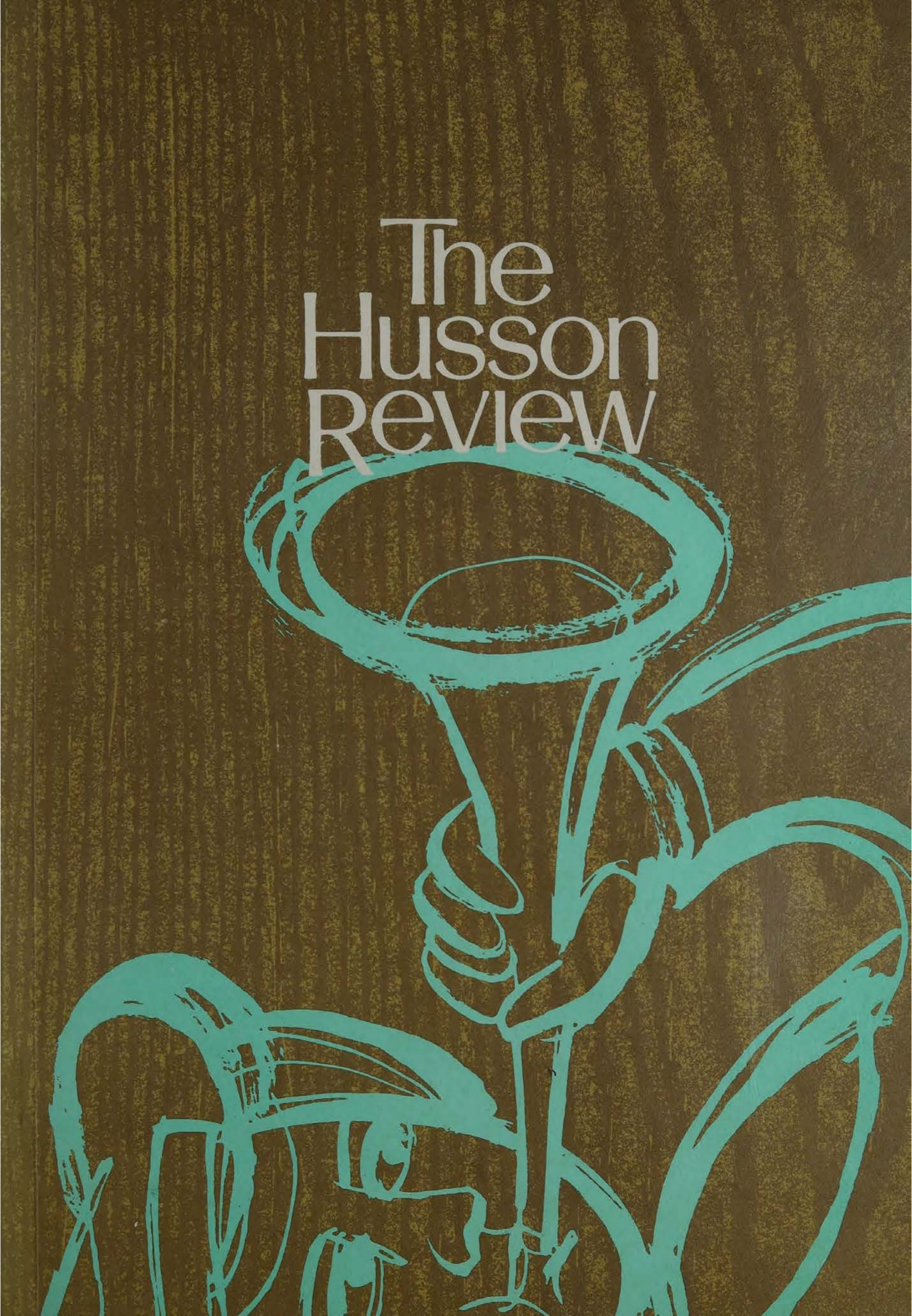
The Husson Review



The Husson Review

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Frank Walker: Coordinator Of The New Deal, 1933 - 1935

Paul L. Simon

Despite the great amount of scholarly effort that has been expended in studying the various aspects of the New Deal, there are still lacunae that exist as challenges to current scholars. One of the aspects most often overlooked has been that of government coordination. There is considerable knowledge of what the goals of the New Deal were and how these goals were or were not achieved, from the point of view of politics or statesmanship. But, until recently, few scholars have concerned themselves with the problem of coordination; the practical problems of keeping the various New Deal agencies and bureaus running smoothly and without colliding unduly with one another, or with the older departments of the government.[1]

There is also a surprising lack of knowledge about the man who was responsible for heading F.D.R.'s first efforts at coordination—Frank Comerford Walker. It is hoped that this article will throw some light both on the problem of the coordination of the New Deal from the summer of 1933 to the end of 1935, as well as on the career and contributions of Frank Walker during this time.

During the now famous "100 Days" from March to June of 1933 most of the legislation that characterized the first or early New Deal was enacted. Much of this legislation had a profound effect on the traditional American way of life and some of it led to serious problems of coordination. Perhaps the most significant of the laws that had repercussions in the area of coordination were: The National Industrial Recovery Act (June 16), the most important; The Federal Emergency Relief Act (May 12); The Agricultural Adjustment Act (May 12); The Emergency Farm Mortgage Act (May 12); and the Home Owner's Loan Act (June 13). The problems of coordination came to a head in late June of 1933 following the president's return from a vacation cruise. F.D.R. returned to Washington to find governmental operations in a near shambles. It seemed that as long as Roosevelt had been present and able to administer the New Deal personally, everything ran smoothly, but as soon as he left, the machinery broke down. Since his health required frequent vacation cruises and trips to Hyde Park and Warm Spring, the President determined to find some one or some way (or both) whereby the New Deal agencies and activities could be coordinated and gotten to run more smoothly and without his constant supervision.[2]

The most serious of the problems of administrative coordination centered around getting the new emergency bodies integrated with and cooperating with the old established cabinet departments. As Walker remembered it, the New Deal brought about greater activity and public interest in the new agencies established by the Federal Economic Relief Act and the National Recovery Act and others, than in the old-line departments represented by the Cabinet officers. There was no one, save perhaps the President himself, who knew what was going on in each of these new bodies and more important, what SHOULD go on in each of

them, from the point of view of executive policy. Finally, there was no individual or organization able to act as a clearing house or coordinator of activities.[3] To eliminate the snarl and at the same time free himself from the many unnecessary demands on his time, the President determined to form an Executive Council. This Executive Council would be a sort of Super Cabinet, including both the regular Cabinet members as well as the heads of the important emergency agencies.

Roosevelt's choice to head this new Executive Council was Frank Walker. Walker was a transplanted Montanan who, since 1924 had been a top executive in the Comerford Theatre chain on the East Coast. More important, Walker had been a close political friend and supporter of Roosevelt since 1930. During the 1932 campaign he served as Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and had impressed Roosevelt with his quiet, unassuming ways and his personal devotion to F.D.R.[4]

Executive Order No. 6202-A, issued July 11, 1933, formally established the Executive Council. As originally constituted, the Council consisted of twenty-three members: the President, the members of the Cabinet, the Director of the Budget, the Administrators of National Recovery, Agricultural Adjustment, and Federal Emergency Relief, the Federal Coordinator of Transportation, the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration and the Chairman of the Boards of the R.F.C., H.O.L.C. and the T.V.A., the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, the Secretary to the President, the Assistant Secretary to the Treasury and the Executive Secretary of the Executive Council itself—Frank C. Walker.[5] Originally Roosevelt had intended that Walker be given the title of "Director" but Walker managed to have this changed to "Secretary." He felt that he would be more effective if his title were less ambitious because he was fully aware that the Cabinet members would technically outrank him and moreover, the delicate temperaments of many of the department heads had to be considered.[6] Actually, the term "coordinator" or even "super-coordinator" would have been a more exact title, because this is of what Walker's real task consisted.[7]

The Executive Council was scheduled to meet each Tuesday at 2:00 o'clock in the Cabinet Chamber of the White House. The regular Cabinet continued to meet on Friday and devoted itself to general policies, especially foreign affairs and others such as would not appropriately come before the Executive Council. The President presided whenever he attended the meetings. In the case of his occasional absences, the senior Cabinet member present took the chair. Walker always sat at the right hand of either the President or the chairman and helped to direct the meeting, since he had prepared the agenda.[8]

The agenda were based on written reports handed in by the Council members to Walker's office by noon on Monday—at least twenty-four hours before the Tuesday meetings began. These reports detailed the current operations of all of the departments, listed new developments and policies and other significant matters, especially where the policies and operations of one agency affected oth-

ers. The reports were then analyzed and summarized. Copies of the summarizations were made to be distributed to the members before the meeting began.[9]

The meetings themselves were rather dull affairs. They began with a reading and approval of the minutes of the previous meeting. Following this there was a report by the Economic Advisor, Win Reifler, or his representative. This report usually consisted of a briefing on current business trends and remarks on how the New Deal measures were helping to improve the situation, plus a forecast of possible future developments. The rest of the agenda varied from week to week and covered a wide range of topics. Although many topics were brought up at the meetings, most of the functions of the Council could be classified in the category of coordination. The main problem, always, was one of coordination.[10]

The members attended the meetings regularly, and when they were not able to be present in person, they sent a representative. Still, really controversial topics were rarely settled at the meeings. As Walker himself had described it:

> Many serious controversies had their beginnings at the Council table but very few of these came to the fore in open discussion. The heads of the agencies who constituted the Executive Council were in the main smart and alert fellows. Instead of voicing their dissents openly at the Council table they were eloquently silent. Once away from the formality of a Council Meeting, they would lose no time in taking their individual problem up with me personally. And when my ruling failed to conform completely with their views—invariably they sought out the President in private conference.[11]

Thus a considerable degree of importance attached to the informal, behind-the-scenes activity. And it was here that Walker played a significant role, as we shall see.

Before long the meetings became quite formalized, consisting largely of the presentation of prepared reports and the members themselves began to refer to the Council meeting as "Town Meeting" or "Of Thee I sing."[12] Still, the meetings were not a complete failure. During the summer and fall of 1933 they served the purpose of getting the Cabinet members and the hands of the new emergency agencies to sit down together once a week and talk, in whatever limited manner, about what each was doing. This gave the members and especially the President a broader view of what was going on in the top Washington agencies, and how the New Deal was progressing.

Since most of the real problems were cleared up outside the meeting room, probably with a short conference in the hall, with a phone call, or over lunch, it is evident that Roosevelt intended Walker to be a peace maker as well as a coordinator.[13] The two functions were really inseparable. Walker's even temperament and geniality plus his unquestioned loyalty to Roosevelt made him the perfect man for this role, a fact that is amply attested to by most of his former colleagues from the period. He was able to act as a Presidential go-between when two or more of the prima-donnas in the Council let their rivalries show too

openly. The best example of this came later during 1935 when Walker kept Ickes and Hopkins from tearing one another apart as they fought to see whether the PWA or the WPA should be supreme in the field of relief. In the long run, Walker's role as a peacemaker was made all the more difficult by Roosevelt's attitude and approach toward administrative techniques. F.D.R.'s penchant for the trial and error method plus his love for setting up two or more agencies or bureaus to try to solve the same problem in different ways (which are well known to students of the Roosevelt administration) made Walker's job tremendously delicate.[14] As a matter of fact, it is precisely in this way that one of Walker's greatest contributions to the New Deal was made. If we take the traditional and obvious interpretation that he was actually supposed to solve the many disputes between the various leading New Dealers, we miss the point and fail to understand him completely. We also very probably come to the conclusion that Walker failed in his several jobs as coordinator. If, however, we understand that Roosevelt really did not WANT Walker to solve anything but rather that he was to act as a continuing referee of the disputes while the natural process of elimination ran its course, we get a much truer picture. Thus Walker served the President in a very important way. He helped to maintain the situation of controlled chaos in which Roosevelt seemed to operate best while the early stages of the New Deal gradually evolved.

In addition to his important role in the field of "personal diplomacy" which he was called upon to play again and again during the years 1933-1935, Walker worked quietly but efficiently to establish some techniques to insure that the smooth operation of the government machinery would begin and continue. He began by making a study of the structure of both the new and old-line agencies of the government, coupled with an analysis of the New Deal legislation. The objective was to discover the precise field in which each agency was legally empowered to operate and then to study the internal administrative structure of the existing agencies to determine how well-equipped each was to handle its job, and thus avoid any infringement of authority or overlapping of powers and activities. All of this took time, and although the executive Council was established in July of 1933, it was not until well into 1934 that most of its units were functioning. The late summer and fall of 1933 were months of study and analysis in which the groundwork was prepared.[15]

From a small beginning the Executive Council began to expand its operations into a number of different areas. One of the first steps was the establishment of the Central Statistical Board which was designed to gather and interpret facts and information. It was a subsidiary of the Executive Council.[16] Another was the establishment of the Division of Press Intelligence. The primary function of this subsidiary was to mobilize a staff that would read and clip pertinent articles from approximately four hundred of the largest daily newspapers in the United States. Copies of these articles, along with a mimeographed resume, would be made available to leading government officials. This was an invaluable aid in let-

ting the administrators and legislators know how the New Deal was succeeding or failing and how it was being received by the people.[17]

As Walker and his staff continued their study of the problems of governmental coordination during the fall of 1933, it became increasingly evident that the problems could not be solved by the means instituted thus far. In other words, the Executive Council did not have sufficient powers. For one thing, its efforts were confined almost exclusively to Washington, D. C. and the government bureaus and agencies centered there. Almost all of them had local branches, and it was on the local level, as well as the national, that a lack of coordination was developing. In addition to the inefficiency involved, the general public was poorly informed about what was taking place in Washington, to say nothing of many businessmen, some of whom were beginning to vocalize their bewilderment and opposition. Some central clearing house for the dissemination of information in addition to an office of coordination, on all levels, was clearly needed.[18] As a result, the President on November 17, 1933, established the National Emergency Council (hereafter referred to as the N.E.C.) which was not held until December 19, 1933, and its operations did not hit full stride until after the first year.[19]

In many aspects the two organizations were quite similar, but they had significant differences. The membership of the N.E.C. was smaller, at first, consisting of ten members plus the President and the Executive Director. It was felt that a smaller group would be more effective and eliminate the "Town Meeting" aspect of the Executive Council. Both the Executive Council and the N.E.C. had the same ultimate goal—coordination—but the N.E.C. was national in scope and was primarily concerned with the new emergency agencies and the success of the New Deal emergency program rather than in coordinating the new with the old, which had ceased to be a major problem.[20]

It is interesting to note that after the N.E.C. was formed the Executive Council continued to exist and operate. Because of their similarities, the two shared the same office and staff and shared the use of the same sub-agencies or units. For instance, the Central Statistical Board served them both. Moreover, Walker continued as the Executive Secretary of the one and became the Director of the other. From December of 1933, to June 16, 1934, the two held meetings on alternate Tuesdays; from June 16 to October 17, 1934, they held joint meetings. Finally on October 29, 1934, the two were merged with the same National Emergency Council being preserved.[21] This year-long charade is just another example of Roosevelt's haphazard trial and error approach toward administration.

Frank Walker's role as Director of the N.E.C. (the word "acting" had this time been left out at Roosevelt's insistence) was to be much larger than as Executive Secretary of the Executive Council. For instance, whenever F.D.R. was not present, Walker, rather than the Senior Cabinet officer present, was to preside. Moreover, the N.E.C. itself was to wield much more power than the Executive Council—but not too much.[22]

It is evident that F.D.R. desired a bit more freedom from the dull and boring day-to-day administrative problems, particularly with a new session of Congress looming in the near future. But, while he wanted some relief from his burdens, he was unwilling and perhaps, under the circumstances of his personality and the situation at the time, unable to give the members of the council the powers that they needed to do a decent job. It might have hampered his loose-jointed, experimental, trial-and-error-approach.[23]

At first the President made a point of trying to let Walker and the others settle most of the difficult problems themselves. He did this by failing to appear at the meetings or by putting in an appearance just before the meeting was to adjourn. The January 23, 1934, meeting is a fine example of this. He tried to encourage the Council members to take the initiative and Walker urged them on as well, but the members seemed unable or unwilling to do what was asked of them.[24] Usually, when an important problem would arise, one or the other of the members would profess a doubt as to the ability of the N.E.C. to have the final word. Sometimes, but not always, the one with the scruples had been the recipient of an unfavorable Council decision. Then, F.D.R. would be called in to settle the matter.

Thus the N.E.C. never became the great central all-powerful guiding force behind the New Deal nor did Walker become the "assistant President" or even the "Grand Marshal," as some newspapermen had earlier predicted.[25] Very shortly the N.E.C. membership was expanded beyond that size at which fruitful discussion and certainly policy and decision making could take place, and the meetings became more like those of the Executive Council. But even though the highest hopes were not achieved, and many of them should not have been anticipatd in the first place, a considerable amount of additional coordination was achieved largely through the formation of several subsidiary units and activities. The most important of these were: The United States Information Service, the compilation of government charts and a government Manual, the Consumers' Division, the Housing Division and the establishment of branch offices of the N.E.C. in the different states.

The first of these activities to be attempted was the compilation of charts of all of the branches of the government. The actual work was done by the Central Statistical Board under the direction of Frank Walker's Executive Council. By the time that the National Emergency Council held its first meeting on December 19, 1933, the survey had been completed and the preliminary charts drawn up. They were scheduled to be published in book form for the Cabinet and the heads of the emergency administrations.[26] Indirectly, Walker had a hand in helping to expand the power of the Bureau of the Budget a bit by requiring, through Executive Order No. 6715, that all government agencies keep their up-to-date, current organizational charts on file in the offices of the Bureau.[27]

But the charts alone and the activity of the Bureau of the Budget to keep them up-to-date did not satisfy the need for factual information and coordina-

tion regarding government activities, so a new Government Manual was planned. At first a pocket sized booklet, this Manual was later expanded into a loose leaf book (for daily revisions, if necessary) and finally into a printed version which most of us are familiar with today, *The United State Government Manual.*[28] It contains charts showing the organization of all of the branches of the government together with a description of the function and scope of operation of each and a directory of the major officials involved. Thus a big step in the direction of achieving better governmental coordination was taken.

