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Cleveland State University

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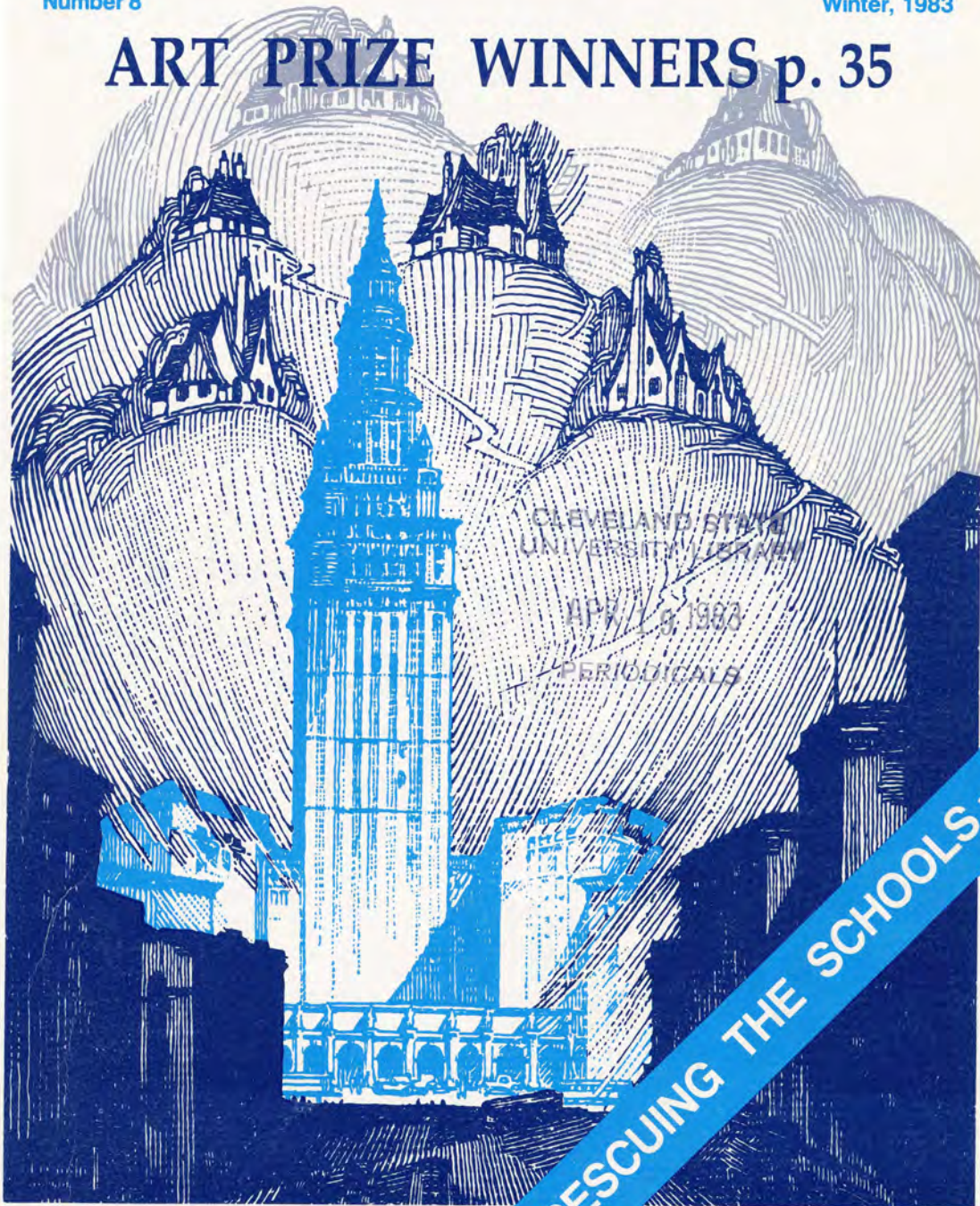
THE GAMUT

A JOURNAL OF IDEAS AND INFORMATION

Number 8

Winter, 1983

ART PRIZE WINNERS p. 35



Building the Terminal Tower p. 3

RESCUING THE SCHOOLS p



Above: The Terminal Tower under construction. Photograph taken June 13, 1927. Note Old Stone Church in background at right. The story of the building of the Tower begins on page 3.

Front cover: Drawing from a sales brochure selling lots in Shaker Heights, put out by one of the Van Sweringen realty companies, about 1928. The "stockbroker tudor" style houses in the clouds are portrayed as being linked with the vibrant center of Cleveland, symbolized by the new Terminal Tower.

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Walter C. Leedy, Jr.

Cleveland's Terminal Tower — The Van Sweringens' Afterthought

The Terminal Tower, imposing architectural center and symbol of the City of Cleveland, actually came into being as a last-minute addition to a train station that was years in the planning, but that is itself now abandoned and largely forgotten.

In 1910 a visitor to Cleveland would almost certainly have come by train. If he had travelled from Washington or Kansas City, he would have bought his ticket at the new union station in one of these cities.¹ But when he arrived in Cleveland, he might have gotten off in any of fifteen locations, depending on which railroad he patronized. If he had taken the New York Central, he could have gotten off at the old lake front station, located at the foot of West Sixth Street, from where he could have walked to Public Square, the hub of Cleveland trolley lines, to catch a streetcar to his destination in the city. Or he could have taken an interurban — a self-propelled electrified railway car — to any number of cities in north-eastern Ohio and beyond. At that time Ohio had one of the most extensive interurban networks, with over 2000 miles of track.

Before automobiles became common, the interurbans provided short- to medium-distance transportation, hauling freight as well as passengers. They were the forerunners of today's bus and truck lines.²

Where Cleveland's Terminal Tower complex now stands were dilapidated old buildings covered with rust, soot and advertising, which bore witness to Cleveland's first mercantile age. Once considered a beautiful corner of the city, the southwest quadrant of Public Square and lower Superior Avenue had experienced a continual decline in real estate values, as business enterprises moved to newer and more modern buildings located to the east — strung out along Euclid Avenue. Public Square was no longer the center of gravity of Cleveland's business or financial community. On the north side of the Square was located the Old Stone Church (1855) and the medieval-revival Society for Savings Bank (1889). On the east side was the new Federal Building (under construction), the pioneering but plain Cuyahoga Building (1893), and the Williamson Building (1900).³ (In spite of vig-

Walter Leedy, an Associate Professor of Art at Cleveland State University, was born in Detroit and grew up in Dearborn. He received the degrees of Bachelor of Architecture and Master of Architecture from the University of Michigan, and did graduate work at the University of California/Santa Barbara, and at the Courtauld Institute of Art of the University of London, where he received a Ph.D. in the History of European Art, majoring in Medieval Art and Architecture. He is a specialist in medieval fan vaulting, and an article by him on that subject appears in the February, 1983 issue of Scientific American. His book Fan Vaulting: A Study of Form, Technology, and Meaning, was published in 1980 by the Scolar Press in London, and he is author of numerous articles and papers on medieval architecture. His interest in the construction of the Terminal Tower arose after he spent a summer studying dozens of boxes of old papers and drawings stored in an abandoned employees' lavatory in the Tower; this led him to 90 filing cabinets of Terminal Tower records in the possession of Mr. Gerald Adams, who has since donated the materials to the CSU Libraries. At the right, Professor Leedy is shown with a small portion of these archives. (Photo: Milic)





The southwest corner of Euclid Avenue and Ontario Street as it appeared in 1922, before demolition for new construction. The site is now occupied by the Higbee Company, part of the Van Sweringens' efforts to create a high-density development. The writing on the photograph indicates land parcels that the Van Sweringen interests were acquiring. Photo: Gerald Adams collection.

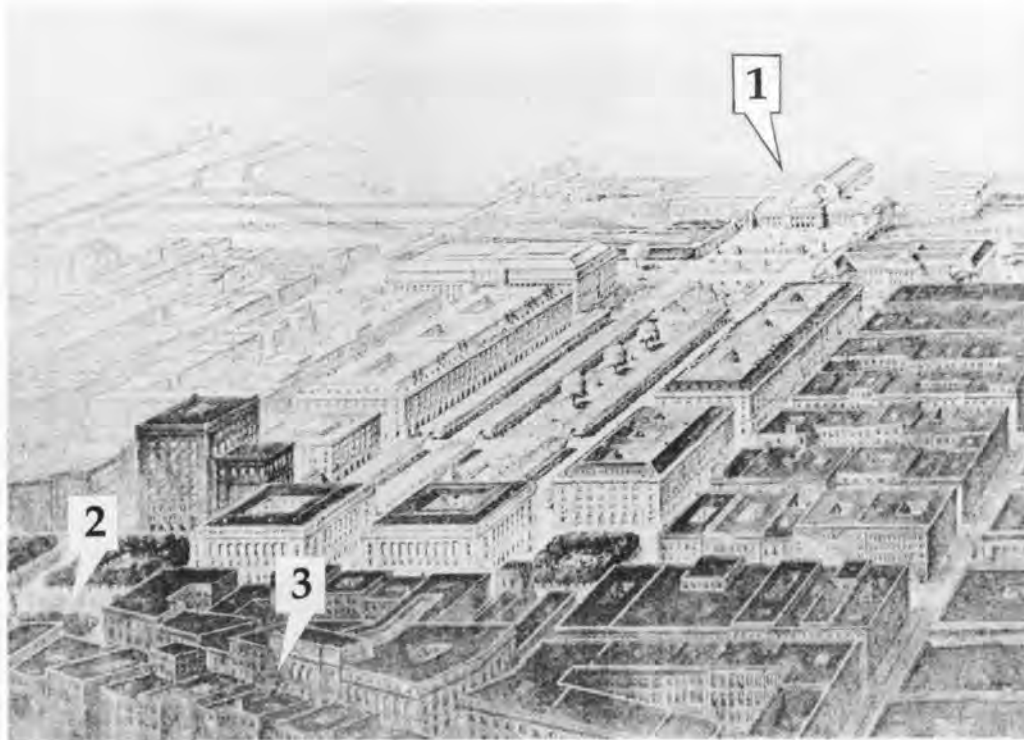
orous objections, these last two were demolished in 1982 to make way for the Sohio headquarters.)

In the southeast quadrant could be found the Cuyahoga County Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, the siting of which caused considerable controversy in the late 1880's.⁴ It was originally to have been located in the middle of Public Square, at the present junction of Superior Avenue and Ontario Street. But the streetcar companies gained control of these streets for the placement of their tracks, and thus deprived the Monument of a central location, though Public Square's function as an important transportation node was reinforced by this outcome. The controversy then shifted to the appropriateness of the southeast quadrant. Judge Samuel E. Williamson, the owner of a property on the corner of Euclid Avenue and the Square, in a letter to the City's Park Commissioners (October 3, 1887), expressed the fear that, because of the size of the Monument, his property would no longer front on a park, but on a street, thus decreasing its value, and that the Monument would completely obscure the view from Euclid Avenue across the Square.

Furthermore (important for the Terminal Tower project 35 years later) he questioned the City's legal right to permit the erection of a building not to be under city control, and not to be used for strictly public purposes, on city property. It took an Act (passed in 1888) of the Ohio Assembly to make the use of the southeast quadrant legal for the Monument's location.

A "City Beautiful" mall for Cleveland

Although the buildings on Public Square were a source of pride to many of the city's residents, there were some critics. Writing in 1910, Samuel Orth, a historian of the city, said, "The stately Williamson Building . . . overlooks [the Square] with majestic disdain."⁵ Public Square lacked a cohesive visual image. To many, the glory of the Square had evidently departed. By 1890, the stately elms were all gone, and the sycamores that were planted every year only sickened and died as a result of the sulphurous air pollution. The character of Public Square and especially of the southwest quadrant did not reflect the emerging greatness of the growing city.



The Burnham Commission's plan for the Cleveland Mall, including buildings projected for the near and distant future. From 1903 until 1919, the anticipated site for the new Union Station (1) was to be at the end of the Mall near the lake. Recognizable in this rendering are Public Square (2) and Euclid Avenue (3). Drawing from the Commission Report, reproduced in Charles Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham* (1921).

Public Square had been and was the traditional center of civic life. It was the site of the first execution in the county. It was where dignitaries, like Abraham Lincoln, were greeted and where public debates were held. And it was where, during the Municipal Centennial of 1896, the Pageant of Peace marched under a great triumphal arch of victory especially built over Superior Avenue for the occasion. But since the early 1890's, plans had been in the making that would change all that. Prompted by the fact that federal, county, and municipal governments were all in need of larger new buildings, a group of citizens and Cleveland's Architectural Club promoted the idea of creating a unified grouping of public buildings in a central location.⁶ Populist Mayor Tom Johnson, after his election in 1901, endorsed the idea of a Group Plan proposal and made it part of his program, in the hope that public architecture and landscaping would symbolize the city's riches and would stimulate civic pride. Johnson appointed a commission headed by architect Daniel Burnham which made its re-

port on the proposed Group Plan in 1903. The public at large was not consulted: Burnham was not a believer in town meetings.

The Commission's Report called for placing a "civic center," now known as the Mall, just northeast of Public Square, running from Superior Avenue all the way to the Lake. The conception—a grouping of monumental civic buildings around a grand open space—was derived from the City Beautiful movement: a show city of dazzling public buildings illuminated by street lighting inspired by the Columbian Exposition of 1893.

By the early twentieth century some planners, such as Jens Jensen, were critical of City Beautiful schemes as grandiose, inhumane, imperialistic and undemocratic: "The more formality in its design the less democracy in its feeling and tendency."⁷ And by the early teens taxpayers across the country, including those in Cleveland, were reluctant to pay for architectural magnificence when urgent practical problems confronted them.



The Union Station that never was: one of several proposed schemes done between 1915 and 1917 for the new terminal to be located on the lakeside end of the Mall. Drawing by the architectural firm of Graham, Anderson, Probst and White. Gerald Adams collection.

The building of the Mall constituted a large-scale redevelopment near the core of the city, which was then primarily a clutter of waterfront dives, bordellos and slums. Progressive citizens had for years demanded the improvement of this area, especially since it was "downtown." By the end of World War I, over 25 million dollars had been spent on it. And at least 5-10 million more would be needed to finish the job. This task was perceived both as an improvement of the quality of life in the city and a visible symbol of the city's collective image. There was little apparent concern for the people to be displaced by this project, and no effort was made to help relocate them. On the whole Clevelanders supported the project. The average citizen was fond of palatial grandeur, and dedicated architects were willing to provide it. Mayor Johnson was in touch with popular taste.

Along with the plan for the Mall arose a sense that a new lake front railroad station

was needed. The old station, built in 1864, was inadequate and hardly represented the first impression that the city's leaders wished to give to the visitor. By 1903, after some debate, it was decided that the station would be relocated at the north end of the Mall, since the railroad tracks were already along the lake front. Almost twelve years of continual litigation about the price the railroads would be charged for the site were to follow this decision.

Finally, in 1915, the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads entered into an agreement with the city, approved by a public referendum, that appeared to settle the long dispute.⁸ The railroads were to pay the city about one million dollars for the new site next to City Hall, and the city in turn was to use that sum to acquire more land for the Mall, thus relieving the need to burden the taxpayer with the costs of the project. America's entry into the War caused further delays, and



Oris Paxton (b. 1879) and Mantis James (b. 1881) VAN SWERINGEN came from a farming area near Wooster, Ohio. Their father was for a time an engineer in the oil fields of Pennsylvania and fought in the Civil War, receiving a wound at Gettysburg. After the death of their mother, the family moved to Geneva, Ohio, and two years later to Cleveland, settling at East 105 Street and Cedar Avenue. They attended Bolton and Fairmount Schools, where they were proficient in mathematics. Their formal education ended with the eighth grade.

After being employed by others, and after suffering several early business failures, they entered the real estate business. At first they were unsuccessful in Cleveland's new west-side suburb of Lakewood. They then moved their business to the east side, where they subdivided properties for large residences. Success was slow in coming, but the announcement in 1910 of a rapid transit system gave impetus to land sales in Shaker Heights. By 1929, their holdings were valued at \$3 billion, mostly as a result of the high valuation of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange. For this reason, the stock market collapse of 1929 ultimately led to their financial destruction. M.J. Van Sweringen died in 1935 and his brother in 1936.

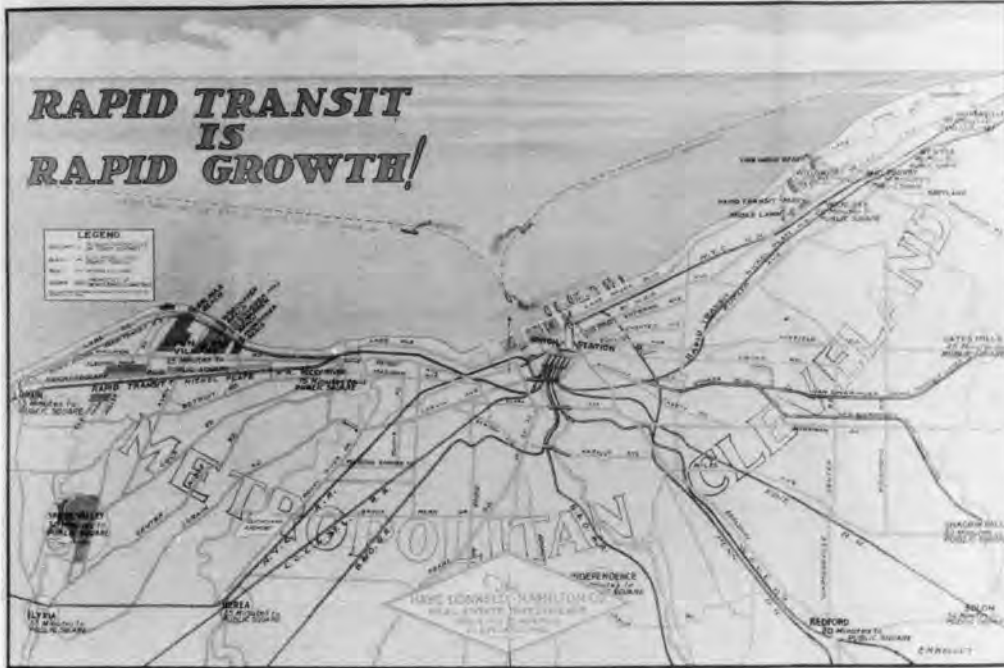
The caricatures above are taken from *Cleveland Club Men in Caricature*, drawings by Associated Cleveland Artists, Jay M. Caughey, director (East Aurora, N.Y.: Roycrofters, 1910).

as late as November, 1917, alternative architectural plans were still being prepared for the proposed station.⁹ It began to look as if construction would never start and Cleveland would never have its new station. To make matters more complicated, the railroads had begun to realize that a new passenger station on this site really did not address their important needs for improved freight service.

Enter the Van Sweringens

Meanwhile, Oris Paxton Van Sweringen and his brother Mantis James Van Sweringen were trying to develop Shaker Heights into a suburban housing community.¹⁰ Their lots were selling slowly, and they concluded that the cause was inadequate transportation. It simply took too long to go by streetcar from downtown to their new development on the Heights. Transportation along a private

“The City with a Soul” 5,000,000 People



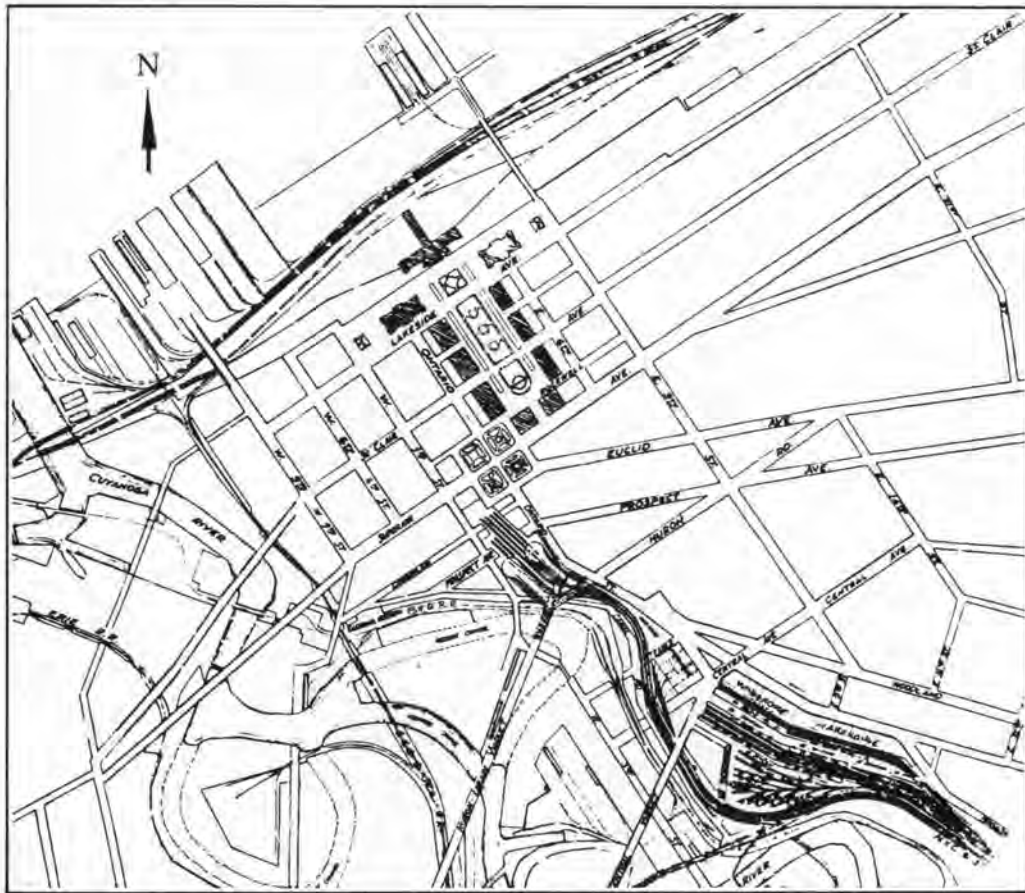
This prospectus illustrates how other entrepreneurs jumped on the Van Sweringens' band wagon, hoping for magnificent profits through real estate sales and speculation. Pamphlet, author's collection.

right-of-way (to avoid street congestion) was needed to shorten travel time. And the fares had to be low. With this in mind they began to lay plans for a rapid transit system. This solution was hardly innovative, for many (including the liberal U.S. Senator Frederic C. Howe and New York planner Edward Bassett) had realized that the housing problem in the rapidly growing metropolitan areas hinged on easy and cheap transport to the suburbs. At this time, suburban life was coming to be regarded as the ideal of human existence, and decentralization was perceived as a blessing and a necessity.

Across the country, planners mistakenly assumed that the new transit facilities to be installed would be self-supporting. But severe inflation during World War I and legislation that fixed fares at low levels, as here in Cleveland, made rapid transit an unprofitable investment, and so brought an end to the dream of low rent and country living for

the working people of the great American cities. Arguments on behalf of rapid transit, however, lingered into the 1920's and affected the plans being made in Cleveland.

At first the Van Sweringens planned only the Shaker line, to connect downtown with their land development. This objective prompted them to purchase land in the vicinity of Public Square as early as 1909 to provide a terminus for their rapid transit line.¹¹ By 1926, as their ambitions expanded, they projected and started building additional lines to cover the entire county, including some stations on what is now the Airport-Windermere line.¹² Their plans for "Super Transit" were based on traffic studies and surveys charting population growth. They were also interested in buses and hoped Cleveland would emulate Detroit with a highway program that would permit a commuter to take the bus to the rapid and the rapid to work.¹³ These plans stimulated further land development by other entre-



Map from Engineer's Report of March, 1917, showing the track layout for the stub-end station planned at that time for the southwest quadrant of Public Square. Plans were still going ahead for a Union Station on the lakeside end of the Mall. Gerald Adams collection.

preneurs who visualized land development stretching from Painesville in the east to Lorain in the west. Today it is obvious that, because of high suburban land values and the unemployment which accompanied rural depopulation, rapid transit did little to help the poor escape from the city. Even at the time, critics of the Van Sweringen plan for comprehensive rapid transit said it was not economically feasible. The railroads favored the idea, however, because they did not want the responsibility of providing commuter transportation, which previous experience had taught them was not self-supporting.

The Van Sweringens realized that, if their plans for a Public Square station were to succeed, they would have to include all the electric railways — streetcars, rapid transit and interurban lines — as well as local freight and warehousing facilities.¹⁴ But only later did

they add plans for steam railways, following the suggestion of an official of the B&O Railroad.¹⁵

As a result of this suggestion, by the first of March, 1917, the engineers of the Erie, the Wheeling and Lake Erie, and the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroads, plus the Cleveland Terminal Company (a Van Sweringen enterprise) produced a report¹⁶ concluding that a new freight and passenger terminal was feasible not only physically but economically. The plan arising from the report included a station located between Ontario and West Third Street and extending from Public Square to Huron Road. The main entrance was to be at the southwest corner of Public Square — where it actually is today — with minor entrances from abutting streets. It would be immediately adjacent to the 1000-room Hotel Cleveland (now Stouffer's Inn on

the Square), which was being built by the Terminal Hotels Company, another Van Sweringen enterprise. The railroads hoped for a large increase in passenger business because of the location on Public Square, which made it easily accessible to all city and interurban lines, and its contiguity to the large new hotel. Travelling businessmen, then as now, demanded comfortable accommodations. But the decision for a "union" station at Public Square, one which would house all the incoming steam railroads, had yet to be made.

The 1917 plan provided twelve stub-end tracks for the steam passenger trains, with loops for local and interurban cars above them between Prospect Avenue and Huron Road. The space above the tracks was to be developed for stores and office buildings. Thus the idea for the development of air rights over the station — the concept that ultimately led to Terminal Tower — was settled early in 1917. The Van Sweringens no doubt anticipated profitable results from the creation of high-density development in this location.¹⁷

But events outside the Van Sweringens' control also played a great role in the development of the terminal complex. Contracts governing use of the proposed facilities had just been distributed to the participating railroads for their consideration when unexpectedly, on January 1, 1918, control of the railroads passed to the Federal Government under the United States Railroad Administration (U.S.R.A.). This event made additional approvals necessary before construction could begin. Early in 1918 O.P. Van Sweringen was called before A.H. Smith, then regional Director of the Eastern Division of the U.S.R.A. and an old friend and business partner of the brothers. Smith asked whether the proposed facility could be sufficiently enlarged to include the railroads using the lake front station. Thus it was Smith who initiated the idea for a union station on Public Square.¹⁸

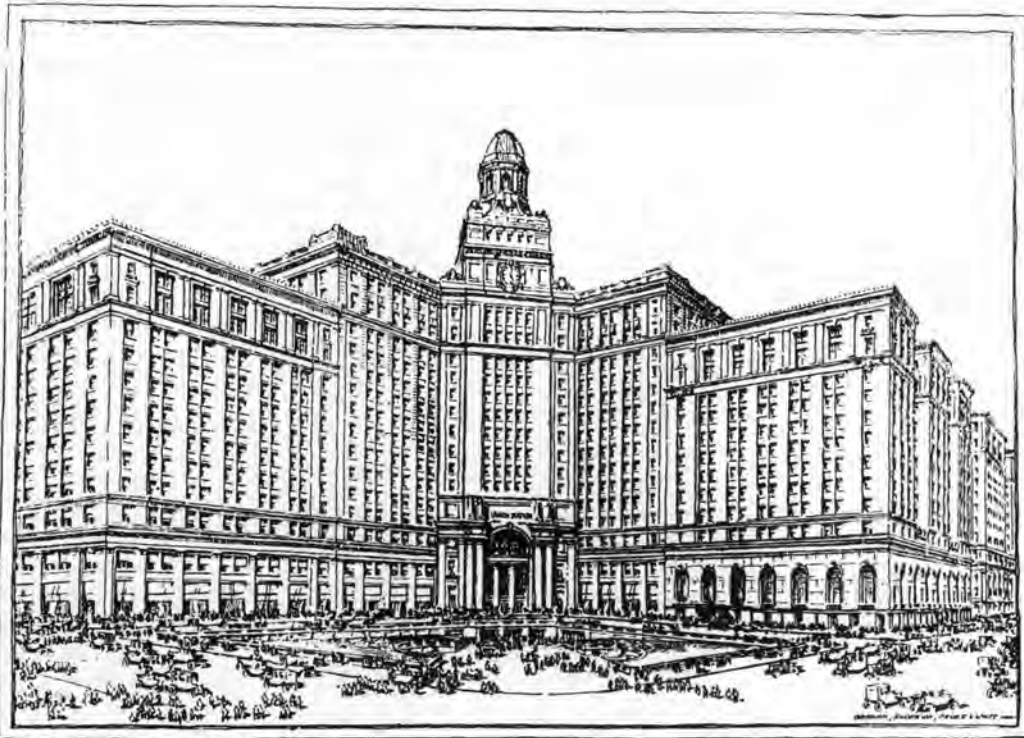
Van Sweringen immediately took up the idea and with typical audacity suggested stub-end tracks be extended straight north from the proposed station site and connected through to the lake front rail lines. Smith would not accept this proposal, for it failed to accomplish the very thing he was after, relief from the rail congestion east of the Cuyahoga River to Collinwood on the main line from New York to Chicago. He proposed a through station with tracks which crossed the river on

a high-level bridge — the bridge that was ultimately built, and today is still used by the Airport Windermere rapid transit lines — to relieve the congestion on the lake front tracks and accommodate more through freight business as well as freight-to-water business. Since warehouses could be built next to or over the new right of way, this arrangement would have the advantage of eliminating the need to truck goods from trains to warehouses and would save merchants money. At this time Cleveland ranked first of the eight largest U.S. cities in growth of product manufacturing; freight traffic was expanding at 7 percent a year. Freight facilities had to be expanded if growth was to continue. Moreover, the additional railroad frontage would permit industrial expansion. Cleveland needed this project which was in tune with the expansionist tendencies of that era. The Van Sweringens foresaw great personal profit in developing new freight and warehousing facilities.

Wheeling and dealing

Before 1918, Warren and Wetmore, the architects of Grand Central Station in New York, had given architectural advice about the station near Public Square. It seems likely that they were the ones who gave the Van Sweringens the idea for air rights development. But in 1922 they were paid \$12,000 in exchange for a release from further obligation¹⁹: the brothers, being politically astute, once they had decided to build a union station, knew that the architectural contract would have to go to Graham, Anderson, Probst and White, who not only had designed the Cleveland Hotel next door, but as the successor firm to D.H. Burnham, designer of the Group Plan Mall, were at present commissioned to provide the design for the lake front station.

The idea of changing the location of the station from the Mall to Public Square engendered a heated debate in 1918 which was to end with a public referendum on 6 January, 1919. Some critics said that the entire Mall project depended on the train station. Out of this discussion came the suggestion of closing the Mall loop with a monumental peristyle — a colonnade. Obviously, the Mall scheme could be reversed, with the peristyle serving as background rather than functioning as gateway to the City of Cleveland. Furthermore, the Mall location had been decided on by



Design for the Union Station on Public Square, as of August, 1918. The Hotel Cleveland (right wing), already built, was to be a subordinate element in the overall design. Reproduced from Engineer's Report, 1919, CSU Archives.

Johnson and reaffirmed by his successor Newton Baker (Mayor 1911-15), now Secretary of War in Woodrow Wilson's administration. How could this idea be abandoned after so many years of nurturing? What was to become of the Mall? Without the station, how would it emerge as the symbol of the city?

Critics of the Public Square station pointed out that the topography of the Square would require steep grades and curved platforms for the trains, and they urged that the interests of the city as a whole would be best served by avoiding the kind of concentration that had occurred in downtown New York and Chicago. But the Union Depot at Public Square had the advantage of providing a unified transportation system. It would reinforce Public Square as the center of the city, thus almost demanding high-density development of the surroundings. Trains, interurbans, rapid transit, and streetcars would be brought all together, and nine existing passenger stations would be abandoned. The Van Sweringens saw these circumstances as a reason for going ahead. They realized that

there was little land left for private development adjacent to the Mall area. Thus, they argued, there would be little opportunity to add to the tax rolls, whereas a new station would surely stimulate development around it. (This argument — developers still use it today — goes back to Roman times.) Critics of the Van Sweringen scheme described it as a ruse to further their own real estate interests. There was obviously some truth in this charge.

Long before the public debate about the proposed site took place, preliminary architectural and engineering studies for a union station at Public Square had begun, in May, 1918. After a meeting in New York with Ernest Graham, the architect, W.E. Pease of the Terminals Company went to Chicago to discuss the project with Graham's partner, Pierce Anderson.²⁰ From all the available evidence, it seems that Graham secured the commission for his firm, while Anderson was the actual partner in charge of the work. A few days later, on May 28, 1918, representatives of the railroads met with Van Sweringen. Anderson

presented plans for the terminal. The railroad men, who were far from committed to the project, were shocked at the Van Sweringens' precipitousness, and demanded that the architect prepare no more plans until certain studies had been completed. At this time, as the needs of the future users of the terminal had not yet been determined, the design was being drawn from the outside in!

In the summer of 1918 an Engineering Committee consisting of representatives from the railroads began studies of population growth, ticket sales, numbers of trains, etc. (what is now called a market analysis).²¹ They ultimately decided on a station capacity that would suffice for 25 years, and insisted that their needs for storage yards, coach storage, engine repair shops and the like be taken into account. One of the key questions, the city's attitude toward steam operations so close to the center of the city, was eventually answered when the city insisted on electrification between East 37th Street and West 30th Street to avoid the emission of large amounts of smoke and soot in the downtown area.

On August 13, the Committee issued a preliminary report calling for a double-deck station with a concourse in between, located at or near Public Square. The lower deck was to be planned and leased as a separate facility and terminal for electric, interurban and local rapid transit service. For steam trains there were to be 15 tracks with a provision for expansion to 24. Warehouses were to be built over the passenger tracks from Broadway to Eagle to East 23rd Street. The cost for these would be borne by the Van Sweringens' Terminal Company. Cost for the total project including the right of way was estimated at more than \$41 million.

After this tentative Engineering Report, the Cleveland Union Terminals Company was incorporated to oversee the design, construction and management of the station by the Van Sweringen interests;²² during 1918, however, it was a dormant corporation: it conducted no operations and had no income. The entire stock of this company was eventually transferred to the railroads, but even then O.P. Van Sweringen was authorized to vote the stock for the election of directors until completion of the depot. The Van Sweringens were in control of the project. The railroads needed them to negotiate a favorable deal with the City.

On 23 October, 1918, the city council passed enabling ordinances which led to the battle over the proposed site for the station.²³ Although O.P. Van Sweringen was a member of the City Planning Commission at the time, he was not allowed to vote on the terminal project. On 29 October, 1918, Mr. Smith of the U.S.R.A. wrote to the Mayor of Cleveland saying it was now necessary that the ordinance be approved by popular vote for the matter to proceed further with the Railroad Administration and railroad corporations involved. To the railroads he wrote this reassuring note: "It is not the intention to do any extensive construction under present war prices. It is estimated by the time the preliminary steps are taken a readjustment of prices will likely have taken place."²⁴ But the City wanted and took steps to have the project completed quickly. Prices did not fall and the railroad executives continued to be concerned about increased costs: by 1921 the estimated cost had risen to over \$54 million, and by November, 1925, to over \$106 million.

The Engineering Committee, on 6 December, 1918, reported that a passenger station approached directly from Public Square was feasible and practicable.²⁵ After many months of negotiations with the City and debates in Council, a public referendum on the question of the site was held, on 6 January, 1919. The Public Square site for the Union Station was approved by the citizens of Cleveland. No doubt civic pride played an important role in this vote. Everybody could see that Cleveland's present passenger facilities were inadequate. At the time, this action must have pleased the lake front railroads, for they thought they were going to save the large expenditure for the monumental construction contemplated for the Mall site because the Van Sweringens were to develop the air rights over the station. The Cleveland Terminals Company expended over \$25,000 for advertising and printing costs to influence a favorable vote.²⁶

Further delays

The dream of a Union Station that included all the railroads was dashed when the Pennsylvania Railroad withdrew in December, 1919. Not only did the ordinance have to be revised in order to proceed without it, but this decision was greatly to affect how the sta-

tion was to be designed. The Pennsylvania Railroad in reaching its decision stressed the advantages of decentralization in city development as opposed to intensive concentration in central areas. It also objected to platforms encumbered with the columns required by construction in the air rights, and to trackage with excessive curvature resulting from the narrowness of the property.²⁷ In the latter part of 1919, the City Planning Commission again brought up its recommendation that Ontario Street be widened to reduce congestion. The Terminals Company refused, emphasizing the impracticability of the suggestion because of the physical requirements of the Union Depot Building itself. Retrospectively, it is easy to see that the Company's unwillingness to give up any of its property was due to its interest in the air rights development, since the train station itself would be entirely below grade (street level) along Ontario, and hence not affected.

Still another hurdle arose with the passage of the Esch-Cummins Act in 1920: the need for approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission. After extensive testimony and a reversal of an earlier decision, the Commission finally issued a Certificate of Convenience on 6 December, 1921.²⁸ Legal expenses amounted to almost \$74,000. In the same year, the entire stock of the Cleveland Union Terminals Company was purchased by the participating railroads, and the Company then entered into agreements with the Cleveland Traction Terminals Company, which was to lease the traction terminal and concession areas at an unrealistic \$850,000 per year plus taxes, insurance, and depreciation, in addition to bearing the cost of the interior finish of the concession area; and secondly with the Cleveland Terminal Buildings Company, which was to develop specified air rights areas. All of these companies were controlled by Van Sweringen interests; in fact, the Cleveland Traction Terminals Company was, for all practical purposes, a paper company.²⁹

At last, it looked as though construction was about to begin. But much of the land had yet to be acquired and the plans were yet to be made final. In fact, as is the case in most construction projects, the plans were fluid, and changes of major consequence were made as time went on. At this time, nobody had any clear vision of the full extent of the eventual project.

By the beginning of 1922, only tentative plans had been drawn, and no final decisions were made. Since O.P. Van Sweringen was now President of Cleveland Union Terminals Company — a company owned but not controlled by the railroads — a committee consisting of representatives of the railroads was formed to protect their interests and empowered to act for them in matters of land purchase, design, and construction.

This Railroad Committee met for the first time in January, 1922 in New York. They approved the leasing of 21,000 square feet of office space at 323 Lakeside for personnel, design and construction. More important, they formed nine subcommittees to work out the details of the project: (1) Tracks, (2) Track Construction, (3) Electrical Operation, (4) Electric Power Production, (5) Express, Mail, and Baggage, (6) Station Plans, (7) Auxiliary Spaces and Conveniences, (8) Mechanical and Electrical Equipment, and (9) Heating. Because of the immense technical complexity of the project, the Railroad Committee clearly saw the architects as a branch of their engineering department, and told them so. Many design decisions and solutions were made in-house. The project owes as much to engineering as to architecture.

The engineering expense in proportion to construction costs was high, because of the large number of studies required for the various parts of the project. The labor force of the Cleveland Terminals Company's Engineering Department fluctuated widely. Clerks, draftsmen, engineers, instrument men, linkers, rodmen, inspectors, etc. were employed and laid off from time to time to meet the needs of the project. The same Engineering Department also did taskwork for the New York Central, the Big Four, the Nickel Plate, the Cleveland Traction Terminals Company, and Terminal Building Company. To safeguard everyone's interests, changes were continually monitored by an auditing committee.

Fitting the station into the city

In the early 1920's, the Van Sweringens tried unsuccessfully to re-route the proposed Huron-Lorain bridge right into the Terminal district.³⁰ Their intention was to share the cost of the bridge with the County — trains could cross the valley on a lower deck, automobiles on the upper — thus saving the project con-

siderable construction costs. Furthermore they believed, correctly, that Cleveland's greatest growth of moderate-priced residential districts for the future would be in a southwesterly direction, given adequate bridge connections. They also made economic feasibility studies to determine whether to "extend Woodland Boulevard" right downtown to Ontario Street.³¹ They did everything possible to increase traffic density through their development, thereby hoping to increase real estate values in the area. The railroads went along with their ideas, hoping to share in the profits, though they disagreed about the possibility of increased land values as a result of re-routing the Huron-Lorain Bridge.

Congestion was apparently going to be a problem in front of the new Union Station. Little parking was provided for people meeting trains. The City had appointed a Subway Commission in 1918, and it proposed to eliminate all surface streetcar lines in the area, thereby opening up the streets exclusively to automobile traffic. The plan was never adopted, but, right from the beginning, plans for the Union Station made provision to connect the concourse area directly to a proposed subway station which was to be located under Public Square.

