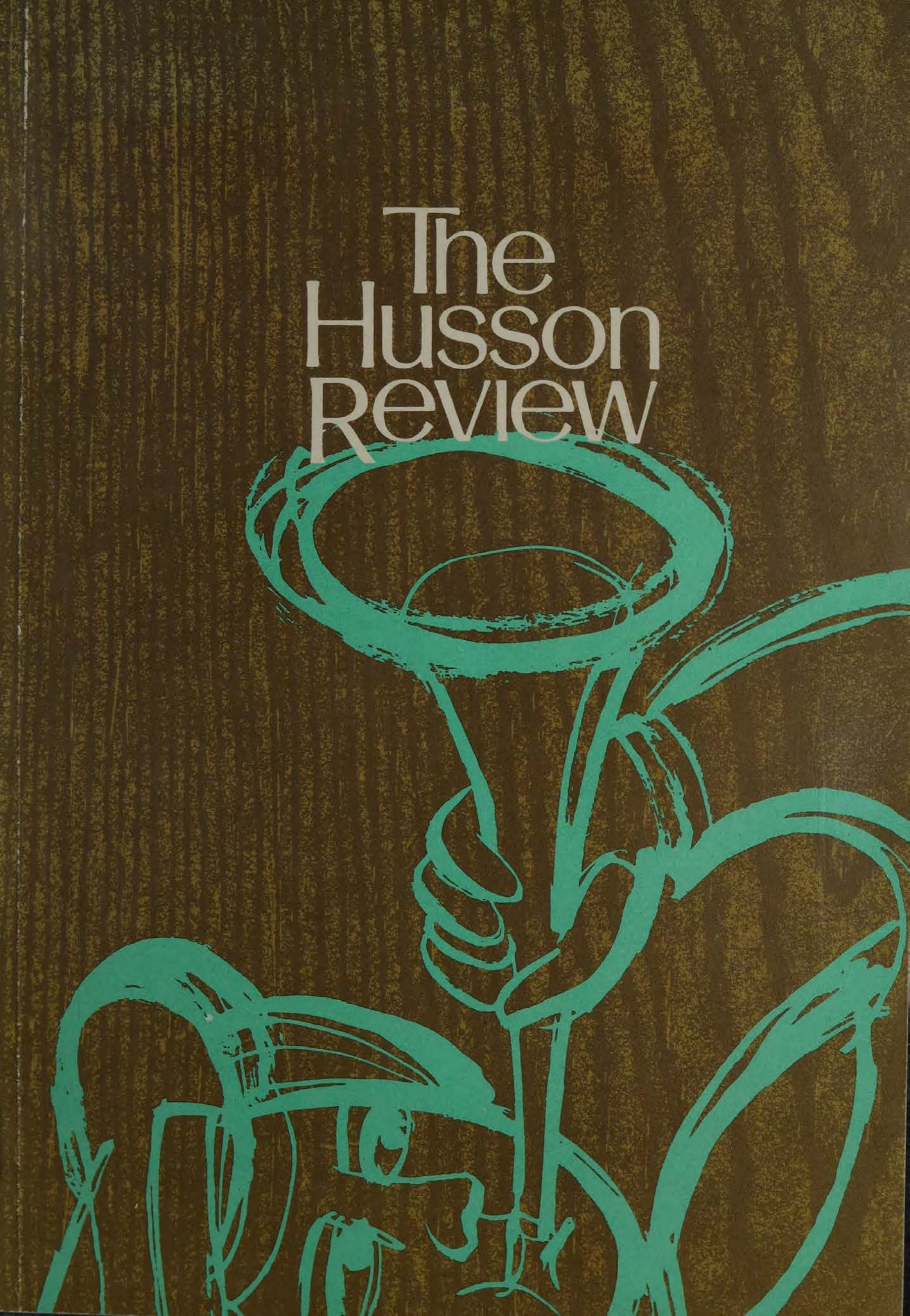
The Husson Review



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The Musical Design of T. S. Eliot's MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL*

ALLEN J. KOPPENHAVER

> "To work out a play in verse is to be working like a musician as well as like a prose dramatist: it is to see the whole thing as a whole musical pattern. And this is an entirely different thing from a play set to music. It is not like opera, but some musical form like the sonata or fugue."
> —T. S. Eliot, "The Need for Poetic Drama."

On numerous occasions in his criticism, Eliot emphasized the value of a significant pattern within the work of an author. His essays on Dante, John Ford and Ben Jonson are his most significant ones in this regard. He was aware of the fact that the pattern of a work might be musical as well as poetic and focused his critical attention upon the problems and rewards that a study of music might present to the dramatic poet.

In 1936 he spoke of the musical pattern of a verse play as one of its most essential parts.[1] In the section sub-titled "Action Plus Musical Pattern," he spoke of the musical pattern which intensified the audience's excitement "by reinforcing it with feeling from a deeper and less articulate level." In "Poetry and Drama" he said that the musical design reinforced and became one with the dramatic movement of the play, and that the perfect verse drama would be that drama which could "present at once the two aspects of dramatic and of musical order."[2] Shakespeare had achieved this in several scenes of *Romeo and Juliet* which Eliot describes in length. "The Music of Poetry" is Eliot's most significant statement concerning the possibilities of using the elements and forms of music in the creation of poetry. Certain poems, he suggests, move us purely by their music; others have a subdued music seldom noticed. Commenting upon Shakespeare's music, Eliot literally sums up all his earlier criticism on the subject:

> In the plays of Shakespeare a musical design can be discovered in particular scenes, and in his more perfect plays as wholes. It is a music of imagery as well as sound: Mr. Wilson Knight has shown in his examination of several of the plays, how much the use of recurrent imagery and dominant imagery, throughout one play, has to do with the total effect. A play of Shakespeare is a very complex musical structure.[3]

There is a musical design in much of Eliot's work and in *Murder in the Cathedral,* "a very complex musical structure," indeed.

Eliot concludes the essay by stating that a poet writing drama can profit from a study of music, especially in terms of rhythms and structures, and of recurrent themes. "There are possibilities of transitions in a poem comparable to the different movements of a symphony or a quartet; there are possibilities of contrapuntal arrangement of subject matter" (p. 38). He was well aware of these possibilities when he wrote his verse dramas. In "Poetry and Drama,"[4] he speaks of specific musical devices in his own plays, and he would be the first to advocate an examination of these devices:

*"The Musical Design" is Part I of a two part essay. Part II will appear May, 1972.

> It would be interesting to pursue, by a similar analysis, this problem of double pattern in great poetic drama—the pattern which may be examined from the point of view of stagecraft or from that of the music.[5] But our first duty as either critics or "interpreters," surely, must be to try to grasp the whole design, and read *character* and *plot* in the understanding of this subterrene or submarine music.[6]

Following this advice, I should like to examine the whole design of *Murder in the Cathedral* by an examination of those analogues which helped to shape that design.

The musical pattern which most closely approximates the structure of *Murder in the Cathedral* is the sonata-allegro. It has a three-part ABA design; the first and last parts are similar but are not identical. Here is the circle brought to completion, Aristotle's "beginning-middle-end" thesis, the basis for the rondo (though there are very clear distinctions between the rondo and the sonata). Eliot's play has the same shape as the sonata: both outer movements are of large dimension, and both have a short intermediate movement. If there is only one intermediate movement in the sonata, it is usually slow. The principal theme of the sonata should be the kind that lends itself to development, and one that contains within itself a dramatic tension, an idea which will be of significance later in this examination. "The complex profusion of moods, the anticipation of threatening conflict, the seriousness and weightiness of ideas, the dramatic accents with their sudden contrasts, are features characteristic of the sonata form and foreign to the rondo."[7] The sonata is subject to a great variety of forms and and moods, and one sonata in particular seems to approximate very closely Eliot's play—Beethoven's *Appassionata Sonata,* Op.57.[8] Others have cited the apparent influence of Beethoven's work upon Eliot's poetry.[9]

Certain similarities can be established at once. Both the play and the sonata have two large movements with a short, slow central development. Within the larger sections of the play and the sonata there is the contrast of dramatic violence and short peaceful moments; the short central section of both works is calm. In their use of thematic material there are distinct similarities. The two themes of Beethoven's first movement and Eliot's first act are, significantly enough, direct opposites, which in itself lends a great deal of strength to the drama of both works. Beethoven chose as his major theme a simple F minor arpeggio which in less able hands would have been to invite disaster because of the obviousness and simplicity of the material. Eliot chose as his major theme the most basic of themes for a religious drama, the martyrdom of a saint. And in weaker hands than his the results would have been negligible.

Beethoven's sonata opens with an F minor arpeggio (Fig. A). Thirty-five



Fig. A

measures later the second theme appears, now in A major (Fig. B) and is almost

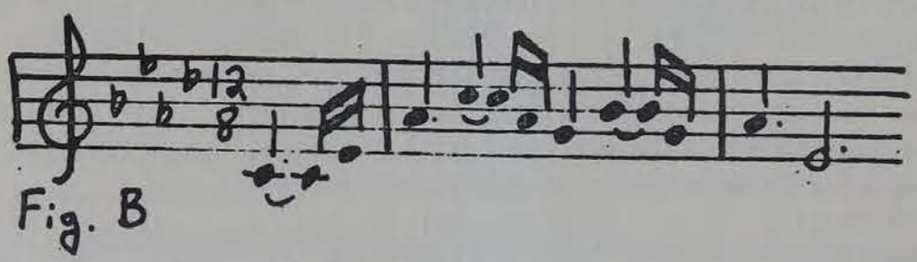


Fig. B

a mirror image of the opening theme:

This is excellent material for dramatic contrast in the hands of a master and Beethoven makes much of these opposites.[10] The two major themes are opposites in *Murder in the Cathedral* as well. The subject is martyrdom, but broken into its contrasting themes becomes the desire for earthly peace voiced by the Chorus and most of the cast, and Thomas' desire for Heavenly peace through an understanding of the will of God, in this case an understanding of the reasons for and the manner of his becoming a martyr. Both creators, Eliot and Beethoven, begin with basic subjects and develop their ideas by contrast.

But more specific relationships can be drawn by comparing the two works movement by movement. In the Exposition or first section of the *Appassionata Sonata,* the two themes are developed in a ternary pattern: A-statement, B-development, A - recapitulation of themes of A. There are several matters of musical tradition to keep in mind here. Musically, the major problem in relation to the principal theme is to strengthen the tonal element and to fix the tonality at the start. Beethoven does this by treating his thematic idea in several keys, never letting us forget the tonic as he interrupts with crashing tonic chords. Eliot establishes the tonic or home key with the opening lines of the Chorus in which they define their fear, their dread of being forced to witness. When they speak again and when the priests speak, the theme is still the same, though, figuratively speaking, it has passed from key to key, from voice to voice, always expressing a fear that the quiet seasons are to be disturbed by what is to come. Beethoven and Eliot both begin in minor and present a second theme in major: Beethoven uses an A major arpeggio and Eliot uses the "major" opening lines of Thomas which are thematically counter to the "minor" lines of the Chorus. "They know and do not know" the truth inherent in what they say, and Thomas defines what they say by actually transposing their lines.

The first movement of the sonata, a three-part form, usually has a clear distinction between the opening material, its central development, and the return to the material of the first part, and it often has a short coda which is usually an extension of the material of the first part as in the *Appassionata Sonata.* The first act of Eliot's play has these divisions. The play moves through the world of men, has a decided transition into the world of the mind in the temptations, and returns once more to the world of men. It is finally brought to a close by Thomas' solo statement which in itself is much like the coda, the final extension of the subject in this movement or act.

