


Fall 1981

The Gamut: A Journal of Ideas and Information, No. 04, Fall 1981

Cleveland State University

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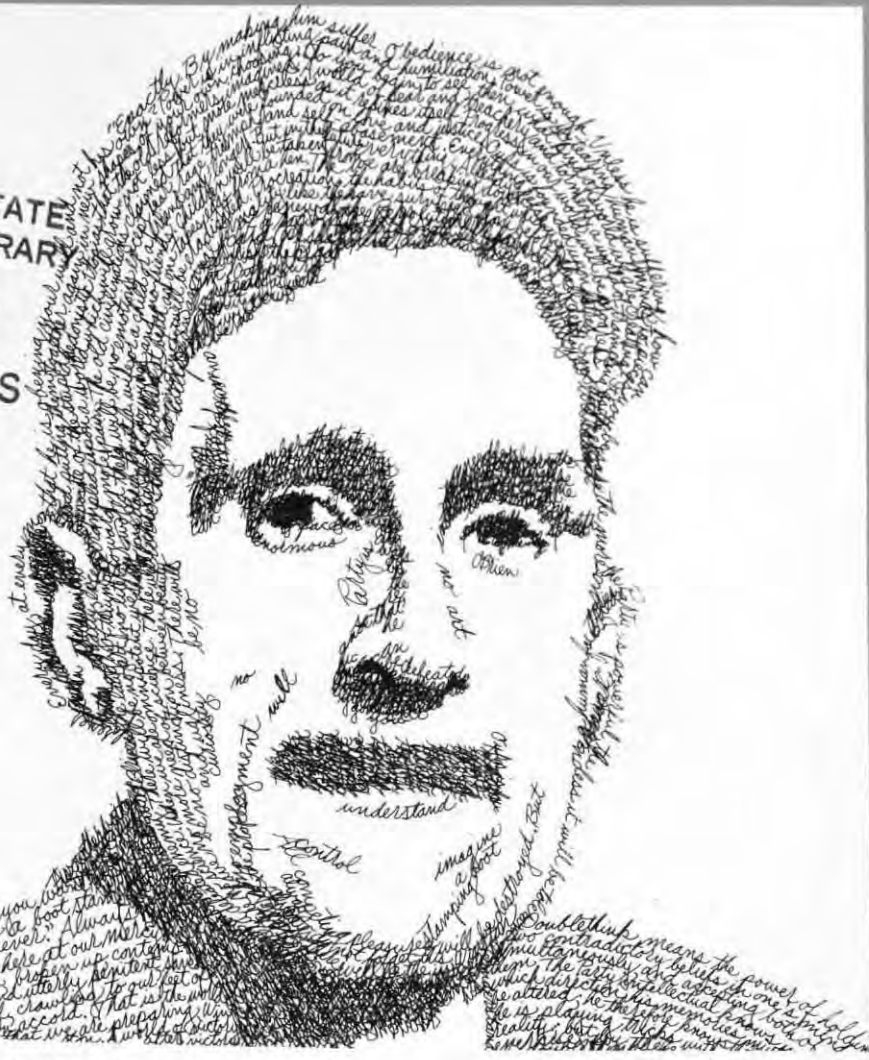
THE GRANIT

A JOURNAL OF IDEAS AND INFORMATION

Number 4

Fall, 1981

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GEORGE ORWELL AS 1984 by John Sokol. See Robert Plank on Grand Inquisitors from Dostoevsky to Orwell, p. 29.

FAD CURES FOR CANCER p.3

p.21 VICTORIAN NUDITY

CARUSO ON DIGITALS p.77

Deadline is December 31 for The GAMUT's
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At least two additional
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Cecilie Goodrich

FADS AND THEIR PERPETRATORS: THE EXAMPLES OF KREBIOZEN AND LAETRILE

The public's ignorance of science and mistrust of government leave it prey to dangerous fads.

One fine July day, the arriving sunbathers and swimmers at Nantasket Beach on Boston's South Shore found a genuine "sea monster" on the beach. Not a *live* monster — the odor left no doubt of that — but clearly not any sort of sea creature that anyone there had ever seen. Someone called the police. The crowd grew as the news went out over an alert radio station, and the police had their hands full directing traffic and trying vainly to keep the crowd back. By late afternoon marine biologists from a local university had arrived and begun to examine the carcass. The evening television news on all the local channels carried brief accounts and showed the scene from a discreet distance. One of the hair-raising features of the monster was briefly confirmed by an expert: the monster had NO BONES. It also had a disproportionately tiny head for its big body, with a long, somewhat arched neck. Overnight, more sightseers came and departed, taking with them samples of decaying monster. More biologists and oceanographers arrived, representing a total of four prestigious local universities. After looking at the simmering carcass briefly, they chatted and began to talk with reporters and with members of the crowd. The experts pronounced the

monster to be a *basking shark*, and not particularly rare after all. As news that the monster was not officially a monster went through the crowd, a murmur arose, growing to a grumble, and finally becoming loud enough to hasten the departure of the experts. It appeared that the official opinion was not only unwelcome, but downright offensive.

That incident occurred during the summer of 1969, while I was a postdoctoral fellow working in the Boston area. I was particularly puzzled by the attitude of the disappointed monster-watchers. The general populace was not particularly backward; anyone with a smattering of an old-fashioned biology course might have had a clue about the "monster" from some of the earliest reports. The *cartilaginous fishes*, which include the sharks, rays and skates, are characterized by a complete lack of bone. That apparently bizarre feature was actually an indication that the creature was among the groups of animals known to science. But I did discover from a heavy treatise that the basking shark is bizarre from a biological point of view; instead of feeding with the vicious teeth that are familiar from *Jaws*, it strains microscopic life from the water like some of the whales. The effectiveness of this feeding strategy is

Cecilie Goodrich, a native of Colorado, received a B.S. in zoology from the University of Michigan and a Ph.D. in physiology from Harvard University. She did postdoctoral research at the National Institute for Medical Research in Mill Hill, England, and at the Harvard University Medical School, and is presently an Associate Professor in the Department of Biology and Health Sciences at Cleveland State University. Her publications include studies of body temperature, respiration, sleep, and hibernation in various animals, and maturation of brain control systems in newborn mice.



attested by the large size of both whales and basking sharks, the latter being often recorded in excess of 35 feet in length.

The issue of expert credibility

Since that experience, other episodes have strengthened my concern over a general lack of trust in orthodox science. Many of us who teach, particularly at beginning and non-major levels in college, encounter a frustrating barrier to the communication of the facts of our disciplines. Beyond the understandable difficulties of communicating with students who are not very sophisticated in the techniques of learning, we find an unwillingness to replace previously acquired incorrect information. Human reproduction is a subject that bristles with family folklore and inaccurate details from friends and previous "health" classes; furthermore many books which are otherwise accurate contain major misstatements due to a lack of specific information on humans. Many of the facts about the reproduction of rats and other routine laboratory species cannot be transferred to humans. Knowing this, I prepared for my first non-major class with painstaking compilation and distillation of facts specifically about human reproduction. I was astonished at the results of the first examination! Many students rearranged the sequence of the menstrual cycle, although this would have disastrous consequences in the use of certain birth control techniques; some found it difficult to believe that human males and females have such different anatomical arrangements for the openings of their urinary and reproductive tracts; some did not accept the hydraulic mechanism of erection, preferring instead to believe in a nonexistent bone. This teaching experience has become routine for me, but it is particularly striking since the information is of practical importance to almost everyone and is not beyond a student's capacity to understand.

A recent article by Barry Singer and Victor Benassi in *American Scientist*¹ examines a perverse attachment to false beliefs among students. Apparently motivated by experience in the classroom similar to mine, Singer and Benassi carried out an experiment in six classes of an introductory psychology course, to which they introduced a skilled amateur magician. Since previous literature had indicated that advance billing can be influential in determining the nature of beliefs formed, the instructors introduced the magician either as an "alleged psychic" or simply as an amateur magician. The magician then performed three "psychic" stunts — blind-

fold reading, teleportation of ashes, and mental bending of a metal rod. Written feedback from the students yielded the surprising result that for both types of introduction 75% of the students believed that the magician was truly a psychic. Benassi and Singer then added a new condition in which the instructors emphatically and repeatedly stated that the performer was an amateur magician. Although this time the students reported in writing that they had heard and understood the instructor, 50% of the students were still convinced that the performer was a psychic. Still more disturbing were the results of a series of follow-up studies in which the students were asked to consider other alternatives for their conclusions. The students readily admitted that magicians could perform similar feats, and even that a vast majority of "psychic" practitioners were likely to be frauds and magicians. When asked to reconsider their judgment in this more rational framework, they still judged the performer to be a genuine psychic.

To a degree, we teachers bear responsibility for our students' naiveté in deciding what to believe. It has required centuries to develop systematic methods of observation and analysis and a realization of the absolute necessity for objectivity, all of which is now formalized as the "scientific method." All humans apparently have the tendency to impose patterns on events which are actually random. We require training and experience to distinguish between events that are merely coincidentally correlated and those that are causally linked. But in teaching science, we tend to reserve extensive discussion of these topics of method for our advanced students. We present principles and facts almost as dogma because there is so much material to be covered in so little time. Little wonder then that our students are uncertain about the validity of prominent theories, and are easy prey to so-called theories which are really superstitions.

The issues of beliefs and their formation have importance beyond the classroom. The public in general is assailed by theories and their promoters clamoring for belief. There is Eric von Daniken's *Chariots of the Gods*, more a chariot of von Daniken than of any extra-terrestrial being. Investigation reveals simple and natural explanations for the "mysteries" which he uses as evidence for the visits of other beings. A number of journalists and free-lance writers have done well with the "Bermuda Triangle," even to the length of creating a non-triangular "Great Lakes Triangle," though the P.B.S. television series *Nova*

has thoroughly debunked both of these fads. There are flying saucers and "bigfeet," as I suppose they must be termed if several exist. Orthodox scientists have smiled indulgently and largely ignored these widespread but unfounded beliefs.

Similar issues of credibility are involved in current legislative debates which have profound political and social implications: definition of the beginning of human life, revision of requirements for the function of the Food and Drug Administration, determination of a right of "freedom of choice" where safety and health are involved. Scientific questions that require intricate technical knowledge are now subjects for legislation and judicial decision. A modern remoteness between the citizen and the technicalities of various scientific fields may have created a vacuum of understanding that can be cleverly manipulated by unscrupulous entrepreneurs or true believers seeking to force the rest of society into their version of "correct" moral posture.

Science as an institution is poorly equipped to respond to certain forms of question or assault. Scientists traditionally carry on their professional activities singly or in small groups, forming effective lobbies with great difficulty. Modern scientific style is not convincing to our elected representatives. Scientists carry on their professional arguments in the comparative isolation of their professional societies, where even the professional science writer may not be able to extract the esoteric essence of the respective arguments without the assistance of the proponents themselves. Further, the nature of scientific debate today is not what it used to be, at least in my field. There is now a tendency on the part of *bona fide* giants in a field to icily ignore what they consider nonsense. It is relatively rare for a Great Man to issue forth to battle and destroy what he thinks is a patently ridiculous idea. The reputable business of his field goes on in routine channels, efficiently neglecting those who are not members of the club. This is quite a different state of affairs from the nineteenth century, when it was customary for the Great Man to demolish foolish ideas and their perpetrators. Pasteur and Virchow exemplify nineteenth-century European scientists who won deep respect both among their colleagues and with the general public, in part because of well-publicized exchanges in professional meetings. The forceful rhetoric adopted by men of this sort combined with their major discoveries to create a social stature for the European professor which has

lasted to this day.

If the experts in a field do not adjudicate the theories and practices of their fields today, then how is one outside the field to know which theories are valid? What advice can be given to legislative bodies or to individuals on establishing a basis for their actions? In default of clear leadership we now have charismatic public figures whose opinions are expressed largely in certain prestigious non-professional periodicals or in appearances on television.

Passage of legislation without expert advice produces scientifically ridiculous results, as the following example illustrates. On January 18, 1897, Edwin J. Goodman, M.D., of Solitude, Indiana, promoted the introduction of a bill into the Indiana House of Representatives, "A Bill Introducing a New Mathematical Truth." Its main provision was to make the value of π equal to $16/\sqrt{3}$, approximately 9.2376 On February 5, 1897, the bill passed that house unanimously and was forwarded to the state Senate, where for reasons that are no longer clear it was assigned to the Committee on Temperance. This Committee returned the bill with a favorable recommendation and the bill passed its first reading in the Senate. By coincidence a Purdue professor of mathematics, C.A. Waldo, was present to care for the details of an academic appropriations bill and happened to hear a portion of the final debate on the value of π . He spent the following night coaching many senators, with the result that the bill was postponed indefinitely and has not been reintroduced to this day.² Scientific principles are not established by legislation, which cannot adapt itself to unforeseen new discoveries, even if at the time of enactment it reflects the best current knowledge. Nor can court decisions establish scientific facts, although legal precedent has some similarities to developing science. We simply must rely on technical experts for up-to-date information in their fields.

In the pages that follow I will illustrate these comments on the public alienation from science by tracing the histories of two so-called cancer cures, Krebiozen and Laetrile, which scientific study has shown to be worthless. Krebiozen seems to have been effectively discredited by responsible scientists and the actions of governmental agencies. Laetrile still has its advocates, whose fanaticism presents a frightening example of how unscrupulous or deluded persons can evade the law and manipulate political forces to thwart rational controls designed to protect the ignorant and unwary.

But before turning to these specific examples, it will be useful to examine further the nature of the attraction of irrational beliefs, and the special characteristics of the pseudoscientists who promulgate and exploit such beliefs.

Superstitions, fads, and their perpetrators

A fair amount of information is now available on the formation of what may be termed "occult" beliefs — that is, beliefs which are not based on rational processes. Sir James Frazer, in *The Golden Bough*¹ provides the classic analysis of one such belief, sympathetic magic. His Law of Similarity states that, for a believer in this magic, like produces like, and an effect will resemble its cause. By the Law of Contact, things which have once been in contact can continue to act on each other when separated by physical distance. Homeopathic medicine is full of such reasoning, and a little analysis often reveals such principles operating in many folk remedies and modern fads. A number of diseases reduce appetite or cause nausea as the disease engages various natural defense mechanisms; a magical extension of this observation is the claim of a therapeutic value in fasting, even for healthy individuals.

Psychologists have studied the formation of beliefs for many years. Eyewitness experience is highly influential in forming opinions — "I saw it myself," or "seeing is believing." The nature of authority in formation of beliefs through second-hand or more remote accounts is less clear. Rumors have a surprisingly believable quality, particularly when accompanied by specific details. But why are details from some sources more believable than those from other sources? Why is a faith healer so successful, and why are so many physicians less credible? The answers are complex. Even more puzzling is the common observation that individuals who are highly rational often embrace irrational beliefs. Physicists have been hoodwinked by magicians, since the techniques of the magician are not familiar to the physicist. But why does the physicist abandon his scientific impartiality to believe that he has witnessed a paranormal occurrence that defies physical laws? Beliefs that are rationally incompatible are readily compartmentalized so that the believer is often unaware of his inconsistency.

We humans are not alone in our touching persistence in viewing life in terms of predictable patterns. During the Second World War B.F. Skinner rewarded a group of pigeons with food delivered on arbitrary

schedules. The pigeons developed individual bizarre behaviors, such as hopping in a peculiar manner, or partially extending one wing. These pigeons apparently "believed" that the food was rewarding their idiosyncratic behavior. How many of us develop similar superstitions in an attempt to control or understand random events? And how many of us are willing to defend such behavior as rational? We exercise our intuition extensively, and usually successfully, in dealing with a complex array of environmental situations. We therefore fall into bad habits in the application of intuition. We jump to conclusions without considering all the available information and testing our conclusions. We fail to consider alternatives. We even select instances which appear to support our opinion, and unconsciously neglect opposing experience. *Clairvoyance* is the psychic name given to the common experience of coincidental coupling of a dream or mental image with a subsequent event. But how many dreams and imaginings lack correspondence to real events? Surely many times the number needed to establish a belief in one's "psychic powers." And yet the negative instances are forgotten.

It is apparent that we need to apply our best rational processes when we deal with situations beyond our professional competence. As the importance of a decision increases, it is necessary to exercise more caution in collecting and considering alternative information. The situation becomes more difficult where there is an obvious conflict in choices. The conflicting theories are often presented persuasively, and talented charlatans are often able to make their presentation more attractive than the cold facts to the contrary. In many cases analysis of certain objective characteristics of a theory can yield a relatively reliable basis for deciding the theory's credibility. Martin Gardner has carefully and often amusingly analyzed a number of instances in his book *Fads & Fallacies in the Name of Science*.⁴ Some current fads, such as popular diets, actually have a venerable history. Certain features appear repeatedly in pseudoscientific theories and in the attitudes and assertions of their originators.

An objective examination of new theories and their proponents can readily distinguish three major categories: 1) unusual, but probably valid hypotheses which may require further investigation for fuller proof; 2) obvious rubbish perpetrated either unwittingly by eccentrics or wittingly by entrepreneurs for their own gain; and 3) theories with a highly specialized basis, or with too little

evidence for a conclusive evaluation at present. Although the non-specialist can seldom master the technical knowledge necessary to judge a new theory directly, any careful observer, with a visit to the library, can come to a reasonably accurate conclusion by evaluating the theorist's personal characteristics and apparent motivation and the kind of evidence advanced in support of the theory.

1. Personal characteristics of the theorist. The training and professional experience of the proponent of a controversial theory are relatively easy to review, and they provide useful guides to evaluation of the theory itself. A person who is well-trained at a respected institution is more likely to propound a viable theory than someone who merely dabbles in science. At one time, when the mass of information in an area was relatively small and more elementary, it was possible for a dilettante to make a valuable contribution. Thorough information is required in order to formulate a theory that will advance a particular field, and as the field grows and inevitably becomes more complex, the chances become smaller that a novice will be able to contribute anything useful. Most advances in theory require a new synthesis of existing information or new insight into known processes. Unless the main body of information in a given field involves "barking up the wrong tree," one must command that information before beginning to contribute materially. Under some circumstances, to be sure, insight from a different but in some way related field may lead to a new application of principles or synthesis of existing information. Examples of this are plentiful in biology, but they do not detract from the basic requirement of expertise on the part of the originator of an idea. A pair of Swiss engineers contributed materially to the understanding of mammalian kidney function on the basis of their knowledge of countercurrent flow systems; but Linus Pauling, a Nobel Laureate in molecular biology, has failed to convince a scientific audience by his enthusiastic recommendations of vitamin C, since he is now working outside his area of expert knowledge.

As initial training is a useful indicator of reliability, so also is continuing activity after earning a graduate degree. The career of a great scientist is usually marked by a steady stream of results, which are customarily submitted to the scrutiny of peers in the field and published in readily identifiable places. In many cases it is possible to trace a logical chain of research ultimately leading to the

theory under study. The relative strength of that chain of findings can help in evaluating the credibility of a theory's proponent.

Martin Gardner has pointed out that the pseudoscientist generally considers himself a lonely individual, often stating or implying that this is due to the prejudice of the scientific Establishment. It is true that the established workers of greatest repute may sometimes behave in a cantankerous fashion when new ideas are introduced. They may make it more difficult to publish unorthodox findings in a reputable journal or to obtain funding. It is possible to cite numerous examples of theories which were laughed at and then accepted; the theory of continental drift is a recent example. But contrary to the angry assertions of the pseudoscientist, science is not immutable. It cannot afford to be! All fields of science are continually modifying previous beliefs. The amount of change usually corresponds to the amount of active investigation going on in a given field, because with more experimental investigations, finding new information becomes more likely. On the other hand, theories which have received extensive investigation deserve respect, and should require new information of major proportions to cause their revision.

Gardner has also remarked that the pseudoscientist often considers himself a genius, considers the Establishment to be a collection of blockheads, and believes that he is being unjustly persecuted. The writings of some pseudoscientists contain features which satisfy definition of clinical paranoia, a mental condition "marked by chronic, systematized, gradually developing delusions, without hallucinations, and with little tendency toward deterioration, remission, or recovery." This characteristic unfortunately manifests itself in the creation of a complex jargon quite apart from the customary technical terminology of the field. It is not surprising that the orthodox members of the field shudder, and refuse to wade through what they consider to be an ocean of gibberish. The "lonely genius" reciprocates by vigorously attacking the most prominent practitioners in the field; in fact, he often attacks the practitioners rather than their theories.

Eric Hoffer in discussing political and philosophical fanatics⁵ has added another applicable feature. "True believers" find their life spoiled by their inability to attain the distinction which they believe is their just due. They are restless, unable to construct patiently the evidence necessary to support their theories and thus convince their peers. The fanatic would prefer to pull down the pil-

lars of the existing theories rather than to add modestly to the existing structure of knowledge. On the other hand, the orthodox scientist works patiently at accumulating routine data throughout his creative career. A truly insightful scientist is often uncomfortable in the role of an activist, shuns notoriety, and relinquishes the role of a leader as soon as possible in an effort to get back to the laboratory.

2. Apparent motivation. Is the theorist seeking Truth, proof of a given theory, personal acclaim, money, or some mixture of these objectives? Although this is a delicate criterion, it can be revealing. If the theorist is already convinced of the validity of the theory, then he might not be aware of the necessity for further proof. Many studies of functioning scientists conducted by unbiased professional observers confirm the commonsense suggestion that people find what they are looking for. In other words, even if conscious bias is absent, the design of an experiment may be such that it is unlikely to reveal information other than what has been expected. An attempt to evaluate motivation therefore provides more than an indication of unprofessional subjectivity — it may suggest particular weaknesses in the design of a study and hence in the support for the theory.

One of the most valuable attributes for a scientist is an ability for self-criticism. In my experience, really respectable scientists and students are somewhat dismayed by initial results which support their hypotheses too easily. Paradoxically, it is in some way comforting to confirm that the world is more complicated than a simple hypothesis, so long as the complications can be accommodated in a theoretical framework. The reputable practitioner will seek to test, or even destroy, his own theories before contemplating publication. A series of control experiments usually accompanies the main body of results, showing that extraneous and perhaps trivial causes are not involved, and further limiting the conclusions to those which the author supports. Our system of peer review of publications and grant applications provides necessary external scrutiny of results, but should not operate until the worker has himself answered the obvious questions. The serious scientist has learned how to do this. The pseudoscientist, motivated by some form of self-aggrandizement, cannot. His mental make-up precludes the necessary self-criticism, and he unfortunately interprets the review of outsiders as stemming from personal animus.

3. Presentation of theory; supporting evidence. If it be granted that extensive information is usually necessary as the foundation on which a new theory can be erected, then it follows that such basic information should be cited by the theorist, and also subjected to objective evaluation. It is a relatively simple matter to examine the Bibliography or References section of a publication, looking for major figures among the names listed and for publications of pivotal importance. For the sciences there exists a marvelous device called Science Citation Index which lists the various publications of a particular author, together with the other publications which cite that author in a given year. It is thus possible to locate rapidly an important article on the basis of the frequency with which other workers in the same field cite it. Of course this criterion is not infallible, but it is often helpful.

Formal scientific writing follows a conventional format which simplifies communication and also provides a built-in check against self-deception. The introduction of typical scientific publications usually contains some indication of the basis or starting point for an investigation, together with the more important questions to be investigated. The technicalities of the introduction may not be comprehensible to someone outside the field, but the outline of the study usually emerges separately. Stripped of the technicalities, an introduction usually says something like the following:

Certain observations are generally accepted as established. However, in the course of a certain investigation, we found the following unexpected result. This is important because it suggests the following new interpretation might be true. Accordingly we set out to investigate the following questions in an attempt to shed more light on that possibility.

If the write-up reveals an improper personal stake in the theory being presented, or fails to indicate the use of sufficient controls and self-questioning, even the non-specialist may reasonably question the validity of the results.

The nature of objective support for a theory may become exceedingly specialized in many technical fields. But a surprising number of eccentric theorists fail to provide even elementary objective support. This may be because tests are technically impossible or prohibitively costly; but sometimes the crucial tests are merely omitted. Such omission in itself can serve as a criterion in evaluating a theory and its creator. There is a human ten-

dency for anyone deeply involved in an idea to find it simple or obvious. ("Elementary, my dear Watson.") This is precisely why a trained scientific practitioner is repeatedly required to support his assertions objectively. It is not sufficient merely to present some background, the theory itself, an elaboration of the beautiful merits of the theory, and then with a flourish, and "voilà!" Or "quod erat demonstrandum." Ah, but is it really demonstrated? That is the essential question. And while that may be a question which occupies the experts in the field for many years, the criteria we have been examining can often anticipate the answer.

The two ineffective cancer cures discussed in the following pages provide good examples of pseudoscientists whose theories betray fallacies a careful layman can detect. Both Krebiozen and Laetrile have been at one time or another regarded by the public as at least possibly effective cures for cancer. Belief in the efficacy of Krebiozen has subsided, but Laetrile still has its supporters, in spite of a voluminous literature, both for scientists and for the general public, which shows unequivocally that Laetrile not only is ineffective as a cure but is potentially dangerous.⁶ Information about the scientists who have advocated these drugs, and an account of the regulatory and legal measures required for their control, is instructive and a bit frightening.

The case of Krebiozen

Krebiozen is the proprietary name of a defunct cancer cure. Its "discoverer," a Yugoslav physician, Stevan Durovic, first prepared it in Argentina from the blood of specially-treated horses, bringing it to the United States in 1949. It did not immediately achieve any great following, but gradually gained attention until the middle 1950's when an emeritus professor in Illinois, Andrew C. Ivy, became an enthusiastic convert to its curative powers. Because of his established scientific reputation, Andrew Ivy's involvement provided a degree of respectability for the material, but his involvement with Krebiozen has damaged his scientific reputation.

Ivy is known today first as the misguided scientist associated with Krebiozen, and second as the medically-trained scientist who provided final and exquisitely detailed evidence for the presence and functional importance of a number of gastrointestinal hormones. He resolved a lengthy controversy between the proponents of a theory of nervous system control of digestion championed by the famous Russian physiologist

Pavlov, and a new English-American school of hormonal control which included the first discoverers of hormones. Ivy's contribution involved an elaboration of the difficult animal surgical techniques introduced in large measure by Pavlov and his co-workers. By painstaking transplantation of both the hormone source and the target tissue, Ivy's experiments conclusively ruled out the participation of nerves in the observed effects. Moreover, Ivy's work was not a youthful, one-shot effort; he continued his systematic observations on gastrointestinal hormones with major results and in 1928 defined a new hormone (cholecystokinin).

Nor was Ivy's work restricted to this general field. In 1939 he published another landmark paper in a somewhat remote field, and it was in this effort that I first became acquainted with his work. In 1910 the French worker Pieron had published a Ph.D. thesis suggesting the existence of a "hypnotoxin" — a factor whose accumulation in the brain and its fluids during waking would eventually bring about sleep. When Ivy re-examined Pieron's experiment he entered the field with his years of experience in pursuing elusive hormonal factors and his unquestioned skill in animal surgery. He provided the proper conditions which were lacking in Pieron's work, and ended by suggesting that his experiments supported the existence of such a factor. Unfortunately, a more sophisticated modern analysis of Ivy's results indicates that his results were inconclusive. Ivy's statistical methods were acceptable in that journal at the time, but not by more rigorous current standards.

Ivy's publications span the years 1919 to 1973, in many highly respected journals. He retained his primary interest in the gastrointestinal tract, while exploring other questions. In 1959 he announced a factor which he initially called Lipopolysaccharide C, prepared in the same way as Durovic's Krebiozen. Subsequently Ivy established his own journal, modestly entitled *Ivy Cancer News*, and used this as a vehicle for publication of many case studies of Krebiozen's effectiveness.

Dr. Stevan Durovic and his lawyer brother Marko organized a corporation originally named Instituto Biologica Duga of Buenos Aires, Inc., which later became Pro-mak Laboratories of Chicago. The Krebiozen Research Foundation, also of Chicago, was registered as an Illinois nonprofit corporation, providing Krebiozen to physicians who requested it for their patients. The Foundation routinely requested that patients make a

contribution to Promak Laboratories, the supplier of the drug. This circumvented certain technicalities in the state and federal regulations that restricted manufacture and sale of an unregistered drug. At about the same time the Ivy Cancer Research Foundation was incorporated as a Chicago nonprofit corporation whose purpose according to one of its fund-raising brochures was to "further research conducted by Dr. Andrew C. Ivy and others whose projects may be approved by the Foundation, on the use of Lipopolysaccharide C."

Drs. Durovic and Ivy and their co-workers ran afoul of the Federal Food and Drug Administration regulations prohibiting interstate shipment and sale of a drug without proper filing of a plan for investigational use of the drug. Krebiozen remained available in Illinois and was widely used, judging by the presentation of 4,200 case histories by the Krebiozen Research Foundation and Dr. Ivy in 1961 in support of broad claims of benefits to cancer patients. After repeated requests for sufficient details so that the histories could be evaluated, the Krebiozen Research Foundation later chose 504 of the original records, which were submitted to the National Institute of Health's National Cancer Institute (NCI) for expert evaluation by a panel of experienced specialists. The medical records were still not complete, and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) itself had to collect the missing details. The 24-member expert panel apparently carried out its review thoroughly, evaluating not only the clinical records, but also X-ray and tissue pathology. In 1963, the committee unanimously reported that Krebiozen was ineffective.

At the same time, the composition of Krebiozen was subjected to analysis, and a sensational debate over its composition developed in the national press. Ivy's original name for the material, Lipopolysaccharide C, implies the presence of a fatty substance with attached multiple sugar units. Durovic had stated previously that his analysis of Krebiozen showed it to be composed of a mixture of 6 different sugars attached to a simple fat molecule. However, a sample of the precious material given to an inspector for the FDA for analysis was found to contain only creatine, a substance normally found in the human body, and easily extractable from meat and a variety of other sources. Samples of the ampules of Krebiozen made up for administration to patients contained nothing but mineral oil in early batches, and in later batches mineral oil plus small amounts of an alcohol

and a derivative of creatine which is soluble in oil. Durovic heatedly denied the accuracy of the FDA analyses, hinting that since the FDA was not familiar with Krebiozen and was skeptical of its existence, the FDA was incapable of fairly evaluating his samples. Senator Paul Douglas set up a committee "to appraise FDA and NCI . . . conclusions on Krebiozen," and the committee supported Drs. Durovic and Ivy. The publicity over the composition of Krebiozen, however, was severely damaging to its reputation as a cure, although this was not realized at the time.

Meanwhile the main battle was taking place over the FDA restraint of Krebiozen's use. A number of lawsuits were filed on behalf of patients, charging that the government, voluntary health agencies such as the American Cancer Society, and the American Medical Association were conspiring to prevent the use of Krebiozen. One of these suits, brought by F. Allen Rutherford, a physician in Sun City, Arizona, was finally rejected in 1968 when the District Court ruled that "until Krebiozen's sponsors comply with the law, the court cannot hear a case seeking unfettered interstate distribution of the substance." Durovic and Ivy had never adhered to the FDA regulations requiring the filing of an acceptable plan for the investigational use of Krebiozen.

In the midst of this activity, Ivy coined a new name for the substance, "carcalon," which meant roughly "cancer inhibitor" (from classical Greek *karkos*, cancer, and *chalone*, a natural inhibitor). He sought formal registration for the name, and later used it as a generic or general chemical name for Krebiozen. After 1967 he showed a distinct preference for his generic name. "I've manufactured some of the drug myself. I call it carcalon, not Krebiozen. Krebiozen is a commercial name; carcalon is its biomedical name. But it's the same thing."

It was indeed the same thing. Subsequent analyses of Krebiozen samples supported the FDA's initial conclusions. The principals in the Krebiozen story were indicted in federal court on 49 counts for violations involving mail fraud, mislabeling, making false statements to the government, and conspiracy. The case was tried before a jury, which acquitted the defendants in 1966. The California Department of Public Health independently issued in 1967 a regulation prohibiting the use of Krebiozen in that state. Cancer cures are tenacious, but the FDA evidence gave the cure a strong taint of snake oil. Although a medical journal commented in 1971 that Krebiozen was still available in Illinois, it

is largely unknown today.

Conclusions on Krebiozen

The professional credentials of the proponents of Krebiozen were various. There is no record that Dr. Durovic was engaged in reputable publication before his announcement of the discovery of Krebiozen. On the other hand, the record of Andrew Ivy, which has been reviewed, deserves mainly admiration. During his work in gastrointestinal hormones, Ivy was a skilled and orthodox scientist. He showed creativity in undertaking painstaking experiments which would have been intimidating to other workers. His encounter with a possible sleep substance is a relatively natural outgrowth of his earlier work — predictable when his usual techniques would not yield new major discoveries on the digestive system. The control of the cycle of sleep and waking is still not clear, and in the 1930's it would have been a natural area of inquiry for a worker who had successfully revised the understanding of a function from exclusively nerve control to complex control involving both nerves and hormones. Ivy even showed his mettle in leaving the study of sleep after a single publication — the best he could demonstrate were equivocal results. His final conclusion was in support of the Pieron phenomenon, but he appears to have known at least intuitively that he would make no further progress, because he did not try. His expertise was in the extraction of chemical control factors from body fluids and from glandular tissues, and in measuring the effects of such extracts. With the exponential growth of biomedical science in the 1950's, it is not surprising to find him tackling the problem of why some people contract cancer and some do not. Researchers are still studying possible natural inhibitors in the treatment of cancer: although interferon is usually considered an inhibitor of viruses, it and other factors may eventually find application in cancer therapy.

External evidence supporting Krebiozen as an effective cancer treatment is weak. Although there are other possible interpretations, Ivy's creation of his own journal suggests that he may have had difficulties in publishing results in the usual journals of the field. Ivy had published in reputable journals previously, and one may presume that he at least attempted to do so again. With Ivy acting as both author and editor, there was no objective external criticism of the results. Established workers in cancer research were unable to support the conclusions of Durovic and Ivy when reviewing the case histories se-

lected for that purpose by the proponents of Krebiozen. This again suggests that the proponents had not been objective in criticizing their own results. The conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the histories submitted for review were lacking in major categories of information needed to make appropriate judgments of effectiveness. The NCI reviewers were forced to have the FDA collect these data, data which Durovic and Ivy ought to have obtained in the course of their work as a part of a normal critical evaluation of their conclusions.

The penchant for jargon among pseudoscientists has already been noted; this is particularly true in the naming of remedies. Greek and Latin derivations are popular. For some reason, it is not unusual for a cure to be named and renamed. Ivy first chose a conservative name in the fashion used for biochemical molecules — Lipopolysaccharide C —, and as the controversy over Krebiozen developed, he renamed the material more imposingly — carcalon. But this had little effect, "Krebiozen" being firmly entrenched as a designation.

Proponents of cancer cures often accuse the Establishment (governmental regulatory agencies, professional societies, and the pharmaceutical industry) of conspiracy to prevent use of a cure. The larger pharmaceutical firms are accused of suppressing the new discovery out of envy, since they do not possess the right to manufacture the drug themselves. The invective unleashed by the proponents of the cure may be interpreted as paranoia, but it might also be a clever publicity ploy to muddy the waters and justify the use of the drug for the general public. Many more details, particularly the statements of Durovic and Ivy themselves, would be necessary to obtain clues as to their actual motivation, and since so much time has elapsed, direct statements are as difficult to obtain as copies of *Ivy Cancer News*. But enough facts are available to form some conjectures. Stevan Durovic eventually left the United States, and was at last report (1969) living comfortably in Switzerland. When he left, he was reportedly under indictment for evasion of \$904,561 in income taxes. His lawyer brother Marko stayed behind, contesting the claim that he owed \$405,561 in taxes and penalties. Unlike the Durovic brothers, Andrew Ivy remained behind and was never charged with illegal profit from Krebiozen; he is now remembered as a scientific crank rather than as a trail-breaking endocrinologist of high repute.

The case of Laetrile

Laetrile is the trade name of another purported cancer cure, said by its promoters to have been accidentally discovered by Ernst Krebs, Sr., M.D., in 1920. Since publication concerning Laetrile and its possible actions begins in the 1960's, one wonders whether apparently increased age may confer some unmerited respectability for the drug. The story of Laetrile as it is related by its supporters has undergone development, with overlays of new details in the more recent versions. Even a cursory comparison of early and later pamphlets shows increasing sophistication in elaborating the purported mechanism of Laetrile's action — mythology in the making? The following account is primarily based on more recent publications of both the proponents and opponents.

Ernst Krebs, Sr., died in 1970 at the age of 93; thus in the 1920's, when he is said to have discovered Laetrile, he was in his 40's and had probably received his medical training at least 10 years earlier. This places his scientific background in the era of the more respectable activities of Ivy, at the time of extensive landmark discoveries in the field of biochemistry (the chemical reactions through which living systems transact their various activities), and also at the time of important development in the understanding of nutrition and nutritional diseases. One of the most famous discoveries at this time was the Krebs cycle, which describes a process in the utilization of glucose as a source of energy. The cycle was discovered, however, by a different Krebs (Sir Hans A. Krebs) — a real giant in his field. More than 350 papers by this Krebs spanning dates of 1926 to 1974 were still being cited in the scientific literature in 1975. (See Table for a comparison of numbers of papers cited in 1980.) One wonders to what extent this coincidence in names has

affected the acceptance of Laetrile. Ernst Krebs, Sr., appears to have realized the high toxicity of his material, because it is claimed that the substance was not explored further until his son, Ernst Krebs, Jr., had further purified it. Ernst Krebs, Jr. did not complete his medical school training, but is termed "Dr." on the basis of an honorary D.Sc. from a small Oklahoma Christian college not accredited for graduate-level training.

The theoretical basis for the biological effect claimed for Laetrile involves a series of half-truths and outmoded theories. An Edinburgh embryologist suggested in 1902 that a type of cell present in early mammalian embryos, the *trophoblast cell*, is identical with a cancer cell. The analogy is fairly strong even today, since the trophoblast grows rapidly, invading the wall of the uterus to establish the fetal portion of the placenta, and a number of biochemical and structural similarities exist. A major error in carrying this likeness too far is in assuming that there is a *single* kind of cancer; actually cancer bears all the hallmarks of a condition with multiple causes semantically lumped under a single disease name. The first recognition of the real similarity deserves attention for historical purposes but is worthless today in understanding the peculiarities of cancerous cells. Here it is worth noting that this suggestion is likely to have enjoyed a scientific vogue at about the time the elder Krebs was receiving his medical training, a time when most new basic scientific discoveries quickly found their way into medical education. *Trophoblast* literally means "nourishing precursor" cells, describing the established embryonic function of these cells; however the term sounds so imposing that the Laetrile proponents have turned it into a part of their jargon, and depict the cells as evil. The evil trophoblast cells wear black hats in pamphlet cartoon illustrations [Fig. 1].

The name *Laetrile* was coined as a shortened version of a chemical name for the substance — *Laevo-Mandelonitrile*. It was presented as a cure for cancer on the basis of its cyanide group, which can be cleaved from the parent molecule by certain enzymes. The enzyme beta-glucosidase has this effect, and is accordingly a key factor in the purported action of Laetrile. According to literature and film strips prepared and distributed by Laetrile supporters, cancerous cells contain larger-than-normal amounts of beta-glucosidase; therefore doses of Laetrile which will not harm normal cells (very little beta-glucosidase) are lethal to cancer cells. This theory thus confers great specificity on

	Approx. Publication Years	No. of Times Publications Cited
Stevan Durovic		none
Andrew Ivy	1919-1973	35
Ernst Krebs, Sr.		none
Ernst Krebs, Jr.		none
Sir Hans A. Krebs	1926-1979	169
Ernesto Contreras		none
John A. Morrone	1962	1
Manuel D. Navarro	1954-1976	3*
John Richardson		none

Table: Number of times publications by persons discussed in this article were cited in other publications during 1980, according to 1980 Science Citation Index.


*All publications in Philippine journals.

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GOD'S NATURAL ANTI-CANCER DEFENSES


TWO KINDS OF TUMORS

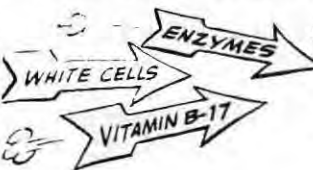
"BENIGN" TUMORS ARE THEMSELVES HARMLESS, CONTAINING NO DETECTABLE TROPHOBLAST CELLS!




