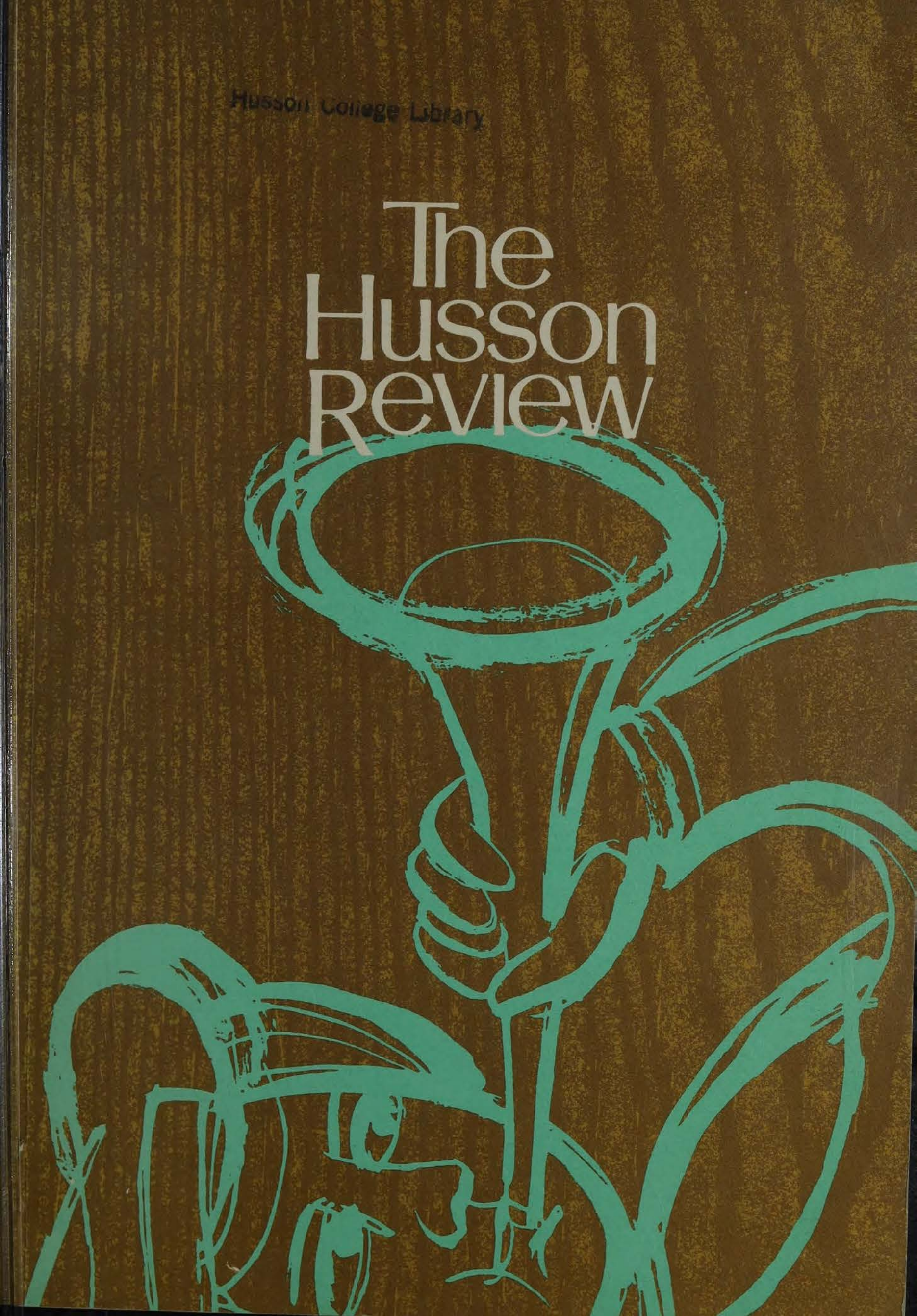
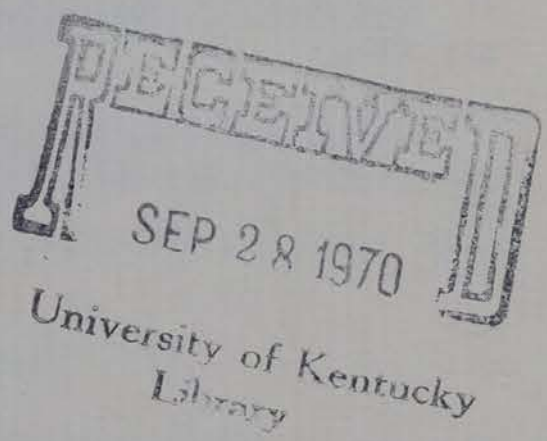
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The Husson Review



The Husson Review

A Journal of Business and the Liberal Arts



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CONTENTS OF VOLUME 1 (1967-68)

Authors and Titles

Allen, Lawrence A. (University of Kentucky and Research Consultant for Business Education Research Associates). An Analysis of the Art of Computer Education with an Emphasis on Needs of the Field and Institutions Supplying That Need. (May) 81

Arnold, Mary Agnes (League of Women Voters of the United States). The Unity of MIDDLEMARCH. (May) 137

Beaudin, Laurel V. (Class of 1970, State University of New York, Plattsburgh). He Loves Me. (May) 126

Belknap, Ruth V. (Bangor, Maine). The Creation of Man. (May) 130
Brian, Lee (Teacher and Writer, Houston, Texas). The Last Place (May) 96

Brown, Ina Ladd (Bangor, Maine).
Retribution (Nov.) 61
Spring (May) 127

Cohen, Richard (Associate Professor, Husson College). *Embden Town of Yore: Old Times There and in Adjacent Towns.* (May) 153

Colebird, Robert E. (Staff Economist, Machinery and Allied Products Institute, Washington, D. C.). The Panic of 1857 (May) 112

Constantine, John (Harrisville, Michigan). The Wanderlust of Joseph Hudson (Nov.) 36

Darey, Louise (Biddeford, