throughout the West. The dryness forced concentration on water, or rather, the scarcity of water. There were feuds over water holes and bankruptcies from water

rights, but out of the process of bringing fertility to sage flats there emerged the spirit of enterprise underlying irrigation, the cup of life in the West.

14. Climate and geography gave rise to many other occupations either new to the American scene or destined to become identified with the West: cattle ranching; sheep raising; gold, silver, and copper mining. To these must be added the time-honored means of livelihood – logging of trees, sawing of lumber, subsistence farming, shipping, trade, doctoring, and lawyering. All of them required new applications, new solutions to fit virgin surroundings. The challenge was great, the task was immense. After one hundred years the job of whittling down the West to man's size still remains undone.

15. I have dwelt upon physiography and industry to emphasize an obvious but easily overlooked fact: the Westerner has been forced into intense preoccupation with the physical job at hand. When you are uprooting firs and sage, fighting and fleecing Indians, launching steamboats, scheming railroads, gouging highways, and building the great projects of current date – under such circumstances you do not philosophize about the implications of historical processes. To the contrary, you sweat, and pin your faith on the morrow.

16. The Western character emerged from its mold about the turn of the century. Native American attributes remained basic, but the Westerner had been conditioned strongly by his lack of concern with the past, his preoccupation with the urgencies of the present, a receptivity toward innovations, and an uncritical faith in a better future.

17. With this formula in mind, it will be seen the Westerner is a relatively uncomplicated person. He enjoys the naïveté of a youthful people. He has escaped the searing scars of cynicism and despair, for he has been spared the lash of major regional conflicts and catastrophes – no civil wars, no reconstruction, no dust bowls, no gaunt cotton mills.

18. Furthermore, his mind remains uncluttered with worrisome abstractions. Why should he bother about the fine points of Magna Carta, the philosophy of the Lockes and the Rousseaus, the statutes of Virginia, even the implications of the Declaration of Independence, when he is the living epitome of all the freedoms ever invented?

19. As an individual the Westerner is easy-going, casual, and not given to the furrowed brow. His affection for nature is tremendous, and he counts hunting and fishing the finest of all pastimes. He is well-disposed toward his fellowmen. Friendliness is given as a matter of course and without reservations. The Westerner's candor is immense – what he thinks, he says, and expects you to reply in kind.

20. We revere the practical. Save in Carmel and San Francisco, a connoisseur of the fine arts can be mighty lonesome west of the Rockies. Contrariwise, domestic architecture flourishes admirably. A *good* house is *practical.*

21. The manifestations of the body politic are of infinite variety and utterly incomprehensible to many strangers. We film the sexiest movies, adhere to the strictest morals, commercialize divorce, build splendid schools, germinate the nuttiest cults, build the biggest bombers, tolerate inexcusable insane asylums, wear the weirdest clothes, indulge in honest politics and goofy politics, revere the D.A.R., and root for Marian Anderson. Where is the pattern?

22. In early days, the absence of traditional pressures gave rise to many excesses. Fortunately, the traveling kits of migrants contained many a strong dose of subduing Calvinism. Stern cathartics eliminated the most obnoxious excesses, and recovery brought back the good health of vigorous enterprise.

23. Relatively few of our people, save those lured by the arts or by prospects of professional advancement, have any desire to migrate eastward. Yet this is no bar to curiosity. Most Westerners are born with itchy feet, and they speak with apologetic regret if their travels have not included a journey to the Atlantic. There are riches ahead for the Westerner who will travel back the trail in honest search for treasures hidden in those two hundred and fifty years so lightly cast aside by his great-great-grandparents. His riches will consist of a new and deeply thrilling conception of America and, yes, an exciting introspective knowledge of himself.

24. Our traveler encounters the beauty of the Eastern countryside with a surprise akin to shock. Weaned on the expansive travel brochures of the Union Pacific, he learns to his astonishment that a miniature in proper setting asks no favors from a mural.