THE PANCREAS RELEASES VARIOUS ENZYMES... SOME OF THEM ATTACK THE PROTECTIVE NEGATIVE CHARGED PROTEIN COATING OF THE TROPHOBLAST SO THAT THE WHITE BLOOD CELLS MAY ATTACK AND KILL IT! VITAMIN B-17 ALSO ATTACKS AND KILLS THE TROPHOBLAST. BUT AGE, HEREDITY, AND POOR DIET MAY LEAVE THE BODY VULNERABLE TO CANCER!

"MALIGNANT" TUMORS ARE CANCEROUS AND CONTAIN DETECTABLE TROPHOBLAST CELLS!








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HOW VITAMIN B-17 FIGHTS CANCER

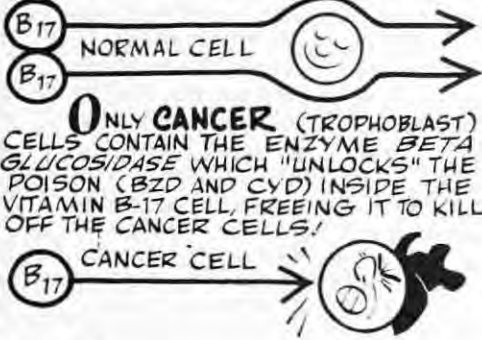
the **VITAMIN B-17** MOLECULE CONTAINS TWO UNITS OF GLUCOSE (SUGAR), 1 UNIT OF BENZALDEHYDE, AND 1 UNIT OF CYANIDE...



Vitamin B-17

BENZALDEHYDE* AND CYANIDE ARE POISONS THAT ARE NATURALLY "LOCKED-IN" THE CELL SO AS TO BE HARMLESS!

THE **BZD** AND **CYD** LOCKED IN VITAMIN B-17 CAN NOT HARM NORMAL CELLS WHICH CONTAIN THE ENZYME "RHODANESE!"



ONLY CANCER (TROPHOBLAST) CELLS CONTAIN THE ENZYME **BETA GLUCOSIDASE** WHICH "UNLOCKS" THE POISON (BZD AND CYD) INSIDE THE VITAMIN B-17 CELL, FREEING IT TO KILL OFF THE CANCER CELLS!

* RELIEVES PAIN OF TERMINAL CANCER WITHOUT NARCOTICS

Fig. 1. Comic-strip explanation reproduced from a 1975 pamphlet by Vic Lockman, disseminated by the Committee for Freedom of Choice in Cancer Therapy, a pro-Laetrile group. These panels use the term "trophoblast" inaccurately. Evidence from a number of reputable sources shows that normal and cancerous cells do not differ significantly in their levels of the enzymes mentioned. Here Laetrile is referred to as "Vitamin B-17."

Laetrile, making it a kind of magic bullet. Alas, the data do not fit this theory. Traces of beta-glucosidase are generally found in tissues, with no marked differences in the amounts between normal and cancerous cells. The Laetrile theory has also claimed that another enzyme, rhodanese, is involved in this mechanism, but modern research does not support this. David M. Greenberg, Ph.D. (Chairman and Professor of Biochemistry Emeritus at the University of California, School of Medicine, Berkeley and San Francisco) has studied extensively such enzymes

and their possible relationships to cancer. He states categorically, "The tissues of the body contain such minute amounts of the enzyme beta-glucosidase, the only enzyme that can decompose laetriles, that these compounds probably are not extensively broken down when introduced parenterally (i.e., by injection) and are probably excreted mainly intact in the urine." In the words of the American Cancer Society, "the only apparent difference between injected Laetrile and tap water as a treatment for cancer, is in the cost."

Another trend, beginning in the 1970's,

has been to declare Laetrile to be a vitamin (B-17). The claim for "cure" appears less frequently, and claims for "prevention," "relief of pain," and general retarding effects on established cancers are more often seen. It is now suggested that Laetrile is a natural component of cells, and if it is not present in sufficient quantities, cancer results in a manner similar to established "deficiency diseases" (e.g., beriberi or pellagra). A health cult version includes the evils of air pollution and food additives as general causes of cancer (leading first to another fad bogey — hypoglycemia). This version has brought about an alliance of the Laetrile supporters with such other faddists as believers in megavitamin therapy or holistic nutritional therapy. But again, alas! Facts do not support these assertions. The Laetrile supporters may benefit in having their agent classified as a "vitamin" rather than as a "drug" (if it is either), and of course one can sell a lot more of the stuff if all people in a modern environment — healthy or not — are supposed to take it. The FDA rejects the suggestion that Laetrile is a vitamin because it is not a natural constituent of the body, and is not required for normal functioning. This view is reinforced by unequivocal statements from the National Nutrition Consortium, a prestigious body whose member societies include the American Society for Clinical Nutrition, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Academy of Sciences — National Research Council.

One of the most dangerous assertions of the Laetrile supporters is the "big tumor — little cancer" theory. The Krebs assertion is that there is no relation between the size of a malignant tumor and the number of malignant cells present. This is used to explain why studies of Laetrile conducted by "conventional" scientists fail to find Laetrile beneficial — they are "assuming" that Laetrile is ineffective because the mass of tumor is increasing. But more important, patients receiving Laetrile are comforted by the reassurance that, though the size of their tumor may appear to increase, the majority of cells are harmless! This explains the frequent failure of Laetrile patients to abandon the ineffective therapy and return to potentially useful treatments until their tumors are literally the size of a cauliflower. Again the reality is quite other than the Laetrile theory. Different types of cancers have different patterns of spread, but often grow relatively quietly until large enough to overwhelm natural defenses. Size of tumor is related to number of malignant cells, and the relationships are

well recognized by pathologists, cancer specialists and radiologists. As a matter of fact this established relationship between size of tumor and number of cancer cells is the basis for the prevalence of surgery in treating all but the earliest stages of cancer. Such treatments as radiation or chemotherapy can be used more effectively and with diminished undesirable effects if the bulk of the tumor mass is first removed surgically, leaving comparatively fewer cells to be destroyed by another treatment.

Laetrile has an official status similar to that of Krebiozen — it has not been approved for investigational use, nor has it been approved as a vitamin. But the behavior of the Laetrile supporters has been many times more effective than was the case for Krebiozen. In mere marketing terms Laetrile has spread rapidly (if illegally) across the United States either as *Laetrile*, or under its generic name *amygdalin*, or other manufacturers' names (*Cyto H-3*, *Kemdaline*, *Aprikern*), or as vitamin B-17. A clever merchandizer has even packaged it as "Seventeen," preceded by a picture of a bee. Laetrile has been a subject of extensive litigation and repeated laboratory testing. The comparative success of Laetrile is therefore simultaneously intriguing and disturbing, since it forms precedents for future actions against a host of worthless agents.

A California physician, John Richardson, was arrested in 1972 for violations of state laws in his extensive Laetrile practice. His first conviction was overturned on appeal, and the two retrials ended with hung juries. In 1976 Dr. Richardson was among eight Americans indicted with three Mexican firms for smuggling Laetrile into the United States. This indictment stated that he had deposited more than \$2.5 million for his Laetrile treatments in 27 months (over \$1 million a year). Dr. Ernesto Contreras, the Tijuana physician with the most lucrative Laetrile practice in the world, deposited similar amounts in an American bank during the same period. Richardson's license to practice medicine was revoked, but he has since become an even more influential figure. He is also a member of the John Birch Society, and has received enthusiastic support from many members of that organization. The group first formed for support of Richardson's legal defense has become the Committee for Freedom of Choice in Cancer Therapy, claiming 450 chapters and more than 23,000 members. The organization sponsors meetings, lectures, pamphlets and film strips proclaiming the latest versions of the theories already out-

lined. These contain spurious comparisons of the effects of "Vitamin B-17" versus "orthodox treatment," and use catchy advertising techniques to sell their product. The illustration below, using scare techniques ("CUT! . . . BURN! . . . POISON!") is drawn from one of these pamphlets.

The Medical Freedom of Choice bill was introduced in Congress in 1977, with more than a hundred co-sponsors among the senators and representatives. This bill would remove "effectiveness" as a criterion for drug licensing, leaving only "safety." Celebrated litigation has also had a similar direction. In a decision by the Federal Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, Laetrile was allowed for use by terminally ill cancer patients. The case involved Glen Rutherford, who claimed to have been cured of cancer by Laetrile and sought to continue taking the drug. The Federal District Court focused on technicalities in administering regulations of the FDA. But the Court of Appeals in Denver gave a shocking opinion that the terms "safety" and "effectiveness" have no reasonable application to terminally ill cancer patients, and concluded that there were no practical standards for determining these criteria for a drug to be given to these patients. This decision was overturned by the Supreme Court in 1979. Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote the opinion, with a large measure of common sense.

Effectiveness does not necessarily denote capacity to cure.

A drug is effective if it fulfills, by objective indices, its sponsor's claims of prolonged life, im-

proved physical conditions, or reduced pain.

For the terminally ill, as for anyone else, a drug is unsafe if its potential for inflicting death or physical injury is not offset by the possibility of therapeutic benefit.

Moreover, there is a special sense in which the relationship between drug effectiveness and safety has meaning in the context of incurable illnesses. An otherwise harmless drug can be dangerous to any patient if it does not produce its purported therapeutic effect. . . . If an individual suffering from a potentially fatal disease rejects conventional therapy in favor of a drug with no demonstrable curative properties, the consequences can be irreversible.

In the face of this decision the strength of support for Laetrile is more striking. Although the actions of the FDA have been largely upheld, and Federal legislation modifying the standard criteria of efficacy and safety for drugs has not yet passed, states have responded to well-organized pressure on behalf of Laetrile and other fads. As of March, 1981, 23 states had enacted laws legalizing the use of Laetrile. In some cases this occurred through overriding a veto by the governor. Even California, which has been a leader in state prohibition of quack medicine, enacted a pro-Laetrile law in November, 1980. Eleven other states have similar legislation pending. Twelve states, including Ohio, have defeated Laetrile bills.

It is seldom made clear in newspaper, magazine, or "in-depth" television accounts of the controversy that great weight of evidence shows Laetrile to be no more effective an agent than water, and potentially much

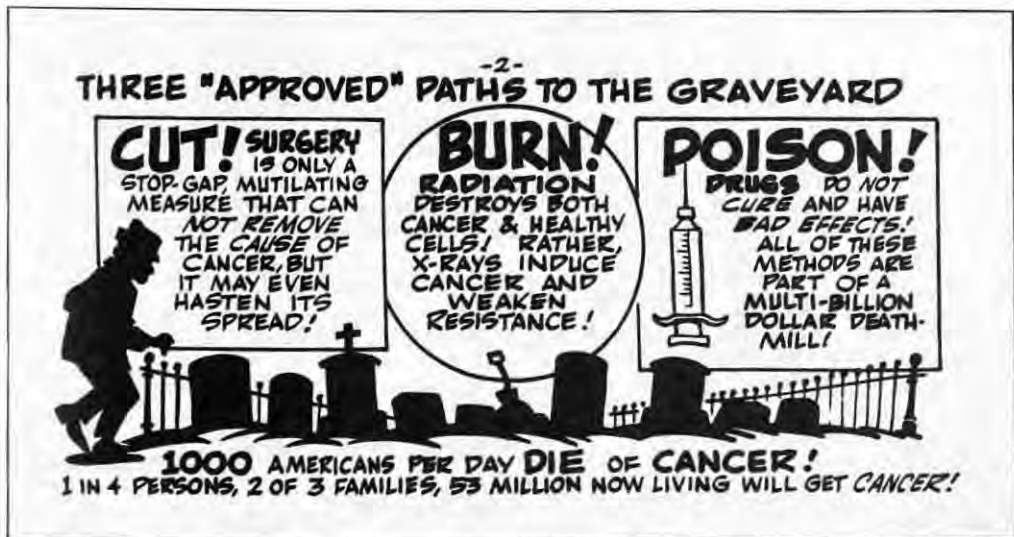


Fig. 2. Another page from the Lockman pamphlet. These assertions are not supported by reputable studies.

more toxic. Laetrile is easily the most thoroughly investigated of all worthless cures. Some examples of arguments on either side of the controversy reveal the quack-cure nature of the "evidence" presented in favor of Laetrile, and of the scientific pitfalls in proving its worthlessness. One of these difficulties is the "placebo effect," a bugaboo which haunts the work of all responsible scientists who investigate drug actions on humans. It is variously estimated that between 20 and 33 per cent of the patients receiving a new treatment may experience some benefit, even if the treatment is merely the proverbial sugar pill. The skilled hands of a sympathetic and gentle practitioner can effect similar "cures." The best sort of investigation is accordingly a double-blind study in which the patient is given a coded drug which is not identified to the physician administering it. The other side of the study is managed by investigators who evaluate individual results without knowing who received the real treatment and who received the placebo. When the results are finally decoded a reasonable comparison can reveal benefits beyond the mere placebo effect alone.

The Laetrile supporters are fond of citing a study by the Sloan-Kettering Institute which gave favorable results for a measurable Laetrile effect on an experimental mouse tumor. They claim that the favorable findings were suppressed. In fact a preliminary study did indeed yield positive results for Laetrile. The investigator, Dr. Kanematsu Sugiura, then went to the greater expert, Dr. Daniel S. Martin, who maintains the colony of special mice used. Together they designed an improved experiment, now using a double-blind

technique so that the tumors were evaluated without knowledge of treatment. As a further precaution, apparently cancerous tissue was transplanted to other, normal mice. If the recipient developed fatal cancer, then there was definitive evidence for the presence of lethal cancer in the donor. The results of this better-designed study were published in two consecutive papers.⁷ Laetrile had no effect. The previous results were due to errors in observation, probably introduced subjectively and unwittingly by the investigators.

The literature advocating Laetrile abounds with anecdotal reports of "cures," supported by fragmentary information about the patient's medical history and other important conditions. Testimonials from patients who firmly believe that they have been cured are legion. Both are worthless as objective evidence for the possible effect of Laetrile. The following example is chosen from many: Dr. Contreras, the before-mentioned Mexican physician, was asked by the FDA to submit case histories that in his opinion had outstanding value in documenting the effectiveness of Laetrile therapy. From the thousands he has treated, Dr. Contreras submitted only twelve names, of whom one could not be traced, and two refused to provide information. Of the remaining nine, in 1977 six were dead of cancer, one had progressive cancer, one died of another cause following surgery for cancer, and a ninth was still alive, having received radiation and established chemotherapy in addition to Laetrile. Compare Laetrile propaganda with these results, or with the NCI study in *Science*.⁸

The "scientific literature" supporting

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MIRACLE VITAMIN?

VITAMIN B-17 IS NOT A "CURE" BUT IT WILL PREVENT OR HALT CANCER'S GROWTH! IT CAN NOT RESTORE TISSUE AND ORGANS ALREADY DESTROYED! DR. ERNST T. KREBS, JR., PIONEER RESEARCHER, WARNS THAT VITAMIN B-17 SHOULD BE PART OF A COMPLETE DIET THERAPY PROGRAM INCLUDING CERTAIN FRUITS, LEGUMES, GRAINS LIKE MILLET, BUCKWHEAT, AND FLAX, AND QUICK-GROWING GREEN GRASSES!

APRICOT OR PEACH KERNELS ARE A GOOD SOURCE OF VITAMIN B-17.

ARE YOU A GAMBLER?

COMPARE THE RESULTS BELOW...

ORTHODOX TREATMENT: CUT, BURN, POISON	VITAMIN B-17 THERAPY AND SOUND NUTRITION
1/10% LIVE	ADVANCED CANCER 15% LIVE
15% LIVE	EARLY DETECTION 80% LIVE
84% LIVE	HEALTHY NOW 100% NO CANCER

FOR QUALIFIED DOCTORS IN YOUR AREA, AND OTHER INFORMATION SEE BACK COVER

Fig. 3. From the Lockman pamphlet. The source of these percentages is not known. They are not confirmed by published data in responsible journals.

Laetrile is typical of fad literature. Some is in unorthodox journals. One of the "classics" cited frequently in support of Laetrile is an article in 1962 by Dr. John A. Morrone, "Chemotherapy of inoperable cancer: preliminary report of 10 cases treated with Laetrile" and published in *Experimental Medicine and Surgery*. The journal has discontinued publication; Dr. Morrone is dead; but the paper is strong support for the cause: "In a review of 17,000 papers on malignant neoplasms and related biological subject, the trophoblast was described as the *sine qua non* of cancer." The article continues, stating the essentials of the earlier theory as already outlined, but in glowing, pseudoscientific terms. Many papers supporting Laetrile are published in foreign journals of questionable reputation. As an example, Manuel D. Navarro, a Philippine physician, in writing a book published by the Committee for Freedom of Choice in Cancer Therapy, cites 26 references in support of Laetrile. Two were in manuscript at the time; one was in press; one was a paper read before the Osteopathic Internists convention in Philadelphia in 1954; one was Dr. Morrone's article already mentioned. The 21 remaining were all in foreign journals, and 18 of these were single-case "studies" by the author himself!

It is clear that there is no convincing evidence for effectiveness in Laetrile treatment of cancer; the other requirement for widespread legal use, safety, presents serious problems. Even a number of Laetrile's supporters have been aware of its high toxicity, particularly if administered by mouth. Since Laetrile is exposed to only small amounts of beta-glucosidase in the circulation, it is not only relatively ineffective but also safe by that route of administration. In contrast, the digestive processes and bacterial action in the gastrointestinal tract involve significant amounts of beta-glucosidase. This liberates toxic amounts of cyanide, producing real cyanide poisoning. In addition to the trend toward use of Laetrile as a vitamin, with an associated expectation of oral use, oral administration of Laetrile is advocated by such prominent spokesmen as Ernst Krebs, Jr., and Dr. John Richardson. Health enthusiasts are now appearing as subjects in clinical journals in cases of Laetrile poisoning following oral use. It should be noted that cyanide, including that released from Laetrile, is one of the most toxic substances known to man. It is ironic that people who turn to health fads to avoid possible traces of toxic substances in modern processed foods are now subjecting themselves to a real and significant danger in

the oral use of Laetrile.

Conclusions on Laetrile

Let us summarize the major supporting assertions for Laetrile:

1) It is supposed specifically to attack cancer cells (trophoblast cells), or to function as a missing vitamin to prevent cancer or allow natural defenses to cure the cancer.

2) It is asserted that Laetrile is less damaging to normal cells than the orthodox treatments using surgery, radiation, or other drugs.


3) Energetic accusations are made that a conspiracy exists among governmental agencies, orthodox physicians and researchers, and the pharmaceutical industry to prevent this useful remedy or therapy from being widely used.

4) Patients and their families are asserted to have a "human right," the right to "freedom of choice" in selection of treatment; opposition by the scientists who disagree or regulation by administrative agencies abridges this right.

The scientific credentials of some of the major Laetrile proponents have been reviewed. While Ernst Krebs, Sr. was medically trained, his son lacks scientific credentials. Numerous medical practitioners have embraced Laetrile, but their support of its theoretical actions is not based on evidence. Clinical reports of Laetrile "cures" or other benefits are difficult to verify or are complicated by simultaneous use of established treatment. Significant support for Laetrile does not exist outside its clique of supporters. The research supporting Laetrile is misquoted, out of date, poorly designed, incorrectly interpreted, and lacking in internal criticism. The Laetrile supporters have isolated themselves as a cult, and claim to be persecuted by an Establishment which restricts their use of Laetrile. They have adopted their own jargon to describe Laetrile's effects.

The motivations of these people are complicated. Terminally-ill patients and their families require hope from any source. They are therefore perennial prey to charlatans of all sorts. They *want* to believe in a cure. But the physicians who advocate Laetrile, like Andrew Ivy and his associate Stevan Durovic, have no such excuse. Enormous sums of money are involved with Laetrile, as with any other exotic and unorthodox treatment. Great prestige is also involved, and is particularly beguiling where

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Fig. 4. Back page of the Lockman pamphlet, showing conspiracy accusation.

it is not easily gained through the established routine of clinical practice or research.

There are several kinds of harmful effects from the use of Laetrile which should be strong causes for concern. The toxicity of Laetrile when taken orally has been described. This is literally life-threatening, and not to be ignored. An equally serious problem is the potential effect on a patient who chooses Laetrile instead of other therapy. Reliable statistics are available about the stage of various types of cancers when first diagnosed. In 1977 it was estimated overall that about a third of the people who are diagnosed as having cancer can be saved by prompt treatment. Of the remaining two-thirds who may die, about 17% might have been saved by earlier diagnosis and proper treatment. Thus even considering various inaccuracies of estimate, many people — perhaps half of all cancer cases — can be saved by early treatment. Any of these patients who turns to Laetrile may condemn himself to more serious disease. The Laetrile advocates totally misstate the situation for orthodox cancer therapy. Several types of cancers are now treatable with high expectation of a normal life and life span. This means that after the discomfort of treatment (which depends on the type of cancer and its stage), many patients can lead totally normal lives until death occurs from some other cause. Progress in new and improved treatments is relatively steady, and improvements involve less debilitating and disfiguring treatment as well as other modifications.

The conspiracy accusation requires little examination to be found ridiculous. The behavior of the pharmaceutical industry with the introduction of antibiotics makes an excellent example of the flexibility and rapid response of this large industry when new developments with proven worth appear. Moreover major pharmaceutical firms sol-

emly collect and study many "native drugs" and other bizarre treatments in the hope of stumbling on new cures. The history of pharmacology abounds with valuable discoveries of this kind. Because of its interest in trying out new remedies, the pharmaceutical industry has often been thrown into opposition to the FDA regulations on the same side with the Laetrile forces. The conservative action of the FDA, which saved the United States from thousands of tragedies through the use of Thalidomide, is well known. In any event, the numbers of people who would have to be involved in a real conspiracy are much too great to be practically workable. Many of the individuals supposedly joined in conspiracy are jealous of their independence and are essentially natural enemies. To imagine the pharmaceutical industry in league with the FDA to suppress Laetrile or any other cure is nonsense. Most people are not aware that the FDA *does* license many drugs for investigational use — those drugs for which proper evidence of efficacy and safety is available. There are about 200 such drugs currently in use. Finally, the investment of the government and various private agencies in testing Laetrile is huge. The FDA and National Cancer Institute have in fact made great efforts to substantiate the claims made for Laetrile. The "conspiracy" does not and cannot exist.

Finally, the "freedom of choice" argument: This issue cuts two ways. Not only are the terminally ill entitled to a choice of therapies, but they are entitled to a choice of proven therapies and freedom from fraud in their search for assistance. Our government is charged with the responsibility for this protection. We are accustomed to demand it in consumer protection and product liability situations. In this area we have benefited from the protection of the Pure Food and Drug Act for many years. It has perhaps become difficult for us to imagine the dangers of existence without this protection, or with the protection greatly abridged.

Why is Laetrile so much more successful than its equally ineffective predecessor Krebiozen? All sorts of non-rational beliefs are popular today as in the past. Many are relatively benign: few people really harm themselves through reliance on astrology, although they may be relieved of varying amounts of money by their advisers. Belief in magic is an eccentricity, and we tolerate it. At the same time there is a climate of cynicism and criticism of established authority. The FDA appears to have behaved stupidly and arbitrarily in its handling of a number of substances, particularly saccharin. But in de-

fense of that agency, it seems that the FDA was merely responding to the Congressional requirement added in the 1960's that any agent known to cause cancer in animals be specially restricted. Detection techniques are more sophisticated today, making it possible to detect carcinogenic effects in almost unimaginably small quantities of some substances. Legislated regulations inevitably lag behind the latest technical discoveries. In the case of saccharin the law is clearly written, and does not grant the FDA the kind of common-sense latitude that seems to be obviously required. Our experience in recent years is that many relatively new substances turn out to be associated with frighteningly toxic effects when we are exposed to them at low levels for a long time. Since we are so long-lived in comparison to routine experimental animals, it is obvious that our risk is much greater over a lifetime. The repair processes that have been studied at the same time are less well known to the public. The balance between slow damage and repair cannot be predicted. We know that there are dangers around us. Our experience with bureaucracy does not lead us to respect the monolithic processes of governmental administration, and scientists are regarded as remote beings, rarely speaking in intelligible terms (note that what is practically intelligible to large numbers of citizens has been declining in recent years, by many objective measures). Small wonder — but great pity — that many citizens mistrust science in association with government. Though the government is charged with taking care of us, we find it difficult to credit the expertise of the specialists who are delegated to do the job.

There are other forces at work in the Laetrile controversy which may indicate other social trends. Legal advice and litigation have become more sophisticated. More effective attacks are being made on the technicalities of our regulatory systems as well as on the basic principles of the regulatory acts. Strong political forces are also involved. Association with the John Birch Society has provided supporters of Laetrile with access to impor-

tant techniques in organizing and spreading their beliefs. There are overtones of moral fervor similar to the era of Anthony Comstock (organizer of the Society for the Suppression of Vice [1873] and other self-righteous extremist movements). Dangerous precedents are at stake. The so-called "freedom of choice" legislation will make a field day for all sorts of quacks. Electric belts for treatment of arthritis and magical water for the treatment of anything at all may return.

If the Laetrile controversy is a typical example, then it may be that scientists today are less trusted generally than they were ten or fifteen years ago when Krebiozen was effectively discredited. This is unfortunate, since it tends to narrow the difference in the public mind between the real scientist and the pseudoscientist or quack. It is usually not sufficient to rely on conclusions in the media, particularly when legislation is at stake. Sensational views stated by charismatic personalities make better news than the weighty opinion of a less appealing expert, even if his opinion is based on extensive evidence.

Although one may not feel qualified to make judgments in an unfamiliar technical field, one may still apply the simple criteria outlined earlier, which together can signal whether a particular theory receiving publicity deserves belief, or should be classified as pseudo-science, — or whether enough definitive information is available for forming an opinion. An apparent conflict between experts can be studied in a few hours to determine at least which side is more probably correct. Equally important, the present climate demands that scientists venture out of their laboratories more often to respond to theories that are technically untenable. This will not completely demolish the cranks; it is clear that no amount of proof will satisfy Laetrile supporters, who speak as though they are embarked on a religious crusade. But the general public can at least be better informed, and this in turn is likely to influence legislators and jurists who profess to be responsive to the will of the people, and who also have the obligation to protect the people.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author thanks the American Cancer Society and its Unproven Methods of Cancer Management Committee for rapidly supplying voluminous information on Krebiozen and Laetrile. This included copies of press releases from a variety of official agencies, judicial opinions, and other detailed and documented information.

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Albert and Helen Borowitz

THE CASE OF THE PLASTER NARCISSUS

The perception of beauty is a moral test.

— Thoreau's Journal, 1852

On October 11, 1873, Mr. Tripp went out for a Saturday evening stroll on the streets of New Bedford, Massachusetts. When he came to Purchase Street, he was brought up short by an unusual sight. Around the window of Charles Hazeltine's art shop a crowd of young men, boys, and girls had gathered. The boys were laughing, pointing at the window and poking each other in the ribs. Two of them were successfully diverting the attention of some of their friends by striking poses and cupping their ears. The girls in the crowd alternated between feigned dismay and encouraging applause. Mr. Tripp could hardly believe his eyes. In 1873 the youth of New Bedford were not devotees of art. Their parents had not yet learned, as we have, the value of Saturday lessons at the museum. The histrionics of the crowd must have puzzled Mr. Tripp as well, since street theatre was still a century away.

When Mr. Tripp approached the shop window, he was quick to identify the inspiration for the merrymaking. Among vases, busts, and statues in plaster, bronze and por-

celain the place of honor was given to a nude figure of "Narcissus." The figure was a plaster copy of an antique bronze statuette (Figure 1), about two feet in height, which had been discovered at Pompeii in 1862 and was now in the collection of the Museo Nazionale of Naples. It was considered one of the finest ancient sculptures in the Naples Museum. A nineteenth-century Guide to the Museum described the attitude of the figure as "listening with delight to a distant sound" and attributed the title to the Museum director who recognized it as "Narcissus, immobilized, listening to the voice of Echo, who killed herself for him and who fills the rocks and the mountains with her amorous accents." The Guide classed it as a Greek work, "more than precious, unique." Unlike most other ancient statues which were reduced in reproduction, it was frequently copied in bronze in its original dimensions, and was popular as an ornament for house or garden. Though the reproduction in Hazeltine's shop window was of lowly plaster, it was still eminently plain that this Narcissus was not a flower but a man.

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Photo: Louis Milic



Figure 1. Illustration from a nineteenth-century *Guide to the Naples Museum of the bronze Narcissus* discovered in Pompeii in 1862, from which the plaster was copied.

Mr. Tripp, who saw his citizen's duty, marched off the next day to complain to the city marshal, John W. Nickerson. The marshal immediately went over to the shop to make his on-the-spot inspection. He found that matters were worse than he had suspected. The shameless Narcissus had been "placed so as to point at a nude female figure," who sometimes (unbeknownst to Marshal Nickerson) went under the name of Venus de Milo. It seemed to the impressionable marshal that Venus was longing to throw her lost arms around the neck of Narcissus.

On Sunday evening Marshal Nickerson met Mr. Hazeltine on the street and told him to remove "those things" from the window. Hazeltine made no response. He felt that he had already complied sufficiently with the wishes of the New Bedford police. The evening before when the crowd has assembled, Policeman Daniel P. Lewis had suggested that Hazeltine "veil" Narcissus. Instead, Hazeltine removed it from the window and put it back only after the Saturday night crowd had dispersed. On the following night the shop window was lighted only a few minutes while the shopkeeper was writing at his desk near the window. Hazeltine had received no

complaint until Nickerson spoke to him, and he was determined to put up with no more police interference with his business. After all, he later testified, he had bought his Narcissus in no less respectable a place than Boston, and had put it in his window for sale and on exhibition as a work of art.

The city marshal correctly read Hazeltine's silence as defiance, not assent, and both antagonists knew that the legal battle lines were drawn. Learning that the statue, though not in the window on Monday morning, was once again on display in the afternoon, Nickerson obtained a warrant for the seizure of the Narcissus and arrested Hazeltine on the charge of exhibition of a lewd and lascivious statue. The criminal complaint was presented to the New Bedford Police Court on Thursday, October 16. In ironic anticipation of the criminal history of the community, the presiding judge was a Borden and the prosecution was represented by Hosea Knowlton, who was later as District Attorney to try the double axe-murder case through which the Judge's family name has become famous.

Marshal Nickerson testified as to his conversation with Hazeltine and his seizure of Narcissus. On cross-examination by defense counsel, Lemuel Willcox, Nickerson conceded that Hazeltine was a man of good character. He was not prepared to say whether he would keep a Narcissus in his parlor. If he had only a wife, perhaps he would, but with children, perhaps he would not.

Mr. Willcox, opening the case for the defense, argued that the Commonwealth must prove that Hazeltine was a *willful* offender, but that in fact no intent to violate the statute had been shown. It seemed an outrage, he added, "that a person should be arrested for exhibiting one of the most beautiful myths of the ancients, materialized in marble." To this oratory the Court replied curtly that "it appeared to be made out that the image was intentionally exhibited" by Hazeltine.

The art dealer was the first defense witness. He referred to the Narcissus as a "beautiful work of art," "a chaste and pure figure." He had sold similar figures before, and most sales in New Bedford had been to ladies. Under questioning by the Court, he repaired the doubt he might have cast on the delicacy of local female taste by testifying that the nude images he had sold to ladies did not have the sexual organs represented. Captain John A. Hawes followed Hazeltine to the stand. He asserted that in his parlor was a very fine infant Christ "in which the sexual organs are

more prominent than these." There is no record of any cross-examination of the captain.

Then John Hopkins, a dealer in music and fancy goods who had formerly sold statues, testified that he had a family of four young children; and that while he would not purchase the Narcissus, he would place it prominently in his parlor if anyone would make him a gift of one. The next witness, an artist named William Bradford, stated that he would have no objection to placing Narcissus in his house, except that if he had a "daughter of an unfortunate turn of mind," he would not place the statue where she would habitually see it. He added that he perhaps would not have so much objection to a female bust, but even that could be made voluptuously offensive. The final defense witness, Orlando Marvin, an art dealer, had children (presumably all of a fine turn of mind) and saw nothing indelicate in Narcissus.

The closing arguments were florid. Willcox argued that a manifest intent to corrupt must be shown and that "any person who can read the beautiful story of Narcissus and then look on this figure with anything but the loftiest sentiment must be already corrupt." Knowlton replied with a suggestion that Hazeltine's motives were not as lofty as represented:

Some of the gentlemen testify that the bust of a woman is just as objectionable, but the children just waking to a new life as men and women pass by busts and collect round the Narcissus. They do not look at it for its artistic beauty or on account of the beautiful mythical story of Narcissus. . . . If art is allowed to make itself immodest, why shall not literature claim the same right?

The court held that the prosecution had established Hazeltine's probable guilt and ordered him bound over for action by the Grand Jury, which proceeded to issue an indictment against him.

Meantime, Hazeltine, who was obviously warming to the sport of litigating questions of aesthetics in the courts of New Bedford, was pressing his own civil action against Marshal Nickerson for wrongful seizure of the plaster Narcissus. Nickerson's answer to the complaint asserted that the statuette was a "common nuisance" which the marshal had a right to abate by seizure. His counsel argued that Narcissus was a "nuisance" in a double sense. First, if the statue was too indecent to be seen in court, it was a nuisance when exhibited in a public street "where the standard of morals is no higher." Also, Narcissus was a traffic nuisance since he had caused an obstruction of the street by gawkers. Willcox responded for the defense

that Narcissus had asked nobody to look at him, and suggested, with little parental feeling, that if the street was blocked, the marshal should have arrested the boys and girls who obstructed it.

Judge Borden, who had already ruled once against Narcissus, dealt a second blow in his decision of November 10 dismissing Hazeltine's complaint. The Judge seemed oddly preoccupied with the material of which Narcissus was composed:

. . . It might be supposed . . . from the glowing terms in which it has been characterized as a work of art . . . that it is a work wrought in marble, or at least composed of Parian dust, . . . instead of which it is of common plaster of Paris, run in a mould, and in this respect indistinguishable from the best samples of similar productions dispensed by itinerant image vendors about our streets.

The court concluded that the question as to whether Narcissus was a nuisance did not turn on the propriety of exposing such a figure in an art gallery, but on whether it could be exhibited on the most public streets "considering the prevailing type of intellectual and moral culture among the varied classes of persons thronging the avenues of a large city." In this connection, the court paused to express regret that the "false system of education which prevails" left young people to obtain information about sexual anatomy and relations "from such sources as chance may throw in their way" (in this instance, Hazeltine's shop window).

On December 30 the final round of the battle over Narcissus opened in the Superior Court where Hazeltine was tried on the criminal obscenity charges. Both sides seemed to show signs of exhaustion from the earlier court proceedings. The prosecution introduced testimony of Marshal Nickerson and Policeman Lewis about the exhibition of the statue and their warnings to Hazeltine. Willcox, in his opening for the defense, indicated that he would not repeat the parade of character witnesses to the purity of Narcissus. He asserted that he could bring thousands of heads of families to give their opinions that the statue was not obscene and that they would willingly place it in their houses, but he would forbear since "the image tells its own story." He called Hazeltine to the stand to testify that, when the Saturday crowd had collected, he had removed the statue to avoid giving offense, and that he had received no complaints from the public. It soon appeared that Willcox intended, despite his opening disclaimer, to introduce *expert* testimony as to the statue's decency, but he was a victim of early discouragement. He called John

Tetlow, the principal of the Field's Academy, but the court would not permit the witness to testify as to the purity of the statue or as to whether he had seen similar figures in households he had visited. Willcox then abruptly closed his case.

The time had now come for the final arguments. Willcox, who spoke first, reminded the jury that the question it was to consider was whether Hazeltine exhibited the image manifestly intending to corrupt the morals of youth. Was the image obscene and did it tend to corrupt the youth? Willcox reminded the jury that during the forty-eight hours it was in the store nobody but the police had complained. Further, he asked: did anyone imagine that the legislature had in mind the idea of prohibiting the sale of art images when it framed the statute against the sale of indecent articles?

The District Attorney, George Marston, responded for the prosecution. As the art layman has ever been inclined to do, he immediately constituted himself a critic and approached Narcissus head-on. It was absurd, he said, to talk about that "botch" as a work of art. Nor was he convinced that art educa-

tion was essential to New England civilization:

If such instruments as that are necessary to teach art, then we don't want any art taught. We have got along very well without it in New England for many years, and we can in years to come.

In any event, Marston did not believe the crowd of boys had gathered round the window to study art. Perhaps it would be proper to place Narcissus in an art gallery or in a private parlor, but placing it on a public street was quite another thing. Pointing out that at the same term of court a drunk had been sentenced to jail for indecent exposure, he put to the jury the question that Polixenes and Perdita debated so eloquently in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*: "Is art superior to nature?"

After receiving instructions from Judge Bacon, the jury retired. It then proceeded to demonstrate that an art jury has no easier task passing on obscenity than in issuing awards for quality. The jurors wrangled for nine hours and balloted 22 times. The first three ballots showed 8 for conviction and 4 for acquittal, and only one more juror was brought over to the majority during the remainder of the balloting. At one o'clock on the morning of December 31, the jury announced that it was hopelessly deadlocked. Judge Bacon discharged them, thinking rightly that New Year's Eve is no time to be quarreling about art. The prosecution by now had had enough of Hazeltine and his provocative antique; the criminal charges were dismissed.

In matters of art, as New Bedford went so went the nation. The issues contested in the Hazeltine case were not new to nineteenth-century America. Mr. Tripp's consternation at seeing a crowd of boys and girls in front of Hazeltine's shop windows is understandable in light of contemporary gallery decorum: men and women were rigorously segregated while viewing sculpture. An Englishwoman, Mrs. Frances Trollope, found this custom (Figure 2) one of the most baffling of the "domestic matters of the Americans." While visiting the galleries of the Pennsylvania Academy of Art, Mrs. Trollope was advised at the screened entrance of the antique sculpture gallery (by a female guard, no less) to "make haste" so that she could view the casts alone. Mrs. Trollope, displaying her "unfeigned surprise," demanded an explanation, only to be told that "the ladies like to go into that room by themselves, when there be no gentlemen watching them." She was further surprised on entering the gallery to see the "most indecent



Figure 2. *Antique Statue Gallery*, illustration by August Hervieu, French, 1794-1858, from Mrs. Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832) showing women viewing sculpture "when there be no gentlemen watching them."

and shameless manner" in which the casts had been defaced. This particular expression of American boorishness could be ended quite speedily, Mrs. Trollope later wrote, "were the antique gallery thrown open to mixed parties of ladies and gentlemen." (One wonders whether, on the basis of similar reasoning, graffiti would disappear from the walls of bisexual bathrooms.) However, some American ladies did not agree with their British cousin. Clara Crowninshield observed in her travel diary: "It is an awkward thing to contemplate naked statues with young gentlemen."

Though ladies might be easily embarrassed by nudity in art museums, Hazeltine's testimony suggested that they were more comfortable about contemplating male statues at home, at least if the offending parts were discreetly covered by leaf or drape. Captain Hawes had no qualms about displaying a realistically articulated Infant Christ in his parlor. It might seem to us that, just as the Hazeltine prosecution was reluctant to attack Hawes's testimony, a religious image would have been immune to any sort of art criticism on grounds of decency. However, the fact is that even naked angels had been denounced as immoral in Boston some forty years before the Hazeltine trial. Horatio Greenough's *Chanting Cherubs* (now lost), though derived from a Raphael altarpiece, were too closely modeled from nature in every detail to suit the taste of the proper Bostonians who attended the work's debut at the Athenaeum in the spring of 1831. They failed to notice the "ethereal look" Greenough had striven for in his winged babes, and concentrated instead on the infants' indecorous nakedness. Babyhood and ethereality notwithstanding, the Boston press called for drapery. Just as Policeman Lewis demanded a "veil" over the offending Narcissus, so in certain cities muslin aprons were fitted on the *Chanting Cherubs*. Writing of the incident in *The Art Idea* some thirty years later (a decade before the Hazeltine case) James Jackson Jarves pointed to the immaturity of American taste: "We had so vague a notion of aesthetic enjoyment that even the cold purity of the marble could not protect these little children from the reproach of immodesty."

Expatriate American sculptors learned from Greenough's experience to prepare their fellow countrymen for the unveiling of their works. Hiram Powers was careful to stress that though naked, his *Greek Slave* (Figure 3) was unwillingly disrobed. Powers carved a cross amid the pile of clothes that the slave had been forced to remove, thus indica-



Figure 3. *The Greek Slave*. Marble, 66 inches (1.676 m), 1869. Hiram Powers, American, 1805-1873. The Brooklyn Museum; Gift of Mr. Charles F. Bound. The original clay was finished in 1843, and an earlier marble version toured the United States in 1847.

ting that the captive in the Turkish slave market was a Christian woman. The sculptor, who had based his statue on the *Venus de Medici*, sought the approval of the clergy, and eminent ministers hailed her purity. In the words of the Reverend Orville Dewey the statue was "clothed all over with sentiment."

To the citizens of Cincinnati, sentiment was not enough. They labeled the slave "indecent," and in several other American cities



Figure 4. *The Genius of the Great Exhibition Number 3*. Print by George Baxter of *The Greek Slave* on view in a draped booth at the Crystal Palace, London, in 1851. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955.

the statue was exhibited in a special gallery so that the sexes might view it separately. At the Crystal Palace in London it was displayed in a draped booth (Figure 4). Even Nathaniel Hawthorne, a great admirer of Powers, had some reservations about the sculptor's fixation on the nude. He said of Powers: "He seems especially fond of nudity . . . none of his ideal statues having so much as a rag of clothing." Though we have recently learned that Hawthorne wrote in his diary (1835-41) of seeing young girls in the street and "how pleasant to see how strong winds revealed their shapes all the way to their belted waists," he was discomfited by nude sculpture. Particularly unsettling were the colored statues by the English sculptor John Gibson. Powers and Hawthorne agreed that the British sculptor had "mortalized" his marbles through tinting the flesh, and Powers was quoted by the *Athenaeum* as calling Gibson's "tinted" Venus a "tainted" Venus. Hawthorne recorded in his Notebooks "a certain sense of shame as I look at Gibson's tinted Venus." He agreed with Powers that the whiteness of marble "removed the object represented into a sort of spiritual region, and so gave chaste permission to those nuditities which otherwise suggest immodesty."

Hawthorne was more tolerant of original pagan statuary, a product of an innocent primeval past, than of nineteenth-century imitations of the antique. In 1868 this acceptance of ancient sculpture was rationalized on historic-aesthetic grounds by Reverend Henry Bellows: he viewed the nude of antiquity as an expression of the Athenian concept

of the unity of body and soul. Bellows emphasized the spirituality of ancient marble sculpture which "took away the color and warmth with which the nude is familiarly seen." Perhaps the plaster Narcissus in its whiteness should have qualified as a guileless pagan work, had it not been brought into unfortunate juxtaposition with a half-draped Venus.

Whatever Hazeltine's intentions may have been, the pairing of these statues appealed to a penchant of the nineteenth-century mind for imagining the amorous animation of statues. In Rome, the notion of providing ancient statuary an illusion of animation by the use of artificial light led to the custom of torchlight tours through the galleries of the Vatican museum. In 1807 Mme. de Staël, in her novel *Corinne, or Italy*, depicted an illuminated nocturnal visit to the studio of the sculptor Canova, where the marbles appear to come alive before the eyes of the romantic lovers Corinne and Lord Nelvil. In a painting of Pygmalion and Galatea the French painter Girodet capitalized on the ambiguity of lighted statuary by showing Galatea's marble form turning to flesh under the powerful light of Pygmalion's love. Girodet trained his studio lamps on a plaster cast of the Venus de Medici to achieve the light effects he reproduced in his painting. The Pygmalion theme, so popular among Romantic artists and writers, was to be caricatured by Daumier (Figure 5) later in the century.

It was a Romantic susceptibility to Pygmalion fantasies that inspired Haw-



Figure 5. *Pygmalion* from the *Ancient History* series (1842) by Honoré Daumier, French, 1808-1879. The caption reads "O Triumph of the arts! How surprised were you, great sculptor, when you saw your marble become animated, and with a gentle and chaste air slowly bow down in order to ask you for a pinch [of snuff?]."

thorne to write *The Marble Faun*. On seeing the *Faun* (Figure 6) attributed to Praxiteles in the nineteenth century, he began to think that "a story with all sorts of fun and pathos in it, might be contrived on the idea of their species having become intermingled with the human race; a family with the faun blood in them having prolonged itself from the classic era till our own days." The novel juxtaposes two American artists, Kenyon and Hilda, with a pair of Italians, the Roman count Donatello and the mysterious artist Miriam. The plot revolves around Donatello's passion for Miriam whose persecutor he murders at her behest. Hawthorne presents the Italians as animations of famous works of art: Miriam is compared to Guido Reni's presumed portrait of the beautiful murderess Beatrice Cenci, and Donatello, the natural man, resembles Praxiteles's *Faun* down to his pointed ears. Whereas Hawthorne was attracted to a story in which "the moral instincts and intellectual characteristics of the faun might be most picturesquely brought out," most Americans were horrified at what they considered the immorality of Europeans, which they traced to the corrupting influence of sensual art. One American traveler even suggested that a high rate of illegiti-



Figure 6. *The Marble Faun*. Marble, 67-1/4 inches (1.705 m) Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo Alinari. This statue, which no longer wears a fig leaf, was made famous by Hawthorne's novel *The Marble Faun* (1860).

mate births among the French was due to the immorality of the exhibitions at the Louvre.

A special feature of the city fathers' outrage at Hazeltine's display of the Narcissus was the fact that the statue was not a marble or bronze reproduction destined for the collection of a wealthy connoisseur but a plaster copy that could be marketed to the masses. Americans have shared with the English the snobbish belief that pornography is all very well for the elite but a dangerous commodity for mass consumption. The English showed this conviction in their long struggle to keep *Lady Chatterley* under the counter and out of paperback. The culminating battle in the campaign against the book was the unsuccessful 1960 obscenity prosecution of Penguin Books at the Old Bailey. Echoing the words of his Victorian cousins from New Bedford, Mr. Griffith-Jones, senior Treasury Counsel, trained the fire of his opening statements on the fact that 200,000 paperback copies of the book had been printed, and

were available for purchase at the economical price of three shillings sixpence. Expressing horror at the wide circulation the book might have among the impressionable, and perhaps concerned that *Lady Chatterley* would serve as a role model, he asked the jury: "Is it a book that you would even wish your wife or your servants to read?"

The class-oriented puritanism evinced by the Hazeltine and *Lady Chatterley* prosecutions, a moral fussiness that would trust only the wealthy to acquire an immunity to obscenity, has persisted in twentieth-century America. It is a deep-rooted prejudice that is to be found not only among the battlers for

"public decency" but (not infrequently) also in defenders of free expression. Robert Benchley, for example, was no friend of censorship and, in his *Love Conquers All* (1922), he pronounced the suppression of James Branch Cabell's *Jurgen* "silly." Yet, in his appraisal of Cabell's literary intentions, Benchley expressed a distaste for popular dissemination of erotic art that could have won him a place on the Hazeltine prosecution team:

"*Jurgen*" is a frank imitation of the old-time pornographers and although it is a very good imitation, it need not rank Mr. Cabell any higher than the maker of a plaster-of-paris copy of some Boeotian sculptural oddity. [Emphasis added.]

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Robert Plank

ONE GRAND INQUISITOR AND SOME LESSER ONES

Dostoevsky's profound fable has political and psychological resonances that are still being heard — notably in Orwell's 1984

1.

On a summer day during some year in the sixteenth century after His birth, Jesus Christ returns to Earth: silently and inconspicuously He appears in the center of the old Spanish city of Seville. The people intuitively recognize Him, hail Him, worship Him, ask for blessing and miracles. He heals a blind man, He wakes a dead child to life. The Cardinal Inquisitor comes out of the cathedral, takes the entire scene in, has his guards arrest the uninvited visitor from higher spheres. At night he visits the prisoner in His cell and delivers a monologue setting forth why the Church is and must be devoted to undoing Christ's work: Jesus had come into the world to give men freedom, to seek their willing love. When the devil, that "dread and wise spirit," thrice tempted Him, He rebuffed him; He ought not to have done so. Now the Church has to take its clues from Satan. Mankind is not capable of responding to Christ: too mean to grasp His message or to act on it, people need miracles, mystery, authority. Dispensing these abundantly, the Church ministers to their needs. Only the Church can relieve them of the burden of freedom and responsibility, make mankind happy by taming it into an ant-heap of billions of sinless children. Why has Jesus returned to disturb the great work that has pro-

ceeded for fifteen centuries in His name — though in full awareness of being in truth the opposite of what He had preached and what He had died for? Billions would be obedient and happy, ruled over by an all-powerful clergy, an elite of a hundred thousand who would carry the burden of all mankind's guilt, who alone, tragic figures, would be unhappy. So in the morning the Inquisitor will have Jesus indicted, convicted, and burned at the stake. The masses that were at His feet today will stoke the fires tomorrow.

Christ never says one word. At the end He gets up and presses a kiss on the Inquisitor's withered lips. The old man shudders down to the core of his being. He decides not to try the prisoner and releases Him with the injunction, "Go, and come no more . . . come not at all, never, never!" The prisoner steps out into the night.

This is, in abridged form (in fact, pitifully oversimplified), the substance of Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Legend of the Grand Inquisitor*, a "poem in prose" embedded in Book V, Chapter V of *The Brothers Karamazov*. The legend is a semi-independent work — the centerpiece of the novel, yes, but almost equally impressive by itself. There are, in fact, several editions of the Legend published separately, one of them with an introduction by D.H. Lawrence. Lawrence admired the work, but



Photo: Louis Mills

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not without reservation. He remarks that "the man who put those questions to Jesus could not possibly have been a Spanish Inquisitor." Why, he wonders, "did Dostoevsky drag in Inquisitors?" The question can be answered. Dostoevsky did not "drag in" his Inquisitor, he found him: in Friedrich Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos*, written in 1787.

I am not speaking here of the ideas expressed by Dostoevsky so much as of the basic situation of the story. The ideas have a number of sources, notably the Bible; the story is an expression — one might say, a confession — of Dostoevsky's religious ideas, including his aversion to the Roman Catholic Church (enhanced, perhaps, by the almost hereditary antagonism between Russia and Poland), and his revulsion against the modernistic ideas he had stood for in his youth.

An enormous amount of criticism has been written on the meaning of Dostoevsky's Legend, including some fairly outlandish interpretations. Ellis Sandoz, for instance, who wrote an entire book on the Grand Inquisitor (*Political Apocalypse*, 1971), discusses such problems as whether "paraclete" really ought to be an appellation of the Holy Ghost, as in Catholic liturgy, or something quite different; and about the possible connection between John the Baptist and the Antichrist. Dostoevsky in a way encourages such flights of fancy, for ambiguities are built into the piece. Unless there are clear indications to the contrary, readers tend to assume that the main character in a story represents, second-hand, the author's own views; but here we have two equal main characters, the Inquisitor and Jesus, with opposite views. In fact, we have the author's opinions third-hand, for he presents the Legend as a piece of fiction invented by Ivan Karamazov. And what Dostoevsky thought of Ivan is a complex question itself.

But whatever the ideas and I shall return to them — the situation comes from Schiller. Dostoevsky was steeped in Schiller's works, especially *Don Carlos*. He mentioned in a letter to his brother Michael how as an adolescent he read that very play with a friend, and how enthusiastic he was about "the magnificent, fiery Don Carlos." The same brother wrote the standard Russian translation of *Don Carlos*.

In Schiller's drama, Don Carlos rebels against his father, King Philip of Spain. The king, uncertain what to do about it, seeks the Inquisitor's advice. Their dialogue culminates in this exchange:

King: He is my only son. For whom have I gathered?

Inquisitor: Better for putrefaction than for freedom.

The Inquisitor's reply is an epigram which Dostoevsky elaborates into a program. Furthermore, Dostoevsky's Inquisitor, like Schiller's, is ninety years old. In Schiller he is blind, in Dostoevsky he sees all too much, but a trace of the original image is left: he has "sunken eyes, in which there is still a gleam of light." In both works, all fall to their knees as the Inquisitor passes by.

Now, it would be convenient, to be sure, if I could point to some conclusive evidence, preferably a remark by Dostoevsky, that Schiller was one of his models. But it does not seem that he ever made such a remark, and, even apart from the fact that he died within months after completing *The Brothers Karamazov*, it is simple to understand why he didn't: every educated Russian — and this was the small audience for whom he wrote — would know it. Schiller (1759-1805), though very much out of fashion today, was throughout the nineteenth century one of Europe's most famous writers. Anyone writing today about Prince Hamlet of Denmark would hardly feel the need to explain that Shakespeare had written a play on the same person.

It is also quite possible that Dostoevsky was so imbued with Schiller's play that he was not even quite aware of where the situation of his story came from. Philip Rahv, a respected critic of Russian literature, has suggested two other nineteenth-century sources: a short story, "A Dream," by the German novelist Jean Paul Richter, and a poem, "Christ in the Vatican," by Victor Hugo. Dostoevsky may well have known both: he was a voracious reader, in the first half of his life preferring German literature, in the second half French. Both these works feature a return of Jesus and His confrontation with the Catholic Church; but they are confrontations in Rome, the natural place for them, not with the Roman church represented by a Spanish cardinal.

The whole issue of whether Dostoevsky derived his episode from Schiller may seem a pedantic quibble, but there is a more important though less apparent connection between the two works, one of which Dostoevsky may indeed have been unaware. In *Don Carlos* the Inquisitor intervenes in a struggle between a father and his son: the play ends with the King handing Carlos over to the Inquisitor, presumably to be tried and executed (the historical Carlos died in prison under somewhat mysterious circumstances).

In Dostoevsky, of course, the Inquisitor has no personal relation to the prisoner he talks to. But what is Dostoevsky's whole novel about? Old Fyodor Karamazov has been murdered — as it turns out, by his somewhat dimwitted illegitimate son, Smerdyakov. But he had three legitimate sons, too, and though none of them has murdered him, they all have often been tempted (their father is presented as an unattractive character if ever there was one). His death overwhelms them in a tidal wave of guilt. The novel develops as a presentation of their responses. Dmitri is convicted and sent to Siberia; though innocent, he accepts his punishment as atonement for the sin of having wished his father's death. Ivan goes insane. Smerdyakov hangs

himself. Alyosha immerses himself more deeply in ascetic Christianity. This is, of course, an oversimplified summary; but it should suggest how the Legend fits into the emotional framework.

We must keep in mind that *The Brothers Karamazov* is a very complex novel. No one character can be taken as the author's spokesman. The work's ambiguity is an integral element of its profundity. Of the four Karamazov brothers, it is clearly Alyosha whom Dostoevsky loves; but it is equally clear that Ivan is closer to a "portrait of the artist as a young man." His creation of these two characters, representing as it were the young man he thought he had been and the young man he had wanted to be can be understood if we



Fyodor Dostoevsky as *The Brothers Karamazov*

by John Siskind

consider Dostoevsky's life and writings as a whole. To begin with, it should be mentioned that when Dostoevsky was eighteen his father was murdered by his discontented serfs. From all we know about Dostoevsky's relationship to his father, the idea was probably not altogether unfamiliar to him that an old man might be murdered by somebody other than his sons but that his sons might feel ambivalent about the deed. He may have mulled this over for half a century before writing about it.

As a fledgling writer in the late 1840's, Dostoevsky was associated with a group of young intellectuals who more or less considered themselves revolutionaries; in any case, the authorities considered them so. It was actually nothing more sinister than a reading circle where occasionally some remarks were made that could be thought of as anti-Establishment. As might have been expected in Russia then (and it is questionable how much things have changed), there was a police agent in that small private circle. He reported what he heard and how he understood it, and the "conspirators" were tried and convicted of high treason. It was a time of tension; the Czar had just helped his neighbor the Emperor of Austria crush a rebellion in Hungary.¹ Several members of the little group, including Dostoevsky himself, were sentenced to death. As they were lined up for execution, in fact at the moment the officer was about to give the command to fire, a messenger appeared with the Czar's "pardon" — i.e., an order commuting the sentence to imprisonment. The men were taken to Siberia. Such last-minute reprieves, incidentally, were a favorite trick of the Czar at that time.

Dostoevsky returned to European Russia in 1858, a changed man. The cruel prank played on him and his comrades had done its work superbly. For the rest of his life he believed firmly that Russia, led of course by the Czar and the Orthodox Church, was the country destined to save the world. He loathed the West and all it stood for. Such reversals of views are known to psychology as "identification with the aggressor." (We find a striking literary example of such identification in a recent work that also contains a stark reincarnation of Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor: in George Orwell's *1984*, to which I shall return later in this essay, the protagonist Winston Smith is subjected to even more severe tortures than Dostoevsky had to suffer,

and he ends up loving Big Brother, the actual or symbolic ruler of the state that administers the torture.)

It was difficult for Dostoevsky to reconcile his new ideological position with facts as well as with its inner contradictions. Perhaps for this reason the Legend of the Grand Inquisitor speaks with two voices, the voice of its titular hero and that of Jesus Christ, and it is not entirely clear on whose side the fictitious creator of the two characters, Ivan Karamazov, would be, or even who Dostoevsky would in the end think was more nearly right and would prevail.

Dostoevsky wrote the novels on which his fame rests after his return from Siberia. Most of them, especially *Crime and Punishment* and *The Brothers Karamazov*, his last work (completed in 1880; he died in 1881) concentrate on murder, though not necessarily murder of a father; and while he so fashioned them that at first glance they may appear to be mystery stories in the vulgar sense of the word, in truth the mysteries they are concerned with are those of the human soul.

The Brothers Karamazov, which does deal with the possibility that sons will murder their father, is widely considered his greatest work. Sigmund Freud, not a man easily impressed, called the work "the most magnificent novel ever written" and the episode of the Grand Inquisitor, "one of the peaks of the literature of the world."

2.

Schiller was less preoccupied with murder than Dostoevsky was, but even more preoccupied with rebellion. The one work by Schiller best known by Americans today — and this rather coincidentally — is the *Ode to Joy*, used as a text in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. The *Ode*, written in 1785 during one of the few happy periods of his life, differs in spirit from most of Schiller's works. His youthful conflicts had run their course and he had worked them out in exciting plays that established his fame. He had not yet entered upon his real adulthood, which was to be marked by his "classical" works but also by failing health, constant financial worries, and a growing sense of guilt, rationalized as the alleged incompatibility of sexual gratification and moral peace or achievement. The joy expressed in the *Ode to Joy* was the joy over the possibility, here taken as fulfilled, of reconciliation between son and father, between

¹A monument to Kossuth, leader of that Hungarian uprising, stands in Cleveland's University Circle.

man and God. In his plays — and it was as a playwright that he was world famous — this reconciliation is at worst impossible, at best something to strive for. They are filled with raging conflict.

Their one outstanding theme is rebellion: of son against father, of subject against ruler, of all combinations of the two. They are infinite variations on the Oedipus complex, transferring its psychic energy from the limited arena of the family to the greater battlefields of history. Schiller devoted his enormous talents as playwright, moralist, and philosopher to the search for the boundary between the forbidden rebellion that is to be condemned and the justified one that is to be glorified — between legitimacy and illegitimacy. He did not, like Dostoevsky, completely reverse his political and philosophical opinions, but he restrained them. From the standpoint of comparative biography we might say that Schiller's glorious "second period" was something that Dostoevsky missed because he spent the interval between youth and settled adulthood in Siberia.

To appreciate the political implications of Schiller's concern for legitimacy, we must not forget that Germany in his day was not a political entity but consisted of literally hundreds of states that were, in theory, independent and sovereign. The larger ones, notably Prussia and Austria, actually were so; the smaller ones pretended to be. The rulers of many of them imitated the larger ones in splendor and outdid them in profligacy, obtaining money by exploiting their people with a ruthlessness that today is hard even to imagine. Young men were literally taken from their beds at night and from church on Sunday, and pressed into the army, to be sent to fight for other kings in exchange for money. There is a passage in Schiller's play *Kabale und Liebe* which graphically describes how it worked out in practice:

Yes, there were a few forward fellows who stepped out of ranks and asked the colonel for how much per ton our ruler sold human flesh. But our most gracious prince had the regiment drawn up in parade formation on the Town Square and had the ring leaders shot. As their brains splashed on the cobblestones, everybody shouted: "Hurray! To America!"

American history remembers such forced mercenaries as Hessians, for the Landgrave of Hesse, one of the most notorious of these

petty princes, sold soldiers to England to fight against its rebellious colonies. But there were others like him. Each set great store by being called *Landesvater*, "Father of the Country." Their dominions were indeed small enough to allow each of them to interest himself in individual subjects, much to the subjects' chagrin; and they often treated them as they thought children were to be treated.

The Duke of Württemberg, Schiller's *Landesvater*, took a great personal interest in the gifted young man. He prescribed what Schiller was to study and was not to study. He was outraged when Schiller, disobeying orders, wrote "The Robbers," a play about an unjustly oppressed young man who became a rebel and an outlaw, and forbade him to write for the theatre. With the example before him of older writers in prison, Schiller fled. The Duke's armed men were on duty at one of his glamorous parties, so the fugitive crossed the border without trouble. *Don Carlos and the Ode to Joy* followed, and later the plays of Schiller's third, "classical," period.

In *Wilhelm Tell*, the last play that it was given to Schiller to complete (he died in 1805, at the age of 45), he glorified the hero who killed the imperial governor, a central episode in the creation of the Swiss Confederation. Schiller cared less, of course, about the Swiss revolution hundreds of years earlier than about the French Revolution of his own day. To make quite sure that he would not be misunderstood, he added, as a sort of postscript to the play, a scene in which a young duke, Johannes Parricida, has murdered his uncle, the Emperor.² He seeks refuge with Tell, hoping to find in him a kindred spirit. Tell turns him away with a speech that sharply draws the line between the legitimate killing of an oppressor to restore the people's freedom and Johannes' deed that was motivated by personal rancor and ambition.

It is not rhetoric that makes a drama great. And a simpler plot generally makes a play better than a complicated one. Schiller's later works may on both counts be considered superior to *Don Carlos*. But his enthusiasm burns nowhere brighter, and the figure of the Inquisitor is his most condensed and powerful creation. So Dostoevsky took the figure and filtered it through the experiences of his life and his changed ideas. In reviving the great antagonist from the play that had no

²Parricida (or patricida) means murderer of the father. The distinction between father and uncle was much less sharp in the medieval family system than it is now.

impressed him in his youth, he looked at it from the quite different viewpoint of his maturity. To Schiller, who had lived through petty tyranny, the Spanish Inquisition was greater and more wicked than anything he could readily imagine. Making its head the spokesman for enmity to freedom magnified that enmity, made it a worthy object of all his hatred. To Dostoevsky, who had experienced the tyranny of an empire about as great and as unrestrained as that of the sixteenth-century Church, the Spanish Inquisition could no longer serve as a simple object of hatred. He exalted the Inquisitor into a being of almost superhuman grandeur and malignity. His ambivalent attitude toward this powerful authority figure — which probably accounts for the fascination it has held for generations of readers — no doubt also reflects his own ambivalent political and psychological impulses.

3.

Now that we have seen something about the antecedents of Dostoevsky's *Legend*, what about its progeny? In the hundred years since Dostoevsky died, three months after completing *The Brothers Karamazov*, references to that novel and especially to the *Legend* have spread so wide that in recent times we encounter them in unexpected places. Monsignor Ivan Illich, a priest of Yugoslav descent living in Mexico, was called before the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (an agency of the Roman Curia) and questioned by its head, Franjo Cardinal Šeper, who happens to be also of Yugoslav descent. Mgr. Illich relates the end of the conversation as follows:

We were speaking in Croatian and as the Cardinal led me to the door his last words to me were, "Hadjite, hadjite, nemojte se cratiti!" . . . It wasn't until I was going down the stairs from his office that it struck me that he was quoting from the Inquisitor's last words to the prisoner in Dostoevsky's story . . .

The piquancy of the incident lies in the fact that Cardinal Šeper is in organizational terms the direct successor of Schiller's and Dostoevsky's Inquisitor, and he uses the words that were imputed to his predecessor by the institution's enemies. But there is no longer any question of burning at the stake. The Church has come a long way in the past four hundred years. The real heirs of the Inquisition today are the totalitarian political regimes that seek to control both the souls and

the bodies of individual citizens.

But these developments were still in the womb of the future a century ago, and Dostoevsky's Russian orthodoxy must have impeded his understanding of the Catholic Church as much as it must have spurred him to speak his mind about it. Admiration for the *Legend* should not blind us to the fact that neither the Inquisitor's character nor his situation requires him to make, so-to-speak, a full confession.

This very incongruity, however, is but additional proof of Dostoevsky's mastery: he presents the entire *Legend* as a figment of the imagination of Ivan Karamazov. The psychological need to make the speech is there, but it is presented as a need of Ivan, not of the figure of Ivan's creation. Ivan's need is clearly even more impressive if it leads him to let the character he invented make a speech that is beyond this character's proper motivation. Dostoevsky, after all, did not want to show us Ivan as a capable writer, but as a suffering human being.

That alone, however, would never have given the *Legend* its extraordinary impact even when read apart from the novel in which it is embedded; and it would not explain the author's high emphasis upon it, echoed by so many critics. Dostoevsky clearly had another aim. The Inquisitor's eloquence and Christ's even more eloquent silence speak to the readers of the book, and through them Dostoevsky speaks to all mankind, presenting for their choice two powerfully formulated and diametrically opposed views of the world and of the nature and destiny of man. That he speaks to his readers with two voices, rather than with one, indicates that he imagines Ivan as unable quite to make up his mind; but it also demonstrates how Dostoevsky himself follows the doctrine of Christ as he understands it, for in letting his Inquisitor sum up the teachings of Christ he puts great stress on human freedom.

It is, however, but a secondary function of the Inquisitor to expound the teachings of Christ. His primary function is to reveal the philosophy which guides him and the institution that he dominates and represents. In creating the character of the Inquisitor largely for this function, Dostoevsky followed a traditional pattern which has long had a place in literature and has maintained it even though it seldom occurs in a form that is convincing in realistic psychological terms — its usefulness has made up for its lack of realism. This pattern is that of the guide.

4.

The pattern of the guide is distinctly related to the motif of the Grand Inquisitor, though the relationship is so far from obvious that very little has been made of it by critics. The guide who explains to foreigners the inner workings of the country they visit occurred in literature long before Dostoevsky, but it acquired a new dimension when his Legend penetrated into international awareness.

A guide naturally comes in handy in travelogues, but there the pattern usually is unobtrusive. As long as an author describes a country actually existing here and now, on this earth, we do not expect it to be so radically different that the traveller cannot draw his conclusions from what he sees. Works that present fictitious worlds or at least fictitious social or political systems offer a greater challenge.

This category, for which I like the generic name *heterotopia*, comprises utopias (both eutopias and dystopias)³ as well as many works of science fiction and of fantasy. Heterotopias are written for the very purpose of showing an alien system, and, from the first, the form has included guides to explain the strange worlds being presented.

The sailors who lost their way in the immensity of the Pacific having been hospitably received on the island of Bensalem in Bacon's *New Atlantis* (written almost four centuries ago) are given preliminary information until at last their leader gets a formal lecture from one of the "Fathers" of "Salomon's House," the great research institute which is the distinguishing feature and in fact the very *raison d'être* of that happy commonwealth. Essentially similar lectures take place in Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Herzl's *Old-New Land*, and even in such a relatively recent work as Skinner's *Walden Two*. The device is beautifully caricatured in Stephen Leacock's *Afternoons in Utopia*.

The satire is well deserved because there is something basically not quite aboveboard about the device: the explanation that is given is not really meant for the listeners within the story, to whom it is ostensibly addressed, but rather for a wider audience outside it, its readers. The explainers, speaking on behalf of the author, over the heads of the

other characters in the story as it were, may be the highest officials of the fictitious nation, but in substance they are little more than tourist guides.

As such they have become less and less indispensable. Heterotopic literature has increasingly flourished, and the reading public can be expected not to need as much guidance to strange worlds as it did formerly; the authors of such works have become bolder. Ursula LeGuin, for instance, in *The Dispossessed* (which she subtitled *An Ambiguous Utopia* — in this again, utopists have become bolder) does not explain her two invented planets to her readers on the planet Earth; she lets her story tell itself. The same holds true for innumerable space travel stories and much other science fiction and fantasy.

Where, on the other hand, the figure of the guide-explainer has been retained, it has also been heightened; it has unmistakably approached the more exalted level of the Inquisitor. What used to be a simple lecture to a respectful audience has tended to become interaction, an encounter of crucial importance for the work's characters, especially the leading character. Lectures are still given, but the most typical case now is a ruler's lecture to one subject, more likely than not with the subject's fate hanging in the balance, the situation prefigured in Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor lecturing to his prisoner.

There are probably two reasons for this development. One is a change of taste, in two divergent directions, but contributing to the same result: modern taste is no longer satisfied with the travelogue type of utopia; the writer, and presumably his public, want psychological and sociological depth, want, to use a popular term, three-dimensional characters; in this sense heterotopias may be said to have become more sophisticated. At the same time, readers nowadays prefer fast-paced stories; there is little patience with long interpolated expositions, and in this sense our taste has apparently become less sophisticated. The other likely reason is that dystopias have come almost to squeeze out eutopias in the twentieth century (to discuss why that happened would lead us too far afield); the government in a dystopia obviously has more to hide, and the more that is hidden the more difficult the job of explaining: it can no longer be left to some humdrum guide.

³*Heterotopia*, *eutopia*, and *dystopia* are all terms constructed from Greek roots, and modeled on the imaginary country *Utopia* invented by Sir Thomas More for his philosophical fiction of that name, published in 1516. *Utopia*, which literally means "no place," is the traditional term for a tale presenting a more or less ideal commonwealth. A *heterotopia* literally indicates an imaginary *different* place (good or bad); a *eutopia* is specifically about a *good* place; and a *dystopia* presents a *bad* place — what has been called an "illfare state."

The way out of this dilemma in real life is quite different from its solution in literature: in actual practice, the hard job is simply not done; we do not hear of a member of the Moscow Politburo revealing to the masses the true aims of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But such a non-solution would be very unsatisfactory in fiction; so the power of explanation becomes vested in a person who represents the supreme power in the utopian state, just as the Inquisitor could be understood by Dostoevsky and his readers as representing the Roman Catholic Church.

This confrontation of power with its subject generally leads to a decision. Yet it may be harmless, as when in *Lost Horizon* Father Perrault instructs Mr. Conway, the man he has picked to succeed him in the rule over Shangri-La. It is still reasonably harmless when the World Controller Mustapha Mond explains the *Brave New World* to the "Savage" and to the two natives who have befriended him, though here the iron fist begins to show through the velvet glove. It has become anything but harmless in 1984 when O'Brien, member of the Inner Party, discloses to the mere Outer Party member Winston Smith what Ingsoc, the system of which the very name is a misuse and perversion of English Socialism, is in truth all about.

Both Aldous Huxley, author of *Brave New World*, and George Orwell, author of *1984*, were strongly influenced by *The Legend of the Grand Inquisitor* and were well aware of it. However, the difference in the way they made use of it is of greater significance than the similarity in the narrative device. Huxley's World Controller Mond has disciplinary power over the men to whom he reveals the inner workings of his realm, but his yoke is gentle and he talks to them urbanely in an office with the trappings of civilization. Orwell's O'Brien discloses his secret to Winston while personally torturing him in the dungeons of the Thought Police, named, with horrid mockery, the "Ministry of Love."

More important, Mond follows a humane and rational course: he wants his subjects to understand why they are being treated as they are, so that they can better cooperate in the measures he is going to take, which are in the last analysis for their own good. But O'Brien acts out of wanton cruelty: no rational purpose is served by his explaining the aim of the rulers' power, which is merely to perpetuate itself. He knows that

the question has agitated his victim and that the answer will crush him.

Thirdly, and most important, Huxley still followed the ideology of Dostoevsky's Inquisitor; Orwell reversed it at the pivotal point. Huxley's World Controllers still aimed at the happiness, albeit a debased happiness, of their charges, just as the Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov* had.⁴ At least this is what both these rulers claim, and we are given no cogent reason to doubt that they believe it. O'Brien, however, along with the ruling group he represents, pretends nothing, believes in nothing. What he allows his victim is a glance into a gaping void, indistinguishable from the maw of Hell. His image of power is "a boot stamping on a human face — forever." The entire enormous apparatus of the state, the stupendous system of degradation and oppression, the never-resting engines of torture — they all have only that one aim, nothing else.

5.

All of these systems that have been revealed to us by the various inquisitors, grand and smaller, still have one foundation in common. It is the idea, taken almost as an axiom, that the great mass of mankind is and must be ruled by an elite. Change has been seen as desirable insofar as it might replace a bad by a good elite; but even the bad elite was considered to be bad because of the errors of its ways rather than because of the innate viciousness of the system. Up to the work of Orwell the ruling elite was mostly thought of as a benevolent (though perhaps misguided) elite. But Orwell makes the system of elitism itself as malevolent as — and the word is here meant descriptively, not as an expletive — Hell. Democracy may not be Heaven, but it is at least the clear, direct opposite of this special hell.

As far as Dostoevsky found his Inquisitor's ideology offensive, it must have been on other grounds than that it was incompatible with democracy: Dostoevsky knew little of democracy and detested what he knew. In contrast, Orwell fought for democracy through his literary work and literally as a soldier in the Spanish Civil War. There is nothing ambiguous about his attitude towards O'Brien's ideology.

Considered as a work of literature, *The Brothers Karamazov* is universally held far su-

⁴Schiller's Grand Inquisitor was presumably concerned with the salvation of their souls. Did he also care about their happiness? His appearance in the play is perhaps too brief to say.

rior to 1984, and the ambiguity of Dostoevsky's novel is one reason. Scrutinized, however, for their value as expositions of political philosophy, where ambiguity becomes a defect rather than a virtue, the two works draw more nearly even. Both seem to agree that as long as human beings have power over human beings, this is what the power will be like. But they do not say that there always must be power. Orwell did not intend his picture of a horrible future as a prediction of what *will* happen, but as a warning against what *can* happen if we do not guard against it.

Dostoevsky opposes to his Inquisitor, the protagonist of power, his Jesus Christ, the protagonist of love and freedom. A generation earlier, Marx had predicted that once the proletarian revolution — his secular equivalent of the Second Coming — had smashed the capitalist regime, the state would "wither away," and domination of men would yield to administration of things. No state has as yet shown any clear signs of withering away, but it should not be forgotten that this was Marx's expectation, based on his "scientific" theory. He rejected utopias for not having such a foundation. He was of course talking about eutopias. In his lifetime, and even by the time he died a century ago, there were as yet few dystopias, and hardly any attention was paid to them. It is hard to say whether in the book falsely attributed to Goldstein in 1984 Marx would have seen a further development of his theory or a caricature of it. It is certain that Marx detested all inquisitors, in reality as well as in fiction (though he had no special interest in the latter).

6.

I have been tracing the motif of the Inquisitor in literature principally from two angles, the psychological and the political-philosophical; but in the consideration of specific works it appears that the two approaches are inseparable. The drive to write and the choice of the theme stem from the author's inner psychological processes; while the thoughts he expresses in his work, the positions he takes on the issues involved, are the result of interaction between inner forces and the historical conditions.

The psychological driving force of the Inquisitor motif is the son-father conflict. The various works that feature inquisitors sometimes show this conflict openly, sometimes veiled, but it is always there.

Schiller's Carlos is killed by his father's order; but the Inquisitor is almost as decisively involved; he is the even older man who determines the King to kill his son. Carlos had to die for psychological as well as for ideological reasons. Marx said that the ideologists of a class can not cross the lines that their class can not cross in reality. Schiller's total work is a good example. Feudalism still held sway over Germany a century after the English Revolution and while the French Revolution was in full swing. Having long outlived its usefulness, it was a particularly mean and backward feudalism. The German bourgeoisie and lower classes did not and could not rebel, and Schiller's rebels had to perish. The only exception is Wilhelm Tell, and there Schiller had the inspiring example of Switzerland before his eyes, the only true republic within his experience.

The motif of patricide pervades *The Brothers Karamazov*. Though it is not overtly the motif of the Legend, it dominates the background of the episode. Dostoevsky had suffered from the tyranny of an empire a hundred times more powerful than Schiller's *Landesvater*, and an empire that at just that time showed signs of possibly being amenable to transformations. He could distill profound general principles from the struggles in that very large arena and could raise the Inquisitor to the heights of a figure of metaphysical significance. Dostoevsky at the same time merged the motif with the originally quite different motif of the guide-explainers, a fusion which the later writers have maintained. In psychological terms, his Inquisitor represents the image of the bad father, Christ that of the good father; in political terms, the Inquisitor a hostile empire, Christ what Dostoevsky hoped Russia might become.

Use of the motif by writers after Dostoevsky never reached that level again. Huxley and authors of similar dystopias toned the struggle down, brought it from a transcendent battle between Christ and Antichrist back down to Earth, but did not otherwise change it significantly.

Orwell did. He did not change the psychological substance; the relationship between Winston Smith and O'Brien can be understood as the relationship of a son to his punishing father. Orwell's great innovation was ideological: he had no more patience with the proposition that mankind had to be ruled over. His rebel still had to perish as Schiller's heroes and the four sons of old Karamazov had to perish. But Orwell gives

no indication that he thinks this is the end of the battle or that he considers it an immutable law of nature that the rebel must succumb. Far from acting as a self-fulfilling prophecy, his novel has had some effect as the warning he intended it to be.

This is as far as the development of the motif of the Inquisitor, from Schiller to Dostoevsky, and finally to Orwell, has gone. It is

difficult to see how it could go beyond this point, but that does not mean that it won't. Any new direction would doubtless reflect psychological and political stresses developing unnoticed in the undercurrents of our civilization. And we will need a new genius of the order of Schiller, Dostoevsky, or Orwell to break with tradition and enunciate the new element, whatever it may be.

WORD ARTIST. The phrase "painting with words" applies literally to the work of JOHN SOKOL, Akron artist who created the cover portrait, "George Orwell as 1984," and the portrait on p. 31 of "Dostoevsky as *The Brothers Karamazov*." A native of Canton, Ohio, Sokol attended Kent State University, from which he holds B.F.A. and M.F.A. degrees. His work has been exhibited throughout Ohio as well as in New York, Chicago, and Atlanta, and in galleries from New England to California. His portraits of authors have appeared on the covers and in the pages of a number of magazines; some twenty of them are featured in a forthcoming issue of *Antaeus*. Sokol is a word artist in the other sense as well: short stories by him have appeared in *Descant*, *Redbook*, *Akros*, *Adena*, and other publications.

Ervin J. Gaines

RESCUE FROM CHAOS: THE COMPUTER IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Cleveland Public Library is one of the first in the country to computerize its cataloguing — and it is reaping unexpected benefits

Among the many operations of a library the least noticed but the most exacting is the maintenance of accurate records about its collections. Cataloguing, which to an outside observer seems a harmless sort of drudgery, is in fact an intellectually demanding vocation vital to the modern library. It is not an exaggeration to say that the large research library could not function without a meticulously kept catalog. So important is the task that libraries of any size do not hesitate to spend more to catalog a book than to buy it.

Catalog complexity increases with the size of the collections. Small libraries can make do with perfunctory records because the librarian can remember what is in the collection. As a library expands beyond the capacity of a librarian to retain the information on his head, only accurate cataloguing can insure that a book will not be lost from view. If the contemporary library user is occasionally put off by what seems like a fussiness on the part of librarians, an excessive precision about seemingly minor matters, anyone familiar with the operation of large libraries knows that only the strictest attention to detail keeps chaos at bay.

Inventory control — which is what li-

brary cataloguing amounts to — is made more intricate by the fact that each item a library owns is unique. An inventory of, let us say, automobile parts by General Motors is simplicity itself when compared to the control system of a majestic library like the British Museum or the Library of Congress, where each item must bear its own mark of identification as well as some analysis of its contents so that its unique properties can be classified for a researcher on the hunt for information.

