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Student Honors
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Foreword

We present the 1994-1995 edition of the Student Honors Research Bulletin with pride. Since we want the Bulletin to present the best examples of serious and sustained scholarship by Western students, the selected papers are typically longer and more thorough than in earlier publications. The Table of Contents shows papers which were written for Senior Honors Theses; all others were written for advanced courses. We hope each reader finds the selections informative and interesting.

Mr. Walker Rutledge, of the English faculty, and I reviewed all papers which were submitted for possible publication in the Bulletin. Mr. Rutledge and I want to thank Western faculty members who contributed their best student papers for consideration. Many good student papers were received but not all could be published. We look forward to submissions for the 1995-1996 publication.

We commend the authors of the published papers for their dedication to excellent research and writing. We hope that publication of their papers in the Student Honors Research Bulletin 1994-1995 will encourage them to continue to develop their research and writing skills and to write for other publications as well.

Sam G. McFarland, Ph.D.
Director, University Honors Program
Women in Control of Courtship in As You Like It, The Merchant of Venice, and All’s Well That Ends Well
Melody Allen

According to many who delight in the reading and performance of Shakespeare’s plays, the most intriguing characters in the romantic comedies are the women. Especially interesting to those of us who are “offspring” of the women’s movement are those female characters who defy class and gender barriers imposed upon the Renaissance woman by taking an active role in courtship. Much has been written about the heroines of As You Like It, All’s Well That Ends Well, and The Merchant of Venice. Rosalind, Helena, and Portia harness their ingenuity and wit to ensure the men whom they desire, placing the male in the role of “object,” the person acted upon or manipulated. Although these comic heroines are not simpering females prone to bend readily to a man’s will, neither are they termagants or shrews. They are women who know what they want and are prepared to pursue their desires using whatever means are at their disposal. Within the framework of their respective plays, Rosalind, Helena, and Portia use power obtained through patriarchy, female sexuality and female bonding, as well as deception, to control the outcome of courtship; however, only Portia clearly seems capable of extending her control from courtship to marriage itself.

Rosalind, the heroine of As You Like It, seems to have little hunger for long-term empowerment, perhaps because most of her power is derived from the patriarchy. At first she seems to benefit less from the male power structure than Helena and Portia since her father has been exiled to the Forest of Arden and has no advantages at the court of his brother Frederick. However, Frederick’s banishment of Rosalind proves that she still retains a small vestige of her father’s power. Frederick admits that his charge of treason is levied against Rosalind because “her smoothness! Her very silence, and her patience! Speak to the people, and they pity her” (1.3.75–7). Rosalind is an omnipresent reminder of the rightful heir; thus, she presents a danger to Frederick’s authority. The banishment is a blessing rather than a curse, for only after Rosalind leaves the court and settles in the Forest of Arden is she free to pursue her interest in Orlando. Within the court, Orlando, the son of a gentleman, would not likely have aimed so high as a Duke’s daughter, while Rosalind, a woman, could not easily have initiated the relationship. Rosalind’s identity as her father’s daughter leads to exile, and in Rosalind’s case, exile becomes empowerment in courtship rites.

Rosalind herself recognizes the power of patriarchy, for she disguises herself as the male Ganymede. In so doing, she places herself in a position of authority over Celia, who is content to become “Aliena.” At first it seems that Rosalind’s male disguise is donned for the sake of safety; having a “man” along would assure that the two young women would not be as likely to fall victim to highwaymen or rogues. However, Touchstone as an escort fills this need. Rosalind’s choice of male attire, then, must be linked to the power that is associated with maleness. As Ganymede, Rosalind steps back into her rightful role as the Duke’s heir—the empowered one—while Celia is reduced to the inferior status to which she was born. In fact, at one point Celia becomes so extraneous to the action that she falls asleep (4.1.209).

Helena’s control over courtship is directly linked to patriarchy through the knowledge of medicine taught her by her father and the resulting favor and protection granted her by the king. Helena’s primary advantage in her quest for Bertram is her ability to heal the king, as various critics have discussed. Lisa Jardine agrees that “the plot of All’s Well That Ends Well hinges on Helena’s specialist knowledge, and on the power that knowledge gives her” (7). However, it is interesting that Shakespeare does not allow Helena full credit for the king’s healing: “instead, she [Helena] merely administers the medicine bequeathed her by her father the physician” (Park 104). Helena uses the special skills she has inherited, according to Carolyn Asp, only after her admission of love for Bertram arouses no active support on the part of the Countess. Helena is then forced to “leave the mother-figure to insert herself with a larger public group and utilize the skills bequeathed by her father,” the “male learning passed on to her as her dowry” (182).

Before using her skills in the king’s behalf, she exacts a promise from him for payment:

Helena: But if I help, what do you promise me?
King: Make thy demand.
Helena: But will you make it even?
King: Ay, by my scepter and my hopes of heaven. (2.1.191–94).

The saving of the king’s own patriarchy deserves payment in kind, “flesh for flesh” in Asp’s words (183). Helena asks for Bertram, a ward over whom the king’s patriarchal control extends. When Bertram rejects Helena, her subsequent fulfillment of his
challenge is proved by the presence of her ring on Bertram’s finger. The proof is indisputable and undeniable because the ring, a gift from the king to Helena, is recognized as a symbol of patriarchal protection that the king has promised her. Bertram may have thwarted the king’s decree at first, but Helena’s pregnancy and his possession of the king’s gift to Helena as proof of paternity will keep him from attempting to find another loophole. Helena uses patriarchy to her benefit on two levels: she employs the knowledge of her father to secure the favor of the king, and she later uses a gift symbolic of the king’s favor to entrap Bertram.

Like Helena and Rosalind, Portia receives part of her control in courtship from patriarchy. Portia asserts in conversation with Nerissa that her own will in courtship is limited: “I may neither choose who I would nor refuse who I dislike; so is the will of a living daughter curbed by the will of a dead father” (1.2.22-4), and she calls her father’s method of choosing the proper suitor a “lottery” (2.1.15). However, it is a lottery that she is able to control when Bassanio is the suitor in question. Knowing the contents of the caskets, Portia can manipulate her father’s puzzle, and the song’s rhyming of “bred / head / nourished” is Portia’s attempt to direct Bassanio to the correct casket (3.2.63-6). Although the dead father in a sense controls Portia from beyond the grave, he has, in a much more realistic sense, empowered her to choose her own spouse by providing the casket test for her suitors. Through her father’s will and her use of language, Portia is able to orchestrate the scene with Bassanio and control the outcome.

Portia also uses her father’s inheritance as an initial enticement for suitors and as a means of cementing the bond between herself and Bassanio. There is little question that Bassanio’s first interest in Portia is her wealth. As a young nobleman, Bassanio needs wealth for the necessary trappings of his class; in addition, he is portrayed throughout the play as a spendthrift, or at the very least, as a poor manager of resources. Marilyn Williamson contends that much of Portia’s power is based on wealth because “in Venice, wealth transcends or threatens social boundaries” (30). By offering to pay Antonio’s debt to Shylock, Portia emphasizes that she governs the means to power and is “the controller of wealth and link-line in an inheritance” (Jardine 14).

When her patriarchal wealth does not sway Shylock, Portia makes the independent decision to present herself in disguise as Antonio’s legal council. Lisa Jardine affirms that Portia’s knowledge is “borrowed from the male sphere: the audience is reminded . . . that Portia’s expertise comes from her cousin, the lawyer Bellario” (15). She uses this "borrowed" knowledge to achieve something that Bassanio alone cannot hope to accomplish—the salvation of Antonio—and her superiority in rank, wealth, learning, and ingenuity binds Bassanio to her. Bassanio owes her a debt that he can never hope to repay, and Portia owes a debt to the patriarchy.

While they engage in the exploitation of the patriarchy to gain power, the three heroines also rely upon power encoded within female identity. Rosalind harnesses her own sexuality and femininity as an empowering agent. Paula Berggren maintains that Rosalind’s sexuality allows her to shed her disguise almost magically and produce the pagan Hymen to bless the marriages in the final act (23). It is Rosalind, not "Ganymede," who holds Orlando to his promise of marriage and reminds Phoebe of her agreement to marry Silvius should Phoebe ever reject "Ganymede."

Berggren further states: while the men with magic power in Shakespeare need external aids, the women need only themselves to become conduits of extraordinary forces. In reaffirming their sexual nature, they exercise the most potent magic of all: Ganymede must become Rosalind; Cesario, Viola; the pilgrim, Helena. (23)

Like the other heroines, Rosalind also exhibits power gained through cooperation with Celia, or "female bonding" (Asp 183). Celia acts as Rosalind’s confidante and moral support; she plays the part of "Aliena" to Rosalind’s "Ganymede" and provides feedback when Rosalind needs it. Celia reveals to Rosalind that Orlando is the writer of the "tree poetry"; and when Rosalind is uncertain about Orlando’s devotion to her or complains and is jealous of his time spent elsewhere, Celia, always rational, points out the obvious evidence of Orlando’s love and the advantages of his close ties to the Duke by acting as a "devil’s advocate," pointing out the opposite of what Rosalind hopes to hear:

Rosalind: But why did he swear he would come this morning and comes not?
Celia: Nay, certainly there is no truth in him.
Rosalind: Do you think so?
Celia: Yes, I think he is not a pickpurse nor a horse-stealer, but for his verity in love, I do think him as concave as a covered goblet or a worm-eaten nut.
Rosalind: Not true in love?
Celia: Yes, when he is in, but I think he is
Rosalind’s reaction to Celia’s criticism of Orlando is predictable: she wishes to prove Celia wrong, and eventually she is successful. Celia also provides an outlet for Rosalind's femininity, which becomes more and more difficult for Rosalind to contain as her feelings for Orlando deepen. When Oliver reveals that Orlando has been wounded while heroically saving him, Rosalind swoons, but Celia holds her composure, calling her cousin "Ganymede" and allowing Rosalind to pass the fainting off as Ganymede "counterfeiting" or acting the part of Orlando’s Rosalind. Celia helps Rosalind "stay in character" by providing the emotional release that Rosalind cannot afford to experience while in the presence of Orlando, and she provides for Rosalind her example that "love at first sight" can indeed be true.

Helena’s success is also largely a product of her own feminine cunning and the advantages gained from what Asp calls "female bonding" (183). She also uses her identity as a woman as an advantage. Bertram did not expect a "mere" woman to be capable of meeting the impossible challenge that he extended: "When thou canst get the ring upon thy finger, which never shall come off, and show me a child begotten of thy body that I am father to, then call me husband; but in such a 'then' I write a 'never'" (3.2.57-60). It is doubtful that he expects Helena to take up his gauntlet, for the riddle he presents seems to transcend solution. His arrogance aids Helena in her purpose. He does not expect a woman to overcome the obstacles that he has planted in her path, and while he floats over the success of his plan, Helena is engineering a plan of her own that will ensure her position as Bertram’s wife.

Helena receives passive support from the Countess, who lauds her efforts to marry Bertram and reprimands Bertram for rejecting Helena. In addition, Helena utilizes the cooperation of the Florentine women to fulfill Bertram’s challenge:

Helena: Take this purse of gold, And let me buy your friendly help thus far, The Count he woos your daughter Lays down his wanton siege before her beauty, Resolved to carry her. Let her in fine consent, As we’ll direct her how ‘tis best to bear it. . . .

Widow: Now I see the bottom of your purpose. . . . I have yielded. Instruct my daughter how she shall persevere, That time and place with this deceit so lawful may prove coherent.

Helena: Why then tonight Let us assay our plot. (3.7.14-48)

Helena also "relies upon the power of her own love" (Warren 84). She recognizes Bertram’s faults and accepts them; it is the power of her love that places Bertram within the realm of redemption, and it is Helena’s plotting with the Florentine women which allows her to manipulate events to the extent that Bertram can be brought into the influence of her love. Diana agrees to accept Bertram into her bed, where Helena will be waiting for him. After the exchange of rings has occurred, Diana faces Bertram in the king’s court, where she, the Widow, and Helena are able to prove that the child Helena carries is Bertram’s.

In The Merchant of Venice, Portia uses feminine wiles as well. She employs her beauty as well as her wealth to entice suitors. In addition, just as Bertram underestimates Helena, Bassanio underestimates Portia’s aptitude and resourcefulness. Portia expects Bassanio to minimize her talents and fortitude simply because she is female, and he does. The success of her deception depends on the men’s failing to comprehend her conspiracy. Her interest in Antonio’s case is selfish; if she saves Antonio by denying Shylock his "pound of flesh," she will prove her devotion to Bassanio and his interest as well as her superior intellect and skill with language. While her cousin Bellario could have saved Antonio on her request, Portia herself would not benefit as much from his actions. She needs extra leverage that can be gained from personally orchestrating Antonio’s salvation. She understands that Bassanio will not suspect her of formulating such an ingenious plan or engaging it. Lorenzo has no suspicions when Portia and Nerissa leave because Portia offers a credible, feminine reason for her absence:

Portia: For mine own part, I have toward heaven breathed a secret vow To live in prayer and contemplation, Only attended by Nerissa here, Until her husband and my lord’s return. There is a monastery two miles off, And there we will abide. (3.4.26-32) As the good, submissive wife who addresses her husband as "lord," Portia’s duty to Bassanio would be to pray for the success of his mission, and Lorenzo has no reason to suspect that she will step out of this typical female role.

Portia also solicits the confidence and help of another female, sharing opinions about her suitors with Nerissa and later employing her in the plot to thwart Shylock: “Come on Nerissa, I have work in hand / That you yet know not of. We’ll see our
husbands / Before they think of us" (3.4.57-59). Nerissa, who plays the part of the servant of a "young and learned doctor" recommended to the court by Bellario, just as readily participates in the deception of the betrothal rings, suggesting that she should fool Gratiano as Portia has outwitted Bassanio: "I'll see if I can get my husband's ring, / Which I did make him swear to keep forever" (4.2.13-14). The threat of cuckoldry surfaces as Portia and Nerissa conspire to "outface them [their husbands], and outwear them too" (4.2.17). Insisting that they have slept with the doctor and his servant because those two gentlemen were in possession of their betrothal rings, Portia and Nerissa reveal their part in Antonio's acquittal and assert their dominance over men who have underestimated the women in their lives.

Each of the three heroines relies ultimately upon deception and disguise to further her ends in courtship. Both Rosalind and Portia disguise themselves as men, hoping to move more freely through worlds that had been partially or completely closed to them, for "male garments immensely broaden the sphere in which female energy can manifest itself" (Park 108). What would have been considered shrewishness or usurpation in most instances is transformed by male clothing into "simple high spirits" (Park 108). However Juliet Dusinberre emphasizes that the masculine woman and the woman in disguise are both disruptive socially because they go behind the scenes and find that manhood describes not the man inside the clothes, but the world's reaction to his breeches. Perhaps Shakespeare's audience would have found the female in male disguise to be entertaining and "high spirited," but it is doubtful, in my opinion, that a woman playing a male role outside the playhouse would have been well accepted or appreciated. Both Portia and Rosalind see masculinity as a type of acting, a game of charades in which the female as well as the male can participate. When Rosalind decides to become Ganymede, she realizes that she can play a man as easily as a coward (1.3.114-20). Portia also enjoys the prospect of acting a male part, braving to Nerissa that their husbands will next see them "in such a habit / That they shall think we are accomplished / With what we lack" (3.4.60-62). Helena chooses feminine garb for her disguises, finding the religious Pilgrim's attire to be more suitable for her purpose. She is, in fact, on a pilgrimage or quest: she has been given a challenge and is seeking a means of meeting the demands that have been stipulated by Bertram.

Rosalind, as Ganymede, gains access to Orlando's inner feelings without his knowledge. The costume gives her "freedom of action and empowers her to take the initiative with Orlando" (Erickson 22). She becomes Orlando's teacher, lover, and confidante, at once a mystical goddess and ordinary girl unable to sustain her character as "boy" for long periods of time (Williamson 31). Williamson maintains that Rosalind "grows more vigorous as she likes her disguise" (31), becoming more potent than Celia, who first suggested their escape into the forest, and eventually growing in power to the point that she can orchestrate her own wedding as well as that of Silvius and Phoebe. However, Rosalind also has misgivings about her role as Ganymede. When Celia first reveals Orlando as the poet who wrote on the trees, Rosalind is anxious to shed her male garments saying, "Alas the day, what shall I do with my doublet and hose?" (3.2.216-17). Although she has found a new type of freedom in male attire, the freedom itself proves to be restrictive, for she must curb her feminine reactions. When she as Ganymede begins acting as "Orlando's Rosalind," the role almost proves her undoing, for she does not have to act. She reveals her deep feeling for Orlando when she swoons after hearing of his near brush with death while saving his brother Oliver. At this point the disguise has become almost impossible to maintain, and when Oliver accuses her of lacking a man's heart, she admits, "I do so, I confess it" (4.3.167). Anxious to be rid of her costume, Rosalind suggests upon her next meeting with Orlando that she "magically" produce Rosalind for a double wedding with Oliver and Celia, and Orlando agrees.

Helena chooses the garb of a religious pilgrim rather than the male disguise utilized by Rosalind, perhaps as a reminder of her own personal quest for Bertram's affection. According to Paula Berggren, "Helena's disguise as a female pilgrim rather than an adventurous boy signals a momentous shift in Shakespeare's treatment of women" (22). She contends that "intellectual compatibility in sexual relationships becomes a luxury" that Helena is able to dispense with, and that Helena's road to womanhood seems to be a "showdown between holiness and lust" rather than between male and female sexuality (22). Regardless of the reason for Helena's religious attire, she employs the disguise as a means of controlling Bertram, just as Rosalind achieved control of Orlando with the aid of her disguise. In addition to becoming a religious pilgrim, Helena also "becomes" Diana under the cover of darkness. Acting as Diana, Helena is able to fulfill the conditions under which Bertram will accept her; she will obtain his ring and his child even though he has never knowingly slept with "her." J. M. Silverman reminds us that in "disclosing herself finally to Bertram and his court, Helena calls herself
a 'shadow'" (33), revealing the depth of imitation. She has effectively separated herself from Diana, and in so doing, separates Bertram's intention of bedding Diana from her own act of conception. Janet Adelman insists that in "defiling one woman, Bertram impregnates another: through the magical transference of the riddle, Diana gets the taint and Helena the child" (85). Adelman sees Helena's conception as similar to the virgin birth, and she maintains that Bertram "will accept Helena as his wife only when she can prove herself in effect a virgin mother, that is, prove that she is with child by him without participation in the sexual act" (85). Part of Helena's power lies in her ability to us Bertram's words to her own advantage, and she must employ "disguises" as Diana in order to fulfill the challenge that he assumes is beyond her capabilities. If she wishes to be Bertram's wife in more than name, she must assume another identity in order to entrap him within the mesh of his own demands.

Portia in male disguise succeeds where no other Shakespeare heroine does: she "is allowed to confront a man over matters outside a woman's sphere, and to win" (Park 108). In the process of dismantling Shylock's claim to Antonio's "pound of flesh," Portia, disguised as Balthazar, accomplishes a task thought impossible by the men of Venice. Portia's case is based on a "verbal quibble" which allows the duke to adhere to the letter of the law while saving Antonio (Newman 31). Portia later uses her linguistic skills to her own advantage when she confronts Bassanio about the loss of his betrothal ring. Insinuating that she will cuckold Bassanio by giving to the doctor that which the betrothal ring symbolizes, Portia states

Watch me like Argus;
If you do not, if I be left alone,
Now, by mine honor, which is yet mine own,
I'll have that doctor for my bedfellow.

(5.1.230-33)

When Antonio pleads for Bassanio, Portia hands the ring to him and asks him to give it to Bassanio and "bid him keep it better than the other" (5.1.255). Recognizing it, Bassanio exclaims that it is the original ring, and Portia coolly replies, "By this ring the doctor lay with me" (5.1.262). She does not reveal that she herself was the doctor until Bassanio is humbled by the supposed cuckoldry. Her words throughout are carefully chosen and artfully applied to situations in which they can have double meanings. Her mastery of the circumstances with the ring shows her superiority, for the ring accumulates meanings other than the traditional, including cuckoldry, female unruleliness, the changibility of females, and the power of the female to subvert rules that insure the dominance of the male (Newman 31).

As You Like It, All's Well That Ends Well, and The Merchant of Venice conclude as all Shakespeare comedies: with marriage and a happy ending. However, marriage as a rule placed the female in a subordinate position. In fact, Marilyn Williamson states that "as the comedies drive toward marriage, the men look forward to social advancement and the women to subordination. No matter," she continues, "how well educated she might be, how intelligent or capable, she was legally no person once she married" (36-38). Likewise, Lawrence Stone, a social historian, states that "the theological and legal doctrines of the time were especially insistent upon the subordination of women to men in general and to their husbands in particular" (199). Marked differences in female attitudes toward marriage are found when the three plays are examined; and by examining the amount of control gained during courtship and each woman's apparent attitude toward that power, we are able to hypothesize about how much control each heroine will be able to retain after marriage.

In the final scenes of As You Like It, Rosalind appears perfectly willing to cast aside her male disguise and its advantages. As Hymen presents her to the Duke, she says, "To you I give myself, for I am yours," and she repeats herself to Orlando (5.4.115). Hymen has already indicated his function in bringing Rosalind to her father in order that he might "give her" to her husband. Erickson explains the dynamics of the forfeiture of power as follows:

The final scene, orchestrated by Rosalind, demonstrates power in a paradoxical way. She is the architect of a resolution that phases out the control she has wielded and prepares the way for the patriarchal status quo. She accedes to the process by which, in the transition from courtship to marriage, power passes from the female to the male: the male is no longer the suitor who serves, obeys, and begs but is now the husband who commands. . . . Her casting herself in the role of male possession is all the more charming because she does not have to be forced to adopt it: her self-taming is voluntary. (24-25)

Helena, too, seems willing to be subservient to the right man, and willingly accepts the title of Bertram's wife, probably understanding that she loses a certain amount of freedom in the transfer. She humbles herself to ask if Bertram will honor his promise now that she has fulfilled his demands: "There is your ring. . . . This is done. / Will you be
mine, now you are doubly won?" (5.4.311-14). We are reminded that by attempting to fulfill the challenge, Helena has admitted that Bertram exacts a certain amount of power over her; he holds her heart. Her humble attitude upon confronting him is surprising since she appears to have the upper hand and to be capable of dictating the terms. Even more intriguing is her silence following her reunion with Bertram. Warren feels that this lack of a strong speech by Helena at the end of the play may cause the audience to wonder "if her love is enough to make the marriage work," and he asserts that the formal ending makes it impossible to determine exactly how Helena feels about the situation (84). However, if Helena’s silence is indicative of subordination, it may be that her dominance has served its purpose and can now be abandoned.

Unlike Rosalind and Helena, Portia in The Merchant of Venice, seems to give up very little power as a result of marriage to Bassanio. She remains Bassanio’s social and intellectual superior as a result of her ability to save Antonio when no one else could. She also is the guardian of her family wealth and has used it to "buy" her husband. In an era and society in which fathers "gave" their daughters in marriage, Portia has become a merchant, using her beauty and wealth to attract Bassanio, and her ingenuity and wit to ensure his allegiance to her. There can be little doubt that Bassanio recognizes her dominance even as early as her betrothal speech for he responds to her submission by comparing her to a great prince:

Madam, you have bereft me of all words.
Only my blood speaks to you in my veins,
And there is such confusion in my powers
As, after some oration fairly spoke
By a beloved prince, there doth appear
Among the buzzing pleased multitude,
Where every something being bent together
Turns to a wild of nothing save of joy
Expressed and not expressed. (3.2.175-183)

Williamson asserts that this image of Portia as ruler indicates that Bassanio understands that Portia will not surrender power (30). If Bassanio is aware of Portia’s dominance even before her actions in behalf of Antonio, he can only be more impressed by her show of authority in a Venetian court of law. In fact, rather than diminishing, Portia’s power seems to be on the increase at the end of the play. Her show of wit in the fabricated incident of cuckoldry implies further that she will continue to be Bassanio’s superior. Even Gratiano admits Nerissa’s power over him when he states, “While I live I’ll fear no other thing / So sore as keeping safe Nerissa’s ring” (5.1.306-07). Bassanio would have had similar “fears,” and those fears would have been heightened as a result of Portia’s previous exploits.

When attempting to explain the roles of women in Shakespeare, we must recognize the tendency to project twentieth-century meaning into Renaissance action and make assumptions that cannot be substantiated. Shakespeare’s comedies were defined as “comedies” in part as a result of the male/female tension designed to entertain Renaissance audiences and their satisfying closure of marriage and happy ending. Dominant females and "henpecked" or cuckolded husbands were most certainly the subjects of many contemporary jokes, humorous stories, and motifs. However, if theater then as now can be seen as a microcosm of society, the theme of the woman in control in many of Shakespeare’s comedies may in fact be a mirror image of the situation that confronted an audience in Shakespeare’s England. If so, Rosalind, Helena, and Portia may be said to represent three different facets of the woman in control of courtship.

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Electron Stimulated Desorption of Alkali Halides

Islamshah Amlani

Introduction and Background

Desorption is a process in which atomic and molecular species depart from the surface on which they reside and enter the surrounding gas or vacuum. Different types of desorption are characterized by how the desorption process is initiated. For example, in thermal desorption mass spectrometry, probably the oldest technique for the study of adsorbates on surfaces, adsorbed surface species are made to desorb as the sample is heated under controlled conditions.

These measurements can provide information on surface-bond energies, the species present on the surface and their concentration, and the number of bonding states and sites. This paper will focus on stimulated desorption in which atoms or molecules residing on a surface are caused to desorb by bombarding the surface with a beam of particles like electrons, photons, or ions. Desorption stimulated by electron or photon bombardment is primarily initiated by electronic excitations rather than momentum transfer. Therefore, measurements of the number and properties of the desorbing species provide valuable information on surface-particle interactions and are useful analytical probes of surface physics and chemistry. The study of desorption induced by electronic transitions (DIET) by means of electron- and photon-stimulated desorption (ESD/PSD) has enjoyed rapid growth in the last three decades and is now one of the leading areas of research in surface physics.

On a rudimentary level, DIET studies are primarily concerned with the most fundamental queries in surface physics and chemistry, pertaining to geometrical structure, electronic structure, and the dynamics of bond making and breaking on surfaces. In addition, these studies are indispensable in order to understand the static and dynamic behavior of atoms and molecules near surfaces. PSD and its historical antecedent ESD are among the most commonly used desorption techniques in the study of desorption induced by electronic transitions. The desorption of species from surfaces via PSD/ESD is a very complex phenomenon; however, it can be pictured, loosely, as a sequence of four steps (Tully, 31):

1. The initial electronic excitation \(10^{-14}s\).
2. A quick redistribution of electronic energy \(10^{-14}s\).
3. A slower displacement of atomic positions, resulting in ejection \(10^{-14}-10^{-15}s\).
4. A modification of the desorbing species as it retreats from the surface \(10^{-15}s\).

In desorption experiments one observes the final states of particles leaving the surface and attempts to infer details concerning the initial excitation and subsequent redistribution of energy which ultimately causes the desorption. When insulating solids, such as alkali-halides, are subjected to electron or photon bombardment, many complex and interrelated processes take place since the energy deposited by the incident particle is localized in space and in time and can be transferred into electronic and vibrational excitations of the atoms in the near surface layer. These excitations can often lead to the desorption of ionized or neutral atomic and molecular species from the surface. Alkali halides are well suited for PSD and ESD studies since data on their energy band structures and the effect of ionizing excitations by energetic photons and electrons are readily available.

Alkali halide crystals also have high desorption yields for many different solid constituents and adsorbed species such as ground state alkali-metal atoms, excited state alkali-metal atoms, halogen atoms, alkali ions, halogen ions, hydrogen atoms, CN molecules, and OH molecules.

The earliest mechanism used to describe the desorption of neutral atomic and molecular species was presented by Menzel, Gomer, and Redhead in the 1960's. According to their model, the direct momentum transfer in ESD from the impinging electrons to the adsorbates on a surface may lead to slight vibrational excitation but is insufficient to cause the desorption of even the lightest adsorbate. Furthermore, the desorption or rearrangement of adsorbates is the consequence of (1) an electronic excitation of the adsorbate or the adsorbate-substrate bond from a bonding state to antibonding state and (2) the repulsive potential between the adsorbate and the solid (Gomer, 40). There exists a non-zero probability, however, that the desorbed species will be recaptured depending on whether the surface can absorb energy from the excited adsorbate before it desorbs (Zangwill, 395). This model applies predominantly to neutral desorption of adsorbed atomic and molecular species.

Another pioneering work in DIET was done by M.L. Knotek and P.J. Feibelman in 1978 (Knotek, Feibelman, 964). In their studies, they observed the desorption of positively ionized oxygen \(O^+\) from the surface of titanium(IV) oxide (TiO). They found that \(O^+\) is desorbed not by a valence level excitation, but by the ionization of the titanium and oxygen core levels. In their experiments, they also found a
positive correlation between the threshold energies for ESD of positive ions from certain $d$-band metal oxides and the ionization potential of the highest-lying atomic core levels. Furthermore, the fact that oxygen was desorbed as an O$^+$ ion (whereas it is nominally an O$^-$ on the surface) implied a large (three electron) charge transfer preceding desorption (Knotek, 964). Their proposed model, which is based on inter atomic multiple Auger processes, is mainly applied to the desorption of ions.

Most early studies of electronically-induced desorption were primarily focused on the desorption of ions because of the ease of ion detection. However, since the discovery of the fact that the neutral, excited-state desorption yields are higher than the ionic yields by a several orders of magnitude, subsequent research has been gradually shifting to the desorption of excited-state atoms and molecules (Tolk, 1981). Desorbed excited state atoms and molecules can be detected by measuring the optical radiation emitted by the excited state species following desorption. Several models have been proposed by different scientists to explain the desorption mechanism of excited state species. The remainder of this paper will mainly concentrate on the desorption of alkali halides, and illustrate several mechanisms used to explain ESD/PSD of excited state atoms and molecules from alkali halide surfaces.

**ESD and PSD of Excited Alkali Metal Atoms**

**Previously Proposed Models**

The mechanisms for the production of excited alkali atoms or molecules by ESD and PSD has been a controversial issue. The gas-phase secondary electron excitation model (Walkup, 1986) which will be discussed later and the Knotek-Feibelman model (1978) have been frequently applied to explain the nature of the desorption mechanism for excited-alkali-metal atoms. The Knotek Feibelman model has especially been invoked to explain the threshold energies and the kinetic energies of desorbed species. In earlier studies of photon stimulated desorption of alkali atoms with photon energies in the neighborhood of alkali and halogen core-level energies, it was thought that the large desorption yield of excited-alkali-metal atoms was due to an ion neutralization mechanism. As a positive ion recedes from the surface following the desorption process, it may capture an electron through tunneling to its excited electronic state to form an excited neutral-alkali-metal atom. The electron can be supplied by an $F$ center (a negative ion vacancy with one electron bound at the vacancy) on the surface of the sample or some other possible source. Recent experiments in PSD and ESD have lead some scientists to conclude that the ion-neutralization mechanism may not be a necessary cause for an increase in the desorption yield followed by photon bombardment at core-level energies. Tolk and coworkers have shown that the excited alkali desorption can be triggered solely due to valence excitations (1993). Shown in Figure 1 are the optical spectra measured following PSD of (a) NaF and (b) NaCl crystals in the wavelength range of 5700-6100 Å. There are weak but clearly distinguishable peaks at 5890 Å in both spectra which correspond to the sodium 3p to 3s transition. Photon beams of energy 22.0 eV and 16.6 eV were used in order to avoid ionizing core levels in NaF and NaCl whose binding energies are approximately 31 and 18 eV respectively. This indicates that the desorption of excited sodium atoms shown in the spectra of figure 1 was caused only by the valence band excitation.

![Figure 1](image_url)

Figure 1. Spectra of excited NaF and NaCl due to valence-band excitations at room temperature. The photon energies are 22.0 eV and 16.6 eV for NaCl (Tolk 1993).

Figure 2 shows the excitation function for the excited lithium atoms from a LiF crystal and the total electron yield (TEY). As shown in the spectrum, the energy of the incident photon is varied with in the range 8.0 to 30.0 eV, which could ionize only valence electrons in LiF. This suggests that the core-hole creation is not necessary for the desorption of excited alkali atoms as indicated in Knotek-Feibelman model (Tolk 1993).

According to another recent model (Bunton 1992), the excited atom desorption due to valence excitations may be initiated by $F$ centers present on the surface. An $F$ center can tightly bind itself to the lattice and cause ion movement which may result in the desorption of an ion. As the ion retreats from the surface, it may be neutralized by an electron provided by the $F$ center. The chief drawback in this model, however, is that the probability of an $F$ center
initiating ion motion is very low. Furthermore, this model does not explain why the ESO yield is higher and PSD yield is lower at elevated temperatures.

Another model that has received an even wider acceptance among some scientists is the gas-phase secondary electron excitation model which is based on ESD measurements. This model suggests that the desorption of excited state alkali metal atoms is due to gas phase collision between ejected ground-state alkali-metal atoms and the secondary electrons (Walkup 1986). Results obtained from recent measurements of the sample temperature and the velocities of the desorbed excited-state atoms are found to be in agreement with this model. However, like the previous model, this model also cannot account for the dramatic differences in PSD and ESO yields at high temperatures.

Figure 3 shows the summary of temperature dependencies for ground- and excited-state atoms from LiF crystals (Tolk 1993). (b) ESD and (c) PSD indicate that different temperature dependencies have been observed in this temperature range (Tolk 1993).

Surface Reaction Mechanism

Recently, Tolk and coworkers (1993) have proposed a new desorption mechanism based on exoergic surface reactions between alkali dimers ($M_2$) and halogens ($X$ or $X_2$). This reaction can be shown as follows:

During the irradiation process, holes are created in the occupied valence band of the near surface by the incident electron or photon beam. Holes are the vacant orbitals in an otherwise filled band and they act in applied electric and magnetic field as if they have a positive charge. Some of these energetic holes move deeper into the bulk while others arrive at the surface. In alkali halides, the self-trapped hole localizes itself on a halogen dimer and occupies the highest antibonding orbital of the bonded pair. In color center terminology, such a localized self-trapped hole on a halogen dimer is called a $V_2^-$ center. When a $V_2^-$ center captures an electron in the conduction band, it is called a self-trapped exciton (STE).

An exciton is an electron-hole pair bound together by its attractive coulomb interactions, just as an electron is bound to a proton to form a neutral hydrogen atom (Kittel, 296). When self trapped excitons decay by transition to the ground state, they either form an $F$ center and $H$ center pair or release a photon. An $F$ center is a negative ion vacancy with one excess electron bound at the vacancy (fig. 4). An $H$ center is an interstitial halogen atom bound to a
lattice halogen ion (fig. 5). F centers, H centers, and V centers are referred to as defects in crystals (Kittel, 475). H-centers are relatively mobile and their presence on the surface can produce temperature-equilibrated halogen which can leave the surface due to thermal desorption. Non thermal halogen desorption may also take place when STE’s decay to the ground state. Even though F centers are relatively immobile compared to H centers, they can diffuse very rapidly when subjected to radiation via a process called radiation-induced diffusion. It has been shown theoretically that F centers in the excited state require only half as much energy as the F centers in the ground state to carry out the desorption process. Surface stoichiometry is greatly altered due to the presence of these mobile defects on the surface. As a consequence, dimers, trimers and larger clusters are formed on the surface depending on the degree of metalization which varies with the surface temperature, radiation-beam intensity and the time for which the surface is subjected to radiation.

Thus, the above model proposes an irradiation-initiated, defect-mediated desorption mechanism involving an exothermic surface reaction between alkali dimers and halogens. According to this model (Tolk 1993) the desorption process takes place in two steps: (1) the incident electron or ultra-violet photon beam initiates migration of holes and defects to the surface and induces surface metalization by forming surface reactants, and (2) desorption of excited-alkali-metal atoms takes place followed by a reaction between the alkali and halogen surface species.

Gas-Phase Primary-Electron Excitation Mechanism

The surface reaction model provides sufficient information on the desorption of excited state alkali-metal atoms at low temperatures for both ESD and PSD but fails to account for the dramatic differences at high temperatures. Figure 3 shows that the excited-atom yield decreases at increased temperatures for PSD, but increases with increased temperatures for ESD. Since the surface reaction mechanism cannot account for this peculiar behavior at elevated temperatures, it can be argued based on the resemblance between the excited-atom yield and the TEY (fig. 2) that the gas-phase secondary-electron excitation model might be a better model after all. However, Tolk and coworkers have verified theoretically that the secondary-electron excitation gives too small a yield to account for the observed results. They propose a different mechanism for the desorption of excited state alkali-metal atoms at elevated temperatures.

The drastic differences in the ESD and PSD yield of excited state atoms at high temperatures are due to the inherently inimitable properties of electrons and photons. An electron can transfer any amount of energy (from zero to its maximum kinetic energy) to an atom. A photon is more restricted; it will transfer either its entire energy to an atom or none at all (not considering the secondary processes such as Raman scattering). It is shown in Figure 3 that the yield of the ground state alkali-metal atoms increases with increasing sample temperatures. For both ESD and PSD, no significant variation has been noticed in the secondary electron yield and the energy distribution over the temperature range 25-400°C. Given these arguments, one would expect the excited-atom yield to increase at higher temperatures for either ESD or PSD, contrary to what has been observed. It is possible that the desorbed ground state alkali-metal atoms are excited by the secondary electrons produced by the electron or photon bombardments, but this alone cannot be responsible for the dramatic differences between the ESD and PSD results. The very fact that the ESD yield is high and PSD yield is low at elevated temperatures suggests that there is some additional source which solely contributes to the excited metal atom yield in ESD. It has been proposed that this additional source is the primary electron-beam (Tolk 1993).

Thus according to this recently proposed model by Tolk and coworkers (1993), there are two temperature regimes for excited-alkali-metal atom production. At high temperatures, the desorption of the excited-state alkali-metal atoms in ESD is primarily due to the collision of the primary-beam electrons with the ejected ground state alkali-metal atoms. In the low temperature regime, the principal contributor to the excited atom yield is the surface-reaction mechanism.

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![Figure 4](image_url)

Figure 4. An F center is a negative ion vacancy with one excess electron bound at the vacancy. The distribution of the excess is largely on the positive metal ions adjacent to the vacant lattice site (Kittel).

ESD of Excited State Molecules

Another area of practical interest is the desorption of excited state molecules stimulated by electron or photon bombardment. In ESD and PSD of excited...
state molecules, one obtains data on desorption yields, internal energy distributions, kinetic energy distributions and angular distributions of desorbed species. This information can be helpful in understanding how the adsorbate-substrate interaction is affected due to the presence of potential surfaces.

In the two separate investigations by Zacharias (1988) and Modi and coworkers (1986), it has been found that the formation of surface adsorbates is initiated both by the dissociation of large molecules into smaller molecules or by the recombination of two individually bound atoms or molecules. Electron or photon bombardment of surfaces not only stimulates the desorption of adsorbates from the surfaces but also improves the chances of other processes such as adsorption, dissociation, and recombination. These additional processes are fostered due to the creation of surface defects, change in surface stoichiometry, and the surface structure modification.

**Desorption of Excited CN in ESD from Alkali Halide Surfaces**

When a surface of alkali-halide is subjected to electron bombardment, light is emitted from the desorbed excited molecules and atoms, from excited bulk-impurity molecules, and from defect recombination in the bulk. Tolk and coworkers have measured the optical emissions from the CN and OH molecules which were desorbed as excited states (1992). From these measurements, they have constructed a relationship between the desorption rate, beam exposure time and the radiation history.

Shown in Figure 6 are optical spectra originating from an electron-bombarded glass surface (Tolk 1993). First, a clean piece of glass was subjected to electron beam for 20 minutes in an ultra high vacuum environment; the resulting spectrum is displayed in Figure 6a. The bombardment of electrons initiated recombination of defects on the surface which is manifested in the broad fluorescence at 4000 Å.

Second, the glass surface was covered by a thick layer of lithium. The resulting optical emission spectrum shows that broad fluorescence peak is severely diminished due to the presence of lithium on the surface (fig. 6b). Finally, the lithium-covered surface was exposed to CO$_2$ + N$_2$ (1:1) at 1.0 x $10^{-4}$ Torr pressure for 30 min. at room temperature (Tolk 1992).

![Figure 5. The H center, which is thought to result from the binding (by a hole) of an interstitial halogen ion to a symmetrically situated lattice ion. The result is a singly ionized halogen molecule that is forced to occupy a single negative ion site (Ashcroft).](image)

![Figure 6. Optical emission spectra due to 300 eV electron bombardment (a) on a clean piece of glass, (b) on a lithium covered glass surface, (c) on the Li-covered surface with exposure of the surface to gaseous CO$_2$ + N$_2$ (1:1) at 1.0 x $10^{-4}$ Torr pressure for 30 min. at room temperature (Tolk 1992).](image)
TABLE I (Tolk 1992)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Electron Current(μA)</th>
<th>Desorption Cross Section x10²⁰</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KBr</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>12.2 ± 2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCl</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>14.4 ± 2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NaCl</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>8.1 ± 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NaF</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>7.2 ± 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LiF</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3.3 ± 0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Substrate Dependence of Cross Sections

It has also been found that the desorption yield of the excited state molecules is substrate dependent (Tolk 1993). Most scientists agree that electron and photon irradiation of alkali halide surfaces results in the accumulation of excess metal on the surface. A systematic correlation has been observed in the desorption cross sections of the ejected CN⁺ molecules and the alkali-metal components of the alkali halide substrates. It was noticed that when the CO₂ + N₂ gas exposure was halted, the formation of adsorbates on the surface declined and it lead to a decrease in the concentration of adsorbates and in the desorption yield. Plotted in Figure 8 is CN⁺ desorption yield, normalized to the initial yield, versus accumulated electron beam dose during electron radiation at 300 eV. Total electron beam dose was computed from the beam current and the CO₂ + N₂ gas exposure time for each substrate. If it is assumed that the desorption yield is proportional to the number of CN adsorbates on the surface of the substrate, then the measured yield would give an estimate of the surface CN concentration. In figure 8, the decrease in the desorption yield indicates the decrease in the surface concentration due to ESD of excited CN molecules.

The data shown in Figure 8 was fitted to an exponential function, where is the desorption cross section and is the electron dose. Desorption cross sections, obtained from the fit, for several alkali halides are shown in Table I. It can be immediately noticed from the table that the desorption cross sections of the alkali halides are dependent on the alkali components of the substrate. These results suggest that the parent bond of the desorbing excited CN molecule is the bond between surface alkali and adsorbed CN. This bond is attributed to be ionic in nature due to the low ionization energies of alkali atoms and the high electron affinity of CN molecules. Since the bond between the alkali atom and CN adsorbate is ionic, the probability of an alkali atom on the surface forming an alkali CN is much higher and this can enhance the concentration of the CN adsorbates on the surface.

![Figure 7](image1.png)

**Figure 7.** Excited CN desorption yields from an NaCl surface at 60K plotted as a function of time exhibiting the influence of gas exposure, CO₂ + N₂ (1:1) at 1.0 x 10⁻⁴ Torr, for a variety of electron-beam integrated doses.

Based on the above considerations, Tolk and coworkers have proposed a model to explain the ESD of excited CN molecules from alkali halide surfaces.

![Figure 8](image2.png)

**Figure 8.** Decay curves of the CN⁺ desorption yields vs electron-beam dose for different substrates. Background yields attributed to residual gas exposure are subtracted from the measured yields (Tolk 1992).

The desorption process takes place in three steps:

1. Prior electron bombardment produces “alkali metal-rich surfaces” due to the migration of
defects to the surface,

(2) CN adsorbates are formed on the alkali-rich surfaces when the surfaces are exposed to CO$_2$ + N$_2$ gas, and

(3) Electron irradiation brings about the breaking of the parent bond between CN adsorbates and alkali atoms and this results in the desorption of excited CN molecules.

Substrate Dependence of Rotational Distributions

One prominent feature of ESD and PSD is that it makes the access to the vibrational/rotational population information of the desorbed molecules quite feasible. While studying the quantitative results obtained from the rotational optical spectra of the desorbed excited CN molecules, Tolk and coworkers have found that the rotational distribution of CN$'$ has no Boltzmann-like character which indicates that the rotational distribution is non thermal (1992). They have also discovered that the measured rotational distributions of desorbing CN$'$ has a definite correlation with the alkali component of the alkali halide substrate. Shown in Figure 9 are the linear plots of rotational state populations of desorbed from different alkali-metal surfaces under 40 eV electron irradiation at 60 K. It can be immediately noticed from the juxtaposition of these plots that maxima in the population distributions increases from low $J$ to high $J$ states as the atomic number increases. Also, the width of the peak decreases with an increase in the atomic number. It has also been found in other experiments that the rotational distributions in ESD and PSD do not depend on the surface temperature in the range of 60 - 300 K which provides a further verification of their non-Boltzmann nature. These results show that the desorption mechanism is solely determined by the nature of the of the parent bond between the surface adsorbates and the alkali-metal atoms.

Alkali-CN Potential Surfaces

Tolk and coworkers present a qualitative picture of alkali-CN potential surfaces and suggest that it may be possible to determine the rotational distribution of the desorbed molecule in DIET from the initial wave function in the ground state and the time evolution of the wave function in the excited state as the molecule recedes from the surface. Figure 10 shows a schematic representation of potential surfaces of a CN-alkali system in ground and excited states, and the angular localization of the wave function in each state. $R$ is the distance between the surface and the center of mass of CN molecule and $\Theta$ is the angle between the surface and the surface normal.

Initially in the ground state, the rotation of the CN molecule is highly impeded due to the $\Theta$-dependent potential (shown in fig. 10 as square potential). For this reason, the angular part of the wave function is extremely localized in the initial state. When the surface is irradiated by a photon or electron beam, the absorption of a photon or the inelastic scattering of an electron respectively may initiate the excitation of CN molecule form the bonding state to an antibonding or less bonding state. As the excited CN molecule desorbs from the surface, the impeding potential is changing and the molecule is more free to rotate. However, it is still slightly affected by its initial state in which it was highly localized. It has been found in the recent theoretical investigations that the excited state potential surfaces play an important role in the rotational distributions of electronically desorbed molecules. The final rotational distribution is determined by an integrated overlap of the wavefunction immediately after desorption and the evolved wave function in the excited state. This qualitative prediction is consistent with the quantitative experimental observations made by Tolk et al. (1992) Their work indicates that there is a definite correlation between the rotational distribution of desorbing excited state CN molecule and the alkali component of the substrate.

Conclusion

In the past, the mechanisms responsible for ESD/PSD of excited-state atomic and molecular
excited-alkali atom desorption. At low temperatures, the excited atom desorption is mainly due to the surface reaction between alkali dimers and halogen atoms. At high temperatures, primary electron beam is the primary contributor to the desorption of excited-state alkali atoms. Also, measurements of excited CN desorption yield from an alkali halide surface indicate that there is a systematic correlation between the desorption yield of the excited state molecules and the alkali metal component of the alkali rich surface. This paper shows that the ESD and PSD are important probes which provide information on the static and dynamic properties of surface molecular systems.

Figure 10. Scheme of potential surfaces of a CN-alkali system in ground and excited states, the transition between the two states, and the angular localization of the wave function in each state. The square wells demonstrate that the potential vary with the angle, and curve potentials vary with the surface. The angular parts of wave functions in each state vary with the angle (Tolk 1992).

Works Cited
Women Without Men: Hemingway's Female Characters
Kelly A. Brillhart

Ernest Hemingway, one of America's greatest writers, has often been condemned for what his critics see as an unrealistic and one-dimensional characterization of women in his short stories and novels. From his first heroine, the submissive Liz Coates of "Up in Michigan," to the strong, almost masculine, Pilar of For Whom the Bell Tolls, Hemingway presented multi-faceted depictions of women. Rarely did he come close to accurately capturing the essence of womanhood, but, as Carlos Baker characterizes of his short stories and writers, has often been condemned for what his critics see as disguises her gender. Mrs. Elliot in distinct androgyny; that is, they exhibit both masculine and feminine traits in appearance, personality, or behavior. For example, Brett Ashley of The Sun Also Rises wears her hair short, calls herself one of the "chaps," and matches drinks with the men in the novel. For Whom the Bell Tolls' Pilar leads a guerrilla band, swears more adeptly than any man, and effects an amorphous appearance that disguises her gender. Mrs. Elliot in "Mr. and Mrs. Elliot" and the young woman in "The Sea Change" are bisexual; each woman flees the bed of her male lover, at least temporarily, for the arms of a female lover.

Several critics have addressed Hemingway's motif of androgyny. Linda Patterson Miller writes that "Hemingway's fictional world... was an androgynous world of passion and disorder and of each individual's fight against loneliness and his or her search for order and a sense of place" (8). Leslie Fiedler remarks parenthetically that "Hemingway is rather fond of women who seem as much boy as girl" (89). J. Gerald Kennedy asserts of Hemingway that "recurrently in private life and more overtly in writing, he manifested a preoccupation with gender-crossing" (192). Kennedy reinforces his assertion with Kenneth Lynn's argument that Hemingway's interest in androgyny began when his mother dressed him in girl's clothing as a child: "It surely was his firsthand experience of knowing how it felt to look like a girl but feel like a boy that was the fountainhead of his fascination with the ambiguities of feminine identity" (qtd. in Kennedy 192).

In addition to touching on androgyny, Hemingway frequently employs a motif of sterility in his characterization of females. Very few women become pregnant in Hemingway's fiction; if a character does conceive a child, her pregnancy is treated as an unfortunate accident. Jig of "Hills Like White Elephants" presents a good example of the woman who finds pregnancy interfering with her life. And Jig is ambivalent about having the child--Hemingway leaves us guessing about her decision regarding the abortion her lover urges on her. Even the most obvious exception to Hemingway's infertility theme, the fecund Catherine Barkley of A Farewell to Arms, does not ultimately reproduce. Catherine and her son both die during childbirth, underscoring the dangerous consequences of fertility and the relative safety of sterility.

Looking at critical assessments of the Hemingway heroine proves instructive. Traditionally, critics have accused the author of grouping women into two categories: "the deadly (Brett Ashley, Margot Macomber) or the saintly (Catherine Barkley, Maria). The former... his fear-projections, the latter his wish-fulfillments" (Edmund Wilson qtd. in Kerr 347). But a more contemporary writer, Roger Whitlow, contends that it is the critics, not Hemingway, who have limited the author's female characters to two types:

Overwhelmingly the most popular critical manner of categorizing Hemingway's women has been to dichotomize them. Philip Young generalizes that the women "are either vicious, destructive wives like Macomber's, or daydreams like Catherine (and) Maria"; Arthur Waldhorn that "Hemingway's women either caress or castrate"; Jackson Benson that in Hemingway we find "the girl who frankly enjoys sex and who is genuinely able to give of herself" and "the 'all-around bitch,' the aggressive, unwomanly female"; John Killinger that "Hemingway divides his women into the good and the bad, according to the extent to which they complicate a man's life. Those who are simple, who participate in relationships with the heroes..."
and yet leave the heroes as free as possible... receive sympathetic treatment; those who are demanding, who constrict the liberty of the heroes, who attempt to possess them... are the women whom men can live without." (11)

Whitlow’s opinion represents the modern trend toward a re-evaluation of Hemingway’s heroines, an attempt by several critics to justify the behavior of his women or, at the very least, to explain it.

One of the earliest of these "revisionists" was Leon Linderoth, writing in 1966 "that the Hemingway heroines are not so homogenous as many critics would have us believe" (105). Rather, Linderoth stated that Hemingway’s female characters could be divided loosely into six categories. Examples of the first group, "the mindless Indian girls," include the sexually compliant young females in "Fathers and Sons" and "Ten Indians" (Linderoth 105). Liz Coates, Catherine Barkley, Jig, and Maria comprise the second group, "the naive, loving, trusting girls" (Linderoth 106). Category three—"females... who, though they do not actively corrupt a man, nonetheless cramp his style"—is exemplified by three wives in three short stories—"Cross Country Snow," "Out of Season," and "Snows of Kilimanjaro" (Linderoth 108). Brett Ashley and Margot Macomber make up the fourth group, "bitches by circumstance only" (Linderoth 108). Nick Adams’ mother in "The Doctor and the Doctor’s Wife" and "In Another Country" and Mrs. Elliot of "Mr. and Mrs. Elliot" are the fifth category’s "pure bitches" (Linderoth 109). And finally, Pilar is "the earth-mother" (110).

Roger Whitlow, writing in his 1984 book dedicated entirely to defending Hemingway’s characterization of women, argues:

Most of Hemingway’s female characters have strengths that have been consistently overlooked by... critics, who have too often merely adopted a posture toward the women held by the male characters with whom the women are associated. (13)

Consequently, Whitlow doesn’t see the Hemingway women simply as bitches or dream girls. Instead, he treats each woman individually, looking past her behavior to what motivates it. In the process, he finds Hemingway’s female characters to be not one-dimensional characters, but complex creatures, multidimensional and real. Whitlow exonerates them all, from Margot Macomber and Mrs. Adams to Catherine Barkley and Maria (14-5).