The early scheme of August, 1918 called for a double-deck station below street level with a passenger concourse located in between.³² The waiting room was to be a huge rectangular room, 100 by 275 feet, a rectangular room with a skylighted and coffered barrel vaulted ceiling carried on gigantic Corinthian columns.³³ From the waiting room, another ramp would lead down to the passenger concourse level, from which the visitor would walk down stairways to the interurban tracks and up stairways to the steam tracks. This solution left something to be desired.

The waiting room and passenger concourse could also be approached through shop-lined passageways from the corners of West 3rd and Superior, as well as from the Square and Ontario and Prospect Avenues. There was no direct access from the central Prospect Avenue entrance to the passenger concourse. The railroads were critical of this blatant attempt to increase traffic flow past the shops, thus benefitting the supergrade (above-ground) development, to the inconvenience of the travelling public.

The interior arrangement of the station was not reflected on the Public Square facade. Visual emphasis was placed on the supergrade construction, which was to consist of eleven-story buildings accented by a central, twenty-story tower. The idea of harmonizing the new station with the Hotel Cleveland, thereby combining the south and west sides of the Square into one large composition, and of placing the tower above a diagonal entrance in the middle, imparted a grandeur to the scheme that would not have been possible if the main entrance and facade had been placed on the south side alone. This nearly symmetrical composition with accented inner corner was to have even more important visual consequences later on, with the decision to build a 52-story office tower. The building functions urbanistically because it wraps around the Square instead of merely defining one side of it.

Architects and engineers refine the plans

The more the plan for a double-deck station was studied and its technical implications understood, the less feasible it seemed.³⁴ In 1920, for both technical and economic reasons, plans were adopted for a single-deck station with tracks at elevation 52. This important decision was to influence all others.

It is in this period that the detailed needs for the station were finally determined and recommendations made. These were based on the original requirements for the station on the Mall, compared to those of Grand Central Station in New York City, as modified by H. D. Jouett, Terminal Engineer for Grand Central Station at the time. During this formative period, W. E. Pease was Chief Engineer of the Cleveland Union Terminals Company. Jouett officially began to oversee the Terminal project on 1 January, 1922.³⁵ He made detailed critical comments on a series of proposed plans developed by the architects, especially with regard to how the various functions should relate to each other, to the spaces needed for them, and to the working conditions within each space. In other words, he worked out the architectural program.

By the end of 1920 a general plan and conception based on programmatic needs for the station had been developed.³⁶ Now came the job of the Railroad Committee: to refine and implement this plan. In June, 1922 it suggested a new track plan calling for 12 station

tracks with growth to 24. This decision called for the rearrangement of certain proposed streets — the streets in the terminal complex were carried on bridges so the trains and station could be subgrade — and the purchase of an additional 150-foot frontage along lower Superior Avenue. Van Sweringen summarized the land question and the political situation as to the required street changes: “additional frontage on Superior . . . estimated cost of \$2,533,500 . . . 80 feet depth will remain . . . as salvage . . . Suitable development of this . . . [should] realize substantially the cost of all the property involved.” On the street changes in the area he wrote, demonstrating his usual political craftiness, “It is not improbable that the city will approve . . . but the request should not be made . . . until construction work has progressed to a point where the public are thoroughly convinced of the work going ahead and at a time when the complete exhibit of accurate plans can be submitted to them without revealing information that does not now want to be discussed.”³⁷ Besides increasing track capacity, the advantage of this extension to the railroads was longer platforms and easier curves for the tracks. Van Sweringen hoped to enlarge the commercial district, perhaps with a theater or other intensive development. He put pressure on the Railroad Committee to agree to this extension by saying that the Building Company had options on some of the needed property that were shortly to expire. Thus, the cost could be considerably higher in the future. Ultimately, the Railroad Committee agreed.

By December, 1923 the Railroad Committee reached decisions to govern the architects and engineers in preparing new plans, which were approved on 15 January, 1924. These specifications included the width of the ticket lobby (93 feet), the type and location of ticket counter,³⁸ the location of the cab stand, station master's office, barber shop, etc. The guiding principle behind these new arrangements was nicely to balance the respective importance of the facilities considering both service and revenue. By the end of January, 1924 twenty different schemes, prepared by the architects, had already been considered. In April, 1924, because of the death of architect Pierce Anderson, C.F. Kruse was assigned to represent the architects on the various design subcommittees.

In May, 1924 it was decided — “for obvious reasons” — not to fight the City in the courts against the requested price, almost \$900,000 higher than the estimated value, for the Police and Fire Department facilities to be demolished to make way for the Terminal. Negotiations were carried out by O.P. Van Sweringen himself. They knew whom not to offend, especially since the heightening of the tower had already been decided but had yet to be announced. The Terminals Company overpaid for other properties, too. For example, as L.C. James, General Land and Tax Agent for the New York Central, reported to the Railroad Committee: “It seems inconceivable that the foreign-speaking people residing in the vicinity of the west approach pay the rentals prevalent in this territory or purchase homes at the current market prices recorded in this district, but investigation indicates that their first consideration is to obtain a home near their local parochial school and church in the vicinity where their fellow countrymen live. The wretched hovels . . . are not worth . . . the capitalized rent value of many of these buildings.” In dealing with land and lease holders who the Terminal Company believed demanded excessive prices, even after independent appraisal, for their property, they would normally go to court. There were over one hundred such cases. O.P. Van Sweringen determined part of the strategy the Company was to follow at the appropriation proceedings: have as few lawyers present as possible, as a mob of lawyers would “only result in putting in the minds of the jurors that we have money to burn.”

A monumental secret

It was probably some time in 1923 that Van Sweringen, perhaps prompted by his architects and a market study, decided to build a monumental 52-story tower on Public Square. But with characteristic acumen he kept the plan to himself until a propitious time. On 11 November, 1924, W.E. Pease and H.D. Jouett in an address to The Cleveland Engineering Society suggested publicly that Cleveland could expect “a towering structure.”³⁹ No details were given. Just two weeks before this address, the building code had been amended to permit the design of the new Ohio Bell Telephone Company building. The code, as amended, permitted buildings of almost unlimited height, and incorporated the latest

principle of skyscraper design, the set-back: the mass of a building is progressively set back as it rises, to permit air and light to enter the street level, thus avoiding "the Wall Street effect." The approval of this new code meant that the Van Sweringens did not have another battle to fight. And what a battle it would have been! Critics of the Terminal project had long contended that the station was just an excuse for a large commercial development intended for private gain, and that "history would show that the City had been screwed."⁴⁰ Good timing was a major factor in the success of the project.

Announcement of the new plans for the 52-story tower did not come until 14 February, 1925. The next day *The Plain Dealer* records that according to Van Sweringen it was designed to be the landmark of Cleveland like the Woolworth Building in New York City.

Van Sweringen's comparison to the Woolworth Building gives us insight into his intentions. Designed by Cass Gilbert and built in 1911-13, the Woolworth overlooks New York's City Hall Park, just as the Terminal Tower by its diagonal placement helps to link and unite Public Square with the projected Mall, the seat of municipal power. But, more important, because of its sheer height and its isolation in the New York skyline, the Woolworth Building became an object of meditation, a cathedral of commerce. It captured everyone's imagination. John Marin painted a famous watercolor of it in 1913. And in 1925 John Dos Passos, in his novel *Manhattan Transfer*, described it as "glistening shaft" which "pulled out like a telescope."

A giant plaster model of the area north of Prospect Avenue, costing \$8000, was placed on exhibition to be "great assistance to us in moulding public opinion in favor of the Terminals Company."⁴¹ Photographs of the model were used to encourage the passage of the ordinance on the use of the southwest corner of Public Square for the entrance portico, and were used later in obtaining approval of the City Planning Commission and the building permit.

The decision to heighten the tower was of enormous importance for the entire project, for it markedly increased the amount of rental office space in the area. There is no doubt that this decision was made to counter the eastward commercial development along Euclid Avenue. The retailing center had al-

ready moved East of East Ninth Street. With the new Union Trust Building at East Ninth and Euclid Avenue, decentralization was progressing so rapidly as to threaten the economic viability of the Terminal's supergrade developments. There was even an active "West of East Ninth Street Merchants' Association," whose objective was to increase development and improve the area. The Van Sweringens encouraged and financially supported this association.

The increase in amount of office space in the tower itself was projected to take care of Cleveland's increased needs for two years. The entire tract, if built up, was expected to fulfill the City's increasing need for office space for ten years. The decision to heighten the tower was based, therefore, on an economic survey. It made good business sense.

The aesthetics of the Terminal Tower

The decision to make the tower 52 stories high had important visual consequences as well. It would no longer just accent the entrance to the station. By its sheer height and diagonal placement the tower would dramatically pierce the quadrilateral symmetry of the Square, and to the Square's heretofore chaotic impact it would contribute a consistent order, a clear image on two sides which people could recognize and remember.

Another important change was made from the design of 1918: the tower was set back. The entrance, newly conceived as a portico, now jutted forward, and had an identity of its own. This visual separation not only expresses a difference in function — entry versus office space — but creates a totally different visual relationship between tower and entry. The entrance and the groundline no longer serve as a base for the tower, as they did in the 1918 proposal, but the tower is now seen as rising from behind the portico. The idea for a great vestibule, clearly separated from the connecting office building towering above, was first employed in Michigan Central Station, built in 1913 in Detroit. This advance in functional expressionism was further developed in Cleveland. Because the shape of the Terminal Tower is visually incomplete at this lower juncture, a sufficiently strong tendency towards visual completion is generated: the impression is created that the tower emerges from a subterranean base. This composition gives visual expression to the station below,

which was lacking in the 1918 proposal.

This separation of portico and tower resulted not only from visual considerations, but from a legal one as well. Since the site was Public Square, the City had no right to vacate the triangular piece of land in the southwest corner. This property was owned by the public, as distinguished from the City, and consequently the City only had the right to occupy it for a public use. Therefore, the tower had to be set back away from the Square. In order to permit construction of the portico, City Council passed an ordinance which gave license to construct an ornamental arcaded passageway that would be open at all times for pedestrian travel.⁴² This ordinance also established the street grades for the corner. Notice how today the grade declines toward the entrance from both Ontario Street and Superior Avenue. This condition made possible the interior ramp slope of no more than 10 percent; otherwise, because of the shallowness of the site, it would have had to be much steeper. Even at 10 percent, it is too steep to be comfortable.

Vistas of unimpaired vision create a crescendo effect, and the long, narrow proportions of the tower's mass play an important part in making the eye rise from ground level to higher elevations.⁴³ This effect is reinforced as all the horizontal design elements are seen first in their relation to the vertical order. The vertical stresses isolation, ambition, and competition; the horizontal suggests interaction. The mass of the tower contrasts with the mass of the wings, as the viewer's gaze moves back and forth between them. Looking at the total composition is a *dynamic* experience. Since the interspaces between Higbee's, the tower, and the hotel are nonexistent, these units coalesce into one. They do not display mutual repulsion as the Old Stone Church does to its neighboring buildings. Each needs the other for reciprocal completion.

The tower provides an anchor to the observer's glance, a relief from the excessive horizontality of Public Square. It creates spatial coordinates — a framework for determining distances and orientation. Clad in masonry, it has no reflecting glass walls which can create surrealistic images. Its form is not ambiguous; it sends out a firm and clear message of pride and aspiration.

The tower does not look forlorn in its

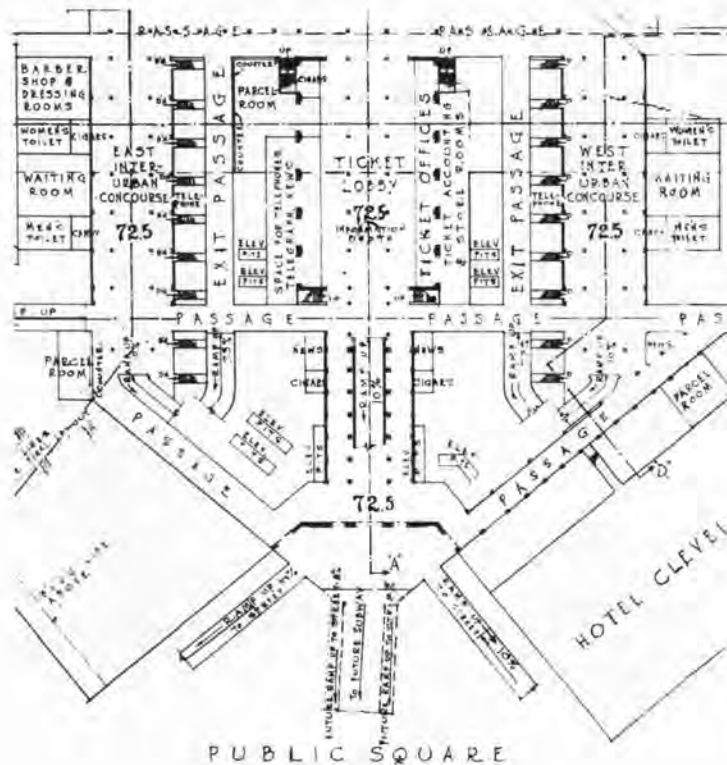


Terminal Tower, architect's rendering, early 1925. Ornamental figures along portico were later eliminated because of expense. CSU Archives.

setting, as does the Erieview Tower, for example, for it has a recognizable relationship to its setting. By placing the tower diagonally, the architect gave importance to the whole Square and underscored the diagonal correspondence between the Square and the Mall. It greatly modified the structure of the entire Square by creating an eccentric focus.

The original drawings for the portico called for sculptured figures to be placed above each column.⁴⁴ This idea was earlier employed for the Union Station in Washington, D.C., built in the 1903-1907 period; and it therefore was part of the railway station architectural vocabulary. The Washington station was designed by D.H. Burnham and Company, the predecessor firm of Graham, Anderson, Probst, and White.

The top of the tower calls on already tried and traditional forms of architecture too. The upper portion was probably patterned on the Municipal Building in New York City, which in turn was modelled on an ancient Roman type — the sepulchral monument. Like its Municipal prototype, it was to be crowned with a female allegorical figure, representing

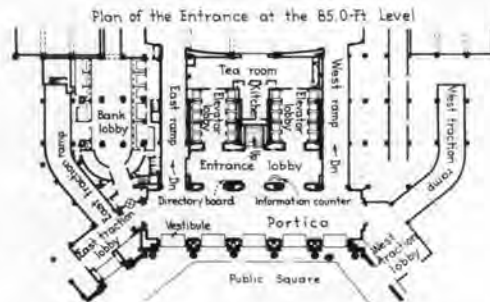


Left: Proposed plan at station level, 1921. One in a series of proposals based on a main, single ramp which led down to station area. CSU Archives.

Below: Double ramp plan of entrance portico at street level, as actually built, 1930. Comparison with the earlier plan (left) shows shift in visual emphasis from station to office tower. Drawing reproduced from *Railway Age*.

an abstract concept such as transportation, commerce, justice, or the city. There is no abrupt change between tower and sky as in some modern flat-topped buildings. The elevator ascends only to the 42nd floor; the 43rd floor contains the elevator machine room, the 45th holds the house water tank. The architects considered the 48th to 52nd floors as unrentable. Clearly, the top was planned to give satisfaction to the eye and to elevate the spirit.

The decision to build a tall tower had important consequences for the design of the station below. It will be recalled that at the beginning of 1924, plans were approved by the Railroad Committee for a single ramp from entrance to ticket lobby. In early March of 1924, because of the decision to increase the height of the tower, the architects made studies showing two ramps to the ticket lobby with the Tower Building elevators located between them, conceptually much as they were eventually built. This new arrangement for the elevators offered more rentable area per floor in the tower and, because of their central location, increased the depth of the



office space on the west side. Also, the two ramps permitted a center entrance on Prospect at elevation 100 with direct passageway for shops to the elevator lobby. The only disadvantage the new scheme had for the railroads was that the length of the ticket office was reduced, eliminating the possibility of future expansion. Jouett wrote to the architects: "I think it would be desirable to carry your studies somewhat further so we may be assured that we are obtaining everything we want and need from a Railroad standpoint and be in a position to so advise the Railroad Committee. . . I recall that your structural



Looking west from Hotel Cleveland, August, 1926. The future site of part of the station after clearing but before excavation. Note streetcar slit in middle of Superior Avenue, leading to a lower level of the Detroit-Superior Bridge. CSU Archives.

man had some trouble in working out proper wind bracing . . . I think therefore that this question should be gone into carefully by your structural men and such sections of the tower be made as are necessary for this study."⁴⁵ One of the architects replied: "I am sure we know exactly what your problem is, and will try to present it exactly as you would like to have it done."⁴⁶

On 14 March, Van Sweringen wrote directly to Graham, the architect: "I personally like the two ramp plan best . . . I have been wondering however, whether you couldn't improve it by having along side the grand staircase going up to elevation 100, stairs on either side going down to the concourse level and make of these a grand staircase coming up from that level. Had you tried doing this? In many cases when people are in a hurry they would prefer to take the stairs and if this could be done it would seem to me it would be worth considering."⁴⁷ While this last idea was never seriously considered, the architects were

given their marching orders: develop a two-ramp plan. The Railroad Committee became aware of the change of plans on 19 May, 1924. Single- and double-ramp schemes were discussed. Ensuing discussion brought out suggestions for improving the double ramp arrangement, and the architects made some hurried sketches. On 3 June, 1924, after consideration of at least nine different schemes for the entrance area, a double ramp scheme was approved including the curving of the lower portions of the ramps, and the construction of the north end of the ticket lobby on an arc, plus other details. More revisions of the ticket lobby layout were made in July, after objections from the New York Central Railroad. Needless to say, the Railroads were interested in how much more this double ramp scheme would cost. The architects originally projected an additional cost of \$5,000, but the change actually cost about \$72,000.⁴⁸ The decision-making process was complex. Ideas for changes and improvements originated at



Future site of Higbee's Department Store, October, 1926, after partial excavation and construction of retaining walls along Ontario Street. Excavated material was hauled by train and truck to the west side and to the lakefront, where it was used as fill. CSU Archives.

all administrative levels. A careful balancing of power existed between the Railroad Committee and all the other interests. Everybody had to look out for his own interests.

Because of the height of the tower, it was thought best to take the foundations down to bedrock. Deeper than the Tribune Tower in Chicago and taller buildings in Detroit and New York, sixteen caissons go down approximately 200 feet each. They were completed by 31 July 1926. The foundations for the other structures are not as deep, going down only 100 feet. For the foundations to be properly designed, the height had to be determined for the supergrade buildings between Prospect and Huron from Superior to Ontario. Studies were made for ten-, twelve-, and sixteen-story office buildings. Sixteen-story buildings were decided upon as the most economical height, with columns separated by 20 feet 8 inches, center to center. Bear in mind that this spacing decision was determined by the track and platform layout of the

station below. The foundations and substructure had to be designed so that the office buildings would not be subjected to excessive and annoying vibration, especially from traffic on the supergrade streets. In addition, the design of the supergrade streets, which were to have streetcars, constituted a complex engineering problem: they had to be designed to carry a heavy moving load. Jouett knew these problems were critical from his experience at Grand Central Station in New York; his expertise was of immense importance for the success of the project.

In May, 1925 a new track layout was approved, rescinding the eight-track plan of July, 1923. This decision meant a whole series of earlier decisions on other matters had to be reconsidered. Supergrade building heights and street layout had to be restudied. Furthermore, the proposed function of the buildings based on Cleveland's commercial needs had to be determined: office space, loft space, or shops and offices. This planning, rethinking,

changing, and studying the implications of all the new decisions was a continual process.

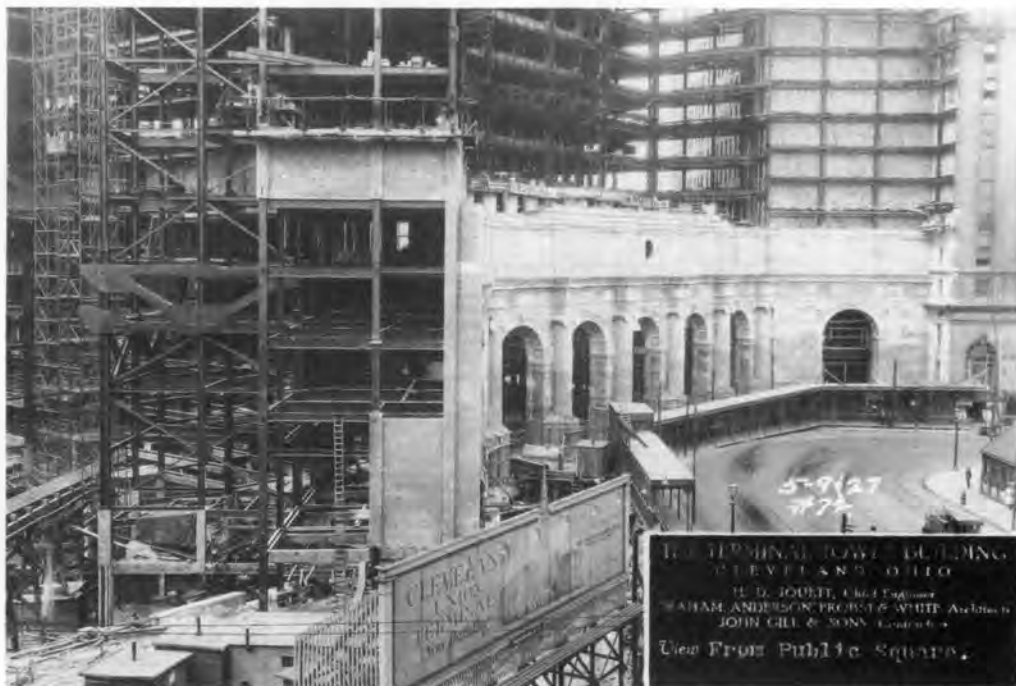
In 1927 it was decided to provide stairways between the Prospect Avenue entrance and the ticket lobby in the concourse, even though this would result in loss of shop space and decrease traffic passing the shops in the other passages. The Railroad Committee had its way. In this instance, the Van Sweringens did not get what they wanted.

Important changes in high-level managerial positions were to take place. In 1927, George McGwinn, vice-president and building manager of the Union Trust Company, was made vice-president of the Cleveland Union Terminals Company. More important, Charles L. Bradley was made president of the Company, replacing O.P. Van Sweringen, who may have had difficulty supervising the building while running his railroad empire. Bradley, age 42, son of M.A. Bradley, vessel owner and realty magnate, was ideally suited for the job. He had experience with the construction of the Union Trust Building. Also, he was reputedly one of the Cleveland capitalist group associated with all the Van Sweringen transportation enterprises since their inception. In 1930 he was paid \$200,000 for a job well done.⁴⁹



Above: Stones for the portico on Public Square came pre-cut from the quarry and had only to be assembled.

Below: The sides of Public Square converging on the portico had to be graded downward towards the entrance. Note how much of the site had to be excavated. CSU Archives.





Above: On August 18, 1927, a flag flies atop the completed steel skeletal frame to celebrate the steelworkers' achievement.

Right: Interior view of portico, under construction in January, 1928. It was imperative to finish this entrance so the tower could be opened to tenants. CSU Archives.

In 1928 the layout of many parts of the station was again changed. Even the toilets were restudied! City Building Commissioner William Guion issued the building permit in June, 1928. The Tower building was being completed before the end of 1928 and was already more than 60 percent occupied, whereas the station construction was just beginning. The railroad executives felt that the Van Sweringens had upstaged the railroads by completing construction so early, and they made their feelings known. The planning of the station, having gone on for about ten years, was still not finished, and it never really was.

In 1929 a proposal by the Van Sweringens to make a circle of Public Square was disclosed at a meeting of the City Planning Commission.⁵⁰ The plan showed how a circular movement of traffic and the rounding off of the corners would relieve congestion. Others, more dramatically, suggested the whole of the Square be paved over, and in 1930, George D. Breck of the Early Settlers Association suggested that the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument be removed to Erie Street Cemetery.⁵¹ Public Square must look modern and up to date. Several people suggested that the name of the Square be changed to Terminal Square or something of that sort. "Public Square" sounded provincial — "like small-town stuff."⁵²



When the terminal was formally dedicated in 1930, few people would have predicted that the need for the station would be so shortlived. It was already clear, however, that the interurban part of it would never be developed. The interurbans were going out of business; the automobile was triumphant. The decision to heighten the tower no doubt saved the Terminal complex.

One of the Van Sweringens' foremost objectives in the tower project was to create a high-rent district for their own profit. But they created more than a "Cathedral of Business": they created a visual symbol for the City of Cleveland — a landmark with a sense of identity answering to Cleveland's psychological needs and a square with an entirely new physiognomy and character. They succeeded where Mayor Johnson had failed, for that had been his ultimate objective for the development of the Mall.

The tower and spacious terminal facilities did create a modern focus for Cleveland's pride; it was like a city within a city, an elegant shopping mall in the heart of down town, with the additional excitement of a transpor-

tation center — something of the atmosphere one still experiences in a large international airport. Esther Hayhurst, a retired teacher, recalls riding the New York Central into Cleveland with her mother from Greenwich, Ohio, in the early 1930's, for a day's shopping: "Everything was sparkling clean — not a speck of grime . . . There were rows of fancy shops and marvelous eating places. Groups of people would be strolling about or standing and talking. There was a feeling of bustle and excitement."

For architectural critics, however, the Terminal complex lacked that triumphant sense of *the new*. Its forms, bounded by historical precedent, lacked that crisp, sleek, hard-edged, cool and anonymous style which was eventually to become the predominant corporate style of the 1950's. On the contrary, the architectural style of the Terminal complex is a style of ease. It is physically and emotionally comfortable. In fact, the style is subordinated to the overall composition. No doubt the Van Sweringens' taste for the traditional and the accepted played an important role in shaping Terminal Tower and Public Square.

NOTES

I wish to thank Mr. Richard Green, past president of Tower City Properties for permission to explore the archival material at Tower City and to Ms. Blanche Young, librarian, and Mr. Peter Daniloff, archivist, who sorted and organized over 10,000 architectural drawings there. I would like to express special gratitude to Mr. Gerald Adams for sharing his knowledge about railroads with me, and who, in the fall of 1982, donated to the Library of Cleveland State University an extensive archival collection containing material relating to the Cleveland and Youngstown Railroad Company, the Terminals Company, and the Cleveland Union Terminals Company. I am also beholden to Mr. William J. Becker, University Archivist, for numerous acts of cooperation.

Archival material located at Tower City is prefaced TC and material at Cleveland State University is prefaced CSU. Photographs on pp. 19-22 of the Terminal Tower under construction are by R.E. Hawkins, Lakewood. This article is a preliminary study.

¹For a general history of railroad station design, see Carroll L. Meeks, *The Railroad Station, an Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956).

²An interesting booklet on this topic is Max E. Wilcox and Clayton Hallmark, *Cleveland Southwestern and Columbus Trolley* (Shelby, Ohio: Hallmarks Books, 1981).

³For a more detailed discussion of these buildings, see Eric Johannesen, *Cleveland Architecture 1876-1976* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979).

⁴The discussion in this paragraph is indebted to William J. Gleason, *History of the Cuyahoga County Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument* (Cleveland: The Monument Commissioners, 1894).

⁵Samuel P. Orth, *A History of Cleveland, Ohio*, 2 vols. (Chicago-Cleveland: S.J. Clarke, 1910), I, 764. For the general discussion of Public Square, I am indebted to Orth.

⁶For more on the following discussion, see Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago, Architect and Planner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 158-173.

⁷From "Regulating City Building," *The Survey*, 18 November, 1911, pp. 12-14, quoted in Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model House* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 263. For the definitive book on Jensen, see Leonard K. Eaton, *Landscape Artist In America, the Life and Work of Jens Jensen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

⁸City of Cleveland Ordinance No. 37901-A; C.H. Cramer, *Newton D. Baker* (Cleveland and New York: World, 1961), pp. 53-54.

⁹A series of drawings for the proposed station, done 1915-17 by Graham, Burnham and Co. and their successor firm of Graham, Anderson, Probst, and White, are at TC and CSU.

¹⁰For the following discussion I am indebted to Ian S. Haberman, *The Van Sweringens of Cleveland, the Biography of an Empire* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979), and Mark S. Foster, *From Street-car to Superhighway: American City Planners and Urban Transportation 1900-1940* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981).

¹¹TC, file CT 67-K.

¹²*Plain Dealer*, 9 February, 1926, and 5 May 1928.

¹³*Plain Dealer*, 9 February, 1926.

¹⁴The idea for such a facility may have come from Jay Latimer, a local real estate man, around 1912. Later in the 1920's, the Cleveland Union Terminals Company purchased land from Latimer and he served as one of their land agents (TC, file CT 105).

¹⁵When the Van Sweringens began to acquire property for the terminus, they found that one small but strategically located parcel was owned by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Such a sale had to be approved by the Land Department of the B & O, located in Baltimore. The brothers thought it worth their while to seek this approval in person. The land agent for the railroad, one McCubben, saw no objection to the sale unless the property served as a means of connection for the proposed terminal, of which he had only sketchy knowledge but which he knew was being developed on the high ground above their land. McCubben asked the brothers to present their plans to F.L. Stuart, Chief Engineer, who suggested the advisability of including some of the steam railroads in the terminal, specifically the B & O, the Erie, and the Wheeling and Lake Erie, among others. Thus the idea for a joint electric and steam facility was due to Stuart's suggestion, made in 1917. Although there had been earlier mentions of such a facility at this site, nothing had come of them. Now, however, serious engineering studies would follow. (TC, files CT and 67-K.)

¹⁶CSU, Terminal Archives.

¹⁷Neither the idea of two track levels nor air rights development was original: it had already been tried in New York's Grand Central Station.

¹⁸For this discussion see TC, file CT 67-K. The facts given here come from a statement by O.P. Van Sweringen prepared for the Interstate Commerce Commission; file CT 37, C-2; file CT 67-I, typescript of a talk given by Mr. Boyd at Hotel Cleveland on 16 September, 1921.

¹⁹CSU, Minutes of the Railroad Committee, 8 October, 1923.

²⁰CSU, File CT 9-G-1.

²¹They followed a system of compiling data for the design of passenger stations that had been used by Grand Central in New York and the Union Station in Cincinnati. This and subsequent engineering reports are at CSU.

²²TC, file CT-44.

²³The legislation of the City of Cleveland in connection with the construction of the Union Passenger Terminal of the Cleveland Union Terminals Company comprises 74 ordinances passed from 1919 to 1930. The initial ordinance is No. 47814.

²⁴CSU, file CT 9-G-1.

²⁵They held to the double-deck scheme suggested in their August report and suggested a mail-express layout, south of Orange Avenue, in the vicinity of East 14th Street. But, as it was proposed to develop the area over the passenger tracks for mercantile purposes, they indicated that this was not feasible without electrification of the steam railroads. At this time, the railroads were still not committed to the whole project.

²⁶The project also had to seek Federal approval. In a personal letter of 28 February, 1919, to O.P. Van Sweringen, Smith, of the U.S.R.A., requested a summary of all the salient features of the project which would be of "assistance to me in presenting the project to the Director General as well as to the corporations, in case of necessity. . . ." Since the idea was Smith's, he was clearly a supporter of the project, but he was also an old business partner of O.P. Van Sweringen. Some years before, the latter had formed the Glenville Syndicate to acquire the necessary land and right of way for New York Central's high-level freight yard, which the two had planned together. One may wonder to what degree this project was mutually beneficial. (CSU, file CT 9-G-1 and "Brief before Hon. J.M. Killitts, Arbitrator, Cleveland and Youngstown Railroad, complainant, vs. New York Central Railroad, defendant.")

²⁷CSU, file CT 9-G-1. Copies of letters to the City Council of Cleveland (29 November, 1919) and to the Mayor of Cleveland (1 December, 1919), from J.J. Turner, Vice-President, The Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

²⁸For a discussion of this point, see Haberman, pp. 41ff.

²⁹Contracts for all these agreements are at CSU.

³⁰Minutes of the Railroad Committee, 3 November, 1922, and subsequent meetings. The Railroad Committee approved the proposal, but there was a public outcry against it followed by a lawsuit against the County.

³¹CSU, file CT 75-D.

³²The lower deck, reserved for electric rapid transit and interurban service, was to be 38 feet above river level; the upper deck, for steam, 74 feet above. The elevation of Public Square is approximately 83 feet above the river. The plan, therefore, implied a station below grade. Access to the station from Public Square would be through upper or lower lobbies. The lower lobby could be approached directly from the corner of Superior and Ontario Streets via a ramp placed diagonally across the southwest quadrant of the Square. Once inside, the passenger would proceed via an arcade connecting this lower lobby to the main waiting room. The upper lobby was right at street level, which was to be ramped up to this entrance. Inside, grand staircases led down to the waiting room.

³³A similar design was later used for the banking halls of the Union Trust Building — now Union Commerce — by the same architectural firm. The waiting room, however, would impart a totally different spatial feeling. Since the main entry to it was on the short axis, the passenger's field of vision upon entering could not include the side, that is, the narrow walls of the space. The location of these walls and therefore the design of the space, could only become understandable as the traveller moved through it. The space would unfold as he walked into it, thus providing an element of surprise. By contrast, in the Union Trust Building, the main entrance is on the long axis; therefore the visitor is immediately aware of one of the main spaces, because his field of vision would include the side, that is, the long walls. (The same architects employed a waiting room of similar conception in the Union Station they designed for Chicago in 1916.)

³⁴If, for example, the lower deck was at elevation 38 or 36, a great deal of excavation would be necessary. If, however, the lower deck rested at elevation 52, the upper deck could be at 72, with the concourse above both at elevation 92. Either of these solutions had one great disadvantage: the situation of the approaches. The tracks would have had to start separating on the east at near Broadway and on the west near

the river crossing. Also, if the concourse were at elevation 92, it would be above Public Square rather than below, a clear disadvantage to the air rights developers. Furthermore, since the Pennsylvania Railroad had withdrawn, space for only ten tracks for steam operation needed to be provided initially.

³⁵By accepting the job, Jouett more than doubled his salary (to \$1000 per month). Born in Somerville, Massachusetts, in 1878, he started working for New York Central in 1900, as rodman and soon as inspector, in Utica, New York, at \$60 per month. By 1909 he was a design engineer at \$200 per month and was made Terminal Engineer for Grand Central in 1917. While here he lived on Drexmore Road in Shaker Heights. Part of his responsibility was the important task of coordinating the work between the Van Sweringens, the Railroad Committee and its subcommittees, and the architects. Being a New York Central man, he was also on hand to safeguard the interests of the railroads. (TC, construction file, PB-101.)

³⁶According to this plan, entry off the Square could be gained through either upper or lower lobbies. If one entered through the upper lobby, he would proceed down a central ramp surrounded by a monumental open colonnade right on the main axis of the station to the ticket lobby below. He would not have had the time or inclination to enjoy the architecture because the incline of the ramp was fairly steep (10 percent), which was necessitated by the limited depth of the site. He would then have arrived in the ticket lobby. An information booth was considerably placed on axis, right in front of him. After purchasing the ticket, our visitor would proceed directly ahead to the steam concourse, to find the stairway down to his train. Alternatively, he could go down exterior ramps — can you imagine how icy these could be in winter time? — to the lower lobby and then ahead to the ticket lobby. On either side of the ticket lobby were located the east and west interurban concourses. Off the upper lobby were the elevators to the supergrade buildings and two-story arcaded passages of shops and offices, which led to subsidiary lobbies off Prospect Avenue, and Superior and West 3rd Street. The public areas were well ordered and almost axial in their layout.

³⁷CSU, Minutes of the Railroad Committee, 14 June, 1922.

³⁸The ticket counter was to be “set back five or six feet west of the face of the columns to give greater effective width to the ticket lobby” — and to create spaces for individual lines of patrons at each selling place. The main entrance ramp was to have a grade of 10 percent. But in order to achieve this, the floor had to be pitched nine inches across the 28-foot wide entrance lobby and adjustments made in the cross passages in the immediate vicinity of the foot of the ramp.

³⁹*The Plain Dealer*, 12 November, 1924.

⁴⁰TC, File CT 9-G-10-A. “Notes on a Conference with Peter Witt, 15 August, 1918.”

⁴¹Letter from Jouett to the Railroad Committee, 3 February, 1925.

⁴²City of Cleveland Ordinance No. 66292-A.

⁴³For an introduction to the power of the visual effects of architecture, see Rudolf Arnheim, *The Dynamics of Architectural Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

⁴⁴These drawings are at TC.

⁴⁵TC, file R-1-a.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸TC, file E-9 and Memorandum of 10 April, 1931 to W.S. Hayden from H.D. Jouett. The railroads said the Van Sweringens were taking advantage of them.

⁴⁹TC, Minutes of the Board of Directors, 25 July 1927; CSU, Report to the Internal Revenue Service for 1930.

⁵⁰*The Plain Dealer*, 19 June, 1929.

⁵¹*The Plain Dealer*, 27 February, 1930.

⁵²*The Plain Dealer*, 28 December, 1927.

Clinton L. Warne

The Great Natural Gas Pipeline Rip-Off

President Reagan's waiver of all effective regulation of the Alaskan Natural Gas Pipeline could have a damaging effect on the national economy while insuring private investors' profits.

When the U.S. Congress, late in 1981, after one hour of limited debate, approved a Presidential Waiver of restrictions on the 1977 Alaska Natural Gas Transportation Act, it created an economic time bomb that is now about to explode. If allowed to go into effect, the Waiver could make the much-discussed bailout of Chrysler Corporation look like peanuts; it would bring economic hardships to both private and industrial gas users, increase the cost of American-made goods, and in the end damage America's effort to become self-sufficient in energy, which was the only excuse for the Waiver in the first place!

A consortium of eleven natural gas pipeline companies¹ which in 1977 won the right to develop the natural gas pipeline route from the North slope of Alaska to the lower 48 states, found in the following few years that financing institutions were quite reluctant to commit themselves to the underwriting of this pipeline. Potential investors demanded safeguards not provided in the original 1977 Alaska Natural Gas Transportation Act. In December 1981, Congress voted to approve this Presidential Waiver.

¹The eleven consortium members are: Northwest Pipeline Co. (a subsidiary of Northwest Energy), West Coast Transmission, Alberta Gas Transmission Trunk Line, Columbia Gas, Michigan Wisconsin Pipeline, Natural Gas Pipeline Co. of America, Northern Natural Gas, Pacific Gas Transmission, Pacific Lighting, Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line, Texas Eastern Transmission.

The 1977 law proposed an Alaska natural gas pipeline that would consist of three parts: a major section from Prudhoe Bay to James River Junction, and two legs from James River Junction — one to the San Francisco area, and the other to the environs of Chicago. The two lower sections have been completed and are now delivering Canadian natural gas. The portion of the route from Prudhoe Bay to James River Junction remains to be built, and it is this crucial segment which has created the concern among financial institutions and which in turn led to the 1981 Presidential Waiver.

Since two major sections of the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline are already in operation or close to it, within the provisions of the 1981 Waiver the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission can at any time declare as fulfilled the requirements for certification of a "date certain" for operation of the pipeline. That is, the FERC can certify that the pipeline is close enough to completion that consumers may begin to be charged for it, *regardless of its actual state of completion!*

At this point, all "taps" to the natural

Born in Binghamton, N.Y., Clinton L. Warne grew up in Chicago, Denver, and Amherst, and attended the University of Colorado, Clark University, and the University of Nebraska, where he received his Ph.D. in Economics. He is author of Cement (University of Kansas, 1955), The Consumer Looks at Deceptive Packaging (Council on Consumer Information, 1961), The Development of the American Economy, with Robert Patton (Scott, Foresman, 1963), and numerous articles on consumer issues and other economic topics. He is Professor of Economics at Cleveland State University, and lives in Shaker Heights.



gas system in all regions which connect to the two legs become subject to a "minimum" tariff whether or not the whole pipeline is ready for operation. A "tap" is any individual connection to the line. Each private home using gas from the line is a tap, as is each business or industry, large or small. The "minimum" natural gas tariff on each tap is to be set at a rate such that in twenty years the income will have met construction costs and will have serviced the debt, including both principal and interest for the entire pipeline. This charge will be a fixed amount per tap and is independent of the quantity of natural gas used. Thus homeowners with gas furnaces linked to this line will have to pay the set fee whether they use one cubic foot or thousands.

By special provisions in the 1981 Waiver, as soon as the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission makes a finding of a "date certain" for the operation of the pipeline system, and determines the minimum tariff, the Commission ceases to have effective jurisdiction over either the administration or the operation of this particular pipeline. The 1981 Waiver, by circumventing the jurisdiction of the FERC as authorized by laws enacted by Congress, specifically eliminates Sections 4, 5, 7, and 16 of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission Law. This Waiver sets aside the protective powers given to the Commission by Congress itself.

Briefly stated, the power granted in each of these sections includes:

4. to set just and reasonable rates;
5. to investigate on its own initiative;
7. to attach conditions to the certificate-authorizing operations;
16. to modify or rescind any previous order after it has been issued.

Hence it is clear that the 1981 Waiver takes away the power of the FERC to control competition and to prevent unfair business practices. The Waiver effectively "blinds" the Commission for 20 years to the activities of the consortium controlling the Alaska natural gas pipeline. According to the provisions of the Waiver, the FERC *cannot* insist upon just and reasonable rates, *cannot* investigate the operation or examine the facilities used in the transportation of natural gas, and *cannot* attach any condition to the certificate or require modification of or rescind the certificate awarded to the consortium. The pipeline consortium, then, as of a "date certain," itself becomes the source of determination for all aspects of pipeline control, such as regulating the size and

number of pipes and deciding whether or not the pipeline should function, where the natural gas is to be gathered, how it is to be distributed, and how the costs should be allocated. In short, the consortium becomes watchdog over itself.

Since in principle the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline is under the supervision of the FERC, even if the Commission is "blind," the various State Regulatory Commissions and Agencies are also left with no jurisdiction. They can in no way amend or modify or regulate the service or facilities offered by the pipeline consortium. These State regulatory commissions can only pass through by rubber stamp approval all requests of any kind concerning the pipeline, with no recourse.

It is of ominous significance that, with both the Federal and the State regulatory commissions denied the vital power to investigate or determine rates, the construction contracts for the Prudhoe Bay to James River Junction sections are proposed to be let on a cost-plus basis. With only limited administrative checks, it can certainly be expected that construction costs will escalate far beyond the preliminary estimates on this section of the pipeline. It is always in the legitimate interest of the construction company to increase the necessary costs of the total construction project, if the company is operating under a cost-plus contract. That is how the maximum return on investment can be best achieved.

It is entirely likely that a cost overrun will develop that will dwarf that of the Alaska Oil Pipeline in the early 1970's. That pipeline rose in cost from an early estimate of \$1 billion to over \$9 billion by the time it was finished. This occurred in spite of the best efforts of the major oil companies, which were themselves vulnerable to the impact of future tariffs of the pipeline and therefore had every reason to minimize these costs. Each additional dollar spent on construction contributed to the rise in the tariff to be added to the price of the oil to be transported in the pipeline. The possibility of shifting these costs to the ultimate consumer was limited by the necessity of selling the oil on the world market at a competitive price. So the added charges for Alaskan oil caused by cost overruns in pipeline construction had to be deducted from the profit margins of the oil companies. Despite this considerable incentive to economize, there was nearly a tenfold increase in construction costs.

In the present circumstances, the natural gas consortium, utilizing cost-plus con-

tracts supervised by a powerless Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, which cannot set rates or investigate, will operate within a section of the 1981 Waiver that permits the consortium to pass on all construction costs as well as principal and interest charges to the taps along the legs of the pipeline in the lower 48 states. This leaves little incentive for economy on these contracts. The final cost of the Alaska natural gas pipeline, if the 1981 Presidential Waiver stands, will be one of the most expensive construction projects since the Pyramids or the Panama Canal.

The appalling principle underlying this Waiver is that there should be public financing in advance and in full for a private, profit-making enterprise that is too risky for private lenders. The success of the consortium in receiving public funding for this venture is an interesting and new development. One can easily imagine that many other utilities and large-scale construction and industrial entities with similarly risky proposals will try to receive similar benefits.

The costs of constructing the pipeline itself are not the entire story. There will be, in addition, the cost of a natural gas conditioning plant at Prudhoe Bay. The usual procedure in a natural gas distribution system requires the producer to make the gas ready for transportation, including the conditioning process (i.e., removing components which might liquefy at the low temperatures found in Alaska). But according to the provisions of the Waiver, the cost of constructing a gas conditioning plant will be considered part of the pipeline cost. This will escalate the end cost of the construction of the pipeline even more and force the owners of the taps in the 48 states to pay for the conditioning plant as well, whether or not the pipeline is in continuous operation. If the conditioning plant were considered part of the gas field (the usual practice), it would have been a high fixed cost to the exploring gas producers when the field is not in constant use, and there would be a great incentive to keep the gas flowing. The consequence of the Waiver is to reduce the economic risk to the banks and the natural gas producers and to shift it to the general public, which will be forced to absorb the extra cost.

When the "date certain" is determined and the minimum fixed charge begins to appear on customers' bills for natural gas in 1985 or 1986, there will be no regulatory body for the customers to appeal to. The obvious economic effect of this added fixed charge for us-

ing Alaskan natural gas in the 48 states will be to increase the cost of living or of doing business within the areas served. For both the private user and industry, this cost will have an effect on the economy. For the householder, it is estimated that the increase will amount to an average of \$126 per year. Since the "minimum" payment is a fixed charge per gas connection, it will serve no purpose to turn down the thermostat or to insulate one's house. As long as the house is attached to the pipeline system, the fixed charge for construction costs, principal and interest of the pipeline will remain the same and appear every month on the customer's monthly statement.

The imposition of this fixed charge will have different and uneven effects throughout the economy. For those living in the northern, snow-belt areas, dependent on natural gas for heat in the winter, the fixed charge will be an increased economic burden. Residents of warmer climates, who have relatively lower winter heating bills, on the other hand, may be able to convert to alternative sources of energy. Since air-conditioning, which generally functions on electricity, is already in wide use, electrically heated homes may become an economic possibility. Accordingly the number of southern taps may shift downward. If that should happen, it would increase the size of the fixed charges for the remaining taps. The cumulative effect is likely to be felt in the long term, since initial investment costs for conversion to any system are high. New equipment can, of course, be modified to take advantage of the benefits offered by alternative energy sources, especially when it provides an escape from the high fixed charge imposed by the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline consortium.

As the cost to industry of using natural gas rises, the industrial users, each paying an estimated \$40,000 yearly to the pipeline, will soon begin to consider alternative energy sources. The ability of industrial users to shift away rapidly from expensive sources of energy is much greater than that of residential households. A large number of northern industrial firms, which already possess conversion equipment acquired when there was a natural gas shortage in the early 1970's, could make the conversion to an alternative energy source as soon as the price of natural gas rises above that of the alternative. As these firms shift—many of them to foreign oil—the cost to the remainder will inevitably increase. Each fixed charge increase will, in its turn, make it economical for yet another plant to convert.

Soon the alternative source will begin to push up its asking price. Over time, all consumers will suffer from the higher total cost. Since these increases in cost must be incorporated into the total overhead for all industry, the rise of American industrial costs will eventually make the relative cost of foreign-produced goods cheaper and more attractive to potential customers. This inescapable shift in market patterns will add an increased burden of economic pressures to the American economy.

Of more than passing interest is the fact that the Alaska natural gas pipeline has been promoted as an aid to American fuel self-sufficiency, especially as it serves as an alternative to the purchase of foreign oil. Yet the economics of the possible cost overruns for the construction of the proposed pipeline may actually result in increasing the economic importance of foreign oil and other products in the American market.

It is a usual principle of anti-trust regulations that the producer of a product should not also control the transportation of that product. But under the conditions of the 1981 Waiver, the major natural gas producers in the Prudhoe Bay region — Exxon, Arco, and Sohio (a subsidiary of British Petroleum) — will be permitted to acquire an equity position (i.e., partial ownership and control) in the operation of the Alaska natural gas pipeline. For Exxon, Arco and Sohio, the 1977 restriction on equity has served as a major block to helping finance the pipeline. The idea of underwriting a large proportion of the construction costs — several billions of dollars — without at the same time retaining at least nominal control over the pipeline, does not represent good business practice. But a vertical integration, which would make the producers of natural gas in the Prudhoe Bay region at the same time partners in the transportation system from those natural gas fields, would create serious potential conflicts of interest. While there may not be any intention to exploit these potential advantages, the capability should not pass unnoticed, especially since the present Attorney General (William French Smith) has indicated that vertical integration may not be necessarily bad.

When cost projections of Prudhoe Bay natural gas delivered to the lower 48 states are fully developed, using the 1981 estimates of \$40 billion to construct the Alaska natural gas

pipeline, the typical unit cost is about \$6.00 per 1000 cubic feet. Since natural gas on the market in 1981 was retailing for \$3.00 per 1000 cubic feet in most northern states, it can be easily concluded that the lower-priced alternative sources of natural gas are more than likely to be used. The best possibility of marketing expensive Alaskan gas when it becomes available will be in markets where it can be intermingled with other supplies, by local distributors seeking assured supplies and not averse to increasing their costs provided they receive the guaranteed rate of return. Otherwise, with present cost differentials, Alaskan gas can only become an emergency source of supply. Nevertheless, the consortium is authorized to continue to levy and collect its minimum tariff, whether or not the consortium decides to maintain the Prudhoe Bay to James River Junction section of the line as a large-scale storage pool.

The decontrol of the natural gas industry, which has already been enacted, will undoubtedly affect the future availability of gas from the Alaska natural gas pipeline. It is obvious that, with deregulation, local distributors will become more price-conscious. Since the quality of natural gas varies very little (unlike oil, which can be marketed at different prices depending on whether it is "sweet" or "sour," light or heavy), Alaskan natural gas, with its high cost per cubic foot, can be expected to face increasingly severe marketing problems. In this case, the conditioning plant and the Prudhoe Bay section of the pipeline may well become the most expensive and futile monument to economic nationalism in the history of the United States.

The transfer to the public of the financial risk of this pipeline, in giving free rein to the natural gas consortium, shockingly flouts public convenience and the right to just and reasonable utility rates. To allow this serious erosion of the rights of natural gas users will have a far-reaching impact on the American economy. If the 1981 Presidential Waiver is not rescinded, it will set a dangerous precedent. It is easy to foresee that similar privileges will be sought by other corporations wishing to enrich themselves by "blinding" the regulatory agencies and pre-billing customers for the necessary capital to construct an empire for private profit at the expense of the general public.

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD

INUIT (ESKIMO)

by Jerrold Sadock

Professor of Linguistics at the University of Chicago

Though they number fewer than 100,000, the Inuit are among the best-known people on earth. They are the Eskimos, who are justly famous for having developed an impressive culture that allowed them alone to survive at the top of the world. The Inuit are equally well known among linguists, but for a different reason: the language that they speak is as extreme as the climate in which they live. It is a remarkable example of a *polysynthetic* language, a language in which the words a speaker uses are constructed on the spot and can grow to enormous lengths.

Most groups of people whom we call Eskimos refer to themselves with some form of their word for "people": INUIT is simply the plural of the word INUK, which means "human being." The people of West Greenland, who comprise approximately half of all Inuit speakers, call themselves KALAALLIT, a designation that was apparently borrowed from the Norse settlers who came to Greenland in the eleventh century and maintained a colony there until sometime in the fifteenth century. I will use West Greenlandic for illustrative purposes, mainly because it is the dialect that I am most familiar with. Though it is natively called KALAALLIT OQAASI ("the Greenlanders' language"), I will refer to it as Inuit, since it is quite typical of this family of languages.

Some few Greenlanders still live a more-or-less traditional Eskimo way of life, but the vast majority are settled in towns and are acquainted with such things as telephones, video recorders, and satellite navigation systems for the modern fishing trawlers that they operate. Of course there are newly-coined or borrowed words for all of these artifacts of recent technology, but except for this, the language is basically unchanged in form from the days when the Greenlanders hunted from kayaks and lived in sod huts. Almost all Greenlanders are literate in their own language and a great many are literate in Danish as well, since Greenland has been under the wing of Denmark since the eighteenth century. Many hundreds of books have been published in the native language, and a bilingual, Inuit/Danish newspaper has appeared continuously since 1861.

The structure of Inuit

Words of English such as *dog*, *pay*, and *over* are unanalyzable, except into their component sounds. Other words of English, however, are synthetic: they are built up out of smaller, meaningful pieces called *morphemes*. The word *repayment*, for example, consists of three morphemes: a prefix *re-*, a root *pay*, and a suffix *-ment*. Some languages, like Thai and Classical Chinese, allow virtually no synthesis, compound notions being expressed analytically by arranging words into phrases and sentences. Languages like Classical Greek impress us with the fact that they are



synthetic. A single word can include several morphemes and can mean what we would require a phrase, or even a whole sentence to reproduce. But the degree of synthesis that Classical Greek, or Latin, or German displays looks positively paltry when compared with Inuit. A great deal, though of course not all, of the work of creating new expressions to capture new thoughts is accomplished in Inuit by putting morphemes together to form words, rather than by putting words together to form phrases and sentences. Practically the only technique available in Inuit for the building up of words is adding suffixes. The typical word consists of a root followed by a sometimes astonishing sequence of suffixes.

Let us consider, by way of example, the quite unremarkable word NALUNAARASUARTAATEQANNGILAROOQ, which means "They say that there is no telegraph." This word may be analyzed as follows:

1) The root of the word is NALU-, a verb stem meaning "to be ignorant of something." By itself it is not a word, but requires the addition of suffixes before it can be pronounced. It is something like the English root *flect* that is found in *deflect*, *reflect*, *inflect*, and so on, but never occurs all by itself. The form NALUVOQ is a full-fledged word that means "He doesn't know."

2) To this root, NALU-, is added a suffix -NAR-, whose meaning is something like "rendering one_____." It forms a new verb stem, NALUNAR- "rendering one ignorant, i.e. to be unknown."

3) Upon this there follows another suffix, -ER-, "to make no longer _____." And now we have another verb stem, this one meaning "to make no longer unknown, i.e. to announce, to communicate." The result is NALUNAAR-, rather than the expected *NALUNARER-, because perfectly regular sound laws of the language change the form when this suffix is added.

4) Next we find the suffix -ASUAR-, "to_____quickly." So now we have yet another verb root, NALUNAARASUAR-, "to communicate quickly, to telegraph."

5) Following this there is a noun-forming suffix -TAAT, "the usual means for _____ing." This produces the noun NALUNAARASUAR-TAAT, "the usual means for telegraphing," i.e., "a telegraph."

6) The next suffix, -QAR-, gets us back to a verb again. When added to a noun, this suffix creates a verb with the meaning "for there to be _____." The result, with obligatory insertion of an intrusive vowel, is NALUNAARASUARTAATEQAR- "for there to be a telegraph."

7) -NNGI- is a negative suffix on verbs and yields NALUNAARASUARTAATEQANNGI-, "for there not to be a telegraph."

8) The next suffix is -LAQ which makes a complete, indicative verb out of a negative verb stem. The result is NALUNAARASUARTAATEQANNGILAQ, a potentially independent word with the meaning of the complete sentence "There isn't a telegraph."

9) Finally there is the quotative particle -GOOQ, which means "it is said that _____." So here we have it; an intricately constructed Inuit word with the meaning of a fairly complex English sentence.

⁴The asterisk is used by linguists to indicate hypothetical or incorrect forms.



Most of the complexity of the word above comes from the addition of suffixes that form new stems, or derivational suffixes, as they are called. But Inuit is also extremely rich in *inflectional* suffixes, those that complete a stem, rather than form a new one. In English, for example, the -s at the end of third-person singular verbs in the present tense, and the -ed that indicates past tense, are among the few surviving inflectional suffixes. Most Latin verbs have something over 150 inflectional forms. But there are over six hundred forms of any verbal stem in West Greenlandic Inuit, and about twice that number in other Inuit dialects. These various forms indicate distinctions of mood (e.g., NALUAT, "You don't know it," versus NALUIUK, "Do you not know it?"), distinctions concerning the identity of the subject (e.g., NALUAT, "You do not know it" versus NALUARA, "I do not know it"), distinctions concerning the identity of the object (e.g., NALUAT, "You do not know it" versus NALUARMA, "You do not know me"), and distinctions of polarity (e.g., NALUAT, "You do not know it" versus NALUNNGILAT, "You do not not know it," i.e., "You know it").

Because of these intricacies, Inuit is a rather difficult language to learn, at least for foreigners. Only one Dane in a thousand, out of the nearly ten thousand who reside in Greenland, can really be said to speak the language. Sometimes a simplified version of the language is used for the benefit of foreigners like me. In this pidgin Inuit, long words are broken up into shorter, independent words that are more easily apprehended by those with an imperfect knowledge of the language. I have even heard mothers using a simpler kind of language, a fact that hints that Inuit is difficult even for the most talented language learners, small children.

The longest word

The word that I have used as an example, by the way, is a much-abbreviated version of what many Greenlanders will tell you is the longest word of their language. The word that is actually offered as the longest word will often differ slightly from speaker to speaker and from occasion to occasion. This is because a word in Inuit has an ephemeral status quite unlike that of words in more familiar languages. New words of Inuit are produced spontaneously, never having been heard before and quite possibly never to be used again. Many English speakers might say that *antidish-establishmentarianism* is the longest word in the English language, but if they know the word at all, they will not differ as to its form. Words of English (and most other languages) are characterized by a permanence that results from their being listed in a mental lexicon, even if they are quite obviously composed of meaningful morphemes. The Inuit word, on the other hand, is evanescent, like our phrases. We do not need to have heard a phrase before to understand and to be able to use it. We can make up some novel phrase like *fattening the kangaroos on barley*, should the need arise. But once having used it, it fades out of existence, to be constructed anew should it be required again.

One version of this "longest word" of Inuit that I have collected is: NALUNAARASUARTAATILIOQATIGIIFFISSUALIULERSAARALL-ARAMINNGORAASIIT. It means "As everyone knows, it is said that (it is) because they temporarily planned to build a big telegraph factory."



With all due respect to the speakers of this amazing language, I must, as a linguist, point out that this is not the longest word of Inuit. In fact, there can be no longest word. The proof is easy.

Some suffixes can be repeated without theoretical limit. One such is -RUJUK, which means "terrible" but comes to mean "very" when used in combination with the suffix -RSUAQ, "big." (Compare English *terribly big*.) In this latter usage, the suffix can be repeated at will for emphasis, just as the intensifying adverb *very* can be. From ILLU, "house," for example, there is ILLORUJUSSUAQ, "very big house," ILLORUJORUJUSSUAQ, "very, very big house," ILLORUJORUJORUJUSSUAQ, "very, very, very big house," and so on. So just as there is no longest phrase of English, there is no longest word of Inuit.

Now this result puts me in a position to answer the most frequent question that I am asked about Inuit: "How many words for snow are there?" Well, given what I've just shown, the answer clearly is: an infinite number. But by the same token, there are an infinite number of words for house, an infinite number of words for man, indeed an infinite number of words for camel! This is undoubtedly not the sort of answer that someone asking this question would be satisfied with. It seems to me that the question that is really intended is "How many different distinctions among kinds of snow do the Inuit draw?" It should come as no surprise that there are quite a few things that the Inuit are aware of concerning snow. After all, they live in a land in which snow can house you, blind you, or kill you. And of course it is possible to talk about all these important matters in Inuit. But in West Greenlandic, at any rate, there are actually only two roots that can properly be said to refer to snow itself (as opposed, say, to snow drifts, snow banks, or ice). These are APUT, "snow on the ground" and QANIK, "snow in the air," "snowflake."

Inuit is one of the most romanticized and popularly misrepresented of languages, probably because of the unique and intriguing traditional culture of its speakers. A few years ago, the popular syndicated columnist Sydney Harris wrote that Inuit lacked words for "war," "to lie," and "to steal." Utterly false. The Inuit are as human as anyone else. Once in Greenland I was asked by a Danish worker why I bothered studying such a "primitive" language as Inuit. After all, he said, this language didn't even have a word for "weekend." But it does. The word is VIKENTI, from the Danish WEEK-END, from the English *weekend*!

Far from being a "primitive" language, Inuit is a language of great grammatical rigor and stunning logic. It has one of the best-developed word-building systems that we know of. It is a language whose adaptability to changing times has been proven. For all these reasons, it is a language that linguists like myself stand to learn a great deal from studying.



Decorations copied from nineteenth-century Alaskan Eskimo designs incised on walrus tusks.

The 1983 Gamut Prize in the Visual Arts

Winners

Judith Pittenger-Meyer, Akron

Mark Soppeland, Akron

Penny Rakoff, Akron

Reid Wood, Oberlin

Finalists

Edward Glynn, Painesville

Scott Miller, Cleveland

Elizabeth A. Hoxie, Yellow Springs

John Pearson, Oberlin

Paul Jacklitch, North Olmsted

G.W. Raresheid, Lakewood

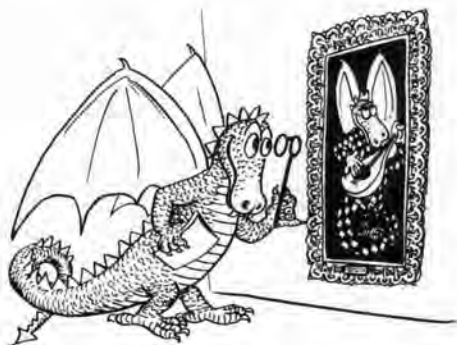
Christopher Meyer, Akron

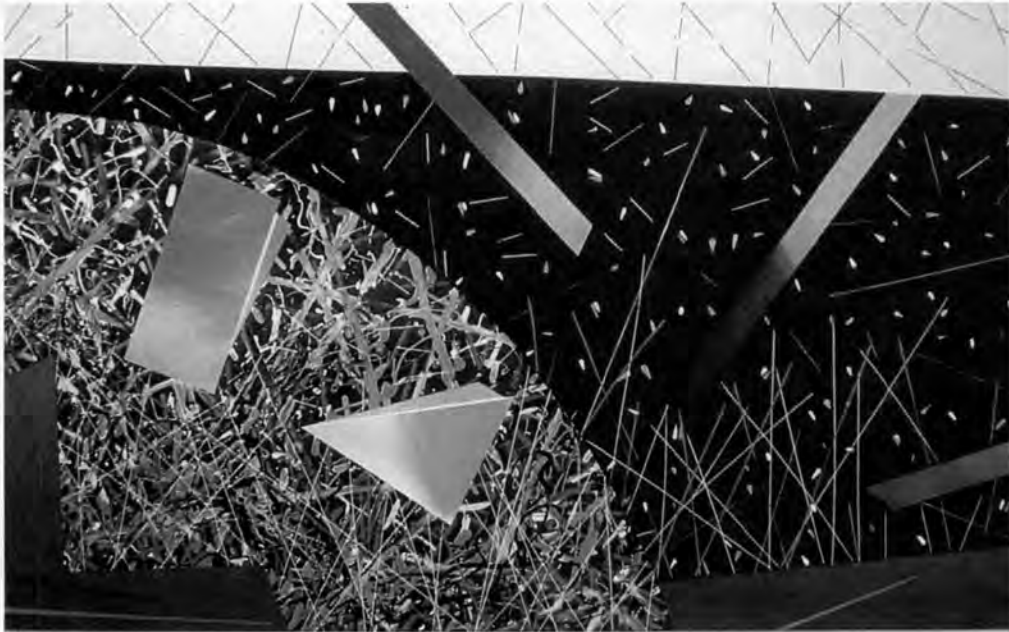
Richard Treaster, Lakewood

Michael J. Ulichney, Stow

This competition, supported by a grant from the Cleveland State University Development Foundation, was open to all Ohio artists. The judges were Tom Hinson, Curator of Contemporary Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art; Marvin Jones, Associate Professor of Art at Cleveland State University; and the editors of *The Gamut*. Eighty-one contestants submitted up to twelve color slides each, and each was ranked according to the overall quality of the works submitted. Before the judging took place, each artist was arbitrarily assigned a number, and the entries were identified by number only. It turns out that three of the four winners are members of the Art Department at the University of Akron, and that one of the finalists is the husband of one of the Akron winners. Such are the surprises when entrants are judged anonymously; this result is an unbiased tribute to Akron's artistic vitality. Congratulations to all the winners and finalists, who stood out in an exceptionally strong field. And thanks to all those who submitted slides to the competition: many were excellent, and they made the judging both enjoyable and difficult.

An exhibition of works by the winners and finalists opens on Friday, April 1 in the Cleveland State University Art Gallery (Chester Avenue between East 23rd and 24th Streets) and runs through April 29. The Gallery is open weekdays from nine to five. The public is invited to an opening reception on April 1 from 5:00 to 9:00 p.m. in the Gallery. Admission is free.





Above: Pittenger-Meyer, *Fat Tuesday*. Acrylic, 60" x 36". Right: Pittenger-Meyer, *Sugar Daddy*. Acrylic, 36" x 48".

Judith Pittenger-Meyer grew up in Detroit and Chicago and received a B.F. A. from the University of Michigan and an M.F. A. from the University of Illinois. She now teaches design, drawing, and painting at the University of Akron. Her works have been exhibited widely in the Midwest and have won awards in the Cleveland Museum of Art May Show, the FAVA Gallery in Oberlin, the Ohio Exposition Fine Arts Show in Columbus, and others. Ms. Pittenger-Meyer explains that the style of her award-winning paintings evolved out of her interest in making large meticulous drawings that involved patterned abstractions. "When I began to paint again, after 1981, my experiences working many hours on each area of a drawing led me to become excited about very 'close up' views of this more figurative work. These views, fragmented abstractions of the whole, became the inspiration for my paintings. . . . I enjoy and need the contrasts of figurative versus abstract, the slow and meticulous versus the quick and spontaneous."







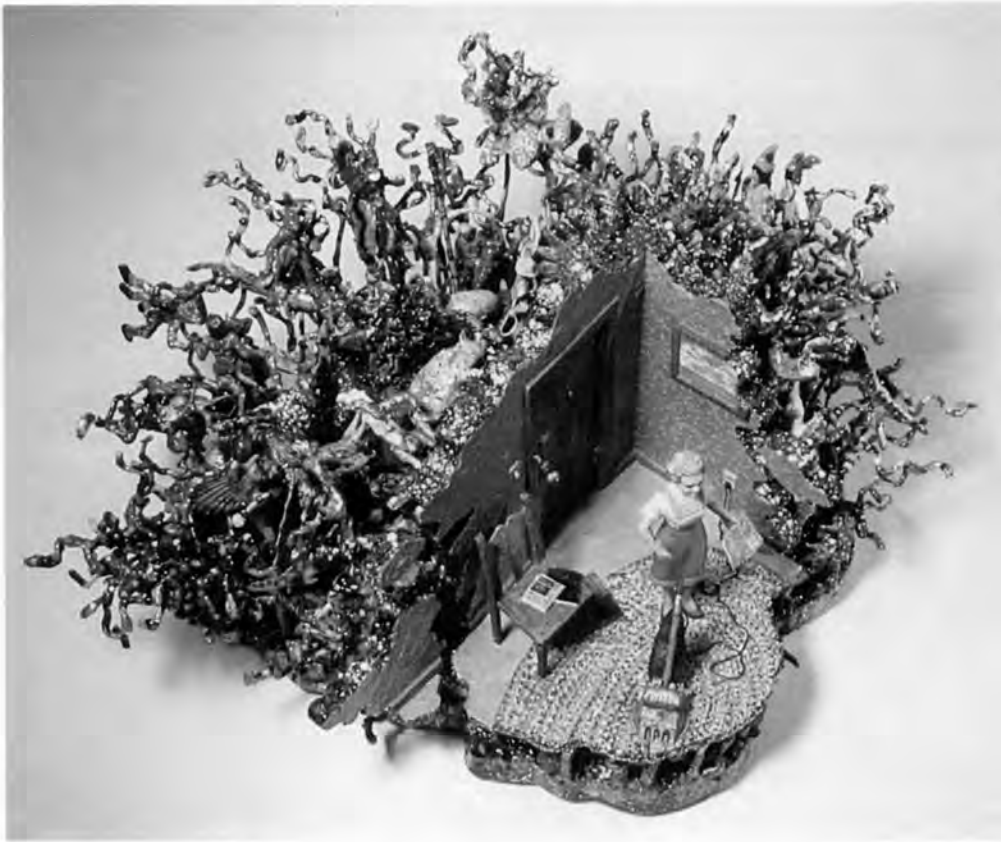
A native of New York City, **Penny Rakoff** received a B.F.A. from the University of Michigan and an M.F.A. in photography from the Rochester Institute of Technology in New York; she now teaches photography at the University of Akron. Her photographs have appeared in numerous shows in New York, Boston, and various cities in Ohio and other states from Maine to Arizona, Oregon to Florida, as well as in Brazil and Israel. "The Series *Colored Pleasures in Miami*," she writes, "begins with the understanding that the photographer's medium is light. . . . I am interested in how photographic film records information as opposed to the way the eye perceives.

"I was intrigued by the light and color indigenous to Miami occurring both naturally and artificially, especially decorative lighting used to create tropical fantasies. . . . At first I photographed primarily during the day, and only occasionally at night. But the sense of unreality created by the use of long exposures (5-20 minutes), made with artificial illumination, increasingly became my focus. . . . Photographing at dusk or later, I took advantage of the film's inherent inability to simultaneously balance different types of light sources (e.g., mercury vapor street lights, daylight, and tungsten). The resulting color is often crude and plastic, sometimes subtle and sensual. With educated previsualization and aesthetic decisions made in the darkroom, I play with light and color in a very painterly way."



Left and below: Rakoff, three photographs from the series *Colored Pleasures in Miami*, 1982. Type "C" color photographs, each 28" x 22".





Mark Soppeland, who was "born at Tyndall Air Force Base and grew up all over," received a B.F.A. in sculpture from the University of Colorado and an M.F.A. in painting from Ohio State University. He is now an Assistant Professor of Art at the University of Akron. His works have appeared in a number of juried exhibitions in the past five years, and have won awards in shows at Ball State University, The Butler Institute of American Art, and The Canton Art Institute, at the Ohio Art Exposition, at an exhibition of the Cincinnati Arts Consortium, and at the Pensacola National Small Painting Exhibition.

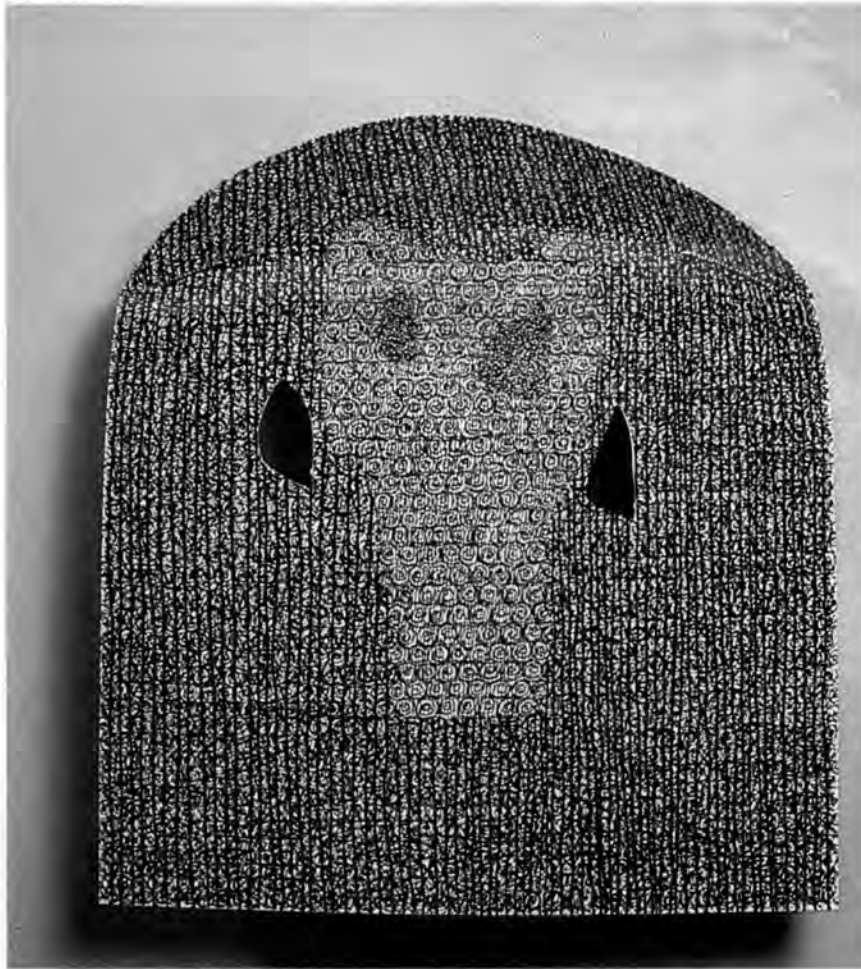
He writes, "My choice of medium is pragmatic and mystical. It is the most direct and spontaneous means of production; it is concerned with the magic of the found object; it is a craft which allows me to explore the limits of my ability. . . ."

"At this moment some things that seem to be true of my work are: It is very formal. It is well crafted. The work is didactic, narrative, and allegorical. Its central theme is that of ambience, the subtle multi-leveled interrelationships of people and objects. The work is concerned with dialectical relationships, some of the more obvious being clarity and mystery, reality and fantasy, abstraction and the concrete. I try to produce object/images which are significant documents of our time, but which have potential for timelessness." (Photo: Milic)



Left: Soppeland, *Concerned with Many Issues*, 1982. Acrylic on mixed media, 15" x 10" x 16". Below: Soppeland, *Sleep Walker*, 1982. Acrylic on mixed media, 6" x 7" x 6".

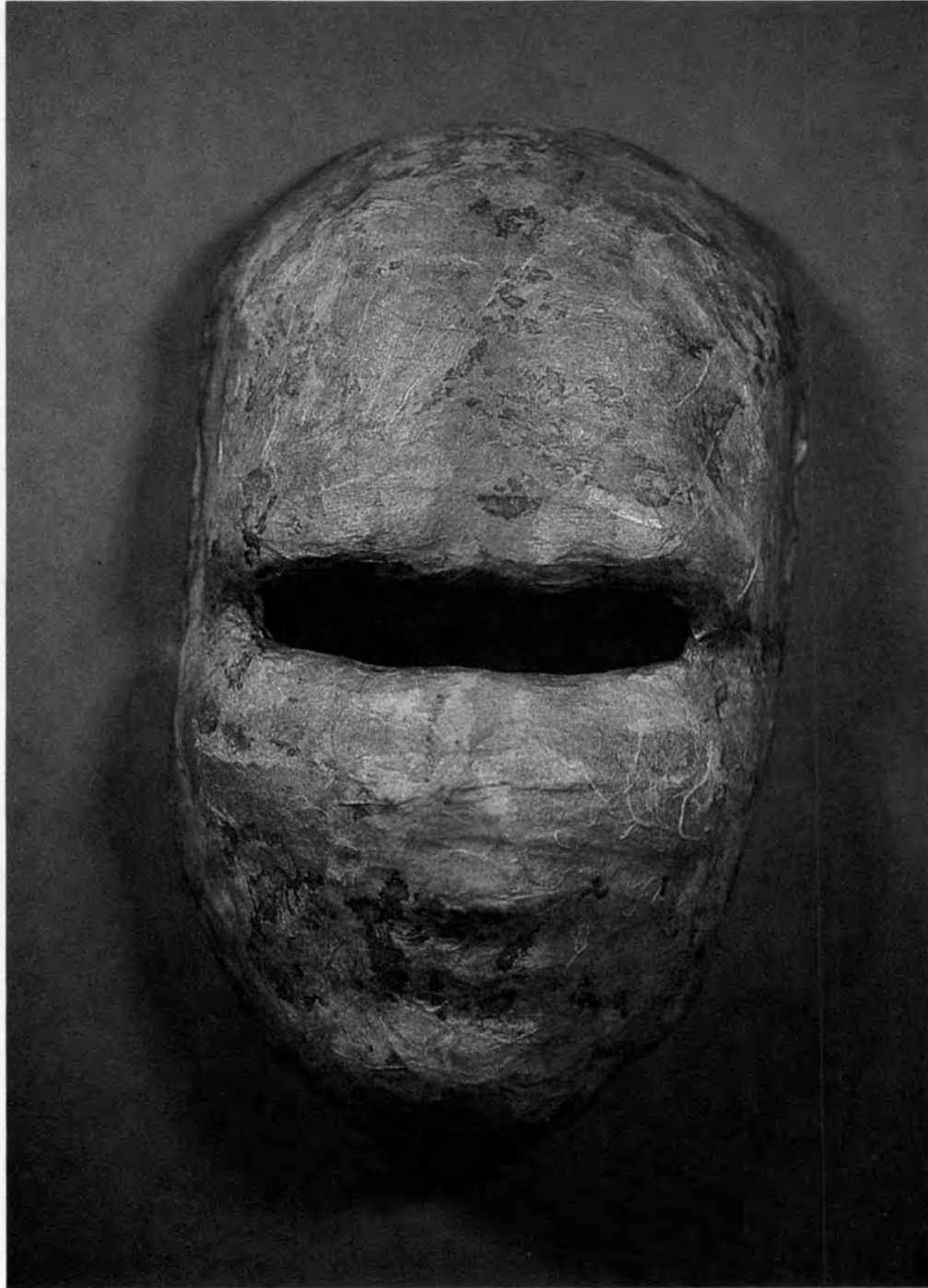




Reid Wood, born in Charlotte, North Carolina and raised in Chattanooga, Tennessee, received a B.A. and an M.A. in studio art from Oberlin College, and has done additional graduate study at Kent State University and Akron University. He now teaches art at Lorain Community College. His works have received jury awards in exhibitions by the Cleveland Jewish Community Center, the Huntington (West Virginia) Galleries, and the Mansfield Art Center, and he has exhibited in a number of other galleries. He comments as follows on his art: "Since the early 1970's I have been using abstract imagery based on landscape, natural textures and patterns in my drawings. While searching for a way of incorporating human or figurative imagery into these drawings, I developed a face or mask-like shape filled with textures and patterns. The next step was the creation of three-dimensional versions. The first ones were actually drawings which were cut and glued into three-dimensional forms. Later I chose plaster as a base because of its rigidity and its ability to be molded over other forms. The use of collage allowed me to develop subtlety and depth in the surfaces and to create textures which had been suggested by the earlier drawings. Although some of these masks have "ritual" in their titles, I consider all of them to be sculptural objects, rather than elements to be used in performance."



Left: Wood, *Ritual Image V*. Ink on cut and glued paper. Below: Wood, *Untitled*, ink and collage on plaster.



Thomas J. Watts

The Poet as Hero: The Cult of Pushkin in Soviet Russia

In the near future a new memorial museum dedicated to the poet Alexander Pushkin¹ will open to the public in Moscow. Located at No. 53 on the Arbat, a street long known for its fashionable living quarters, the new museum will house the recreated apartment in which Pushkin lived from January through May, 1831.² It will be the latest, though undoubtedly not the final, link in an enormous chain of museums and memorial sites which perpetuate the Russian public's veneration of this nineteenth-century writer. A museum opening of this sort would not ordinarily be of special significance, for the number of museums and memorial sites in Moscow and the other major Soviet cities is staggering compared with what one finds in the West. But this museum is a symptom of a remarkable phenomenon, the cult of Pushkin, which has hardly yet been discussed either in the Soviet Union or elsewhere.

If keys to the understanding of a culture can be found through the study of the institutions and traditions on which the bearers of that culture place great value, then an investigation of the "Pushkin phenomenon" should be revealing. No other figure in Russian literature receives so much attention through publications, memorials, public ceremonies, and other forms of homage as Alexander Pushkin. His position as a cultural hero, indeed as the central figure in Russian culture, remains unchallenged nearly a century and a half after his

death. Yet the cult of Pushkin has not been interpreted by either native or foreign observers. In the USSR Pushkin is simply regarded as a great national poet, a genius who managed to extend his horizons far beyond those of the aristocracy from which he sprang, and to become a liberated thinker, an articulate spokesman for many of the ideals which the Soviet government itself officially sanctions. Thus the suggestion that there is anything like a cult of Pushkin in the USSR would strike the ordinary Russian citizen as a complete misunderstanding or a Western fabrication. So deeply ingrained is the veneration for Pushkin and his ideals that it is simply taken for granted.

Lack of interest in Pushkin as a cultural phenomenon, as opposed to his status as writer, by Western observers is also understandable. Pushkinists, i.e., literary specialists, are primarily interested in the texts of Pushkin's poetry and prose and not in his appeal to the citizens of the USSR. In fact, most Western scholars have no opportunity to observe the phenomenon. Sociologists, historians, social psychologists, and other potential analysts in the West seldom seek clues to Russian culture through the country's literary figures.

Some indication of Pushkin's popularity and his importance in the USSR may be gained from publication statistics. During the post-Revolutionary period alone (1917-78)



A native of Jacksonville, Florida, Thomas J. Watts received a B.A. from the University of Florida and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from New York University. He has taught at NYU, Manhattanville College, Hunter College, and Case Western Reserve University, where he was Head of the Program in Russian from 1972 to 1981. In 1981, with the aid of a feasibility grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, he visited the Pushkin museums in Moscow and Leningrad to collect materials for a traveling exhibition on the life and works of Pushkin. Dr. Watts, who has a special scholarly interest in Tolstoy as well as Pushkin, is author of papers, translations, and reviews dealing with various aspects of Russian literature.