The second movement of the sonata contains an *adagio* theme and variations. The first theme is stated in a somber chorale, then developed in three

successively more intricate variations, and finally resolved by a return to the chorale. Beethoven's development is transparent; he adopted the very earliest form of variation in which the variation follows a strict mathematical scheme. The theme is in quarter notes; the first variation is in eighth notes, the second in sixteenths, and the third in thirty-seconds. He then repeats the quarter note theme once more. It seems unprepared for at that moment but this is the only way he could have brought it to a close. Thomas' sermon is a theme with three variations as well, if each new paragraph can be considered a variation. It is based on the theme of martyrdom and its effects upon a Christian. It is defined in the first paragraph only by question, and is elaborated upon in each successive paragraph which literally enlarges Thomas' theme. All this is brought to a simple close in the last paragraph with Thomas' statement that Canterbury will soon have a new martyr. Romaine Roland said of Beethoven's second movement:

> The simplicity of the design is beyond belief. . . . The variations of this inward hymn bring no breath of trouble to the paradisiac calm, but simply envelop the theme in their play of light. It is a gentle flight into the golden air. Ariel. . . .
>
> But the truce was only an armistice. When, at the conclusions of the variations, the theme re-enters, the tender urge of the heart has no longer its former perfect peace; the phrase rises by octaves: the harmony becomes troubled (pp. 188-89).

He might just as well have been talking about the Interlude of *Murder in the Cathedral* which is also free of the "breath of trouble" for the most part, but which ends as well on a disturbing note, Thomas' premonition that there will be still another martyr to come. Robert Spaight, when he recorded the role of Thomas, had a tremor in his voice at just this point, a very dramatic and most human effect.

The third movement is a violent one. Roland says, "But I am bound to recognize that here more than elsewhere the nonhuman element, strength at its most brutal, most primitive, occupies the chief place, is indeed almost the totality of the finale" (p. 194). Tovey says, "In the *Sonata Appassionata* the very beginning of the finale is in itself a final stroke of fate, after which there is not a moment's doubt that the tragic passion is rushing deathwards."[11] Again, the comment would apply to *Murder in the Cathedral* as well.

The purpose of this particular examination is not to prove that Eliot was bound by the structure of the *Appassionata Sonata* (he himself objected to too close a dependence upon musical analogies), but I would say here that Eliot was well aware of the inherent dramatic qualities of musical structures, especially of this sonata which he apparently knew very well. I have suggested that he might have been influenced by Romain Roland's commentary in *Beethoven the Creator* which had appeared in English six years prior to Eliot's play. There is another book, *Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas* by Ernst Von Elterlein (a pseudonym for Ernst Gottschald), first published in England in 1857 in a translation by Emily Hill and popular enough to go through three editions by 1886.[12] This book and

others of the same poetic-romantic school of music criticism had wide circulation at that time and were literally "scenarios for listening" replaced in our own time by the commentaries on record jackets. In fact, the commentary on the *Appassionata Sonata* is practically a scenario for Eliot's play; the analogies are so numerous that I will take the liberty of reproducing Gottschald's complete text myself, citing in parenthetical comments the analogies in Eliot's play.[13]

The title, *Appassionata,* which has been given to this Sonata, seems nothing less than exhaustive of its rich contents. In the first and third movements the work is a night piece, a picture of a violent emotional conflict, illuminated, however by flashes of humour; the middle movement is an ideal flight into happier regions. The first movement, *allegro assai,* F minor, 12/8 time, begins with one of those short characteristic themes, such as we have already frequently met with; dismal spectral shadows rise, as it were, out of the lowest depths (The opening chorus of women lamenting); soft wailings issue from the heart, and fate is heard knocking at the door (The premonitions of the Chorus). Suddenly a mighty storm bursts forth, then there is a painful trembling (Comparable to the Priests and Chorus, ending with the Chorus' plea for Thomas to return to France), and in the second theme, in A flat major, there arises a wonderful sympathetic strain of happy consolation (Thomas' entry and lines, "Peace. . . ."). The storm of painful emotion begins again; there are outbursts of grim humour and of convulsive startings (Fears expressed by the Second and First Priest); the nightly shadows (Tempters) assume a firmer shape; and the agitation increases, until another climax is attained. Then there is a momentary subsidence into soft trembling tones, and that lofty spirit of strong, manly, consolation gains the upper hand (Thomas and the First Tempter). But fate claims its rights, the fight must be fought out, the turmoil, therefore, is renewed (Thomas and the Second Tempter). Although the voice of reconciliation is heard for the third time, the storm only rages the more vehemently (Thomas and the Third Tempter); although a cheering ray of light descends from above an almost horrible shrillness resounds from below; at the entrance of the broken chord the inward struggle rises to actual frenzy (Thomas and the Fourth Tempter); there is a restless surging to and fro (Antiphonal entry of Chorus, Priests, and Tempters), the consoling motive even takes a gloomy character, and at last the angry thunder rolls (Thomas: "Now is my way clear!"). We have here again a thoroughly dramatic psychological picture, and the feelings that pervade it are real, heart-felt experiences.

The second movement, *adante* [*sic.*]*con moto,* D flat major, 2/4 time, comes as a contrast between the beginning and concluding movements, though not outwardly, but deeply and inwardly (As Thomas' sermon): it is a steadfast island between two agitated oceans. From the quiet depths there arises a holy song of blessed peace; 'a fervent supplication does this theme seem, standing firmly in the low dark depths, closely compact, full of longing, like a prayer out of the profoundest darkness' (Marx).[13] This melody is a sunbeam full of refreshing warmth, flooding the innermost recesses of the soul, full of unending charm. How well is the soothing, woe-relieving character of the melody expressed in the modulation from the sixth to the seventh bars of the first strophe; and then in the second strophe, what a blissful glimpse of heaven, what quiet, happy confidence! Most charming is the variation of the theme. The different variations are not evolved from the formal musical structure of the theme; but are the result of the ideal contents (This seems to be the case, literally, with the sermon): this determines each variation. The nature of the first variation is, as Marx puts it, shy, the theme is only repeated timidly, the melody is broken, the bass follows slowly but closely after it (The first paragraph of the develop-

ment in the sermon is broken, mostly questions). In the second variation the song becomes more agitated and is heard in a higher, brighter octave (Paragraph two which questions the nature of peace in a troubled world). In the third variation the expression of the theme, which is, as it were, surrounded by accompaniment of harps, rises to pure ecstasy, the soul seems lifted from earth, enveloped in the blue boundless aether. (Thomas' precise definition of the nature of martyrdom and its peculiar paradox of mourning and rejoicing at once and for the same reason). But we soon return to earth; the theme in its first simplicity is heard again in the bass; at last it is silent, and painful strains forebode the storm of the *finale* (Thomas' return in last paragraph to the premonition of his own death). Marx describes the whole *andante* as a prayer full of comfort, arising out of the deepest desolation (Thomas' sermon).

The third movement, *allegro ma non troppo,* F minor, 2/4 time, begins with a series of sixths, sounding like a wild outcry from a soul in anguish (Opening chorus), then there is a rushing movement in the bass, like a wild mountain torrent tearing, foaming down (Entrance of Knights). The roar and ferment continue until a clear, firm form struggles out of the whirl, rushes in with wild passion, accompanied by plaintive thirds ("the storm song"), the agitation ever increasing till the conclusion of the first part (Thomas' first confrontation with the Knights and the rest of this scene). The roar of the soul's storm is renewed at the entrance of the second part, sparks of passion flash forth, and then a short tributary motive bespeaks inward trouble. Now there is a distant, restless surging, a mighty rolling in the depths; then the struggle becomes a little quieter, a wild whirl of octaves in C major leads to some strange convulsive startings which, at length, exhaust themselves; and in characteristic minims, bring in a momentary dead silence (Thomas' second confrontation of the Knights, this time in the cathedral, ending in his death, the "whirl of octaves" being perhaps the Chorus' "Clear the air. . . ." up to the moment of silence before the final section). But only for a [*sic*] instant; for, at the beginning of the third part, the storm is renewed, the gloomy spectacle of the first part is repeated, and isolated flashes of humour dart across the night (Knights' apologia).

At last in the *presto,* the tone-poet comes forth like a warrior in steel harness, and with proud virile dignity seems to say, in the full chords, "Behold! the storm has not broken the oak; it approaches again, but it will not break it" (Third Priest: "The church is stronger for this action"). A final storm indeed follows, but it is powerless (First Priest: "The Church lies bereft,/Alone, desecrated. . ."): the spirit has freed itself, and at last the struggle ceases in solemn minor tones. We have the assurance that the tone-poet has not succumbed to the powers of evil; he has tried and tempered his moral manly strength in the conflict. A *gloria* song of triumph at the end would correspond to the idea of the work; the conclusion must have an earnest tragical exaltation, as the work generally may be called an emotional tragedy (This gloria is the mood of the end of Eliot's play. The Chorus praises and laments Thomas' martyrdom, and the play does end on a note of tragic exaltation).

It must be noted that I have altered only one element of Eliot's plot to fit this description. In the play the last appearance of the Priests is numerical, not in the order I used in the parenthesis above.

It would not be unusual for Eliot to have read this "scenario for listening" (or a similar one) since it was readily available. But I would be quick to state that if he did actually use this text in any way, it does not belittle his dramatic achievement.

A final point of comparison: the artistic problems posed by the basic materials of both Beethoven's and Eliot's work were much the same. Beethoven chose to develop the most basic theme, an arpeggio, in a form that should have swallowed it up by its dimensions. And in order to develop the materials he resorted to some of the earliest known devices in composition as in the theme and variations of the second movement (see p.9). The opening theme of the work is not in itself dramatic, nor is it a sonority that could be developed by intricate harmonies. He did the impossible which was also the simplest thing to do; he turned the theme upside down, put it in the relative major and created his second theme. Eliot also chose an archiac form, in this case the verse of *Everyman,* and shaped it to his own needs. Eliot took a theme that was dramatically thin, that in less able hands would have been swallowed up in the dimensions of a full play. This theme, the paradoxical nature of peace, he examined in its minor and major, this-worldly, and other-worldly aspects. His achievement speaks for itself.

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NOTES

[1] "The Need for Poetic Drama," *The Listener,* XVI (November 25, 1936). 994.
[2] *On Poetry and Poets,* p.87.
[3] *Ibid.,* p.36.
[4] *Ibid.,* pp.82-83.
[5] *Ibid.,* p.77.
[6] Introduction to G. Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire* (London, 1930) p. xviii.
[7] Hugo Leichtentritt, *Musical Form* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1951), p.110. The whole chapter on the sonata and especially pages 110 and 132-134 have been of importance to this study.
[8] Curiously enough, this sonata has been examined concerning its affinities to another piece of literature, Shakespeare's *The Tempest.* When asked by his friend, Anton Schindler, what this sonata meant, Beethoven replied, "Read Shakespeare's *Tempest!*" See Romain Roland, *Beethoven the Creator,* translated by Ernest Newman, (New York, 1929), pp.190ff., for Roland's discussions of the relationship between Beethoven and Shakespeare. Roland's book has been of help to my examination of the Beethoven-Eliot analogies even though Roland's point of view is excessively romantic. Note: this book was published in English six years before Eliot's play appeared. It is possible that Eliot may have read Roland's poetic descriptions of Beethoven's music (some of which will be used in this paper).
[9] See D. B. Brotman, "T. S. Eliot: 'The Music of Ideas'," *University of Toronto Quarterly,* XVIII (1948), 20-29. Brotman applies the sonata form in detail to Eliot's *Four Quartets.* For a better and more convincing examination of the musical analogies of the *Four Quartets* see Herbert Howarth's "Eliot, Beethoven and J. W. N. Sullivan," *Comparative Literature,* IX (Fall, 1957); 322-332, in which he draws analogies between Beethoven's *A Minor Quartet,* Op.132, and Eliot's *Four Quartets* in terms of structure, theme and mood. An examination of lesser significance is Stephen Spender's comparison of the *A Minor Quartet* and "Ash Wednesday" in *The Destructive Element* (London, 1935), Chapter Three. Consider as well the fact that Spender and Eliot were good friends. An analysis such as Spender's, were it made before Eliot wrote *Murder in the Cathedral,* might have been just the incentive Eliot needed to attempt a conscious use of musical forms or ideas for the play.
[10] Alfred Frankenstein has said of these themes, "Here are the very Yang and Yin of the Beethoven rhetoric; the two themes are totally opposed—in mode, in character, and in melodic direction—yet they are intimately related, since one is the mirror image of the other." (Note taken from the record jacket of the Solomon recording, *Tempest and Appassionata Sonatas,* RCA album number LM-1964, copyright 1956).
[11] Donald Francis Tovey. *A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas* (London, 1931), p.169.
[12] By 1898 it had reached a fifth edition, published in New York by Scribner's.
[13] Pp.83-87.
[13] Karl Marx, the nineteenth century German musicologist and composer, author of *Beethoven's Leben und Schaffen.*

Boats and Automobiles in THE GREAT GATSBY: Symbols of Drift and Death*

JOHN J. MCNALLY

Through the rich network of imagery in Fitgerald's *The Great Gatsby,* run two significant *leit-motifs* which have not been accorded adequate critical attention. Much has been said of the contrasts between East and West and of the wasteland overseen by the enigmatic eyes of Dr. T. J. Eckleburg, but very little comment has attended Fitzgerald's skillful use of boats, water, and automobiles as minor components in the novel's complex system of symbols and images. This is unfortunate, since the narrator's references to boats, water, and automobiles, though they seem casual enough, form definite patterns which accompany, obbligato-like, the novel's major themes.