Understanding Ernest Hemingway’s fictional treatment of women begins with an analysis of the heroines of three of his major novels—Brett Ashley of The Sun Also Rises, Catherine Barkley of A Farewell to Arms, and Maria and Pilar of For Whom the Bell Tolls. Insight into the author’s depiction of female characters is further gained through an examination of the heroines of several short stories—Margot Macomber of "The Short, Happy Life of Francis Macomber," Jig of "Hills Like White Elephants," Helen of "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," and Liz Coates of "Up In Michigan." Recurring themes of androgyny and sterility as well as critical perceptions of the characters, both traditional and revised, provide us with a framework from which to construct our analyses of Hemingway’s women.

The Real Women

A clear understanding of Hemingway’s fictional women requires that we look beyond them to the real women who shared the author’s life. The first, and arguably the most powerful, feminine influence on young Hemingway was exerted by his mother, Grace Hall Hemingway.

Ernest Hemingway’s mother led an unconventional life for a woman in the early part of this century. Her youngest son, Leicester, writes that "our mother lacked domestic talents. She abhorred didies, deficient manners, stomach upsets, housecleaning and cooking" (qtd. in Kert 27). Instead, Grace Hemingway busied herself with designing the Hemingway home on Kenilworth Avenue and overseeing its building, teaching music lessons, giving piano recitals, writing music, and instilling in her children an appreciation for art, music, and literature (Kert 34-5). Additionally, she enjoyed hunting and fishing with her husband and children at the family’s vacation cottage in Michigan (Kert 38).

Grace Hemingway’s strong personality and assertive manner often overwhelmed her husband, causing him to acquiesce to her demands rather than to challenge them. Bernice Kert writes that "it was hard for him to refuse her anything" (36). Later, Ernest Hemingway would come to hate his mother for what he saw as her total dominance of his father:

It has also been said that Ernest’s lifelong assertion of masculine power grew out of his emotional need to exorcise the painful memory of his mother asserting her superiority over his father, that his personal difficulties with women, even his submissive heroines, originated with his determination never to knuckle under, as his father had done. (Kert 21).

Hemingway believed that Grace, because of her need to "rule everything," pushed his father toward his
eventual suicide (Kert 21). He never forgave his mother for his father's death.

Hemingway's early relationship with his mother was loving and tender, according to her musings in the albums she compiled to chronicle his childhood. Young Ernest overtly displayed his affection for his mother with hugs and pats and by calling her "Fweetie" (Kert 27). She, in turn, showered him with gifts and shared intimate details of her life with him, as when she confided to her five-year-old son that she was expecting another baby and referred to it as their "secret" (Kert 29). During his teens, Hemingway exhibited a typical adolescent alienation from his mother, but their relationship was still loving (Kert 44).

Relations between mother and son began to sour soon after nineteen-year-old Hemingway returned from the war in Europe in 1919. Both were adjusting to major changes in their lives: Hemingway had experienced the psychological traumas of war and romantic rejection; Grace was in her late forties and likely undergoing menopause. Their similar personalities—both were headstrong and temperamental—only complicated their relationship. Finally, Hemingway's European adventure had given him a sense of worldliness that clashed with his mother's "Victorian sensibilities" (Kert 69-71). The breach that grew between them would never fully heal.

Hemingway's first serious romantic relationship resulted in a broken heart and an early bitterness toward romantic love. Twenty-six-year-old Agnes von Kurowsky became Hemingway's nurse at the Red Cross hospital in Milan, where he was taken after being wounded at Fossalta. Hemingway soon developed a close friendship with Von Kurowsky, an independent, vivacious woman, quite a bit more sophisticated than her young charge (Donaldson 661-2). Although Von Kurowsky declared her love for Hemingway in several letters written to him during their six-month relationship, she seems to have been ambivalent about her feelings for him. Often she referred to him as "dear boy" and "Kid," addressing him as "a younger person who need(ed) flattery and approval." Still, Hemingway was under the impression that they were engaged to be married (Donaldson 663-4).

In fact, Von Kurowsky never made good her promise to marry Hemingway. Instead, she broke their engagement in March 1919 with a letter telling him she planned to wed someone else (Donaldson 666-7). Four years later, Hemingway fictionalized his rejection by Agnes von Kurowsky in "A Very Short Story," a brief tale in which the embittered hero contracts gonorrhea from a Chicago salesclerk after receiving a "dear John" letter from his "faithless" fiancee (Donaldson 671).

In real life, Hemingway consoled himself by courting and eventually marrying Hadley Richardson. The young couple settled in Paris, where Hemingway began working as a correspondent for the Toronto Star and writing short stories (Baker, Writer As Artist 7). During his first marriage, which lasted from 1921 to 1927, Hemingway completed The Sun Also Rises, dedicating it to Hadley and their son, Bumby (Baker, A Life Story 173).

Almost immediately after his divorce from Hadley Richardson was final, Hemingway married Pauline Pfeiffer (Baker, A Life Story 185). The couple soon relocated to the United States, specifically to Key West, Florida. Hemingway penned his second novel, A Farewell to Arms, while he was married to Pauline, incorporating her difficult delivery of their son Patrick into the story as part of Catherine Barkley's death scene (Kert 219).

Hemingway met his third wife, Martha Gellhorn, in Key West, but they would spend most of their marriage living in Cuba (Kert 282, 325-6). Wed in 1940, the couple stayed together until 1945, through the publication of For Whom the Bell Tolls (Kert 348, 422). Gellhorn, a fiercely independent woman who, unlike his previous wives, made the decision to end her marriage to Hemingway, joined the author's mother as one of "the two women in his life who had ever stood up to him and defied him" (Baker, A Life Story 452).

Hemingway's fourth and last wife, Mary Welsh, saw him through declining health and the loss of his writing skills (Baker, A Life Story 558-9); consequently, she often bore the brunt of his anger and bitterness (Kert 491). Despite his physical and mental pain during the latter years of his life, Hemingway managed to write the novel many critics define as his greatest work, The Old Man and the Sea. Nine years after its publication, Mary Welsh was with Hemingway in Ketchum, Idaho, on July 2, 1961, when he committed suicide (Kert 503-4).

"Deciding Not to Be a Bitch": A Defense of Brett Ashley

During the 1920s, Ernest Hemingway was a struggling young writer living in Paris with his wife, Hadley, paying the rent by selling newspaper stories and dreaming of the day sales of his fiction would provide their bread and butter. Through his friendship with Sherwood Anderson, Hemingway became acquainted with American expatriate writers Ezra Pound and Gertrude Stein, both of whom helped
him hone his writing skills (Baker, Writer As Artist 8-10). F. Scott Fitzgerald, another "exiled" author living in Paris, also became a friend and mentor to the aspiring author (Baker, Writer As Artist 30).

In crafting his first critically acclaimed novel, Hemingway combined his disgust for the "loafing expatriates" (Baker, A Life Story 85) with his conviction that he must write about his own experiences (Baker, A Life Story 84). The Sun Also Rises (1926) is based on a trip to Pamplona the Hemingways made in 1925 with Duff Twysden and her fiance, Pat Guthrie, Harold Loeb, and Don Stewart, who all appear as the thinly-disguised principals of the novel (Baker, A Life Story 149). Rather than glorifying the lives of the "sad young men"--and women--Gertrude Stein called the "Lost Generation," Hemingway's novel was intended as "a damn tragedy with the earth abiding forever as the hero" (Baker, Writer As Artist 80-1).

Lady Brett Ashley, the heroine of The Sun Also Rises, is part of that Lost Generation Hemingway juxtaposes against the stability of the earth. One of Hemingway's most enigmatic female characters, Brett is both hard-edged and vulnerable, both self-reliant and dependent. One critic has called Brett the epitome of the modern woman of the mid-1920s: "the stylish, uninhibited young woman who drank and smoked in public, devalued sexual innocence, married but did not want children, and considered divorce no social stigma" (Reynolds 58). But she is also a vulnerable child-woman, emotionally wounded by past relationships with abusive men, seeking solace in the arms--and beds--of a succession of lovers.

When she is introduced, Brett is described as "damned good-looking. She wore a slipover jersey sweater and a tweed skirt, and her hair was brushed back like a boy's... She was built with curves like the hull of a racing yacht, and you missed none of it with that wool jersey" (Sun 23). Despite its awkward metaphor for her feminine shape, Hemingway's description of Brett is notable because it implies a hint of androgyny in her character. Coupled with her appearance is Brett's constant referral to herself as one of the "chaps." If Brett looks somewhat mannish, with her short hairstyle and pullover sweaters, she also behaves like a man--drinking, swearing, and taking lovers.

Roger Whitlow points out that her "masculine" behavior has led many critics to call Brett Ashley one of Hemingway's "bitch-women" (50-1). Apparently, this trend developed with Edmund Wilson's 1941 assessment of Lady Ashley as "an exclusively destructive force" and was still being perpetuated a decade later with John Aldridge's characterization of her as "a compulsive bitch" (qtd. in Whitlow 51).

Interestingly enough, most of the critics who pronounce such moral judgments upon Brett are men whose interpretations of her were published during the 1940s and 50s, a time when it was less acceptable for women to act as aggressively toward men as Brett does. Furthermore, the critics who avow Brett's bitchiness are generally parroting her own assessment of her behavior, characterized by her remark when she gives up the bullfighter Pedro Romero that she is glad she's chosen not to be a bitch (Whitlow 51). It seems Wilson et al, have chosen to overlook the word "not" in Brett's statement.

Whitlow argues that terming Brett's actions bitchery merely because they contravene the desires of her male friends is unfair. The chief argument he offers in Brett's defense is the idea that her psyche has been damaged by suffering she endured during World War I, and her mental anguish has manifested itself through her self-destructive behavior (Whitlow 51-2):

Her unsuccessful marriages, her engagement to a man she has no serious regard for, her inability to commit herself to anything meaningful--indeed her inability even to define what is meaningful--denote a mental confusion in Brett, on the matter of her own worth, which is compounded by her chronic cycle of drinking-drunkcnness-recovery. Another, overlapping, cycle taints Brett's mind as well: alcohol-sex-guilt. (Whitlow 57)

Brett's nymphomania, then, can be seen as her attempt to convince herself of her worth, to bolster her low self-esteem.

Robert Cohn, as a rejected suitor, sees Lady Ashley's nymphomania in a very different light, however, coming to think bitterly of her as Circe, because "she turns men into swine" (Sun 144). Hemingway reinforces this image with a scene set in Pamplona at the festival of San Fermin, where dancing peasants, wearing necklaces of garlic to protect themselves from her charms, circle Brett in imitation of some pagan goddess worship ritual (Sun 155). Leslie Fiedler interprets this scene as the epitome of Brett's role as "bitch-goddess" (89-90).

But Hemingway makes Brett a more complex creature than an untouchable goddess figure. Even the most dissipated man in the novel, Brett's fiance, Mike Campbell, can sense there is more to Brett's promiscuity than merely an insatiable sexual appetite. Campbell provides insight into Brett's actions when he tells Jake Barnes about Brett's disastrous second marriage:
Ashley, chap she got the title from, was a sailor, you know. Ninth baronet. When he came home he wouldn’t sleep in a bed. Always made Brett sleep on the floor. Finally, when he got really bad, he used to tell her he’d kill her. Always slept with a loaded service revolver. Brett used to take the shells out when he’d gone to sleep. (Sun 203)

Brett’s behavior becomes more understandable in this context: two failed marriages and the loss of "her own true love" during World War I (Sun 39) have left her emotionally exhausted, too worn out to expend any more of herself on a meaningful relationship. Thus, Brett transfers her inability to make an emotional connection into the ability to make a physical one—at least temporarily.

Brett’s physical connection to the men in the novel is further evinced by her role as a sort of nursemaid to them. Nina Schwartz points out that Brett has "nursed" both Mike Campbell and Jake Barnes in addition to "looking after" Pedro Romero following Robert Cohn’s attack on him (Sun 57). Mike says "she loves looking after people. That’s how we came to go off together. She was looking after me" (Sun 203). Although Mike is not more explicit about how Brett "looked after" him, Jake has earlier told Cohn that Brett was his nurse when he was wounded and in the hospital during the war (Sun 38). Brett’s nurturing instinct would seem to refute the contentions of those critics who label her unfeminine (Whitlow 50).

Despite her attempts to dull her pain temporarily through sex and booze or to subvert her own needs by "looking after" people, Brett never succeeds in deluding herself about who she is. Ultimately, she faces herself and takes responsibility for her actions. Brett’s keen self-knowledge is best exemplified by her decision to leave Pedro Romero because she realizes that she would not be good for him—not would he be good for her. Romero wants her help, to become "more womanly" by growing her hair long (Sun 242).

Although Fiedler flatly asserts that Brett is incapable of womanliness (89), I would argue that Brett rejects Romero’s proposal because she is comfortable—or at least reconciled—with herself the way she is. She could not settle down to the traditional role of a Latin wife, being submissive to her husband and bearing his children. Brett has been free and unfettered for too long to change now; besides, she has tried the role of wife twice and failed both times. Instinctively, Brett knows she would not succeed with Romero, either.

Brett Ashley, unable to sleep through the night, carousing with her friends and lovers to avoid confronting the pain of her psychic wound, loosely fits the mold of the Hemingway code hero. She wears a mask of carefree happiness for her friends, but privately Brett is honest with herself. In moments of extreme weariness, she can admit her feelings of hopelessness and disillusionment. For example, after deciding not to corrupt Pedro Romero, Brett tells Jake that the satisfaction she feels is "sort of what we have instead of God" (Sun 245), paraphrasing the existential philosophy. Brett’s understanding of the futility of life is reflected in her search for something meaningful; perhaps that search ends with her unselfish final act of the novel.

Catherine Barkley: Dream Girl or Real Woman?

Hemingway wrote A Farewell to Arms (1929) as an idealized version of his experiences as an ambulance driver during the first world war. Catherine Barkley, the heroine of the novel, is a composite of several women Hemingway knew and loved: Agnes von Kurowsky, Hadley Richardson, Pauline Pfeiffer, and even Duff Twysden. Lieutenant Henry, like young Hemingway, discovers life’s cruelty through his war experiences and the end of his first love. Hemingway drew largely upon his own experiences—being injured on the Italian front, spending an idyllic vacation with Hadley in Austria, witnessing the difficult birth of his first son—for the events of the novel (Kert 218-9). The result is a tragedy Hemingway called "his Romeo and Juliet" (Baker, Writer As Artist 98).

In contrast to Brett Ashley, Catherine Barkley is neither a bitch nor unfeminine. Instead, Catherine seems the quintessential woman: soft, loving, totally devoted to her man. Furthermore, she exhibits none of the androgynous characteristics of Brett. Catherine wears her hair long, and she keeps her place in the feminine world of nursing and serving men.

But these two Hemingway heroines do share some attributes. Like Brett, Catherine is sexually liberated, although she is not promiscuous. And Catherine’s sexual freedom comes at a price, just as Brett’s does. Whereas Brett loses a little more of her self-respect each time she takes a new man, Catherine loses her life as a result of childbirth complications.

Catherine Barkley seems composed of contradictions. On the one hand, she is one of Hemingway’s "initiated" characters, having experienced her existential moment—the death of her fiancé on the French front of World War I—and survived. Upon meeting Lieutenant Frederic Henry, however, she becomes a simpering fool, wanting only
to love and please him. After their second meeting and first kiss, Catherine tells Lieutenant Henry, "we’re going to have a strange life" (Farewell 27). On their third meeting, she insists that he tell her he loves her.

Throughout most of the novel, Catherine dotes on Frederic. In the hospital in Milan, she tells him, "I want what you want. There isn’t any me anymore. Just what you want" (Farewell 106). Later in Switzerland, Catherine insists, "Oh, darling, I want you so much I want to be you too" (Farewell 299).

Perhaps Hemingway draws her as submissive and adoring through wishful thinking. Catherine Barkley is based in part on Hemingway’s first love, Agnes von Kurowsky, who Bernice Kert asserts would never have behaved in such a "worshipful" manner (219). Von Kurowsky, independent and unsure of her feelings for young Hemingway, broke his heart when she rejected him for another man. Kert writes that Hemingway’s heartbreak "became an emotional injury of enduring consequence" (70). No wonder that in the context of his fiction, Hemingway would want to rewrite reality, making Agnes/Catherine a passionately adoring partner.

Catherine’s one streak of independence is directed at the conventions of her society regarding a woman’s sexual behavior. Flouting those mores, Catherine has sex with a man who is not her husband—his hospital bed and despite being carefully watched by her nursing supervisor. And Catherine refuses to marry Lieutenant Henry, even after becoming pregnant. For her, they are married in their hearts and that is enough. She quells his talk of marriage with this statement of her convictions: "Don’t talk as though you had to make an honest woman of me, darling. I’m a very honest woman. You can’t be ashamed of something if you’re only happy and proud of it" (Farewell 115-16).

Critics have traditionally ridiculed Catherine for her selfless sacrifice of her life for Frederic’s love. Describing her as "insipid, vacuous, shallow" (Kobler 4) and as "a hard-to-believe dream girl" (Lewis 53), they write her off as an example of Hemingway’s one-dimensional fantasy woman. Indeed, one critic has dismissed Catherine as symbolic of romantic love, claiming not only Catherine, but the entire novel represents Hemingway’s attack on the idea of love (Kobler 4-5).

Invariably, there are those critics who defend Catherine Barkley. The chief argument they employ is that Catherine has suffered a deep psychic wound following the death of her fiance, going nearly mad with grief; her reaching out to Frederic is a desperate attempt to recover her sanity (Whitlow 18). Roger Whitlow sees Catherine as using Frederic as an "unwitting therapist," as a substitute for her dead fiance, until she exorcises his memory and falls in love with Lieutenant Henry (20). Ernest Lockridge agrees:

Motivated by the agonizing grief and loss that she still feels after nearly a year of mourning, Catherine Barkley is acting out through the narrator a one-sided, therapeutic game of "pretend." Frederic Henry is an opportune stand-in, an "extra." (173)

Whereas Whitlow believes that Catherine sometimes confuses Frederic Henry with her fiance (20), Lockridge asserts that she is always consciously aware they are two different men. As evidence, he cites her refusal of Henry’s marriage proposal, acceptance of which would make her "unfaithful" to her first love (174-5).

Catherine’s "game of pretend" is but one example of her control of Lieutenant Henry rather than her submissiveness to him. Lockridge points out that Catherine often dominates Henry in their verbal exchanges. When they first meet, Catherine says, exasperated with their idle banter, "Do we have to go on and talk this way?" (Farewell 18) She frequently refers to Frederic as a "boy." And she can be condescending as when she replies to Frederic’s worries about being a deserter after he flees the war, "Darling, please be sensible. It’s not deserting from the army. It’s only the Italian army" (Farewell 251). Lockridge concludes: "Catherine frequently displays wit, intelligence, cool irony, and, facing death, she displays dignity and courage" (171-2).

Peter Hays bestows even higher praise on Catherine, calling her the "code hero" of A Farewell to Arms, "the embodiment of admirable qualities and Henry’s tutor in committing to life and love" (12). By pledging herself to Frederic despite the pain previous romantic commitment has caused her, Catherine reaffirms her faith in life and her willingness to chance disappointment for the promise of happiness (Hays 14). As she nurses Henry back to physical health, she also teaches him how to attain emotional health through loving someone other than himself. Catherine’s devotion to caring for Henry has proved a good example; at the end of the novel, it is he who cares for her as she battles the agony of difficult labor, trying to deliver their child (Hays 13).

Hays sums up his admiration for Catherine eloquently:

She maturely decides to make a commitment, to love someone who she knows does not love her, and to take full responsibility for her actions throughout,
including the pregnancy that occurs. In the dance of their relationship, Catherine leads, and leads so subtly that Frederic never perceives her guidance as more than concern for him. By her example and devotion, she does cause Frederic Henry to fall in love with her... In Earl Rovit's terms, Catherine is the tutor, Frederic the tyro; thus she is the Hemingway hero, defining her own course of life insofar as is possible, and teaching others—and here, the lesson is love. (18)

Perhaps, then, Catherine Barkley doesn't deserve the bad reviews she has traditionally received. Despite her knowledge of life's cruelties, gained through the loss of her fiance and her experiences as a Red Cross nurse, Catherine muddles through life, doing her best to survive. She excels at her profession. She is honest with herself and with Frederic—especially about her fragile state of mind at the beginning of the novel. And regardless of her previous loss, she remains unafraid to commit herself to love, the highest form of comradeship in Hemingway's code. Catherine Barkley, then, fits the mold of Hemingway's existential hero.

Maria and Pilar: Two Halves Make a Whole

Hemingway wrote For Whom the Bell Tolls (1942) as a tribute to the Spanish people, whom the author loved and revered. Set during the Spanish Civil War, the novel chronicles the atrocities suffered by the people because of the political power struggle being waged in their country. Robert Jordan, the novel's hero, is an American fighting for the Spanish loyalists, but he is ambivalent toward their Marxist ideology, viewing it as the lesser of two evils, more benign than Franco's fascism.

Like A Farewell to Arms, Maria's appearance conveys a sense of androgyny: she wears "trousers" and her hair is "cut short all over her head" (Bell 22). Her baggy clothing hides the feminine curves of her body, and her lanky, coltish build seems like that of a teenage boy. It could also be argued that Maria's purported sterility—Pilar questions whether Maria could conceive a child after she has been gang-raped by the Fascists—contributes to her physical androgyny. Androgyny is not limited to her physical characteristics, however; Maria remains, throughout the novel, a child-woman, dependent upon either Robert Jordan or Pilar for guidance and love. Perhaps through her innocence, coupled with her appearance, then, Maria becomes waif-like, caught somewhere between adolescence and maturity, an ambiguous sexual creature.

Reinforcing Maria's childish image are her political convictions, borrowed from her parents, whom she has watched die at the hands of the Fascists (Bell 350-1). Maria believes in the Republican cause because her martyred parents did and because her benefactors—Pilar, Robert Jordan—do. And she is relegated to a subordinate role in the Revolution, performing chores like cooking for the guerilla fighters or holding the reins of their horses while they fight their battles.

Sexually, Maria displays childlike innocence, too. When she first comes to Robert Jordan, she is their union by the side of the stream (Jordan/Kronos). Jordan and Maria then enter a paradise world they will inhabit for three days. The symbolism is repeated when Pilar guides Maria away from the dying Robert Jordan, leading her back into the material world from the Edenic existence she has shared with Jordan.

Maria

Like Catherine Barkley, Maria gives herself wholly to her man, declaring to him "we will be one now and there will never be a separate one" (263). Appropriately, she is introduced into the narrative in a subservient role as she serves dinner to the men who make up a small band of guerillas of the Spanish resistance—Robert Jordan, Pablo, Anselmo, and Rafael (Bell 22). The night of the day she meets Robert Jordan, Maria serves herself to him, pledging him her love (Bell 70). During their brief affair, Robert Jordan and Maria plan their life together, with Maria promising to "make (him) as good a wife as (she) can" (Bell 348). Being a good wife means that she will cook for Robert Jordan and she will keep her body slim and attractive and she will be his sexual slave if he desires her to (Bell 348-9).

Like that of Brett Ashley, Maria's appearance conveys a sense of androgyny: she wears "trousers" and her hair is "cut short all over her head" (Bell 22). Her baggy clothing hides the feminine curves of her body, and her lanky, coltish build seems like that of a teenage boy. It could also be argued that Maria's purported sterility—Pilar questions whether Maria could conceive a child after she has been gang-raped by the Fascists—contributes to her physical androgyny. Androgyny is not limited to her physical characteristics, however; Maria remains, throughout the novel, a child-woman, dependent upon either Robert Jordan or Pilar for guidance and love. Perhaps through her innocence, coupled with her appearance, then, Maria becomes waif-like, caught somewhere between adolescence and maturity, an ambiguous sexual creature.
"ashamed and frightened" (Bell 70). She admits that she doesn’t know how to kiss a man, asking “Where do the noses go? I always wondered where the noses would go” (Bell 71). After their second coupling, Maria tells Robert to "stroke (his) hand across (her) head" (Bell 160), creating the image of a grownup patting a child on the head with approval—an odd gesture of affection between lovers.

Maria’s immaturity is revealed through the way she expresses her sexual jealousy as well. After making love in a meadow, she initiates this exchange with Robert Jordan:

"And it is not thus for thee with others?"
Maria asked him, they now walking hand in hand.
"No. Truly."
"Thou hast loved many others."
"Some. But not as thee."
"And it was not thus? Truly?"
"It was a pleasure but it was not thus."
"And then the earth moved. The earth never moved before?" (Bell 160)

Like a child, Maria repeats the same question three times, phrasing it slightly differently each time, seeking Robert’s approval, his reassurance that she is his best girl.

Defending Maria as he did Catherine Barkley, Roger Whittow contends that her selflessness in love springs from her traumatic experiences—being raped and watching her parents executed—as a result of the war (33). Linda Patterson Miller agrees, writing that despite her “shattering experience,” Maria is brave enough “to open herself . . . to a relationship with Robert Jordan” (7-8).

Another critic believes Maria’s “function in the novel” requires that she be drawn in one dimension, for “she is merely the means by which Jordan is to live his seventy years in seventy hours, and so her role does not demand depth” (Linderoth 88). As a consequence, Maria does not have the individuality of Pilar or Brett Ashley or even Catherine Barkley. To be fair, Linderoth points out that, as the child of the mayor of a small community, Maria lived a sheltered life until the war broke out, unable—probably not allowed—to develop any autonomy. It is no wonder that Maria clings to those people around her who are stronger and who instinctively protect her (Linderoth 88).

**Pilar**

Pilar is the strong, wise, and compassionate peasant woman who shares leadership of the guerilla band with her lover, Pablo. If Maria embodies the young, sexually attractive goddess of Greek or Roman myth, Pilar is the old crone, who gains wisdom and power from age.

Indeed, Pilar becomes the voice of wisdom in the novel, recounting vignettes of her life as object lessons for the others. She illustrates the brutality of war and the corruptive nature of power with her story of the band’s killing their first Fascists (Bell 126-7). She speaks of the beauty and healing power of romantic love when she describes her time in Valencia with her bullfighter, Finito (Bell 85-6). And she tries to encourage bravery in Pablo with the story of Finito conquering his fear (Bell 185).

But Pilar’s wisdom goes beyond her life experience; she is a seer, a mystic. She reads Robert Jordan’s death in his palm soon after meeting him (Bell 33). She confesses that she saw the death of another rebel fighter, Kashkin, “sitting on his shoulder” (Bell 251). And she knows that many of the band will be killed in the attempt to blow the bridge. Early on, Pilar senses that the mission is doomed:

The woman of Pablo could feel her rage changing to sorrow and to a feeling of the thwarting of all hope and promise. She knew this feeling from when she was a girl and she knew the things that caused it all through her life. It came now suddenly and she put it away from her and would not let it touch her, neither her nor the Republic. (Bell 58)

It has been suggested that Pilar’s enthusiasm toward Maria and Robert Jordan’s developing relationship stems from her knowledge of the short time he has left to live (Linderoth 89).

Pilar takes her powers seriously, and she has no patience with Robert Jordan when he questions her. For instance, after Robert and Maria have made love in the meadow, both of them feeling the earth move, Pilar tells them that such intensity of sensation happens to someone only three times in a lifetime, if he or she is lucky. Robert Jordan scoffs, and Pilar impatiently replies, “You are too young for me to speak to” (Bell 175). Later when he doubts that she knew of Kashkin’s death beforehand, Pilar tells Robert Jordan “thou art a miracle of deafness. . . . One who is deaf cannot hear music. . . . So he might say. . . such things do not exist” (Bell 251), implying that Jordan should not speak of things he knows nothing about.

Hemingway makes Pilar one of the most likeable characters in the novel. Again, he seems to be praising androgyny and barrenness, for Pilar is long past her childbearing prime and more of a man than many of the male characters. We get a sense of
Pilar's strength and power, her womanly masculinity in Hemingway's initial description of her: Robert Jordan saw a woman of about fifty almost as big as Pablo, almost as wide as she was tall, in black peasant skirt and waist, with heavy wool socks on heavy legs, black rope-soled shoes and a brown face like a model for a granite monument. She had big but nice looking hands and her thick curly black hair was twisted into a knot on her neck. (Bell 30) Apparently, Pilar has never been physically beautiful, at least in the classical sense; she herself laments, "Do you know what it is to be ugly all your life and inside to feel that you are beautiful?" (Bell 97). And later she gripes to Robert Jordan: "At times many things tire me. . . . You understand? And one of them is to have forty-eight years. You hear me? Forty-eight years and an ugly face. And another is to see panic in the face of a failed bullfighter of Communist tendencies when I say, as a joke, I might kiss him." (Bell 141) But being "ugly" has not prevented Pilar from having many men in her lifetime. Most of them have been bullfighters; even Pablo was a picador. Leon Linderoth suggests that Pilar is attempting to relive her past loves when she encourages Robert and Maria's affair (89). At one point, she admits her envy to Maria, "He can have thee . . . But I am very jealous" (Bell 154). During this conversation, Pilar blurs the boundaries of her sexuality, telling Maria as she strokes her face, "it gives me pleasure to say thus, in the daytime, that I care for thee" (Bell 155). But she quickly asserts that she is "no tortillera but a woman made for men" (Bell 155). Linderoth argues that Pilar simply "appreciate(s) Maria's beauty and femininity and responds to it briefly in a masculine manner" (90).

In addition to her ambiguous appearance and sexuality, Pilar's personality sometimes seems more masculine than feminine. Like Brett Ashley, she curses as well—if not better than—any man. She inspires respect and fear from the men in the band, temporarily taking over its leadership when Pablo weakens his power with his drunkenness. And finally, Pilar cares for Maria with parental tenderness, standing in for both her dead mother and father.

Some Heroines from the Short Stories

Liz Coates

Hemingway's first heroine, Liz Coates of "Up in Michigan" (1923), is a shy, self-conscious waitress who has a crush on the local blacksmith, Jim Gilmore. The narrator says that "Liz had good legs and always wore clean gingham aprons and Jim noticed that her hair was always neat behind. He liked her face because it was so jolly but he never thought about her" (Short Stories 81). Conversely, Liz constantly moans over Jim—"All the time now Liz was thinking about Jim Gilmore" (Short Stories 82). These expository statements foreshadow the climax to their relationship: Jim, not caring about Liz's feelings, will use her for his sexual gratification, and she will submit to his desire out of fear and physical weakness.

Hemingway defines Liz and Jim by the worlds they inhabit. While Liz is fixed in a traditionally feminine environment, cooking and cleaning at the local boarding house, Jim engages in stereotypical masculine pursuits, hunting and fishing with the men of Horton's Bay. Jim is the dominant force, virile and demanding; Liz the submissive one, servile and accommodating. One night their worlds intersect, because Jim's drunken lust sends him in search of a woman to satisfy it. Liz happens to be convenient; she's also vulnerable because of her infatuation with Jim.

After drinking whiskey with his friends, Jim convinces Liz to take a walk with him down to the dock, where he begins his clumsy "seduction" of her. Despite her pleas for him to stop, Jim presses on until he has gratified himself. Hemingway seems to excuse Jim's behavior by implying that Liz is a willing partner: "She was frightened but she wanted it. She had to have it but it frightened her" (Short Stories 85).

This implication is completely unbelievable. At no point during the encounter does Liz seem to want to be raped by Jim. On the contrary, she protests Jim's actions, saying "Don't, Jim," and "You mustn't!" and "it isn't right. . . . it hurts so" (Short Stories 85). Afterward, she dissolves into tears, distraught at her rude awakening from her fantasies about love by a considerably less than charming prince, who now lies snoring contentedly on the dock. If Liz has been stripped of her romantic notions about their relationship, she is still capable of tenderness toward Jim. As she leaves him, she kisses him on the cheek and covers him with her coat. Bernice Kert explains Liz's actions as a projection of Hemingway's own fantasies about male-female relationships:

The story is told from the female point of view, but Ernest's presentation of that point of view seems prejudiced by the dichotomy of his own needs—the need to be assertive and to dominate versus the need to be soothed and cared for. When the seduction
is over and Liz is shivering from the cold, her maternal instinct takes over. (74)

Another critic agrees that Liz's actions constitute "a last gasp of the maternal impulse" (Petry 358).

In his earliest depiction of a female character, then, Hemingway presents her as innocent, docile, and submissive. Liz Coates is the perfect woman from a male point of view: she obliges Jim Gilmore's every whim, even those desires that degrade her. Hemingway is not entirely unsympathetic to Liz, though. In the end, Jim Gilmore comes off as a brute, while Liz becomes a martyr. But she seems to sacrifice herself to a lost cause, for we are left with something like this: she is vindictive and full of fear is excessive. Like many of Hemingway's female characters, Margot has never borne a child. Mrs. Macomber does not seem to regret her lack of progeny.

Roberta Baker writes that "Margot was too beautiful for Macomber to divorce her and Macomber had too much money for Margot ever to leave him" (Short Stories 22). When Francis runs from a charging, wounded lion, embarrassing both himself and his wife, Margot retaliates by crawling into Wilson's cot. The next day Francis redeems himself by choking back his fear and joining Wilson in the reckless pursuit of three cape buffaloes. His exhilaration is short-lived, however; as he attempts to kill a charging buffalo, Francis is shot and killed by his wife.

The act of killing her husband has been seen as Margot Macomber's most heinous crime. Conventional critical wisdom dictates that she murders Francis because she knows he has finally become brave enough to leave her (Whitlow 60). And maybe he would have. When Margot implies that it's "sort of late" for her husband's bravery to make a difference, Francis disagrees, replying, "Not for me" (Short Stories 34).

But the idea that Margot would resort to murdering her husband rather than watching him walk away from their marriage has been challenged by some critics. Roger Whitlow points out that it really wouldn't have been necessary for Margot to shoot Francis; the buffalo was about to kill him (66). Nina Baym echoes this idea: Mrs. Macomber didn't have "any need to shoot her husband at this moment" (114). As early as 1955, Warren Beck argued that "if she wanted him dead, she could have left it to the buffalo" (375).

In addition to the lack of necessity for murder, Margot Macomber's reaction to her husband's death seems strange if she has just slain him. She refuses to be comforted by Wilson's suggestion that the authorities will believe Francis' death an accident; instead, she is "too overwhelmed by grief" (Beck 376). And Margot's sorrow does seem genuine—bending over her husband's body, "crying hysterically," "her face contorted," she is inconsolable after his death (Short Stories 36).

If Margot Macomber can be absolved of charges of murder, she is not so easily defended against criticism of her bitchery (Whitlow 65). Her cruelty toward her husband after his humiliating display of fear is excessive. She taunts him verbally and sexually, openly offering herself to the safari guide as a final blow to Francis' ego. When he protests her behavior, Margot coolly threatens, "If you make a scene I'll leave you, darling" (Short Stories 25).

Margot's role as the ice princess is reinforced by her cool loveliness. She possesses a sterile beauty—Robert Wilson thinks of her as "professionally" attractive (Short Stories 27): She was an extremely handsome and well-kept woman of the beauty and social position which had, five years before, commanded five thousand dollars as the price of endorsing, with photographs, a beauty product which she had never used (Short Stories 4).

This sterility is etched deeper than the surface: like many of Hemingway's female characters, Margot has never borne a child. Mrs. Macomber does not seem to regret her lack of progeny.

Rather, Margot, unburdened by children to care for, can concentrate on her social life, which seems to
be thriving. She has been unfaithful to Francis before the safari, a fact made clear by his protest after her return from Wilson's tent, "You said if we made this trip there would be none of that" (Short Stories 23). There seems to have been plenty of "that" in the couple's past, with Margot assuming the typically masculine role of sexual aggressor.

Margot's aggressive, "masculine" behavior seems an intrinsic part of her character. She is capable of matching wits with her male companions, sparring verbally with both her husband and their safari guide. Unlike Francis, Margot is unperturbed by the lion’s roars, finding them exciting rather than frightening. And for the most part, Margot controls her emotions, allowing her pain to show only at moments of great stress—as when Francis dies.

Margot Macomber, like most of Hemingway's female characters, is complex. Far from being a saint, she is also not the purely evil bitch that many critics have labelled her.

Helen

Another oft-maligned Hemingway heroine is Helen, wife of the dying Harry of "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" (1936). Edmund Wilson has likened Helen to Margot Macomber, calling her a bitch "of the most soul-destroying sort" (qtd. in Whitlow 69). Believing Harry's dying bitterness toward her, critics have blamed Helen for the collapse of her husband's writing career, when, in fact, Harry's inkwell dried up long before he met Helen (Whitlow 70-1).

But even Harry, in a rare moment of honesty, admits to himself that Helen is not responsible for the loss of his writing skills:

He had destroyed his talent himself. Why should he blame this woman because she kept him well? He had destroyed his talent by not using it, by betrayals of himself and what he believed in, by drinking so much that he blunted the edge of his perceptions, by laziness, by sloth, and by snobbery, by pride and by prejudice, by hook and by crook. (Short Stories 60)

Harry knows that he squandered his talent through his own complacency as well as through his fear of failure. Now, as he faces mortality, he needs something to comfort him. Helen's pain seems to do the trick, so he tells her he never loved her and calls her a "rich bitch" (Short Stories 58).

Helen is not a bitch, though. Far from being a villain, she is the Hemingway code hero of the story. Helen has experienced her existential moment: the deaths of her beloved husband and one of their children. She has experienced the insomnia that attends the psychic wound. Attempting to cauterize her pain, Helen takes to drink and to a series of lovers. But ultimately finding both salves useless, she faces her pain, deciding to do her best "to make another life" (Short Stories 61).

Harry becomes part of Helen's new life, and she embraces them both enthusiastically. She accompanies him on safari, learning to shoot as well as he: "She had liked it. She said she loved it. She loved anything that was exciting, that involved a change of scene, where there were new people and where things were pleasant" (Short Stories 61). She uses her money to please Harry, claiming "It was always yours as much as mine... I went wherever you wanted to go and I've done what you wanted to do" (Short Stories 55).

Most important, Helen embraces the Hemingway code of honesty. When Harry seems to be giving in to death, Helen, having survived a psychic wound much deeper than the scratch that has taken Harry down, chides him with the simple yet eloquent accusation, "That's cowardly" (Short Stories 53). The truth of Helen's statement cuts her husband, forcing him to admit to himself that he has largely wasted his life. Meanwhile, Helen deceives herself that Harry will survive, a white lie she can be forgiven because she does not know the extent of Harry's cowardice. Mistakenly, Helen assumes that Harry shares her strength of character and will to live.

Jig

Roger Whitlow calls "Hills Like White Elephants" (1927) "Hemingway's most penetrating attack on man as the exploiter of woman" (95). Like Liz Coates, Jig, the tormented heroine of the story, becomes symbolic of the sacrifices women make in their relationships with men. Written not long after his breakup with Hadley, "Hills" may indicate Hemingway's lingering feelings of remorse for his betrayal of her. At any rate, Hemingway undoubtedly sympathizes with Jig as she finds off her lover's callous and insistent pleas that she abort their child.

Waiting for a train to Madrid, Jig and her lover, identified only as "the American," drink beer and discuss the operation that the American thinks will solve all their problems. While the American is adamantly opposed to parenthood, Jig is ambivalent about having a child. After initially agreeing to have the "simple operation," she backs off, wistfully telling her lover, "We could get along" (Short Stories 277).

Jig, on the cusp of a new phase of her life, has tired of the jet-setting existence she shares with the American, complaining, "That's all we do isn't it—look at things and try new drinks?" (Short Stories 277).
Standing on the plain, looking across the river, Jig stares longingly at the mountains. Through this symbolic act, Hemingway indicates Jig’s desire to leave the barren, sterile plain of her current existence for the lush, fertile promise of a truly lived life. As "the shadow of a cloud move(s) across the field of grain" (Short Stories 276), Jig realizes the futility of her life with the American.

Although we don’t know whether or not Jig will have her baby, we can be sure that her relationship with the American is over. Jig has moved beyond his superficial world of hotels and bars, where people "wait reasonably for the train" (Short Stories 278) that will take them on to the next trendy tourist spot.

Like Helen of "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," Jig experiences her existential moment, and she will go on to make another life for herself—one that does not include the American.

Conclusion

So, the question lingers. How should we classify Ernest Hemingway’s female characters? Perhaps the best way to interpret them is to discard our tendency to categorize and pigeonhole and simply to look at them in the way many of Hemingway’s male characters have been analyzed. That is, we can see them as they progress in their personal development, from uninitiated, naive individuals to full-fledged, Hemingway heroes—or heroines.

For instance, Liz Coates, by the end of "Up In Michigan," has experienced her existential moment. The rape on the docks has changed her life forever; she has been initiated into the capricious world of Hemingway heroes, a world where, Frederic Henry explains, "they killed you in the end" (Farewell 327).

Margot Macomber, with the death of her husband, has joined Liz Coates on her journey toward self-discovery and a meaningful existence. Jig, having given up the empty life she shared with her lover, will meet them on the road.

Heroines like Catherine Barkley, Pilar, Maria, Liz, Margot, Helen, and Jig have all been initiated into Hemingway’s world, where honesty, professionalism, and comradeship are the tools they must use to chisel order from chaos. All these women fashion—or begin to fashion—meaningful lives for themselves, using the equipment Hemingway has supplied them. By anyone’s code, their determination not only to survive, but also to live their lives as fully as they can, makes them truly heroic.

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Financial Statements With Environmental Concerns:
An Exploratory Study of the Impact on the Auditor's
Role and Responsibilities

Lori A. Burton

Introduction

In recent years, the environment has become increasingly important for many individuals and groups. Actions geared towards cleaning up the environment are prevalent. Businesses, with the help of persuasion by the government, have become concerned with conducting business in such a way as to reduce damages occurring in the environment. However, the road to environmental awareness has a few potholes. As businesses grow, their expansion tends to be hindered by stringent regulations set forth by the Environmental Protection Agency, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and other governmental bodies. Furthermore, environmentalists are lobbying for even stricter laws to regulate businesses, particularly in the chemical and manufacturing industries.

Businesses are not the only parties affected by these regulations. The auditors who examine a company’s financial statements that reflect environmental concerns are seeking guidance for these environmental issues. Several Statements on Auditing Standards and a few Statements on Financial Accounting Standards provide guidance to the auditor. The Standards deal with the use of specialists, illegal acts, contingencies, client representations, and disclosures.

Examining financial statements which reflect environmental issues is a fairly new concept to the auditing profession. Despite much discussion, not all environmental accounting issues have been resolved. For example, much discrepancy still exists in the way that environmental contingencies and EPA emissions allowances are accounted for in the financial statements. Also, because the profession’s guidance on environmental issues focuses on compliance audits, little guidance is available concerning financial statement audits.

The responsibilities of the auditor have not changed since the introduction of auditing of financial statements for environmental concerns. The auditor is still responsible for examining the statements thoroughly to ascertain whether or not they are fairly stated in compliance with generally accepted accounting principles. However, in light of environmental issues, the role and responsibilities of the auditor must be reexamined.

The auditor’s opinion is normally based on direct critical scrutiny of the financial statements and professional judgment. However, when environmental issues are included in the financial statements, the auditor may rely heavily on the representations by the client and possibly use the work of the environmental specialist. Information about environmental issues obtained indirectly through the client or a specialist is not as reliable as information obtained directly by the auditor. So, a need for the auditor of environmentally-influenced financial statements to obtain further knowledge about environmental laws and regulations is apparent.

In the following discussion, accounting for environmental transactions and the auditor’s role when performing financial audits with environmental implications are explored. The paper is an in-depth, exploratory study of the existing accounting standards statements and professional writings and their implications on audits of financial statements with environmental aspects.

Federal Laws That Affect Financial Statement Presentations

Governmental bodies, both on the national and state levels, have made attempts to provide regulations, laws, and guidance to individuals and companies who must contend with environmental issues. These attempts focus on the premise of eliminating or minimizing damages to the air, water, soil, and human lives. Several federal laws deal with environmental concerns and may impact financial reporting of such issues. Some of these laws are described below.

Resource Conservation and Recovery Act

The Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) established a comprehensive program for managing hazardous materials from their creation to their disposal. The Act includes controls on underground storage tanks. This act is intended to prevent events that lead to contaminated sites and reduces the need for future clean-up costs. RCRA establishes responsibility for monitoring, transporting, treatment, storage, and disposal of hazardous wastes.

Clean Air Act

The Clean Air Act addresses air pollution controls. Permits for industry and vehicles are issued according to the provisions of the Act. Clean Air Act
Amendments of 1990 are intended to reduce pollution by imposing restrictions on public utilities to minimize emissions of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides into the air. Emissions limits are established for each utility and annual allowances authorize the limits that can be emitted. To remain in compliance with the Clean Air Act, utilities may either acquire additional allowances or incur expenditures to reduce the emissions produced by their generating units.

**Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act**

The Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA), often referred to as Superfund, initiated a program requiring responsible parties to clean up contaminated sites. This legislation requires that companies incur costs for the remediation of the contaminated site. The liability under this act is strict, joint, and several.

**Auditor's Liability**

When conducting an audit of financial statements with environmental implications, an auditor's opinion of the fair representation of the statements is particularly crucial. Bewley observes that the auditors could unintentionally present themselves "as having the ability to assess environmental matters that are outside their traditional knowledge and expertise" [1993]. To substantiate their opinion, auditors can seek the advice of a specialist for areas in which they have little or no knowledge or skill.

Regardless of whether the auditors use an environmental specialist, external parties and/or management may initiate lawsuits that could cause permanent damage to the auditor's professional status and credibility. The expectations of society have increased since the audits of financial statements with environmental implications entered the picture. The auditor must be aware of these additional expectations and be prepared for potential litigation.

A professional code of ethics and generally accepted auditing standards (GAAS) require that the auditor adequately design and perform the audit with professional duty of care. Bewley believes that it is illogical to conclude that the auditor is liable for management's neglect to anticipate costly environmental damages, especially when the auditor bases the opinion on GAAS [1993]. The auditor's duty of care is challenged when such skepticism arises from society's concerns. Therefore, the auditor must practice due care throughout the audit, both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, the auditor should consult specialists for additional guidance and make inquiries of management's intent to account for potential environmental contingencies.

**The Impact of Environmental Concerns on the Audit**

As auditing for environmental issues becomes more significant, auditors face many challenges. The auditor must be concerned with the determination of the point at which an environmental issue becomes a financial liability. Also of concern is the fairness of the amount of the cost estimate presented in the financial statements [Thomson, Simpson, and Le Grand, 1993].

**The Auditor's Responsibility to the Client**

When performing the audit engagement, the auditor should be aware of items that the client may have overlooked, including contingent liabilities related to environmental issues. The auditor must, therefore, be cognizant of federal, state, and local regulations that may impose civil, judicial, and administrative fines for environmental infractions [Pitre 1993]. Furthermore, the auditor must uphold the third standard of field work. The standard states that the auditor should have sufficient competent evidential matter to provide a reasonable basis for an opinion of financial statements [Statement on Auditing Standards (SAS) No. 1, 1973]. To obtain sufficient competent evidential matter, the auditor should conduct adequate tests, observations, inquiries, and confirmations. If the auditor does not possess the skills or knowledge to make a reasonable conclusion, the work of a specialist may be used. (This item shall be discussed in a later section.)

According to SAS No. 59, "Going Concern," the auditor has the responsibility to evaluate whether or not the entity is capable of continuing as a going concern [AICPA, 1988]. In connection with this, SAS No. 54, "Illegal Acts," relates to the client's violations of government laws and regulations [AICPA, 1988]. The auditor should make certain that the client has accounted for potential environmental liabilities in an appropriate manner before issuing an unqualified opinion.

**Using the Work of a Specialist**

According to the Proposed Statement on Auditing Standards, "Using the Work of a Specialist," a specialist is a person who possesses a special skill or knowledge in a particular field other than accounting or auditing [1993]. An auditor may use the work of a specialist when:

1. management engages a specialist to prepare or assist in the preparation of portions of the
Is There a Potential Need for Specialization Among Auditors of Environmentally Influenced Financial Statements?

Under CERCLA, the responsibility for hazardous-waste cleanup liability is imposed upon an extensive group of potentially responsible parties (PRPs) [Zuber and Berry, 43]. PRPs include the following parties:

1. the owner or operator of the identified hazardous site,
2. the owner or operator of the site at the time of disposal of hazardous substances (i.e., past owners and operators),
3. creators of the substances disposed of at the site, and
4. transporters of the hazardous substances to the site.

However, the above list is not all-inclusive. Strong support for this can be found in the exposure of environmental violations of a publicly-owned facility. In face of financial losses, those people who maintain an interest in a facility (i.e., stockholders and lenders) might accuse a wide variety of parties associated with the business. Such parties may include anyone from the owners and operators to the financial statement auditor. Placing the blame on the owners and operators is not unexpected, for, regardless of whether they knew of the act, they are the parties who directly violated the law. However, the accusing parties may also hold the auditor of the financial statements potentially liable for not detecting the errors.

When entering into an audit of financial statements with environmental consequences, the auditors should exercise due care to protect themselves from potential professional liability. Under SAS No. 54, "Illegal Acts," the auditor is provided guidance on the nature and extent of the auditor’s consideration of the client’s possible illegal acts, audit planning and performance, and the auditor’s responsibility if such an act is discovered [AICPA, 1988]. SAS 54 also states that it is not the auditor’s responsibility to determine whether or not an act is indeed illegal. That determination should be made based upon a legal expert’s advise or a decision made by a court of law. If the auditor suspects that an illegal act has occurred, SAS 54 provides a list of actions the auditor should take. These include consulting legal counsel, performing additional audit procedures, and making inquiries of management.

If an illegal act is confirmed, the auditor is bound to report the illegal act. SAS 53, "The Auditor’s Responsibility to Detect and Report Errors and Irregularities," states that the auditor should report the error or irregularity to the audit committee of the client’s board of directors if it has a direct and material effect on the financial statements. When further investigated, the error or irregularity could prove that an illegal act has occurred.

At this point, it must be understood that the auditor is not, in any way, trained to detect all irregularities, errors, or illegal acts during the audit. However, under SAS Nos. 53 and 54, the auditor must pursue, with reasonable, diligent, and competent
professionality, any possible material findings until a satisfactory conclusion is reached.

During the examination, the auditor should be aware of potential environmental liability red flags [Specht, 70-71]. Specht suggests discoveries of red flags may be obtained through client inquiry, analytical review, review of the corporate minutes, review of legal documents, transaction tests, audits of various accounts (cash, notes receivable, notes payable), and reviews of insurance coverage. She suggests the following red flags:

* Participation in real estate or merger-consolidation transactions
* Borrowing or lending at higher-than-expected interest rates
* Possible bargain sales that are due to high environmental risks
* An environmental audit was authorized or performed
* Real estate transactions that fell through where the client was the seller, particularly those in which the client paid additional legal and professional counsel
* Client obtains insurance coverage to protect against third party claims
* Client sets up a slush fund account to cover unexpected costs which may include environmental clean-up projects
* These are just a few of the many items that the auditor should be aware of while performing the audit. It is very clear that the auditor should attempt to further investigate these red flags through inquiries of the client, the client's attorney, and the specialist.

However, auditors are obligated to perform their work within certain time frames. Obviously, auditors should be provided with some guidance as to how serious the act in question must be before surpassing the allotted time for the audit engagement. Currently, no guidance is available in the professional standards regarding the further investigation of environmental issues.

**Discussion of the AICPA's Accreditation of Specialists**

Currently, the AICPA offers only one accredited specialization, personal financial specialists (PFS). Individual states utilize the examination services of the AICPA to offer the professional designation, Certified Public Accountant. This allows an accountant to practice in the public sector while performing a wide range of duties. Special task committees are encouraged by the AICPA to suggest new specializations that could be incorporated in the AICPA's offerings to members. However, there has not been any mention of a specialized designation for auditors of financial statements with environmental implications. The following discussion will serve to present pro and con views of accrediting specialists and concluding comments on the issue.

**The Pro Views of James Shambo**

James Shambo, a managing partner of Sanden, Shambo, and Anderson in Colorado Springs, Colorado, suggests that "specialization has been accepted by most as the inevitable progression of today's professional during their careers" [Shambo and Eveloff, 41]. He notes that the specialization issue arose out of the rapid changes occurring in the profession during the inflationary years of the 1970s and 1980s. At the time, accreditation was perceived as a means to distinguish those individuals who were experienced enough to adequately help clients with their investment and financial concerns and decisions.

Shambo believes that the public would benefit greatly from accreditation of professionals. First, the public would be provided with proof of specialty knowledge among accounting professionals. Second, accreditation would improve the CPA's competency in specialized skills.

The profession would benefit from accreditation as well. The government has allowed the AICPA to be a self-regulatory agency. The public, companies, and other related parties allege that the profession has failed "in our obligation to the public trust" [42]. However, the profession has been able to shield itself from these allegations through peer reviews and continued professional education requirements. Accreditation would be one means of substantiating that the profession is trying to promote the best performance from accountants.

Other benefits of accreditation include the ability to compete with other organizations outside the profession, a means to depict accounting as a dynamic profession, and a means to help in the efforts to create uniform standards in all jurisdictions. The public often seeks advice outside of the profession in the areas of financing and investing. With the help of accreditation, the profession can further expand its abilities to perform in situations other than financial statement audits and tax preparation.

Accreditation can also attract more people to the profession. For instance, specialization would help revolutionize the profession from one of "number-crunching" to financing and investing counseling.

Accreditation of specialists would also allow the profession to impose uniform standards in all jurisdictions that recognize the AICPA guidelines in state level standards. The AICPA has been working
on standardization for years. If feasible, accreditation would provide the perfect means to achieve this goal.