Another important activity begun by Walker was the United States Information Service. The national recovery program launched by the Federal Government in 1933 had attracted intense public interest. Local officials and representatives of business groups were pouring into Washington in increasing numbers. They came to present appeals and seek aid, but they soon found that they had a considerable amount of difficulty in discovering the proper bureau, department or official to contact in order to solve their problems. In the meantime, they were shunted from one office to another by weary executives occupying key positions in these departments who were taxed to the limit in trying to answer correspondence and to provide adequate information and direction to those seeking it.[29]

Thus a demand arose for the creation of a single office capable of directing all the inquiries to the necessary channels. It was important that this unifying office be designed to serve both the Congress and the Federal Departments and Agencies on one hand, and the general public on the other, and to provide this service as quickly as possible.[30] Therefore, the U. S. Information Service was formed. On March 15, 1934, it opened its first offices in Washington, D. C., in room 500 of the Continental Bank Building. The Information Bureau, using its own files of information plus the U. S. Government Manual and the Charts, was able to give the correct name, title, agency address and phone number of the government official desired by the questioner. Appointments could be made for those desiring conferences. Later these activities were extended, wherever practical, to the activities of branch and regional offices in the field.[31] By May 1, 1934, the N.E.C. had established more than 1,600 information offices around the country. In most cases existing Federal facilities were used. In other instances, volunteers, like the Red Cross, cooperated. This Information Bureau set up under Frank Walker's direction by the N.E.C. was the first of its kind ever established by the Federal Government, and it performed an invaluable public service.[32]

Because of its role as general coordinator for the government, the N.E.C. acquired temporary control of the Consumers' Councils. These Consumers' Councils, under the immediate direction of Mrs. Mary Rumsey, consisted of unpaid volunteers whose chief duties were to report on local conditions with respect to commodity prices and consumer buying power. Specifically, they were to study the complaints of local consumers. In addition, they were to act as channels through which information could be channelled back to the con-

sumers to help them improve their constitution. The Consumers' Division in Washington worked out a set of rules under which the country and local boards operated and arranged for an exchange of information through a series of mimeographed bulletins called "Consumer Notes." Finally, there was a Fair Price section to the Consumers' Division which collected reports of undue price rises and presented them to the AAA and NRA for adjustment.[33]

The Consumers' Division was a flighty thing. It stayed under the N.E.C. for only a little more than fourteen months and then, on July 30, 1935, was consolidated with the Consumers' Division of the National Recovery Administration.[34]

One of the most significant features of the National Emergency Council was its extension to the state level. At the December 19, 1933, meeting of the N.E.C., it was announced that Walker would appoint a N.E.C. Director in each of the 48 states. This State Director was: ". . . to supervise in a general way the work of the government field representatives . . . and aid in setting up local compliance machinery."[35] The specific interpretation and application of these general directions created a problem. The State Directors—and in fact the N.E.C. itself—had been established under the powers given the President by the National Recovery Act, the same law that had established the NRA itself.[36] Meanwhile, the NRA had set up its own State level machinery. It appeared to many that Walker's N.E.C. and Hugh Johnson's NRA were in conflict with one another. "Competition" would probably have been a better word. Here, again, Roosevelt was using his "trial and error" approach. By the late fall of 1933 compliance with the NRA codes was beginning to lag in a number of areas. (As a matter of fact, this lack of efficient means for enforcing compliance eventually was one of the major reasons for the ultimate failure of the NRA.) Could not the state directors of the N.E.C. step in and possibly save the day? F.D.R. was willing to give them their chance.[37]

Because there was considerable, and well-founded, doubt as to the constitutionality of the National Industrial Recovery Act, Johnson had shunned firm tactics or legal means and tried to rely on public support and persuasion.[38] When such attempts began to fail, the President tried other measures. One was the use of N.E.C. State Directors to oversee compliance and "adjust controversies." Later he even got the Consumers' Council into the picture. But he never gave any of these organizations sufficient specific enforcement powers. So in the long run they too failed to achieve any real semblance of compliance, and Walker and the N.E.C. never acquired more than a vague supervisory or "watch dog" authority over the state branches of other government agencies.

The final subsidiary activity of the N.E.C. was the Better Housing Division. Because he had a strong personal interest in the activities of its Division, Walker devoted a considerable amount of time and energy to it. His interest stemmed both from a humanitarian empathy for those who were suffering and from the conviction that the solution to the housing problem might be the key to the

solution of the entire depression.[39] He arrived at this conclusion by studying the reports on the different branches of the government turned in to the Executive Council in late 1933 and early 1934. They had discovered that practically every branch had some connection with the housing. Walker, as super-coordinator, saw in the National Housing Act, then being discussed in its earliest stages, the overall solution that he was seeking, to deal a "body-blow" to the depression.

In these early days different ideas were being tried and discarded. Walker himself came up with a plan for a modernization campaign. He asked for an appropriation of $1,000,000 to be used for advertising to sell the public on the idea of home improvement. This plan appealed to the more conservative New Dealers because, ostensibly, the government would have to spend no more than the advertising fee. The major part of the money would come from convincing those who had savings to spend a part of these savings on home improvements. The N.E.C. would act as a clearing house for information and ideas.[40]

In the end Walker's plan was not adopted, largely because it did nothing really effective and positive on a large enough scale to solve the problems. His plan merely made an appeal to a small group of citizens to loosen the purse strings on their savings a bit. So the search continued for a more comprehensive and concrete solution to the housing problem—and the depression.[41]

The solution to the housing problem was eventually found in a combination of large scale federal government loans and government insured mortgages financed by private lenders. These points were incorporated into the National Housing Act of 1934. Walker did everything in his power to help the passage of the bill. Late in May he appeared before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to testify on its behalf and gave at least one major speech in its behalf. Early in October he traveled to Chicago to address the Mortgage Bankers Association at the Edgewater Beach Hotel.[42] By then the bill was law and Walker was concerned with explaining it to the bankers and encouraging their support so that it might be effectively applied.

With the Housing Bill out of the way, Frank Walker prepared to take a temporary "leave of absence" from government service. The press of private business made it imperative for him to return to his managerial position with the Comerford chain. From late June of 1934, until late May of 1935, the family business took most of his time.

Meanwhile, both the N.E.C. and the Executive Council continued on under the direction of others, but especially Donald K. Richberg. By June of 1934 or even earlier, both groups had outlived their maximum effectiveness and usefulness to F.D.R. Other interests were holding his attention.

As the New Deal entered its third year, a subtle change began to occur. Basil Rauch, the historian who named the phenomenon, called it the Second New Deal. According to him it was characterized by an emphasis on "Social justice and reform" rather than on mere recovery.[43] The major difference in the

Second New Deal, as it affected Frank Walker, lay in the development of the concept of work relief. Previously, most of the attention of the Roosevelt Administration had centered either on strict relief or on large scale public works projects (indirect relief) of the type promoted by the PWA. During the autumn of 1934, and into the new year a more liberal group of advisers headed by the former social worker, Harry Hopkins, got the ear of the President and sold him on the idea of a greatly expanded work relief program which would aid the "little man" directly by having him employed by the government at a living wage and at a job that would as nearly as possible utilize the skills that he possessed.[44] This represented quite a change from the older PWA practice which, in effect, used the "Filter Down" theory of pouring funds into industry at the top and letting the workers reap only residual and indirect benefits. Officials were coming to the conclusion that "public funds were most. . . generative when they were placed directly—preferably as wages—into the hands of persons on the margin of existence."[45]

With these new goals in mind, the President in his Report to Congress on the National Resources Board on January 24, 1935, asked Congress to appropriate $4,000,000,000 to be used to give work to employables who were on relief rolls.[46] On April 8, 1935, the necessary legislation was passed after a long and bitter fight. Under the terms of the act, $4,800,000,000 was made available for public works and the President was authorized to set up the necessary machinery to administer it.[47] Even before he had the powers and the money necessary, the President began to plan the vast new public works program. And, in less than two months after Congress gave its approval, the President, by a series of Executive Orders, had outlined the Works Program and established the machinery for its prosecution.

One of his first steps was to get Frank Walker back into government service. Walker returned from a quiet Easter holiday at Atlantic City to find himself very much in demand. On Wednesday, April 24, Walker left for Washington. That same day he was reappointed Executive Director of the National Emergency Council, but his duties were considerably changed and somewhat expanded from before.[48] Roosevelt was engaged in "experimenting" again.

Under the terms of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act (Public Resolution No. 11, 74th Congress) the President determined to establish three major divisions or units: 1) The Division of Applications and Information—headed by Frank Walker, 2) The Advisory Committee on Allotments—headed by Harold Ickes, and 3) the Works Progress Administration—headed by Harry Hopkins. Each of these divisions was to have a special job, but all pointed toward the efficient and effective prosecution of the Works Relief Program.[49]

The Division of Applications and Information (DAI) which Walker headed was established as a subdivision or unit of the National Emergency Council, and Walker's principal activity while Executive Director of the N.E.C. from April 24 to October 1, 1935, centered around the DAI. The DAI's role was to act as

a clearing house for all applications received under the Works Relief Program. To be more specific, the DAI was to receive all applications for projects, examine and review them—obtaining the advice of experts, when necessary—and then transmit these applications to the Advisory Committee on Allotments. In addition, it was to furnish to the public, via the press, "information. . . on allotments made and on the progress of all projects as they are initiated and carried forward."

Harold Ickes headed the Advisory Committee on Allotments. Its job was to make recommendations to the President with respect to the allotment of funds for projects covered by the applications submitted by the DAI, "such as will constitute a coordinated and balanced program of work under the act." Ickes' power was considerably circumscribed since both Hopkins and Walker, as well as F.D.R., were also on the committee.

The Works Progress Administration (later the Works Projects Administration) under the direction of Harry Hopkins was responsible for the execution of the projects approved by the other two.[50]

The Washington Post succinctly summarized the situation: "Walker watches the planning, the Ickes board handles the financing. . . and Hopkins supervises the work."[51] Unfortunately, when it came to working out the entire project on a day-to-day basis things were not as simple as the *Post* described them. There were a number of built-in points of stress and conflict as we shall see, and Walker acted more as a peacemaker between Ickes and Hopkins than anything else.

One of the first and most basic of the problems stemmed from the broad goals of the new program. They included everything from slum clearance to reforestation, and their achievement required the cooperation of not only Hopkins new PWA but also a number of older government agencies and bureaus as well.[52] Not the least of these was the PWA which was under the direction of Harold Ickes' Interior Department. As a matter of fact, there is reason to believe that Roosevelt hoped that with the establishment of the new system it would be possible to eliminate the old Federal Relief Adminisration and replace it with a coordinated authority which would lead it to the "orderly liquidation of our present relief activities."[53] Thus Roosevelt planned to eventually consolidate the relief activities of the government; but first he would let the old and the new agencies involved fight it out to see which one would be the best to survive. This is where Frank Walker made his contribution. During the summer and early fall of 1935, Walker was busier than he had even been before in Washington. Most of his time was taken up with innumerable conferences in which he tried to iron out the difficulties and ambiguities in the Work Relief measures. In addition, he gave personal attention to the selection of his assistants who would head the principal units of the Division of Application and Information and to getting the new units established and operating successfully.

The strain was so great that early in June Walker became ill, and for the rest of the month he was forced to work at reduced capacity.[54]

Considerable time was taken up with such drudge tasks as making up and having printed the variety of forms to be used in the different phases of the works program.[55] Another time consuming task consisted of arranging the liaison between the various governmental units involved. All the while the applications for government funds had to be processed. Between May 10 and September 13, 1935, the DAI received 16,305 requests for funds totalling $7,042,342,171. Of the $4,480,000,000 available, the Advisory Committee on Allotments approved allocations of funds amounting to $3,395,132,001.[56]

As the summer wore on, Hopkins in particular and Ickes to a lesser degree began to bypass the DAI and go directly to the Advisory Committee on Allotments in order to avoid real or fancied delays. This problem was never satisfactorily solved; but by the time it became serious, the DAI had outlived its usefulness and was allowed to pass peacefully from the scene.[57]

The Division of Applications and Information (bearing in mind its title and its connection with the N.E.C.) also had coordinative duties to perform. For instance, it maintained a Press Section which issued press releases which contained official news pertaining to the work relief program and its progress. It also had a Project Information Service whose job it was to keep in contact with members of Congress and answer inquiries with respect to the current progress of legislation. This section could report on the whereabouts of virtually any application at any given moment and could tell the stage the application had reached in its routing from desk to desk. There was also a Correspondence Section, whose job it was to route letters as quickly as possible to the appropriate offices and sections concerned with the preparation of blue prints, statistical charts, weekly reports, etc. The bureaucracy that was involved in running something as large as the Works Relief Program was positively staggering—for the 1930's. To list further, there was a Legal Section, a Division of Financial Studies, an Engineering Section and, finally, field offices.[58]

The implementation of these just-mentioned bureaucratic tools Walker left largely to his subordinates. His own talents as an organizer and administrator were considerable, but his talents as a peacemaker seemed to have been even more in demand.

As Walker remembered it (and perhaps as Roosevelt originally intended it) Walker was supposed to be at the head of the entire affair, with Ickes and Hopkins in charge of "subordinate" operations. Walker's DAI was to act as the central control agency for the entire Works Relief Program. In reality, a triumvirate or "troika" developed with Walker usually acting as the referee or "honest broker" between Ickes and Hopkins whenever their seemingly perpetual feud would experience a particular crisis or outburst.[59] Walker was to keep them from each other's throat so that the program could go forward with some semblance of order and efficiency. Keeping peace between these two was a

difficult task—to put it mildly. The difficulty was increased by Walker's dislike for the WPA and its program. At heart, Frank Walker was in sympathy with the general objectives of the President, but he differed drastically from him and from Hopkins on the specific activities of the WPA. Frank Walker was one of those New Dealers who was really a Progressive of the pre-1932 variety. He experienced considerable difficulty in swallowing much of the Second New Deal, and he did not like many of the personalities who were pushing its programs. To be specific, he did not like the "made work" part of the WPA program and tried, with no success, to have the amount of money appropriated halved from 4.8 billion to 2.4 billion.[60]

Nevertheless, in his position as Director of the DAI and chief referee, Walker attempted to strike a fair balance between Ickes and Hopkins. But whenever he ruled against one or the other, the injured party would go directly to Roosevelt and usually find a friendly ear. As a result, Walker frequently heard the plaintive order, "Frank, I think you should work this out so that Harold can care for part of the Work and Harry the other."[61] Even the hard boiled Ickes had to admire Walker's conciliatory talent. Once, when speaking of the Atlanta Project which Walker had settled by giving half to Ickes and half to Hopkins, Ickes said that Walker had outdone Solomon; not only did he suggest dividing the child to settle the dispute, but he actually did divide it.[62]

From the beginning, the dividing line between the WPA and the PWA had been vague, and the vagueness cleared up only slightly as the summer of 1935 wore on. For a time the size and value of the projects seemed to be a solution. The larger jobs (over $25,000) were to go to Ickes and the PWA while the smaller (under $25,000) were to go to the WPA of Hopkins. But this did not work because Hopkins and his staff began to break down their larger projects into smaller components and hoped to get them through piecemeal.[63]

The deciding factor, however, turned out to be effectiveness. The projects of the PWA were so much larger and more expensive that it took longer to get them going. Then too, Ickes was not one to do a slipshod job. Hopkins, on the other hand, could get his projects underway much more quickly. In August of 1935 while the PWA was still spinning its wheels, the WPA had already put 253,000 persons to work. By the end of the year the WPA had provided jobs for 2,740,000 persons while the PWA only had 15,000 to its credit.[64] In Roosevelt's score book this meant that Hopkins and the WPA had won. On September 12, the last applications were processed—the fund had run dry. The following day the President announced that Hopkins and the WPA would take over the entire work relief drive until the permanent works program of Ickes reached a greater volume of employment. Since the available money had been spent or allotted, there was no longer a need for the Division of Applications and Information. On October 1, it was abolished, and its records and files were transferred to the WPA which had become the sole survivor of the "triumvirate" of the early summer.[65] Walker stayed on in his diminished post as Director of the N.E.C. unil December 18, 1935, when the press of private business matters again forced

him to resign.[66] Throughout the summer he had performed a task that was becoming familiar to him. He had not stepped in to achieve a dramatic solution to the rivalry between Ickes and Hopkins, but rather he had aided immeasurably in creating an atmosphere in which the two could operate simultaneously without getting in one another's way. Whenever friction occurred, Walker was there to pour oil on the troubled waters.

The December, 1935, resignation ended Frank Walker's career as a New Deal coordinator. He was out of government service until the years 1940-1945, when he served as Postmaster General. By then, however, World War II and international concerns held the center of the stage, and the New Deal pushed far into the background.

If Walker is mentioned at all in histories of the 20th Century or even of the Roosevelt era (and he really is), it is almost always in connection with the Postmaster Generalship. This author feels that the facts demand Frank Walker should also be remembered for his talents as an administrator and peacemaker during the early days of the New Deal, 1933-1935. During these years he helped in his own rather inconspicuous way to bring some bit of order to the otherwise chaotic maelstrom that was Washington, D. C. under F.D.R.

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NOTES

[1] Note especially *New Deal Mosaic: Roosevelt Confers With his National Emergency Council, 1933-1936,* edited by Lester G. Seligman and Elmer G. Cornwell, Jr. (Eugene: University of Oregon Books, 1965).

[2] James M. Burns, *Roosevelt; the Lion and the Fox,* (New York, 1956), pp. 181-182. And Frank Walker, "Memoirs," (First Final Draft) Box 1, Binder, p. 2. Archives, University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

[3] Walker, "Memoirs," Box 1, (3/2/56). See also, Fred Ironsides, *Recollections of the Executive Council and the National Emergency Council.* In the Walker Collection, Notre Dame Archives, May 1, 1952, p. 1. The situation was aptly described by the *Chicago Tribune* on July 11, 1933 when it said ". . . those ten 'depression officials' have come largely to overshadow the heads of the regular departments. It is around them that the newspaper men flock when a conference breaks up, while the Cabinet officers are allowed to scurry off unquestioned and sometimes slightly miffed."

[4] For a more complete biographical treatment of Frank Walker see: Paul L. Simon, *Frank Walker: New Dealer,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Microfilms, 1965.