Not only is each book one of a kind, but great cunning is required to group it with other books to which it may be related because of authorship or subject. The cataloguing and classification schemes now in widespread use are the harvest of scholarly work of thousands of librarians extending over many decades. Cataloguing is a labor which never ends: as new subjects are invented or discovered, the classification schemes of libraries must place them logically in relation to the existing categories of knowledge.

The organization of knowledge no longer occupies our thinkers and philosophers to the degree it once did, but modern systems of identification which we take for granted owe much to the scholarship of lib-

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Photographs of Library on pp. 41-45 by Louis T. Milic.

niz, Bacon, and the French encyclopaedists of the eighteenth century, who wrestled with the difficult intellectual problem of systematizing the vast complexity of knowledge. Even the early dictionary-makers had to make difficult judgments about the ordering of lists of words into a readily comprehensible system. Obvious though it seems to us today, the first lexicographers took a major step in information retrieval when they decided to alphabetize vocabulary lists.

In the centuries before the invention of printing, libraries were small and the books they acquired were not discarded. This stability of the collections made record-keeping relatively simple if it was, indeed, required at all. Each book had its fixed location and might even be chained to its shelf; once acquired, it probably never left the library. After Gutenberg, books became cheaper and more plentiful, and the frequency of turnover in library collections gradually increased. Libraries expanded and so did the difficulty of keeping track of the books.

The simplest and most logical of early catalogs was a register of books arranged chronologically by date of acquisition. Whenever a book was added to the collection, the fact was duly noted by the librarian in an appropriate ledger. As a business-like inventory, such an acquisition record was suitable enough, but it did not serve the needs of the scholar who had no recourse except to peruse all of the entries to find what he wanted. Only over a period of time did librarians fully understand that what the scholar needed was a catalog from which he could quickly eliminate as many unwanted items as possible at the outset of his search. To accomplish this result librarians began to rearrange their book inventory alphabetically instead of chronologically; once alphabetical catalogs became standard the next logical development was to create subject catalogs or bibliographies to provide clues about the contents of the books. This step was made imperative by the acceleration of learning in the seventeenth century, which put librarians to the test of designing more responsive systems for searching out books from Europe's expanding libraries.

Perhaps the most famous of the thinkers to address questions of the organization of knowledge was Gottfried Leibniz, seventeenth-century polymath and librarian to the Duke of Hanover. Leibniz contributed a detailed alphabetical subject index which grouped knowledge into approximately twenty fields roughly parallel to the curricula of the universities of his time.

Until a few years ago the most common method of library classification in this country was the Dewey decimal system, devised in 1876 by Melvil Dewey. As most readers know, this system divides all of knowledge into categories numbered 0 to 999. Books on philosophy, for example, are numbered 100-199, religious works cover 200-299, the social sciences occupy the 300's, language the 400's, and so on. More recently the Library of Congress created a similar but more elaborate system, labeling different categories by the letters of the alphabet. Thus books on philosophy and religion in the LC system are prefixed by the letter B; D contains history and topography, except that of America, which occupies E and F. Many categories have lettered and numerical subclassifications: BC is logic and BD metaphysics, for example, with BD 150-241 reserved for epistemology, BD 300-444 for ontology, and BD 493-708 for cosmology and teleology.

The method of physically storing catalog information in an easily retrievable form has also undergone development. Bound ledgers composed of sequential entries lacked flexibility, especially because they did not allow for insertion of new filing information at a later time. Such requirements eventually led to the invention of the card catalog, which, through decades of change from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, gave us the finding instrument we are all familiar with.

The card catalog is in its own primitive way a blueprint or archetype for the computer: it is expandable; the order of its parts can be rearranged; it allows for simultaneous access at many points; and its entries can be reproduced readily for use at places remote from the main storage location. These qualities also characterize computer storage of data.

Ingenuous as the card catalog is, it has serious drawbacks. It is susceptible to filing errors which can go undetected for long periods and it is vulnerable to abuse or vandalism. Cards mischievously removed from the file impair reliability of the record. Missing or misfiled cards effectively remove a book from the reach of a reader trying to use a closed-stack library.

Challenged to devise a secure, flexible, and durable catalog, librarians turned to electronic technology. Early computers, designed to handle numerical materials, did not cope readily with alphabets and texts, and several years of research and development were necessary before librarians were satisfied that machines were capable of assuming

some of the duties of clerks. Now the protected file, stored in a computer, can be manipulated only at the point of entry — the catalog department — and not at the point of use, the public reading room. Clerical errors have not been eliminated, but they are more readily discoverable in a computerized catalog and can be corrected swiftly without recourse to the process of typing new cards, pulling old ones and inserting replacements; a stroke or two of the keys on a keyboard terminal in the catalog department is sufficient.

The card catalog is defective in another important respect. In a busy institution like the New York Public Library, frequent handling by thousands upon thousands of people eventually wears out the cards. The difficulty and the cost of replacement have proved unacceptable wherever financial resources are slender.

Especially since World War II, the cost of labor has risen so rapidly that severe constraints have been placed on the ability of major libraries to maintain card catalogs in good order. Before it stopped adding to its card catalog in 1980, Cleveland Public Library spent \$250,000 annually to insert or withdraw cards from the file. This sum does not take into account the cost of upkeep of all branch and departmental catalogs, which numbered an astonishing 300 separate files, the despair of user and librarian alike. Librarians concerned about catalog reliability were convinced that deterioration of the catalog through mismanagement was almost as injurious as deterioration of the collections themselves.

Catalog maintenance cost has become so prohibitive that libraries have attempted to economize by eliminating catalog records for paperback books, whose relatively brief life furnishes a pretext for shortcuts; but such stratagems are self-defeating. Either to forego buying paperbacks or to add them to collections without cataloguing is an unappealing dilemma, for neither course of action is responsible librarianship.

The advent of the computer in these increasingly difficult circumstances has been a godsend for large libraries. Sound bibliographic practices which were compromised to save money can be re-established because a computer catalog is so much more efficient than a card catalog. For reasons largely economic, Cleveland's main catalog suffered a protracted period of neglect beginning about 1930 with the Great Depression and continuing until 1975, by which time the catalog so inadequately represented the Library's collections that it was an embarrassment. Scores



Main building of the Cleveland Public Library at 325 Superior Avenue, scene of pioneering adaptation of computers to library cataloguing.

of thousands of titles that had been lost or withdrawn remained in the card files, while other thousands (foreign language books, for example) never found their way into the catalog drawers. The decline of catalog reliability was hastened by the accretion of many cranky and idiosyncratic modifications to standard cataloguing introduced by generations of librarians operating without a master plan.

These modifications, some of them going back to William H. Brett (1884-1918), a founder of the Library, required extra work because they were applicable only to this one library and so made it impossible to take advantage of cataloguing done elsewhere. Gradually the catalog system came to be a drain on the Library's resources, and led to the erosion of its reputation as a facility for scholarly work. Readers familiar with the Dewey grouping of travel books with history books in the 900-class, for example, found the Cleveland Public Library travel books in the 400's, reserved by Dewey for languages and semantics. Besides such arbitrary deviations from standard Dewey practices, the CPL version also distinguished between circulating and noncirculating copies of any given title by assigning different numbers to each. These practices increased work loads, public confusion, and disorder in the collections. Such idiosyncracies had a cumulative effect, paralyzing the resolution of librarians to make the Cleveland system conform to



DATABASE DISPLAY Selected MARC DI

Bibliographic type: book III Control number: M
 LC call number: Fiction

Main entry: Michener, James Albert, 1907-

Title: Chesapeake /

Publisher: Random House, -- New York :
 Date of Publication: c1978.

	Control No.	Holder	Routing	Date Rec	Time
1.	0000100002700	013000	000000		
2.	0000100002200	012000	000000		
3.	0000100000045	012200	000000		
4.	0000100029744	014200	000000		
5.	0000101408354	013300	000000		

The old and the new. Left: old catalog card for James Michener's novel *Chesapeake*. Right: same information on cathode display screen of one of the Library's new computer terminals.

standard Dewey, because backlogs of recataloguing chores might swamp the ship. Trapped between its own poor practices and the prospect of gigantic work loads, the Cleveland Public Library chose neither.

Cataloguing, it should be noted, involves broadly two kinds of work: first, descriptive cataloguing, which records the bibliographic data that distinguish each individual book; and second, classification, which assigns the identifying code or call number telling where the book is to be found in any given library. The Library of Congress sets standards for both descriptive cataloguing and classification. While most libraries cannot resist some editing of Library of Congress cataloguing information to conform to local practices, the Cleveland Public Library had for all practical purposes modified the standard data out of recognition. Consequently it could only make limited use of the nationally distributed information from the Library of Congress.

By 1975 the Library moved so close to collapse owing to its inefficiencies that action could no longer be deferred. Following a series of diagnostic conferences, the administration decided to attempt a radical cure. The initial directive ordered the Library staff to forsake all local cataloguing modifications and to adhere totally and without deviation to the cataloguing decisions of the Library of Congress. This determination was not confined to the descriptive cataloguing but also embraced the Library of Congress classification scheme, which, beginning in May, 1975, replaced the Dewey-Brett system, which had served Cleveland and other Northern Ohio libraries for generations. This drastic action wrenched Cleveland's Library around and pointed it in a new direction. After May,

1975, CPL disciplined itself to take maximum advantage of intellectual work done elsewhere by simply importing it while at the same time shutting down its own "cottage industry" cataloguing with all its local trappings.

In adopting a nationally recognized standard, CPL immediately raised the quality of its record-keeping and at the same time freed librarians from redundant drudgery, so that their attention could be re-directed toward other tasks in the reform process. Standardization led to greater productivity and made possible the Library's first important steps toward automation.

In the mid-1960's, while the Cleveland Library was floundering in its sea of paper, the Library of Congress promulgated its cataloguing on computer tapes in machine-readable format—a most significant decision for all libraries. This new mode of catalog storage, known by its acronym MARC (Machine Readable Catalog), was made available to any libraries possessing computer capability. At that time CPL could not take advantage of this technological innovation because its system did not conform to that of the Library of Congress and because it did not own a computer. The decisions of 1975 remedied the first deficiency and paved the way for the Library to automate its cataloguing records.

Another development that came to the aid of CPL was a cooperative computerized cataloguing service originating in Columbus, Ohio, known as OCLC (originally Ohio College Library Center, but now referred to only by the letters). By contract arrangement, Cleveland acquired a very serviceable stopgap until its own computer system was obtained. With help from OCLC and partial financing by a grant from the State Library of



The new and the old. Left: Charles Woller, Automation Services Supervisor, types author's name at computer terminal to begin search for book. Right: Library patron looks through card drawer in old card catalog.

Ohio, Cleveland began the conversion of its catalog record from cards to tapes, which were stored against the day when its own computers could ingest the records.

Finally in 1978 the Cleveland Public Library acquired its own computer and began to transfer its taped records. By October, 1981, more than 500,000 titles (an estimated one half of the entire collection) had been entered into the computer at the Main Building at 325 Superior Avenue. Thus the entire reform project, which had at first seemed so hopeless, was accomplished in little more than five years.

The cooperative effort of three major organizations, the Library of Congress in Washington, OCLC in Columbus, and the Cleveland Public Library, not only succeeded in moving all the old paper records into a computer but corrected a staggering number of errors in the process. So useful is the new file, although only half finished, that by June, 1981, about half of the inquiries made to the Main catalog librarians were being answered by the computer instead of by the 3 x 5 catalog card file.

The Library's computer hardware is manufactured by Digital Equipment Company. The heart of the system is two PDP 11/70 processors, linked in tandem to allow either to carry the total work load for the system during periods when one is shut down for maintenance and repair. Peripheral equipment in the form of disk-drives, tape-drives, printers, terminals and multi-plexers, makes the system flexible and adaptable. Simultaneous access is possible both for file updates and public use of different data bases at many locations. It is routine for a cataloguer on the fourth floor of the Main Building to be adding information about new books to the

catalog while a clerk is adding entries about today's news stories to the on-line newspaper index, even as a branch library is charging books out for home use. The system is designed to allow for equipment add-ons as the number and size of the data bases increase. In theory, the capacity of the system is unlimited. The only constraints are physical space for the hardware and money to purchase and operate it.

Although the administrative uses of a computer are obvious; a library's catalog is not practical unless the readers can have direct access to it without professional intervention by a librarian. Here a new obstacle appears. Most computer terminals employ keyboards, and can tap into the computer only after use of call-up signals. Since a public library cannot undertake to train all its patrons in the use of such a device, engineers have been experimenting with techniques to make access to the computer records simpler. They have developed prototypes of what are known as "touch" terminals. Instead of a keyboard, a "touch" terminal requires only the movement of a finger across the screen of a cathode ray tube to move the file forward or backward, much as a roll microfilm can be moved by turning a crank. The perfection of these devices lies in the future, but when it has been achieved, the computer catalog will be as accessible to the reader as the card catalog has been.

The Library's computer software system, which was designed to the specifications of the Library by Data Research Associates of St. Louis, Missouri, has proved to be sufficiently flexible to cope with a variety of problems in addition to those associated with bibliography. Although the catalog is and will always remain the most massive of the

files stored in the computer's memory, many new programs for the computer have been introduced and still more are being planned.

One of these new programs — the next major undertaking in automation after cataloging — is a circulation control system which will permit the Library to discard an older, complicated and inefficient method of tracking books borrowed for home use. This older hybrid of files made by photography, microfilm, optical scanner, and plain old-fashioned handwriting is an administrative horror. At this time, the new automated system has already been installed in three Library branches, with others scheduled for improvement before the end of this year.

The automated circulation system tracks book loans to patrons until the borrowed books are returned, at which time the record is extinguished, protecting the reader from a snooper who at some later time might want to learn what someone has been reading, a practice which librarians regard as a serious invasion of privacy. The system does much more, however: it keeps lists of reserved books and alerts all distribution points in the library about wanted items; it keeps a watch on delinquent borrowers and prevents borrowing of excessively large numbers of items; it provides ready statistics which can be used to forecast the kinds and quantities of books that should be added to — or subtracted from — the collections. Information useful to library management has often been too costly to justify its accumulation; computerized libraries will be run much more cost-efficiently owing to the ready availability of use-data.

Computerized files are flexible, can be consulted rapidly, and are more accurate than the hand-generated files used by the Library in the past. By reducing dependency

upon human clerical work, the Library is reducing the frequency of errors and consequently lowering the cost of its operations. Improved efficiency has made more money available for investment in new programs, larger book collections, and more skillfully organized service at the point of contact with the people who use the Library.

The ability to find books faster and with less effort will greatly expand the reach of Library services. Computers have opened the entire resources of the Main Library to any citizen at any branch and, potentially, at any desired location in the entire county. The computer will be the Library's Sears Roebuck Catalog, enabling readers to "shop" from a remote point and to be served as accurately and almost as quickly as they would be at the Main Library. At present, any book that is called for can be, and routinely is, delivered anywhere in the city within 24 hours.

What the Cleveland Public Library has done is not such an extraordinary achievement in a society that has learned to adapt its work to the requirements of computers, and yet the hard fact is that most libraries have not had the nerve to take the leap into the electronic age. In the absence of suitable models, Cleveland's Library has been pioneering, learning to deal with new situations unaided by a body of received doctrine or reliable experience. To a profession like librarianship, with a not-always-comfortable reputation for conservatism in adapting to new modes of operation, computers present a peculiarly difficult challenge. Public libraries operate in a closer personal relationship with their clients than do most public agencies, and they are therefore more sensitive and responsive to those constituents, who often feel threatened by change even more than do



Left: the Library's new "main catalog" — the Automation Services Department on the ground floor of the Library building. Right: a book is charged out at one of the new computerized machines which transfer circulation information immediately to a centralized data bank.

the employees. The interplay between librarian and patron fosters a conservatism that extends from the contents of books to the modernization of buildings. Computers, to an inadequately informed public, seem an unnecessary intrusion into the familiar world of print. The mystique of computers is such that the public may fear that machines, with their mysterious electronic languages, will replace books. This atmosphere of ignorance has its influence on the political process and the people who preside over library budgets. Public ignorance encourages politicians to act on their instinctive reluctance to expand budgets, especially at a time of economic stress for the nation, and especially for public services whose full importance is felt only over a long period of time.

Because of these obstacles it is often easier for library administrators and governing boards to coast along rather than to undertake the necessary technical planning and to persuade reluctant budget authorities. The task of computerizing a library presents more than ordinary difficulties, and the fear of disastrous failure inhibits the cultivation of a venturesome spirit by librarians. Cleveland's Library had in fact experienced two serious setbacks in earlier computer experiments in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The memory of those defeats was still fresh when the 1975 reform movement began, and while the fear of a third failure was somewhat daunting, the staff's resolve to plan more carefully actually helped to insure success.

Ohio's laws governing libraries have some features not found elsewhere in the United States, which work to Cleveland's advantage at this point in its history. The basic tax revenues for public libraries in our state are mandated by the state legislature in the form of the so-called intangibles tax. The proceeds from this tax on the income of stocks and bonds are not subject to diversion by mayors and city councils, as so frequently happens in other states. Ohio's library boards are relatively insulated from the kind of day-to-day political pressures which too frequently hamper effective decision-making. With a relatively sheltered income and a certain immunity from political influence, the Cleveland Public Library has been able to move rapidly into the technological age unhindered by the often near-sighted influences of local government.

In its pioneering use of new technology, the Library has discovered some unexpected benefits. While the Library did anticipate the increase in service reliability, it did not expect cost savings. Early in the process of transfer-



The Main Catalog room — an “elegantly designed space” which will become a reading room when the old card catalog is retired.

ring records to computer storage, it was discovered that the librarians and clerks whose work embraces cataloguing and related activities (e.g., book acquisition, shelf preparation, and circulation) enjoyed a sizable reduction in workload as machines took over the drudgery of record-keeping. Very quickly, staff reductions were made possible, thereby releasing funds for other purposes. As the number of employees diminished, the complexity of supervision and personnel control also decreased; work performance and individual productivity began to rise. A second unforeseen benefit is the recapture of space. Fewer people require less work area, thus liberating valuable floor space. The expected disappearance of card catalogs will help the Library increase the number of public reading areas. The large room that presently houses the main catalog is an elegantly designed space which, when converted to a reading room, will add charm to the Library. In addition to aesthetic considerations, practical economic advantages should be kept in mind. The annual rental of prime office space in downtown Cleveland is approaching \$15 per square foot. The Library will recover about 2,000 square feet now given over to catalog cases. Upgrading and enlarging of public areas is a benefit of computerization that never occurred to the automation planners, but it is a very tangible benefit.

While this account has dwelt at length

on the bibliographic records as being of primary importance in the shift to automation, the addition of other on-line files strengthens the Library significantly. Several years of indexing of Cleveland's two daily newspapers, a necrology file, and a complete record of the periodical holdings of most libraries in Cuyahoga County are now on-line. Not only is the Library a more powerful information resource because of its computers, it is extending its reach geographically. Since there is no practical limit to the number of terminals that can be linked to the central memory, the Library can make available, at low cost, access to its files at any place that might find such access useful. The accessibility of the data banks puts the Library within reach of all other libraries and consequently of all citizens, wherever they happen to live. Even as this is being written, negotiations are under way to forge the first computer links with suburban libraries.

As soon as librarians have mastered the intricacies of computer management and have learned how to take full advantage of the informational power conferred by the computer, the Library's administrative officers will be prepared to place computer terminals wherever they may be useful, whether inside the library system or in business establishments, schools, colleges, or governmental offices. The ruling principle is that the data bases of the Library, having been financed from public funds, should be made freely available, and the only charges should be for the extra costs involved in mak-

ing the connections. The Library's data banks are as much public property as are its book collections.

The enlarging of the sphere of influence of one of the nation's important public libraries coincides with increased tempo of competition among the many industries with a large economic stake in information and communication. Apprehension exists among librarians that access to important information may fall under the control of commercial enterprises and thereby place many citizens at a disadvantage. Though the prospect of information monopolies may not be a realistic appraisal of what is afoot in the country, and there may be a tinge of paranoia in the library profession about danger from monopolistic pressures, nevertheless an attitude of watchfulness is probably justified. Therefore, the computerization of public libraries may be useful in helping to insure the continued free access to information by every citizen. A fundamental principle of public librarianship has been the citizen's right to have public information publicly available, not monopolized either by government or by commercial enterprise intent on profits. The computer can help give fresh meaning to the basic democratic ideals of our society through ever-widening dissemination of books and their contents by means of the latest technology. It is to be hoped that Cleveland's breakthrough will serve as a model for some of the nation's other great public libraries in the pursuit of this ideal.

Nicholas R. Jones

MEDIEVAL PLAYS FOR MODERN AUDIENCES

A production by the British National Theatre uses contemporary techniques to engage audiences whose beliefs are different from those assumed by the original author

Physical works of art such as paintings and sculpture are not the only masterpieces that suffer the ravages of time. Oblivion can also swallow works of literature, which often depend for their effectiveness on an audience that holds particular beliefs, as well as one that knows a particular language. It was to revive one group of such masterpieces, a selection of medieval mystery plays, that the Cottesloe Theatre in London mounted the production described in this essay, giving new emotional validity to dramas based on an ethos no longer shared by all of the audience. The production reflects an understanding of the nature of ritual and drama — of religious belief and theatrical suspension of disbelief — that might be adapted for the rescue of other masterpieces similarly lost to modern audiences.

In the mystery plays — those enormous cycles of Biblical history presented each summer in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the streets of prosperous English towns — the life of medieval England shines out. The Biblical figures seem to live in a medieval world, in the persons of local shepherds, farmers, shipbuilders, merchants, bishops, noblemen, and thieves, struggling to survive in an agricultural economy dependent on the

wool trade, in a feudalism quickly passing away under the new power of the merchant classes. The mysteries have a comic intensity of vision that we associate with Chaucer, and a Dante-like commitment to the life of the spirit.¹

Originally the mysteries seem to have been part of the feast of Corpus Christi, a festival celebrating the Eucharist.² Coming in early summer, Corpus Christi was a perfect occasion for street theater — grand religious processions, weeks of plays, and (we may guess) less pious entertainments. The centrality of the elements of bread and wine as symbols of Christ in the celebration of Corpus Christi dovetailed with a deeply symbolic part of medieval thought — that all events of the great myth of the Bible might be seen as “types” of Christ’s mediation in human life. Adam’s sin is every person’s sin; Noah’s salvation is the equivalent of the rescue promised to everyone through Christ. So this feast, honoring a mystery made visible and tangible, was a perfect time to represent the central mysteries of salvation in their visible forms, in plays based on the stories of the Bible. Historically, the cycles grew out of an already well-established tradition of liturgical drama that had probably existed in the

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Photographs of the Cottesloe *Passion* courtesy of the British National Theatre.

large churches since about 1200. Unlike the cycles, though, this liturgical drama was formal and dignified, presented in Latin within the church buildings, and held under the control of church authorities. The cycles, performed in English in the streets of the cities, are a very different matter.

The ecclesiastical festival and its related doctrines were important in the development of the cycles. But so were factors beyond the control of the church. On the religious side was the movement towards a popular religion associated with friars — the wandering preachers and counsellors who avoided the pomp and hierarchy of the cathedrals. Like the friars at their best, the cycles spoke religion to the people through the language and the images of everyday life. On a social level, the cycles arose from the flourishing trade of late medieval Europe: the growth of civic-minded and prosperous towns gave a place and a purpose to the productions; the power and prestige of the manufacturing and merchant classes supplied the means and the initiative. The cycle productions depended primarily on the organization and labor of the trade guilds. The guilds — unions of crafts and trades, fishermen, carpenters, woollensellers, etc. — had by the mid-fourteenth century achieved status almost to rival the church. It was their wealth and competitive zeal that led to the production system of the cycles: each guild took on complete responsibility for one episode, casting, staging, rehearsing, acting it, much as the Kiwanis or Rotary might today sponsor the refreshments at a Fourth of July town picnic.

At their height, the cycles were monumental productions. We can take the cycle of York as an example.³ York's cycle in 1415 had 52 separate plays, of which 48 have survived, covering Biblical episodes from Creation to Judgment. The plays are diverse in style and mood — from a liturgical solemnity in the Resurrection play to a comic picture of Noah's frustration with his cantankerous wife. The cycles were written over many years by many different hands. At times the craft is rude, and at other times, as in the York passion plays, the dramatic imagination is as sophisticated as the elaborate verse in which they are written. Especially in the hands of the best writers, the plays combine stylization and naturalism in a way we may find disturbing. York's soldiers, nailing Christ to the cross, speak of everyday things — petty jealousies, boredom, sore shoulders — yet their dialogue is crafted in a complex twelve-line stanza using only four rhymes.

Some actions develop a fairly ample characterization — hence the popularity of the Wakefield cycle's Second Shepherd's Play with its engaging sheep-stealer, Mak. In other plays, however, the author is clearly uninterested in what we think of as character or action, developing only a doctrinal or schematic view of the events — as in York's Annunciation play, where little more than the Biblical and liturgical accounts are used.

The cycles, as one scholar says, are "homemade" — the products of local writers, actors, and producers.⁴ Indeed, to us they often have a roughhewn quality. In place of unity, a sense of climax, and the other "Aristotelian" qualities of drama, we find episodic, shapeless multiplicity. Motivation is virtually non-existent, details of history inaccurate, taste inconsistent. On a proscenium stage, before a standard theater audience of the twentieth century, the cycle plays would seem hopelessly naïve. Their clowning would be silly, their villains unconvincing, their heroes pasteboard.

But the same writer who calls the cycles homemade goes on to describe their drama as "rich and elaborate to a degree we would associate only with professional theater."⁵ Productions were extravagant, like the manuscripts and architecture of the late fifteenth century. The cycles were professional undertakings, with paid and highly-valued personnel; they were not Sunday-school shows in church halls. Our knowledge of the staging is unclear in many details; but the general outline is instructive. In some towns, each play in the cycle occupied a separate fixed location and the crowd moved from stage to stage. In other towns, or perhaps at other periods, the plays themselves moved around town on special wagons, stopping to act at certain locations. The settings and props included the schematic (a gaping dragon's mouth for Hell, a bolt of blue cloth for the Red Sea) as well as the realistic (animal's blood for Christ's wounds). Each play probably had a specific "set" representing, say, the Temple or the Garden of Eden; but the action can scarcely have remained on the small wagon or platform that held the set. It must have spread forward onto the streets, the standing audience crowding in as close as they dared.⁶ Costumes, music, trained actors, elaborate machinery, and special effects were all worth seeing; and though many were probably the same as in last year's production, a few were likely to be new, and not to be missed.

The cycles were *the* dramatic life of their day. As befitted the needs of their times, they were broadly public, celebrating the shared

values and thoughts of the medieval towns. They did not attempt to provide an illusion of reality; in those crowds, it would have been hard to achieve a willing suspension of disbelief. How could one "believe" in a "Noah," a local shipwright who in five minutes, ten feet away from you, assembled a stylized "ark" from pre-cut pieces, all the while asserting that a hundred years have passed since he began this hard labor? The medieval audience, crowding in to see their acquaintances in this year's version of the cycles, saw *not* stories occurring in a present time (like most modern drama, whether it is historical or not) but old stories, stories of the past and of the future. The cycles skip from the Assumption of the Virgin to the Day of Judgment without a glance at modern history. These are myths, stories to live by, not stories to experience for catharsis. Yet for being "only" presentations of old stories, the cycles had an immediacy that brought them into the medieval world. The best poetry graced their lines; the best craftspeople designed their costumes; the town comedian played the devil with the best current jokes; and the characters spoke always of the old situations in terms of modern problems — rainy weather, bad crops, greedy landlords, tight money, proud bishops.

Many readers of the cycles today comment on the extraordinary degree of *life* in the plays. It cannot be simply ascribed to the contemporary imagery or the vivid language; it is a result of a unique dramatic situation — a spectacle arising from a community, acted in the shared vocabulary and space of the community using stories that are familiar to the community. Yet with all these aspects of familiarity, thoroughly investing the drama with closeness, one deep distance remains: these familiar stories are *old and mysterious*, the stories of the connection of God with the world. In the medieval streets, carpenters and hosiers presented once again the old stories of the community. Significantly, they were not in the church, and they were not priests: the bread they broke at "The Last Supper" was just bread, as "Noah" was obviously only the local shipbuilder. The medieval cycles tapped the sources of the invisible world without losing contact with the real world.

Like all masterpieces, the plays of the cycles demand to be recognized and produced today. But too often their Christian foundations relegate them to amateur productions in explicitly Christian contexts. For a professional public theater in a pluralistic and secular age, the mysteries present a special chal-

lenge. Their medieval themes must be acknowledged as the center of their dramatic potential: but if we strive to present *only* (or even *mainly*) medieval themes, the plays will go dead. The mystery cycles were produced originally in a remarkably close harmony with their Christian audiences; what attitudes and choices on the part of the modern producers can parallel such harmony?

Take the crucifixion as an example. It is an unmistakably dramatic incident, and appears so in the mystery plays — the charged exchanges of Jesus and Pilate, the quivering hypocrisy of Caiaphas, the mockery of the soldiers, the confused fear of the disciples and friends. There is room in the medieval plays for human interest, black comedy, and satire; yet their focus clearly and naturally lies on the side of orthodoxy: "to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living."⁸ Today, in any audience in a public theater, some will believe this, and some will not. So what shall a producer choose to

The Passion



Cover of the modern text of the Cottesloe *Passion* shows Jesus and soldiers in modern London, on the terrace of the British National Theatre (St. Paul's Cathedral in the background).

present? In a Western, Christian-oriented culture, we all *know* the ending of the story and its supposed meaning; we all have opinions and attitudes about what we know. How can we possibly come together, at once involved in what we see on stage, and at the same time free to respond to our different beliefs?

A crowd of several hundred people are standing shoulder to shoulder in a large hall. The lighting is dim, small flickering orange lights suspended from a distant ceiling, many of them enclosed in miscellaneous pieces of household stuff — cheese graters, small ashcans, oil lanterns. The air is dense with some kind of mist. On three sides, above the crowd, walls and galleries are lined with more stuff, big ornamental loaves, ploughs and spades, hammers, bakepans and cookware, plaques, trade union banners. On the fourth side, on a platform, a band — guitars, organ and piano, drums, horn, trumpet, accordion, fiddle — is playing a march. On the edge of the crowd is a man dressed strikingly, in two layers — underneath, as a bus conductor; on top, in a robe of undyed rough cloth. He struggles to move an enormous cross. As the band plays, he circles the floor of the hall with the cross, escorted by four men dressed in rough work coats of modern cut, wearing faintly military hard hats, carrying coils of rope, a bag of tools, and heavy belts with pliers, screwdrivers, and wirecutters. Occasionally, they kick the dragging end of the cross to keep it going right. With them comes a slight, unremarkable man in a thinner robe than the first. He is tired and despondent. On his curly hair he wears a wreath of twisted barbed wire. As this group circulates, the crowd watches them, breaking open a path for their movement, compressing before them and filling the space again after they pass, swirling in and out of the empty and the packed spaces. The crowd itself is dressed in ordinary middle-class costume, a few children in what might be school clothes, some adults dressed for an evening out, some who evidently have come from office or studio, some in ordinary home dress.

The crowd is in fact a theater audience; the bus conductor, the workmen, and the young victim are actors; and the scene is the Cottesloe Theatre of Britain's National Theatre, near the end of a two-night presentation called *The Passion*. The Cottesloe is the smallest of three playing spaces in Britain's new National Theatre building on the South Bank of the Thames, and the most experimental. It

is the only section of the National Theatre to constitute an acting company of its own, so its productions tend to emphasize cooperative ensemble work — directors, actors, designers, playwrights, and musicians working together to fashion a production. For this show, created over a space of three years and still in process, the company has worked with the texts of the York and Wakefield cycles to fashion a much-shortened composite of the medieval mystery plays. In one evening, the company presented creation and fall, flood, and nativity; the second night, the life and death of Jesus.⁹ The dialogue and the action are lifted directly from the cycles, with a few lines rewritten for clarity. The staging, like the texts, has clearly been a group effort, an evolving work of the ensemble — the songs coming from the resources of the Albion Band, which played each night; the props and effects bearing the appearance not of the enormous technology of the National, but of some actor's basement and a late night with plaster-of-Paris. I was there in the fall of 1980 with my wife and 18 students of the Oberlin London Program. We had been studying London theater for many weeks, and had encountered a diversity of production styles; this performance was our most radical break with convention.

We have gotten to know the actors, watching them change roles with a simple costume change, watching them act from only inches away or from across the hall, talking to them before the plays begin, dancing with them in lines and circles and squares. By now, we have come to expect that they will thrust in among us, spreading their arms to clear a playing space. We have come to expect that they will quietly stand next to us, unnoticed until they shout out a line as Mary or Peter or Judas. We have gotten used to our own constant moving as an audience — edging to one side to see better, craning our necks, sitting down on the floor (still dirty with the mud from which Adam and Eve were created), and stiffly hauling ourselves up again to see a new episode.

I write "we" to make it seem as if the audience experienced the play as *one* group. Actually, that can't have been true. From our different perspectives, we naturally saw different things. The ones who were close to Judas when he ran among the crowd felt his despair in a sharper way than those who were standing on the edges of the crowd. In many cases, the way we perceived the show depended on how we placed ourselves. The children in the audience slipped quietly to the front when the action suddenly shifted to



The company unrolls streamers painted to represent the created world while God watches from His forklift-throne. The audience makes room for the succeeding Maypole Dance.

another area of the floor. High-schoolers in chic jeans, chewing gum, propped themselves up on a part of the platform for some of the action, obviously expecting to be looked at; they were more than a little surprised when the actors took part of their space on the platform. I liked seeing them stand their ground only a foot or two from an actor, in full view, suppressing their own fully-obvious embarrassment. The audience was part of the show; whenever we looked at an actor, we saw a spectator as well. All were involved, one way or another. One large man in a business suit had not expected this kind of theater. He didn't know how to sit on a floor; so when the actors motioned us all down, he knelt uncomfortably, his large body a shin's height above the rest, his hands in his pockets jingling his keys and coins. Strangely, I — who hate distraction in the usual darkened stage-oriented theater — found this distraction both amusing and important; the man showed, more honestly than most, the excitement and tension that comes when a production is really living in the theater.

For all, there was a tension at the heart of this production's vitality. There was momentary terror and lasting excitement in knowing that "our space" might at any moment be invaded by Noah's ark, or the three kings, or

Satan's careening hell-cauldron, madly wheeled by four fiercely comic devils. None of us were fully comfortable with the strange and beautiful language of medieval cycles; we strained to follow the vocabulary and syntax of Middle English — baffled by it at times and often delighted with the power of its alliteration and rhythm. Gradually most of us came to trust that the sense would come across, even if the exact meaning didn't. None of us was ever quite sure when to expect the medieval, when the modern. There were forklifts to raise God and Lucifer above us; electric lights; a folk-rock band; costumes translating the guild origins of the medieval productions into their modern, trade-union equivalents; a darts mat; a putty knife; umbrellas. Most exciting was the constant swirling of the action, thrusting us up against the most consistently modern element of the play, ourselves, the audience. The material was Biblical; the language and action were medieval; the presentation was modern. The constant jostling of these layers kept us on edge.

Simon of Cyrene staggers into the center of the floor of the hall, the crowd anticipating him and opening up a space for the big cross. He lays it flat and exits. While Jesus quietly waits, the others (called "soldiers" by the Gospels, "knights" by the medieval plays,



Noah kneels to pray while God and the audience watch.

and here dressed as electric utility linemen) put bricks under the arms and foot of the cross. The audience sits down around the cross, most of them crowded together as close to the action as possible.

The soldiers get to work under a burly foreman:

We must start sirs and that right soon
If we shall any wages win.¹⁰

And the others agree;

— He must be dead, needs must, by noon.
— Then it is good time that we begin.

One of them is especially eager to finish the work:

Let's ding [knock] him down! Then he is done
He shall not daunt us with his din.

The soldiers know the "meaning" of their act: they refer to Jesus as "this traitor here tainted of treason," a "lad" who "needs lesson." But more important to them are the everyday concerns, how to do the job well, how to look out for themselves. As they speak of their job, they throw out lengths of rope, arrange their tools, put on gloves, spit on their palms:

— Then to this work us must tek heed,
So that our working be not wrong.
— None other note to name is need
But let us haste him for to hang.
— And I've gone for gear, good speed

Both hammers and nails large an' long.
— Then may we boldly do this deed
Come on, let's kill this traitor strong.

One of the soldiers, it seems, is known to be a slacker, and the attention of the others turns often to him:

— But now we're come to Calvary
Muck in 'n moan no more.
— Moaning, nay I know I'm not
So, sirs, let all make speed.

A bit of eagerness, a bit of laziness, the tools and actions of daily work; these are the elements of normality that by contrast make the execution more intense.

Among the nervous labor of the soldiers, the calm of Jesus gains dramatic impact. As Jesus walks toward the cross, he prays that his act may ransom humankind:

So that their souls be safe,
In wealth wí'out 'en end;
I care nought else to crave.

The soldiers' reactions are markedly different:

— This warlock waxes worse than wood
[mad]!
This doleful death ne dreadeth he nought.
— Thou should have mind with main and mood
Of wicked works that thou did'st do.

Doing evil, they find reasons for it even in the most innocent actions of their victims.

At their command, Jesus silently removes his purple robe and lays himself upon the cross. With constant chatter, the first nail goes in. The nails are not real, as we who are close can see: they are false nailheads stuck on the hands of the actor. But there is real pounding, and the terrible noise brings home the meaning of the crucifixion. It goes beyond all the pious pictures we have seen. The free arm contracts in pain, coming short of the nail hole prepared for it:

- Say, sir, how do we there?
The bargain will we win.
- It fails a foot or more
The sinews are so gone in.
- I think that mark amiss be bored.
- Then must he bide in bitter bale.
- In faith it was o'er scantily scored
That makes it foully for to fail.
- Why crack ye so? Fast on a cord
And tug him to, by top and tail.

The foreman has the solution and gives the orders. The three underlings have to do the dirty work, stretching the free arm with a rope and the weight of two big men, while the third nails it in place. The foreman keeps aloof:

- Yea, thou command us, lightly as a lord:
Come help to haul him, with ill hail!
- Now certes that I shall do —
Full snelly [quickly] like a snail.

In the moment of Jesus' appalling pain, we pay attention to the comic pettiness of a team of workingmen. It is a standard situation of

labor scenes on the English stage: "I'm all right, Jack."

The nailing done, the soldiers feel proud; they begin to put their tools away, until the foreman pulls them short:

- Nay sirs, another thing
Falls first to you and me:
They bade we should him hang
On height that men might see.

Now begins another comic sequence in which the men alternately shirk and go at their work with energy. They turn on the one who slacks:

- This cross'll come out all cock-eyed,
This lad here's like to let it slip.
- No, sir, not I, I'm set this side,
I'll not let timber tip.
- More lifting, and less lip.

The shirker is ready to give up:

- This bargain buggers me
I'm proper out of puff [breath].

But the foreman insists, and they finally succeed in moving it near the place where it must stand, at the end of the hall against the galleries, as those of us in the way quickly scuttle to one side.

Then begins the raising of the cross. The actor holds on to ropes attached to the arms of the cross, and rests his weight on a small foot platform. We can only hope that he's safe, that they have rehearsed this well. There he sways, precariously: the comic difficulties of the soldiers have become real difficulties. The cross wobbles; they fetch wedges to mortise it in place. We are fully absorbed in



Simon of Cyrene takes the cross from Jesus, guarded by linemen-soldiers.



Jesus is hoisted aloft on the cross. This picture, like the other interior photographs here, shows a performance at the Assembly Hall in Edinburgh; in the Cottesloe performance, spectators were crowding around the foot of the cross.

the mechanics of the operation; the "meaning" quite rightly is forgotten. The skill of this production lies in how precisely it involves the audience — not with sentimental or pious sadness over Jesus' death, but with recognition of our own interest in the mechanics of the operation (implicating us in the crime) and with real terror for our own safety and the actors', engaged in this primitive engineering.

As the soldiers contemplate their accomplishment, they mock Jesus:

- Hay! Hark! He jangles like a jay.
- Methinks he patters like a pie [magpie].