The Con Views of Sheldon H. Eveloff

Sheldon Eveloff opposes Shambo’s views and believes there is no justification to add more designations to those specialties that exist. His reasons for this opinion are very clear. If specializations are continuously added to the profession, the list could go on to infinity, causing confusion both inside and outside the profession. He believes that standardization would cause a great deal of overlap and redundancy. Furthermore, specialization would require the accountant to have a very broad range of skills that may or may not be interrelated to accounting, thus, creating a "jack-of-all-trades." In the public eye, the accountant should be an accountant, not a financial analyst or investment broker. This problem would further raise questions of professional competency. If an accountant desires to have an extensive list of specializations, it would be difficult to satisfy the amount of experience and continuing professional education (CPE) requirements to maintain all designations.

Eveloff believes that specialization would be very costly. First, smaller firms may not be able to compete with the larger, more specialized firms. Second, to maintain accreditation, specialists would be required to fulfill extensive CPE requirements set by state licensing boards. Third, the AICPA might indirectly fund administrative and monitoring expenses with membership fees (which could increase to enormous rates).

Eveloff also believes that accreditation would inevitably create liability headaches. The public would tend to view unaccredited CPAs as incompetent when compared to their fellow specializing professionals. It may also be assumed that if a specialist performs tasks that are outside the specialty area (e.g., tax preparation), then the accountant is not able to perform quality work. These public perceptions would create an additional source of liability since general consensus would condemn the accountant who has no area of expertise. Eveloff also challenges the notion that accreditation would be a means for monitoring and improving practice quality in an effort to reduce liability. He states that one established, less expensive way for the profession to minimize liability is peer review.

Comments on the Opposing Views

At first, accreditation appears to be a very feasible way of dealing with the public’s concerns of competency among accounting professionals. However, when the costs are factored in, specialization is not a viable option in most instances. Eveloff does not consider the potential liability that professionals face when they enter unfamiliar territory. Auditing financial statements with environmental concerns would represent a potential candidate for accredited specialization.

The auditors face liability any time they enter an audit engagement. However, auditors have the right to refuse to take on a client’s account if they believe there is a high degree of risk. The professional is encouraged to use extensive care when selecting clients to serve [Guy, Alderman, and Winters, 461]. Firms have no obligation to accept every client, particularly when possibilities of increased business risk, on the part of the auditing firm, are present. Auditing financial statements with environmental implications could introduce a high degree of risk regardless of the other risks involved (e.g., client representation, hidden costs and liabilities).

For auditors of financial statements with environmental implications, specialization would be feasible. Specialization would afford them the opportunity to learn to detect and explore environmental red flags and to understand the federal, state, and local laws that affect representations in the financial statements. Specialization could also provide them with the image of competence and knowledge should they be implicated in a lawsuit. In the meantime, it would be to the auditor’s best interest to gain some kind of knowledge of environmental factors that may present themselves in the financial statements. One suggestion is to provide optional continuing professional education programs which teach the auditor to be aware of certain things. Another suggestion is to encourage the AICPA to open an investigation of the environmental issues that have come to light and issue guidance to the auditors in the way of official standards or task force bulletins.

Legal Liability and Its Effect on the Auditor’s Role

O'Malley's commentary reveals an evident need to explore the effects of legal liability on the role of the auditor [82]. In United States vs. Arthur Young, the court found that auditors are responsible to the public, as well as to shareholders, when they certify that financial reports adequately reflect the company’s financial status. O'Malley doubts that the court considered that the auditor’s role is not solely to detect financial fraud. Instead, he notes that the independent auditor has the more important role of serving the public interest.
Another area of conflict that O'Malley points out is the differences that exist in the interpretation of accounting standards. Many of the decisions that an auditor makes while performing the audit are made in accordance with loose interpretation of the standards and professional experience.

While O'Malley is in favor of improving the auditor's ability to protect the public against fraud, he is "fearful that an expansion of the auditor's responsibilities could prove fatal as long as the liability system remains little more than a risk transfer mechanism and auditors are regarded as prime transferees" [83]. If auditors take precautions to explore questionable areas of the financial statements, they should not become the primary target for blame and retribution for environmental contingencies that go undetected. After all, independent auditors are not specifically trained to be fraud examiners. However, the auditor may be perceived as doing nothing to prevent, minimize, or "predict" the possible future losses [O'Malley, 83]. Management should be more responsible for potential losses since it has control over the company's activities. Nonetheless, the public may accuse the auditors of not completely or competently performing their duties while conducting the audit if the client faces potential losses.

O'Malley states that management should be responsible for compliance with government laws and regulations [86]. Auditors should not be solely responsible for assuring the shareholders and other parties interested in the financial statements that management is in compliance with specific regulations. Instead, auditors should review management's decisions and report their opinions to the financial statement users. The ability of the auditor to perform this service depends on the auditor's competence and familiarity with laws and regulations that govern the audited company.

Current practice dictates that auditors should report fraud and other problems detected during the audit to the board of directors (i.e., the audit committee) or to management. This method of reporting irregularities and misstatements is intended to protect shareholders from learning of the problems before management has a chance to correct the problems. O'Malley suggests that auditors should be permitted to disclose discrepancies directly to federal and state regulators [86]. Under the Financial Fraud Detection and Disclosure Act (H.R. 574), auditors are required to report suspected material fraud to regulators only if management and the board of directors fail to exercise their responsibilities to the financial statement users. This bill has "a safe harbor for what auditors disclose" [86]. However, the law assumes that the auditor can easily decide the amount of information that should be disclosed and when to disclose it. The law also presumes that the auditor has the ability to detect the fraud before it causes an extensive amount of damage. Thus, the risk of litigation for disclosing the situation is potentially greater since no specific guidance for environmental disclosures exists.

Interpretation of Accounting Standards as a Source of Auditor Liability

Aside from the obvious accusations from the stockholders and the public in general, an auditor also faces potential professional liability from varying interpretations of generally accepted accounting principles by the financial statement preparers. As evident in commentaries from members of the profession, for any one principle, there may be many interpretations and applications. As a result of different interpretations, transactions found in the financial statements from the same type of business may vary greatly. This difference may be attributed to the way in which an accountant perceives the form of a transaction. According to Schuetze, accounting for the substance of an event over its form would indicate that the need for standards would be eliminated [Schuetze, 89]. In the worst case scenario, financial statements of companies operating within the same industry would have little comparability, consistency, or understandability from financial statement users.

When auditing a company, the auditor must determine how the preparer of the financial statements interpreted the standards dealing with such items as contingent liabilities, research and development costs, and goodwill amortization. When estimating these items, the preparer of the financial statements must use a certain degree of personal judgment when applying accounting standards to transactions. Likewise, the auditor must apply judgment when auditing the work of a fellow accountant. However, the method that one accountant considers to be correct might be considered incorrect by another accountant. Schuetze notes that such judgment calls could cause costly legal debates as a result of complex and ambiguous accounting standards.

Auditor Liability Inherent in Environmentally Influenced Financial Statements

Problems Associated With Interpreting Accounting and Auditing Standards

In environmental reporting, the problem of standardized interpretation is also present. However,
the need for professional guidance in this area is relatively new. Uncertainties exist in the way in which accountants depict environmental costs, when to report the cost, and how to measure the costs. The accountant must decide whether to capitalize or expense the cost. A judgment must be made with regard to the recognition of a contingent cost now or waiting until the cost becomes more imminent. Johnson notes that often it is the difficulties associated with recognition that make reporting environmental outlays impossible; the only recourse may be disclosure in the footnotes [118]. Without specific guidance provided in the financial statements or authoritative literature, reporting environmental costs is reduced to professional judgment. The closest thing to authoritative guidance rests primarily in selected FASB standards combined with an interpretation and several of the FASB's Emerging Issues Task Force reports. In addition, registrants of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) must comply with its disclosure requirements.

Auditors of environmentally influenced financial statements are exposed to potential liability since they must rely on existing standards which tend to be modified by their judgments of proper application to environmental issues. For example, the question of when a contingent liability should be recognized arises. FASB Statement No. 5, "Accounting for Contingencies" defines a contingency as "an existing condition, situation, or set of circumstances involving uncertainty...that will be resolved when one or more future events occur or fail to occur" [SFAS 5, 1975, par. 8]. Under Statement 5, contingencies should be recognized as losses when it is probable that a liability has been incurred or an asset has been impaired and the amount of the liability or impairment can be reasonably estimated.

While Statement 5 provides a definition of what a contingency is and when contingent losses should be recognized, the measurement of the contingency is left up to the accountant's judgment. However, FASB Interpretation 14, "Reasonable Estimation of the Amount of a Loss," does provide limited guidance [FASB Interpretation 14, 1976, par. 3]. It states that when the reasonable estimate of a loss is a range and no amount within the range is a better estimate than another, the minimum amount should be accrued. One question that arises is what is a reasonable amount? How is it determined? Once again, the accountant must use professional judgment to make that decision.

Correlated with the interpretation of accounting and auditing standards, the problem of how to account for various environmentally influenced line items is present. For example, through the Clean Air Act and its amendments, the EPA has granted air pollution emission rights to various industries which allow them the emission of one ton of sulfur dioxide in a given year. However, the profession has raised some questions with regard to how these emissions should be accounted for. Many business people, including accountants, have foreseen a market for selling these emission rights [Ewer, Nance, and Hamlin, 69]. For now, the profession needs to focus its attention on answers to such questions as how emissions should be accounted for and how they should be classified.

In many ways, the emissions allowances resemble securities that can be bought and sold on the open market. The emission rights also carry some characteristics of personal property; heavy emphasis is placed upon the right of the industry to use its emissions allowances however and whenever it wants. Yet another view holds that emission rights should be accounted for as inventory which is eventually expended as it becomes used up or as it becomes part of the cost of goods sold in a finished product. Still another view contends that the rights represent an intangible asset, like a license, that can be amortized over a given life. However, since the grant of emission rights typically covers a period of approximately one year, the amortization of the rights as an intangible asset appears incorrect. Regardless of how the emission right is accounted for, the fact remains that there needs to be more guidance in this area.

As discussed in a previous section, contingent liabilities may exist on the books of the client. While the standards try to answer some questions about contingencies in general, there is no specific guidance for the auditor in determining the exact nature of potential environmental contingencies. Consequently, the auditor may become liable for environmental contingencies that remain undiscovered in the course of the audit.

The Auditor's Role as a Potentially Responsible Party

As noted previously, potentially responsible parties are those who are involved in the creation and disposal of environmental wastes. However, the auditor faces the risk of being indirectly liable for the wrongful acts of its client if the auditor fails to detect potential problems. Furthermore, if remediations are not taken by the client to correct the problem once it is detected, the stockholders, creditors, and other
issues that require further exploration for adequate attestation of the financial statements. However, the auditor must sacrifice both time and money to complete the engagement to meet professional standards.

**During the Audit Engagement**

**Client Representations:**

Client representations, obtained during the audit as part of the evidential matter, are similar to the engagement letter. These representations are an expression of management's knowledge of the content of the financial statements. However, one major difference is that the client representations are required and, if received, are documented in the working papers [SAS 19, AICPA, 1977]. The client representations can be secured through oral or written responses to specific inquiries or through the financial statements. Such response could be found through the examination of the business purposes of transactions, documents (e.g., contracts and invoices) related to transactions, and the board of directors' meeting minutes. Through this collected information, the auditors obtain knowledge of related parties, potentially responsible parties in contingent liability issues, and potential violations of federal, state, and local laws and regulations.

Client representations provide the auditor a "springboard" from which to narrow the focus of the audit to material and/or specific areas to investigate. For instance, these representations could provide the auditor with knowledge of potentially responsible parties and the internal control structure. This collection of information helps the auditor assess the audit risk, materiality measurements, and possible tests of control to assess whether or not the client is in compliance with and has properly recorded significant environmental transactions according to specified laws and regulations.

**Lawyer's Letter:**

Management is responsible for identifying, evaluating, and accounting for litigation, claims, and assessments for the preparation of the financial statements [SAS 12, AICPA, 1976]. SAS 12 suggests that any further inquiries regarding legal matters should be obtained through the client's legal counsel. The lawyer's letter is one practice that can limit the auditor's liability with respect to the discovery of potential contingencies such as pending litigation. There are two types of lawyer's letters. One type is a letter written to the lawyer in which the auditor writes down all of the possible legal contingencies and the lawyer signs if those are correct. The lawyer
may then add any additional comments. The second type is a letter in which the auditor asks that the lawyer write, in letter form, all of the possible contingencies that the client faces. Typically, the first letter type is used since the lawyer may be agitated by the auditor’s request for the lawyer to write a complete, detailed report of environmental and legal issues.

In this capacity, the lawyer is like a specialist. The auditor makes this request in order to become more informed of the nature of the existing or potential liabilities. As a result, the auditor’s judgments of the conformity of the financial statements is more complete, thus, reducing liability risk.

However, the lawyer may appropriately limit the response to auditor inquiries in one of two ways [SAS 12, AICPA, 1976]. First, the matters discussed are only related to material items of the financial statements. Second, the matters discussed have required substantial attention by the attorney in the form of legal consultation or representation. Consequently, the limitations due to the client confidentiality clause that are imposed on the responses could severely limit the scope of the audit enough to warrant an unqualified opinion.

The lawyer’s decision to limit the inquiry responses is not completely unknown by the auditor. Prior to inquiry, the auditor and the attorney make agreements about the use of the inquiry and the definition of materiality to use in responding to the inquiry. The lawyer has the responsibility to determine the material importance and seriousness of specified matters and the legal effects of nondisclosure.

For example, if a contingent liability potentially exists, the auditor has the obligation to obtain additional information about the liability to satisfy evidential matter requirements sufficiently. Thus, the auditor can contact the lawyer to help determine the remoteness or probability of an event occurring in the future and the amount of the potential liabilities. From the information received, the auditor could then determine if the client should disclose the material on the face of the financial statements or in the accompanying notes. Regardless to the use of the lawyer inquiry, lawyer’s letters could provide essential evidential matter that the auditor pursued an issue completely before the release of an opinion.

Audit of Accounting Estimates:
Under SAS 57, the auditors should base their opinions of accounting estimates on subjective and objective reasoning [AICPA, 1988]. The auditor is responsible for evaluating the reasonableness of estimates using professional skepticism. To corroborate management’s estimates, the auditor should perform a three step process. First, the auditor should review management’s process of estimating. Second, the auditor should reperform management’s process to test for correct procedures. Third, the auditor should review subsequent events or transactions that are affected by the estimate before the completion of fieldwork.

Full Documentation of the Audit Findings:
When auditors enter an audit engagement, they must document their findings in a series of working papers and supporting schedules, as required by the standards [SAS 41, AICPA, 1982]. A majority of the work that auditors perform never enters into the opinion statement that accompanies the financial statements. However, if the auditors are sued for their actions during the audit, the working papers and the supporting schedules could provide strong defense for due care and sufficient planning issues in a lawsuit.

Communication With the Audit Committee:
The audit committee is responsible for overseeing the financial reporting and disclosure process of the client. During the audit, the auditors report the audit findings to the audit committee either orally or in writing. This communication is usually executed orally and then followed up through written documentation of the proceedings. The following items should be disclosed during the communication: the audit findings, the auditor’s responsibility to report the findings, changes, management’s judgments regarding estimates, and significant audit adjustments that could individually or in the aggregate affect the client’s financial reporting process.

When reporting to the audit committee, the auditors may suggest changes that should be made to the financial statement that could affect their opinion of the statements once the engagement is complete. It should be stressed that the auditor is not responsible for the financial statement representations; this job is the responsibility of management. This segregation of responsibilities between management and the auditor would be made abundantly clear in the engagement letter (if it is used).

After the Audit Engagement
Retention of Audit Information:
Upon completing the audit engagement, the auditor should retain files of the client’s working papers. Retention of the audit information provides
documentation of the completeness and competence of the auditor's work throughout the audit process. The auditor's protection against liability in a lawsuit could rely heavily upon the adequacy and extensiveness of the documentation of the audit findings and management's response to the findings. For example, the auditor should report suggested changes to the financial statements to the client. If the client refuses to make the required disclosures, the auditor should notify the board of directors and contact legal counsel. If changes are not made, the auditor has full documentation of the results if proper records are maintained in the working papers.

Response to Subsequent Events:
Auditors are not required to make inquiries or perform subsequent event procedures after the opinion is released, except for filings under federal securities statutes. However, if the auditor becomes aware of subsequent events that, if known during the audit, would have been further investigated and the results affect the auditor's report, the auditor should explore these events.

First, the events should be investigated and reported to the client to determine whether the information is reliable and existed at the date of the auditor's report. Next, the auditor must determine the significance of the findings to the financial statement users. The discovered information, if it is reliable, should be precise and factual "without speculation on the conduct or motives of the client" [Spellmire, Baliga, and Winiarski, 3.71]. Thus, the auditor should be completely objective, not prejudiced or accusing, when investigating the subsequent event. If the auditor approaches the problem by accusing the client of being intentionally misleading, the auditor could risk losing the client or could be accused of slander in a liability suit.

However, the auditor should pursue the problem carefully and methodically when deciding to disclose the findings. If the report is being used for immediate and significant purposes (i.e., for loan purposes), the auditor should issue revised financial statements and auditor's report. If the subsequent event poses no threat to financial statement users, the auditor may elect to disclose the revisions in later financial statements and auditor's report. The auditor could also notify known third parties that rely on or are likely to use the financial statements or the auditor's opinion.

If the information is reliable but the impact of the information is not determinable, and the financial statements would be misleading and the report should not be relied on, the auditor is not required to disclose detailed information about the matter. The auditor can, with certain discretion, disclose the information. If the client does not wish to cooperate and make changes, the auditor can opt to separate the report from the financial statements and indicate a desire that the report should not be associated with the financial statements.

During the Auditor's Career
Continuing Professional Education (CPE):
Auditing the environment is a new issue that requires special attention. Therefore, the auditors should make it their duty to become as knowledgeable as they can to limit legal liability during audit engagements. Although it is not readily feasible at this time to structure CPE courses about environmental issues, competent auditors should take it upon themselves to explore the literature that has been published by other professionals regarding this pertinent issue. Professionals, regardless of their career field, have a legitimate obligation to their clients and customers to have current, up-to-date information at hand. After all, their future may depend on it.

Withdrawal From the Engagement:
One of the most extreme cases of minimizing the auditor's liability risk would be to withdraw from the engagement entirely. This action may be prompted by the client's intentional distortion of financial results or the client refuses to correct known errors and irregularities noted during the audit. However, withdrawal raises questions concerning loyalty to the client and to the auditor's firm.

Client loyalty may be violated if the client is relying on the auditor's report to obtain a substantial loan for a new project. If the auditing firm withdraws its services before completing the audit, a high probability exists that the client will not employ the firm in the future. The client may further damage the firm's reputation by relaying the news of the withdrawal to the auditing firm's competitors and other firms seeking the services of auditing firms.

However, the auditing firm may be protecting its own interests when it withdraws from an engagement. The auditing firm is eventually responsible to the public, particularly investors and shareholders of public companies, for its actions. If the firm withdraws its services only to protect its interest, it is encouraged to seek consultation with legal counsel skilled in defending accountants' professional liability claims. If the auditing firm is adequately able to
standards to complete their duties as professionals. To assess contingent liabilities for management's cooperation causes a scope limitation.

**Analysis of the Issues**

Auditing financial statements with environmental concerns is a relatively new area in accounting. Like most new things, this type of auditing imposes potential threats to the legal liability of the auditor and new responsibilities to fulfill. Currently, no formal or explicitly informative standards exist concerning environmentally influenced financial statements. Consequently, auditors must rely heavily upon loose interpretation and application of existing standards to complete their duties as professionals successfully. To assess contingent liabilities for future environmental clean-up costs, for example, the accountant obtains guidance from FASB No. 5 "Accounting for Contingencies." However, the question is raised "How is accounting for environmental clean-up costs any different from accounting for contingencies in other industries?" The following discussion highlights some of the reasons why the AICPA and other accounting bodies should further explore the auditing of environmentally impacted financial statements.

With the advent of federal regulations such as RCRA, the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, and CERCLA, more constraints are placed on industrial companies. As a result, the financial statements require extensive disclosure and documentation of environmental liabilities and costs. The auditor could become potentially liable for not detecting the proper disclosure of contingent liabilities. This threat of liability is particularly evident in CERCLA because it assigns liability strictly and jointly. Also, the law extends the liability to parties other than the ones directly involved in the clean up of contaminated sites.

When auditors assess the compliance of financial statements with existing generally accepted accounting principles, they are placing their reputations and integrity on the line. Agreeing with Bewley, auditors could unintentionally misrepresent themselves if they try to assess environmental matters that are beyond their traditional knowledge and expertise. One of the only remedies for this problem is to seek the help of specialists such as environmental engineers and lawyers. However, given the limited time constraints placed upon the audit, auditors attempt to gather as much information as possible to provide substantial evidential matter to support their opinion of the state of the financial statements. Consequently, the auditors may overlook minute, yet important, details that could severely affect the statements compliance with GAAP. Thus, the auditors may become defendants in a lawsuit presented against the client if such errors are not detected.

What about the auditor's duty to detect errors and irregularities? The auditor should design the audit so that tests of controls and tests of transactions would provide sufficient information about management's representations in the financial statements. Under the code of ethics, the auditor is bound to perform the audit with professional duty of care. SASs nos. 53 and 54 guide the auditor in the procedures that should be taken to investigate any errors, irregularities, and illegal acts that arise during the audit. However, neither the code of ethics nor the SASs provide clear guidance to the auditor in designing the audit to detect these problems. As a result, the public may accuse the auditor of negligence for not detecting errors, irregularities, and illegal acts through the course of the audit. However, the public does not realize that the auditor cannot be responsible or negligent for matters that remain undiscovered if the audit was carefully planned and performed. The auditor would be correctly blameworthy if the matter is discovered and the auditor did not pursue the issue further. Simply, the auditor could become illogically liable for management's neglect to anticipate contingent liabilities if the auditor does not have the available guidance to plan and execute the audit program.

When the auditor performs duties in conformity with generally accepted auditing standards and the professional code of ethics, the public may still incorrectly hold the auditor responsible for losses that result from using financial statements that were incorrectly assessed. The public, therefore, expects the auditor to perform duties with its concerns in mind. In attempt to narrow this expectation gap, the AICPA has considered the possibility of additional
specializations within the profession. In the article written by Shambo and Eveloff, discussions for and against specialization are presented.

Shambo’s pro views are very valid and can be substantiated. With accreditation, auditors of environmentally influenced financial statements could improve their reputations, integrity, and competence. By seeking accreditation and obtaining more training in environmental issues, auditors may substantially minimize their exposure to subsequent liability. Furthermore, since the AICPA has been allowed by the government to regulate itself, implementing an accreditation program for the environmental auditor would reinforce the public’s confidence in the AICPA’s attempt to increase its responsibility to society. Allowing accreditation to occur would substantially promote the best performance out of the accountants as well as provide a means to become increasingly aware of the issues accountants must face.

Eveloff suggests that specialization would be very costly. This fact cannot be denied. However, he does not consider the benefit of specialization to protect the auditor from potential liability. If auditors begin an engagement with little knowledge of the environmental issues, the risk of lawsuits is increased if environmental concerns surface. However, Eveloff would probably argue that the purpose of lawyers and other specialists is to help the auditor understand environmental matters that arise during the audit. With increased knowledge of potential environmental issues that could affect the client’s financial statements, aside from information obtained through the inquiries of experts, the auditor would substantially increase professional competency and reduce liability.

Eveloff challenges the notion that accreditation would be a means for monitoring and improving practice quality. While peer review, as he suggests, is one way of achieving these goals, it cannot possibly be expected to help the auditor become more aware of the knowledge of environmental laws and regulations that affect financial statements. Therefore, it is suggested that specialization would be in order.

While Shambo’s opinion of specialization is admirable, those who support his view may claim that specialization is not very feasible at this time. First, there has been no formal investigation of the environmental issues that the profession currently faces. Second, without knowledge of environmentally specific standards or at least environmental interpretations of existing standards, the AICPA cannot reasonably be expected to begin planning a program. The AICPA must learn how to crawl before it can walk. It must determine what issues need to be addressed before it can design a program for additional specialization. Third, an implementation of new programs may not be prudent at this time. The AICPA must attempt to make the public more aware of the auditor’s responsibilities to the public to close the expectation gap. In 1988, the AICPA attempted to close the gap by releasing SAS nos. 53 through 61 which provided further audit guidance in the form of working papers, lawyer’s letters, and responsibility to detect errors, irregularities, and illegal acts. However, the public and even the courts (as noted by O’Malley) tend to mistakenly associate the auditor’s duties during an audit with the detection of fraud. The auditor’s primary responsibility is to determine if the financial statements are in compliance with GAAP. If questionable areas arise during the audit, the auditor should thoroughly explore the findings until sufficient evidential matter is obtained. In the future, once the public is informed of the auditor’s responsibilities when performing the audit, the possibility of specialization will be greater.

While specialization may be a solution to the problem of auditor liability, it cannot be ignored that auditors have a responsibility to provide reasonable assurance for reliance on the fairness of the financial statements [SAS 58, AICPA, 1988]. If the audit report fails to provide the public with the assurance that it needs, then society may allege that the auditors are not doing their jobs. However, what the public does not realize is the fact that the rate of alleged audit failures involving U.S. publicly held companies is less than one-half of 1% [Chenok, 47]. The public reads the newspaper and listens to the television news reports that another audit failed to achieve its objective. What the public needs to hear more is that the audits that are successful exceed 99%. However, it seems that no one wants to focus on the fact that something actually works in our society. Instead, we only want to find out what is wrong and attempt to fix it or grossly distort the true impact of the situation, thus creating severe skepticism of our methods.

However, the auditor can help to alleviate some of this skepticism. By utilizing a utilitarian approach to analytical procedures during the audit, the auditor could possibly be able to consider the main concerns of the client, the stakeholders, and the auditing firm itself. Under utilitarianism, a person attempts to evaluate all of the benefits and costs of certain actions [Velasquez, 61]. Once the benefits and costs of each alternative are weighed against each other, the person then chooses the alternative that provides the greatest net benefit to the most people. This ideal fits in well
with the auditor's approach to audit proceedings. For example, deciding whether or not to account for emissions allowances as inventory or as a marketable security requires that the auditor consider the consequences of accounting for them under each method. Another example would be the auditor's choice to interpret accounting principles in such a way as to comply with the profession's expectations while considering what the client interprets to be the correct way to apply a certain accounting method.

According to Velasquez, the theories of contract, due care, and social costs would aid in the analysis of the source of and responsibility for liability. These theories would attempt to assign the responsibility for the failure to disclose contingent environmental liabilities to the appropriate parties.

Under the contract theory, two parties enter into an agreement in exchange for goods and services [Velasquez, 275-276]. The auditor agrees to attest to the fairness of the financial statements in exchange for a fee. However, what is the auditor to do if the client and its lawyer intentionally withhold information regarding a contingent environmental liability that should appropriately be disclosed in the financial statements? If auditors discover the liability before completing the audit, they can simply withdraw from the engagement by reason of scope limitation. However, if the auditors do not discover the disclosure until after the report is released and used by investors and creditors, then the auditor may have to unfairly pay a penalty. By this time, the auditor would have very little recourse except to bear the costs. Regardless, the auditors should not have to incur the liability if they can sufficiently prove that they had no previous knowledge of the contingency and can reasonably prove that the contingency was not significant enough to warrant disclosure in the financial statements.

Under the due care theory, the stockholders and investors would have the right to moral recourse for the auditor's failure to persuade the client to disclose information about its additional findings [Velasquez, 287]. Thus, the duty of care would also be extended to the client as well. If this theory holds true, the auditor would be forced to compensate those parties harmed by the non-disclosure. However, if the undisclosed information resulted from using the work of a lawyer or a specialist, would the auditor be able to minimize liability? Per the exposure draft of "Using the Work of a Specialist," the auditor has the obligation to investigate the qualifications of the specialist and to follow up on the information received from the specialist [AICPA, 1993]. However, if the auditor appropriately explores the findings, the liability should also be shared by the specialist.

Under the social costs theory, the parties that incur the additional liability have the right to add this cost to the price of its product [Velasquez, 290]. Industries that incur environmental clean-up costs can very easily incorporate the cost of the clean-up in future products. This increase in the cost can easily be justified. However, if the auditors incur liabilities for failing to persuade the client to make changes to the financial statements, their liability insurance increases and, eventually, they increase their fees. For example, if a small or medium sized accounting firm has to pay $1 million for an environmentally related lawsuit, they might have to increase their fees to make up for the loss and risk the possibility of losing clients to other firms. Furthermore, this increase in fees could be unfair to the client who must either bear the costs or spend time and money to retain another auditing firm.

To decrease the liability possible under these theories, auditors should have access to additional training via continuing professional education. While specialization is not feasible at this time, auditors should take existing precautions and procedures that are suggested by the standards and incorporate them into their work. However, in the near future, the AICPA and other accounting bodies should thoroughly consider further exploration into this new area of accounting to help auditors minimize the risk of liability and maintain reasonable insurance premiums.

**Concluding Comments**

The issues that the auditor of environmentally influenced financial statements must face today are varied. First of all, auditors must confront the pressures of meeting the stringent expectations of the public as they release their opinions to financial statements. Second, auditors must meet the expectations of the client and its immediate needs for the attestation of the financial statements. Third, and most importantly, auditors must achieve the expectations of their chosen professional and maintain a certain degree of competence and professional integrity. In order to meet all of these expectations, auditors must have access to the proper guidance that will tremendously help in their analysis of environmentally influenced financial statements. Currently, the professional standards have been able to provide minimal support for auditing the environment.

While accreditation of new specializations may not be very feasible at this time, more traditional
procedures, as suggested by recent SASs and professional standards, may help auditors make the transition into this new area of accounting easier. These procedures might also help them fulfill their new responsibilities and roles that are imposed upon them by clients and the general public. These procedures, such as engagement letters, adequate inquiries of clients and specialists, and more complete documentation, also serve to minimize liability once the audit is complete.

However, whatever measures the auditor takes during the audit to lessen the risk of audit failure and liability for the disclosure in the financial statements, the public should be made abundantly knowledgeable of the auditors true responsibilities during the audit. The public generally tends to think that the auditor's sole duty when accepting the audit is to detect fraud and find errors. However, the profession should make a concerted effort to explain to the public that the audit program is specifically designed to provide evidential matter to warrant the auditor able to opine, via the auditor's report, with reasonable assurance that the financial statements are fairly presented. Furthermore, with additional financial statement disclosure, on the part of management, the public might become more aware of the separate duties and responsibilities that the management and the auditing firm assume with regard to the content of the financial statements. Management is responsible for the content and the auditor is responsible for attesting that the statements are fairly presented with respect to generally accepted accounting principles.

The AICPA and other accounting bodies should now accept a new perspective on the perceived importance of this new area of accounting. These bodies should make a concerted effort to explore these new issues and solicit the concerns of fellow professionals. If the release of new, specialized accounting standards is not practical at this time, then the release of a discussion memorandum may be acceptable. Continuing professional education courses containing tips, precautions (such as Specht's environmental red flags), and information about auditing environmentally influenced financial statements should also be available. These courses should be taken at the auditor's discretion to fulfill their new expectations as well as to meet CPA requirements. These courses would help auditors minimize their risk to liability for simply not having adequate knowledge. In addition, the laws and regulations set forth by state and federal governments should be readily available to the auditors so they can become more aware of the issues that they are confronting. Regardless of the means taken, the profession, and the public as well, needs to be made aware of the added expectations of the auditor in the area of auditing financial statements with environmental concerns.

Works Cited


Dancing the Descent: Energy and Entropy in William Carlos Williams

Vicki Combs

What do I do? I listen, to the water falling. ... This is my entire occupation. Paterson 60

Great literary ideas unfold meaning on a number of levels, continuing their yield with subsequent readings. In recent years readers have discovered such richness in the works and ideas of William Carlos Williams, especially in his concepts of "the descent" and "the dance." Readers can deepen their understanding and appreciation of Williams even further by examining scientific and mathematic principles embodied in these concepts.

The mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought remarkable developments in scientific and mathematic thought, setting loose a flow of ideas--non-Euclidean geometry, thermodynamics, Einstein's relativity--which changed the way people viewed existence. Swept up in this flow, many writers incorporated their interpretations of these ideas into their writing. Stephen R. Mandell believes that, of American modernist poets, "The two most important figures in this effort were William Carlos Williams and his close friend Louis Zukofsky," with both writers "accepting the new science as the perceptual basis of their poetry" (136).

Diana Collecott Surman has explored the geometry of Williams as evidenced in his use of crystalline images, and a few critics such as Mandell have directly or indirectly tackled aspects of relativity in Williams. Elucidating Williams' field theory of poetic composition, J. Hillis Miller analyzes the poems as fields of force structured by "a tense equilibrium of opposed energies" (Poets 303). In one way or another, most critics have recognized the importance of energy in Williams, warranting an examination of his poems from the perspective of thermodynamics, the study of the forms and transformations of energy. Indeed, the first and second laws of thermodynamics operate throughout William Carlos Williams' work, underlying his emphasis on energy released in creative forms against "the descent," against the movement of the universe toward maximum entropy. This assertion of energy and form against increasing entropy creates what Williams calls "the dance."

The First Law: The Transformation of Energy

Formulated in the 1840's, the first law of thermodynamics states that energy in the universe cannot be created or destroyed--the total amount stays the same—but that it can change form. Throughout his poetry Williams concerns himself with sources and forms of energy and with the release and use of energy.

All life on earth depends on energy from the sun, and in "Spring Strains," as in many of Williams' poems about spring, the "red-edged sun-blur-/creeping energy, concentrated/counterforce --weld sky, buds, trees" (Collected Earlier Poems [CEP] 159), and in Paterson the sun "lifts undamped his wings/of fire" ([P] 236). The energy of wind stirs "The Yachts" and blows through such poems as "The Wind Increases," "Lear," "The Lady Speaks," and Paterson. The chemical energy of fire destroys the library in Book III of Paterson, and the energy of water pours over the Passaic Falls, becoming a primary structural symbol for the whole poem. Paterson groups these last three energy sources a number of times in lines such as "Cyclone, fire/and flood" (120) and "--a dark flame,/a wind, a flood" (123).

In Williams' famous "The Red Wheelbarrow," the wheelbarrow immediately manifests rest energy--at least at which its mass can be measured--but it also implies potential energy, energy stored after work is completed; "so much depends" on work completed and on work still to come (CEP 277). In "Fine Work with Pitch and Copper," the workers "are resting ... like the sacks/of sifted stone," a moment which allows readers to measure the scene, just as one of the workers "picks up a copper strip/and runs his eye along it." Yet the sacks lie "ready after lunch/to be opened and strewn," and the copper "lies ready/to edge the coping" (CEP 368), ready for work.

One of the highest grades of energy exists in the potential energy of gravity; the greater the height, the greater the potential gravitational energy. A number of critics have discussed "the ascent" in Williams, the move to a higher position. In his Autobiography and in his poems Williams stresses height—the height of the Falls, the height achieved before falling, the height of a globe of ice heaved over the Falls. And in Paterson, Williams calls "the poem ... the highest/falls" (99).

The energy of an object changes back and forth from potential energy to kinetic energy, the energy of motion. Motion and speed figure prominently in Williams, in objects such as trains, cars, and rushing rivers. Cecelia Tichi traces Williams' interest in motion and speed, focussing on his medical studies.
and textbooks (49-72). As Mandell points out, Williams’ interest also stems from his excitement with relativity, with the measure of moving objects: “Einstein’s theory of relativity showed that time, distance, and mass vary according to an object’s velocity” (135). Relativity provided a new perspective, a new means of seeing, and later in the same essay Mandell discusses Williams’ interest in simultaneism, “the simultaneous representation of different forms seen from different points of view” (137). Motion and speed provide new perspectives, but they also, as energy, verify existence. In his Selected Essays, for example, Williams describes a work of art, a poem, as living “with an intrinsic movement of its own to verify its authenticity” (ISE 257). Thus, kinetic energy asserts being, an assertion which, as this essay will indicate, proves vital to Williams.

Creative and procreative energies abound in Williams’ poetry. The buds of spring crowd “erect with desire against the sky” (CEP 159), and in Paterson “the appointed breasts” are “tense, charged with/pressures unrelieved” (23). In “The Attic Which Is Desire,” the energy of desire acts as a force to draw or pull, resulting in motion or response. Desire pulls the poet to “the unused tent” to write (CEP 353), just as desire pulls a man to a woman to love and just as the sun pulls a plant upward to bloom. Desire and the sun represent energies to which life forms respond, energies which lift them to release, to deflation.

As steam engines and gasoline engines use energy, so do plants and poems, a point illustrated by two often-discussed passages in Williams. In his introduction to The Wedge, Williams says, “A poem is a small (or large) machine made of words” (SE 256), and in his 1919 essay “Belly Music” he declares: “Poets have written of the big leaves and the little leaves, leaves that are red, green, yellow and the one thing they have never seen about a leaf is that it is a little engine. It is one of the things that make a plant GO” (as quoted by Lisa Steinman 96). Poems and leaves are machines because they use energy. Through photosynthesis, plants use the sun’s energy to form and reform themselves, just as a poem uses the poet’s imaginative energy for form and structure.

The clearest expression in Williams of the first law of thermodynamics occurs in Chapter 50 of his Autobiography, the chapter called “Projective Verse.” In his discussion of open poetry or “composition by field,” Williams first mentions “the kinetics of the thing,” and then he explains the transfers of energy which occur among poet, poem, and reader: “A poem is energy transferred from where the poet got it . . . by way of the poem itself to . . . the reader” (330). Williams even recognizes that all this energy must be “at all points energy at least the equivalent of the energy which propelled him [the poet] in the first place,” even though the energy has changed forms and is “different from the energy which the reader . . . will take away” (330).

The use of energy becomes important in Paterson when Hamilton envisions a potential use for the Passaic Falls. Hamilton sees the “overwhelming power” (91) of the Falls and wants to harness it for hydroelectric power, something which, according to Joel Conarroe (82), apparently happened to the actual Falls:

Even during the Revolution Hamilton had been impressed by the site of the Great Falls of the Passaic. His fertile imagination envisioned a great manufacturing center, a great Federal City, to supply the needs of the country. Here was water-power to turn the mill wheels and the navigable river to carry manufactured goods to the market centers: a national manufacture. P 87

Throughout Paterson and Williams’ Autobiography, the energy of the Falls attracts many people, drawing them like a magnet to the roar of water rushing over the edge, encouraging them to interpret what it means and why it pulls them. As Williams insists in Paterson, “Listen!—the pouring water!” (97)—the water falling, its gathered forces dissipating as it flows down, down to the sea.

The Second Law: The Descent

“ . . . What am I coming to/pouring down?” P 170

As the universe acknowledges the first law of thermodynamics, it cannot escape the second law. The second law, formulated during the 1850’s, states that even though the total amount of energy in the universe does not increase or decrease, energy does degrade; it runs downhill toward lower, less-useable forms. In other words, entropy—dispersed energy which cannot be used—steadily increases. As warm and cold bodies mingle in time, energy dissipates, thus becoming harder to organize. Eventually the universe will equalize, cooling to that still and snowy death which H. G. Wells’ time traveller discovers at the end of The Time Machine. A passage from Physical Science Today describes this “heat death” of the universe:

Ultimately all of the energy of the universe will have run downhill to its lowest form—heat energy at some low temperature. All
activity, including life, will have stopped--except in the gentle motion of the vibrating atoms at the cold temperatures of dark space.

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In this heat death lies the thermodynamic paradox of the universe. In everything we do we use energy, "but in the process, we change the energy to heat that we give to the atmosphere. The atmosphere radiates its energy as low-grade heat energy into the cold reaches of distant space" (Physical Science 147). As Williams would say, the universe GOES on energy and yet the use of energy runs it down, just as a machine eventually runs down. Williams illustrates this paradox in Paterson whenever he mentions the serpent with its tail in its mouth--our living is our dying.

Machines such as gasoline engines degrade energy quickly, but even life processes contribute to increasing entropy. As P. W. Atkins indicates, "Living things are highly ordered, low entropy, structures, but they grow and are sustained because their metabolism generates excess entropy in their surroundings" (131). A passage from Imaginations suggests Williams' understanding of this concept: "All around the roses there is today, machinery leaning upon the stem, an aeroplane is upon one leaf where a worm lies curled" (240).

This background of increasing entropy helps to explain Williams' observation that "destruction and creation are simultaneous" (CEP 266), what Lisa Steinman calls the "necessary destruction" behind his poems (104). In "The Nightingales," for example, the shoes "stand out upon/flat worsted flowers" (CEP 224), and in "The Yachts" the boats pass over "a sea of faces about them in agony, in despair" (CEP 106-7). In the poem "The Young Housewife," the woman "stands/shy, uncorseted," suggesting loosed sexual energy, "and I compare her/to a fallen leaf" (CEP 136). At first confusing, this leaf analogy recalls the African death ceremony in Paterson. During that ceremony, married women--"only married women, who have felt the fertility of men in their bodies"--wave branches from a sacred tree over the dead warrior "to extract the spirit of fertility" into a bed of fresh leaves (171), as essentially happens in "The Young Housewife." She has released sexual energy; she is like a fallen leaf, and the poem ends with the further destruction of the gasoline engine: "The noiseless wheels of my car/rush with a crackling sound over/dried leaves as I bow and pass smiling" (CEP 136).

The Passaic Falls reflects the energy-entropy paradox because it represents both the powerful roar of energy and "its terrifying plunge" (P 100) into the sea of entropy. As most readers have noticed, "the catastrophe of the descent" (P 16) structures Williams' long poem Paterson. Miller recognizes that "the poem flows steadily downward" (Poets 339), and Conarroe confirms that "the movement downstream is carefully worked out from book to book" (81). Conarroe also notes the direction of this downward movement: "The movement ... is irresistibly in the direction of the sea" (95).

Things other than water move downhill in Williams. Leaves fall, winter descends, and snowflakes whirl downward--"the snow falling into the water ... its form no longer what it was" (P 33-4). Not ignoring the sexual overtones in "Young Sycamore," Steinman points out that even the "undulant" sycamore turns down at the end of the poem: "The twigs for example, suggest both an upward movement ... and a return to earth in their horn-like bend" (94).

Of course, Williams incorporates the descent into his poetic form. Conarroe (29-30) and others have discussed the descending pattern of Williams' triadic lines or staggered tercets, and Miller describes conjunctions, prepositions, and adjectives in the poems as "Going for the moment toward the void, they go all the more strongly" (300). Cecelia Tichi directly recognizes "the entropy of language" (65) which occurs in the following passage from Williams' Imaginations:

Words are the reverse motion ... Words roll, spin, flare up, rumble, trickle, foam--Slowly they lose momentum. Slowly they cease to stir. At last they break up into their letters--Out of them jumps the worm that was--His hairy feet tremble upon them. (1) 160

In his 1913 essay "Speech Rhythm," Williams finds another image for the universe's movement toward maximum entropy when he talks about "the inverted cone of waning energy" (as quoted by Charles Tomlinson 21). The image of an inverted cone--a fundamental shape in non-Euclidean geometry--patterns the shape of the Falls gradually spreading out into the sea and also the expansion of the universe from its more concentrated beginning to its eventual dispersal. The inverted cone carries the pattern of the descent out into space, lifts it "to some approximate co-extension with the universe" (105). In the poem "Postlude," the lovers have spent their sexual energies and now "have cooled" so that "The stars/... from that misty sea/Swarm to destroy us"; the lovers want "our words/...To shoot the stars" (CEP 16). The cone also prefigures the geometric line in "The Rose," which starts "From the petal's
edge" and "penetrates/the Milky Way," just as "The fragility of the flower/unbruised/penetrates space" (CEP 249-50).

"--in your/composition and decomposition/I find my despair!" (P 93). With the knowledge of the "certain death" (P 129) of the universe comes despair, the grey background of Williams' canvass. The answer to Paterson's question--"What am I coming to/pouring down?"--presents itself in the Falls, yet unimaginative people see only "the descent/made up of despair/of and without accomplishment" (P 97). For those people who cannot interpret the Falls' message ("They may look at the torrent in/their minds/and it is foreign to them")--P 21) or those who interpret it literally, "The descent beckons" (P 96), tempting them to "leap to the conclusion" (P 16), to plunge into "the sea that sucks in all rivers . . . the hungry sea" (P 234-5). As Williams says in Imaginations, "The perfect type of the man of action is the suicide" (255).

"But to weigh a difficulty and to turn it aside without being wrecked upon a destructive solution bespeaks an imagination of force sufficient to transcend action" (Selected Essays [SE] 15). By reading the Falls at a deeper level, the level of paradox, Williams understands a different message; he "realizes a new awakening :/which is a reversal/of despair" (P 97). Against the grey background of increasing entropy Williams discovers the crimson cyclamen, the red lily, the rose--"pinched-out ifs of color" against "the principles/of straight branches" (CEP 80), expressions of form and energy which reverse, for a moment, the descent.

The Two Together: The Dance
Sing me a song to make death tolerable . . . .What language could allay our thrists, what winds lift us, what floods bear us past defeats but song but deathless song?" P 131

People who interpret the roar of the Falls with imagination and depth recognize its paradox, its possible reversal--"Our living is our dying" reverses to "Our dying is our living." In Williams, knowledge of death opens into fuller life: "The world spreads/for me like a flower opening . . . .No defeat is made up entirely of defeat--since/the world it opens is always a place/formerly/unexpected" (P 93, 96). Paradoxically, the image of the inverted cone also patterns this blooming, this opening out into the universe.

The world which defeat opens for William Carlos Williams is one of "color only and a form" (CEP 403). The creation of form becomes the "accomplishment" which reverses despair, as Williams affirms in Imaginations: "I find that there is work to be done in the creation of new forms, new names for experience" (117). For a brief moment in time, life organizes itself, energy into form, and a passage from Williams' Autobiography acknowledges this organization: "It is ourselves we organize in this way not against the past or for the future or even for survival but for integrity of understanding to insure persistence, to give the mind its stay" (333).

The poem, of course, is the form which a poet creates, a poet's response to the Falls, a point which Williams again asserts in his Autobiography: "The Falls let out a roar as it crashed upon the rocks at its base. In the imagination this roar is a speech or a voice, a speech in particular; it is the poem itself that is the answer" (392). As J. Hillis Miller says, "the poet must speak" (Collection 14), and the dwarf in Paterson urges, "Poet, poet! sing your song, quickly!" (102). In his urgency, the dwarf reminds the poet of the movement of time, of the importance of the present. As Millner recognizes, in Williams "The present alone is" (Collection 4), an idea which Williams stresses in Paterson:

The past above, the future below and the present pouring down: the roar, the roar of the present, a speech--is, of necessity, my sole concern. P 172

The present only can manifest form, and the dwarf reminds the poet of the need "to seize the moment" (P 535), just as the green bush "lives briefly, for the moment /unafraid" (33).

"The stream of things having composed itself into wiry strands that move in one fixed direction, the poet in desperation turns at right angles and cuts across current with startling results" (SE 15). In a universe moving toward formlessness and entropy, the expression of form and energy counters or reverses, if only for the present. The wanderer coming out of the sea, the poet cutting up and across, the plant shooting up and delineating itself--this creation of form against formlessness, "reclaiming the undefined" (P 143), requires energy, and Williams celebrates the imaginative and life forces which enable us to create form and color, which reverse the despair. In Imaginations, Williams recognizes the power of the imagination to create form:

That is, the imagination is an actual force comparable to electricity or steam, it is not a plaything but a power that has been used from the first to raise the understanding . . . Its unique power is to give created forms reality, actual existence. (120)

Williams' poem "The Ivy Crown" also acknowledges this imaginative power: "the imagination/brings every
sorry facts/lifts us/to make roses/stand before thorns" (Tomlinson 191).

Williams sees the same energy in the power of the life force, life's ability to delineate form in the bleakest of surroundings. The jonquils breaking through the new driveway in "Two Aspects of April" and the life force shooting through flowers and branches in spring echo Dylan Thomas' famous line, "The force that through the green fuse drives the flower"—new life pushing through, delineating itself. The same force exhibits itself in the sparrow's lusty yell ("The Sparrow"), "the poem of his existence" before his death in "a wisp of feathers/ flattened to the pavement" (Tomlinson 191-5). In Paterson, Miguel de Unamuno's cry before death for "'More warmth, more warmth!' underscores Williams' focus on the need for energy and again echoes Dylan Thomas, this time in his admonishment to "Rage, rage against the dying of the light."

"I arrogant against death" (CEP 52)—for Williams, the poem is that sparrow's lusty yell. As Miller says, "The poem is speech in defiance of death" (357), a defiance which Williams exhibits at the end of his Autobiography. In the last scene of the entire Autobiography, Williams heaves a heavy globe of ice over the side of the Falls: "I went to the grille and threw it. It rose a little, then plunged downward and disappeared from our view to be followed almost at once by an explosive bang as it hit the ice below" (394). This action represents the conscious exertion of energy against death, against the pouring Falls, resulting in what Williams calls "the dance."

The assertion of energy against entropy, the realization of momentary form against ultimate formlessness—in the two laws of thermodynamics Williams finds a contrapuntal music for his dance. The counterpointing of the two laws together, "hot and cold/parallel but never mingling" (P 36), creates the dance which Williams celebrates, the power of life to dance in the face of death, just as the Indians in Paterson dance the Kinte Kaye before their mutilation and murder. In Williams, the knowledge of certain death opens the possibility for full celebration of life, for the naked dance of "Danse Russe," for the Dionysian revelry of Paterson's final stanza, in which all the associations of wine, ecstasy, sacrifice, regeneration, creative energy, and poetic inspiration come together so that we may dance "contrapuntally, Satyrically, the tragic foot" (P 278).

"We know nothing and can know nothing/but/the dance" (P 278). In the last 150 years, scientists and writers have recognized the dance of life: "What we call life is a brief game played with energy—a temporary holding action in the course of its natural journey down to the lowest form" (Physical Science 147). In his later poem called "The Dance," William Carlos Williams describes this "brief game" more figuratively, asserting once more his own way of dancing the descent:

When the snow falls the flakes/spin upon the long axis/that concerns them most intimately/two and two to make a dance... spinning face to face but always down/with each other secure/only in each other's arms... But only the dance is sure/make it your own. Who can tell/what is to come of it?... this flurry of the storm/that holds us/plays with us and discards us/dancing, dancing as may be credible. (Tomlinson 222-3)

Works Cited
Prelude to the Great Society:
Cultural Change in 20th Century America
Julie Anne Davis

The decades immediately following World War II were prosperous but filled with great inequities. While Whites enjoyed full citizenship minorities received few of their legal rights; men were allowed to choose their own destinies while women were forced to conform to society's expectations; capitalism excused almost any behavior while communist viewpoints earned persecution and scorn. Most importantly, the America of unprecedented wealth harbored a large population encumbered by abject poverty. The years from the 1930s to the y 1960s set the stage for great changes in American society: the Civil Rights movement, the Feminist movement, the end of the Red Scare, and the War on Poverty forever changed the face of the nation. These movements defined the decade of the 1960s as one of the most progressive in American history. Of these, the War on Poverty was the most important because it cut across barriers the others attempted to batter down; poverty did not discriminate on the basis of race, gender, or political ideology.

However, programs as sweeping as the Great Society could not emerge from a vacuum. During the years between the advent of the Great Depression and the dawn of the Great Society, many significant cultural changes took place in American society. No longer were people able to ignore these inequalities or consider them acceptable. Before any understanding of the Great Society itself is possible, these cultural changes, and their effect upon the legislation, must first be understood.

Two men instrumental in the planning and implementing of the Great Society--President Lyndon Johnson and Dr. Julius Richmond, director of Head Start--agreed that certain societal factors had to be present before social change could occur. Johnson felt that these three conditions were "a recognition of need, a willingness to act, and someone to lead the effort" (Johnson The Vantage Point 70). He saw these conditions coming together in historic proportions during the early to mid 1960s. Although many of the problems he sought to correct had existed for decades, if not centuries—poverty, discrimination and poor education—they had not been addressed adequately prior to Johnson's programs. Yet during the 1960s, people began to see the plight of the American poor more clearly than they had in the past (70).

Richmond's requirements dealt more with health reform than social reform, but they were remarkably similar to Johnson's ideas, especially Richmond's second requirement--political will. He defined this concept as "society's desire and commitment to support or modify old programs or develop new programs" (Richmond "Political Influence" 388). He went on to say that the Great Society programs came about largely because of a change in the national will (389). In the role of Johnson's final requirement, a strong leader, he pictured himself (The Vantage Point 71). He felt that his previous experience and personal viewpoints would allow him to fulfill this role and lead the American people to a victorious conclusion of the War on Poverty. However, a great deal of effort and controversy led to the fulfillment of these three requirements, without which the first battle of the War on Poverty could not have been fought.

Recognition of Need

Of Johnson's three requirements for social change, the first, recognition of a problem, was the most important. This was the factor upon which all others rested. After all, people would not be willing to attack a problem they were unaware of, nor would they show any serious interest in an area they perceived as problem free. Therefore, the American people's recognition of poverty as a problem would have to be addressed before further analysis of the cultural changes allowing the War on Poverty could be understood.

One reason poverty, once found, was so recognizable in Post-World War II America was the contrast between the poor and the rest of society. The fact that poverty existed at all in a nation enjoying unprecedented prosperity, much less to the extent proven during this period, shocked many people. This shock helped the nation recognize the problems faced by the American poor and by those Americans who cared for those same poor.