It is best to discuss the patterns separately since, despite their joint contribution to the general sense of corruption and purposelessness of Gatsby's world, each of the patterns has its own particular contribution to make to the novel's total design.

In various ways Fitzgerald uses boats and water imagery to emphasize the lack of stability of most of the novel's characters and to symbolize the anachronism inherent in the American Dream as typified by Jay Gatsby. From cover to cover Nick mentions horizons, bays, lakes, tides, pool, objects which float, and characters who drift. The reader encounters a boat for the first time in the first chapter when Nick describes the view from Tom Buchanan's porch. "Turning me around by one arm, he moved a broad flat hand along the front vista, including in its sweep a sunken Italian garden, a half acre of deep, pungent roses, and a snub-nosed motor-boat that bumped the tide offshore."[1]

Describing the scene at Gatsby's on a summer afternoon, Nick again mentions motor-boats: ". . . At high tide in the afternoon I watch his guests diving from the tower of his raft, or taking the sun on the hot sand of his beach while his two motor-boats slit the water of the Sound, drawing aquaplanes over cataracts of foam."[2] With so much leisure time Gatsby's guests seem unaware of time's passage as they indulge their rampant hedonism. Their lack of concern about time parallels Gatsby's refusal to realize the importance of the five years separating him from Daisy.

The next significant reference to boats occurs in Chapter Six when Nick discusses Gatsby's increasing notoriety: ". . . there was one persistent story that he didn't live in a house at all, but in a boat that looked like a house and was moved secretly up and down the Long Island shore. Just why these inventions were a source of satisfaction to James Gatz of North Dakota isn't easy to say."[3] The "persistent story" of which Nick speaks is ironic since, in a metaphorical

*Quotations from THE GREAT GATSBY, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, are made with the permission of Charles Scribner's Sons. Copyright 1925 Charles Scribner's Sons; renewal copyright 1953 Frances Scott Fitzgerald Lanahan.

sense, Gatsby *does* live in a boat. Although the story is simply another rumor, it prepares the reader for Nick's flashback during which he reveals an important part of Gatsby's past. It is in this flashback that the reader learns that Gatsby's career, which eventaully leads him to his "blue lawn,"[4] began on a boat. Nick explains: ". . . . He had changed it [his name] at the age of seventeen and at the specific moment that witnessed the beginning of his career—when he saw Dan Cody's yacht drop anchor over the most insidious flat on Lake Superior. It was James Gatz who had been loafing along the beach that afternoon in a torn green jersey and a pair of canvas pants, but it was already Jay Gatsby who borrowed a rowboat, pulled out to the *Tuolomee,* and informed Cody that a wind might catch him and break him up in half an hour."[5]

It is ironically appropriate that Gatsby's career begins on the yacht of Dan Cody—". . . the pioneer debauchee, who during one phase of American life brought back to the Eastern seaboard the savage violence of the frontier brothel and saloon."[6] Ironic because, like Cody, Gatsby comes to typify time-past; like the romantic who spawned him, he becomes an anachronism adrift. Appropriate because, like Cody, Gatsby is a drifter even until his death. Having begun his career on the water aboard Dan Cody's yacht which "represented all the beauty and glamour in the world,"[7] he ends it, having failed in his pursuit of Daisy's "beauty and glamor," on an air matress, still drifting "fortuitously about."[8]

Falling between Dan Cody's yacht on which Gatsby's "career" begins and the air matress on which it ends is the very important hydroplane which Gatsby uses as a point of contact between himself and Nick Carraway. Significantly, while this boat[9] is considerably more substantial than the air matress, it is considerably less imposing than the yacht. This pattern of decreasing substance parallels the deterioration of Gatsby and his dream.

The boat *leit-motif* ends as it begins, with a boat very much like the one in Chapter One "bumping the tide offshore."[10] Nick, meditating on the events of the summer and especially on Gatsby's fate, observes on the last page of the novel: ". . . So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past."[11] Considered in retrospect, the motor-boat frames the rest of the novel's boat imagery. By moving from Chapter One's seemingly casual reference to the boat "bumping the tide" to the epilogue-like final statement in which Nick, his society, and the reader become amalgamated into a universal metaphorical "we," Fitzgerald underscores his conviction that man in twentieth-century America, like Gatsby, drifts about looking for the future in the past; that he also believes in "the orgiastic future that year by year recedes before us."[12] Within this frame Fitzgerald uses boats to parallel Gatsby's disintegration and the dissolution of his "incorruptible dream."[13] Gatsby's boats gradually become smaller and less substantial: first a yacht, then a hydroplane, finally, a matress filled with air.

There are further implications to this pattern. In addition to deterioration, Gatsby's three boats symbolize his failure to find the future in the past. Cody's yacht, being the stimulus for Gatsby's choice of career, goes against the American

current; that is, it goes from West to East. Gatsby's hydroplane, the boat he uses to befriend Nick and to make his overt attempt to win back Daisy, also symbolically bucks the tide. Only the air mattress, upon which the dead Gatsby lies is caught up in time's current. Unable to make the decision of the will necessary to pursue his incorruptible dream, Gatsby now moves *with* the tide, which is here, ironically, not a tide at all but the gentle movement of water from one end of a swimming pool to the other.

The recurrent imagery of "boats against the current" appropriately symbolizes Gatsby's insistence on looking for his future in the past and the inability of a whole society to find direction in its pursuit of happiness. This image pattern is complemented by what could be called the "water-motif."

Besides having his narrator continually refer to the water as a part of the novel's setting, Fitzgerald relies heavily on several verbs which connote actions customarily associated with water. For instance, frequently, to suggest that a character or a group of characters is shiftless, Nick tells the reader that he *drifts,* or she *floats,* or they *lap,* or it dissolves. He makes it clear that the Buchanans have never had any real roots. "Why he came East I don't know," he says: "They had spent a year in France for no particular reason, and then *drifted* (Italics here and throughout are mine.) here and there unrestfully wherever people played polo and were rich together."[14] Despite Daisy's assurance that th move is a permanent one, Nick feels that Tom "would *drift* on forever seeking, a little wistfully, for the dramatic turbulence of some irrecoverable football game."[15] Even Daisy, Tom's wife, and her companion Jordan, in whom Nick eventaully develops a romantic interest, are first pictured *"buoyed up* as though upon an anchored balloon."[16]

Fitzgerald achieves a similar effect later when he has Nick say that by seven o'clock: ". . . The bar is in full swing, and floating rounds of cocktails permeate the garden outside. . . Laughter is easier minute by minute, *spilled* with prodigality, *tipped out* at a cheerful word. The groups change more swiftly, *swell* with new arrivals, *dissolve* and form in the same breath . . . confident girls . . . excited with triumph, *glide* on through the *sea-change* of faces and voices and color under the constantly changing light."[17] At the same party there are groups of people that *swirl* and *eddy*. There is a tray of cocktails *floating* through the twilight.

The effect of these liquescent images throughout the novel is to give added significance to the lines in Chapter One in which Nick informs the reader that "Conduct may be founded on the hard rock or the wet marshes, but after a certain point I don't care what it's founded on."[18] Obviously, the conduct he encounters that fateful summer is all founded on the wet marshes unencumbered by the solid moral precepts of the "hard rock" of the Middle West.

In addition to water verbs some of the bodies of water actually named in the narrative are apparently symbolic. For example, Gatsby, who Nick says is "worth the whole damned bunch put together,"[19] begins his career on Lake

Superior. This career which leads him eventually to Daisy Fay in Louisville during her "white girlhood"[20] actually starts in that part of Lake Superior called Little Girl Bay. Long Island Sound, which touches the shores of Gatsby's property and where people behave like a menagerie, is the body of water Nick calls "the great wet barnyard."[21] The "small foul river"[22] which borders the valley of ashes is quite possibly a tributary of the *East* River and recalls Nick's remark that it "was the foul dust [the behavior of people in the East] that floated in the wake of . . . [Gatsby's] dreams that temporarily closed out my interest in the abortive sorrows and short-winded elations of young men."[23]

A striking parallel exists between Fitzgerald's handling of the boat *leit-motif* and his treatment of bodies of water since here too the pattern underscores Gatsby's disintegration. What begins on the huge yacht on the largest of the Great Lakes—Lake Superior—reaches its climax on Long Island Sound, and ends on a small air matress in a man-made pool. The artificiality of the body of water and the insubstantiality of the matress appropriately symbolize the emptiness of Gatsby's dream and of the career which the changing of his name on Lake Superior signifies.

Fitzgerald's choice of boats and water as controlling images in the narrative is fitting since water, like time, is an element over which man really has no control. He can make clocks to measure time and build dams to check the flow of rivers, but he can do nothing to completely arrest their inevitable movement. But a man like Gastby can try. He can board his boat and, oblivious to the flow of time and the river, head upstream.

Yet another pattern of images appears in *The Great Gatsby*, this one establishing the automobile as a symbol of death. The first suggestion of this motif appears in Chapter One when Nick tells Daisy that he has stopped off in Chicago on his way East. In answer to her question, "'Do you miss me?'" Nick replies facetiously that "'The whole town is desolate. All the cars have the left rear wheel painted black as a mourning wreath, and there's a persistent wail all night along the north shore.'"[24] Impressed by the flattery, Daisy exclaims, "'How gorgeous! Let's go back Tom. To-morrow!'"[25] This seemingly meaningless conversation establishes the automobile as a symbol of death in a pattern which emerges from a consideration of many of the passages throughout the novel in which automobiles are cited.

The next reference to an automobile occurs in Chapter Two in Nick's description of the interior of George Wilson's garage which is located in the "valley of ashes," itself eerie and suggestive of death. Nick points out that: "The interior was unprosperous and bare; the only car visible was the dust-covered wreck of a Ford which crouched in a corner . . . the proprietor appears . . . wiping his hands on a piece of waste. He was a blond, spiritless man, anaemic and faintly handsome."[26] The auto is, significantly, a wreck; that is, it may already have been an instrument of death. It has at least been involved in an accident. Besides, it is covered with dust and "*crouched* in a dim corner," like a discarded, partially buried body. The barrenness of the place, the fact that

Wilson himself is "spiritless" and "anaemic," and that he wipes his hands on a "piece of waste," combine to heighten the suggestion of death.

Later as Nick leaves one of Gatsby's parties, he encounters a "bizarre and tumultuous scene" involving another wrecked car. This one is "In the ditch beside the road . . . violently shorn of one wheel," and from the car emerges a man in a long "duster."[27] After a few minutes of confusion and a "ghostly pause," another individual "very gradually, part by part . . . pale and dangling," steps out of the wreck looking like an "apparition."[28] Through the passage there are distinct echoes of Nick's facetious reply to Daisy in Chapter One. For example, "A harsh, discordant din" and "the incessant groaning of the horns" from the cars in the rear recall the "persistent wail all night along the north shore,"[29] just as the "amputated wheel" recalls the "left rear wheel painted black as a mourning wreath."[30] The "ghostly pause," the emergence of the pale individual, the "apparition" from the wreck "part by part," the man in the "long *duster*" lend an other-worldly quality to the whole scene. In short, it is a scene which comes close to ending in death.