They fall to more wrangling, this time over the robe that Jesus has let drop. More of this appalling comedy: as they draw lots, the shortest nail to win the robe, the foreman turns his back on the others, pulls out his wire cutters, and lops off his long nail —

- Brothers, ye need not brawl!
This mantle is my gain.
- Ay, and we get bugger all!
The gaffer wins again.

While Jesus remains alone on the cross, a

quiet song from the band helps to shift the mood. As it ends, Pilate, Caiaphas, and another priest enter, all of whom we have seen before as comic ranting villains. Pilate now asserts that he finds no guilt in Jesus, no reason for this execution but fear. He tries to back out of it, but the other two hold him to his responsibility; they in turn try to get him to remove the "King of the Jews" sign, but he holds them to it. They are pathetic images of the deep, intractable sickness that Jesus wants to cure; they exit with their quarrel unresolved.

Jesus, a man in pain, cries out to the God that has forsaken him; and then, in a wonderful stroke of theater, he breaks character to address the audience:

- Man on mould, be meek to me,
And have thy maker in thy mind,
And think how I have tholed [suffered] for thee,
With peerless pains for to be pined.
The promise of my Father free
Have I fulfilled, as folk may find.

We have laughed at the soldiers, and at the same time seen them to be the miniatures of all the torturers of this world. We have felt anguish for the man thus tortured, and anxiety for the actor playing that role. We have seen Jesus in the midst of his pain, and transcending it. We are enriched and excited to have experienced, with such strange involvement, an action that is both a myth and a play.

The playwright found a character to embody these emotions: the centurion, who in the Gospels was converted by watching the crucifixion. He is the foreman of the linegang that nailed Jesus to the cross, now reappearing with a new hat, a miner's hard hat with a powerful beamlight. As he enters, he sweeps the crowd slowly with the intense light, moving his head with the beam to silently scrutinize each face. In that moment, we turn inward to ask the questions that the centurion is about to articulate:

- What may these marvels signify
that here was showed so openly
unto our sight
This day on which that man did die
that Jesus hight [was called]?

It is a moment of insight into our condition — some pain and some transcendence of pain, some blindness and some prophecy, some torturing and some compassion, much humanness and some divinity. This long silent moment, while the beam travelled around the packed hall, was the culmination of the production. Always allowing us our choice

(of position, of involvement, of attitude), the production made the old stories accessible to anyone who chose to witness them. Their meaning, "doctrine" in the old-fashioned word, was left up to us. But I think each person was in some way during this silence finding truth in these stories.

Eventually the centurion articulates some of the meaning for himself, in simple words naming this truth and his Christian faith:

Itell you that I saw him die
and he was God's son almighty,
that bleedeth ye before.
Yet say I so, and stand thereby
for evermore.

Recognizing that a moment of common understanding can hardly live beyond the point when it is put into words, he turns to leave:

But since ye set nought by my saw
I'll wend my way
God grant you grace that you may know
the truth some day.

From a moment of extraordinary tension, we relax; we are released to be again the motley, secular audience we have always "really" been.

During a song, Jesus climbs down a ladder and greets the whole company, Pilate and Judas included. As we climb to our feet, we realize that now they aren't playing characters any more; they are actors, themselves relieved that the dangerous show is over, happy to be back to a normal world, and perhaps sad that the magical moments are over as well. They drop the roles of the Biblical story, but the show is not really over; they are still in their roles as modern working people, whose "guilds" — the trade unions — are the imagined sponsors of the show. As baker, machinist, farmer, housewife, taxidriver, they join hands for a celebration of their completed *Passion*: they clear the center of the floor, hold hands in a great circle, and dance. Women in and leap, men in and leap, twirl and promenade, and begin again; and before it's done, the audience are invited to join in: some dance, some clap, some watch. As always in these plays, there's a variety of response.

The Cottesloe *Passion* was no reproduction of the medieval cycles, and a good thing too. Period reenactments of plays from the past can be sure theatrical death, like the pseudo-Jacobean *Macbeth* I saw the next week in "London's only Elizabethan theater." The Cottesloe production kept some

things medieval, more or less — the language, action, and scope of the cycles, for example. Some aspects of the originals they could not even approximate, of course. We were not willing to stand through fifteen hours of cycle plays; we were not seeing them in a context of religious or civic festival; we were not seeing them for free. The modern production of a medieval play can never be fully accurate to the letter or even the spirit of the original. Too much lies between us and these originals — as between us and Greek tragedies or Japanese Noh plays. Rituals are simply not transferable until they are converted to the theatrical mode of the current age. The medieval cycles — produced within a context of communal involvement, repeated from year to year, served the creeds of the age. Of course they were *theater*: entertaining, active, virtuosic performances. But at the core they were another thing, a ritual dependent upon the existence of a way of life that we do not now share. I can see no circumstances in London or New York of the 1980's in which we might *reproduce* their particular medieval commitment to ritual. Yet we can provide some modern equivalents.

At this point it will be useful to clarify some distinctions: first, between *theater* and *ritual*, and, second, between different kinds of *belief*. Both theater and ritual involve an *acting out* in which the literal events stand for something else. We know, for example, that the actor playing Othello does not really strangle the actress playing Desdemona, but that they are representing such an imagined event; and we know that the literal cleansing action of baptismal water is not as important as the symbolic purification it represents. Though the term *ritual* suggests symbolic actions that are frequently repeated, whereas a piece of *theater* can be new and unfamiliar, a more significant distinction between the two lies in the degree of the involvement of the spectator/participant in what is being represented. A theater audience, though it may have suspended its disbelief and may imaginatively identify, for the moment, with a play's characters, always retains an element of detachment. On the contrary, anyone participating in a ritual in some sense affirms, through his or her actions, the validity of what is symbolically represented. Thus when we speak of the belief of an audience in a play, we mean something different from the belief of a church congregation in the religious tenets embodied in the church service. Of course when ritual actions are performed or observed without belief, they become mechanical and dead. But ritual animated by be-

lief is a powerful expression of commitment.

Ritual and theater are seldom far apart: ritual may well have been a principal origin of theater in many cultures, and the two forms may share many attributes such as costumes, music, and stylized movement and language. But ritual is inherently religious and conservative, while theater has tended to secularize and to experiment. So the two inevitably draw apart, until today the audiences for great rituals like a royal wedding are unlikely to correspond with the audiences at the most innovative theaters; even if some spectators go to both events, their expectations for the two will sharply differ.¹¹

There are forces in contemporary theater eager to move the two together again. Peter Brook, famous for his work with the Royal Shakespeare Company, is one of the most eloquent and influential in searching for the "true forms" that are needed to stage "true rituals."¹² A common theme in Brook's and others' search "for a true contact with a sacred invisibility through the theater"¹³ is the movement away from realism. As long as we follow the inheritance of the late nineteenth century (its fourth-wall sets, its concentration on "building a character," and its commitment to emotional "identification" between spectator and character), the theater cannot contain ritual. Realism has to pretend that the theatrical presentation itself is non-existent, that it is only a window. The "real" lies beyond, in the lives of the characters, the world of the play. But with Meyerhold, Brecht, and Beckett, the window itself became the center of attention. The conscious breaking-down of character, location, time, and action — in a sense, the introduction of absurdity — has meant that we no longer "believe" in actions on stage; now we are conscious that we are an audience, the actors performers, the action a "play." Jugglers, clowns, acrobats, singers, and dancers — performers who play no roles beyond their own performance skills — are in the post-realistic theater as important as actors, just as they were on the medieval and Renaissance stages. Contemporary theater denies the escapism of naturalistic theater, that strange amnesia in which we think we *are* such a character in such a place and time. Instead, we are ourselves — persons both of imagination (to "enter" a situation) and of physicality (to sit or stand, think, feel, digest, judge). As Brook says, we are in the non-naturalistic theater "suddenly more open, more alert, more awake."¹⁴ And we are also more uncomfortable. When the audience is no longer able to escape into traditional stage illusion,

but is forced to think of itself as participating in the performance, it is forced to shift from *belief* in the theatrical sense to *belief* in the ritual sense; and such commitment does not always come easily.

A director like Joseph Chaikin of the Open Theater experiments in breaking down the complacency of naturalistic expectations.¹⁵ Improvisation, shock and surprise for both actor and spectator, begins to convert theater from a place of comfortable evasion into an experience of connection with parts of life we may normally not see. In the Open Theater's production of Megan Terry's *Viet Rock*, the actors literally *touch* the audience, reviving the dead metaphor of theatrical experience.¹⁶ If ritual is to enter theater, it must not be through dead forms, through a pale imitation of what we think of as ritual — masks and robes, strange priest-like figures, etc. We must use a living form like human contact. Notoriously, in contemporary theater, we never know what to expect — assaults, nudity, embarrassment, perhaps even joy. The San Quentin prisoners who first appreciated *Waiting for Godot* had no fear of the unexpected, having been amply assaulted by life already. They thus had an advantage over the critics and the New York/London audiences who had to overcome highly developed theatrical expectations before they could respond properly to the play.

The Cottesloe *Passion* revitalized the old plays *not* by making them part of familiar, comfortable modern experience — Jesus in jeans. Like Andrei Serban's *Medea* at La Mama in 1972, acted in ancient Greek, the medieval stories were presented in their old, strange language.¹⁷ Neither Serban's actors nor his audience knew ancient Greek. His premise was "to touch something which is not readily available in life" by using the inherent, hidden power he perceived in the original words, the force of sound itself.¹⁸ For us at the Cottesloe, the words were less strange. But the bafflement was still significant: for me, it meant that the production respected something beyond the comfort of its audience, respected the way of life of the medieval playwrights by maintaining their language. An old language can be a powerful symbol of connection with the invisible: I remembered the old idea that a newborn baby knows only Hebrew, the language that Adam and Eve spoke in Eden.

The old stories in their old language had the sense of holy things. Though they had been modernized, both by the medieval playwrights and by the twentieth-century adapters, they seemed irreducibly old, primal,

mythic. Yet they weren't solemn. Even if we tried to make the cycles pious, the comedy would not allow us: it too often pricks us with deflating pins. Like the clowns of *Godot*, the cycles touch on hidden worlds with undignified, gross, boisterous ease. Nothing undermines illusion, escapism, or dead, pretentious ritual as quickly as laughter. But when laughter happens, it creates a sense of life, of common thought and feeling, and so it actually facilitates participation in a command ritual.

Ritual puts each participant at the center of that person's sense of the world: the more communal the ritual is, the more clearly each person feels that he or she is at the center. For this end, standard theater and church spaces are wholly inadequate, for the spectator's attention is focused one way only. The open space of the Cottesloe dissolved the fixed architecture of formal ritual in favor of a sense of flux. In the dim, misty light, one was a center to oneself while the drama flowed around, sometimes near, sometimes far. The effect was something like Artaud's theories of a "Theater of Cruelty" (in which the "cruelty" is no mere physical cruelty or violence, but an intense confrontation with the spectator). In Artaud's impractical but moving visions, each spectator was to be a center in a strange contemporary ritual, a didactic experience teaching us things usually hidden, disastrous notions that "we are not free. And the sky can still fall on our heads."¹⁹ Artaud hoped for a theater where "the spectator, placed in the middle of the action, is engulfed and physically affected by it."²⁰ Theater historian Richard Schechner talks of "Environmental Theater," inspired in part by Artaud, that eliminates the conventional stage and the conventional auditorium, allowing for complex spatial interactions between actor and spectator. In happenings, demonstrations, and other theater of the streets, as Schechner writes, "the action 'breathes' and the audience itself becomes a major scenic element."²¹ In *The Passion*, we become part of the show by being the edge of the action, the place in which the scenes took place. We thus defined the play and gave it physical shape, and at the same time it defined us and gave us a special identity within its context. The particular triumph of the Cottesloe *Passion* is that it allowed each member of the audience to participate in the ritual without dictating the specific beliefs embodied in the ritual.

Joseph Chaikin has articulated the importance of what he calls the "presence" of an

actor — "a quality that makes you feel as though you're standing right next to the actor, no matter where you are sitting in the theater." He stresses that the actor's job is not to "disappear" into the character, but to play the character while also remaining "a breathing, living, mortal person."²² In the shared space of *The Passion*, that presence was so close that the audience was (as it were) irradiated with it. If a packed ring of spectators surrounds a playing space, or if a crowd contains actors scattered through it, the presence of the spectator begins to complement that of the actor. If I watch an actor playing a role, I sense the meeting of two worlds, of actor and role. If as a spectator, I watch also another spectator, I see two other worlds — the ordinary, sceptical, tormented, modern citizen, and the transformed being, the member of the community for whom these myths are being retold. I see one who (perhaps planning only an evening's entertainment) has chosen to be present at a reenactment of myths, and has found a closer relationship to the world of the old holy tales, to our collective knowledge about life and death.

Near the end of the *The Empty Space*, Peter Brook writes of the key to turning mere illusion-making, mere passivity, into real living theater: the presence of the audience. Using the French word for going to a play (*assistance*), Brook calls the spark that passes from audience to performer "assistance."²³ In the best conventional situations, the audience can "assist" from their seats. But here in the Cottesloe's performance of an old ritual — when so many gaps existed already between performance and spectator — the closing of the spatial gap worked to create a real assistance, a transformation of the audience to an actual (if ephemeral and artificial) community of participants.

There are no prescriptions in the theater; I hope this article inspires no carbon copy of the particular production I have been describing. But I do intend to suggest that the techniques of "avant-garde" theater can be used to bridge the gaps of language, custom, and belief and give modern audiences access to masterpieces from other cultures that would otherwise be lost to them. Other techniques than I have noted should of course be explored. But whatever the techniques, the production must, like the Cottesloe *Passion*, be born from and bear the features of the urgency and frustration of the real world of its audience.²⁴

NOTES

¹I have used three major sources for information on the mystery cycles: Oscar G. Brockett, *History of the Theatre*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1977), pp. 101-115; Arnold Williams, *The Drama of Medieval England* (Michigan State Univ. Press, 1961), pp. 38-141; and V.A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1966).

²Corpus Christi, instituted by Pope Urban IV in 1264, had caught on as a major civic occasion in Canterbury by 1318, and in London by 1347. Williams (p. 53) and others doubt if the festival was as strong an influence on the cycles as some have speculated.

³Three others survive, one from Towneley or Wakefield, one from Chester, and one called "Ludus Coventinae," along with scattered plays from other cycles and towns. Williams (pp. 57-59) describes the York cycle in detail.

⁴Kolve, p. 1.

⁵Ibid. See also Williams, p. 94: "productions of the cycle plays must have approached the lavish."

⁶Kolve (p. 97) notes that the wealthy may well have paid to have the performance take place under their windows.

⁷Kolve, p. 23.

⁸Romans 14:9.

⁹Part One (Creation to Nativity) and Part Two (Baptism to Judgment) were performed together at the Edinburgh Festival 1980 and at the Cottesloe Theatre (National Theatre) 1980. Part Two, as a separate one-night play, opened at the Cottesloe in 1977. The texts were adapted by the company of the Cottesloe, with John Russell Brown and Jack Shepherd (Part One) and with Tony Harrison (Part Two). Directors were Bill Bryden with Sebastian Graham-Jones. Designer was William Dudley and lighting was by William Dudley and Laurence Clayton. Dance was arranged by David Busby and music was by The Albion Band. Texts of both parts of *The Passion* are published by Rex Collings Ltd. and are available through the bookshops at the National Theatre, South Bank, London SE1 9PX, U.K.

¹⁰Quotes are from Tony Harrison et al., *The Passion* (London: Rex Collings, 1977). The treatment of the original text is free, but many qualities of the medieval language are retained. The originals can be found in Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *York Plays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), pp. 349ff.

¹¹This point is made by Brockett, pp. 3-7.

¹²Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 51.

¹³Brook, p. 54.

¹⁴Brook, p. 62.

¹⁵See Robert Pasolli, *A Book on the Open Theatre* (N.Y.: Avon, 1970); and Eileen Blumenthal, "Joseph Chaikin: An Open Theory of Acting," *Yale/Theatre* 8 (Spring, 1977), 112-133.

¹⁶Pasolli, p. 81.

¹⁷From an interview by Eileen Blumenthal with Andrei Serban, in *Yale/Theatre* 8 (Spring, 1977), pp. 66-77. "The word," he says, "can ultimately have the power of a mantra."

¹⁸Blumenthal-Serban, p. 67.

¹⁹Antonin Artaud, *The Theater and its Double*, trans. Mary Caroline Richards (N.Y.: Grove Press, 1958), p. 79.

²⁰Artaud, p. 96.

²¹Richard Schechner, *Public Domain: Essays on the Theatre* (N.Y.: Avon, 1969), p. 177.

²²Blumenthal, "Chaikin," p. 114.

²³Brook, p. 156.

²⁴Thanks to those who discussed this production and this paper with me, especially to my colleague Deborah Lubar. My appreciation to the Press Office of the National Theatre, which provided the photos.

Harvey Pekar

GEORGE ADE: FORGOTTEN MASTER OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

George Ade (1866-1944), all but forgotten now by readers and critics, was once considered one of America's most important writers, both as humorist and as a realist. Ring Lardner in 1917 called Ade America's "greatest humorist," rating him above Mark Twain. S.J. Perelman is reported to have said that Ade had influenced "all of the twentieth-century American humorists in one way or another."¹ Rereading Ade's novel *Pink Marsh*, Mark Twain wrote:

I have been reading him again after this long interval, and my admiration of the book has overflowed all limits, all frontiers. I have personally known each of the characters in the book and can testify that they are all true to the facts and as exact as if they had been drawn to scale. And how effortless is the limning! It is as if the work did itself, without the help of the master's hand.²

William Dean Howells said of Ade's *Artie*:

"On the level which it consciously seeks I do not believe there is a better story of American town life in the West."³ Theodore Dreiser, writing to Ade in 1942 about his own first copy of *Artie*, recalled,

I entered it with your *Fables in Slang*, Finley Dunne's *Philosopher Dooley*, Frank Norris' *McTeague* and Hamlin Garland's *Main-Travelled Roads*. And I stored it . . . along with these and a very few others of that time or earlier: Howell's *Their Wedding Journey*, for example. These were the beginning of my private library of American Realism.⁴

Yet today who remembers George Ade? Herman Melville (1819-91) was also forgotten for the last thirty years of his life and for thirty more after his death, until he was "rediscovered" around 1920 and soon became accepted as one of our greatest novelists. Melville's example illustrates the need for

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Photo: Gerry Shamray

critical re-evaluations of authors' reputations; though Ade is no Melville, I'd like to make a case here for his importance in American literature, where I'd rank him with Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, and Theodore Dreiser, as one of the more talented and influential writers to emerge around the turn of the century.

The few people who have even heard of George Ade usually think of him as a humorist in the tradition of Artemus Ward and Petroleum V. Nasby. Indeed, it was Ade's humorous *Fables in Slang*, published in 1899, that initially gained him a mass national audience. Excellent though his fables are, however, they are not his only contribution to American literature. Before becoming a popular fabulist Ade had established himself as one of the outstanding realistic writers of his day. One of the first to write about poor and working people in America's industrial cities, he helped establish a school of writing that includes Nelson Algren and James T. Farrell (who wrote the introduction to a 1963 edition of Ade's *Artie and Pink Marsh*).

Ade differed from the Realists and Naturalists of his time in his style, his philosophical stance, and his attitude toward his characters. The Naturalist writers should be praised for their intellectual ambition and their search for scientific truth, but unfortunately some of them used contrived, unconvincing plots and characters in their attempts to make their work prove their theories. Though Ade wrote, sometimes starkly and grimly, about lower- and working-class Chicagoans of his day, he did not, like such Naturalists as Zola and Crane, portray them as doomed men and women helpless before forces they could not control. He accepted them on their own terms, liked them, had faith in them, and considered them interesting in themselves rather than as symbols of mankind's struggle against Cruel Fate. He focused on the everyday events in people's lives instead of the climactic or tragic points. His poor people are more convincing, complex human beings than those portrayed by Crane in *Maggie*, for example. Ade was fascinated with the ordinary and left it to others to puzzle over the Mysteries of the Cosmos. Though he wrote realistically, Ade differs from other late nineteenth-century Realists such as William Dean Howells, Hamlin Garland, and Edward Eggleston. Ade is a more informal and colorful writer, and even his realistic work has more humor than theirs. It has aged less, partly because it is so relaxed and direct.

Ade employed small forms — short stories, vignettes, sketches — more often than

most realistic and naturalistic writers. This was due in part to his philosophical outlook. He was not a system-maker, was not concerned with the vast sweep of events, and thus did not write novels of epic proportions. But Ade used short forms for another obvious reason: his work was published in a newspaper. His short novels (*Artie, Pink Marsh*, and *Doc' Horne*), his collections of articles and stories (*In Babel and Stories of the Streets and of the Town*), and his early fables in slang all first appeared in columns in the *Chicago Record*, for which he worked as a reporter and columnist from 1890 to 1900.

Ade was born in Kentland, Indiana, in 1866. His father was a bank cashier. While growing up in Kentland, Ade became thoroughly acquainted with rural and small-town Midwestern life. He attended Purdue University, graduating in 1887. After working for newspapers and a patent medicine house in Lafayette, Indiana, he moved to Chicago in 1890 and got a job with the *Record*, which was then known as the *Morning News*. Within a couple of years Ade was one of the newspaper's star reporters. His "human interest" stories about the Columbian Exposition of 1893 were so well-received that he was given a daily column called "Stories of the Streets and of the Town." Eventually he pulled down a top salary at the *Record* of \$65.00 a week. Ade roamed through Chicago looking for material and finding it everywhere. Some of his stories are completely factual, others are fictionalized. He experimented with a variety of literary forms.

Ade's column proved to be quite popular and selections from it were collected in book form. Between 1894 and 1900 the first of these collections, a series of eight paperback volumes called *Stories of the Streets and of the Town*, was issued (a few of the stories in the last volume were not by Ade).⁶ These soon went out of print. In 1941 selections from the paperbacks plus a couple of pieces that had never appeared in book form were collected into another volume, also entitled *Stories of the Streets and of the Town*, edited by Franklin J. Meine. The book, reprinted in 1963 as *Chicago Stories*,⁷ is a good miscellany of Ade's early short stories, essays, and descriptive pieces, showing him both as journalist and as literary artist.

Chicago was a laboratory for him, as it was for the pioneering members of the University of Chicago's Sociology Department, who shared his interest in the many facets of urban life. Chicago's social classes and subcultures, its institutions, its eating places, its variety of working people and the work they



Left: George Ade and his college roommate, John T. McCutcheon. Right: George Ade in 1898. From *George Ade: Warmhearted Satirist*, copyright © 1947 by Fred C. Kelly, used with courtesy of the publisher, the Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

did all fascinated Ade. He reported on "Sidewalk Merchants and their Wares," "Small Shops of the City," and "Life on a River Tug." He wrote about Chicago street vehicles and their owners, restaurants, the Art Institute, neighborhood politics, police brutality, law courts, and the ethnic groups — Jews, Norwegians, Germans, and Blacks. The poor, the middle class, and the rich all interested him, as did the facts of Chicago's history.⁸

Ade's sketch "A Social Call" is autobiographical. The three good-humored young men, apparently not long out of college and living together in a boarding house, who pay a visit to the desirable Flora Shadley and then accuse each other of making fools of themselves, are based on Ade, his roommate (illustrator John McCutcheon), and an old college friend of theirs. "The Mystery of the Back Roomer" and "Fair-Minded Discussion in Dearborn Avenue" are set in boarding houses, too. Ade knew about life in boarding houses and residence hotels, having lived in them for years as a young man.

These stories, dealing with a variety of subjects and a cross-section of people, give readers a good idea about what life was like in the Chicago of the 1890's. In addition to the conventional stories there are some unusual pieces which demonstrate Ade's interest in experimenting with various literary forms.

He parodies grand opera in "Il Janitorio," and satirizes nickel library detective stories in "Handsome Cyril; or the Messenger Boy With Warm Feet." "Mr. Pensley Has a Quiet Day Off" is a short story in play form, anticipating Ade's later career as a commercially successful playwright. Also included in the *Meine* edition is "The Fable of Sister Mae," the first of Ade's fables in slang.

Stories of the Streets and of the Town contains a number of selections that are non-fiction, i.e., essays and descriptive articles. Most of the pieces in *In Babel*, published in 1903, can be considered short stories.⁹ Yet there is a question as to how much fiction they contain: they are so realistic that it seems safe to assume they were inspired by actual events, though Ade has written them using the techniques of the novelist.

Many of the pieces in *In Babel* have a hard, grim quality. "The Dip" deals with a young man, desperate and down to his last dime, and the pickpocket who befriends him. The theme of a young man down and out in the big city is also dealt with in "The Judge's Son." As a reporter Ade became familiar with life in poor and working-class neighborhoods and wrote about it very well. "An Incident in the 'Pansy'" is about a common but nevertheless chilling kind of event. Butch, a surly tough playing cards in the

"Pansy" saloon, attempts to humiliate Chris, a big German immigrant who comes into the saloon from a masquerade wearing a clown costume. Chris reacts good-naturedly to Butch and his friends and offers to buy them drinks. The bartender urges Chris to demonstrate one of his "lifting tricks." Chris, a weight lifter, obliges by picking up Butch by the ankles, lowering him, and then suddenly and unexpectedly throwing him into the air like a rag doll. Butch lands on all fours, jumps to his feet, and attacks Chris. He is restrained, however, by one of his friends. Now Butch, the bully, is being laughed at by his peers and stands helpless, raging as the German leaves.

"An Incident in the 'Pansy'" captures the ambivalent feelings that might arise from an ordinary, real life situation. We dislike Butch at first, and then sympathize with him for the embarrassment that he has brought on himself. Ade shows his audience what kind of place the Pansy was and what its patrons were like. He is not much concerned with moralizing.

Working on a newspaper taught Ade to write economically. Among his greatest assets was his ability to begin stories forcefully, gaining the reader's attention at once. Note the directness and informativeness of these opening paragraphs from "Best of the Farleys":

John Farley has worked hard, taken the cheerful view of life, smoked a large amount of tobacco, "got drunk" occasionally and saved enough money to pay for a little house in Pitkin Street. He stands well with the foreman and is a favourite at the corner bar, for he is a wit and commentator. He is prosperous, according to the division of wealth in Pitkin Street — prosperous and proud. His pride is Rosie.

She was born at the Pitkin Street house, and in her childhood she ranged through the alleys and lumber by-ways that led to the river. Mrs. Farley allowed the children to run wild until they were old enough to be sent to the big public school. Rosie used to wear a patched slip of dingy material. The wisp of disordered hair was caught up with a black string. She had the usual affinity for dirt. Her mother never kept her in hand. Her father joked with her and told her Irish goblin stories and was a good playmate, but he never took himself seriously as a parent. She never had home "training." Certainly she was never "reared."

So why did she pick up into a neat and careful Miss who read books that were new to Pitkin Street? After she finished at the grammar school she was a salesgirl, and then she took up shorthand. She bought her own clothing and had a bank-book.

At twenty she was the only member of the family who had ready money when Tommy,

caught up for beating a man with a billiard cue, had to pay a fine of twenty-five dollars or go to the bridewell. Rosie went to the station and paid the fine (In *Babel*, pp. 147-148)

Ade has effectively set the stage for us with his first four paragraphs. He then goes on to describe how the determined, capable Rosie becomes effective head of the family, asserting herself over her hard-drinking father, hysterical mother, and ne'er-do-well brother.

Ade contrasts Rose and Tommy in this story. He implicitly explains Tommy's being "a slouching ruffian" by characterizing his mother and father as indifferent parents. He cannot explain why Rosie is different, but he at least wonders about why she is so in the opening passages ("So why did she pick up into a neat and careful Miss . . .?"). Ade was interested in psychological questions, though he did not admit it (in fact he often took an anti-intellectual stance). His stories are full of shrewd comments regarding human motivation. But, since he does not know why Rosie turned out to be such an ambitious, responsible person, he does not attempt to answer his question but contents himself with telling us her story. Such modesty, at a time when certain writers were advancing specious theories about the nature of humanity and society, is welcome.

Ade's writing often has considerable sociological interest, as can be seen in "The Barclay Lawn Party," a piece about the problems of what has become known as the "changing neighborhood" (in this case the change is economic, not racial).

The Barclays are a well-to-do, strait-laced family. They live in a large, comfortable old house, but their neighborhood is changing. Ade says of the Barclay home:

For ten years it had braced itself against the onswEEPing rush of big machine-shops and steam-bakeries. Now it stood alone, a remnant of the old guard of that once sylvan street, surrounded and doomed but not yet surrendering.

The Barclay girls were ready to move into a new house on the boulevard, but Mr. Barclay preferred to remain at home. The Methodist Church was only three blocks to the west. Such friends as they cared to meet could still find the house. Here they had elbow room, green trees and flower-beds. Sometimes, when the smoke drifted obligingly, the sunshine reached them and it was "home."

One summer day the Barclay girls decided to live down the unfashionableness of the street by giving a lawn party. (In *Babel*, p. 29)

The party begins promisingly but trouble develops when a crowd of rough neighborhood people gather along the Barclay's

fence to listen to and comment on the playing of two musicians that the Barclays have hired for the occasion. Mr. Talbot, a 130-pound friend of the Barclays, asks the crowd to leave. Not surprisingly, he is ignored. Talbot then asks a policeman to move them. When the policeman orders the crowd to disperse, one of their number refuses. "Who owns this sidewalk," he argues; "Ain't I a taxpayer?" A fight breaks out between the "taxpayer" and the policeman. A patrol wagon arrives. The Barclays and their guests are left shaken and horrified. This story has a modern theme, one that is still with us, as is the class antagonism that Ade graphically portrays.

Another social phenomenon of Ade's day was the urbanization of America, the movement of people from the country to the city, the different values and life styles of urban and rural people. In "Effie Whittlesy" he deals with a woman who comes from a small town to Chicago and is hired as a domestic servant by a Mrs. Wallace.

Mrs. Wallace, a snob and a social climber, is pleased with Effie until she finds out at dinner that Effie is from the same small town as her husband and that they are old friends. Mrs. Wallace is not concerned about Effie, who is not young or good-looking, as a romantic threat, but cannot stand the idea of her maid being on a first-name basis with her husband. She tells Mr. Wallace that she objects to Effie calling him "Ed." Mr. Wallace replies,

"Now, don't ask me to put on any airs with one of the Whittlesys, because they know me from away back. Effie has seen me licked at school. She has been at our house, almost like one of the family, when my mother was sick and needed another girl. If my memory serves me right, I've taken her to singing-school and exhibitions. So I'm in no position to lord it over her and I wouldn't do it any way. I'd hate to have her go back to Brainerd and report that she met me here in Chicago and I was too stuck up to remember old times and requested her to address me as 'Mister Wallace.' Now you never lived in a small town."

"No. I never enjoyed that privilege," said Mrs. Wallace, dryly.

"Well, it is a privilege in some respects, but it carries certain penalties with it, too. It's a very poor schooling for a fellow who wants to be a snob." (*In Babel*, p. 54)

When country and city values clash, Ade generally takes up for the country.

"The Other Girl," "Miss Tyndall's Picture," "The Relatives Club," and "Harry and Ethel" are vignettes of everyday dialogue involving middle-class people. The dialogue is accurate; though Ade scarcely exaggerates, it

has a satirical effect. The people have so little of consequence to say to one another that they parody themselves.

"Mr. Lindsay on San Jewan" contains an unexpected change in tone. Mr. Lindsay is an elderly man who fought in the Civil War, "the Real War," and objects to the fuss being made over the young men who were in the Spanish-American War. His language is so extravagant that the piece begins as a burlesque:

"Thunderation! The battle of San Jewan. Battle! Gosh, all fish hooks. BATTLE! Say, if the old boys that 'uz with the army o' the Tennessee ever started in to celebrate the anniversary of every durned little popgun skirmish like that Battle o' San Jewan, we wouldn't do nothin' but celebrate, day in and day out. . . ."

"There's a blamed sight o' difference between chasin' some runt of a dago with a white feather in each hand an' chasin' a six foot Johnny Reb that jus' raises up on his everlastin' hind legs an' comes at you like a runaway horse, breathin' smoke out of his nose an' ears, by gory, an' yellin' like an Injun. . . ." (*In Babel*, pp. 249-250)

As Mr. Lindsay goes on, his speech continues to be colorful, but the subject matter gets increasingly grim, until it resembles Ambrose Bierce's description of Civil War horrors.

"These young fellers got a sniff o' blood, and now they think they've been through the slaughterhouse. There's old Dan Bailey that got shot so often he didn't mind it at all toward the last, laid in Andersonville till he was a rack of bones, come home here lookin' like a corpse and ain't seen a well day since . . . Heroes wuzn't so gosh blamed scarce about that time. Nobody paid any attention to 'em. They used to ship 'em in here by the carload, and most of 'em went right on through town an' out to the graveyard." (*In Babel*, p. 252)

Ade's writing ability helped him become an outstanding journalist; his reportorial skills, which included a fine eye and ear for detail and an excellent memory, aided him in writing his significant short stories and novels. His combination of story telling and reportorial techniques in *Stories of the Street and of the Town* and *In Babel* anticipated the New Journalists of the 1960's.

In addition to the anthologies I have been discussing, Ade's column provided material for three short novels, *Artie*, *Pink Marsh* and *Doc' Horne*, published in 1896, 1897, and 1899.

Artie presents an accurate account of life in an American metropolis during the 1890's.¹⁰ In this respect it is useful to compare it to Stephen Crane's short novel, *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893). In *Maggie* Crane deals

with urban slums and poverty, emphasizing the wretchedness or brutality of the characters. His writing is intense; he wants the reader to suffer along with his characters. Unfortunately *Maggie*, though praiseworthy in some respects, is melodramatic and contrived. In contrast, Ade's writing in *Artie* is far less self-consciously dramatic; it's full of humorous observations and has a convincing immediacy.

Artie is Artie Blanchard, a cocky young office worker with a lower middle class background. His office-worker friend, Miller, is a kindly, rather shy middle-aged bachelor, sensible, fairly well-educated, and sympathetic to Artie. Many of the chapters consist of Artie recounting his recent adventures to Miller. Ade summarizes their relationship this way:

Miller and Artie got along famously together. Miller was the listener and Artie was the entertainer. Miller read books and Artie read the town.

Miller secretly believed that Artie was a superficial young man, but he had to admire his candor and his worldly cleverness. Artie liked Miller because he was a font of sympathy and accepted a confidence in a serious way. (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 27)

The major plot line of the book deals with Artie's relationship with his girl friend, Mamie, to whom he finally becomes engaged; but many other matters come up.

Ade's writing is low-keyed; he wants to create subtle rather than shattering effects. He concerns himself with common but seldom-written-about problems of day-to-day living. Artie and Mamie are far from wealthy; Mamie's house is described as "a purty small place in behind a grocery store," but they're not starving either. Artie's main concern seem to be winning Mamie and generally making himself appear to be an up-to-date young man.

Artie is not an uncommon type of person, but it was unusual at the turn of the century for a character like him to appear as a novel's protagonist. Ade was unusual for his day in showing common men and women to be interesting and many-sided.

Ade pictures Artie in a variety of moods and poses. Normally Artie is shown as a flip, confident know-it-all with an excellent opinion of himself and often scornful of others. Here he is, describing his appearance at a dance:

"I had some new togs, a new pair o' patent leathers and — well, I don't like to star myself, but I guess I was about as good as the best. And this crowd up there was purty-y-y punk; very much on the hand-me-down order." (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 19)

But Artie is not as confident as he seems. Here he begins to recount to Miller why he had exploded at and even threatened an old friend of his who had recently come into money and had slighted him in front of a girl. Miller remarks, "Walters always seemed to me to be a nice sort of fellow — that is harmless." Artie replies:

"Harmless? He threw the boots into me the worst I ever got 'em. Ooh! He made me feel like a tramp. Say, Miller, if I was to beat his whole face off I couldn't ketch even. He got way under the skin on me. Now this is on the q.t. but did you ever get the worst of it in such a way that you couldn't come back at the time and yet you was so crazy mad that you could' a' cried? Well that was me." (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 33)

Artie's mean streak is illustrated in an encounter he has with a messenger boy who comes to his office to deliver a message:

"Where's he at?" asked the overgrown messenger boy.

"Where's who at?" demanded Artie, adopting a frown and a harsh manner.

"W'y, t'e four-eyed nobs dat sent me out on t'e Sout' Side."

"Are you the same little boy? Wouldn't that frost you, though, Miller? This is little Bright-eyes that took the note for Hall."

"Aw, what's eatin' you?" asked the boy, giving a warlike curl to the corner of his mouth.

"Oh, ow! listen to that, I'll bet you're the toughest boy that ever happened! What you been doin' all day — playin' marbles for keeps or standin' in front o' one o' them dime museums?" (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 66)

Artie goes on to roast the messenger unmercifully, saying among other things, "You're one o' them 'Hully chee, Chonny' boys, ain't you? You're so tough they couldn't dent you with an axe."

Artie became enraged when he thought his former friend, Walters, had gotten "uppity" and had slighted him in the incident cited above. But Artie has no qualms about humiliating a young messenger boy that he considers beneath him socially. These two incidents, when taken together, illustrate Artie's shallowness and lack of compassion.

Though Artie considers Miller naïve in the ways of the world and is almost patronizing toward him at times, still he generally shows a great deal of respect for the older man and regards his opinion on moral matters highly. In one chapter Artie asks Miller for advice concerning his going to work for a corrupt local politician. Miller says, "Artie, if you take my advice you'll keep out of it. What do you want with a political job?" Artie answers, "Well, for one thing I want to get a

bank-roll as soon as I can and this place ne s holdin' out pays good money." Miller replies "with considerable feeling": "Yes, and even if you got it you'd be out again in a year or two and worse off than ever. Besides, I wouldn't help elect a man who sold his influence." Artie and Miller discuss the matter some more and finally Artie comes to accept Miller's position:

"Well, I guess I'll pass up the whole thing. Come to size it up that ward's goin' to be floatin' in beer the next two weeks, and I'm not stuck on standin' around with them boys that smoke them hay-fever torches. For a man that don't want to be a rounder, it's too much like sportin' life. I didn't think you'd O.K. the scheme. That's an awful wise move, too. I guess an easier way to get that roll'd be to borrow a nice kit o' tools and go 'round blowin' safes." (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 65)

Artie displays Ade's virtues as a writer; it is an unforced, uncontrived book, about real people in real situations dealing with real problems.

From the examples of Ade's work quoted so far, it should be evident that he writes dialogue brilliantly. *Artie*, according to Ade's biographer Fred C. Kelly, was modeled on a boy named Charlie Williams who worked at the *Record*. Kelly reports that Ade even quotes Charlie directly in a least one passage. Ade had what it takes to write good dialogue — a good ear and a good memory. He uses some phonetic spelling but doesn't overdo it. His dialect and slang dialogue is easy to read.

An unusually large portion of *Artie* is dialogue. Ade uses relatively few words in setting scenes and describing characters; he lets their talking tell the story. In 1940, speaking of his interest in writing realistic stories containing accurate, believable dialogue, Ade said:

My ambition, like McCutcheon's, was to report people as they really were, as I saw them in everyday life, and as I knew them to be. Consequently I avoided exaggeration, burlesque and crude caricature; and I did not try to fictionalize or to embroider fancy situations, as was common in the fiction of that day. In the "Stories" there was not much emphasis upon plot, but instead carefully sketched, detailed incidents in the delineation of real characters in real life, depicting various episodes in their lives as related through the medium of their own talk.

Talk, conversation, what people say when they come together on the street, their peculiar use of words, their "slang," their rhythms of speech — that's what I mean by *vernacular*. These are the things that have always interested me most; there is nothing more native than speech. . . .

Writing conversation and dialogue day after day and year after year in the "Stories of the Streets



Artie: original illustration by John T. McCutcheon.

and of the Town" proved to be of great help to me later in writing plays. The art of conversation and of making "talk" sound natural came from listening to all kinds of talk and getting it translated quickly into the printed word, thus carrying onto the printed page the naturalness that goes with the spoken word. Many of the "Stories" were, in fact, cast in dramatic form, some more deliberately than others; still others were only sketchy tableaux. But throughout there was that economy of situation which is the essence of the dramatic; and too, the subject matter was something that everybody could understand and enjoy, because there was that same faithful realism. It was natural.¹¹

Pink Marsh, Ade's second short novel, is structurally similar to *Artie*.¹² Much of it, like *Artie*, is dialogue. As in *Artie*, the principal characters are a young street-wise man, William Pinckney ("Pink") Marsh — though, unlike *Artie*, he is Black — and an older, more stable, well-educated man, described only as "the morning customer." As in *Artie*, there isn't much of a plot; it's just a series of loosely connected episodes.