Alexander Pushkin. Oil by Orest Kiprensky, 1827. The poet's African features are minimized in this portrait; the plaid scarf is a token of his affection for Lord Byron (who made much of his Scottish background).

2684 editions of Pushkin's works were published in 93 of the languages of the USSR, with a total printing of 213,000,000. This figure includes 1473 editions in Russian alone, totaling 198 million copies.³ In the USSR between 1918 and 1957, Pushkin was the most published author of any period and any culture. During that period Tolstoy was the second most published author,⁴ though in a survey taken during the 1960's, Tolstoy was first in popularity among Russian readers by a two-to-one margin over Pushkin, his nearest rival.⁵ This change in reading preference may be explained by the more relaxed atmosphere of the post-Stalinist thaw, during which there was a renewed hunger for realistic fiction, including the nineteenth-century classics. But as an alternative to the frightening realities of the Stalinist terror, Pushkin's lyrics had been a solace to millions of Soviet citizens for more than three decades.

In view of Tolstoy's abiding popularity with Russian readers, it will illuminate the special place of Pushkin in Russian culture to explain briefly why Tolstoy is ranked below Pushkin. For the Russian people, aside from any question of government endorsement, the fact that Tolstoy was a prose writer and not

a poet is a limitation, though it is also a source of his strength. Russians have always had a special veneration for poets above prose writers. Tolstoy tried his hand at poetry in his youth, but he had the good sense to recognize his true gift: his novels and stories embody the very spirit of Russia. But even such an achievement does not counterbalance the Russians' feeling that poetry is the highest literary form.

There are other reasons, besides the greater respect accorded to poetry over prose, that Tolstoy has not received as much official attention as Pushkin. Although Tolstoy rejected the Orthodox faith, an action for which he is highly praised in the USSR, he remained a profoundly religious man. While unable to accept the essentials of Christian dogma, Tolstoy nevertheless found answers to the most important questions about life and death in the teachings of Christ. As a result, he maintained an uncompromising attitude towards the bearing of arms, capital punishment, and violence of any kind. In contrast, religion played no significant role in Pushkin's life. Far from advocating pacifism, he supported the czarist government's outrageous treatment of Poland, to the great disappointment of his friend Adam Mickiewicz. Through his intransigence about what he perceived to be the truth, Tolstoy became a radical in the moral sense. Pushkin's less doctrinaire temperament was in some respects the antithesis of Tolstoy's. Certainly it is much easier for the Soviet government to deal with Pushkin's protests against czarist tyranny and oppression than with Tolstoy's mistrust of governments and systems in general. These considerations, in conjunction with the Russian people's special awe of poets and their craft, help to explain why Pushkin continues to be the central symbol of Russian culture.

Primary responsibility for perpetuating the public's reverence for Pushkin rests with the Pushkin museums. In the USSR, literary museums fulfil a much broader function than that of mere repositories of manuscripts, paintings, and other items associated with a particular writer. They serve as meeting places where citizens may satisfy their intellectual and aesthetic curiosity through a wide variety of programs — recitals, readings, declamation contests, art competitions, films, lectures, seminars, symposia, special memorial programs on important anniversaries,

Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin (1799-1837). On a cold day in January, 1815, a group of distinguished guests gathered at the prestigious Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) for the school's "public" examinations. Among those present was the acknowledged patriarch of Russian letters, Gavriilo Derzhavin (1743-1816), who, tired from his journey, dozed through most of the presentation. But when the examination in literature began, the old poet sat up and listened with attention. A short, curly-headed boy with a rather dark complexion and somewhat heavy features walked before the assembled guests and began to recite a poem he had written entitled "Reminiscences of Tsarskoe Selo." Inspired by Derzhavin's presence, the boy recited with great animation. When he had finished, he ran from the room with tears welling up in his eyes. Derzhavin later remarked to a friend, "Soon there will be revealed to the world a second Derzhavin: that is Pushkin." He showed remarkable prescience: the fifteen-year-old student whose verses had deeply moved him was Alexander Pushkin, who was to become Russia's greatest poet, best known to Western readers for his "novel in verse" *Eugene Onegin*, his drama *Boris Godunov*, and such stories as *The Queen of Spades*.

Like the other boys at the Lyceum, Pushkin was from aristocratic stock. On his father's side he was descended from an ancient *boyar* family that had seen better times. The family included many prominent figures in Russian history, but it was his mother's lineage that was of greatest interest to him. Nadezhda Osipovna Pushkina was the granddaughter of Abram Petrovich Gannibal (i.e., Hannibal), a black man who was stolen as a child from his home in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and taken to the court at Constantinople. A Russian envoy managed, through bribes and chicanery, to get the child out of Constantinople and eventually to present him to Czar Peter I (hence Gannibal's patronymic, Petrovich, i.e., son of Peter). Peter provided well for his protégé. In fact, he became his godfather. Gannibal, as the Czar named him, died in his late eighties or early nineties, having achieved the wealth and distinction which his mentor intended for him. Pushkin was always markedly proud of his African heritage, judging that it rendered him more interesting than his compatriots and attributing to it his often volatile personality and "hot-blooded" nature.

Alexander spent his early childhood in the company of French tutors, a lively and affectionate maternal grandmother, and a wonderful old nursemaid named Arina Rodionovna. His uncle, Vasily Lvovich Pushkin, a poet of no mean talent, introduced him to the leading figures of Russian literature, many of whom frequented the Pushkin home. While still at the Ly-

ceum, Pushkin composed more than 130 poems, several of which were published in the major journals of the period. In recognition of his talents and achievements he was accorded the uncommon honor of membership in Arzamas, a progressive literary society which included among its members many important writers.

Upon completion of the Lyceum in 1817, Pushkin was given a sinecure at the Foreign Office. For three years he pursued the cultural and sensual delights of St. Petersburg and continued to write "liberal" verse on topics such as serfdom and the autocracy. These verses and numerous and biting epigrams on the Czar and court favorites eventually prompted Alexander I to order Pushkin's arrest. He spent the next six years (1820-1826) in exile at Kishinev and Odessa in the south (until 1824) and at his family's estate of Mikhailovskoe, some 200 miles from St. Petersburg. It was during this period that he wrote many of his most memorable works: *The Gypsies* (1824), a long narrative poem in which he emerged from the influence of Byron; *Boris Godunov* (1825), a historical drama modeled on Shakespeare's histories; the first chapters of *Eugene Onegin*; and numerous superb lyrics.

Pushkin's exile ended abruptly in 1826, when the new Czar Nicholas I summoned him to Moscow during his coronation festivities. Nicholas pardoned Pushkin and offered to serve as his personal censor in return for Pushkin's promise to be more "cooperative." For the remainder of his brief life Pushkin was associated in varying degrees with the court of Nicholas I, a situation which he deplored and which eventually produced the circumstances leading to his death.

In 1831 he married a St. Petersburg beauty, Natalya Nicholaevna Goncharova, whose family had hoped that her marriage to a rich old gentleman would rescue them from their financial difficulties. The Goncharovs were therefore not at all enthusiastic about Natalya Nicholaevna's betrothal to a mere poet. She was reputed to be one of the most enchanting women in St. Petersburg; even after the marriage she continued to encourage the attention of the most interesting men around her, including the Czar himself. In appreciation of Natalya Nicholaevna's charms, Nicholas I appointed Pushkin to his court as a Gentleman of the Chamber in 1834. Pushkin regarded the appointment as an insult, since the position was traditionally given to much younger men, and it was obviously a means of keeping his wife in the Czar's presence. Eventually the insinuations of a flippant young Frenchman, the adopted son and lover of the Dutch ambassador to St. Petersburg, outraged Pushkin to such a point that he could no longer avoid a duel. Thus the pride of Russian literature was killed in 1837, at the age of thirty-seven.



Young Pushkin recites his poetry at the Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum in 1815 before an audience of dignitaries. The painting, by Ilya Repin, illustrates the anecdote recounted at the beginning of the previous page.

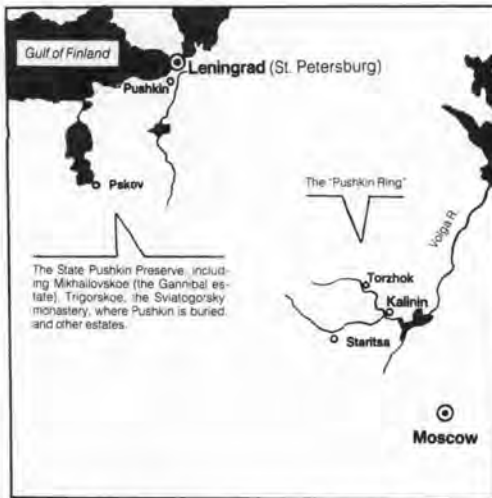
and other activities — all of which are designed to foster interest in the life and thought of the writer. Since literary museums of the scope of those in the USSR do not exist in the United States, Americans may find it difficult to imagine that thousands of ordinary people who have no academic or professional connection with literature are drawn to programs at the USSR's numerous literary museums. In the USSR, where no institution exists unless its function and goals are officially sanctioned, "museums serve as people's academies of material and spiritual culture."⁶ All of the major writers of the nineteenth century, as well as "acceptable" twentieth-century figures, are represented by one or more museums, usually found in the city of their birth, but often with affiliates in Moscow and Leningrad.

No Russian writer has had so many museums and memorial sites established in his honor as Alexander Pushkin. The special purpose of the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow has been expressed by its founder as follows: "The cultivation of 'virtuous feelings' with the help of Pushkin is the supreme task of the museum, its moral aspiration, its vital function, its most important civic objective."⁷ This statement is an accurate reflection of the philoso-

phy which pervades the nationwide network of Pushkin museums.

Of central importance is the All-Union Order of the Red Labor Banner A. S. Pushkin Museum in the town of Pushkin, formerly Tsarskoe Selo, the czars' summer residence near St. Petersburg. The items which formed the original core of this, the literary museum — books, portraits, manuscripts, and personal belongings of the poet — were first displayed in the All-Union Pushkin Exhibition in Moscow in 1937, the centennial of his death. The All-Union Pushkin Museum includes a number of buildings, among which are Pushkin's school, the house where he spent his honeymoon, and the Alexander Palace itself, a lavish residence of the czars which, like the other buildings, is being restored at a cost of millions of rubles.

Numerous residences of the family and friends of the poet in the Pskov region make up the State Pushkin Preserve, the most important being the estate of Mikhailovskoe, the ancestral estate of the Gannibals, Pushkin's mother's family, where the poet spent two years in exile. A favorite attraction at Mikhailovskoe is the modest little cabin of Arina Rodionovna, the poet's beloved nurse and his faithful friend during his exile.



Sites of major Pushkin museums in the USSR.

Though not as old as the All-Union Pushkin Museum and its affiliates, the State Pushkin Museum, opened in Moscow in 1961, has an indefatigable director and staff who have made elaborate plans for the future. A certain historical jealousy is a factor in this museum's rapid growth: Moscow was Pushkin's birthplace, though he never lived there for more than a few months at a time after he was sent to school at Tsarskoe Selo. Muscovites do not like to be reminded of Pushkin's disdain for the old, unworldly, Slavic capital and his preference for more modern, sophisticated St. Petersburg.⁸ The rivalry between the two cities is reflected in their respective Pushkin museums. By 1977 the Moscow museum's collection included 20,000 items and 60,000 books gathered over a period of twenty years. Obtaining the items to be displayed required painstaking research and excellent public relations, since most of the valuable items were already in the possession of the All-Union Museum. The curators of the Moscow museum were instrumental in establishing the museums and sites which form the "Pushkin ring" in the Tver region: Bernovo and Torzhok, where the poet stayed during his trips between the capitals; the estates of his friends; and several other edifices associated with the poet, some of them places where Pushkin stayed only once or twice and for very brief periods.

Many of the commemorative sites have no more than a remote association with Pushkin: the church in Moscow where he was married, the estate of his wife's family, the



Bronze sculpture of Pushkin by A.M. Opekushin, 1880, in Moscow. The first monument erected to Pushkin in Russia. Photograph lent by Professor J. Thomas Shaw, University of Wisconsin.

spot in Kamenka where the southern group of future Decembrist revolutionaries planned their activities in secret meetings.⁹ Smaller museums and collections of Pushkiniana may be found in Odessa, Kishinev, and other towns where Pushkin lived during his exile. Perhaps the most improbable is the Station Master's House in Vyra, at the third posting station on the road from St. Petersburg to Pskov, where Pushkin is said to have stopped thirteen times.¹⁰ Samson Vyrin, the pathetic hero of Pushkin's "The Station Master," whose name is obviously derived from this post station,¹¹ is easily the best known representative of his profession in Russian literature.

Statues of the poet may be seen in prominent squares of large and small cities throughout the USSR. In Moscow A. M. Opekushin (1838-1923) created the first monument to Pushkin to be erected in Russia. Supported entirely by public funds — 106,575.10 rubles were collected for the project — this bronze statue of the poet in a pensive mood was unveiled in 1880. Today it stands on Pushkin Square at a major intersection of Gorky Street.¹² In contrast, the monument by M. K. Anikushin in Leningrad, unveiled in 1957, represents the poet in an inspired mo-



Bronze sculpture of Pushkin by M.K. Anikushin, 1957, in Leningrad.

ment, reciting his verse. Pushkin is remembered in the names of streets, museums (e.g., Moscow's enormous and superb Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts), institutions (such as the Pushkin House, a branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR devoted to philology), and even an occasional collective farm! In Moscow and its environs alone there are no less than 130 sites designated as Pushkin memorials.¹³

Pushkin's continuing popularity may be judged by the great number of works of art, other than literature, he has inspired. In music alone more than three thousand compositions have been based on his life and works.¹⁴ Among the more than one thousand composers who have paid homage to Pushkin were Mikhail Glinka, the poet's contemporary and the first Russian composer of international stature; Alexander Dargomyzhsky; the "Mighty Five" — Balakirev, Cui, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin, and Mussorgsky; Glazunov; and Tchaikovsky. The great composers of the twentieth century, including Stravinsky, Rachmaninov, Prokofiev, and Shostakovich, continued the tradition. Painters, sculptors, set designers, illustrators, and other artists have found the Pushkin theme no less productive than the composers. From an unknown artist's miniature of the future poet as a child in 1801-03, through the portraits of Pushkin and his family, friends,

and contemporaries by the greatest painters and illustrators, Pushkin and his legacy have been the subject of thousands of paintings.

In making available to the public the great works of music and art connected with Pushkin's life and works, the directors and curators of the Pushkin museums are not functioning as innovators but as guardians of a well-established tradition. It is the centrality of Pushkin in Russian culture which permits the expression of lofty goals such as those in the following statement: "The apartment [i.e., Pushkin's] on the Arbat must become not merely another routine small museum, but must assume [responsibility for] the theme of the spiritual life of the capital, with a broad perspective in time."¹⁵ The very fact that this aim can be expressed in this manner indicates that approval from the Ministry of Culture and other appropriate agencies has been obtained. In fulfilling this task the talents of the leading artists and performers throughout the country have been enlisted largely, if not entirely, on a volunteer basis. One indication of status in Moscow is the possession of a ticket to one of the numerous performances in the small auditorium of the State Pushkin Museum. Svyatoslav Richter has played there many times, as have Berman, Livshits, and Shtarkman. The most popular poets have donated their time at "Pushkin evenings," and performances by ensembles from the Moscow Art Theatre and other theaters and acting companies attract capacity crowds at the Museum.

When the status of Pushkin in Russian literature is discussed, the attitudes of Westerners typically range from skepticism to contempt for what they regard as hyperbole at best and pure schmaltz at worst. The explanation for widespread ignorance of Pushkin in the West is fairly simple. Unlike the great nineteenth-century realists — Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Chekhov — whose novels and stories are widely read in the West, Pushkin's Russian reputation rests primarily on his status as a poet. While *The Captain's Daughter*, *The Queen of Spades*, and *The Tales of . . . Belkin* are indeed landmarks in the development of Russian prose, they lack the philosophical and psychological depth of works by the realistic novelists.

His verse, rather than his prose, accounts for Pushkin's preeminence in Russia, which is at least comparable to that of Shakespeare in English culture, Dante in Italian, and

Goethe in German. Alas, anything written in Russian must be translated in order to gain a following in the West, and — in spite of laudable efforts by such poets as W. H. Auden, Richard Wilbur, Stanley Kunitz, and the novelist-critic Vladimir Nabokov — it remains true that the essence of any poetry is usually lost in translation. This is perhaps especially true of poetry in Russian, one of the most highly inflected of the modern Indo-European tongues, extraordinarily rich and flexible in its sounds, pitch, word order, and the opportunity to create rhymes. Syllable stress in Russian, often shifting in various cases of the same word, is a more dynamic feature in Russian than in any of the non-Slavic European tongues. Finally, the relatively free word order of Russian accounts for a syntactic variety and originality in Russian that is impossible in English.¹⁶

In short, those who cannot read Russian and cannot therefore sample the delights of Pushkin's verse in the original are asked to accept the judgment of those who can: that the Russians have had the good taste to establish as their national poet one whose ability is at least comparable to that of the greatest to be found in other European cultures.

Pushkin's Later Works. Among the periods of greatest artistic productivity in Pushkin's life were the autumn months he spent at his estate of Boldino. In the "first Boldino autumn," from September through November, 1830, he wrote, in addition to some of the finest lyrics in Russian, his first completed prose works, *The Tales of . . . Belkin*, five experiments in the short story genre which set a new standard for Russian prose, and his *Little Tragedies*, four short plays, each of which treats a particular human failing or emotion. Chapters seven and eight of *Eugene Onegin* — the last he completed — were also written during this enormously productive autumn, Pushkin's favorite season of the year.

In the autumn of 1833, again at Boldino, Pushkin wrote the concluding chapters of *A History of the Pugachev Rebellion*, a historical study of the most serious peasant rebellion up to that time, using the state archives for research; he also completed two other major works, *Andzhelo*, a narrative poem based loosely on Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, and meant to serve as an example to his wife; and his masterpiece of narrative verse, *The Bronze Horseman*, which dramatizes the conflict between the individual and the state in a confrontation between a sorrow-crazed young man and the famous

Every Russian school child studies the life and works of Pushkin according to a carefully organized plan which continues throughout the school curriculum. Not only do the children develop an aesthetic appreciation for works that have no special political, moral, or philosophical appeal whatsoever, e.g., the tales in verse (*skazki*), but they are also exposed to the works in which Pushkin expressed ideas which were dangerously unpopular with court circles and the Czar himself. In an effort to ensure that Soviet pupils do not fail to emulate Pushkin, to apply his ideals in a practical way in their own daily lives, one of the required themes in nearly every literature class is "The Role of Pushkin in Contemporary Life." There would be nothing surprising about this requirement if Pushkin's ideals coincided entirely, or even largely, with those of the Soviet state. One would think, though, that his praise of liberty and criticism of authoritarian government might be regarded in some quarters as subversive. But so ingrained is the Pushkin tradition in the USSR that to suggest that there is an appreciable disparity between the ideals of Pushkin and those of the state is to utter the worst sort of blasphemy.

A few examples will illustrate Pushkin's

equestrian statue of Peter the Great in St. Petersburg.

In his *skazki* (tales in verse), composed in 1831-32, Pushkin drew on the folklore and native customs of Russia, about which he had learned a great deal from his nurse, Arina Rodionovna, his only constant companion during his exile at Mikhailovskoe. Other works that are landmarks in Russian literature include *The Queen of Spades* (1833), a thriller in the Gothic mode, rich in irony; and *The Captain's Daughter* (1833-35), a prose novel in which the Pugachev theme is treated again. In 1836, the year before his death, Pushkin established the journal *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*), which became the foremost liberal periodical of the century. In its pages Pushkin published many of his own works and those of other leading writers and poets.

At a time when Russian literature was still in its infancy, Pushkin created a literary language appropriate for the many genres that he introduced and perfected. His originality and experimental zeal were a vital part of his genius. After nearly a century and a half he remains at the very center of Russian literature and culture and continues to inspire new works of art.

celebration of political freedom and his condemnation of governmental oppression, remarkable for the time and place in which they were written. As often happens when political power is confronted with creative genius, the czars who reacted against Pushkin as a dangerous force were themselves responsible for the growth of his reputation as a rebel. Alarmed at the growing popularity of the young poet, Czar Alexander I complained, "Pushkin has flooded Russia with his outrageous verses — all the youth know them by heart." In the spring of 1820, as already mentioned, on Alexander's orders Pushkin was exiled to the south of Russia, that is, away from the capitals. Among the poems responsible for Pushkin's internal exile was his ode "Liberty," written towards the end of 1817. The tone of "Liberty," with its rhetorical outbursts and exuberance, is distinctly youthful, and the sentiments expressed are uncompromising. The first of the twelve stanzas concludes:

I wish to sing of liberty for the world,
To startle tyrants on their thrones. (I, 283)¹⁷

He warns those who abuse power:

Tyrants of the world! Tremble!
And you, be brave and listen,
Arise, downfallen slaves! (I, 283)

Only in states where the people hold the reins of power, the poet says, are there just rulers who do not abuse their authority, and he cautions:

Potentates! Your crown and throne
Are given you by Law — not nature;
You stand higher than the people,
But higher than you is eternal Law. (I, 284)

Nations in which the people are not ever-vigilant risk being ruled by a tyrant; and he cites as examples the French Revolution and the fate of Louis XVI. (Incidentally, Pushkin's debt to the ideals of Rousseau, especially those expressed in *The Social Contract*, is quite apparent here.) He tells an imaginary tyrant,

You, your throne I execrate,
Your ruin and your children's death
With cruel joy I see. (I, 284)

But the only specific reference, however oblique, to a Russian tyrant is the allusion to the "desolate monument of the tyrant," that is, the deserted palace of Paul I, whose arrogance led to his assassination in 1801 and the coronation of his Alexander I.

Of course, "Liberty," like so many of Pushkin's works, was not published during



"Farewell, free element." Oil by Ilya Repin (the figure) and I.K. Aivazovsky (the seascape), 1887. Suggested by Pushkin's poem "To the Sea," 1824.

the poet's lifetime. Even as he wrote it, Pushkin could be certain that nothing of this sort would ever have been passed by the censor, whose approval was needed before any piece of written material could be printed in Russia. But it was circulated in manuscript so rapidly that within a short time it was widely known among the St. Petersburg aristocracy.

"To Chaadaev" (1818) is a tribute to a great liberal whom Pushkin admired, as well as a passionate statement on behalf of representative government which concludes thus:

Friend, trust that it will rise,
The star of enchanting happiness,
Russia will rise from her sleep,
And on the rubble of autocracy
They shall write our names! (I, 306)

Pushkin was correct in identifying Chaadaev as a dedicated fighter in the cause of justice: he was declared insane less than a year before Pushkin's death for preaching his democratic ideals.

Epigrams on court favorites and the Czar himself, as well as other verses on "civic" themes, contributed to Pushkin's reputation as a bold, uncompromising advocate of liberalization and a foe of the widespread corruption which characterized the relatively liberal



The "Decembrist" insurrection, December 14, 1825. Watercolor by K. Kolman painted within a few days of the event. Note the statue of Peter I, "The Bronze Horseman," in the background.

reign of Alexander I. His transfer (i.e., exile) to the Caucasus only enhanced his reputation in progressive circles. Thus Pushkin became, at the age of twenty-one, a symbol of courageous resistance to tyranny and oppression, a position which he continues to occupy to the present.

In his ode "I have raised unto myself a monument not made by hand" (1836), an original response to Horace's "Exegi monumentum," Pushkin underscored what he considered to be his major achievements:

And long shall I be beloved by the people,
Because I roused kind feelings with my lyre,
Because in my cruel age I praised liberty
And called for mercy for the fallen. (III, 340)

Contemporaries had no difficulty in recognizing the references to the ode "Liberty" or the clemency which Pushkin had earnestly hoped Nicholas I would show to the "Decembrists," those who took part in the ill-fated insurrection in St. Petersburg on December 14, 1825. Pushkin's close connections with many of the aristocratic participants in that event has been the subject of much research in the USSR and, more recently, in the United States. Though it failed dismally in its attempt to force the government to share its power, to

abolish serfdom, and to correct other glaring social inequities, this abortive demonstration had far-reaching echoes in Russian culture, many of which were still strong at the time of the revolution of 1917. Pushkin's response to the December insurrection was, in certain respects, hardly less important than the event itself. In a remarkable interview with Nicholas I in September, 1826, Pushkin told the Czar that he would have joined his friends in Senate Square on the previous December 14 if circumstances (i.e., exile) had not prevented him from being in the capital at that time.

The December insurrection showed that at least some dedicated members of the privileged class felt an obligation to guard against the excesses of tyranny and to advocate openly the establishment of a more democratic system in Russia. Pushkin's moving tribute to those who suffered in that cause, "In the depths of the Siberian mines," concludes:

The painful bonds will fall away,
The dungeons will crash down — and freedom
Will receive you joyfully at the gate,
And brothers will give you back your swords.
(III, 7)

This tribute was carried to the exiles by A. G. Muravyova, wife of one of them, who followed her husband to Siberia. Western



Pushkin's manuscript of *Poltava* (1828), containing the poet's sketches of the five executed Decembrists on the gallows and two hanged figures in prison robes.

scholars have recently uncovered numerous hidden references and encoded tributes to the Decembrists, which obviously escaped the usually obtuse censors' eyes, in the text of *The Tales of . . . Belkin*, *The Queen of Spades*, *Eugene Onegin*, and other prose works.¹⁰

In orthodox Soviet studies Pushkin's difficulties with Czars Alexander and Nicholas are explained as manifestations of his consciousness of the need for reform in Russia and his contribution to the class struggle. But his attitudes toward certain other historical figures are far more complex and pose problems for his orthodox interpreters. His highly original portraits of two of the most colorful figures in Russian history, Emelyan Pugachev and Peter I, brought him further troubles with the censors, including his "personal censor," Nicholas I. Pugachev, leader of the largest of the peasant rebellions (1773-74), was executed by order of Catherine II (The Great), who was frightened by the dimensions of the

revolt and its implications. While Pushkin's depiction of Pugachev in *A History of the Pugachev Rebellion*, the only historical study that he actually completed, is basically factual and not romanticized, his interest in the man and the qualities that attracted thousands of peasants to his cause led him to devote what the censors considered to be an inordinate amount of attention to him.

But in Pushkin's novel *The Captain's Daughter* (1836) Pugachev is actually a major character. Pushkin's departure from historical fact in favor of psychological truth resulted in an arresting portrait of a very complex figure, whom Pushkin did not regard merely as the crude symbol of evil which official historians had created. In *The Captain's Daughter* Pugachev's basic decency moves him to spare the life of Pyotr Grinyov, the aristocratic protagonist. It is suggested that he is to a certain extent a victim of circumstances, a strong personality, who could command the respect of his closest followers, many of whom were indeed criminals and crass opportunists with nothing better to do than to join the rebellion. It is clear that Pushkin's invention of a familiar relationship between Pugachev and Grinyov is not simply a reflection of his debt to Romanticism. Marxist critics prefer to interpret the improbable "friendship" as Pushkin's wish for a union of the intelligentsia and the peasantry in recognition of their common interests. They underscore the significance of the nod that Pugachev, as he is about to be executed, gives to Grinyov, and the genuine pity that Grinyov feels for Pugachev.

Perhaps more daring, though subtler, are the suggested parallels between Pugachev and Catherine II, the leader he sought to replace. Both leaders are shown to be autocratic yet capable of kindness, power-hungry yet not without a certain charm and warmth, and ultimately fascinating, original personalities.

Pushkin's courage in suggesting that absolute power corrupts, and that among the peasants there were individuals capable of leadership and creative imagination, is presented to Soviet school children in a strictly historical context. By the time the children have reached the level of school at which essays on Pushkin are regularly required, they are aware that it is not acceptable to imply that parallels exist between the policies of the czarist regime of Pushkin's day and those of the present Soviet government.



Illustration (1905) by Alexander Benua (Benois in French) for Pushkin's *The Bronze Horseman*. The equestrian statue of Peter I pursues the impoverished clerk Evgeny (Eugene).

At least as complex as Pushkin's treatment of Catherine II, Alexander I, and Nicholas I is his highly ambiguous portrait of Peter I (Peter the Great), whose image has emerged in Soviet historiography less blemished than that of other czars, for reasons which are often contradictory. While Peter is presented as the inspiration and the central figure of *The Bronze Horseman* (1833), in which Pushkin reached the zenith of his poetic power, he is ultimately responsible for the death of the poem's hero, Evgeny (Eugene). A poor clerk whose family was at one time illustrious, Evgeny is one of the thousands of drones who make it possible for the Russian bureaucracy to operate. Like the other inhabitants of St. Petersburg, Evgeny lives in an unnatural city, built by order of Peter the Great upon the shores of the Neva River near the Gulf of Finland, an inhospitable site for a metropolis. A conflict is established between the state and its vast machinery (symbolized by Peter, the most powerful of all the czars) and the individual (represented by the helpless bureaucrat Evgeny). Though the conflict is resolved in favor of the state, the narrator reminds us that the tale is a tragic one. The mad Evgeny, whose fiancée

was drowned in a flood, imagines that he is chased through the city by its founder astride a terrifying horse; it is the statue of the "bronze horseman" come to life — the magnificent equestrian monument to Peter completed in 1782 by É.M. Falconet. The monument, more than a representation of Peter, is a symbol of the city he founded and of imperial Russia itself. Pushkin links this symbol with a flood, an event that brings misery to the city's inhabitants. Evgeny's own body is eventually washed ashore, and the poem ends on this somber note. The suggestive power of *The Bronze Horseman*, enriched by the author's own ambiguous attitude, is unsurpassed in Russian poetry. The most dramatic moment in the poem, the only occasion on which Evgeny regains something of his individual personality and will, is the threat which he hurls at the statue with his teeth bared and with a clenched fist, in an unmistakable gesture of defiance:

"Aye, thou architect of marvels!"

He whispered, grumbling menacingly,

"Beware of me!" (IV, 286)

The final words of the threat — *užo tebe* — have been given prophetic significance by the Marxist critics, as we might expect. But there is no denying the conclusion to which Pushkin leads us, in a crescendo of alliterative devices and onomatopoeic evocation of the horse's pounding hooves and the fury of the waves: Evgeny and all those whom he represents are of no significance whatsoever in the grand scheme of the state. Their interests are sacrificed to progress, a small price to pay, from the viewpoint of those in power.¹⁹ *The Bronze Horseman* is a good example of how Pushkin's writings, while they may be used to further official Soviet views, could also suggest parallels with the current government which are not flattering.

Soviet scholars have not overlooked Pushkin's potential value in the ideological battle with the West. Pushkin's ambivalent treatment of St. Petersburg, Peter the Great's Westernized city, in *The Bronze Horseman*, is one example of material so used. Another is Pushkin's essay *John Tanner*. Like most progressives of the period, Pushkin has a keen interest in the American experiment with democracy. In fact at one point he actually contemplated escape to America. Soviet commentators are sometimes less interested in Pushkin's admiration for the struggling

young nation than in his negative comments about it. A critical biography of Pushkin by A. I. Gessen, aimed at Soviet children in the middle and upper grades, makes such a use of excerpted passages from the essay *John Tanner*, about a white man from Virginia who was captured as a child by Indians and spent thirty years among them near Cincinnati on the shores of the "Big Miami." Pushkin had recently read a French translation of Tanner's diary, originally published in New York in 1830.²⁰ Gessen cites only those passages in Pushkin's essay that attack American materialism, Negro slavery, and "the patent injustice, slander, and inhumanity of the American Congress"²¹; the biography then passes immediately to Pushkin's *Journey from Moscow to St. Petersburg*, "where we meet the same thoughts about oppression on the part of the English capitalistic system."²²

But not all Soviet scholars use Pushkin for such blatantly propagandistic purposes. In a book on Pushkin's journalistic activity, the Pushkin specialist M. P. Eremin cites some of the same material found in Gessen's biography, but he draws some different conclusions. Eremin notes appropriately: "One must bear in mind that when Pushkin was writing about Negro slavery, he could not fail to know that that theme in Russian literature and journalism always had a Russian 'subtext': every conversation about Negro slavery was naturally a reminder of the slavery of Russian serfs."²³

In death Pushkin represented an even greater threat to the reactionary forces in Russia than he had during his brief life. As soon as he heard that Pushkin had been mortally wounded in a duel, Mikhail Lermontov, then an obscure young officer of the aristocratic Guards, dashed off a powerful tribute entitled "Death of the Poet." In his scathing indictment Lermontov laid the blame for Pushkin's death precisely where it belonged: on the court circles, the irresponsible aristocrats whose flippancy and gossip about Pushkin's wife had forced him into the fatal duel.²⁴ The poem circulated rapidly in St. Petersburg and soon reached the Czar, who ordered Lermontov's arrest. His action made Lermontov a celebrity and launched his career. Posterity would eventually elevate him to a position of eminence in the pantheon of Russian poetry only a step below Pushkin himself.

While Pushkin's mourners included



Pushkin and his wife at a court ball. Oil by N.P. Ulyanov, 1936. An example of early Socialist Realism, this painting depicts Natalya Nicholaevna and everyone else except Pushkin himself in a mirror reflection. The poet's short stature is somewhat exaggerated; he was actually 5'3"; the couple were known at court as "Vulcan and Venus."

many of Russia's most illustrious literary figures, his status as "national poet" was confirmed by the hundreds of peasants, old and young, as well as students and intellectuals, who came to pay their respects at the funeral. Though many of the peasants were illiterate, Pushkin's reputation as the friend and defender of the Decembrists, as the challenger of the social order responsible for their own misery, and as the author of "Liberty," was stamped on their consciousness. They would transmit that legacy intact to their children and grandchildren. The police watched with mounting fear as the preparations for Pushkin's funeral and interment attracted what they considered to be an inordinate amount of attention, particularly among the liberals, the students, and other malcontents. Two days after the funeral his body was removed to the Svyatogorsky Monastery at midnight by order of the Czar.



Death of a poet. Pushkin, fatally wounded in a duel, is helped onto a carriage. Oil by A. A. Naumov, 1885.

Russia had hardly had time to notice her most gifted poet before his death plunged the nation into mourning. But recognition of Pushkin's genius in the official press followed swiftly. In a series of articles (1843-46) in the influential liberal journal *Notes of the Fatherland*, Vissarion Belinsky (1811-48), the first important Russian critic, analyzed the national significance of Pushkin and identified him as the "creator of Russian literature."²⁵ Contemporaries agreed with this assessment, as succeeding generations have also done. The ceremonies at the unveiling of Opekushin's statue of Pushkin in 1880 gave formal recognition to his status in Russian culture and established a pattern for the future. During those ceremonies Ivan Turgenev, author of *Fathers and Sons* (1862), and A. N. Ostrovsky, the prolific dramatist whose plays form the basis of the national repertoire, gave memorable speeches. Most conspicuous was the absence of Tolstoy, who declined the invitation, perhaps because he did not wish to appear on the same program with Dostoevsky. In any case, Dostoevsky took advantage of the occasion and delivered a stirring, dramatic (and lengthy) speech in which he analyzed Pushkin's legacy to Russian literature and demonstrated why Pushkin occupies a central

position in Russian culture. Among his major points was the identification of certain character types that Pushkin bequeathed to the succeeding generations of Russian writers: the proud man, the eternal wanderer or seeker, who is not in tune with his own time (e.g., Aleko in *The Gypsies* and Eugene Onegin), and the woman of great moral strength, (e.g., Tatyana in *Eugene Onegin*), the "apotheosis of Russian womanhood." Whereas Belinsky had seen in Tatyana a tragic victim of the typical subjugation of women in a patriarchal society, Dostoevsky, with characteristic conservatism, interpreted Tatyana's rejection of Onegin's entreaty as a great moral sacrifice.

Dostoevsky's estimation of Pushkin's role in Russian culture formed the basis for understanding that phenomenon for subsequent generations. Indeed, accounts of the unveiling ceremonies, and especially Dostoevsky's speech, indicates that the event was the culmination of the process of Pushkin's canonization.

In recognition of an unbroken tradition, the Director of the State Pushkin Museum points out that "in the Soviet period celebrations dedicated to the poet have become an obligatory part of our spiritual life."²⁶ Thus, a century after the ceremonies at the unveiling

of Opekushin's monument, the procedures for honoring Pushkin at events designed to attract the general public, as well as the approaches to analysis of his life and works by scholars, have been firmly established.

Reverence for Pushkin in the Soviet period, perpetuated through the establishment of museums and memorial sites and vigorous publishing policies, owes a great debt to the solid work of Soviet scholars. An average of a hundred articles on Pushkin appear annually in the scholarly press, i.e., journals and monographs for specialists in philology, and one hundred books on Pushkin were published in 1974-75. But it is obvious that a sustained interest in Pushkin is not limited to specialists. In 1974 a special Pushkin issue of the miscellany *Prometheus* was published in a printing of 100,000. The following year the special edition was re-issued in a printing of 50,000.²⁷ The significance of these figures becomes apparent when one imagines the financial disaster that would surely result from an edition of similar size of an American journal devoted to any American author. As the eminent Pushkinist J. Thomas Shaw notes, "Pushkin scholars in the West are so accustomed to taking for granted the existence of Russian Pushkin serial publications that it may be worthwhile to remind ourselves that, at least in Britain and the United States, we have nothing to compare with them."²⁸

There is no simple explanation of the continued popularity of Pushkin and the enormous effort to perpetuate the public's veneration for the man and his works. These activities often resemble religious observances, which are no longer sanctioned by the state. For various reasons already suggested, investigation of the "Pushkin phenomenon" within the USSR may not be forthcoming. But one Soviet scholar, S. A. Fomichev, has acknowledged its existence, albeit in a Western scholarly publication:

Of course, the particular relationship of our contemporaries to Pushkin by itself creates a problem for scholarship. What is the reason for this phenomenon? What forces bring thousands and thousands of people to annual Pushkin celebrations? Why are the Pushkin museums of the country always overflowing? Why are the large numbers of editions of Pushkin's work and literature about him instantly sold out? In all probability these questions fall within the purview of sociology — social psychology in particular. Up to now scientific research in

this direction has not been undertaken, but there is no doubt that in the near future it will be — as soon as the problem is more widely perceived. Satisfying the interest in Pushkin's life and work of the reader-at-large is a normal popularizing function of scholarship.²⁹

Aside from the particular qualities of Pushkin himself, Westerners have a hard time comprehending the importance that literature of whatever sort plays in the lives of ordinary citizens of the Soviet Union. The continuing appeal of verse for the Russian people is attested by the huge crowds that turn out for "Poetry Day." Though it began soon after the death of Stalin as an informal gathering of poets who read their verse at the Moscow monument to the revolutionary, highly original Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930), Poetry Day was soon converted by the authorities into an official annual event in various cities. Anthologies of the verse read on the occasion are published in huge printings. Americans cannot conceive of a society in which a living poet like Yevtushenko or Voznesensky can draw an enthusiastic audience that fills a stadium, as a concert of the Rolling Stones would do in the United States. Perhaps the attraction is the oblique nature of poetic expression which permits the communication of ideas that would otherwise be censored or suppressed. Because there was such a great need for reform in czarist Russia, as well as a vigorous effort to suppress expression of that need, Russians have long found solace and inspiration in their imaginative literature in a way which has no counterpart in the West.

Another contributing factor may be that Russia did not participate with Western Europe in the great intellectual revolutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Without the benefits of the Renaissance and the humanistic traditions that grew out of it, Russian writers of the eighteenth century struggled to create a viable literary language and literary tradition of their own. Pushkin's genius lies in the fact that he was able to take advantage of the groundwork done by the journalist Nikolai Novikov (1744-1818), by Alexander Radischev (1749-1802), and by other eighteenth-century writers who had begun to create an indigenous humanistic tradition in Russia. And he profited from the experiments of theoreticians and poets such as Trediakovsky, Lomonosov, Sumarokov, and above all Derzhavin, to fashion a literary language which

was subtle enough for the expression of ideas on many different levels. Though the tradition he inherited was quite young, it was one in which the notion of the writer as commentator on contemporary affairs had already been established. Pushkin not only continued that tradition, but placed on it his original stamp, giving it new life and new direction. Thus he became, by virtue of historical circumstances and his native genius, the fountainhead of modern Russian literature.

However sincere S.A. Fomichev may have been in his statement on the "Pushkin phenomenon," it is impossible to expect him or any other Soviet guardian of Pushkin's fame to publish an analysis of it. For Pushkin

is far more than merely a literary figure. He represents a moral force, a paragon which has the marvelous advantage of flexibility: the image may be molded to suit the purpose of those who are presenting it to the country's youth, as well as to the adult population. Not even the most hidebound bureaucrat in the USSR would dare to suggest that Pushkin's forthrightness in criticizing tyranny and in expressing sympathy for the victims of oppression is less than the noblest of ideals. It is tantalizing to speculate about the impact of those ideals on the current and future generations of Soviet youth and the ways in which those ideals might be expressed in the practical form of social and political change.



Pushkin's manuscript sketch of a scene from "The Coffinmaker," 1830.

SUGGESTED READING

English-speaking readers of Pushkin will find the following works to be of particular interest. The most complete biography in English remains Ernest Simmons's pioneering work *Pushkin* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1937). Walter N. Vickery's *Alexander Pushkin* (New York: Twayne, 1970), though brief, is also an excellent study, unlike some of the volumes in this uneven series. D.S. Mirsky's *Pushkin* (New York: Dutton, 1963) is a critical biography in a lively style which reflects the author's profound understanding of Pushkin and the circles in which he lived. John Bayley's *Pushkin: A Comparative Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) is one of the best critical studies of Pushkin in any language. Bayley's approach requires of the reader a broad knowledge of European and Classical literatures.

Pushkin's are the best letters of all the Russian writers, and J. Thomas Shaw's *The Letters of Alexander Pushkin* (3 vols. in Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press and Indiana University Press, 1963. Rpt. 3 vols in one. University of Wisconsin Press, 1967) is a monument of American scholarship on Russian literature. Shaw's explanatory notes are excellent.

For those who would like a literal, prose translation of the verse, accompanied by the original texts, *Pushkin*, edited by John Fennell (Baltimore: Penguin, 1964), is the best source. Though not all of Pushkin's verse has been tackled by translators, many of the important works are admirably rendered in English by Walter Arndt in *Pushkin Threefold* (New York: Dutton, 1972), which contains the original texts, as well as linear and metric translations. *The Poems, Prose and Plays of Alexander Pushkin*, ed. Avram Yarmolinsky (New York: Modern Library, 1936) contains readable translations of the most important verse and prose. The prose is also available in several paperback editions.

Three translations of *Eugene Onegin* deserve special mention. Vladimir Nabokov's monumental *Eugene Onegin*, 4 vols (1964; rpt. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975) reproduces the metre but not the rhymes of the original. Nabokov's notes are the most exhaustive (and frequently eccentric) commentary on the work in English. Walter Arndt's translation, *Eugene Onegin*, 2nd ed., revised (New York: Dutton, 1981) preserves the original "Onegin" stanza as well as much of the flavor of the original. Charles Johnston's *Eugene Onegin* (New York: Penguin, 1979) is also an admirable piece of work.

NOTES

¹In this essay two transliteration systems are used. Russian words and names with accepted Anglicized spellings are given in the text in their familiar form, while the transliteration favored by specialists is used in bibliographical references and discussions of particular terms.

²It was necessary to rebuild the apartment, since its appearance had been modified through a series of exterior and interior changes. Restoration has proceeded according to a plan of the premises made in 1836, which shows the design to be essentially the same as it had been in a plan made in 1806, i.e., before the building was severely damaged in the great fire of 1812.

³A. [Z.] Krejn, *Žizn' muzeja* (Moskva: "Sovetskaja Rossija," 1979), p. 17.

⁴Maurice Friedberg, *A Decade of Euphoria: Western Literature in Post-Stalin Russia, 1954-64* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1977), p. 194. During the last days of World War II, even while Leningrad was under siege, booksellers could not keep up with the demand for the latest edition of *War and Peace*—in a printing of 500,000!

⁵Friedberg, p. 350. Western readers are often surprised to learn that Dostoevsky, whose popularity in France and the United States, especially among comparatists, has exceeded the bounds of propriety, is not the most popular writer in Russia. In the poll cited by Friedberg (pp. 350-351) Dostoevsky ranked eighth among the nine most popular pre-Revolutionary writers. Two chief reasons may be advanced in explanation of this fact. Dostoevsky's scathing criticism of socialism and the reactionary position to which he adhered in his later years account for his failure to achieve unqualified approval in the USSR. In fact, the Academy edition of his complete collected works is not quite "complete." Passages have been omitted from several of his works. Soviet youth have not been predisposed to develop a deep interest in Dostoevsky because he has not been presented in an entirely favorable light. However, the recently renewed interest in his works may be a reaction to the official policy. On the other hand, even if the official position regarding Dostoevsky were revised, it is unlikely that he would become one of the two or three most popular writers. His limited vision, his blatant prejudices (anti-Semitism, for example), and his often morbid pre-occupation with the abnormal do not have a strong appeal to the average cultivated reader in the USSR. In many of the English translations of Dostoevsky's novels which are regularly assigned in a wide range of university courses (literature, sociology, psychology, urban studies, and others) the text is shamelessly edited to make it more palatable. Sentences and paragraphs are cut up into more manageable units, and there is no trace of the labyrinthine syntax. Thus Dostoevsky's popularity among students in the United States is probably not in danger as long as his novels are assigned by those who cannot read them in the original or who are primarily interested in their extra-literary aspects. For an original and highly entertaining view of Dostoevsky, see Vladimir Nabokov, *Lectures on Russian Literature*, ed. Fredson Bowers (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1981), pp. 97-135.

⁶Krejn, p. 249.

⁷Krejn, p. 217.

⁸As though in self-defense, Muscovites are also fond of recalling several of Pushkin's verses in which he expressed his affection for that city, for example: "Moscow, for the Russian heart how much is merged in that word," and "Moscow, I love you like a son, /like a Russian, ardently and tenderly."

⁹The Decembrists are discussed on pp. 52-3. Both Tchaikovsky and Pushkin are celebrated in the Kamenka museum, which bears their names. Tchaikovsky's sister married a Decembrist who lived in Kamenka, and the composer frequently visited his sister there. His Second Symphony was composed in Kamenka.

¹⁰N.I. Granovskaja, *Domik stacionnogo smotritelja: Muzej dorožnogo byta načala XIX veka* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1974), p. 5.

¹¹In "Puškin's 'The Stationmaster' and the New Testament Parable," *Slavic and East European Journal*, 21, No. 1 (1977), 14, J. Thomas Shaw discusses the linguistic sources of the name "Vyryn": *vyr'* or *vir* is often heard in folk expressions which allude to one's low station in life and to "temptation." Pushkin may certainly have associated the name with those expressions, but the initial source must have been the posting station where he often stopped.

¹²Though by no means observed by the majority of couples, the tradition of laying flowers on the pedestal of the Pushkin monument is another indication of the poet's symbolic moral status. The custom may have been established as a reaction to the sterile, impersonal proceedings in the totally secular Palace of Nuptials, where Soviet couples sign a register, listen to a recording of "appropriate" music, and are declared hus-

band and wife. In paying homage to Pushkin, young couples thus associate their vows with the humanistic tradition which Pushkin represents and express their independence and individuality by performing a function not required by the State. Newlyweds in Moscow also observe this custom at the site of the eternal flame commemorating the unknown soldier of the USSR. The traditional place for paying homage to Tolstoy, incidentally, is his ancestral estate of Yasnaya Polyana, 130 miles from Moscow. There his grave is visited annually by thousands of tourists, many of whom place flowers on his simple, unmarked grave.

¹³N.M. Volovič, *Puškinskie mesta Moskvy i Podmoskov'ja* (Moskva: Moskovskij rabočij, 1979), pp. 222-230.

¹⁴Krejn, p. 99. A useful resource on the topic of musical compositions based on Pushkin's life and works is N.G. Vinokur and P.A. Kagan, *Puškin v muzyke: Notagrafičeskij spravočnik* (Moskva: Sovetskij kompozitor, 1974).

¹⁵Krejn, p. 231.

¹⁶For a delightful and perceptive discussion of the flexibility of the Russian language (and the difficulty which it presents to the foreigner) see Edmund Wilson's essays "Russian Language" (pp. 3-14) and "A Little Museum of Russian Language" (pp. 197-206) in *A Window on Russia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972). Wilson's essays on Pushkin in the same volume are also excellent reading.

¹⁷All citations of Pushkin's works are from *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij v desjati tomach*, 4th ed., ed. B.V. Tomaševskij (Leningrad: "Nauka," 1977) and are indicated parenthetically. All translations are mine.

¹⁸For an ingenious analysis of the topic, see Lauren Leighton, "Gematria in 'The Queen of Spades': A Decembrist Puzzle," *Slavic and East European Journal*, 21, No. 4 (1977), 455-469.

¹⁹For an interesting discussion of the theme of the "destructive statue" in Pushkin, see Roman Jakobson, "The Statue in Pushkin's Poetic Mythology," *Pushkin and His Sculptural Myth* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. 22-28 and passim.

²⁰Pushkin notes that de Tocqueville, with whose *Democracy in America* he was familiar, met Tanner, bought his book, and declared that he had no doubts about the authenticity of Tanner's recorded experiences.

²¹A.I. Gessen, *Žizn' poëta* (Moskva: "Detskaja literatura," 1972), pp. 419-420.

²²Gessen, p. 420.

²³Eremin, *Puškin-publicist*, 2nd ed. (Moskva: "Xudožestvennaja literatura," 1976), p. 336.

²⁴For the most complete treatment in English of Pushkin's duel and death, see Walter N. Vickery, *Pushkin: The Death of a Poet* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1968). Vickery's treatment of Pushkin's wife is a tactful, restrained approach to the problem. Since his book was printed, a much more tolerant attitude towards her has emerged in the USSR. She was in truth a shallow, self-centered, but strikingly beautiful woman who spent far too much of her husband's meager income on expensive gowns for court functions, and who encouraged the attentions of numerous attractive or powerful men, including Czar Nicholas I. Her reputation, however, is currently undergoing a revision in the USSR. Apparently her status as the wife of the nation's greatest poet is too important for her to remain in opprobrium. School children are now being encouraged to sympathize with her as a victim of circumstances who behaved as she did because the life of an aristocrat in those days—particularly an aristocratic woman—was without responsibility or direction.

²⁵Isaiah Berlin summarizes this in *Russian Thinkers* (New York: The Viking Press, 1978), pp. 159-160.

²⁶S.A. Fomichev, "Soviet Pushkin Scholarship of the Last Decade," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 11, No. 1 (1977), 141.

²⁷Fomichev, p. 142.

²⁸J. Thomas Shaw, "Non-periodical Serials on Pushkin," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 11, No. 1 (1977), 134.

²⁹Fomichev, pp. 148-149.

RESCUING THE FUTURE

The Gamut Looks at the Cleveland School System



No problem facing Cleveland is so urgent as its foundering school system. The destructive effect of a bad¹ school on thousands of lives is immediate and irremediable. Unless a child has an unusually strong character or comes from an unusually strong family, eight or ten years in a bad school will forever close to him or her those intellectual pursuits and pleasures that are the highest human birthright — literature, the arts, and the sciences — as well as greatly decrease the chances of rising above a laborer's job. What happens to our children determines the future of our society.

¹A "bad" school is one in which children do not learn, in which discipline is a constant difficulty, and whose graduates cannot read or cipher. In a field where euphemism is a ubiquitous cloak for failure, it seems desirable to use such a straightforward term of value.

Even from a narrow economic point of view the problem is grave. As long as Cleveland is thought to have inferior schools, it will not be an attractive place for young middle-class families to live; therefore it will not be a city in which any company or industry will want to locate new offices or facilities. This is especially true of the new light industries that represent the business growth of the future. Without such growth the tax base will continue to go down in an inescapable vicious circle.

The plight of Cleveland's schools is a paradigm of the ills that have beset public education in cities throughout the country: the exodus of middle-class residents; the crushing financial and psychological burdens of desegregation, brought on by years of flagrant racist policies; the disgracefully low pay and heavy work load of teachers, which lead the community to hold them in low esteem and contribute to their discouragement and ineffectiveness. This section on the schools is therefore of more than local interest. Cleveland's story is full of cautionary precepts for educators everywhere. The story has its heroes — mostly the dedicated teachers who have kept striving against all odds — and it still may end happily, *if we can learn our lessons and quickly begin to apply them.*

Torrents of ink have already been poured out, of course, on the subject of Cleveland's schools. *The Gamut's* report is distinctive in that most of it is written by participants in the events: long-time critics of the system, teachers, a former Teacher's Union president, university professors, the new Superintendent, a School Board member, and school system researchers. In these as in most *Gamut* articles, we believe that much is revealed, often inadvertently, by the way the writers approach their subjects and by the language they use. We do not necessarily endorse all that our contributors say, nor how they say it; rather, we offer our readers the insight that comes from direct contact with the minds of those most intimately involved in the subject.

First, to provide the necessary perspective, here is a chronology of the most significant events in the decline and, we hope, the incipient recovery of the school system.²

²Information for the following chronology is derived from a memorandum to Judge Frank Battisti from the Office of School Monitoring and Community Relations, entitled "Enrollment Decline and School Desegregation in Cleveland: An Analysis of Trends and Causes," September, 1982; and from Ms. Pat Martin, Supervisor of Media Relations, in the Office of News Media of the Cleveland Board of Education. *The Gamut* expresses thanks to both of these sources for help and cooperation.

THE CLEVELAND SCHOOL SYSTEM: CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 1963 Ralph Locher elected mayor (re-elected 1965).
- 1964 Paul Briggs appointed Superintendent of Cleveland Public School System (CPSS).
- 1967 Carl Stokes elected mayor (re-elected 1969).
- 1968 **Summer:** Cleveland riots.
- 1970 **Fall:** Public school levy passed — the last for more than a decade.
- 1971 Ralph Perk elected mayor (re-elected 1973 and 1975). Arnold Pinkney becomes President of Board of Education (serves until August, 1978).
- 1973 **December 12:** *Reed vs. Rhodes* suit filed in U.S. District Court, charging City and State Boards of Education with pursuing policies that create and maintain illegally segregated schools.
- 1975 *Reed vs. Rhodes* trial begins before Chief Judge Frank Battisti.
- 1976 **August:** The Court in *Reed vs. Rhodes* finds the State and City Boards of Education guilty of encouraging segregation; the Boards begin appeals.
- September:** Daniel McCarthy appointed by the Court as Desegregation Special Master.

- 1977** **January - May:** Board submits three desegregation plans to the Court, all rejected.
October: McCarthy submits comprehensive desegregation plan. Two-week delay in teacher pay.
November: Dennis Kucinich elected mayor.
December: The Court orders establishment of a Department of Desegregation Implementation (DDI).
- 1978** **February 6:** Judge Battisti delivers the Court "Remedial Order," to achieve desegregation.
March: Charles Leftwich appointed by Court as Deputy Superintendent of DDI, responsible only to the Court: "dual system" of authority in CPSS.
April: School levy voted down. Briggs resigns as Superintendent. Board appoints Peter Carlin to succeed him. State of Ohio lends CPSS \$19 million.
May: Court creates Office of School Monitoring and Community Relations (Leonard Stevens, Director).
June: School bus drivers strike. School levy voted down. Court approves reassignment plan. Pinkney resigns as Board president, succeeded by John Gallagher, Jr. who serves through 1981.
June - August: Four different school closing plans submitted by Board.
August: School employees strike.
October: Leftwich resigns from DDI.
November: School levy voted down.
December: Margaret Fleming appointed by the Board to replace Leftwich. Cleveland goes into default.
- 1979** **January:** Judge Battisti finds the Board in contempt of court.
July: Supreme Court affirms liability of local school boards in desegregation cases; therefore the CPSS appeal is rejected.
September: Phase I desegregation begins: 23,000 students affected. School levy voted down. Teachers begin strike.
October 18 - January 4, 1980: City schools closed.
November: George Voinovich elected mayor (re-elected 1981 for four-year term).
- 1980** **March:** Phase II desegregation begins (22,000 junior high students affected).
July: Board and School District found guilty of contempt of court.
August: Donald Waldrip appointed by Court as Administrator of Desegregation.
September: State ordered to reimburse CPSS for part of cost of desegregation. Phase III desegregation implementation begins.
December: Default ended.
- 1981** **February:** Daniel McCarthy resigns.
April: State lends \$19 million to CPSS and places the system in fiscal receivership through 1983; the entire financial operation overseen by a State financial administrator. Court orders study of organization of CPSS, resulting in a plan for unitary, decentralized administration.
May: Court rejects Waldrip's Magnet School plan.
December: Court orders Board to submit plans revising the administrative structure of the CPSS.
- 1982** **January:** Alva T. (Ted) Bonda elected Board President (re-elected January, 1983). A largely new school board takes office.
February: State ordered to pay CPSS \$4.2 million for desegregation implementation.
March: State lends \$29 million to CPSS, which continues in receivership through 1984. State Superintendent Vernon Walter ordered by Court to make plans and schedule for a revised, unitary and decentralized administrative structure for CPSS.
April: Board sued by CPSS administrators whose contracts were not renewed. Citizens' Advisory Superintendent Search Committee announced.
July: Carlin resigns as Superintendent. Roger Lulow becomes Acting Superintendent.
August: State's revised unitary, decentralized administrative structure put into effect: the "dual" system dating back to March, 1978, ended.
November 8: Frederick D. Holliday becomes Superintendent. Lulow becomes Deputy Superintendent.
November 15: Waldrip ends job as Administrator of Desegregation.

THE CRITICS

Politics, Power, and Profit Make Schools a Mess

Nancy Oakley, Director, Project: LEARN

Nancy Oakley, mother of five children who have graduated from Cleveland schools, is a pharmacist by training. She began working for the improvement of literacy as a volunteer member of the Education Task Force of the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council in 1969; in 1974 she became Director of the newly formed Project: LEARN.

Project: LEARN is a voluntary adult literacy program, sponsored by the Interchurch Council, which recruits and trains volunteers to teach adults to read. There are more than 40,000 adults in Cuyahoga County with less than five years of formal education. This is our target group for service. However, over the past eight years, the majority of adults learning to read in our project went to school eight, nine, ten, or more years but were still reading at the third-grade level or below. It quickly became apparent that the problem of adult illiteracy in our community would never be solved if the problem of the Cleveland public schools was not addressed.

Three years ago the Project: LEARN Board decided we should address that problem and charged me with spending at least a part of my time on school reform efforts in Cleveland. In those efforts we have determined the schools are a mess, the mess is related to money, and the changes won't come easy.

The Cleveland schools are indeed in a mess. But they are also on the threshold of change. For some of us who have been around a long time this is rather like *déjà vu* to the 60's. Although the elements in this crisis are very different, the proposed solutions are very similar: a new, charismatic superintendent, a newly reorganized administration, and a lot of talk about restoring the quality of education.

Since we've been here before, some of us recognize the very real possibility that once again we'll be treated to cosmetic changes as opposed to the real, basic changes so vitally needed by Cleveland children.

In order to guard against that possibility, the community needs to put away some common but popular myths about the Cleveland schools. And the community needs to recognize that the governing reality in the operation of the schools has been the uses of money and power.

Myth number one. School Board members are public servants with a genuine interest in children and no particular personal or political ambition. Forget it. It may be true for some, but most of the maneuvering so common to Board actions are related to members' political ambitions. Remember, we have two former Board presidents who are now elected judges and two recent Board members who tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to parlay themselves into the higher political offices of mayor and county commissioner while serving as Board president.¹ It will help a lot if this community will analyze Board members' actions based on the effect such actions may have on their future political careers. Don't forget that an operating budget of more than \$250 million can buy lots of friends and patronage. That's a budget larger than that of the city of Cleveland or of Cuyahoga County.

Myth number two. Schools are operated for the exclusive benefit of children. Wrong. They benefit children but they are also operated, and built, to the benefit of all those people who sell things to, or have contracts with, the Cleveland Board of Education. Case in point. The Cleveland Board of Education launched a major building campaign in the late 60's and early 70's. We needed more classrooms, and some buildings were outrageously antiquated. But the Board ignored both the obvious, already occurring population shifts and

¹They are, in chronological order of their service as School-Board presidents: Judge Ralph McAllister, Judge Daniel O. Corrigan, Arnold Pinkney (twice a candidate for Mayor), and John Gallagher, Jr. (candidate for County Commissioner in 1980).

their own internal projections of enrollment declines. They also ignored calls from the community for the establishment of a city-wide school site selection plan. Result? Cleveland taxpayers still owe \$91 million on buildings, many of which are closed and unused. In 1983 we will pay \$11 million on the principal and \$5.5 million in interest to the banks and lending institutions that hold the mortgage bonds.² Since 1977 more than \$50 million in interest has been paid. Who benefited? Contractors, builders, unions, suppliers, especially the bond holders, and yes, maybe some Cleveland children. The maybe is there because of the role this building boom played in the guilty verdict in the school desegregation case.

If you accept that many School Board members are political animals who need to look to their futures at the polls, you understand why there was not a comprehensive building plan that would have lessened the racial isolation of Cleveland children. Very unpopular politically. And you understand their need to make friends in law firms, banking, business and labor circles. A big building boom couldn't hurt. Perhaps the most devastating outcome of these misguided policies of the 60's and 70's was the guilty finding in Federal Court in the school desegregation case. The Court cited the failure to have a plan for site selection that would reduce racial isolation as one evidence of deliberate intent to segregate. Result? Millions of dollars to lawyers, bus companies, consultants, the whole sorry litany of the past few years.

Another myth. The Cleveland schools are poor. They can't spend like Lakewood or Euclid or other cities in Ohio and certainly are much worse off than similar cities around the country. Wrong, wrong, wrong.

Cost Per Pupil, a yearly report of the State Department of Education, shows that Cleveland's expenditures have been about median for Cuyahoga County for the past several years. And remember, spending for schools in Cuyahoga County is way above the state-wide average.

The Educational Research Service, Inc., of Arlington, Va., did a comparison of Cleveland to a number of other cities in the '81-'82 school year. The comparison to

Columbus is particularly instructive. Cleveland and Columbus were both undergoing court-ordered desegregation. Each was using cross-town busing as a major factor in their plans. They are the two largest districts in Ohio. Here are pertinent facts in comparing just their general operating budgets for last school year:

**Planned Per Pupil Budget Allocations:
1981-1982**

	Cleveland	Columbus
Enrollment	77,423	66,911
Total number of employees	9,832	6,730
Ratio of employees to students	1:7.87	1:9.94
\$ expenditure per pupil	\$2,844	\$2,489
Difference	\$355 more than Columbus	
\$ for classroom instruction	\$1,299	\$1,406
\$ for books and materials	\$ 37	\$ 82
\$ for auxiliary instruction	\$ 101	\$ 75
TOTAL	\$1,437	\$1,563
Difference	\$126 less than Columbus	

Cleveland, with \$355 more to spend per pupil than Columbus, actually planned to spend \$126 less on direct instructional services to students in these categories.

In a nineteen-city comparison, which included Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Dallas, Chicago, Baltimore, Memphis, and Indianapolis, the Educational Research Service found that Cleveland ranked *third* in its per-pupil *total* expenditures, being outspent only by Pittsburgh and Milwaukee. Approximately 1000 school districts responded to the Educational Research Service survey. The average total expenditure per pupil for these districts was \$2,520 compared to Cleveland's total per pupil cost of \$3,642. Imagine that. Cleveland was \$1,100 above the average.

Then there's "the budget all goes to teachers' salaries" myth. You've heard it, 90% of the budget is for staff and almost all of it goes to teachers. Maybe in some school districts but *not* in Cleveland. The same nineteen-city comparison gave figures on percentage of the per-pupil expenditures allocated for salaries, retirement, and fringe benefits for classroom teachers. Cleveland, in 1981-82, was spending only 35.57% of current expenditures on these teacher cost items. This was lowest of the nineteen districts. In fact no other district was under 40%. Worse yet, those teacher cost items

²Cleveland Board of Education 1983 tax Budget.

were only 48% of the personnel budget, where we were again the last of the nineteen districts with no other district under 54%.

In this "classroom teachers" category we compared very unfavorably all the way around the 1,000 districts reporting.

Classroom Teachers Salary and Fringe Costs

	% of Current Expenditures	% of Personnel Budget
Cleveland	35.57%	48.61%
Average of schools spending \$3,000 or more	47.27%	63.57%
Average of schools enrolling 25,000 or more	51.63%	62.52%
Average of all reporting districts	49.48%	66.28%

If we don't spend it on teachers, where does it go? Take a look at a category called "support personnel." It includes clerks, custodians, bus drivers, laborers, primarily all the non-certified or non-professional staff. Here's the comparison.

Salary and Fringe Costs, Support Personnel

	% of Current Costs	% of Personnel Budget
Cleveland	22.25%	30.42%
Average of schools spending \$3,000 or more	15.01%	19.93%
Average of schools enrolling 25,000 or more	17.41%	21.15%
Average of all reporting districts	13.28%	17.67%

Myth: If they just had more money they would spend it on teachers and instruction. They may say it but history shows they don't do it. Over a four-year period, from the '78-'79 school year to the '81-'82 school year, there were dramatic changes in the Cleveland schools. During that period the enrollment dropped by 22,000 students, and 50 buildings were closed. In the same period the following staff changes occurred:

All administrators	up 18%
Non-teaching professionals	up 83%
Crafts and tradesmen	up 81%
Service workers	up 9%
Technical staff	up 22%
Attendance officers	down 27%
Classroom teachers	down 22%
Teachers aides	down 58%

In this three-year period, staff salaries increased \$30.2 million. Here's how the increases were allocated:

All salaries	up 23%
Administrators	up 41%
Non-teaching professionals	up 106%
Crafts and tradesmen	up 123%
Technical staff	up 71%
Custodians	up 65%
Classroom teachers	up 7%
Attendance officers	down 11%
Teachers' aides	down 54%

Teachers salaries were up \$5.7 million but teachers' aides were down \$2.6 million, leaving a net increase in direct classroom instruction of only \$3.1 million out of the \$30.2 million increased salary costs. They got \$30 million more to spend but only spent 10% of it on classroom teachers!

In 1980-81, 50 of every 100 employees were teachers. In '81-'82 only 48% of every 100 employees were teachers and the pupil/teacher ratio went up from 20.7 to 23.5.

Those of us who have worked for quality education for Cleveland children over the past ten years hoped that the intervention of the Federal Court, the appointment of a financial administrator by the state (after the School Board went broke twice in three years), and the new School Board elected in November, 1981, would ensure that these trends of the past would be turned around. A number of groups, including the Interchurch Council, came together as the School Budget Coalition in early 1982.

We hoped to get more dollars allocated to classroom teachers, textbooks, and instruction. Or at least we hoped to see no more cuts in those categories. Trying to figure out what was really happening to the dollars proved to be a formidable task. By law the budget is to be adopted and sent to the County Auditor by March 31. On March 10, just three weeks before the deadline, a budget summary was released. No budget, just a summary. Six days later a different version of the summary was produced and the budget itself was finally released. The documents did not jibe. The budget called for spending \$124.8 million on instruction while the summary allocated only \$119.8 million to this same category. Both documents called this 50% of the

budget. The proposed budget totaled \$240.9 million but the summary said it was \$231.9 million and the final document which the Board adopted on April 7, a week late, was \$238.2 million. When we sifted out all the conflicting and incomplete budget data, two sad facts stood out:

- a) The budget proposed a real increase of \$6.6 million but only \$700,000 would be for instruction.
- b) The 1981 budget proposed to spend 54.5% of funds on instruction. In the 1982 proposal this percentage was reduced to 53.2%, resulting in loss of \$3 million in funds for teachers, aides, textbooks, and other instructional services.

Members of the School Budget Coalition testified at a public hearing on the budget held by the School Board on March 25, 1982. We asked the Board to set a new budget policy, that 55% of all available general funds, no matter how much or how little, be spent on instruction. That was barely holding the line. If we could hold the line in 1982, maybe we could get 57-60% in 1983. Maybe the hoped-for turnaround would be real. We lost. The Board adopted a budget with less money for instruction in 1982 than in 1981.

We are not naive enough to believe that more money for instruction will mean an automatic improvement in the quality of education, but we also know there must be some relationship between how they have allocated their funds over the years and the

slide in attendance and reading scores, the increasing drop-out rates and all the other educational ills of the system.

What we spend our money on is what we value. That's true for individuals and it's true for school systems. If you want to know what you as an individual value, take a look at your checkbook. If you want to know what the school system values, take a look at its appropriation budget.

As we move through this period of transition our advice is to pay only a little attention to what people say but to watch very carefully what they do with their money. Will this new Board and administration bite the bullet on the tough decisions that need to be made? Will they confront the issue of employee contracts that funnel funds away from instruction? Will they subvert their political impulses? Will they demand a full and complete program budget on a timeline that permits rational decision making? And most important of all, will they set policy on the percentage of funds to be spent on instruction?

Over the years we've attended budget hearings and listened to every employee group speak to the Board about their special needs and interests. Not very much of what they said had anything to do with education. Except for a few voices no one spoke for the children. It's the job of the Board to be the voice that speaks for the children. Will they? By their budget we will know. □

The Schools Flunk Reading

Richard C. Israel, Director, Public Education Ministry of the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council, and **Nancy Oakley**, Director, Project: LEARN

Reading is fundamental. That cliché is a reality in the developed societies of the world, where learning almost anything is predicated on the ability to decipher the written symbols of spoken language. Adult illiteracy has been described, by one who suffers from it, as the leprosy of the twentieth century, a thing that separates you from others, that makes you painfully different. We even talk about the right to read, rank-

ing reading skill along with the right to free speech, freedom of religion, and our other rights.

It's not surprising, then, that school districts should come to be judged by how well they take care of the subject of reading. If they teach students to read well, then thinking skills, math skills, science, and all the rest can follow. If they don't take care of reading, they can't successfully

impart the other essential skills that will permit all students to grow to adulthood as fully participating members of society.

In the subject of reading, the Cleveland Public Schools flunk. In fact, they've been flunking for a long time. Attention was first focused on reading performance in the Cleveland schools back in the early '70's. It was a time of unprecedented growth: a levy had just been passed, school buildings were being thrown up all over town, the Superintendent gave glowing progress reports to the Growth Association every year, and the myth of quality education surrounded the schools. But out in the community, at every meeting about schools, there were undercurrents of discontent. Two issues surfaced repeatedly: class sizes are too large and the kids can't read.

And so the Cleveland Task Force on Literacy was formed. It was a small group, formed by the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland (then named the Council of Churches), the Area Councils Association, and the Urban League. The Task Force issued two reports. The first (*All the Children Should Read: An Interim Report*, August 7, 1973) said there wasn't much information about reading in the schools, but what there was indicated that a problem existed, that it was city-wide, and that it was serious at the high-school level. The report called for the public release of reading test scores. *The Plain Dealer*, to the great surprise of the Task Force, supported this call, saying it was a reasonable request (September 9, 1973). Arnold Pinkney, then the School Board President, arranged a meeting with the Task Force and turned over all the available scores.

To this day, Task Force members are uncertain of his intent. It may be he never expected the Task Force to be able to figure out what the scores meant. Or, he may have shared the Task Force's concerns and used the Task Force to make public a problem he did not feel could be raised by the Board without outside pressure. Remember that the Board had, at that point, a superintendent [Paul Briggs] who could do no wrong, who was considered to be the savior of the system, and who was highly regarded by the business community, the leadership of the city, and the media,

which avoided carrying articles critical of the schools.

And so, for the first time, the hard data were there, out in the open. And the data said the same thing parents had been saying. *The kids couldn't read very well and the longer they went to school the worse they did on standardized reading achievement tests.* The data showed that 50% of tenth-grade students tested below the seventh-grade eighth-month reading level, and more than half the elementary schools had sixth graders reading at a first-grade level.

The standardized test Cleveland used most often was the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills developed by McGraw-Hill. The norms for such tests are developed by using scores from small towns, small cities, rural schools, and large city districts. Cleveland school officials wanted to compare scores only to the large-city norms, which were lower than the national norms and thus would make Cleveland look better. The Task Force insisted on the use of national norms.

Test scores are ranked in percentiles; when a child ranks in the thirtieth percentile, for example, this means that out of every hundred children taking the test, 29 have made lower scores and 70 have made higher scores than that child. In assessing the test rankings of schools, it is important to remember that when a score is called "below average" it is not merely below the mid-point or median; it is in the lowest 23 percentile rankings, because all scores from the 24th to the 77th percentile are called "average." Scores above the 77th percentile are called "above average." Thus a school or district whose scores corresponded exactly to the national norm would have 23% of its students falling in the below-average range, 23% in the above-average range, and 54% in the average range. If the percentile rankings of 30% of its pupils are above average, 60% average, and 10% below average, a school would be better than the national norm.

After analyzing the Cleveland reading scores, the Task Force issued a *Second Interim Report* (March 11, 1974) that emphasized two major recommendations. The first was that the Board define literacy by grade-level skill. If literacy means the ability to read well enough to function on the

streets, to benefit from further schooling, and/or to learn on your own, what grade level of skill gets you ready to do this? Is it fifth grade or eighth grade or ninth grade? We asked the Board to work toward the goal of not allowing any student to drop out or graduate without attaining this functional level of literacy, whatever it was determined to be.

The Task Force also recommended that the Board conduct a study to determine the average level of literacy of graduates in the school districts surrounding Cleveland and then set as a goal that the reading level of graduates in each Cleveland high school equal the average of the suburbs. Our point was clear. It is not enough for Cleveland graduates to read as well as graduates in New York, Chicago, or Detroit. They have to compete for jobs with graduates from Lakewood, Parma, and Shaker Heights. They must read as well as other graduates in the Cleveland area.

The School Board ignored the Task Force recommendations and the group was out of business by the end of 1974, but sporadic release of reading scores continued with some ongoing agitation on the subject by some groups and individuals. The scores, over time, showed only spotty improvement and the schools continued to cite family poverty and other non-school factors in their analysis of the problem.

Then in 1978 those who had been concerned about this issue over the years were gratified to see the problem of reading given such prominence in the Federal Court Remedial Order to desegregate the Cleveland Public Schools. The court had noted the general failure of the schools to impart reading skills and had also noted the marked disparity in the reading achievement of black and white students as evidenced by their scores. The court ordered the reasons for the disparity to be identified and the disparity eliminated through the implementation of an Affirmative Reading Plan.

The problem of reading in the Cleveland schools has been known to the School Board since 1973. The Court order has been in place since 1978. It seems that we might reasonably expect the 1982 report of reading scores to show some substantive

progress. It doesn't. The 1981-82 reading report (Report to the Board of Education on CTBS, [Reading], 1981-82 School year) shows small gains in grades one through six; secondary reading comprehension skills are still below national norms; and there is a continued and growing disparity between the achievement of black and white students as they move through the grades. Here are some other things it shows:

Some Outstanding Failures

Elementary Schools:	Above Average Scores	Below Average Scores
Tremont, grade 3	5%	40.3%
Case, grade 4	1.1%	47.9%
Charles Lake, grade 5	3.3%	49.5%
Buhrer, grade 6	2%	40.2%

Junior Highs	Above Average Scores	Below Average Scores
Alexander Hamilton, grade 7	0%	43.3%
Charles Mooney, grade 7	1.7%	60.8%
Lincoln, grade 7	2.5%	62.7%
Charles Mooney, grade 8	1.8%	60.1%
Lincoln, grade 8	1.6%	53.8%
Clara Westropp, grade 9	2.8%	48.3%
Empire, grade 9	.8%	52.7%
F.D.R., grade 9	0%	33%
Lincoln, grade 9	3.1%	44.8%

Senior Highs	Above Average Scores	Below Average Scores
South High, grade 10	4%	44.7%
West Tech, grade 11	2.4%	43.2%
East High, grade 12	3.8%	46.7%
John Hay, grade 12	8.4%	49.4%

Of the ten worst elementary schools (by grade), Marion Sterling makes the lists at four different grade levels. Four other schools, Mound, A.A. Benesch, Case, and Union made the list at three different grade levels.

Of the 26 junior high buildings, 13, or 50%, had fewer than 5% of their pupils who ranked above average and more than 30% below average. Of the 10 worst junior highs, eight made the list for all three grades, 7-9.

Of fifteen high schools with a tenth grade, only two had more than 10% above average (10.4% and 10.7%) but eleven schools had more than 30% below average. At the twelfth grade (sixteen schools report-

ing) four schools had 10% or more above average but seven had 40% or more below average. Though there were slight overall gains at the elementary level, at the secondary level the scores in 1982 were worse than in 1981 for grades eight, nine, and twelve.

These figures, bad as they are, may be better than the reality of reading in the Cleveland schools. The reading score report may not be an accurate assessment because *thousands of students did not take the test*. The Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills was given in every grade from one through twelve in the spring of 1982. The 1982 year-end enrollment report shows 73,631 enrolled in those grades, but only 54,230 students took the test. Even allowing for 4,000 or more special-education students who were not scheduled for the test, *more than 15,000 students went untested*. The problem of untested students was especially acute at the secondary level:

Grade	Enrolled	Tested	% Untested
9	6,268	2,636	57.9%
10	8,234	3,415	58.9%
11	4,638	2,982	35.9%
12	4,021	2,320	42.3%

Since it is likely that the less skilled, more highly truant students were not present for the test, it is also likely the reading performance of Cleveland students is even worse than the 1982 report indicates. In any event, failure to test this number of students makes the overall testing results unreliable as a gauge of the system's performance. In addition, this failure to test poses a serious threat to the education of individual children. *Students are identified for placement in remedial reading programs by their test scores on the CTBS*. All students who scored at the 33rd percentile and below were to be placed in special programs. *No scores, no remediation*. City-wide, 21% of all students were untested. Who is seeing to the appropriate reading instruction for these students?

A related problem is that Hispanic students appear to be especially untested. The Office on School Monitoring and Community Relations estimated 3,258 Hispanic students enrolled in the spring of 1982, but only 1830 Hispanic students took the test. Allowing, again, for an approxi-

mate 5% special education enrollment, about 38% of Hispanic students were untested compared to 21% of all students enrolled.

No impact has yet been made in eliminating the disparity between scores of white students and of black and Hispanic students. *It should be noted that this disparity is almost non-existent in grade one, where all students' scores are near the national norm*. But with each succeeding year of schooling, the scores worsen and the disparity grows:

Percentage scoring ABOVE AVERAGE by race
(National Norm: 23%)

Grade	White	Black	Hispanic
1	24.3%	22.3%	17.2%
3	17.5%	9.7%	10.7%
6	16.6%	8.6%	8.5%
9	14.4%	5.4%	3.6%
12	16.1%	4.7%	8.7%

Percentage scoring BELOW AVERAGE
by race (National Norm 23%)

Grade	White	Black	Hispanic
1	12.8%	10.9%	7.7%
3	15.0%	16.9%	24.6%
6	15.2%	22.3%	26.3%
9	19.2%	32.6%	36.4%
12	23%	42.4%	34.8%

Certainly the Board of Education has not totally ignored the problem over the last 10 years, but their response has been the establishment of special reading programs. The key question to be asked is why, in spite of these programs (some of which have been in place ten or more years), the reading achievement of Cleveland students continues to decline the longer they stay in school, and overall their performance is at such a dismal level.

There are now nine special programs. Three of these programs are available to all children, three are available to students described as "disadvantaged," and three are supposed to serve children whose reading handicap is a result of their attendance in one-race schools before desegregation began. These three are called compensatory/affirmative programs and are supposed to fulfill the court order. Only one of the three, however, is a new pro-

gram; the other two are old programs formerly conducted as Title I programs for disadvantaged students.

There are now two programs for students in grades 1-3, one for grades 4-5, one for grades 4-6, one for grades 6-12, one for grades 6-7, and one for grades 10-12. Confused? So is the system. A sixth grade student from a "disadvantaged" background who formerly attended a majority black school and who scored below the 34th percentile would be eligible for and/or participate in THINK, the Diagnostic Reading Clinic, and Project Star. THINK and Star will take him out of his regular class several times a week and the Diagnostic Clinic will take him out of his school for the period of diagnosis. His classroom teacher is supposed to provide the remediation the Clinic recommends, provided he or she can find him in the room! Some of the school system's department chairmen, in their annual program reviews, recommend the elimination of these pull-out programs that take students away from regular instruction. And the school system's own evaluations of some programs ought to raise serious questions about their effectiveness. For example, the evaluation of the Basic Skills Reinforcement Project, which serves grades 1-8 at the Fundamental Education Center, states: "Reading Comprehension *did not* [emphasis added] reach the proposed level in grades one, three, four, and six through eight." That's six out of the eight grades served; and the cost was \$715 per pupil.