World war II drew the United States out of the Great Depression by solving unemployment and increasing government funding for wartime production. During the war more people than ever before entered the workforce, yet because of rationing and war-caused shortages, few goods were available for consumption. Hence, as a whole, the United States population exited the war with increased savings. By 1960 the nation had taken great strides toward becoming an affluent country. In fact, it was "the wealthiest nation in the world and has great prospects for growth" (Hoey 128). Abundant natural
resources and a large, skilled work force permitted employment levels and incomes to rise, allowing the majority of families to achieve high standards of living (128). In the thirty years between 1930 and 1960, the country had faced both extremes of the economic spectrum—swinging from the worst depression in recorded history to a period of unprecedented national prosperity.

The onset of the Cold War also helped national prosperity. Increased government spending on military supplies stimulated the economy by creating employment through expanding defense industries. Also, more taxes were collected from the defense corporations and their employees. However, other than those employed in the military or munitions industry, defense spending did little to help the majority of the poor.

By most economic indicators, the U.S. economy was prospering in 1960. Industry had reached incredible production proportions, and real estate and stock values had skyrocketed, allowing the nation as a whole to amass great wealth (137). Executives benefited from high salaries that often allowed them to join the ranks of the wealthy. Skilled workers also benefited, working shorter hours for a comfortable standard of living complete with many fringe benefits. Many professional and scientific workers also enjoyed greater compensation than they had in the past. In fact, between 60 and 70 percent of all Americans were considered to be middle class; their families had incomes between $10,000 and $25,000 (Manchester 1001, Hoey 137).

Despite the great wealth of these decades, the American people retained the mindset of a people mired in poverty, where the source of the next meal is uncertain. John Kenneth Galbraith, an economic advisor to President John F. Kennedy, hypothesized that throughout recorded history, most people were extremely poor (13). The mindset and values created by poverty, such as fear and frugalness, continued to prevail during this century's middle decades. After all, traditions which took generations to form could not be vanquished overnight. These viewpoints, involving perceived problems and their possible solutions, guided many of the population's actions during the affluent society, according to Galbraith:

...and as a further result we do many things that are unnecessary, some that are unwise and a few that are insane. We enhance substantially the risk of depression and thereby the risk to our affluence itself (14).

Yet, the problems of an affluent society paled in comparison to those of previous poverty-stricken societies. Although not completely eliminated, viewpoints did adapt to the changing culture of wealth. If able to avoid the dangers inherent in obsolete mindsets, sufficient adaptation to current conditions would be possible.

The affluence of the majority of the population only makes the poverty of the minority more crushing in comparison. Although the American poor had a better standard of living than those of most other nations, in comparison to mainstream society, they lived very poorly indeed. Poverty cannot be measured by other times or lands; community standards define poverty. If weatherproof housing and three square meals a day were the standard which nearly all could afford, then those who lived in homes with leaky roofs and only ate sporadically because of financial constraints lived in poverty (Bagdikhian 8).

Although prosperity blessed the nation as a whole, a large proportion of the population, 34.5 million by one count, lived under the poverty line in the early 1960s (Friedlander 284). Expanding the definition of poverty to include those living in economically caused deprivation, increased this number to as many as 54 million (Bagdikhian 7). The income distribution of this period told a compelling story not only about the extent of poverty but also about its growth. In 1910 the bottom 20% of the population received 8% of the national income; by 1955 the same segment of the population received only 4% of national income (Senior 67). In forty-five years the bottom fifth of the population found its real income halved, exacerbating its poverty.

Much of America's poor population was crowded into inner city ghettos or scattered throughout the rural South. The city poor were often camouflaged as Ben Bagdikhian noted:

...more than ever before the most wretched people are unseen in the central cores while their comfortable compatriots are gone to the suburbs. And the poor are concealed by modern apparel; all Americans tend to dress casually and modern dyes keep old clothes unfaded. (7)

Many rural poor left the South, attracted by the mecca and myth of the Northern cities. Tradition told them that all would be fed and that at least jobs abounded. In the forty years prior to 1964, 27 million Americans followed this beacon and migrated to large cities (12). Tradition, however, as it so often does, did not tell a true tale, and most of the transplanted rural folk were no better off than before. New arrivals, especially African-Americans, found that they did not possess the skills necessary to climb the social and economic ladder, leaving poverty far behind (May 79). The low-skilled population found that mechanization
caused many of their jobs to be eliminated, adding them to the ranks of the poor.

African-Americans were not the only formerly rural people transplanted in the urban landscape. What Michael Harrington, editor of New America and Dissent and a former social worker, called urban hillbillies populated city slums (101). These displaced people were Appalachian mountain people, Arkansan cotton pickers, Southeastern Missouri laborers, and Okies who never recovered from the Great Depression. Although they came from diverse backgrounds, this group had many common traits—ninth-generation Anglo-Saxon features, dialects, taste for distinctive country music, and lack of preparation for urban life (101). Another characteristic of the urban hillbillies was their transient nature, for as Galbraith said:

Their lives were almost completely mercurial. An entire family would literally pack up and leave on a moments notice.

They had few possessions, no roots, no home. (102)

This migration rendered what government programs were in effect prior to the War on Poverty and the programs it instituted ineffective. Students rarely stayed in school throughout an entire term and were unable to obtain a quality education that would help to break the cycle of poverty. Also, many families had difficulty meeting residency requirements for state programs. Their search for a better life deprived many urban hillbillies of available resources.

Rural Southerners and urban hillbillies migrated to cites for good reason–their original homes were either as or more poverty-stricken than their new ones. After World War II American agriculture experienced structural changes which forced many into poverty. Mechanization eliminated many of the jobs previously performed by poorer country folk. However, these changes were not without benefits to the rest of the nation, for as large corporate farms grew in both size and wealth the consumer paid less for food. Since 1949 food costs increased less than nearly any other item on the cost-of-living price index. At under 20%, Americans spent less of their total income on food than any other nation in the world (41).

Although agriculture was clearly a pinnacle of success for the Affluent Society, "...perhaps the harshest and most bitter poverty in the United States [was] found in the fields (41)." When corporate farms increased their holdings, they did so at the expense of the marginal farmer. Since a limited amount of land existed, corporate farms often bought out marginal family farms in order to grow. Yet, the prices brought by these small holdings failed to sustain the family as it sought alternate employment. Forced to sell by the increased competition presented by large farms, the loss of family farms contributed to the flow of rural people to the cities.

Many poor rural areas held great emotional appeal for residents and non-residents alike; the Appalachian region was one such example. This area's natural beauty awed tourists and contributed to the impoverishment of residents. Even the native population was awestruck by their home's foliage, streams and hills, refusing to leave in the face of crushing poverty. The natural beauty of this area masked a region mired in a quagmire of poverty. The land itself, so fertile for natural growth, resisted planned crops viciously. Small farms were the norm there; corporate farming had yet to reach the area, but only because geography kept them from being profitable. Thus the very characteristics that prohibited the corporate farming takeover also prevented the native farmers from reaping large profits, or even an adequate living (Galbraith 253).

Coal caused much of this region's recent misery. During the 1950s it began to replace agriculture as the main economic force of the Cumberlands. Prior to this decade, the corporations which held the land's mineral rights were content with absentee ownership, retaining their rights without acting upon them. However, this decade brought strip and auger mining to the Appalachians--destroying the land and further impoverishing the people (Caudill 305).

Kentucky state courts upheld, and in the eyes of some expanded, the contracts which allowed corporations to use whatever measures necessary to remove coal from the land, even if those measures destroyed the land and thus its owners' only means of support. These rulings allowed for the destruction of homes and land beyond the range of possibilities when the mineral rights were sold. The destruction also surpassed any known or foreseeable method of reclamation (305-308). Profits for the few came at the expense of both the environment and the livelihood of many. Never an affluent area, the economic stability of the Appalachians was sacrificed for the present, and possibly the future.

During that decade, 1,500,000 people left the region (Harrington 43). With them, went the future hopes of the Cumberland, for as Michael Harrington said:

They were the young, the more adventurous, those who sought a new life....Those who were left behind tended to be older people, the less imaginative, the defeated. A whole area, in the words of a Maryland state study,
As time passed, this despair only grew until, during the early 1960s, 85% of Appalachian youth were forced to leave the area to escape a life of poverty. This migration did not bode well for the Cumberland because "a place without the young is a place without future" (44).

Appalachian poverty was made more devastating by the realization that many of these problems were caused by personal greed. Much of this damage could have been prevented, and, despite assistance programs, much of it still exists. Perhaps, with future technological innovations, the wounds to Appalachia can be healed; however, at this time the prospect seems unlikely.

Although a fifth of the American population lived in poverty, the affluent society was very nearly unaware of the problem. A communication gap prevented the full impact of poverty from being shown to the American people. In fact, one of the most important characteristics of the poor was their invisibility. Harrington stated that most people were unaware of this problem "because poverty is often off the beaten track" (3). Many of America's poor lived crowded into inner city tenements or scattered around widespread rural areas. Since the wealthy, or even middle class, rarely ventured into these areas, they were not confronted with poverty. Hence, many were not aware of it.

The invisibility of the poor was a major factor in the lack of assistance they received. Until Americans were forced to view "the worn and weathered face" of poverty, they would not rally to help the needy (May 73).

Many popular books attempted to show America the face of poverty during the late 1950s and early 1960s. John Kenneth Galbraith's 1958 book, The Affluent Society, admitted that poverty existed in a sea of plenty. Yet, this book downplayed poverty. In fact, Illinois senator Paul Douglas commissioned a study with the express purpose of refuting Galbraith (Lemann 1988 43). Harry Caudill's 1962 work, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, graphically depicted the contrast between the rich natural beauty and the poor inhabitants of Appalachia. However, the most far-reaching book of this time was Michael Harrington's 1962 sensation The Other America. Although the book itself was read primarily by sociologists and social workers, it awakened policy-makers to the plight of the poor (Friedlander 324, Ellwood 34). Not inconsequentially, the media began to portray images of poverty in the affluent society, showing America the worn face of poverty necessary to bring about social change (Ellwood 34). Harrington's work was indeed the "catalyst... for the latest war on poverty (Lens 308).

Willingness to Act

Regardless of the extent of a problem, people will not be willing to act unless they agree that a problem should be solved. Although knowledge of the situation is crucial to political will, the problem must be one which can touch hearts of the American people. Many changes took place in the United States between the 1930s and the 1960s which allowed prosperous Americans to empathize with the plight of their poor counterparts. These changes were largely responsible for the politicians' and population's political will, and hence, fulfilled Johnson's and Richmond's second requirement for social reform.

Prior to the Great Depression, public assistance was considered antithetical to dominant American values. Popular culture prided itself on its self-reliant work ethic (Patterson 130). People felt that individuals were responsible for their own well being; if individuals could not care for themselves, their families, not their government, should provide relief (Chambers 147). In fact, during Herbert Hoover's presidency, he was horrified to learn that his Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon, felt that economic depressions were the mechanism by which the natural law of supply and demand operated. It eliminated the weak and gave the strong the opportunity to thrive (Freidel 5). Mellon's ideas, in various forms, were shared by many Americans, including some people impoverished by the Great Depression. Capitalism's equation of worthiness with success was so internalized by Americans that many counted their losses as personal failures and doubted their worth because of them. In fact, one person dispossessed during this era felt that "the only logical solution to the Depression was to execute the poor and unemployed who had proven themselves so unworthy" (Peeler 45). The speaker counted himself among those condemned to death. This type of attitude hindered the creation of the welfare state.

Despite Hoover's quest to alleviate the problems of the Depression, he too feared extensive government intervention in people's private financial affairs. He, like many of his counterparts, thought that government aid sent directly to poverty-stricken citizens would cause "...the destruction of state and local responsibilities and of individual initiative" (5). These theories caused Hoover to create limited social programs, the failure of which readied the electorate for more drastic measures.
These values persisted into the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt (FDR), and shaped some New Deal policies. Many of the programs focused on unemployment rather than poverty, an understandable attitude during the rampant joblessness of the Great Depression. Work-related programs were expected to alleviate this problem, and once the economy gained speed, would no longer be required. The New Deal promoted policies of social insurance instead of welfare. In time, this insurance was expected to conquer poverty, hence eliminating the need for future programs (Patterson 131, 133).

Although few of FDR’s New Deal programs survived beyond the Great Depression, those that did became the mainstays of the welfare state. Social Security, brought about by the Social Security Act of 1935 and amended in 1938, was the most important of these programs. Most people were in favor of it because it helped the so-called deserving poor—the disabled, elderly, and families which had lost a working member. Since Social Security emphasized traditional American values, few criticized it. Benefits were tied to past earnings, so people who worked more in the past received larger checks. Also, it allowed elderly workers to retire with pensions and encouraged the states to offer unemployment insurance. This program did more than just provide for the elderly; it helped the disabled and families with deceased workers. By contributing during their working years and taping benefits to past earnings, people felt that Social Security provided workers their just deserts.

Yet Social Security’s greatest accomplishment was to legitimize social welfare. It did this by showing "for the first time that the federal government had a social responsibility for the welfare of its citizens" (Louchheim 151). This act and program were the first steps toward government intervention in the private financial affairs of its citizenry for their well-being. No longer were people alone in the world; if they could not support themselves and their families were unable to help them, the government had a responsibility to lend a helping hand.

Another of FDR’s programs that survived was Aid to Families with Dependant Children, AFDC. FDR originally set up this program to protect poor widows, women with disabled spouses, and abandoned women, all with children (Louchheim 175). The relief was expected to be used for a short period of time, until the mother could reenter the workforce or the children could support her, and then be eliminated. Nearly all people considered these to be upstanding families who were simply down on their luck and, hence, deserving relief.

Once these policies were instituted in the 1930s, they created expectations about the government’s role in the plight of the deserving poor. They also produced benefits, which may have been small, but which later politicians were loath to eliminate. From this process of social reform emerged a consensus on the morality and necessity of social insurance, and later of welfare (Patterson 127-128).

After battling the concept of the welfare state for many years, why did Depression-era America accept and embrace it during the New Deal? The attributes of the programs themselves accounted for much of this enthusiasm. Social Security was popular among young workers faced with mass unemployment because it provided an incentive for older workers to retire (Chambers 150). AFDC, on the other hand, was perceived as helping working families and, as Congress put it, was "the only decent thing to do" (153). By adhering to the dominant values of the time, these programs allowed Americans to accept the social insurance as a proper function of government.

Also, the Great Depression deserved much of the credit for public enthusiasm. After many years of hardship, workers began to realize that their financial troubles did not stem from personal failure; some forces were simply beyond their control (Chambers 149). This fundamental attitudinal change allowed Americans to support and vote for politicians who believed in government intervention to relieve the worst financial hardships. People no longer considered economic hardship proof of worthlessness; rather, it was considered bad luck that could, and during the Depression, did happen to anyone. These changes allowed the New Deal to lay the foundations for modern America and its social policy.

However, not all of these new ideas survived the years between the New Deal and the Great Society; by the 1950s poverty was again seen as avoidable. Before The Affluent Society and The Other America became popular, poverty was often seen as the fault of the individual. The consensus was "that there really is no reason for anyone to be poor in an affluent society" (May 75). Galbraith agreed with this sentiment when he claimed that poor people were considered somehow indecent by their neighbors (251). He went on to define two types of poverty: case and insular. He credited case poverty to a flaw in the poor individual and insular poverty to a homing instinct which prohibited the poor from seeking a better life elsewhere (252-3). Both of these forms of poverty claimed that the poor simply were not strong enough to make a better life for themselves and their
children. It was not a problem the government should address (Lemann 44).

The discussion generated by *The Other America* and related books helped change attitudes by defining another type of poverty referred to as structural poverty. By the end of 1963 structural poverty was, with the exception of Civil Rights, the most discussed domestic problem in the nation. This type of poverty was entangled within the economic system of the country itself and was not affected by economic growth. In fact, the only way to challenge this problem was to revamp the system (Murray 27). This theory led to a shift of the blame for poverty from the individual to the system. Thus poverty was no longer considered the result of character flaws or lack of effort on the part of the poor person; the economic system of the time was to blame. This change in mindset toward the poor allowed for increased public concern for and willingness to help them. Without this change in national attitudes, the War on Poverty, in all likelihood, would not have been fought.

The emergence of the Great Society and the War on Poverty during the height of the Civil Rights movement was not purely coincidental. These movements shared common goals: equal opportunity, equal access to the goods and services of society and, with luck, equality of outcome, collectively known as social justice for all Americans. In fact, the actions of the Civil Rights movement served not only to improve the lot of African-Americans, but also to raise social consciousness about many oppressed groups, including the poor.

While striving for equality for both races, civil rights leaders discovered that despite the large number of poor African-Americans, many of the poor were white. Their struggle highlighted the devastating conditions of poverty, galvanizing Americans to help the poor, as Marcia Bok observed:

The nation began to focus its attention not only on the racial inequality that existed, but also on the economically disadvantaged throughout the country. (93)

The fight for Civil Rights for African-Americans served not only to show prosperous White America that poverty existed, but also to put a human face to the concept. This act of personalizing poverty energized people and politicians alike in their commitment to fighting the War on Poverty (Smith 193-194). In fact, it led Baynard Rustin to write in 1965 that "the Civil Rights Movement...did more to initiate the War on Poverty than any other single force" (93).

Besides raising social consciousness, the Civil Rights movement also changed the structures of society by altering the relationship between African-Americans and the rest of society (7). Cultural as well as legal changes took place. African-Americans gained political power for the first time because of forced migration to Northern cities. Their sheer numbers made them a formidable force at the ballot box (Piven and Cloward 196). However, with the destruction of old patterns of servile compliance, decades of pent up trauma and anger had to be released, much of it directed toward the social structure and white population (227).

The Civil Rights movement fanned a great deal of this anger during its attack on institutionalized American racism. Its long, dramatic struggle to enact legislation aimed at creating social justice and equality for African-Americans also had the effect of politicizing people, especially inner-city youth (224). The conflicting messages of failing institutional controls and continued exploitation, along with low incomes, created unrest among urban African-Americans (235).

During the 1960s, as well as today, African-Americans were more likely to suffer from poverty than whites. Under the Social Security Administration's definition of poor, an African-American male's chances of being classified as poor were over three times as great as those of a white man (Lens 304). Black ghettos of nearly all cities, Northern as well as Southern, were havens of poverty and other developmental disabilities. These difficulties caused the development of a culture of Black poverty, along with a rising tide of frustration among poor, urban African-Americans.

This frustration came to a head in 1964 when the first race riot of the decade broke out in Harlem. The riots started thirteen days after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed. The Act was considered a triumph of the Civil Rights movement; no longer could people legally be denied access to the nation's resources, yet the infamous race riots of 1964 quickly followed in its wake. The year 1966 saw the most famous of these riots in the section of Los Angeles known as Watts. This uprising alone cost thirty-four lives and $35 million in property damages, as well as resulting in hundreds of people being injured and thousands being arrested (Lens 304).

Not surprisingly, the people involved in this period's riots were more political, more alienated and more resentful than their more peaceful neighbors as Francis Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward claimed:

Rioters were more likely to have participated in protest actions...; their hostility to whites and their "pride in race" were significantly greater; [and] they were more likely to be
contemptuous of efforts by local government in their behalf (336).

Also, 69% of the rioters felt that racial discrimination was the greatest obstacle to obtaining better employment, compared with 50% of non-rioters (336). Yet, the violent members of the community were better informed about the political and economic conditions of their race and about the political system as a whole (336). No evidence exists as to whether this information exacerbated the hostilities of the rioters, or whether their violent outbursts occurred despite their expanded knowledge. Frequently, understanding mollifies people, yet during the race riots of the 1960s the opposite appeared to have happened.

Bloody as they may have been, the riots played a role in increasing the welfare system. The government believed that the blame for the chaos lay within the system, and thus the system must be reformed. The logic of such a viewpoint is not as important as its results are, leading Charles Murray to observe that:

The fact that this view was so widely shared helped force the shift in the assumptions about social welfare. White America owed Black America; it had a conscience to clear (33).

Since White America felt responsible for the plight of poor African-Americans, it also felt a responsibility for resolving their plight. The Great Society was designed to assume this responsibility.

The current welfare system was in fact blamed for heightening the tensions which led to the riots. The U.S. Riot Commission Report stated that the failures of welfare alienated those who depended on it and those whose tax dollars supported it (457). The system excluded people who needed relief and kept those it included in an economically deficient state. As Mitchell Ginsberg, chair of New York City’s Welfare Department, said, "The welfare system is designed to save money instead of people and tragically ends up doing neither" (457).

Although this unrest took place during the time of the Great Society, the Commission lauded the ideals set forth through many of its programs and stated that reaching these goals was the best way to prevent future violence (396). The Commission recommended the further expansion and overhaul of the welfare system in an attempt to ease inter-racial tensions. Race relations affected the Great Society both before its inception and after its creation.

The riots played another role in legitimizing the War on Poverty, that of appeasing the poor, including the rioters. The riots themselves proved local government and agencies incapable of helping their swelling African-American populations (Piven and Cloward 262). Johnson admitted as much when he said:

People are not going to stand and see their children starve and be driven out of school and be eaten up with disease in the twentieth century. They will forgo stealing, and they will forgo fighting, and they will forgo doing a lot of violent and improper things as long as they possibly can, but they are going to eat and they are going to learn, and they are going to grow. (Johnson The Vantage Point 80)

The President felt that people would avoid illegal behavior as long as possible, but that when faced with illegal activity or permanent damage to their children, they would choose illegal activity. The War on Poverty was designed to prevent people from reaching this desperation point. It was also intended to placate and help poor African-Americans, and in turn, theoretically, prevent the outbreak of additional violent action on their point.

The Civil Rights movement helped change America’s culture in ways conducive to the acceptance of the Great Society. By bringing the plight of poor people to the public eye at the same time it fought for equality between the races, this movement helped implement the Great Society. Also, the race riots of the 1960s brought the plight of poor urban African-Americans to the forefront. White America felt the need to make restitution for prior inequalities, and Washington, D.C., wished to prevent a recurrence of the violence.

A combination of rising civil unrest and Michael Harrington’s The Other America, or more likely, Dwight Macdonald’s review of it, touched then President John F. Kennedy (JFK) and brought the problem of poverty to his attention (Burner 149, Lemann 1988 43). Shortly before his death, JFK began to consider using money from the prosperous economy to combat poverty. It would, he felt, be both morally right and politically feasible (Burner 141). In fact, in November 1963, he informed his aides that he planned to announce a comprehensive plan to battle poverty in his next State of the Union Address. A few days later he went to Dallas and was assassinated (149).

Shortly after his inauguration, President Lyndon Johnson learned of Kennedy’s plans and decided to adopt them. They coincided well with Johnson’s own liberal views. However, the assassination of JFK may have been a deciding factor in the political will of the population. As Johnson said,
This act of violence shocked the nation deeply and created the impetus to send the country surging forward. His death touched all our hearts and made us, for a while at least, a more compassionate people, more sensitive to the troubles of our fellow men.

(The Vantage Point 71)

Johnson counted on this sensitivity to allow him to institute his plan for the War on Poverty. Yet, he felt that this tragic occurrence contributed to the political will which allowed social reform of the magnitude he envisioned to come about.

Strong Leader

Regardless of public attitudes, legislation as controversial and costly as the War on Poverty would not be possible without the support of a strong president. In fact, strong leadership fulfilled the final requirement Lyndon Johnson believed was required before social change could take root and flourish in national life (Johnson, The Vantage Point 70). As he stated while reflecting on his presidency, "When I looked inside myself, I believed that I could provide the third ingredient - the disposition to lead" (71). Johnson believed that a Great Society would require a great leader, and he envisioned himself in that role.

Johnson's background set the stage for his advocacy for the poor. As a child, he could not count on a stable income. Sam Johnson, the father he idolized, had a penchant for excessive drink, which led to financial fluctuations for the family. The elder Johnson squandered what little money the family had on the cotton and real estate markets. Some years his investments paid off; other years they failed, plunging the family back into poverty (Kearns 24). When LBJ was thirteen, the family fell from its former semi-respectable position in the small Texas town of Johnson City to what he would come to call "the bottom of the heap" (Caro 25). LBJ spent the rest of his youth in a state of constant uncertainty—fearing that his family would lose its modest home and that he would suffer humiliation as the son of a man in debt to nearly the entire town (25). The family's former respectability only served to worsen the situation by showing LBJ the drastically different conditions faced by those with money and those without it.

However, the family's lack of disposable income did not prevent a youthful LBJ from entering San Marcos College in 1927. At this time, Johnson had an experience which further opened his eyes to the problems poverty and racism imposed on children. During nine months in 1928, the San Marcos sophomore served as principal at the small Welhausen Ward Elementary School in Cotulla, Texas (Kearns 65). There he came face to face with true deprivation—75% of the town's 3,000 residents were Mexican-Americans, many of whom spoke only Spanish; many of his students lived in dirt hovels and were too busy trying to survive to strive for success (65).

Welhausen Ward Elementary School was the first place to reap the benefits of Johnson's benevolence. The plight of his students deeply affected him, as he described in a March 1965 speech before a joint session of Congress:

My students were poor...and they often came to class without breakfast, hungry. They knew even in their youth the pain of injustice. They never seemed to know why people disliked them, but they knew it was so, because I saw it in their eyes. I often walked home...wishing there was more I would do. (The Vantage Point 65)

Yet few of Cotulla's residents thought that LBJ should have done more. As well as teaching, he persuaded the school board to buy sports equipment to allow hungry children the distraction of playing games during their lunch hour. Also, he organized baseball games, track meets, and debates with other schools, as well as an English-only rule designed to allow the children easier integration into society (Caro xxvii). Although few if any of the former teachers at the school had cared if the students learned or not, LBJ did. Unfortunately, none of his reforms continued after he returned to San Marcos.

Later, in 1935, Johnson became the Texas State Director of FDR's National Youth Administration, NYA. This assignment began a period of service to the New Deal and FDR that would last until FDR's death in 1945. Johnson's work with the NYA influenced his thinking on social policy in ways that would affect the Great Society. He learned how to implement public policy, but he also misinterpreted American's later stand on the Great Society. Nearly everyone was in favor of the NYA's work in Texas; consensus there made public opposition to his later programs difficult to comprehend (Kearns 85). However, during this period, Johnson gained both an idol and mentor in the shape of FDR, a man who proved invaluable in furthering Johnson's political career (Caro xxvii).

These actions, and those instituted with the Great Society, exemplified LBJ's theories on power and responsibility. At an early age LBJ learned from his mother, Rebekah, that power was valuable only when it was used to help others (Kearns 53). The belief that the strong must care for the weak stood at the
center of both Johnson’s and his mother’s philosophy (55). Recollecting on his time in office, Johnson claimed that he wanted power not for himself, but to “...give things to people—all sorts of things to all sorts of people, especially the poor and blacks (sic) (Kearns 54).” Although this statement may appear cynical, Kearns testified to its validity when she stated, Conceptions of sacrifice, duty and benevolence were as inseparable from and as deeply rooted in his character as his political skills and his pursuit of power (56).

Johnson’s very ideological makeup required his quest to right the wrongs he found in society. As Johnson’s power grew, so did the extent of his charitable acts. Experience and ideology combined to make Johnson an advocate for America’s poor. He saw poverty as a cycle in which adults had no money, and hence, inadequate food and shelter, poor medical care, little education, and no chance to train for employment. Even worse, this bleak lifestyle was all the adults ever knew and all they were capable of passing on to their children. Beating poverty would require breaking this cycle (Johnson The Vantage Point 73). Those trapped within this cycle were not equipped to help themselves, lacking even the motivation to strive for a better life. They expected nothing better “because the sum total of their lives was losing” (Califano 73).

Rather than helping the poor at the expense of the rest of society, Johnson felt that the War on Poverty would improve conditions for all by strengthening "the moral and economic fiber of the entire country" (Johnson The Vantage Point 72). He saw the poor as a group of people against whom the gates of opportunity had closed. The economy would provide the needed jobs to remove many from poverty; many barriers—such as lack of education, ill-health, and racial injustice—prevented them from pursuing these avenues of escape (Johnson Who is my Brother’s Keeper? 92). LBJ wanted the War on Poverty to give the poor a chance to use their own capabilities to obtain a share of the nation’s prosperity. He felt that this plan was economically, as well as morally, right. By raising the earnings of the poor, the programs would raise the GNP and cut public assistance programs. Indirect savings would be realized through decreased costs in battling other problems, such as crime and hunger (93). By improving the lot of the poor, LBJ felt the Great Society could benefit America as a whole.

The growing economy provided the basis for Johnson's plans. It would allow the poor, particularly African-Americans, to enter the job market without displacing whites. Also, rising tax revenues from increasing wages and profits would, theoretically, pay the costs of the War on Poverty without requiring higher tax rates (Califano 75). During the period of greatest change in welfare, 1964 to 1967, the GNP continued to rise while inflation remained minimal (Murray 25). Many of the economists of the time told Congress that they had unlocked the secrets of the economic cycle and could continue to raise GNP without inflation as Charles Murray said, Not only were we enjoying an unprecedented boom, we now thought we had the tools to sustain it indefinitely. If there was poverty amidst plenty, its solution did not come as easily as the initial optimism had projected, then there was still no good reason to back off (26).

This economic prosperity affected many of Johnson's decisions about the poor. Since the government had the money to help the poor, there was no excuse for allowing this problem to continue.

**Conclusions**

Lyndon Johnson was correct when he said that the conditions for social change came together in historic proportions in 1963 (The Vantage Point 70). Even before Johnson announced his plans, people supported government measures to reduce poverty. In 1960, years before spending accelerated on these programs, Gallup polls found that many people put funding slum clearance and medical programs for the elderly above balancing the federal budget through cutting government spending (Schwarz 159). This support intensified as the projects took form; the first Gallup poll about people's views on the War on Poverty released in 1966 asked, "Overall, do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the anti-poverty program nationwide?" It showed that of those having an opinion, 61% felt favorably toward the programs and 39% did not (159). The surprising element of these polls was the diversity of those supporting the programs; it "received favorable plurality in the north, south, east, and west, in the business and professional worlds, in the white-collar and blue-collar worlds, in communities large and small" (159).

The overarching theme of the War on Poverty was community action. This theory involved allowing the poor to help plan and administer the programs designed to help them. These programs could involve any strategy, including challenging the local political structure (Lemann 1989 56). Needless to say, this program was unpopular with local political leaders who feared relinquishing the power that accompanied distributing government funds.
When it began in 1964, it was a controversial and unproven proposal.

Many of the War on Poverty programs promoted work instead of welfare. In the beginning, slogans such as "A hand up, not a hand out" were used to promote the programs (57). Johnson was responsible for this aspect of the War on Poverty because he hated handouts, except to the elderly on Social Security (57). On the other hand, he did not oppose creating jobs. In fact, it was Johnson's preferred program. Yet, despite his intentions, the government was unable to adopt a large scale jobs program that lasted for any length of time. These programs never materialized, in part because of cost; jobs' programs were the most expensive antipoverty programs. Also, organized labor opposed these programs for fear they would weaken wages and hurt unions (57).

Public opinion favored almost all of the programs put forth, especially the work programs. A 1968 Gallup poll showed that nearly 80% of those polled favored programs that would provide enough work for every American to earn at least $3,200 a year (Schwarz 161). Yet the public also supported other types of programs to the point where a 1972 poll determined that twice as many people polled wanted to increase spending to five of the six main types of government programs at the time, low-rent housing, rebuilding the inner cities, Medicaid, programs for the elderly and education programs for low-income children (161-162).

The only true measure of the effects of American cultural changes involved the consequences of the War on Poverty, and much controversy surrounds this point. There is general agreement that poverty diminished between 1965-1972, yet the reasons for this decrease continue to be debated. Although many people credited the booming economy for this change, government programs actually alleviated poverty. In 1960 around 20% of the United States population lived in poverty; by the latter half of the 1970s only 4-8% of the population did (Schwarz 32). After taking all income except government subsidies into account, 19.2% of the population would have lived in poverty, about 10% less than in 1965. However, when income from government programs were factored into the equation, over half of those living below the poverty line rose above it, leaving only 9% of the population in poverty. Poverty decreased a total of 60% during those seven years--10% from economic increases and 50% from government programs showing that without the Great Society, poverty would have lowered, but to the extent it did during those seven years (34-5). These statistics alone present a compelling argument for the effectiveness of the War on Poverty.

Immediately after World War II massive inequalities became apparent--ranging from racial and gender discrimination to political persecution. These discrepancies set the stage for turbulent protest movements in later decades. These movements and their effects made the 1960s a progressive decade. Although at first invisible, poverty, and the war against it, played an important role during that prosperous period of history. Yet this war would not have been possible without the conflict, strife, and social change that preceded it.

Lyndon Johnson set forth a formula for social change; without a public recognition of need, a willingness to help, and a strong leader social change was impossible. The changes that took place in America between the beginning of the New Deal and the advent of the Great Society fulfilled all of these requirements. If they had not, the War on Poverty would have ended in defeat before it even began.

Works Cited


F. Scott Fitzgerald's Female Characters: an Author's Changing Perspective
William Todd Dykes

Preface
That one of the great chroniclers of American life during the 1920s and 1930s cannot escape criticism is not entirely difficult to understand, especially considering that the target of such criticism is F. Scott Fitzgerald, a writer who employs and depends upon a dazzling literary style to capture the essence of his milieu, most notably the "jazz age." Many critics believe that his characters, especially his female characters, lead superficial and one-dimensional lives. Indeed, critic Thomas Stavola calls The Beautiful and Damned's Gloria Patch "ego-centric, careless, and pleasure seeking" (123), and Alfred Kazin says Daisy Buchanan of The Great Gatsby is "vulgar and inhuman" (Person 250). While the criticism of his female characters continue to mount, there is a growing movement to recognize Fitzgerald's reflection of "the slowly shifting status of women during the two decades between World War I and World War II" (Fryer 1).

Upon close analysis, the female characters in Fitzgerald's five novels reveal a remarkable and cogent evolutionary pattern. This pattern revolves around his use of an archetype that can be interpreted and understood by audiences of differing generations. His female characters progress in a veritably uniform manner; they begin as dream-maidens--idealized by their male pursuers; they next tend to grow into femme fatales, or women who victimize their pursuers in order to gain power in the relationship; and finally, his female characters typically become either victims themselves, or they grow into new, self-actualized women, or at least as actualized as the society in which they live allows them to become.

Fitzgerald is masterful at weaving different qualities from the aforementioned characteristics into one female character, which allows him to give his individual characters added depth. For example, Gloria Patch begins The Beautiful and Damned as a dream-maiden and winds up being the victim of her own beauty-induced tendencies, while Nicole Diver of Tender is the Night moves quickly through all three characteristics. By giving his female characters such depth, Fitzgerald is able to display his maturing vision, and he is able to explore new territories with his female characters, which is unusual during a time so intent on maintaining the patriarchal society embraced by centuries of preceding generations.

Fitzgerald's Dream-maiden
Many readers of F. Scott Fitzgerald's impressive body of work associate the image of the dream-maiden with virtually all of his female characters, thus somewhat minimizing their roles as significant contributors in his fiction. Those readers fail to recognize the complexity of such an association. While characteristics of the dream-maiden do permeate most of the women in his fiction, Fitzgerald uses many other elements ranging from fatality to victimization to self-actualization to comprise the make-up of the majority of his females.

The dream-maiden, though, finds her most telling voice in Fitzgerald's earliest works, and it is essential to understand what is meant by the very term dream-maiden. For the purposes of this paper, the dream-maiden must not be confused with the classical "mother deity" figure so often written about and so integral a part of countless civilizations. Alan R. Sandstrom writes that that type of mother deity integrates elements that cause her to be lionized: her femaleness, her direct association with fertility and reproducitivity, her legitimate concerns for human affairs, her approachability on "questions of fecundity," and her ability to symbolically assimilate dissimilar ideas (Preston 48).

Fitzgerald's dream-maidens are different types of creatures altogether. From Judy Jones in "Winter Dreams" to Rosalind Connage in This Side of Paradise, these figures drive "... all of Fitzgerald's heroes to pursue the object of their desire--the projection of their romantic dream of perfect and eternal commitment" (Elstein 69). The dream-maiden is the seemingly unattainable woman who, when attained, becomes sadly real to the male Fitzgerald hero.

In one of Fitzgerald's more acclaimed short stories, "Winter Dreams," Judy Jones is the character playing the role of the dream-maiden to young Dexter Green. Writing about the story's romantic poignancy, critic Clinton Burhans observes that Judy is the most beautiful and desirable girl in (Dexter's) world, she is one of the 'glittering things' he has dreamed of having; and when he accepts the fact that she is beyond his grasp, he continues to love her and no one else. In loving her, he had 'reached out for the best,' and nothing less will do. (404).
Fryer 4) · Rochelle Elstein summarizes the situation typical of the 1920s female when she writes, "But this is also the generation that preserves the pattern of the past... and for virtually every female character in Fitzgerald's fiction, love and marriage are inseparable concepts" (80).

It is as a result of these basic patterns of thought and interactions between the sexes that Fitzgerald comes to capture the essence of his dream-maiden. His dream-maidens are archetypal figures because they are women created by the reality of their creator's surroundings. It is this honest creative approach that gives Fitzgerald's females a sense of timelessness, which is a fundamental component of archetypal figures.

Aside from the fact that he often writes about women who, in the early part of the twentieth century, more often than not marry for background instead of for love, one should understand that Fitzgerald's own personal existence seems to revolve around the pursuit of the type of dream-maidens he writes of and immortalizes in his fiction.

In *Fool for Love*, Scott Donaldson addresses Fitzgerald's passion for the dream-maiden by discussing the author's earliest self-imposed pursuit of his own dream-maiden:

"he was inextricably tied up with success. If he could win the heart of the girl—especially the golden girl over whom hung an aura of money, beauty, and social position—surely that meant that he had arrived, that he belonged." (43)

The first real golden girl, or dream-maiden, that Fitzgerald himself pursued seriously was Ginevra King, two years younger than the eighteen-year-old Fitzgerald when they first met. In his biography on the author, Andre Le Vot notes that Ginevra "was a game fit for the hunter. It pleased him to think she was destined for him, like a distant princess married by proxy to an unseen prince" (48). But she was not destined for him, and their sporadic relationship ended in 1917. She was the "golden girl that Fitzgerald, like his male protagonists, could not have," and the pain caused by her loss never left him (Donaldson 51). Miss King became a symbol for Fitzgerald "of the refined and luxurious elegance of blossoms that can bloom only if they are rooted in wealth" (Le Vot 49). Le Vot points out that she was not a sexual temptation, but rather a temptation that would have allowed him to enter "a mysterious and splendid realm":

Ginevra King would remain for Fitzgerald his archetypal woman... served by strangely similar priestesses named Isabelle and Josephine, Judy Jones, Daisy Buchanan, and Nicole Warren. All of them rich and fickle, all products of his experience of his world and then withdrawn. (50)

Le Vot says Ginevra King was the key to help Fitzgerald, via his jealousy for her, unlock the door that brought him face to face with his limitations (50). A Catholic priest corresponds the following bit of advice to the protagonist Amory Blaine in This Side of Paradise: "Beware of losing yourself in the personality of another being, man or woman" (220). In all likelihood, Fitzgerald wrote the above about himself. It is as though he mastered the remarkable ability to step away from the drama of his personal life in order to capture its essence on paper.

If Ginevra King served as "a symbol of the religiosity his wavering faith could no longer fully satisfy" (Le Vot 54), then Zelda Sayre, his wife, served as a seemingly permanent and fecund source of inspiration for many of his literary dream-maidens. Sarah Beebe Fryer articulates the intrinsic value of the women of Fitzgerald's novels when she explains that "they capture the confusion characteristic of many of the women of his 'lost,' transitional generation—women who, like Zelda, were 'lost,' transitional generation—women who, like Zelda, were 'the American girl living the American dream' and very nearly became mad within it" (6).

Scott Fitzgerald married Zelda Sayre on April 3, 1920, less than one month after his first novel, *This Side of Paradise*, "came out to good reviews and excellent sales" (Donaldson 66). She was very much
the "American girl," and she played the part well. Andre Le Vot writes that the girl from Montgomery, Alabama, had the nonchalant charm, the love of finery and conquest, the ready retort...typical of the belle we meet in...novels about the South. She had, moreover, a strong sense of the consideration due her and a belief that this ought to take the form of dashing action as well as romantic speeches. (63)

Donaldson believes that Fitzgerald fell in love "with Zelda's courage, her sincerity and her flaming self-respect and that was the only thing that mattered" (66). Fitzgerald himself wrote in his ledger, albeit a great success" (Le Vot 64).

Zelda and Scott's married life was, as virtually all of his biographers contend, usually miserable, but there were moments during their time together that were simply resplendent. Scott seemed to need those moments badly, and they often ended up in his work. Before they were married, Scott would write to Zelda and tell her that he understood why "they used to keep princesses in towers" (Donaldson 64), in reference to Zelda's apparent evasiveness as a prospective bride. This would later translate into his working image of his female characters, especially Gloria Gilbert Patch and Daisy Buchanan.

Andre Le Vot writes about the medieval theme in the two lovers' lives in his biography on Fitzgerald: Yet Scott, dreaming, like Gatsby, of a king's daughter, fell in love with a shepherdess, and Zelda, awaiting the marvelous prince who would take her out of her ordinary world, gave herself to an impaucious cavalier who could build castles only in the air. (65)

It should be noted that Zelda saw in Scott qualities not unlike the ones he saw in her. Recalling her first meeting with Scott in her book Save Me the Waltz, she writes:

There seemed to be some heavenly support beneath his shoulder blades that lifted his feet from the ground in ecstatic suspension, as if he secretly enjoyed the ability to fly but was walking on-earth as a compromise to convention. (35)

That two of this century's greatest public lovers felt so passionate toward one another during parts of their relationship is remarkable, considering that they both fed off the other's temperament. "The goddess and the archangel," begins Le Vot's description of how the newly-married couple stumbled into 'this side of paradise' (75).

With reference to Le Vot's earlier comment that Zelda possessed a sort of nonchalant charm, Rochelle Elstein says that it is that type of charm that enables the women of Fitzgerald's fiction to so often become distinguished as somehow archetypal. She writes that Fitzgerald seems to be suggesting that the young female character, although she may have the potential for logic, cognition, and thought, never needs to develop these attributes so long as she lives a life where beauty, poise, and charm will suffice" (77).

Is this statement born out of the Fitzgerald's relationship? It is probably not, especially since Scott himself said that Zelda is "without doubt the most brilliant and most beautiful young woman I've ever known" (Donaldson 68), but many aspects of their very personal relationship certainly do find their way into his fiction, and those real aspects may be at the root of what most critics associate with as the archetypical treatment of his female characters.

"Archetypes may be considered the fundamental elements of the conscious mind, hidden in the depths of the psyche..." (Jacobi 37), said Carl Jung, Swiss psychologist and psychiatrist, in an essay titled "Mind and Earth." An understanding of the archetype should prove to be beneficial to any reader of Fitzgerald. It is through his delicate use of the archetypal image of the dream-maiden that Fitzgerald is able to capture the essential vision of the realities of his surroundings, especially those surroundings populated by women.

By definition, Jung says archetypes are factors and motifs that arrange the psychic elements into certain images, characterized as archetypal, but in such a way that they can be recognized only from the effects they produce. They exist preconsciously, and presumably they form the structural dominants of the psyche in general. (Jacobi 32)

The term archetype was introduced by Jung in 1919. He took the word from the Corpus Hermeticum, which is a work from the third century that describes God as the archetypal light," i.e., "it expresses the idea that he is the prototype of all light; that is to say, pre-existent and supraordinate to the phenomenon 'light'" (Jung 328). Jung critic Jolande Jacobi writes in Complex/Archetype/Symbol in the Psychology of C. G. Jung that "Ultimately, it (archetype) comes to cover all psychic manifestations of a biological, psychobiological, or idealontical character, provided they are more or less universal and typical" (34).

Jung says archetypes can arise anywhere at any time. In his essay "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," he writes that archetypes are
present in "every psyche, forms which are unconscious but nonetheless active--living dispositions...that preform and continually influence our thoughts and feelings and actions" (Jacobi 36).

A careful study of Jung's idea of the archetype reveals that Fitzgerald's image of the dream-maiden is one of those very archetypes written about by the Swiss psychologist. Indeed, in his essay on the "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," Jung writes that "Like any other archetype, the mother archetype appears under an almost infinite variety of aspects" (332). He describes the classical mother and grandmother archetypes as the most significant and visible types. He says the woman with whom typical relations exist is the next important archetype; and then he discusses those archetypes that "might be termed mothers in a figurative sense" (333). It is under this last category that Fitzgerald's dream-maiden fits. Jung writes that to this category belongs the goddess, and especially the Mother of God, the Virgin, and Sophia. Mythology offers many variations of the mother archetype, as for instance, the mother who appears as the maiden... (333)

Even though mother archetypes are often associated with things and places standing for fertility and fecundity, Jung says that they, as symbols, can have either a positive or negative meaning. Qualities pertaining to the positive meaning of the mother archetype include the "magic authority of the female; the wisdom and spiritual exaltation that transcend reason; ...all that is benign, all that cherishes and sustains, that fosters growth and fertility," while those qualities of the negative meaning may connotate "anything secret, hidden, dark; the abyss, the world of the dead, anything that devours, seduces, and poisons, that is terrifying and inescapable like fate" (334).

In Fitzgerald's fiction, the dream-maiden often embraces both positive and negative meanings. The positively imagined dream-maiden tends to reach out compassionately to those around her while the negatively imagined dream-maiden typically tries to oppress and entangle her prospective victims. Both of these themes are recurrent ones in Fitzgerald's fiction.

It is interesting to theorize as to why F. Scott Fitzgerald turns to the dream-maiden archetype so often in his work. Jung writes that when an individual finds him/herself in a seemingly "issueless psychic situation," archetypal dreams tend to set in, indicating a "possibility of progress" that would otherwise not have occurred to the individual (Jacobi 67). Perhaps Fitzgerald uses his literary dream-maidens to indicate his own personal possibility of progress. For instance, Fitzgerald biographer Andrew Turnbull writes that much of the supercilious and destructive interplay between Anthony and Gloria Gilbert Patch in The Beautiful and Damned "is a projection of what Fitzgerald had come to consider the decayed part of (his and Zelda's) lives" (135). But Anthony Patch, much like Scott Fitzgerald, knows that he needs to be a part of his dream-maiden's entangling web because she makes his life seem somehow magnificently alive.

Fitzgerald echoed his character's basic sentiments when he made the following somewhat threatening and portentous statement about Zelda: "I wouldn't care if she died, but I couldn't stand to have anyone else marry her" (Donaldson 65). It is quite possible that his blinding passion for his real-life dream-maidens, Zelda, and earlier, Ginevra King, drove him to develop the theme of the archetypal dream-maiden in his fiction, an image so real to its creator that its only release was in his work.

The dream-maiden, while scattered throughout Fitzgerald's body of fiction, finds her most definitive face in his first novel, This Side of Paradise. She also appears, to a less degree, in The Beautiful and Damned and The Great Gatsby.

Andrew Turnbull writes that This Side of Paradise, published in 1920, is a "portal, and as a picture of American college life it has never been surpassed...it has in spots the grace, the inevitability, the poetry of Fitzgerald's deepest vein" (136); and in his deep vein, at the root of that poetry in virtually all of his work, lay both the positively and negatively imagined visions of the dream-maiden.

Fitzgerald chooses to let the reader enter his world of the dream-maiden rather surreptitiously in This Side of Paradise. He teases his audience by describing the emotions felt by the book's protagonist, Amory Blaine, when he sees a beautiful woman at a musical on Broadway while he is still in preparatory school--too young to be able to act on his fantasies, but not too young to have them:

Amory was on fire to be an habitue of roof-gardens, to meet a girl who should look like that--better, that very girl; whose hair would be drenched by golden moonlight, while at his elbow sparkling wine was poured by an unintelligent waiter (30).

But it is not until Amory encounters Isabelle Borge during his first year at Princeton that any tangible dream-maiden appears in the novel. Amory describes her as having explicit charm and says that "Flirt smiles from her large black-brown eyes and shines through her intense physical magnetism" (963). Although it takes some time for their short-lived relationship to take form, when it does, Amory is
ready. He seems to realize that she is someone, or something, unattainable, and yet he wants to be affected by her. He works assiduously to be overcome by her as is evident in a letter he writes to her:

Oh, it's so hard to write you what I really feel when I think about you so much; you've gotten to mean to me a dream that I can't put on paper any more. Your last letter came and it was wonderful. (81)

Even though he tries diligently to be taken in by Isabelle, he seems to understand that the dream-maiden is a creature unlike any other and that a simple reflection in her face is all that he needs to be made stronger. To clarify this point, one can read Amory's response after his and Isabelle's relationship is on the verge of collapse:

He wanted to kiss her, kiss her a lot, because then he knew he could leave in the morning and not care. On the contrary, if he didn't kiss her, it would worry him....It would interfere vaguely with his idea of himself as a conqueror. It wasn't dignified to come off second best, pleading, with a doughty warrior like Isabelle. (92)

At this stage of Amory's young life, simple association with his dream-maiden seems to be the fundamental point of involvement, but when he begins to come into contact with more manifest images of the dream-maiden, those embodying characteristics besides appearance, he begins to understand their power more acutely. After this affair with Isabelle ends, he appears to undergo a metamorphosis of thought with regard to the dream-maiden. As Sarah Beebe Fryer notes in her highly informative *Fitzgerald's New Women: Harbingers of Change*, for Amory, "sexual temptation is proof that evil exists in the world; moreover, it is irrevocably linked to women's beauty and receptivity" (22). This realization is invariably a foreshadowing of thought with regard to the dream-maiden that Fitzgerald would be dealing with in the future, especially those in his works published after *This Side of Paradise*.

Amory next meets a woman who is not at all malicious, but rather a showcase of everything that a dream-maiden could be. She is Clara Page, his third cousin:

She was immemorial....Amory wasn't good enough for Clara, Clara of ripply golden hair, but then no man was. Her goodness was above the prosy morals of the husband-seeker, apart from the dull literature of female virtue. (Fitzgerald, *This Side...* 135)

Clara is the first woman that he encounters who is both beautiful and cerebral, with a "spiritual aura" (Fryer 23). While he views her as a sort of goddess figure, i.e., the real dream-maiden, she refutes these types of shallow accusations:

I'm the opposite of everything spring ever stood for. It's unfortunate, if I happen to look like what pleased some soppy old Greek sculptor, but I assure you that if it weren't for my face I'd be a quiet nun in the convent.... (Fitzgerald, *This Side...* 146)

After Clara refuses his marriage proposal, Amory sulks over his loss. He indeed feels that she is his eternal raison d'être. But his real suffering does not come until he discovers the magnificent Rosalind Connage, the sister of one of his friends from Princeton.

Fryer writes that Amory's involvement with Rosalind results in the "most devastating love affair of his young life" (24). Rosalind combines elements of both Isabelle and Clara, and Amory pursues her vigorously. Fitzgerald brilliantly captures not only Amory's emotional desire for Rosalind but also her own glorious essence:

HE: What's your general trend?
SHE: Oh, I'm bright, quite selfish, emotional when aroused, fond of admiration--
HE: (Suddenly) I don't want to fall in love with you--
SHE: (Raising her eyebrows) Nobody asked you to.
HE: (Continuing coldly) But I probably will. I love your mouth.
SHE: Hush! Please don't fall in love with my mouth--hair, eyes, shoulders, slippers--but not my mouth. Everybody falls in love with my mouth. (176)

This dialogue illustrates one of the typical components of the relationship between Fitzgerald's dream-maiden and her pursuer. It is based on his desire for her and her feeding off his emotional attachment. Rosalind is fully aware of this. The dialogue indicates that she has more control over the situation than he does, and it is important to note that her control is a result of superior intellect. She sees what Amory does not because his burning desire for her blinds him. It is through her unsolicited control that Rosalind comes to be viewed by Anthony as his dream-maiden.

As was the case with Isabelle and Clara, the dream-maiden's need for Amory is virtually nonexistent, but Rosalind reciprocates his needs. She tells him that she wants to belong to him, that she wants to be a part of his life and his family. She tells
him, "We're you--not me. Oh, you're so much a part, so much all 'of me'" (188). By making those types of comments in earnest, she attempts to give herself to him fully. The dream-maiden, for a few moments, is finally realized by Amory.

But Rosalind, like Amory's previous dream-maidens, is not able to fulfill his dreams either. She realizes that a life with Amory might not allow her full potential to develop, and that is a risk she cannot take, so she opts for a more stable future with another man. But, as Fryer points out, she does resent the "inmate injustice of the social system" of the 1920s that dictates that her selection of a husband would determine the "degree of security she would enjoy over (the) years to come" (26).

After their relationship ends, Amory is crushed. He turns to drink and spends some time on a binge. When he finally allows himself to become whole again, he eventually meets his next, and final, dream-maiden--Eleanor Savage.

It is through Eleanor that Fitzgerald is able to display his "intuitive recognition of the obstacles that young women face when they contemplate self-actualization in a society that still accords them only second-class citizenship" (Fryer 28). Eleanor's power is something that Amory knows he can never really understand, and, as many critics believe, he does not want to. In introducing the relationship between Amory and Eleanor, Fitzgerald writes:

For years afterward when Amory thought of Eleanor he seemed to hear wind sobbing around him and sending chills into the places beside his heart...Eleanor was, say, the last time that evil crept close to Amory under the mask of beauty, the last weird mystery that held him with wild fascination and pounded his soul to flake. (Fitzgerald, This Side of... 222)

Their time together is short, and they use one another to explore mysteries within themselves, mysteries that only the owner's hearts could know; they love on an intellectual level. Eleanor is a startling forerunner of the women of his later novels--Gloria, Daisy, Nicole--whose brains and passionate natures are doomed to dissipate in nervous energy simply because women of that era were not encouraged or allowed to pursue meaningful work of their own. (Fryer 27)

After they stop seeing one another, Amory takes the time to reflect what Eleanor, and the other dream-maidens, had led him to believe. It is this reflection in This Side of Paradise that allows Fitzgerald to make his final statement about the dream-maiden his maturing mind had once thought so pure:

The problem of evil had solidified for Amory into the problem of sex...Inseparably linked with evil was beauty--beauty, still a constant rising tumult; soft in Eleanor's voice...rioting deliriously through life like superimposed waterfalls, half rhythm, half darkness. Amory knew that every time he had reached out for it longingly it had leered out at him with the grotesque face of evil. Beauty of great art, beauty of all joy, most of all the beauty of women. (280)

And with that statement, helping to bring one of the great works on blinding love and dream-maidens to a close, Fitzgerald offers a portent of what is to come. In The Beautiful and Damned and The Great Gatsby, he writes of different types of dream-maidens. He writes of how twisted relationships can become if allowed to get tangled up in their own importance. His women become goddesses with chameleon-like characteristics while his men became more and more powerless. Perhaps he is documenting the typical scenario for young lovers in the early part of the twentieth century, or perhaps he is writing about his life with Zelda.

Straightforward readings of The Beautiful and Damned and The Great Gatsby reveal emerging complexities in Fitzgerald's literary efforts, both in his stylistic approach and in the content of his work. While the leading female characters of the two books, Gloria Gilbert Patch and Daisy Buchanan respectively, do lead relatively dissimilar lives, they have many things in common, especially their place among Fitzgerald's women. They are two goddess figures who combine the elements of the positively and negatively imagined dream-maiden.

Anthony Patch, the protagonist of The Beautiful and Damned, says that after he first kissed Gloria, he "experienced an emotion that was neither mental nor physical, nor merely a mixture of the two, and the love of life absorbed him for the present to the exclusion of all else" (104). He believes that no other woman compares to Gloria. He tells her that "she is fascinating...that he has never met anyone like her before" (113). Much like Amory Blaine and his dream-maidens in This Side of Paradise, Anthony Patch is completely enamored with Gloria Gilbert. Before he marries Gloria and before they begin to lose faith in all that they used to believe in, Fitzgerald makes a prophetic statement after Gloria denies Anthony the pleasure of a passionate kiss: "The man had had the hardest blow of his life. He knew at last what he wanted, but in finding it out it seemed that
he had put it forever beyond his grasp...” (Fitzgerald, The Beautiful... 115).

As a dream-maiden, Gloria is like many of Fitzgerald's females. She is beautiful and intelligent, but she is unlike "other Fitzgerald women (because of) her impressive degree of self-knowledge, dignity, and fortitude" (Gross 47). Sarah Beebe Fryer writes that her romance with Anthony Patch was swift and passionate, yet fraught with conflict: their ill-advised marriage deteriorated as rapidly... as their financial resources, yet Gloria herself managed at all times to maintain her fundamental personal integrity. (28)

The primary difference between Anthony and Gloria's works, e.g., between Amory Blaine and his dream-maidens in This Side of Paradise, Bernice and Warren McIntyre in "Bernice Bobs Her Hair," Sally Carrol Happer and Harry Bellamy in "The Ice Palace," Dexter Green and Judy Jones in "Winter Dreams," and John Unger and Kismine Washington in "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz," is that Gloria actually does marry Anthony and remains with him through the book's entirety, leaving many readers with a warped sense of romantic reality. This stance elevates Fitzgerald's handling of the dream-maiden concept to a new and more intensive level. By having Gloria stay with an increasingly failing Anthony, Fitzgerald might have been, as Jung wrote, finding a "possibility of progress" for problems he incurred with his own wife, Zelda. Again, it is speculative, but the following passage, written after Anthony and Gloria's relationship had already become stormy, sounds like a vague echoing of the sentiments the author had earlier written about his wife during the beginning of their own relationship:

On Anthony's part she was...his sole preoccupation. Had he lost her he would have been a broken man, wretchedly and sentimentally absorbed in her memory for the remainder of life. He seldom took pleasure in an entire day spent alone with her... (277)

Meanwhile, The Great Gatsby, published in 1925, contains Fitzgerald's most complex and fully-realized dream-maiden, Daisy Buchanan. She "is both cool innocent princess and sensual femme fatale, a combination that...enhances her enigmatic charm" (Korenman 578). Daisy embodies definite qualities of both the positively and negatively imagined qualities of both the positively and negatively imagined dream-maiden.

To Jay Gatsby she is the ultimate dream-maiden, a creature worth sacrificing his very life for. Before Gatsby leaves the United States to go and fight in Europe, he "knew that when he kissed this girl, and forever wed his unutterable visions to her perishable breath, his mind would ever romp again like the mind of God" (Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 84). Such is the power of the dream-maiden Daisy Buchanan over the princely figure of Jay Gatsby. But Daisy's character functions on many levels. In an essay titled "The Grotesque Rose: Medieval Romance and The Great Gatsby," Jerome Mandel ascribes positions of medieval nobility to the book's key characters. He writes that

Medieval romance was an aristocratic genre. Perhaps that was why it appealed to Fitzgerald. [It was] about lords and ladies, kings and princesses, warrior-knights who strove for fame in the world, and the ladies who encouraged them to even greater accomplishment" (545).

To Daisy, Mandel gives the title of Queen. Nick Carraway refers to her as the "king's daughter, the golden girl" (Mandel 545). She says herself that she has "been everywhere and seen everything and done everything" (Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 15), just like a queen, To Jay Gatsby, Mandel bestows the title of knight. Although not a noble knight, he is indeed a great warrior, and Mandel is careful to point out that medieval knights were lovers as well as warriors (546). In Fitzgerald's novel, Gatsby's heroics, like a proud knight's are solely intended to attract the interest of his dream-maiden/queen, Daisy Buchanan. That is why Gatsby entertains so lavishly, to attract Daisy to his house across the bay. Mandel believes that in order to understand why Daisy's reaction is so important to Gatsby, the reader "must be aware that medieval romance carefully distinguished between two worlds": one that was commonplace to the public masses, and one that "was a private lovers' world, inhabited by two people only, where the ordinary rules that governed society were suspended in the service of courtly love. The lady ruled, and the faithful knight capitulated to her judgment" 9547).

Jay Gatsby and Daisy Buchanan play the game of courtly love and both revel in it, but for quite different reasons. Gatsby suspends himself in the "service of courtly love" to attain his dream-maiden, while Daisy does so only to capture her own imagination. From the beginning, Gatsby has an "extraordinary gift for hope, a romantic readiness"--he wants to be shaped by dreams (Morgan 168). Eventually those dreams kill him rather than shape him. In a prelude of what is to come, Gatsby admits
that before he went off to war he never realized "just how extraordinary a 'nice' girl could be. (Daisy) vanished into her rich house, into her rich, full life, leaving Gatsby--nothing" (114). At the book's end, Daisy leaves Gatsby once again with nothing, even after he makes the noble choice and is sacrificed as an innocent victim of his queen's cruel and unsympathetic heart.

With Jay Gatsby's death comes the end of Fitzgerald's summer of 1924 and the beginning of 1925. Jerome Mandel summarizes the significance of the realizations made by both character and creator alike:

Gatsby may have come to a new perception of Daisy, just as Fitzgerald had come to a new perception of Zelda. For both young men, the dream lay in fragments, 'the old warm world' was lost. The idea of love as the single configuring force in life was gone, changed, lost. Gatsby died; Fitzgerald's marriage began the long painful decline toward disintegration. 'Something had happened that could ever be repaired' again. (556).

And with the knowledge that something irreparable had happened, F. Scott Fitzgerald moves on to a more complex treatment of his female characters. The dream-maiden discussed thus far evolves into permutations that bring differing elements, i.e., fatality, victimization, self-actualization, into the scope of his increasingly autobiographical fiction.

**Fitzgerald's "Great American Bitch"/Femme Fatale**

With earlier discussion focusing on Fitzgerald's female characters' positively and negatively imagined states, it is important to understand the distinctions between the two. While the dream-maiden embodies the positively imagined world of Fitzgerald's females, it is the dream-maiden gone awry that captures the essence of the negatively imagined state of the author's female characters.

Literary critic Dolores Barracano Schmidt calls these females "Great American Bitches":

The Great American Bitch is that antiheroine of a thousand faces...a type emerging in American literature in the post World War I era...She bears little resemblance to the familiar "ball and chain" figures, women generally viewed affectionately, and more important, women who are ultimately tamable...The bitch is no laughing matter; she is a man-eater. (900)

Edmund Wilson, a close friend of Fitzgerald's and a fellow writer, describes the power of this type of woman when he says that she is "the impossible civilized woman who despises the civilized man for his failure in initiative and nerve and then jealously tries to break him down as soon as begins to exhibit any" (Schmidt 900). The twentieth-century literary bitch is well-educated, well-married, attractive, intelligent, desirable, admired by her husband, envied by others, the woman who appears to have everything and is totally dissatisfied with it (900). Interestingly enough, the archetypal literary bitch has her power and authority "conferred upon her by the victim himself, who nevertheless feels peculiarly powerless to act otherwise" (Evans and Finestone 20). This idea is the basis of Anthony Patch's view of his wife, Gloria, and it forms the undercurrent in the relationship between Daisy Buchanan and Jay Gatsby, who is quite obviously powerless to deny his need for and thus discipline himself with regard to his idealized dream-maiden, Daisy.

But the idea of the literary "bitch," or of the femme fatale, is not a new one. The fatal woman appears as the Siren in the literature of Greek writers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Homer, and in the work of the Roman poet Ovid. She can also be found in Dante and Shakespeare (Settle 115). Cleopatra, one of the first incarnations of the fatal woman, is a subject of Italian literary critic Mario Praz's *The Romantic Agony*. He describes the fundamental elements of her character:

The young man is beautiful, wild, and chaste, and falls in love with Cleopatra because she is unattainable; Cleopatra is suffering from ennui; she is a 'reine sidérale' of irresistible charm, and the knowledge of her body is an end in itself, beyond which life has nothing to offer; Cleopatra, like the praying mantis, kills the male whom she loves. (205)

That death comes to the man she loves is much like the death that visits Jay Gatsby. It is the creation of Gatsby, quite possibly a superficial martyr as a result of his dying for his dream-maiden, that underscores Fitzgerald's commitment to establishing, and thus understanding, his own version of the fatal woman. The question that Schmidt asks, "At what point does that charming hoyden turn into the Great American Bitch?--a question, incidentally, which represents the theme of practically all of F. Scott Fitzgerald's work?" (902), is answerable in the context of Fitzgerald's novels. In his first book, *This Side of Paradise*, he explores the dream-maiden and her uniquely refugent qualities. With his second,
third, and fourth novels--The Beautiful and Damned, The Great Gatsby, and Tender is the Night, respectively--he shows the transmutation of his female character from the dream-maiden to the femme fatale; and he does so with much grace and apparent ease, but it is important for one to understand his reasons for doing so.

His relationship with Zelda is, once again, at the root of a great deal of his literary inspiration, and in his novels following This Side of Paradise, his literary dream-maiden is attained by the male via marriage. Therein lies the most radical change for his characters, because with the sexual intimacy of marriage comes the burden of ownership, and that burden causes both his female and male characters to act differently toward each other than they had when they both simply viewed the other as "their ideal, their dream-vision." By using marriage as a means for his characters to see their companion's true qualities, Fitzgerald effectively says the game is over; the reality of the situation seems to produce great insight in both his male and female characters.

Fundamentally, the "Great American Bitch" of the early twentieth century is "a product of that...seething injustice at a promise solemnly made and gratuitously rescinded...Contempt, of course, is the very essence of (her) character" (Schmidt 904). Author Simone de Beauvoir says she is the product of a society that is codified by men, which decrees that the woman is inferior: she can do away with this inferiority only by destroying the male's superiority. She sets about mutilating, dominating man, she contradicts him, she denies his truth and his values... (Schmidt 103)

In short, she becomes the "Great American Bitch," or the femme fatale of earlier generations--an archetype to last through the ages, or at least until women are no longer repressed by a male-dominated society. Fitzgerald is a product of that society and, as a writer, he allows himself to chronicle this new type of female.

But who is the fatal women and why is she such a powerful force within the realm of literature? To answer the first question, one may find Praz's discussion of the fatal woman especially useful. He describes the permanent characteristics of the femme fatale and her typical lover/victim:

the lover is usually a youth, and maintains a passive attitude; he is obscure, and inferior either in condition or in physical exuberance to the woman, who stands in the same relation to him as do the female spider, the

praying mantis, etc., to their respective males: sexual cannibalism is her monopoly. (206)

Praz writes that man has a fascination with the figure of the "Fatal Woman who is successfully incarnate in all ages and lands, an archetype which unites in itself all forms of seduction, all vices and delights" (210). To understand her as a powerful literary force, the reader should recall the section on archetypes. Psychologist Paul Schmitt says archetypes are "nothing other than typical forms of apprehension and perception, of active and passive behavior, images of life itself," both past and present, "which take pleasure in creating forms, in dissolving them, and in creating them anew with the old stamp: a process that takes place in the material, the psychic, and the spiritual realm" (Jacobi 51). Using that statement as a guide, one begins to understand the rationale for the existence of the fatal woman in literature--she is an archetype, and she has an existence which has been examined, explored, and exploited time and again over the ages, and again during the 1920s and 1930s by authors like F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Beginning primarily with the publication of The Beautiful and Damned in 1922, Fitzgerald's female characters begin to display qualities of both the dream-maiden and the "Great American Bitch": simultaneously. It is a remarkable contrast and one that elevates him to new heights as an author, because it was a courageous move for a male to recognize and write about such a character type, especially during post World War I America, at a time when most women were basically demanding some cogent forms of equality for their gender. Schmidt says the "writers coming to age during this period--Hemingway, Lewis, Fitzgerald, Anderson--, the writers who created the Great American Bitch archetype (or did they merely record social history?), were the courageous men who first wooed and won and attempted to set up happy homes with the new, emancipated American woman. (902)

Certainly it can be argued that Fitzgerald's depiction of the emerging bitch or femme fatale in his work is reflection of his deteriorating relationship with Zelda. During his writing of Tender is the Night, for example, the Fitzgeralds' relationship degenerates into one revolving around endless quarrels and personal oppression, much of which is inflicted upon Zelda by her husband. As Zelda spends more and more time trying to ply her skills as a dancer for instance, Scott tells her that she will never be any
good. Although all she seems to crave is a feeling of accomplishment, no matter how small, Scott will not allow her to have that satisfaction (Donaldson 80).

While there are numerous examples of this type of oppression of Zelda by Scott, most notably seen in his inviting "the affection and admiration of other women" (72), he is not alone in his attempt to ideologically oppress his spouse—just the opposite. It is quite possible that Zelda categorically embodies all of the traits owned by the "Great American Bitch"/femme fatale. As noted earlier, she is a strikingly beautiful woman who possesses an intelligent mind and a keen sense of her role in the repressive society of the 1920s and 1930s. She also possesses a sense of her own importance, especially within the dynamics of her life with Scott. Examples of this sense can be found during the early days of Fitzgerald's courtship of Zelda. Scott Donaldson says that she "understood that her attractiveness to other men mattered a great deal to Fitzgerald and repeatedly let him know of her (amorous) adventure." The biographer writes that she provoked Fitzgerald's jealousy in "nearly every letter to him" (63).

Fitzgerald himself seems to have realized the psychological impact of Zelda upon his life at a relatively early stage of their relationship. In a letter to a friend prior to his marriage to Zelda, he writes, "she's very beautiful and very brave as you can imagine—but she's a perfect baby and a more irresponsible pair than will be hard to imagine" (66). Donaldson believes Fitzgerald was being fairly accurate in his remarks about himself and Zelda:

He was right to stress their mutual immaturity. Like an insecure child he needed approval. Like a willful one she demanded attention. Both sought to occupy the center of the stage, sometimes in collaboration but often in competition. (66)

This sort of subtle competition between Scott and Zelda appears to be at the root of many of their internally-shared marital problems. Unfortunately for Fitzgerald, his wife often seizes the upper hand in the game they play. Soon after their marriage, for instance, she tells him "a terrible thing...that if he were away she could sleep with another man and it wouldn't really affect her, or make her really unfaithful to him" (68). She also criticizes his sexuality, making him feel as though he were physically inadequate for her and manipulating him to think that he was, quite possibly, a homosexual (Le Vot 236).

Fitzgerald himself understands Zelda's incredible power over him and acknowledges his addiction to that power, just as Amory Blaine has an addiction to his own pursuit of the ultimate dream-maiden in This Side of Paradise. During the beginning of the end of the Fitzgeralds' failing relationship, Scott tells one of Zelda's doctors: "She is a stronger person than I am. I have creative fire, but I am a weak individual. She knows this and really looks upon me as a woman" (Le Vot 236). That he recognizes not only his creative fire but also her power and his own individual weakness may offer insights into why he is so adept at writing about the fatal woman: he lives with a self-centered and dominating presence in Zelda. He is her victim and she feeds off his jealous tendencies, and he is a writer. These are three qualities that shape his life into one of torment, but also one of tremendous growth and creativity through his craftsmanship via the pen.

With regard to Zelda's role as a source of inspiration in his fiction, virtually all of Fitzgerald's leading female characters, from Rosalind Connage to Gloria Patch and Daisy Buchanan to Nicole Diver, are "intensely self-centered. And yet if his readers condemn these women, they do so without any warrant from Fitzgerald himself, who seems to have admired them despite their failings" (Hindus 33), just as he appears to do with his own brutally enigmatic and fatale wife.

The Beautiful and Damned, Fitzgerald's second novel, is the story of a young and spoiled married couple trying to force their lives to play along with the beat of the emerging jazz age. Much of the story's content comes from a diary kept by Zelda, detailing her earliest times with Scott. Upon the book's publication, Zelda "recognized a portion of an old diary...which mysteriously disappeared shortly after her marriage" (Donaldson 81). As she says, "in fact, Mr. Fitzgerald...seems to believe that plagiarism begins at home" (81).

The novel marks one of the first times that Fitzgerald consciously uses Zelda's private writings. He needs Zelda; he feeds off her for literary purposes, whereas she feeds off him for reasons somewhat inexplicable to the casual observer, but probably because she depends on him for support, not only mentally, physically, and emotionally, but also financially.

While many of Fitzgerald's female characters embrace traits of the classic literary bitch/femme fatale, no single female in any of his novels actually displays every one of the traits of the perceived man-eating woman from the beginning of the story to its end. They do, however, exhibit many of the femme fatale's qualities at various times throughout his novels. Gloria Gilbert Patch in The Beautiful and Damned illustrates this idea as she moves from the
dream-maiden of Anthony Patch's imagination to the femme fatale and, finally, to the tired and worn victim of her husband's twisted psychological abuse.

It is imperative to remember that not only does Fitzgerald write of females during the early part of the twentieth century, a time when women were invariably tied to their husbands for economic and social survival, but also that he is a male, writing stories with female characters who acquire tremendous power from their male counterparts. So Fitzgerald's version of the femme fatale is exactly that, his own version—a version drawn from his relationship with Zelda and his personal impressions of the women in his life and in his imagination.

Sarah Beebe Fryer echoes the sentiments of other critics who believe that Fitzgerald's female characters are the victims of their milieu, i.e., their socioeconomic dependence on the men in their lives, rather than victims of their own bitchiness. She says of Gloria Gilbert Patch:

Like many of Fitzgerald's principal female characters, Gloria grapples with a severe but somewhat understated internal conflict; she has an independent streak and craves development and fulfillment of her self; yet she is also intensely aware of the prescribed roles her social stature imposes—or at least attempts to impose—on her. (30)

While Fryer is certainly correct to point out that Gloria is seeking truths about herself in an effort to answer her independent calling and that her effort is thwarted by the male-dominated society in which she lives, it would be more accurate to say that Gloria acts the way that she does because it is a part of her psyche. She is a character who knows how to toy with the emotions of others, a characteristic which is fundamental to the femme fatale. By doing so, she herself becomes trapped by her relative superiority as a player of the game, and this ultimately leads to her own undoing. Examples of such "fatal" actions are found throughout Beautiful and Damned. She lets Anthony know what she wants from him during the early stages of their courtship: "I just want to be lazy and I want some of the people around me to be doing things, because that makes me feel comfortable and safe" (Fitzgerald, The Beautiful... 66). And Anthony tirelessly tries to make her comfortable and safe; she is, after all, his dream-maiden. It is only during the progression of their marriage together (again, after the male has actually attained the dream-maiden) that Anthony begins to view Gloria as a femme fatale, but even though he is aware that she has some kind of intrinsic power over him, he pursues her nevertheless; Fitzgerald tells the reader that Anthony knows as much, "What delicious romance... He would come back—eternally. He should have known" (113).

That such a striking dream-maiden as Gloria is the object of the male's unceasing pursuit is not unusual in Fitzgerald's fiction. The inexhaustibly charming Daisy Buchanan is Jay Gatsby's goal, and the remarkable Nicole Diver is the cause of Dick Diver's passion for a great deal of Tender is the Night. But by attaining their objects of desire, the male characters become more aware of life's unpleasanties and of their own inadequacies than they do life's pleasures. They now see themselves as weak, as having submitted to the female's driving impulses.

But Fitzgerald allows his male characters to have knowledge of their impending doom. Anthony, after being accepted by Gloria, feels young and gloriously triumphant, "even more triumphant than death" (Fitzgerald, The Beautiful... 126). This statement is a definite use of foreshadowing on Fitzgerald's part—for a deathly pallor seems to visit the Patches' married life at the end of the story.

Gloria herself seems to recognize that she is the victim of her own game. While visiting General Robert E. Lee's home in Virginia, she goes into a blinding tirade over the fact that in her mind, beauty (of which she possesses a great deal) and death are inextricably tied together: "There's no beauty without poignancy and there's no poignancy without the feeling that it's going, men, names, books, houses, bound for dust—mortal" (167). Gloria's statement is quite possibly another case of foreshadowing in Fitzgerald's story, to indicate that the couple's chances of redemption over what they have done to one another are virtually nonexistent.

Gloria's evolution from Anthony's dream-maiden to his own fatal woman is essentially the basis for both his and her deterioration, but she is not singularly to blame for their problems. Gloria appears to recognize that she is in fact a fatal woman, and she does try to compensate by offering Anthony her love and affection. She tells him that each time they move "something's lost—something's left behind. You can't ever quite repeat anything, and I've been so yours, here..." (169). She wants to be Anthony's, but he fails to understand this because he perceives her only as his femme fatale, a recognition which causes him to lose faith in her and in himself.

With the loss of Anthony's faith comes the loss of Gloria's fatality—not out of a sense of owed humility, but rather out of a sense of failure and defeat:

Much to her dismay, she gradually discovers the emotional, psychological, and even
physical abuse of which Anthony—her "temporarily 'passionate lover'" (147)—is capable in his obsessive drive to possess and control her. (Fryer 30)

No longer does she possess the mind of the classic fatal woman; no longer does she believe, as she had written before her marriage to Anthony, that "beauty is only to be admired, only to be loved—to be harvested carefully and then flung at a chosen lover like a gift of roses. It seems to me...that my beauty should be used like that" (Fitzgerald, The Beautiful...392); but rather, she believes that her willfully-lost innocence is her only salvation.

After all, she does "flying her beauty" at a man who thinks of her as the ultimate dream-maiden, and she finds out that by doing so she is destined for destruction. Fitzgerald, in The Beautiful and Damned, does a masterful job of capturing the failing graces of a woman as beautiful as Gloria Gilbert Patch, especially near the end of the novel when she gains some sort of insight into her self—a terrifyingly real insight that she had never before imagined possible—a realization that power achieved with beauty is often the key to self-destruction.

The Great Gatsby's Daisy Buchanan is a character who appears to gain no such insights at the end of Fitzgerald's most critically acclaimed novel. As the book's narrator, Nick Carraway, says of Tom Buchanan and his wife, Daisy:

They were careless people, Tom and Daisy—they smashed up things and creatures and then retreated back into their money or their vast carelessness, or whatever it was that kept them together, and let other people clean up the mess they had made. (136)

This statement comes at the end of the novel, after Daisy uses Jay Gatsby to fulfill the needs of her feminine fatalty. She is certainly not a simple character who uses the security of her marriage to satisfy her need to play in a harmless society; but rather, Daisy outdistances Fitzgerald's other female characters with regard to her complexities, which are derived from her "Great American Bitch-like" qualities.

She is a femme fatale of the first degree. Critic Jerome Mandel says she is the "queen of her world, a position she holds in her own right and as Tom's wife" (545). In her essay on courtly love and The Great Gatsby, Elizabeth Morgan says Daisy is "elaborately praised, especially for her power to inspire or suggest goodness" (165) and that she will "always command a man such as Gatsby. Her voice is guaranteed to make people lean toward her" (170).

Daisy possesses virtually every characteristic of the "Great American Bitch": she is intelligent, well-married, attractive, desirable, admired—albeit somewhat superficially—by her husband, envied by others, most notably Jay Gatsby, the woman who appears to have everything and is totally dissatisfied with it. She says as much when telling Nick about her little girl:

It'll show you how I've gotten to feel about things.... 'All right,' I said, 'I'm glad it's a girl. And I hope she'll be a fool—that's the best thing a girl can be in this world, a beautiful little fool'... You anyhow....(Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 15)

But during that very conversation, Nick begins to understand her complexities and, quite possibly, her fatalty:

The instant her voice broke off, ceasing to compel my attention, my belief, I felt the basic insincerity of what she had said. It made me uneasy, as though the whole evening had been a trick of some sort to exact a contributory emotion from me. I waited, and sure enough, in a moment she looked at me with an absolute smirk on her rather lovely face, as if she had asserted her membership in a rather distinguished secret society to which she and Tom belonged. (15)

Nick obviously sees Daisy as some sort of enigmatic and fatal woman from the onset, but the man whose heart she owns, Gatsby, is a "victim of Daisy's every equivocation and impulse, a lover without identity outside of his desire" (Morgan 167).

That Fitzgerald's male characters tend to start off with "romantic expectations, with a heightened sense of self that eventually comes into conflict with the outside world"(Lehan 154), is well-documented. Jay Gatsby is no exception; for him, Daisy Buchanan is a dream-maiden, a woman so idealized in his mind that he fails to see that for her, the qualities of purity and innocence take the form of "coldness and sterility of soul" (Korenman 577), two traits typically associated with the fatal woman. She revels in her image, believing that she is indeed a dream-maiden—the "pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, the fair-haired princess of the fairy tales" (576).

But the idea that her positive self-image is based simply upon the "demonstrable power" she has to attract would-be lovers is lost on Jay Gatsby, and he pursues her assiduously throughout the novel. Unfortunately, he dies in his pursuit, a victim not only of his own misguided desire, but also of his chivalrous and courageous sense of loyalty—to nothing
other than his own dreams. He never seems to understand that his dreams are offered to a femme fatale, and he does not know why Daisy is both "attracted and repulsed by his personality; why she is offended from the beginning by his parties" (Lehan 154). Gatsby gives himself to Daisy because he is an idealist. He creates a sense of the lavish and he heightens it further through the vitality of his imagination. But it is his imagination that is severed from everything but its own vision.

(Lehan 155)

With the severing of Gatsby's vision, Fitzgerald shows what the ultimate fate is of those who are victimized by dream-maidens like Daisy Buchanan—death. That she is consumed with herself is lost on Gatsby. During Daisy's first visit to his West Egg mansion, Fitzgerald writes that Gatsby revalues "everything in his house according to the measure of response it drew from her well-loved eyes" (Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 69). But she will never be his; rather, she will always go back with her husband, Tom.

Fitzgerald portrays Daisy as the ultimate dream-maiden. She is attained only by Tom Buchanan, who never fully understands her and who, moreover, only knows how to abuse her emotionally. Together, they share a twisted life based on deceit and co-dependence. They lie to one another throughout the book about their needs, and yet they seem to be addicted to their shared dishonesty. Daisy, like all of Fitzgerald's fatal women, is not a femme fatale all of her life, though. She seems to gain her fatality as a result of marrying Tom. Her life is a combination of both the positively imagined state of the dream-maiden and the negatively imagined state of the "Great American Bitch."

Fitzgerald makes it clear that Daisy is in part, at least, a romantic, complete with emotions of vitality in love. Before marrying Tom, she seems to be very much in love with Gatsby, then a young man leaving the states for the war in Europe. She is even prepared to run away to see him—she was "so fond of him, in fact, that she was willing to risk the wrath of her parents by running off to see him without permission" (Fryer 50).

But she chooses Tom over Gatsby because she wants questions concerning her life to be settled, and Tom offers her the most attractive chance of an automated and rich life:

She wanted her life shaped now, immediately—and the decision must be made by some force—of love, of money, of unquestionable practicality—that was close at hand" (Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 115).

Interestingly, on the night before she marries Tom she receives an encouraging love letter from Gatsby, who is stationed in Europe. She also receives a string of pearls valued at $350,000 from Tom. But the letter makes her feel "alive" and she begins to question whether or not she actually wants to marry Tom. Only after becoming quite drunk and after taking an ice-cold bath does she capitulate and say she will marry Tom (Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 58). It is as though she has to desensitize herself before she can go through with the marriage, which she seems to know will destroy her vitality. Critic Leland S. Person, Jr. states that the ice-cold bath signifies that

She has been baptized in ice, and with her romantic impulses effectively frozen, Daisy Fay becomes 'paralyzed' with conventional happiness as Mrs. Tom Buchanan. (253)

It is this conventionality that causes her to, unknowingly or not, develop her emerging bitch-like qualities. Unfortunately, Gatsby refuses to make himself aware of the change in her. During his pursuit of Mrs Tom Buchanan, he only sees her as an enchanted object "gleaming like silver, safe and proud above the hot struggles of the poor" (Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 114). When she visits Nick's house for tea with Gatsby, it is Gatsby who glows; "without a word or a gesture of exultation a new well-being radiated from him and filled the little room" (68). But she only ends up destroying him and leaving him alone in his destruction, without even having the decency to attend his funeral. She is apparently too wrapped up in her conventional life with Tom to recognize her guilt.

Critics are right to point out that she is a victim of Tom's "cruel power" (Person 250), but it is essential to understand that she is the one who allows herself to become entangled in his "conventional" web, and by becoming entangled, she becomes the "Dark Destroyer," a purveyor of "corruption and death" and the "first notable anti-virgin of our fiction, the prototype of the blasphemous portraits of the Fair Goddess as bitch in which our twentieth-century fiction abounds" (Fiedler 312, 315, 313).

What makes her such a compelling fatal woman? Why does an intelligent man like Jay Gatsby fall into her self-induced trance? It may quite possibly be that her voice, which is a fundamental part of her character, is at the root of her fatality and is the reason for Gatsby's unrequited love for her. Fitzgerald uses her voice to attract both men and women alike to herself. It is this ability that enables
her to have a profound amount of control over those very men’s and women’s lives, especially (and most tragically) over Jay Gatsby’s.

In his essay titled "Fitzgerald’s Daisy: The Siren Voice," Glenn Settle says that Fitzgerald’s "artful handling of the quality of her voice allows a reading of Daisy as a classical siren" (115). He suggests that examining Daisy as a "wrecker-temptress," or as a woman who promises to marry Gatsby but marries another man; a woman who pledges her love for Gatsby only to recant under pressure from Tom; a woman who lies to Tom about her role in Myrtle Wilson’s death; and a woman who betrays Gatsby by not attending his funeral, along with realizing her potential relationship in the archetype of femme fatale forms a central prosenium for a reading of Daisy as Siren...and like the seductive attractiveness in the voices of the Sirens, it is the Voice of Daisy, more than any of her other qualities, that most notably defines her characterization. (1919)

Throughout the novel, Nick Carraway comments on the power of Daisy’s "sensuous" voice; he believes that it may have been the key to Gatsby’s dream-vision of her: "I think that voice held him most, with its fluctuating, feverish warmth, because it couldn’t be over-dreamed—that voice was a deathless song" (Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 73). When Nick hesitatingly tries to explain the power of Daisy’s voice to his friend and her victim, it is a knowing Gatsby who ironically tells him that: "Her voice is full of money" (91). And with that, Nick begins to understand Daisy’s "inexhaustible charm" and Gatsby’s increasingly perverted need for her. It as though Fitzgerald wants Gatsby to constantly be on the verge of self-recognition only to fail to see his situation clearly through his own desirous eyes.

If her voice is indeed as powerful as Nick claims, then Gatsby is her ultimate victim, dying in a vain attempt to make her voice his own, much like the Sirens’ victims in classical literature (Settle 116).

Daisy Buchanan is Fitzgerald’s quintessential femme fatale, a woman full of beauty and grace who moves only from dream-maiden to “Great American Bitch,” without giving herself over to a chance at redemption, a chance which presents itself in the presence of Jay Gatsby. She is simply not willing to risk an adventurous life with the man from West Egg, a man whom Tom says is a “common swindler who’d have to steal the ring he put on her finger” (Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby 101), because the comfort that Tom provides is of greater significance in her life than the possibility of discovering the truth about herself.

Nicole Diver, the leading female character of Fitzgerald’s fourth novel, Tender is the Night, does not (like Daisy) choose to withdraw into her familiar life at the story’s close. Instead, she decides to allow herself to taste happiness, a move that makes her one of Fitzgerald’s preeminent women among those searching for self-actualization and freedom. But she does spend some time portraying the femme fatale in the mind of the book’s male protagonist, her husband, Dick Diver.

Fitzgerald, writing the book at a time when Zelda begins undergoing treatment for her mental condition (Le Vot 250), uses Tender is the Night as a backdrop for the themes of love, the pain associated with love, and psychological disorders. It is a complicated account of a "very unhappy marriage between a proud, successful man who expects his wife to be subservient to him and a beautiful, intelligent woman who gradually tires of the purposelessness of her existence" (Fryer 58).

At the end of the novel, Dick is a "defeated man...Romantic by nature, he anticipates a higher destiny; (but) the nature of the times diminishes this calling" (Lehan 147, 149). Dick, like Gatsby’s view of Daisy before him, initially envisions Nicole as his dream-maiden and feels great passion for her, as the following passage indicates, even when troubling undercurrents are beginning to cause their relations to strain:

"--So you love me?"

"Oh, I do!" It was Nicole—Rosemary hesitated in the door of the booth—then she heard Dick say: "I want you terribly—let’s go to the hotel now." Nicole gave a little gasping sigh..."I want you." (Fitzgerald, Tender is the Night 53)

But when his vision turns sour and she begins to embody characteristics associated with the fatal woman, i.e., finding her own life unattractive while simultaneously attracting the psychologically out of his own sense of self-serving altruism. He tries to return Nicole to the vision he once had of her by controlling her environment and by trying to transport her back to the earlier "Eden from which everyone is expelled by virtue of their growing and changing and the necessity to test their powers in the wider arena of the real world" (Elstein 70).

When Dick discovers that his approach fails, he simply fades away, a victim not so much of Nicole’s fatality but of his own self-guided intentions to hold onto the past. Ironically, Nicole’s fatality is, in all likelihood, a result of her husband’s incessant involvement in her life. Her own needs, like the needs of many of Fitzgerald’s women often
overwhelm her and cause her to act without awareness or concern for the consequences of her actions. But one must understand that she represents a skewed image of the fatal woman because she is a psychologically dysfunctional character. Even so, she is the source of a great deal of anguish to a jealous Dick who, upon realizing that he is not in love with Rosemary Hoyt, a young woman he has been pursuing, supposes

many men meant no more than that when they said they were in love—not a wild submergence of soul, a dipping of all colors into an obscuring dye, such as his love for Nicole had been. Certain thoughts about Nicole, that she should die, sink into mental darkness, love another man, made him physically sick. (Fitzgerald, Tender is the Night 217)

Fitzgerald uses Tender is the Night to show a female character who moves quickly from being a psychiatric patient to a dream-maiden to a femme fatale and, finally, to an increasingly freer woman. Rochelle Elstein writes that the book forces Fitzgerald, who for so long has been sustained by the vision of romantic fulfillment...to come to terms with his disillusionment before he can find within himself new sources of creativity and new ideas" (82).

Nicole's fatality stems primarily from her psychological disorders, but her dependence on her family and her husband for financial support also contributes to her confusing situation. Once again, the reader is asked to compare real life with fiction. In this case, it is the real-life psychological deterioration of Zelda compared with Nicole Diver's mental illness. Matthew Bruccoli notes that Zelda's illness "was the catalytic agent in his new approach to the novel...Zelda Fitzgerald's tragedy...provided the emotional focus" of Tender is the Night (Bruccoli 82).

But Fitzgerald is able to shape his fictional characters to conform to his own vision, which is something that he is not able to do with his wife. After seemingly exorcising her fatal qualities by leaving Dick, Nicole embraces the characteristics of the inchoate, independent, and self-actualized woman of the 1930s. While one can only speculate, it may be possible that Fitzgerald would have wished the same for his troubled wife, Zelda, but he may not have been aware of the radical change he was allowing Nicole Diver to undergo. That she gains new insights into herself is a definite mark in the evolution of F. Scott Fitzgerald's female characters.

Fitzgerald’s Emerging Independent Women

The general consensus among Fitzgerald's critics is that Nicole Diver is shamelessly responsible for Dick Diver’s undoing. Indeed, Charles E. Shain says that she is his "careless and rich" destroyer (40). But one of the latent and sublime aspects of Tender is the Night is Nicole's attempt to seek self-actualization by gaining an understanding of her "jurisdiction over her own body before, during, and after marriage" (Fryer 3) and by exhibiting qualities of self-worth and independence which are the fundamental concepts of self-actualization.

Tom C. Coleman writes that Tender is the Night is not only the narrative of the gradual deterioration of a brilliant but schizophrenic young doctor under the harmful cumulative impact of a marriage to a beautiful and extremely wealthy and neurotic young woman, it is also the story of Nicole Warren's long journey from insanity to sanity, from mental illness to mental health. (36)

Once again, the dominance of patriarchal influences of the early twentieth century cannot be overstated. To gain insight into the significance of these attitudes on Fitzgerald's fiction written during the 1920s and 1930s, one might find Sarah Beebe Fryer’s views on the subject of great interest. She says that Fitzgerald, perhaps inadvertently, "draws female characters who struggle with conflicts common to many twentieth-century women who are brought up to marry, not to work" (66). When discussing Tender is the Night, she writes that Nicole is an intelligent woman who understands the "second-class status" imposed on her by the society in which she lives, and that she genuinely deserves the label "poor little rich girl" because of her genuine craving for and denial of intellectual stimulation and meaningful activity (66).

Fitzgerald alludes to Nicole's being mired in the common attitudes of the day toward women when he writes that "Like most women she liked to be told how she should feel, and she liked Dick's telling her which things were ludicrous and which things were sad" (Fitzgerald, Tender is the Night 57). Ironically, Fitzgerald does this while creating a woman who is simultaneously ambitious, gifted, and beautiful—a trichotomy that allows for a reading of Nicole as a woman who seems to understand her sense of inadequacy and purposelessness while being, initially at least, oblivious to her subjugated role as Dick's wife. Dick is, after all, the man who basically saves Nicole from her mental duress.

In The Art of F. Scott Fitzgerald, author Sergio Perosa writes about the couple's relationship. In the
beginning, Dick is only interested in Nicole professionally (as her doctor), but he soon realizes that his emotions are involved as well...and his altruism drives him to marry her. He takes up the double task of being a husband and a doctor at the same time. Nicole's problem becomes his problem and her illness will be gradually transposed to him. (116)

Dick is essentially the only type of character that Fitzgerald could create who would allow for Nicole's remarkable development. Dick responds to her eventual new-found identity by simply fading away. After Nicole finally lets herself be free of his dominance, Fitzgerald writes of Dick's own liberated and somewhat drained emotions: "Wanting above all to be brave and kind, he had wanted, even more than that, to be loved. So it had been. So it would ever be..." (Fitzgerald, Tender is the Night 300). With statements like that one, Fitzgerald intends to make Dick a sympathetic character, and he succeeds. But a careful reading reveals that just because Dick has willful sacrifice, because he "gives more generously of himself than any man can afford to do" (Shain 40), Nicole's search for freedom should not become muted and assumed to be a vain attempt to single-handedly destroy the man who helps her the most. The confused sincerity of her struggle to find herself becomes evident when Fitzgerald reflects upon Dick's significance in her life:

...and though Nicole often paid lip service to the fact that he had led her back to the world she had forfeited, she had thought of him really as an inexhaustible energy, incapable of fatigue--she forgot the troubles she caused him at the moment when she forgot the troubles of her own that had prompted her. That he no longer controlled her--did he know that? She felt as sorry for him...as for the helplessness of infants and the old. (Fitzgerald, Tender is the Night 298)

Dick saves Nicole's universe, and by doing so, his balance becomes shaken and his resources become deprived. But his "spiritual vitality" is not entirely lost: "Its gradual draining restores Nicole's broken universe and fills her spiritual emptiness, and she draws from him the strength to act independently" (Persona 120). In all probability, Fitzgerald uses Dick's character to parallel how he feels about his role in his waning life with Zelda, who, by the time of the novel's publication in 1934, is a mental patient and will remain one the rest of her life. Andrew Turnbull writes that Tender is the Night is a novel that Fitzgerald draws "most painfully and carefully from his most costly experience" (249), an obvious reference to Scott's despondent life with Zelda during the time of his work on the book.

While Zelda's condition does not improve, Nicole's does. She draws strength from her husband and realizes that it is indeed possible for her to have control over her own destiny. It is her craving for intellectual stimulation that helps Nicole realize her need to become liberated, although it is not until late in the book that she becomes "self-confident and independent of Dick, and ready to abandon him...." (Peroza 120). But when she finally acts on her own impulses to seek freedom, she does so by turning to the comfort provided by another man, Tommy Barban.

By having Nicole find strength in another man, Fitzgerald reveals himself as an author who is still unwilling to give his female characters complete freedom. He allows Nicole to become transformed from a dream-maiden to a femme fatale and then finally into a seminal, actualized woman, but he does not permit her to do so without apparently crucifying Dick emotionally and without making her aware that she cannot survive alone, sans the strength provided by another man.

But many critics believe that her ability to break from Dick is a huge accomplishment for the once subservient Nicole and a literary triumph for the role of the new woman of the pre-World War II era. Fryer writes of Nicole's relationship with Tommy Barban, a rugged "Latin Barbarian":

Nicole's affair with Tommy is a reflection of her improving mental health, for she uses it to remove herself from the increasingly devastating relationship with Dick....(She) takes small but significant steps towards her own personal freedom in a world dominated by men. (69)

In Nicole Warren Diver, Fitzgerald presents a female character who, even in her often unstable mental state, is willing to sacrifice for new freedoms once thought unattainable by women of her generation. Fryer continues:

Nicole is a representative twentieth-century American woman, embodying conflicting ideals of femininity (submissiveness) and independence. Moreover, her understandable confusion is exacerbated by the direct victimization she suffers through intimate association with her father and her psychiatrist, who demonstrate the selfishness and cruelty the patriarchy is sometimes capable of inflicting on women. (70)
Interestingly, as Fitzgerald loses Zelda to mental illness, Dick Diver loses Nicole to herself, a reflection not only of the changing roles of women in the early 1930s, but also of Scott Fitzgerald's seemingly intuitive sense of the prospects of the "new woman's" role in American society, a society he often has to face alone, a victim of his own wife's mysterious search for the truth of her tormented soul.

Fitzgerald's last novel, the uncompleted *The Last Tycoon*, is acclaimed more for its commentary on one man's attempt to make positive changes in his world than for its exploration of the role of the new woman. But it is worth examining the novel to discover his final statement on the evolution of his major female characters.

Fitzgerald centers the novel around Monroe Stahr, a powerful Hollywood movie producer who lives and works in Hollywood because it is an empire that he has created, not because he wants to make money...All his energies are directed to raising the movie industry to an artistic level, and the passion and competence with which he works qualify him for the role of the leader...after him, the movie industry will decline. (Perosa 162)

In his foreword to the book, Edmund Wilson writes that *The Last Tycoon* is Fitzgerald's most "mature piece of work," and is marked off from his other novels by the fact that "it is the first to deal seriously with any profession or business" (iv). While it is more the story of Stahr's attempt to make worthwhile art than it is a love story, the role of Kathleen Moore, the story's leading female character, cannot be diminished.

During their first meeting together, Kathleen reminds Monroe of his dead wife, Minna, and he obviously cannot imagine that Kathleen is as real as she appears because he has assumed that his wife was the only dream-maiden that he would ever know:

"Kathleen, an Englishwoman, affects him in a way few other people ever have. As Perosa comments, "It is for her that Stahr does not work on Sundays for the first time, that he breaks the iron rules of his long working hours" (165). She is a beautiful woman, and Monroe seems to thrive off her beauty and experience. They share a common bond of believing in their individual purposes during their time together. It is this idea, that Kathleen actually has a purpose that is clear perhaps only to her and to no one else, that illustrates Fitzgerald's final conception of his female characters. Kathleen is a character who is allowed to make her own decisions, virtually independent from what others, especially men, think. Granted, she is still semi-dependent on men for financial support as is evidenced by the story of her past that she tells Monroe:

From sixteen to twenty-one the thing was to eat....Then she met 'The Man' and they traveled the world around....Then The Man went to seed, drinking and sleeping with the housemaids and trying to force her off on his friends...But she had met the American, and so finally she ran away. (112)

The American is the man to whom she is engaged, but it is an engagement that has become complicated by Monroe Stahr's presence in her life. But even though there are complications in her life, her mind is not constrained by the oppressive presence of male-dominated thought. She says as much when she warily responds to Monroe's insistence that she see him, "One reason I left England was that men always wanted their own way" (Fitzgerald, *The Last Tycoon* 75).

In his notes on *The Last Tycoon*, Fitzgerald writes that Kathleen "has a life--it was very seldom that he (Monroe) met anyone whose life did not depend in some way on him or hope to depend on him" (152). But Sarah Beebe Fryer does not believe that this is entirely the case. She says that although Kathleen "demonstrates her honesty and assertiveness in a variety of ways and does not depend on Stahr for her livelihood, she is not genuinely independent" because she often has to depend on men to help her out of her own self-imposed, dire situations, which are often the result of her sexually- liberated attitudes (101). Kathleen, like Daisy Buchanan and Nicole Warren Diver, has extreme difficulty in leaving dysfunctional relationships; they dare not contemplate the end of an association with one man, however cruel he may be, without a suitable replacement for him.... They consistently appear to long for autonomy while experiencing themselves as powerless without a male protector. (101-102)

In the novel's unfinished state, Monroe and Kathleen come together for only a short time, though they do have sexual relations. Kathleen eventually marries the American man who has helped her get out of "a possible mistake," a marriage apparently validating Fryer's claim that Kathleen is not completely independent; but she is more independent than any of Fitzgerald's previous female characters. Furthermore, in Fitzgerald's notes on the incomplete
novel, Kathleen and Monroe continue to see one another. Although their meetings are indiscreet and somehow "unsatisfactory," it is the fact that they even take place that illustrates Kathleen's essential independence.

One is naturally inclined to wonder how Fitzgerald is able to create a female character who is full of energy and strength and, most importantly, aware of the importance of her own self-worth. To find the source of his deftness, one needs to look no further than at his personal life in Hollywood.

Fitzgerald, living in and around Hollywood from 1937 until his death in 1940 from a heart attack, falls in love with Sheilah Graham, an Englishwoman thirteen years younger than himself (Le Vot 321). With Zelda hospitalized thousands of miles away and his daughter Frances Scott (Scottie) making preparations to attend college at Vassar, Scott allows himself to become a part of Sheilah's life, which in turn forces him to become more disciplined, especially with regard to his abusive drinking habits.

Sheilah is not a high-brow intellect, but she is eager to learn from Fitzgerald, who is more than delighted to have her as an interested student. Andrew Turnbull writes that Sheilah "wasn't an intellectual, her temp was quite different from that of the wits and writers he was used to consorting with, but he was tried and glad not to make an effort" (297). Like her fictional counterpart Kathleen, Sheilah has grown up in an orphanage, and like Kathleen, she has developed a sense of independence through her travails. When Scott discovers that she has lied to him about her upbringing, she worries that she will lose him, but he is touched and says only that he wishes he had known her in her early days so that he could have taken care of her (296-297).

Sheilah's role as a model for The Last Tycoon's Kathleen Moore is fairly obvious, but she is not the only person in Fitzgerald's life who indicates that he has gained a new understanding of the female's nascent place in American society during the late 1930s. While working, Scott is in close contact with Scottie, whom he wanted to teach the importance of establishing a strong foundation for the future. In one of his many letters to his daughter, he writes:

Every girl your age in America will have the experience of working for a living. To shut your eyes to that is like living in a dream—to say "I will do valuable and indispensable work" is the part of wisdom and courage.

(Turnbull, Letters, 51)

That he is keenly aware of the significance of both Scottie's and Sheilah's education demonstrates his ability to grasp the idiosyncratic changes the women of American society in the 1930s are going through. Sarah Beebe Fryer writes that his allusions to education in The Last Tycoon underscore the frustrations of women in his earlier novels, who longed for the sense of purpose that intellectual activity and professional achievement could provide but lacked the motivation, encouragement, and formal education to pursue them. Before Fitzgerald's lifetime, education was considered more or less superfluous for most American women, yet during the course of his career he came to see it as essential. (96)

Published in its unfinished form in 1941, The Last Tycoon has at its core two characters who care deeply about one another but who are unable to forsake their future dreams for their present passion. It is an admirable statement on Fitzgerald's behalf because it shows that he is willing to let both his female and male characters finally relate their emotions regarding their own needs to one another in a mature way. In this respect, The Last Tycoon offers Fitzgerald's most compelling perspective on the nature of the inchoate, self-actualized woman of the 1930s. It is a work that allows the female to grow by herself, independent of a man's assistance, except perhaps financially. Kathleen is a woman who wants to cultivate her own sense of dignity, and Fitzgerald lets her do that, a literary move that establishes him as one of the pre-eminent observers of the female's role in American society during the 1920s and 1930s.

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Unwelcome Intrusions: Incest, Repression, and the False Memory Controversy
Victoria Gottfried

Introduction
Incest, one of the oldest taboos human society, is a subject that most of us would prefer not to think about. Unfortunately, incest is a subject which has been ignored, denied, and even tacitly sanctioned. In this century, many clinicians, taking their cues from Freud and Kinsey, have denied the prevalence of incest in American society. When forced to acknowledge occurrences of incest, they have discounted its harmful effects on the child-victims. A common practice has been to blame the children and the mothers—accusing the children of seduction and the mothers of collusion (Kinsey, 1953; Russell, 1986). Because of this pervasive attitude few victims have dared to tell their secrets and receive the help they desperately need and deserve.

It is becoming more and more evident that incest is not rare. The prevalence rate of incest is very difficult to measure. Estimates vary widely, due to the under reporting of incest, the repression of memories by some victims, and flawed design of most studies. The first study of incest victims to use a truly representative sample was conducted by sociologist, Diana Russell. Her eight-year study, in which 930 female subjects from the San Francisco area were interviewed individually, received funding from the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. Of the women in this study, 16% reported having been the victims of incest before age 18, 4.5% by their own fathers. For about 40% of these women there was only one incident of sexual abuse (Russell, 1986, p. 10). These figures are so staggering that one might be tempted to suggest that they cannot accurately reflect the prevalence rates in other areas across the country; however, incest occurs in all socio-economic classes, involves all races and ethnicities, and takes place in small towns as well as large cities. The perpetrators are often very religious and conservative men who would never consider committing adultery or visiting a prostitute. Moreover, incest is committed by men of all ages, and rarely by women. The men may be large or small, powerful or physically unimpressive, violent or gentle (Kosof, p. 44, 1985). Thus, Russell’s findings may provide a barometer of the prevalence of incest across the country.

Alfred Kinsey, et al., (1953) and many others have argued that incest usually causes no physical harm, and that any emotional harm is due only to social conditioning, not to the actual incestuous experience itself. In taking this stand they ignore the destructive effects of the imbalance of power that exists in nearly all incestuous relationships. An ever-growing body of evidence now shows that incest is indeed harmful to the victim, who will bear the scars of the encounters for the remainder of her life (Russell, 1986). (While occasional cases of sibling abuse do occur, most incestuous relationships involve a male adult perpetrator and a female child victim; these cases are the focus of this paper.)

The Effects of Incest
In her groundbreaking book, The Secret Trauma, Russell (1986) describes incest as a "cycle of betrayal, secrecy, unaccountability, repetition, and damaged lives" (p. 16). To be more specific, "incestuous abuse includes any kind of exploitive sexual contact or attempted sexual contact that occurred between relatives, no matter how distant the relationship, before the victim turned eighteen years old" (p. 59). According to Judith Herman, M.D. (1993), the overwhelming evidence tells us that any sexual contact involving an adult causes considerable trauma and will result in long-term negative consequences for the child, especially when the perpetrator is a relative whom the child trusts or depends upon for basic care. The specific effects may vary somewhat from one victim to another. In one self-report study involving 138 incest survivors, women specified the following long term effects (categories are not mutually exclusive):

- Increased negative feelings, attitudes, or beliefs about men in general: 38%;
- Increased negative feelings, attitudes, or beliefs about the perpetrator of the incestuous abuse: 20%;
- Increased negative feelings, attitudes, or beliefs about herself, for example, a lowered sense of self-worth, self-blame, self-hatred, shame guilt, negative feelings about her body: 20%;
- Increased negative feelings in general such as fear, anxiety, depression, mistrust: 17%;
- Negative impact on the victim’s sexual feelings in general or on her perception of her sexuality: 14%;
- Increased upset or worry about the safety of others: 12%;
- Negative impact on relationships with others besides the perpetrator: 12%;
- Changed behavior associated with the assault, for example,
stopped showing physical affection, avoided being alone with certain relatives: 11% (Russell, 1986, p. 139-140).

According to Russell, incest causes "intense suffering" (p. 11), often "destructive long-term effects" (p. 11), and is a significant factor in many cases of drug abuse, prostitution, suicide, mental illness, self-mutilation, and alcoholism. In addition, many incest victims run away from home only to face more abuse. When these girls have children of their own, they are not likely to be able to protect their own daughters from incest (Russell, 1986). Many victims reported generalized anger and the desire for revenge. In her book, Dancing With Daddy, Betsy Petersen (1991), who for a number of years was sexually abused by her father, reveals that incest causes alienation from God, others and oneself. It results in a lifelong struggle with defenses developed in childhood to protect the self; these defenses persist throughout their adult lives. Asserting that any incestuous experience harms the victim, Judith Herman states (1993), "the actual encounter may be brutal or tender, painful or pleasurable; but it is always, inevitably destructive to the child" (p. 47).

The Incestuous Family

Petersen points out that the concept of viciousness in "Machiavelli's manual on 'how to be a fine liar and hypocrite,'" aptly describes her father, a respected surgeon. Machiavelli's advice is as follows, "appear, when seen and heard, to be all compassion, all faithfulness, all integrity, all kindness" (p. 135). Her father was all these to his patients and colleagues by day. But by night he drank, quarreled with his wife, and molested his own daughter. This is a fitting description of most perpetrators of incest. They are often respected, even admired in the community, and likely to be very involved in a church and other civic organizations. Because of this, any suspicions outsiders may have about problems within the family are apt to be dismissed. The incestuous father considers himself lord of his castle and entitled to all of the commensurate privileges, including the right to be loved, to be served, and to have his sexual needs met. He considers it within his rights to use his daughter for these purposes if his wife is, for some reason, unavailable (Kleiman, 1988). He is authoritarian in a militaristic sense, controlling the family and household by a variety of means, including social isolation (Herman & Hirschman, 1993), intimidation, and violence (Kosof, 1985). He is very restrictive of his wife and daughter, limiting where they go and what they do, sometimes keeping them virtual prisoners in their own homes (Herman & Hirschman, 1993). If the father is a heavy drinker, as over 50% are, this adds to the level of violence and unpredictability of his behavior (Kosof, 1985).

Typically, the wife of this man is in many ways his perfect counterpart—dependent, submissive, and passive. Often a survivor of incest herself, she may be detached, uncommunicative, and unavailable to her husband. She usually is not employed outside the home, and may be very involved in church activities. One study found that at least half of these women were not able to fulfill their duties as homemakers due to disabling illnesses—the most common being depression, alcoholism, and psychosis. Many had frequent hospitalizations or were home-bound invalids. In addition, maternal absences of extended periods of time occurred for over one-third of those in the study. In most cases, whether or not the mother is aware of the incestuous relationship between her husband and daughter, she is a model of powerlessness for her daughter (Herman & Hirschman, 1993).

The daughter, more often than not, is alienated from her mother and sees her as weak and devoid of any ability to nurture and protect her. Placed in the role of surrogate wife by her father, the daughter is likely to feel responsible for keeping the family together by complying with the father's demands. The incest usually begins before the daughter reaches puberty, at around age 10, although in many cases it begins much earlier, in infancy or in the preschool years. In most cases fondling and petting initiate the young girl into a "special" relationship with her father, which will not involve intercourse until she reaches puberty. At this stage the child usually feels confused and ambivalent about the new kind of affection she receives from her father. Peterson recalls sitting on her father's lap as a young girl with him stroking her clitoris with his hand. Of the effect this had on her, she states, "... I can feel the intense pleasure of his touch, and the terror that goes with it" (p. 76). The father may favor her with gifts, privileges, and less violent treatment than he metes out to other family members. When she reaches puberty, her father may become possessive and jealous of boys in whom she takes an interest, denying her the freedom to do things that normal teenagers do, accompanying her to many activities, rarely letting her out of his sight (Kosof, 1985).
other cases, the father may be more crude and brutal with his young daughter, forcing her to perform oral sex until she is physically mature enough to have intercourse with him (Terr, 1976).

Having but a brief glimpse at the perversion that we call incest, it is not surprising that as a society we have been all too willing to follow the lead of Freud, dismissing women's accounts of childhood sexual abuse as fabrications of the unconscious. Fortunately, the tide is turning as the subject of incest has been brought to our attention more and more in recent years. Florence Rush (1974, 1977, 1980) began writing about incest in the 1970's, bringing the issue out of the closet and to the attention of the American public. Since then others have contributed to the growing body of knowledge about incest, among them, Sandra Butler (1978) with Conspiracy of Silence and Louise Armstrong (1978) with Kiss Daddy Goodnight. Perhaps the most startling marker of the changing attitudes about incest is the fact that victims have prosecuted their abusers—and won—in some cases after years or decades have elapsed since the abuse occurred. Some states, including Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, and Virginia, have changed their statutes of limitations to allow prosecution of abusers in cases where women, after years of amnesia for those events, have remembered the abuse they suffered as children (Loftus, 1993).

The Repressed Memory Controversy

These developments have stirred a heated controversy over the validity of recovered memories. A mutual suspicion and antagonism exist between the skeptics of delayed recovery of traumatic memories, and those who are involved in helping adult survivors of incest or child sexual abuse. In their zeal, those on both sides exaggerate the sins or misdeeds of the other.

On one extreme are therapists and other mental health professionals who are quick to assume that the cause of a woman's depression and anxiety must be early sexual abuse, and to encourage, or even coerce her to recover memories of such events. On the other extreme are those who discount and disbelieve anything which cannot be substantiated in a court of law, especially memories recovered after years of amnesia (Wylie, 1993a). A major aim of this paper is to discover why these two groups are so polarized and to describe the working of memory as it applies to this pressing issue.

In this age of support groups, one of the newest is the False Memory Syndrome Foundation (FMSF). Formed in March of 1992 by parents who say they were falsely accused of sexually abusing their children, the group seeks to provide a source of support, information, advocacy, and public consciousness-raising about the problem of false memories and allegations related to childhood sexual abuse. Their stated goals are to protect both children and parents from unethical psychotherapeutic practices and influences, to inhibit the continuation of perceived social hysteria over child sexual abuse, and to support ethical and accurate ways of determining whether allegations of abuse are true or false. Some 600 parents, the majority in their fifties and sixties, who were in attendance at a FMSF conference believe that a "witch-hunt" is afoot. This opprobrious turning of children against their parents, they contend, is being propagated by "a conglomerate of New Age healers, self-help movement promoters, political activists, radical feminists, social service providers, and mental health professionals" (Wylie, 1993a, p. 22). Those of the FMSF do acknowledge the reality of child abuse. They maintain, however, that with the encouragement of certain therapists and authors, and what they call "the child abuse industry" (Wylie, 1993a, p. 22), their children avoid taking responsibility for their own lives and are using their own parents as scapegoats. Among the speakers at the FMSF conference were women who had been manipulated into conjuring up false memories of incest by therapists using "hypnotism, 'truth serum' (sodium amytal), and group pressure" (Wylie, 1993a, p. 24). In response to suspicions that many of those in the ranks of the FMSF may in fact be guilty of abusing their children, editors of a FMSF newsletter defended themselves by asserting, "we are a good looking bunch of people, graying hair, well-dressed, healthy, smiling . . . Just about every person who has attended is someone you would likely find interesting and want to count as a friend" (Wylie, 1993a, p. 23).

A logical question then is, why are these lovely people being accused of such horrors by their own offspring? What is it about these children that would make them so vulnerable to suggestions that their parents are not who they seem to be, and so malleable that they would come under the influence of unethical therapists who guide them to turn on their parents in one of the worst ways imaginable? Several theories have been offered to explain this conundrum: One theory is that having been "good children", when they enter therapy they seek to please the therapist by being "good clients." In therapy, this translates to
being open and agreeable to suggestions, and uncovering the most and best memories of abuse. Richard Gardner, (as cited in Wylie, 1993a) an ally of the FMSF who teaches child psychiatry at Columbia University, theorizes that clients and therapists alike are angry and paranoid, the therapists being incompetent fanatics. He charges that women are targeting men for the venting of their hostility. These therapists were themselves abused and seek vengeance against all men, using female clients as their unwitting pawns. On the other side of the argument, George Ganaway (1993), psychiatry professor at Emory University and specialist in dissociative disorders, believes that those women who are false accusers never emotionally separated from their parents. Ambivalent, longing to break away but too fearful and guilt-ridden to do so, these women blame their parents for keeping them bound so closely. As strong transference with the therapist develops, these women become dependent on their therapists as they once were on their parents. The accusations of abuse allow the women to sever childhood ties with parents without feeling guilty. Obviously, this theory is both comforting and appealing to parents who find themselves the targets of such horrendous allegations (Wylie, 1993a).

While theories abound which may explain the many cases of false accusations, there is a grave danger that those who have indeed been abused and violated by their parents, who reach out for help, healing, and possibly the execution of justice for their abusers, will be disbelieved and scorned as misled and mistaken. In the words of Elizabeth Loftus (1993), a leading authority on cognitive processes and memory, "the fact that false memories can be planted tells nothing about whether a given memory of child sexual abuse is false or not; nor does it tell how one might distinguish the real cases from the false" (p. 533). She suggests that many so-called "false memories . . . could be due to fantasy, illusion, or hallucination-mediated screen memories, internally derived as a defense mechanism." Memories involving what has come to be called Satanic ritual abuse "combine a mixture of borrowed ideas, characters, myths, and accounts from exogenous sources with idiosyncratic beliefs" (Loftus, p. 524). According to Loftus, these ideas become fused with factual memories, creating a blend of fact and fantasy. The suggestibility of memory has been confirmed by a large body of research. In one study subjects recognized a significant number of items from a list of memorable events each had recorded 2 1/2 years previously; however, they also mistakenly identified as their own a large number of statements that were similar to ones they had written (Loftus & Ketcham, 1991). In addition, when similar events are experienced repeatedly the memories for those events may blend over time to form a generic or representative memory for those experiences. In some instances these memories are quite vivid, but often they are vague, possessing a dreamlike quality.

In assessing the current furor over memories of alleged abuse, Loftus (1993) identified several influential factors. Popular literature of the self-help and so-called pop-psychology variety are, in the opinion of Loftus and many others, largely responsible for the false memory phenomenon. One such book, The Courage To Heal (Bass & Davis, 1988), a 495-page self-help book for incest victims, strongly suggests a connection between incest and such symptoms as "low self-esteem, suicidal or self-destructive thoughts, depression, and sexual dysfunction" (Loftus, 1993, p. 525), even in the absence of memories of any kind of abuse. Indeed, many women who have accused their parents of child sexual abuse enter therapy for problems such as anxiety, depression, eating disorders, marital problems and/or sexual dysfunction. On the other hand, Loftus admits, these suggestive statements constitute only a tiny fraction of the lengthy The Courage To Heal. Furthermore, the book is endorsed by many well-respected authorities on incest and its after-effects. Perhaps the problem does not lie on the pages of the book itself, but rather in the tendency of troubled people to hastily latch on to the idea that abuse must have occurred in their childhood; grasping this quick diagnosis may seem easier to them than going through the often slow and arduous journey of discovering the true origins of their emotional unease. Unfortunately, many therapists aid and abet their clients in this impulsive endeavor. Loftus identifies these therapists as additional significant, contributing factors in many cases of false memories and allegations. One particularly irresponsible practice of some therapists is that of suggesting very early in therapy, sometimes during the first interview, that the client was almost certainly abused. In addition, some therapists urge their clients to join support groups for incest survivors before actually remembering any experiences of abuse. In the climate which a support group provides, a participant might feel pressure to come up with memories of abuse in order to feel more a part of the group. There can be little doubt that, for a suggestible client, exposure to others' stories of abuse would provide ample suggestions of images that might contaminate dreams. Those dreams might then be perceived by the dreamer and perhaps her therapist as representations of real events. Loftus
asserts that when dreams are interpreted by the therapist as literal depictions of actual events, the dream contents are transformed in the mind and become memories. Studies on suggestibility have demonstrated that under the right conditions, using the power of suggestion, people can be made to believe events occurred which in fact never occurred (Loftus and Ketcham, 1991). Furthermore, the subjects in these studies, both children and adults, embellished these confabulated "memories" with details that were never suggested to them. For an emotionally troubled individual, these confabulated memories may serve as a focus for vague but debilitating pain and confusion, the cause of which is unclear, but probably involves some less clear-cut family dysfunction. The material for the false memories may come not only from support groups, but also from accounts of abuse which the client encounters in the media--either in literature, movies, TV dramas, or TV talk shows. Considering all that is known, as well as unknown, about memory and suggestibility, we can safely conclude that neither the truth nor the client is served when "therapists unquestioningly accept even the vaguest allegations of abuse, based on the most ephemeral dreams, impressionistic flashbacks, or suddenly revived but indistinct memories that have presumably been completely repressed for 20 or 30 years" (Yapko, 1993, p. 33). It is also important to bear in mind that those who falsely accuse based on recovered memories, however inaccurate, are not deliberately lying; in fact, their assertions are made with an intensity of "terror, rage, guilt, depression" (Loftus, p. 525), and overall psychopathology that fits the scenario of abuse. Loftus, asserting that no one can differentiate between real and false memories without external verification, rightly points out that "there is one last tragic risk of suggestive probing and uncritical acceptance of all allegations made by clients, no matter how dubious. . . . that society in general will disbelieve the genuine cases of childhood sexual abuse that truly deserve our sustained attention" (Loftus, p. 534).

In order to understand the dynamics of repression and dissociation and recognize more readily the many survivors of childhood sexual abuse and other traumas, we must explore the somewhat murky waters of repressed memory and dissociation, tools which the mind employs when reality is too horrific to incorporate into consciousness. For ethical reasons, the effects of trauma on memory cannot be conducted in a laboratory setting. However, much has been learned about these phenomena in recent years through clinical observations as well as field studies of trauma victims. According to Loftus (1993), the evidence for the reality of repression is found in the overwhelming numbers of people who have experienced the phenomenon. Their therapists bear witness to the authenticity of their experiences. Many therapists who have treated survivors of severe childhood abuse, having little or no preparation for what they encountered, initially disbelieved the horrific tales their clients relayed to them in therapy. Furthermore, they, not unlike Freud, mistook their clients' symptoms, primarily amnesia and dissociation, for more traditional diagnoses such as borderline personality, schizophrenia, hysteria, and bipolar disorder. Eventually, many of these therapists encountered cases which shocked them into awareness of what was really happening with their clients. Not wanting to accept the painful realizations to which they were coming, many survivors feel much like Petersen (1991) who revealed, "it was easier, more comfortable to believe that I was making it up, easier to say to myself that I was crazy. . . . Over and over, I made a case for the incest having happened, and then a case against it. I wanted to believe it: I wanted not to be crazy. But I wanted not to believe it, not to believe that my father would do that to me. . . . [But] wanted or not, memories came" (p. 74). For survivors like Petersen the uncertainty and ambiguity of the facts about the abuse they endured is frustrating, to say the least, as Petersen poignantly expresses in this passage from her book, Dancing With Daddy.

I will never know how often he did it. I tried to figure it out: They got drunk and quarreled almost every week at least once, sometimes two or three times. Did he do it to me every time that happened? I don't know. If he started when I was three, if he stopped when I was eighteen, that's fifteen years. Did it happen once a month? Twice a week? I don't know. It could have been a hundred times. It could have been a thousand. (p. 79)

Many therapists have observed that survivors tend to discount the severity of the abuse they experienced as well as the lasting impact it has had on their lives. This tendency is probably a function of the victim's sense of shame--the belief that she was in some way responsible for what was done to her. Consequently, victims of incest expect to be viewed with contempt. By assuming the blame, they gain a sense of control and attempt to make some sense of what they have experienced. Wylie (1993a) suggests that the greatest evidence for the reality of the abuses some clients claim to have endured, is the unspeakable agony they exhibit when relaying their experiences. Despite the
fact that there may be no corroboration of forensic evidence to prove the authenticity of a memory, witnessing the anguish and torment of a woman re-experiencing a previously dissociated memory of abuse is enough to make it irrefutable to even the most hardened skeptics. The paradox of this whole convoluted mess is this: those survivors and other troubled clients with problems of unknown origins "who don't have memories are desperate to get them until they do get them, and then they don't want them anymore" (Wylie, 1993a, p. 27). For the survivor who has protected herself from the pain of abuse through repression or dissociation, memories may surface in the forms of dreams, flashbacks, reenactments, or body memories, which ultimately develop into vivid visual images of what she suffered as a child. However mysterious or even dubious they may seem, the fact is, for the survivor of childhood sexual abuse these unwelcome intrusions force her to confront the painful memories of her past: memories of the unwelcome intrusions she endured so many years before. For these most unfortunate of souls, remembering evokes pain and terror which may become bearable only after months of therapy. One such victim who endured "extreme, extended, sadistic ritual abuse" from the age of three, speaks of her pain, saying "agony is too pale a word for it. It leaves a hole in your being that is unfillable. No therapist, nobody, could implant that" (Wylie, 1993a, p. 28).

Research into the functioning of memory has revealed several points which are relevant to this issue. A certain amount of forgetting of various events is normal, and does not necessarily indicate that repression is operating. Moreover, repression occurs most often to victims whose abuse "began in early childhood and ended before adolescence" (Loftus, 1993, p. 521). At times, memories of earlier experiences seep out, manifesting themselves in present behavior, without the exertion of any conscious effort. Or, memories of long-forgotten events may only occur in the presence of contextual cues. For example, when an adult returns to a place which was significant to her as a child, being back in that place evokes memories which may at first register in terms of strong sensations and feelings. The more time is spent there, the more memories emerge and increase in clarity. This effect can be duplicated in the therapist's office using mental imagery to provide contextual cues. According to one study of victims in therapy, repression is most likely to occur in victims who had experienced violent abuse, who fear that disclosure would put their lives in danger, or who were victims of multiple perpetrators. Also, repression was most likely to be operating if the abuse began when the victim was very young, occurred over a long period of time, or the victim exhibited severe problems (Loftus, 1993). Repression, a foundational concept in psychoanalytic theory, occurs when "something happens that is so shocking [or painful] that the mind grabs hold of the memory and pushes it underground, into some inaccessible corner of the unconscious. There it sleeps for years, or even decades, or even forever—isolated from the rest of mental life. Then, one day, it may rise up and emerge into consciousness" (Loftus, p. 518). Countless cases exemplifying this model have been seen by therapists. Clients seeking therapy for problems such as low self-esteem, insomnia, depression, sleep disturbances, sexual dysfunction, etc. often recover repressed memories in the course of therapy. In spite of all this, many psychologists continue to reject the notion of repression of traumatic memories because of the lack of "scientific" evidence (Loftus, p. 519).

Perhaps a greater understanding of the nature of trauma and how children cope with it will convince such hardened skeptics. A major contributor to our understanding of childhood trauma and its effects is Lenore Terr, M.D., Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at the University of California, in San Francisco. Her research on childhood trauma, for which she won the Blanche Ittleson Award, is described in her book, Too Scared To Cry, (1990). The backbone of this book is her 5-year study of the children of Chowchilla, California, who were kidnapped from their school bus on July 15, 1976, driven in darkened vans for eleven hours, and then imprisoned in a rectangular metal truck which was buried underground. Among other important findings, her study revealed that young children, "at the moment of terror...tend to go on behaving almost as usual, even as their psychological underpinnings are being torn asunder. When TV cameras catch children as they are being rescued from some disaster, they display on their faces 'a grave seriousness.' There are rarely tears, but instead "an immobility of expression—a failure to move the mouth, a lack of animation in the eyes" (Terr, p. 34). Their expressions are dazed rather than hysterical. Furthermore, fears that enter a child's life through external events, as opposed to fears which are internally activated as a part of normal childhood development, raise different issues for the child. Feeling overwhelmed during a traumatic event, the child will usually perceive no options, and therefore, will experience "utter hopelessness" (p. 35). Because of this, added to the fear that something even more fearful may occur, victims may not attempt escape,
even when the opportunity arises. In the case of the Chowchilla kidnapping, for example, the children were most frightened at the points of transfer: from the bus to the vans and from the vans into "the hole". Surprisingly, the children who had been kidnapped reported being just as frightened when being rescued by the police as they were during the actual kidnapping. Terr believes that fear of the unknown, fear of something more terrible or frightening happening, was the reason for the children's unexpected reaction to their rescue. This fear accounts for the fact that when children are being sexually abused they rarely tell others.

In addition to her insights into the immediate effects of trauma on children, Terr's work provides us with a wealth of knowledge about the long-term effects of trauma and insights into the abused child's coping mechanisms. She maintains that very young children, when traumatized, often experience "a lingering sense of terror" (1993, p. 37) for which they have no words. A traumatic incident will often affect the child's entire life, may create a theme which dominates her actions and her creative efforts. In addition, children often feel responsible for bad things that happen to them, believing that they caused these events by either something they did or by something they failed to do. Terr's interpretation of this near universal tendency is that the pain and discomfort that self-blame causes the victim is less aversive than the idea that they were victims of random events over which they had no control. Perhaps for the child there is some comfort or defense against anxiety in the illusion that, while obviously being controlled by another, she is in some way in control of her fate. According to Terr, blame, either of oneself or of another, is a common defense against the randomness of many of life's tragedies.

Through her extensive work with victims of childhood abuse, Terr (1993) has concluded that when a child experiences repeated abuse, denial comes into play as a defense mechanism. Not wanting to feel her painful emotions, the child will develop the skill of "numbing out" (p. 79), or dissociating her mind from her bodily sensations. Cheryl Pierson recounted that she would put a pillow over her face whenever her father had intercourse with her (Kleiman, 1988). This facilitated her numbing mechanism by blocking her sense receptors of sight, smell, and hearing. Terr adds that when horrific events become predictable, psychic numbing will occur. This phenomenon can be clearly seen in cases of survivors of the Holocaust, the horrors of war, and the violence which regularly occurs in many inner-city ghettos. For a sexually abused child, as the horrors she must endure become predictable, psychic numbing becomes incorporated into her personality; thus, others may find her polite, yet distant or remote. Such children simply numb-out whenever emotional pain is imminent. Eventually this results in an inability to feel anything—a complete lack of affect characterized by a blank expression and a vacant look in the eyes. Cheryl Pierson is a good example of this; as Dr. Oltzinger, her psychiatrist, put it, "there was a chilling coldness to how Cheryl spoke as she recounted in detail [the abuse her father inflicted upon her] and why she had been driven to take her father's life" (Kleiman, p.98). Her psychiatrist continued, "she was detached from any kinds of feelings, from any kind of remorse . . . " "this becomes a defensive style, a way of life. That whenever there is stress, what you do is just detach" (p. 98).

The frequent and prolonged use of dissociation may develop into total dissociation. Very young children who suffer extremely sadistic, repeated abuse sometimes become so adept at using dissociation during the abusive episodes that they develop a rare condition called multiple personality disorder or MPD. The cost of this extensive dissociation for the person is enormous, both socially and emotionally, resulting in episodes of amnesia and lost hours or days. The child who copes in this way develops separate and distinct personalities within herself. Like a small community within, these "alter" personalities serve as protectors of the victim. In the course of her research, Terr discovered a difference in the defense mechanisms children used in single traumatic events and those employed to cope with long-standing abuse. While events that occur suddenly and without warning completely overcome the defenses available to young children, events which occur repeatedly become predictable and anticipated. "Denial, splitting, self-anesthesia and dissociation" (Terr, 1976, p. 183) come into play in these cases at a high price to the child, for these defenses prevent the normal formation, storage, and retrieval of memories.

This phenomenon provides a plausible explanation and valuable insight into many of the puzzling issues which are at the very heart of the false memory quandary. It also sheds light on the often perplexing denial and bizarre forms of "remembering" which victims experience in the aftermath of abuse. Suppressing thoughts of painful or embarrassing events is something we all do at times. Victimized children, because of feelings of intense shame and not wanting their shame exposed, may verbally deny that anything bad happened to them, often adding to the difficulty of prosecuting.
their offenders. Dr. Oitzinger, testifying in the hearing for Cheryl Pierson, put it this way:

In many ways these children die inside, and what you have left is a shell. In order to survive they literally split themselves into different people. When they feel helpless and hopeless, they stuff those feelings down. They develop an inner emptiness and an outer self that presents itself to the public as if nothing is wrong. (Kleiman, 1988, p. 251)

Studies of "the chronic effects of severe trauma on human psychobiology" reveal that "profound terror, grief, isolation and pain do indeed have a tremendous impact on long-term emotional, cognitive and even physiological functioning" (Wylie, 1993b, p. 43). According to Bessel Van Der Kolk (1993a), a research psychiatrist at Harvard Medical School and chief of the trauma unit of Massachusetts General Hospital, the neurobiology that serves to integrate cognitive memory and emotional arousal may become permanently altered by repeated childhood experiences of severe abuse or trauma. Continual exposure to trauma in childhood drastically and permanently alters the functioning of the limbic system which filters and integrates emotion, sensation, perception, and memory. Wylie maintains that continual, negative stimulation so overwhelms the brain, that it cannot process the information adequately. This results in the severing of memory and emotion. According to Wylie, this partly explains why some victims experience flashbacks and body memories without corresponding conscious memories. Van Der Kolk maintains that trauma-related sensations are recalled either as sensations within the body or visual images. When the person becomes emotionally aroused, the old traumas are relived in flashbacks, nightmares, and visual images, rather than being recollected in the normal way. Even when abuse is consciously recalled, the worst aspects of it are often dissociated; this is a defense against the shame and self-hatred associated with the trauma.

For adult survivors, Terr says, denial of trauma will trigger flashbacks, resulting in extreme irritability, insomnia, and difficulty concentrating, all of which interfere with ability to work and carry out normal day-to-day responsibilities. Memories of psychic trauma may also be manifest in "four kinds of repeated dreams: exact repetitions, modified repetitions, deeply disguised dreams, and terror dreams that cannot be remembered upon awakening" (Terr, 1976, p.20). Apparently, long-term abuse fosters nonverbal qualities in children, which in turn lead to unremembered terror dreams, common occurrences for children who have suffered abuse.

When dreams or nightmares are repeated over and over, or contain a repetitive theme, they indicate the existence of similar, real external events. In the words of Selma Fraiberg, "trauma demands repetition" (Terr, 1976, p. 209).

Top researchers in the area of trauma and its long-term effects, under the leadership of Van Der Kolk, now believe that many psychopathologies formerly thought to have endogenous origins, such as phobias, depression, anxiety disorder, eating disorders, borderline personality, anti-social personality, and multiple personality disorder, are actually the result of childhood sexual trauma. In their five-year study of 528 trauma patients which was conducted to define a new diagnostic category for the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, (DSM-IV), these researchers found that all of the patients who had high scores on the standard test for dissociative disorders reported having been victims of childhood sexual abuse. Of those with low dissociation scores, only seven percent reported sexual abuse in their childhood years. Moreover, of the high scorers, nearly all met the diagnostic criteria for depression and every one met the current diagnostic criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder (Van Der Kolk, Roth, Telcovitz, & Mandel, 1993b).

Unfortunately, the findings of Van Der Kolk and his colleagues proved too radical a challenge to traditional psychiatric thinking for the guardians of the DSM, who dismissed the findings of the researchers as a mere accident and refused to give them so much as a footnote in the newly-revised DSM, in spite of the enormity and integrity of their study. Foremost in Van Der Kolk, et al.'s findings was a typical symptomatology in the patients that nearly always appeared conjoinly and correlated highly with childhood sexual victimization that was both protracted and severe. The aforementioned patients had difficulty regulating emotions such as rage and terror, and experienced intense suicidal feelings. Many also had somatic disorders--physical ailments with no apparent physical cause. Their self-concepts were extremely negative; they felt shameful, guilty, helpless, self-blaming, isolated, hopeless, and desperate. They had poor relationships with family and friends, and often experienced dissociation and amnesia. Once thought to be a rare occurrence, the ever-increasing rate of childhood traumatization is forcing the psychiatric profession, and society in general to take notice. Given this increasing awareness, it is imperative that the psychiatric establishment not shrink from the challenge put before them by Van Der Kolk, et al., and other trauma researchers. If deception is
permitted to vanquish the truth, if society replaces the loathsome truth of incest with a more palatable lie, victims of childhood sexual abuse will become victims once again; and society, colluders in the reprehensible betrayal of millions of wounded human beings (Wylie, 1993a).

Calof (1993) believes that several common misconceptions regarding the nature of trauma and its effects on personality and memory are fueling the current fray over the so-called false memory phenomenon. One such misconception is that any experience as horrible as repeated rape and other forms of child abuse couldn't possibly be forgotten. Also, therapists assume that the cues for their patients lie in recovering their traumatic memories. Unfortunately, there is no way to restore memory without the risk of tainting it, and no litmus test or brain scan can determine the accuracy of memories. The best that we can do at this point is to educate the public about these things, educate people concerning how to find competent therapists who will not force diagnoses of childhood victimization upon them, and train therapists in effective methods of treating survivors of childhood sexual abuse. Moreover, therapists who do not adhere to recommended practices should be held accountable. Therapists are faced daily with the ambiguity and possible distortions in what their clients say to them. The focus of their work cannot be examined under a microscope or simply processed through a computer program. A significant aspect of the therapist's craft involves helping the client move toward healing and wholeness in the midst of the ambiguities of memory and perception.

Guidelines For Therapists

Calof (1993), as an excellent model of an effective therapist, offers several guidelines for working with clients, regardless of whether or not their difficulties stem from childhood sexual abuse. In his opinion, remembering the abuse exactly as it happened is not essential to recovery. However, many abuse victims do need to learn to be aware of their inner selves in order to prevent their further victimization. Piecing together their childhood experiences can facilitate this while providing an effective and important object lesson in learning to foresee dangers and risks of further abuse. Furthermore, while some therapists pressure their clients to believe that childhood sexual abuse is the root of their problems, Calof asserts that the best therapy involves mirroring back to the client what the client presents to the therapist, however obscure it may seem. Rather than interpreting for the client what she is remembering, dreaming, drawing, or writing, Calof strives to facilitate the client's self-exploration. He refuses to rule on the reality of memory content; instead, he allows the client to reach those conclusions on her own. While this may be a slow and painful process, it ultimately will result in better resolution for the client. Calof also refutes the common misconception that the therapist should get external verification of the client's alleged abuse before believing the client's reports. He asserts that, "I am a therapist, not a detective" (p.44). In addition, he emphasizes the confidentiality, privacy and safety of the therapeutic relationship, insisting that it must always be a sanctuary where the client can explore her life's issues. He adds, "I work in the aftermath of shattering experiences. I am less interested in the pinpoint accuracy of every detail of clients' memories than I am in the chronic, debilitating aftereffects" (Calof, p. 44). Moreover, Calof has no interest in piecing together evidence for a legal case. In fact, he discourages his clients from suing their parents, maintaining that the process of litigation is not worth the [emotional] cost to the client, even if the suit is won. Finally, many lay people, especially those of the FMSF, charge therapists with being unaware that a client's memories may be influenced or changed during hypnosis. He asserts that therapists are indeed aware of this fact. In his words, "a patient may lose the right to testify as a witness if his or her memories have been hypnotically refreshed" (p. 45). He does not use hypnosis to try to get a factual account of the client's childhood abuse. Believing that the real story will unfold if he will "provide a supportive, consistent, caring and empathic context," he waits for them to "bubble up" (p. 45). He has found in his clinical practice that memories emerge when the client has a safe and supportive relationship in which the client can face the horrors of her past. As for the false memory question, Calof concludes:

After two decades of working with abuse survivors, I know that listening to their stories and helping them explore the truth of their experiences has enabled many to turn their lives around. For now, that is the best--and the most satisfying--proof I can advance that the stories told me were true. (p. 45)

Therapists today find themselves in a classic double-bind situation: On one hand, any therapeutic practice in which the therapist brings up the possibility of abuse in the client's history may result in the therapist being accused of, or even sued for, planting false memories in the client's mind. In one such case which recently came to trial in California,
a father sued his daughter's therapists for implanting memories of sexual abuse while she was receiving treatment from them. The jury found the therapists guilty and awarded the father $500,000 (Louisville Courier Journal, May 15, 1994). On the other hand, if the issue of abuse never comes up in therapy for a person who was in fact abused, the client may (as some have) sue the therapist. For this reason, therapists must be very cautious when treating a client whose clinical picture is consistent with what is known about abuse and its after-effects. Therapists must avoid the temptation of jumping to conclusions about whether or not abuse took place and must reserve judgment about the authenticity of a client's memories. Colin Ross, an expert on MPD, neither believes all of the stories of abuse he hears, nor does he assume they are false. Family therapist Terrence O'Connor shares this stance, saying, "the sense of their pain is quite excruciating, and I don't have to believe every detail to believe in their suffering" (Wylie, 1993a, p. 28). Michael D. Yapko, (1993), practicing marriage and family therapist in San Diego, advises therapists not to assume that abuse occurred simply because it is plausible. If the therapist suspects that abuse occurred, he should explore this very tentatively with the client; if the client is resistant, this should not be interpreted as denial or an indication that abuse did happen. The therapist should be open to exploring the issue when and if the client so desires. Lack of memories should not be interpreted as repression of traumatic events. If a client discloses memories of abuse after non-leading, neutral questioning by the therapist, he should consider what other current influences may be operating, such as the reading of incest-recovery literature or intimate involvement with other survivors of abuse. Yapko also suggests audiotaping or videotaping sessions during which the possibility of abuse is likely to be explored. This will enable the therapist to objectively check whether he may have led the client by suggestion. He also advises the therapist to discourage the client from cutting off all ties to his family of origin. This destructive course of action is widespread among those involved in recovery support groups. Finally, treatment for the survivor of incest should hold resource building a higher priority than doing memory work.

Most experienced therapists would agree that recovery and personal growth do not depend upon finding the exact date, time, and place where some abusive act or acts occurred. Would that it were that simple! Rather, the realization of wholeness is a long and often painstaking venture which involves processes such as grieving past losses and disappointments, real or merely perceived, great or small; taking responsibility for one's own feelings, choices, and mental health; and, ultimately, making peace with the past, how ever painful it may have been. In addition, it requires using the tools that cognitive therapies offer to renew and re-program the mind, especially those long-standing belief systems that are mal-adaptive and perpetuate emotional pain, which may or may not have its origins in childhood victimization. In conclusion, Wylie states, in the end, for society, as for the dissociative patient, recovery from pathological dissociation is only possible through discovery--recognition that the unthinkable may indeed be real--then confrontation and acceptance of the trauma, followed by correction and then, hopefully, transformation. (1993b, p. 43)

Conclusion

It would seem that our society is in the early stages of discovery. Having glimpsed the unthinkable, we are waver ing between retreating back into the numbness of denial and daring to embrace reality, however ugly it may be. Perhaps the words of Dr. Furii, the psychiatrist in the novel, I Never Promised You A Rose Garden, apply here. Addressing her patient, Deborah, who for the first time had ventured forth out of her imaginary world and into the real world beyond the hospital walls, only to discover its ugliness and injustice, Dr. Furii said,

Look here. I never promised you a rose garden. I never promised you perfect justice . . . and I never promised you peace or happiness. My help is so that you can be free to fight for all of these things . . . I never promise lies, and the rose-garden world of perfection is a lie. (Green, 1964, p.106)

For us, as for Deborah and the millions of survivors of childhood sexual abuse, to retreat into the cozy world of denial would be despair. We must move forward. We must confront the shocking, and horrifying reality of child sexual abuse which is a fact of every day life for millions of families across our nation. This confrontation will be painful, but it is the only path that will lead us to the point where correction and transformation can occur. It is a path we must walk; and we must walk it together.

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The Case of the Missing Commas
Sharon T. Hermann

In a recent newspaper article, humor columnist Dave Barry discusses lawyers:

"We NEED a lot of lawyers, to protect all these rights we have as Americans, including--but not limited to--the rights to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, job security, decent housing, affordable healthcare, the capture of happiness, a nonsmoking section, a joke-free work environment, a smoking section, cable TV, a team that makes the playoffs, rain-free outdoor weddings, risk-free bungee jumping, warning labels on everything including spiders, self-esteem and a choice of low-fat desserts."

(1G)

In this excerpt, Barry methodically places commas after each amusing item in his long list of rights, except after self-esteem. Why did Barry omit the comma after self-esteem and before and? Traditionally, comma usage has been taught as Strunk and White teach it in The Elements of Style: "In a series of three or more terms with a single conjunction, use a comma after each term except the last" (2). Barry's list is certainly a series of "more" terms, ending with the single conjunction and. Why is this comma missing? And why are many more commas like this one missing lately? Perhaps we NEED a lawyer to handle the case of the missing commas.

When readers, writers, and teachers are asked these comma questions, they tend to shrug off the issue, blaming missing commas only on the media. "You know how they are." Maybe. In the November 19 issue of Entertainment Weekly, which deals strictly with media issues, Ty Burr writes comma-ly correct:

"In 1920, Russian scientist Leon Theremin invented one of the first electronic instruments, called--duh, the Theremin. It made the eerie Ooo-EEEE-ooooo sound you know from Hitchcock's Spellbound, the Beach Boys' Good Vibrations, and bad 1950s science-fiction movies."

(92)

In this excerpt, not only is the comma after "Vibrations" in place, all other punctuation is also in order.

The comma rules advocated in MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers, The Elements of Style, Simon & Schuster Handbook for Writers, and in many other textbooks are the rules learned by generations and still taught today. These rules do not appear to be practiced by the majority of people or publications, however. Some of the commas still in the "rules" have virtually disappeared from print, and others are fading fast.

The missing comma phenomenon cannot be blamed solely on the media. As seen above, media publication punctuation can be, and often is, squeaky clean. Newspapers may be a leading factor, nevertheless. The Associated Press Stylebook states, "Use commas to separate elements in a series, but do not put a comma before the conjunction in a simple series..." (French, Powell, and Angione 49). Their other comma guidelines are compatible with MLA guidelines. But according to one Kentucky reporter, common practice at his newspaper and others is to omit as many commas as possible in order to save space, thus saving money.

If the omission of commas did begin in the media, is it still contained there? Media, plural of medium, defined as a means of mass communication, such as newspapers, magazines, or television, is a broad term, loosely used. A magazine is a periodical, but are such periodicals as College English or Shakespeare Quarterly considered media? Are Time and The New Yorker? Media is a term that blurs when examined, just as does the line between comma rules and actual usage.

To determine how different magazines and periodicals straddle this line, a representative sample was studied, with issues of each selected at random.

In its May 1993 issue, The New Yorker appeared punctuation pure. In John Guare's "Broadway 2003: The New Generation Arrives" (168), not only was the series comma intact ("On, Off, and Off Off"), but the simple phrase, "today, May 17, 2003," with its three commas carefully in place, indicates The New Yorker still observes traditional comma rules. The comma after the year is a sight seldom seen lately by comma watchers. Other stories in this issue were read and not found wanting.

Time was comma correct in its readers' letters printed November 22, 1993. And the seldom seen comma after the year was in place in Christina Gorman's article, "The Gulf Gas Mystery": "On Jan. 20, 1991, three days after the Gulf War had started" (43). But in "America's Dark History," by William A. Henry III, a series comma was missing in the phrase "the dominant moods are treachery, betrayal, revenge and greed" (72). Seemingly, Time allows its journalists/writers freedom to comma or not to
comma, and their readers’ letters are either comma correct or edited.

In a reverse position, *Money*'s August 1993 edition omitted commas in some readers’ letters, but in others, while all articles checked out as comma tidy. Comma immaculate from first page to last were selected issues of *National Geographic*, *College English*, and *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

However, *Schools in the Middle: Theory into Practice* did not fare as well comma-wise, as seen in Wanda Lane’s article, "Strategies for Incorporating Humor into the School Climate": "And, as silliness is a unique part of humor and a necessary element of loosening up, the entire administrative team will distribute prizes wearing clown wigs, oversized glasses, fake noses and other crazy costumes" (38). The series comma is missing from these festivities. (Even more of interest are the prizes wearing wigs, glasses, noses, and costumes.)

In the *Editor and Publisher* examined, several letters to the editor lacked commas. A letter from an associate professor of journalism omitted the series comma. In an article by George Garneau, who wrote five of this edition’s articles, appears a quote without quotation marks, a missing series-comma phrase, "news, weather, sports and school information by telephone" (10), and other omissions, some arguable.

Obviously, both writers and publishers of writers differ in comma usage. Do some simply not understand comma rules, or knowing, do not follow them? Have we come full circle from the Elizabethan over-punctuation orgy to a modern-day minimalism? One thing for sure, comma etiquette is changing.

"The art of punctuation ought to be the simplest of all the arts of prose composition," claims James J. Kilpatrick in his syndicated column, "The Writer's Art." "Nothing to it, really. But the more one examines the exceptions to the rules, the more it becomes evident that the rules are rubber band rules. They stretch" (C3).

The art of punctuation was simple for Aristophanes of Byzantium, an Alexandrian Greek librarian, who invented a dot system of punctuation "based on Greek rhetorical theory, which divided written works—meant to be read aloud—into rhythmic sections of different lengths," according to Judith Stone in *Discover* (33). Quoting Ellen Lupton of New York’s Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, Stone explains why Aristophanes did it:

‘Early Greek inscriptions and, later, manuscripts had no spaces between words and virtually no punctuation. And they were written in capital letters of uniform height.'

Moreover, the Greeks employed a form of writing called boustrophedon, meaning ‘as the ox draws the plow.’ One line might run left to right, then right, then left again, and so on. (33)

Punctuation, the art of pointing, was once simple and uncomplicated in America also. In 1795, in *Concise Grammar of the English Language*, Alexander Miller concisely names "The points used in writing" as "the comma, semicolon, colon, period, interrogation, and exclamation" (26). The rules follow, concisely: "The period requires a pause twice as long as the colon; the colon twice as long as the semicolon; the semicolon twice as long as the comma" (26).

By 1819, a 4th edition of Lindlay Murray’s *An English Grammar* brought a higher level of writing sophistication to America. Not only did Murray’s grammar provide punctuation rules and exercises, but it actually contained a key to them. Murray compiled twenty (XX) rules for comma usage. Rule III is one of several referring to the series comma:

When two or more nouns occur in the same construction, they are parted by a comma: as, "Reason, virtue, answer one great aim." From this rule there is mostly an exception, with regard to two nouns closely connected by a conjunction: as, "Virtue and vice form a strong contrast to each other;... But if the parts connected are not short, a comma may be inserted, though the conjunction is expressed: as, "Intemperance destroys the strength of our bodies, and the vigour of our minds." (393)

From these examples, one assumes that not only has colon and comma usage changed considerably, but also that Americans of 1819 suffered from shortness of breath.

Murray’s *Grammar* sheds enlightenment on Ralph Waldo Emerson’s seemingly strange punctuation. In chapter I of *Nature*, Emerson writes, "The rays that come from those heavenly worlds, will separate between him and what he touches" (1472). Why the comma after worlds? Emerson uses commas in this way repeatedly. *Nature* was published in 1836. The last half of Rule I of Murray’s 1819 Grammar may explain why Emerson used this comma:

A simple sentence, however, when it is a long one, and the nominative case is accompanied with inseparable adjuncts, may admit of a pause immediately before the verb: as, "The good taste of the present age,
has not allowed us to neglect the cultivation of the English language. (392)
In T. S. Pinneo's 1859 Analytical Grammar of the English Language, this particular comma rule, concisely condensed, still reigned (207). William Chauncey Fowler's 1870 English Grammar presented the same rule (744). Only three years later, W. J. Cocker's Handbook of Punctuation presented this "rule" as a remark after rule XVI. "Some writers always place a comma before the verb, when its subject consists of many words" (20). In 1914, M. Lyle Spencer included a different version, but with the same effect, in his Practical English Punctuation (45). But by 1924, in The King's English, H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler castigated the writer of such sentences as "Depreciation of him, fetched up at a stroke the glittering armies of her enthusiasm" (239). This particular comma had died.

All of these English grammar and punctuation books, from 1795 on, included the series rule, the rule that places a comma after the last item in a series, before the conjunction. This rule has lasted. Until now, anyway.

"Punctuation is ... much more stable than word usage, a matter of printers' conventions that stand still ... punctuation has been ninety-nine percent constant for two hundred years," says linguist Richard Ohmann (qtd. in Stone 35). Ben Blount, an anthropological linguist who claims there is talk of eliminating the semicolon because people think it unnecessary, divulges the fact that a national academy in France and Spain rules on such questions. "Early in American history there was a move to set up an American academy, but it was rejected; it represented the kind of authority the Revolutionary War was intended to overthrow" (qtd. in Stone 35). (Note the missing comma between history, ending the introductory phrase, and there. Even linguists are messing with punctuation that has been 99% constant for 200 years. Did we vote on this?)

The series comma basically remained unchanged for a long, long time; whether 200 years, though, is uncertain. That this rule existed in 1795 in America can be concluded from this sentence from Miller's Concise Grammar of the English Language: "A proper name is the name of some particular person, place, or thing" (9). And, as stated earlier, English textbooks from 1795 until now have included this comma rule. Strunk and White's The Elements of Style uses this rule (2), as does The Modern Language Association of America's MLA Handbook (Gibaldi and Achtert 40). It is a rule I believe is fading fast.

Simon & Schuster's Handbook for Writers, used in Western Kentucky University's English 100 classes, still uses the series rule, but adds this comment:

Some authorities omit the comma before the coordinating conjunction between the last two items of a series. This handbook does not recommend omitting this comma, for its absence can distort meaning and confuse a reader. If you never omit the comma in your academic writing, you will never be wrong. (Troyka 465-6).

That is what I tell students who omit this comma. Some tell me their high school teachers did not require it; I know not their teachers' reasons. Am I fighting a losing battle? That Simon & Schuster even feel the need to defend their comma is an indicator of change, a change presaged in many textbooks.

The tenth edition of the Harbrace College Handbook offers a choice: "The air was raw, dank, and gray. (a, b, and c--a preferred comma before and)--OR--"The air was raw, dank and gray. (a, b and c--an acceptable omission of comma before and when there is no danger of misreading)" (Hodges and Whitten 123).

The Oxford Companion to the English Language suggests the use of the series comma; then editor McArthur equivocates:

Usage varies as to the inclusion of a comma before and in the last item ... This practice is controversial ... often superfluous, and there are occasions when the sense requires it to be omitted, but on many occasions it serves to avoid ambiguity ... (236)

And so it goes. Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage, second edition, is plainspoken regarding the series "French, German, Italian and Spanish":

... the commas between French and German and German and Italian take the place of ands; there is no comma after Italian because, with and, it would be otiose. There are, however, some who favor putting one there, arguing that, since it may sometimes be needed to avoid ambiguity, it may as well be used always for the sake of uniformity. (Fowler 588)

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary of English Usage states:

There is also a good deal of comment on the use or nonuse of a comma before the coordinating conjunction in a series of three or more. In spite of all the discussion, practice boils down to the writer's personal
preference, or sometimes a house or organizational style. Additional comment is not needed. (262)

Oh, no? With all this obvious conflict regarding the use of the series comma, why have I never heard this discussed before, not in undergraduate or graduate classes, and not by my professors, fellow students, or fellow teachers? I would like very much to hear comments. I believe it is time to stop pooh-poohing the missing comma phenomenon as a media curiosity, and time to begin a calm, sensible discourse on the subject.

One of the calmest, most sensible voices on the use of punctuation appears in a slim volume with PUNCTUATION written in large letters on the spine and front. The title page identifies this book, quoted earlier, as the Handbook of Punctuation, with instructions for capitalization, letter-writing, and proofreading, and it was written by W. J. Cocker, A.M., in 1873, long before the series comma quandary. Mr. Cocker begins his book:

As the pronunciation of words is determined by the usage of the best speakers, so, in a great measure, the punctuation of sentences is based on the usage of the best writers. Recognizing this fact, the author has aimed,

(1) To state such general rules as are recognized by most writers of good English.
(2) To illustrate these rules by examples taken from many of our best English classics.
(3) To give some of the differences in usage that exist even among the best of writers.

(iii)

Mr. Cocker would have made an excellent advisor to a national academy that makes punctuation decisions.

Syndicated columnist James J. Kilpatrick is a modern writer of good English and a crotchety hardliner when it comes to grammar. Here Kilpatrick shows a more casual attitude towards punctuation:

The editors of the Chicago Manual of Style take a sensible view of the comma. Aside from a few fixed rules, 'the use of the comma is mainly a matter of good judgment, with ease of reading as the end in view.' My own rule is to throw in a comma whenever the reader needs to take a breath.

(3C)

Considering the correctness of Kilpatrick's punctuation in "The Writer's Art" column, he may be oversimplifying his comma approach. Or he may not realize just how much of his "instinct" is actually the result of his rule-based education.

So, here we stand, knee-deep in the punctuation marks of time. The classics from long ago--Cocker's classics and ours--are not representative of today's punctuation; we cannot look to them for guidance. Neither can we look at more modern writers of classic works. Their punctuation will probably include the traditional series comma, unless a 1994 publisher reprints it; then it may not. A look at the best writers of today, presumably writing the classics of tomorrow, proves to me that differences in usage exist even among the best of writers, just as in Cocker's time. I assume that the best writers' comma usage will depend upon which comma camp they and their editors and publishers have pitched their tent in.

As for the series comma, the media use it irregularly; popular magazines hardly at all, if ever. And what do the majority of people read? At this point, where, when, and why this comma is missing is moot. This comma is missing from reading material of the majority. So are other commas, even from education periodicals and editors-and-publisher periodicals found on college and university library shelves.

As stable as punctuation is, colon, semicolon, and comma usage has changed before, and commas have died before, just as Emerson's comma did, even though it took at least 100 traceable years to do so. In today's media world of computers, high publishing costs, and condensed literary versions, commas probably will die faster. Already, students rebel against commas and will be happy to dump a few. This is where rebellion and change start--down in the trenches with the common people, not the comma people. Change starts in the media, in what ordinary people read, and in what ordinary people write. Should we try to get comfortable with the idea that the comma before and in a series is on its way out? Or should we fight unto the death for our commas?

Kilpatrick is right, of course. The use of the comma is mainly a matter of good judgment; ease of reading should be the criterion. English, including grammar and punctuation, is not an exact science like mathematics; much of it is a judgment call. Reason says that Fowler's is right too. Commas in a series do take the place of and, so it follows that a comma before the and preceding the last item is unneeded. The Merriam Webster is right. Practice boils down to the writer's preference. A comma denotes a pause, a place to slow down, and who would know better than the writer where this pause belongs?

My head tells me all this is true, but in my heart, I feel like fighting. I am accustomed to my commas where they are, or were. So many are omitted today that sentences are becoming increasingly unclear in
meaning. And when I see, or don’t see, a comma missing before the and in a series, I stumble. Something is wrong. I try NOT to pause where I always have paused; it is difficult. Without that comma, I find myself straining to rush over the last words, in an attempt to discover exactly how I am supposed to read this now. My calm, sensible brain tells me that if my missing commas never return, I will recover from their absence, after a decent period of mourning.

My sassy, rebellious brain impulses say fight unto the death. Does this mean I am a purist? No. Neither does it mean I am a nit-picking pedagogical punctuation pounder. It means that as I see commas and other punctuation slowly disappearing, as I see writers relying more on their personal preference and less on the consistent rules, and as I see the kind of sloppy, careless writers we are producing, I fear. I fear many writers do not rely on personal preference as much as ignorance, that they never knew the rules of mourning.

A world that has only periods is a world without inflections. It is a world without shade. It has a music without sharps and flats. It is a martial music. It has a jackboot rhythm. Words cannot bend and curve. A comma, by comparison, catches the gentle drift of the mind in thought, turning in on itself and back on itself, reversing, redoubling and returning along the course of its own sweet river music; while a semicolon brings clauses and thoughts together with all the silent discretion of a hostess arranging guests around her dinner table... In Isaac Babel’s lovely words: a comma can let us hear a voice break, or a heart. (80) I do not want to lose my commas. Do you? Let us talk.

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A ***tiling*** is a collection of closed subsets $T = \{ T_1, T_2, \ldots \}$ of the plane such that $T$ covers the plane and the interiors of the sets $T_1, T_2, \ldots$ are pairwise disjoint. The sets $T_1, T_2, \ldots$ are called **tiles**. Tilings have been used for centuries in mosaics and architecture; they form a bridge between art and mathematics. However, due to their intricacy and complexity, the mathematical study of tilings proves extremely difficult unless we impose severe restrictions on their properties.

A ***monohedral tiling*** is a tiling in which all the tiles are congruent to a single tile, called the **prototile** of the tiling. A ***regular tiling*** is a monohedral tiling in which the prototile is a regular polygon. The only shapes that yield a regular tiling are the triangle, square, and hexagon (Figure 1).

