

1966

## Washington University Magazine, Summer 1966

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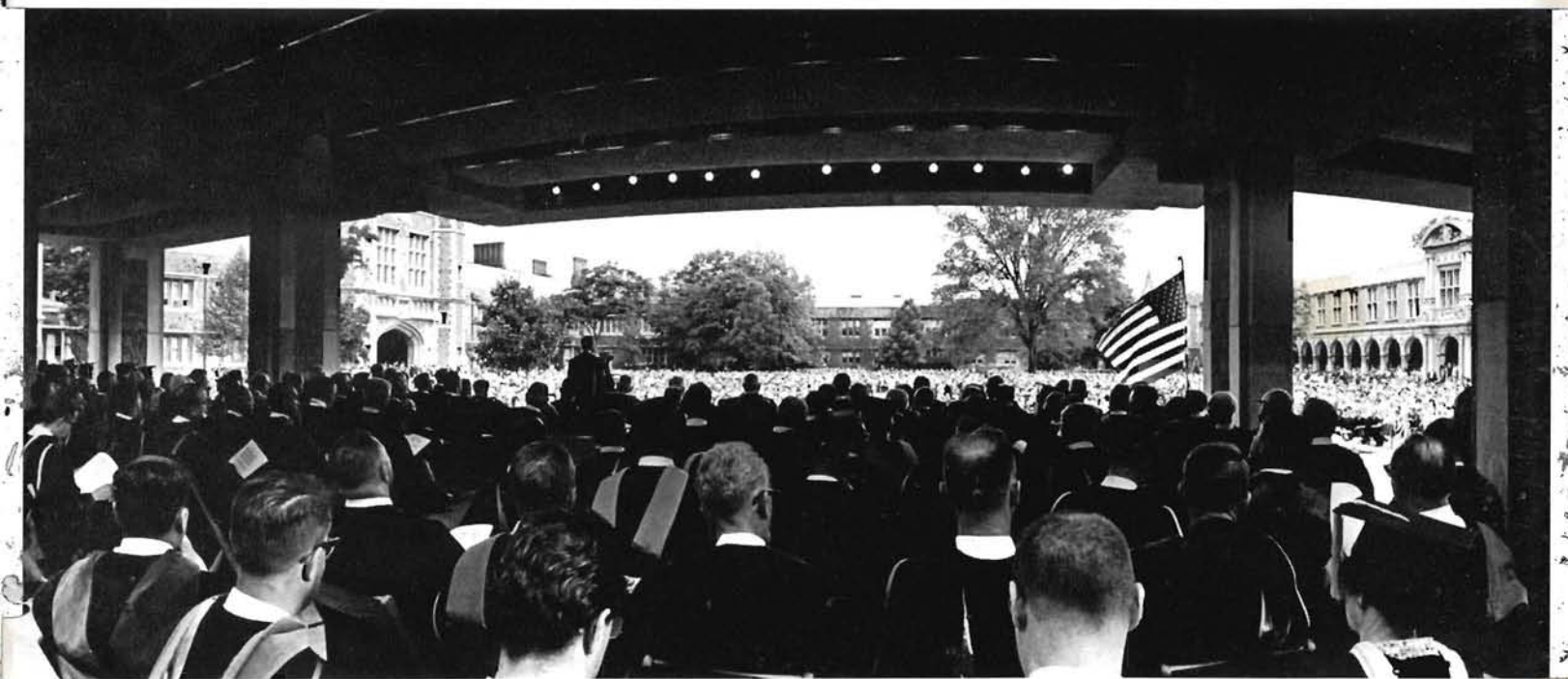
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COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES were held this year on Sunday evening for the first time. The setting was the Brookings Quadrangle, with the newly completed Beaumont Pavilion as the stage. An estimated 8,000 persons, including some 1,268 who received degrees, filled the Quadrangle on a delightfully cool evening. The Commencement speaker was alumnus Merle Fainsod, Carl H. Pforzheimer University Professor and Director of the Library of Harvard University.



SUMMER 1966

Editor

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COVER: The initial teaching alphabet is presented to kindergarten and primary grade school children with these colorful illustrations. (Copyright 1965, '66 by Initial Teaching Alphabet Publications, Inc.) See "Our Man in i.t.a.," beginning on page 38.

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*During the past twenty-one years, Dr. Sol Sherry of Washington University's School of Medicine, has been at the forefront of efforts to develop a clot-dissolving agent for general clinical use. Dr. Sherry and his associates, Dr. Anthony Fletcher and Dr. Norma Alkjaersig, are now doing initial testing of a promising new agent, an enzyme which is called urokinase. They are recognized as world leaders in this field and have made outstanding contributions both in pilot clinical trials and in basic research on blood clot mechanisms.*

## BLOOD CLOTS / Attack on a Major Killer

By ROGER SIGNOR  
News Department

**I**T WAS A WINTER'S DAY IN 1947. In the chest service at New York's Bellevue Hospital, a worried surgeon, Dr. Tom Read, had decided to make a phone call to a young medical researcher about a patient who was headed for a serious complication. The patient, whom I will call Tony Amato, was a likeable, 22-year-old sailor whose diseased left lung had been removed a week previously. He had pulled through the radical surgery, but the sizeable quantity of blood which accumulated and rapidly clotted in his chest cavity apparently had become infected.

The conventional method of removing chest fluid through a needle aspirator would be futile because of the thickness of the clot, and surgery to remove the infected clot would involve an extensive and deforming operation with a very long period of hospitalization. Amato's temperature had gone up to 104 degrees and stayed there for nearly a week. The outlook was grim unless something could be done to get rid of the clotted material.

At about noon, Dr. Read located the medical researcher whom he had in mind. He was Dr. Sol Sherry, then a research fellow at New York University's School of Medicine and now professor of medicine and co-chairman of Washington University's Department of Medicine. With the senior investigator, Dr. William Tillett, Dr. Sherry had been working on the development of an agent which would catalyze the dissolution of blood clots. The surgeon knew that this research was in an early stage of clinical development; for example, not enough was known of the agent's side-effects for it to be injected into a patient's blood stream. However, the surgeon asked Dr. Sherry if he would consider using the agent in his patient's chest cavity. Dr. Sherry had been satisfied with preliminary tests of the agent with this form of non-systemic, or

"local," treatment in mind, and he told the surgeon that he would seek Dr. Tillett's approval to use it on the young sailor. Professor Tillett gave his go-ahead, and Dr. Sherry examined Amato around 1 p.m. After the situation was explained to Amato, he gave his consent to the new treatment.

Dr. Sherry then injected 400,000 units of the agent, which is called streptokinase, into the sailor's chest. (A unit is that amount of the preparation which will dissolve a small test tube clot in a period of thirty minutes under standardized conditions.) At about 7 p.m., Dr. Sherry fluoroscoped the patient and saw that the multiple clumps of the clotted material had coalesced into one large, liquified mass. The streptokinase had worked. He tried aspirating the chest and easily removed approximately forty-three ounces of the dissolved, or "lysed," material. A subsequent X-ray film revealed that the chest had been completely cleared. Amato recovered promptly, and for the first time it had been shown that streptokinase could be used therapeutically to dissolve blood clots.

**T**ODAY STREPTOKINASE is used extensively to dissolve clotted material in chest cases, such as the one just described, or in the "pleural space," which is the area between the chest wall and the lung.

But the implications of that original clinical success were of much broader importance. Blood clots in the blood vessels of the heart are the leading cause of heart attacks; and blood clots are the major cause of strokes. Heart attacks are the leading single cause of death and, together with strokes, account for approximately one million deaths in the United States each year. Acute blood clots in the veins and arteries are the major cause of death



Norma Alkjaersig, Ph.D., who is Mrs. Anthony Fletcher, research associate professor of medicine, has specialized in biochemical phase of blood clot research.

Dr. Bernard Sweet, Dr. Chester Kucinski and Dr. Sherry examine X-ray films which were taken of a patient with a blood clot.

and disease in the middle-aged and elderly population of the Western world.

Blood clots in the lungs have become a widespread and serious pulmonary disease. These clots, called pulmonary emboli, may now be as common as pneumonia, and they are a significant cause of death. Almost every organ in the body is subject to necrosis, or death of tissue, resulting from a blockage of the blood supply due to a clot; clots in the leg arteries can lead to gangrene; clots in blood vessels supplying the intestines or kidneys also can cause death of tissue; and clots in the retinal artery of the eye often result in blindness.

Today there is no medical treatment for blood clots in the vessels. Surgery can be done in only a very few cases. It can be performed only rarely on the heart or in the brain; it is possible in isolated cases of pulmonary embolism and in other situations where the clot is readily accessible, such as a clot in a major leg artery. (Drugs known as anticoagulants have been useful in preventing blood clotting in some cases, but they are not effective in dissolving existing clots.)

Dr. Sherry and his associates at Washington University, Dr. Anthony Fletcher and Dr. Norma Alkjaersig, are at the center of a growing national effort to develop a clot-dissolving agent for general clinical use. Medical scientists throughout the country now recognize this as the most promising approach in the treatment of blood clots. Dr. Sherry is chairman, and Dr. Fletcher is a member, of two key national committees to expedite research and clinical testing of clot-dissolving agents. The Washington University group conducted the pilot clinical investigations for streptokinase; but in the late 1950's they changed their clinical focus to another very promising agent, urokinase, for reasons which will be explained later. At

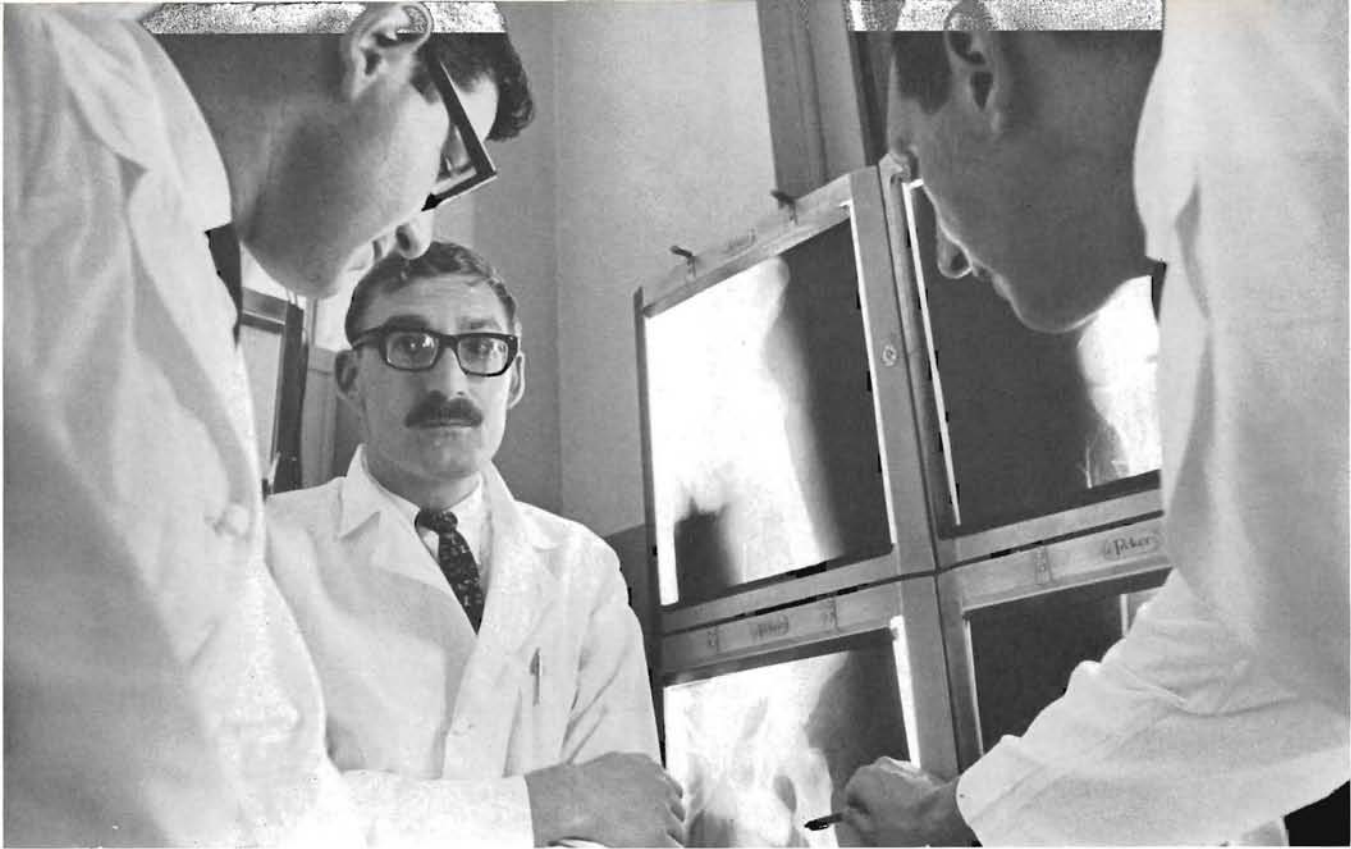
Washington University they have made outstanding contributions to basic and clinical research. They were the first to define or demonstrate:

- (1) The specific steps which make up the body's clot-dissolving mechanism, or *thrombolysis* (from the Greek *thrombos*, meaning clot, and *lysis*, to dissolve); and
- (2) The most effective way to trigger the dissolution of fibrin, the substance of which clots are made; this part of the dissolving process is called *fibrinolysis*.

**A** PAINSTAKING RESEARCH and organizational effort, however, lies ahead in applying this fundamental knowledge so that it can be put to use by the average physician. Two personal qualities particularly suit Dr. Sherry in directing this effort: exceptional articulateness and patience. His office on the sixth floor of Wohl Hospital is well organized, but not clinically so. It contains an extensive library and slide file, one wall panel devoted to photographs of his family and friends, a rack of old pipes with a stethoscope hung on one end, and his own oil painting of a sunset. Between puffs on his pipe, Dr. Sherry lectures fluently and in careful detail about the research for which he holds so much hope. His enthusiasm is obvious, but he does not want to raise false hopes.

On my first visit to his office he said, "I don't want anyone to get the impression that we have a 'wonder drug' that is ready for use. This is a very promising line of research, but we have a complex clinical evaluation ahead of us to establish this agent's usefulness in therapy."

The agent in question, he explained, is an enzyme which closely resembles one that is involved in the body's natural fibrinolytic process. Enzymes are proteins which catalyze many of the body's vital chemical reactions, both



in the cells and in the circulatory system outside the cells. When blood clots in the vessels, the basic structure of the clot is in the form of interlacing strands of fibrin, which is an insoluble protein. Fibrin-formation is related to the body's powerful defense mechanisms that respond to a variety of abnormalities, the pathogenetic onset of which is not yet clearly defined.

Clotting is catalyzed by the enzyme thrombin, which converts a large soluble protein, fibrinogen, into fibrin. The fibrin then sticks together in giant molecular structures called polymers. Scientists have long known that fibrin is dissolved spontaneously in the body, but it wasn't shown until the 1950's that the body has a natural enzyme system within clots for the purpose of dissolving the clots. This system consists of an inactive enzyme, plasminogen, which is converted to an active enzyme, plasmin. Plasmin breaks fibrin down into soluble materials which can be disposed of by the body. The agent that converts the plasminogen is a smaller enzyme called an activator. The detailed biochemistry of this entire process, or thrombolysis, was first elaborated by Drs. Sherry, Fletcher, and Alkjaersig, and it led to the critical insight that injecting activators into the body will set fibrinolysis, or clot-dissolving, into motion. The Washington University group also has pioneered in the clinical demonstrations of induced fibrinolysis.

Why fibrinolysis doesn't occur without external stimulation is an obvious question. The answer is that it does, in dissolving smaller and less significant clots; but it turns out that in large clots, there simply aren't enough activators to sustain the dissolving reaction. Unlike the plasminogen, the enzyme-activators do not circulate freely in the blood plasma. They must be produced by specialized cells. A few years ago, some investigators thought that

certain plasmin preparations (among other substances) could be used to sustain fibrinolysis. However, Dr. Sherry and his co-workers maintained that favorable results obtained with these plasmin preparations were due to the presence of activators in the solution containing the plasmin. They were proven to be correct.

**W**HAT DISEASE-PROCESSES give rise to blood clotting? At present very little is known about these underlying processes, but "a tremendous amount of study is being done by other research groups to understand them," Dr. Sherry said.

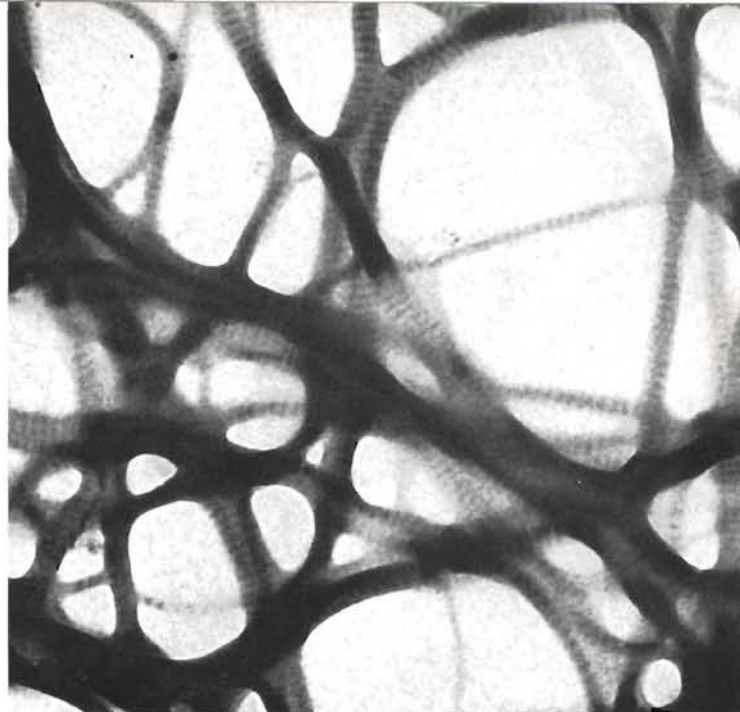
Within the blood vessel walls, a number of injuries are believed to establish conditions that lead to fibrin-formation and acute clotting. Inside an arterial wall, for example, infection from bacteria and inflammation from diseases which are thought to be immunological in origin may cause damage to the lining of the vessel, which sets defense mechanisms in motion. Arteriosclerosis, or hardening of the arteries, is the leading, predisposing condition for clotting in the arteries.

The currently popular theory on how this process gets started is very roughly as follows: Fatty or lipid materials of an unknown origin become lodged in the inner wall of the blood vessel, causing a portion of the vessel to stick out like a bump into the vessel's passageway. These bumps are called plaques, and when they harden, they frequently produce cracks or fissures. When a fissure is formed and underlying protein structures are exposed, special types of blood cells called platelets begin to stick to the exposed area. During this process, the fibrinogen is activated by thrombin, and fibrin is formed on top of the plaques.

Several laboratories are seeking to map out the bio-



Photograph taken with electron microscope reveals interlacing-strands of the insoluble protein, fibrin, which makes up the basic structure of a blood clot.



chemical basis of platelet-sticking, and also the precise sequence of events which leads to the release of thrombin. "This is an important area of research, and in the next few years it may provide definitive results," Dr. Sherry said. "If we knew the nature of these basic mechanisms, then we would know the pathogenesis of this type of disease."

**T**HE MECHANISMS of fibrin-formation and fibrinolysis have been worked out, however, and the most promising possibility, as far as treatment of patients is concerned, lies in the clinical applications of these basic principles. The first major step toward this development came more than thirty years ago. Dr. Sherry's former colleague at NYU, Dr. William Tillett, made the original laboratory observation that led to the discovery and present clinical development of an activator. (In the 1940's Dr. Tillett also showed acute powers of personal observation in choosing two co-workers, Drs. Sherry and Fletcher, who have continued to carry out pioneering research in this field.)

Dr. Tillett's original discovery was made in 1932 at The Johns Hopkins University and fell into the category of "breakthrough by serendipity," a relatively common occurrence in science and a good argument for professors staying in the laboratories. He was experimenting on an entirely different line of research with strains of streptococcal bacteria, when certain observations gave him a hunch that the bacteria might react with fibrinogen and therefore impede or block the clotting process. So, in a side-experiment, he added blood plasma, which contains fibrinogen, to a broth culture of streptococci, along with other ingredients usually necessary to clot the fibrinogen. Then he watched to see if the bacteria would prevent the

usual clotting. But clotting occurred immediately.