The Reading Improvement Project serves grades 1-3 in forty schools. The evaluation states: "Although reading performance of pupils improved significantly, pupil performance remains *at the lower third*" (emphasis added). One might question the use of the word "significantly" when the pupils are still in need of remediation at the end of the remediation. This program costs \$629 per pupil.

The School Board did take a significant step in 1982. Ten years after the Task Force on Literacy recommended it, they finally established a definition of literacy tied to a grade level reading achievement. Beginning in 1987, students must pass a ninth-grade reading test to graduate from

high school. This competency testing program will be pilot-tested in 1982-83 and implemented in 1983-84. When it is fully implemented, students will be tested for reading competency in grades 1-9 every year. Those who fail the test in grades 3, 6, and 9 will be retained in the grade for one year. Ninth graders who fail the test will again have chances to pass it in grades 10, 11, and 12. Failure to pass it will mean that the student will not get a high-school diploma. The test used will be developed by the Cleveland Public Schools.

A belief that all children can learn and that the school system is accountable for teaching them was a required criterion in the recent search for a new superintendent. The Board would not even consider for this position any person who did not hold to these two points of view.

So we now have a School Board and a Superintendent who appear willing to put behind us the old excuses of family poverty, student mobility, school system finances and other non-school factors affecting reading. They are faced with a substantial unfinished agenda regarding reading.

They should start by identifying the factors that contribute to the failure of their reading program. They should conduct a rigorous evaluation of both the skill-effectiveness and the cost-effectiveness of the current programs. They must, finally, identify the reasons for the disparity between black and white student scores. They must design a coherent compensatory/affirmative program to fulfill the court order and insure that parity is not achieved by simply lowering everyone's achievement. The court order is clear on that issue. Achievement as a whole is to come up as the disparity is eliminated. And the Board and Superintendent must insure that the new competency testing program does not turn out to be simply a punishment for students the system has failed to teach.

If the reading problem is not solved it won't make any difference what other changes the schools make. There will be no real educational reform if the fundamentals are left weak. And reading is fundamental.

THE TEACHERS



With the possible exception of medicine, no profession is more vital to our well-being, both as individuals and as a society, than that of school teacher. Teachers, often as much as parents, determine the growth, direction, and health of the young minds of the nation. Yet few professions are so underpaid, undervalued, and overworked. Ohio law limits the number of pupils a teacher can be assigned to 180. Imagine, after a day spent teaching five or six classes of thirty healthy adolescents, going home and grading 180 essays so that each student can learn something from one's comments: it is not possible, and it does not get done, and that is why so few students learn to write or think, and why so many teachers wear out. They either find a more humane occupation or become one of the growing number of zombies and mediocrities at the front of America's classrooms who manage to persuade their students that learning — one of life's most exciting and rewarding activities — is boring and worthless. The complaints voiced by former union president O'Meara in the following pages are not illusory — they point to intolerable conditions.

It is no wonder that many of the brighter college students nowadays are looking for other vocations than teaching. Incredibly, there are still some able and dedicated people, the real saints and martyrs of our age, who go into teaching because that is where they believe they can do the most good. But in the long run a society that rewards its teachers so poorly has no hope for the future; it is living only for the day. Inevitably our society will get only the teachers it deserves: time-servers, third-rate minds, products of education courses which all too often are the standing joke of the universities because they teach the mere forms of education without the substance, and offer mediocre students the chance to get high grades merely for attendance.

The teachers who have contributed to this section clearly are drawn from the group that we should make every effort to keep in our classrooms. They are professionals, not hourly wage earners. They sound a note of desperation, which we had better heed.

Starting Off Right

Sheila L. Friedman, first grade teacher

I started teaching in Cleveland in September, 1979. After five weeks, the teachers went out on what turned into an eleven-week strike. The school year ended in late July. I wrote this article in what was left of the summer as a way of venting my frustration at the experience. I was laid off in February, 1981, along with several hundred other low-seniority teachers, because the system could not afford the strike settlement it agreed to. Since that spring I have taught in East Cleveland, where I have been very happy.

Despite the claims of Donald Waldrip and others that Cleveland schools have improved, teachers still in the system tell me classes are larger, supplies are shorter, and morale is lower than ever.

— S.L.F., November, 1982

Why is a class like a Model-T Ford?

It has a lot of little nuts and a crank up front.

I was not always a crank. I was elated when assigned to a first grade in Cleveland. After two weeks, I expected to be fired.

Twenty years ago I had taught two years in a farm town, Groton, New York, a town with no orchestra, no museum, no hospital. I quit when my first child was due, intending to teach again. Now, twenty years later, with four children reaching college age, I was ready to work. And I needed to earn money. With a master's degree I commanded a salary of \$12,000, \$165 a week after deductions.

First graders are exciting little nuts, with their keen curiosity and fast-maturing mind-eye-hand coordination. They are eager, energetic, malleable. My most pre-delinquent, I'll call him Mackie, could complain, "Do we have to stop? I like to read." Then he remembered his cynical ten-year-old brother and added, "I mean when I don't have anything else to do."

My whole class was black. The white children in the neighborhood went to private schools. My only friendship with a black person had been with a college classmate who had seemed white. Leaving the first day at three, one girl reached up and kissed my cheek. Most behind her did too. Though there were strange sounding names to digest, like Leone (pronounced

Le-won) and Lavedia (pronounced Lavēēda), and non-standard speech patterns to deal with, color stopped being a worry.

Ambitious for the children and myself, on the first day, I sang as I drove the easy distance to the old school building, very like the school at Groton, with big airy rooms and wide halls.

I forgot how much help first graders need. I gave out 34 pencils and before the last were distributed the first were broken. "Write your name," I said. A chorus of "I messed up" ensued. "Please help me," begged Missy. I went to her and said, "Make a straight line." As I watched her, six others brought their papers for approval. Two more tearfully insisted, "I can't." A few crumpled theirs, upset by imperfection. More pencils broke. I stood sweating, not knowing what to do first.

These nuts, I had forgotten, tended to lack confidence. A desegregation awareness activity was to draw a picture on a T-shirt labelled "symbolic me." Most copied.

Being good was not in style. They had to learn to follow instructions or scissors meant confetti, paste meant 68 coated hands, paper meant play cigarettes (or were they joints?).

Thirty-four of them to one of me seemed an overwhelming ratio. "You're lucky you don't have 40," colleagues repeated. The claim made constantly by administrators that the student/teacher ratio makes no difference is one of the greatest menaces to education. There were three reading groups. Of the slowest group all but one could learn normally given sufficient help; but since the help did not come that year, none of them passed. At age seven they would begin to pay the price of neglect by repeating first grade.

Like the rural children I had taught at Groton, most came from poor, intellectually malnourished homes. They had candy but no books, paper, pencils, or crayons. They did not know about libraries. They competed for attention with babies. They went to bed too late. The incentives that the school at Groton supplied — learning games and art materials — Cleveland lacked.

For first graders, a choice of activities is the best incentive for following instructions. When doing a task they have chosen, they work carefully and occupy themselves in near silence, freeing the teacher to work with small groups. As their competencies develop, they as often choose to read or write as to paint or build. Without these choices, differing work speeds become a problem. The satisfaction of being a good worker is undercut by the boredom of having to wait for the slower people. The incentives help the slower become more efficient too.

Groton children dreaded spanking; it was a teacher's last resort. Cleveland children say, "Spanking means you mean it." I simply am not strong enough to spank children into submission.

Nowadays even first-grade teachers have to deal with sex. "He was talking about my mother" justified fighting. "They were doing nasty things," a girl reported on the playground. "Billy was looking up my skirt." "Billy was pumping Nancy," added another. Sexy dances and songs with lyrics like "Let's do it all night long" amused them. I do not know what they understood. To show off they wrote "pussy" on their desks.

From 8:40 to the late bell at 9:00, breakfast provided by the schools meant mess. Stale high-nutrient donuts crumbled. Beverage cartons spilled or, part-full, were placed upside down in leaky plastic bags. Milk and juice meant extra trips to the lavatory. Children frequently threw up. During that twenty minutes I took attendance, collected lunch money, and assigned and explained the morning's work because at 9:00 eleven children left to work with reading specialists for 15- to 40-minute sessions and others left at 9:40.

I could not just start work. The children had too much on their minds. News time brought us birthdays, births, traumas, and tragedies. We all shared the long painful death of a child's grandfather.

These children could just barely write their names in capital letters, some quaintly backward. By June they would have to read independently, identify letter sounds in words, tell time, use money, measure inches.

I decided the parents would have to help. The next day, at twenty to three by

the classroom clock, I began inefficiently to pass out notes for parents and work to be corrected at home. I did not notice when the 3 o'clock dismissal bell rang. At 3:10 by the clock, the office clerk burst in saying, "I'm calling downtown." The clock was slow. It was actually past 3:30, and mothers were at the door worried because the children were late. I was sure I would be fired. But I only had to start wearing a watch. The two janitors, busy with broken windows, overflowing toilets, and the daily conversion of auditorium to lunchroom, could not tame my unruly clock.

The principal reassured me, "I'm very comfortable with your experimenting." She often left donuts in the staff room for further comfort. The assistant principal suggested lining desks in rows — that kept the children quiet, but it left no place to walk in the crowded room, and it upset the tortuously evolved grouping. More helpfully, she suggested watching one teacher who showed me how to keep children busy on their own for three hours using only paper, pencils, and crayons.

A reading aide who came in an hour a day helped me most, and not just with reading. For example, a walk in line was a dance punctuated by karate kicks and fights justified loudly with "He cut me." — "No I didn't — he cut me first."

"You're not in kindergarten anymore," I scolded, in vain. Along came a line of fifth graders fighting, kicking, and screaming with the bell.

The aide got results with a more straightforward tactic: "Now hush. Straighten your line. We don't have time for that nonsense."

Because I could not watch both sides of the divided lavatory at once, my smallest boy, a newcomer who had not attended kindergarten, learned by being bullied that fighting is fun, a way to play, seldom painful. Fighting was sanctioned: "My mother told me to hit back."

I had to teach the meaning of quiet. These children were quiet only when told to be, when tired, or when captivated by, say, *The Three Pigs* (which they applauded). In gym children without sneakers imitated from the sidelines the shrill cheering of a basketball crowd on the tube. A PTA fashion show gave me insight into the problem: it was professional and cleverly done, but

the narration was drowned out by loud conversation of both parents and children, who would stop chattering only to cheer favorite costumes. When noise angered me the offender sent to the corner would say, "You don't like me."

Though nine eventually failed, only one was actually learning-disabled. New in January, she knew few letters or numbers. She was surprised at first to receive stars for citizenship, but soon was fighting and socializing. Her mother helped and she tried, but understood little. One July morning she was so disruptive I sent her home. No one warned me she was scheduled to be tested for special placement that afternoon. Her father picked her up but said nothing. It was too late in the year to reschedule the test.

For the rest of the children the variables were their own will, confidence, and the availability of help. Some parents did not help and some of their children gave up.

Denise, the demon of the class, enrolled in January announcing, "I can't read." Denise turned eight in February, having repeated kindergarten without learning the alphabet or numbers one through ten. She hummed and tapped her desk while pretending to work. She scribbled on desk, chair, and floor. When ordered to, she hung up the grubby fraying green nylon jacket that doubled as a security blanket. Then, when not watched, as if drawn by a magnet, retrieved it. She sat all morning without putting pencil to paper. I kept her at lunchtime, hers and mine, and hunger forced her to work, grumbling, "I'm going home." For a few weeks she did work, then stopped, saying, "My mother says I don't know how to do it." Her mother was a leader of a revolutionary party. "See that flag," Denise said one morning, "It's ugly. I'd like to burn it. I'm a revolution."

Mackie at first did not work, then always "finished," that is, copied everything, but never filled in answers. His parents, busy with a baby, ignored his never bringing work home. "My phone is disconnected," he lied when I threatened to call; "you have to write a note." He answered the phone and pretended to be his mother. His big brother taught him to steal. I found ten erasers in a shoe in his desk. His pic-

ture titled "I Live Here" showed bed bugs. He supplied names of people who broke school windows. During an early reading lesson, he recalled every detail of the story illustrations. Proud of the feat, he became industrious. After reading a story about birds he asked, "Are birds angels?"

Some parents helped, but not enough. The smartest of my children who failed the first grade that year never spoke except to answer a question shyly. He threw bits of crayon and spitballs. He hid in the closet. He refused to work unless kept at lunch time. He had no phone and notes went unanswered. Noticing him barehanded, I gave him my son's old gloves. He lost them. I began to keep him after school twice a week. Finally his father came with a broken arm, explained the mother had left home, said "I see what you're trying to do," and began to work with the boy, who began to learn and seem happier. "He always wants to read," the father reported. It was too late for him to pass. I gave him workbooks hoping he would persist and his teacher in the fall might try him in second grade.

The one who had not attended kindergarten began by trying. His mother helped at first. In class he would do what he could, then wait for attention. He would have passed if I had had more time to give him.

Some parents gave almost no help, but the children muddled through. "My mother was going to help me but she fell asleep," reported an artistic child who craved attention. A mysterious social chemistry caused disruptions every time she read. She would react by sulking. She eventually became self-assured and did perfect work.

Another began listless. Her mother forgot our conference, so I went to the depressing public housing project. She seemed about nineteen. We talked with a baby and four little girls watching. The child brightened after the visit. After the class went to the public library and applied for cards she reported, "We went to the library and I got three books and my sister got three books."

Richard, a smart and assertive boy, showed his penis for attention. He resisted working but learned. When his young mother, alone with babies, could not come

to school, I went to their house, newly painted by his grandfather. The conference changed nothing. Once he arrived as the class finished lunch and said, "I thought it was Saturday. I didn't have breakfast or lunch. My mother and uncle didn't get up." He usually brought news: "My uncle gave me two pills and some wine and the next day I couldn't go to school." "They turned the heat on." "My father took me to the ball game." "My mother and father are getting married."

Another had difficulty understanding but tried, did careful work, and earned the Pride button presented at the monthly assembly. Often tired and sad, she reported her parents' fights. She brought me envelopes containing notes that said "I love you" and teabags. One morning she reported, "Two girls were raped in the lavatory." She said she was supposed to wear her Snoopy sunglasses in school. Told to bring a note from her mother, she presented a scrap with shaky manuscript, "Keep your glass on," and no signature.

Many parents blamed me for their children's poor showing, thus encouraging disrespect and misbehavior. Billy's parents insisted his problems were my fault. He was more interested in misbehaving than learning. His mother spanked his one-year-old brother for pulling at electric cords but said, "It doesn't help." She directed the PTA fashion show and baked a big cake for a class party. Billy lied and stole. After a conference about the consequence of lying, loss of credibility, he asked, "Do you think anyone would believe Sugar Ray Leonard was my relative?" Reading, he concentrated poorly and missed easy words. "I have too many words in my head," he complained. He thought newspapers were the news papers the class wrote daily. He reported a dream: "I was in jail. The jail was made of cake. I was eating my way out when my father woke me up."

A girl, traded to me because her parents were dissatisfied with her capable teacher, was a good reader and artist but scatterbrained about everything else. She sucked her thumb and contributed melodramatic news that all proved false: triplets, heart attack, cancer, robbery, moving. "You'll never see me again," she said at the end of year. "I'll miss you."

Lucy at first disobeyed, resisted

work, wept to be sent home with assorted pains, and had her mother blaming me. At the suggestion of the kindergarten teacher, her mother decided to "support the teacher." The threat of "whopping" turned Lucy into an obedient, diligent worker, contributor of good ideas and humor. Once she ran to me in a reading group, with a look of dire emergency. "What's wrong?" I asked. "I need a brush!" she blurted. She did. Her hair was a wild bush. When introduced to my husband at the fashion show she said, "Hello, Mr. Friedman, Wiggle your ears." Months earlier I had told the class he could. She should have had an award for being the most fun.

Overwork, continuing after school with the calling of parents, checking at least 180 papers nightly, and planning lessons and assignments, had me limp as an overcooked noodle. If I found myself singing on the way to school it would be a bad day. It was wise to expect trouble beginning with shattered glass.

Still, there are rewards that keep us cranking. Everyone liked best a petite, quiet hard worker who, when I told the class my father died, came to my desk and put her arm around my shoulder.

Another, an outstanding reader and original writer, captioned his pictures. "No One in the Park" showed the sun shedding tears. He drew fireworks with "pop, ssst, kkkk, crack" among the pictures. The others copied his ideas. He talked a lot because he finished work quickly and had too much waiting to do.

Corinne, a future teacher or principal, understood everything and tried. Being caught at occasional misdeeds upset her. She led class activities maturely. When I took a deserving group to the Natural History Museum she said, "People will think we're your children. They'll wonder how a white woman can have black children."

One pre-desegregation session brought up children's worries about being bused to other schools. Lucy raised her hand, "I hope there aren't any honkies there," she said.

"What's a honkie?" I asked.

"A white person."

"Then I'm a honkie."

"No you're not, Mrs. Friedman."

(The main reason I am glad we moved to Cleveland is the chance to work

with a mixed racial group. The staff was half black, half white. At age 43 I finally know blacks as real people with the same range of personality qualities as whites.)

A holiday after our eleven-week strike increased the prospect of school on Saturday. Still Martin Luther King's birthday was important. Children said, "He was good for the world." "He loved everybody."

Their work improved. "It's nice to be in school," I mused one day. Surprised at the notion, the children nodded involuntarily.

Pressure to finish the year's work was extreme. Children had accidents and fell asleep over their work. I began waking at 3:00 a.m., not dropping back to sleep until 6:00, and then dreaming about school until the alarm rang at 6:30. Other teachers were having the same problem.

When the deadline for testing arrived in July, the children had not finished the books. They would be tested ready or not. My instructions were to learn what they understood, not how well they took the tests. I gave unfamiliar sections individually to be sure they knew what to do. They asked words not yet learned. In the math test they encountered concepts, like "dozen" and making change, for the first time.

Then the race was over. The tension I feared permanent was dropping away. A good feeling was replacing it. The last day, July 23, though grey and chilly, was beautiful. My son packed supplies to be shipped to the west side school where our first-through-third-graders would be bused. "How many are sad?" I asked. Most raised their hands. Lucy did. Billy did not. Denise was the only one absent. They wrote me farewell letters. Lucy asked, "Why do you always call Leone up first?"

"Good question!" I said. "I'll pay a quarter for the answer."

People guessed, "He's naughty." "He's getting better." Nancy, whose confidence was catching up with her intelligence, said, "It's alphabetical." Leone's last name began with A. Each day they came up in alphabetical order, without being called, to turn in and receive papers. They knew the order, but not that it was alphabetical by last name. Now they understood it.

They came silently for awards, report cards, and folders of work from September to July — a gift to parents to show how much they had learned. Then they received outdated second-grade song books, flash cards, yogurt cartons of broken crayons, left-over work sheets, the last of the paper, and grocery bags to hold everything. I kissed them goodbye — all but a few boys who hid their faces.

It is an unspoken tradition, like "the poor pay more": teachers should be seen but not heard. The reason is easy to identify. No one, not the parents, nor the School Board, nor school officials, nor the general public, nor Judge Battisti and the NAACP who require integration through busing wants to hear what we have to say — that to upgrade education more money must be spent *in the classroom*. No one, not even the press, asks the teachers or principals what we need. That is the key to our low morale.

What turned me into a crank? I entered a classroom with gritty walls which, a painter with the system told me, had not been painted for fifteen years. The windows were filthy with glass patches over jagged holes. For 34 children there were 30 desks, two broken, one squeaky, eight too small. "Ask other teachers if they have extras," I was advised. In the handsome, broken, almost bare wooden cupboards were good readers and workbooks and impractical math books. Fund raisers which added to the staff's work load paid for charts, drawing paper, and ditto masters. I had to buy all other supplies out of my own pocket.

The curriculum was clumsy. I spent the first two weeks of the strike cross-indexing it. Aspects of it were inappropriate to the grade. For example, we were to teach that when the subject is plural the verb does not have an *s*. The children tended to read as they spoke: "Sam and Jim plays with the dog." I devoted hours to trying to teach them this rule in lessons, exercises, explanations, and tests, which they passed. But they were too young to transfer the grammatical rule to their own speech. July 10, on a field trip, our bus started first. The two other buses passed us. The children began to chant, "We wants to be first."

A procession of specialists and execu-

tives, all earning more than twice what I did, interrupted my class but contributed nothing to the children. There was no money to pay for supervisors of a lunch-time recess so the children sat forty minutes. On at least ten days I had ten extra children in the room because no substitute was available. The reading aide who worked with thirteen of my children was ill four months; no one took her place.

Safety is underfunded. At our intersection of two main thoroughfares four children were hit by cars.

An office serving 900 children had one telephone.

The State has high standards for certification. Though I had taught in two other states and had a master's degree, I was required to take five courses. Those standards disappear where safety and classroom specifications are concerned. Because of state regulations, cabinets were moved from uncrowded halls into crowded classrooms; there was no other space for them.

At a union meeting the first day of the strike, School Board candidates kept talking about "respect for teachers." Candidate Seminatore's law firm was suing the union. Incumbent Berthina Palmer did not risk publicly supporting the teachers' strike. Incumbent Emmett Moore was challenged for driving his teacher wife through the picket line.

Not re-elected, Moore violated state law by resigning to be appointed to a newly vacated position. A teacher with children in the system sued, maintaining that it was illegal to call closed schools open. The Board would fight the public with our own tax dollars.

Teachers supporting families had to moonlight. A colleague in the system fifteen years said, "I can't afford to send my son to college." The public voted down a levy, so the raise won in the 1979 strike was not paid.

A *Plain Dealer* headline read, "Delayed teachers' payday saves city school budget," but it didn't mention the teachers' own household budgets.

I wanted to strike for smaller classes, more tools, an efficient curriculum. "We can't ask for everything," our building chairman cautioned. The teachers knew the

strike would hurt the children and eventually increase the pressure on themselves. There seemed to be no choice. Waiting for the process to run its course was like waiting for a disease to pass. On New Year's Eve, after eleven weeks, Common Pleas Judge Frederick M. Coleman ordered the bargainers to stay in the Bond Court Hotel until they agreed. Settlement took them less than 36 hours. Immediately the Board was detailing cutbacks, fewer teachers, fewer substitutes, fewer supplies.

In school we found our plants alive. The principal had watered them. On the second day there was no lunch. The Board had not paid food suppliers. One of my children came without food and sulked, refusing to work, until leftover buns were found for her.

"You're not smiling," the principal said to me. "You used to seem so cheerful."

What grates is the inability to help the children enough. Two of my failures were traded to a different class. One sucked her thumb, dozed, and repeated, "I wish I was back in kindergarten." The other fought all the time.

One smart, slight, helpful, and disobedient child said the first time I hugged her, "I'm going to be good today." "You wrote July 4 instead of 5," she observed. "What's wrong with you, Mrs. Friedman?" She did beautiful work but often felt ill and did not finish. One morning she reported, "I was almost drowned yesterday, drunk and drowned."

Joe, a teasing, affectionate good worker called me "Ma." When the group was asked why "absurd" was used in a poem instead of "silly," only he knew, "Because it rhymes with bird." He could think but when reading he could not keep his eyes focused on the words. Joe cried when his mother didn't allow him to participate in a candy sale. Asked to move like something quiet, he suggested "roaches." During news he spoke of fear of rats. He said he wanted to play the flute. He was absent — in a psychiatric hospital — when a flutist played for the class. Hearing he was ill, I called his aunt. His mother had no phone. The aunt would say nothing except that the mother would call. She never did. □

Mighty Problems, Desperate Remedies

An Interview with James E. O'Meara

Last fall, *Gamut* editors Louis Milic and Leonard Trawick asked Mr. James E. O'Meara, Jr., to give his views of the problems that have plagued the Cleveland school system in recent years. Mr. O'Meara taught in the Cleveland schools from 1933 to 1972; he was President of the Cleveland Teachers Union (Local 279 of the American Federation of Teachers) from 1960 to 1972, Executive Secretary of the Union from 1972 to 1979, and a member of the Board of Education from May, 1980, to December, 1981. The following interview took place on October 28, 1982. The transcription is condensed from a two-hour conversation, with minor emendations for clarity.

GAMUT: What are the major problems of the Cleveland School system?

O'MEARA: In the first place you need a major reorganization of the school system. For a long time it's been under a dual — no, a triple, control. Impossible for anybody to follow orders. Teachers and administrators were not certain whose orders they should follow. Whatever they did they got into trouble. They were subject to the court's orders, in which [Judge] Battisti was very hard on us, because he felt we had defied him, forgetting that the group that defied him was the Board, the administrators. Then we were subject to State control by virtue of the borrowing of money. I thought they were rather severe in the restrictions and requirements that we had to follow when they bailed the system out.

Then we had the desegregation director, [Donald R.] Waldrip, and before him we had Leftwich, who was a complete flop. Waldrip was named Desegregation Administrator by the Court. He ran around a lot and did a lot of talking but he didn't accomplish anything. And most of what he was using was really Dr. [Margaret] Fleming's plans for magnet schools. We had Dr. Fleming as desegregation director, but she was unacceptable to the court, and there was trouble there. Dr. Fleming is a very fine woman, an expert research person, but she had a hard time working with some of the employees she was forced to take, in some cases. When she was examined by the court and they examined the people that worked under her, it was clear they were incompetents, most of them. Questioning on the stand showed they didn't know what they were talking about.

GAMUT: You said there were three groups . . .

O'MEARA: Yes, the court and its agents, the state and its controlling board, and of course you had [Superintendent of Schools] Carlin and his staff.

GAMUT: And the Board of Education?

O'MEARA: The Board of Education and the Superintendent are your third factor in trying to run the system. Just to take the desegregation part: that man [Waldrip] issued to Carlin 125 directives in the first 125 days after he [Waldrip] started to work. Very few times would he sit down with us — I remember seeing him at only one executive session when I was on the Board. All the other times he sent his liaison, who couldn't answer any questions.

GAMUT: What kinds of directives were these?

O'MEARA: Well, for example, he had been employed as a salesman for a company that sold a so-called reading program — "Think." He ignored a committee's evaluations of reading programs and unilaterally purchased "Think." Originally he tried to sell that program to the Board before he became Desegregation Administrator, but the program was not acceptable.

GAMUT: Can you think of any other specific action?

O'MEARA: I'll give you one that I think was ridiculous. Waldrip created a new position and took one of the elementary principals and made him a director of it — I don't know what he was supposed to do — but Dr. Waldrip issued a directive to Mr. Carlin reading: "I hereby direct you to find this man an office — if necessary move people out to give him the best office; and give him a 1980 car. And if you don't have a 1980 car, give him your car."

GAMUT: And this was Waldrip?

O'MEARA: Waldrip said that. There were numbers of these. Poor Dr. Fleming was moved from room to room. Here was Mr. Carlin at one end of the building and he at the

other end of the building and it was a matter of sending directives back and forth. You can't operate that way. And yet Judge Battisti backed him in most of his directives.

GAMUT: What you've been discussing are administrative causes of problems, but what are the problems themselves?

O'MEARA: There is the financial problem: we have had no money voted for the Cleveland schools since 1970.

GAMUT: Where does the school system get its money?

O'MEARA: The biggest lump comes from the property tax; then you have the State foundation funding. And then you have special State and Federal funds for disadvantaged youth: Cleveland receives a large share of Federal money, in comparison to the other schools in the state. And then of course you get your intangible taxes, too, on stocks, bonds . . . Every so many years the Legislature has reduced the returns on that.

GAMUT: Now where did you say the schools have *not* gotten money?

O'MEARA: No increase in taxation. We have not voted a real estate levy for the schools since 1970. Companies and families have moved away, but the base tax has stayed the same, so there is less tax return to the schools. Plus also you must remember that we have to pay for maintenance and repairs on all these buildings. [Former Superintendent] Briggs got almost 250 million dollars worth of bonds passed to build buildings, but you need money to operate them and to maintain them. I think the Cleveland system ought to be worse than it is, if you want to know the truth.

GAMUT: So the situation has changed and the funding is less.

O'MEARA: We haven't gotten our fair share.

GAMUT: Apart from reorganization, you feel the lack of money is a very important consideration, but you haven't said what more money would do for you. That is to say, more money poured into the school system doesn't automatically mean no problems.

O'MEARA: I'll tell you what it was needed for. First it was needed for salaries and wage increases for our employees. In 1978, the Cleveland teachers were making \$9800 beginning salary; everybody else was making 11 and 12 thousand in this county. We were the lowest in the county and almost the lowest in the state, at least in the big cities. We were forced into the strike in '78. In '77 we went for five weeks without any pay and we still taught school.

GAMUT: The average person will ask: what makes you so sure that having more money will get you better teaching?

Below and right: Photocopies of exchange of memoranda between Desegregation Administrator Waldrip and Superintendent Carlin, referred to by Mr. O'Meara. These memoranda document the lack of cooperation between the two offices running the school system.

<p>April 10, 1981</p> <p>TO: Superintendent Peter F. Carlin</p> <p>FROM: <i>Donald R. Waldrip</i> Donald R. Waldrip Administrator of Desegregation</p> <p>SUBJECT: Directive No. 80</p> <hr/> <p>You are directed to assign a 1980 automobile to Seymour Freedson immediately. If a car is not available, assign one that is being used by you or a board member.</p> <p>Please take the steps necessary to see that this directive is followed, including the notification of appropriate staff of the intent and spirit of this directive. Please notify me of any potential conflicts and the remedies which will be taken in order to assure compliance with this directive. Thank you.</p> <p>DBK:ds</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">April 13, 1981</p> <p>MEMORANDUM</p> <p>TO: Dr. Donald R. Waldrip Administrator of Desegregation</p> <p>FROM: Peter F. Carlin Superintendent <i>P.F.C.</i></p> <p>RE: Directive No. 80</p> <hr/> <p>This memorandum is being written in response to your Directive No. 80, dated April 10, 1980.</p> <p>The Board of Education owns ten 1980 automobiles. All ten 1980 automobiles are assigned to the Department of Desegregation Implementation. The automobile assigned to the Superintendent is a 1977 model and is not available for reassignment. The automobiles assigned to members of the Board of Education are 1977 or 1979 models and are not available for reassignment.</p> <p>As you know, staff members who drive their own cars are reimbursed for mileage.</p> <p>Please call if you would like to discuss your directive or this memorandum in greater detail.</p> <p>PPC:dbn</p> <p>cc: Board Members</p>
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O'MEARA: I'm not arguing that it will get you better teaching. I'm arguing the question of getting paid for your services in the competition with other schools. Do you mean to say that Shaker Heights and Cleveland Heights should have better paid teachers? That we're not entitled to a fair salary?

GAMUT: But as enrollment has declined, doesn't that mean that there are fewer teachers to pay?

O'MEARA: People tend to forget that when we lose a thousand students that doesn't necessarily mean that we're going to lose 50 or 60 teachers. If all thousand students are in tenth-grade English, yes, we can lose teachers. But when you take one or two students out of English 1, English 2 . . . , you're not changing the number of classes. In fact, class sizes were constantly enlarged. We were asked to lay off 365 teachers, but we had to rehire many of them again because the student population had been misjudged.

GAMUT: All right, granted that if the number of students goes down, you can't necessarily reduce the number of teachers. But wasn't part of the problem that you had new buildings that you had to pay for and maintain while the population was declining?

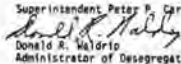

Briggs: "a sharp operator," but "I recognize his good qualities."

O'MEARA: I won't argue with you on that because what you say is true. We had too many buildings. In other words, Briggs had gone on a building spree. But you also forget that the Growth Association, the media, gave this man a hundred percent support. Besides you know the type of man Briggs was. He was able to say a lot and say nothing. He was able to convince a great many people. Briggs is a sharp operator, in my opinion.

GAMUT: Do you think he hurt the system more than he helped it?

O'MEARA: No, I think he really helped it, but he got carried away. Let's just take another element of our finances. We lost thirteen million dollars on our food program. Why did we put the full food program in in the first place? There was an order of the Federal court when he [Briggs] came in. The Federal court ordered him to establish a food program, or he would be held in contempt. And you know the way Briggs does things — once he starts something, he has to make it a big thing. When he went over to the luncheon that the Chamber of Commerce gave him every year, he would serve them a school lunch. And then he would get up and they would praise the devil out of him.

Now he brought the Aviation School in — one of his best [achievements] — you can't criticize him for that, because people came to see that from all over. That's a good job. But you have standards over there and you don't let every kid in. He started all kinds of projects — he was great for *Federal* projects. He put them in, but the thing wrong with Federal pro-

<p>April 14, 1981</p> <p>TO: Superintendent Peter P. Carlin</p> <p>FROM:  Donald R. Waldrip Administrator of Desegregation</p> <p>SUBJECT: Assignment of Car to Seymour Freedman - Directive No. B1</p> <p>You are directed to immediately assign a car of some vintage to Mr. Seymour Freedman. I fully expect the car not to run since this action would be representative of your behavior for the past month.</p> <p>This is my second directive to you to provide Mr. Freedman with an automobile. The first directive was dated April 10, 1981.</p> <p>DWR:cs</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">April 15, 1981</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>MEMORANDUM</u></p> <p>TO: Dr. Donald R. Waldrip Administrator of Desegregation</p> <p>FROM: Peter P. Carlin  Superintendent</p> <p>RE: <u>Directive No. B1</u></p> <hr/> <p>In response to your Directive No. B1, a 1974 Chevrolet Impala 4-door automobile has been reserved for use by Mr. Seymour Freedman. Please contact my office if you wish to discuss this memorandum.</p> <p>PPC:sn</p> <p>cc: Board Members Executive Staff</p>
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grams, they come to an end. And then he tried to maintain some of them . . . with insufficient funds to operate them.

When he resigned, brother Shanker [head of the American Federation of Teachers] calls me from Washington and says: "Don't let this man resign — he's the best lobbyist we've got in Washington. He comes in the best prepared — he has his charts and his material — he's great for it!" On a national basis — but not exactly for Cleveland.

Now, I have nothing against Briggs — I recognize his good qualities. I always got along with him, but he was not the kind of man you can pound on the table and threaten. He's not going to be influenced that way. You must sit and talk to him. That was one of the reasons I always like to take him to dinners — I had him for two hours and I had the opportunity of suggesting [things] to him . . . Now Briggs was fixed in his ways. But he would not put a school levy on the ballot from 1970 to 1977.

Discipline Code: "a disgrace."

GAMUT: Apart from the financial problems, what others would you emphasize?

O'MEARA: Then of course we have the problem of discipline. It's impossible to operate in the Cleveland schools with the discipline. Now we have to distinguish what's happened all over the world [from what's happening in Cleveland]. It's a disgrace . . . the Discipline Code adopted for Cleveland schools, and the lack of support the teachers get. We've got the government and the courts now coming in on discipline. It is impossible for teachers to do all the record keeping that they would have to do to properly prepare a case for presentation in Juvenile Court.

GAMUT: What kind of record keeping?

O'MEARA: What the kid did, how many times he did it, when he did it and so on. Do you realize this Code says a kid has to tell the principal to "f" himself *three times* before he can be suspended?

GAMUT: How did that Code get introduced?

O'MEARA: It was put together by a committee of citizens with three teacher-union persons on it, with one of our Board members [Berthina Palmer] chairing it. It also states that if you're unfair to the student, he has the right to bring charges against you as a teacher and you are to be tried by two students elected by the student body, and one staff member. Now, what's unfair?

GAMUT: Has this Code actually been put into practice?

O'MEARA: My last order was, Don't follow it. But it is being enforced.

GAMUT: You mean that a student could sue a principal for suspending him in violation of the provisions of the Code?

O'MEARA: Yes, but thank God most of them don't know.

GAMUT: But even if they know, it's too expensive for them.

O'MEARA: Not necessarily. If they make it a civil rights case, the attorney gets paid.

GAMUT: Would you say that this discipline code is unusual? What are other cities doing?

O'MEARA: I don't know of any other city that tries teachers, nor gives them [students] three chances before being suspended.

GAMUT: So, what influence on teaching does this have?

O'MEARA: This demoralizes the teachers. The teacher has to be constantly warned about lawsuits. When I started teaching, we had no insurance. Now the union has a million-dollar policy on each teacher.

GAMUT: Like malpractice?

O'MEARA: That's correct.

GAMUT: Would you say that the fear of lawsuits causes grade inflation?

O'MEARA: Oh yes, it has an effect.

GAMUT: In other words, the teacher doesn't want to be hauled into court, so he'll give the student a good grade?

O'MEARA: Well, I wouldn't put it that way.

GAMUT: The problem in the schools is fundamentally that the students are not learn-

ing what they're supposed to. So when you say that the teacher is demoralized, that implies that because they are demoralized they can't teach well.

O'MEARA: No, it's that they don't get support when they need it. In other words, when they have problems and they send a kid to the office, nothing is done.

GAMUT: But why should that influence the way in which the student learns?

O'MEARA: Well, it sure does, because the student resents the teacher. It creates hostility because all the kids are thinking about now are their rights, not their responsibilities.

GAMUT: But why doesn't this happen here — at CSU? If the kids have the attitude that you describe, they would bring it with them to college: but they don't, we don't have any of that.

O'MEARA: Sure, but they don't *have* to come here. And they have to pay their tuition.

GAMUT: So it's the fact that they have to be there that's part of the problem. Would the problem be partly solved if they didn't have to stay in school for so many years?

O'MEARA: Sixteen — they can leave with permission, a work permit. But there are no jobs for them. Many kids today say, what's the use of going to school, there's nothing when I get out anyway.

GAMUT: If they don't go to school, what will they be doing all day?

O'MEARA: Breaking into houses, vandalism, walking the streets . . .

GAMUT: So that's another problem.

“The Union has never supported an inefficient teacher.”

O'MEARA: It's part of the same big problem, discipline. That's why I say you should establish standards and put the teachers back in charge of the classroom, give them support in their activities. The union has never supported an inefficient teacher.

GAMUT: What kinds of facts would be considered suitable for an incompetence dismissal?

O'MEARA: Failure to turn in his reports, late to school, unnecessary absence, not doing his job in instructing his students.

GAMUT: How would you test incompetence of this sort?

O'MEARA: You'd have to observe and evaluate them on the job.

GAMUT: Do you do observation regularly?

O'MEARA: Oh yes, but you don't get as much as you should of that, because administrators have too much to do. A new teacher of course gets more than the older teacher. And there is a lack of in-service training. The Cleveland Teachers Union favors help for poor teachers. But an incompetent teacher we will not defend. I've sat in on enough [hearings] to be an expert in this.

GAMUT: How many teachers were dismissed for incompetence while you were with the Union?

O'MEARA: There were a number. I can't give you an exact number, because we have about two hundred assaults a year which we have to investigate, and many teachers' grievances. You have teacher problems with the principal . . . you have problems over transfer and seniority, so for me to tell you exactly, I would have to look at the Union's records.

GAMUT: All right, how many teachers were in the Union?

O'MEARA: We had 6300 members when I was there, but it's down to 4200 now.

GAMUT: Would you say it was as many as ten a year dismissed for incompetence?

O'MEARA: It could be, some years, and of course we wouldn't defend them. We would represent them, saw that they got their [rights] and due process. We would ask them, How do you stand on these charges, what are they and what can be proved? But I didn't want people let go because of the whim or prejudices of some party.

GAMUT: What other major problems did you want to discuss?

O'MEARA: Declining school enrollment.

GAMUT: O.K. What can you do about that?

O'MEARA: There's nothing you can do about it, but it aggravates the problem because you have to transfer teachers and students, close buildings, and so forth.

GAMUT: If you take a city with a million population and schools to accommodate the

school population, and then if it goes down to five hundred thousand, let's say, . . .

O'MEARA: Let's use the right figures. In '70 it was 153,614 students; in '81 it was 79,875 students.

GAMUT: You've got the same buildings, but a good deal less tax money. What do you do?

O'MEARA: You enlarge the classes, close some buildings, reduce the special services like reading consultants, you go back more to basics.

GAMUT: Why do you have to enlarge the classes?

O'MEARA: You have to reduce faculty.

GAMUT: I see. So it doesn't work pro rata. As the population declines in one neighborhood, the classes might get smaller there. But when you close a building, those students go to another building and increase the size of the classes there.

O'MEARA: Right.

GAMUT: Would there be positive benefits if Shaker and all the suburban systems were combined into the Cleveland school system? Would that help the matter or would all the middle-class kids go to private school?

O'MEARA: I think it would help, but the cost of busing . . . We had to buy almost six hundred buses, we're using 8000 to 10,000 gallons of gas a day, we had to hire over 600 bus drivers to maintain routes.

GAMUT: You're talking about desegregation now, but you didn't actually say that was a problem in the school system. Is it?