![Figure 1. The three regular tilings.](image)

An open question of interest is how to generate a regular tiling using a subset of the tiling. Given a regular tiling $T$, we define an **animal** to be a finite collection of tiles of $T$. A tiling $T$, or a closed subset $T \subseteq T$, is **retiled** by an animal $X$ if it can be partitioned by rigid motions of $X$. The question becomes, given an animal $X$ of $n$ tiles, is it possible to retile the tiling with $X$? For a square tiling, this is always possible for $n \leq 4$, and is generally not possible for $n \geq 5$. Likewise every animal $X$ will retile a hexagonal tiling for $n \leq 3$, but not every animal will retile for $n \geq 6$ (Figure 2).

![Figure 2. A 6-celled animal that does not retile the plane.](image)

In the tilings discussed thus far, all the tiles were "equal" in the sense that there was no distinguishing property to differentiate between the tiles. The notion of "color" presents just such a property. How does this differentiation affect the retiling of the plane? Is it possible to apply methods of retiling noncolored tilings to this problem? The focus of this study is the retiling of the colored hexagonal tiling $H$ (Figure 3). For the purpose of simplification, the research has been limited to methods of retiling by translations only.

![Figure 3. The colored hexagonal tiling $H$.](image)

**1. Definitions**

Let $X$ be an animal in a tiling, and let $T$ be a set of translations of the tiling. Then $T$ is a **slide** of $X$ if $X$ retiles the plane under the translations $T$. The **focus** of $X$, denoted $F(X)$, is the set of all slides of $X$.

A **polyhex** $P$ is an animal in a hexagonal tiling. The corresponding term for a square tiling is a **block**. Any animal which retiles its tiling using translations only is a **generator** of the tiling.

In the colored hexagonal tiling $H$ the ratio of gray tiles to white tiles is $1:3$; any generator of $H$ must exhibit this same ratio. Note also that the coloring of $H$ divides it into four axis systems $A_0, A_1, A_2,$ and $A_3$ (Figure 4), where $A_0$ represents the set of gray hexes.
The equivalence relation correspondence, denoted $\equiv$, is defined on the set of translations of the plane as follows. By definition, $h \equiv h'$ and $v \equiv v'$. Let $t$ and $t'$ be translations of a hexagonal and square tiling, respectively. Then $t \equiv t'$ if and only if $t = (x,y)$ and $t' = (x,y)$.

The problem of retiling $A_j$ for a given $j$ is now reduced to the problem of retiling the square tiling, as presented in the following theorem. Recall that $F(X)$ denotes the focus of $X$.

**Theorem 2.1** Let $P$ be a $4n$-hex. For each $j=0,1,2,3$, let $B_j$ represent an $n$-block in $Z^2$ that is an isomorphic image of $P_j$. Then:

1) $F(P_j) \equiv F(B_j)$ for each $j = 0,1,2,3$.
2) $F(P) \equiv \cap F(P_j) \equiv \cap F(B_j)$.

**Proof.** Observe that for each $j = 0,1,2,3$, $A_j$ is isomorphic to $Z^2$. Thus $T$ is a slide of $P$ in $A_i$ if and only if $T$ is a slide of $X_j$ in $Z^2$. So $F(P_j) = F(B_j)$ for each $j = 0,1,2,3$.

Clearly if $T$ is a slide of $P$, then $T$ must be a slide of $P_j$ in $A_j$ for each $j = 0,1,2,3$. Furthermore, for $P$ to retile the plane by translations, it is necessary that $P_j$ retile $A_j$ for each $j$. Hence $T$ is a slide of $P$ if and only if $T$ is a slide of $P_j$ in $A_j$ for each $j$. Thus $F(P) = \cap F(P_j) = \cap F(B_j)$.

This relationship is particularly helpful when considering uniform $4n$-hexes. A $4n$-hex $P$ is *uniform* if there exists a translation of $A_j$ onto $A_i$ that maps $P_j$ onto $P_k$ for each $0 \leq j, k \leq 3$. Each polyhex $P_j \subseteq P$ is thus isomorphic to a fixed block $B$ in the square tiling.

2. **The Square Tiling**

Observe that $A_j$, for each $j=0,1,2,3$, is isomorphic to the integer lattice. This relationship yields the following notation.

Let $h$ represent the translation which maps a hex of $A_j$ to a horizontally adjacent hex of $A_j$, and let $v$ represent the translation which maps a hex of $A_j$ to a vertically adjacent hex of $A_j$. If $t = vhv'$ is a translation of $H$, then $t = (x,y)$.

Similarly, let $h'$ be the unit horizontal translation and $v'$ the unit vertical translation of the square tiling. If $t' = (h')^yv'y$ is a translation of the square tiling, then $t' = (x,y)$.

Let $p$ and $q$ be animals in a square or hexagonal tiling such that $t(p) = q$ for some translation $t = (x,y)$. Then $p + (x,y) = q$, or equivalently, $q - p = (x,y)$.

The problem of retiling $A_j$ for a given $j$ is now reduced to the problem of retiling the square tiling, as presented in the following theorem. Recall that $F(X)$ denotes the focus of $X$.

**Theorem 2.1** Let $P$ be a $4n$-hex. For each $j=0,1,2,3$, let $B_j$ represent an $n$-block in $Z^2$ that is an isomorphic image of $P_j$. Then:

1) $F(P_j) \equiv F(B_j)$ for each $j = 0,1,2,3$.
2) $F(P) \equiv \cap F(P_j) \equiv \cap F(B_j)$.

**Proof.** Observe that for each $j = 0,1,2,3$, $A_j$ is isomorphic to $Z^2$. Thus $T$ is a slide of $P$ in $A_i$ if and only if $T$ is a slide of $X_j$ in $Z^2$. So $F(P_j) = F(B_j)$ for each $j = 0,1,2,3$.

Clearly if $T$ is a slide of $P$, then $T$ must be a slide of $P_j$ in $A_j$ for each $j = 0,1,2,3$. Furthermore, for $P$ to retile the plane by translations, it is necessary that $P_j$ retile $A_j$ for each $j$. Hence $T$ is a slide of $P$ if and only if $T$ is a slide of $P_j$ in $A_j$ for each $j$. Thus $F(P) = \cap F(P_j) = \cap F(B_j)$.

This relationship is particularly helpful when considering uniform $4n$-hexes. A $4n$-hex $P$ is *uniform* if there exists a translation of $A_j$ onto $A_i$ that maps $P_j$ onto $P_k$ for each $0 \leq j, k \leq 3$. Each polyhex $P_j \subseteq P$ is thus isomorphic to a fixed block $B$ in the square tiling.

**Corollary 2.2** Let $P$ be a uniform $4n$-hex. Then $P$ is a generator of $H$ if $n \geq 2$.

This result naturally follows from Theorem 2.1 upon observing that all 1-blocks and 2-blocks are generators (that is, they retile by translations only) of the square tiling. For $n \geq 3$, there exists an $n$-block that will not retile the square tiling using translations only (Figure 6).
3. Well-Behaved Generators

It is clear that any 4-hex retiles the colored hexagonal tiling $H$; this can be directly inferred from Corollary 2.2. It is easily seen that the slide $T$ of a 4-hex $P$ forms a group with respect to composition. This property is useful in the study of larger generators. It is possible not only to construct a hexagonal hex generator for any natural number $n$, but also to derive other generators from it.

An animal generator $X$ is well-behaved if there exists a slide $T$ of $X$ that forms a group with respect to composition. The slide $T$ is then called a slide group. The core of a generator $X$, denoted $C(X)$, is the set of all slide groups $T$ such that $X$ retiles under $T$. In other words,

$$C(X) = \{ T \in \mathcal{F}(X) : (T^*) \text{ is a group} \}.$$  

It is important to note that any group of translations acting on the plane is isomorphic to $\mathbb{Z} \times \mathbb{Z}$. Thus for any well-behaved 4-hex generator with slide group $T$, $T = \mathbb{Z} \times \mathbb{Z}$. However, not all 4n-hex generators are well-behaved; for example, the 8-hex in Figure 5 is a non well-behaved generator of $H$. It may be determined if a 4n-hex $P$ is a well-behaved generator of the tiling by observing the behavior of its components $P_j$.

**Theorem 3.1** A 4n-hex $P$ is a well-behaved generator if and only if

1) $P_j$ is a well-behaved generator of $A_j$ for all $j = 0,1,2,3$; and
2) $r \cap C(P_j) = \emptyset$.

Furthermore, $C(P) = r \cap C(P_j)$.

**Proof.** Suppose $P$ is well-behaved. Then clearly $r \cap C(P_j) = C(P) = \emptyset$. Furthermore, since $P$ retiles the plane under a slide group $T$, then $P_j$ must retile $A_j$ under $T$ for each $j = 0,1,2,3$. So by definition, $P_j$ is a well-behaved generator of $A_j$.

Suppose $P_j$ is well-behaved for each $j$, and $r \cap C(P_j) = \emptyset$. Let $T \in r \cap C(P_j)$; then $P$ retiles the plane under $T$. Thus $r \cap C(P_j) \subseteq C(P)$.

Likewise, if $P$ retiles the plane under a slide group $T$, then $P_j$ retiles $A_j$ under $T$ for each $j = 0,1,2,3$. By definition $T \in r \cap C(P_j)$. Hence $C(P) \subseteq r \cap C(P_j)$.

Combining the results of Theorems 2.1 and 3.1 leads to the following conclusion.

**Corollary 3.2** A 4n-hex $P$ is a well-behaved generator if and only if

1) $B_j$ is a well-behaved generator of the square tiling for all $j = 0,1,2,3$; and
2) $r \cap C(B_j) = \emptyset$.

It follows that $C(B) = r \cap C(B_j)$.

Thus a 4n-hex generator of the tiling may be constructed for any natural number $n$. A fundamental 4-hex $F_0$ is pictured in Figure 7. A fundamental 4n-hex $F_n$ consists of $n$ horizontally adjacent fundamental 4-hexes. This provides a well-behaved 4n-hex generator for any positive integer $n$.

![Figure 7. A fundamental 4-hex.](image)

**Theorem 3.3** $F^n$ is a well-behaved generator of $H$ for any natural number $n$.

**Proof.** Since $F^n_0$ is uniform for any $n$, it suffices to observe the behavior of the gray hexes $F^n_0$. This corresponds to a block $B$ of $n$ horizontally adjacent squares in a square tiling. It is easily seen that the block $B$ retiles the plane under the slide group $T = [(n,0),(0,1)]$. $B$ is a well-behaved generator of the square tiling; thus from Corollary 3.2 it follows that $F^n$ is a well-behaved generator of $H$.

The fundamental 4n-hex $F^n$ presents a well-behaved 4n-hex generator of $H$ for any natural number $n$. However, it may also be used to construct other well-behaved generators.

4. Derivation and Equivalency of Generators

Let $P$ be a well-behaved 4n-hex generator under the slide group $T$. Then $Q$ is a derivation of $P$ under $T$ if there exist polyhexes $S_j$ in $P$ such that $Q = P = P(S_j)$.

![Figure 6. A 3-block that does not retile the square tiling using translations only.](image)
Sj _ ( A, Sj)) for some translations t T. That is, a collection of hexes P _ P is replaced by hexes that were previously retiled by P'. This produces another well-behaved generator of the tiling.

**Theorem 4.1** Let P be a well-behaved 4n-hex generator under the slide group T, and let Q be a derivation of P under T. Then Q retiles the plane by the translations T.

**Proof.** Label the hexes of P as p1, p2, ... , p_m, where p = \[p_1, \ldots, p_m \in A_j\]. Then label the hexes of Q as q1, ... , q_m, by q_j = t_j(p_j). where t_j \in T is the translation which maps p_j to q_j. Since Q is a derivation of P, this is a one-to-one correspondence.

Let R \in A_j for any j = 0, 1, 2, 3. Since P retiles the plane by T, there exists a translation u \in T such that u(R) = R for some k, 1 \leq k \leq n. Since q_j = t_j(p_j), R may also be covered by u \cdot t_j^{-1}(p_j). T is a group; therefore u \cdot t_{j, k}^{-1} \in T. This holds true for all hexes R in A_j for any j. Thus Q retiles the plane by the translations T. □

This definition of derivation defines an equivalence relation on the set of well-behaved 4n-hexes. Given well-behaved 4n-hexes P and Q, Q is equivalent to P mod T, denoted Q = P mod T, if Q is derived from P under T. Note that Q = P mod T if and only if T \in C(P) \cap C(Q). If C(P) = C(Q), then P and Q are equivalent, denoted P=Q.

It is possible that a well-behaved generator P may retile the plane under two or more nondisjoint slide groups (Figure 8). This case presents another interesting property.

**Theorem 4.2** Let P be a well-behaved 4n-hex generator with core C(P). If Q is derived from P using only translations t T \in C(P), then C(P) \subseteq C(Q).

**Proof.** Let C(P) = \{T1, ..., T_n\} be the core of a well-behaved polyhex P, and let Q be derived from P using the collection of translations T \subseteq C(P). Then for each T \in C(P), Q is derived from P under T. From Theorem 4.1 it follows that Q retiles the plane under T. Thus T \in C(Q) for all T \in C(P). Therefore C(P) \subseteq C(Q). □

Note that this does not imply that C(Q) \subseteq C(P)!

A counterexample is presented in Figure 9.

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**Figure 9.** First note that P is a well-behaved generator of H, since it retiles H under the group T = \{(2,0),(1,1)\}.

Q may be derived from P by translating the hex p to the hex q. All the slides of P contain this translation. The hex q must be retiled by the hex p, since retiling q by r leads to overlap. Thus Q is derived from P under the translation t T \in C(P); hence C(P) \subseteq C(Q).

However, C(P) is clearly not equal to C(Q). Q retiles the plane under the additional group T' = \{(2,0),(0,1)\}, whereas P does not.

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5. The Periodic Strip

An example of a method for retiling the square tiling by a 3-block is pictured in Figure 10. Each square of the tiling is numbered according to which square of the block retiled it, so that the resulting pattern may be seen. Note that the rows are retiled periodically with a period of 3. The columns are retiled in a periodic fashion as well, with a period of 1. This property is also common to well-behaved generators of A_j, and proves a useful tool in constructing larger 4n-hex generators.

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**Figure 10.** The retiling of a square tiling by a horizontal connected 3-block.
An axis $l$ of $A_i$ is a line which passes through the centers of at least two hexes of $A_i$. A hex is said to lie on $l$ if $l$ passes through its center. A strip is the set of all hexes of $A_i$ that lie on an axis $l$. Let $l$ be an axis of $A_i$ for some $j=0,1,2,3$, let $p$ and $q$ be distinct hexes of $A_i$ that lie on $l$, and let $t$ be the translation such that $t(p) = q$. Then $p$ and $q$ are $l$-adjacent if the strip $l$ can be retiled by the group of translations $\langle t(p) \rangle$.

Let $P$ be a well-behaved 4$n$-hex generator with slide group $T$, and let $l$ be a strip of $A_i$ for some $j=0,1,2,3$. Then there exist a subset $R$ of $P_i$ and a subgroup $S$ of $T$ such that $l$ is retiled by $R$ under the group $S$. Furthermore, the number of hexes $p$ in $R$ is a divisor of $n$.

**Theorem 4.1** Let $l$ be a strip of $A_i$ for some $j=0,1,2,3$, and let $R$ be a generator of $l$ under the group of translations $S$. Let $p$ be the number of hexes in $R$. Then $p \mid n$.

**Proof.** Recall that for any slide group $T$, $T \approx \mathbb{Z} \times \mathbb{Z}$; it follows that $S \approx \mathbb{Z}$. $S$ must therefore be cyclic, which causes $l$ to be retiled by $R$ in a periodic fashion. Define $u$ to be the translation which maps a hex of $l$ to an $l$-adjacent hex. Then $S = \langle u \rangle$.

Observe that $A_i$ may be retiled by retiling each strip parallel to $l$. Any strip parallel to $l$ is also generated by a subset of $P_i$ under a group of translations. Since the slide $T$ is a group, the generators of the strips parallel to $l$ are pairwise disjoint; furthermore, they partition $P_i$.

Let $Y$ be a generator of a strip $m$ parallel to $l$ such that $R \subseteq Y$, and let $q$ be the number of hexes in $Y$. Then $Z = \langle u^q \rangle$ is the slide group for $Y$. The translation $u^q$ $(Y)$ leads to overlap; thus $p$ cannot be less than $q$. A similar contradiction is reached if $q < p$. Therefore $p = q$. Since this is true for any strip $m$ parallel to $l$, it follows that $p \mid n$. $\square$

An analogous proof shows that the same result holds for well-behaved generators of the square tiling.

### 6. 8-Hexes

Having discussed some general properties of 4$n$-hex generators, the study turns to considering generators for specific values of $n$. Corollary 3.2 implies that any 4-hex is a well-behaved generator of the tiling. From Theorem 2.1 it follows that any uniform 8-hex is a generator of the tiling. It is further possible to broaden the discussion to include nonuniform 8-hex generators, as well as to characterize those which are well-behaved.

The characterization of well-behaved 8-hexes requires a determination of the slide groups for 8-hexes. Given an 8-hex generator $P$ it is necessary that the two hexes of $P_j$ retile $A_i$ for each $j=0,1,2,3$. Furthermore, given any well-behaved 2-block in the square tiling, it is possible to construct a corresponding uniform 8-hex. Hence the slide groups for 8-hexes in $H$ are determined by the slide groups for 2-blocks in the square tiling.

**Theorem 6.1** There are exactly three slide groups for 2-blocks:

- $T_1 = \langle (0,2), (1,0) \rangle$;
- $T_2 = \langle (0,1), (2,0) \rangle$; and
- $T_3 = \langle (1,1), (2,0) \rangle$.

**Proof.** Label the two squares of the block $X_1$ and $X_2$, and let $Y$ be a square horizontally adjacent to $X_1$.

**Case I:** $X_1$ retiles $Y$. Then if the translations form a group, the horizontal strip $l$ containing $X_1$ and $Y$ must be retiled entirely by $X_1$. Likewise, each horizontal strip adjacent to $l$ must be retiled completely by $X_2$. Thus each vertical strip is retiled in an alternating fashion, producing the pattern in Figure 11(a). This pattern corresponds to the slide group $T_1$.

**Case II:** $X_1$ retiles $Y$. Then in order for the slide to form a group, the horizontal strip $l$ containing $X_1$ and $Y$ must be retiled in an alternating pattern. Let $Z$ be a square vertically adjacent to $X_1$.

**Subcase 1:** $X_1$ retiles $Z$. Then the vertical strip containing $X_1$ and $Z$ must be retiled entirely by $X_1$. Each vertical strip must thus be retiled in a solid pattern (Figure 11(b)). This pattern is produced by the slide group $T_2$.

**Subcase 2:** $X_2$ retiles $Z$. Then the vertical strip containing $X_1$ and $Z$ must also be retiled in an alternating pattern. This produces the checkerboard pattern shown in Figure 11(c). This pattern corresponds to the slide group $T_3$. $\square$
Thus the pattern produced by the slide group divides the tiling into two sets of tiles. Two connected prototypes of each slide group are presented in Figure 11. However, a well-behaved 2-block generator of the tiling may be constructed for any slide group by choosing any one square from each of the orbits of $X_1$ and $X_2$. Such a generator is easily seen to be a derivation of one of the prototypes.

Observe in Figure 11 that there are three connected prototypes for well-behaved 2-blocks. Each prototype retiles the plane under exactly two slide groups (Figure 12).

![Figure 11. Patterns and prototypes for the three slide groups (a) $T_1$, (b) $T_2$, and (c) $T_3$.](image)

![Figure 12. The three prototypes $W_1$, $W_2$, $W_3$, and their corresponding slide groups.](image)

Any well-behaved 2-block may be derived from one of these prototypes; this will be proven later.

A direct result of Theorem 6.1 is the following corollary.

**Corollary 6.2.** There are exactly three slide groups for 8-hexes: $T_1$, $T_2$, and $T_3$.

As before, it is possible to construct a well-behaved 8-hex generator for a particular slide group by choosing any pair of hexes from distinct orbits for each $A_j$, $j = 0,1,2,3$. This procedure may be used to construct a well-behaved 4n-hex generator for any value of $n$; however, the process of determining the possible slide groups increases in complexity as $n$ increases.

It is also possible to determine if a given 8-hex is a generator of the tiling. From Corollary 2.2 it is known that any uniform 8-hex retiles the plane. However, the study of non-uniform 8-hexes relies on the concepts of difference and parity.

Let $a$ and $b$ be animals in a square or hexagonal tiling such that $a - b$ exists and $a - b = (x,y)$. Then $x$ is the horizontal difference of $a$ and $b$, and $y$ is the vertical difference of $a$ and $b$. The ordered pair $(x,y)$ is the difference of the animals $a$ and $b$. Let $Z = \{z_i,z_j\}$ be a 2-block in the square tiling or a 2-hex in $A_j$ for some $j = 0,1,2,3$ such that $z_i + z_j = (x,y)$. Then the parity of $Z$, denoted $\|Z\|$, is given by $(x \mod 2, y \mod 2)$. The parity of $Z$ then determines whether it is well-behaved.

**Theorem 6.3** Let $B = \{b_1, b_2\}$ be a 2-block in the square tiling. Then $B$ is a well-behaved generator of the tiling if and only if $\|B\| = (0,0)$.

**Proof.** Suppose $\|B\| \neq (0,0)$. Then there exist integers $x$ and $y$ such that $b_1 - b_2 = (2x, 2y) + (0,0)$; hence $b_1 = b_2 + (2x, 2y) + (0,0)$.

Note that $\|W_1\| = (1,0), \|W_2\| = (0,1)$, and $\|W_3\| = (0,0)$, as shown in Figure 12. Let $W \subset \{W_1, W_2, W_3\}$ such that $\|W\| = \|B\|$. Label the squares of $W$ as $w_i$ and $w_j$, and position $w_1$ so that $w_1$ coincides with $b_1$. Now $w_2 - b_2 = (2x, 2y)$ for all one of the two slide groups in $C(W)$. From Theorems 4.1 and 4.2 it follows that $B$ is well-behaved, with $C(B) \supset C(W)$. Furthermore, Figure 11 illustrates that there is no 2-block that retiles under all three slide groups; thus $C(B) = C(W)$.

Now let $B$ be a well-behaved generator of the tiling. Suppose $\|B\| = (0,0)$; then $b_1 - b_2 = (2x, 2y)$ for some integers $x$ and $y$. Consider the square $b = b_1 + (2,0)$. From Theorem 6.1 it follows that $b_1$ must retile $B$. Thus $b_1$ must retile $b_1 + (2k,0)$ for all integers $k$; in particular, $b_1$ retiles $b_1 + (-2,0)$. Similarly, $b_2$ must retile $b_2 + (0,2y)$. But $b_1 - b_2 = (2x, 2y)$,

\[ b_1 - b_2 = (2x,0) + (0,2y) \]

\[ b_1 + (-2x,0) = b_2 + (0,2y) \]

This results in overlap, which contradicts the assumption that $B$ retiles the tiling. $\square$
Corollary 6.4 Let \( P \) be an 8-hex. Then for each \( j=0,1,2,3 \), \( P_j \) is a well-behaved generator of \( A_j \) if and only if \( \|P_j\| \neq (0,0) \). This result follows directly from Theorem 6.3.

It is thus possible to present a general characterization of well-behaved 8-hexes.

Theorem 6.5 Let \( P \) be an 8-hex, and let 
\[
S = \{ \|P_j\| : j=0,1,2,3 \}. \tag{6.4}
\]
Then \( P \) is well-behaved if and only if
1) \( (0,0) \notin S \); and
2) \( |S| \leq 2 \).

Proof. Suppose \( P \) is well-behaved. Then from Corollary 6.4 it follows that \( (0,0) \notin S \). Suppose \( |S| \geq 2 \); that is, \( \sigma(S) = 3 \). Let \( W = P_j \) for an appropriate \( j \) such that \( \|W\| = (0,1), X = P_j \) such that \( \|X\| = (1,0), C = P_j \) such that \( \|Y\| = (1,1) \), and let \( Z \) be the remaining axis system \( P_j \). Then \( \|Z\| \notin S \) for some \( Q = W, X, Y \); hence \( C(\mathbb{Q}) = C(\mathbb{Q}) \).

Since \( P \) is well-behaved,
\[
C(P) = \cap C(P_j) = C(W) \cap C(X) \cap C(Y) \cap C(Z) = 0.
\]
However, this contradicts the assumption that \( P \) is well-behaved. Thus \( |S| \leq 2 \).

Suppose (1) and (2) are true. Since \( \|P_j\| = (0,0) \) for all \( j=0,1,2,3 \), \( P_j \) is well-behaved for all \( j \). If \( |S| = 1 \), then \( P \) is uniform and therefore well-behaved.

Suppose \( |S| = 2 \). Let \( W, X \) and \( Y \) be as before. As illustrated in Figure 12, the intersection of any two of the cores of \( W, X \) and \( Y \) is non empty; thus \( C(P) = \cap C(P_j) \neq \emptyset \). Hence \( P \) is well-behaved. \( \square \)

7. Areas for Further Study

This study has identified some general properties of generators of the tiling, and provided a detailed description of 4-hexes and 8-hexes. Yet there is still much to explore. The complete classification of 8-hexes requires an investigation of non well-behaved 8-hexes. It has been shown that uniform 8-hexes retile the plane (Figure 5), but there is not yet a detailed characterization of non well-behaved, non uniform 8-hexes.

This research may also be expanded to consider larger 4n-hexes. An algorithm similar to the one presented in Theorem 6.1 may be used to determine the slide groups for 4n-hexes for \( n > 2 \); however, the process of characterization grows increasingly difficult with higher values of \( n \). A systematic method of identifying and classifying higher-order generators also requires an understanding of non well-behaved 4n-hex generators for \( n > 2 \).

A third avenue for exploration is to consider retiling methods using rotations and reflections as well as translations (Figure 13). This poses additional problems, since rotations and reflections do not preserve the axes systems as translations do. Nevertheless, it will also yield a diverse new class of generators.

Works Cited


Grunbaum and Shephard, p. 20.

Grunbaum and Shephard, p. 58.

Don Coppersmith, "Each Four-Celled Animal Tiles the Plane," Journal of Combinatorial Theory, Series A 40, 1985, p. 444. Coppersmith defines this term in the context of a square tiling only. This capacity is also served by the more common term "block"; thus we have altered the definition to serve as a general term for a regular tiling.

Coppersmith, p. 444.
"Not the 'Proper' Negro:" the Legacy of E. Franklin Frazier

Calvin Kitchens

E. Franklin Frazier
(National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

E. Franklin Frazier, an eminent Black sociologist and administrator of the Atlanta School of Social Work, left a legacy of writings that continue to be relevant to the study of racism and to the continual problems associated with the African-American family. The term "Black" is in bold type for many articles in his making this distinction; however, Frazier would have preferred this reference to race or color eliminated. He said, "I consider myself primarily a scholar. I do not consider myself a Negro leader or an interracial leader. I have studiously avoided what has appeared to me a pitfall which lies in the path of most educated Negroes, namely, being forced into the role of a Negro leader." Frazier may appear to have distanced himself from the African-American community, but nothing could be further from the truth. As a student and as a scholar, Frazier took and urged a militant stance against the institutions of racism and discrimination. This is not to say that his objective views on the racial and social problems within the United States were readily accepted by white or black citizens. In fact, his article "The Pathology of Race Prejudice (1927)," which compared the characteristics of racism to those of insanity, so enraged the infrastructure of Atlanta that Frazier had to hastily depart the city to avoid being lynched. He was "lynched" by the African-American community when he published The Black Bourgeoisie (1957), a critique of the influence Booker T. Washington had on middle-class African-Americans. Frazier's article, "Social Work in Race Relations (1924)," also made a subtle reference to and criticism of Washington's "industrial education" philosophy. To understand Frazier, a brief analysis of the social, economic, and political influences of the World War I era must be presented. A failure to do so would do great injustice to the man and his literary contributions to society, especially the African-American community. After reviewing Frazier's responses to these influences, one will indeed agree that E. Franklin Frazier was "not the 'proper' Negro."

Edward Franklin Frazier was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on 24 September 1894, to a working-class family. He, much like Booker T. Washington, achieved prominence by applying the "boot strap" philosophy coupled with fortuitous circumstances. Frazier, as an adolescent, witnessed the birth of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (1909), the appointment of W.E.B. DuBois as editor of the NAACP magazine, Crisis (1911), the death of Booker T. Washington (1915), and Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement (1917). As important as these events were to him and the African-American community, they were not the true catalysts of Frazier's activism. These events helped shape the "Negro Renaissance" and Frazier was just one of the many prolific writers to emerge from this era, an era that addressed African-American issues through literature, song, and art (1920's). Life for African-Americans in the World War I era was one of uncertainty. Certainly not much had changed for the African-American man/woman since Emancipation. Jim Crow laws (segregation), blatant, unchallenged attacks by the Ku Klux Klan (accompanied with the dramatic increase in membership to 3 million members by 1925), and the rise of the intellectual theories of racial differences subjugated the African-American to an atmosphere of fear, despair, and second-class citizenship. Fortunately, out of these ashes arose a "phoenix" of hope, self-determination, and activism. Frazier selected two fields in which to challenge the continued degradation of the African-American sociology and social work.

Social theorists Walter Bagehot, Herbert Spencer, T.H. Huxley, and the Europeans: Gobineau, Durmont,
and Chamberlain, generated, thus legitimized, the belief that the Anglo-Saxon race was of superior stature. Their study of eugenics and racial contamination only reinforced the white supremacists' atrocities against the African-American. The revival of the Ku Klux Klan was based on "uniting native-born white [Protestant, fundamentalist] Christians for concerted action in the preservation of American institutions and the supremacy of the white race." Hypocrisy was an integral part of the Klan's dogma. "We would not rob the colored population of their rights, but we demand that they respect the rights of the white race in whose country they are permitted to reside in." And yet, more than 70 African-Americans (10 still in military uniform) were lynched in the first year after the war. Racial tension was of such magnitude that the summer of 1919 was named the "Red Summer," a season of racial riots, mass destruction of property, and tremendous bloodshed. The growing hatred between the races is exemplified by the stoning and dawning of a young African-American who swam in an area of Lake Michigan that had been proclaimed as a "whites only" domain. This ignited a "reign of terror" in the city of Chicago, Illinois, for thirteen days. The results of this "war" tallied a casualty list of 38 killed and 537 injured, with more than 1,000 African-American families becoming homeless due to arson and general destruction of property. The embers of this "racial fire" were soon stoked to life in other American cities.

A more despicable example was the solicitation by a Tennessee newspaper, to which 3,000 people responded, to witness "the burning of a 'live' Negro." In 1923, Crisis, the "voice" of the NAACP, submitted a press report to foreign journalists that indicated there were 28 Lynchings that year in the South. The extent that racial hatred prevailed over rational behavior is exemplified by the murder of an African-American man for his being involved in an automobile accident. In Marlow, Oklahoma, a town devoted to white supremacy, 15 white men murdered an African-American porter and his white employer because the porter violated a town ordinance, remaining in town overnight. This is indicative that whites who remained empathetic towards the African-American were also subject to extreme sanctions, but the African-American remained the primary target of this "war," a war of racial genocide within American sovereignty.

Frazier criticized the organizations that were apathetic to racial prejudice, but were "...hardly in accordance with Christian principles, [and had] established separate departments. ...[t]hey are helping...to further crystallize the present undemocratic and uncivilized attitudes." In other words, de facto discrimination is just as devastating as de jure discrimination. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Boy Scouts, who promoted moral character building while they refused membership and/or enforced segregation, were his prime targets.

Frazier even attacked the sanctimonious dogma of the church. In 1900, The Negro a Beast was published and distributed to white church members by the American Book and Bible House. "The Negro was not the son of Ham or even the descendant of Adam and Eve, but 'simply a beast without a soul.' This ideology helped confirm Frazier's comment, "...[just as] the lunatic seizes upon every fact to support his delusional system, the white man seizes myths and unfounded rumors to support his delusion about the Negro." In fact, it is claimed that the white church may have been instrumental in the proliferation of racist attitudes in the South. Frazier further believed the church was "more interested in getting Negroes to heaven than in getting them out of the hell they live in on earth." He even condemned the theologian doctrine of non-resistance, a doctrine later utilized by Mohandas K. Gandhi in Africa and in India, and later by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in his quest for African-American civil rights in the United States, and by Cesar Chavez, leader of the Causa, in his goal of establishing improved social and labor conditions for the migrant farm worker. Frazier thought, "...it would be better for the Negro's soul to be seared with hatred than dwarfed by self-abasement." His death on 17 May 1962, prevented the completion of a critique of the African-American church, but his notes were later published (The Negro Church in America: 1961).

World War I, at first, emerged as a hopeful sign of improved race relations and economic conditions. In reality, the African-Americans' dreams of capturing a decent, wage-paying job within the "mecca" of the United States, the northern industrial cities, turned out to be just that--a dream. The only jobs that could be secured were within the service sector: servants, doormen, and cooks. In addition, the northern segregation attitudes restricted the African-American families into a centralized location, thus generating the growth of urban ghettos. Life was a return to the shabby dwellings and exorbitant rents once experienced in the South. The ghetto began to exert its destructive force on the African-American family and Frazier, being a sociologist, saw the need to analyze the structure of the African-American family and its response to these forces. He wrote three
books, *The Negro Family in Chicago* (1932), *The Free Negro Family* (1932), and *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939, rev. ed. 1957). Each work sought to interpret the historical and sociological characteristics of the African-American family. Many of his concepts, in view of the rising trend of racism and the unsympathetic attitudes toward the social, economic, and political status of the African-American (as with other minorities), are relevant, especially in the field of social work where goals are oriented towards the rectification of social injustice.

Despite these goals, Frazier encountered many obstacles within the social work profession during the 1920's. Segregation within the social work conferences prevailed until Frazier vehemently protested and boycotted. The profession, especially within the South, was castigated in his article, "Social Work in Race Relations (1924)." For its "interpreting social work in terms of the old paternalism of slavery, and ...regarding the employment of a 'mammy' and [the] doling out of groceries [as] the proper sphere of social work." He deemed it essential that the "value[s] of scientific approach" be incorporated and that social work be interpreted "in terms of personality." His principle objective, while administrator of the Atlanta School of Social Work, was to "properly train colored social worker[s]" who would be capable of incorporating his "vision" into the field of social work. Although he was critical of the profession, he said the field of social work "...holds the greatest promise for race relations."

Frazier's militant stance against racism eventually pitted him against the Board of Directors of the Atlanta School of Social Work. Despite five years of remarkable success at the school, Frazier was asked to resign in 1927.

The emergence of World War I generated the registration of over two million African-American men, but only 367,000 (31% of the registrants were accepted as compared to 26% of whites) were selected, and they were segregated. There was an "inclination by some draft boards to discriminate against African-Americans in the matter of exemptions," but it could be argued that the over-representation of African-Americans in the war was a subtle and legal act of racial genocide by the United States government for many of these African-American units had a high ratio of casualties. It must be noted that these segregated units served with distinction and proved invaluable to the winning of the war. In fact, the African-American units attached to the French received great accolades from the ranking commanders. Even General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, bestowed great praise upon them for their extraordinary dedication and heroism. The African-Americans and the French maintained a genial relationship with each other despite the distribution of *Secret Information Concerning Black Troops* (August 1918), a racist document which proclaimed that African-Americans were rapists, that "Americans were compelled to lynch and burn Negroes in order to keep them in their place," and that the French should avoid association except in a military context. These atrocities legitimize Frazier's objection to his draft notice. He claimed the "ideology of 'making the world safe for democracy' was hypocrisy in view of America's treatment of the Negro."

As previously mentioned, the African-American community was not exempt from the barbs of Frazier's criticism. Although the African-American spiritual ideology received its share of the critique, the brunt of his criticism fell on the shoulders of the "black bourgeoisie," the middle-class, of which he was a participant. When asked why he wrote such a critical book on things he, too, was guilty of, Frazier replied, "You are quite right. That is why I write so truthfully about such things. I am a black bourgeoisie." His candid and polemical views on the Booker T. Washington adapted middle-class received a mixture of praise and criticism, but the mixed reactions excited him. He viewed Washington's submissive philosophy as the catalyst for a "collective inferiority complex, which ...created a world of make-believe centered around the myths of 'Negro business' and 'Negro society'." The Black bourgeoisie was criticized for their "lacking a cultural identification and rejecting identification with the Negro masses," while promoting the notion that 'Negro businesses' provide[d] a solution to the Negro's economic problems." They had "accepted unconditionally the values . . . moral and canons of respectability, [and] standards of beauty and consumption . . . of the white bourgeois world." More importantly, their racial pride was described as "hollow" with an emphasis on being near-white or valuing the light complexion. Despite the furor created by this book, he received the distinguished Maclever Award of the American Sociological Association.

Another communal entity, the National Urban League (NUL), an organization that utilized "interracial cooperation in attacking the race problem" and which had given Frazier a grant to study the African-American longshoremen in New York City during the 1920's, was briefly chastised for confining their energy to the plight of the African-American in the North, while ignoring the status of
Even Marcus Garvey, the "Moses" of the "Back to Africa" movement, did not escape from Frazier's scrutinizing prose, although he was criticized less harshly. Frazier's article, "The Garvey Movement," published in Opportunity (November 1926), addressed the unjust imprisonment of Garvey by indicating his (Garvey's) crime was "modest in comparison" to the "...energetic businessmen who flood the mails with promises." The Garvey article was more of an explanation of "how and why" the movement was capable of attracting such mass appeal. Frazier concluded the article by stating it would be unwise and foolish to label Garvey (and other evangelists) as a "swindler." However, Garvey was criticized as having ". . . failed to deal realistically with life." This article also was the first indication of Frazier's rejection of the philosophy of Booker T. Washington.

Frazier's objective view of justice allowed him to cross all racial boundaries. He was arrested in New York City for picketing The Birth of a Nation (1920), a film based on the racist writings of Thomas Dixon, Jr. And yet, Frazier defied and crossed an African-American picket line, despite his belief in "black" unionism, for it was of his opinion that the strikers were being unjust to a white restaurant owner.

E. Franklin Frazier spent most of his life attacking three things: "American racial injustice; the Negro's reluctance to measure up to national standards; and the shallowness, pretensions, and false ideals of the black middle-class." His prose, often controversial, but more objective and analytical, evolved at a crucial period within the United States—a time of social disharmony and upheaval, a time when social injustice was being magnified by the political and social realms, and a time of increasing despair within the African-American community. More importantly, it was a time of realization by African-Americans that, collectively, they had the power to change their social, economic, and political status. E. Franklin Frazier was just one of the many intellectuals who influenced change through the use of the "power of the pen." He was able to cross all social stratifications by never being a "party joiner," "a 'proper' Negro," or a "representative of any movement." Until all racial barriers are dismantled, Frazier's writings will continue to be a viable legacy to the field of sociology; however his work will always remain an integral part of African-American history—a precursor to the struggle for civil rights in the 1960's and beyond. Frazier's refusal to abide by the social, economic, and political realms ascribed to the African-American, their "proper" place, enabled him to escape from being the 'proper' Negro and allowed him to challenge the brutal and bigoted society of the World War I era—a society that, despite some great strides in the advancement of racial equality within the last 70 years, is a mirror image of the 1990's; a society in which ethnic tolerance is hastily being dismantled. Perhaps there is some legitimacy to the Athenian statesman and historian Thucydides's (471?-399? BC) comment in History, Bk. i, "History repeats itself."

Works Cited
Carroll, Charles, editor, The Negro a Beast, (American Book and Bible House; St. Louis, MO, 1900).

End Notes
1Arthur P. Davis, "E. Franklin Frazier (1894-1962): A Profile," The Journal of Negro Education, Volume 31, Number 4 (Fall 1962), p. 429. No definition of 'proper' Negro could be located, but I assume it to mean an African-American that remained within his or her social, economic, and political boundaries, and did not challenge the white infrastructure.
2Tony Platt and Susan Chandler, "Constant Struggle: E. Franklin Frazier and Black Social Work in the 1920's," Social Work, Volume 33, Number 4 (July-August 1988), p. 297. The term "African-American" is submitted in my text due to the changing or preferred identity (positive connotation) by the African-American community. The terms "Negro, black, and colored" were socially utilized during the era of Frazier's work.
16Unger, p. 704.
17Franklin and Moss, pp. 311-312.
18Franklin and Moss, p. 312.
19Franklin and Moss, p. 312.
20Franklin and Moss, p. 313. This term is attributed to James Weldon Johnson, the secretary of the NAACP.
Nonresistance, "Crisis, surrender her seat for a white man, thus the beginning of the mass bus boycott by African-Americans from 1955 through 1956.


22Franklin and Moss, p. 307.

The Germans, during the war, utilized the lynching reports as propaganda material in an attempt to demoralize the African-Americans, but to no apparent success. It was only after the United States Government realized how these reports were being used that President Wilson issued a damning proclamation against lynching and mob-violence.

23Frazier, "Social Work in Race Relations," p. 254. The YWCA and the Girl Scouts were also guilty participants. Segregation within these "Christian organizations" remained until the 1950's.

2Charles Carroll, ed., The Negro a Beast. (American Book and Bible House; St. Louis, MO, 1900).


28David R. Kinsley, Hinduism. (Prentice-Hall; Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1982), pp. 98-104. In the native language of India, it is called "satyagraha," which literally means "seizing the truth." Gandhi called it "passive resistance," a strategy of noncompliance and nonviolent resistance to laws that abridged Indian civil rights.

29Richard A. Long and Eugenia W. Collier, eds., Afro-American Writing: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry, 2nd and Enlarged Edition, (The Pennsylvania State University Press; University Park, PA, 1991), p. 441. Although the tactics of passive resistance in the United States are attributed to Dr. King, the credit actually belongs to Rosa Parks, the African-American woman who, in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to surrender her seat for a white man, thus the beginning of the mass bus boycott by African-Americans from 1955 through 1956.


31Platt and Chandler, p. 296. It would be interesting to know if Frazier would have changed his stance on this doctrine in view of its partial success in the attainment of African-American civil rights.


33Unger, p. 698.

34Franklin and Moss, p. 297.


41Platt and Chandler, p. 296.

42Franklin and Moss, p. 294. This theme of overrepresentation reemerges during the Vietnam War (30% of African-Americans were accepted compared to 18% of whites).

43Franklin and Moss, p. 294.

44Franklin and Moss, p. 301-303. A vast majority of the African-American soldiers were attached to the French military. The African-American, who remained with the American Expeditionary Forces, was assigned duties as a stevedore, an engineer, a laborer, or a butcher.

45Odum, p. 234. Platt and Chandler, p. 295. Frazier was not alone in this view. W. E. B. DuBois questioned, in Darkwater (1920), America's condemnation of German atrocities while the same brutality existed within American borders.

46Frazier, The Black Bourgeoisie.

47Davis, p. 435.


49Robinson, p. 296. This award was named after Robert M. Maclver (1882-1970), a distinguished sociologist and political philosopher.


53Franklin and Moss, p. 321. The word "mass" may be inappropriate for the exact number of followers has been estimated as low as 1/2 million
(critics estimate) to a high of 6 million (Garvey’s Proclamation).

57 Davis, p. 435.
58 Davis, pp. 429-430. It is uncertain what Frazier meant by “national standards.” Davis’ use of the words “American racial injustice” is indicative of Frazier’s objectivity.

59 Davis, p. 435. In fact, this writer (Davis), a longtime friend and colleague, proclaimed “it would be difficult to find a more ‘improper’ Negro” than E. Franklin Frazier.
The one constant through all the years has been baseball. America has rolled by like an army of steam rollers. It's been erased like a blackboard, rebuilt, and erased again. But baseball has marked the time. This field, this game, it is a part of our past. It continually reminds us of all that once was good, and could be (good) again.

--Terrence Mann, character adapted from W.P. Kinsella's Shoeless Joe for the movie Field of Dreams

In W.P. Kinsella's award-winning novel, the main character, Ray Kinsella, destroyed half of his cornfield to build a baseball diamond so that the great Joe Jackson could once again lace up his cleats and patrol the grass of left field. Highly unlikely, you say? Not in the realms of baseball, however. It seems that all the young men of this land have dreamed of hitting the home run that wins the big game. Baseball is a game of fantasy--a little boys' game played by grown men as thousands cheer (or boo). When a long-haired teenage boy of the 1960s could not discuss politics with his father, he could at least be sure that when Bob Gibson fanned seventeen Tigers in the October shadows of 1967 his dad and he could have a common ground for conversation. It could also be taken to the other extreme--a young man could criticize a chief executive, but to denounce our national pastime or, heaven knows, downplay the importance of the great DiMaggio, that was treason.

Unfortunately, as captivating as the World Series may be to the hearts of millions, baseball has suffered tremendously in the last quarter century. Scandal, price wars, lack of interest, and plain old greed have chiseled at the reputation of our boys grown men as thousands cheer (or boo). When a pride of runners are long-gone. "The pitching's weak . . . the kids aren't as disciplined and dedicated as they once were . . . the schedule's too long . . . the players are pampered . . . the salaries are ridiculous . . . the ticket prices are too high . . . " Those quotes may sound like editorials of recent editions of The Sporting News. Actually, these quotes appeared in the winter of 1919-20! Yes, baseball has been the object of criticism for almost its entire run in American history. Every generation claims that its version of the game is superior. And yet, all the "old-timers" claim that the game is not what it once was. The game has always had its generation gaps.

Where can we pinpoint the time at which baseball became an object of criticism and a forum for the wrongs of society? It would be impossible to name the exact moment, for baseball has had its controversies from its early beginnings. No self-respecting mother wanted her son to be a ballplayer. Lou Gehrig, one of the greatest ballplayers of all time, had to promise his mother that he would not become a professional ballplayer. (How quickly Mrs. Gehrig changed her tune when her son became the hit of the East Coast.) Generations of fathers forbade their sons to play the game in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Few immigrant fathers could comprehend the lure of baseball over college or a good, solid, hard working career. Yet, baseball is now a game of millionaires. When did this transformation take place-the elevation of baseball into a money-making or, at least, a respectable profession for a healthy young man? When, in a roundabout way, did baseball become modern?

First of all, we should define the word modern. Webster's New World Dictionary defines modern as being "of the present or recent times; specifically, up-to-date." For this evaluation, the term modern signifies the time in which events began to imitate or shape present times.

When in fact, then, did baseball begin to show its modernity? On the field and off, the infamous season of 1920 is almost certainly the clear dividing line between baseball's eras. Before the first pitch of the 1920 season, Gavvy Cravath was the all-time leader in home runs for a career; Chicago's two teams, the White Sox and the Cubs, had both been in the World Series in the previous two seasons (The Sox had appeared in 1917 and 1919 and the Cubs in 1918); the spit ball (and the emery ball, shine ball, and other trick pitches for that matter) were still legal; the New
York Yankees were better known as the Highlanders and had never seriously competed in the American League; and major league baseball was still ruled by a three-man National Commission.

By the end of a tumultuous season which saw the Cleveland Indians win the World Championship, the baseball world had been rocked by the biggest gambling scandal it has ever experienced, had witnessed the first and only field death, resulting from a fatal pitch to the temple of Cleveland's Ray Chapman from the submarine delivery of New York's Carl Mays, had seen one player hit more home runs in one year than most of the major league teams did combined; and had, by the winter, accepted the iron fist of Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis as its first commissioner. And these were only a few of the noteworthy events of the baseball season of 1920, a year which would shape the baseball community for the next seventy years and beyond.

To view the 1920 baseball season as the turning point in our national pastime's history, one must travel back in time to the fall and winter of 1919. Just two years earlier the Bolshevik Revolution had shocked the world as Vladimir Lenin established a communist regime in Russia. Soon afterward, the first Red Scare shot through the continent of North America. The Cincinnati Reds went as far as to change their moniker to the Redlegs, a change that they would rescind and revert to several times in the next forty years, depending on the mood of the Cold War-engulfed nation. The nation was reportedly being run by the first lady, as President Woodrow Wilson had not appeared in public since his collapse on a nationwide speaking tour to promote the Treaty of Versailles and his brainchild, the League of Nations. Prohibition had been officially in effect since January. Women's Suffrage was long afterwards, though it was not ratified until August 1920 in time for the election as president of Warren G. Harding whose nomination for that office was thought to have been decided by his looks rather than his political savvy.

Ill-feelings ran through the Hot Stove League during the winter of 1919. A few short months earlier the unbeatable Chicago White Sox under Kid Gleason had lost embarrassingly to the Cincinnati Reds in eight games. The legitimacy of the games was questioned from the moment Eddie Cicotte's second pitch hit the first batter of the Series. "The fix was on!" cried the faithful fans of the Sox. The rumors had become so insistent that CharlesComiskey, the White Sox owner, and Kid Gleason, their manager, had conducted a personal investigation into the rumors. By December 18, Comiskey told the press that "No evidence was found against any one of my Sox. . . .These charges are unfounded." It remains questionable whether Comiskey was indeed covering something up. Not more than a week later, catcher Ray Schalk was quoted in The Sporting News as saying "seven members of the White Sox will be gone by opening day." Schalk was widely criticized for his cryptic statement.

Interwoven into the discussion of the supposed fix of the World Series were rumors that even the mighty Babe Ruth was not safe from owner Harry Frazee's shake-up of the 1918 World Champs. Commentary about the state of the game could be found on almost every page of the Baseball Bible that winter. One article went so far as to poke fun at the ever-present legal battles and surplus of lawyers involved in the game by printing a mock transaction made by Comiskey in the wake of the World Series allegations. "Lefty Leftover was signed by Comiskey yesterday. His record was an astounding twenty-three cases won out of thirty in the Fourth District Police Court last season." The editorials even poke fun at Prohibition and other societal dilemmas. The editors of the weekly baseball magazines continually allowed their staff writers to take stands on suffrage and prohibition. One such article typified the thinking of many Americans as they prepared for the speakeasies and the black market of the Roaring Twenties:

We have been assured that liquor destroys the life and strength of an athlete; that cigarettes completely wreck his nervous system; that cigars give him headaches and indigestion; that tea is bad for his liver; coffee causes insomnia; soda water makes him effeminate. Then why is it that American athletes excel throughout the world? Only one team is reformed and they don't finish in the first division.6

As the new year arrived, the rumors became louder. "Some players are money mad--they only play for the money--not like in the 'good old days'," stated an article in the January 1st edition of TSN. The magazine went on to interview managers Kid Gleason, John McGraw, and Hughie Jennings about the changes that they had witnessed in the last thirty years.7 While these debates over whether or not the game was going the way of the greedy continued, Ray Schalk was still trying to rescind his earlier quote: "That's not what I intended for it to sound like."8

The new year also brought many explanations for the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the gambling charges against the ChiSox. TSN blamed three factors for the possible influx of gambling and gamblers into the world of baseball: the Federal League (it had
L’Hommedieu Huston, owners of the New York Yankees. They culminated on January 3, 1920, when the Yankees purchased Ruth from the Red Sox for $125,000. The Boston faithful cried while the New York fans cheered. The possibilities of Ruth and the short right-field foul line at the Polo Grounds (Yankee Stadium was not to open until 1923) were endless. The record Ruth had set in 1919 was sure to fall—but who could have imagined that he would almost double the old record in the coming year.

With the purchase of Ruth, baseball moved into the modern world. The buying and selling of players was not as common in the early days of the game. The new concentration on big-name players and a growing interest in baseball statistics increased the game’s popularity. To the joy of New York fans, the purchase of Ruth started a string of World Championships that would make the Yankees the kings of baseball for the next forty-five years. The cry "Break up the Yankees" soon filled the air of every major league city. The ghosts of these protests are obviously working as the Yankees have gone an entire decade since they appeared in post-season play—two World Championships since 1962 is the longest drought in Yankee history since before Ruth’s purchase—yet they are still the team that America loves to hate.

With Ruth’s obvious gate appeal, the major leagues began a practice that was to be the subject of debate for decades to come. Beginning with this crucial summer, the eternal question "Is the ball livelier this year?" would be heard every time baseballs were launched towards the bleachers. The debate over whether or not the three-man commission ordered the official major league baseball to be made livelier filled the conversations of Hot Stove Leagues over the next decade. The question was obvious—how else could the influx of home runs be explained?

Cries that the ball is livelier have been heard ever since the early spring of 1920. At the time, the National Commission denied charges that the ball had been "juiced up" to take advantage of Ruth’s power. When asked about it through the years, Ban Johnson stood by these denials until after he was replaced as American League president. Johnson was forced out of the league and held a grudge throughout his remaining days. On his deathbed he granted one last interview in which he changed his story on the whole affair. In this interview, Johnson claimed that he ordered a new ball made for the 1920 season. He went on to say that he wanted a livelier ball to boost attendance when Ruth was playing. When asked if it had anything to do with the fact that the Yankees were sharing the Polo Grounds with John McGraw’s Giants, Johnson refused to comment. (McGraw and Johnson had feuded ever since their paths had first crossed in the 1890s when both men were in the National League. More attendance and more press for the Yankees would enable the American Leaguers to upstage Johnson’s old nemesis.)

Another possible origin of the livelier ball was suggested by longtime Philadelphia Phillies’ owner, Thomas Shibe, who attributed the liveliness of the new ball to the influx of top-grade Australian wool after the end of the Great War. Shibe stated that because the wool was of excellent quality, it was originally wound tighter than the wool of the past. When the owners noticed the resiliency of the new ball, they ordered that all balls from then on be wound this way (in the past, most balls were soft and the horsehide loosely sewn over the cork-and-wool ball). This is the most likely explanation; balls of the war years had been made from surplus wool that had been stored for years.