[5] *The National Emergency Council A Chronological Review of its Activities From November 17, 1933 Through December 31, 1937, pp. 1-2.* Hereafter cited as: *N.E.C., Chronological Review.* A more easily available source for Executive Orders is: *Presidential Executive Orders, Numbers 1-8030, 1862-1938,* edited by Clifford L. Lord in 2 Vols. (New York, 1944). This set merely contains a brief summary of each order but has a valuable cross-index. The introduction to the first volume has an excellent explanation of the origin and use of the Executive Order.

[6] Walker, "Memoirs," (First Final Draft) Box 1, Binder, p. 1.

[7] Ernest K. Lindley, *The New York Herald Tribune,* July 12, 1933.

[8] Executive Order No. 6202-A, July 11, 1933. Walker, "Memoirs," Box 1, (3/2/56), and First Final Draft, Box 1, Binder, p. 14. See also the following secondary sources: *The Secret Diary of Harold Ickes,* especially Vol. 1, *The First Thousand Days 1933-1936* (New York 1954). and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston, 1958), pp. 518-520 in which he describes Roosevelt's Cabinet.

[9] *The N.E.C. Chronological Review,* p. 2; and Walker "Memoirs," Box 1 (3/2/56), also, (First Final Draft), Box 1, Binder, p. 14. A similar account can be found in Fred Ironsides' "Recollections," p. 2, in the Walker Collection.

[10] Walker, "Memoirs" (First Final Draft), Box 1, Binder, p. 15. The topics can also be found scattered throughout the Agenda of the Executive Council Meetings.

[11] Walker, "Memoirs" (First Final Draft), Box 1, Binder, p. 15; and Win Reifler, "Interview," May 27, 1952, p. 4 in the Walker Collection.

[12] Arthur Krock, *The New York Times,* December 7, 1933.

[13] See Walker's *Log* for appointments and phone calls.

[14] Walker, Memoirs" (First Final Draft), Box 1, Binder, p. 16. See also, Burns, *Roosevelt; The Lion and the Fox,* pp. 173-174 and Schlesinger, *The Coming of the New Deal,* pp. 522-527.

[15] *The N.E.C. Chronological Review,* pp. 1-52.

[16] A more detailed description of the activities of the Central Statistical Board can be found in *Central Statistical Board: Summary of Its Activities to December 15, 1934,* December 18, 1934, revised. Box A of the Walker Collection.

[17] *The N.E.C. Chronological Review,* pp. 24-25.

[18] *Ibid.,* pp. 5-7. See also, Ironsides' "Recollections," pp. 4-5.

[19] Executive Order No. 6433-A. *The N.E.C. Chronological Review,* pp. 5-7.

[20] *The N.E.C. Chronological Review,* p. 6. See also "Speech of Daniel C. Roper (Secretary of Commerce), January 31, 1934, *National Emergency Council Conference of State Directors,* p. 7.

[21] *The N.E.C. Chronological Review,* p. 11.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 3. Walker, with his usual modesty, had requested that he again be called "acting" director.

[23] Roosevelt's habits as an administrator are described in a number of sources. Among the best are: Schlesinger, *The Coming of the New Deal,* pp. 511-588. Other references can be found sprinkled throughout Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox,* and Ickes, *Diary,* especially Vol. I.

[24] Proceedings of the N.E.C. January 23, 1934, pp. 23-24. "The last time he (F.D.R.) did not come (to the meeting), and it was understood that he might not have to come unless we absolutely needed him. He doesn't want to make some of these decisions and would like to pass them on to us and have them made by us and relieve him during the session of Congress."

[25] *New York Evening Post,* July 11, 1933.

[26] Frank Walker in *Proceedings of the N.E.C.,* December 19, 1933, p. 4. Also, Donald Richberg, *Report of the Executive Secretary of the Executive Council,* August 25, 1934.

[27] *Presidential Executive Orders,* ed. Clifford Lord, p. 563.

[28] See the current issue of the *U. S. Government Organization Manual, 1966-1967,* revised as of June 1, 1968 (Washington, D. C.). 1968.

[29] *Proceedings of the N.E.C.,* April 17, 1943, p. 15, and December 19, 1933, pp. 1-5. Also, Donald K. Richberg, *Report,* August 25, 1934, p. 43.

[30] *N.E.C. Chronological Review,* p. 15.

[31] Walker, "Memoirs" (First Final Draft), Box 1, Binder, p. 9.

[32] *Proceedings of the N.E.C.,* May 1, 1934, Appendix #2.

[33] *The N.E.C. Chronological Review,* pp. 27-28. *Proceedings of the N.E.C.,* December 19, 1933, p. 7, and April 17, 1934, p. 13 and Appendix #6. Also, Richberg, *Report,* August 25, 1934, p. 42.

[34] *N.E.C. Chronological Review,* p. 28.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 9. And, *Proceedings of the N.E.C.,* December 19, 1933, Walker's "statement" to the N.E.C., p. 3.

[36] Executive Order No. 6453-A.

[37] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Press Conferences,* Vol. 2, July 1, 1933-December 31, 1933. Conference #75, Executive Offices of the White House, December 6, 1933, 10:50 a.m., pp. 511-512. In the Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

[38] Schlesinger, *Coming of the New Deal,* pp. 108-110, 114-135, and 152-176.

[39] Walker, "Memoirs," Box 1 (3/1/56) and (First Final Draft) Box 1, Binder, p. 31. See also, Marriner Eccles., *Beckoning Frontiers,* ed. Sidney Hyman (New York, 1951), pp. 144-145; and Win Riefler, "Interview," May 27, 1952, p. 6, in the Walker Collection.

[40] *Proceedings of the N.E.C.,* March 20, 1934, p. 19. For the full notes on Walker's plan see Appendix F on these Proceedings. Other accounts of the plan can be found in an article by Doris Fleeson and John O'Donnell in the *New York News,* April 1, 1934 and by Arthur Krock "Ask Cut Rate Plan to Improve Homes," *New York Times,* March 2, 1934.

[41] On April 28, 1934 Attorney General Homer Cummings gave the legal clearance for Walker's $1,000,00 program and the money was allocated. But, on June 29, after his plan had been superseded, the Bureau of the Budget transferred the money to the F.H.A. F.D.R. Official File #788, Box 1. In the Roosevelt Papers at Hyde Park, New York.

[42] Frank Walker's Testimony, *National Housing Act, Hearings Before the Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate,* 73rd Congress on S. 3603, May 16-24, 1934. Walker's testimony covers pp. 21-29. The House Committee on Banking and Currency also held a hearing but Walker did not testify. See also, the speech by Frank Walker to the Mortgage Bankers Association Convention at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago, October 5, 1934. A copy of this can be found in Walker, "Memoirs," Box 1.

[43] Basil Rauch, *The History of the New Deal,* 1933-1938. (New York, 1944), p. 156.

[44] Arthur W. MacMahon, John D. Millett and Gladys Ogden, *The Administration of Federal Work Relief,* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 17-18.

[45] *Ibid.,* pp. 24-30 and Rausch, *The New Deal,* p. 157.

[46] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Public Papers and Addresses,* "Men and Nature Must Work Hand in Hand—A Message to the Congress on the Use of our Natural Resources," January 24, 1935, Vol. 4, p. 61.

[47] *Statutes At Large of the United States of America,* from January 1934 to June 1935, Vol. XLIX (Washington, 1936), pp. 115-119.

[48] P. K. Hennessy to F. C. Walker, "Report on Assignment," in Walker, "Memoirs," Box 1, Binder, citing Walker's Office Log and, *New York Times,* April 27, 1935.

[49] Roosevelt announced the impending formation of the three divisions late in April, but they were not officially established until May 6, 1935 by Executive Order No. 7034.

[50] Good descriptions of these divisions and their exact functions can be found in: *Project Guidebook, Under the Emergency Relief Act of 1935,* compiled by the Division of Applications and Information of the National Emergency Council, May 1935; MacMahon, *Federal Work Relief,* pp. 72-77; and the *New York Times,* April 24-28, 1935.

[51] *Washington Post,* April 28, 1935.

[52] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Annual Message to Congress," in *Public Papers and Addresses,* Vol. 4, pp. 22-23.

[53] *The New York Post,* April 24, 1935.

[54] MacMahon, *Federal Work Relief,* pp. 90-91.

[55] More than one entire cabinet of the Walker Collection in the Notre Dame Archives is filled with copies of these forms, applications and blue prints, etc.

[56] *N.E.C. Chronological Review,* p. 34.

[57] MacMahon, *Federal Work Relief,* p. 97.

[58] *N.E.C. Chronological Review,* pp. 36-45. And MacMahon, *Federal Work Relief,* pp. 90-92.

[59] Walker, "Memoirs," Box 4 (Second recording, Delray-4). "As a matter of fact they (F.D.R. and Louis Howe) really contemplated that I personally should pass on all WPA projects, merely sending it (sic) through the Council to support my position." Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval,* pp. 343-349 takes the more traditional position that Walker was by far the least important of the three. However, his talents as a "harmonizer" were in great demand.

[60] Walker, "Memoirs, Box 3 and Box 4. See also, Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval,* pp. 385-408 for a discussion of the "Ideology of the New Deal" and the names of those New Dealers who went along with this ideology and the names of those who did not.

[61] Walker, "Memoirs," Box 4 (2nd recording, Delray 6 and 7).

[62] Ickes in his *Diary,* Vol. I, pp. 352-422 indicates that he had considerable trust and confidence in Walker—largely because Ickes was convinced (and quite correctly) that Walker was personally more favorably disposed toward PWA than toward Hopkins' WPA.

[63] Drew Pearson and Robert Allen in the *New York Herald,* July 30, 1935, and MacMahon, *Federal Work Relief,* pp. 317-319.

[64] MacMahon, Federal Work Relief, p. 4. The following chart shows a comparison of WPA and PWA employment numbers during 1935.

	WPA	PWA
July, 1935	70,000	—
August, 1935	253,000	—
September, 1935	456,000	1,000
October, 1935	986,000	1,000
November, 1935	2,446,000	4,000
December, 1935	2,740,000	15,000

[65] *Ibid.,* pp. 97-99, and *N.E.C. Chronological Review,* p. 34.

[66] Walker's letter of resignation dated December 16, 1935, and a copy of F.D.R.'s letter accepting the resignation, dated December 18, 1935 can be found in: FDR Official File, #788, National Emergency Council, 1933-34, Box 2, in The F. D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

The "Bolshevik Hussy" and the "Dainty Hooligan": Isadora Duncan and Sergei Esenin

Frederick C. Giffin

There have been few American artists more controversial in their public and private lives than Isadora Duncan, the originator of the modernized classical dance. A legend in her own time, she was both a dedicated artist who won the acclaim of audiences throughout Europe, in Russia, and finally in the country of her birth, and a promiscuous and intemperate rebel whose personal life was undisciplined and, in its closing years, tragic. Her artistry charmed the poet Gabriele D'Annunzio, for whom she became "Divine Isadora,"[1] led the American writer and editor Max Eastman to identify her as "one of the great people of the earth,"[2] and caused the noted American editor, novelist, and playwright Floyd Dell to describe her as "a curious combination of old washerwoman and Great Mother of the Gods."[3] Her unconventional views and habits occasioned evangelist Billy Sunday to denounce her as a "Bolshevik hussy who doesn't wear enough clothes to pad a crutch."[4]

One of the more interesting—and certainly the most dramatic—chapters of Isadora's life began in 1921 with her fourth journey to Russia. It was during this visit to Russia—her first since the establishment of the Bolshevik regime—that she met the peasant poet Sergei Esenin and began with him a tempestuous love affair which led to marriage, scandal, and ultimately divorce.

Isadora went to Russia in the summer of 1921 on the promise of state support for a dancing school, something of which she had long dreamed but had been unable to acquire either in the Unted States or in Western Europe. It had been during her first trip to Russia in 1905 that she had enjoyed some of the greatest successes of her career and she was enthralled with the prospect of returning to "help the children of Rusia."[5] Indeed, her enthusiasm was matched only by her naiveté concerning the recently established Bolshevik regime. Isadora was convinced that she was going to a country where inequality and injustice had been swept away, to a Utopia where life was based on harmony, brotherly love, and absolute freedom of expression. The Soviet Union, she told a group of Parisian newsmen shortly before her departure, "is the one government that cares about art nowadays and about children."[6] Here at last was the ideal state, a place where she could selflessly devote her life to humanity.

Isadora was to discover, however, that Bolshevik Russia was not the ideal state she expected. It was "too enormous. . . too difficult: cold, vodka, lice, no service in the hotels, new and old still piled pellmell together, seedbed and scrapheap. . . ."[7] Even worse, she learned that the promise of a state-supported school was one thing, and actually getting it another. Though after months of delay she was finally given a house for her school, she was forced as in her past to rely on her own capital, and ended up spending nearly all of the money she had feeding her pupils.[8]

The two principal accounts of Isadora's introduction to Sergei Esenin differ markedly. According to Esenin's friend and fellow-poet Anatole Mariengoff (as related by J. W. Bienstock),[9] Isadora met Sergei at a party held at the apartment of one of the latter's associates. Upon catching a glimpse of the handsome young poet, Isadora, clearly the aggressor, lay down on the divan where he was sitting, ran her hand through his hair, murmuring words of endearment in broken Russian, kissed him, and finally spirited him away. By way of contrast, the dancer's long time confidante and traveling companion Mary Desti, rejecting Mariengoff's account as "disgusting" and "entirely false,"[10] asserts that Isadora first encountered Esenin when he and several of his friends suddenly appeared at her studio one day and asked that she dance for them. After Isadora had graciously complied with their request, Desti relates, Esenin proceeded to belittle her and, much to the amusement of his companions, began to dance around the studio like a crazy man.

If Desti's is the true account, Esenin's initial rudeness did not prevent Isadora from falling in love with him. On May 3, 1922, she and Sergei were married in Moscow—much to the dismay of Mariengoff, who considered her a bad influence, and much to the surprise of those among Isadora's friends who had heard her repeated professions that she would never marry.

Isadora had not altered her views on marriage. She had simply given in to necessity. Because of her difficulty in obtaining support for her Russian school, Isadora had scheduled an American tour, and now that she had found Sergei she had no intention of leaving him behind. She had discovered that for Sergei to gain admittance to the United States he would have to be the husband of an American citizen. Hence she entered into a union that was to be a "tempestuous affair" from the very start, a marriage which William Bolitho would later identify as "chief" of all the "disappointing happenings" associated with her trip to Russia.[11]

Isadora's husband, the son of a peasant, had risen from humble beginnings to become one of the greatest modern Russian lyric poets. Tall, blue-eyed, golden-locked, and graceful in carriage, Sergei Esenin was seventeen years Isadora's junior. In his moral and poetic make-up he bore similarities to both Robert Burns and Arthur Rimbaud. His talent as a poet was accompanied by a tendency to unpredictable behavior—drunkenness, dishonesty, cruelty, flares of temper, near-madness. Like Isadora, he fancied himself a rebel and tried to live like one. "Let us be Asiatics," he had written in a letter to his followers. "Let us smell evilly. Let us scratch our backsides in front of everyone."[12] Max Eastman, who admired Isadora, considered Esenin a "self-abandoned, suicidal genius-bum."[13] *The New York Times*' Moscow correspondent, Walter Duranty, once called him "a pimply-faced, extremely worthless poet."[14] But perhaps the most revealing insight into the character of this "dainty Hooligan," as Esenin liked to refer to himself, was offered by Boris Pasternak: "Esenin treated his life like a fairy tale. He was Ivan the Crown Prince who flew over the ocean on a gray wolf and, like the Firebird, caught Isadora Duncan by the tail."[15]

The newlyweds left Russia in May, 1922, with plans for an extended tour of Europe before proceeding to America. They went first to Berlin, where they visited Maxim Gorky and others among that city's sizable Russian colony, then traveled on to Brussels. At the end of July they arrived in Paris, where they remained except for brief excursions to Italy and elsewhere until their departure for America.

For Isadora the European tour was a foretaste of the regrettable manner in which her husband would conduct himself in America. In Berlin, in Paris—everywhere they visited—Esenin yielded to an almost continuous orgy of drunken rowdyism. He ran nude and shouting through hotel corridors, smashed furniture, engaged in brawls, and succeeded in getting evicted from some of the finest hotels on the continent. The Europeans did not understand him, he complained. They value security over genius. "Inside they seem dead."[16]

Leaving a trail of empty bottles and indignant hotel managers behind them, Isadora and Sergei departed from Havre aboard the French liner *Paris,* arriving in New York on October 1, 1922. Their reception left something to be desired. As Sol Hurok, the Russian-born concert manager who had arranged the American tour, later reflected, "it was a year when red was the color of all evil,"[17] and Isadora's "Bolshevik" husband together with her professed enthusiasm for the Soviet Union were enough to make her suspect in the eyes of the American government. The couple's baggage was thoroughly searched for "seditious literature" (Isadora was even required to explain to the immigration officials who met them at the pier the meanings of the marginal notes which she had written on the orchestral and piano music she had brought with her),[18] they were ordered to remain on board the *Paris* overnight, and on the following morning they were taken to Ellis Island for examination before a special board of inquiry.