O'MEARA: Oh sure. The cost! I believe that a lot of that money, if it had been put into smaller classes for the deficient, the training of experts, and in-service programs for the teachers that we've got . . . I believe that this is what we need — to give the teachers time, the proper resources. And you can't give them more than 180 pupils. Take an English teacher with six classes and 180 pupils, it's impossible to do the job. And that's what we're getting with the curtailing of expenses.

GAMUT: You feel, then, that the money spent on gasoline is money taken away from instruction?

O'MEARA: Sure it is. I think you could do a better job with the kids. But some people don't agree with that, and I can see their point. I am not opposed to integration. You have to, in some way, bring us together. . . .

Well, in other words, the world would be a fine place if there weren't any people in it!

GAMUT: Aside from getting rid of all the people, would you like to suggest some solutions?

O'MEARA: I've been trying to suggest solutions as I go along. But take the problem of lack of jobs on graduation. I'd like to see them establish camps like those they had during the Depression, forest camps and so on, to help employ the young people.

GAMUT: What about the role of parents?

O'MEARA: Parents' involvement, we don't have it. The trend today is, the parents must come in and tell the schools [what to do] We'll be the only profession where clients tell us how to do our job. What the hell did we go to school for? This is the wrong approach. What they should be called in for is for conferences and for meetings with administrators and teachers. The PTAs today are destroyed. The apathy of the parents!

GAMUT: Is that because you don't have neighborhood schools?

O'MEARA: No, I can't say that because even when we had neighborhood schools, you didn't have a big [turnout].

GAMUT: Isn't it more, though, the relation between the parents and the child — more than the parent having to come out to a PTA meeting? Isn't it how the parents and the child feel about the child's education?

O'MEARA: You're quite right. It's the family. Today, in most families, you have to have two to work to support the family. As a result you have kids that don't have any supervision during the day, and they don't instill [values]. You need the cooperation of the parents. I once proposed to a legislator that in handling the discipline problem we ought to give the schools power to summon parents to meetings with teachers or principals, and if they didn't show up we would fine them or jail them for Saturday and Sunday, so as not to interfere

with the work week.

GAMUT: Is it any better in the suburbs?

O'MEARA: In most place you find that. But the thing that has bothered me about these [PTA] meetings that we hold, you come to a Board meeting, normally who's there? The same cranks, and those who have a special neighborhood project.

GAMUT: What is the situation about truancy? Is there still a law?

O'MEARA: Sure, but you know a truant is no longer a *delinquent*. They have another name for it now . . .

GAMUT: An easier, less dangerous name. Do you still have truant officers?

O'MEARA: We reduced that department; we had 47 full-time workers, we reduced it to 16. But what are those 16 doing? They're busy writing case histories on the charges. When you come into Juvenile Court unprepared, the judge is going to raise hell. They're picking up fifteen or twenty, and we've got 6000 out. What's wrong is — we do this so often in education — we do a symbol, we get a few truants and make a whole show out of it, but what about the other 99 percent?

GAMUT: So truancy is connected to the larger question of apathy of parents?

"A general failing in the morality of our society."

O'MEARA: That's right. The radio, the TV is more important, plays a bigger part in education [than the schools]. Kids don't read any more, they don't listen to news. This is not a problem only of Cleveland. This is a general failing in the morality of our society.

People have the sneaking notion that teachers are supposed to be dedicated so they should work for poor salaries and under poor working conditions. Nobody gives you anything, so why are the teachers the ones who are supposed to be dedicated?

GAMUT: It's not that they *have* to be. It's just that it's a profession that requires it. Otherwise you wouldn't be in it. You can't be in it for the money.

O'MEARA: You don't mean doctors and lawyers and dentists aren't dedicated? They get paid.

GAMUT: No one proposes that teachers should not be paid — certainly not us. This brings us to the unions. How has the role of the unions changed since you came in?

O'MEARA: It hasn't changed. It's become more important, it has achieved a standing. When I started it was not popular. When I came into the system, you had to join. But it did nothing. It was controlled by administrators. But of course now, as a result of the American Federation of Teachers, the Ohio Education Association and the National Education Association are not controlled by administrators any more. Got rid of them all.

GAMUT: It was a company union at first?

O'MEARA: Yes.

GAMUT: To what extent is the teachers union here affiliated . . .

O'MEARA: We are affiliated with the labor movement — AFL-CIO, OFL, and so forth.

GAMUT: How does that affect your negotiations?

O'MEARA: It helps in negotiations, because you can use the pressure and support of labor.

GAMUT: Is this union a closed shop?

O'MEARA: No, no. We don't have a closed shop. We have a union contract. You don't have to join the union.

GAMUT: You don't have to pay dues?

O'MEARA: You do not in Cleveland, but the courts have just stated in Ohio that an agency shop can be had. You can charge a fee [even to non-members].

GAMUT: What is the dues structure? Is it based on a percentage of salary?

O'MEARA: Yes. It's up to \$140 annually. Dues checkoff is voluntary. We had 6300 members. We have teachers, guidance counsellors, nurses, librarians . . .

GAMUT: Here's a final question: in spite of the problems you've outlined, would you advise a young man or woman to go into teaching in the Cleveland system today?

O'MEARA: Yes, I would, because we need good teachers! □

Let the Teachers Teach!

J.E. Vacha, Teacher, Lincoln-West Senior High School

Say what you will about Paul Briggs: he accomplished one positive, vital reform in the Cleveland Public Schools. By the time the dust and debris from his massive building program had settled, practically every Cleveland teacher had a door on his/her classroom that locked automatically to the outside when closed. (Of course, Briggs might have saved a few dollars simply by installing new doors in some of the sound and serviceable buildings he tore down, but that's a subject for a different article.)

Why are such simple items as self-locking doors so important to education in the Cleveland schools? Because they allow teachers to occasionally block themselves off from unwarranted intrusions and the general Public Square atmosphere of the hallways. Once the single rule that "the teacher controls the door" is established in the minds of the class, barring the inescapable intrusion of the ubiquitous public address box in every room, education can and often does take place in Cleveland's public school classrooms.

If only some of the subtler intrusions on the teaching process could be as easily locked out! For when all the studies have been completed, all the theories formulated, and all the meetings held, the basic problem of the Cleveland Public Schools still comes down to the simple fact that the classroom is no longer sacrosanct. Instruction has been pushed back on the list of priorities behind such secondary, but more immediate concerns as security, bureaucratic procedure, and discipline.

Take the matter of security, for example. Recently, the Cleveland State University community was understandably agitated over the commission of three murders on campus. No one in authority, however, suggested that the CSU faculty was somehow at fault. Had the same offenses occurred on the premises of the Cleveland public schools, a major refrain on the part of school officials would have been that such aberrations need never occur if only teachers would stand outside their doors between classes.

It has become part of the machismo of school administrators to assert their competence to handle any security problems in their buildings without outside assistance. What this boils down to in practice is that their teachers are requested to perform such security functions as patrolling hallways, checking exits, and guarding parking areas during periods which should be devoted to class preparations. Even the security guards provided by the Board of Education are often shunned by administrators as an unwarranted interference with the operation of their buildings. As for the utilization of professional security forces or the regular police, administrators lament that an armed, uniformed police presence would somehow sully the academic purity of the public schools, overlooking the fact that such necessary precautions have become an accepted sight on the area's college campuses without placing any noticeable inhibitions on intellectual freedom or pursuits.

Paper pushing has become another activity which takes priority over instruction in Cleveland schools. Somewhere along the way, during the construction of the Cleveland Board of Education bureaucracy, an unnamed genius discovered that the system's teaching corps constituted the greatest potential aggregate of captive labor since the Gulag Archipelago. Whenever a new form has to be filled out, a report made, or a new chore such as bus ticket distribution performed, the person at the end of the paper chain of command is certain to be the classroom teacher or his bureaucratic alter ego, the homeroom teacher.

A recurring promise made to Cleveland teachers is that paperwork will be reduced; the recurring fact has been the multiplication of paperwork. A few years ago the keeping of attendance and classroom records was assumed by computers; now teachers must check and correct the computer printouts. A few years back the number of grade reporting periods was reduced from six to four a year; now teachers must fill out deficiency forms half-

way between each grading period, which makes the equivalent of eight grading periods a year. Teachers in many Cleveland buildings are assigned to office clerks as routinely as they are assigned to unit principals. Little provision is made in their schedule for this deluge of record keeping. The unacknowledged premise of these clerical chores is that they must be done at the expense of actual teaching time. In fact, the periodic necessity of digging out from under the accumulation of paperwork may be one of the unsung causes of the system's heralded problem of teacher absenteeism.

Even if building security were to be established and the paper mills were to grind to a halt, however, the old problem of discipline would remain as the most insidious pollutant of the learning atmosphere in Cleveland classrooms. Gone is the era of legendary West Tech Principal C.C. Tuck, who sentenced recalcitrant scholars to run laps around the building and often followed them in his car to insure that "Tuck's Track Team" kept jogging. Girls were assigned to before-school and after-school detentions on a long wooden bench right outside his office. Times have changed, of course, and today's principals labor under administrative chores and legal restraints that never hampered Tuck's iron-fisted rule of his building.

But few have ever calculated the true cost of this erosion. As an alternative to the more direct disciplinary measures of old, when "board of education" often had a double meaning, educational pedagogues succeeded in establishing preventive, inner-directed disciplinary methods as the norm. Problems were to be eliminated by "creative" teaching methods; surly students to be engaged by "relevant" curricula; failure was to be discouraged as a "negative learning experience." Thus courses have been

watered down to the point where high school graduates can't read an eye chart. "Bell work," once intended as a five-minute exercise to prepare a class for instruction, is often expanded into "busy work" extending over the greater part of a period. Students arrive in college with no idea of what a book review is and are shocked to discover that tests must be taken without the crutch of their textbooks. Measured by the loss of quality, the price of discipline may be read in the sad statistics of the SAT scores.

Loss of respect is often cited as a prime cause of low teacher morale. What many would like to see restored, however, is not personal respect so much as respect for learning. At times there appears to be precious little of that commodity in the Cleveland Public Schools. Classes are routinely interrupted or cancelled for the most trivial reasons. While the curtailment of the system's athletic program was met by a general community outcry and efforts to restore it, some of its more academic programs such as music, art, journalism, and honors classes have been allowed to atrophy amid crushing apathy.

There are approximately two non-teaching employees in the Cleveland school system for every teacher actually in the classroom. What Cleveland teachers can't understand is why those two non-teachers can't handle the extra-classroom chores, leaving them free to concentrate on classroom instruction. If the powers-that-be could straighten out that single overwhelming priority, the Cleveland Public Schools might once more be able to tackle the job they were intended to accomplish. In five years the system will observe its sesquicentennial. It would be nice if by that time we no longer needed Mr. Briggs's self-locking doors. □

THE ACADEMICS

In the three contributions that follow, faculty members at Cleveland State University discuss specific aspects of the school crisis. The authors are representative of their profession in exhibiting a respect for facts, a consciousness of the complexities involved, a reluctance to assign blame, and a laudable idealism. Those who are critical of academic isolation might consider Dean McArdle's College of Education programs still somewhat remote from the grim realities of the urban classroom; they might complain that Dr. Cataldo's analysis, while showing that desegregation is not to blame for Cleveland's population shifts, offers little help toward improving the situation; and they might find Dr. Steinbacher overly optimistic in her hope that the new Superintendent can clean the Augean stables. Nevertheless, there is a value in the detached perspectives that such academics can provide.

Higher Education and the Schools

Richard J. McArdle

Dean of the College of Education, Cleveland State University

"To what extent is CSU's College of Education responsible for the deplorable condition of the Cleveland Public Schools?"

When I accepted *The Gamut's* invitation to address this question, I realized that I was being asked to respond to an item akin to "When did you stop beating your wife?" Nevertheless, the concerns implicit in the question are valid concerns, worthy of discussion and not amenable to easy solutions. The question, of course, is two questions, which phrased in more neutral terms might read, "What is the condition of the Cleveland schools?" and "To what extent is the College of Education, as part of a state-supported institution of higher education, responsible for the Cleveland schools?"

A great deal has been written about the first question and about the condition of urban education generally. It would be well to consider briefly the extent of the problem before addressing the second question. Failure to do so could lead to oversimplification and a misunderstanding of what a university is capable of doing.

Like almost every urban school system, the Cleveland system is in serious trouble — the most painful evidence of

which is the poor performance of many of its graduates and non-graduates. The causes of its problems are many, are often interrelated, and are generally reflective of the society in which we live. There is, of course, the general decay of the urban environment and the deterioration of quality of life resulting from low incomes, unemployment, violence, delinquency, vandalism, etc. High pupil absenteeism, low teacher morale, teacher militancy, instability in staffing and administration, increasing politicization of school boards, increasing federal and state regulations, involvement of the federal courts, the expanded role of the schools, shrinking budgets, demands of advocacy groups, and over-extended curricula complicate the problem. Add to these the sheer size and complexity of urban school systems, which lead to more and more resources being devoted to maintaining the system and fewer to achieving the major purpose of providing quality education, and you have a further idea of the complexity of causes. Nor are these all of the causes. The list could go on for pages.

Proposed solutions vary as greatly as identifications of causes. None of the solu-

tions advanced, such as accountability, back to the basics, core curriculum, voucher system, competency testing, improved teacher training, differentiated staffing and salary for teachers, reduction of required attendance age, decentralized administration, etc. will, in themselves, assure better performance by the graduates of the public schools.

Given the complexity of the problem, then, what is the role and responsibility of Cleveland State University and its College of Education? The University carries out a threefold mission of teaching, research, and service in its primary service area of Cuyahoga, Lake, Lorain, Geauga and Medina counties. The faculty and staff of the College of Education offer over fourteen degree and certification programs, make their expected contributions to the professional literature, and provide service to some fifty school districts in the greater Cleveland area, including the Cleveland Public Schools.

Our impact on Cleveland is limited — a fact that is apparent when one compares the College of Education's budget of under \$3 million with the Cleveland Public Schools' budget of over \$200 million.

Our most basic functions are the preparation of students to enter the teaching profession, and the graduate education of teachers seeking to upgrade their skills or acquire new competencies. To all districts we offer direct help in a number of problem areas, including management and discipline, the application of computer technology in education, and provision of schooling for juvenile delinquents.

The College is deeply involved with practicing professionals in the Cleveland schools. The undergraduate teacher preparation program has just undergone major changes as a result of the redesign of teacher education mandated by the State of Ohio. We have tried to be responsive to the needs of the schools and the suggestions of practicing professionals. We have heavy involvement with Cleveland through the Cleveland Teacher Center, where some 200 student teachers and practicum students receive on-the-job experience each year under the guidance of Cleveland teachers. In addition, Cleveland teachers, administrators and counselors serve on advisory com-

mittees for the College, take graduate courses, and attend institutes and workshops. The faculty of the College of Education visit the Cleveland schools, participate with our interns and serve as consultants to the schools in both paid and unpaid situations. The working relationship with the Cleveland Public Schools at the grassroots level is excellent.

Relationships with Cleveland schools at the central office level are not strong, in part because of the instability that has occurred in the school system over the past five to seven years as a result of the desegregation orders, loss of enrollment, and general cutbacks in support. The turnover of leadership and the creation of a dual management system within the schools made communication with the central office confusing and hectic at best. This situation may change now that new leadership has been established and the courts have returned power to the School Board. The opportunity certainly exists for a new and stronger partnership based on mutual respect and understanding.

Yet I have not fully addressed *The Gamut's* question, which implies that something the College of Education has or has not done is to some extent responsible for the present troubles of the Cleveland schools. If we accept the position that teachers are the most important ingredient in the formal educational process, it is logical when that process falters to question the quality of the teachers and of their preparation. We have prepared professional educators, some of whom find employment in the Cleveland schools as teachers, counselors and administrators. Does the question imply that those graduates who find employment in the Cleveland schools are not as well prepared as those who find employment elsewhere, or that all teachers are poorly trained? I would argue with either assumption.

There is no evidence that the initial preparation of teachers is a major cause of the problems of the public schools. Teachers are, in fact, more thoroughly prepared now than ever before. For instance, a typical high school English teacher graduating from Cleveland State University completes almost 200 quarter hours in pursuit of his or her degree. Twenty-seven of

these hours are taken in professional courses, an additional fifteen hours as an intern in the schools, and the remaining 158 hours, including 46 hours in the major field, in courses offered by the College of Arts and Sciences.

We do not control most of the variables, good or bad, that affect the school environment in which our graduates teach. Increasingly, we are being asked by teachers in many districts to provide assistance in such problems as dealing with stress and with disruptive behavior. Teachers working in urban school systems often work in an environment of fear, in overcrowded classrooms and without adequate instructional materials. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that some teachers fail; yet dedicated, effective and outstanding teachers in the Cleveland schools go about their job daily, and this fact should be publicly stated more often.

Extended education for pre-school teachers, as some critics suggest, is a desirable goal. Certainly, the preparation of a teacher deserves as much attention as the preparation of a doctor of medicine. But before we assume that a major and costly revision of the education of teachers is the solution to the problems of the schools, we must acknowledge that teachers as a group are among the most poorly paid professionals and that their working conditions are often less than desirable. To call for reform of teacher education without also addressing these points is somewhat useless.

Does *The Gamut's* question imply that the College has not done all that it might do in upgrading the skills of in-service teachers in the Cleveland schools?

We have extensive graduate programs geared to assist both teachers and administrators and we respond as well as we are able to specific requests from the schools for assistance. Yet we are indeed hampered by several restraints, one being the way in which the University is funded to carry out its mission. Since the University receives funds from the State of Ohio only on the basis of the number of students who are enrolled in courses for credit, participation in in-service activities with the school system is severely limited. This is particularly regrettable in face of the press-

ing needs for in-service education in urban schools, whose budget cut-backs have limited the numbers of new employees hired and thus curtailed the influx of new ideas. We can provide the credit courses needed by school personnel to upgrade their certificates or to improve their salaries, but we cannot always respond to requests from schools for assistance in planning, curriculum revision or research which requires vehicles other than credit courses.

Moreover, most classroom teachers receive little external incentive from the system, in the form of tuition grants, raises, or promotions, to improve their teaching capabilities. A Physics teacher, for example, unless self-motivated, has no tangible encouragement to improve his or her knowledge of the field of Physics, nor to study better teaching methods. More often than not, it is of greater material value to a teacher to enter the field of educational administration or to add a second field of certification to protect his or her job. Graduate education is expensive, and since teachers have to pay their own way, they want to assure a return on their investment.

In discussing the problem of the Cleveland schools, we are dealing with a very complex issue and simple solutions are just not available. What the schools do not need are more experts with ready-made solutions. Although it cannot do so single-handedly, the University can and must play a meaningful role in improving public education. The following are a few examples of how the University can be involved in addition to its already extensive involvement through regular undergraduate and graduate programs.

The very nature of a university and the location of Cleveland State University in the heart of the city make it a natural setting for the exchange of new ideas about public education. There is room for discussion and debate concerning the purposes of public education, the ways in which it is provided and the quality of its products. Such discussion is an essential step toward putting public education back on a strong footing.

The College of Education has proposed the establishment of an Educational Development Center at Cleveland State to

assist area school systems in addressing the needs of public education. The proposal for this center was jointly developed by area superintendents and University staff. Such a center could serve as a focal point for staff development activities, long-range planning, research and development. Most important, it is a joint venture between the University and area school systems and is intended to identify and utilize all available resources in solving educational problems. The opportunity to bring together resources, not only from local universities and colleges but also all local school systems, opens up exciting possibilities for the future of education in Northeast Ohio. In other words, the University can play an important role in pooling the educational talent and resources in the area.

The University could also assist the Cleveland Public Schools in the establishment of centers of excellence, magnet schools, etc., and it has, in fact, already been involved in such projects (e.g., the Law and Public Service Magnet School established with the Colleges of Law and Urban affairs). Such involvements, of course, will require time and additional resources, but they are possibilities.

Finally, the in-service needs of the Cleveland teachers could be addressed by the establishment of a center or academy at Cleveland State University which would be staffed by teachers and responsive to their needs. Such an undertaking, if properly

funded, could serve as a powerful incentive to teachers by providing released time for renewal rather than expecting teachers to find time on their own.

In summary, public education, especially in urban centers, is in trouble. There are no simple solutions to be advanced to solve the problems of public education. There are no culprits on whom to fix the blame, just victims. There is evidence that something can be done about the problem but it will require the cooperation of everyone, including the public schools, institutions of higher education, the business community, the citizens of Cleveland and teacher organizations. It is a problem that we cannot afford to ignore and one that cannot be solved in isolation from the larger social context of the urban community.

The University has a vested interest in the solution to the problems of public education because the products of the Cleveland Public Schools attend the University, because the products of the College of Education are employed in the school system, and because a quality public school system is essential to the quality of life in the city. But the University does not have unlimited resources, and it is involved in meeting a very broad mission in Northeast Ohio. Still, the University is an important force in public education and must take a leadership role in improving public education.

Desegregation and School Enrollment¹

Everett F. Cataldo

Professor of Political Science, Cleveland State University

Mandatory busing to achieve desegregation in big-city school districts is widely alleged to be counterproductive on the grounds that it causes "white flight" and resegregation. Rather than face the prospects of a long cross-town bus ride for their children to a school in a black neighborhood, so the argument goes, white parents would rather "exit" from the city to schools in unaffected suburbs, or enroll their children in parochial or private schools.

Nowhere has this counterproductivity argument been heard more than in Cleveland, where politicians, editorialists, and community opinion leaders have held busing responsible for the decline of white enrollment in city public schools.

Following a U.S. District Court order, the Cleveland Public School System began to desegregate in the fall of 1979. Desegregation was implemented in stages during 1979 and 1980. Presently, 35,000 students

are being transported — 45 percent of total school enrollment. To what extent and in what fashion has desegregation affected enrollment patterns in the public schools? Did cross-town busing for desegregation cause enrollment to decline? Did it contribute to enrollment decline? Or is it unrelated to enrollment decline?

Desegregation is clearly not the cause of the decline in enrollment in Cleveland's public schools. Cleveland public school enrollment was declining long before desegregation was an issue, from a peak of 153,253 in 1967 to 75,825 in 1981 — a decline of 50.5 percent, most of which occurred before the implementation of desegregation in 1979. From 1970 through 1981, enrollment declined among both white students (41,900, 68 percent) and black students (33,836, 39 percent). Although Cleveland is the only school district in Cuyahoga County operating under a court-ordered desegregation plan, it did not have the greatest decline in public school enrollments during the 1970's. From 1969 to 1979, Cleveland's enrollment decline was actually exceeded in percentage by five suburban school districts, and nearly equalled by five others. Cleveland's enrollment decline was 38 percent, compared to a county-wide average of 31 percent, a difference of only seven percentage points. Catholic parochial school enrollment also declined, but not by quite as much — 21 percent. Quite apart from desegregation, therefore, school enrollments declined throughout the county during the 1970's.

The main cause of declining enrollments in the Cleveland public schools, as elsewhere in the county, was a decline in population, particularly in the number of school-age children. Cleveland's population has declined since 1950, reaching a 70-year low in 1980 of 573,822. From 1970 to 1980 alone, Cleveland's population fell by 177,081 residents, a drop of 24 percent. This was the greatest decline among any of the ten biggest cities in 1970. Cleveland has experienced very little in-migration in recent years, and births have declined sharply for both whites and blacks. From 1960 to 1980, the white birth rate fell by 50 percent and the number of annual births by 63 percent. For blacks, the comparable figures were 40 percent and 29 percent

respectively. As a result of these population factors, the school age population of 5-17 year olds decreased by 74,590 from 1970 to 1980, a decline of 40 percent.

The overall decline in the number of school-age children and fertility rates directly affected school enrollments. From 1970 to 1980, enrollment in the Cleveland schools declined by 69,940 students, a figure very close to the decline in 5-17 year olds (74,590). First-grade enrollments were just about what would have been predicted on the basis of births. On the basis of the ratio of births during 1965-1969 to first grade enrollments during 1971-1975, the number of births during 1970-1974 should have produced 43,114 first graders during 1976-1980; the actual first-grade enrollment for those years was 41,394.

If desegregation did not cause enrollment to decline, did it contribute to the decline? For the eleven-year period preceding desegregation, 1968-1978, the annual transfer rate from Cleveland public schools to other schools averaged 10.4 percent of total school enrollment. For the two desegregation implementation years of 1979 and 1980, the transfer rate averaged 14.4 percent. On the basis of the 1968-1978 pre-desegregation transfer rate, a total of 18,067 transfers out of Cleveland public schools would have been expected in the desegregation years of 1979 and 1980. Instead, there was a total of 24,944 transfers in 1979-1980, an increase of 6,877, or 38 percent above the pre-desegregation norm. Most of these transfers, however, were not the product of desegregation. Over 2,600 students were transferred to schools outside of Cuyahoga County. A few of these were to adjacent counties, and may have been motivated by a desire to avoid desegregation. But most of the 2,670 out-of-county transfers were to destinations far from Cleveland. Moves to distant cities or foreign countries, such as to Corpus Christi, Los Angeles, Tampa, San Juan, or Israel, are probably not motivated by a desire to avoid desegregation. Changing family circumstances or employment opportunities doubtless accounted for most of the long-distance moves.

In addition, another 2,784 students transferred to other schools during the strike by teachers that disabled the Cleve-

land school system from October 18, 1979 to January 4, 1980. These students started the 1979-80 school year in Cleveland's desegregated schools, but left during the time when the strike forced the schools to close. Clearly, empty classrooms and not desegregated classrooms caused these 2,784 students to transfer to another school system. When the strike-related transfers are combined with the out-of-county transfers, it would appear that about 5,000 of the 6,877 "above average" transfers for the desegregation implementation years of 1979 and 1980 were unrelated to desegregation.

Some research studies suggest that there is "anticipatory white flight" from the schools in the year immediately preceding the actual implementation of desegregation. A comparison of the Cleveland public school transfer rate for 1978 with the average transfer rate for the previous ten years (1968-1977) reveals over 6,000 transfers above the average for the pre-implementation year of 1978. However, nearly half of these transfers were black, Hispanic, Asian or American Indian. The total number of white transfers to parochial or private schools in Cleveland, or to other schools in Cuyahoga County in 1978 was 2,902, which represents the maximum amount of "anticipatory white flight" that could have occurred in 1978.

A detailed examination of white enrollment decline for the years 1978-1980 shows that the rate of "white flight" from desegregation was no greater than one out of every five white student transfers. From 1978 to 1980 there were 6,075 white transfers over and above the pre-desegregation average. Of this number, 1,707 went to schools completely outside of Cuyahoga County, leaving 4,998 white transfers to parochial or private schools in Cleveland or to other school systems in the suburban area. However, 1,262 of those transfers occurred during the teacher strike of 1979, leaving 3,736 white transfers, at most, that could be attributed directly to the implementation of desegregation in 1979 and

1980 or to the anticipation of desegregation in 1978. The total white enrollment decline for the period of 1978 through 1980 was 18,873. Therefore, the maximum possible effect desegregation could have had on white enrollment decline was 20 percent of the total, the remaining 80 percent of white enrollment decline being attributable to other factors.

Interestingly enough, the figures are not much different for black and other minority students. From 1978 to 1980 there were 6,262 transfers by blacks and other minority students in excess of the pre-desegregation average transfer level for these students. Of that figure, 3,295 were non-strike-related transfers to other public or private schools in Cuyahoga County, representing 21.5 percent of the total enrollment decline for blacks and other minority students from 1978 to 1980. While some blacks and other minorities may have sought to avoid desegregation, the magnitude of their transfer figures are more reflective of increasing opportunities throughout the 1970's for blacks and other minorities to obtain suburban housing. Overall transfer figures for the Cleveland public schools seem to confirm this viewpoint. From 1976 to 1980, whites outnumbered blacks and other minorities by a ratio of 2:1 in transfers to parochial and private schools. By contrast, of all the transfers to suburban public school systems for the same period, 55 percent of them were by blacks and other minorities.

Thus, the decline in white enrollment that can be attributed to a comprehensive, city-wide busing plan to achieve desegregation was no greater than 20 percent total for the two years during which desegregation was implemented and for the year immediately preceding implementation. This figure, of course, is not insignificant. Busing did contribute to the changing racial balance, but those who want to understand fully the causes of declining enrollments in Cleveland's public schools will have to look beyond busing.

¹This article is taken from a study commissioned by The Office on School Monitoring and Community Relations and filed with the U.S. District Court on September 3, 1982. See *Enrollment Decline and School Desegregation in Cleveland: An Analysis of Trends and Causes* (Cleveland, Ohio: Office on School Monitoring and Community Relations, 1982).

Choosing a New Superintendent of Schools

An Interview with Roberta M. Steinbacher

*By what process did the Cleveland Board of Education select Dr. Frederick D. Holliday as the new Superintendent of Schools? To find out, on October 19, 1982, Gamut editors Louis Milic, Leonard Tra-
wick, and Sandra Philipson interviewed Dr. Roberta M. Steinbacher, then Chairman of the Department
of Urban Studies at Cleveland State University, who was a member of the "Citizen's Committee"
charged with finding the best superintendent. Since January, Dr. Steinbacher has been Director of the
Ohio Bureau of Employment Services.*

GAMUT: How were you selected for this Search Committee to find a superintendent of schools for Cleveland?

RS: In April of '82 I received a phone call . . . actually, to go back, there were three members of the Cleveland Board of Education that formed a subcommittee. Berthina Palmer was the head, and there was Joe Tegreene, and Ed Young.

GAMUT: Palmer and Tegreene are familiar names; what about Ed Young?

RS: He works for, I believe, Ameritrust, at least he did at that time. He was also a graduate student at CSU. I've known him over the years. I believe they probably went to people they knew for the Search Committee. It was these three who picked the seventeen members of this committee

GAMUT: Seventeen members?

RS: Yes, the Citizens' Advisory Superintendent Search Committee. "Cassk" it was called. I don't think it had a precedent anywhere. I suspect I was asked as a representative of higher education; there was one other person from a college, Herman Alexander from Tri-C, and I was from Cleveland State. The others were mainly people with constituents. But I think I'm getting ahead here

GAMUT: This happened in April, did you say?

RS: April of '82. Yes.

GAMUT: Well, that's an extraordinarily fast search.

RS: It was incredible.

GAMUT: Who were the rest of the people on the committee?

RS: The chair was Wilma Madison, of the League of Women Voters. And the vice-chair was Robert Fort, the liaison for education for the Growth Association, the retired president of Medusa Cement. So we had a few business types, corporate heads, lawyers, and the rest were . . . folks who represented the citizens. There were seventeen, but two dropped out. One moved away and I don't quite know what happened to the other, but we ended up with fifteen.

GAMUT: Not a very wieldy committee.

RS: No, but it was a good experience. I mean we were together a lot, hours at a time, holed up in rooms.

GAMUT: This third bunch that represented the citizens — which groups can you name?

RS: Well, the Spanish-speaking . . . one of the leaders of that group was there. He was a lawyer. He had done a lot of organizing and had shown a lot of interest in the Cleveland public schools over the years. Then we had a couple of preachers. And we had a lawyer who worked for Juvenile Court, so her big interest in the whole thing was truancy; she had a lot of dealings with drop-outs and kids who got in trouble. I would say she could speak for that constituency at least. She had first-hand experience about what these kids were going through. And then we had the director of Project Learn, Nancy Oakley, who has been trying to help kids read for years. And we had labor unions represented. We had the head of the PTA.

GAMUT: Would you say that these people — this group as constituted — was able to keep before it the necessity of improving education, rather than serving the interests of the particular group?

RS: Yes. I didn't see very much of that at all. As far as I know, nobody had a candidate up there. It was deliberate that we didn't know who was in the larger group of rejected candidates.

GAMUT: Before you got into it, had candidates already been solicited?

RS: No. We were given two charges: to develop the criteria and to give to the Board of Ed three to five names.

GAMUT: And they would pick from the three to five?

RS: Yes.

GAMUT: What were the criteria you reached?

RS: Drafting — that took the longest time of all. This was a real masterpiece, we thought. Our basic concern was that this person have classroom experience in an urban setting, and then administrative experience — as opposed to business, professional, or whatever approach — coming in. So we wanted this person to be a thorough educator from day one. We preferred that the candidate have a solid background in six things: curriculum development, reading, magnet schools, voc ed, bilingual ed, and innovative programming. You see, they were tough criteria, so we didn't get a huge number of candidates. We demanded experience, educational philosophy, leadership style, personal qualities, and educational background. An earned doctorate was desirable but not essential. We wound up with thirty-five candidates, most of them with doctorates.

GAMUT: Can we go back to one of those qualities? You said leadership style was one of them. Does that mean that you preferred someone who had a particular leadership style, or just someone who had *some* style?

RS: We defined that as a willingness to listen to staff or to the public concerning major policies, willingness to establish a specific manning structure — which the Cleveland Board of Ed, someone believed, lacks quite a bit. Demonstrated skills in communication and in human relations . . . I didn't know this document was going to be subject to the scrutiny of English profs.

GAMUT: You must have realized that it would be difficult to get people to fit in all those little slots you had, but did you think it was a sufficiently attractive position that it would draw a good many applicants?

RS: Yes, I personally felt that, and we also felt that as a group. There was a lot of civic pride. And with a somewhat new Board of Ed, there was a lot of positive feeling around, that the school system could be turned around. We knew it would be a big challenge for someone, and we thought we would attract the real risk-takers and the people with a lot of drive. And I think it did.

GAMUT: How many applications did you say you got?

RS: Let me describe the process. The Board of Ed hired, on or about the same time they formed this committee, three consultants, professional consultants who do this routinely to assist in finding school superintendents. I didn't know such a person existed. We had three excellent people, a black male, a white male and a woman: Luvern L. Cunningham, Alonzo A. Crim, and Rachel B. Tompkins. And they were all just fantastic; they did all the work of putting the ads in the *New York Times*, according to our criteria, and the ads with The State Superintendent Association of Public Schools in Ohio, and other relevant publications. They put out the net, they sent it to schools of ed around the country. So they got over a hundred nominations, about half of whom really applied. None of this went to the Board at all, it went to these three consultants.

GAMUT: They were your staff, in effect.

RS: Yes. Then they sent the application form and list of requirements — letters of reference and so forth — to these nominees. I believe they had twenty-one people from twenty-one states. A cross-section there, and the education level was very high, the doctorates were there. So then the process was that they were to give us eight to ten.

GAMUT: In other words, to some extent, then, it's possible they could have decided whom you were *not* going to see.

RS: They did. Exactly. That was the process. Anybody can screen out all the people who don't fit the criteria.

GAMUT: But you don't have any way of knowing whether they screened out people who might have fit your criteria, whom they chose not to show you.

RS: Well, that's true, but there was a lot of trust. We really developed this incredible relationship. As I said, we spent a lot of hours together. They were all the time telling us that our criteria were pretty strict. So they finally ended up sending us eight, and these eight really did fit our criteria. So that's the only check we had. We couldn't go after the ones they'd rejected. We never did know who they were.

GAMUT: Could you classify the eight who were on your final list, your short list? For example, how many were men and how many were black?

RS: They were not all black. They were all men, and we all expressed some disappointment about that, but the pool of women we got back as applicants was not all that big, and none of them fit our criteria. So we interviewed the eight candidates, each for about two hours.

GAMUT: Who else saw them?

RS: Nobody, until we narrowed the number down between three and five.

GAMUT: When was this: June? July?

RS: No, it was already August. That process at the end was extremely compressed. We would have interviews at seven a.m. and then we would have them again at five, five to nine in the evening. So that all happened in maybe seven days.

GAMUT: Were there three or five on the final list?

RS: Three. We had decided to send up only three.

GAMUT: This gave a little more of the choice to your committee.

RS: Exactly.

GAMUT: How long did it take the Board to make its decision?

RS: About a week and a half. There was a week when they went out to these towns and cities and talked to people. So that took a week. Then they brought the final three back for another interview. And by the end of the next week it was done.

GAMUT: Could you describe the interview process that you had with these candidates, with the eight?

RS: In general terms, we were all given this incredible book, called *Selecting and Evaluating the School Superintendent*. In fact, one of the members even went away to a training workshop. I must say, I commend the Board for the way they did this. So, there were a whole lot of questions we had to ask potential superintendents. We started with that, sort of as a basis, and made some of our own questions, and had them all written out. There were actually too many, as it turned out. Each committee member would ask about his or her special interest. For example, I would ask how he would work with universities.

GAMUT: Did you personally find yourself impressed by the quality of the answers or by the manner of answering the questions?

RS: In the finalists I thought the quality was just incredible. I learned a lot about what's happening in school systems around the country. I think we all did.

GAMUT: What *is* happening, by the way? Is it bad all over?

RS: Well, no, actually we came away very optimistic. It's sort of sad about where we are in Cleveland, and perhaps we really didn't have to be in this shape we're in. You talk with people who've raised reading scores fifty percent over the last three years — we don't even hear about reading scores around here. Who's checking up? We don't have the evaluation tools in place, hardly so.

GAMUT: You've described the process in which the Board arranged everything. They got you the consultants. They got you these documents. They arranged for you to have additional help. Is it possible that the Board already had decided who they wanted?

RS: I had the same feeling at first. But I have no doubt in my mind that after they set this process up they never came back until the day we had the three in front of them.

GAMUT: You feel it was a valid shake all the way?

RS: Absolutely. Absolutely. There was no pressure except the charge to find the best person in the country that we could. The Board came into view nowhere in this process once they had set it up. There's one thing I forgot to mention, one of the things we did at the suggestion of the subcommittee of the Board was to have a public hearing: we sent out letters to six

pages of community organizations. This was before we set up the criteria. That's why it took so long — we had not only our own ideas but we had ideas gathered from some forty community groups. We had hearings for a total of ten hours over three nights and listened to all these community groups, and the mayor, and ministers, and teachers, and the Cleveland School Board and the Teachers' Union. They all had the opportunity to send their representatives, though not all of them did, and the crowds came out to listen, so then this is what took the time. We had, night after night, collating, compacting, and quantifying these suggestions, to develop the criteria.

GAMUT: In determining the criteria, did you feel that what these people had to say helped you a great deal, or would you say that this was just useful public relations?

RS: Some of each. It helped us in the sense that, not just in the Cleveland public schools, but in any social or educational agency, there's always a question whether we should get a business person to run it — or should we get one of the folks? It was very clear that the citizens wanted a teacher, an educator. So, on a few outstanding things like that it helped a lot, in developing criteria; but, yes, it was definitely to some extent a public relations, community involvement situation.

GAMUT: Do you think that the insistence that the Superintendent have classroom experience is a realistic and helpful one?

RS: Yes, I do. And almost everyone on that committee did, simply because you've got to know what it's like to be out there.

GAMUT: What made Dr. Holliday especially attractive to your committee?

RS: I think the guy has an incredible style, one that I think motivates people to produce their best, and he leaves no question in my mind that he really believes students can learn. He's very straightforward and you know exactly where he stands. He doesn't try to snow you with anything.

GAMUT: I heard him being interviewed by Herb Kamm, and he seemed very cautious.

RS: In the beginning he stated that he was not going to come in and give interviews and say what he was going to do until he had studied the system. But, again, we were impressed by his record, as we were for all the eight candidates. He was certainly among the top three in that regard.

GAMUT: In other words, you were using a kind of business practice, namely to see not just what kind of qualifications they had but what they had been able to produce.

RS: Definitely, that was fifty percent of it, at least. His record was very impressive in how he had dealt with the reading deficits, math, and teacher drop-out, and that kind of thing.

GAMUT: You mentioned, earlier, that he and some of the others said that they believed that any student can learn. I'm not sure I know what that means. Any student can learn *something*.

RS: Right.

GAMUT: But not all students can learn everything.

RS: That's right. It's a relative matter. At least that's how we discussed it. The opposite is easier for us to understand. You write off some students because they don't learn. But then they get into all kinds of discipline problems and that sort of thing.

GAMUT: Is Dr. Holliday's main job going to be to improve reading, or to improve teacher morale, or to get more kids to go to school, or more to graduate? What do you see as his number one duty? Apart from something as abstract and general as saying that he is supposed to improve the system.

RS: He's got to comply with the School Board's decentralization order. So I think probably one of his most immediate things is to see that that gets implemented. That was already begun in March of '82.

GAMUT: In other words, the first thing he's got to do is to give away a good deal of his own authority?

RS: Well, it's a different structuring, anyway. I think he's the kind of administrator who can make it work. I don't know if he's giving it away, but it's different.

GAMUT: Does this visualize sort of secondary boards in different places?