The so-called ‘rabbit ball’ that appeared in 1920 (it was nicknamed this by the players and old-timers alike—"it hops off the bat like a rabbit scurrying for its hole") definitely affected the way in which the modern game was played from that time on. No matter what the origin (whether it was intentional or accidental), the face of baseball was changed forever. The power hitter was king. Although many factors were blamed for the increase in home runs—"the pitching is the poorest I have seen in thirty years," cried one old-timer—the ball did seem to hop off the bat at an alarming speed. ("Somebody’s going to get killed . . . they’re going to have to move the mound back another ten feet," echoed the home run-afflicted pitching staff of the Washington Senators.)

Overlooked is the fact that the leagues had more money to spend after 1919. In the previous decade, the owners were hard pressed for cash due to several causes: the Federal League (a third major league which boosted player demands and salaries to an unprecedented level); the state of the economy due to the war in Europe; and the lag in attendance that these hard times had forced. Now, as 1920 opened, the promise of a brighter future took the rationing off of major league baseball. With more money to spend, the owners allowed umpires to substitute new balls for old ones more frequently during the course of a game. (In the past many games had been completed with a single ball.) The use of more balls during a game enabled players to see the ball better. When they made contact, they also saw the ball travel farther.

The first two months of the 1920 baseball season passed without any remarkable incidents. Aside from
the twenty-six inning tie game that the Brooklyn Dodgers and Boston Braves played on May 1 (both starting pitchers went the distance—Leon Cadore and Joe Oeschger) and the pace at which Babe Ruth was hitting home runs, the season appeared similar to those before it. There were rumors that Ray Chapman, the shortstop for the American League-leading Cleveland Indians, was calling this season his last. Chapman, who had married the previous fall, had reportedly discussed with his family the possibility of becoming a businessman and settling down to raise a family. His father-in-law, one of Cleveland's most prominent citizens, was the president of the East Ohio Gas Company. A self-made millionaire, Martin B. Daly had taken to Ray as quickly as had his daughter Kathleen. Daly's only problem with the relationship, however, was the fact that Chapman was always on the road as a ballplayer. Though an avid fan of the Indians, Daly wanted Chapman to retire from baseball and settle down. But for now Chapman was leading the shortstops of the league in almost every category. Even the thought of losing him to the business world was disheartening to the Cleveland faithful.

On May 26 a stir was created in New York when the third baseman for the Giants, Art Fletcher, was caught roughing up a ball during a National League game. Fletcher was ejected from the game and received an automatic ten-day suspension. Though seemingly a minor incident, Fletcher's suspension had far-reaching implications. He was the first player to be penalized by baseball's controversial new rules against so-called freak pitches. Shortly after Fletcher's suspension, Cincinnati pitcher, Slim Sallee, a twenty-one game winner in 1919 was also hit by the rule. Sallee had rubbed the first two fingers of his pitching hand with resin to improve his grip on the ball. Sallee, who perspired heavily on the mound, contended the new rules adversely affected his control. He declared that he would "get a reputation as a wild, young busher if I keep on. Besides, I have hit two batters and they were probably nice men and maybe had families to support. Before this season, I don't believe I hit two batters in six years."18

The outlawing of resin was perhaps the most controversial of the new pitching rules. There were many who agreed with Sallee when he claimed the primary effect of such a ban would be an increase in the number of hit batsmen. One of the pitchers that was allegedly the target for these stricter rules was New York Yankees Carl Mays.

A day after the Fletcher incident, a severe case of umpire-baiting took place during the Yankee-Red Sox game at Fenway Park. On May 27, umpires George Hildebrand and Bill Evans arrived in Boston for the Yankee game there. It was the first time during the season they had worked a Yankee game, but they were well aware of the escalating tension between the New Yorkers and the umpiring crew of Will Dineen and Dick Nallin, two umpires who had ejected so many Yankees for their unruly behavior that one writer criticized Ban Johnson for assigning them to the team's games. The writer urged Johnson to use Hildebrand and Evans, a pair the Yankees "never had problems with."19 It soon became evident, however, that the New Yorkers' dissatisfaction was not confined to any particular umpiring crew.

When Hildebrand stepped behind the plate to work that day, he immediately became the focus of the New York bench jockeys. Pitcher Bob Shawkey was especially displeased with the work of the plate umpire. By the fourth inning, Shawkey had seen enough. After a "ball four" call on a Shawkey curve ball, the pitcher stormed Hildebrand, along with several other players and Yankee manager Miller Huggins. After calmly listening to the protests, Hildebrand ordered play to resume. As Huggins returned to the dugout, Shawkey chose this moment to kneel and make an exaggerated production of meticulously tying his shoelaces. It took the pitcher five minutes to accomplish this task; all the while, Hildebrand stood behind the plate fuming. Finally, the pitcher went to work. When Hildebrand made the call on the final pitch of the inning (a called third strike to Harry Hooper), Shawkey doffed his cap and bowed low in mock show of appreciation. As Shawkey passed him on the way to the dugout, Hildebrand ejected the pitcher from the game.

That was all it took to set off Shawkey. He wheeled and charged the umpire, throwing a wild punch that the umpire was barely able to avoid. Shawkey took another swing before the two men grabbed each other and began struggling. As they did, Hildebrand pulled off his mask and brought it down hard on the pitcher's head. When the two finally were pulled apart, blood was flowing from a gash behind Shawkey's ear where he had been struck by the mask.20 Writing in the New York Sun afterwards, Joe Vila delivered a stinging commentary on the Yankees' actions:

The attack on Hildebrand was the culmination of disorderly behavior by the Yankees in previous games. . . . Evidently they were encouraged by Huggins or by the club owners. . . . But Shawkey's behavior spilled the beans and attracted the attention of the entire baseball world to the methods of the New York team. Clean baseball is wanted here, not tough mug stuff. . . .
The Sporting News was even more vehement in its calls for punishment. The publication said the Yankees had several temperamental ballplayers "who would be much better off for themselves, their club, and the game if they were taken out and beaten up with a stiff club." The action by Ban Johnson's office was much more restrained. Shawkey received only a one-week suspension and a two-hundred dollar fine.

This incident soon overshadowed by the events and revelations of the coming months is prominent in the "modernization" of baseball. Before this incident, it was commonplace in baseball's early days for umpires, players, and fans to feud openly during games (and after, under the bleacher pavilions). After the outcry against the Yankees and Johnson's leniency (it brought a shorter suspension that Fletcher's ball-scuffing affair), baseball took a stronger stand against such instances. With the naming of a new commissioner later in the year, baseball made several declarations concerning the protection of umpires and the conduct that would be expected regarding the interchanges between umpires and players, managers, and fans.

Even so, a major focus of attention during that summer was Mr. Ruth. Before the season was half completed, the Yankee slugger had swatted twenty-four home runs, leaving him just five shy of the major league record of twenty-nine he had established the previous year. At year's end he had fifty-four and his batting average was a career-high .370. Ruth's drawing power was not limited to his slugging feats. Coupled with several base running bloopers and face-to-face confrontations with opposing pitchers who dared Ruth by pulling in their outfielders (and then proceeded to strike out the slumping Ruth), was the infamous "death ride" that Ruth embarked upon from Washington on July 5. When the series against the Senators ended, he loaded his four-door sedan with his wife Helen, outfielder Frank Gleich, catcher Fred Hoffman, and coach Charley O'Leary.

It was a raucous drive, with singing and laughter, and several stops for bootleg liquor. Around 3:00 a.m., outside Philadelphia near a small town named Wawa, Ruth took a curve too fast and ran the car into a ditch. The vehicle rolled on its side, pitching the passengers onto the ground nearby. Almost miraculously, the Babe emerged from the accident. As he crawled out of the wreckage, he spotted O'Leary lying motionless on his back in the road. "Oh, my God! Oh, my God!" Babe cried out. "Oh, God, bring Charley back! Don't take him! I didn't mean it!"

O'Leary was only stunned, however. Ruth himself was the most seriously hurt, having banged up his knee. He limped as the five set out walking to a nearby farmhouse for help. By the time they were able to get another car and continue their journey to New York, it was daybreak. They arrived to see a newspaper headline proclaiming, "RUTH REPORTEDLY KILLED IN CAR CRASH." News of the accident had spread rapidly, and many New Yorkers had taken off work to hang around bulletin boards waiting for more news. It was around noon before it was reported that Babe was not seriously hurt.

The Sporting News seized the opportunity to take another jab at Ruth and the Yankee followers:

A ballplayer, in whom his club has invested $135,000, to whom it is paying $20,000 a year in salary, and upon whose daily appearances in the line-up the success means to the New York Yankees--this player with several of his fellows embarking on a more or less wild all-night ride over strange country roads for a distance of a hundred miles! Hitting 'er up on high over the hills of Pennsylvania, the automobile overturns in a ditch, its occupants are caught underneath--and Babe Ruth escapes without any apparent injury. . . . And then the followers of the Yankees moan that the club is bejinxed because Lewis has a lame leg, Ward is out with a spike wound, Peckinpah has indigestion or something, Mogridge has a sore ankle, and Shawkey a sprained back. Jinxed? Well, we would say that the ball club is foul for luck, that's all.

The fans were much more forgiving. There was a rumor at the time that a granite statue was being erected on the sight of the accident in honor of Ruth being there-'BABE RUTH WRECKED HIS CAR HERE, JUNE 6, 1920.'

This incident was the first of many involving Ruth over the next decade and a half--including several well-publicized run-ins with Miller Huggins, his suspension for barnstorming against the orders of commissioner Landis, and his infamous "Stomach Ache Heard Round the World." These instances, along with Ruth's ego and popular appeal, define what we now look upon as the trappings of a baseball superstar. Whether it is Jose Canseco's penchant for fast automobiles, Lenny Dykstra's late night drunken joy rides, or Kevin Mitchell's reputation for being uncoachable, the modern day ballplayer is surrounded by controversy and criticism. Babe Ruth's reputation for being a playboy, a drinker, a gambler, and the
biggest ego on the East Coast defined the new world of baseball stars. Before him there had been individuals who stood out (Ty Cobb, Napoleon Lajoie, Grover Cleveland Alexander, etc.) and defied the rules of baseball, but never before had they captured the hearts of millions while being the bad boys of the diamond. Despite Ruth's faults, the fans loved him, the media adored him (many of Ruth's escapades were hidden by the press to save the American public from its idol's vices), and players and managers feared the swing of his mighty forty-two ounce bat. He brought baseball players into the world of celebrity and tabloid rumors, something today's game lives on and dies from. Ruth was not the only Yankee who had an attraction for the limelight. Carl Mays had come to the Yankees in a series of controversial incidents which culminated in Yankee owners, Ruppert and Huston, taking Ban Johnson to court to obtain Mays from the rival Red Sox. (Mays had walked out and demanded to be traded—when the Red Sox relented, Johnson stepped in, fearing that this defiance would set an unwelcome precedent in player/team relationships.) Johnson had ordered all teams to disregard any attempts by the Red Sox to unload the trouble-making hurler. The Yankees, however, ignored the decree and made a deal with the Sox—much to the chagrin of the Indians, who ironically were trying to obtain the submarine specialist. The deal resulted in court case which was to see the Yankees awarded Mays and see the decline of the once autonomous rule of Ban Johnson.

On July 25 of his fateful summer, Mays beat his former mates 8-2 for his eighth consecutive victory, leaving his record at 15-7. Afterwards he was in a hurry to get home. His wife was pregnant and the baby was expected any day. In his haste, Mays was mortoring down Saint Nicholas Avenue over the speed limit. He was pulled over and given a ticket for going twenty-seven miles per hour over a three block stretch. Mays would have to appear in court to enter a plea on the charge. His court date was set for August 20, an off-date on the Yankee schedule:

Tomorrow we ought to win pretty easily. I can't hit this man Mays, but the rest of the team sure can. —Ray Chapman

Meanwhile, in Cleveland a construction crew from the Osborn Engineering Company had been hired by Cleveland owner Jim Dunn to build a new press box for League Park. Showing an extremely optimistic attitude for a team that had never won a pennant, Dunn wanted the press to have plenty of seating for the World Series he planned on hosting in October. Now all that Dunn needed was for his Indians to hold onto their slim margin over the Yankees and the White Sox. The Indians held a one-half game lead over the Yankees when they traveled to the Polo Grounds for a crucial series starting on the 16th of August. The Indians had held a comfortable four-and-a-half game lead less than two weeks before, so the main concern of Tris Speaker's club was somehow to turn the tide of recent events. Speaker was quoted as saying, "Something big is going to happen in New York. . . . It has to for us to turn things around."26

They would face their nemesis that afternoon, just a week after having been swept by them in Cleveland. On the mound for the Yankees, going for his one-hundredth career victory, was the pitcher that they had tried to obtain the year before, Carl Mays.

The Clevelanders struck early and built a 3-0 edge at the end of four complete innings. Due to lead off in the top of the fifth inning was shortstop, Ray Chapman, who throughout his career had been stifled by the submarine-style hurling of Mays. This at-bat was to change the lives of many people and its effects on baseball history cannot be weighed precisely:

Chapman carried two batters with him to the plate, swinging them loosely over his shoulder. He tossed one toward the Indians' dugout, then stepped into the batter's box and pulled his cap down as he took his stance . . . . On the mound, Mays stared in toward the plate, covered the ball in his gloved hand, and began his wind-up for his first pitch of the inning. He brought the ball chest high, raised his hands high over his head, and swung his right arm back as he stepped forward. His arm was at the farthest point of his back swing when he detected a slight shift in the batter's box as if Chapman was preparing to push a bunt down the first-base line. In that split second, Mays made the decision to switch to a high-and-tight pitch. . . . The ball sailed directly at Chapman's head, but he made no attempt to move. He remained poised in his crouch, apparently transfixed as the ball flew in and crashed against his left temple with a resounding CRACK that was audible throughout the ballpark. . . . Thinking it had struck the bat handle, he [Mays] grabbed the ball and threw to first base. He watched as [Wally] Pipp made the catch and turned to toss the ball around the infield. . . . But, suddenly, Pipp froze his arm still cocked. . . . Only then did Mays realize that something was wrong."27
There was indeed something wrong. Motionless, Ray Chapman slowly sank to the ground. With blood rushing from Chapman’s ears, the plate umpire made a desperate plea to the grandstand for a doctor. Chapman struggled to a sitting position and was examined by the two clubs’ physicians. With ice applied to his head, Chapman attempted to speak. Although his lips moved, no words came out. After several minutes, Chapman was able to stand up on his own and walk toward the clubhouse, located in deep center field. As he approached second base, however, Chapman’s knees buckled and was assisted by two of his teammates the rest of the way.

Chapman would speak only a few sentences as an ambulance rushed him to a hospital where the doctors attempted an operation to relieve the pressure on his brain. Riding along in the ambulance was a former catcher with the Senators and Red Sox, John Henry, who had become one of Ray’s closest friends. As they rode together, Chapman leaned over and whispered to his friend, “John, for God’s sake, don’t call Kate (his wife). But if you do, tell her I am all right.” Those words were Ray Chapman’s last before he lapsed into unconsciousness. Meanwhile, Mays seemed unaffected by the beaming. His main concern was with the baseball that had struck Chapman. Mays pointed out a scuff mark to plate umpire Connolly, explaining that this is what made the ball travel so far inside. Connolly threw out the baseball and play resumed. The ball and how scuffed it was has remained a mystery to this day, for no one at the scene attempted to keep track of it. It was mixed in with the others in the ball bag, lost forever as a piece of evidence.

At 9:30 that night, the doctors summoned manager Tris Speaker and business manager Walter McNichols to a room for an update on Chapman’s condition. X-rays had confirmed that the ballplayer had sustained a two-armed fracture extending three-and-a-half inches to the base of his skull on the left side. It was a depressed fracture, and one piece of the bone was pressing down on the brain. The patient’s pulse was dropping at an alarming rate, and was down to forty. After the operation, which lasted an hour and fifteen minutes, Chapman’s pulse climbed back to ninety and the doctors said that his chances were fair. By 4:40 a.m., Tuesday, August 17, Ray Chapman, twenty-nine years old, was the first casualty on a major league diamond.

"... We don't think that Mays should ever be allowed to pitch against us again," stated outfielder Jack Graney. "Mays should be strung up," cried first baseman Doc Johnston. Mays was taken to the District Attorney’s office later that day and issued a straightforward statement which described the incident as purely accidental. "It was the most regrettable incident in my career, and I would do anything if I could undo what has happened," Mays stated in closing.

By the time that Mays arrived back at his apartment, his wife had already received two threatening phone calls. One caller had vowed to shoot her husband the next time he drove across the 155 Street viaduct. A police escort was immediately assigned to protect the Mays family. Shaken by the events, Mays chose not to leave his apartment for the remainder of the day. Mays never contacted Chapman’s widow to offer his condolences—an act which brought heavy criticism on the already scorned pitcher. Mays was later quoted as saying that Yankees’ owner Cap Huston had advised him against doing so. He also declined to pay a personal visit to the funeral home where Chapman’s body lay—a gesture of respect many expected him to perform. Again he was guided by a simple motive: "I knew that the sight of his silent form would haunt me as long as I live."

Never a popular player, even with his own teammates ("I never know when they or I shall be traded. ... A good pitcher has no friends."). Mays was well-known for favoring the inside pitch. He never denied coming inside to any batter. Labeled a "bean ball artist," Mays had come under attack several times before for being a dirty player. He carried on a long-running feud with the great Ty Cobb over whether or not his earlier beaning of Cobb had been intentional. Although he denied hitting anyone on purpose, it was obvious that coming inside with the hard-to-follow submarine pitch led to many batters being hit. The first time that the Tigers met the Yankees after Chapman’s death, a note was given to Mays from one of the clubhouse boys. The boy said that Cobb had instructed him to give it to Mays. The note read: "IF IT WAS WITHIN MY POWER, I WOULD HAVE INSCRIBED ON RAY CHAPMAN’S TOMBSTONE THESE WORDS: "HERE LIES A VICTIM OF ARROGANCE, VICIOUSNESS, AND GREED.""

Ray Chapman’s death brought threatened boycotts from several teams if Carl Mays were allowed to pitch again. Players called for the illegalization of the submarine pitch (even though in baseball’s early days, this had been the pitching style of all the hurlers), and the banishment of Mays for life. On Thursday, August 19, Ban Johnson publicly stated that in his opinion Mays "is greatly affected and may never be capable temporally of pitching again." At the very least, he felt, because of the bitterness directed
at Mays by rival players "it would be inadvisable for
him to attempt to pitch this year at any rate."

It is terrible to consider the case at all, but
when any man, however ignorant, illiterate,
or malicious, even hints that a white man in
his normal mind would stand there on the
field of sport and try to kill another, the man
making that assertion is inhuman, uncivilized, bestial. --Carl Mays

The ramifications of the Ray Chapman-Carl Mays
incident would dominate the baseball world for the
remainder of the season. A day after Chapman's
death, the Cleveland Indians were almost immediately
given the death notice for their chances at the
American League pennant. Detroit shortstop Donie
Bush announced to the press that he was offering his
services to the Indians for the remainder of the season
if sanction for such action could be obtained from
league offices. Along with this, increased pressure for
the banishment of Mays swept through the clubhouses
of the American League. The fact that Mays was not
at Chapman's funeral only added to the fire that was
being placed upon the incident (the funeral was held
August 20).

In the wake of the fatal beaning, baseball
executives were forced to take a look at the safety of
the game. At this time in baseball history, the
thought of mandatory headgear was given serious
consideration. Several suggestions arose to fit the
need: leather helmets, much like the ones being worn
in college football games; steel plates sewn inside of
the baseball cap; and many crude efforts that
resembled the caps worn by the miners of West
Virginia. As ridiculous as the idea was to most
baseball purists, the most ringing endorsement came
from the pages of the New York Times:

... When the big glove now in use behind
the bat was introduced, it was ridiculed as a
pillow. ... The breast pad got a similar
reception and the shin guards ... [Such]
appliances ... [as protective] headgear for
batsmen ... though it might be odd at first
to the fan ... would be following the trend
of the sport.34

The major sporting goods companies of the time
began to work on these experimental headgear devices
in preparation for their use in the future. Despite the
Ray Chapman tragedy, it was not until 1941 that the
Brooklyn Dodgers became the first team to be
equipped with batting helmets. After shortstop Pee
Wee Reese had been struck by a wild pitch during
spring training, Larry MacPhail had his team outfitted
with helmets made of light plastic material. The
helmets were rejected, however, by the Brooklyn team
due to their awkwardness and poor visibility (the
visors hung low over the players' eyebrows).

Late in the 1952 season, Pittsburgh Pirates
executive, Branch Rickey, issued plastic helmets made
of fiberglass and polyester resin to his team to be
worn at all times on the playing field. Although the
last-place Pirates were ridiculed for looking like coal
miners, and were often subjected to fans throwing
marbles at their headgear (catcher Joe Garagiola
adamantly protested the helmets because of this—he
was constantly being bombarded by fans when he sat
in the bullpen), the idea of using helmets caught on in
the National League. In 1956, the National League
made their use at-bat mandatory. The American
League followed suit two years later. It took thirty-six
years for baseball to go modern in protecting its
batsmen from the bean ball. Ray Chapman's death
was not the case for the new rule in the 1950s. His
death did lead to the experiments which eventually
culminated in mandatory headgear at the major league
level. Thus, Ray Chapman's death cannot be
overlooked in the advancement of baseball into the
modern world of employee safety.

The movement to expel Mays from baseball
never materialized as most baseball men wrote the
incident off as a major tragedy, not a plot to kill a
fellow player. Meanwhile, under extreme pressure,
Mays continued to pitch effectively. He obtained his
greatest support from the well-respected manager
of the White Sox, Kid Gleason. Gleason stated that,

"we have never had any trouble with him.
He has attempted to drive some of my
players back from the plate. ... This is a
part of the game. I used to do it in my day,
and every good pitcher does it. ... I contend
... it was purely accidental." Gleason went
on to say that his team would face Mays
willingly and that any other team should do
so in the spirit of the game.35

Except for such minor concerns such as crank
phone calls and graffiti on clubhouse chalkboards
stating that "Mays the Murderer" was slated to pitch
that day, Mays' remaining days of the 1920 season
were spent fighting for the American League pennant.
His career, though, would be marred by this incident.
Even on the day of his death, Mays' 208-126 won-
lost record (winning percentage of .623) and earned
run average of 2.92, took a back seat to this tragic
incident. His obituary simply reads "Carl Mays, the
New York Yankees pitcher who threw the fast ball
that hit and killed Cleveland batter Ray Chapman in
1920, died yesterday." To the end, he never was able
to escape that pitch.36
As the season progressed in the aftermath of Chapman's death, rumors concerning the previous fall's "crooked" World Series began to circulate. The White Sox, who had stayed in contention throughout the year, had not pulled away from the pack as most people had predicted they would. With this seeming failure came accusations that the players were still on the take (or at least being pressured by gamblers who had stakes on the Yankees and Indians, to lose or be exposed). With future Hall of Famer Joe Sewell now playing shortstop for the Indians, the three-team race for the American League pennant came to a head with three weeks remaining:

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The race was the closest in memory. Yet, the events of the previous autumn detracted from the excitement. On the eve of an important series between Cleveland and Chicago, the dam burst. "I have evidence," declared Ban Johnson, "and much of it is now before the Grand Jury, that certain notorious gamblers are threatening to expose the 1919 World Series as a fixed event unless the Chicago White Sox players drop out of the current race intentionally to let the Indians win. . . ." Less than a week later, the grand jury indicted seven active White Sox players and retired first baseman Chick Gandil, charging them with fixing the Series. The seven were pitchers Eddie Cicotte and Claude "Lefty" Williams, outfielders Joe Jackson and Happy Felsch, third baseman Buck Weaver, shortstop Swede Risberg, and utility infielder Fred McMullin.27

Cicotte admitted that he "gave Cincy batters good balls to hit. I put them right over the plate. . . . I deliberately threw late to second on several plays." Jackson said that he had "helped throw games by muffing hard chances in the outfield or by throwing slowly to the infield." Comiskey handled his players as best he could in such circumstances. With only days remaining in a close race, he suspended the seven Sox indefinitely, thus leaving the White Sox without their starting line-up. The Indians' clinching of the American League pennant seemed both inspiring and anti-climactic. Baseball's faithful saw it as only fitting that the Indians would win the pennant in honor of the fallen Chapman, but their triumph seemed tainted by the events of the year. They had lost their most respected player and friend. Their pennant was won somewhat by default, as the White Sox were broken up by the Grand Jury indictments. (The fact that the White Sox may have thrown key games during the season also weighed heavily on the baseball world.) As the World Series pitting the Indians against the National League champion Brooklyn Dodgers approached, the baseball community was in a state of shock.

The focus on the Black Sox scandal, as it was now being called, was tremendous. The upcoming trial and the truths that it would reveal were clearly the primary subjects of interest to the baseball public at the moment the first pitch was being thrown for the 1920 World Series. Nevertheless, for a week and a half, the Cleveland Indians captured the hearts of the baseball world one more time. The series was one-sided, with the Indians taking the Fall Classic in a five-games-to-two advantage (the league was still under an experimental best of nine format—for added revenues), yet it yielded some of baseball's first (and last) accomplishments which live on today in baseball lore.

The 1920 World Series saw the first time that two brothers would compete in post-season play. Doc Johnston, the Indians' reserve first baseman who had been thrown into action due to the contract holdout of Joe Harris several months earlier, would be reunited with his kid brother, Jimmy, the third baseman for the Robins. This series was also the scene for the last known arrest of a player for scalping his complimentary tickets. The Dodgers' starting pitcher for game three, Rube Marquard, was arrested for attempting to unload his box seats to an undercover cop for the sum of $350. He was released in time to see his team fall to the Indians 5-1.

Several of the Indians left their mark on baseball history that fall. Second baseman Bill Wambsgangss (forever memorialized in the box scores of the era as "Wamby") turned the first and only unassisted triple play in postseason competition. In the same game, third baseman Elmer Smith hit the first grand slam home run in Series play and was followed innings later by Jim Bagby becoming the first pitcher to hit a home run in a Fall Classic. All in the same game! The events of this World Series, however, paled in comparison to the ramifications that the season of 1920 had had on the baseball world. At the post-Series celebration, hundreds of Cleveland fans crushed against the speakers' platform. A riot broke out. To many of the ballplayers present that day, it seemed an appropriate ending to a bittersweet season, one that they would remember more for its tragedy than for its triumph. This riot was remembered years later when the city of Detroit was set fire to after the 1984 World Series. Baseball fans of 1920 were evidently becoming modern along with the game.
The coming months brought baseball to its knees. The idea of baseball being taken to court over the Black Sox scandal astonished the American public. To understand better the changing face of the baseball establishment, it is necessary to examine revelations at the trial of the "eight men out." Even though these eight men were acquitted in Court, they were to be banned for life from the game that they loved. What they had done the previous fall shaped the actions that the National Commission was forced to take.

The trial of the Black Sox (they were tried as a unit--much to the protest of third baseman Buck Weaver, who contended that he only knew of the fix and never took part in it) revealed that gamblers had engineered the fix for a profit of approximately $500,000. According to testimony, ringleader Gandil had received $20,000, Cicotte $10,000, and Jackson $5,000. What shocked the baseball world most, however, was the cover up that Charles Comiskey and the baseball hierarchy had attempted from the outset. Comiskey had grown suspicious of mischief in the first game when shoddy play permitted the Reds to win 9-1. Yet he did not go public with his suspicions. He had, however, voiced concern to National League president John Heydler. Why had he not gone to his own league's president, Ban Johnson? "I had no confidence in Johnson," declared Comiskey from the witness stand. This declaration astounded the baseball world--how could the game survive if the owners could not confide in the league president when things were going astray?

Comiskey went on to say that he had employed at a cost of $4,000 a large force of detectives to run down every clue. Why, then, did that investigation's findings go unpublished? It was Comiskey's personal interests in the club, of course. Not surprisingly, the baseball faithful promptly cried that an independent office should be established to protect the integrity of the game. As it turned out, the court decided that the players had not truly fixed the 1919 World Series. But their actions, coupled with the obvious inefficiency of the National Commission led to the adoption of a revised version of the Lasker Plan by the two leagues.

By the end of 1920, it seemed evident that the major leagues should be placed under the rule of one man, separated from the interests of running a single club or even one of the two leagues. That man would have to be able to rule baseball without regard to personal investments. The baseball owners chose Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who had ruled in the case between the Federal League and the established National Commission in 1914. Described as a fair, but harsh, man, Landis was also known as a stubborn, no-nonsense type who felt that everyone deserved an opinion, as long as it did not conflict with his own.

Landis became the first commissioner in baseball history directly as a result of the Black Sox scandal, and he rebuilt the integrity of the game. He came to power with the baseball establishment in shambles. Because of the sorry state facing the National Commission after the scandal, Landis had negotiating power when approached by the executives of baseball.

Landis demanded absolute power as commissioner, demanding that his word be final. Ethical questions, he insisted, should be his, and his alone, to judge. For no reason, he was quoted as saying, was his power to be interfered with. Remarkably, no owner protested loudly enough for the decision to appoint Landis to be postponed. Baseball had its first commissioner.

Hired for a seven-year term (with an annual salary set at $42,500), Landis' first move was to ban the eight players (along with three National League players, Hal Chase, Henry Zimmerman, and Lee Magee--all for collusion with gamblers during the 1918-19 seasons) for life. His ruling brought the game back into the world of respectability. He outlawed personal barnstorming by players who had appeared in the World Series. Previously, teams had gone on the road and re-staged the World Series in such far-off locales as Iowa and California for fans who did not have the opportunity to see major league baseball.

Players could sometimes triple their yearly wages if they hooked up with the right headliner. Jumping on Babe Ruth's bandwagon was worth thousands if one could stay in the Sultan's favor. Landis was to suspend Ruth himself for a portion of the 1922 season for such a violation.

The establishment of a commissioner was the event that divides baseball history between its early beginnings and the game that has evolved since. It turned baseball into a respectable sport which would not tolerate the evil influences of the underworld. No longer would associating with gamblers be allowed. Over the years this became evident to such baseball lifers as Leo Durocher, Willie Mays, and Mickey Mantle. Judge Landis was to see to that. The events of 1920 changed the direction of baseball. The consequences of that turning point year were far-reaching.

Seventy-two years later, Danny Tartabull signed a five-year, twenty-five-and-a-half million dollar contract with the New York Yankees on January 5, 1992. Tartabull had a banner year in 1991, hitting thirty-one home runs along with a .316 batting mark. His contract is one of many that was signed in the winter of 1991-92 which astonished everyday baseball
could a man be both booted and cheered by the fans. Often coming of its attractions such a big force behind the business of dangerous, and, in Ruth’s case, loved. Never before during the span of one pitch.

The need for men whose successes and failures keep the stands filled daily has been ever present since the first days of the National League in 1876. Ty Cobb, Christy Mathewson, Cy Young, Napoleon LaJoie, and many others brought fans to the ballpark during baseball’s early days, but it took the events of 1920 to make the phenomenon of the box office attraction such a big force behind the business of baseball. Big salaries and even bigger criticisms went hand-and-hand with the new stars of the baseball world. The game was changed forever with the coming of its biggest personality, Babe Ruth. As great as Ruth was on the field, it was his personality that changed the game for the modern superstar. Whether it was his late-night cavorting, his brash predictions, or his feuds with the management, Babe Ruth defined the modern ballplayer—cocky, uncoachable, dangerous, and, in Ruth’s case, loved. Never before could a man be both booed and cheered by the fans during the span of one pitch.

Along with the coming of the Babe and his love for life’s pleasures, baseball fans took a closer interest in bizarre personalities. They were caught up in the individual personalities of ballplayers in addition to their names in the box scores. The “flake” was born during the summer of 1920. Fans filled the seats just to see what such players would do or say next. As often as they failed, the players still captured the hearts of the baseball world. The Rick Dempseys, Jay Johnstones, and Bo Belinskys of baseball need only look back to 1920 to thank their mentor, “The Great Mails.”

Walter Mails was a cocky, unpredictable fellow who preferred to be called “The Great Mails.” To him, the ball was an “apple” and home plate, the “pan.” He was born at San Quentin, California, the site of the notorious prison and liked to boast of the times he ventured inside the prison yards as a boy. He was a lady’s man who took to the bright lights of the big leagues more than he did to the pitching mounds around the league. In 1920, though, he won several key games for the Indians on their route to the World Championship. His career never amounted to much (7-0 in 1920, but only 32-25 lifetime), but his boasts of his dominance over such pitching greats of the game’s history as Walter Johnson, Cy Young, Grover Cleveland Alexander, Christy Mathewson, Babe Ruth are still legendary in Cleveland seventy-two years later. One could contend that the Cleveland faithful has little else to celebrate.40

As insignificant as Walter Mails may appear to the statisticians of the game, his legacy helped bring baseball into the modern world. No matter how serious one may be about baseball, the legend of The Great Mails reminds us that it is only a game. He was one of the first players to downplay the importance of the game itself. His boasts and predictions kept the fans and the game’s priorities in check. After all, Americans do tend to take sports too seriously at times. Walter Mails realized this and attempted to change the face of the game with his humor. He might have failed in his quest for being the best pitcher of the twentieth century, but his colorful actions contributed to the popularity of the game.

Along with the personalities of 1920, the events which took place during, and as a result of, this season have definitely modernized the game. It was the season which brought the home run into the strategy book of every team. Today’s game is dominated by big money players who can hit the long ball. Pete Rose came to this realization when he said, “Home run hitters drive Cadillacs; singles hitters drive Chevrolets.”41 Fans have come to live or die by the home run. When one reads the box score, how often does one look to the doubles’ column? Or who went four-for-four? The average fan loves the home run hitter. The Mark McGwires, Cecil Fielders, and Reggie Jacksons of the past decade have lived and died by the home run. Jackson holds the record for most strike-outs in a career, yet he remains a hero to millions. Without the lively ball and the home run strategy, Jackson would have been just another poor-fielding outfielder who could not make contact. Some may argue that the home run has ruined the game—it is the reason that youngsters swing from their heels; it is the reason that strike-outs dominate the game. The influence of the lively ball and home runs since the days of Ruth cannot be overlooked. The game would never have evolved into a money-making profession without them. The home run sparks the interest of many a fan. It is what legends are made of. Why else would the American public celebrate in 1991 the fortieth anniversary of Bobby Thomson’s “Shot Heard Round the World” that clinched the pennant for the 1951 Giants? The home run has
become a part of our society. When some one comes through in the business world, he hits a 'home run' for the company. Even the Sexual Revolution has not escaped the term.

Despite claims to the contrary, the game of yesteryear was not superior to the game played today. It was a different game, measured by different standards. Yet the same problems have been clear to the baseball world since the summer of 1920. Even then, old-timers of baseball criticized the game for being a weak substitute for the great game that they had played in an earlier era. One only needs to read the baseball periodicals of the time. Weak pitching, money-hungry players, poor farm systems, and college players being rushed to the big leagues are just a few of the complaints that filled the sports pages circa 1920. Baseball is in love with its past as much as society is in love with its own history. Reality rarely compares favorably with memory. People remember what was once good about the world. The same holds true with the baseball fan. The game that one grew up with is far superior to the current edition. Every spring brings reminiscent of days past. The modern world thrives upon it.

The game has the ability to change its rules and standards every winter. Since 1920, the pitching mound has been lowered and the designated-hitter rule has removed the possibility of seeing another Babe Ruth emerge in the American League. Ironically, the DH rule was proposed during the summer of 1920 by National League president John Heydler, a proposal finally approved in 1973 by the American League. Ball parks have been moved inside. On the other hand, teams have returned to the uniform designs of its past. Button-up jerseys and pants with belts have replaced the 1970s' contribution of V-necks and bright colored polyester, as the game has attempted to relive its glory days. The Baltimore Orioles have gone so far as to build a new stadium in the tradition of the parks of the past with brick walls and jotted outfield corners. As much as the game has changed, it has in many ways, stayed the same since the summer of 1920. The events of that year are almost indistinguishable from the events of 1992 (as long as you overlook the dollar amounts and the fashion/fads of the times).

The hiring of a commissioner to oversee the baseball world, the emergence of the long-ball and the stars it would create, the elimination of the gambling influence on the game (except for such persons as Pete Rose, Lenny Dykstra, Willie Mays, Mickey Mantle, and other accusations that arise periodically), and the after-effects of Ray Chapman's death have left an indelible mark on the baseball world. Coupled with such world-changing events and personalities as Prohibition, women's suffrage, communism, Hitler, and Stalin, the events of the baseball season of 1920 are the reasons that the game and its fans are where they are today. The season which saw the likes of Walter Mails, Babe Ruth, Ray Chapman, Carl Mays, and the Black Sox dominate the interests and headlines of the game of baseball is a direct turning point in the modernization of baseball. Good or bad, this modernization has definitely taken place, and that year's events are responsible for the game that millions hold dear.

Endnotes

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37"Not the Same Game, Say Old-Timers," TSN, 1 January 1920, 3-4.
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48Ibid., 125-27.
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"Asphodel, That Greeny Flower": William Carlos Williams and the Transformative Word
Erika L. O'Daniel

In much of his early writing, William Carlos Williams explores the nature of dualistic relationships in the world. He reveals a particular interest in the binary opposition that exists between the male and his female Other, believing that this opposition creates a necessary struggle from which creative energy may flow. Men in Williams' early writing often engage in the sexual pursuit of the Other, and, as Paul Mariani discusses in *William Carlos Williams: A New World Naked*, Williams himself often engaged in the same pursuit: "But he always loved women, many women, and sometimes he acted passionately on those impulses, even right there in his hometown," in which he lived with his wife, Florence Herman Williams (661). Williams' marriage to Floss provided a necessary stability in his life. For Williams, marriage is "a statement of presence" and "a promise of commitment to the world" (Fisher-Wirth 157). In Williams' view, however, the commitment in an artist's life must be balanced by freedom, and in much of Williams' art and life, he asserts freedom through the act of adultery. Whereas marriage is a statement of presence, "...adultery is a statement of freedom, an assertion of desire independent of social order, and therefore an assertion of art..." (Fisher-Wirth 157). In a description of Williams' "Apollonian" and "Dionysian" characteristics, Denise Levertov gives evidence of the balance achieved in Williams' artistic life: "But if the Apollonian form-sense is the bones of an art, the intuitive, that which is pliant, receptive—but not docile!—rather abandoning itself fiercely, recklessly, to experience—is the flesh and blood of it, and this is Dionysian" (226).

In "The Great Sex Spiral: A Criticism of Miss Marsden's 'Linguai Psychology,'" a letter written in 1917 to the editor of *The Egoist*, Williams asserts his belief in the "cleavage running roughly with the division into sex" (111). He argues that "vigorouls life in the realm of thought" requires that the two opposing poles of male/female psychology "be firmly established" (Williams, "Great Sex Spiral" 111). To attempt to blend these opposing psychologies, as Miss Marsden attempts, would result in only one thing for Williams—death. The only positive connection which the male can make with the female, "the earth under his feet," is through the "fleeting sex function"; outside of his pursuit of the female, man has "absolutely no necessity to exist" (Williams, "Great Sex Spiral" 111). Even once he has made his "catch," no objective satisfaction will result. In the catch, the objective is removed, and all that remains for him is to begin his pursuit all over again, to give himself up to "further hunting, to star-gazing, to idleness" (Williams, "Great Sex Spiral" 111). Williams' description of the male's endless pursuit of the female bears resemblance to Jacques Lacan's description of desire and its relationship to language, the Other (Autre). Toril Moi explains Lacan's statement on desire as follows: "...for Lacan, desire 'behaves' in precisely the same way as language: it moves ceaselessly on from object to object or from signifier to signifier, and will never find full present satisfaction just as meaning can never be seized as full presence" (101). To a female, whose psychology is opposed to the male's and whose feet are firmly planted in the earth, a male's ceaseless movement from object to object, woman to woman, will always remain "a meaningless symbol—a negative attracting her attach" (Williams, "Great Sex Spiral" 111).

The dualistic philosophy that Williams expresses in "The Great Sex Spiral" is manifest in his fiction, drama, and poetry. In his later work, however, his views on opposing male and female psychologies seem to develop into a more complex vision in which the male and female principles to no longer oppose each other but rather unite to form a balanced whole. In "Williams, Sappho, and the Woman-as-Other," Stephen Tapscott describes a major change which takes place between *Paterson* 1-4 and later poems like "Asphodel, That Greeny Flower" (30). Tapscott argues that in Williams' earlier work, the male most often pursues the female out of erotic desire; in later work, he pursues the female in search of "psychic and linguistic integration" (32). Williams' "Phallicentric vision of the polis" in *Paterson* 1-4 maintains male domination and control by silencing the female and reducing her to abstraction (Tapscott 40). Tapscott describes *Paterson's* female as "wild but silent, floral but monstrous, massive but dependent, ornate in secrets (crystals) but less communicatively decorated than masculinity (the male duck's dark plumage)" (33). She seems to fit Toril Moi's description of man's specularized Other whom patriarchal discourse has situated outside representation; she is "absence, negativity, the dark continent, or at best a lesser man" (133).

In Williams' epic poem, *Paterson*, woman is a flower, a cliff, the Falls; man is the city: "A man like a city a woman like a flower / -who are in love. Two women. Three women. / Innumerable women,
each like a flower. / But / only one man-like a city" (7). It is the man/city whose arms are "supporting her" (Williams, Paterson 8). She, the vulnerable flower, spreads her "colored petals / wide in the sun / But the tongue of the bee / misses them" (Williams, Paterson 11). She cries, ("you may call it a cry"), and her petals "wilt and disappear" (Williams, Paterson 11). Without the support of her male opposite, she withers into silence, Females require the "tongue of the bee" because "The language, the language / fails them / They do not know the words / or have not / the courage to use them / -girls from families that have decayed and / taken to the hills: no words" (Williams, Paterson 11).

In all fairness to Williams, there are female figures "whom Paterson celebrates, even sanctifies" (Gilbert 12). Williams’ portrayal of the African chief’s nine wives in Book 1 and of the "Beautiful Thing" in Book 3 illustrates his ability to recognize beauty in women who, by traditional standards, would not be considered beautiful. However, the language he uses to describe them often reduces them to objects, and they are rarely given a language of their own. As Sandra Gilbert argues, they all share one "crucial characteristic: all are silent..." (12). Although the "proud queen" is "conscious of her power," it is the poet who speaks of her power (Williams, Paterson 13). He has interpreted her, in her youth, to be "the last, the first wife," the ultimate Other followed by eight other women who stand behind "in a descending scale of freshness" (Williams, Paterson 13). The nine wives, caught in a National Geographic photograph, become "hieroglyphics of a meaning that they cannot themselves articulate..." (Gilbert 12).

Williams also renders silent the Beautiful Thing, whom he celebrates in Book 3. He seems able to praise her because she is silent and, therefore, not a threat to his position of control in the male polis. Williams presents the Beautiful Thing as patriarchal culture presents the feminine: "Only in its 'acceptable' form as man's specularrison Other" (Moi 134). In Paul Mariani’s explanation of possible biographical sources for Williams’ Beautiful Thing, he points to Gladys Enals, the sixteen-year-old black maid of Williams’ close friend and neighbor, Kitty Hoagland. According to Mariani, Gladys disappeared with some of Kitty’s clothes and left behind three letters that her friend Dolly had written to her. When Kitty gave Williams the letters, he was "struck by the magnificent rawness and rightness of the language as an American artifact, as distinctively local as black jazz itself, and one of these he lifted right into the core of his epic.... If his Beautiful Thing should ever speak, he realized, these letters would contain her authentic cadences, ready to be translated into his own poetry" (Mariani, New World Naked 468). Williams appropriates the letters written by Dolly in order to capture an "authentic" voice for his Beautiful Thing, but one could argue that the letters lose their authenticity once he takes possession of them. The words no longer seem to belong to Dolly, (DJB in Paterson), much less to the Beautiful Thing; they belong to Williams, and the Beautiful Thing remains silent.

In the scene of Paterson’s encounter with the Beautiful Thing, Paterson is "Shaken by [her] beauty: / Shaken" (Williams, Paterson 125). He is "overcome / by amazement and could do nothing but admire / and lean to care for [her] in [her] quietness" (Williams, Paterson 135). It is when they look "each at the other in silence...," when she is "lethargic," "flat on [her] back," that he is "attendant upon [her]," and able to call her his "docile queen" (Williams, Paterson 125; 126).

When the Beautiful Thing is "intertwined with the fire," however, Paterson seems to be shaken not so much by her mere physical beauty but rather by the power of her flames, her love and creativity (Williams, Paterson 120). In Book 3, the which the fire’s flames have "got suddenly out of control," Williams describes the Beautiful Thing as both a source of destruction and a source of enlightenment: "The night was made day by the flames, flames / on which he fed-grubbing the page / (the burning page) / like a worm-for enlightenment / Of which we drink and are drunk and in the end / are destroyed (as we feed)" (Williams, Paterson 17). Hers is an "identity / surmounting the world, its core-from which / we shrink squirtling little hoses of / objection..." Williams, Paterson 120). When out of control, the Beautiful Thing has power enough to render "I along with the rest" impotent. Paterson is aware that when she is not flat on her back, she becomes an individual so mysteriously Other that he cannot begin to extinguish her fire with his "little hoses of / objection" or to understand the secret which she holds. Does she contain "Sappho’s poems, burned / by intention (or are they still hid in the Vatican crypts?)" (Williams, Paterson 119). Rather than embrace the Other in an effort to discover the answer to this question, he maintains his distance in silence: "(we die in silence, we / enjoy shamefacedly-in silence, hiding our joy even from each other / keeping / a secret joy in the flame which we dare / not acknowledge)" (Williams, Paterson 121).

In his later poetry, Williams seems to move away from a rather limited "dualistic conception of the world as male and female, self and other," (Tapscott
toward a "discovery of the sexual and emotional autonomy of women, their Otherness in an ontic instead of an erotically reciprocal way..." (Tapscott 39). Once Williams recognizes the Other's imaginative possibilities, he no longer chooses to "die in silence" (Williams, Paterson 121). He embraces the Other in an effort to learn the secret which only the Other knows.

This development is perhaps most obvious in "Asphodel, That Greeny Flower," a poem of three books and a coda published in 1955 when Williams was seventy-two (Mariani, "Satyr's Defense" 1). "Asphodel" is a confessional and somewhat autobiographical poem that Williams wrote to his wife, Florence (Floss), after many years of his infidelity. Toward the end of Book I, he explains to her the reason for this infidelity: "I risked what I had to do, therefore to prove that we love each other / while my very bones sweated that I could not cry to you / in the act" (Williams, "Asphodel" 161). In the past, he did not know, though he "should have," that "the lily-of-the-valley / is a flower who makes many ill who wiff it" (Williams, "Asphodel" 160). From both experience and books, ("I have learned much in my life / from books and out of them / about love..."), Williams has learned that all virgins are inevitably whored by reality; therefore, he no longer relies on the sexual pursuit of other to help him rediscover his love for Floss (Williams, "Asphodel" 157). Instead, he relies on his imagination to restore Floss' Otherness by creating in his mind the first wife, the virgin bride, that Floss was on their wedding day. He celebrates in the final lines of the poem the light and clear vision which surround his memory of that day:

Asphodel
has no odor
save to the imagination
but it too
celebrates the light.
It is late
but an odor
as from our wedding
has revive for me
and began again to penetrate
into all crevices
of my world.
(Williams, "Asphodel" 182).

Looking back after a lifetime of both love and pain shared with his wife, Williams celebrates the imagination which has enabled him to come to Floss "In the name of love / ...as to an equal / to be forgiven" and to begin again ("Asphodel" 170).

That Williams refers to Floss as "an equal" suggests that he recognizes in her the complexities of imagination that make her his equal. He wants to understand these complexities, to communicate with her and thereby escape "the death / incommunicado / in the electric chair / of the Rosenbergs" (Williams, "Asphodel" 166). Having suffered five strokes, one of which was nearly fatal, shortly before writing "Asphodel," Williams felt a serious need to confess his adultery to Floss and receive her forgiveness before he died (Mariani, "Satyr's Defense" 3). In the poem, he expresses this need to Floss: There is something / something urgent / I have to say to you / and you alone..." (Williams, "Asphodel" 154). He looks to her for the "secret word to transform" his guilt into love, security, and the dance of the imagination (Williams, "Asphodel" 170).

Williams confidently offers Floss three steps that she must climb in order to forgive him. Although these steps are highly complex images, he trusts Floss has the imaginative power necessary to interpret them. Whereas in earlier poetry, Williams might recognize such power in a female despite her Otherness, in "Asphodel," he seems to recognize Floss' abilities because of her Otherness. He has maintained a philosophy similar to that expressed in "The Great Sex Spiral," (the necessity of two opposing poles-the male and the female, the self and the Other), but with one crucial difference. Williams no longer believes "man's only positive connection with the earth is in the fleeting sex function" ("Great Sex Spiral" 111). The speaker of "Asphodel" is, in fact, a "sexless old man," and there are no sexual encounters in this poem as there are with the Beautiful Thing in Paterson (Williams, "Asphodel" 166). There is only regret expressed for not having realized sooner that the imagination may be a greater source of renewal than erotic encounter.

Using his imagination to recapture Floss' Otherness, Williams maintains "an equilibrium of opposed energies," in which "Language creates an inner space of polarized energies, and this space, with all it contains, moves as a unit toward its goal" (Miller 303). The goal in "Asphodel" seems to be a world in which "Light, the imagination / and love" are "all of a piece" of a dominant whole (Williams 180). By maintaining his belief in differing male/female psychologies while acknowledging that one has something to offer the other linguistically and intellectually, Williams seems to achieve Helene Cixous' idea of feminist writing. The following is a passage from Cixous' "The Laugh of the Medusa":

'To admit that writing is precisely working (in) the in-between, inspecting the process of
the same and of the other without which nothing can live, undoing the work of death-to admit this is first to want the two, as well as both, the ensemble of one and the other, not fixed in a sequence of struggle and expulsion or some other form of death but infinitely dynamized by an incessant process of exchange from one subject to another' (qtd. in Moi: 109).

Williams uses poetry as a vehicle for creating the space of the imagination. Within this space, the exchange of love between Floss and Williams will take place "swift as the light to avoid destruction" (Williams, "Asphodel" 179).

If Floss is the holder of the transformative word toward which the poem strives, the word which will allow both her husband and her figuratively escape death, why then is she not the speaker of the transformative word? This is a question which Fisher-Wirth raises in her article "A Rose to the End of Time": William Carlos Williams and Marriage" in which she argues that Floss remains silent, and the poem remains "necessarily [Williams'] speech, his quest, his salvation" (168). In the beginning of "Asphodel," Williams does, after all, tell Floss, "Listen while I talk on against time" (154). It seems he will talk on for an eternity, but he immediately adds, "It will not be / for long," perhaps suggesting that once her forgiveness and his recreation of their wedding day sustain the space of the imagination, Williams will include Floss in the exchange ("Asphodel" 154). Nevertheless, Fisher-Wirth's question remains. Williams identifies Floss' power as forgiveness in the beginning of Book 3 and tells her at the end of Book 3, "You have forgiven me / making me new again" ("Asphodel" 177). But we never hear Floss speak her forgiveness. We know only of the three steps toward forgiveness which Williams describes and offers to her.

Perhaps an answer to Fisher-Wirth’s question lies in the recognition that Floss is not Williams’ only Other who does not speak in "Asphodel." The third and most complex step of the imagination that Floss must climb is an episode in which Williams recalls encountering a black man in a subway. Williams is so absorbed by the man’s presence that he is "unable / to keep [his] eyes off him" ("Asphodel" 173). they look at each other in silence until Williams realizes: "This man / reminds me of my father. / I am looking into my father’s / face!" ("Asphodel" 173). Paul Mariani, quoting from D.H. Lawrence’s "Pan in America," identifies this man as the figure of Pan, the father of "fauns and nymphs, satyrs and dryads, and naiads," with a ‘black face,’ ‘careful never to utter one word of the mystery...’" (Mariani, "Satyr’s Defense" 15). Williams knows that the secret of his origins lies within the black man: "Speak to him, / I cried. He / will know the secret" ("Asphodel" 173).

But the man disappears leaving the mystery of the origins of human creativity unsolved: "With him / went all men / and all women too / were in his loins" (Mariani, New World Naked 677; Williams, "Asphodel" 174).

Williams does not struggle to discover the secret: "He was gone / and I did nothing about" ("Asphodel" 174). In the resignation of these lines, he reveals a wisdom concerning the nature of exchange between the self and the Other. Whatever exchange takes place, the transformative word will endure at the center of the poem "silently speak[ing] the meaning of love" (Riddel 198). No one, neither the poet nor his Others, may utter the secret word. Perhaps Williams has not consciously silenced Floss in "Asphodel," as Fisher-Wirth would have it, but rather has recognized that, like "Sappho’s poems," the secret of the Other must remain hidden "in the Vatican crypts..." (Paterson 119). As Joseph Riddel points out, "Asphodel" only comes "very near to insisting that the 'secret word' has been possessed, the son reconciled with the father..." and the presence of an original virgin restored (198). Realizing that the Unicorn cannot be possessed without "destroying the field of which it is the mysterious center..." Williams achieves a poem that remains a "sarcophagus of time" in spite of its marriage of conflicting opposites and its restoration of the light of a new beginning (Riddel 278; 199).

Works Cited