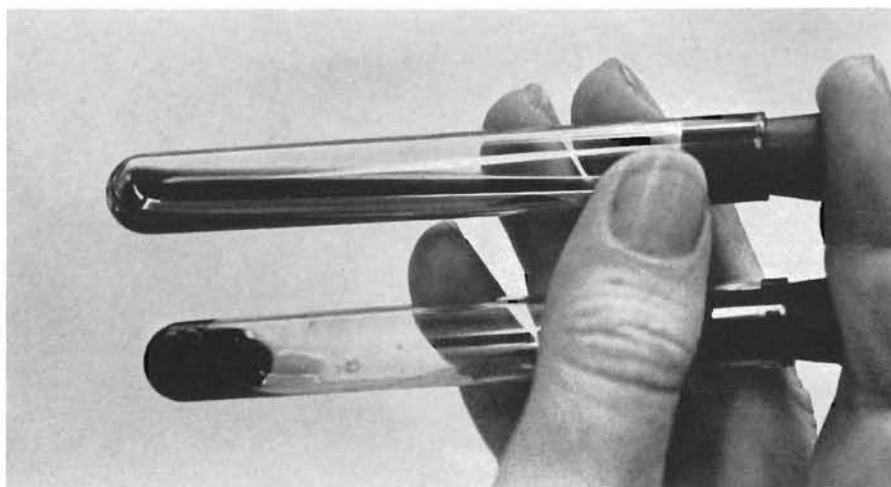
"I left the test tubes and went on to something else," Dr. Tillett said. "Before discarding them later I looked at the tube which was supposed to have the clot and saw that it had liquified. I verified the test, and then I knew we had a new phenomenon. You know, you can miss a dozen important phenomena if you don't get into the lab. I tell all my young men: do it yourself."

It wasn't until about 1945 that biochemical techniques had advanced sufficiently for researchers to identify and attempt isolation of an enzyme activator from streptococci. A group at New York University—where Drs. Tillett and Sherry were now working—came up with a preparation which was given the name streptokinase. It was made in sufficiently purified form to be used in clinical tests and they were able to demonstrate the agent's effectiveness in cases of clotting in the chest cavity and the pleural space.

"But it also was obvious at that time," Dr. Sherry said, "that streptokinase could be too irritating and fever-producing for use in dissolving clots inside the blood vessels. By 1952 we had definitely established the efficacy of streptokinase when injected locally, but we had to have a more purified form to use systemically."

Dr. Sherry then joined the May Institute for Medical Research in Cincinnati, where he used streptokinase to dissolve clots in the arteries of laboratory animals. This experimentation laid the groundwork as far as animal studies were concerned. In 1954, Dr. Sherry accepted a joint appointment as director of medicine at Jewish Hospital in St. Louis and associate professor of medicine at Washington University. He was joined by Dr. Fletcher and Dr. Alkjaersig.

By 1957, the researchers began to receive consistently good preparation of streptokinase from their pharmaceuti-



Test tube on the bottom contains clotted blood; the clot which had been in tube above it was dissolved by urokinase.

cal supplier, Lederle Laboratories, which enabled them to start an active program of clinical testing, ultimately involving about 100 patients. A considerable amount of special testing of individual patients made the trial of streptokinase complex, time-consuming, and tremendously expensive, in terms of the highly trained personnel who were required to do the necessary testing. But the results were encouraging.

"At that time we were able to satisfy ourselves that, with careful administration of streptokinase, we could dissolve clots in the course of disease, and that the material was potentially promising as a therapeutic agent," Dr. Sherry said. In 1958, Dr. Sherry resigned his Jewish Hospital post to join Washington University as a full-time professor of medicine.

Two years later, a number of problems with streptokinase brought about the shift to a second enzyme product, urokinase. After a brief period of excellent results, with streptokinase Lederle could no longer consistently produce a sufficiently non-toxic preparation. The company could not determine why this was so, and became discouraged about the project in view of the sizeable finances which it had sunk into streptokinase's development. Other factors had concerned Dr. Sherry and together led to the decision to discontinue the testing of streptokinase:

(1) There was a great individual variation among patients in the amount of streptokinase which was necessary to start and maintain a clot-dissolving state in their blood; therefore, extensive monitoring was required in each patient, casting doubt on whether the treatment ever would be practical enough for widespread use;

(2) Because of the bacterial origin of streptokinase, patients produced large amounts of antibodies to the

agent, and once a patient was treated he could not be treated again until his resistance subsided, which took from six months to a year; and

(3) There was a very small but serious danger of some patients having a severe allergic reaction to streptokinase.

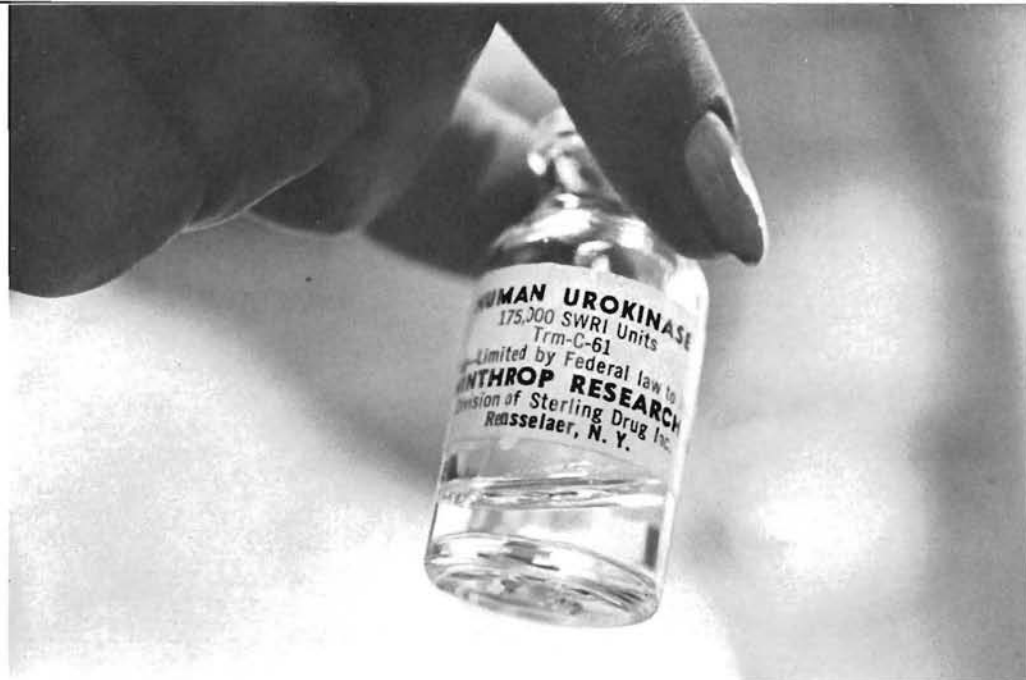
Jørgen Ploug and Niels Kjeldgaard at the Danish pharmaceutical firm Leo, however, had reported the successful isolation of urokinase, which, because it was extracted from human urine, did not present the problem of antibody formation or allergic reactions.

It had been shown several years previously that activators occur in urine, as well as in sweat, tears, and most tissues. Extracting the activator biochemically to produce a preparation essentially free of toxic products and viruses is a lengthy and costly process. About two weeks are required to produce a relatively small amount of urokinase. The amount of it used on one patient represents the processing of approximately 200 to 300 gallons of urine. The problem of getting enough urine has been solved by the drug companies, which have worked out arrangements to collect it from military installations.

UROKINASE's advantages over streptokinase encouraged two American firms, Abbott and Sterling-Winthrop, to consider developing their own preparations. They approached Dr. Sherry's group to see if they would collaborate with them, both in providing them with advice in making the preparation and in developing the clinical test. They agreed and the development of urokinase in this country was underway in 1960.

At the same time, testing of streptokinase has been continued by several European investigators, who recognized

Vial holds 175,000 units of urokinase, which cost \$175. The National Heart Institute is now providing funds to Dr. Sherry's group for purchase of the preparation.



the fundamental research data developed by Dr. Sherry's group. European pharmaceutical firms have had better luck in making the preparation. A really broad clinical test has not yet been achieved, but streptokinase has been tried with promising results on a fair number of patients, including some severe heart attack cases. The European studies also have yielded the same toxic side-effects that were recorded in American trials of streptokinase, but apparently with a lesser frequency.

**C**LINICAL STUDIES WITH urokinase in this country are approaching the level of testing which had been achieved with streptokinase, and it has been established that urokinase will dissolve clots in patients under selected circumstances. The National Heart Institute of the U. S. Public Health Service has recognized the promise of urokinase research and has instituted a national committee on thrombolytic agents and a planning committee to co-ordinate the trial of the new agent. Dr. Sherry is chairman of both groups. The Institute has granted funds to Washington University for Dr. Sherry to purchase urokinase from the drug companies to use in clinical studies at the University and elsewhere. This tripartite approach by university researchers, pharmaceutical firms, and the government will speed an objective clinical assessment of urokinase, for it has brought together three important groups in an unusual co-operative effort. This is a refreshing contrast to the recent tensions among members of the same groups.

The clinical tests of urokinase in the United States have been modest in number but the results have been good. Considerably more extensive tests must be done, however, before meaningful statistical evidence on its therapeutic value can be obtained. Dr. Sherry and the members of his planning committee have identified at least

five universities, in addition to Washington University, where major trials of urokinase are planned for patients with acute heart attacks. The universities are New York University, Johns Hopkins, Pittsburgh, Emory, and Colorado. In addition, researchers at eight other universities and institutions have begun tests with urokinase in cases of acute pulmonary embolism, and a number of investigators are using it in patients with acute retinal artery occlusions. In all of these trials, extreme caution is observed. The level of dosage is very gradually increased to avoid unforeseen adverse reactions. But so far it seems clear that urokinase does not produce the toxic effects which were noted in streptokinase; also, physicians have not had to tailor individual treatment on the scale that was necessary with streptokinase.

In all of the trial cases, investigators must carefully select their patients to make sure that they do not have ulcers or other wounds where internal bleeding might occur, and that it can be proved objectively by X-rays and other measurements that the patient's clot was indeed dissolved through the urokinase infusion. Dr. Sherry and Dr. Fletcher often have been called on a case, and frequently at early morning hours, only to find complicating factors in about half of the patients which precluded their using urokinase.

A major and critical test for urokinase will be developed at Washington University in the area of acute heart attacks, or myocardial infarctions. In an estimated 70 to 90 per cent of these attacks, an arterial clot cuts off the blood supply to the myocardium, the muscular part of the heart wall. Many more patients with myocardial infarctions are admitted to hospitals—and therefore are available for treatment—than in other areas involving blood clotting. If a suitable treatment center could be



Nurse Marilyn Schneider and Dr. Fletcher prepare patient for urokinase infusion. Clinical tests of the agent, still in an early stage, have been encouraging.

established for these patients, urokinase could be given a definitive trial in therapeutic effectiveness against a leading killer.

The Washington University group has applied for a Public Health Service grant to set up a research heart-care center which would incorporate sophisticated monitoring equipment to obtain a broader range of data on a patient's progress than is currently possible through manual methods of measuring. The center would utilize special computers to provide data for continuous appraisals of a patient's condition by way of electrocardiograms, respiration rates, cardiac output, and other measurements. About nine patients would be placed in the proposed heart-care unit, which would require approximately 5,000 square feet to accommodate personnel and equipment.

**P**RESENTLY BARNES HOSPITAL has a four-bed, intensive heart-care unit which lacks the above specialized equipment and in which Dr. Sherry's group could do only limited therapeutic trials. To date, no broad trial of urokinase has been done on acute heart attack cases; but a feasibility test is being instituted. "The proposed center would be an ideal physical facility for carrying out an extensive trial of urokinase in myocardial infarctions, while at the same time assuring all patients optimum care," Dr. Sherry commented.

He recalled the first patient to be treated with urokinase by the Washington University group. The treatment was administered in 1963 to a woman with blood clots in the deep veins of one leg. She was infused with the preparation almost continuously for 48 hours. A significant effect on the clots was noted after 24 hours of treatment and complete restoration of circulation was achieved at the end of the 48 hours. A small number of other patients

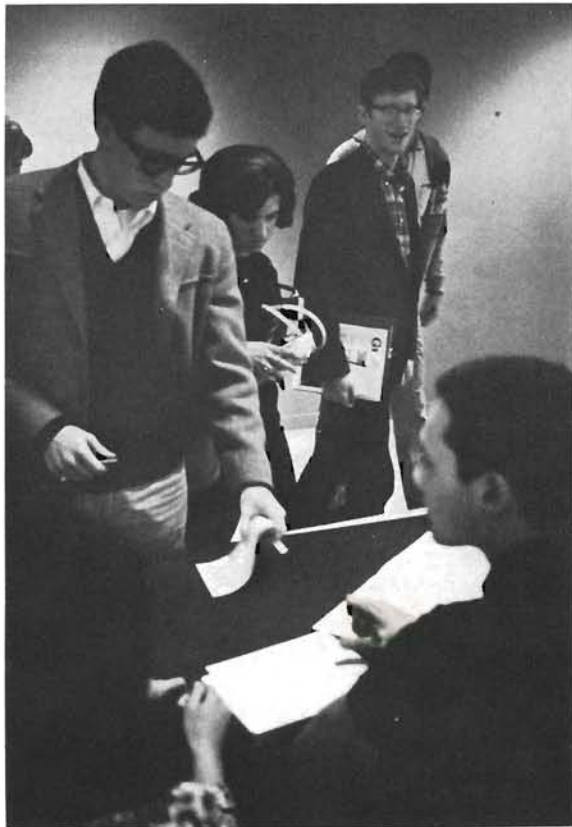
with clots in blood vessels of the limbs and in the retinal artery have been treated with encouraging results.

Other preliminary results reported last March by researchers from eleven universities and other institutions also offered reason for optimism. They described their limited trials of urokinase at a meeting set up by Dr. Sherry and held at Washington University. The most dramatic reports revealed that in ten patients with acute pulmonary embolisms, urokinase infusion brought about improvement in all instances. In five patients there was a striking dissolution of the embolism and all five made complete recoveries and were discharged from the hospital. In five patients with retinal artery occlusions, restoration of blood flow was achieved in all cases and significant improvement of vision was brought about in the three patients on whom the treatment was begun early.

One of the critical factors in determining the therapeutic effect of urokinase, particularly in patients with acute heart attacks, will be to establish how soon after the onset of clotting treatment must be commenced to get optimum results. Also, for what periods of time must a patient be infused to achieve dissolution of the clot? And there are many other questions to be answered.

Dr. Sherry put the problem concisely in an address last year, his twentieth year in blood-clotting research, before the International Symposium on Thrombosis and Embolism, held at Basel, Switzerland: "We have developed a number of sound principles, but the application of these principles and their clinical evaluation has emerged as our greatest challenge."

• With estimates that disease of the heart and blood vessels accounts for one-third of all deaths in the Western world, this challenge is among the major ones confronting medical science.



Elections are serious business on a campus. Here, students lined up to vote for their candidates for Student Assembly.



Bernhard Blume, professor of German art and culture at Harvard, spoke on "Existentialism and Modern Literature" at a Special Master's Degree lecture program.



The Washington University Chorus made its annual appearance at Kiel Auditorium with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra.



John Fox, president of Mercantile Trust Company, met with students in a Careers in Business program on advertising, applied mathematics, and banking.

# That Was The Week That Was

A university is a place where things happen.

During the regular school year, so much is going on around Washington University, for instance, that no one person could possibly keep up with it. In order not to miss anything, you would have to be in seventeen different places at once—and you might still be missing a lot.

Every two weeks during the school year, the University publishes a Calendar of Events in which a valiant attempt is made to list most of the events and activities happening on the campus. Just at random, we picked one typical week from the calendar and tried to catch on film the different events listed. For the week of April 11-17, some 32 different events were scheduled, but that was just skimming the surface. From the time the calendar went to press until the week was over, the campus was the scene of at least 32 other events that were planned too late to be included or that just happened spontaneously. The events pictured were all on the main campus; the medical campus has its own crowded calendar of events.

Of course, while all these special events were taking place, the main business of the University was going on as usual: classes and seminars were being held, research was being conducted, and students and faculty were busy in dozens of projects and programs serving the community. However, just to give the general idea, here is a brief pictorial sampling of The Week That Was.



Architecture students test-flew their own kite designs as part of an assignment. The winning creation stayed in the air for an hour and a half.



Hundreds of projects and thousands of visitors filled the Washington University Field House for the Greater St. Louis Science Fair, an annual and ever-growing event.



Dorothy Bethurum, professor emerita of English at Connecticut College, gave two lectures on campus under the sponsorship of the English Department and the University chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.



Pianist Gail Delente, PhD 66, presented a program of Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, and Prokofiev, under Music Department sponsorship.



Witch-in-residence Dame Sybil Leek lectured on "Witchcraft—Historic and Contemporary" at Wohl Center as part of the Forsyth Houses Program.

**THAT WAS THE WEEK THAT WAS**



An exhibit of art works by Washington University students in the School of Fine Arts was held during the week at the Steinberg Hall Gallery on campus.



A seminar on the ethics of non-violence was held at Wohl Center under the sponsorship of campus religious and political groups and the India Club.



At the end of the week, the baseball Bears dropped a doubleheader to Illinois Normal—that's the week that was.



Robert L. Hamblin, professor of sociology, substituted for Northwestern University's Carl Duncan in a psychology colloquium.





"Slow Dance on the Killing Ground," a play by modern American writer William Hanley, was presented by Thysrus, student drama organization, at Brown Hall.



Two talks on Picasso were given in Steinberg Auditorium during the week by Jean Boggs, Steinberg Professor of art history.



Physicist Michael Friedlander led an Earth Sciences seminar on "The Abundance of the Elements in Cosmic Rays."





Chancellor Thomas H. Eliot waited in the wings of Graham Chapel before making his semi-annual Assembly talk before members of the campus community.



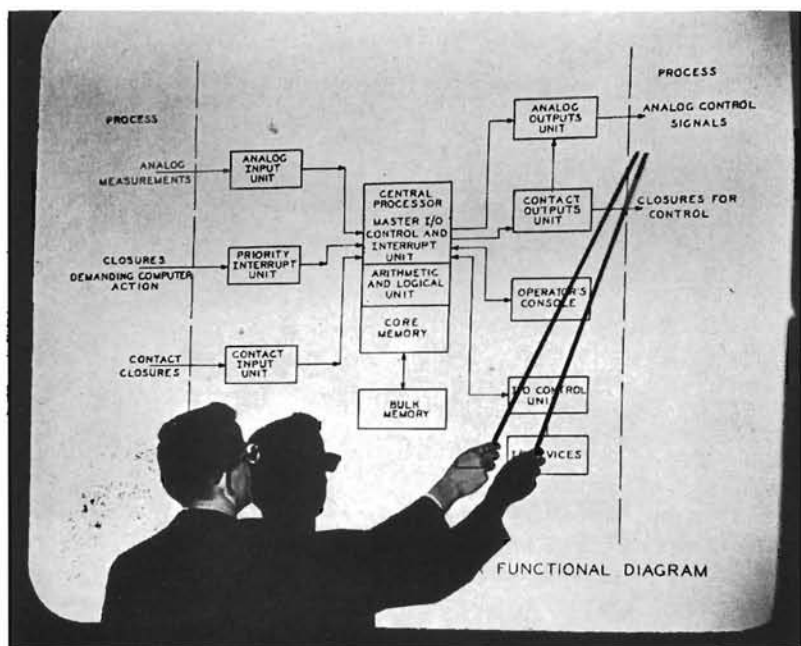
Dan Bolef, professor of physics, addressed the crowd during a quadrangle rally on DuBois Club recognition.



Washington University co-eds really dived into the activities during the twelfth annual Sigma Nu Relays on the women's hockey field.



A faculty committee, formed to consider the question of college students and the draft, held an open meeting to discuss what the University's policy should be on releasing student records to government agencies.



Paul Gallier, automatic controls expert, lectured on computer controls at an engineering seminar in Cupples II.



Hans Blumenfeld of the Toronto Metropolitan Planning Board discussed "The Planner's Dilemmas" at an economics colloquium.



Sabrina, star of "The Loving Couch," being presented at the American Theatre, visited the campus to lend her support to the World University Service drive to raise funds for Curuvayurappan College in India.

THAT WAS THE WEEK THAT WAS



Representatives of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration conferred with University personnel during a site visit.



During resurfacing of their own home courts, the Bear tennis team met St. Louis University on the Dwight Davis Tennis Center courts in Forest Park.



Two members of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra were featured soloists in a concert presented by the Washington University Concert Band in Graham Chapel.

*A. E. Hotchner's Papa Hemingway, a memoir of the last fourteen years of Hemingway's life, was published by Random House on April 11 and has been on the best-seller lists ever since. In this article, based on a talk he gave before the Women's Society of Washington University and the Scholarship Foundation of St. Louis, Hotchner recalls some of the memories of those years with Hemingway.*



Alumnus A. E. Hotchner and Ernest Hemingway, photographed near Hemingway's cabin in the hills outside of Ketchum, Idaho.

## THE HEMINGWAY I KNEW

ERNEST AND I WERE HAVING a drink one night at the Floridita Bar in Havana when a drunk came weaving up, rapped on Hemingway's arm, and said, "You know who the three most important men in the United States of America are?" Ernest said, "No." The drunk said "General Eisenhower, Ernest Hemingway, and Tom Collins."

Now to that drunk, as to most of my generation and before—and to some of the current generation—Ernest Hemingway has become a folk hero. He has achieved something pretty close to immortality. Unfortunately, the image that existed of him when I first met him was that of a furry-chested giant who roamed the world knocking down obstacles, impregnating women, writing books when he felt like it, hunting big game, and following the bulls. But that really wasn't the true man at all.

When I first started my book what I wanted to do was simply portray him in his good times and to show the thing that was most vital about him—the pulsating core of enjoyment inside of him. He enjoyed every day, whether work or play, and if you were around him that enjoyment was infectious, so that your very association with him made you bigger than you were.

I was going to write about some of these times to counteract what you undoubtedly have heard so many times—that his celebrated death wish was a motivation for his life, or that he "lived it up to write it down," as Malcolm Cowley has said. Neither is true; he simply followed the pursuits that were fun to him.

I was going to write about some of our more successful adventures, like our visit to Paris in 1949. Ernest had just completed a new novel, a not very successful one called *Across the River and into the Trees*. We were just supposed to stop for a few days in Paris on our way to Venice, where we were going to check certain names and places in the book.

But when we arrived in Paris, Ernest discovered that it was the first day of the Steeplechase meet at Auteuil in the Bois de Boulogne. Ernest said, "You know it goes on for two months. I've never been here at the beginning of a meet, so instead of staying two days in Paris, let's stay two months." That's what we did. At the outset, Ernest suggested we put equal amounts of capital into what he called "Hemhotch, Ltd." "I've got some very good jockey

room contacts," he said, "and when they come through we will really hit it rich."

We went out to the track every day it was open and we brained out all the meets but nothing was ever relayed to us via the jockey room. Toward the end of the meet—it was three days before Christmas Eve with only two racing days to go—we were running very much behind in our bookkeeping. But at five o'clock in the morning of that day, Ernest called and said, "The jockey room contact just called. Get over here fast." When I got from my Left Bank hotel to his room at the Ritz, he said, "We have to raise all the francs we can get. I'll meet you at the Ritz Bar at noon." I went out and begged, borrowed, and virtually stole what I could and met him at noon with a very respectable bundle of francs.

WE WERE IN THE PROCESS of assembling this capital and planning things when there showed up in the bar, in full clerical robes, a priest from Havana, who was an old friend of Ernest's. He was called Black Priest because he had been excommunicated by Franco after the Spanish Civil War. Black Priest was on his sabbatical and was going up to the north of France to find a Frenchman he had met in Havana who was about to start a ceramics factory where Black Priest intended to invest his life savings.

But when he saw us working on a twenty-seven-to-one shot named Bataclan II in the seventh race, Black Priest decided that that was what he wanted to do with his life savings instead. Ernest said that he didn't feel that Bataclan was a safe enough investment, even for a man of the cloth with good heavenward connections. After a great deal of argument, Black Priest and Ernest arrived at a compromise: he would put 50 per cent of his life savings on Bataclan and put the other 50 per cent in the ceramics factory. Full clerical robes and all, Black Priest came with us to keep an eye on his four-legged investment. We put down such a sizeable bet that by the time the horses got off Bataclan was twenty-one to one, but that would still be a sensational return on our investment—if he came in.

When the horses got around to the far turn, however, a

horse by the name of Killibi was ahead, followed by Klipper, running two lengths behind. Our horse was running twenty lengths in back of Klipper. They stayed that way over all the tough hedges and finally they cleared the water jump with only the last jump to go, a little hedge I could clear myself. I lowered my binoculars, but Ernest said, "Put 'em back." So I put them back and here came the last hedge and there went Killibi all legs over the jump and spilling his jockey all over the turf. Klipper was so close behind he went right on top of Killibi. Our horse, running twenty lengths behind, had all the time in the world to come outside the hedge and avoid the mess and romp in safely. Ernest said, "Now, Hotchner, you've learned one of life's great lessons: never lose faith in the honesty of a jockey room tip."

So, when people ask me what I've learned in my association with Hemingway, I tell them that is just about the most valuable thing.

I went down to the cashier's window and came away with a huge lot of francs, the old big kind. In the meantime all the others had gone on to the bar to break out the victory champagne. The first francs that Ernest counted off were for Black Priest, who was quivering with the anticipation of the first real money he had seen in twenty years. As he stood there with his huge sheaf of franc notes, counting each one lovingly, a Frenchman went by, tipped his hat, and said, "Good evening, Father." Black Priest, not taking his eyes off the money, made the sign of the cross with his counting finger and resumed counting without losing a beat.

The following day we each took our huge winnings—it was virtually Christmas Eve—and went out and invested all of it in the French economy. There eventually arrived in Ernest's room at the Ritz a mountain of boxes. Ernest looked at the collection happily and said, "Never have so few given so few so much. But," he added, "I am happy to say that nothing that anybody has given to anybody else is in the least bit useful."

That was the first of many successful, impromptu adventures. It may seem that they were totally unplanned, but as a matter of fact they all had the organized motivation of Ernest's desire to enjoy enthusiastically the running of every day, and one of the great joys of being his friend was that that enthusiasm, that spirit of enjoyment, was communicated to you.

ONE OF THE PLACES that brought out Ernest's greatest lack of enthusiasm was New York. He hated New York and went there only because it was a way to somewhere else or because his wife wanted to shop and go to the theatre. He particularly detested the posh New York restaurants, with their terrible prices and their food that didn't justify them, and particularly their arrogant *patrons*. At the top of the list was the restaurant Le Pavillon, run by Henri Soulé. Ernest had been there once and had come away disgruntled because he was served wine with a dry cork. Now, on this second visit, he was being coerced there

by people he was with, and I could feel his belligerence as he entered the restaurant. We were greeted by Monsieur Soulé himself and seated. Oysters were served, and the maitre d' came over with a silver tureen in which he had a sauce, Sauce Soulé, no less, which he attempted to put on Ernest's oysters. Ernest sampled it and said, "That's the old *sauce vinaigrette* we used to put on *Portugaise* oysters, the cheapest in France, to cover up the copper taste."

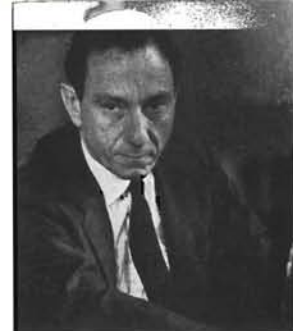
The entree was served, and one of the ladies, seeing that trouble was brewing said, "Ernest, this venison steak looks pretty good. Would you like to have a bite?" Ernest said, "No. I didn't shoot it so I don't have to eat it. One can see that that elderly elk's flank which you have been served has been underhung and overcooked." There then followed a bottle of wine with another dry cork. On the way out M. Soulé, again tendering us the supreme accolade, accompanied our party to the door. As Ernest approached the revolving door, M. Soulé said, "Ah, Monsieur Hemingway, it's been indeed a pleasure serving you. I hope you enjoyed the dinner." Ernest replied, "Ah, Monsieur Soulé, good evening. I have had better meals in the county jail."

Another place where he ate for a time, because he moved into an apartment nearby on East Sixty-Second Street, was the Pierre Hotel grill. Ernest liked it because it was an unlikely dining spot where he wasn't molested. That is, until a certain evening when we went to eat there and he was greeted by a new maitre d', who said, "Mr. Hemingway, I must tell you that I am an avid reader. I read all the time, and my absolute favorite book is one of yours. I'll bet I've read it five times—*The Razor's Edge*."

Ernest didn't say anything. He ordered a drink and some smoked salmon and was about to cut into it when there approached a huge horn-rimmed fellow with his hand out who said, "Mr. Hemingway, I just had to come over and introduce myself—I'm Dr. J. J. Higgins—dental surgeon from Great Neck. I'm a boating nut like you. I got a hundred-thou Chris Craft and I got a great place right on the water. I'd like you to come out. Know what I call it? Big sign as you come in—'Tooth Acres.' You get it?" Ernest said he got it. The dentist continued: "The reason I came over is to tell you that I'm a kind of insomniac and I couldn't sleep last night and I just happened to open up one of your books. I was telling my patients all day—I run three chairs, fifty patients—that they gotta go out and get a copy of *Of Mice and Men*, and I bet they cleaned out the New York bookstores today." So that's what really drove Ernest to eat at Toots Shor's. He said, "Of course the food is really terrible at Toots's, but the only book they know about there is the one at Aqueduct race track."

There were a few things that brought Ernest to New York willingly—a world series or a good prize fight. On one occasion he came up for a world series on which he had bet \$500 on the Yankees. He usually came up a day or two before the scheduled event, and if there was a movie playing, based on one of his books, he would grumble about not seeing it, but I knew he would in the

## THE HEMINGWAY I KNEW



end. On this particular occasion, the movie was *The Sun Also Rises*, starring Ava Gardner, Tyrone Power, Errol Flynn, and a young man named Robert Evans, playing the part of Pedro Romero, the bullfighter. The movie did not move Ernest very much except out of the theatre after twelve minutes. As we walked along the street he finally said, "You know, any movie in which Errol Flynn is the best actor is its own worst enemy."

The day after he had seen this movie we went out to the first game of the World Series. Whitey Ford stepped up on the rubber, Yogi Berra settled in behind the plate, and as Whitey looked in for the first pitch, Ernest studied him closely with the eyes of a five-hundred-dollar bettor. Suddenly a man's manicured hand shot across my eyes and tapped Ernest on the shoulder. Ernest slowly turned his eyes from Whitey and looked up and there was the eager tanned face of a young man, who said, "Mr. Hemingway, I just wanted you to know that I'm Robert Evans and I play the bullfighter, Pedro Romero, in your movie, and I just wanted to say hello to you." Ernest took his eyes off him and said, "Well, Evans, it's a damn good thing you're not out there pitching for us today."

SOME OF THE BEST TIMES for me were not things we did, but listening to Ernest's reminiscences. When we were in a well-remembered place—Paris, Venice, Madrid, Pamplona—he often would talk about the old days, long before I knew him. On one occasion we were walking through a neighborhood in Montmartre and he said, "You see that top floor. I once lived up there in the twenties. It was a small room but we liked it because it had a big skylight. One time we gave a party up there. One guest, named Jerry Kelly, at the height of the party went into the bathroom. Instead of pulling the chain for the toilet, he pulled the chain for the skylight and it came down in a shower of glass and cut my head to pieces. I began to bleed heavily, and since I was wearing my one and only suit, I rushed into the bathroom and leaned over the bathtub to keep the blood off the suit."

"In the meantime, my wife called Archibald MacLeish, who knew a doctor at the American Hospital named Carl Weiss; he came right over, but he did a really terrible job on my head. Left a permanent welt of skin on my forehead. This was the same Carl Weiss who years later assassinated Huey Long—did a much better job on Huey than he did on me."

This was one of many stories that on first hearing aroused my skepticism—how could a doctor from the American Hospital be the man who assassinated Huey Long—but when I checked on it I discovered that Ernest was absolutely right.

On one or two rare occasions I did catch him up on a story, like the time he told me, in fascinating detail, about an intimate encounter he had had with the celebrated spy, Mata Hari; he gave me a very good estimate of her performance, and convinced me that she was very highly over-touted. It mystified him, he said, why those generals

told her all that they told her when she was such a second-rate sex siren. I was very impressed with this story until I discovered that Mata Hari had been executed in 1917 and Ernest went abroad as an ambulance driver with the Italian army in 1918.

One of our most pleasurable adventures occurred in 1950 when we were in Venice staying at the Gritti Hotel, which is one of the most beautiful hotels in Venice. It had once been the palace of a prince, and the rooms have high ceilings and beautiful Gothic windows, with furnishings to match. We were about to leave on a trip to Spain, and for his get-away party Ernest had invited a lot of his Venice friends whom he provided with a steady flow of Piper-Heidsieck. At some point, to clinch an argument Ernest was having with a cricket-prejudiced friend of his, Ernest decided to demonstrate American baseball. He rolled up a pair of his wool socks for a baseball and told me to get the doorstep to use as the bat. Now the doorstep—like everything else in the Gritti—is a very ornate affair. It's a tall, carved mahogany leg with a leaded base bottom, and it made a fine bat.

Ernest pitched the socks, I swung once and lined them out to left center field—right through the Gothic window, shattering glass everywhere, and out into the night. Everybody was absolutely astounded, and I was being congratulated for having knocked a pair of wool socks through a thick leaded-glass window until we discovered that what had really happened was that the leaded base had come off, had sailed out of the window, and had struck the President of the City Council of Venice in the back.

The next day as we were leaving, Ernest went up rather sheepishly to the manager of the hotel and apologized for having played baseball and broken a window and asked that the damages be put on his bill. The manager said, "Oh no, to the contrary, sir, it's really a very distinguished event. In the three hundred years that the Gritti has been a hotel no one has ever played baseball in the rooms. To commemorate the event, we deducted 10 per cent from your total bill."

As we were going down the Grand Canal on our way to the station, Ernest said, "That's real chic for you. It was the same kind of chic that the Ritz showed that time I fired a pistol through one of the toilets." He added, "It just goes to prove what I've always said—it always pays to stay in the best places."

The summer of 1959 was Ernest's last good summer. We were following Antonio Ordonez on his bullfight circuit, and this was the year that Antonio was certainly *Numero Uno*. At some point it was decided that it would be marvelous if Antonio taught me to be a matador, and Ernest would be my manager. This was a night when a great deal of wine was consumed and everybody was very gay and I said, "Oh sure," and Antonio said, "Oh sure." I had forgotten all about it until we showed up a few weeks later in the town of Ciudad Real, which is



south of Madrid. There was a big ring there, holding eight or nine thousand people. It was sold out because Antonio was fighting *mano a mano*, a very special event that matched him against the other great matador of the day, Dominguin. When we went up to Antonio's room to wish him well, there were two sword handlers instead of the usual one, and there were two bullfight costumes. Before I could work up a really good protest, I had been stripped down to my underwear and was getting pushed, pulled, and stretched into the suit. The whole thing was like a college initiation, and I thought we would all have our jollies and then I'd get back into civilian clothes and go sit in my proper seat.

But it didn't work out that way. When it got time to go to the ring, I was nudged into the hall and down the stairs, stiff-legged in my tight pants, my new shoes sliding all over the stairs, and into the *cuadrilla* wagon waiting at the curb outside the hotel. My manager was sitting next to me, so I said, "Manager, I remember your telling me about a gentleman several years ago who was caught trying to masquerade as a matador and how he wound up spending a year in the local dungeon. Would you mind telling me exactly what I do now that I am a matador."

Ernest replied, "It's simple. I don't want you to get worried. There are just three things to remember. In the first place, when you get to the ring look tragic." I said, "Have you taken a good look at me?" He said, "That's fine." Now he said, "Secondly, you are wearing Antonio's best suit, so when you get to the ring don't lean on anything." "And the third thing?" "You will be under the ramp just before you go in for the *paseo* and you will be between the other two matadors. The photographers will all come to take your picture, so be sure to do what they do: put your right leg forward—it's sexier." I said, "That's all?" And he said, "That's all you have to do."

Soon we were standing under the ramp, and I didn't lean on anything, and I looked tragic, and when the photographers came, and I stood flanked on each side by these two great matadors, I did as they did. I noticed, however, that I was running very poorly in the right-leg-forward division. I went over to my manager and said, "I'm an absolute disgrace to the United States of America. Would you look at them and look at me?" He said, "How many handkerchiefs did you use?" I said, "What handkerchiefs?" He said, "How many handkerchiefs did you use? Antonio and Dominguin are two handkerchief men; fellow like Chicuelo II probably uses four. I didn't think I had to tell you. What do you think makes them look that way?" I said, icily, "The subject never interested me until now."

After the fight, I did a tour of the ring with Antonio and everything rained down on us: flowers, cigars, candy, sunglasses, money, handbags, shoes, fans. Antonio said to me from the corner of his mouth, "Just pick up the handbags and the shoes. My men will get the rest."

So as we circled the ring I deftly swooped up handbags and shoes, and the rest of the *cuadrilla* gathered

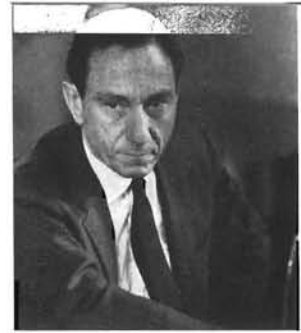
up the cigars and money and *botas* and everything else. We finally made our way back to the hotel room, me laden with handbags and shoes, wondering what I was doing with this collection of ladies' haberdashery. I quickly found out, because there flowed into the room, like a new mountain freshet, a succession of beautiful women to reclaim their belongings. That, I discovered, is one of the accepted ways that beautiful ladies in the stands meet the matadors of the afternoon. You certainly learn what bullfighting is all about once you get into a suit of lights.

I was unprepared for all these beauties, and there I was trapped with nothing on but my inner pants, when Ernest ushered in a particularly beautiful señorita, who reclaimed her alligator handbag and her matching left alligator shoe; with a look of adoration on her face, she said how much she admired my *paseo* and the way I performed as *sobresaliente*. She then said that she always wondered what kind of scars a bullfighter had—that was my golden opportunity, but I didn't even have the remains of an appendectomy to show her.

WHEN I FIRST STARTED to write my book about Ernest, it was going to be limited to a re-creation of these good times and good conversations. That, plus what I can only describe as the wisdom of Hemingway. It is informal wisdom, but deep and enduring—things that I have remembered over the years: remarks like, "You never own anything until you give it away," or, "the way to find out if a person is trustworthy is to trust him." He once told Marlene Dietrich, when she was running around and doing too much and being unhappy, "Daughter, you're doing too much. Never confuse movement with action." Another time he told me, in relation to writing, "Integrity in writing is like virginity in a woman—once lost it is never recovered." Again, on another occasion, something that has stood me in good stead many a time—he said, "Hotchner, be warned: the half-empty bottle of champagne is the enemy of man." Another remark that I think is of particular interest to young people: "Hesitation increases in relation to risk, in equal proportion to age." That is a very profound observation about taking your chances when you're young.

Again, he told me, "Serious writers have to be hurt and really hurt terribly before they can write seriously." The most trenchant thing that he ever said about women—and it is something that any man can remember with good return: "The only constructive thing I ever learned about women is that no matter how they turn out, only remember them as they were on the best day they ever had."

So that was the nature of *Papa Hemingway* as I first planned it; I intended to end the book in 1959, the last of the good times, and merely observe that from then on it was downhill to his death. But I didn't turn that manuscript over to Random House because for some reason the book had not in fact ended. I was very disturbed that I was pretending that that book was a true portrait of the years that I had known Ernest. In recounting any-



thing honestly, you cannot pick and choose the good times from the bad. Yet, what I had to tell, especially of the last few years of his life, was so private and intimate, and in a sense injurious to the public legend of the hero, that I felt perhaps I should suppress it. But then I began to recall words he had spoken at a particularly vital time of his life: "If I cannot exist on my own terms, then existence is impossible. That is how I have lived and how I *must* live—or not live."

I saw Janet Flanner one evening recently, after she had won the national book award for *The Paris Journals*. I hadn't seen her for many years and she was an old friend of Hemingway's. She came right out with it—"Hotch," she said, "answer just one question—should you have?" I said, "I honestly don't know. That is a question of morality. All I can tell you is that I considered both sides of it and in the end I felt I had no alternative; but I'll never know if I *should* have." "I'm glad you decided to write it," she said, "but I wanted you to have doubt."

If Ernest had been a private friend, I'd have had no problem at all. I would never have written it. That is the problem. It is very hard to realize what it is to have a public friend, somebody who belongs not just to you but in a sense to the entire world.

When Ernest was writing the chapters of *A Moveable Feast*, he gave them to me to read along the way. When he showed me a particular chapter about Scott Fitzgerald, called "A Matter of Measurements," I told him frankly that I thought it was in bad taste and offensive, and asked why was he doing this to Fitzgerald. It made him angry. "What do you mean why am I doing this to Fitzgerald? What distinguishes one man from another except the details of how he lived and how he died? What's in this chapter is vital to understanding something basic about Scott—what propelled him toward becoming alcoholic, toward his years with Zelda, of staying with her despite her insanity. What's detailed in this chapter is a fear, a very, very important fear."

On another occasion Ernest made a remark that also strongly influenced my decision to write about the tragic details of his final year and death. What he said was: "The only way to account for things is to tell the whole truth, hold back nothing. Tell how it truly happened, the ecstasy and sorrow, the remorse, and how the weather was, and with any luck the reader will find his way to the heart of the thing itself."

**A**LL RIGHT, THE ECSTASY and sorrow. The sorrow: after his death I was asked repeatedly, not just here, but in Spain, in France, in Italy, by people who were concerned, "He died of cancer, didn't he?" They wanted to be reassured that he died of something that was recognizable in their world. But I would have to tell them no. He died of no physical illness.

Now if he had died of cancer and I had recounted a last terrible year of struggle against it, there would have been no moral problem, no lawsuit, no objection. I think

the basic problem is that he died as a result of mental illness, and we don't want to mention those two words.

They frighten us. We are back where the world was in the early years of Eugene O'Neill, when for the first time we heard the word "cancer" on the stage. There is something disturbing about mental illness, of course. But it is the most prevalent disease in the world. It must be talked about. To "hold back nothing, and to tell the whole truth"—how else could one accomplish that without *all* the details.