Not far from Wilson's garage in the valley of ashes and on the same road where Myrtle was killed by Gatsby's "gorgeous"[31] car, Nick encounters still more automobiles which symbolize death—this time quite obviously. He recalls that on his first trip into New York with Gatsby: "A dead man passed us in a hearse heaped with blooms, followed by two carriages with drawn blinds, and by more cheerful carriages for friends. The friends looked out at us with the tragic eyes and short upper lips of southeastern Europe, and I was glad that the sight of Gatsby's splendid car was included in their somber holiday."[32] There is an irony here in that Gatsby's splendid car, which here Nick sees as a kind of treat for the mourners, itself becomes the instrument of death after a fateful "somber holiday" Nick, Tom, Daisy, Jordan and Gatsby spend in New York City.

Shortly, when Jordan Baker is telling Nick about Daisy's past, she refers to another automobile accident, this one involving—ironically—Tom and one of his former mistresses: "A week after I left Santa Barbara, Tom ran into a wagon on the Ventura road one night, and ripped a front wheel off his car. The girl who was with him got into the papers, too, because her arm was broken . . ."[33] Once again the automobile has nearly brought death.

Obviously, Gatsby's car is the "death car." It is interesting, however, that Tom and Daisy's car which might have killed Myrtle also symbolizes death. It is before getting in Tom's blue coupe, for instance, that Nick realizes he has turned thirty years old, and it is in the car that Nick presumably ponders the mystery of age. "I was thirty," he says in his narrative, "before me stretched the portentous, menacing road of a new decade . . . a decade of loneliness, of thinning hair."[34] Then, recalling that "the formidable stroke of thitry died away with the reassuring pressure" of Jordan's hand, he adds: "So we drove on *toward death* through the cooling twilight."[35]

What Nick says about Tom and Daisy toward the end of the novel suggests

an automobile and also recalls Myrtle's death by Gatsby's car with Daisy at the wheel. "They were careless people," he says, who: ". . . 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 . . ."[36]

In the novel's last important description involving automobiles there is again a faint reminder of Nick's remark in Chapter One about cars. In this passage Nick points out that he has spent his last few Saturday nights in New York because the sights and sounds of Gatsby's wild parties still haunt him: ". . . I could still hear the music and the laughter, faint and incessant, from his garden, and the cars going up and down his drive. One night I did hear a material car there, and saw its lights stop at his front steps. But I didn't investigate. Probably it was some final guest who had been away at the ends of the earth and didn't know the party was over."[37] The haunting recollections remind Nick too vividly that Gatsby is no longer alive; the one "material car" with its "final guest" returned from "the ends of the earth" provide an ironic final reminder that "the party [is] over"—that Gatsby is dead.

In the automobile, then, Fitzgerald has found a workable symbol, not only to illustrate the rampant carelessness so typical of the corrupt easterners in the novel, but also to forebode injury as well as accidental and natural death. It is a particularly appropriate symbol since fascination with this new and dangerous machine ran high during the Twenties.

Woven into the intricate tapestry of *The Great Gatsby's* symbolism, images of boats, water, and automobiles enrich the significance of Fitzgerald's assertion that the twentieth-century American inhabits a wasteland. These image patterns suggest that "with a transcendent effort" man speeds across his wasteland in search of pleasure; it is a wasteland whose foul dust pollutes otherwise life-giving bodies of water making them like the land, surfaces across which man drifts seeking life and finding instead physical and spiritual death.

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NOTES

[1] F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby,* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1953), pp. 7-8.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 39.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 98.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 4.
[5] *Ibid,* pp. 98-99.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 101.
[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 100-101.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 162.
[9] This pattern still holds even if the reader assumes that the hydroplane is a seaplane rather than a speedboat since it functions as a boat from time to time.
[10] *Ibid.,* p. 8.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 182.
[12] *Ibid.,* p. 182.
[13] *Ibid.,* p. 155.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 78
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

INTRICACIES

ON HIS TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY

PATRICK J. CALLAHAN

since dawn the
snow-white bud
has opened three petals

UNDER THE ELM

PATRICK J. CALLAHAN

the blonde
hemispheres
her book,
spine
curving to idea–

rough
bark-prints

JANET LYNN

PATRICK J. CALLAHAN

Skates
a heart of
converging curves
hers
beginning

University of Notre Dame

VISITING THE CAGES IN BOMBAY

CARMINE DANDREA

At the Grand Hotel in Bombay
we were told
we could visit the Cages
in an Indian cab
with a displaced Punjabi
driving, stiff
in his turned-up toes.

The house fronts were grilled,
barred up like cages,
not for us to peek through
which we did, observing
the nightly maneuvers of love
sold by the rupee,
but for the women to see
at a knock, judging the men.

Life in the Cages is sweet
as the brush of a crow's wing
over the dead face of a Sikh.

A woman, with her heart
bright in her almond eyes,
bared her breasts for the Sahibs;
rupees burned on her tongue
as she softly called out
in dry Hindustani;
and, not knowing the language,
we understood what she said.

Love in the Cages is sweet
as the incense of dung
rising up from the street.

Later, over tea by the fire,
I rubbed my mind raw
on the grate of desire,
seeing India rise in the steam
of the boiling pot of Bombay,
shackled in centuries of women
selling their hands and their feet;
and I thought for a moment
of my past Army days,
of a bare-breasted Negress
asleep in her slat-shaded room,
somewhere on North Deerborn Street.

RESCUE BY HELICOPTER

CARMINE DANDREA

Nosing the sun,
noisy blades glint gossamer
invisible in fast flight,
the chopper rises,
banging its burden
in the lateral boxes,
sore bone against good wood—
rises up higher,
the bubble bursting,
splintered with light.

This is how I have seen them
climbing the sun,
biting the bright blue sky,
brilliant dragonflies
bumping their bulge-eye
against the shattering light.

Now I am in darkness,
cocooned
after the shelling,
here in the lateral box,
biting the blood on my lips.

I can hear the slight whir,
buzzing of bullets
zipping the sky;
now and again one thuds
dull, striking the wood,
shaking the pine dust.

Everything rushes:
the chopper rises;
small splinters of sun
split the dark:
light chews wood.

Below me, the contending men
shoulder the darkness,
bear up the leaving night
on their humped backs
while we rise up,
one with the climbing sun.

Elmira, New York

THE OLD PEOPLE TAKE TO THE SKY

CONSTANCE HUNTING

Out of my element,
I like a slangy phrase, it makes me feel,
although I know I'm not, a bit more
easy in my mind. Therefore,
We got our traps out early, pulled our boots
on, and here we are! Strapped in the leather
belly bands, what horses we are riding
(I recall how as a girl I'd take the seaward
gates at nooning on my way
to the men in the field with a pie in one hand and
the meal—
water pail in the other and never spill a drop)
in the shifting
queer track of our going, invisible
route plotted by reliable, Son told it,
instrument and man—
mapper, seeking what Son said we should seek
to trace, such lineaments as we can find
of space. Or some such notion.
Before it's too late, he meant. We did not take
offense. What it comes to is
that boy's in love with air.

It's a little plane, brown-and-white like my
old Bess
but livelier, quicker,
with those dials.
We gathered our legs beneath us, and jumped off!
His wrist is sure, he would have made
a good horseman.
I like a saddle better than these seats.

You needn't think because of what
I've said we're pure
Yankee Gothic. Because we haven't flown before
it doesn't follow that we don't know Greek.

We get into Boston, see a show,
I put my hair up in the Psyche knot,
we have dinner at the Parker House after a turn
about the graveyard, get home safe by midnight, —
the Airflow's a trustworthy machine.
Bless you, you think I'm simple, but my husband

's a decliner from away back.
Look at him, he's distinguishable
with his white fine hair, his vanity, and long
drawn bones. Hands perched on knees,
he translates through his thinning veins
the current force that guides us to the depths
of height as though he's listening to high
Greek twitterings of wire-swinging birds.

Sitting on the porch, with our binoculars . . .
sea-birds, mostly. Circling in a slow
slash of sky, Boy brings our island close.
The house we live in down there clings
that speck, that wart, that limpet,
that small to its rock. My garden!
Zinnias, cockscomb, dahlias, hardy flowers
raked up from scrabbled soil — that was work,
that little crabbed hooked rug, a child's
idea
of brightness for the hearth of day
(we damped the fire just before we left).
Three bean-pole tepees, the blue roof:
toys, toys. I think of the rows
of indoor books and of how I have dusted them
and their damp
spotted leaves and shaken
ancient letters, crumbs, and black-
match markers out of them for years.
Benignant diseases! How on earth
did we come to settle, you ask me,
I ask you, for such terms? Up here we rock in air
as if at ease, but our
hut shudders
down there shingled by the winging wind that warped
the cedar as it whistles through gaps of my vision.

That widen, that is deflected
by the sight of the coarse
blue dollops of ocean ladled out
from the mouths of uncountable rivers
towards unseen lands' ends not in our purview —
what do our shallop's oars,
our parasols and false
air cushions have to do
with that live fathomless assault on our three-
score ten? Only, our instincts own

more property than we had guessed.

We are hazarding. Our dowser's hand
clips firmly to his stick. Our noontime Charon.
If this is dying, I am for it.

He has flown in war,
he has dropped death
who argued for the splinted wing
for the wounded gull. Are we his good
burdens?

Islands fall from us,
(flying, I mean)
clogged arteries of stone
walls crawl
painfully the limbs of the mainland, imagined
swift
natives tiny on the mounds stare upwards,
new ropes straining behind their foreheads,
waiting for Icarus
to fall
open-mouthed and burning:

The word comes, "We are over Galilee."
I recognize it, and I see
him falling like a cross, he is stretching
his burning hand towards me
and I am falling,
failing.

No, no; I am not ill. I am perfectly
in ascension. That's not right.
But I am.
My body is ascending on its metal wings,
I am going up, we are being taken up
to where the sky dissolves in enormous rings
— out from the sun.

His lighted head lifts, he laughs, and gestures
towards his shining
dials, leans back hard on his wand. Power
is in him, we are in his power. My eyes expand
like grains
brought up from earth to what is blazing
day without
hindrance, without dross, day springing.

Yes, I remember,
but I have not thought of it for
so many seasons of my skin
how open we were, how invulnerable.
We flew, we spun, twin
compasses fixed to that single spire,
and I never once considered
falling, I never once tried not to
think of falling and what a far way
and the prayer for the drowning, all that is drowned
in my smile that is all-
seeing, filling my ears with sweet breath
as I sprint straight ahead in my glistening
breastplate of silver
along the true line he has drawn for us
simply between two transfigurations, those
he has saved for us,
half-turning in his deathseat
and winking immensely across at his father.
I am temporarily
put down, I bend to my duty to wring
the neck of the thermos and pour the oblation,
while the whole time I am running beyond
in my being, I know the signs,
I have computed the omens, let them talk
as they will of Pegasus
who with his sharpened hoof struck Helicon's
steep side and freed the sacred well,
or Phaethon even Apollo's son, whose fiery steeds
provided loving cause for his demise:
from waxen shrouds I unwrap sandwiches.
Our picnic in his sky,
over his long blue field. When as a child
I learned the sky was not a roof,
not solid, and not really blue, I wept.
Hated the fact-teller worse than learning
of the curse, or sex. Under the blue
umbrella of my ignorance, those seemed natural.
Take that away, and who could tell what
might get in, clouds, plagues, great toads.
Now in the middle of our old
age, glances at each other are shy, as though
we're newly young. If we should speak,
what language would we hear?
Listen. A shadow nears that is not fair.
We enter, or it enters us, the real cloud this time

that bursts stinging
seeds around us its gray flower, and get
the glimpse of the savage
storm-swimmer, hair a-scream,
mouth bawling hail, hurtling past us
into the heart of the thunderfall,
into the oily belly of the rainbow,
and pull back liable from our streaming
isinglass
eyes and the evidence he is,
out there forever, that other swimmer of the hour
a-gape, in agony, and gasping
for the net
to take him in, a reeling of compassion, or a gaff
(I've seen them speared;
what entrails he must have)!
Repent, repent in time you can escape!
I am pressing my hands together in a wooden vessel
tipped to the sun whose savior rays
betray him and endow
our bark with threads that carry
our frail keen ark to what could be
the fin of a violent mountain
we crowd upon but coast past,
past,
so much is past the new
is only old turned out to light:
and I did love you once, you old,
old man.