25. Autumn leaves in New York and New England are unbelievably gay. Views round the bends of rural lanes surely were invented for

the special benefit of cameras. Roadside stands give hints of productivity unsuspected in soil so thin. The endless stone walls give testimony to patient, toilsome affection for this stony land.

26. The visitor readily extends respect for the Palisades of the Hudson, and he is enchanted with the well-groomed farms and stone barns of Pennsylvania. The soft beauty of Virginia is a revelation. In all the land, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Virginia offers the most persuasive invitation for the establishment of a country home. Amblings through the Great Smokies of North Carolina teach the lesson that eastern mountains wear well. Western peaks exude the frigidity of their ice caps. Eastern mountains, tolerant with age, invite companionship.

27. The deep South has been visioned as a vast flat space, white with cotton. It is an agreeable surprise to discover the intriguing red soil pleasantly contoured and mantled with pines. The camera finds much to record as the journey continues to Charleston's Magnolia Gardens and the nearby highways canopied with Spanish moss. There is an album respect, too, for Florida's royal palms, for the seductive azure coast line and the efficiently maintained orange groves.

28. Our visitor readily understands and readily approves many an evidence of vigorous Eastern enterprise. He thrills to the boldness of New York: the skyline at dusk, the spectacle from the Empire State, the magnificence of Park Avenue, the clamor of the Holland Tunnel, and the precision of the Rockettes. He mingles astonishment with applause when confronted with the parkways of the New York area, superb creations surpassing all other American thoroughfares in beauty and in the conception of their fitness to new dimensions of new times.

29. The surging power of industry breaks through the screen of soot and grime. The sight and smell of heavy industry contribute to the visitor's sense of propinquity, to the main stream of American affairs, and so does a visit to Congress and likewise an elevator ride in Rockefeller Center. Equally powerful in this respect are the national shrines.

30. The books have told us that human experience did not begin in 1843 and have explained that certain men of the Revolution were persons of consequence. A single visit to the tasteful splendor of

Mount Vernon is worth many a chapter in spreading forth a graphic story of accumulated capital, gracious living, and powerful idealism. One willingly makes tourist trips to Lexington and Concord; to the Lincoln Memorial; to the slave market in Charleston and the relics of St. Augustine. At Monticello and the University of Virginia the man Jefferson becomes a living personality.

31. We need the jar of experience, the sight and feel of actuality. The East reeks with the actuality of men and deeds. It seeps out of the past and it floods the present. There comes a time when the newcomer, too, joins the stream and finds it good. He has become a part of propinquity.

32. Time has been indulgent to the East but time has, with no less emphasis, been cruel. She has wiped the bright light of hope from so many faces.

33. I cannot forget the utter dejection in the eyes of the mountain woman, babe in elbow, who watched our car take gas in Tennessee; the whine in the voice of the bony woman selling roadside orange juice in Florida; the tired sharpness of the change vendor in Boston's subway; the humility of the black waiter in Charleston; the furrowed sweat on the girl in the "quick lunch," Gotham. And the wistful children on a New York ferry who, intrigued by our Western *r's* and *a's* shyly offered conversation.

34. I cannot forget many houses in the South. You are driving on a highway. Far ahead you perceive the fine lines of a stately structure, and there flashes a picture of discriminating taste and high purpose. Still closer – the house needs paint, but windows and chimneys have been spaced by a knowing hand. Closeup – a chicken drowses in a window ledge where glass should be, and untidy children, sometimes black, sometimes white, sit in listless play on the splintery porch. Is this the price of the boll weevil, reconstruction, hot summers, tenant farming, soil exhaustion, the Ku Klux Klan, the one-party system?

35. A few hours drive takes one from the miserable huts of Georgia and northern Florida, not fit for animals but housing human beings, to the blatant hotels and private sands of Miami Beach. There is no need here to describe, in dreary detail, the hovels of Southern sharecroppers, the Negro sections of Savannah and Charleston, the slums of Washington and New York. I am told the residents of Baltimore

take rightful pride in the whiteness of their doorsteps. For my part, I drove with something akin to horror through endless streets packed and jammed with identical brick flats. Is it possible for man to gestate a spark of individuality in surroundings such as these?

36. Throughout an Eastern journey the Western observer will remain uncomfortably aware of group segregations or conflicts, or lack of assimilations as evidenced in the crackers, the mountaineers, and Jim Crows; coal miners, Polacks, Harlem; Jews in New York and Irish in Boston; the very rich and the very poor.

37. Such matters dismay the Westerner because his insufficient background permits neither sympathetic understanding nor intelligent solution of severe social conflicts. Out West we have long since made peace with the Indian; the problem of the roving Okies is not insoluble; Mexicans are not ambitious; and the Chinese, great favorites of the moment, are notable at minding their own business. The Japanese remain our great question, and even they have not greatly entered our daily consciousness.

38. So, caught in the eddies of Eastern class dissensions, the Westerner reacts in a manner simple, direct, and not wholly courageous. He craves escape. There are too many people.

39. Any Westerner who precipitously departs, literally or figuratively, does himself and his host a strong injustice; for he unwittingly disdains the East's finest heritage — the capacity for mature social relationships and mature social responsibilities.

40. He who remains will soon make the happy discovery that the Easterner is really a very nice person. True, you will continue to feel the chill indifference of the many toward the one; and you learn early that proper credentials and suitable sponsors are mandatory passports in crossing Eastern barriers of caution. Once that barrier is broken, the man of the Atlantic demonstrates a rare talent for indulgence in the amenities, and an enviable capacity for obtaining enjoyment therefrom.

41. I am thinking of the Southerner who, his day's work done or undone, sits on the front porch that he may hail greetings to passers-by; the amazing ability of the same Southerner to accept the burden of prolonged conversation and to do so in a manner both entertaining and persuasively flattering to his companion. The congenial buzz-buzz-buzzing of New York garment workers during

sidewalk recess is a phenomenon unknown in the West, likewise the happy abandon of a New Year's crowd in Times Square.

42. But the East's capacity for human relationships extends beyond the range of good fun, pleasing manners, and gracious hospitality. At Harvard University I found all these. I also found an amazing combination of driving energy, a sustained devotion to truth for the sake of truth, a healthy conception of, and allegiance to, American ideals, and — most important of all — a restless conscience that demands acceptance of a full share of responsible leadership in bettering the pattern of American life. Certainly I do not suggest that the school on the Charles is unique in these respects. I do say its sense of urgency and vigor of application is beyond my previous experience.

43. One does not forget that some of Harvard's most handsome living quarters steal the sun from quite awful Cambridge flats — unhappy symbolism of the great Eastern gap between those who are in and those who are out. But neither should we forget that Franklin Roosevelt, who may have seen those flats, has demonstrated the twentieth century's most vivid sense of social responsibility. In accepting this leadership Mr. Roosevelt was following the Eastern tradition of maturity — that of providing a vastly preponderant share of American political, social, and intellectual leadership. Out of the East have come the powerful and enduring forces which generate ground swells for the surging greatness of the nation.

44. To the Western man there comes a time for home-going. The 3400-mile journey finds its climax in a blizzard at the summit of the Rockies. This is home. Presently you are indulging in reflections, making evaluations.

45. Certainly there is a new crop of stories to tell: about the evenly spread beauty of the Eastern landscape and the frightfully messy signboards along the highways of Florida; the expensively tanned loafers at Miami Beach, and the sincere search throughout the East for new solutions of employer-employee relationships, the contrast of slums and new Federal housing projects side by side in Savannah. You will tell of children of the East, less robust, less active, and better mannered. The soot of the East, the pressure of crowds, the might of the factories, and the genius of the Easterner for fellowship. And New England intellectual vigor surmounting, shall we

say, an occasional lapse into graveyard philosophy, a kowtowing to age for the sake of age?