Then, too, I wanted to make a bigger point: in a sense Ernest had been made into a hero figure by the people of the world who are always hungry for legendary men. They created the legendary Hemingway and in doing so made Ernest himself believe in the legend, a common process. Once he accepted his legendary status, Ernest was committed to his followers, committed to sustain the legendary hero. So that when his powers began to fail him and he no longer could meet the demands of his role, rather than let his followers down, he killed himself. But the truth is, the very people who in the beginning magnified him into the immortal role they wanted him to play are, in a sense, the ones who killed him.

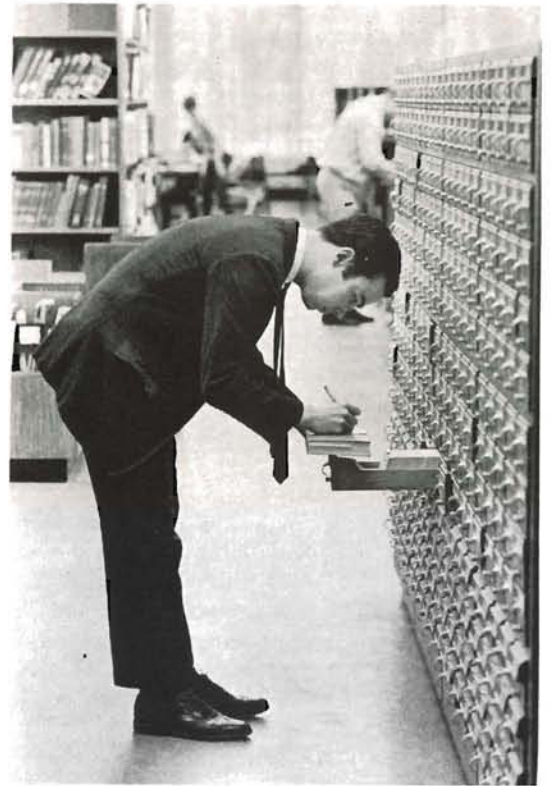
That is the book I ultimately wrote. Ernest had once written, "There are some things which cannot be learned quickly, and time, which is all we have, must be paid heavily for their acquiring. They are the very simplest things and because it takes a man's life to know them, the little new that each man gets from life is very costly and the only heritage he has to leave."

That was what was important: not what he left as a writer, you can read the books, they speak for themselves; but what he left as a man. I felt that he lived and died heroically. He lived by an old Spanish saying, "Man can be destroyed but not defeated." The heroes of his books live that way—Lieutenant Henry and Jake Barnes and Robert Jordan, and even the old fisherman of *The Old Man and the Sea*. They all lived by that code. They were destroyed, but none of them was defeated. The man whom I saw at the Mayo Clinic a month before he killed himself was totally destroyed but he was not yet defeated, he would not permit himself to be.

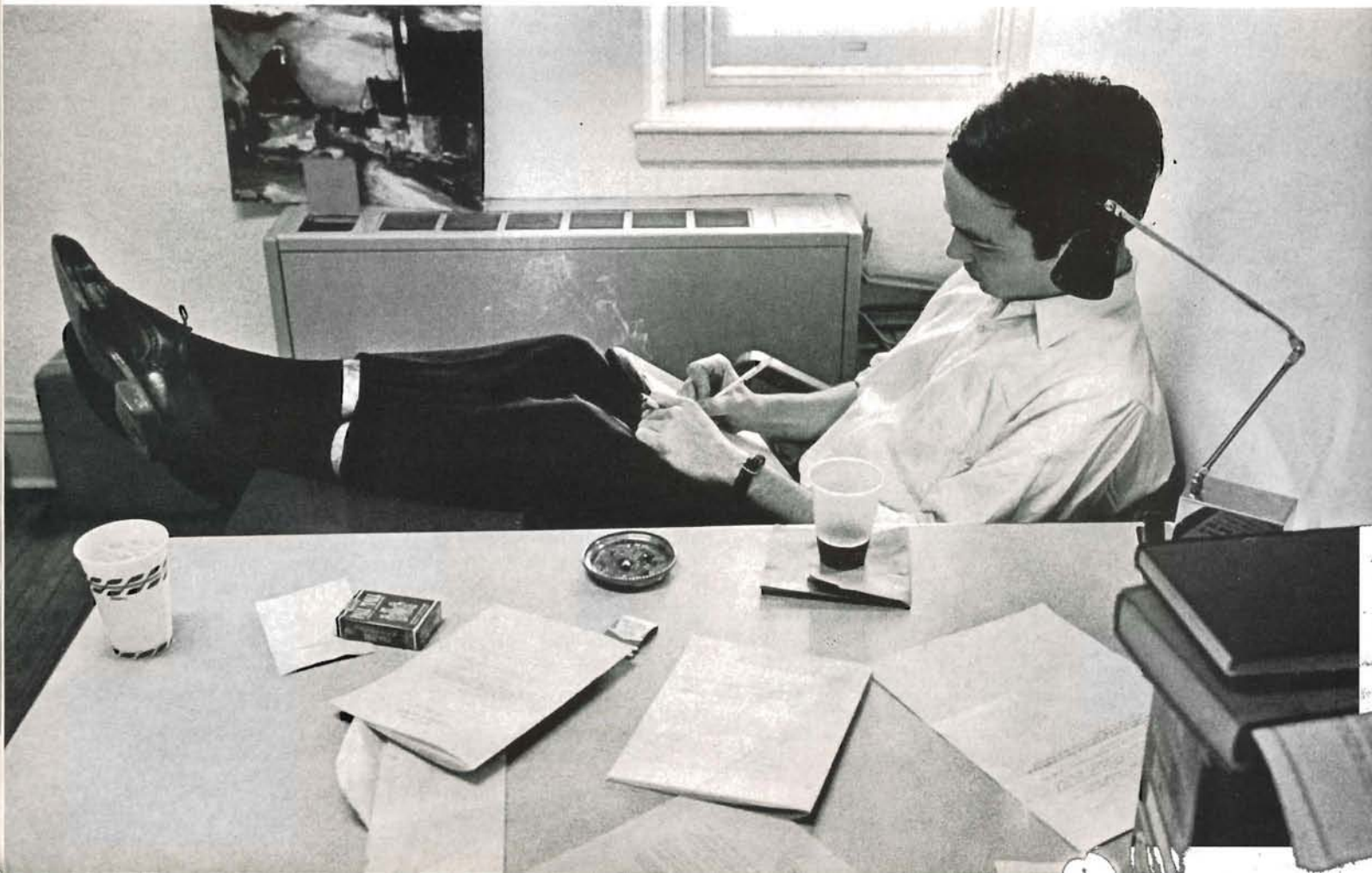
I think Ernest would have wanted the details of his final days told very straight, very true, and in the end, that is the way I told it. I think each man must conduct his own burial for a close friend, and I knew that for Ernest death was unimportant. "What is death?" he once said. "Just another whore."

So my book is really, in its closing chapters, my epitaph for Ernest. All of the good times, and then the sad epitaph. I wrote all of it out of affection and out of love, not to glorify him with anything phony but to glorify him with truth—the ecstasy, the sorrow, the remorse, and how the weather was, and if you read it I hope these things shine through.

*Story by Robert Armbruster  
Photographs by Herb Weitman*



Endless hours of study, including repeated visits to Olin Library (right), are required of Ph.D. candidate Ron Bittel in preparation for his qualifying examination. Below, he takes one portion of the written exam which preceded a two-hour oral.



## THE MAKING OF A PH.D.

A young Fulbright scholar faces his qualifying examination

PASTED ON THE DOOR of a small office in the tower of Washington University's Karl D. Umrath Hall, the office of graduate assistant Ronald Bittel, is a newspaper clipping that reads:

Munich, Germany, May 19 (AP)—Police said yesterday that a 26-year-old Munich University student worked himself to death. They said Ulrich Schroeter died of mental and physical overexertion caused by the long hours spent on a doctoral dissertation on church law. In his living quarters, police found the following hand-made signs posted on the walls: "persevere," "only a short stretch to go," and "it will soon be over."

The grim clipping serves as an unnecessary reminder to the 24-year-old Bittel that the road to a doctorate, whether in Munich or St. Louis, is a grueling one. It's unnecessary on two counts: first, the nature of the pursuit becomes obvious from the first semester in graduate school—for Bittel, it was obvious from the first days of that semester—and second, Ron Bittel is a very relaxed, though conscientious, young man. Moreover, he now has one of the biggest hurdles in the long path to the Ph.D. behind him. Late this spring he successfully passed both the written and the oral portions of his qualifying examination, stages of which are pictured on the following pages. Ahead lay only the dissertation ("Only the dissertation!" Bittel laughs), its subject—the unique character of church-state relations in Belgium during the nine-

teenth century—and Bittel's planned approach to it approved during the May examination.

Bittel brought to his exam a healthy amount of self-confidence based on three successful years as a graduate student in history at the University—all three of them as a Danforth Foundation Teaching Fellow—and on four demanding undergraduate years at Manhattan College in New York. Another spirit-builder was his notification, six weeks before the exam, that he was one of two Washington University history students to receive Fulbright Scholarships for study abroad next year. The other Fulbright scholar is his good friend and "Umrath tower-mate" John Grundman.

With all this going for him, Ron Bittel, in the weeks preceding the all-important examination, experienced the same feelings of inadequacy, uncertainty, and fear that were common to most of the 15,000 doctoral candidates produced by universities in this country last year; fear that the countless hours in the library, at home, anywhere and everywhere he could study, might suddenly become but an edifying exercise—that he might in the end fail the exam.

"All the way up to a week before the first part of the written exam I was terribly nervous and really pushing on my reviewing," Bittel says. "Then I realized this was it. What I knew, I knew. What I didn't know then, I probably wouldn't know six or seven days later. So I relaxed—that is, until I was about to enter the room for the oral.

Until we really got going my stomach was all in knots.”

The pressure Bittel was under during his examination was reminiscent of that which he had felt nearly three years earlier, when he first enrolled as a graduate student at the University. It was the same but with one difference: the oral examination pressure lasted two hours; the anguish of that first semester went on for nearly six months. Cause of that initial anguish was a writing seminar required of history graduate students and taught by former department chairman Jack Hexter, who is now at Yale University.

“It was a traumatic experience right from the start,” Bittel recalls. “I had no real familiarity with seminars—I guess I didn’t really know what they were—and while I had been writing a fair amount for nearly a decade, I was wholly unprepared for Hexter.

“He gave massive assignments, ten pages or more of writing each week, and every assignment required rewriting. On the very first assignment, I was utterly destroyed by his comments. On the back of the paper he wrote something like, ‘I am sure that somewhere in this enormous stylistic trash heap there is a great deal of intelligence. However, life is short, and I’ll be damned if I’m going to ferret it out.’

“I was depressed for two weeks. And even after I got over the initial shock, the pressure continued for the whole semester. Knowing you had to give your best all the time, and trying to alter your writing style fundamentally, too, well—it was pure hell.”

Bittel concedes that the fiery baptism had a salutary effect, and today he regards Hexter, as well as his whole Washington University experience, with appreciation and respect.

**B**ITTEL’S GRADUATE CAREER at the University, while relentless (some 20 courses and seminars: 72 credits), went relatively smoothly and, according to the young history scholar, was “very satisfying.” He particularly enjoyed the supervised teaching he did, this a credit-earning part of the history department’s Danforth Foundation-supported program. (Washington University was the first of a handful of universities to receive a Danforth grant to launch a doctoral program that incorporates training in teaching and supervised teaching experience.)

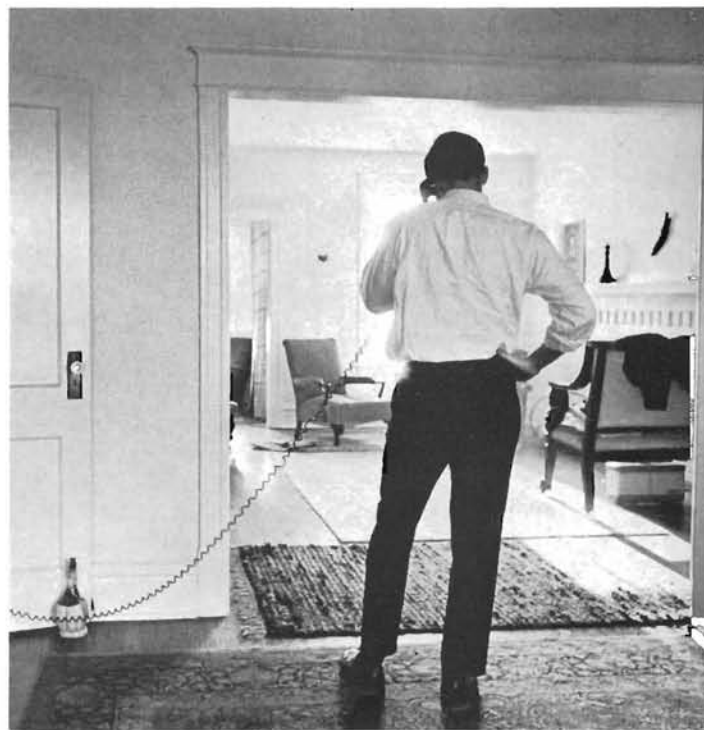
“I found early that I liked teaching—fortunately—since with a Ph.D. in history there isn’t much else you can do. I guess it’s kind of important that you know whether or not you like it by the time you get this far, because if you don’t you had better get out now and save yourself and a lot of other people a great deal of misery.”

He also credits the department with displaying a healthy kind of self-criticism which he thinks will make the graduate program even stronger in the future. “But what I like best about the place is that it’s not so big that you don’t know your fellow graduate students and that you’re estranged from the faculty. From the day I got here I was able to see any member of this department, usually within a few hours, always within twenty-four hours.”

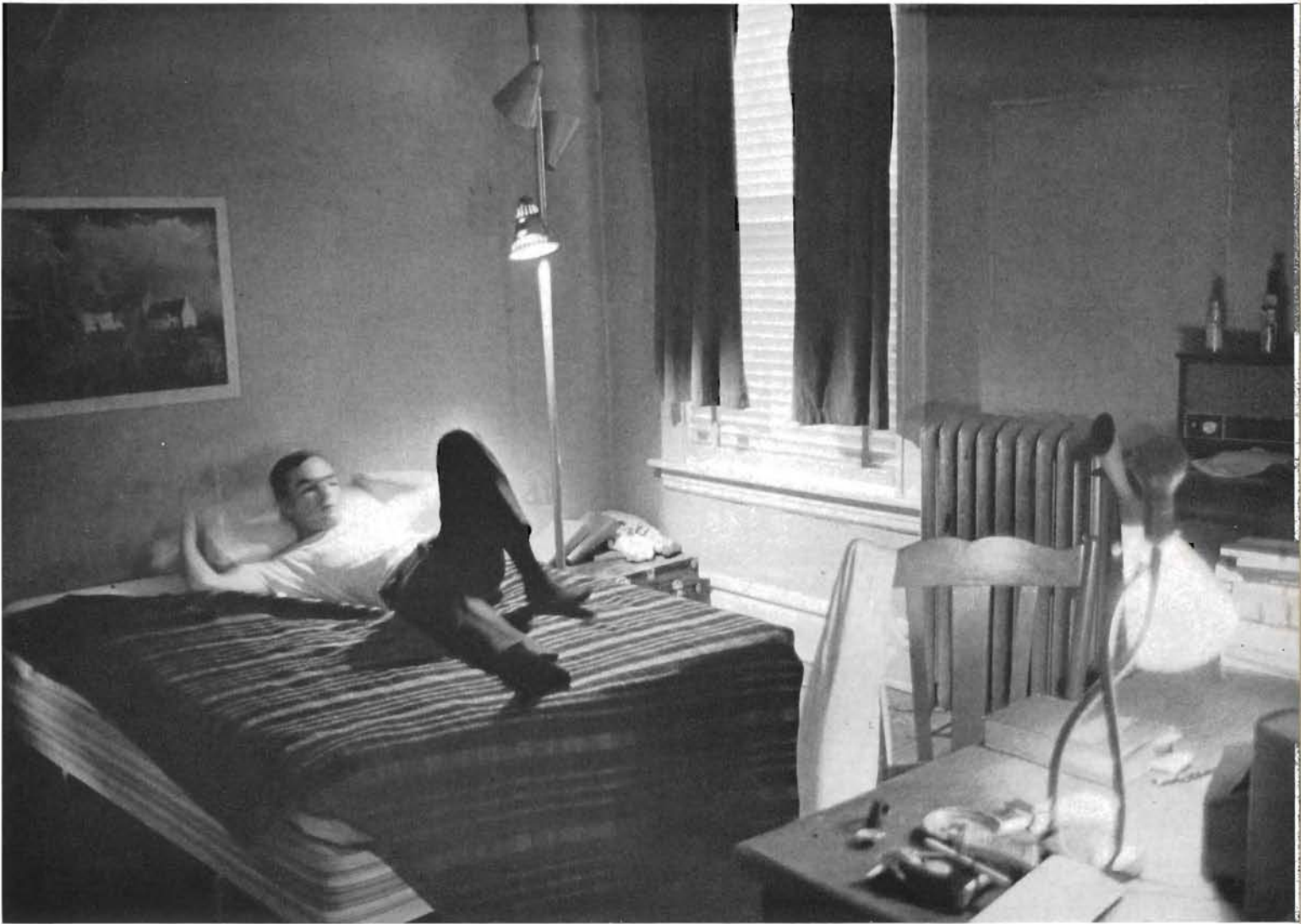
When it came time for his oral examination on May 10,



Supper the night before oral exam—liver and onions and spaghetti—is prepared by Bittel’s roommate Ray Svonavec (left), a graduate student in sociology. “A good balanced meal,” says the chef. Others at the table are David Smith, also a roommate, and Sally Milow, AB 66, whom Bittel has been dating steadily.



Bittel leaves the supper table to take a phone call from one of his students, spends half an hour explaining several points about the United States Constitution in response to the student’s question.



After supper, Bittel tries to catch a quick nap before one more look at the books.



A few hours later, books closed, cigarettes out, he heads for what he hopes will be a good night's sleep—but isn't.

however, he wished the four professors on the examining committee could have been available several hours earlier than the scheduled 3 p.m.

"I woke up that morning knowing the exam was not for several hours, and I just wanted to stay in bed and sleep—but I couldn't," Bittel says.

**T**HE QUALIFYING EXAMINATION in history has five parts: a four-hour written examination on each of four periods (for Bittel, whose specialty is European history, they were Ancient Rome, the United States since Reconstruction, the Old Regime—roughly from the Reformation to the French Revolution—and Modern Europe), plus a two-hour oral examination by the professors who prepared the essay questions. (Generally, if there is more than one specialist in a field to be covered on an individual's qualifying exam, the candidate may choose which man he wishes to have serve on his examining committee.)

"I was more satisfied with my written answers than with those during the oral," he says. "In there, my answers were much too vague and confused, partly, I suppose, because of the tension and partly because of large gaps in my knowledge."

If there were, in fact, large gaps, and if they were noticeable to the four specialists asking the questions, no one intentionally took the opportunity to trap the candidate with an unexpected or unfair question. If anything, Bittel's interrogators pursued points of information in ways likely to elicit the most complete answers they believed he was capable of delivering.

"You hear stories from other graduate students about the wicked curve this or that professor threw at them during their exams. The only real shock to me—and it was a positive one—came as soon as I sat down; it was Von Laue's question about my dissertation."

Professor Theodore Von Laue, in whose office the oral examination took place and who, as a specialist in Bittel's field, chaired the gathering, asked his student to describe what he intended to do in his dissertation. After talking for nearly a half hour about his interest in church-state relations, the situation in nineteenth-century Belgium, and the availability of sources on the subject—with occasional interruptions for specific questions—Bittel was stunned ("I felt as if my mouth dropped five feet") when he heard Von Laue conclude, "Well, I guess my time is up; who wants to be next?"

"I had expected a real going over on the modern period," Bittel confesses. "I couldn't believe it when he said he was finished."