We are over the giant's shield of hammered gold,
the giant is sleeping; on his breathing breast
those insects of the sea,
the fishing boats, are going home.
It is ours, the field of the cloth of gold,
and we croon above its greasy fleece,
not forgetting crowned, encrusted deities
who stayed their final shafts, and strain
its moving surfaces with benovelent gleam.
Legends. The sun is sinking, or we are.
Yet we are being guided, yet we are ordering
our fall. We shall lose
Artemis as we come
having bested the sun to rising dark,
tiredly, to the horizon, of so much grace.
Such silence greets the victors.

Cease the vibrations. I am weary,
I acknowledge it. He takes his spectacles off
in a splendid ordinary gesture, folds them
to a frown he tucks in his pocket. Here we are.
Open the door, step down.
Let's wait for him, he still has things to do.
Shall we look back? I trust him, though.
He will catch up with us. See,
I am walking on the ground.
Arc lights blister the fresh night,
the tower honors us, better than Paris,
and Indians bow low in solemn meeting.
Something remains, though, of unease.
Return marks homage to the fact of flight.
It is the moon,
the mirror moon, the alternate
watcher that followed, moving but unmoved,
the gliding in,
that says day's eye we gazed on almost blind
governs in cooler guise
eclipse in necessary dreams
so that in what we think of as our private dark's
ferment should have the absolute
suddenly stoop to gather us up to its circle
and break
into hilarious stars, under the cold
and tranquil eye still lurks towards morning joy
the pitiless unswerving brother set to prove
this planet
small as a knucklebone, large at most as a skull,
wide and narrow as mercy and pride, and man
with his suckable marrow
big as a gnat on a clapper
in the enormous bellflower of sky.

I'm talking a lot,
before it's too late, I mean,
I see what he means.
So, moon, moon, you're mine,

as I was yours for years so many years
ago, and brought forth from your tides
under your domination yet with your connivance
(successful Queen Canute) also with some
(I mention this) small inconvenience
to me, that healthful, strange

exempli gratia (terms remain) of heat and cold,
this polyp of eternity, bone, penis, flesh
and brain – have you ever looked at a sea anemone?
– whom I love with an altogether earthly love
or pleasure, chaste, and fearful pain,
and call, for spite and vanity, a son.
Who slouches in our wake?
We walk
like merpeople in this flat, white place.

Arm in arm, thus, let us go
to the terminal,
the three of us, two old.
Someone else, I suppose, will stable the fabulous,
give it the decent feed that it deserves,
having delivered us from night to day.
Maybe it will stand trembling a while,
the feel of splintered elements in its metal skin.
I somehow feel it kin. It's small,
and homely, after all.
The actual event is always simple.
I know I am.
Later, in my disguise of stars,
I'll make the old men Bovril, laced with gall.

Orono, Maine

AFRO-AMERICAN PERIODICALS

ELSA G. COHEN

The first prerequisite to the success of a periodical is in reaching an interested audience which can read. The second is that that audience should have the means to buy the publication.

In the South, before the Civil War, neither of these conditions existed among the blacks. The high illiteracy rate and the circumstances of slavery prevented any attempt at publishing for and by any Negroes. On occasion, a fortunate slave who had learned to read at the master's house would read aloud to the field slaves abolitionist newspapers and articles, a practice which was hardly encouraged by the white citizens.

The free Negroes in the North, however, were in a better position, many having attained education, economic comfort, and social well-being; and so it is not surprising that the first Negro newspaper was born in New York as a result of conflict. In 1827, Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm met with others in a private living room in New York to find a way to combat attacks being made by the white press against the Afro-Americans. The result of this gathering was the founding of the *Freedoms Journal* which later became known as the *Rights of All,* ending publication in 1830 for the lack of the ability to reach enough people to pay its way.[1]

With funds from friends in England, Frederick Douglass, the ex-slave who had become an able and elegant orator, started his newspaper, the *North Star* in 1847, to give evidence that the black man was not an inferior and, indeed, should be given his freedom to live in the counrty as an equal member of society. Because he felt that the name of his newspaper had too common a ring, he changed it to *Frederick Douglass's Paper,* causing one writer to comment that his real motive behind the change was to use his name and fame to fan circulation of a tottering periodical.[2] The burning of his house, the sentiment throughout New York state, where the paper was being published, that he should be banished to Canada, in addition to the shortage of funds, were among the problems which harrassed him. Nevertheless, the paper existed until 1864.

The first periodical in the South was the *Colored American,* published in Augusta, Georgia in 1865, possessing a life-line of six months.

As education, meager as it was, became available to the blacks of the South, and the rate of illiteracy decreased, newspapers, pamphlets and magazines stayed in existence for a longer period of time. The circulation data of a periodical at that time was hardly true evidence, for one copy might travel through many hands before it appeared too tattered to read. It was common practice for the blacks to keep these precious proofs-in-print of their humanness away from the eyes of the white people who made many attempts to forbid the circulation of Negro periodicals and to suppress the publications by harassment and violence.

Writing is never unbiased since it is affected by one's experiences, prejudices, emotions, and education. A reader, then, chooses certain publications for the views he knows he will find expressed there. In the 1920's, the New Negro began to take a long look at himself, to throw off his servile attitudes, and to assert himself to gain rights and self-respect as a black man. He began to look to his newspapers and magazines for guidance in his thinking, and to see in print those events of special interest to him, reported with attitudes meaningful to him.

There are shades of differing opinions among the blacks as to the purpose of a Negro press. Maintained by some writers is the principle that the press is the only vehicle through which the black man can freely express his true self to the white population. Robert Kerlin states:

> Those who would honestly seek to know the Negro must read his papers. It is in them the Negro speaks out with freedom, with sincerity, with justice to himself, for there he speaks as a Negro to Negroes, and he is aware that the white people do not so much as know of the existence of his papers.[3]

But most prevalent is the opinion that the black press should perform a service for the black population, expressed one way by Frederick Douglass:

> . . . a tolerably well conducted press in the hands of persons of the despised race, would, by calling out and making them acquainted with their own latent powers, by enkindling their hope of a future, and developing their moral force, prove a most powerful means of removing prejudice and awakening an interest in them.[4]

and nearly one hundred years later by Malcolm X:

> The daily [white] press can make even the 'Negro' public eat your flesh with its powerful . . . propaganda . . . The Negro press may have its shortcomings, but when the die is cast and your 'downtown' friends ready you for the dogs, there must be a NEGRO PRESS to present your case to the 'Negro' public. The Negro press is our only medium for voicing the true plight of our oppressed people to the world.[5]

In publishing Negro journals, there was no lack of difficulty in reaching whatever successes which have been achieved; and in the field of journalism, as in many other facets of Negro life, inroads must be made for reform and recognition. One example of these inroads was made in 1947, when Louis Lautier, head of the Washington Bureau of Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, finally succeeded, after two abortive attempts, to have the press gallery in Congress opened to black newsmen.[6]

It is the purpose of this paper to examine representative periodicals from the Negro press and to create a bibliographical essay on them. I was able to physically examine eight journals, and four newspapers. Current data about the others was found in *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory* and *Ayer's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals.* In order to avoid staggering through technical definitions, I shall distinguish the newspapers from the magazine-digest-journal category by calling the latter group 'periodicals' even though, technically speaking, they are all periodicals.

The 1949 *Negro Handbook* listed one hundred and eighty-three Negro-owned newspapers, explaining that a valid list is nearly impossible to publish since so many periodicals disappear within a few months. The 1969 edition of *Ayer's Directory* lists one hundred and fifty Negro publications in thirty one of the United States and two Ontario cities. Several Negro news agencies feed items to the various member newspapers.

It is not difficult to identify a Negro newspaper through its pictures, its advertising, its cartoons, and its headlines. It is of interest, as an outsider, to discover a pattern in the Negro press of its treatment of welfare problems, the uplift effort, the reporting of race progress and achievement, of national and international affairs and of crime.

One of the largest Negro newspapers in the world is the *New Pittsburgh* (Pa.) *Courier,* established in 1910. It gives nationwide coverage by publishing several regional editions, five, weekly, at present.

The editorial page of the December 13, 1969, issue, registers bitter comment on the My Lai massacres by picturing two Klansmen discussing the investigation, stating "Ah jus' cain't undastan', Bureaugard, why they makin' such a fuss . . . viets ain't much better'n ouah nigras!" On Haynsworth, the judge is pictured as an inadequate member of a football team, being sent to the locker room with a crying towel by a chagrined "Coach" Nixon while two strong members of the team, "Labor" and "Civil Rights," look on.

The editorials of the day concern the suspension of the Voter Education project, terming it a play by southern senators who are disturbed by the black vote, and a comment on the ineffectiveness of the National Urban Coalition, blamed by the *Courier* on its closely run administration by three or four men.

Two columns, one by Ethel Payne and one by Diggs Datrooth, keep the readers informed on the Washington scene as it affects the blacks, and one called "Medical Doctor," by Dr. Earl Belle Smith, discusses, in this issue, the problems concerning the battered child.

The fashion and homemaker page with its elegant holiday clothes and its recipe for Cornish hens is an antithesis to the mail-order ads which include the sale of wigs, patent medicine cure-alls, and many offers to forecast your future.

Front page headlines read "U.S. poor in new D.C.'s 'sit-in'," "Black Michigan publisher slain," "Panthers ask probe of cops," "Black assistant Defense Sec'y probes services unrest," "Say USW curbing right unit." The whole tone established on the front page lacks the intensity and the radicalism that one nurtured on the white press would come to expect from a Negro newspaper.

From 1956 to 1959, The *Pittsburgh Courier* served as the spokesman for the black Muslim movement. It was the first newspaper to give significant coverage to the movement and to carry Muhammed's column. In 1959, ownership of the newspaper passed to more conservative hands, and the *Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch* became the de facto voice of the movement.[7]

The *Chicago Defender* was established in 1905, by Robert S. Abbott who distributed his handbill-size newspaper himself. Detweiler claims that over 100,000 copies were being sold each week, basing the increase in circulation on "the war and migration from the South."[8] Present circulation figures state the number sold of the *Defender,* which is now published weekly, is 36,000 while 7,000 are distributed free. The daily newspaper, known under the name of the the *Chicago Daily Defender,* sells 33,000 copies and distributes 4,000 free copies.

The *Daily Defender* was established in 1956, stating on its editorial page its "platform":

1. The obliteration of American race prejudice.
2. Racially unrestricted membership in all trade unions.
3. Equal employment opportunities in all jobs, public and private.
4. True representation in all United States police forces.
5. Complete cessation of all school segregation.
6. Establishment of open occupancy in all American housing.
7. Federal intervention to protect civil rights in all instances where civil rights compliance at the state level breaks down.[9]

In addition to its fame as champion of Negro rights, the *Defender,* in the early part of this century, became known as one of the first newspapers to make use of headlines. In the issue of December 12, 1969, three headlines are devoted to the Black Panther killings. " 'IT WAS MURDER', RUSH," "Hanrahan must go, declares Curtis Burrell," "Panthers vicious: Hanrahan," "Police tell their version of Fred Hampton slaying." It appears to be an attempt at unbiased reporting. Within the pages of this issue are two feature articles on the Black Panthers, one a full page which declares that Bill Hampton is ready to take his brother's place.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, in his feature column, declares that his people should make this a "Black Christmas" in the spirit of love. He urges his people not to go into debt buying things they cannot afford, but if they feel they must give something to their families, to buy black-made products from black merchants, or to give their children a savings account in a black bank. The column that was startling was one written by Harry Golden, "Only in America." His comments cencerned the formation of Christian private schools in North Carolina in which he attacked the founder for contributing to the illitercy rate of the state.