Though Isadora succeeded in convincing the authorities at Ellis Island that she had not returned to the United States for the purpose of taking part in political activities in support of the Soviet Union, upon her release she could not resist commenting on the stupidity of some of the questions which had been asked her. She told a group of newsmen that among the "absurd things" the board of inquiry had wanted to know was "what Sergei and I thought of the French Revolution!" "I have never had anything to do with politics," she affirmed, and "to say or even hint that I am a Bolshevik is Rot! Rot! Rot!" Of course she and her husband were revolutionists, she conceded, but that was true of all artists worthy of the name. Was the American government really naive enough to believe that a year's residence in Moscow had made of her "a bloodthirsty criminal ready to throw bombs at the slightest provocation?" she queried.[19]

Isadora's treatment at the hands of the immigration authorities was widely reported in the New York newspapers and occasioned a flood of protesting editorials and angry letters. Opera singer Anna Fitziu, for example, bemoaned the fact that an artist "to whom the School of Classical Dancing in America owes its foundation" had been "put in the class with dangerous immigrants"[20] And jour-

nalist Heywood Broun commented: "We have no means of knowing what her political opinions may be and we can imagine nothing of less consequence. . . . She deserves a warm welcome from her own country instead of a blundering boorishness."[21]

If Isadora's admirers feared that the Ellis Island affair would have the effect of keeping New Yorkers from attending her performances, they were happily mistaken. Indeed, the opposite was true, for the ranks of patrons of the dance were temporarily swelled by curiosity seekers and reporters. Tickets for Isadora's first three appearances were sold-out within twenty-four hours following her release from Ellis Island. And Isadora justified the price of admission. Following each performance she made an "impromptu" speech the substance of which was always the same: "America has all that Russia has not. Russia has things that America has not. Why will America not reach out a hand to Russia, as I have given my hand?"[22]

The controversy aroused by Isadora's penchant for speechmaking was made all the more intense by her husband's drunken antics, the details of which were gleefully reported in the New York papers. Sergei prompted the management of the Waldorf-Astoria to suggest that he and Isadora might be happier in another hotel; he made drunken speeches in Russian about the glories of his native land; he publicly ridiculed his wife's right to be called an "artist" (a poet is an "artist," a dancer is merely a "performer"), and—though this was one of the few unpleasantries which escaped the attention of the press—he frequently beat Isadora and even threatened her with a revolver.[23] According to Sol Hurok, Sergei's boorishness was due in part to resentment of his wife's prominence. In Moscow he had been the center of attention, the "new Pushkin." But in America, as had been the case in Berlin and in Paris, few people had ever heard of him, let alone read his poetry, and he "missed the nectar of public adoration."[24] Hence, he sought solace in the bottle, and in the process ruined any chance that he might win for himself abroad the adulation which had been accorded him in Russia. The "maidenly beauty" of his face faded, the color of his skin turned yellow-gray, small puffs appeared beneath his eyes, and the product of his poetic genius diminished.

That Isadora loved her young poet, in spite of everything, is without question. She was continually making excuses for him. He could not be expected to behave like an ordinary man, she would explain to newsmen. Sergei is "a poet, a genius."[25] And after he began to threaten suicide, she became more convinced of his genius than ever. Her defense of Esenin was almost maternal in character. He was to her both child and lover. As her friend Mary Desti later asserted, Isadora considered Esenin "the image of little Patrick,"[26] the illegitimate son she had lost in an auto accident in Nice in 1913. The "mother role" which she assumed may account for the observation made by Lola Kinel, who served for a time as her secretary, that Isadora's love for Sergei, though "very tender and kind, was also a bit smothering and devouring."[27]

The remainder of Isadora's American tour followed the pattern set in New York. She ended the first of her two recitals in Boston's Symphony Hall by waving a red silk scarf over her head and exclaiming: "This is red! So am I! Red is the color of life and vigor. You were once wild here. Don't let them tame you!" Adding that Bostonians had no appreciation of beauty, she pulled open her tunic, exposing one breast, and shouted "This—this is beauty!"[28] With an exaggeration that was to become characteristic whenever Isadora was involved, the more flamboyant newspapers reported on the following day that she had torn off her "red tunic" and, while brandishing it above her head, had delivered an oration in the nude.[29]

Though Isadora's second recital in Boston was more subdued, the damage had been done, and she was to pay dearly for her indiscretion. Mayor Curley announced that as long as he was in office she would not appear again in Boston. Undaunted, Isadora told reporters who came to interview her at the Copley-Plaza that the people of Boston were afraid of the truth. "They want to satisfy baseness without admitting it," she asserted. "A suggestively clothed body delights them. There is a puritanical instinct for concealed lust. All Puritan vulgarity centers in Boston. The Back Bay conservatives are impoverished by custom and taboo. They are the lifeless and sterile of this country."[30] She took her leave of Boston amid a flurry of condemnatory editorials and letters to the editor. "Public Spirit," "American," and "Anti-Red" wanted to know how this immoral "Red-lover" could dare to criticize the city of culture.[31]

The story of the Boston incident preceded Isadora everywhere she went and occasioned further outbursts on her part. Following a recital in Chicago, at which she had asked her audience why it was considered improper for her to make speeches when Al Jolson could say anything he pleased, there were demands from self-styled "one hundred-percent-Americans" that the "Red dancer" be deported immediately.[32] In Washington evangelist Billy Sunday, who knew of her only through newspaper accounts, commented that if he could be Secretary of Labor for just fifteen minutes, he'd "send her back to Russia and to Gorky." And in Indianapolis, Mayor Lew Shanks announced on the eve of Isadora's performance in that city that if she "goes to pulling off her clothes and throwing them up in the air as she is said to have done in Boston, there's going to be somebody to get a ride in the wagon." In a classic retort to the Mayor's pronouncement, Isadora thanked God that Shanks was only Mayor of Indianapolis and observed that "even the savages of darkest Africa would appreciate my work more than some of the natives of the Middle West!"

At the end of December, following recitals and additional "speechmaking" in such cities as St. Louis, Memphis, Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, Isadora returned to New York. She had planned to perform on Christmas Eve in the Church of St. Marks-in-the-Bowery, but the Bishop of New York, in response to many letters of "earnest protest," had forbidden her to appear.[33] Had Isadora's attention not been distracted by a renewed outburst of drunken rowdyism on Sergei's part, she might have defied the Bishop. But for the moment

it was all she could do to handle her husband, whose instability was becoming more apparent each day. His behavior at a party in the Bronx apartment of Mani Lieb, the Yiddish poet, is chracteristic. Sergei, drunk as usual, had become jealous of the attention which some young poets were lavishing on his wife. When Isadora responded to her admirers' pleas that she dance for them, Sergei sprang forward, ripped her dress from her shoulder, and then rushed out of the apartment onto the street. As it was a cold night and he was in shirtsleeves, a number of the young men dragged him back inside and had to tie him up to keep him from a repeat performance. The incident was reported in the morning papers, complete with the fiction that Isadora had removed her clothing and danced in the nude.[34]

Worried by the state of Sergei's mental and physical condition, and upset by her constant vilification in the press, Isadora resolved to end her tour and return to Europe. At the beginning of February, 1923, she and her husband boarded the *George Washington* for Cherbourg. Vowing never to return, Isadora told the reporters who had assembled at the pier that she "would rather live in Russia on black bread and vodka than in the United States at the best hotels. America knows nothing of love, food or art." She had some especially harsh words for the American press: "The capitalistic newspapers have ruined my tour because I came here to teach the people what freedom is. . . . I had intended, when I came here, to go right through to the Pacific coast, but the capitalistic newspapers in America have prevented me."[35]

Isadora was, in fact, deeply hurt by the treatment which she had received at the hands of her countrymen. But from the time she left New York Harbor until her death four years later, she sought to conceal her hurt behind a barrage of invectives directed at the "degeneration" of America, a country which—as Esenin phrased it—has "given the world nothing as yet except Rockefellers and McCormicks."[36] Isadora was especially vocal with respect to the evils of Prohibition. She maintained persistently that her husband's ill health was in large part due to "blood poisoning caused by the drinking of Prohibition whiskey in America." In a letter to the Paris edition of the *New York Herald* in 1923 she charged that even aboard the *George Washington* Esenin had been unable to escape "bad whiskey." Indeed, she complained, he had received as much "poison" on the boat returning to Europe as he had "in every other place in America, in every town in which we traveled."[37] Was it any wonder that Sergei had described America as "a murderer of souls and no place for a great poet?"[38] (An amusing footnote to Isadora's contention that Prohibition had ruined her husband's health was offered at a hearing before the Journalists' Soviet in Moscow in December, 1923. Witnesses appearing in behalf of a *Pravda* correspondent whom Esenin had charged with slander asserted that the poet suffered from a "pathological derangement" occasioned by "American bootleg whiskey" and exposure to the Ku Klux Klan.)[39]

Esenin's behavior upon his return to Europe was even worse than it had been in New York. He stole from Isadora, got into difficulties with the Paris police

for destroying a suite in the Hotel Crillon, engaged in the most sordid forms of debauchery, and talked more and more frequently of suicide. In despair, Isadora took him back to Russia in August of 1923. She had offered him all she had to give. She had loved him, shielded him, and tried to understand him. But it was not enough. Esenin needed a woman he could dominate, and Isadora was clearly unsuited for such a role. Shortly after they arrived in Russia, she and Sergei went their separate ways. He to his friends, his drinking, and another marriage. She to her school and, before long, back to France. She said to the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times* at the time of her separation from Sergei: "So ends my first experience with matrimony, which I always thought a highly over-rated performance."[40]

What has been aptly described as the "tavern-chaos of Esenin's life"[41] ended in 1925 in a hotel room in Leningrad where he and Isadora had stayed during the first days of their marriage. He hanged himself with a valise strap after writing in his own blood his last poem: "My poems are no longer needed here./And I too—by your leave—I am no longer needed. . . ."[42] Poor health brought on by years of drunkenness and wild living, combined with an overwhelming feeling of alienation from the Soviet world he had once idealized, had made of Esenin a misfit—a fact to which he had himself attested in a poem of 1924: "Ah, native place! What a misfit I've become."[43] His suicide was no surprise—least of all to Isadora. In New York he had threatened alternately to shoot himself and to throw himself from atop the Woolworth Building. At a party in Paris he had tried to hang himself, cheating death on that occasion only because of the quick action of Isadora's friends. And not long after his return to Moscow he had been committed to six months in a sanitarium for stacking firewood in Red Square and announcing that he intended to throw himself onto his own funeral pyre.[44]

Isadora survived Esenin by two years, hard years, marred by financial problems and the rapid decline of her once-great talent. She drank too much, flitted from one ambitious young man to another, became careless about her figure, and lived off the generosity of her friends. "Today the dances of Isadora Duncan are autumn leaves," editorialized the Berlin publication *Dni*. "She no longer fascinates her audience with her élan. Her strength is failing."[45] Her appearance in these unhappy days was later described by Sol Hurok, who saw her for the last time in Paris during the year of her death. Obviously shocked by her "parchment-yellow face" and the "dreadful shade of reddish-purple" which she had dyed her hair, the famous impressario lamented that her once-beautiful body had become "shapeless with flabby muscles and fat." It was obvious to him that she was "clutching the solace of alcohol and perhaps of stronger medicines."[46] Morris Werner, the pianist for whom Isadora had "far greater spiritual significance" than anyone he had ever met, also noted with regret Isadora's tragic decline near the end: "Her face was tired and looked as if she had rouged it without looking into the mirror, and around her eyes . . . she had streaks of black and blue make-up, which did not quite hide the small wrinkles under the eyelids."[47]

Isadora Duncan gave her last public performance on July 8, 1927, in the Mogador Theater in Paris. The end came less than three months later. On September 14, in Nice, a red silk scarf which she was wearing (the same red scarf she had waved above her head in Boston Symphony Hall) became entangled in the wheel-spokes of her automobile and broke her neck, killing her instantly.[48] Thus ended the life of "Divine Isadora," a life which the dancer herself had proudly claimed was "fitted for the pen of a Cervantes, or Casanova."[49]

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NOTES

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[7] John Dos Passos, *The Big Money* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1933), p. 160.
[8] For a full account o fthe circumstances which led to Duncan's disillusionment see Desti, *op. cit.,* pp. 78-94.
[9] J. W. Bienstock, "Isadora's Russian Husband," *Living Age,* CCCXXXIII (November 15, 1927), p. 926.
[10] Desti, *op. cit.,* p. 104.
[11] Bolitho, *op. cit.,* p. 326.
[12] As quoted in *ibid.,* p. 328.
[13] Eastman, *loc. cit.,* pp. 200-201.
[14] As quoted in Allan Ross Macdougall, *Isadora: A Revolutionary in Art and Love* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1960), p. 204.
[15] Boris Pasternak, *I Remember: Sketch for an Autobiography* (New York: Meridian Book, 1959), p. 97.
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[17] Solomon Hurok, *Impresario* (New York: Random House, 1946), p. 98.
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[19] As quoted in *ibid.,* pp. 148-49.
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[21] *New York World,* October 3, 1922.
[22] As quoted in Duncan and Macdougall, *op. cit.,* p. 151.
[23] Desti, *op. cit.,* pp. 117, 124-26.
[24] Hurok, *op. cit.,* p. 115.
[25] As quoted in *ibid.*
[26] Desti, *op. cit.,* p. 125.
[27] Kinel, *loc. cit.,* CLVIII, No. 6 (December 1936), p. 671.
[28] Hurok, *op. cit.,* pp. 103-105.
[29] *Ibid.,* pp. 103-104.
[30] *New York Times,* October 24, 1922.
[31] Duncan and Macdougall, *op. cit.,* p. 157.
[32] All quotations in this paragraph are taken from *ibid.,* pp. 159-163.
[33] *Ibid.,* pp. 163-164.
[34] Hurok, *op. cit.,* pp. 112-115.
[35] *New York Times,* February 4, 1923.

[36] As quoted in Vera Alexandrovna, *A History of Soviet Literature,* trans. Mirra Ginsburg (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1963), p. 84.

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[38] As quoted in Desti, *op. cit.,* p. 180.

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[41] George Annenkov, "The Poets and the Revolution—Blok, Mayakovsky, Esenin," *Russian Review,* XXVI, No. 2 (April 1967), p. 140.

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[43] Patricia Blake and Max Hayward (eds.), *Dissonant Voices in Soviet Literature* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 30.

[44] Hurok, *op. cit.,* p.. 120; Sewell Stokes, *Isadora Duncan: An Intimate Portrait* (London: Bretano's Ltd., 1928), p. 173.

[45] As quoted in "A Russian Opinion of Isadora Duncan," *Living Age,* CCCXXIII (November 15, 1924), p. 401.

[46] Hurok, *op. cit.,* pp. 121, 126.

[47] Morris Robert Werner, *To Whom It May Concern: The Story of Victor Ilyitch Seroff* (New York: Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, 1931), pp. 245-246.

[48] *New York Times,* September 15, 1927.

[49] Bolitho, *op. cit.,* p. 309.

AN EVALUATION OF THE LEASING PROBLEM

DAVID S. ROBINSON

"The justification for accounting is the usefulness of its output, and most of that usefulness lies in planning and decision-making."[1] "Financial data should be tailored to the needs of users."[2] These two thoughts reflect the accounting profession's attitude and supports its philosophy of "usefulnecessity" as a function in our society.

To fulfill the obligation to the users of financial data, the accounting society strives to improve itself and its product through reciprocal internal expressions of thought.

It is not uncommon in the accounting profession to find differences of opinion on timely and controversial subjects. Usually, when there is a difference of opinion, it is attacked from within the accounting profession as well as from without. A timely subject can be argued from a practical, as well as from a theoretical and ethical point of view. It is usually in the consideration of all, however, that the outcome will provide a more useful financial "tool" for the user.

The purpose of this paper is to express an opinion that could represent the foundation that would hold the bridge to span a chasm in the area of leasing.

Objectively, this paper expresses an opinion relative to three controversial points of leasing:

1. That the difference between a purchase and a lease must be clearly defined and guidelines to qualify the difference must be specific.
2. That the definition of Long Term Leases should be changed from "three years" to "over one year," or "a lease that extends beyond the normal accounting cycle of the firm."
3. That all long term leases must be disclosed.

The most difficult task the accounting profession has in the area of leasing is to differentiate between a purchase and a lease. Most of the recent publications expounding and advocating different methods to account for leases are based on individual author's definitions of a lease or a purchase. For example: an author may argue that a lease is actually an expense of the business and that the acquired rights do not constitute the acquisition of an asset or liability.[3] Also, there is the argument that there are too many variables to measure the lease adequately in the balance sheet. Under this assumption, the pure theory of legality to ownership is advocated.

On the other hand, many accountants argue for capitalization of the lease. To review, proponents argue that a lease represents a right that can be measured and that it should be represented as a transaction in the balance sheet.[4]

At this point, I think it is timely to mention that the above points of view that are under discussion concern minority points of view, when considering the overall problem of leasing. It should be noted that in a survey by the AICPA

in *Accounting Trends and Techniques for 1965*, the majority of 600 firms neither refer to nor indicate long term leases. This matter will be discussed below.

The view to capitalize or not to capitalize varies directly, in my mind, with the firm's objective to purchase or to lease. Thus, an accurate definition of a purchase or a lease would guide the accountant as to when to exercise the principle of Capitalization.

This definition to purchase or to lease must be clear. It must measure the primary objectives and the intent of the lessee and thus reach the end result—the purpose of the lease—to ultimately purchase for the financial gain of ownership or ultimately lease for the financial gain of leasing.

Opinion #5 of the Accounting Principles Board contains criteria that categorize a purchase. For instance, the Board believes that property that was acquired by the lessor to meet the special needs of the lessee and that will probably be usable only for that purpose and only by the lessee could constitute a purchase. To bring to light some objections to this point of view, the primary purpose of the lessor is to make a profit. Anyone who represents himself in business as a lessor is in business to make a profit through leasing.

It is entirely possible, in fact, quite probable, that a lessor that rents (or leases) an article specifically manufactured for the lessee's individual needs did so with the ultimate knowledge that he (the lessor) could produce and lease this object to the lessee and make a profit on the transaction. In other words, the basic objective of the majority of lessors is to satisfy the lessee and make a profit. They are not normally in business to act as finance companies. If this basic distinction between purchase and lease could be realized at the beginning of a contract, the difficulty in definition between purchase and lease would be considerably reduced.

Another point that is objectionable in Opinion #5 is that a criterion to purchase results when the term of the lease corresponds substantially to the estimated useful life of the property. From the point of view of the lessee, his only criterion is the USEFULNESS of the product. It is assumed that the primary decision of the lessee was to lease, not own; and one of the determinants to lease was the length of time the item leased would be needed. Accordingly, the lease agreement was drawn up by the lessor with this as one of his objectives when he determined how long he would have to supply the lessee with the leased article.

In establishing criteria for a purchase and thus criteria for capitalization, the following are considered for evaluation:

1. The lessee specifically states that the objective to lease is a temporary measure and the ultimate objective is to purchase.

2. An agreement allows the lessee to terminate the contract and to purchase the item at considerably less than fair market value.

3. (a) The lessee guarantees the obligations of the lessor with respect to the property leased.

   (b) The lessee fulfills the conditions of paragraph 12 of Opinion #5 of the Accounting Principles Board.[5]

In regard to the practical accounting for purchases, through leasing, the treatments by Vatter,[6] Morrissey,[7] and Raby[8] all allow for an asset/liability relationship. Needless to say, there are many more that advocate this theory. As applied only to a lease purchase agreement, I would concur. However, even then, there is room for improvement in accounting terminology.