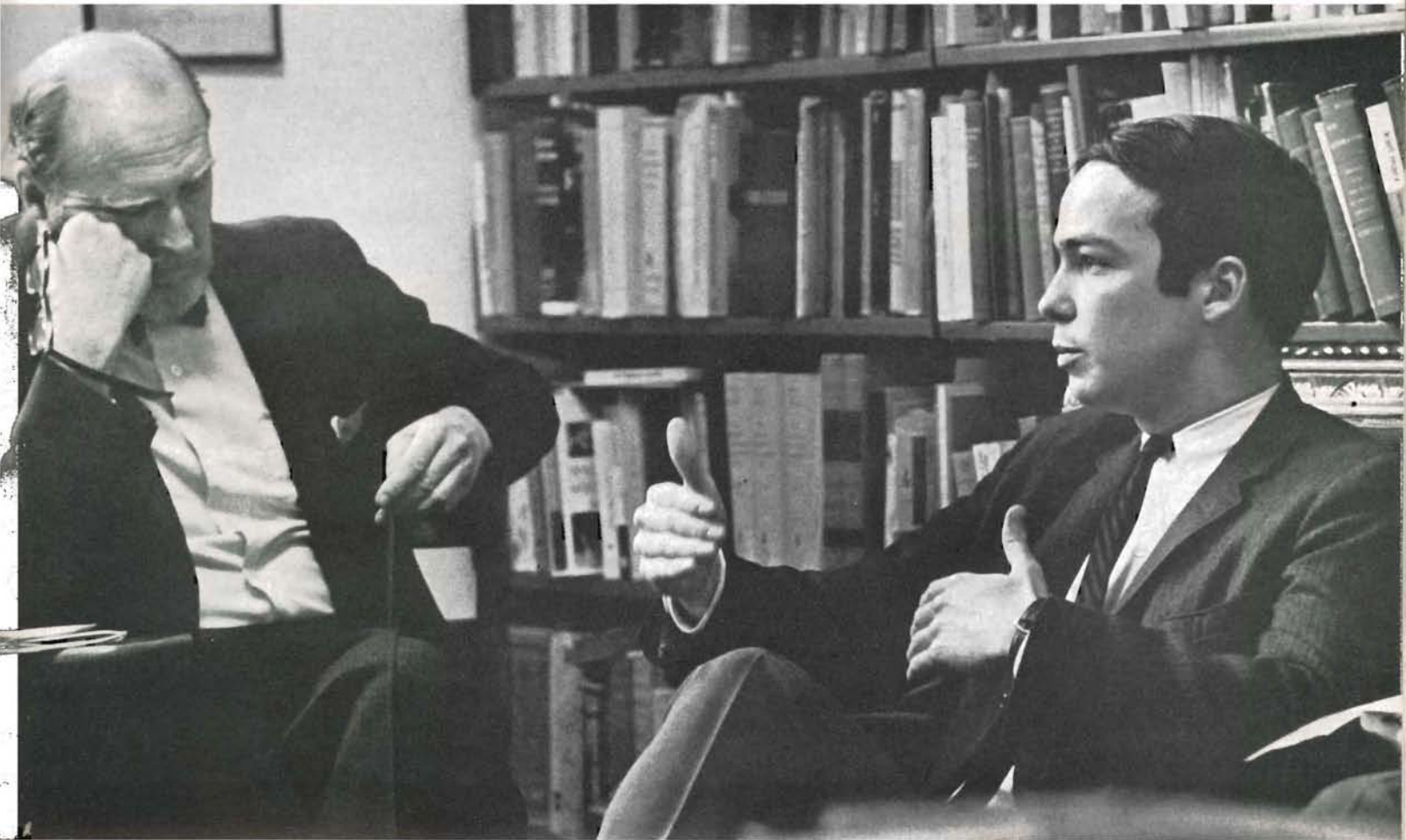
The remaining hour-and-a-half was devoted to questions from the other examining committee members: Professor Edward Weltin and Associate Professors Barry Karl and Paul Lucas. Many of their questions were based on, or sought clarification of, ideas expressed by Bittel in his written exams, taken on the four weekdays immediately preceding the oral.



As difficult as the examination is, Bittel is very pleased with treatment by his examiners (from top) Professor Edward Weltin, Associate Professor Paul Lucas, Professor Theodore Von Laue, and Associate Professor Barry Karl.



Oral examination takes place in book-lined office of Professor Von Laue (at desk), lasts two tiring hours.



An intense, confident Bittel gestures to make a point in response to a question from Professor Edward Weltin.



Uncertain on some points, Bittel nevertheless seemed in control of his material throughout. During especially long answers, when he was able to expound on events and relationships in nineteenth-century Europe, his professors couldn't have helped but catch some of the excitement Bittel feels for his subject. He talks of kings and popes of the era with astounding familiarity, as if they were neighbors, or at least contemporaries; and he speaks nearly always in the present tense: "William, the Dutch king, signs a concordant with the Pope in which William is allowed to cancel papal nominations for the bishopric, and it is the Belgian Catholics who become incensed about this and make an alliance with the Liberals." Listening to his detailed and lucid exposition of the changes in outlook that came over Pius IX during his papacy, one feels that here is a teacher who will one day fire the imaginations of the very bright and the very slow with equal ease.

**A**CTUALLY, NOW THAT HIS teaching assistantship is over, Bittel probably will not face a class for fifteen months or more. After a summer in New York, where he'll "set up shop at the public library," the young Fulbright scholar will head for Louvain University in Belgium for a year of study and work on the dissertation. When the dissertation is completed, he will return to Washington Uni-

versity to face an examination on it also. His attitude toward that one is more relaxed.

"When you're writing a dissertation, your major professor approves it chapter by chapter, so by the time you've finished, you're pretty well prepared to defend what you've done."

By then—a year from now perhaps, but probably longer—the ordeal of the qualifying exam will be just a fading memory. Certain moments of that day in May, though, will undoubtedly remain vivid for years, such as Bittel's enforced "estrangement" from his professors when the two hours of questioning had ended. Bittel was asked to step into the hall while the committee discussed his performance, an absence which to the weary candidate seemed interminable. In fact, the conference lasted less than five minutes, and the only criticisms were those Bittel came to on his own afterwards—principally his vagueness on certain answers. ("At times he was like a skillful bull-fighter," one professor suggested.)

But when Bittel re-entered the room, he knew instantly, from the group's relaxed manner and from the friendly greeting of one of the men ("Sorry to have kept you waiting so long, Ron"), that the ordeal was over, that he had won the unanimous endorsement of his learned teachers.

Extending his now steady hand to accept their congratulations, he thought, wryly, "Only the dissertation to go."



While his professors remain inside Von Lauc's office discussing Bittel's performance, the young Ph.D. candidate waits out the longest five minutes of the day.

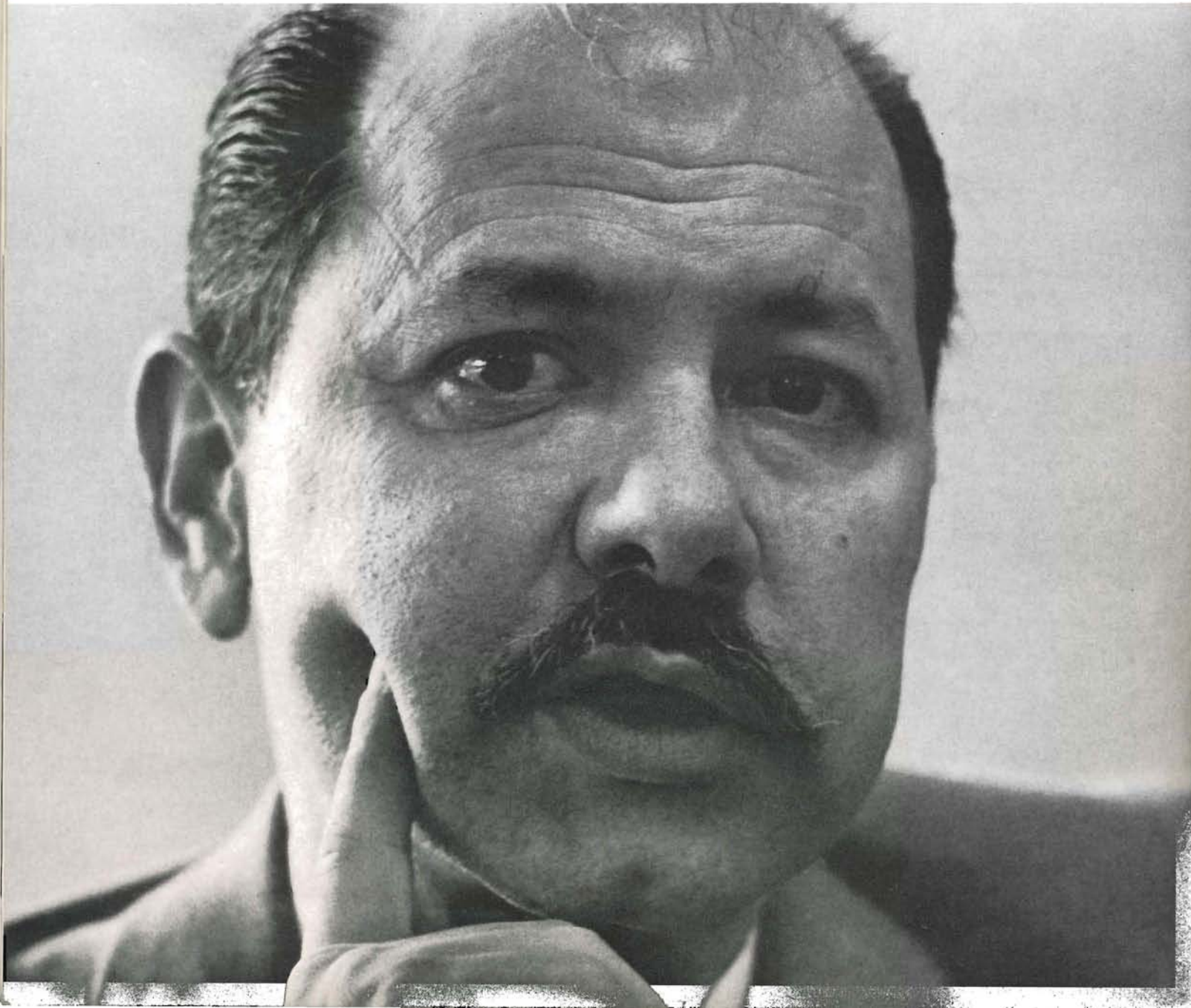


Summoned back into the room, Bittel learns of his success, accepts congratulations of his examiners.



The ordeal over, Bittel is greeted with a silent congratulatory embrace by Sally Milow.

Professor Levi, a member of the Washington University faculty since 1952, has earned international renown for his work in contemporary philosophy, metaphysics, the philosophy of literature, and political and social values. His many scholarly works include the book *Philosophy and the Modern World*, for which he received the first Phi Beta Kappa Award in History, Philosophy, and Religion. This article is based on the address Dr. Levi made at his inauguration as David May Distinguished University Professor in the Humanities. Of his own philosophy department at Washington University, Dr. Levi comments, "In an age of partisan narrowness in philosophy, it is outstanding in the breadth of views which it represents."



By ALBERT WILLIAM LEVI

*David May Distinguished University Professor  
in the Humanities*

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF CULTURE AND THE CULTURE OF PHILOSOPHY

THE PARTICULAR DISCIPLINE which I profess is philosophy. The chair to which I have been appointed, however, is in the broader area of the humanities. It is of some importance, I think, to assess the relationship between the two: philosophy in the narrow sense and the humanistic area as a whole. It is particularly so because the position in philosophy which I hold is not only a function of this relationship, but also, it must be frankly admitted, somewhat in opposition to the going current of philosophy today. Indeed, there is some serious question as to whether philosophy as now practiced at Oxford and Cambridge (to say nothing of closer to home at Harvard or Berkeley or Cornell) ought to be classified as one of the humanities at all.

Philosophy has always had two rather interesting characteristics. First, unlike physics or painting or political science it has no easily delimited subject matter which is its private property, but rather, like a skilled and purposive thief, appropriates the valuables of others and adapts them to uses which are exclusively its own. The activity which we call philosophizing is simply a reflecting upon experience, and depending, therefore, upon whether one reflects upon the experiences of art or history or the state, one will come up with an aesthetics or a philosophy of history or a political philosophy. And it follows in the second place, therefore, that if you are a philosopher, the particular area of your passion and your perplexity will set the problems for your philosophizing and color the outcome of your system.

It is no secret and no disgrace that throughout its history Western philosophy has largely taken its problems and patterned its constructions upon the models of mathematics and the natural sciences. Plato's curious metaphysics is hardly intelligible except as the outcome of a mind

obsessed with mathematics and the kind of existence which a realm of natural numbers might somewhat mistakenly be expected to possess. The concept of growth and development which haunts Aristotle's mature system is unintelligible without reference to the activities of the taxonomic and experimental biologist which he undoubtedly was. The Cartesian revolution was a product of the mathematics which Descartes originated and is inseparable from the co-ordinate geometry of which he was the author. The cosmology of Leibnitz, with its assertion of an infinite number of centers of energy and the centrality of a principle of continuity in nature, is but an animated model of the infinitesimal calculus which he discovered. And even "the new way of ideas" investigated by John Locke and his empiricist successors was but the attempt to provide a theory of knowledge adequate to the conclusions of the mathematical physics of Newton which dominated the age.

BUT APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED YEARS after Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and the *Monadology* of Leibnitz, in 1807 to be exact, occurred an unprecedented philosophic event: the publication of Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit*. This work is so rich, and it has had such an ambiguous and controversial destiny since Hegel's time, that it is easy to forget just where its epoch-making character lay, and this, I think, was not, as most believe, in its dialectic or its absolute idealism or in its theory of development as such, but rather in that here for the first time since Aristotle the subject of philosophizing is taken to be neither a particular science, nor an aspect of social living, nor a segment of external nature, but the entire range and compass of human culture as a total and developing entity.

Something crucially new and important has happened

since the scientific preoccupations of the seventeenth century—something of which the eighteenth century grows slowly conscious, and which is clearly expressed in D'Alembert's *Discours Préliminaire* to the French *Encyclopedie* and in Rousseau's famous prize essay, the *Discourse on the Moral Effects of the Arts and Sciences*. It is a novel consciousness that the arts and sciences form a seamless web of human creativity to be separated from the facts of nature and the acts of God as one man-made civilization. It is this new cultural self-consciousness of the European mind which animates Hegel's *Phenomenology* and gives it its method, its subject matter, and its importance.

THE NEW DIRECTION taken by Hegel is based upon the central conviction that *the Human Spirit is the proper subject of philosophy*, and that the general character of spirit will differentiate itself in a series of cultural forms or phases culminating in philosophy. Subjective spirit is the lowest level: it includes mathematics and natural science. Objective spirit is the intermediate stage: it includes law, ethics, political philosophy, and world history. Absolute spirit is the culminating stage, and it includes art, religion, and philosophy. Hegel's view is that philosophic experience is of intrinsic value, not merely because it is in sharpest contrast to the thinking of the natural scientist and the mathematician, but because its essence is a *nisus* toward wholeness—because it is a forming and a synthetic activity. Because philosophy knows that "truth is the whole," it attempts, perhaps fruitlessly but at least courageously, to know the whole truth, and where it fails, it still leaves noble traces of the human spirit in travail. For in the end the vision of Hegel is that of the German romantic period, one whose excesses are often ridiculed but one from which we, living in a more mechanistic and fragmented and despairing age, might do well to learn.

When Hegel was born in 1770 (in the same year as Beethoven and Wordsworth), Goethe was already 20, and it was no idle boast when Hegel later confessed himself to be Goethe's spiritual son. For like Goethe (and Schiller, Herder, Friedrich Schlegel, Novalis, Hölderlin, and Kleist), he too recognized that art expresses the idea immediately with sensory materials, that the construction of artistic forms is the task and the special power of the imagination, that sensuous forms are soaked in significance, and that the transforming and idealizing tendency of artistic creation is to prepare for the higher illuminations of religion and philosophy.

Hegel's ultimate foundation is the humanist insight of

the German eighteenth century: that men spin their culture like the spiders spin their web, and that if art lacks factuality, it provides a treasury of significances; that if religion is a state of feeling without analytic clarity, it is a noble repository of human ideals, and that if the great philosophic systems seem to have multiplied like flies in the summer sun, nevertheless they have always been variations upon a single theme richly and multifariously expressed. Hegel recognized that the power of the human consists in this: that spirit shapes the world to its will and its desire: sensuously in art, emotionally in religion, cognitively in philosophy.

These forms Hegel investigates with passion and in depth and with an empirical richness that makes the modern analytic philosophizing of G. E. Moore and Gilbert Ryle and John Austin seem by comparison watery, insubstantial, and thin. His subject is the whole range of human experience as historically realized in different forms and at different moments of Western culture—an analysis of the life-history of the human spirit. Each type of experience has its limits. No single one can satisfy the whole mind. Each has a reality and a truth of its own to supply, and as Hegel deals with these forms one by one, his constant object is the enrichment of experience, a deepening of understanding, the unremitting search to discover the interconnections in the life of mind. It is thus that he finds the philosophy of culture.

It is important, I think, to understand the significance of this accomplishment, its wider meaning beyond the mere suggestion of a new area of philosophic concern. The continental rationalism of the seventeenth century and the British empiricism of the eighteenth have often been contrasted as directly antagonistic points of view. What has less often been remarked is that whether with Descartes or Leibnitz, with Locke or Hume, they are both basically individualistic and atomistic philosophies. Both begin with the individual in ethics, the atom or the monad in cosmology, the sensation or the image or the idea in theory of knowledge. Everything here is founded on the composition of parts, including the world and the mind and the society, and the liberty and autonomy of the individual is necessarily prior to the construction of the universe, the human community, and the whole. But for this very reason both rationalism and empiricism signify a profound alienation, the rupture of close personal relations with the human community and with the motherly body of nature. Each individual finds definitive self-consciousness in his solitude. Each individual decides independently and autonomously

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF CULTURE AND THE CULTURE OF PHILOSOPHY



and alone. Both the universe of nature and the human community thus become *external* realities from which man has become estranged. He can observe them, contemplate them, study them scientifically, but not relate to them.

It is just this sense of participation and relationship which the Hegelian insight has restored. For now the significance of man lies less in his abstract rationality than in his concrete historicity, less in his participation in a universal structure of reason (as Kant pretended) than in his membership in a community of human culture. It is this community of culture which lies at the foundation of every authentic humanism—a community whose growth and widening reflects the progressive self-realization of the human spirit. The European consciousness of this cultural community was probably not capable of achievement before Goethe. Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit* is its definitive philosophic expression.

It is perhaps both paradoxical and miraculous that the idealizing universalism which provided the cosmopolitan notion of the community of culture should have originated neither in the England of Sir Isaac Newton nor in the France of Turgot and Condorcet, but rather in the fragmented Germany of Lessing and Herder, of Goethe, Schiller, and von Humboldt. For at precisely the moment that daily life in the numerous petty German principalities of the time is provincial, limited, and inane, Friedrich Schlegel calls humanity "an infinite plant" and *Unendlichkeit* (infinity) becomes a favorite word in the vocabulary of the contemporary romantic poet. At the same moment that Lessing in *Emilia Galotti* and Schiller in *Kabale und Liebe* are showing the corruption and the essential rottenness of life under local despotic princely rule, they are acquiring that faith in universality and the breadth of human outlook which they are to celebrate respectively in their *Education of the Human Race* and *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Mankind*.

To justify man in the images and the representations which his spirit has created is, indeed, as Hegel knew, a noble enterprise, but the philosophy of culture since Hegel's day has had but an interrupted and discontinuous history. It falls, however, into two rather discrete stages, the first lasting from Hegel's death in 1831 to the end of the first world war, the second from the first world war to the death of Ortega in 1956. In the first stage the true continuation of the Hegelian enterprise falls neither to Bradley and Bosanquet, who were confessed neo-Hegelians, nor to Marx, who borrowed his central ideas while stand-

ing him on his head, but rather to two German philosophers of culture, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) and Georg Simmel (1858-1918) who are so little Hegelian in the formal sense that they would have repudiated all kinship and thought of themselves as stemming rather more likely from Kant. Simmel even went so far as to call himself a sociologist. But we shall forgive him that. His originality and breadth of intent, the variety of cultural themes which engaged him: Rembrandt, Michelangelo, Rodin, Stefan George, Florence, Venice, money, love, landscape, ruins, shame, coquetry, adventure, the aesthetic significance of the face, all testify that the early impressionistic *Kulturphilosoph* and the later and more metaphysical *Lebensphilosoph* are one and the same, and that his major intent, the examination and analysis of cultural objects as revelations of the essential nature of human experience, allies him closely with Hegel's phenomenology of the human spirit.

ANY RANDOMNESS in the objects of Simmel's interest is deceptive. For it is precisely his point that although the universe is given as a sum of fragments, it must be the effort of philosophy to substitute an image of the whole for the parts. What matters here is the achievement of that unity which the mind needs in the face of the immeasurable multiplicity, the variegated and unreconciled shreds of the world. Simmel's view of philosophy is very Hegelian indeed. He conceives the philosopher as the man of synoptic vision, receptive and reactive to the totality of being. Men in general are turned toward particular things, but the philosopher, whatever special problem he may be treating, will do so as a philosopher only if its relationship to wider realms of significance is a vital element in his discussion. His remarkable energy is just the mind's ability to "totalize," in spite of the fact that its acts are always stimulated and directed by external particulars.