Completing this issue of the *Daily Defender* are a comic page featuring the same strips we read in the white press, sport section, a society section, including items about an "African Safari" party, a debutante coming-out party, and a church group planning to distribute food to the poor. There are, also, several pages devoted to a Sears Roebuck ad, and an employment section, an advice column, and one called "Inside Rhodesia."

The *Defender* and the *Courier* are both edited and published by John Sengstacke, and are similar in tone, carrying the same editorials and several of the same columns.

The *Cleveland Call and Post,* established in 1921, publishes weekly editions in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Columbus, with a circulation of 32,000. Examination of the editorial page of the December 13, 1969, issue shows an inclination toward interest in matters of racial progress in business, and throughout the paper are items concerning job opportunities, education, and achievements.

The *Cincinnati Herald,* established in 1956, carries the motto "Know the truth" on its banner. The editorial page of this weekly leans toward community improvement. Miscegenation appears in two items, one, on the front page describing the heroic death of a black father whose wife is white, and the other, announcing the marriage of actor Troy Donahue to a black woman.

Concentration on newspapers from the mid-west is due to the fact that that was my only source for obtaining the papers. Mention must be made, however, of a very important newspaper of the east, Harlem's *Amsterdam News,* a weekly, established in 1909, with a present circulation of 82,000. It gives considerable attention to Muslim affairs, according to Lincoln, even though its policy is one of impartial reporting. "It treats Muslims as an important and powerful group in the Harlem community, but not as unusual or bizarre."[10]

A general comment on Negro newspapers would include mention of the tone of self improvement, community awareness, and racial progress and achievement. Crime is not stressed, political comments made of national affairs only in that they directly concern the blacks, and international affairs, except for limited interest in Africa and Viet Nam, are disregarded. Advertising is heavy for whiskey, food, clothing, and, in some instances wigs and beauty products.

The Negro press is of significant importance to the black man because it is here he can feel an articulation of his world through seeing his name in print, his picture published, and standards for him to follow.

Race propaganda was marked by the entrance, in 1910, of the *Crisis,* published in New York. The official organ of the NAACP and published by its Dept. of Public Relations, its banner reads "a record of the darker races." Its founding editor was W. E. B. Dubois, who, in his book *Darkwater,* describes the movement and the *Crisis* as the culmination of a dream. In 1921, the circulation was reported at 60,000; at present it stands at 91,000.

In 1919, the *Crisis* cautioned the Negroes not to permit self-defense to become lawless offences against white, but stated:

> If the United States is to be a Land of Law, we would live humbly and peaceably in it . . . if it is to be a Land of Mobs and Lynchers, we might as well die today as tomorrow.
>
> 'And how can man die better
> Than facing fearful odds
> For the ashes of his fathers
> And the temples of his gods?'[11]

In the October, 1969, issue, the subject of one of the editorials was the Pittsburgh construction strike. It stated that if workers were not hired without dis-

crimination, then there would be no work done. Another supports the struggle of the Catholic minority in Ireland.

Short essays presenting different views of the racial problem, book reviews, very few ads, with news of NAACP events, set a literary tone for this widely-read monthly.

Published by the Association for the study of Negro Life and History, the *Journal of Negro History* presents authoritative and scholarly essays on the history of the Negro in the United States, Latin America, the West Indies, and Africa, and on events and people related to that history.

The quarterly includes about three of four articles in each issue. Included in the January, 1964, issue are "The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: the South Carolina Episode," by Francis Simkins and "Emancipation: History's Fantastic Reverie," by Dwight Dumond.

Signed book reviews and a bibliography of books, articles and documents complete the make-up of this erudite periodical, which began publishing in Washington, D.C. in 1916.

The *Negro History Bulletin,* established in 1937, is sent to Associate members of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at a cost of two dollars annually. The annual report of the *Journal* stated that the *Bulletin* features a few distinguished Negro families in its issues to show racial achievement and to combat the attitudes that the Negroes are an inferior race.

During its twenty-six years of life, *Opportunity* played an important role in Negro culture. The voice of the Urban League, whose motto was "One world-one community," it encouraged Negro artists and writers, and helped establish racial pride in the New Negro. It is an excellent work for primary source material on the writers of the Negro Renaissance period, since it contains book reviews, fiction and poetry.

The Winter issue of 1946, lists significant developments in 1946 in the United States as the effort to organize Southern labor, the fact that a sovereign state may be tried for racial discrimination, and the formation of an Advisory Committee on Negro Affairs by the Catholic Welfare Conference.

In the Winter, 1969, Special (and last) issue, it stated that its purpose was to "give the American people serious and authoritative articles on social and economic problems affecting Negro life in the United States . . ." and to provide a vehicle through which Negro writers and artists could display.[12]

In 1949, a decrease in the budget of the Urban League led the Executive Board of the League to curtail publication.

Phylon, established in 1940, in Atlanta, Georgia, is a quarterly devoted to scholarly articles on Negroes as a cultural group, and their problems of their relationships to the white society. It contains signed, critical reviews of books, both fiction and non-fiction, that relate to the blacks, poetry, and an occasional short story.

The Fall, 1967, issue of the Atlanta University publication includes the following articles: "Quality education and Integration: an Exploratory study," by Norman Johnson, Robert Weyer, and Neil Gilbert, "A Study of Some Moderately Successful Negroes in New York City" by Aaron Antonovsky,[13] "The NAACP vs. the Communist Party: Scottsboro Rape Cases, 1931-32," "Negroes in the Fiction of F. Scott Fitzgerald," by Robert Forrey. These titles show that the periodical envelops a large category of subjects.

In 1942, John H. Johnson, who was employed by an insurance company in Chicago, founded the world's largest publishing company for Negroes on a borrowed five hundred dollars. His idea was to bring to the blacks their own magazine fashioned on a formula found to be successful with other audiences. He collected an assortment of articles, found a printer to print it on credit, and the *Negro Digest* was born. During its first years of existence, Mr. Johnson's associate, Ben Burns, edited the magazine at home after putting in a day's work at the *Chicago Defender.*[14]

The *Negro Digest* is the size of the *Readers Digest.* In October, 1951, it carried no advertising—just short articles bearing such titles as "What's Wrong with Negro Leaders?", "The Champion Who Never Won a Title," "The Christ of the Haitian Primitives," "Black Jews of Israel," "Are Negroes Returning to Dixie?". It contained an article by Langston Hughes entitled "The Wages of Sin Are Not Always Death" in which he compares the black numbers kings to the Robin Hoods of old England, in the fact that they perform a beneficial service by the chance return of the wealth to the hands of the poor.

Johnson ceased publication of the *Negro Digest* when he began to publish *Ebony* in 1945, but in 1947, he recognized that there was still a market for this type of magazine, and so he resumed its publication.

With the success of the *Negro Digest,* Mr. Johnson decided to try out on the blacks another formula which had been successful in the field of publishing—that of a picture magazine. Mr. Burns used freelance contributors until he could recruit a staff for Johnson Publications in 1946.

Ebony demonstrated to advertisers the importance of Negroes as consumers. The make-up of the ads, the glamor, the elegance and appeal, are all the same as are found in *Life* magazine, but with the use of black models, no less elegant than any white model in the Virginia Slims ad, no less homey than the white family who uses a Maytag washing machine, and no less bruised than the white man who smokes Taryton cigarettes.

The October, 1969, issue features the works of Henry Tanner, a nineteenth-century black painter, Harry Belafonte's latest movie, a Chicago physician's elegant Safari room in his stately home, a reprint of the Black Boycott movement, from the *Journal of American History.* The editorial urges blacks to look to the South again, since the need to look for states with higher welfare benefits will be erased with Nixon's proposal for a federal welfare plan, in addition to the economic advantage for the blacks through the movement of Northern industry to the South.

E. Franklin Frazier had some sharply critical words to say about the black bourgeoisie. He berated them for their adoption of white upper-class material values while losing sight of their own position, and for their negation of their own heritage. He cited the Negro press as fostering these attitudes, and was most vitriolic when criticizing *Ebony* as the most dangerous proponent of middle class white values for blacks.[15]

New York in 1961, saw the emergence of a new publication, called *Freedomways,* a Quarterly review of the Negro Freedom Movement. More radical in tone, this periodical reflects the mood of the times. It contains no photographs, no advertising. It presents book reviews, and a bibliography on recent books considered to be of interest to its readers. There is the opportunity to place orders for books, pamphlets, and games published by *Freedomways,* but mainly it is concerned with publishing essays and editorials supporting its views.

The issue of Winter, 1968, carried two editorials. One was the announcement of the DuBois Centennial, stating that each issue of *Freedomways* throughout 1968 will carry some selection of DuBois. The second editorial was written in defense of LeRoi Jones who, they felt, had received too harsh a sentence from a judge for carrying a gun because the judge disliked an idea expressed in one of Jones' poems.

A critical essay on William Styron's *Nat Turner,* by Loyle Harston, claims that white writers are unable to portray a black character with any understanding because they look on the black's condition as being naturally inferior rather than the result of the "racist criminality of the American Social System."

An article discussing the United States in South America drips with anti-colonialism, anti-big business, and anti-free enterprise, but proposes nationalization, land reforms, and price and exchange controls.

A "bright new game" offered through the mail is one which is fashioned after the game of Monopoly. This game is called Cullud. Among the squares where a player could stop are those labeled "Army, Riot: go to Hospital, Church/School, Jail/Sat. night, White community: go to Jail, War: go to Army, Uncle Tom: lose two turns." It undoubtedly offers the same catharsis to the frustrated blacks as Monopoly offered to a population racked by the Depression.

The *Reader's Forum* contains a request from Dr. Calvin Sinette, a member of the Board of Directors of the magazine, for Afro-Americans of certain expertise, only, to show an interest in repatriation to Nigeria.

There are forty-three Negro periodicals listed in the latest *Ulrich's Directory* for such a diverse reading public as would subscribe to *Beauty Trade,* a Magazine for the Negro Beautician (1965-), *Bibliographic Survey: The Negro in Print* (1965-), *Black Worker* (Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1929-), *Elegant Teen* (1965-), *Jazz Times (London,* 1964-), *Message Magazine* (religion, 1934), *Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes* (1933-), *Rights and Reviews* (CORE, 1964-), *U.S. Negro World* (data on Negro consumer market, 1961-).

The very newest periodical listed in *Ulrich's Third Supplement* is entitled *Negro American Literature Forum,* a quarterly published at Indiana State University, with a circulation of 450.

The volume and success of Afro-American newspapers and periodicals attests to the need that exists for the press that brings to the blacks the current, of daily life, and for the magazines of propaganda, literature and culture, general interest, and special interest. Hopefully the benefits derived from some of these works can transcend the barriers of racism; and a discerning audience, black and white, can enjoy the creative talents of able writers, not for the color of the hand that writes it, but for the artistry contained in it.

Bangor, Maine

FOOTNOTES

[1] Frederick G. Detweiler, *The Negro Press in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 36.
[2] Ibid., p. 41.
[3] Robert Kerlin, *The Voice of the Negro, 1919* (New York: Dutton Publishing Co., 1920), intro. In this work, Kerlin compiled items from Negro newspapers and magazines from July 1 to Nov. 1, 1919, to show the temper and tone of the Negro people.
[4] Detweiler, p. 41.
[5] Charles Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 143.
[6] Florence Murray (ed.), *Negro Handbook* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1949).
[7] Lincoln, p. 141.
[8] Detweiler, p. 65.
[9] *Chicago Daily Defender,* December 6-12, 1969.
[10] Lincoln, p. 144.
[11] From *Crisis,* Sept., 1919, as quoted in Kerlin, p. 35.
[12] *Opportunity,* Vol. XXVII, No. 1, 1949.
[13] This study was made of salesmen, printers, laboratory technicians, teachers, social workers, and nurses, and excluded the eminent, the upper class, the employer and the self-employed.
[14] Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1964).
[15] Edward Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glenco, Ill.: Glenco Press, 1957).

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THE DEFINITION PROBLEM OF MONOPOLY

TRIBID K. MUKHERJEE

A monopoly is defined many ways: a monopolist is the only producer of his product; there is no close substitute for a monopolist's product; the firm and the industry under a monopoly are identical; and so on. All of these definitions revolve around the uniqueness of the product.

However, in attempting to identify monopoly, a serious student is confronted with a twofold definitional problem. The first problem is rather academic, nontheless having at least one policy implication; the second, however, would involve the operational aspect of monopoly. I shall attempt to explain the foregoing problems:

(1) The academic problem in defining monopoly arises simply from the established generosity of the economist in overlooking certain conspicuous omissions. Economists determine the existence (or the absence) of a substitute for a given product, ideally, by computing or estimating its cross elasticity of demand for the product in question in terms of the prices of the others. If the cross elasticity of demand is zero, or close to it, economists say that the firm is a monopolist. However, logically, it is only when the *positive* cross elasticity of demand for a firm's product is zero or very low with respect to prices of the others that the firm should be considered to be a monopolist. This approach to the concept of monopoly is silent and neutral about the availability and the use of complementary goods or services for a monopolist's product. The product supplied by a monopolist may or may not have complements. Consequently, the *negative* cross elasticity of demand for a monopolist's product in terms of prices of the other is *not necessarily* zero or insignificant. For example, the local electric power company is a regulated monopolist as a seller of electric energy. However, the prices of goods like kitchen appliances, washers and dryers, heaters and air-conditioners, to mention a few, will significantly influence one's demand for electric energy. Consequently, the cross elasticity of demand for electricity with respect to prices of the electrical appliances mentioned before can not be considered zero or insignificant.[1]

Although the negative cross elasticity of demand for a monopolist's product is not necessarily zero or insignificant, the *positive* cross elasticity of demand for the same is zero or insignificant by definition. This requires that the + (positive) sign be present before the cross elasticity of demand when it refers to substitutes. However, there is a tendency among several authors of popular textbooks to leave out the word "positive" that should precede the term "cross elasticity of demand" while defining monopoly in terms of (absence of) close substitutes for the product offered by a monopolist. For example, Stonier and Hague (1, 208-209) in *A Textbook of Economic Theory* state, "The cross elasticity of demand for the product of a monopolist with respect to a fall in the price of other products in the economy will be very low." Watson (5, 110) in his *Price Theory*

and Its Uses concludes after a lucid analysis of the cross elasticity of demand, "the closer two commodities are as substitutes for each other, the greater is the size of the cross-elasticity co-efficient." Again, while discussing monopoly prices, Watson (5, 305) says "to be distinct, the commodity must be a marked gap in a chain of substitutes. Its cross elasticities of demand with other commodities must be low." Vickery (4, 302) observes that when ". . . products are perfect substitutes for each other, . . . there is perfect cross elasticity of demand for each product in terms of the prices of the others." Stigler (2, 198) in *The Theory of Price* comments, "hence monopoly can arise (in the absence of collusion among producers) only if the product of the firm is substantially different from the products of all other firms—that is, if the cross elasticity of demand for the output of this firm with respect to the price of each other firm is small." Dooley (1, 83) in *Elementary Price Theory* states, "for practical purposes, a monopoly is said to exist whenever the product of one firm has no close substitutes, whenever cross elasticity is close to zero." The list could be made a lengthy one. Apparently, a little more careful phrasing of the definition by inclusion of the word "positive" immediately preceding "cross elasticity of demand" would make the definition more clear and meaningful.

One policy implication arising out of the presence of the complementary goods for a monopolist's product may be this. Many local electric power companies are allowed to have retail stores in their downtown business offices where they, like any other local independent appliance retailer, sell different electrical appliances. The operational efficiency of such a secondary business pursuit of a regulated monopolist may be questionable in many places. Nevertheless their sales volume may appear surprisingly high. In a situation like this can we logically rule out the possibility of an unfair competition in terms of a regulated monopolist selling appliances below cost in their retail stores just to be able to sell more electric energy to their store customers? If such abuse of opportunity is a possibility, should these local electric companies be permitted to indulge in this type of peripheral activity?

(2) The second aspect of this definitional problem is a functional one. To an economist a monopolistic situation exists when the firm and the industry are identical. But this definition of monopoly may not necessarily cope with a successful implementation of the anti-trust laws. This concept involves the long unresolved question concerning the intra-industry vs. inter-industry competition. The economist's definition of monopoly on the basis of absence of only an intra-industry competition became merely academic by the famous cellophane decision of the Federal Courts in 1953. In this court case DuPont Company was found "not" guilty of monopoly practices in the marketing of cellophane. DuPont argued that while its cellophane did not have a substitute within the cellophane industry, it faced vigorous competition in the market for flexible package materials with products of other industries such as waxed paper, aluminum foil, polyethylene and pilofilm. The lesson of the verdict should be that the economist's definition of monopoly lacks the desired flexibility to become more relevant. A more functional definition (and perhaps theoretically

a better one) should refer not only to an intra-industry low positive cross elasticity of demand but should also make reference to the inter-industry situation as well. According to this broad approach to monopoly, a local electric-power company which sells its product in separate markets does not appear to have a monopolistic position in all markets. For example, the electric-power company is a monopolist in selling electric energy for lighting and for certain electric appliances. But the same company has to confront intense competition from the local gas company as sellers of energy to be used in heating and cooking (5, 306). The "ours is better than theirs" type advertisement outlay of any local electric company and of the electric industry would testify to the magnitude of this inter-industry competition.

Consequently, the "firm-industry-identify" relationship for monopoly is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. A more operational definition would require that the firm be considered a monopolist when *both intra-industry* and *inter-industry positive* cross elasticity of demand for its product in terms of the prices of others is zero or very low.

It is, of course, true that with the actual or potential inter-industry rivalry concept, very few American firms could be considered as monopolists. Alternatively few American industries fall under the heading of "Pure Competition." Even the agricultural industry would not be a good example of "pure competition" when one considers the conscious and persistent effort of the Department of Agriculture to interfere with the market price mechanism for many farm products and thereby distort the market performance of agriculture. Nevertheless, we teach "Pure Competition" because it provides us with a "norm" against which the actual operations in the economy can be evaluated and judged. Moreover, in some industries enough competition does exist to make them reasonable approximations of purely competitive markets. Let us use similar justifications for teaching another end of the American market structure namely "Monopoly."

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FOOTNOTES

[1] Again the price of electricity considerably determines the demand for the hardware and labor services required for whole house central electric air-conditioning.

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The Influence of de Maistre

Walter Greenlaw

FOREWORD

A random search of the writings of several nineteenth-century European philosophers, political theorists, and conservative thinkers, supported by modern political writers and translators, reveals a wide admission of respect and admiration for the works of Comte Joseph de Maistre. Although the Marquis de Bonald, a contemporary, is often mentioned simultaneously, the references and citations in the accompanying bibliography are heavily weighted in the favor of Maistre. Many works in this area of scholarship completely ignore Bonald, while widely citing de Maistre and Burke.

DISCUSSION

Many writers and interpreters believe that Maistre was so dearly inspired by Burke that he thought of Burke as "the Master." He is quoted concerning Burke, "I have been completely taken and don't know how to tell you how much he has influenced my ideas." De Maistre's *Considerations* on France seems to many to be clearly inspired by Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution.* In the matter of the refutation of the French Revolution, de Maistre agrees with Burke: in the defense of the old monarchial regime, Maistre goes it alone (1, IX-XI). Hatred of Rousseau and his *Social Contract* is most vitriolically portrayed in de Maistre's essay "On Sophistry and Tyranny."

Since Bonald has already been mentioned in connection with Maistre, it is interesting to note that to many, a comparison of their literary style has been emphasized. Maistre is charming, witty, and "has a taste for paradox that makes him the most readable defender of the older Europe while Bonald is *dull*" (I-XIII).

It is further deplored that "nothing of Maistre's has ever been translated into English in the last 100 years except his 'Generative Principles of Political Constitutions' " which was published in 1959, with a translation by Lawrence M. Porter (I-XXI). This seems paradoxical if, indeed, Maistre's influence is as strong as is indicated by so many contemporary writers.

Before proceeding further, it is prudent to briefly examine a summary of Maistre's political beliefs. These are taken from his preface to his 1814 essay "On the Generative Principles of Political Constitutions" which were in turn taken from his *Considerations Sur La France,* first published anonymously in 1796 (I, XXVI-VII). Even with the lapse of 20 years, he stated that nothing had happened in the world to induce him to abandon these principles in his theory:

1. No constitution arises from deliberation.
2. In forming constitutions, human action is so far circumscribed that the men who act become only circumstances.
3. The rights of the people proceed almost always from the concessions of the sovereigns.
4. These concessions have always been preceded by a state of things which rendered them necessary and for which the sovereign was not responsible.
5. Although written laws (lois) are merely the declarations of pre-existing laws (droits), it is far from true that these laws can be written.
6. The more of it one puts into writing, the weaker the institution becomes.
7. No nation can give itself freedom if it is not already free.
8. Legislators are extraordinary men, belonging perhaps to the world of antiquity and to the youth of the nations.
9. Even these legislators, notwithstanding their marvelous power, have only combined parts of what already existed.
10. In a sense, liberty is the gift of kings, for nearly all free nations were established by kings.
11. There never existed a free nation which did not have seeds of liberty as old as itself in its natural constitution.
12. No assembly of men whatsoever can form a nation. Man cannot create a sovereign. At most, he may be the instrument in dethroning the sovereign and delivering his kingdom to another ruler already royal.

On Maistre's literary style, and readability, there are too many items of praise to list. To add to that of Griefer, already cited, it should suffice to list one more; that of Harold J. Laski. He comments that "the literary effectiveness of de Maistre, the skill with which he presents his pessimism, the acuteness of his reflections—all these have combined to give his work the permanence that is undoubtedly its historic due" (3, 127).

Laski also credits the works of Maistre with bringing about the encyclical MIRARI VOS, the Syllabus of 1864, and the definition of papal infallibility, "Maistre was the real author of papal infallibility" (3, 238). Pius X only completed on the dogmatic side what Gregory XVI outlined on the political. In that aspect, the work of de Maistre and of Lammenais before 1830, has borne its due fruit (3, 247-48).

In a 50 page chapter, Laski discusses Maistre's influence on Bismark. While superficially Bismark's outlook might seem antithetic to that of de Maistre, the differences "are more apparent than real; and examination suggests that in the search for an adequate perspective they are unimportant. Each aimed, fundamentally, at the same goal; and it was only the formal structure in which their ideas found realization that marks a distinction in the basis of their thought" (3, 212).

> Where de Maistre speaks of the Church, Bismark speaks of the State; where de Maistre discusses the Papacy, Bismark is discussing the German

> Empire. Otherwise at bottom, the thought is essentially the same. Nor was their problem different. De Maistre had to confront a world which the Revolution had smashed into an atomic chaos and it was in the world-sovereignty of Rome that he found its new centre of unity. What de Maistre feared was intellectual opposition; the chief bane of Bismark was political antagonism. The fundamental faith of each was beyond the sphere of reason—with de Maistre it was the dogmas of Catholicism, with Bismark the revelations of an evangelical Christianity. Each saw in a world of individualisation the guarantee of disruption and evolved a theory to secure its suppression. Each loved passionately the ideal of unity since that seemed to them both the surest guarantee of survival. Each saw truth as one and therefore doubted the rightness of a sovereignty that was either fallible or divisible; and each in the end came to the realization that his theories were inconsistent with the facts of life. (3, 263-64).

In this work of Laski's, it is nowhere evident that Bismark has ever read Maistre. The analogy drawn seems purely that of Laski and demonstrates that Maistre's influence on Laski was probably much greater than his direct influence on Bismark.