Once the difference between a purchase lease and an ordinary lease has been established, the accounts in the asset and liability section should reflect this specific difference. For example, because of the clear cut distinction of a purchase through a lease, accounting terminology should reflect this acquisition: Debit: Leased to Purchase—Machinery, Credit: Leased Property Payable—Machinery (long-term liability).

It would be appropriate to mention at this point that I do not favor the recognition of accounting for rights through capitalization in the asset section unless it absolutely qualifies as a purchase under the previous considerations. As will be pointed out below, a discussion concerning a present dollar value will be discussed in the disclosure section of this paper.

At this time, I wish to cite the Accounting Principles Board's view on this subject as it appeared in Opinion #5. "The Board agrees that the nature of some lease agreements is such that an asset and a related liability should be shown in the balance sheet and that it is important to distinguish this type of lease from other leases. The Board believes, however, that the distinction depends on the issue of whether or not the lease is in substance a purchase of the property, rather than on the issue of whether or not a property right exists."

Much could be argued on a sale and leaseback. Briefly, under the concept of this paper, if the sale and leaseback involve an intracompany transaction (parent/subsidiary, subsidiary/subsidiary) there could be grounds for asset evaluation. However, ordinarily, the sale would be treated as a sale and the leaseback treated in a conventional manner as a lease—no capitalization.

The discussion of treating a lease in the balance sheet will appear in the disclosure section of this paper.

Present lease accounting has used as a *time* criterion "three years and over" to classify long-term leases and "less than three year" as short-term leases.[9] Although this rule is not hard and fast, it has frequently been the general practice. Since the lease may run for any term, from a few moments to the entire expected economic life,[10] it would seem that a rationale that would have more validity would be one which advocated that leases be classified as long-term if they extended beyond the normal accounting period of a firm. Under this assumption, all short-term leases would be reflected in total in the income statement for the

current year. All long-term leases or leases that extended beyond the normal accounting period would have the current cost reflected in the income statement and the remaining balance would be disclosed in an appropriate manner. "The length of time involved makes it mandatory to consider carefully, the force of interest if the accounts are to reflect properly the effect of a leasehold agreement."[11] Since leases of one and two years can represent a material dollar factor to the concern,[12] it seems reasonable to assume that the user of this information should know and be able to distinguish what is material in the present accounting period and what is contingent to future accounting periods. The use of time to distinguish short-term and long-term liabilities should be used to distinguish short-term and long-term leases.

This deviates from the practical, but it has an overwhelming justification for the ethical. If this change were adopted, there would be even more ammunition for disclosure since the lease dollar ratio to total investment dollars would be more significant in more companies.

One of the most discussed areas of leasing and an area that has much room for expansion in the ethical plane—i.e., accepted professional standards of conduct—is the area of disclosure. The majority of accounting firms in the past have had very little continuity with one another concerning reporting disclosure. It is not that they violated an accounting principle; however, from a practical matter, they exercised the concept of disclosure as spelled out in Accounting Research Bulletin #43 "that disclosure should be made in financial statements OR IN NOTES THERETO." Some even exercise the limits of disclosure through the Letter to Stockholders.

One common denominator that has resulted as the importance of leasing has matured has been the regulations set forth by the S.E.C. The S.E.C., in its Rule 3.18, has expressed its opinion regarding the disclosure of leases in financial statements filed with it (as distinct from published reports) by companies subject to its authority, as follows:

> (a) If material in amount, the pertinent facts relative to firm commitments for the acquisition of permanent investments and fixed assets and for the purchase, repurchase, construction, or rental of assets under long-term leases shall be stated briefly in the balance sheet or in footnotes referred to therein.
>
> (b) Where the rentals or obligations under long-term leases are material there shall be shown the amounts of annual rentals under such leases with some indication of the periods for which they are payable, together with any important obligation assumed or guarantee made in connection therewith. If the rentals are conditional, state the minimum annual amounts.
>
> I am convinced that as the importance and materiality of leases affect a business, a disclosure of this magnitude is necessary. In theory, it adds nothing to the debit and credit concepts of accounting for financial resources. However, very simply, it attracts attention. This in itself achieves the desired ethics to inform, to make readable, and to be useful.

> The object of the balance sheet is not to entice bankers to lend the company money on the strength of the most favorable display or arrangement of facts and figures but, rather, to reflect accurately and candidly the true financial condition of the business. If the business manager recognizes that excessive lease obligations may put a severe strain on the financial capacity of the business, he does not benefit in the long run by deluding himself or his banker by concealing the extent of his financial obligations. He should remember that restrictions on a company's borrowing capacity are designed for his protection as well as for safeguarding the interests of the lender.[13]

The mathematical mechanics of disclosing long-term leases could be a separate paper. One common presentation is through a present value concept. The variables in calculating present value would be determined by the contract itself—i.e., whether the contract is subject to being cancelled or not subject to being cancelled, the length of time the contract is to run, the agreement as to what expenses will be absorbed by the lessee and lessor, and the conditions to the contract when a contract is broken by the lessee. This last factor can involve many complications that can cause severe financial burdens on the part of the lessee. Considering all of the proponents for the going concern concept, there still remains in most contracts to lease a financial liability on the part of the lessee, if he should break a contract before it terminates by agreement. To support this paper's concept of disclosure on long-term leases, a possible alternative to disclose could be reflected as a Reserve of Retained Earnings in the equity section for the present dollar value of the liability, if the contract is broken. The dollar value could reflect the contingent liability in case of default. A footnote could supply the other data necesary in the lease. It is evident that a disclosure through the equity section could be incompatible to many lease situations and the non-add lease/liability would be preferable. On the other hand, a company that did not want to reflect the total lease liability in the balance sheet as an asset or a liability might find it satisfactory to use temporarily the reserve method.

In conclusion, I realize this paper will not create any new astounding accounting principles. However, the paper does reflect that certain areas in the accounting profession are wide open to investigation and opinion.

"The accounting profession will not be condemned for failing to solve all its problems at once; it will risk condemnation only if it ceases to try."[14]

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NOTES

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MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY

EDWARD M. HOLMES

Aaron Edes. . . We used to see him walking the roads between Oak Harbor and Fleming's Cove, between Fleming's Cove and Goose Point, between Goose Point and the hospital at the county seat, and think nothing about it.

We used to barrel past him sometimes, our wheels throwing enough snow or puddle slush to soak through those filthy gray canvas slacks, to leave his jacket heavy with road silt, his flannel shirt and undershirt stuck to his torso as cold and wet as so many layers of salt ice. We didn't give a goddam. It was just Aaron, and to hell with that.

But people who didn't know him, people from out of state, or people who lived just a ways back from the coast would stop sometimes, especially if the weather was good and he wasn't wet, and offer him a lift. Then Aaron would look at them with that face, not just expressionless, but like there was nothing ever could happen anywhere anytime that would be worth its trouble to express—Aaron would look at them and shake his head. And they would figure he was a dummy, of course, because he could not speak and would not get in even if they stopped and opened the door and waited. And we too, who knew him, found ourselves thinking of him—if we ever did think—more or less as if he was unable to speak.

Still, we knew better, for we heard him now and then. And we knew, because of what others said, that when he got up to the county seat he would walk the half mile more up through the tree-lined, shadowed, residential street, and up the clean stone steps to the Seacoast Memorial Mission Hospital, and push open the two sets of steel-trimmed glass doors, leaving his muddy tracks as likely as not on the scrubbed tile floor, or maybe on the deep nap of a clear, light-brown, just-washed carpet, or more likely both, and then stand at the desk waiting for the receptionist to look up and say Yes, question mark. Or perhaps sometimes, if she had already seen him there three or four times before, she would just say Yes. But her eyes would drill him, asking all kinds of questions that he did not want to answer and never would. And then he would just say a child's name: Mary Smith, or Phyllis Blake, or Donald Teele. And if she was new she would just say, "Well, what about it?" Then he would repeat the name, and finally she would go get the business manager, or whoever, and ask him to deal with a kind of semi-lunatic. And if she had seen him in there before and had handled it, she would just ruffle through the file and bring out the account card with the child's parents name on it, and put it down gently, like a sick or maybe a wounded person, on the desk top; and Aaron, without even looking at it or asking how much, would reach into his trousers pocket and pull out that canvas sack, and empty ones and fives and sometimes a fistful of half-dollars out on the desk top, and say, "Does that help?"

Then she would say, "Yes, that helps," which obviously it did, and write him a receipt, which he would take, and on the way out across the deep, clean

carpet that looked as if before this it had never been smudged, he would tear up the receipt, and when he reached the sand-filled cigar-or-cigarette butt receiver just inside the glass doors, he would leave the torn-up pieces of paper in that. We knew about all this because we had heard it, or because once in a while one of us had been up there, sitting in one of the wicker chairs in the hallway, waiting to call on a relative or a friend, or be told whether they were already dead or not, and had seen it.

It was not that Aaron Edes had no means of transportation for himself. He had it all right, a pick-up truck there in his locked garage just behind his excuse for a house that was not very much bigger than the garage itself. Once, some months after Aaron had put the truck in there, Colby Hollis tried to buy it. Colby had been going past once a day, up the pebbly gravel road that leads to the Hollis house, and he had seen the garage doors open, where Aaron had gone in to get him a bundle of laths or trap stock, or such, and Colby had walked right in behind him and all around the pick-up, examining the paint, the rubber, the clutch and brake pedals, and finally said: "Give you five hundred for it, Aaron, whether it goes or not."

Aaron shook his head.

"Make it five hundred and fifty," Colby said. He couldn't tell, this time, for sure, whether Aaron moved his head or not. "Six hundred, Aaron. Six hundred or nothing."

And Aaron closed the doors and locked them up and walked through the door into his house, and not so much as a word in answer.

But he replied once, actually spoke to "God's Henchmen." Anyway they called themselves that. A delegation had been down to see him that winter the special preacher came to Oak Harbor. The lights were bright every night, nearly, in the church, and the Henchmen had been to this house, and that, and the other one, trying to get everyone to come to Jesus (or at least come to church), and in time, of course, they got around to the Edes's. Only it was a night Jean happened to be over to a neighbor's. They talked to Aaron. and prayed, and I don't know but shouted (which was the way they told it later), and not one of them was certain Aaron even listened until he opened all the doors and windows, which was a fair indication he wanted them to get out, it being one of them far-below-zero and windy nights. Just as they was leaving, one of the women turned to him—she was almost crying, they said—and asked: "Why not, Aaron? Why not?"

"You sing too much," Aaron said.

The older people in town had long since stopped being surprised about his acts. There was an explanation. And the rest of us, who could not remember, had all heard about it, that February afternoon of wet, blinding snow when Aaron brought the new pick-up truck home from Bangor and drove into the village, coming up astern of the school bus. There was no law in them days

about stopping when the bus did, but Aaron must have put his foot on the brakes anyway as soon as he could see through the snow, for the pick-up went into a skid, hit the port quarter of the bus and slid sideways, suddenly striking something else that swung off kind of sickeningly into the ditch. When Aaron finally came to a stop and got out and went back, the bus driver and nearly all the kids from the bus were huddled sort of quiet around something in the snow that was Aaron's girl, Marie, aged twelve, who had got out to visit at the home of one of her schoolmates. Only with the blood sweeping out on the snow, and the limpness, and the look on the face, even the littlest school kid could see she was dead. So—law or no law—Aaron picked up what was left, put it in the pickup truck, drove home, and carried it in to his wife.

Without doubt you can imagine what that home-coming was like.

For two days after the funeral Aaron sat in a straight-backed chair in the kitchen, staring at the wood stove. He would not lift a lid to look at the fire; he would not pick up a piece of stove wood; he would not shake the grates nor empty the ashes. Jean had to do all that, though I dare say it would have made no difference to him had the fire gone out.

Jean acted, the first of it, like anyone human, like someone had smashed her brain, or soul—whatever you have a mind to call it. She bawled her lungs almost out; she cried her grief up and down the scale; she went down, loud and silent, into the pit of despair, as if she was going to stay there forever, and when at last she surfaced, no one could say it was into content, of course, but it was into calm; it was into whatever anyone has to have to get from Monday through Sunday in one piece.

She did her best for Aaron—or so they tell it around Oak Harbor—but her best nor anyone's best wasn't in any way good enough, for even after he stopped setting in front of that range, even after he had been out to the garage and jacked up that pickup truck and had put her on blocks and had taken out the battery and sold it—even after all that he moved around like he was not really present. He just went through the motions, building himself more lobster traps, setting his gear in the spring, and going out to haul in his open skiff with a twenty-five horse-power outboard to push it, selling his catch and coming up to the house for his supper, and every step and minute of it like he was made of metal or maybe wood, like one of them science fiction robots you read about.

His wife stood it for a year, two years, more perhaps. It was not that there was not enough money. Aaron was never a highline fisherman—not with a boat and power like that—but neither was he the poorest. We took it from what was said that for Jean it was more or less like living with a walking corpse. So finally, Aaron apparently not objecting, she gathered her stuff together and walked out; and ten months later, after everyone had read the note in the city paper about the divorce, she came back married to Cliff Benton who lived three or more miles up the road from Aaron, a reasonable distance. Then the next year she had a baby, a boy this time, who everybody called Rick.

So that was how it was in the next eight or nine years when many of us were more or less growing up and got used to seeing Aaron, silent, expressionless, walking the roads from Oak Harbor to Fleming's Cove, from Fleming's Cove to Goose Point up to the hospital at the county seat. And we would barrel past with the cut-out open, throwing dust or mud or snow or slush, depending on the season, and thinking next to nothing, or nothing about it.

Then this November a slug from somebody's rifle ricocheted off a rock up by Greenings Hill and took a kid who was on the road there right through the chest. It was ten or twenty minutes apparently before anyone found Rick Benton and by the time they got him to the hospial he was in hard shape.

There was no way of knowing, ever, who had fired the shot. The hunter himself may never have known he did it. And every third day, starting early in the morning, Aaron would walk the roads to the hospital at the county seat, put money down in the office on the Benton account—just as he would when it was any child's parents' account—and walk back, getting to his house, as usual, very late. Until one morning just after daylight, Cliff Benton's car, coming toward Oak Harbor, met him, and Jean made Cliff draw up and stop. She rolled the window down. "Aaron! Aaron, come here a minute."

Aaron looked up and stopped.

"Aaron, you better get in the car."

Cliff reached behind him and opened a door. "Yeah, get in the back seat," he said.

Aaron was still staring at Jean. From the look of him, she might as well have been a complete stranger. "Why?" he said.

Then Jean began to cary, and Aaron looked at Cliff: "He's dead, ain't he?"

Cliff looked away. "He couldn't help it." He spoke like he was defending the boy, or something. "A little fellow with a wound like that—he couldn't help it."

"Get in the car, Aaron. Get in," Jean said.

But Aaron turned away from them and walked off into the woods.

Through his kitchen windows, the neighbors saw him that night sitting in the straight-backed chair facing the stove with no fire in it. One or two of them thought to speak, but the door was locked and he would not answer a knock. So the neighbors, of course, went to bed, and as the night passed, the wind rose. By dawn it was a living gale, bending the trees under the dark clouds the way it will sometimes, clutching at the shingles on the roofs, and blasting the tops of the seas until the harbor, the bay, the ocean rolled feather white.

And out into that bay at daylight Aaron nosed his open, outboard-powered skiff. They saw him from the lighthouse and told about it later, how he drove

her head-on into the seas, throttle wide open, and then, when he was almost out of sight, turned side-to, like he was asking the seas to roll him over. And apparently they did, for two days later some of the men picked up his over-turned and empty skiff. They never found a trace of the man himself.

So hearing about this, we roared, a bunch of us, down over cemetery hill, and past the church and the post office, and up before the store at the shore front, our tires screaming and the wheels throwing gravel against the plate glass windows and onto the steps. And we listened to the men talk about it until one of us fellows got bored and said it was only old Aaron Edes and to hell with all that.

Then another said he must have been crazy, he must have been out of his mind to do a thing like that. And Colby Hollis, who was standing there near the cars, looked first one and then another of us right in the eye, and then back to the first one. After a long time, he said: "You ever think of the things might drive a man to doing that?"

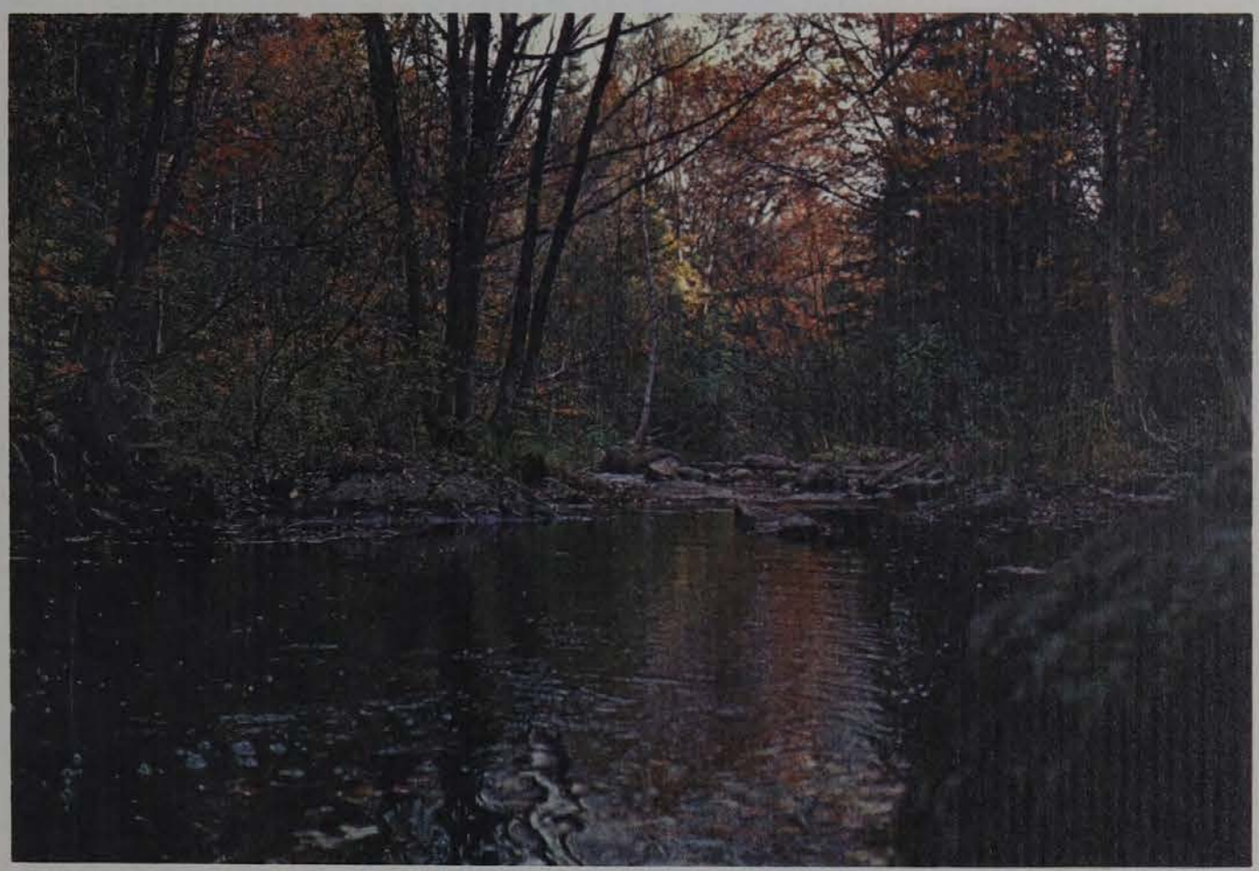
We didn't say much, but it was plain to see we never had thought.