Pink Marsh shines shoes in a downtown Chicago barber shop. The morning customer, a well-to-do businessman or lawyer, goes to the barber shop one day for a shave



The morning customer: original illustration by John T. McCutcheon.

and overhears Pink discussing with the barbers the subject of what he'd do with a million dollars if he had it. The customer is so interested and so amused by Pink's conversation that he returns to the shop to get his shoes shined and to talk to Pink. They become friendly almost at once and the morning customer begins to frequent the barbershop, where most of the action in the story takes place. Pink and the morning customer discuss a variety of subjects including political, financial, and philosophical matters, but much of their conversation has to do with Pink's social activities. The morning customer is intrigued with life in the Black community — so different from his own — and asks Pink a number of questions about it. Pink tells him about the parties and meetings he goes to, his gambling, his relations with women. Before long the two are close to being friends, although they keep some distance. On a couple of occasions the morning customer goes out of his way to help Pink, interceding once with the barber to save his job. He ghostwrites letters for Pink which the younger man uses in an attempt to

smooth over some problems he is having with his girlfriends.

In the last chapter, the morning customer goes to the barber shop only to find that Pink has abruptly quit work, claiming he's found a better job. Some time later he meets Pink again, on a night train bound for Kansas City. Pink has gotten a job as a porter and married a woman that the morning customer knew nothing about — an older woman with property. The morning customer expresses surprise:

"I thought you were going to marry Belle."

"No, seh, I neveh cah faw 'at guhl nowadays. I done betteh! my goodness, misteh! I s'pose I'm pooh. Got my own dooh-step to set on, new suit o' cloze, joined 'e lodge. Don' speak to 'em cheap culud people no mo'. Goin' o' tuhn in, seh? Jus' you put 'em shoes outside an' I'll give 'em one of 'em ol' shines like you use' to get." (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 224)

In both *Artie* and *Pink Marsh* the main characters are young men who talk about their lives to older men. Just as Artie was based on an actual person Ade worked with, Pink Marsh was probably drawn from a Black person or persons whom Ade knew. But there is a greater distance between Pink and the morning customer than there is between Artie and Miller. Miller (and Ade) know Artie better than the morning customer (and Ade) know Pink, who is Black. Ade recognizes the social barrier and does not try to explain Pink's motivations. For example, when the morning customer uses big words, Pink always acts surprised and delighted. But the customer, from whose point of view the story is told, is not sure whether Pink is sincere, although he always enjoys his reaction. One chapter opens:

The morning customer learned by experience that Pink thrived on a diet of long words. He could not determine whether Pink's admiration for these words was real or feigned, and it mattered little so long as the boy pretended to be in ecstasy. (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 131)

In other words, the customer acknowledges the possibility that Pink might have been putting on an act to get on his good side, but doesn't care. He is the king and Pink is the jester who is supposed to make him laugh.

The morning customer likes Pink but wants to keep him in his place. After he finds that his letter has been responsible for getting Pink back his job, he waits a day before sending him again. He doesn't want to get too familiar with Pink; rather, he wants Pink to revere him:

Next morning he did not go to Mr. Clifford's shop. He knew that if he seemed over-willing to promote an intimacy, Pink would no longer hold him in awe.

On the second morning he went to the shop. Pink arose from the corner smiling expectantly, but the morning customer responded with a conservative nod and climbed into the chair without speaking. He knew that if he encouraged familiarity at this crisis, he might lose his place as an oracle, and he certainly would cease to be a height. (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 162)

The morning customer enjoys subtly lording it over Pink.

Pink, however, knows where he stands with white people. He says about the white barbers ("bahbehs") he works for:

"O, well, seh, 'bout white bahbehs — it don't pay to have no trouble 'ith 'em. Jus' let 'em think 'ey's 'e real thing, an you on'y pooh cullud boy, tryin' to do 'e best he can, an yo' all right. Call 'em misteh so-and-so. 'At's someping 'ey don't of 'en get an' it jollies 'em. Bu' le' me tell you someping, misteh. I'll be eatin' bread 'ith gravy on it when some of 'ese white bahbehs makin' mahks in 'e snow." (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 143)

It is to Ade's credit that he does not over-extend himself explaining Pink's words and actions. No doubt he had some limitations when it came to understanding the fundamental attitudes and motivations of Blacks, and realized it. He just presents what Pink says and does, and lets us, along with the morning customer, and maybe himself, try to figure out what Pink Marsh is really like.

Ade, however, certainly heard and reported well the person or persons that served as Pink's model. His rendition of Pink's particular form of Black street dialect is very good and has historical interest in itself, although it is not quite as accurately rendered or easy to read as some of his other dialect writing. For example, Ade sometimes uses an "e" where a "u" would seem more appropriate. If Pink says "cullud," then he probably says "bahbuh" and not "bahbeh" as Ade spells it.

Ade is alive to a good sense of humor, too. He undoubtedly enjoyed the vivid, amusing conversation of many Black people he knew in Chicago, and put some of it into Pink's mouth. One of the funniest chapters in the book is the one in which Pink makes fun of the bellicose attitude of the barbers toward England. He imagines one of them, Mr. Clifford, leading an army of barbers against the British:

"Gen'al Cliffo'd an' his ahmy got oveh theah one day an' 'ey wuzn' feelin' ve'y well, so 'ey kind o' hang 'round 'e fuhst day loadin' up 'em guns an'

washin' 'e buggies an' 'en nex' mawnin' 'ey go on oveh to London. I think 'ey got theah 'bout ten o'clock in 'e mawnin'. 'Iss heah gen'al at London he come out an' size up Gen'al Cliffo'd an' 'ese fo' million white bahbehs, an' tries to put up fight, but my goodness, man, 'at gen'al ought to see his fin-ish 'e minute he go 'genst Gen'al Cliffo'd. It couldn't come out on'y one way. A little while an' 'em Englishmen gettin' out of 'e way jus' like cul-lud boys going' out o' Johnson's back dooh afteh razah play — same thing. Gen'al Cliffo'd got on white hoss, misteh, and rode into 'at town 'ith band playin' at 'Wash' nin Pos' Mahch.' Yes, seh, 'at secon' day he sutny showed up ve'y strong." (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, p. 140)

Ade does not view Pink and the morning customer in a vacuum; he sees them in the context of the busy, impersonal American metropolis of his day. The two men had been important to one another over a span of months, yet when Pink quits his shoeshine job the morning customer forgets about him. Ade notes:

In a busy town, such as Chicago, experiences crowd on one another, and every live man of the morning-customer kind is so intent on making his fortune that he has little time to tilt back and wonder what has become of his friends of yesterday. Within a month after the disappearance, the season of helpful talks with Pink became ancient history. The morning customer hurried past Mr. Clifford's shop day after day without seeing it or knowing of its existence. He would be whispering to himself the terms of a contract, or squinting through his glasses to see into the plans of those who wanted to keep him away from his fortune. To such a man, buildings fuse into one another as they slide by in panorama, and pedestrians are so many things to be dodged. (*Artie & Pink Marsh*, pp. 221-222)

Doc' Horne is the third novel to be drawn from Ade's "Stories of the Streets and of the Town" series.¹³ It deals with several men who live at a dreary hotel in downtown Chicago. The central figure is Calvin ("Doc'") Horne, described by Ade this way:

His age cannot be given. He never told it. He was bald on the top of his head. His face had the fullness of youth but it was wrinkled. The chin beard was white. When it is said further that he wore clothes such as might be worn by any old gentleman who had ceased to be fastidious on the point of personal adornment, the reader knows as much as anyone would know in taking a first glance at Doc' Horne as he sat in the office of the Alfalfa European Hotel with his satellites grouped about him. His daily employment at the time of the beginning of this story called him to the Federal offices, where he checked pension lists or classified vouchers or performed some other kind of labor quite unsuited to him. Doc' overshadowed his occupation, and it is doubtful if there will be another

reference to it anywhere in this book. (*Doc' Horne*, pp. 26-27)

Doc' has an aura of genteel seediness about him. He has evidently come down in life, but from where we are never sure. He speaks of his past frequently, his reminiscences are a major feature of the book, but we never know what to believe, for he is, in his rather elegant way, something of a liar and a braggart.

The people that Doc' tells his stories to include a down-on-his-luck actor, a race-track man, a dentist (sometimes referred to as "the lightning dentist"), and an alcoholic called "the lush." Later characters that join the circle include a slang-talking, obnoxious young man known as "the freckled boy," a married man staying temporarily at the hotel while his wife is on vacation, and a character named "the hustler."

Doc' Horne is a structurally more complex book than *Artie* or *Pink Marsh*. The book deals with the interaction of several men rather than just two. In the process Ade gives a good deal of attention to describing the life style and social milieu of Doc' and his satellites. Doc' Horne can be thought of as a book about a sub-culture, that of the boarding house and residence hotel.

Many of the chapters have Doc' holding forth about some subject or other to an often somewhat-less-than-enthralled audience. He tells them how some beautiful young woman fell madly in love with him even though he didn't encourage her, how he saved the life of the daughter of a wealthy Kentuckian, how he performed an amazing swimming feat, how he solved a baffling crime, how he contributed valuable services of "a quasi-military character" to the Union forces during the Civil War, etc.

"If they had built the Mississippi levees as I told them to long before the war, they wouldn't be washed away every year." That's the kind of statement Doc' makes. He tries to give the impression that he's been everywhere and done everything. With the possible exception of the dentist, the Alfalfa residents, who have known Doc' for some time, are on to him. They listen to him and enjoy his conversation but don't take his stories too seriously.

Although Doc' may be a humbug, he is a sensitive man. After the scene is set and Doc' has told several of his stories, Ade introduces, in a chapter called "A Pest Appears," the freckled boy. The freckled boy is somewhat reminiscent of Artie, but he's cruder, far more unstable, and doesn't have Artie's

middle-class aspirations. He's loud and insensitive, interrupts Doc's stories, doesn't show much respect for the older man, and frequently upsets him. In another chapter the lush insults him and the race-track man seems to catch him out in one of his stories. Doc' walks away from his listeners in a huff and, the next morning, informs Mr. Ike Francis, the hotel manager, that he intends to leave. Not long after that, however, Doc' becomes ill and his acquaintances — including the lush and the freckled boy — at the hotel outdo themselves in trying to aid him and make him comfortable. Doc' is touched by their efforts and decides to stay.

In a later episode Doc' is arrested and charged with being a confidence man. He is terribly shaken, but his friends rally to him, preventing him from spending any time in the lock-up and securing bail for him. Though the judge throws the case out of court for lack of evidence, a brief newspaper account of Doc's arrest is printed and there is no mention of his subsequent acquittal. This severely upsets him. "A blemish has been put on my reputation. I have been held up to the public gaze as a swindler and confidence man," says Doc'.

A month after this incident Doc' inherits \$15,000 from his sister's estate. The Alfalfa colony rejoices for Doc', and this cheers him up. He decides to take a trip to Europe, and his friends give him a farewell dinner. Doc' is in Europe for months, "recovering his health and self-respect." When he returns to Chicago he intends to stay at the Alfalfa, but finds that it has been torn down and his colony of acquaintances has scattered.

Though Doc' Horne's story is the main plot of the novel, Ade weaves in several strong subplots. There is the story of the nervous dentist and his convoluted search for a wife. And the lush's story is an interesting one. He is a man with some admirable qualities; his intelligence and quick-wittedness are demonstrated near the end of the book when, by lying skillfully, he secures almost kid glove treatment for Doc' by the police after the old man is arrested and threatened with at least one night in jail. But he is an alcoholic, and when he is drunk he is rude and offensive. The Alfalfa community likes and respects the lush and tries to reform him. Doc' himself is concerned and actually talks the lush into abstaining for a while. Ultimately, though, the lush goes back to his bottle. Ade's rendering of Doc' and his friends is sensitive. In his fables Ade would caricature "odd man out" types amusingly, but in *Doc' Horne* he portrays them sympathetically and

believably.

The three short novels, along with *In Babel*, are probably Ade's most substantial work. His collections of fables, however, beginning with *Fables in Slang* (1899), contain some of the finest satire in American literature.⁴ In these humorous pieces he shows the same accuracy of observation and fine ear that appear in his realistic sketches. Where he had used these gifts to describe grim situations, he now turned them to humorous purposes, setting down in precise detail and sometimes without much exaggeration the amusing things he'd observed people saying and doing in everyday existence. Many of these pieces take place in rural and small-town areas, which he describes accurately, as he had city life in *In Babel*.

There had been humor in Ade's earlier work, but in his fables he emphasizes it much more. He exaggerates, he parodies broadly, he employs wild metaphors and similes. Here, for example, is his description of a fanatic baseball fan, from "The Fable of the Baseball Fan Who Took the Only Known Cure":

More than once he had let drive with a Pop Bottle at the Umpire and then yelled "Robber" until his Pipes gave out. For Many Summers he would come Home, one Evening after Another, with his Collar melted and tell his Wife that the Giants made the Coits look like a lot of Colonial Dames playing Bean Bag in a Weedy Lot back of an Orphan Asylum, and they ought to put a Trained Nurse on Third, and the Dummy at Right needed an Automobile and the New Man couldn't jump out of a Boat and hit the Water, and the Short-Stop wouldn't be able to pick up a Ball if it was handed to him on a Platter with Water Cress around it, and the Easy One to Third that ought to have been Sponge Cake was fielded like a One-Legged Man with St. Vitus dance trying to do the Nashville Salute. (*Fables & More Fables*, p. 11)

Ade had a great eye for the absurd. He parodied politicians, farmers, corporation directors, workingmen, intellectuals, teetotalers, gamblers, drinkers, members of ethnic minorities, high society WASPs, high-livers, cheapskates — no one escaped. He made fun of absurdity wherever he saw it, and he saw it everywhere, among the rich and poor, in the city and on the farm.

He took great delight in ridiculing pomposity, as in "The Fable of the Michigan Counterfeit Who Wasn't One Thing or the Other." Yet he made fun of crude, uneducated people, too. All things being equal, however, Ade seemed to like the dirt farmer more than the Harvard professor.

It has been written that Ade makes fun

of McGuffey Reader values in his stories, but this is not always true. There certainly is cynicism in some of his fables, like "The Fable of the Bookworm and the Butterfly Who Went Into the Law," in which a lazy but socially adroit young man becomes a more successful lawyer (in terms of income) than his bookworm brother, who winds up working for him. On the other hand, the moral of some, like "The Fable of the Handsome Jethro Who Was Simply Cut Out to be A Merchant" and "The Fable of Prince Fortunus Who Lived in Easy Street and then Moved Away," is that hard work and thrift pay off while laziness and wastefulness do not. Ade, at least before he turned fifty, could see the humor, the absurdity of people and ways of life and philosophies that were sometimes diametrically opposed.

Ade wrote a number of fables that I would rank highly. Many of them are light and charming, like the justly celebrated "Fable of the Two Mandolin Players and the Willing Performer," one of his fine "he and she" fables. But Ade's gift for realism and social commentary did not desert him when he became known as a humorist. Some of his fables are to be taken seriously. There is, for example, "The Fable of The Honest Money-Maker and the Partner of His Joys, Such as They Were," about the penny-pinching farmer who worked his wife to death:

Henry was a ponderous Clydesdale kind of Man, with Warts on his Hands. He did not have to travel on Appearances, because the whole County knew what he was Worth. Of course he was Married. Years before he had selected a willing Country Girl with Pink Cheeks and put her into his kitchen to serve the Remainder of her Natural Life. He let her have as high as Two Dollars a Year to spend for herself. Her Hours were from 6 A.M. to 6 A.M. and if she got any Sleep she had to take it out of her Time. The Eight-Hour Day was not recognized on Henry's Place.

After Ten Years of raising Children, Steaming over the Washtub, Milking the Cows, Carrying in Wood, Cooking for the Hands, and other Delsarte such as the Respected Farmer usually Frames Up for his Wife, she was thin as a Rail and humped over in the Shoulders. She was Thirty and looked Sixty. Her Complexion was like Parchment and her Voice had been worn to a Cackle. She was losing her Teeth, too, but Henry could not afford to pay Dentist Bills because he needed all his Money to buy Poland Chinas and build other Cribs. (*Fables and More Fables*, p. 107)

Another serious fable is that of "The Caddy Who Hurt His Head While Thinking." Here are some excerpts:

One day a Caddy sat in the Long Grass near

the Ninth Hole and wondered if he had a Soul. His number was 27 and he almost had forgotten his Real Name.

As he sat and Meditated, two Players passed him. They were going the Long Round, and the Frenzy was upon them.

As they did the St. Andrews Full Swing for eighty yards apiece . . . the Caddy looked at them and Reflected that they were much inferior to his Father.

His Father was too Serious a Man to get out in Mardi Gras Clothes and hammer a Ball from one Red Flag to another.

His Father worked in a Lumber Yard.

He was an Earnest Citizen who seldom Smiled, and he knew all about the Silver Question and how J. Pierpont Morgan done up a Free People on the Bond Issue.

The Caddy wondered why it was that his Father, a really Great Man, had to shove Lumber all day and could seldom get one Dollar to rub against another, while these superficial Johnnies who played Golf all the Time had Money to Throw at the Birds. The More he Thought, the more his Head ached.

"Moral: Don't try to account for Anything."
(*Fables & More Fables*, p. 70)

Perhaps Ade, who saw injustice and absurdity manifested all around him, in every economic and social class, also identifies with the Caddy's sense of helplessness. But Ade tends to follow the story's moral, and suspends judgment about the tragedy and farce of life.

Though his fables are often lighter, they are ultimately related to Ade's more serious realistic sketches, both in style and point of view. Such writing did not, of course, emerge fully formed out of a vacuum. Ade was strongly influenced by Charles Dickens, Maupassant, and Twain. Dickens' *Sketches by Boz* gives a panoramic view of London life somewhat like Ade's view of Chicago in *Stories of the Streets and of the Town*. Ade's prose, like Twain's, is vigorous but relatively informal, and shows a keen interest in colloquial rhythms and in local and regional dialects.

Ade was impressed by the directness and economy of Maupassant's writing and said of him, "I like the way he writes . . . short, simple, direct sentences, no words wasted, and how quickly he can make a scene or person seem real."¹⁵ Several of Ade's stories — for example, "The Set of Poe" — have ironic, Maupassant-like endings.

Ade moved to Chicago at a time when America's industrial cities were growing by leaps and bounds, at a time when rural Americans and European immigrants were flocking to them in search of a better life. With his rural and small-town background,

he saw Chicago as the phenomenon it was and documented its life in detail. I have cited Ade as one of the founders of a school of authors, including Farrell and Algren, who wrote about big-city life in a grim, hard-bitten manner. It is also probable that Ade influenced Dreiser. They were both from Indiana and had known each other when they were reporters in Chicago in the 1890's. Dreiser credits the then better-known Ade with giving him some advice about a race-track article that saved his job. Dreiser's profound but rather ponderous writing and his philosophical principles differed in many ways from Ade's, but Dreiser was impressed with the realistic nature of Ade's writing. Ade's pictures of Chicago life in the 1890's anticipate similar descriptions in *Sister Carrie*. There is no doubt that Dreiser's description of Charles Drouet early in the novel was modeled on Ade's portrait of Gus in "The Fable of the Two Mandolin Players and the Willing Performer." Dreiser, in fact, was accused of plagiarizing Ade. Ade had noticed the similarity but had not commented on it, and wrote a generous defense of Dreiser, excusing the echoes of his own work.¹⁶

A reflection of Ade's parodies of bourgeois culture and small town life can probably be seen in the writing of Sinclair Lewis. "The Fable of What Happened the Night the Men Came to the Women's Club" forecasts some of the contents of *Main Street*. Consider Lewis' description of the novel's heroine, Carol Kennicott: "She played tennis, gave chafing-dish parties, took a graduate seminar course in the drama, went 'twosing,' and joined half a dozen societies for the practice of the arts or the tense stalking of a thing called General Culture." Though Lewis is generally sympathetic to Carol, his characterization of her is reminiscent of Ade's portrayal of the small town "culture vultures" in his "Women's Club" fable, which begins, "In a Progressive Little City claiming about twice the Population that the Census Enumerators could uncover, there was a Literary Club. It was one of these Clubs guaranteed to fit you out with Culture while you wait. Two or three Matrons, who were too Heavy for Light Amusements, but not old enough to remain at Home and Knit organized the Club." Lewis even capitalizes "General Culture" as Ade frequently capitalized words in his fables for comic effect. Lewis was certainly aware of Ade. He cites him in his autobiographical essay, "My First Day in New York," as being "among the really enduring craftsmen."

Ade also almost certainly influenced

Ring Lardner. Lardner admired him and even wrote an article about him for *The American Golfer*. (Though Ade made fun of golfers, he played the game enthusiastically; in fact, he built his own golf course.)

Lardner often writes Midwest dialect-filled dialogue that is reminiscent of Ade's — read, for example, Lardner's "Horseshoes" and "Alibi Ike." Both writers deal with similar topics: partying and gadding about, boy-girl stories, everyday events. Both satirize inane conversation and the shallowness of the *nouveau riche*. There is, in general, a more bitter quality in Lardner's work, but the cruelty and thoughtlessness of the store clerk in Ade's "The Former Kathryn" anticipates some of Lardner's characters. Ade's story "Mr. Payson's Satirical Christmas" may have influenced Lardner's "The Facts"; both deal with inappropriate Christmas presents being given to a family. Ade's direct, economical style no doubt influenced Lardner, and, either directly or through Lardner, it may have helped form the style of Ernest Hemingway, another Midwesterner given to writing terse stories with a high proportion of dialogue.

Ade had his faults. He was anti-intellectual, sometimes to the point of Philistinism, and, though personally a generous and tolerant man, was politically naïve and conservative. These qualities cloud his understanding of certain types of people and mar some of his work, for example, "The Fable of the Bohemian Who Had Hard Luck."

Although he lived until 1944, Ade's best writing was crowded into a short period of time around the turn of the century. He achieved some acclaim and wealth with his fables, and even more with his humorous plays, though they seem lamentably corny today. Among the most popular of these were *The Sultan of Sulu* (1902), about a Philippine chieftain who tried to adopt "civilized"

American ways; and *The College Widow* (1904), about college life and football. After Ade became a playwright his stories and articles became increasingly substanceless and cranky. The widely read commercial stuff he turned out after about 1905 made people forget the excellent but less-known work he had done earlier, and the result was the eclipse of his reputation as a serious author.

But it is for his best work that an author should be remembered. Among Ade's most admirable qualities is his humor, which is lacking in many Realistic and Naturalistic writers of his era. Humor is an important part of life, even (and sometimes especially) of the lives of poor, downtrodden people. A "realistic" writer whose world does not include humor is not portraying life as it often really is. A humorless writer may be mirroring himself, not the people he portrays. Ade also wrote stories that are intense and serious. But in his prime, whether grim or comic, his work was not contrived. He wrote down what he saw and heard. Norris's *McTeague* and *The Octopus* are historically important and have their virtues, but these books, with their gimmicky plots, do not deserve to be better known than the best that Ade wrote.

Certain critics who think Ade wrote excellent short pieces have accused him of not realizing his promise.¹⁷ Their primary criticism seems to be that he did not write "large scale" works in the sense that Dreiser did. But to criticize Ade for not producing a long novel is like criticizing a great sprinter for not running the marathon. Ade was not a Dreiser, but then Dreiser was not an Ade. Great discoveries have been made by those who looked at the vast universe with a telescope, but they have also been made by people like Ade who, delighting in subtle detail, studied life with a microscope.

NOTES

¹For Lardner's judgment, see Donald Elder, *Ring Lardner* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1956), p. 137. Perelman's comment is reported by Jean Shepherd, ed., *The America of George Ade* (New York: Putnam's, 1960), p. 7.

²Twain is quoted in Fred C. Kelly, *George Ade: Warmhearted Satirist* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947), p. 125. This is the only biography of Ade; much of the biographical material in this essay is drawn from it.

³Kelly, p. 124.

⁴Robert H. Elias, ed., *Letters of Theodore Dreiser: A Selection* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), p. 949.

⁵The term Realism in literature usually refers to works that attempt to represent everyday life, including the life of poor people, accurately, using a relatively large proportion of observation and description as opposed to fictional contrivance. Naturalism was a literary movement that grew from Realism after the mid-

nineteenth century, notably in the works of Emile Zola. The Naturalists were determinists who stressed human inability to cope with natural forces and drives. They wrote about people who were destroyed by their lust for money, sex, and power. Dreiser, Crane, and Norris are considered among America's major Naturalists, though Crane often transcends the doctrinaire stance typical of Naturalism.

⁸See Dorothy Ritter Russo, *A Bibliography of George Ade* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1947) for a complete guide to the publication dates and various editions of Ade's works.

⁹George Ade and John T. McCutcheon, *Chicago Stories*, ed. Frederick J. Meine (New York: Henry Regnery, 1963).

"Street vehicles are the subject of "Vehicles out of the Ordinary" and "The Glory of Being a Coachman," restaurants in "Since the Frenchman Came" and "A Plantation Dinner at Aunt Mary's," the Art Institute in "In Chicago but Not Of It," the police in "At 'Larry's Lunch,'" the courts in "Stumpy and Other Interesting People." Ade writes about Jews in "The Junk Shops of Canal Street," Norwegians in "Olof Lindstrom Goes Fishing," Germans in "With the Market Gardeners," Blacks in "Little Billy as a Committee-Man" and "How Pick Caught the Battle Row," all in *Chicago Stories*.

A hobo appears in "Hobo Wilson and the Good Fairy," stevedores and a longshoreman's dog in "Slim's Dog," a real estate prospectus writer in "A Young Man in Upper Life," an office worker in "Min Sargent," and two fatuous, well-to-do young men in "In the Roof Garden," all also in *Chicago Stories*.

Ade's interest in Chicago's history may be seen in "Old Days on the Canal," "At the Green Tree Inn," "After the Skyscrapers What?" and "A Breathing Place and Playground."

¹⁰George Ade, *In Babel* (New York: McClure and Phillips, 1903). The original edition has recently been reprinted by Folcroft. All further references are to the original edition and are cited in the text.

¹¹Originally published in 1896 by Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago, *Artie* is most easily accessible today in the volume *Artie and Pink Marsh* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963). All citations from *Artie* refer to this edition and are cited in the text.

¹²Ade and McCutcheon, *Chicago Stories*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

¹³Originally published in 1897 by Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago, *Pink Marsh* is most easily accessible today in the volume *Artie and Pink Marsh* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963). All citations from *Pink Marsh* refer to this edition and are cited in the text.

¹⁴George Ade, *Doc' Horne*, illustrated by John T. McCutcheon (Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co., 1899). The original edition has recently been reprinted by Folcroft. All further references are to the original edition and are cited in the text.

¹⁵The best collection of Ade's fables is *Fables in Slang and More Fables in Slang* (New York: Dover, 1960). This volume reprints in full, with the exception of "The Fable of the Man Grabber Who Went out of His Class," the original 1899 edition of *Fables in Slang* and the original 1900 edition of *More Fables in Slang*. All further references to this volume will be cited in the text. Other collections of Ade's fables include: *Forty Modern Fables* (1901), *The Girl Proposition* (1902), *People You Know* (1903), *Breaking into Society* (1904), *True Bills* (1904), *Knocking the Neighbors* (1912), *Ade's Fables* (1914), and *Handmade Fables* (1920).

¹⁶Kelly, p. 71.

¹⁷Kelly, p. 229.

¹⁸For a survey of critical estimates of Ade, see the bibliographical essay by Harold H. Kolb, Jr., "George Ade (1866-1944)," *American Literary Realism*, 4 (Spring, 1971). Since 1920 Ade has received little attention. One notable exception to this pattern is Jean Shepherd, ed., *The America of George Ade* (New York: Putnam's 1960).

THE HARVEY PEKAR NAME STORY

STORY BY HARVEY PEKAR ART BY R. CRUMB

MY NAME HAS BEEN
A MATTER OF SOME
CONCERN TO ME
OVER THE YEARS ...



IT'S AN UNUSUAL
NAME—HARVEY
PEKAR...



"HARVEY" DOESN'T REALLY
GO WELL WITH "PEKAR"—
NOT IN A CONVENTIONAL
SENSE, AT LEAST....



I'VE READ IN VARIOUS
PLACES THAT "HARVEY" IS OF
EITHER CELTIC, GERMANIC, OR
FRENCH ORIGIN....



YET "PEKAR" IS
A SLAVIC NAME...



STRANGELY, I AM NEITHER
CELTIC, GERMANIC, FRENCH
OR SLAVIC...



WHEN I WAS YOUNGER
MY ACQUAINTANCES WOULD
TEASE ME BECAUSE OF
MY NAME...



THEY'D SAY, "HARVEY
PEES IN HIS CAR."



ONCE MY BEST FRIEND
MADE AN ADMITTEDLY WITTY
REMARK ABOUT MY NAME,

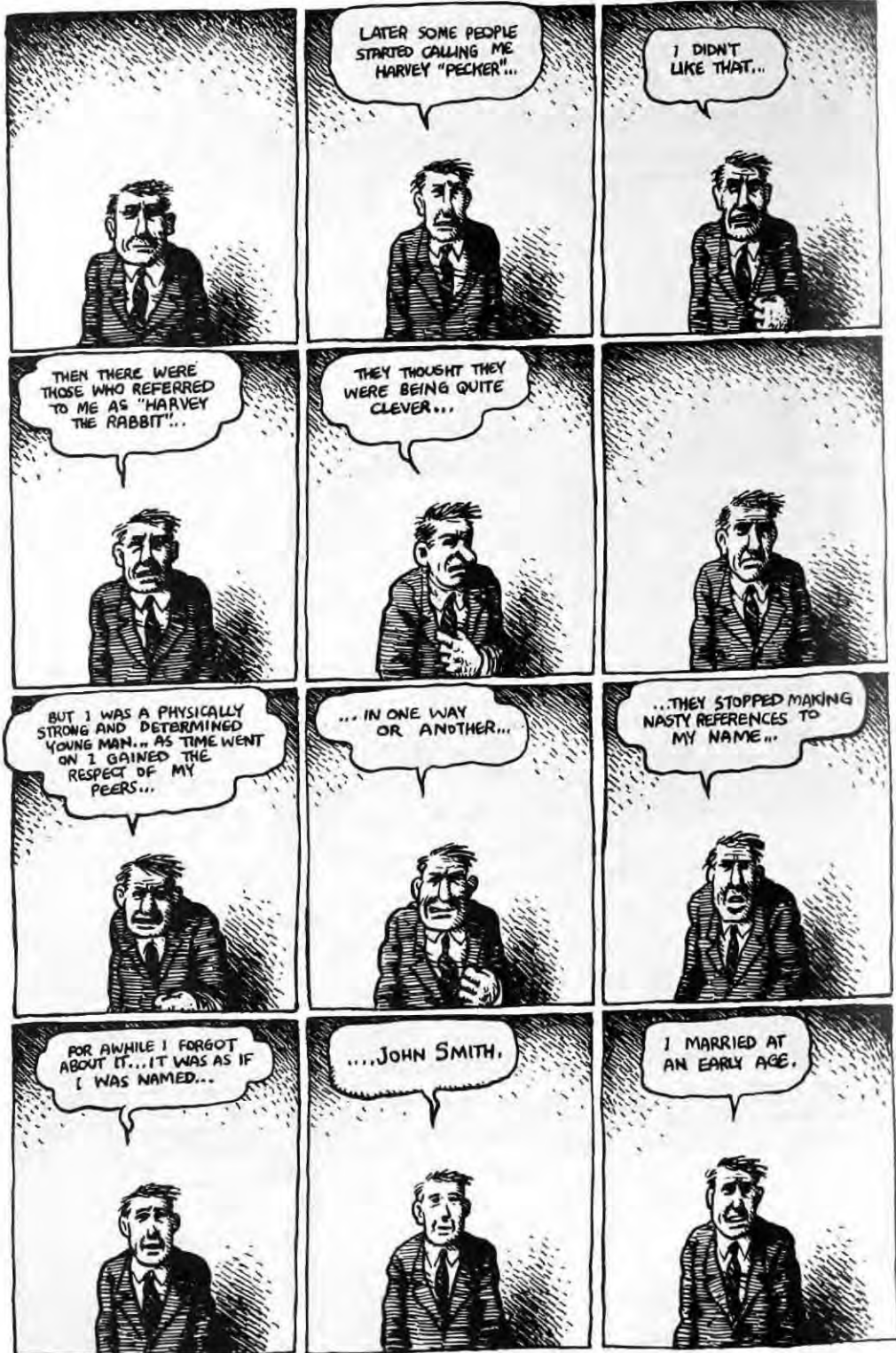


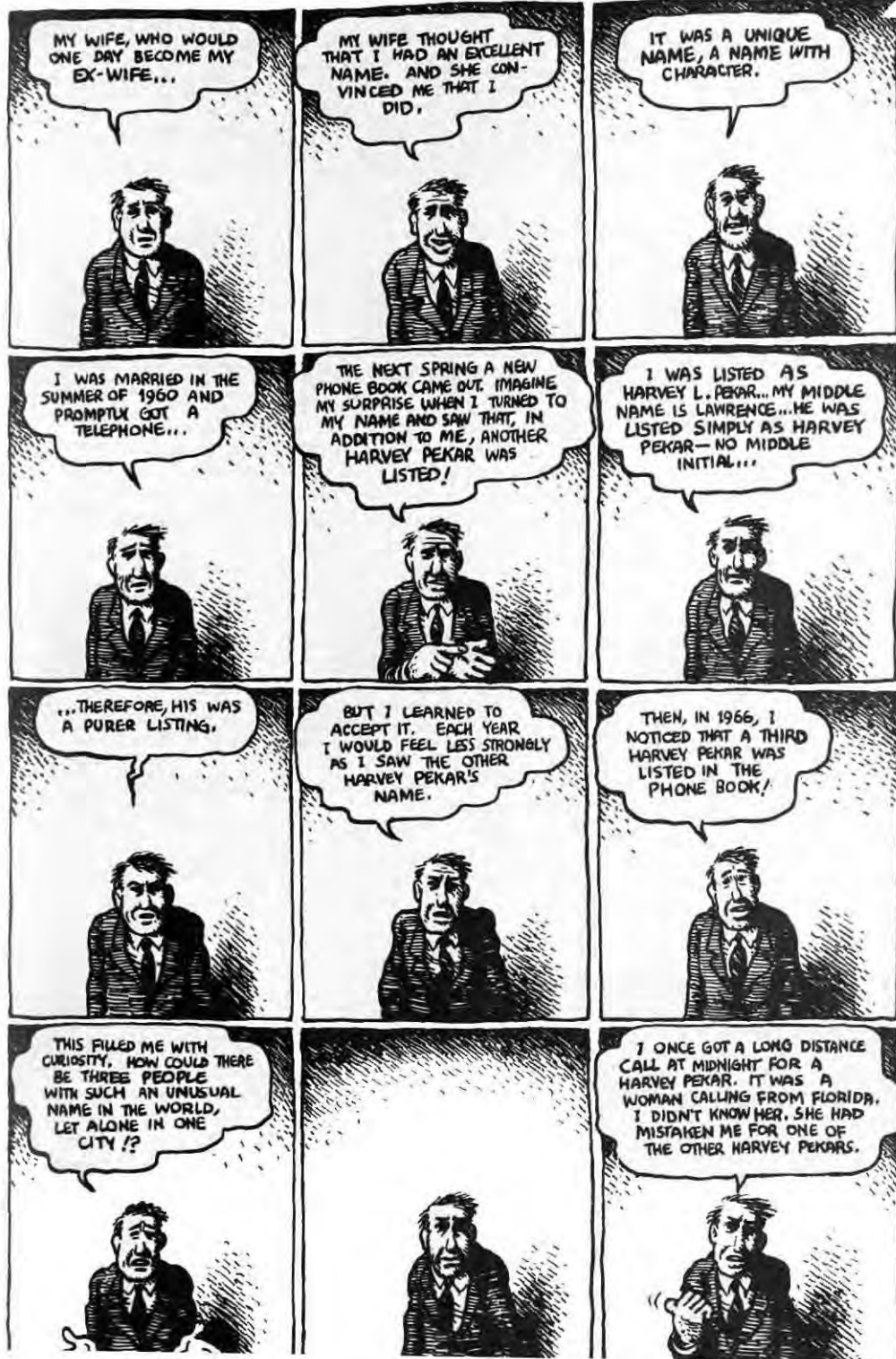
HE SAID, "WHAT COMES
AFTER THE DINING CAR?
—THE PEE CAR!"

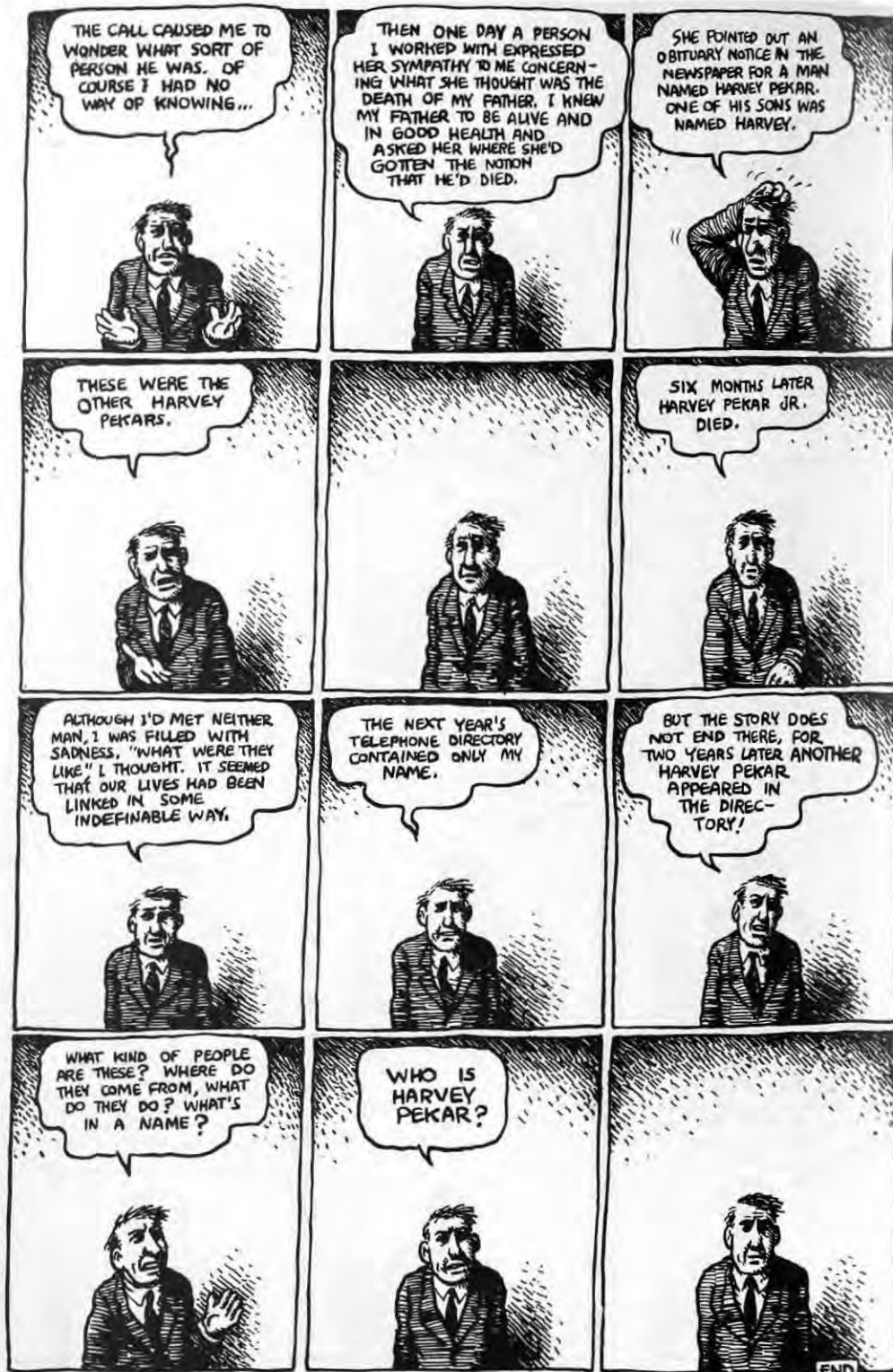


DESPITE THIS
WE REMAINED
FRIENDS...