There is one final idea which Simmel contributes to the philosophy of culture, and it is one which he has derived from Kant even more than from Hegel. It is the notion that culture is a "formative" as well as a "totalizing" agency. There are always a few basic forms—science, art, religion, philosophy—which shape the material of the world into a world of their own. Ordinary experience provides only the rudiments, the raw materials of culture as it were. The task of the agencies of culture is their purification and formalization. The experiences of color, hardness, and sound are common to us all, but only a master of form can transmute the first into Vermeer's "Woman Weighing

Pearls," the second into the north porch of Chartres, the third into Mozart's Piano Concerto in A Minor. The exquisiteness of culture reflects only the relentless search to adapt the general modalities of experience to the requirements of harmonious integration. For seeing artistically and experiencing cognitively, form remains the most general measure of adequacy, but although the analysis of the special structures of the multiplicity of formative worlds is the task of the philosophy of culture, culture itself always remains a particular relation between the individual and the totality of human cultural products. In this sense every man contains something of the artist, for his own formative acts are acts of choice, appropriation, and assimilation. It is highly important to distinguish between culture as the intellectual and artistic content of civilization and culture as the art of personal cultivation.

THE DISTINCTION between *Kultur* the inanimate *thing* and *Bildung* the living *process* makes clear that cultivation requires the active interiorization of mere cultural objects. A man may have much knowledge, virtuosity, and refinement and yet not be genuinely cultured so long as these operate as mere additions coming to his personality from a realm of value which is and remains external to it. Cultivation always remains the ethical norm of the philosophy of culture, for it means treating one's own experience as a material which must be continually shaped. The "tragedy of culture," as Simmel saw it, lay in this crucial antithesis between "life" and "form." The clue to its overcoming resides in the perception that cultural objects are at once products and testimonials.

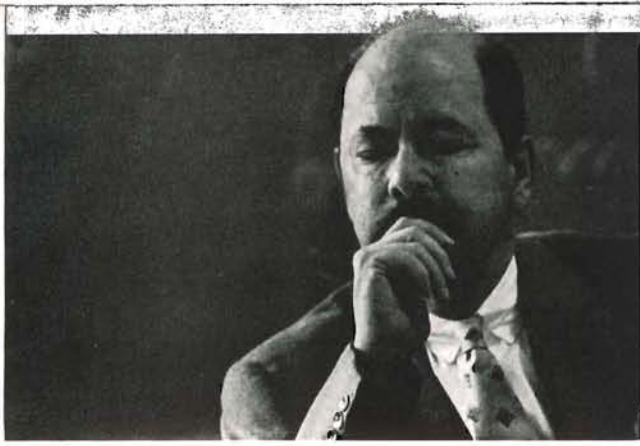
The second or contemporary stage of the philosophy of culture falls, as I have said, in the period between the first world war and 1956, and here the chief names are those of the neo-Kantian philosopher of symbolic forms, Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945), the two self-acknowledged neo-Hegelians Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) and Robin Collingwood (1889-1943), Ortega y Gasset (1883-1956), and in part, Alfred North Whitehead (1861-1947). In one way or another they are all testimonials to the remarkable way in which the great systems of Kant and Hegel have cast their shadows well into the twentieth century.

Falling as he does within the great tradition of Lessing, Herder, and Goethe, and profoundly influenced both by Simmel and Dilthey whose famous distinction between the natural sciences and the cultural sciences was the starting point for his humanist research, Cassirer early turned from the problem of concept formation in the nat-

ural sciences to a general philosophy of culture, thus recapitulating in his personal experience the passage from Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* to Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit*. Cassirer understands that the philosophic study of culture is one of the youngest branches of philosophy, but with romanticism he proposes to turn from the logical problems of mathematics and the natural sciences to the shaping fantasies of intuition and imagination in language, poetry, and history. But this turning, as Cassirer sees, is not merely from one set of conceptual problems to another; it is the passage from one universe of experience to another: from the "thing-world" of science, where the human and the personal have been expurgated and eliminated and the concepts of law and cause reign supreme, to the "person-world" of the humanities, where human purposes are the clue to formal significance, and where the concepts of form and style serve as categories of estimation and value.

Unlike Heidegger and Whitehead, Cassirer had lost his faith in the possibility of a definitive ontology, but he starts nonetheless from the presupposition that there is indeed an essence or nature of man exhibited, not in his metaphysical character but in the system of cultural acts which express his symbolic capability. Philosophy, then, as with Simmel, retains its synoptic task. A philosophy of symbolic forms comprehending language, myth, religion, art, science, and history can make good the claim to unity and universality which dogmatic metaphysics has been forced to abandon. In its examination of these symbolic forms philosophy attempts to understand the universal principles according to which man gives structure to his experience. It was precisely these principles which Herder and von Humboldt attempted to demonstrate for language, Schiller for the realm of play and art, Kant in his analysis of the structure of theoretical knowledge. Philosophy appears therefore in the role of universal interpreter of the multiple "languages" through which the human mind puts forth its inner wealth. It ceases to be a critique of human reason and becomes a critique of human creativity. When it remains mindful of its proper and highest task it will be not merely a definite type of human knowledge, but also the conscience of human culture.

Let me summarize: With Hegel, I believe that the subject of philosophizing must be the entire range and compass of human culture as expressive of the human spirit. With Simmel, I believe that philosophy is a synoptic vision—a formative and a totalizing agency which seeks to introduce order and structure into the rude multiplicity of



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the world. With Cassirer, I believe that philosophy's task is the critical examination of man's creative acts, and as such functions as the conscience of human culture. But I am aware too that my *confessio fidei* is something in the nature of a minority report, and that it would be indignantly repudiated by some of the most influential philosophers writing today. That this is true bodes ill for the desired rapprochement between philosophy and the humanities in general. How has this situation come about?

I SHOULD NOT LIKE to be accused of Anglophobia, but honesty compels me to say that it is primarily the British who are responsible. Whether at Oxford or Cambridge, not simple insularity, but a rugged and tenacious provincialism has always been one of the sturdier resources of the English spirit. Having so continually identified the little island of Britain with the universe, it is perhaps understandable that in philosophy too they should have fallen into the habit of mistaking a part for the whole; that they should have so unfortunately confused the very valuable but partial tool of logical analysis with the whole of the philosophic enterprise. Although many have been guilty of this error, it is Bertrand Russell, the brilliant founder of the school of logical empiricism, who may stand as its chief exemplar, and his famous essay of 1914 "Logic as the Essence of Philosophy" as a landmark of our first infection and of one of the most fatal philosophic confusions of the modern world. He insisted that *all* philosophy is *nothing but logic*, that the discovery of the logic of relations has introduced into philosophy the same kind of advance as Galileo introduced into physics, and that every philosophical problem when subjected to the necessary analysis and purification is found either to be not really philosophical at all or else a problem in logic.

For a considerable period in the first decades of this century logical empiricism was a philosophic scandal—but an influential one. Its reduction of all significant statements to the tautologies of logic and mathematics or the empirical propositions of the special sciences, left science as the exclusive source of human knowledge and conveniently degraded metaphysics, aesthetics, religion, ethics, and political philosophy to the status of nonsense. Once again its error lay in its narrowness and partiality—not that it elevated science, but that it left as legitimate objects of philosophic concern nothing else. Fortunately the positivistic madness has somewhat subsided in Anglo-American philosophic circles, only however to be supplanted by a madness even more quixotic—that of the so-called

Oxford philosophy or linguistic analysis. Its high priest is not Lord Russell, but Ludwig Wittgenstein.

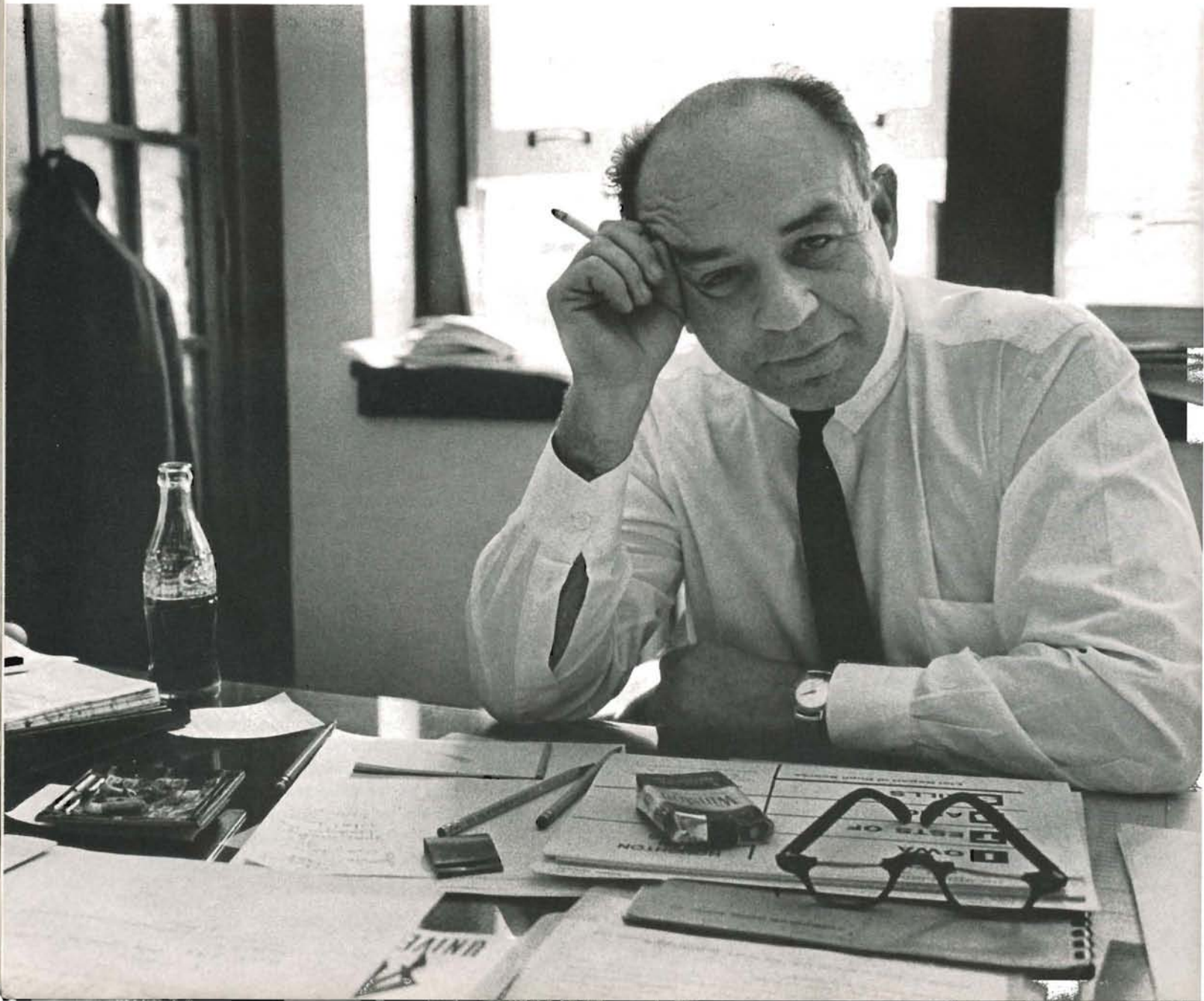
As the logical empiricists enthroned logic, so the linguistic analysts have enthroned semantics. They see language as a multiple set of tools which men use in the world, and devote themselves exclusively to our linguistic habits, their most minute differences, and their social context. But there is one unhappy consequence. The newer linguistic philosophers find philosophy itself to be a dreadful mistake, to be, in fact, precisely what the earlier positivists had found metaphysics to be—a disease of language. Because Wittgenstein had been trained as an engineer, he could not prevent himself from viewing the operations of human language somewhat upon the model of a gasoline engine. When the motor was pulling its load, language was doing its work, but when the motor was idling, it produced philosophy like trailing clouds of noxious exhaust fumes. It is natural, therefore, that the program of linguistic analysis is not to develop philosophy, but rather to do away with it as a kind of dangerous air-pollution, and it is natural for those of us of an older philosophic tradition to resent this interpretation that our best philosophic efforts are only a kind of scholarly carbon monoxide.

In speaking of Russell and Wittgenstein as I do, I would want it understood that my impatience is less with them than with their narrowly partisan philosophic effects. Russell is close to a genius and Wittgenstein was a very talented man indeed. But as Etienne Gilson once said of the founder of modern philosophy: "There is more than one excuse for being a Descartes, but there is no excuse whatsoever for being a Cartesian." No man can fall a victim to his own genius unless he has genius, but lesser men are fully justified in refusing to be victimized by the genius of others. As Gilson would say, if there is more than one excuse for being a Russell or a Wittgenstein, there is none whatsoever for being a Russellian or a Wittgensteinian.

The aberrations of contemporary philosophy are the fruits of narrowness, of failures of general education, of the mistaking of parts for the whole, of that fanaticism which results from redoubling one's technical efforts at the same moment when one has forgotten one's humanist aims. And its rescue and revival will depend upon the recovery of those insights which inform the synoptic labors of men like Kant and Hegel, Simmel and Dilthey, Croce and Cassirer, Collingwood and Whitehead. Such a renaissance will service the human passion for wholeness and it will restore that philosophic culture of which the modern world is so desperately in need.



*As an elementary school principal in the University City school system, Alumnus Earl Greeson is making many important innovations. The most successful and significant to date has been his pioneering introduction to St. Louis area public schools of the revolutionary "initial teaching alphabet," or "i.t.a.," medium with which children in kindergarten and the primary grades are taught to read.*



# our man in i.t.a.

**E**ARL GREESON IS A STOCKY, balding man who looks as if he might be an insurance salesman. He is not. He is a school principal and, not very far under the skin, he is a rebel—level-headed, systematic, and even somewhat pragmatic, but a rebel nevertheless.

It is a moot point who planted the seed of the idea three years ago that the University City School system in suburban St. Louis needed to re-evaluate its primary reading curriculum, but when a chairman was appointed for the evaluation committee, that chairman was Earl Greeson, MA 55. A year later, when the University City schools decided to initiate a controlled study of a new device for teaching reading, Earl Greeson became director of the project with the three first-grade classrooms in his school as the hub of the study.

Judging by the steady stream of national educators who visit the primary classrooms of Delmar-Harvard school, the first graders in Greeson's school are one of the most amazing groups of six- and seven-year-olds in the Midwest. Not that Earl Greeson's first graders are exceptional in intelligence; they are simply precocious—by design. To a child, they read vocabularies of 3,000 words or more and write with perfect ease.

The children have been taught by i.t.a., initial teaching alphabet.

"I.t.a.," Mr. Greeson explains, "is a tool for the initial teaching of reading, not a full-blown spelling reform or a language of its own. The initial teaching alphabet is based on a carefully designed, imperfect, phonemic alphabet. The imperfections are carefully built in to facilitate an early transition from i.t.a. to traditional orthography (T.O.). Most of our children, 98 per cent in fact, make the reading transition to T.O. by the end of the first grade."

The initial teaching alphabet has forty-four symbols, each representing one, and only one, sound (or phoneme) in the English language. Twenty-four of the symbols are traditional, fourteen are augmentations which closely re-

semble two familiar letters joined together, and six are special symbols. Having learned these symbols and the sound which each represents, a child can read any word written in i.t.a. and write any word he can pronounce. His reading and writing vocabularies, instead of merely the 300 to 500 words of the traditional first reader, include every word which is part of his spoken vocabulary.

"It makes them independent and completely free of limitation. It's marvelous for them and for me," one of the first grade teachers exclaimed. "They read about everything that they are interested in, and they write about all of their experiences."

"Show and tell" time is obsolete. Children write, and they write, and they write.

gary ix haviŋ his tonsols out todæ.

ie luv yœ, mufher. yœ hav been sæ nies tœ mœc.

littl ant, littl ant, gœ awæ.

littl boi scærd ov it

that's wrot ie'd sæ.

last niet fhær wox a mœtorsiecl crafh. a boi and a girl wer riedig the mœtorsiecl. and fhæ hit a truck, and the boi wox killd. and the girl ix in the hospital. fheæ hax a fractuerd leg and ribs.

winter, winter, snœy ground

fræzen læks and fræzen toun.

In a Delmar-Harvard first grade classroom the children and the teacher talked a few moments about ghost stories; then she suggested a title: "What Was That?" Heads immediately bent over the papers. "Better think for a minute before you begin," she cautioned, but by then the

æ	b	c	d	ē	y	z	s	wh	ch		
face	bed	cat	dog	key	yes	zebra	daisy	when	chair		
f	g	h	ie	j	k	th	th	sh	z	ng	
feet	ice	hat	fly	jug	key	three	the	shop	television	ring	
l	m	n	œ	p	r	a	au	a	e	i	o
letter	man	nest	over	pen	girl	father	bali	cap	egg	milk	box
r	s	t	ue	v	w	u	ω	ω	ou	oi	
red	spoon	tree	use	voice	window	un	book	spoon	out	oil	

The 44 characters of initial teaching alphabet each represent one sound of the English spoken by Americans.

pencils were scratching away. In twenty minutes one boy filled four sheets ("both sides, now that we use i.t.a.").

#### What Was That?

wuns on a dark skæree niet jonh wus gæing tō bed the windæ cryht and the fhutors blō jonh wus scærd but then hee went tō sleep and then the dor æpend and then sum birgolos cæm. jonhs murther wokup and sæ did jonh. whot ar yō dōing. hands up. hand æver the lōt. no. hand it over. no. this will tæk kær uv yō. baŋ baŋ. that will tæk kær uv yō and hee tied the bōi up with sum ræps and gagd his mouth and pōt him in the klosit and hee went lōking thrō the klosit in the kighen and then hee went bak up stærs and then hee found sum juloree werth lots uv munce and hee got the munce and went awæy. then sum polexmen cæm and herd the skweelig and thæ found the bōi and then thæ found the murther but shæe wus killd. sæ shæe got bæreed and hee livd with his fother the rest uv his lief and every thing wus gud from thær on.—joshua laserson

one dæ my mother sed "linda will you gæ to the stor for mee?" "yes" ie sed. sæ ie got my cæt on and went to the stor. and dō you no whot? ie saw a tree taung. it wox an apple tree. sæ ie went to tæk an apple. it wox looking at mee. and then it trnd around. and ie tok an apple. and it grabed mee. and ie sed "let mee gæ!" "let mee gæ!" but it did not. and then ie sed "ie am suppæ too gæ to the stor far my mother." sæ the tree pōt me down. and when ie got hæm my mother sed "whot tok you sæ laung?" ie sed "a taung tree pit mee up. and wōdent let mee gæ." but here is the milk.—linda ploesser.

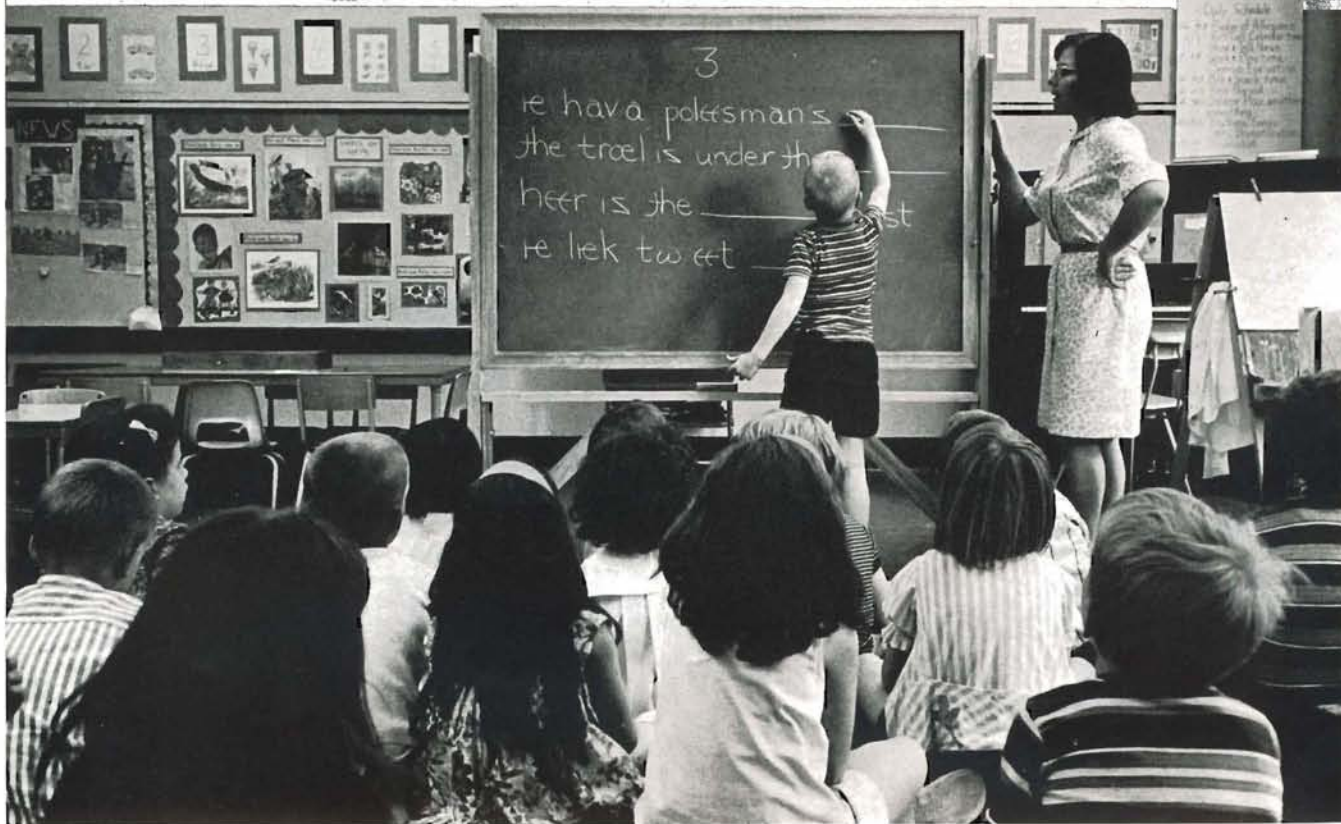
Like many of the children in the first grade at Delmar-Harvard, by the end of the school year Linda is beginning to write in a mixture of i.t.a. and T.O. She writes "one" not "wun" and "looking," and her "th's" in the word "the" are traditional. Linda is also applying to her writing the punctuation which she is being taught as she progresses from i.t.a. to traditional orthography. Joshua's writing is predominantly in i.t.a., although he sometimes uses the traditional "s" rather than the i.t.a. symbol when he writes the word "was."