"Well, maybe you ought to begin thinking," Colby said, and he turned around, walked away up the gravelly road past Aaron's place, and on up the hill to his house, just like we had insulted him or something.

And some of us, right then, commenced to think. Anyway, I did.

Visiting Professor, American Literature
Prince of Wales College

INTRICACIES



Photograph by David S. Robinson, Husson College

INTRICACIES

HOPE

Ina Ladd Brown

Spring is singing
with a soft green voice;
a blue wind
swings an apricot moon;
and I listen
for the uprush
of daffodils
from quickening earth.

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

FULL MEASURE

Ina Ladd Brown

Jonquils in a jade bowl,
a grosbeak against a bare branch,
and your touch on my hand
again bring me spring.

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

IDENTITY

James L. Allen, Jr.

See the truth, my eye!

I can't see how to see
  Eye to I with me.

  Am I a part of all
  That eye have seen,
  Or all the scene
But just a part of me?

University of Hawaii, Hilo Campus

INTRICACIES

AIR FOR WOULD WIND WITH STRINGS

James L. Allen, Jr.

Go fly a kite, they said.
All right, I said, I will.
One could do worse, after frost,
Than be a swinger still
Of a Hi-Flier climbing
Up the skies; lucking up
Or by skill, that would be good.

Man's mind has been the bird
For centuries, striving to
Ascend the heights denied
By Adam's sin. Why chide
The child when his wild will
Would ride the sky like kites?
Or second childhood scorn
That thrill again has borne?

University of Hawaii, Hilo Campus

HAPPINESS IS A LITTLE WHILE

Ina Ladd Brown

April riding a north wind,
A lone star following storm;
Your hand on mine, after waiting,
    Tender and warm.

Scent of June in the morning,
A humming-bird on a rose - -
Happiness is but a moment
    That comes - - and goes!

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

THE BIG SHOT

MILDRED E. DANFORTH

With the pressure of my finger
I can become world famous.
Me! The overlooked, the disregarded,
Can have my big hour on television.
All across the globe.
Do as you like with me then.
I'll make the history
The smart guys *talk* about.

Thomas College

NEGATION

MILDRED E. DANFORTH

I am the modern woman.
I wear my hair in curlers
On the street.
– A flapping shirttail –
Faded dungarees.
The eyes of many people
Are upon me
But I am unaware.
I dress my children
In their prettiest clothes,
For they, I know, are seen;
It's only I who am
Invisible.

Thomas College

INTRICACIES

ENCOUNTER

James D. Berry

Sitting in a hospital room waiting for your return from surgery,
Staring out into the hall and catching glimpses of life:
The woman dusting, passing frequently, moving her dust from one place to another,
The weary Negress with her countless trays ("The hospital," a P. R. blurb in every room points out, "never closes its doors.")
The cart, wheeling another patient, strapped in, back from surgery,
The young and alive nurses smiling medicines from room to room,
The confident—I hope not too confident—interns,
The world passing this door—

As I wait
As I learn anew, for about the twentieth time,
That encountering a hospital is a significant event
Because it breaks through the insulation of self to remind one
Of the prevalence of suffering—and
Of the human battle to put it down.

Loyola University

ELEGY FOR A MODERN SAINT

Ed Thomas

The world has lost a Saint today
A beautiful soul has gone away
He lived to make men's warped minds whole
With peace and brotherhood his goal . .

His courage did transcend his life
To put an end to racial strife.
Throughout the world his love was felt
In Oslo, Vietnam, the veldt. . .

His spirit will shine like the sun
Where black and white men feel as one
God grant the day will come to pass
When he would say his work was done . . .

. . . . . .

Dr. King is dead.
Long live Reverend King . . .

April 4, 1968

League City, Texas

VIEWED FROM INVULNERABLE TOWERS

Eric Freedman

bladed warriors in bladed fields;
mariners at sea with albatross;
tanked divers among coralled ruins

I lead charges against enemies, and sight albatross and ruins
in fields
on ships
at shores
My sword and compass and lifeline are always here
I have them before me, luring
spirited horses and undiscovered wreckage
sightless enemies and unknown lands
tearful storms and underfed octopi
I fight and sail and swim
with other bladed warriors
with other mariners at sea
with other tanked divers

My blade has rusted
The albatross has flown elsewhere
The sea no longer calls me
and I am still lonely

Milton, Massachusetts

William Carlos Williams' "Red Wheelbarrow"

TERRY OTTEN

so much depends
upon

a red wheel-
barrow

glazed with rain
water

beside the white
chickens.[1]

William Carlos Williams' often-discussed poem "The Red Wheelbarrow" has tended to divide critics into two camps. One side is that represented by Philip Wheelwright, who contends that the poem is "apparently a classical failure" of the attempt to express a single experience through simple statement.[2] Alan Ostrom's comment represents the opposing view: the poem "provides a fresh view of reality in the perception of the previously unseen relationship" of apparently unrelated objects.[3] For Wheelwright, Williams fails to objectify a basically subjective experience; for Ostrom, the objects of the poem "contain implicit extensions of meaning . . . but these extensions inhere in the realities of the things themselves and in their place in our experience." There is, of course, another way of evaluating the poem. Roy Harvey Pearce encompasses both pro and con arguments in his criticism. He concludes, "At its worst this is togetherness in the chicken-yard. At its best it is an exercise in the creation of the poetic out of the anti-poetic."[4] The problem with both the "worst" criticism and the "best" criticism is that they fail to identify or describe the organic movement of the poem. Ostrom is justified in admiring Williams' ability to provide "a fresh view of reality" through the perception of the relationships existing between ordinary objects, but he does not really explain how the poem operates.

Actually, "The Red Wheelbarrow" contains a clearly identifiable action which can be described as the transformation of a static object into a dynamic symbol of Man's creative spirit. The poem works upon an ironic juxtaposition of chickens, who are animate but "spiritless," and the wheelbarrow, which is inanimate but latently symbolic of Man's vital creativity. The first stanza introduces the wheelbarrow through shaped lines operating as a kind of visual metaphor which initiates the process of vitalization in the action of the poem. "So much" emphasizes the relevance of what the poet sees, something which emerges in the act of the poem. The wheelbarrow is then particularized by a careful selection of detail in the succeeding stanzas. First, it is red, a color which traditionally suggests vitality and life. This color is magnified because it is beside "white chickens;" again, the juxtaposition of objects is the major structural tool.

Second, the wheelbarrow is "glazed with rain/water." Rain is a conventional religious symbol and represents a transforming spiritual force in the poem. But at the same time, it is, as Ostrom suggests, an object which acquires meaning only in it relationship with the other two objects. It separates the chickens from the wheelbarrow. The "glazed" look of the wheelbarrow contrasts with the appearance of the chickens, who are not illuminated or significantly affected by the rain: they can not be spiritually imbued. Finally, the wheelbarrow is "beside the white/chickens." The phrase reverses the normal syntactical pattern. Ordinarily, we think of animate objects being beside inanimate ones—"the boy by the wall," "the dog at the door," "the chickens beside the wheelbarrow." In reversing the pattern, Williams subordinates the "chickens," whose animism is only superficial, and gives ascendancy to the wheelbarrow, which is now fully animate and dominant. In short, the poem transforms a dead wheelbarrow into a dynamic symbol by means of the juxtaposition of simple objects. The wheelbarrow is a perfect testament of Man's supremacy, for it is composed of two of his greatest inventions, the lever and the wheel. Far from being what Wheelwright calls "a pleasant pastishe, with no more than a fanciful justification for the opening words," the poem is a microcosm of the poetic act and an effective illustration of Man's transcendent spirit—indeed, "so much" does depend "upon / a red wheel / barrow . . . ."

Wittenberg University
Springfield, Ohio

NOTES

[1] William Carlos Williams, *Collected Earlier Poems.* Copyright 1938 by William Carlos Williams. Reprint by permission of New Directions Publishing Corporation.

[2] *Metaphor and Reality* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1962) pp. 159-160.

[3] *The Poetic World of William Carlos Williams* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966), p. 21.

[4] "Williams and the 'New Mode,'" reprinted in *William Carlos Williams: A Collection* of Critical Essays, ed. J. Hillis Miller (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 97.

FOR JOHN EVELYN, 1620-1706: AN ESSAY IN APPRECIATION

VESTA M. PARSONS

Perhaps we might coin a pun and call this paper "The Three Faces of Evelyn." The first face of Evelyn is that which his seventeenth century contemporaries knew: the face of the author of *Sylva,* first book to be published by order of the Royal Society. The second face is that which the Victorians admired: the self-portrait of the *Diary*. The third face is that of the twentieth century: a study drawn by critics and scholars who see their subject from widely divergent angles.

THE FIRST FACE OF EVELYN

We look to the caliber and opinions of Evelyn's friends, as well as to the immediate effects of his writings, for a picture of him as a man in seventeenth century England.

A representative group of his friends and colleagues reads impressively: Samuel Pepys, Sir Christopher Wren, Robert Boyle, Abraham Cowley, Edmund Waller, John Dryden, the Earl of Arundel, Charles II and James II. If we accept the dictum that "A man is known by the company he keeps," then from this list we glimpse Evelyn as scholar, patron of the arts, scientist and civil servant. As to the first one named, Samuel Pepys, we have Pepys' evaluation in his own words:

> In fine a most excellent person he is and must be allowed a little for his conceitedness; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others.[1]

Actually, Evelyn and Pepys were friends for forty years. This friendship must have been founded in mutual respect, for they were both working in London during some of that city's most terrible days. Each remained at his post while the plague ravaged the city in 1665 with the weekly death toll rising from 2,000 to 5,000 and close to 10,000. Both were needed. War against the Dutch was going badly for England. Pepys was serving at the Admiralty, and Evelyn was a commissioner charged with the care of the sick and wounded seamen, including Dutch prisoners. Both also witnessed and described the great London fire when in Evelyn's words, "All the sky was . . . like the top of a burning oven."[2] Through these years they "talked shop," exchanged news, and did the best they could with inadequate funds. Through the years the two diarists met under varied circumstances: some pleasant, some difficult. But in Pepys' words, John Evelyn remained "the good Mr. Evelyn." Evelyn in his *Diary* spoke often of his friend and on the occasion of Pepys' death eulogized him for his great "knowledge of the Navy" and for the "integrity" with which he performed his duties.

Evelyn was also the friend and professional associate of Sir Christopher Wren. Some commentators have suggested that the actual closeness of their friendship is unknown, but the fact remains that it was close enough for Evelyn to have served as godfather to one of Wren's sons. The professional relationship

first appears in their mutual interest in the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral. Both submitted plans for the work, but Evelyn recognized the genius of the young architect and urged that the commission give thorough study to his plan. Years later both served on a committee for building Greenwich Hospital. Together they laid the foundation stone, and together they submitted the model to the King.

Among England's poets, at least three were personal friends to John Evelyn. Edmund Waller was his travelling companion on the continent during the Civil War. Abraham Cowley contributed to the introduction to *Sylva.* Poet Laureate John Dryden was on sufficiently intimate terms to pay Evelyn a visit in 1674 although Evelyn later severely criticized Dryden's apostasy from the Anglican Church.

Sensitive to artistic treasures, Evelyn was concerned with the neglect of the Arundelin Marbles, brought from Greece to England by the Earl of Arundel. To save them, Evelyn persuaded Mr. Henry Howard to present his grandfather's collection of stones, urns, and altars to Oxford University. For this service, Oxford awarded Evelyn an honorary doctorate.

The crowning testimony to Evelyn's position among his associates, however, is to be found in his relationship with fellows of the Royal Society. One of the original members, Evelyn was three times offered the Presidency of the organization. Such an honor needs no elaboration. In his friendships, Evelyn was a man who moved with respect among his country's great men.

Contributing enormously to his seventeenth century portrait were Evelyn's pamphlets and books. First there was the political effect. Evelyn never signed the Covenant but remained a Loyalist and an Anglican under the Puritan regime. By living quietly, he managed to stay out of trouble. With the rising tide of political dissatisfaction, however, the time apparently seemed right in 1659 to strike his first blow for the King. This was his pamphlet, "An Apology for the Royal Party," in which he called for the return of the monarchy, a statement which Evelyn in is *Diary* characterized as "bold," in fact a capital offense.[3] Sometime between February 17 and April 5, 1660, he wrote "The Late News or Message from Brussels Unmasked" in which he declared a recent attack on the King to be a calumny.

Charles II rode into London on May 29, 1660, and on June 4 "graciously received" John Evelyn and received him again on June 30 when he greeted Evelyn as "his old acquaintance." Henceforth Evelyn was frequently at the Court where he enjoyed the favor of both the King and the Duke of York. This favor was largely expressed, however, in smiles, praise, and assignments to civic responsibilities, rather than in monetary awards.

But it was Evelyn's scientific writing, rather than his political, which brought his tremendous prestige. His *Fumifugium,* a plan for abating the smog of London, was dedicated to the King and published by his order. The King also publicly thanked Evelyn for his book on architecture, but Evelyn's masterpiece was *Sylva.*

Sylva was the first book published by order of the Royal Society. One needs to read *Sylva* in order to believe what has been said and written about it. Praise has been so extravagant that one is inclined to call it fulsome. But when one really reads the book, he finds indeed, that it is a stalwart thing—perhaps, as has more than once been suggested, as stalwart as the oaken timbers of the British fleet at Trafalgar Bay.

The reprint of the fourth or 1706 edition (representing Evelyn's final revision) is balanced in design and comprehensive in content. Fifty-three pages of introduction are personal and poetic. Approximately six hundred pages are devoted to the subject: detailed instructions on the propagation, cultivation, and harvesting of trees; a summary of the forest laws and statutes; and reminiscences on the veneration of trees in earlier times. The work closes with a translation from Rapinus by Evelyn's son John.

Some readers skip the introduction or preface to a book, thereby losing the author's message to them about the book. This introduction should not be overlooked. Actually it is rather charming. The "on bended knee" attitude toward *His Majestie* is a far cry from the "respectfully dedicated to . . ." of modern works. Evelyn's frank admission that he is writing for the "ingenious," for educated gentlemen who understand historical and literary allusions sets the level of the language. Prefatory poems in Latin and Greek remind us of the classical background of Evelyn's "ingenious" readers. Abraham Cowley's introductory statement, "I have never another desire so strong . . . That I might be master at least of a small house and a large garden" seems to be in miniature all that we have come to associate with the English love of gardens. Cowley's expression of joy in being allowed to prefix an epistle to his friend's great work is rather refreshing.

Dendrologia (the science of trees) deals with the propagation and care of more than fifty varieties of trees with the longest chapters devoted to the oak and the elm. Such material could be tedious reading, but it never is. There are human touches which lift these pages above the level of much technical writing. Evelyn speaks of oak seedlings, for example, as if they were babies. They need be "taken care of from their birth and cradle."[4] And the grower must "comfort" the elm seedlings with more fine dirt around them. There is an amusing touch of nationalism in Evelyn's belief that the English oaks are superior to those of France and that the elms of Spain were really taken there from England by Philip II.

Aside from the beauty of the oak and its importance as timber, Evelyn notes other merits. He stresses the economic value of the acorns—once "the food of Jupiter"—as food for swine although he admits that too many green acorns will intoxicate the animals. He also offers a little recipe for an effective mouth wash: "young red oak leaves decocted in wine."[5]

As one might expect, Evelyn gives first place to the holly as an ornamental tree. Both in *Sylva* and in the *Diary,* he speaks with pride of his own famous holly

hedge and with anger at the harm done to the hedge by Peter the Great when he was a tenant at Sayes Court.

In the section "On the Laws and Statutes for the Preservation and Improvements of Woods and Forests," Evelyn cites various references from antiquity to show that wise leaders, including Moses, Plato, and Pliny, advocated the planting and preservation of trees. England had had forest laws before the seventeenth century, including those in the reigns of Edward IV, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth I. Penalties for infringement were severe, but the severity was justified, Evelyn contends, because the forests were a national treasure.[6]

By the seventeenth century, England's once vast forests had been considerably depleted. The furnaces of industry had consumed many. Ships tonnage had greatly increased, taking a proportionate toll on the forests. A constantly growing navy promised to grow still larger until the question of where to secure timber for ship-building was a serious one. Thus we see the purpose of *Sylva*: to urge the planting of great forests to save the nation from invasion and conquest.

On a less patriotic but also practical note, Evelyn urged landowners to plant some acres of trees every time a daughter was born in order to provide the dowry which eventually would be necessary for a suitable marriage.

The concluding section of *Sylva* is a literary essay, "an historical account of the sacredness and use of standing groves."[7] Eden, for example, was a "sacred grove." Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob planted groves as places of worship. Plato walked among his groves. Ovid, Horace, and Petrarch paid their poetic tribute to groves. The Druids worshipped amidst the oaks, and it was an oak which sheltered the fugutive Charles II after the battle of Worcester. To this type of material, John's translation from Rapinus makes a suitable conclusion.

Such was the book which brought fame to Evelyn in his own life time. *Sylva* was an enormous success with the fourth edition the last one on which Evelyn personally worked. Added to this literary recognition was the success of several shorter writings, including translations from French and Latin.