Albert M. Petrak

FORWARD! BY THE NUMBERS

Digital recordings, developed from technologies originally designed for other purposes, promise to be a boon to audiophiles and music lovers.

Early in 1975, RCA Records released a disc in their "Legendary Performers" series that was announced as a new version of the acoustic recordings made by the great Italian tenor, Enrico Caruso. The legend on the jacket stated that the records had been "restored" by means of a process invented by Dr. Thomas Stockham of the Soundstream Digital Recording Corporation of Salt Lake City, Utah. Few people at the time realized that this release was the beginning of a radically new process that would soon revolutionize the recording industry: high-fidelity digital recordings.

Within a month's time the Caruso records had been circulated among critical publications, radio stations, and the general public, and the verdict was generally favorable. Through the years since the great tenor's death in 1921, listeners had become accustomed to a rather scratchy, hollow sound, as if Caruso had been singing into a barrel. Everyone agreed that on the new records the voice seemed somehow more full, clear, "forward," and distinct.

With the record came a detailed explanation of the process used to bring back the sounds acoustically captured during the first two decades of the century. Dr. Stockham

and his brilliant engineering associate, Bruce Rothaar, had employed digital techniques to isolate the actual vibrations of the voice from the "acoustical fog" in which they had been submerged.

The term "digital" indicates information conveyed or stored in the form of whole numbers. A digital clock, for example, gives us the time in whole numbers to the nearest minute or second instead of the gradually changing indications of hands on a traditional clock dial. Most computers handle information in digital form. Stockham and Rothaar converted the continuously varying sound waves of the old recordings to strings of whole numbers which could be entered into a computer and modified according to certain complicated formulas.

In 1975 the word "digital" — especially in the context of sound recordings — was by no means as commonplace as it has since become. But a suspicion of *legerdemain*, of some kind of aural trickery, was quickly dispelled by the release from RCA's New York headquarters of a detailed telephone interview between long-time RCA Red Seal producer Jack Pfeiffer and Dr. Stockham in Salt Lake City. The interview, which was supplied to various fine arts radio stations around the coun-

Albert Petrak is known to listeners of fine arts radio station WCLV as host of First Program and of Frontiers of Sound, a weekly program of new recordings produced by digital and other advanced methods. Petrak grew up in Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, a small town 45 miles northwest of Pittsburgh. After serving in the Navy during World War II, he studied piano and musicology at the Cleveland Institute of Music and was graduated from Western Reserve University with a degree in French and German. He has worked as a retail record store manager and as producer, music director, and announcer for several radio stations. In 1967 he moved to New York where he helped found the International Piano Library, a well known sound archive specializing in the keyboard. He joined WCLV in 1972 and the following year was appointed Music Director of the station. His guide to record collecting, Your Basic Classical Record Library, was published in 1980. (Photo: Herbert Ascherman)



The transcription of the interview with Thomas Stockham is included in this article with the kind permission of John Pfeiffer and RCA Records.

try including Cleveland's WCLV, is a good place to start any discussion of digital recording. Here is a slightly edited transcript.

JACK PFEIFFER: Dr. Stockham, can you describe, in fairly non-technical terms, just what you achieved, making use of computer techniques in restoring the old acoustic recordings made by Enrico Caruso between 1906 and 1920.

DR. THOMAS STOCKHAM: We used a computer and digital processing techniques on these recordings to bring the sound of the recordings to a more natural quality. The way in which we did this was to use the process that we've developed to figure out what the recording horn resonances were in the original recordings, and then reverse those effects to bring the sound into a more natural tonal perspective . . . to balance out the frequencies in the sound to make them more equal to the originals than the recording horn would have allowed.

PFEIFFER: Is there a way to describe what the computer actually does in this process?

STOCKHAM: The computer first of all has to be used to record the sounds from the old discs. This is done by playing the old discs on very high quality equipment and then converting the acoustic vibrations in the grooves to numbers. Then these numbers which represent the singing are processed by a mathematical formula which we developed . . . and converted into a new set of numbers which represent a more natural sound. These new numbers are converted back into vibrations and recorded then onto the disc which we've released with RCA.

PFEIFFER: Are these numbers related to the processing in such a way that by changing a few of them, you can change the characteristics of the sounds?

STOCKHAM: No, it's much more involved than that. You usually think of numbers as being very much like the notes in a musical score, or like the teeth in a music box that trigger off prescribed sounds. In our process, it's not like that . . . it's more like a stock market chart where each day you get a numerical quotation and if you plot this long enough you get a wiggly curve. Each number that we create is a point on the curve which is the usual vibratory way that it comes off the record. So they all have to be changed and the way in which they get changed is through a process that involves some pretty heavy mathematics.

You see, the recording horns that were

used in those days had to focus the sound onto the wax disc without the aid of any kind of electronics . . . they weren't using electronics then. The recording horns were actually used as resonators in order to get some amplification, because as you know when you have resonances in an acoustic box or something like that it does amplify. Of course one of the side effects of that kind of amplification is a kind of muffled, or hollow-barrel sound.

PFEIFFER: Yes, as you describe it, it's very much like talking into cupped hands.

STOCKHAM: Indeed. If you cup your hands in front of your mouth and then talk you get this kind of hollow sound. In modern day terms, when we talk about high-fidelity reproduction, these sounds . . . the louder ones . . . are frequencies that are being amplified too much, and softer ones are frequencies that are not being amplified enough. So we have to analyze the singing and determine which frequencies are too loud or too soft, and work them into perspective. We do this by analyzing over a thousand different frequencies in the Caruso recordings, or others that we are working on, and comparing their strength with a modern recording of similar nature. Then the computer adjusts the amplitude of those over 1,000 frequencies to more nearly resemble the amplitudes in a recording made with modern equipment and converts them back into sound with the result that you hear on these records.

PFEIFFER: Are these modern recordings used as a kind of model for the older recordings?

STOCKHAM: Only in the most general way. There is no attempt — and deliberately so — to make any of the musical or performance aspects of the modern recording (which we call the prototype) control the restoration process. It's just the overall physical balance between the various frequencies that are characteristic of, say, a tenor singing, or an orchestra or jazz band playing, that comes from the modern recording and is used as guide in the restoration process.

PFEIFFER: So it's a kind of mathematical model, then?

STOCKHAM: Yes, right. A mathematical model carefully designed to include the physics of the recording horn, or the acoustics of the recording horn . . . and exclude the musical characteristics of the model, thus leaving the musical characteristics of the orig-

inal intact and undisturbed.

PFEIFFER: You have apparently made some experiments with vocalists who recorded both in the acoustic days and the electrical days. Was that of any help to you?

STOCKHAM: As a matter of fact, when we were first developing this process, we were quite concerned that we have a way of telling whether it was working or not. As you know, Caruso never recorded electrically. Electric recordings came in around 1925 and Caruso died in the summer of 1921. So since we had no proof or control record for Caruso, we used the process on singers who recorded both acoustically, as Caruso did, and electrically, as he did not. For example, we took an early recording of John McCormack singing one particular piece of music, and restored it using this very same process and compared it with a later recording of John McCormack singing that same piece of music that was made electrically. We confirmed that the process was working because in the restoration we derived from that, the character of the voice was very much like the later recording, without introducing any of the characteristics of the prototype. Of course you can't be ultimately assured with such a test because usually these recordings were made two or three years apart, and voices do change even in that short a time. But the indication was very strong that this was McCormack that we were bringing back

PFEIFFER: In your opinion, what are the benefits of the process? What is the result?

STOCKHAM: Well, there are a number. I think the most important one is that the voice sounds so much more natural when heard after the processing. Now of course we are all used to hearing the old recordings of Caruso and they have a quality of their own which has achieved a certain cultural position within our expectations, and this is removed. One can therefore hear the voice more like it is, or was, I should say. The basic benefit is to get a better understanding . . . a better appreciation of the way Caruso really sounded without detracting from the sound of the recordings as they had been over the years. One can listen with pleasure to the restored recordings AND to the originals as well.

PFEIFFER: Is the listener able to identify the sound as being Caruso?

STOCKHAM: There have been some people who have heard the restorations that we have made who actually worked with Caruso. Three major figures who actually



Jacket for the digitally restored album of Enrico Caruso (with self-caricature of Caruso) in the "Legendary Performers" series. Courtesy of RCA Records.

sang with Caruso or had something to do with his singing career have heard these. Remarkably enough all three indicate this is a major step toward making the voice sound more like it really was . . . not necessarily achieving all of the spirit of the voice as it sounded in the original Metropolitan Opera House, because singing in a studio is a bit different from that. But to bring back the actual musical perspective of Caruso himself far beyond what has been done in the past . . . that's what we are trying to do.

PFEIFFER: Would it be possible to eliminate surface noise and distortion by computer processing?

STOCKHAM: Let me answer that in two parts, first concentrating on surface noise. It would seem that after the resonances have been removed, the surface noise is the next most serious problem in archive-quality records. Efforts that have been made to remove the surface noise, either primitive or very sophisticated, have very serious side effects that people especially interested in the musical performance and the texture of the sound have objected to most. Today we have what we consider some very successful noise-elimination processes in the laboratory but they aren't perfected to the point where we want to release them to the public yet.

PFEIFFER: But it is possible to remove that aspect of the older recordings?

STOCKHAM: To some extent. The problem is that the harder you try to remove the noise with the technology that is available today,

the more you degrade the voice . . . and sometimes in a manner that is musically unacceptable.

PFEIFFER: Are there implications of this process for the future?

STOCKHAM: Definitely. We have used a computer to do these restorations, as you've noted. That means that we've been reducing sound to numerical form and for the future there are some very significant implications of this in quite a different direction from that taken in the Caruso releases. That is in the making of *new* recordings. The ideal of recording music numerically . . . and then playing it back later from numbers just for the purpose of recording it, processing it for release, let's say . . . mixing it and so on has the aspect that the quality of the final result is very high indeed. And it's conceivable that within this century — I would think that it would be almost inevitable — that the recordings as they are heard in the home, may actually be in numerical form. So that when you go to the store you actually buy numbers on a piece of recorded material, rather than wiggles in a groove.

PFEIFFER: What benefits would that have?

STOCKHAM: First of all, the obvious one would be the quality of the sound. One would expect a much better sound to be obtained in the home in this way. But in the interim the quality of the recording medium — its permanence, its archival permanence, and the flexibility with which it can be manipulated into a final product — is more convenient, less expensive, and faster. Potentially . . . perhaps not immediately but in the very near future.

PFEIFFER: Did this process derive from any other scientific investigation or any other disciplines?

STOCKHAM: The restoration of the Caruso records involves a process developed for some very different reasons than restoring Caruso. In particular, the problem of getting rid of the horn resonances in Caruso is directly related to the problem of taking photographs which have been made fuzzy either by cameras being moved or lenses being out of focus and making them sharp again. And in fact also, when one explores for oil using shock waves in the earth, the reverberations off the layers of the earth are often confused with some of the aspects of the shock waves, and thus obscure some of the geologic information and these can be separated in much the same way. So yes, the method used to re-

store the Caruso records is related to some basic scientific methods that have also been explored.

PFEIFFER: I'm sure Caruso would be surprised to know that he's been searching for oil all these years. . . . Is there any way to detect components of sound that he might have produced in the studio but which were not recorded because of the primitive recording equipment?

STOCKHAM: Yes, as you know the frequency range that this old equipment was able to record was rather limited . . . nominally, between 150 vibrations per second and about 3500 vibrations per second. And this gives the voice a slightly dull quality because the higher frequencies are often very desirable. Because the human voice can make only a certain number of sounds, even a very famous or skilled voice such as Caruso's, when you know the frequencies present in a limited band of them such as on these records, you can make very good guesses about the frequencies present outside the band . . . and insert these artificially.

PFEIFFER: These can be restored then.

STOCKHAM: Yes, within the quality of the estimates that one can do.

PFEIFFER: But this would be guesswork.

STOCKHAM: You know, in a way from a scientific point of view, everything is guesswork. In guessing the harmonics that are not there but implied by those that are, we have discovered that the improvement of putting these "guessed" frequencies in is offset too much by the unnaturalness of it. In other words, we need more understanding about the synthesis of these missing components from the information we have before the musical quality can be considered in favorable balance with the artificiality of it.

PFEIFFER: Well, that would alter the quality of the voice considerably.

STOCKHAM: In one direction it makes it better, and in another worse. And we've got to improve the positive and get rid of the negative more in the future before we can really put forward something that would have both scientific and, more importantly, musical interest.

PFEIFFER: What about the orchestral accompaniment for these old recordings? They always sounded so superficial and tinny.

STOCKHAM: There are a number of reasons for that: first of all, in those days, when recordings were made this way, the orchestras



Pioneers of digital recording. Left to right: Jack Renner, President and Engineer, Telarc Records; Dr. Thomas Stockham, President, Digital Recording Corp.; Robert Woods, Producer, Telarc Records.

were constituted in a very unconventional way, even for that time. For example, there wasn't any string bass used. Instead the support instrument used in the lower register was the tuba. And in addition, the violins were fitted out with little metal horns to make them sound louder, and this undoubtedly gave the ensemble a kind of strange texture even in real life. In addition to that, the style of playing in those days, it seems to me, was different from what we are used to today. These combined give that tinny flavor you describe . . . as much as the primitive mechanisms do.

PFEIFFER: But does the process of removing the horn resonance have any influence on the sound of the orchestra?

STOCKHAM: I believe it does. I think it makes it sound much more natural and much more like it was. But of course it can't remove these different attributes that are musically real, that I just described a moment ago.

PFEIFFER: So the only way to eliminate it would be to get rid somehow of the orchestra and add a modern orchestra behind Caruso's voice.

STOCKHAM: Or complement the ensemble — not get rid of it — but flesh it out into something that is more reminiscent of today's heritage.

PFEIFFER: That sounds like something for the future.

STOCKHAM: Perhaps so. On the other hand, I'm sure that there are various musical points of view which might feel that that was a wrong direction in which to go, because after all that wasn't what was known then or what was put together with Caruso's voice.

PFEIFFER: He would not have been surrounded by that kind of musical aggregation, so he would not have responded the way he did.

STOCKHAM: Exactly my point.

PFEIFFER: Are there other applications that you can foresee in the future?

STOCKHAM: I would be very interested in seeing how some of the early electric recordings could be improved by this same process. In fact, we know that it isn't just Caruso's acoustic recordings that can be enhanced by this method. Other acoustic recordings of famous artists are also equally well restored. But it would be interesting to see how some of the early electrical recordings which of course sound much better than any of the acoustic recordings in a technical sense, would respond as well. In addition, I've mentioned briefly the application of numerical recording and numerical processing to the making of tomorrow's recordings.

* * *

The rest, as they say, is history. Though Dr. Stockham was not the originator of this numerical recording process — several years earlier the Nippon Columbia Corp. of Japan had begun producing digital recordings, using what they prefer to call “pulse modulation” techniques — it was Stockham and his staff who developed the first practical digital recorder in this country. And to the Telarc Recording Corp. of Beachwood, Ohio, with President and Chief Engineer Jack Renner, Producer Robert Woods, and their backers, went the honor of introducing the first large ensemble recording made with the Soundstream Digital Recorder. This disc was recorded in Severance Hall in Cleveland on April 4 and 5, 1978, and released to the general public a very few weeks later. For the sessions, brass and wind members of the Cleveland Orchestra were joined by local professionals to set down performances of Gustav Holst's two *Military Band Suites*, Op. 28, and Handel's *Royal Fireworks Music*, as well as a Bach transcription; Frederick Fennell, widely known for his recordings of wind-band repertory released by Mercury Records, conducted the performances. Since then two additional recordings have been released by Telarc with the same forces.

The digital recordings made by Telarc and, more recently, by other major recording companies use the computer process to record the original performances. At present these must be turned into conventional stereo discs for commercial distribution; digital playback equipment for the home still lies in the future. Before I describe the complex process from performance to commercial disc, let me go over some of the points mentioned by Dr. Stockham to make clear just what happens in “converting the acoustic vibrations . . . to numbers.” Several useful articles have recently appeared explaining the digital process. One of the best is by E. Brad Meyer, writing in the “Sound Ideas” section of the *Boston Phoenix* in May, 1981; another is David Ranada's “Digital Audio: A Primer,” in the February, 1981, *Stereo Review*. The following summary is indebted to both of these.

To begin with: sound waves, like most natural waves, vary continuously with time, having no abrupt transitions. Audible sound consists of compressions and rarefactions of the medium (air) at a rate of about 20 to 20,000 vibrations per second. (The higher the pitch, the more vibrations per second.) In a conventional recording, sound waves are converted into an electrical current which likewise

varies continuously in the same patterns as the sound waves. The fluctuating current is in turn translated into a magnetic pattern on a moving strip of tape, or into a wiggly groove on a rotating disc. When the tape or disc is later moved along a pickup (a tape head or a needle) at the same speed, the magnetic pattern or wiggly groove reproduces the original wave form, which is turned back, first into an electric current and then, through amplification, into sound waves. This system is called analog recording because the fluctuating electrical current and the magnetic or groove patterns are analogous to the original sound wave. Obviously the fidelity of reproduction of the original sound waves can be compromised by a number of variables: the tape or record must move at a constant speed, and all extraneous magnetic traces or physical defects such as dust or bubbles must be kept away from the recording.

Digital recordings preserve the patterns of the original sound waves in a different way. Whereas an analog recording stores the entire wave form, a digital recording merely *measures* the wave form, sampling it at frequent regular intervals and storing the measurements as a series of whole numbers. These numbers may be kept on discs or tapes like other computer data. (The digital process, like most computer operations, uses the binary number system, which expresses all numbers in 1's or 0's. Thus $1 = 1$, $2 = 10$, $3 = 11$, $4 = 100$, $5 = 101$, etc.) When the digital recording is played back, the numbers are synchronized with a quartz clock so that they are “read off” at exactly the same speed as when the sampling took place. From the series of samplings stored in the digital recording, a new continuously variable wave may be reconstructed — first as an electric current, and finally as sound again.

Let us take as a hypothetical example a very crude digital recorder, one which samples a wave 1000 times a second, and which must reduce all its data to the eight whole numbers from 0 to 7. In binary terms those eight possible numbers (2^3) require three digits to express. Our hypothetical system thus can handle a string of only 3 “bits,” or “binary digits,” that is, whole numbers in the binary system. The string of bits that makes up a number is called a “word”; so this system is capable of only 3-bit words. A 4-bit word would be 2^4 or the 16 digits from 0 to 15, a 5-bit word would be 2^5 or 32 digits, etc.

Figure 1 shows a short section of a hypothetical sound wave, an analog wave that might be heard as, let us say, a low hum. (The

more bumps in the wave in a given length of time, the higher the pitch of the sound.)

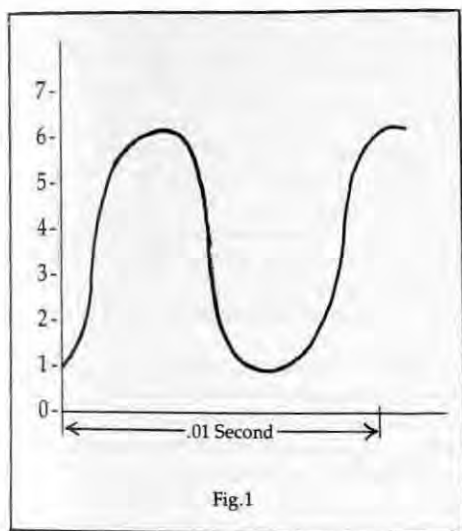


Fig. 1

Measured by our crude digital encoder, this wave would be recorded as a series of numbers: 2, 5, 6, 6, 3, 1, 1, 2, 4, 6 (only in the computer the numbers would be in binary form, i.e., 11, 101, 110, etc.):

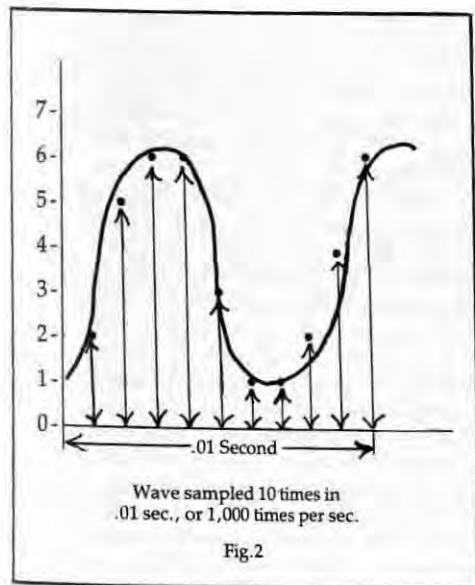


Fig. 2

Measured by our crude digital encoder, this wave would be recorded as a series of numbers: 2, 5, 6, 6, 3, 1, 1, 2, 4, 6 (only in the computer the numbers would be in binary form, i.e., 10, 101, 110, etc.):

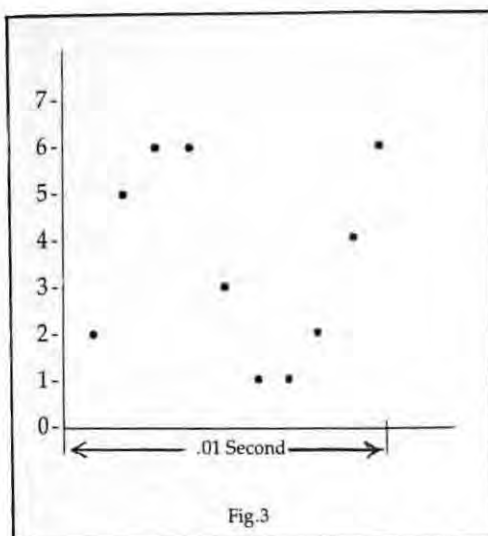


Fig. 3

From this illustration one can see certain advantages and certain difficulties in digital recordings. There need be virtually no distortion from varying playback speed ("wow" and "flutter"). Nor should there be any extraneous noise from physical imperfections or dirt on the record or tape surface — no hiss, scratches, or rumble. All the digital pickup has to retrieve is a series of binary numbers, which is simply a string of 1's and 0's — *on's* and *off's* or *yes's* and *no's*.

The difficulties arise from the reduction of analog waves to whole digits. Since the human ear hears sound at frequencies up to about 20,000 vibrations per second, or 20 kHz, a digital encoding must sample the analog wave at a frequency of at least twice that, in order to catch the highest-pitched audible sounds. Frequencies above 20 kHz must be filtered out before the sampling is taken, because if the sampling happened to hit a particularly high peak above 20 kHz, the "graph" of the audible wave would be thrown off.

Second, the value of the analog wave at each sampling can only be recorded as the nearest whole number. If, as in our hypothetical 3-bit system, the scale consisted of only eight possible whole numbers, the rounding off of the actual value of the wave to a whole digit would cause considerable distortion. Therefore current professional digital systems use 16-bit words, which provide a "scale" of 2^{16} or 65,536 gradations — enough to make the rounding off virtually undetectable. As E. Brad Meyer writes,

The results may be seen in the specifications for all digital tape recorders: distortion at full level less than 0.03 percent, wow and flutter virtually un-

measurable, signal-to-noise ratio greater than 96 dB, negligible crosstalk between channels, no print-through. And the ability to store and retrieve data from the tape without error implies that copies may be made from one digital machine to another without the slight loss in quality that occurs with conventional recorders. This is important because records are typically cut not from the original master tape but from a copy of a mixdown. When digital playback systems for the home become available, we should be able to hear a perfect copy of the original master from every disc.

This sounds marvelous. Do we then have a digitally encoded disc to audit? Not yet. All digital recordings thus far issued are a compromise — conventional analog records derived from digital master tapes. Here is how Telarc at present produces its digital discs. In addition to the digital encoding of the recording session, the engineers simultaneously tape an analog version, which is then edited in the conventional manner. Since the digital recording can be edited only through a computer, the standard, manually edited analog version becomes the basis for the digital editing, which takes place at Soundstream's facilities in Salt Lake City. Acting on a computer's instructions, the machine sorts through the various "takes" — bit by bit and splice by splice — to come up with the desired digital version.

From the editing session the master tape and the digital play-back machine are sent to a California factory where the tape is translated back into waveform analog language and cut into a lacquer-coated aluminum disc. These lacquers (three or four representing each side of the disc) are then evaluated, the best selected, and the results sent to New York to a plating company. Here they are sprayed with a metallic preservative material. After it is dried and peeled off, the metal, called a "father" disc, contains a negative image of the original set of grooves. From it another negative impression is then made, this one called the "mother." Since it is the negative of a negative, the "mother" is really a positive image, but much more durable, of the original lacquer.

The "mothers" are audited by Telarc, and, once approved, they are sent to pressing plants abroad (where quality control is more consistent and where certain chemicals used in the processing of the high-grade vinyl may be released into the air, as they cannot be in this country because of U.S. anti-pollution laws). The discs when completed are shipped back to Cleveland, inserted into jackets, and marketed throughout the United States and in foreign countries. The lengthy

process accounts for the current asking price of about \$18.00. Despite the price, the records are now carried not only by audio shops but also by the larger record stores; the number of digital discs available exceeds three hundred, with increasing production by the "majors" — CBS, EMI-Angel, RCA, and now the Polygram complex (Deutsche Grammophon, Philips, and London).

But what of the millenium? When can we expect to own in our homes a real digital record player? And will it be another story of competing, incompatible machines such as virtually killed quadrasonic discs in the '70's? At present four systems are vying for acceptance:

Philips Compact Disc (CD): discs 12 centimeters (5 inches) in diameter, played back via laser, using the same technology as in the Philips MagnaVision video-disc format.

Teldec Mini-Disk: discs 13.5 cm (5 1/2 inches) in diameter played with a piezoelectric stylus tracking a groove. The system is an audio-only adaptation of the Teldec video-disc format.

JVC VHD/AHD: discs 10 inches in diameter played with a capacitance-sensing electrode traveling the surface. The VHD system is the video-disc format, and the AHD digital audio discs are played on the same player, decoded via an accessory digital-to-analog converter.

Pioneer LaserDisc: an interchangeable audio-video disc (with necessary converter) accepting 12-inch optical discs patterned after the Philips/MagnaVision/Pioneer video-disc format.

With the decision by the powerful Sony Corporation to shelve its 12-inch optical disc and join forces with Philips to refine and promote the CD (Compact Disc) format, the way seems clearer now for the introduction of a real, commercially viable digital home unit. In particular the sophistication of the Sony-Philips CD player with its efficient digital coding logic and error-correction system (making the tape-caused "dropouts" and other imperfections less audible) seems to suggest that it may eventually dominate the field. In addition, the combined corporate forces have at their disposal an enormous "software" library, with CBS Records and other U.S. labels agreeing to lease arrangements, and the Polygram complex of DG, Philips and London in hand.

But there is a fifth contender. Soundstream was acquired last year by the Digital Recording Corporation of Connecticut. While Soundstream is continuing and expanding its recording activities in this coun-

try and abroad, the joint company plans to develop and bring to market a new type of digital audio record, one that is utterly different from other records. Unlike the four prototypes mentioned above, the DRC will remain stationary, while being scanned by a laser and a rotating lens-and-mirror system. The signal, encoded like a TV screen or printed page with data in straight lines, is in the form of black and white dots just one micron wide, which are originally generated by pulsing a laser. Once the signal-encoding dot pattern has been produced, it can be reproduced photographically. Those last two words immediately conjure up a veritable new world of record processing and production. The system achieves an information density of 300 million bits per square inch, meaning that a record resembling a four-by-six inch file card can accommodate 40 minutes of stereo digital audio. The card form of the record lends itself to the design of an automatic changer, much like a slide projector, yielding virtually unlimited playing time with minimal interruption.

If this last system is adopted, it will put an end at last to the plastic or vinyl disc of whatever size with its built-in problems of manufacture. Gone will be the laborious chain of lacquer discs and "father" and "mother" discs still necessary for the current digital product. Gone also will be the distortions caused by scratches, dust, dirt, fingerprints, warping, and static attraction of polluting elements, that have plagued sound recording for almost a hundred years.

The possibility of cheap photographic reproduction of high-fidelity recordings has enormous implications for music lovers. At present the initial expense of producing a new recording is enormous. As a result, record companies are hesitant to issue record-

ings of new artists and unfamiliar pieces that will not be best sellers. It is the supermarket syndrome — bulk sales or none. So the market is glutted with war horses: forty *Boleros* of Ravel, 32 *Dvorak New Worlds*, and 44 *Tchaikovsky 1812's* crowd the catalogs in this country alone.

Moreover, great performances of the past decades are allowed to go out of print, because even a re-issue must involve two or three thousand copies to be profitable. As a result many great performances, though they exist in archives, are no longer on sale. These include works conducted by Szell, Reiner, Stokowski, Furtwangler, Monteux, Horenstein, and Ansermet; composers interpreting their own works — Stravinsky, Bartok, and Britten, for example; and great soloists — Rubinstein, Lipatti, Heifetz, Dennis Brain, and many more.

If the process now being developed by DRC can be refined to the point of commercial feasibility, and the now-considerable costs can be brought down to the comparable levels of today's LP, imagine the diversity possible for the collector of unlimited appetite. Not only will he have access to indestructible copies of a flawless original, but also to a limitless catalog of performances — theoretically all those ever made (from the archives of the producing companies) and everything else that is recorded from whatever source (live broadcasts, recitals, private performances).

After many years of relative stagnation, the world recording companies seem at last on the verge of moving beyond the flat disc played with a stylus on a spinning cylinder. May their research and development of the digital process bring us quickly to a golden age of recorded sound which will inform and delight generations to come!

David Citino

Four poems from the SHAMAN series

DREAMS OF THE FIRST SHAMAN

1.
 When his parents shriveled
 and fell, he dreamed
 of a cure for tears and loss,
 for memories that ache like
 a bad tooth under cold water,
 for rotting flesh, for flies.
 He called it "Six Feet of Earth."

2.
 He dreamed of a pouch
 of potent feathers, stones
 and bones, and called it "Cures."
 He dreamed of three cures for
 weariness of the thighs, called
 the first "Sleep," the second
 "Flying," the third "The Dance."

3.
 He dreamed of a cure
 for separations, and gave
 the people the gift
 of parts that correspond like
 spear and prey, pine and sky,
 quiver and shaft, bear
 and cave. He named it "Love."



David Citino is a native of Cleveland, where he attended St. Ignatius High School. He is now an associate professor of English at Ohio State University, Marion Campus; earlier this year he received an Ohio State University Alumni Award for Distinguished Teaching. The OSU Press has recently published a book of his poetry, Last Rites and Other Poems. His work has appeared in The Kenyon Review, The Literary Review, Modern Poetry Studies, Poetry Northwest, South Dakota Review, and other periodicals.

LETTER FROM THE SHAMAN:
CEREMONIES OF INNOCENCE

Practice dreaming until
you can drink the moon's reflection
on a pond on a rainy night,
kiss again the warm flesh
of a father's hand after he's gone
underground, see smoke and snow
blow against the wind, a dull saw
cut straight and clean
against the pine board's grain,
butterflies flourish in hail storms.

LETTER FROM THE SHAMAN:
LESSONS OF THE HEART

What teaches us the rhythm of march,
of chant, to fathom hour and era,
gasp and grasp, clutch and sigh,
even to move together? Put your hand
on your chest. Feel. Cover
your ears with your hands. Listen.

LETTER FROM THE SHAMAN:
THE WAKE

Open every faucet, damper, window, door.
Turn all glasses upside down, pockets
inside out. Cover every pot and pan.
Make the women cross their legs.
Turn all portraits to the wall. Mirrors.
Bury the water you used to bathe the corpse,
the razor and comb you used to groom it.
When every conceivable word's been said,
sing. When the last song's been sung,
cry your eyes out. Sit next to the bed.
All night long, try to think
of one other thing that matters.

ARTHUR GEOFFRION'S LANDMARK COMPLEX

Cleveland's situation at the edge of a large body of water has always fascinated architects, builders, designers, and the residents of the city. They have proposed various projects to exploit it: airports, landfills, malls, entertainment centers. One of the more imaginative proposals is that of Arthur Geoffrion of Willowick, Ohio, who worked with Waco CG gliders during World War II and was until his retirement an art director at TRW. Geoffrion's idea, expressed in the plans and renderings reproduced here, has three components: it is a landmark, a transportation base, and an entertainment center.

The landmark aspect is revealed in the drawing below, which shows an immense, graceful arm holding a sphere suspended from its end and pointing over the lake — in Geoffrion's words "a sophisticated sculptural edifice which . . . Would rival the Eiffel Tower or the arch at St. Louis." The arm is a launching ramp for gliders (see sectional Fig.1). Each glider would hold twelve paying passengers and be launched by means of a catapult from a moving platform supported on a cushion of compressed air. The glider ride might be for amusement (a silent turn through the air over the city) or transportation (a flight to Canada or Put-in-Bay).

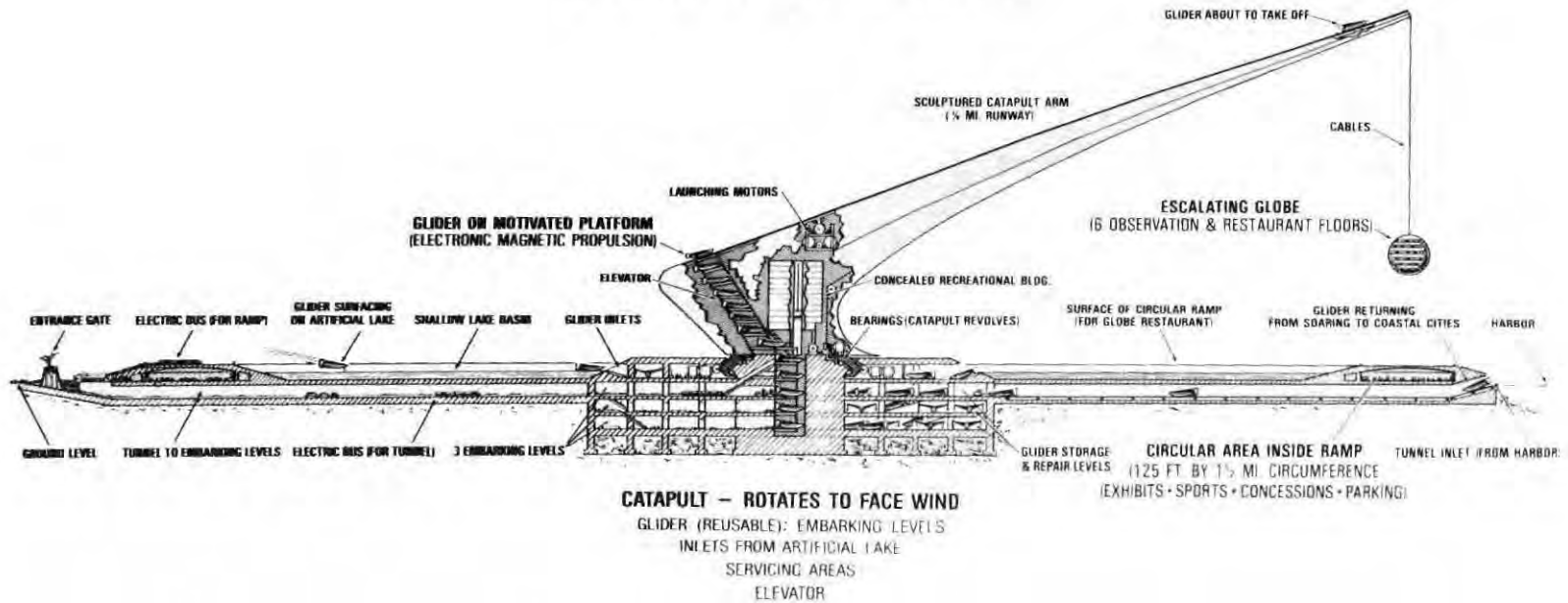
As the figure shows, the arm can be turned in any direction to project the gliders, which are designed to land on any smooth water — they are equipped with retractable hydrofoils and auxiliary motors for taxiing. Gliders that land at a distance from the Landmark can be economically towed back over the lake. They are stored in the base of the complex until ready for use.

The most striking part of this unusual idea is the ball on the end of the arm. As Fig. 2 shows, the ball is a globe 70 feet in diameter suspended by cables from the arm and regularly moving up and down to receive and discharge customers. The globe has six levels, including an entrance, restaurants, and a lounge, with total room for 700 eaters, drinkers, or spectators.

The project is in the planning stage but its author has received some publicity in local newspapers. Although the entire complex would cost some hundreds of millions to build, Geoffrion is at present seeking \$10,000 for a scale model, which he believes would convince skeptics of the beauty and practicality of the Landmark. He also maintains that the restaurant, entertainment activities, and glider rides would make his Landmark a financially profitable operation. While this last point is difficult to judge, few would dispute that the plan is bold and ingenious.

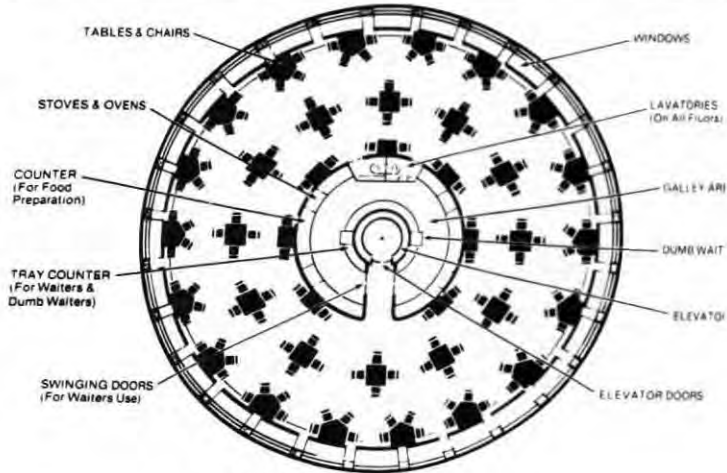
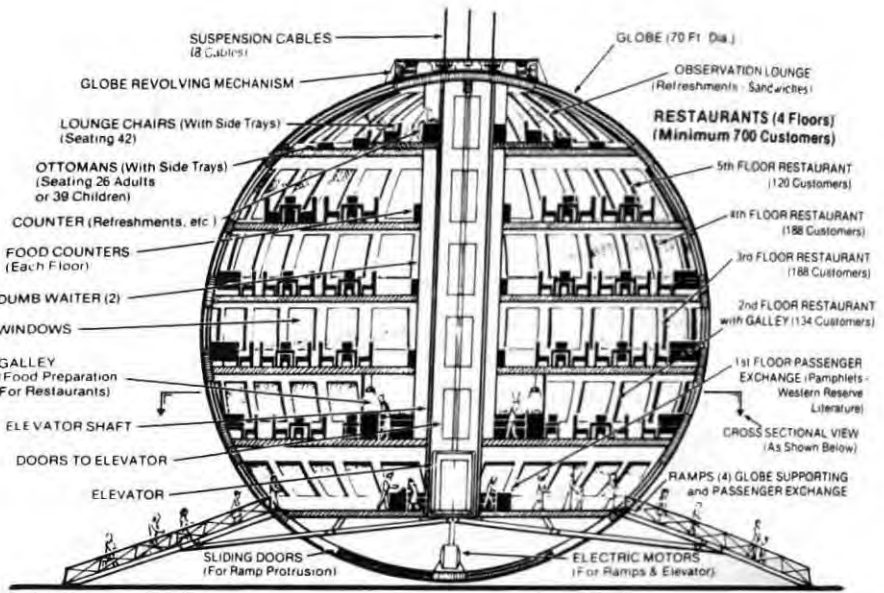


LANDMARK COMPLEX
(CONSTRUCTED OFF-SHORE ON LANDFILL)



LANDMARK COMPLEX

Fig. 1. Schematic view of catapult base.