Mr. Greeson explains that as the children read traditional orthography they gradually begin to write it and by the end of their second year, writing is traditional.

"Oh, an i.t.a. symbol occasionally will pop up in their spelling, particularly when they are struggling with a difficult word, but without i.t.a. they probably would not be attempting to use that word at all."

First grade teachers say that the transitions in reading and in writing would come even if the teacher did nothing to encourage it. All classes have traditional books in the classroom from the first day and the *Early-To-Read i/t/a Program*, designed specifically for first-grade use, introduces traditional orthography in its third phase workbooks and readers, teaching spelling patterns and grammar as well. One teacher relates that after the first month of school last year, one of her bright children confided in her that he "could read that language in those other books (in T.O.), too." Greeson says that the transitions come earliest to the child who has a good grasp of relationships.

I.t.a. began in England in 1960. The alphabet was invented by Sir James Pitman and has been widely experi-



Children at Delmar-Harvard are introduced to i.t.a. symbols in kindergarten. By the year's end, five-year-olds in the class of Mrs. Fanchon Weitman, AB 52, are able to read sentences in i.t.a. and to write some words without teacher help.

mented with there in the past six years. Sir James sought to devise an alphabet that was phonemic, based on sounds of the English language, rather than phonetic.

"To me," says Mr. Greeson, "the phonemic approach to language differs from the phonetic in essential purpose. Phonemics is a product system. Phonetics is a diagnostic system."

The systems initially approach language from a different point of origin. Phonetics originates from the written language, phonemics from the spoken language.

**I**N THE CONVENTIONAL ALPHABET there are more than 2000 variants in the way the twenty-six symbols are used to make the forty-odd sounds of English speech. These 2000 visual patterns are reduced to fewer than ninety patterns in the initial teaching alphabet. For example, the twenty-two separate ways of spelling the sound "I," "eye," "aye," "y," etc., are represented by only one i.t.a. symbol.

In conventional orthography a child is confronted with still more confusion when he is presented the capital letters. Most capital letters are not shaped like their lower case counterparts: a, A, b, B, d, D, r, R, q, Q, etc., so the child must learn at least two initial alphabets. When cursive writing (with its own set of different capital letters) is taught, a child is faced with still another alphabet. I.t.a. uses a larger version of the symbol for its capital.

"The capital question is another story," Mr. Greeson says. "It represents a further attempt to eliminate another variant from the initial teaching of reading and writing of English. One of the things which is amazing to me is

that someone did not think of this sooner. We would not dream of introducing a child to math on the calculus level, but this is exactly what traditional language teaching methods do with English. To teach arithmetic we begin with simple addition, eliminating as many variants as it is possible to eliminate. I.t.a. does this to a degree with language.

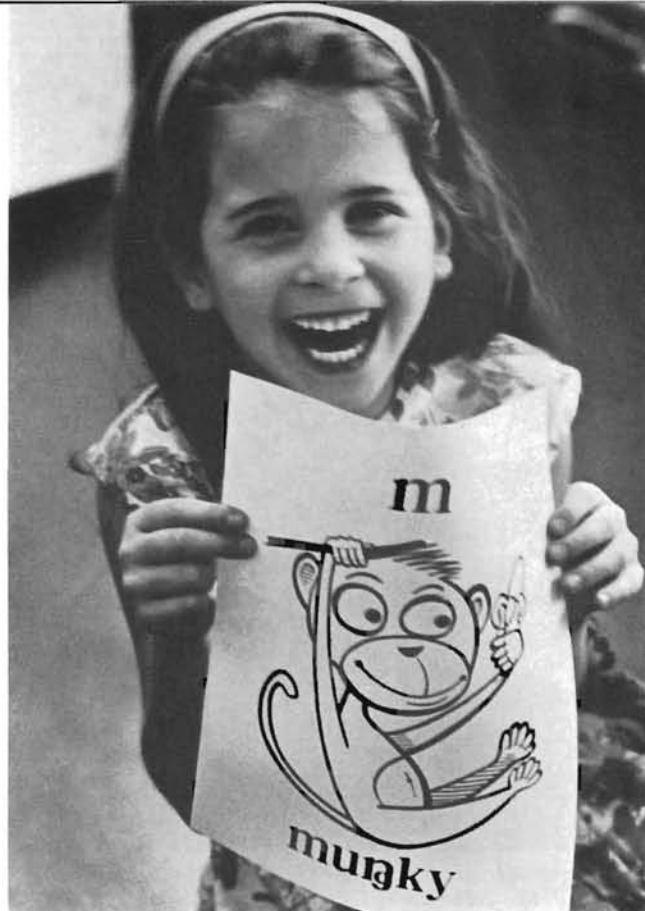
"Our previous efforts in this direction have been confined to limiting vocabulary and to teaching monosyllabic words and simple sentences, and in doing this we have fettered the child's ability. He does not come to the first grade speaking in monosyllables and simple sentences, yet that is all he can read and write. Traditionally, we teach capitalization, spelling, punctuation, and hundreds of other visual variants all at the same time, even though we limit vocabulary."

In i.t.a., variants are introduced one at a time, when the child has a firm grasp of the basic process of decoding (reading) and encoding (writing).

"There is, I think," said a teacher, "that vitally important sweet taste of success which comes first and to every child."

The initial teaching alphabet is, as Mr. Greeson carefully emphasizes, an *imperfect* phonemic alphabet. Traditional elements have been retained wherever they are compatible with phonemic structure. For instance, i.t.a. uses the double consonant, although it has no phonemic value. The word "cross" is the same in i.t.a. and traditional orthography. On a page of an i.t.a. reader about one-fourth of the words will appear just as they appear in

Above the blackboard in every i.t.a. classroom is a set of these whimsical placards, illustrating how an i.t.a. symbol sounds in a familiar word.



traditional orthography and an additional two-fourths will be easily recognizable in either orthography.

When deviations from traditional were necessary, the symbols were designed in close parallel to their traditional counterparts. The transition from the i.t.a. symbols for the "ee" or "th" sounds to traditional orthography is almost automatic. Even the special symbols were designed according to psychological principles of reading to foster early transition. The principle of closure indicates that the mind closes circle gaps, so that these i.t.a. symbols resemble the double "o," which most often represents these sounds phonetically. Psychological studies also indicate that symbols with the "s" curve appear the same to the mind; therefore i.t.a.'s symbols for "sh" and "s" are easily identified with their most common phonetic counterparts.

The University City schools began their experiment with i.t.a. about three years ago after Mr. Greeson, Mrs. Melonie Knight, MA 56, and a third University City educator, visited classrooms in Bethlehem, Pa., where i.t.a. was first introduced into U.S. public schools.

First grade teachers were asked to volunteer for the program and for i.t.a. training. In the fall of 1964, three first grade classes at Delmar-Harvard began to use i.t.a.

"We were so excited after the first month, that the sky was the limit," says Mrs. Perkins, one of the U. City pioneers. "By mid-year we began a frantic search of publishers to find language textbooks for the rest of the year. All of the primary series in T.O. (which includes grades 1-3) were too simple for our children. We finally settled on

the only uncontrolled vocabulary series published in the states. Once a child makes the transition from the i.t.a. series these become our language textbooks. We find we use all of them, up to the end of the third-grade level."

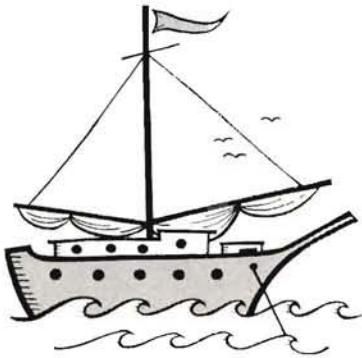
**L**AST FALL THE SAME three teachers began their second classes in i.t.a. The teachers were kept constant for the experiment, but some first grades in five other schools in the district were switched to i.t.a. Last year's first graders at Delmar-Harvard are continuing in i.t.a. in writing and spelling, making the transition to T.O. when it comes naturally for them. The school system also made a series of taped television programs which have been used during this year to introduce kindergarten children in the St. Louis area to the i.t.a. symbols.

In 1964, i.t.a. was initiated in the remedial reading program for second and third graders, taught by WU alumnus Frank Zeitz, MA 62. The results in this program are equally astonishing. In addition, three classes for mentally retarded children, located at Delmar-Harvard but administered by the St. Louis County Special School District, are using i.t.a. In these classes, indications are that with i.t.a. the reading level of the child has been raised about one grade level.

In other areas i.t.a. has been used successfully in the teaching of deaf children and of illiterate adults.

"We have found," says Mr. Greeson, "that each teacher uses i.t.a. differently, but that no teacher can teach the same with i.t.a. as with T.O. It would be impossible to

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teach a child with a reading vocabulary of 3700 words in the same way one would teach a child with a reading vocabulary of 350 words. Our entire first and second grade curriculum needs to be revised to include more sophisticated materials. The six-year-olds develop an amazing personal independence with the freedom to read and to write. A teacher uses her time differently and the classroom contains more multi-level materials because a child is free to learn at his own rate. The programmed reading system is self-operable. Children do their own proofreading, checking, and correcting, or do it for each other. They need only an intermittent check from the teacher.

"This much I know, that no teacher I have met who has taught i.t.a. has ever wanted to return to the traditional phonetic or sight-reading programs."

From "See the dog. I see the dog. Tom sees the dog. The dog sees us." to excerpts from Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* is a long jump for a first grader. From the constant question "How do you spell . . ." to "Mrs. Tedrick, which planet is Uranus?" is just as far; no further, however, than Mrs. Tedrick's answer: "Go look it up in the dictionary. You can read the definition," or from Miss Brown's i.t.a. sentences on the blackboard, "Our visitor this morning is from Washington University. She writes for their magazine," and the sea of waving hands of six-year-olds who want to read them aloud.

In May, the University City school district sponsored a Central States Conference on i.t.a., bringing experts

from London and from Pennsylvania, California, New York, and Tennessee to speak to educators from several states. Next fall, i.t.a. will be taught in the first grades of all ten of the University City elementary schools.

During the two years of the University City study, several other public and private schools in the St. Louis area have begun limited i.t.a. programs. The demand for i.t.a. materials has brought some of the large textbook publishers into the field of i.t.a., although many of the traditional texts are not easily adaptable because of their controlled vocabulary.

**T**HE WIDE RECEPTION and promised success of i.t.a. is no surprise to Earl Greeson. "It looked like pay-dirt from the beginning," he says. But i.t.a. has set him to wondering. What other kinds of curriculum reforms are as long overdue as i.t.a.? What might happen if children were freed from the restrictions of half-century-old classroom concepts and classrooms?

One of the University City schools has knocked out the walls between its first, second, and third grade classrooms to allow children free movement from group to group according to individual development, not age.

"I was a skeptic," says one of Delmar-Harvard's teachers, "but it is working beautifully and the only reason ours aren't down is that they are a foot thick."

Earl Greeson is a rebel. If walls can't come down, other traditional educational barriers can fall. I.t.a. is a beginning.



Typical of P.S. groups is this gathering at the home of William N. Chambers, chairman of the history department. Talk covered more than a dozen topics, lasted nearly three hours, with a few minutes out for Coke and cookies.

# P.S. A positive step toward improved faculty-student communication is taken through an ambitious new program

**S**TOP A HUNDRED PEOPLE on the street and ask them what "P.S." means and it is inconceivable that all 100 wouldn't come up with an acceptable answer: "Post-script," "An afterthought in a letter," or something along these lines.

Repeat the experiment on the Washington University campus and a majority of your respondents would probably ignore the correspondence connection and instead launch into an enthusiastic description of one of the year's most successful student-organized ventures. For on campus these days "P.S." means "Professor-Student," the name of a burgeoning program begun last fall by a small group of students through the Campus Y. The program brings professors and students together periodically, in the professors' homes, for informal discussion of any topics they wish to consider. Since last October roughly 120 students and 25 faculty members have taken part in the rapport-building experiment, and an expanded operation is being planned for next year. Topics covered have ranged from University policies on the draft, athletics and controversial campus organizations, through the differences in methods of teaching and scholarship among various academic disciplines, to war, politics, and God. The program received honorable mention in competition for the Chancellor's Award for 1966.

Whether it's really important for a student to know his professors (or any professor) personally outside the classroom or not ("We're not all that interesting, really," says one faculty member), most students of the current

generation feel the need for some amount of after-hour association with their academic mentors. Their desire for such contact seems to be based in large measure on their disdain for, and fear of, the depersonalized, computer-identification life that many of them feel is gaining control of both their microcosmic society on the campus and of the larger society beyond the University's boundaries.

"Also," says a senior from Texas, "it was a pleasant change just to be in a home again, hearing kids shouting from the kitchen or the yard."

From reported reactions to P.S.'s first year, the University's faculty members, while considerably less anxious about losing their identities, are also finding value in such post-class meetings with students. "They're a lively bunch, with much to say," one professor sums up.

A student adds, "I think it helps the professors to understand how students see things; they often seem genuinely surprised at our views on certain subjects."

Informality and the opportunity to share views with a professor on topics not necessarily related to his field were among the aims of the P.S. organizers when they decided to shelve the Campus Y's established "Faculty Firesides" program in favor of P.S. At the Firesides a professor would lecture and answer questions on a single subject, usually in his field. Another P.S. goal was to provide for repeated contacts between the same professor and the same students.

Cynthia Leonard, a sophomore from Tulsa, Okla., and chief proponent of the P.S. idea, formed a committee last







Robert R. Palmer, then Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, who with Professor Chambers was co-sponsor of a P.S. group, explains University's position on providing students' class ranks to draft boards.



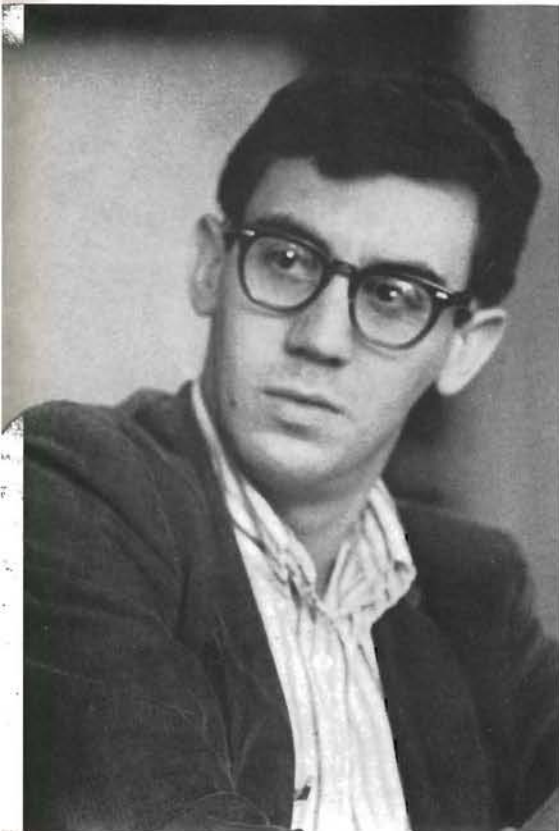
Another of the 25 faculty hosts was John F. Garganigo, assistant professor of Romance Languages.

October, invited a number of professors to a luncheon to explain the idea and get their suggestions, and, when faculty cooperation seemed assured—even enthusiastic—began publicizing the program. Students signed up at the Campus Y and groups were organized, with heterogeneity with respect to sex, major, and class level the aim.

**B**Y THE END of the first semester, fifteen groups were meeting regularly—some monthly, others more often; the frequency was up to the group itself, as was the subject (if any) of a particular evening's discussion. At the end of the first semester, two professors dropped out of the program, but eight new groups were added. Chairmen for next year have already been selected and a goal of fifty faculty participants tentatively set. Foreign language discussion groups may also be added, and the number of administration participants (four this year) expanded.

"We're overwhelmingly satisfied," says the Y's program assistant Susan Hammock. "It's definitely affected the lives of those who have participated. Our only wish is for the program to involve more students and professors. For the most part," Miss Hammock adds, "those who are now involved are the kinds of students and professors who would have little difficulty getting to know one another without a program. We'd like to recruit those who desire more than a casual encounter but are reticent about approaching one another for one reason or another."

If the adage that success breeds success is correct, P.S. at Washington University will not, in the foreseeable future, be considered an afterthought, but a regular part of an individual's university experience.



Junior Roger Persell of Omaha, Nebr., demonstrates the sometimes-forgotten ingredient in communication—attentive listening—before making a reply to the speaker of the moment.



Sophomore Florence Lyman of Cambridge, Mass., gives her impressions of the role of politically oriented organizations on the campus.



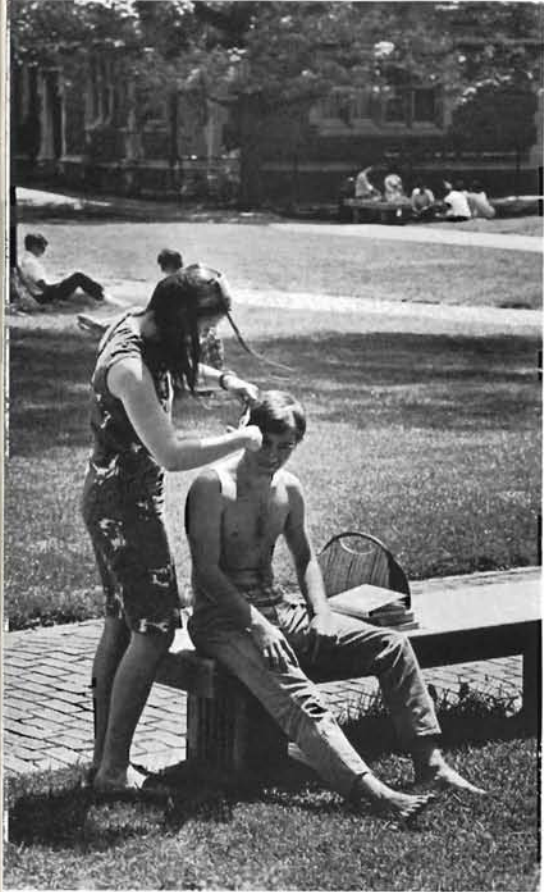
Peter M. Gilchrist, a junior from White Bear Lake, Minn., who was chairman of his P.S. group and one of the program's most enthusiastic supporters, explains the workings of a student-faculty committee on which he serves.



Wayne Willis, a junior from Clayton, Mo., gives his theory on the recent "Witch in Residence," an event sponsored by the Forsyth Houses Program.



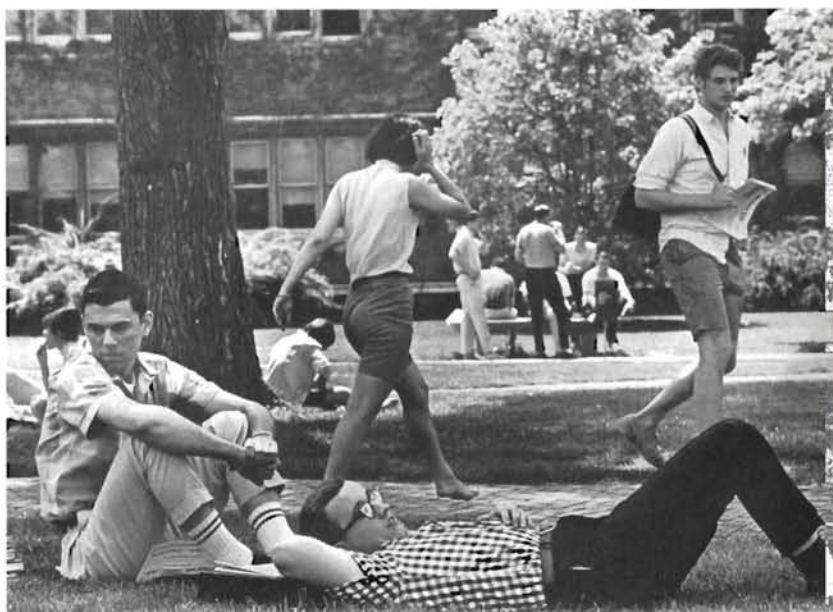
Freshman Isabelle (Kit) Benziger of Carbondale, Ill., chairman of the Garganigo group, is amused by a comment of the popular young professor.