Literary fame, however, was not all. Evelyn's work on various commissions, his membership in the Royal Society, his patronage of the arts, his acknowledged scholarship, his wide acquaintance with important people, and his magnificent garden at Sayes Court contributed—each in its own way—to his seventeenth century portrait: the face of a virtuoso.

THE SECOND FACE OF EVELYN

A century went by, yet the reading public still knew John Evelyn. In fact, his second, or nineteenth century face glowed with the approval of Victorian society. Tributes to *Sylva* were still current and the glow became something of a halo. He was, said *The Quarterly Review,* "the good and graceful John Evelyn."[8]

At least four times in the nineteenth century, the *Review* praised Evelyn's influence on forestry in England, the best known tribute being that of March,

1813. Recognizing the 1812 edition of *Sylva,* the *Quarterly* article is an essay in itself on the importance of forestry. Its opening sentence, "The occupation of planting belongs to an advanced period of society, and the amusement of planting to a refined one,"[9] sets the tone of the commentary.

Proceeding from a general statement on the apparent inexhaustibility of forests in a pioneer situation through the gradual destruction of forests by civilization, the *Quarterly* lays a heavy share of the blame for the destruction of England's forests on acts of the Puritans during the Civil War. "The estates of delinquents were minutely destroyed—their aged oaks, like the families which owned them, were by these enemies of all that was elegant or venerable doomed to destruction. In these patrician trees they beheld a kind of aristocracy. . ."[10] The article further notes that with the Restoration, Charles II set the example but that Britain also needed "the exhortation of the press in an age when the nobility and gentry began to read."[11] *Sylva* provided the necessary impetus.

As to the influence of the new edition, the *Quarterly* maintained that it had restored the "ardor" aroused by the first edition. Like other readers of *Sylva,* the *Quarterly* commentator saw the charm of Evelyn's prose as the major asset of the work because a technically scientific book might well have been received with indifference. In imagery comparable to that of Shakespeare or Milton, the essay contends, lies the appeal of *Sylva.* "Evelyn's painting resembles the first scene in *As You Like It* or the more rugged features of Milton's *Garden of Eden.*"[12]

Other accolades to Evelyn appeared in the *Quarterly* in 1818, 1827, and 1838. We must remember that the *Quarterly* in these years was very influential, quite able to make or break a literary reputation. It was Evelyn's good fortune to be portrayed in a favorable light and to be shown as "a great benefactor to his country."[13]

More powerful in image building, however, than any critique was Evelyn's *Diary* published one hundred twelve years after its author's death. For whom this record was written has been debated: one opinion is that it was for later generations of the family; another is that it was for the public.

Regardless of Evelyn's purpose, from his *Diary* emerges a coherent picture of turbulent seventeenth century England. There is a sense of immediacy in the day by day notations and plausibility in the first person narrative. Events become contemporary and names become people. Against these background details stands the figure of John Evelyn, devout Anglican, firm Royalist, and man of culture.

Just as we concentrate on the outstanding qualities of any painting, let us examine these three aspects of Evelyn's self-portrait.

Puritan rule put Anglicanism to the test. The pattern of persecution, as Evelyn reveals it, was the usual ugly one. Pulpits of Anglican churches were largely filled by preachers of the dissenting stripe. Days of obligation were mocked as in the instance of Cromwell's Ash Wednesday feast. Organs were destroyed as an abomination. Stained glass windows were broken. By proclamation of Crom-

well, no Church of England clergyman was to preach, teach, or administer the Sacraments after December 30, 1656. Evelyn calls this date "the funeral sermon of preaching."

And now it was the role of Anglican communicants to choose between their religious convictions and the order of the Protector. Evelyn obeyed his conscience. Frequently he attended secret meetings. The Sacraments of Communion and Baptism, for example, were celebrated more than once in his own library at Sayes Court. Occasionally there would be an Anglican gathering in London; and on Christmas day, 1657, Evelyn took Communion with a Puritan musket at his back. He was arrested and questioned, threatened and dismissed. He, of course, continued attending Anglican services, and on September 3, 1658, noted in his *Diary* the death of "that arch rebel Oliver Cromwell."

Evelyn's arrest was a dramatic event; but the enduring quality of his piety is even more strongly reflected in the literally hundreds of reports in his *Diary* of his church attendance, including name of preacher, text, and argument of sermon. This is the day-in, day-out record of the primacy of religious observance in his life.

Nor was Evelyn's religion limited to regular attendance at church service. There was also a notable intensity in his religion reflected especially in his relationship with the young Maid of Honor, Margaret Blagge, later Margaret Godolphin. According to his own story, Evelyn was here cast in the role of spiritual guide to a young "saint."

"Look upon me henceforth as your child," she said when they signed their pact of "inviolable friendship."[14] The witty but serious Margaret Blagge was ill-suited to the court of Charles II. Zealous in her devotions to the Anglican Church, ascetic toward worldly pleasures, charitable toward the poor, she abhorred the worldliness of the Court. Counter influences were her love for Sidney Godolphin and her hours of prayer and meditation with her friend John Evelyn, more than thirty years her senior.

According to Evelyn, she brought to him her problems of conscience; and he, in turn, gave her considerable advice. For her he prepared various devotional offices and A Book of Prayers which she annotated.[15] He used his full influence to prevent her from retiring from the world, that is of going "to Hereford to live by herself under the direction of the Reverend Dean of that cathedral."[16] Evelyn says he advised her not to renounce marriage.

Margaret Godolphin's married life was a short one for she died of puerperal fever in 1678, but Evelyn continued to honor the pact of "inviolable friendship." Annually he sent a memorial tribute to Godolphin, and he left in manuscript the eulogy whose avowed purpose was to preserve for posterity the life of one whom he pictured as a saint. Under the editorship of Bishop William Wilberforce, the tribute was published in 1847 as *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin* and added considerably to Evelyn's stature.

Advancing years saw no diminution in Evelyn's piety. At age 65, he denounced English indifference to sufferings of the persecuted French Protestants. At 74, he complained of the lack "of vigour" with which the "hireling" at Wotton performed his parish duties. At 82, he was elected a member of the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His last entry in the *Diary* was made twenty-four days before Evelyn's death. It reports his church attendance at both morning and afternoon service.

We have called Evelyn's Anglicanism his outstanding feature in the *Diary* portrait. Second to this we would place his commitment to hereditary monarchy.

Death or abdication ended the careers of six different rulers during Evelyn's life time. A glance at the *Diary* recording of each of these events may serve to bring into focus his attitude toward royalty.

The execution of Charles I, as recorded by Evelyn, was a day of martyrdom, a day to be observed by fasting and prayer. The event was a great public spectacle, not attended by John Evelyn. To its perpetrators, the execution was a blow for liberty; to Evelyn it was "an execrable wickedness."

For the "superb" state funeral of Cromwell a decade later, Evelyn had only scorn, speaking contemptuously of the Protector as *Oliver* and noting that "none cried but dogs." Within three years another event gave Evelyn more satisfaction: the hanging at Tyburn of the disinterred "carcasses" of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton. That Evelyn approved this act of vengeance is evidenced in his calling it the "judgment of God" and a warning to those who would execute a king.

There is a loyal sadness in Evelyn's reaction to the burial of Charles II and to the flight of James II. In the first case he writes that the King was "obscurely buried"; in the second, "I saw the King take barge for Gravesend . . . a sad sight."[17] He still felt respect for royalty much as he had disapproved James's hostility to the Established Church.

That Evelyn's sympathy for James II endured is evidenced by his commentary six years later on the death of Queen Mary II. He records that her funeral was a magnificent expression of "universal mourning" but adds that it was not in accordance with her expressed wish that she be buried with as little expense as possible. Evelyn goes on to commend the piety and charity which she had consistently practiced but still offers the same criticism which he had voiced at the time of her and her husband's Accession: that she took the Crown joyously with no expression of sorrow for her father's misfortune.

The death of William III is rather coldly chronicled: the event is briefly noted and some fear is expressed as to the effect upon the country, both at home and abroad. But three days later the *Diary* states that things were going on as usual. Ann had been proclaimed, and England was expressing its loyalty to the new sovereign.

In the next century, according to the dedication to the 1818 edition of the *Diary,* Evelyn's great-great grandson, Sir Frederick Evelyn, desired to make an

"Elyseum Britannicum" of the family estate at Wotton. The library and the garden were to be the focal points. After the death of Sir Frederick, his widow continued this project. To the collections made by John Evelyn and his descendents, she made further additions and had the collection catalogued.

This work seems to be in the spirit of the diarist himself. We have said that a man of culture emerges from the *Diary* portrait. This thesis could be illustrated from a number of John Evelyn's tastes: his interest in painting, or in engraving, or in architecture. As a cultured gentleman, he was also interested in libraries; the acquisition of books for his own library; and the establishment of institutional libraries.

Some of the most revealing entries in the *Diary* showing Evelyn's cultivated taste are those dealing with his respect for literary treasures. As a tourist in Rome he visited the Vatican Library which he called the most beautiful in the world. Among the rarities which he specifically noted are two Virgils "written on parchment," the Acts of the Apostles "in golden capital letters" and Petrarch's Epigrams "written in his own hand." Years later at the Bodleian, he again noted treasures from antiquity, including a "ms of the Venerable Bede." As to the private library of Charles II at Whitehall, Evelyn in general was disappointed. We must remember that this was not the main library at St. James's, but even in the Whitehall library existed some exquisite breviaries. One in particular attracted Evelyn's attention, for in the hand writing of Henry VII was his gift of the book to his "dear daughter Margarite." Records of visits to libraries could be deadly dull; but just as the "humanizing" of forest propagation makes *Sylva* fascinating, so these images of beautiful books transport the reader to a world of the imagination. Does he not see the good monk writing in the cloister of Jarrow? Does he not hear the sonorous *Arma virumque cano*?

He who loves books enough to visit libraries usually loves them enough to acquire them. So it was with Evelyn! As a tourist in Italy he bought books. His son and grandson were also collectors and on the death of his older brother he inherited the Wotton library. Nor should we forget that his own manuscripts, papers, and published books made an invaluable contribution to the family collection.

Evelyn's view, however, was broader and more modern than that of the men who simply made valuable collections in the stately homes of Britain. Early in his association with the Royal Society, he was aware that a learned society should have its own library. To this end he accomplished the signal service of acquiring much of the library of Arundel House for the Society. Evelyn justifies seeking this magnificent gift in that the owner was "negligent" in caring for the books, lending them freely and thus losing important items. Among the treasures which Evelyn selected, he mentions "near one hundred mss" as well as "oldest impressions of printed books, including "most of the fathers printed at Basil."

It was also his ambition to see a worthy library established at St. James's, to be known as the King's collection. In this goal, he knew various disappointments.

For example, in 1695 he speaks of Lord Spencer's collection of mathematical books. The death of Queen Mary in 1694 had allowed the collection to be lost to St. James's as she was the "greate patronesse of that design." By 1697 Evelyn appears to have been interested in obtaining an Act of Parliament to make the library at St. James's a publicly financed institution. Again in 1699 he tried the philanthropy of a great public figure in that he attempted to interest the Archbishop of Canterbury in buying the Library of the Bishop of Worcester and building an adequate place for his own library at St. James's. This attempt was also unsuccessful.

Evelyn's views on libraries "for the publique use" are noteworthy. As early as 1684 a leading clergyman requested the assistance of Evelyn and Sir Christopher Wren to build a library in St. Martin's Parish as a means of preventing young men in orders from spending evenings in taverns. Evelyn not only approved the idea but went on to call it "a great reproach" that there was no public library in London. He suggested that one be built at "the West end of St. Paul's." Evelyn's concept of a public library may have been narrower than ours, but at least it suggests the belief that books are for more people than the few who can afford the luxury of private libraries.

It will be remembered that Cowley in his epistle prefixed to *Sylva* had noted that Evelyn had taken books and gardens "to wife." Time proved the precision of the poet's imagery. We have just noted the long marriage to books. And the gardens? Through the years his gardens became famous. Nor did age lessen his interest. At age 81, Evelyn planted an "Elm Walke." At age 82, he sent a store of fruit trees to Wotton. At age 83, he ordered repairs for destruction caused by a storm to the gardens of Sayes Court. At age 86, he completed his *Diary*.

THE THIRD FACE OF EVELYN

The ravages of three hundred years are sufficient to destroy many a portrait. Details grow dim. Even the subject may sink into the limbo of unremembered men.

But time has not destroyed the face of John Evelyn. To be sure his portrait now hangs in a different light. Scholars and critics have restored the masterpiece, removing accretions, correcting errors, and bringing the subject into new perspective. Some adverse criticism has been expressed; the nineteenth century tone of eulogy has disappeared; perhaps some of the lustre has dimmed.

The twentieth century has provided its own share of writing about Evelyn, including new editions, biographical and bibliographical material, and even some popular works. Hitherto inaccessible source material has been released by the Evelyn family. The result has been a small spate of interpretation.

We might select 1920 as the cut-off point dividing Victorian portraits from modern. This was the publication year of Virginia Woolf's "Rambling Round Evelyn," an occasional piece written for the tercentenary of Evelyn's birth.

"Rambling" is sharply mocking of both the diary and the diarist. The essay classifies diary-writing as an "innocent" occupation. For a stylist with the sophistication of Mrs. Woolf, the word *innocent* is anything but innocent. This particular diary she finds to be unrewarding reading: first, she says, it fails to show John Evelyn as a person in that "the secrets of the heart" are hidden under extended reporting of events and persons; second, the style is "opaque." True, she admits that he had the ability to "see clearly" and that he "gave us his age," but she seems distressed by his delineation of the saintly Margaret Blagge, a characterization which aparently exemplifies all Mrs. Woolf disliked most in the *Diary*. She concludes by dismissing Evelyn as "a bore," one who enjoyed displaying his erudition and had the "humor to gloat" over posthumous fame.

Thirty-five years later, W. S. Hiscock's *John Evelyn and His Family Circle* took up where "Rambling Round Evelyn" left off. Hiscock had a distinct advantage over Mrs. Woolf for in the intervening years Evelyn letters and manuscripts had been deposited at Christ Church, Oxford. The result of Hiscock's research in and interpretation of these materials is a book somewhat carping in tone, somewhat sensational in content, and somewhat ambivalent in conclusion.

Like Mrs. Woolf, Hiscock fails to find a real person portrayed in the *Diary*. Instead he finds a figure overlaid with propriety and piety. He accuses Evelyn of writing for posterity on the basis of what the diarist omitted. Furthermore he accuses William Bray of contributing to a contrived effect by appending to his edition of the *Diary* only those letters which complemented the *Diary* picture. The true portrait of Evelyn, Hiscock suggests, exists only in the rather recently available *Memorabilia.*

Hiscock's likeness of Evelyn is an unflattering portrait which highlights, as Hiscock sees them, two major faults in Evelyn's character: first a certain untruthfulness accomplished by omission, equivocation, or exaggeration; and second an unbecoming avidity for patronage.

Let us look at an example of the "omissions" which Hiscock cites. He calls to the attention of the reader the fact in his *Diary* for November, 1666, Evelyn mentions his brother-in-law William Glanville then a widower and a visitor at Sayes Court. Glanville is not mentioned in the *Diary* again for twenty-five years. Hiscock interprets this silence on the basis of the letters to mean that Glanville was in love with Mrs. Evelyn and that she possibly returned the interest.[18] The implication, of course, is that such information would not have contributed to the proper picture of family life that the *Diary* presents.

While Hiscock cites various minor examples of Evelyn's alleged untruthfulness, his major attack is on Evelyn's story of his friendship with Margaret Blagge. Hiscock is particularly suspicious of a letter advising Margaret to marry Sidney Godolphin because (1) the letter is dated a year too early and (2) its content "savors . . . of fiction."[19] Her secret marriage, as Hiscock interprets it, provides quite contrary evidence, and is even proof that Evelyn did everything in his power to prevent her marriage and to keep her as a "spiritual toy" for himself.

On the occasion of Margaret's untimely death, Evelyn reported in the *Diary* of assisting with funeral arrangements but of accompanying the Cornwall bound cortege only as far as Hounslow; he was "obliged to return upon some indispensable affairs."[20] Those "indispensable affairs" might mean many things, but to Hiscock they mean the necessity of making sure there were no incriminating letters among Margaret's papers to fall into the hands of Sidney Godolphin.[21]

To support his accusation of avidity for patronage, Hiscock repeatedly interprets Evelyn's approaches to politically influential people as bids for financial help either for himself or for members of his family. Thus Mrs. Evelyn's panegyric to the Princess Henrietta Anne becomes an attempt on Evelyn's part to secure a post for his wife in the royal household.[22] Grandson John's trip to Oxford to meet William of Orange is another gesture toward the right people.[23] But the great example again involves Evelyn's relationship with Sidney Godolphin. As a rising man at the Court, Godolphin had influence and the annual memorial messages upon the anniversary of Margaret's death provided a line of communication to a man of power. To strengthen this line of argument, Hiscock points out that Evelyn presented his manuscript of *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin* shortly after Sidney Godolphin became Lord High Treasurer.[24]

In spite of these derogatory judgments, however, Hiscock concludes that his book puts the portrait of Evelyn in a kinder light than did William Bray's *Diary and Selected Letters*—kinder in that John Evelyn with human weaknesses is more "sane" and more believable than was John Evelyn, the Victorian incarnation of piety.

While no mid-twentieth century "Battle of the Books" has developed, Hiscock's allegations have been answered by E. S. de Beer. De Beer's basis of reasoning is that Hiscock's assumptions are not supported by published material; hence "judgment must be suspended."[25]

Let us note de Beer's replies in the same order as that in which we have cited Hiscock's charges. First we find that de Beer's gives quite a different interpretation of the omission in the *Diary* of references to William Glanville. In the opinion of de Beer, Evelyn and Glanville had quarrels but probably over a subject other than Glanville's admiration for Mrs. Evelyn. The real cause for trouble, de Beer believes, lay in Glanville's anti-Trinitarian views, a divergence of opinion noted in the *Diary* for April 1, 1702. De Beer reminds us in support of his contention that the subject of the Trinity was one on which controversy ran high.[26]

Second, in relation to the whole Evelyn-Blagge-Godolphin affair, de Beer has written at some length. One of his most telling points, perhaps, is that Hiscock's assumptions are really only assumptions which can neither be proved nor disproved.[27] To the assumption that Evelyn was untruthful in his reason for not accompanying Margaret's funeral cortege all the way to Cornwall, de Beer offers counter-assumptions. The "indispensable affairs" did not necessarily mean the need to destroy incriminating letters. Etiquette may not have demanded that Evelyn make a trip involving about 250 miles and requiring "a fortnight or

longer."[28] Likewise de Beer sees no significance in the fact that no letter of gratitude for the manuscript of *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin* exists among the Evelyn *memorabilia*. It is possible to assume that gratitude was expressed orally or that Evelyn did not keep every letter he received.[89] De Beer is on even firmer ground when he calls attention to the fact that the family did not keep the Evelyn material intact: some of it was stolen; some was carelessly destroyed.[30] The obvious conclusion is that if there ever were letters of gratitude for the manuscript, their disappearance could be accounted for in non-sensational reasons.