46. And the West? You see with new eyes that many a desolate mile stands between the deepest canyons, the highest mountains, the cleanest rivers. Many of the farms are not very tidy. There are flashes of impatient intolerance. Yet you bring home the simple conviction that the casteless West is better for the average man, the common man, for yourself. Yet, still, the West is not the whole loaf. You will regret standing aside from the main stream of events.

47. A few years ago, I journeyed with the late Thomas Wolfe through a large portion of the West. The novelist, readily sensing the zest of the area, expressed his approval by saying the West is America's horizon. But a visit to Salt Lake prompted him to erupt in violent protest against the moral restrictions enforced by the Mormon church — and all other churches. The restrictions, he contended, fettered a man's soul and produced minds distinguished only by their mediocrity.

48. When countered with the argument that ecclesiastical restrictions, however arbitrary, had aided greatly in the production of a wealth of good citizenry, Wolfe impatiently brushed the point aside. Great men, he said, are compounded of complete intellectual freedom, sharp cleavages, and bold crises. One genius — one bright, guiding light — is worth a host of plodding citizens, no matter how law-abiding.

49. Wolfe's argument becomes provocative when one observes the dearth of truly great names associated with the land west of the Rockies, save in the sciences dealing with material things. Our list of statesmen, novelists, economists, social scientists, educators has not been impressive.

50. I suggest the West has been too young and too busy and too fortunate to produce the guiding lights. Give us a little more time. Already there are signs. History may say the West became adult in 1929, for we too shared that crisis; we are now up to the hilt in war; and we too will share in postwar plans. Those who know, say Douglas of Washington is one of America's two great New Deal philosophers, and the other is Midwesterner Wallace.

51. The Eastern ground swells dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for the individual thrust some of their finest breakers into the West. Now the East sends new impulses of social responsibility, intimations that the self-sufficient individual must ally

himself with less fortunate individuals. Surely the West will send back strength of its own, even as the farthest breaker of the flood tide returns to make impress on the sea.

ANALYSIS

1. *a.* Before attempting to study this selection as an example of high-level generalizing, discover the dominant idea in it.
   b. Determine the extent to which this idea involves appreciation and the extent to which it involves objective comment.
2. Go through the essay paragraph by paragraph looking at the evidence that is presented in support of generalizations made.
   a. In what places can the generalizations be supported easily? Test the generalizations by asking if sufficient concrete evidence could possibly be brought to bear on the generalizations to provide adequate demonstration. You are not to suppose, however, that simply because a thesis cannot be demonstrated, it is therefore worthless. But you may well ask if some theses are so far beyond demonstration that the formation of sound generalizations is improbable.
   b. For instance, examine carefully the second and third sentences of Paragraph 1. Is the point made in Paragraph 2 more demonstrable?
   c. Note the second sentence in Paragraph 3, the whole of Paragraph 4. Do the brief concessions in Paragraph 7 show that the author has his eye on a body of concrete fact? How do we know whether or not his interpretation is sound?
   d. Are the assertions in Paragraph 10 more demonstrable or those in Paragraph 14? Has the assertion with which Paragraph 15 begins been sufficiently supported?
   e. Note Paragraph 16: how does the author know these things? Note that the judgments found in Paragraphs 17–22 presumably are based upon extensive experience; have we any way of knowing the reliability of the assertions?
   f. In Paragraphs 23–32 the author cites appreciative judgments of the average Westerner; is he actually speaking only of his own tastes? What right has he to generalize here?
   g. Note that the author refers to his personal reactions in Paragraphs 33–35 and is speaking again of the typical Westerner in Paragraphs 36–40 and thereafter is mixing the two together.
   h. How can the final generalizations in Paragraphs 47–51 be demonstrated?
3. *a.* Mark off the three main divisions of this essay. Why the long preparatory discussion at the beginning?
   b. Is the final section closely related to the remainder of the essay?