2nd FLOOR GALLEY & RESTAURANT
(Cross-Sectional View at Point Shown in Top View)

Fig. 2. Landmark Complex: escalating globe.



Arthur Geoffrion, designer of the Landmark Complex.

Gary Engle

THE GRAMMAR OF VIDEO: CUMULATION, REFLEXIVITY, AND GAME

Television programs can be more subtle and complex than traditional critics allow — if you know how to watch them

There are still a few curmudgeons around who scorn television because it does not live up to accepted literary criteria: programs seem fragmented, repetitious, and inadequately developed — all the things good plays, stories, or essays should not be. To be sure, T.V. fares poorly when judged by the rules of written literature, but that is because it has its own principles and criteria, different from but not necessarily less valid than those of print.

For centuries the written word has been equated with knowledge and education, and not so long ago it was fashionable to refer to people who relied on television for information and entertainment as *vidiots*. One hears the term less frequently now; heavy users of the medium such as preschool children are increasingly being described, without pejorative intent, as *video-literate*. That we can now distinguish between print literacy and "video literacy" indicates that we are coming to accept the two media not as mutually exclusive but as complementary ways of dealing with the world.

The art of television — "video-lit," as it is familiarly called — has the same functions as traditional literature: to instruct and entertain. But before we can deal sensibly with this

new literature, we must accept its own structural conventions — its grammar, so to speak — instead of imposing on it the categories of traditional criticism. The central criterion of traditional criticism since Aristotle has been that of unity. Even if we do not insist on the rigid neoclassical unities of time and place, we expect a novel, play, or history to have a perceivable form, usually a logical progression from beginning to end, without interruptions, repetitions, or digressions. Television shows do have their unity, but it is often radically different from the sort of unity we find in a book.

The Principle of Resonance

Everything on the television screen is in a perpetual state of becoming. Images melt at the very instant they form. The phosphor dot is here and gone and there is no retrieving it. In fact, the image we think we see on a television screen is never there. Television disassembles its visual information into hundreds of thousands of dots of light which it then projects one at a time onto the screen. The image exists only in the mind of the viewer, which remembers the locations of the dots and puts them all together to form a pattern.

By an analogous process on a larger scale, the television viewer automatically



Gary Engle was born in Hutchinson, Kansas, and, in his words, "grew up in the libraries and before the television sets of Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and New Mexico." He went to college at Northwestern University and received M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago. He has edited a collection of American minstrel plays, This Grotesque Essence (Louisiana State University Press), and has written on film, literature, and popular culture for Cleveland Magazine, Northern Ohio Live, and a number of scholarly publications. He is currently at work on a book on television aesthetics, tentatively entitled "The Art of Familiar Novelty." He is an associate professor of English at Cleveland State University. (Photo: Louis Milic)

sorts out fragmented images and scenes and puts together those that are related even when they are separated by long gaps of time and by much extraneous material. The coherence produced by this sorting out and matching up — a process that Tony Schwartz calls *resonance* — constitutes video-lit's own kind of unity.¹

In a typical T.V. show, separate bits of information — episodes and scenes — are broadcast piecemeal at regular intervals over an extended period of time. The predominance of series formats in television programming suggests how natural this mode of organization is to the medium. While some programs adhere to the principles of the well-made play, the vast majority fragment their subject matter into daily or weekly episodes. The lack of linear thematic development and the absence of observable change in characters are actually an alternative mode of dramatic organization particularly compatible with the technological characteristics of the medium.² The audience participates by responding not to logical development of information but rather to repeated informational patterns.

The same thing happens in news programs. While television occasionally employs the traditional documentary form for news issues too complex for simple headline treatment, more often information about such issues is fragmented into one- or two-minute installments spread out over several news broadcasts. As with dramatic series, the audience takes in the information by perceiving repeated patterns. The fact that documentaries have some of the smallest audiences and that fragmented sequential news programs have some of the largest suggests that television viewers do not have an aversion to news information *per se* but rather to a particular form of organization of the information.³

Hostile critics object especially to the discontinuity between successive units of information in television programming. An evening's schedule generally includes several shows as different in subject matter, point of view and intended emotional response as the fifteen or so unrelated items in a typical news broadcast. Yet such disconnection is the natural fare of the video-literate, whose minds organize the discrete units of information by responding to repeated patterns in the flow. Information that does not bear some relationship to an established pattern either is rejected as irrelevant, or, quite often, is simply not perceived by the viewer, at least not until it is repeated often enough to establish a pat-

tern of its own.

In television art we can distinguish two kinds of meaning: the *contained meaning* of the individual episode of a show and the *evoked meaning* arising from the patterns of the whole series.

Contained meaning is what we look for in traditional dramatic structures. In any episode of a T.V. show there is a central conflict, a clear line of dramatic action that leads to a resolution, and a paraphrasable theme embodied in the dramatic action. The contained meaning is usually quite simple, partly because individual shows must be clear enough on the surface to hold the attention of the viewer, partly because the contained meaning must be expressed in 25 minutes or less, and partly because the demanding production schedule of a regular weekly show makes subtle refinements impossible.

Evoked meaning, however, is not restricted by these limitations. Resonance can call up intricate ideas and emotional subtleties built up over a number of earlier installments of the show. So any given episode merely has to connect the mind to a pre-established reservoir of meaning and feeling.

The validity of this notion of resonance is strikingly illustrated in the different reactions to a given program of first-time viewers and habitual viewers. The habitual viewers seem to get more out of a single episode. Their reactions are invariably more intense, their attention more deeply engaged. The first-time viewers react only to the contained meaning of a single episode, whereas the "addicts" have access on a deeper level to the entire structure of the program, to the established character relationships, to the limits of personality, to the patterns of situations, to the social milieu, to the values and thematic assumptions of the show — all of which they more fully understand because of their familiarity with other episodes of the program.

The artistry of television thus resides not in the traditional literary characteristics of individual episodes of a program, nor entirely in the features of the underlying pattern of a show, but rather in the relationship between episode and pattern.

This relationship, the articulation of which may be called the grammar of video-literature, has been analyzed by television critics from several points of view. One important aspect is the *cumulative* effect of successive episodes, by which complexities and subtleties are built up. A second aspect, the *reflexive*, treats the accumulated information as an efficient sort of ready-made exposition for each individual episode. To them I would

add a third way in which the relationship functions — something very much like the interplay between the action and the rules in a game.

Cumulation

Just as the television image is the sum of the dots of light on the screen, and, for that matter, as a novel is the sum of its chapters, so the pattern of a show is the sum of the meaning of its episodes. In other words, the evoked meaning is cumulative, as Paula Fass suggests in her useful essay on television symbolism.⁴

The cumulative relationship occurs in virtually every form of television programming. In dramatic shows it is more clearly evident in soap operas and television novels (*Roots*, *Shogun*, *Rich Man Poor Man*). With these, an individual episode is not only a self-contained dramatic structure, it also contributes necessary exposition for future episodes. Even in non-serial programs meaning can accumulate over time.

One can begin, for example, to understand how the early years of *Laverne and Shirley* synthesized pre- and post-liberation concepts of women's roles only if one adds those episodes in which the heroines overcame the threat of dependence on Lenny and Squiggy to those episodes in which they pursued their dreams of finding white knights who would lift them out of the tenement basement in which they lived. Similarly, the dramatic impact of the death of Henry Blake in one episode of *M.A.S.H.* was directly related to how much the audience knew about him and how deeply they were attached to him through their experience of prior episodes.

At its best, television art employs the cumulative effect to create a whole pattern that is greater than the sum of its parts. *All in the Family*, one of the more highly acclaimed programs in the history of American television, provides a good illustration. A large proportion of the show's episodes dealt with the theme of prejudice. A typical episode provided a situation in which Archie was allowed to express his bias against some person or group, then resolved that situation either by making him suffer some humorous form of punishment or by having another character (usually Mike or Gloria) clearly state the incorrectness of his views. Taken separately, each episode seemed to contain little more meaning than the liberal assertion that bigotry is wrong. However, when one begins to consider the resonance which builds in the mind of the audience as episode succeeds episode, it becomes clear that what

the show had to say on the subject of prejudice was far more complex than figuratively throwing a pie in the face of anyone who categorized people by their religion, sex, politics, race or ethnic heritage.

During its several years on the air, the show explored a variety of forms which prejudice can take. Not the least important of these was Mike's political and social orientation, which regularly tended toward the doctrinaire and which could often be fairly characterized as liberal bigotry. The representation of such a point of view in the show not only helped to sustain the conflict and, hence, the dramatic energy of many episodes, it also helped refine the audience's understanding of prejudice by dissociating it from the stereotype of blue-collar conservatism. Moreover, Archie's bigotry (as well as Mike's) was never presented as the result of malice, but could invariably be traced to any of several human weaknesses — ignorance, fear, vanity, egocentrism, the inability to deal with the frustrations of daily life in an increasingly complex, threatening, and depersonalizing world.

By repeatedly condemning prejudice while recognizing the multiplicity of its causes and effects, *All in the Family* created a pattern of meaning which transcended the liberal attitudes usually identified with individual episodes. The show's overriding moral was that prejudice results not from a specific political-social point of view but rather from the rigidity of any point of view. In the Bunker household, the culprit was not a particular ideology, but Ideology itself. The locus of positive values was, as stated in the title, *in the family*. Interdependence, group loyalty, open discussion of values, honest expression of feelings — these were the show's positive values, and they were not tied to any single political position. It is revealing and ironic that critics from the extreme right, who often condemned the show for addressing such topics as gay rights, women's liberation, and the anti-war movement, should at the same time have so closely identified themselves with the show's consistent emphasis on strong family ties.

Reflexivity

Though the cumulative effect contributes to the over-riding meaning of a television show, it is not the only kind of relationship between episode and pattern. If it were, there would be a positive correlation between the number of episodes watched and the degree to which the evoked meaning is understood. Yet such is simply not the case.



The intensity of the arguments between Archie and Mike made it seem as though *All in the Family's* primary purpose was the airing of political-social issues. But in the long run it didn't matter who was right. The culprit was not a particular ideology, but rather Ideology itself. (Photo: Viacom)

Episodes can be missed without appreciably diminishing the meaning or dramatic intensity of the program as a whole. Convenience and flexibility are attractive side benefits of the aesthetics of television. This convenience is a result of the effect David Thorburn has called the "multiplicity principle."⁶ For Thorburn the relationship between episode and overall pattern is essentially self-reflexive, in that the evoked meaning serves primarily as a reference pool for the individual episode. Thus the relation is the converse of cumulation. When we watch a show we are not only adding to our understanding of its pattern; more importantly, we are drawing upon that understanding to flesh out our appreciation of the immediate episodes. By providing necessary exposition the evoked meaning eliminates the need for highly repetitive elaboration of such elements as character and setting.

It is unnecessary, for example, to explain each week in believably dramatized detail why Richard Kimball of *The Fugitive* is running, even though that explanation is crucial to each episode. Nor is it necessary to perpetually recount Ann Romano's divorce on *One Day at a Time* in order to appreciate its effect on each of her decisions about how to raise her daughters. Such exposition occurs not within the episode itself but rather within the mind of the audience and can be triggered by a word, an object in the set, or a musical refrain. Often this recall of expository material

is triggered by the lyrics and background visuals of a show's theme song.

Consider how much of a context is provided by the lead-in to *All in the Family*. The visual progression from skyline shots of Manhattan to blue-collar suburban tract houses succinctly summarizes the show's geographical and socio-economic setting, and reminds the viewer how far behind the vanguard of cultural values Archie is. The closing family-album shot of Archie and Edith at the piano recalls the broad theme of domesticity and suggests the important sense of insularity from the world which characterizes the life Archie would like to lead. The song's lyrics too are important, for they clearly convey Archie's political and social values.⁷

It is important to understand that the function of the lead-in is not to *contain* the expository material but to *evoke* it. Archie's political orientation, our full appreciation of which is determined by our experience of all the show's episodes, is merely epitomized by the single detail that he looks to Herbert Hoover as a political ideal.⁸

Because of the expository function of resonance and evoked meaning, television shows seem to lack dramatic probability. In Thorburn's words "The multiplicity principle allows the story to leave aside the question of *how* these emotional entanglements were arrived at and to concentrate its energies on their credible and powerful present enactment."⁹ Television drama, then, be-



In a real sense Edith was the central figure in *All in the Family*. An inveterate peacemaker, her ignorance of sophisticated political and social issues generally made her the one character who did not contribute to the tension that threatened the family stability at the heart of the show. Thus she embodied the series's most important values. (Photo: Viacom)

comes a succession of climaxes with what on the surface seems to be chronically insufficient build-up and dénouement. No wonder that a non-habitual viewer who evaluates according to traditional dramatic standards cannot help dismissing the medium as aesthetically weak.

Resonance can provide a single episode of a television series with certain advantages over traditional dramatic forms. Because it can concentrate on the climax, an episode is capable of exploring a complex theme in a relatively brief span of time. Thorburn offers specific examples of the way episodes of medical shows normally balance the drama of a life-and-death situation with a parallel drama involving social or psychological issues raised by the medical crises. As a result of such a dual focus, Marcus Welby and his ilk become doctors and father confessors, an artful combination of roles for which the audience is willing to suspend its disbelief in great part because of the exposition performed by resonance.¹⁰ Perhaps the most striking example of the effective use of resonance presently on the air is *Hill Street Blues*, a show which interweaves several plot lines in a semi-soap-opera fashion, sustaining a delicate balance between humor and pathos and creating astonishing depth in an unprecedented (for prime time) number of regular characters.

The evolution of television's dramatic efficiency may be seen in developments in situation comedy over the last decade. In the first years of sitcom art, the form's brevity generally controlled content to the extent that a show's episodes were organized around single plot lines or single comic crises — Ralph Kramden over-reaching himself and then restoring order to his life by undergoing a ritual process of self-humiliation; Lucy Ricardo scheming her way into a role for which she is not suited or into a set of circumstances over which she has no control; Beaver Cleaver repeatedly learning that no matter what mistakes he makes as a result of his naiveté, all can be set right as long as he keeps an open channel of communication with his parents.

In the sixties, though, there was a quantum leap in the sophistication of sitcom art as producers and writers found the confidence to employ the resonance principle more fully. The *Dick Van Dyke Show* was the first to master the art of counterpointing situations in a series. By dividing its focus between home and office, the show was able to achieve the dramatic impact of two sitcoms in one. It also achieved a kind of creative elbow room for its writers by virtually doubling the

number of continuous characters with whom the audience would be familiar and around whom specific episodes could be structured. Such a development also meant that episodes could focus on one or the other of the situations or, as was more often the case, on both in a kind of contrapuntal structure in which the home family and work family served as humorously distorted and thus revealing reflections of each other.

This tendency toward structural complexity continued in sitcoms developed in the seventies. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *The Bob Newhart Show*, for example, retained the home/office dual focus of *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, while *M.A.S.H.* and *Barney Miller* involved a slightly different kind of multiplicity. Both of these latter series are characterized by episodes which develop three or four subplots rather than follow a single line of action. *M.A.S.H.*, in its occasional "letter home" episodes, can simply survey how each of its several characters responds to the wartime situation in which they all find themselves. Such episodes are distinguished by rapid intercutting among events that have no dramatic relation to one another. The effect is as though the audience were watching the shuffling of several skeletal sitcom plots each one of which might have the dramatic impact of an entire episode of *I Love Lucy* or *Father Knows Best*.

Barney Miller follows a similar structural principle. In any given episode there is likely to be a plot line involving a personal problem of one of the members of the group or a problem faced by the group as a whole (bad weather, late paychecks, accusation of corruption within the department, a fire in the office). In addition there will be two or three plot lines involving the disposition of various specific cases. Of these, some involve social offenses which result occasionally in detention but more commonly in referral for psychiatric observation. The rest involve personal disputes between citizens for which Barney or one of his men will negotiate a resolution. As a result of intercutting among these various lines of action the show is able to present a far more sensitive view of police work than is generally to be found in popular culture. By making discussion of the personal problems of the characters an integral part of the office routine, the show tends to humanize the image of policemen. It also de-emphasizes the physical activity of police work (all arrests occur offstage) in favor of a view that plays up the intellectual processes involved. Barney, like most television heroes, is multifaceted. Within a representative

episode he will combine the roles of police officer, bureaucratic administrator, social worker and lay psychologist. By providing different kinds of outcomes for the three or four cases within an episode, the show embodies the serious notion that a legal system depends for its integrity on how its enforcers interpret both the law and the situations to which the law is applied. Finally, by relying upon a variety of plot lines, the show is able to guarantee the presence of characters who are not regular members of the cast, which in turn heightens the dramatic illusion of novelty and thus intensifies the show's aesthetic effect.

The overall point is that both *M.A.S.H.* and *Barney Miller* represent a significant development in sitcom art. Both are characterized by unprecedented structural and thematic multiplicity in which an episode can be formed not around a situation but around situations. Sitcom art has become *sitscom* art without losing dramatic plausibility, all because of the expository and elaborative function of resonance.

Useful though the multiplicity principle is, if used too exclusively as a critical principle it can, like the cumulative effect, lead to criticism that is merely quantitative. But the better of two shows is not necessarily the one that has more plot lines or sustains our interest in a greater number of characters. Skillful use of multiplicity is only one of the criteria that the critic of television art must take into account.

Game

There is a third way of looking at the relationship between episode and pattern that is less closely tied to purely quantitative judgments than the two just discussed. As I have suggested, the pattern in any show is the familiar, economically evoked framework within which the new content of the particular episode takes place. Unpredictable novel activity within a framework of familiarity is also a definitive characteristic of games; and it is a game structure that I suggest is at the heart of all television art.

Every game has rules that players and spectators know, specifying what each player can do, and what players must do to win. Rules, however, are merely a part of the game, for within their framework there must be room for freedom of play. When two players sit down for a game of chess they know that they can make only certain moves and that one of the kings will be mated or else the game will end in a draw. No other outcome is possible; yet the moves which lead to the known outcome are freely chosen and

thus unpredictable. Thus, every playing of the game is both familiar and new.

Games, like television, are also highly repetitive and tend to increase in appeal the more they are played. The more one plays a game, the better one understands the limits and nuances of its framework, the nooks and crannies and angles of its rules; one of the appeals of a game is the exploration of the framework.

The importance of games to television is suggested by the sheer number of programs devoted to them. Consider how many long-running game shows and quiz shows there have been and how much air time is devoted to the coverage of sports. Game structure is perhaps not as immediately obvious in television drama; yet the sitcoms, soaps and action-adventure series employ it perhaps most fully and intelligently. To understand this it is useful to view each episode of a series not so much as adding to the pattern or drawing meaning from it, but rather as exploring the pattern in the way that play explores the framework of a game.

As an illustration, let us look at *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. An essential part of this show's pattern is the clearly identifiable community of people defined by Mary's work and home situations. Within this community there is a sense of stability and integrity which is reaffirmed in episode after episode and which can be considered a significant element of the show's meaning. An aspect of the game structure is to be observed in the way in which most of the show's episodes mount challenges to this crucial sense of group stability.

Sometimes this challenge takes the form of situations in which characters consider then reject the possibility of leaving the group, as when Mary is wooed for a production job at another station, or when anchorman Ted Baxter auditions for a job as a game-show host. At other times the introduction of an outsider into the group creates instability which prevents the outsider from becoming assimilated. Most of the episodes dealing with Mary's romantic associations generally follow this line of development.

Much more common, though, among the show's one hundred sixty-eight episodes are those in which instability is created when regular characters begin to behave in ways that violate the tacit rules governing the personal relationships on which the integrity of the community depends. This is perhaps the single most common plot device in the series, and numerous examples of its application can be cited involving virtually all of the

show's regular characters. Murray, for example, discovers after years of working with Mary that he is romantically in love with her. It becomes Mary's responsibility to remind him of the difference between romantic love and the love that is friendship, and to dissuade him from the former without diminishing the latter. In another episode, Mary persuades Lou to become less belligerent in his dealings with office personnel. The result is that Ted takes advantage of Lou's change in behavior and becomes insufferably boorish. Group stability is re-established only when Lou resumes his threatening behavior, and Mary learns the lesson that communal harmony depends on the intricate meshing of personality traits which may seem undesirable when measured in isolation against some abstract ideal.)

Not all applications of game structure involve this sometimes mechanical challenge to and reaffirmation of fundamental values. Many of a show's more interesting episodes are used to explore and refine rather than challenge a particular aspect of the pattern.

Sometimes this occurs in the form of character exploration. Ted's personality, for example, is explained (though not excused) by the episode in which he receives a visit from his father, who had abandoned him as a child. The reunion results in the conscious articulation of many of the insecurities which plague Ted and which help to account for his generally infantile behavior.

Other episodes refine themes rather than characters. The theme of friendship, for example, is refined by the plot in which Lou, upon learning of Mary's growing addiction to sleeping pills, must weigh his respect for her right to make personal decisions regarding her private life against his concern for her welfare and his desire to interfere. During another episode Ted, in his characteristically thoughtless and egocentric fashion, spreads false rumors about having an affair with Mary. As a result of his actions Mary is forced to measure the subtle and often shifting line between being patient and tolerant of the occasional embarrassments caused by one's friends and being victimized by their indiscretions. Taken separately, the morals of the episodes might seem contradictory. Lou learns that friendship means interfering with someone else's personal life, while Ted learns that friendship means not interfering. Yet when resonance is employed to weave these and other details together, a more comprehensive, more intelligent refinement of the theme emerges. Ideal friendship, the show tells us, means having the sense and

the sensitivity to know when to interfere and when not to interfere. This is merely one of the thematic statements that emerge from the framework of the show as a result of exploring the rules of the game originally established by the earlier episodes.

An important feature of any game is that its rules can be changed in response to the interests and needs of its players. Such changes, however, are more effective when they occur slowly, organically, as natural outgrowths of the participants' awareness that certain limitations in play have been reached. Similarly, television series are free to change their ground rules, and often do. When these changes are abrupt and radical, as with programs trying to bolster low ratings, the effect on audience interest can be catastrophic and generally results in cancellation. MTM Productions, for example, attempted to save *Phyllis* after one season by totally redesigning the situation on which the series was based, with no success. *Petticoat Junction*, a relatively successful series, lost its audience after changing the show's central character following the death of the show's star, Bea Benaderet, in 1968, and was cancelled as a result. But when such changes are allowed to occur organically, with sufficient time for the audience to assimilate them into the evoked meaning, the result can be a dramatically enhanced structure that expands the show's potential meaning and extends its popularity.

One such change occurred over a four-year period during the production of *The MTM Show*. Of all the male-female relationships among its regular characters, that between Mary and Lou was the richest and most complex. Not only were they friends and co-workers, but there was a clear if unstated father/daughter side to the relationship as well. Most intriguing of all, though, was the gradual emergence of the unavoidable implication that there could be a romantic attachment between them. A conscious exploration of this dimension was impossible given the situation with which the series began. Lou was a married man, and any development of a romance with Mary would have been a breach of the show's values, a violation of the ground rules of the game.

During the show's fourth season, the writers began laying the groundwork for this possible relationship with several scripts detailing the gradual disintegration of Lou's marriage. This was a basic change in the show's pattern and culminated with his wife's remarriage in the first episode of the sixth season. From that point on, an increas-



Critics are fond of stressing the family nature of the relationships among characters in situation comedies focusing on work environments. Anchorman Ted Baxter, one of the most vividly conceived sitcom pariahs, was the most infantile of the numerous problem children in the metaphorical *MTM* family, as is indicated by this "family" portrait of Mary (mother), Lou Grant (father) and baby Ted. (Photo: Viacom)

ing number of episodes were devoted to the growing intimacy between Mary and Lou, leading to widespread speculation among viewers that the couple would eventually wed. Not until the last half of the show's seventh and final season, however, were there episodes which openly dealt with this possibility. In one, the subject was broached in the form of a daydream in which Lou fantasized about what it would be like to be married to her. Not until the series' penultimate episode did Mary and Lou actually date, thus fulfilling a thematic potential that would have been impossible in the show's early seasons. The episode concluded, interestingly enough, with both characters acknowledging that while their romantic feelings were real, they were also unrealizable because of the barriers created by all the other dimensions of their relationship. In effect, what the writers of the episode did was to resolve a sustained element of suspense by recapitulating all the other factors involved over the preceding seven years of the program, a dramatic achievement that would have been impossible without resonance.

In establishing the rules of the game in any television series, the producers must pay attention not only to the resonance between episode and pattern within the specific series, but also to the resonance between specific elements of the series' pattern and estab-

lished conventions in the genre to which the series belongs. Nowhere is this more evident than in those programs which introduce original material or points of view into mainstream television culture.

The American television audience is notoriously conservative, with an ingrained resistance to radical change. Revolutionary programs soften this natural resistance to new points of view by cultivating strong resonance with established programs. Put another way, successful television art evolves new patterns by deliberately evoking old. Again, *The MTM Show* serves as an excellent illustration of this point.

More than any other program of the seventies, *The MTM Show* embodied the principles and goals of the women's liberation movement. Mary Richards is a responsible career woman, sexually liberated, single and emotionally independent — a character diametrically opposite to the materialistic, dependent, upper-middle-class suburban housewife, Laura Petrie, played by Ms. Moore in *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. The two characters exemplify the changes that occurred in the ideal of the middle-class woman during the decade and a half spanned by the two programs.

Yet the essential difference between Laura and Mary is somewhat illusory, for it derives not from the characters themselves



Neutral traits in primary characters often appear positive in contrast to exaggerated versions of the same traits in secondary characters. Mary's sexually liberated attitudes, for example, are much more acceptable to a conservative audience in light of the self-proclaimed promiscuity of Sue Ann Nivens (Betty White), who here plies her skills on co-worker Murray Slaughter (Gavin MacLeod). (Photo: Viacom)

but rather from their situations. Watching the shows together one becomes conscious of a strong and deliberate continuity, as though Mary Richards were Laura Petrie divorced and relocated in the Midwest. In other words, there is a powerful resonance between the shows which governs meaning and audience response. This resonance stems from *The MTM Show's* careful emphasis on preserving the femininity with which Ms. Moore was identified in her earlier role. Fashion, grooming and poise are essential points of this emphasis, but it goes beyond such superficial characteristics to include deeply rooted aspects of personality as well. Like Laura, Mary is socially non-aggressive, conversationally deferential, given to indecision, often girlishly sentimental. Both characters radiate an aura of impeccably virginal decorum which serves as an audience bridge for the radical transition in values embodied by the characters' differing situations. *The MTM Show* was able to present what was at the time a radical set of social values by discriminating between yet promoting both feminism and femininity.

If successful programs are distinguished in part by skillful and intelligent exploitation of resonance, failure often stems in part from the degree to which resonance is ignored or misunderstood. During the seventies the popularity of sitcoms resulted in unprece-

dent numbers of spinoffs in which cast members of successful series were given vehicles of their own. Ironically, *The MTM Show*, perhaps the most successful and critically praised sitcom of the era, had the worst record with its spinoffs. *Phyllis* limped through two weak seasons; and subsequent shows starring Ted Knight (Ted Baxter) and Betty White (Sue Ann Nivens) were pulled before a full season had passed. While there is seldom a single reason for a program's failure, a strong argument can be made that these shows fell victim to a misunderstanding of resonance.

There are two clearly distinguishable character types in sitcoms. What might be called primary characters (usually though not always the figures around whom series are structured) are invariably defined by admirable personality traits and inspire positive audience identification. Secondary or sidekick characters — a type John Bryant has aptly called sitcom pariahs¹¹ — are often built on exaggerated human weaknesses (vanity, ignorance, intemperance and the like) and tend to inspire a negative audience response like the affectionate condescension shown toward mischievous children or fools. This dichotomy can be seen in a broad spectrum of sitcom relationships — Andy Griffith and Barney Fife, Quinton McHale and Ensign Parker, Sherriff Lobo and Deputy Perkins,

Bob Hartley and Howard Borden, and a host of others. Though in such relationships the pariah is generally the source of the program's humor, his major function is to serve as a foil who underscores through contrast the virtues of the primary character.

The MTM Show used pariahs with more sophistication and wit than any other sitcom in history. Phyllis Lindstrom, Ted Baxter and Sue Ann Nivens were comically irritating personalities whose socially egregious behavior stemmed in each instance from deep-seated feelings of insecurity. They were the problem children in the metaphorical MTM family, who regularly provided the show with its sharpest humor and served the thematic function of making Mary's relatively mild insecurity seem like a feminine virtue. They were crucial elements in the show's structure and contributed immeasurably to both its popularity and its artistic quality. Yet it was the talented performers who played these roles whose spinoffs failed so miserably.

The series *Phyllis*, though well written and well acted, failed, it might be argued, because of the producers' misunderstanding of the different kinds of audience identification with primary characters and pariahs. No serious attempts were made in the scripts to give Phyllis positive qualities that could outweigh her comic insecurity, and audiences continued to respond to her as they had on *The MTM Show*. The result was an anomaly — a show in which the primary character was the constant butt of satiric laughter. This violated a cardinal rule of sitcom art — that audiences prefer to laugh with rather than at a show's primary character.

In *The Ted Knight Show* and *The Betty White Show*, attempts were made to give the performers new characters perceptibly more sympathetic than their roles on *The MTM Show*. In doing so, though, the producers created a cognitive dissonance¹² in the mind of the audience. The attempt to create positive audience identification contradicted the image of the MTM pariah which each performer evoked through resonance. The result in both instances was stunning failure, precisely what one might have expected for *The MTM Show* itself, had its producers not wisely chosen to cultivate the image of extreme femininity which resonated between

Mary Richards and Laura Petrie. It is significant that the actors from *The MTM Show* who did have success in subsequent series — Valerie Harper in *Rhoda*, Ed Asner in *Lou Grant* and Gavin MacLeod in *The Love Boat* — all had essentially sympathetic roles in *The MTM Show* and moved into sympathetic roles in their new series.

By discussing cumulative, reflexive, and game relationships separately I have not intended to imply that these aspects of television art are mutually exclusive. It is in fact hard to imagine a show without all three. Nor do I wish to suggest that the structural principles which govern video-lit are unique to the medium of television. The fragmented aesthetic experiences of television have their parallels in traditional folk and print literature and in theatrical entertainments; action/adventure series are the progeny of dime novels, soap operas of Victorian serial novels, variety shows of burlesque theater and the American minstrel stage. The emphasis on patterned repetition in television art invites comparison with the structural principles of oral literature, of ballad forms in both poetry and song. More immediately, television series have incorporated and developed techniques that were standard in radio soap operas and weekly series such as *Stella Dallas*, *Fibber McGee and Molly*, *Mayor of the Town* and many others. The idea of the relationship between episode and pattern is, in the long run, a manifestation of the universal aesthetic principle of theme and variation to be observed in all art, whatever its medium of expression. It might even be said that these structural principles grow out of the experience of real life: daily, weekly, and yearly repetitions of patterns, with incremental growth and change. Indeed, video literature, with its vagaries and open-endedness is a truer reflection of actual experience than many neat, well constructed plays or novels held up as models by critics of traditional literature. At any rate, television has brought the development of certain broadly based aesthetic principles to a degree of sophistication never before attained, and in the process has enriched human culture by making them accessible to a wider audience than art has ever enjoyed.

NOTES

¹I am indebted, as is anyone who takes television seriously, to Tony Schwartz's elucidation of the resonance principle in *The Responsive Chord* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973). This book offers a much fuller statement of the resonance principle than space permits here, but it is limited as television criticism in that it applies the resonance principle to commercials but not to the art which justifies our watching them.

²Two critics who take this view are Horace Newcomb, *TV: The Most Popular Art* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974) and Richard Adler, ed., *Television as a Cultural Force* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976).

³For a complete discussion of the organization of information in television news, see Edward Jay Epstein, *News From Nowhere* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1973).

⁴See "Television as Cultural Document: Promises and Problems," in Adler.

⁵Though *All in the Family* continues on the air as *Archie Bunker's Place*, the wholesale changes in cast, situation and thematic focus which occurred during the 1979 season justify treating the two phases of the program as separate series.

⁶See "Television Melodrama" in Adler.

For example:

Those were the days
 . . . you knew who you were then.
 Girls were girls and men were men.
 Mister, we could use a man like Herbert Hoover again.
 Didn't need no welfare state.
 Everybody pulled his weight. . . .
 (Music and Lyrics by Charles Strouse and Lee Adams)

⁷Newcomb touches on the evocative function of lead-ins in his discussion of sitcoms, pp. 43ff.

⁸Adler, p. 85.

⁹See Newcomb's discussion of the variations on this type, pp. 110-134.

¹⁰"Emma, Lucy and the American Situation Comedy of Manners," *Journal of Popular Culture* (Fall 79), 248-256.

¹¹Leon Festinger's term for a conflict of incompatible stimuli, which can only be resolved by ignoring one of the stimuli.

BACK MATTER

The Big Apple and the Silly Plum

Those who believe it is their responsibility to worry about the good reputation of this city recently devised a plan for improving things which unfortunately consisted mainly of a series of linked errors. Their reasoning seems to have been that "The Big Apple" is a name (or nickname) for New York City, that New York's success is somehow related to its nomenclature, and therefore that a similar moniker for Cleveland would have the same good effect, bringing hordes of tourists and conventioners here with bundles of money in hand, and directing important attention to the city's attractions. Thus was born the Cleveland plum campaign, which as far as can be detected has made only slight and local impact.

The *Plain Dealer* puts bumper stickers bearing a picture of a piece of wet purple fruit in its Sunday paper, and its ads offer T-shirts, posters and tote bags depicting this near relative of the prune. The sides of buses and other surfaces at first exhorted the passer-by to believe that "New York's The Big Apple but Cleveland is a Plum." More recent versions have reflected the realization that the reference to New York was not helping Cleveland.

It is not certain how New York received this particular nickname. It has had others, among them Baghdad-on-the-Hudson, Empire City, Knickerbocker Town, Sodom-on-the-Subway, Babylon, Gotham, as well as, of course, simply The City. But it and other cities with a pronounced character have always attracted alternate names. Such names, not mere abbreviations, are part of the American passion for slang, which is a process of naming and renaming. It is curious that cities like Pittsburgh, Chicago, even Rochester and Cincinnati have (or have had) nicknames, but Cleveland has been nearly free (or deprived) of that stigma, though it was once called the "Forest City," a term that survives in the names of some local business firms.

The desire to rename a place (or anything) comes from an attitude one has toward it. Affection or loathing can equally generate alternate names. Indifference, however, inspires no redundant nomenclature, unless such as "Whatsitsname." In fact, *big apple* was once a term applied to any city (a *big* object) as opposed to a town, village, hamlet. People have speculated vainly about the etymology of this term: why *apple*, and how came it to be applied to New York. We know that it became popular in the mid-1970's.* At least we know that people started asking questions about the name around that time. The answers given in the papers and magazines always mentioned the writer Damon Runyon, Harlem, the dance called the "Big Apple," and the analogy to the "big time," a show business term meaning the desirable vaudeville circuit in the big cities as opposed to the small-time performances in "tank towns" (towns where locomotives stopped only to take on water).

*I thank Mr. David Guralnik of Webster's New World Dictionary, one of our local treasures, for the use of his files of citations in preparing this article.

**New York's the Big Apple,
but Cleveland's a Plum.**



The Big Apple was a dance popular in the 1930's, which involved people in hopping around wagging their index fingers. At that time the name meant "New York" no more than any other dance of that era. It became attached to the city only around 1972 or 1973, when the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau started using it *without explanation*. By the end of the decade, such uses as these could be found in the public prints: "Here in the Big Apple . . . gas pumps have already been crowned with a price posting of 98.9 cents per gallon" (1979); "Jackie grudgingly leaves the Big Apple" (*New West*, 1980); "When I was young, I went to the Big Apple to seek my fortune" (*Time*, 1980). And today the usage is so widespread it has even been reported by a visitor to Shanghai.

It is possible that this usage caught on because during that period of near-bankruptcy New Yorkers were feeling loyal to their city and felt like asserting its size and its attractiveness, though New Yorkers have always taken their city for granted and have been utterly indifferent to other people's opinions about it: every place else was always Peoria. To be sure, the symbolic associations of apple are mostly positive: apples are tempting (ask Eve), they are wholesome (one daily keeps physicians at a distance), they are the essence of Mom's special pie. Even their classical association with discord (in the myth of the judgment of Paris) comes about because they are the prize for the fairest goddess. Plums, on the other hand, have associations with decadence. A plummy accent is a little *too* rich; a political plum is not honestly earned. If a drought hit Cleveland it would become a prune.

The association of the premier city in the country with a wholesome and attractive emblem was not an accident, nor was it simply asserted or contrived. The association was brought out of dormant existence: in the 1920's Damon Runyon, the chronicler of the gamblers and horse-players of Broadway, made occasional reference to the Big Apple, while musicians and vaudeville artists were "playing the Big Apple," in the sense of securing engagements in New York.

But it is hardly the association of New York with apples that has made the city famous. Indeed there is no sign that the nickname has done anything at all for New York except to let its residents express their affection for it. It did not noticeably increase the number of visitors, which has always been high. To suppose that finding a suitable fruit name for Cleveland would accomplish anything was merely an instance of the leaky thinking that public relations flacks so readily fall into. The chain of argument needed for the campaign to succeed would have to be the following: first, the population of Cleveland must be induced to believe in the association between their city and plums; then the population of the rest of the world must be exposed to it; then the positive link between the New York apple and the Cleveland plum must be perceived by everyone from Atlanta to Anchorage; then the desire to visit the city of the lesser fruit must take hold of all these outlanders. Taken altogether, this line of reasoning does not seem plausible to a half-way sensible person, but it doubtless shone with singular clarity around East Ninth Street.

The truth, which somehow has failed to become clear to the image-makers, is that there is a great difference between a city and a product, whether the product is a politician or a bar of soap. Any city worthy of the name is too complex to be reduced to a slogan. A city, as Aristotle said of any large aesthetic object, cannot be beautiful because it cannot be taken in readily; it cannot be perceived as a unit. It is a myriad of pieces, different for each inhabitant. If you cross it by one

**Cleveland's
a Plum**



The Plain Dealer

road it looks like a different city from that crossed by another. It is different at sunset, on Sunday morning, after a football game, during the evening rush hour. The town of Poplarville, Arkansas, welcomes visitors with a sign announcing that it is the home of the state champion cheerleaders; but a poster attempting to convey the sense of a real city would be a thousand yards long. The dimensions of a city resist definition.

To an assembly-line worker at the Fisher Body plant whose parents came from the Ukraine, Cleveland is a place where he works and has been able to buy a house and have a garden and send his children to college; to a boy studying the violin, it is a place where there are violin makers and teachers, concerts, and every opportunity for making that activity a career; to a lawyer with a taste for sailing, it is a place where she can keep her boat in a basin only ten minutes by car from her office. To attempt to reduce any city to one thing — a plum, a prune, a piece of wet fruit — is incautious and impertinent. Worst of all, it won't work as language.

Notice that New York is *The Big Apple*, but Cleveland is only *a plum*. You can say snappily, "I'm going to The Big Apple." But you can't do the same with an indefinite article before an unqualified noun. You can't say: "I'm leaving a plum," "I love living in a plum," "Things are nicer in a plum," unless you're a worm. Somehow, this obvious linguistic booby trap was not apparent to those who were intent on fixing up the city's reputation. By trying to do what they were not wise or informed enough to do they have done the city some dirt. This patently derivative nickname has the same effect as promotions that use the tell-tale word *pride*. Whenever a group asserts its pride, it is a sure bet that the group feels insecure.

Fortunately the harm isn't serious, because words can't really hurt a city, and anyway no one outside Cuyahoga County is paying any attention. When Cleveland's reputation was at its worst, people still came here to visit or to live. When you think of moving to a place, you don't first consult the current television scripts or the joke books. You look at the place. You read the papers. You walk through its streets and sample its quality as a taster samples a wine, sipping, savoring it, comparing it with memories of other vintages and deciding whether it will last. Maybe we should enact stringent laws about labeling cities, as France and Germany have done about labeling wines. That seems to be the only way to persuade the hucksters that in the long run you don't make anything better or worse by giving it another name.

— Louis T. Milic

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