De Beer's own interpretation of the relationship between John Evelyn and Margaret Blagge is close to the *Diary* story: a father-daughter relationship. In his own biography of Evelyn, de Beer had noted that Evelyn's own daughters were too young to provide companionship for Evelyn at the time of his friendship with Margarett Blagge, that Evelyn was captivated by Margaret's charm, and that she needed advice in her affairs.[31] He also points out what is obvious in the *Diary*: Margaret was a family friend to the Evelyns, including Mrs. Evelyn and grandson John.

Third, concerning the charge of avidity for patronage, de Beer both defends and accuses Evelyn. He argues that in spite of the fact that Evelyn had supported Charles in his pre-Restoration days by the pamphlets "An Apology for the Royal Party" and "The News from Brussells Unmasked," and thus perhaps have eased the return of Charles II, he was "neither grasping nor pertinacious in his requests."[32] But de Beer finds Evelyn's letters to Sidney Godolphin "repulsive" both for "the combination of religion and sentiment" and for the use of "over-strong language."[33]

And still the question remains: for whom was the *Diary* written? In the opinion of Mrs. Woolf and of Mr. Hiscock it was written for future publication. With this judgment, de Beer disagrees. A boy of ten or eleven years, he contends, writes a diary for his own amusement as Evelyn probably did. As the years went on, the *Diary* became a source of family history, and in 1960 de Beer repeated the opinion which he had expressed some five years earlier in the introduction to his edition of the *Diary*: that Evelyn wrote it for his family and in the later years especially for his grandson.[34]

E. S. de Beer is surely the master painter of the twentieth century portrait. His six-volume edition of the complete *Diary* is a monumental study, the result of twenty years of scholarly work. From it Evelyn emerges as a hard-working rather than a brilliant man, conscientious in the performance of duties and loyal to convictions. He was a writing man, but not a literary artist. He was interested in science, but he was not a great scientist. He supported Royalist politics but he was not a political leader.

Modern research may have found some cracks in Evelyn's canvas. Even de Beer admits, as any careful reader of the *Diary* must observe, that Evelyn was over-subservient to the King. He did lack dramatic enthusiasm for causes. He was actively aware of the great rewards that were possible through patronage.

Yet this third face still merits respectful attention and is very likely the one which people will still recognize fifty years hence when they celebrate the quadricentennial of the birth of John Evelyn.

NOTES

1. Pepys' *Diary,* November 4, 1665.
2. Evelyn's *Diary,* September 3, 1666.
3. *Ibid.,* Nov. 7, 1659.
4. *Sylva,* p. 26.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 60.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 144.
7. *Ibid.,* pp. 241-255.
8. *Quarterly Review,* March 1838, p. 333.
9. *Quarterly Review,* March, 1813, p. 45.
10. *Ibid.,* p. 48.
11. *Loc. cit.*
12. *Ibid.,* p. 55.
13. *Ibid.,* October, 1838, p. 333.
14. *The Life of Margaret Godolphin,* p. 25.
15. *Ibid.,* Footnote 1, XXVI.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 46.
17. Evelyn's *Diary,* Jan. 18, 1689.
18. Hiscock, *John Evelyn and His Family Circle,* p. 72.
19. Hiscock, p. 92.
20. Evelyn's *Diary,* September 17, 1678.
21. Hiscock, p. 116.
22. *Ibid.,* p. 45.
23. *Ibid.,* p. 149.
24. *Ibid.,* pp. 225-229.
25. E. S. de Beer, "John Evelyn: Mr. W. S. Hiscock's Account of Him," *Notes and Queries,* June, 1960, p. 203.
26. De Beer, *Notes and Queries,* August, 1960, p. 285.
27. *Ibid.,* p. 284.
28. De Beer, *Notes and Queries,* July 1960, p. 245.
29. De Beer, *Notes and Queries,* June 1960, p. 204.
30. *Ibid.,* p. 205.
31. E. S. de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* Vol. I, p. 225.
32. *Ibid.,* p. 15.
33. De Beer, *Notes and Queries,* Aug. 1960, p. 284.
34. *Ibid.,* p. 286.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria

by L. J. Lewis

London: Pergamon Press, 1965. XV, 160 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by M. A. Najmi

Lewis's book is one of a series of comparative studies produced under the general direction of Edmund King. Other books in the series include studies of schools in England, U.S.A., Scandinavia, and France. Professor Lewis is Head of the Dept. of Education in the Tropical Areas at the University of London, Institute of Education. He has had experience with schools and educational problems having previously taught at the University of Ghana and with the Nigerian schools in Lagos, Nigeria.

In his introduction to the series, King sums up the over all perspective of these studies in defining education as a crucial factor in what he calls the second phase of the Industrial Revolution which consists of "the systematic application to social relationships of mechanized and urban-style abundance, with a corresponding transformation of all learning opportunities." King's emphasis seems to be on the role of education in what has been euphemistically called social engineering. This is in keeping with the usual ideological climate in most new nations and it is reflected in most official statements of policy. Lewis's book has drawn heavily upon such courses.

The book is organized in nine chapters. In the first chapter it covers the discussion of the country and its people which is mostly a presentation of general facts about geography and other socio-economic and demographic aspects. The next two chapters deal with the history of educational development from 1571 to 1960 in some forty-odd pages. The remaining chapters concern themselves, among other things, with the content and methodology of education, university and teacher education and problems of adaptation.

The author claims to analyze the educational development processes in terms of a synthesis and application of various disciplines such as economics, sociology, and education. He indicates the scope of the book by stating that it is an analysis of "historical, social and economic factors . . . in the context of a policy of development which has as its main objective the attainment of self-sustaining social and economic growth for the nation." In reality, the book ends up being a predominantly historical presentation drawn from reports of high powered committees wrapped in ideological platitudes. Needless to say that the book obviously suffers from the kind of superficiality which comes from relying on official documents and public speeches. Most such information tends to be white-wash jobs

for official consumption. This is particularly worth noticing in the light of the title of the book and its claim to be a study of schools and society in Nigeria.

Lewis's treatment of the past socio-economic picture of Nigeria is quite adequate and does serve the purpose of familiarizing the reader with necessary details regarding its past and some facts of socio-political structure of the Nigerian nation. It is interesting to note that his analysis of the cleavage between the various regions of Nigeria does point to the shape of events to come, as we witnessed in the recent flare-up in that country. However, in as much as the book lacks depth in its treatment of the society and the worlds of the diversified Nigerian peoples, the book fails to provide an adequate analysis of Nigerian schools and society.

Perhaps a major flaw in the book could be listed as its attempt to describe the total developmental process in terms of categories which the author brought with him. Reading the book and the many statements which it includes from people involved in Nigerian education, one gets the feeling of a curious juxtaposition of the two worlds, ideologies, and systems of meaning, one represented by the author and all the other important educationalists and the Nigerian elite so well versed in the ways of Europe and the West, the other comprising the bewildered Nigerian masses caught in the turmoil of change. Lewis's book has very little to say about the other side and this is symptomatic of the gulf that there is between the two worlds. No wonder the outside experts say that there is "very little sign of a development of lively curiosity and a desire to know about the immediate environment" in Nigerians! No wonder the Nigerian elite characterize their own culture as one "which has long been in decay" and their past "as glory that never existed!" The divorce between the Nigerian society and cultures and the Nigerian education is simply another instance of what has happened in many of the developing countries. In the words of Sir Eric Ashby, "the danger in West Africa is similar to the danger to which India has succumbed." What Sir Eric Ashby describes as possible danger to Nigerian education seems to already have engulfed it, the general historical development of education in India and several other British colonies. In reading about Nigerian education we run through the same gamut of Royal Commissions, reports, plans, with similar results and problems and essentially the same final conequences.

If what has happened in India is the direction which Nigerian education has taken, and my analysis seems to indicate that it has, then perhaps Nigeria is headed for the same disastrous consequence a) in terms of divorce between educational and local culture, b) in terms of the watered-down intellectual climate of its higher education, c) in terms of an uncontrolled and pointless proliferation of higher education. The Indian society and nation is paying for its mistakes in very costly terms and does not know how to change its course from a head long plunge towards further disaster. Lewis's book does not seem to suggest that the fate of Nigeria is going to be any different unless the events there shape up in a radically different manner in the near future. But Lewis's book has little to say in this respect.

The book no doubt will interest educationalists working in the area of development. It is certainly of interest to the students of comparative education even though the author makes very little attempt to develop the comparative perspective except for an occasional casual reference to education elsewhere. This reader, for one, was quite intrigued by the striking parallels between the historical development of Nigerian and Indian education. The book is definitely short on a sociological analysis and as such is only of limited value to students of sociology. However, the amount of information that the book contains would be useful to all concerned with this general area.

University of Minnesota

THE APPALACHIAN TRAIL

by Ann and Myron Sutton

Foreword by Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1967.

Reviewed by Vesta M. Parsons

This collection of narrative essays is a plea for the preservation of "a footpath through the wilderness," a plea which should be of special interest to Maine readers because of the highly appreciative portrayal of the terrain which marks the northern terminus of the trail.

The Suttons write both as experienced hikers and as trained workers in the field of conservation. Myron Sutton is Assistant Chief, Division of International Affairs, National Park Service. Ann Sutton is a graduate geologist. They write not as alarmists but as thoughtful conservationists, well aware of the dangers to the wilderness, "for the wilderness is fragile."

From South to North with the seasons for 2000 miles from Springer Mountain in Georgia to Mount Katahdin in Maine, the authors bring to the reader the difficulties and the joys of walking in the wilderness. Their portrayal is ample testimony to the statement of Secretary Udall that walking the Appalachian Trail is both a physical and an historical experience with poetic and philosophical overtones.

Our first vicarious hike on the Trail is a short one at about mid-point in Pennsylvania, roughly a thousand miles from either terminus. This walk represents what the Suttons call the paradox of the Trail: it is a long trail but it is used chiefly for "short" hikes. The mystery of the wilderness can be present, however, when one is only a few miles from civilization: the mystery, for example of a noise which at first cannot be identified or located but seems to permeate the forest like an invisible presence. The hiker's heart pounds with fear, but the small animals and birds show no concern. Why should they? The fast, reverberating, muffled beat is but the drumming of a ruffed grouse. Still, these mountains are so old, about 2,700,000 years, and they have witnessed so much of fear, and violence, and courage and treachery that one might be pardoned for imagining that the spirits of the past are with the present. Through the woods, Indians once silently walked; Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett also knew these forest trails.

Other areas offer other mysteries! In the Great Smoky Mountains occurs a phenomenon which is still unexplained: the balds. Amidst luxuriant forests, Gregory Bald suddenly appears. It is an open meadow surrounded by azaleas. There are balds also in other areas of the Appalchians as there are in Nevada and New Zealand. One current theory to explain this denudization of the forest is that there have been no seeds from the spruce to reforest them since the last glacial

age. These balds may be an enigma to scientists, but they are a joy to hikers because of the view which these open spaces provide.

Coming north across populous, industrialized Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, the Trail is still remarkably a wilderness trail. In 1899, the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs persuaded the New Jersey legislature to save what was left of the Palisades. Governor Theodore Roosevelt of New York was also interested. The two states co-operated. Gifts from individuals like J. P. Morgan, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Harriman, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as well as legislative appropriations, have combined to make the Appalachian Trail in the New York--New Jersey area what the Suttons call a contradiction—"a wilderness in society."

In picturing the Trail in Connecticut, the authors emphasize the quiet beauty of the surroundings with special praise for a dell known as Dean's Ravine. To their eyes, Dean's Ravine is a natural "miracle mile," gentle yet magnificent in its appeal.

To the Suttons, Mount Greylock in Massachusetts was a "pleasure of pleasures," but this is a part of the Trail which early and late has been in danger of destruction from the necessities and the pleasures of civilization. Man once needed the great trees for railroad ties, for beams, and for fuel; now man would make great slashes on the mountain for ski runs. The student of American literature can symphathize with the authors' viewpoint on preserving the Berkshires, for he remembers names of great and near great who once found solitude and/or inspiration in these wooded hills. It is an impressive roll call: Jonathan Edwards, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, William Cullen Bryant, and Edith Wharton.

Across Northern New England the Trail winds through the scenic splendors for which this area is famous. Vermont in October is ablaze with the falling and fallen leaves of maple and birch, making a carpet for the hiker's boots, a carpet of red and yellow bordered by a lavish design of wild asters and goldenrod. New Hampshire offers the spectacular White Mountains, a challenge even to the experienced and well trained climber.

Then the "damp and intricate wilderness" of Northern Maine! Like Thoreau before them, the Suttons deplore the destruction of the great white pine forests of earlier days; but they hasten to add that in the Maine Wilderness "the twentieth century all but disappears." Through these forests, the Appalachian Trail runs for 279 miles to its terminus on the summit of Mount Katahdin.

These chapters on the Trail in Maine offer varied tributes: to the "exquisite" beauty of Mooselookmeguntic Lake; to the "paradise" of the Little Wilson Campsite; to the vision and generosity of former Governor Percival Baxter whose efforts and gifts made Baxter State Park a reality. On a plaque on the summit of Mount Katahdin, are inscribed Governor Baxter's own words ex-

pressing the philosophy which inspired him to make his magnificent gift to his state:

> Man is born to die. His works are short lived. Buildings crumble, monuments decay, wealth vanishes. But Katahdin in all its glory forever shall remain the mountain of the people of Maine.

And when that final "nearly vertical" climb is completed—when one stands on the summit of Katahdin—when he comes back down—what does it all add up to?

Look to the Suttons for an answer.

Husson College

Twentieth Century Interpretations of PAMELA: A Collection of Critical Essays

Editor, Rosemary Cowler

Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969. $3.95.

Reviewed by Richard Cohen

That *Pamela* the novel and Pamela the woman should remain controversial 230 years after the initial conception by the author is in itself recognition of the importance of Samuel Richardson's fictional creation. Pamela has been reviled and deified, and the novel has been disparaged and praised. Perhaps it is incorrect to attempt a disassociation of the heroine from the work itself, but there is such an implied suggestion in the voluminous criticism which contains analysis of the first English novel. Rosemary Cowler's collection includes some of the outstanding analyses of the twentieth century. These essays reveal that Pamela does have a separate existence as one attempts to understand and to determine her motivations (and those of the characters who surround her) as well as those of Samuel Richardson. The criticism suggests the fascination retained by the young waiting maid elevated to country lady. As Rosemary Cowler reveals, *Pamela* was the first novel to be printed in the colonies; and regardless of the artistic merits of much of the book, the finest American critics (and British) still struggle at a characterization of Pamela and her friends and enemies. Moreover, these same critics still find it necessary to explain what Samuel Richardson intended.

This collection is divided into two parts, the stronger of which is Part One, "Interpretations." Part Two, "Viewpoints," is loose and somewhat vague in what it desires to convey. It is difficult in a section such as "Viewpoint" to extract brief portions of *Love and Death in the American Novel* and *Time and Space in the Novels of Samuel Richardson* and to convey the value of both of these works. Moreover, I believe that in some sense, there is a point which one misses in the extraction from Owen Jenkins' "Richardson's *Pamela* and Fielding's 'Vile Forgeries'." Whether one agrees or disagrees with Jenkins, his article is a reference to an important facet of Richardson, again one about which there has been argument. Was Richardson a satirist? There is a validity in Professor Jenkins' assumption that *Pamela II* is a rebuttal of *Shamela* and that therefore one must see another perspective of Richardson's art. His works contain satire, but whether they fit Sheldon Sacks's definition (See *Fiction and the Shape of Belief*) is another matter. Certainly the Fieldingesque Hogarthian portraits and the ludicrous or exaggerated character portrayals are a consideration.

The weakness of Part Two, if this is what it is to be considered, is in partial evidence in Part One in the excerpt of "Richardson and the Bold Young Men," a chapter in Morris Golden's *Richardson's Characters.* The difficulty here lies in the attempt to separate *Pamela* from the chapter and the relationship which the male characters bear to those of Richardson's other "Bold Young Men." Part

One is, however, a useful contribution to those who desire collections of essays, particularly when one considers the critics among whom are represented: David Daiches, Alan McKillop, B. L. Reid, Ian Watt, B. R. Brissenden, Morris Golden, and Sheldon Sacks. And this returns one to the original assumption of the review as related to the content of Rosemary Cowler's volume: that Pamela and *Pamela,* although inseparable, have an existence of their own. For example, David Daiches writes of the manipulation of themes by Richardson. Alan McKillop's portion of "Samuel Richardson," from *The Early Masters of English Fiction,* relates Richardson's use of the letter form and its bearing upon the recording of experience. B. L. Reid stresses the verisimilitude of the novel. Ian Watt, R. F. Brissenden, and Morris Golden present psychological insights. Of the essays presented, R. F. Brissenden's "Pamela," from *Samuel Richardson,* appears to be the most inclusive and comprehensive in the collection. The essay moves from the dictum of instruction and delight through social duties and behavior to the confrontation between Pamela and Lady Davers in which both women are truly alive.

The essays of Part I end with Carey McIntosh's "Pamela's Clothes," in which article two points are emphasized: clothes as a means of social standing, and clothes as they relate to sexual connotation. In both, it is the woman Pamela who stands in relief as she appears as the newly raised gentlelady and then as the wittingly enticing maiden and knowledgeable wife.

The implication, then, of Part One is the move from novel and technique to character and realism. Whether or not intentional, the implication lends the cohesiveness lacking in "View Points." Pamela will continue to annoy and to please readers, much like any woman; and her book will continue to preserve her. *Twentieth Century Interpretations of PAMELA* is an aid to an understanding of the continuing controversy and preservation.

Husson College