## SPRING IN THE QUADRANGLE



ALL DURING THE LONG dreary winter, Brookings Quadrangle serves mainly as a thoroughfare—a space that must be crossed to get from one building to another. When the first warm spring day arrives, however, the scene undergoes a magic transformation into one big outdoor living room filled with students studying, playing games, snatching naps, or just soaking up the sun. The pictures on these pages were taken at noon on the first warm and sunny day to break after one of the coldest, wettest, dreariest starts spring ever had in St. Louis. While the apparel worn may have changed a bit, the scene differs little from what it has been every spring since the Brookings Quadrangle was laid out over sixty years ago.



We may eventually find that the rehabilitation of only a majority of this group is a notable achievement. Even so, if the remaining minority are simply maintained according to standards consistent with morality and decency in our time, it will do credit to the community which first makes such a contribution.

*Revolving Door: A Study of the Chronic Police Case Inebriate,*  
Pittman and Gordon.



## A NEW APPROACH TO ALCOHOLISM

A SYNDICATED CARTOONIST who features the misadventures of a hapless crook named Butch recently placed his hero half-way down a department store escalator with a sack of booty over his shoulder. A policeman, with gun in hand, stood at the head of the moving stairs. The caption read: "Stop in the name of the law!"

Butch's unenviable position is mirrored in the lives of thousands of police case inebriates who ride the treadmill of chronic alcoholism. They are commanded, in effect, to stop drinking; when they cannot, the consequences are short-term incarcerations which vary from the time it takes to sober up in the municipal "tank" to as long as two years at hard labor for repeaters. Arrested, jailed, released—only to be reapprehended, often within hours—the skid row drunk divides his time between slavery to the bottle and imprisonment by the state. When brought to bear again and again, these legal sanctions amount to life imprisonment on the installment plan.

Society's harsh and unreasonable treatment of alcoholics has come under unprecedented attack within the past decade, beginning to a large degree with the publication of a book by two Washington University sociologists who showed clearly that the alcoholic—like poor Butch on the escalator—is moved by a force beyond his control.

The book was entitled *Revolving Door: A Study of the Chronic Police Case Inebriate*. David J. Pittman, the principal author, based much of the book on work done for his doctoral dissertation two years earlier in 1956. Dr. Pittman is now director of the Social Science Institute at Washington University and one of the world's most respected authorities on the problem of alcoholism. The book's co-author is C. Wayne Gordon, who received both of his advanced degrees from Washington University and is now professor of sociology-anthropology at UCLA.

Pittman and Gordon presented a detailed analysis of 187 case studies of men who had been sentenced at least

twice to a New York State penal institution on charges of public intoxication. The inebriates were studied in terms of their major socio-cultural characteristics, socialization experiences, and drinking patterns. *Revolving Door*, especially the chapter on "What Can Be Done," proved to be the signal for a nation-wide re-evaluation of the alcoholic's predicament.

In 1957, the American Medical Association stated officially for the first time that alcoholism is a disease. Implicit in the AMA's statement was the refutation of the centuries-old philosophy which regarded drunkenness primarily as a moral problem and the drunk as a psychological weakling, a sinner, a man with some tragic flaw in his character. All underpinning for the belief that dipsomania *per se* is a crime was consequently shattered.

Despite the clear-cut implications of the AMA's declaration, alcoholics continue to be treated like criminals. Each year since 1957, more than a million arrests have been made in the United States on the charge of public intoxication. Countless others were detained without charge. The habit of jailing drunken individuals appears to be as hard to break as the habit of drinking itself. Since a habit by nature will dull the active intellect, our society has become calloused to the often tragic results of the present system. Even though some of these "tankers" die in the so-called protective custody of the police, the connection between habitual drunkenness and death-producing disease persists in eluding the lawmakers.

Fortunately, however, the AMA's statement was not destined to be made once and then forgotten. Through the years, Dr. Pittman has taken every opportunity to remind local, state, and national leaders that any law which makes illness a crime is patently unconstitutional. Armed with the AMA's expert opinion, Dr. Pittman has argued that public intoxication by an alcoholic is an

involuntary act and, as such, lacks criminal intent. "The treatment and care of the alcoholic by non-medical persons (police), despite the latter's intentions, is an abomination," Dr. Pittman has said, often before members of the medical profession who are themselves not totally immune to the negative sentiment toward alcoholism.

The first alcoholic beverage was probably made by accident when someone long ago left fruit juice exposed to the warm air. The lively liquid that resulted has been a companion of mankind ever since. However, even ancient man was aware of the morbid aspects of that lively liquid, attributing them to an evil spirit lurking in the wine cup. Eventually the "evil spirit" was explained by chemists as ethyl alcohol (i.e., grain alcohol, spirits of wine).

The habitual craving for alcohol gives rise to mental and social deterioration and eventually produces degenerative changes in the liver, kidneys, brain, and other vital organs. A killer by indirection, alcohol is rarely the immediate, discernible cause of death, since the drinker will usually pass out before he has consumed an overdose. However, alcohol predisposes the body to such severe infections as tuberculosis and pneumonia—as well as the infamous delirium tremens or D.T.'s. The latter are severe withdrawal symptoms suffered by chronic alcoholics—often in jail cells and without medical attention—and range from convulsions to hallucinations. By comparison, the morphine addict faces much less danger to life and undergoes far less pain when he stops using the narcotic. The exact death mechanism which accompanies the D.T.'s is not known, but anyone who witnesses such a sight is not surprised when the trembling stops and the body relaxes into death. When a life has gone so terribly wrong, death results in about ten per cent of the cases.

Given the medical problems that go hand in hand with alcoholism, it is obvious that a jail term, or even a hundred jail terms, cannot begin to rehabilitate the victims of excessive drink. The major thesis of *Revolving Door* is that repeated jailing as a means of reforming the chronic inebriate has been a resounding failure. Dr. Pittman has hounded society with this irrefutable fact, largely through his capacity as president of the North American Association of Alcoholism Programs; chairman of the International Congress on Alcohol and Alcoholism; consultant on the alcoholic defendant to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice; and board member of the National Council on Alcoholism.

In April of 1965, Dr. Pittman presented a paper at a special conference on alcoholism sponsored by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, in which he said:

The primary problem is: How does one effect change in the existing patterns of care for the intoxication offender? Current institutions which handle the problem, such as jails, workhouses, and municipal courts, may have a vested interest in the maintenance of the *status quo*. It is possible that the community may have more interest in maintaining its vegetable farm or its brood of

pigs, the work force for which is the chronic offender, than in a systematic rehabilitation program.

In some communities the emphasis is on the economic contributions of the offenders through their work on local roads and civic projects. There are American municipalities which actually budget the expected services of the offenders to their local civic projects.

. . . These offenders are on skid row; therefore they are the responsibility of the Salvation Army or the Volunteers of America. The police frequently say it is the responsibility of the courts, the courts counter with the duty of the penal institution, and the latter counter-attack with the responsibility of health and mental hygiene agencies. The net result is that no institution or person assumes responsibility for the social problems of these men. Thus, America continues to clutter its courts and jails with individuals whose "crime" is a physical and social illness.

Late in 1963, after a series of eventful conferences with Dr. Pittman, key St. Louis police personnel were persuaded to make it mandatory that all individuals picked up from the streets be taken directly to the emergency rooms of the two city hospitals for physical examination. This means that routine physical evaluation is provided all alcoholics processed by the police; if the individuals require medical care, they are hospitalized. Known as "Code 26" in police parlance, this procedure exists only in St. Louis and represents a pioneering effort toward recognizing the medical nature of alcoholism. In the year the plan went into operation, 7,847 arrests were made in St. Louis for public intoxication. The next year, the number of arrests had dropped to 3,761 and in 1956 it dropped still more to only 2,445—showing a clear trend toward no arrests at all except in cases of public nuisance.

Dr. Pittman is also chief architect of a plan which would make St. Louis the first major city in the nation with a comprehensive treatment program and facility for chronic drunkards. The "St. Louis Plan," as it is known, has been approved by the board of the Human Development Corporation of St. Louis, which has made application to the federal Office of Economic Opportunity for a grant of \$327,289. Under the proposal, the city would put up the space and equipment worth \$67,445. The alcoholic would, when he lands in court yet another time, have the choice of going to the workhouse and/or paying a fine, or electing to volunteer for a minimum of 30 days' treatment. Alcoholics who do not choose the voluntary treatment would still get help in a 38-bed unit of the city's new workhouse. Dr. Pittman believes that the program should be mandatory, since alcoholism is a social disease and is harmful to the common good, but he also recognizes the value of obtaining the patient's co-operation.

The St. Louis Plan would be patterned closely after the treatment center envisioned by Dr. Pittman nearly a decade ago and outlined in *Revolving Door*. Dr. Pittman's approach is one of treatment and rehabilitation instead of

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punishment and custodial care. As he has pointed out repeatedly, the present system "hardly does more than allow the inmate to build up his physical resources for a new drinking bout upon his release and then to lapse back into the hands of the police. The present system is not only inefficient in terms of the excessive cost of jailing an offender 30, 40, or 50 times, but is a direct negation of this society's humanitarian philosophy toward people who are beset by social, mental and physical problems."

**A**CTUAL TREATMENT under Dr. Pittman's plan would be manifold, with these essential factors: (1) medical and physical rehabilitation, since the majority of alcoholics from skid row are sick with tuberculosis, venereal disease, malnutrition, or other maladies; (2) psychological rehabilitation, using both psychiatric and psychological evaluations to determine the patient's internal resources for meeting outside reality; and (3) social rehabilitation, bringing together patients for group therapy, making use of social workers and planning the post-release activities of each individual patient. Any patients found to be psychotic would be sent to a mental hospital.

Release from the treatment center would be based on a system of parole planning in which each patient participates in a recovery plan. Again, the social worker will play an important part, providing the focus around which a systematic plan is mapped out for the release of each man to society. This plan would include a job, housing, and financial aid until first wages are received—plus contact with existing resources in the community, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, clinic facilities, and other social agencies. Halfway houses would also play an important part in the St. Louis Plan, enabling newly-released alcoholics to ease back into society instead of undergoing a sudden complete severance from the treatment center. The halfway house would provide a residence to which convalescent alcoholics would return after work, where they could take their meals and participate in forms of recreation and social living. For a few, those who have been in the revolving door too long and have grown psychologically welded to patterns of dependency, the halfway house might be their final stage of advancement; but they would be at least economically self-supporting.

The feasibility of this plan has been dramatically and convincingly demonstrated by Dr. Pittman and Dr. Sarah L. Boggs, a colleague in the Social Science Institute at the University. Supported by the United States Public Health Service, Doctors Pittman and Boggs set up an Alcoholism

Treatment and Referral Demonstration Project. In their first report, they announced that of the first 55 alcoholics treated, 59 per cent were holding regular jobs a year after release. At the time of admission, only 30 per cent were working. Drinking patterns a year or more after participating in the project revealed: 16 per cent had not taken one drink; 54 per cent were still drinking, but drinking less than before entering the program; 16 per cent experienced no change; seven per cent were drinking more.

Another measure of the capacity to control their drinking was the frequency with which they drank: again, 16 per cent had abstained completely; 14 per cent drank less often than once a month; 11 per cent drank about once a month; 27 per cent drank a few times a month, but only light or social drinking; and 5 per cent drank about once a week, that is, weekend drinking. In total then, the Pittman-Boggs report showed that three out of four of the participants were drinking at a level that indicated an ability to manage their social responsibilities. They had been aimless, hopeless; through treatment they were helped back to a relatively productive and useful existence.

The demonstration project dealt with only a handful of the estimated 75,000 alcoholics in the St. Louis area. If the same percentage of success could be achieved for the entire city and county, over 56,000 individuals would be saved from a disease that will eventually claim their lives after incurring enormous pain and sorrow. In addition, since more than one-third of the incarcerations in the St. Louis area over the past few years have involved alcohol, a goodly number of cells could be vacated—and left vacated.

Through Dr. Pittman's instigation, St. Louis is becoming a national center of reference for other cities wishing to follow suit. On May 5, 1966, Dr. Pittman met with the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners to propose yet another innovation: the establishment of two detoxification centers (sobering-up stations) for public inebriates. The Board approved of the plan and, with the blessing of the mayor, has applied for a \$318,496 grant from the office of Law Enforcement Assistance. The Police Department has agreed to contribute \$76,197, making the total project cost \$394,693. Dr. Pittman will evaluate the effectiveness of the treatment offered by the centers. Also under the plan, the alcoholic would be removed almost entirely from the city courts and jails to a socio-medical locus of responsibility. According to the proposal, every public inebriate in St. Louis will be processed as follows:

- a. A police officer takes the patient to the reception room of the center where personnel complete identifi-



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cation forms and safeguard the patient's personal property.

- b. Center personnel complete a medical examination of the patient.
- c. After the patient has showered he is put into clean clothing and assigned a bed.
- d. As many of the alcoholics will be suffering from the acute consequences of alcoholism, nursing care, as well as a special diet, will be provided each patient.
- e. Depending upon the patient's physical condition, he will participate in beginning therapeutic activities at the center which will include films, group meetings and discussions, and didactic lectures.
- f. Each patient will be individually counseled in regard to his particular problems. This counseling will result in referral of the patient to other social, health, or governmental agencies.

**D**R. PITTMAN believes that results obtained during the first year of operation will justify application for LEA funds to finance a second year for the centers.

On a national basis, the potential of Dr. Pittman's work is astounding, since even the most conservative assessment of the problem shows at least five million alcoholics in this nation. If a good proportion of these men and women could be rehabilitated, what would happen to the myriad social ills attendant upon alcoholism? How many homes could be reunited or saved from destruction? How much of the estimated \$2 billion lost annually by industry because of alcoholism could be saved and used productively? How much of the war on poverty could be won?

Two individuals among these millions of American alcoholics have received national attention within the past year as the appellants in separate test cases argued at the federal level. Joe B. Driver's precedent-setting case was the first of the two. After being arrested a total of 210 times for public intoxication, his last conviction was appealed and taken to the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond, Va. As a classic example of the revolving door offender, his case was championed by the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union, and the Washington Area Council on Alcoholism. The case was argued December 7, 1965, and was decided January 22, 1966. The three-judge panel found in favor of Mr. Driver, setting aside his two-year sentence in a six-page decision which they themselves summarized:

The upshot of our decision is that the State cannot stamp an unpretending chronic alcoholic as a criminal if his drunken public display is involuntary as the result of disease. However, nothing we have said precludes appropriate detention of him for treatment and rehabilitation so long as he is not marked a criminal.

A similar case before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia also found in favor of the appellant, DeWitt Easter, a chronic alcoholic who had been in and out of the revolving door more than 70 times. The briefs filed for Mr. Driver and Mr. Easter listed the same *amici curiae*—and both quoted extensively from the *Revolving Door* and other writings by Dr. Pittman.

With the Driver and Easter cases now on the books influencing similar cases around the country, Dr. Pittman believes that the Supreme Court will ultimately decide the question for the entire nation. Already, the American Civil Liberties Union has asked the Supreme Court to decide an appeal for Thomas F. Budd, an Oakland, Cal., janitor who has been arrested 34 times for gross intoxication. Appeals in his behalf were rejected by the Alameda County courts and the California Supreme Court.

"A black mark on our society," Dr. Pittman believes, "is about to be erased. The dread snake pits which housed the mentally ill of an earlier century and the drunk tanks of our own time have much in common—horridness, abuses, and cruelty. I have no doubt that the Supreme Court will rule that treating alcoholics like criminals constitutes a violation of the Eighth Amendment, and that as a result thousands of unfortunate people will be rescued from the revolving door. However, the negative sentiment toward alcoholism will remain entrenched in some quarters for a long time to come. The Supreme Court will pave the way, but the last vestiges of the old system will have to be uprooted at the community level."

The kinds of community treatment programs which Dr. Pittman advocates must be based on the results of scientific investigations or on principles derived from the study of other chronic illnesses and diseases. His own career has indicated the crucial role of the sociologist in the planning, operation, and evaluation of treatment facilities. Today, the sociological principles which he has helped to instill have formed the basis on which policy decisions are being made in St. Louis. Perhaps the most important is summed up in his own words: "Only those who can tolerate work which is unusually discouraging and unrewarding can ever succeed with alcoholics."

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT NEWS to come out of the annual June meeting of the Washington University Board of Trustees this year was the announcement that Charles Allen Thomas had been elected chairman of the board. Dr. Thomas, former board chairman of the Monsanto Company, is now chairman of the Finance and Technical Committees of the Monsanto board. He has been a member of the University's board since 1962 and has served as chairman of its Committee on Planning and Development.

Dr. Thomas has won world renown as a scientist and an industrial leader. During World War II he was closely associated with Arthur Holly Compton, former chancellor of Washington University, in the Manhattan Project for the development of the atom bomb. He has been engaged in numerous other government activities since the war, among them the chairmanship of the Scientific Manpower Advisory Committee of the National Security Resources Board and service as consultant to former President Eisenhower's National Security Council. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Chemical Society, and the National Academy of Engineering, among many, many national posts. His election as chairman of the Board of Trustees is welcome news for all members of the University community and bodes well for its future.

Dr. Thomas succeeds James S. McDonnell, who asked for a leave of absence from the board because of the press of business obligations. All of us at Washington University owe a great debt of gratitude to "Mr. Mac" for the loyal service and inspiring leadership he gave during his term as chairman.

At the same meeting, the trustees also elected three vice chairmen of the board: Robert H. McRoberts, senior member of the law firm of Bryan, Cave, McPheeters and McRoberts; John H. Hayward, managing partner of the investment banking firm of Reinholdt and Gardner; and Robert Brookings Smith, vice chairman of the board of Mercantile Trust Company. It all adds up to some very powerful leadership.

SHORTLY AFTER THE NEWS of the election of Dr. Thomas, the University made another important announcement: the appointment of Dr. Merle Kling as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Merle Kling, a faculty member at Washington University since 1946, is an outstanding scholar of the governments and politics of Latin

America. While he has done graduate work at the University of California at Berkeley and has been a visiting professor at the University of the Americas in Mexico City, and at Illinois and Princeton, he is a triple alumnus of Washington University, holding his bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees from this institution.

As an alumnus and a long-term faculty member of Washington University, Dr. Kling brings to his new position a great deal of knowledge of Washington University and a deep insight into its operations and its ambitions. He is a highly respected scholar who is well known to the faculty and who has shown an acute sensitivity to the problems of the student.

Professor Kling succeeds Dr. Robert R. Palmer, who is leaving us to accept the position of Dean of Faculty at Princeton University. While we all regret losing this most eminent historian, it is easy to understand why he would accept the challenge of one of the top academic positions in the country at an institution where he has spent some twenty-seven years.

ALUMNUS A. E. HOTCHNER'S *Papa Hemingway* is still riding the crest of the best-seller lists nationally. The latest report from Hotch is that his newest work, a dramatic venture called "The Hemingway Hero," is nearing the time when it will go out on trial runs before opening on Broadway this fall.

Hotch's latest production will be something completely new in the theatre. What he will attempt to do is to create a protagonist incorporating the traits and characteristics of the various central characters in Hemingway's works and to trace through him the development of the Hemingway hero. Using a "living screen" developed by designer Ralph Alswang, the production will enable the hero to move through fifty or sixty different scenes from Hemingway's works.

THE VERY CLEVER DRAWINGS illustrating i.t.a. symbols used on the cover of this issue and in the story about Earl Greeson and his work in the University City schools are from *My Alphabet Book*, published by Initial Teaching Alphabet Publications, Inc., of New York. The authors of this little text are Howard J. Tanyzer and Albert J. Mazurkiewicz; illustrations are by Allen Shapiro.

Granting us permission to use the illustrations was only one of the many ways in which the people at Initial Teaching Alphabet Publications helped us with the story. If we hadn't already used up all the special i.t.a. type we had to order from New York for this issue, we'd like to say "thank you" in i.t.a.

—FO'B

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Photo credits: cover and page 43, Initial Teaching Alphabet Publications, Inc.; pages 10-17 and 44-47, John Oidtmann and Herb Weitman; page 18, Random House; all others, Herb Weitman.

**S**ERENADE TO A SIREN: Susan Sher, liberal arts freshman, is serenaded in style by three members of the band from Your Father's Moustache, popular Gaslight Square nightspot. From left: George Fitzsimmons, second-year law student; Dave Mednick, AB 65, first-year law student; Miss Sher, and Thomas C. O'Brien.

O'Brien, BSChE 63, who received his Doctor of Law degree this year, is restoring the 1932 Ford fire engine on which the group is perched. He also owns a 1930 Buick seven-passenger sedan, a 1928 Dodge dump truck, and a vintage Indian motorcycle, all of which he is busy restoring to pristine elegance. In his spare time last year, O'Brien also served as a resident counselor in the Forsyth Residence Halls.



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