RS: No, the essence of the decentralization plan is that principals have more say about their

own schools. They call it here “elevate principals to positions as educational leaders, providing principals with management responsibilities.” I haven’t talked to a school principal yet who doesn’t believe that principals have to control their buildings, and be held accountable for what goes on in there. And we just haven’t done that. We don’t ever have budgets, right? Teachers and principals should be evaluated according to performance — increase in reading scores, and that sort of thing. We haven’t really put that out in front here, as they have in some cities. Drop-out rate. The Superintendent gets up every other speech and says we don’t know how many students we have in our schools. We don’t know how many pay checks we should issue. The accounting system, not to mention evaluation at the personal level, has been in pretty bad shape.

GAMUT: The problem is systemic, it seems, in large part. That is, a bureaucracy which is entrenched tends to handle things, and its interest is to keep things the way they are. Can one man change that?

RS: No, not alone, I don’t think the new Superintendent feels he can. At least, we never got that impression.

GAMUT: So . . . if he can’t alone, what kind of help does he need?

RS: Well, he needs input from the public, he needs input from teachers, principals, in some systematic or structured process. The Search Committee was one small example of that. The Board is supposedly representative of citizens of Cleveland. But I think he will, from our discussions with him and other candidates, make every effort to get that kind of input into the central administration and into the principals. I mean, we talked about things like principals living in their own subdistricts, and knowing the city, and that’s kind of a morale thing, that one person can do a lot to build. So that’s why I mentioned style earlier; I think he’s the kind of person who can engender that kind of motivation. From what I’ve seen, he is doing that already, and people are really . . . The time is ripe to do something about the system.

GAMUT: It certainly seems that way. Do you think he will have the unqualified support of the Board? He needs it, right? He can’t really function without it.

RS: That’s right.

GAMUT: Because the Board hires him and it can fire him.

RS: And the Board sets policy, and hopefully it will set policies that are in line with his own goals for the school system.

GAMUT: The Board is elected, right?

RS: Yes.

GAMUT: The city administration doesn’t have any input to the Board?

RS: No.

GAMUT: They don’t have a representative or anything?

RS: No.

GAMUT: In other words, the mayor can have no influence on that system.

RS: Not through any official channel.

GAMUT: That was probably done for good reason at one time; it is a way of keeping politics out of the school system. But in this case it just interchanged one form of politics for another. The Board is a political body.

RS: And they’re at large. At least in some places you have district sort of voting. Dr. Holliday came from a system where he was right next to the mayor’s office — they were all intertwined in some organizational way.

GAMUT: Well, you certainly are a supporter of the system. You feel optimistic, don’t you?

RS: I do, yes, I’m very optimistic about him. The climate is right, we have a new person, we have a fairly new Board. Other important things are happening in the city. The link between a good school system and the rejuvenation of a city is fairly evident to people who can help make that happen. I think Fred Holliday himself is an optimistic person, and he’s a mover. So, not to minimize the problems, I am optimistic.

THE ADMINISTRATORS

Administration is a neutral name given to the leaders and staff who oversee those actually carrying out the mission of an institution. Leaders make decisions and staffs see that they are carried out — *unless* such decisions are interpreted as a threat to the staff's own survival. The term *bureaucrat* was coined in the last century to describe the bloated and immovable functionary of a country like China, whose sole intention was to concentrate power in his bureau or office. Things have changed since then, but not enough to persuade bureaucrats that they should pay more than fractional attention to the purpose of the institution rather than to the retention or enlargement of their own domains.

Dr. Holliday, as a seasoned administrative leader, shows in his policy statements that he is aware of a massive resistance in a petrified school-system bureaucracy unable to change its ways. When challenged, such an organism springs into a flurry of meaningless activity, making surveys, establishing new programs, and calling on others to make sacrifices. The bureaucrats' world is a paper world; action, for them, is manipulating figures, inventing new labels, writing reports. The effective administrator is one who works for tangible results in the real world; for school administrators, that means better-educated students. Without that final result, all the administrative activity in the world is worthless.



Dr. Frederick D. Holliday, Cleveland's new Superintendent of Schools. (Photo: Milic)

A School System for a Changing Society

A Collection of Statements by Frederick D. Holliday
Superintendent of Schools

On November 8, 1982, Frederick D. Holliday assumed the position of Cleveland's Superintendent of Schools. Dr. Holliday grew up in Philadelphia, where he attended the public schools. He received a B.A. degree and an M.A. in Education from Temple University, and earned an Ed.D. from Harvard. He taught science in the Philadelphia schools, where he was a principal and Assistant to the Superintendent. He has been Deputy Superintendent in Ann Arbor, Michigan, Superintendent of the York schools in Pennsylvania, and, immediately before coming to Cleveland, Superintendent of Schools in Plainfield, New Jersey. A widower, Dr. Holliday has two daughters, Lynne and Dorothy.

Dr. Holliday brought to his new job some definite ideas about the proper goals for Cleveland's schools and the means to achieve those goals. In order to present some of these ideas concisely, in the following pages *The Gamut* has assembled statements made by Dr. Holliday during the past six months: from his position paper "Report on the Status of Cleveland Public Schools," issued in September, 1982; from his working paper "Reform of the Cleveland Public Schools," December 6, 1982; from a draft "Philosophy and Mission Statement," January 6, 1983; and finally (printed in italics) from an interview with editors Leonard Trawick and Louis Milic, January 14, 1983.

A changing society demands a changed school system

The Industrial Society and the Post-Industrial Society in the United States have peaked and waned. We now live in the Information Society in which data collection and distribution employs more than 60 percent of all Americans. Less than 40 percent of the remaining work force manufacture or farm.

Three industries will experience continued growth during the next decade: computers (with word processing), aerospace, and bio-medical sciences. The nation's concern with steel, automobile manufacturing, and shipbuilding must also now include the development and export of technology.

Therefore, I propose that the 1983-84 school district budget reflect the following goals:

The mastery of three languages by today's pupils — English, a foreign language, and computer language.

Minimal standards of competency in the basics of reading, writing, computation thinking, listening, speaking, respect for others, good attendance, and good citizenship.

Replacement of specialized techniques or skills requirements by mastery of general concepts, to preclude early obsolescence of knowledge of equipment and/or course material.

Adoption of a basic curriculum which will allow graduates to enter into the workplace or into higher education with the ability to comprehend the current state of the arts and technology. (Philosophy and Mission Statement)

Making education relevant

Mortimer J. Adler in his book The Paideia Proposal says that we make an error teaching kids specific skills because we are so far behind what's going on in technology that those skills are obsolete. What Adler suggests, and I endorse it, is that we should teach the basics about the processes, and give young people a basic education, so that when they go into the

workaday world and the employer says, "You can read, you can write, you can think, here's an IBM processor," the person can say, "We didn't have IBM's at school, but I know how a processor works — just tell me how this one works and I can handle it."

I'm going to work actively at developing closer relationships with universities and hospitals and companies. That's the only way we can keep up, you know; the technology is changing so fast the public school people don't keep up, unfortunately. And we have to relate whatever we do to the universities and to the research and what's going on in technology. Those kinds of things will be a hallmark of this administration.

There should be more work-related programs where youngsters spend part of the day in school and part of the day in real work: that's my notion of vocational education.

Reading: a process, not a skill

Reading is a process of putting all kinds of things together — it is not a skill just by itself. There is learning to read and reading to learn, and I tend toward reading to learn.

The reading program in Cleveland now appears to lack flexibility and individualization. It appears that the philosophy and method of instruction have not been altered to any appreciable extent during desegregation activities. The program continues despite consistently low pupil achievement.

Here are a number of proposed changes in the reading program:

1. Adding reading tests, such as Criterion Referenced Tests and Individual Reading Inventories (CRT's and IRI's), to be administered for diagnostic and placement purposes upon each student's admission to a school, and every year at mid-September. [These are designed to help the teachers discover the pupil's needs, rather than to rank the pupil's ability.]
2. Movement of children into higher performance groups as they make progress in reading and math; this should be instituted at all levels. Heterogeneous reading groups do not make for optimal learning. Less able pupils hold others back. Some may believe this will impact on integration; I believe it will not. There are able black and white students.

[In the interview, Dr. Holliday discussed homogeneous grouping as follows.]

If a youngster is having difficulty with addition, and there is a youngster ready to take an introductory course in calculus, is it not a dis-economy to have those youngsters in the same group? . . . If we get out of the lock step of organizing kids by age or grade — and neither one amounts to a hill of beans — then we can organize kids so they are not resegregated within the school. As a former teacher, I know it was easier for me to have a span of ability that was less, as opposed to great, in organizing my reading groups and mathematics groups for instruction.

3. Approaches other than reliance on phonics should be utilized by all elementary teachers. Phonics instruction should assume a supplementary role in reading instruction. Students who have difficulty learning through the phonetic approach will fall farther behind as they move along in school because of the lack of content in the beginning texts.
4. . . . Reading instruction can and should permeate all areas of the curriculum through grade twelve. It is essential that all staff be more thoroughly trained in reading theory and varied approaches of instruction. It is, after all, the keystone to the educational process.
5. A functional literacy approach must be utilized for students beyond grade eight, particularly for those youngsters who fall below national norms . . .
6. Each school must have a reading program which goes beyond formal instruction provided by basic readers. Reading materials in classrooms which reflect student interests should also be a part of every school's program.
7. Some students who excel at reading in the primary years later fall behind the national norms. According to Cleveland personnel interviewed, there is no program of accelera-

tion for students who have mastered all skills at a given level . . . This amounts to a punishment for success, in that the completion of studies brings on additional tasks with no additional knowledge or reward. Students must be allowed to move ahead at their own pace, and advancement must not be restricted. (Position paper)

Student discipline: achieving self-discipline

Student discipline is another component of the Remedial Orders in need of attention. The approved desegregation plan envisions the equitable application of a uniform code of student rights relating to responsibilities. Discipline continues to be a [major problem] in the Cleveland schools.

The goal of any discipline is achieving self-discipline. That goal must always remain in front of our students. Discipline should serve to remediate and prevent, rather than punish; however, until self-discipline is mastered, discipline must be enforced by teachers and principals with the full backing of the Superintendent. At the present time, suspension is still the primary means of discipline. Cleveland leads all the nation's schools in pupil suspensions. Research proves that this is not an effective tool in either prevention or remediation.

More efficient use of personnel within the schools would permit the establishment of an in-house suspension system or restriction rooms in the junior and senior high schools. A restriction room would ensure that pupils continue to profit from instruction while in school but out of regular classes. Cleveland School District currently has an Alternative Placement Center for those students who have difficulty learning and behaving in the traditional school setting. Expansion of this program must be considered, along with additional vocational education and functional literacy programs. (Position paper)

Attendance

You are aware that we have the lowest percentage of attendance of any of the large cities of the United States, and we compound that problem by suspending the youngsters who are tardy or absent. One thing would be internal suspension [i.e., assignment to special study halls].

We are keeping track of attendance by pencil; we don't notify families in a timely fashion, "Your child has been absent for three days, therefore . . ." The computer does that so easily! Not only does it keep track of that sort of thing easily, also it prepares letters and sends the letters to parents, and follows up on the seventh and tenth days; and it can also send a notice to the court to start proceedings.

But if I had the best computerized system in the world, I would still have to get the parents to take the problem seriously. We don't have that strong, strong family that we had twenty or thirty years ago. Parents are not making children go to school, and children do not see the relation between school and success after school.

Reorganization: carrying the cluster system further

What I envision is two areas, each under the leadership of a strong superintendent who has broad powers. This person would look at the school ability index of his area and say, "Based upon what I know about my children and about my staff, this is what we need to improve the basics." The central administration would take care of the fiscal and business matters and would assist in providing personnel. And all of the supervisors and other support people who are housed here would be transferred into the sub-districts, where they would be actively engaged in working with children.

As of the present time the cluster leaders do not have full authority to supervise their districts.

Getting the most of the public dollar

Educational programs in Cleveland have proliferated like amoebae. Buildings that should be closed are operating at less than maximum efficiency. Certain staff are engaged in tasks that have no relationship to the improvement of instruction. . . .

Personnel and facilities consume most of the schools' revenues. Therefore, the numbers of people and structures must be related to district enrollment and programs. There should not be one more classroom, can of paint, laboratory, person, bus, or truck than is needed.

As much as forty percent of the school district space, based upon current and future enrollment needs, is not properly utilized. Some structures should be considered for closing. Hence, certain non-instructional personnel can be drastically reduced also. September, 1984 is a reasonable date to expect action. (Working paper)

Programs must be effective, or be dropped

Educationally, a myriad of programs have been added in the district along with support personnel and space. Although achievement scores of children, white and black, are relatively — and in some instances, absolutely — low, programs and people remain. The mandate of the Court to reduce disparities between white and black achievement scores is not being met, and disparate scores are accelerating rather than decreasing.

For every perceived educational, social, political, racial, or safety problem, it appears that an office, unit, or division has been established. It is as if people have believed that more programs would make all problems disappear. In truth, in some cases the number of dollars spent to solve problems appears to be inversely related to the problems' eradication.

The elementary school day program is to be commanded by the classroom teacher with fewer "pull-out" programs. The reduction of these sometimes disruptive programs could fund some of the elementary specialists. When classroom teachers are released from some assignments by these specialists, that time is to be spent on grading written compositions, homework, and mathematics assignments of children. Children learn to write and compute through practice, repetition, and application of concepts. . . .

Course offerings throughout the secondary schools must be measured against these yardsticks: do they prepare students for further educational opportunities and/or immediate employment? If not, then they must be eliminated.

In all schools, elementary and secondary, the school day is to be structured so that students are not allowed to waste time or engage in meaningless assignments. This means the teacher must know what each individual knows or does not know. . . . (Working paper)

We are willing to cut programs that are only tangentially related, or are not related, to the main goals of the system. I do not yet know what these programs are.

Cutting down on staff

I made some suggestions related to the reduction of the security force, because I think 197 people might be too many, and we shouldn't be running a private police force. I said to the Board I think I could do better with thirty fewer people. People have asked, how can you do better with less? By staggering shifts and using people at peak times — as opposed to just coming in and doing an eight-hour shift — and then putting people on overtime.

Recent lessons from the private sector in the United States are clear. Wage demands and some union contracts tie the hands of management. Unprecedented business bankruptcies, factory closings, and the record loss of jobs have resulted nationwide. All of use lose. The unions and the Board, together, in a spirit of cooperation, must come to grips with the state of the district's financial affairs. Bold and courageous steps to place the District on a sound footing must be considered; but be assured I seek discussions with unions, not to place upon them the burdens of past mismanagement. (Position paper)

I would like to see the kind of working relationship where the union people say "We

know how to do this better"; and the trade-off would be, "We can do this better and cheaper, so let us share in the savings." Unfortunately we are not yet at this point.

Economies in management

Meanwhile, the system is so big — some 135 school buildings, a 250-million-dollar operating budget in addition to 150 million dollars that pass through our hands for the bond fund, the cafeteria fund, and so forth — you put it all together and we're talking about four-tenths of a billion dollars.

Because the business procedures here have not been looked at in such a long time, there is no way in the world that I can command the system unless I have modern systems that will help guide me in the use of all of these dollars in relationship to the goals of the schools as I see them. The main goal is very, very simple: that within the available resources we would raise achievement in the basics among children in general to a higher level, and would reduce the disparities between white and black achievement scores.

So I went to the business community and they established a fund to support this investigation . . . The result, the Public Education Management Task Force, or "One-Hundred-Day Study," will help me to get the system ready so that dollars we receive will be related to our goal. The Task Force is spearheaded by the Cleveland Growth Association through an organization within the Association called the Center for Corporate Involvement.

The business community will put up several hundred thousand dollars, and in addition to that, the finest talent in personnel, systems analysis, and data processing will be on loan to me. The work of these people will be supervised by a consultant and there will be scores of areas that we will delve into, and after the study there will be people independent of the organization that will be on hand to make sure that each recommendation is followed.

This is like the task force that made recommendations to Mayor Voinovich at the beginning of his term. In that manner he was able to get city government under control. It is my right to reject all or to support all of the recommendations, so that no one will be able to say that a group of business persons is managing the schools.

The Superintendent and the children

I've visited forty-two schools and I've been in each classroom in each of the forty-two schools; I've observed thousands of youngsters, and I intend to continue the practice. I make on the average a visit a day. The other day I went into a school and the principal said, "I've been here twenty-three years and I've never seen a Superintendent before." I said, "This will not be the last time."

It is simplistic and misdirected to believe that it would make a critical difference to black children that they have a black Superintendent. The issue is whether that Superintendent is a good human being and has the skills to reshape the system so that boys and girls learn to read, write, behave, and feel good about themselves.

If we made our schools reflect the ongoing society — society and its needs and technology — and prepared youngsters so that they would get the feeling that school is related to success in later life, that would be a great achievement.

Can a New School Board Turn It Around?

Joseph G. Tegreene, Member, Cleveland Board of Education

By the fall of 1981 the people of Cleveland had become thoroughly disenchanted with the Cleveland Public School System. The schoolboy antics of Board members, endless confrontation with the District Court, arrogant court-appointed desegregation officials, and, most important, a continuing decline in the quality of education provided Cleveland students, all contributed to the loss of public confidence in the school system.

Public disenchantment and anger led to the election of a new School Board majority in 1981. Armed with a mandate for fundamental change in the school District, the new School Board took office in 1982 determined to reverse and redirect the course of the Cleveland schools.

The new School Board has responded to the need and the public demand for meaningful, constructive change in the Cleveland schools. While the changes of 1982 have not themselves resulted in immediate improvements in the quality of education in the school system, they have provided a solid foundation for educational improvements that will inevitably begin this year and continue in the future.

The first change made by the new Board was a change in its own leadership. The selection of Ted Bonda as President provided the Board with the most selfless and capable leadership it has had in years.

The second change was in the Superintendency. After a comprehensive process that involved unparalleled citizen participation, the Board selected Dr. Frederick Holliday as the District's new Superintendent. With over 30 years of experience as a teacher and administrator, this Harvard-educated professional has brought a firm, no-nonsense approach to his direction of the Cleveland schools.

Third, the entire leadership team under the Superintendent has been changed, providing the District with an experienced but fresh and innovative support staff. And currently, comprehensive searches are underway for a new Business Manager and a new Director of Office of Budget and Management.

Fourth, the District has been reorganized for the first time in decades. The Board adopted a decentralized administrative structure that places greater control over a school in the hands of the principal, thereby facilitating greater parental and community participation in the education process at the neighborhood level.

Never before has the District undergone such fundamental change. These changes have given the District its brightest outlook in years. Serious problems continue to plague the District, however. Federal and state budget cuts and continued public reluctance to support a much-needed school levy have combined to produce severe financial stress in the District. These financial problems in turn have precluded wage and benefit improvements to school employees. Labor relations are tense, therefore, and the possibility of a work stoppage is ever-present. These problems are only two of a long list of District ailments.

The new Board of Education and its new leadership team are prepared to meet these problems head-on in the years ahead. The resurrection of the Cleveland Public School System is the primary issue before the City of Cleveland today. Without a school system that provides a quality education to its children, the City of Cleveland will never regain its ranking as one of the nation's leading cities.

Teachers Union and School Administration Cooperate in Staff Development

Dean Fleenor and James Lanese

Department of Research and Analysis, Cleveland Public Schools

Background of Survey

There is a growing body of educational research which underscores the wisdom of involving teachers, school administrators, and other professionals in collaborative efforts to renew schools. One promising strategy to achieve this end is the establishment of an effective staff development program. Successful programs, such as those cited by Burello and Orbaugh,¹ have invariably involved the participants in planning and implementation. In the spring of 1981, an exemplary collaborative effort was begun by the Cleveland Teachers Union (CTU) and two administrative units of the Cleveland Public School System, the Division of Staff Development and the Desegregation Evaluation Team. These groups jointly planned and conducted a large-scale needs assessment survey among instructional personnel (union and non-union) employed by the school system.

The seeds of cooperation had been sown during the two preceding years when union and administration officials periodically met to map out proposals for a Teacher Center to be supported by federal funds. Although the Teacher Center was never funded, one key benefit was derived from these proposal development sessions: a spirit of cooperation. Early in 1981, the Educational Committee of CTU approached Staff Development officials with an offer of assistance in the design and implementation of a survey to determine school staff members' perceived inservice needs. Both parties concluded that they could benefit from this approach, since the results would provide direction for school staff development efforts during the 1981-82 year and the Union would ultimately derive the benefits of a more satisfied constituency.

The Union offer was accepted by the school administration, and a working team of representatives of CTU, Staff Development, and Desegregation Evaluation was convened to design the survey contents and implementation procedures. Several sessions were devoted to discussing the contents of the survey instrument. In general, CTU representatives ensured that items relating to teacher working conditions were included, while Staff Development

representatives guaranteed that mandated items cited in Federal Court orders were present. The final version of the survey consisted of 52 items. The first 44 items presented possible topics for staff development programs. These topics were structured to ensure close correlation with issues identified as necessary to bring Staff Development in the Cleveland Public School System into compliance with Court mandates during the 1981-82 school year. Respondents were asked to indicate the degree of need for a staff development session related to each of these items. The degree of need was expressed as "very great," "moderate," "limited," or "no need."

Survey Methods, Results

The survey was implemented during the last two weeks in June of 1981. The CTU building representatives, serving in a unique field liaison role, established a process to disseminate, administer, collect, and batch the completed surveys for data analysis by the Desegregation Evaluation Team. The respondents (N=2,453) represented an unusually high rate of return (70%),² further attesting to the efficiency of the process used by the Union. Survey results were analyzed to determine preferred topics for staff development programs and preferred structure for staff development sessions. The ranking by frequency of responses to the first 44 items reflected a preference for topics treating "instructional and classroom management, methods to improve pupil's achievement and motivation, and the professional role of the teacher in such areas as curriculum development and interaction with the community."³ The ten topics ranked by the frequency of the "very great" and "moderate" need responses were:

1. Student Motivation	81.3%
2. Teacher Stress	78.3%
3. Alternatives to Corporal Punishment	76.3%
4. Parent Involvement ¹	75.3%
5. Teaching the Non-Reader	75.2%
6. Improving Students' Self-Images	74.0%
7. Subject Area and Curriculum	73.5%
8. Effective Listening Skills	73.5%
9. Classroom Management	72.5%
10. Alternative Teaching Methods	72.0%

The final eight survey items were analyzed to determine the teacher preferences for inservice session structure. Results indicated a unanimous preference for a separate inservice day with additional pay. Other inservice preferences included after-school university courses (with credit) and informal demonstrations by and conversations with other teachers.

A reconciliation of preferred topics with the "Court Compliance Document for Staff Development" also was included in the analysis.

These system-wide results also were analyzed by cluster⁴ and included in a 114-page document released in October of 1981. "The CTU Staff Development Needs Assessment Survey" was distributed to each Staff Led Team and the CTU chairperson in all schools and system facilities. Presentations of results were made to the Education Committee of the Cleveland Board of Education and to the Executive Board and Delegate Assembly of the Cleveland Teachers Union.

During the fall of 1981, the Division of Staff Development issued its handbook and conducted training sessions for each school's Staff Led Team (SLT).⁵ The Survey's results were emphasized in the handbook to the SLT's for reference in the development of their individual year-long plans. Although formal follow-up data have not been gathered at this time, both Staff Development sources and the final evaluation report for the Component indicate that the most frequently chosen topics were classroom management/discipline and human relations. Also, a survey of resource material usage indicated that the single most requested item was a film entitled "Coping with Stress" (a preferred survey result topic).

The Survey's design, process, and utilization not only represented a unique cooperative approach to staff development planning between administration and union, but is well founded in the literature. The involvement of the teacher organization demonstrated a sincere effort within the system to accurately identify preferred topics and methods for inservice sessions.

Conclusions and Recommendations

As a result of personal interviews, a review of the study, and a synthesis of the literature, the authors offer the following conclusions and recommendations:

- It was evident that all participants in the survey design and implementation (administration and union) were most positive in their overall assessment of the process.
- Teacher participation and cooperation in the Survey endeavor — as well as subsequent staff development planning — were evident.
- The continued success of this methodology is dependent upon the utilization of the results for staff development programs.
- A follow-up study to determine the degree to which the results of the needs assessment were utilized is recommended.
- The reassessment of staff needs should occur periodically. In institutions (such as the Cleveland Public School System) where changes in perceived needs may take place over a short span of time, a repeat of this survey methodology is recommended every two or three years.

¹Leonard C. Burello and Tim Orbaugh, "Reducing the Discrepancy Between the Known and the Unknown in Inservice Education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, February, 1982, pp. 385-388.

²Most surveys of this type generate a return rate of 33-55%.

³"CTU/Staff Development Needs Assessment Survey," October, 1981, p. 1.

⁴The Cleveland Public School System is divided into seven decentralized clusters each containing two high schools and their feeder junior high and elementary schools.

⁵Staff Led Teams were organized in every school to plan and coordinate staff development functions.

CONCLUSION

Since the present condition of the Cleveland school system obviously has no single cause or simple remedy, we have presented a variety of perspectives on the problem, its origins, consequences, and possible solutions. If Cleveland's school problems are more acute than those of most other cities, the causes are far from unique: irresponsible city management, corporate and private greed and apathy, parasitic suburbs, the uncertain direction of society itself. In government, business, and education there has been a significant failure of leadership, defined as the ability to rally support for action in the interest of the general good as opposed to self-serving, stop-gap measures.

In the past, whenever matters have reached a desperate stage, the nation has righted itself by an effort of moral will. Today one is conscious of moral rumblings. Last August John W. Gardner, a former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, predicted a reviving national interest in education. Last February 15, the *New York Times* reported a meeting called by the new president of the Carnegie Corporation, in which about fifty national leaders in politics, business, labor, education, and science — including five governors and the president of the Ford Foundation — explored ways of revitalizing American education. The immediate concern was the crisis in



mathematics and science education, but the rest of the curriculum was also considered. Harold Howe 2d pointed out that the United States *has* no education system, and when change is necessary, "the nonsystem doesn't work."

The two indispensable long-range benefits that any government provides for its people are military security and education. In the long run the second of these is as important to a nation's survival as the first. It would seem reasonable to expect a government to spend on education at least a small fraction of what it spends on the military. But among civilized countries of the world the United States is unique in almost totally abdicating its duty to educate its young people — leaving them instead to the vagaries of municipalities, counties, and local school systems. Eventually the U.S. government must take responsibility for providing high-quality education *uniformly* throughout the country, just as it now attempts to provide uniform military security.

Meanwhile, until this happens, citizens must forget their short-sighted self-interest and work together for what is ultimately the best interest of everyone. Dr. Holliday's "Hundred-Day Study," supported by the business community, is a good beginning. The universities could do more. Members of the Cleveland legal establishment, which has made millions in school litigation, might take a cue in the matter of public service from some of their colleagues in Washington, D.C. Some Washington lawyers have provided parent groups in poor school districts with free guidance in how to make themselves heard by legislators, administrators, and businesses in the community. The Washington Public Education Legal Service Project has produced significant benefits for schools in the Anacostia section, not by litigation but by helping parents write letters, gain a hearing from those in power, and understand the legal and governmental resources available to them. Some lawyers have become registered lobbyists in Congress for particular schools.

A report on the activities of this group of lawyers concludes with a statement that sums up the urgency of the need for educational reform not only in Washington but in Cleveland and the nation:

Thoughtful observers have long understood that many of the chronic social ills which plague us as a nation are directly related to the failure of public education, especially in the elementary years. Some of the blame for limited employment opportunity, the low level of civic literacy, welfare, and urban crime can be attributed to the failure of urban schools to provide many children with the basic skills required to lead productive lives.³

Cleveland, your work is cut out for you.

³Michael J. Gaffney, Roderic V.W. Boggs, and Cynthia D. Wilson, "Organizing the Private Bar to Address the Problems of Urban Education: the Public Education Legal Services Project of the Washington Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law," August, 1981.

Photographs of school scenes in this section were furnished by the Cleveland Public Schools — special thanks to Evelyn Negrón.

BACK MATTER

Melvin Drimmer

Three Jewish Fridays in Africa

In the last Spring/Summer issue of *The Gamut*, Rabbi Daniel Silver wrote of his trip to China and his search for traces of once-famous Jewish communities that are no more. "China's Jews," he wrote, "have a past but no present." The article reminded me of my own travels in Africa, where I found remnants of Jewish communities that are now in a situation that must be like that of China's Jews a hundred years ago.

I did not go to Africa to seek out Jewish places; the group I was traveling with found them only incidentally to our main purpose, which was to study African culture and history. In West Africa's Ivory Coast, I was surprised that there was a Jewish community at all. I knew of the Jewish community in Kenya, but what I found there was a dying remnant. In Cairo, it was only a memory. I was reminded, if a Jew ever needs reminding, of the precariousness of our survival.

I.

In September, 1980, I made my twenty-first trip to Africa. My previous visits had been during the summer months as leader and lecturer for groups of teachers studying African culture and history; but on this occasion two things were different. First, I would be in Africa during the holiest of Jewish holidays, Yom Kippur; and secondly, thirteen of the fifteen people in my study group — members of the Institute of Retired Professionals in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida — were Jewish. A spokesman for the group asked me if I could arrange, in addition to the scheduled field trips and meetings with African leaders and scholars, attendance at Yom Kippur services. I said that I would do what I could — though, frankly, in all of my previous African travels I had not thought of attending Jewish services there, and I had little idea what I would find.

We arrived in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast, a day before Yom Kippur, and I asked the U.S. Cultural Affairs Officer if there were such a thing as Jewish religious services in the city. I knew there were about 40,000 Europeans, mostly French, living in the country, and I thought that possibly some were French Jews who were observant, and, who knows, possibly they even had a synagogue. The officer, who was Jewish himself — from the Bronx — answered that in fact services would be held that evening at the Israeli school. The school, he told me, also served as a community center for the Israelis in the area. The presence of a large group of Israelis in the area came as a surprise to me, since the Ivory Coast and Israel had broken diplomatic ties in 1973 at the time of the "Yom Kippur War."

Neither the services nor the location were advertised, and the building was unmarked. It was all very hush-hush. We passed the word to our group and invited the two non-Jewish members to attend, warning them that we could not be certain what would lie ahead. They readily agreed to join us. I was a little embarrassed to find myself involving my seventy-year-old charges in what was turning out to be a dangerous venture. Nevertheless, we arranged for a convoy of six Datsun taxis to take us to the site, leaving at 6 p.m. We told the drivers in our broken French about the Israeli school, and though none had ever heard of it, like taxi drivers everywhere they assured us that they could find it — "No problem." After getting lost numerous times, finally, in an all-African neighborhood, we came to a large housing block six or eight stories high, protected by a long white wall topped with barbed wire, with four large mirrors that permitted those inside to see who was at the gate. It was the school. I had a vision of medieval Jewry living in protected enclaves and ghettos, allowed to exist only at the sufferance of the good king. In 1980, the good king was President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the aged leader of the Ivory Coast.

Our taxi drivers knocked on the doors, which were ten or twelve feet high, and were admitted by an African guard flanked by two stocky Israelis holding Uzi machine guns. Inside was an open courtyard with classrooms on three sides. On the fourth side was a small open stage. But upon entering the courtyard we were disappointed to find that there were fewer than twenty people present. Without us there would not be enough men to hold a Minyan to start the services. We wondered where everyone was.

With our arrival there were enough people to start the service. We entered a bare room with benches, and one of the men took the role of the rabbi and began the service. The "rabbi" and most of the rest of the men began praying and chanting and singing in the Sephardic style, traditional to the Jews of North Africa and the Near East. Most of us were Reform Jews, Ashkenazi in background, and unable to understand clearly what was being read and chanted. Some of the women in our group exchanged glances when it was indicated that the women would sit in the rear of the room while the men moved to the front, but we were happy to be here no matter what the customs.

It was now nearly dark outside. About fifteen minutes into the service, the lights went out. But instead of stopping the service, the men moved quickly to the windows to catch the light coming in from the nearby apartment houses. A few of us walked out into the courtyard to catch some light and fresh air. To our surprise we found people, old, young, and children, coming into the schoolyard. We should have known that Israelis would be late! There were now over a hundred people outside with children running and playing and screaming off to the side while their parents and older people conversed and laughed and told stories almost oblivious of the service, which continued in the dark. Even when the lights came back on, few went inside to pray. For these Jews in West Africa, Yom Kippur was not a dour holiday as celebrated in America, but more like Purim, Simchath Torah, or Chanukah. We found out later that some of these people had not seen each other in some time. They worked in various parts of the city or country, mostly as engineers and skilled construction workers.

We asked one man why he did not go inside the room to pray. He smiled and said he was born in Poland 56 years ago, and he did not like the Sephardic service or singing. If there was no Ashkenazi rabbi, he would rather stay outside and talk with us — especially since he had a son in Detroit and a daughter in Connecticut. Another instructed us on the significance of the synagogue. "It has three meanings. The first is BEIT TEFELAH — house of prayer. This is what some of the people were doing. The second meaning is BEIT MIDRASH — house of learning. A few are learning. Then there is the third meaning, BEIT KAHALAH — which is 'house of community.' *Which is what we are all doing outside in the courtyard,*" he laughed.

We learned that the Israelis in Abidjan were scattered throughout the city in African and mixed areas rather than being concentrated all together. This was for security, and also it enabled the Israelis to get to know the Africans with whom they worked. And that was one reason the people were so happy to see each other this night. During their ordinary day they had little contact with other Israelis.

It was nearly 10:30 when the festive group began to break up. The services had ended, and we headed back into town and the bright lights of the Hotel Ivoire (which had been built, incidentally, with the help of Israelis in the '60s).

II.

The following week we were in Nairobi, Kenya. Here it was easy to find the Jewish community, but the problem was that, except for a lovely synagogue, not much was left of it. The Nairobi Hebrew Congregation, as it is called, was founded in 1904 and the first stone for a synagogue was laid in 1912. As the number of Jews increased and became more affluent, the congregation built a larger house of worship on a select site only a block from the University of Nairobi. It is actually two distinct buildings: the synagogue itself and an adjoining assembly hall. The buildings are surrounded by park-like grounds with trees and flowers. There is a large Star of David on the synagogue and the name "Nairobi Hebrew Congregation" is prominently displayed. Nearby on either side are Anglican and Lutheran churches.

built on the same scale, each in its own way reminiscent of European hegemony over East Africa. The main difference among the three buildings is that only one, the Nairobi Hebrew Congregation, is situated behind walls.

The present synagogue was dedicated in 1954 in elaborate ceremonies, opened by the British Governor-General. But the dedication, in retrospect, was the beginning of the end for the Jewish community in Kenya. The stirrings of nationalism had begun. Jomo Kenyatta led Kenyans to independence after a ten-year struggle in which thousands of whites and blacks were killed or uprooted. By 1963 the British turned over the government to Kenyatta and the nationalists. Thereafter the role of all Europeans, Jews included, was greatly restricted.

That Friday night we were met at the gate by the *shammes* (sexton), a white-haired Kenyan whom I remembered from my previous visit. He greeted us with a hearty "shabat shalom." Inside there were only a few people waiting for the service to begin. We found two well-dressed elderly gentlemen who identified themselves as members of the congregation. One, who had been an optometrist, said his daughter was now living in Europe where she worked for an American film distributor. The other, an accountant, had been sent to Kenya nearly forty years before by his London firm, and he had decided to stay. He had no children and had just returned from a three-month stay in England visiting his sister and her family.

There were now only forty Jewish families permanently left in Nairobi, we were told. There was no longer a rabbi; the British community had not sent a replacement. The chief support for the upkeep of the synagogue came from the Block family, whose fortune was made in the hotels and game lodges of East Africa. We had visited one of the Block hotels, the luxurious Norfolk, on the previous day, and walked about its verdant grounds and eaten in its open-air restaurant. Three months later the Norfolk Hotel would be the target of PLO terrorists, bombed and nearly destroyed.

Gradually people began to arrive at the synagogue. As in Abidjan, the majority this Friday evening were Israelis. But these were younger, leaner, a more sophisticated type, working at the "Interest Section," a euphemism the Israelis and Kenyans used instead of "Embassy." These "diplomats" surfaced openly in 1976 when they helped engineer the famous Entebbe rescue mission.

In the absence of a rabbi, an Israeli once again led the services, again in the Sephardic tradition. The women were seated separately from the men, but this time on the sides. The stark white interior of the synagogue reminded me of a New England Congregational church. In all there were about fifty people, including children, in this beautiful building equipped to seat 500. The service took exactly one hour. There was no Oneg Shabbat (collation after the service). Within five minutes after the end of the service the worshippers had scattered. Some of us deposited coins in a box at the rear of the synagogue to show our support for the congregation. Another jotted down the postal box number in Nairobi where contributions could be sent. We walked slowly back to our hotel in quiet resignation, having witnessed the last days of a Jewish congregation.

III.

If the Nairobi community was dying, the Cairo community was dead. Although Sadat had been to Jerusalem and Begin had been to Cairo, and Israeli tourists were freely circulating around Egypt, there was no community to be found. Once the Jewish community in Egypt had been famous. Jews had lived in Egypt for thousands of years, notably in Alexandria and Cairo. Now that was all gone.

Even the thousand-year-old Ben Ezra Synagogue, which I had first visited in 1975, was closed. We visited the site but the synagogue was shut. A sign written in English on a piece of cardboard read "Closed for Reparations." The writer had meant *repairs* but some of us thought it was no slip.

We had only a few days to find a sabbath service, and I was not sure what to do. Again I turned to the American embassy, which gave me information about the Israeli embassy. I tried to telephone the embassy, but the Cairo phone system as usual was not working, so I took a taxi to the middle-class, moderately fashionable neighborhood where the embassy was

supposed to be located. We found the house, which was, wonder of wonders, flying the Israeli Star of David. In front and on both sides of the building were great mounds of sandbags and fortifications, and behind them I could see soldiers, heavily armed and in full battle gear. Off to the side was an armored vehicle.

It dawned on me that if they thought I was a terrorist I would get killed. The taxi stopped. I hesitated for a moment and slowly opened the door of the car and put my hands high above my head. "Shalom aleichem, salam alaichem" I could hear myself saying — "Peace be with you, my brothers" — and thinking, "Please don't pull that trigger."

Eventually I was admitted, and after a tense conversation with a security officer, was told that someone would contact me at our hotel. I thanked him, waved to all the soldiers, said my "Shalom aleichems, salam aleichems" again, bowed, got into the taxi and drove off.

After this experience I hoped that no one would call and that the Cairo phones would continue to be out of order. But on Friday morning I received a call in my room from a Mr. Ephraim Dovek (pronounced Dubek), the Israeli chargé d'affaires in Egypt. He could not direct us to a service, but if we wished, he would be glad to meet with us that evening at the hotel.

I forgot to ask him how I would recognize him, but I needn't have worried. I waited in the lobby not knowing what to expect, when in walked a short, strongly built man, with no tie or jacket, and an open white shirt, Ben Gurion style. I knew it was him. "Mr. Dovek." "Professor Drimmer." I called the group together, and we met in an open lounge on the second floor, with chairs grouped in a semi-circle. The atmosphere was free and relaxed.

Mr. Dovek had been Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem and Israeli ambassador to various African and Latin American countries. He was born in Cairo and had left Egypt only in 1948, at the age of 18. He still spoke fluent Arabic. He reflected on the changes he saw in Cairo since he had lived there as a youth. There were no foreigners left. The Cairo he knew had been filled with Greeks, Italians, French, and Jews. They were all gone. In 1948 Cairo had about a million inhabitants; now eight million were crowded into the city. He was impressed with the friendliness of the Egyptians to him and his family and to the Israeli staff. He said he felt secure and moved freely about the city. There were some problems with getting housing for his staff since apartment house owners were fearful of a possible terrorist attack, and the neighbors did not relish the idea of heavily armed security forces patrolling the area.

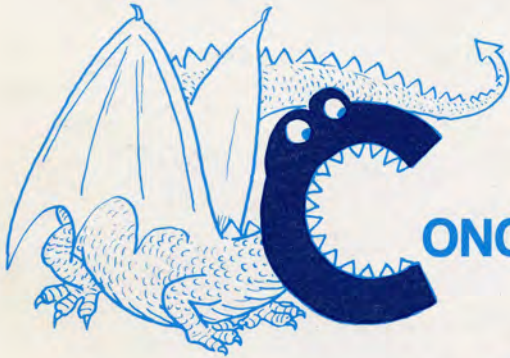
The meeting ended cordially at 11:00. We thanked Mr. Dovek, and I accompanied him to the lobby and was about to walk him to his car parked outside. As we reached the door of the hotel, he stopped and put his arm on mine. "Professor Drimmer," he said slowly and with some intensity, "I think it better for you if I went to the car myself. We can never be too careful." He smiled and went off into the Egyptian night.

Melvin Drimmer is Professor of History at Cleveland State University and a Post-Doctoral Fellow in the W.E. DuBois Institute at Harvard University.

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