In the *Prophets of Paris,* Frank E. Manuel cites Maistre's influence on Saint-Simon, Enfantin and Chevalier, Fourier and Comte. In discussing Saint-Simon's contention that each man seeks to express his own and not an alien nature, that he desires to live and work in the classification in which he has natural endownments, be they scientific, administrative or aesthetic, Manuel claims this contention is adapted from de Maistre and Bonald "who steadfastly maintained that men were not driven by passion for equality with other men of higher status, but really had a profound desire to remain in their own traditional occupations and to continue to express themselves in their traditional roles. Saint-Simon merely translated this concept into 'scientific' terms" (4, 125-26).

The thirteenth Saint Simonian seance, under Enfantin and Chevalier, was concluded with the following statement: "Let us be prepared, as de Maistre has said, for a great event in the divine order, one toward which we are moving with an accelerated pace, one which must strike all observers; Let us say with him, there is no more religion on earth and a human being cannot remain in this state; but we are more fortunate than de Maistre, we no longer have to await the man of genius coming he prophesied, who was destined, according to him, to reveal the natural affinity of religion and science. Saint-Simon has appeared" (4, p. 164). Manuel hints that the Saint-Simonians may have been using Maistre's papal Catholicism to gain converts to their social doctrine.

Fourier seems to be thinking of Maistre's executioner when he (Fournier) states, "it is not morality but the bayonet which represses the weak; and supposing it were a good to repress the passions, is the whole thing not illusory as long as this repression cannot be extended to the powerful, to Nero and Tiberias, to Genghis and Attila, who still have the capacity to persecute a hundred million men? . . . . Morality is impotent in repression without the gibbet and bayonets, the pivots around which all human legislation revolves." (4, 234).

In Comte's youthful writings, he has "praised the power of the sentiments and the imagination in moving mankind to action and had praised spontaneous religious faith as the force which would again bring intellectual and moral unity to humanity. [His friends] had never read those [earlier] passages in which he had extolled the organic unity of medieval Catholicism in the language of de Maistre" (4, 265-66).

One author claims that it is very misleading to treat Bonald, Maistre and Lammenais as representatives of a uniform school of thought. They do not, themselves, seem to have realized how much they differed from one another . . . . Maistre was the precursor of traditionalism, Bonald, its father, and Lammenais its herald" (5, 78).

Lammenais wrote a letter to Maistre which he received just before his death in 1821. He deplored how far behind the times were the theological books he had received from Rome. "They defend religion as they would have defended it forty years ago . . . . They ought to realize at Rome that their traditional method, according to which everything is proved by facts and authorities, is . . . insufficient, because it is no longer understood. Since reason has proclaimed itself sovereign, one must go straight to it, seize it on its throne, and compel it, under pain of death, to prostrate itself before the reason of God" (5, 100). Had Maistre lived to answer this letter, it is conceivable the answer might have indicated Maistre's displeasure with Lammenais' criticism.

In *The Treason of the Intellectuals,* Julien Benda infers that Maistre is the epitome of moralism when he states, " . . . you do not find in France a single serious moralist (including de Maistre) or even a poet (if you consider only the great ones) who praises the "pleasures of victory and cruelty." Maistre maintains that the true warrior remains human in the midst of the blood he sheds" (6, 130). This passage appeared in connection with a discussion . . . of German moralism as exemplified by Nietzsche and his Homeric values.

When the priest Lacordaire broke with Lammenais, Lacordaire's principal advisor was the skeptic, Madame Swetchine. She had, in Russia, formed a close relationship with the "ultramontane philosopher Joseph de Maistre and under his influence had undergone coversion. She became the hostess of the principal Catholic salon in Paris which was immediately distinguished from its rivals by the personal piety of its devotees" (7, 54-55). Through Madame Swetchine it may be presumed that Maistre's influence at that time was probably significant on Lacordaire.

The Marquis Louis Claude Saint-Martin, a critic of the philosophy of the century and in whose work is found the central idea taken up later by Lamennais, produced a model which "contained the essential elements of the counter-revolutionary ideas developed by Maistre and Bonald" (8, 179-80).

In a doctoral dissertation on de Maistre's influence on Baudelaire, the author states, "de Maistre's vigorous and dogmatic exposition of Catholic truths applied to both society and politics, aroused his interest. It is clear that he read de

Maistre, for he explicitly referred to two of his works and at least six times acknowledged his indebtedness to him for some thought or other. Moreover, in certain passages of Baudelaire there are verbal reminiscences of de Maistre; and in some instances, a whole train of thought or a particular attitude towards a problem of life seems to be colored by de Maistre's ideas" (9, 5-9). Mother Alphonsus believes that Baudelaire was indirectly influenced by de Maistre through Poe, Charpentier, de Vigny, Daudet, Du Bos, Ferran, Flottes, Le Dantec, Gustave de Reynold, Saint-Beuve, S. A. Rhodes and Seillier. While these names sound impressive, other than Poe, Saint-Beuve, and de Vigny, they are unknown to this writer and Mother Alphonsus does not further elaborate on Maistre's presumed influence.

Carl Joachim Friedrich, in 1963, discussed de Maistre's making a "fetish of authority beyond all reason. The pointed phrases in which de Maistre denounced the rationalism of the Enlightment and the revolution, center on this issue. Because *raisonnement* could lead to the dissolution of all social order, to anarchy and terror, men ought to and were, in fact, ready to submit themselves to authority without asking the "reasons why." (Similar views are frequently expressed in contemporary American conservatism.) (10, 217-18).

McGovern comments on de Maistre's prophesies on the American constitution in which he felt that it would be of value to the American people only so far as it was an expression of ideas and practices which had long been familiar in the history and traditions of the people. In the light of later history, McGovern agreed that "it is certain that the most successful features of the American Constitution have been those which were modeled on earlier institutions, and that the most unsuccessful feature of the Constitution, the college of electors, was the result of rational abstract planning for which there was no prototype, at least in Colonial or British history" (11, 102-3).

Bela Menczer notes that de Maistre's influence on Czar Alexander I was out of keeping with his modest position as a minister to a practically powerless king (Piedmont-Savoie, Sardinia). While the forces of Orthodox and Pravoslav circles had misgivings concerning this influence, de Maistre prevailed for much of the sixteen years he spent in St. Petersburg. The Czar ultimately had to pronounce anti-Jesuit decrees but de Maistre succeeded in gaining some excellent converts to Roman Catholicism, notably Prince Dmitri Galitzin, S.J. (12,60).

Leon Bloy, a French Catholic writer of the early nineteenth-century, referred to de Maistre as follows: "this seer was a contemporary of the Revolution; he meditated like a prophet on the grandiose horror it inspired, and confronted it face to face. He died, appalled at what he saw, and full of contempt, pronouncing the funeral oration over civilised Europe" (12, 61).

In summary, these writers who have commented on de Maistre's influence have done so in a positive sense; they portray him as having deep political convictions and generally give the impression that his works provided the best source of conservative political and religious thought of his time. Menczer calls the *Soirees* the best philosophy written in dialogue form since Plato (12, 60).

In the dialogues the call of de Maistre is firm for a human government entirely subordinated to the will of God, politics as a branch of theology, and Providence as the only acceptable explanation of history.

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HAWTHORNE'S IMAGERY: THE "PROPER LIGHT AND SHADOW" IN THE MAJOR ROMANCES.

RICHARD HARTER FOGLE

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969 XV, + 178 pp. Index. $4.50.

Reviewed by DAVID O. DICKERSON

Hawthorne is often considered a latter-day Puritan. He characteristically wrote of sin and salvation, and Melville admired the "blackness of darkness" in his works. When William Dean Howells came to call, he was given an introduction to Emerson, finding later that Hawthorne had written on the back of his own card, "I find this young man worthy."

One of the clearest indications of the worth of a Hawthorne character is his response to light and darkness. Young Goodman Brown has a vision of blackness so profound that he never afterwards responds to light and faith. In "The Minister's Black Veil" Rev. Hooper's veil symbolizes the divisions wrought by Original Sin, and Hooper's life is an acted parable forcing his parishioners to bring the darkness in themselves to the light. In his study Fogle has undertaken to catalog (too extensively) and study (too briefly) the light and shadow images in Hawthorne's four major "romances."

The Scarlet Letter is "a dark book, and yet the sun is central to it" (p. 22). Characteristically in shadow, Hester wanders in a moral wilderness, while the sunlight follows Pearl, her child of sin. Pearl is seen and characterized ambiguously: an innocent child "trailing clouds of glory," she nevertheless is seen as a Donatello-like sprite (and the witch Hibbins sees her as so much potentiality). Only as her father the Rev. Dimmesdale accepts his own duality, leaving the shadows of his habitual concealment for the noon-day revelation of the scaffold, does Pearl emerge from the merely natural sunlight into the moral light which leads her to acknowledge her father Arthur and her father God. The child of sin and the child of sun are finally the same.

The characters of *The House of Seven Gables* fit into a scheme of light and darkness, sunshine and storm. Phoebe is rather too obviously the ray of sunshine come to enliven the dark and stormy lives of Clifford and Hepzibah, and her gentle sunniness pierces the false beneficence of Judge Pyncheon, whose sunny smile turns to a dark scowl when Phoebe refuses to kiss him. But if Phoebe is too artificially Jesus' little sunbeam, it is Holgrave, the last of the Maules, whose daguerrotypes bring out the secret character by the use of light, and whose forgiveness of the Pyncheons and marriage of Phoebe ends Maule's curse on the Pyncheons and so transfigures the scene that the couple seems to be restored to Eden.

Scarcely explainable solely on the basis of lights and shadows, *The Blithedale Romance* seems partly an extension of *"The Minister's Black Veil."* The romance begins with an account of a veiled lady, and disguise and division pervade the action, causing alienation and lost love for the narrator (as for the minister in the short story). The narrator, Coverdale, is never able to venture beyond his disguises into wholesome involvement with others, nor can he pierce the disguises veiling the exotic Zenobia from all the other characters. Though he loves the pale Priscilla, he is unable to declare his love; and Priscilla, a potential person like Pearl or Donatello, is brought to shine only by Hollingsworth (who, in rejecting the bright Zenobia, has consigned her to her suicide in the dark river).

Hawthrone's most consistent use of chiaroscuro is in *The Marble Faun,* set in Rome and concerned with three American artists and their unfallen, faunlike friend, Donatello. He and the saintly Hilda represent sunlight, while Miriam, perhaps a wandering Jewess and linked darkly to the house of Cenci, represents, together with her dark nemesis of a model, darkness. As in *The Scarlet Letter,* "Rappaccini's Daughter," and many other works, the light-dark antithesis must be reconciled. Donatello's murder of Miriam's dark pursuer leaves both characters haunted by more metaphysicial shades. Donatello flees Miriam, who wished the crime, but she follows him as the model once followed her. Finally, in a high noon scene resembling the climatic scaffold scene of *The Scarlet Letter,* Donatello and Miriam accept their guilt, and one another. Hawthorne leaves their fates obscure, but the angelic Hilda has hope for them—she sees "sunlight on the mountain-tops."

Fogle's study is a valid but partial one. His attention to chiaroscuro is so consistent that he allows himself virtually no conclusions that do not relate to sunshine and shadow. (Instead of a "Conclusion," the book has a three-page "Afterword.") His stern concentration on the novels deprives him of any but the most incidental references to these themes in the short stories: he might have studied light and darkness in "Young Goodman Brown," "The Minister's Black Veil," "Rappaccini's Daughter," or "The Maypole at Merry Mount," for example—or even other images throughout the novels. Images of wells, fountains, and streams, of white birds, or of contrasting types of vegetation are just as iconographic in Hawthorne as images of light and dark. *The House of Seven Gables* develops an iconography of angular versus circular images: Hepsibah is rigid and angular while Phoebe is oval-faced and sunny, for example. Fogle *has* corrected the too-partial view of Hawthorne sometimes presented by other critics—that Hawthorne was a moral symbolist whose symbols were not the fixed ones of Puritanism, but ones which shifted every time he used them. But Fogle's correction is a too-partial view itself.

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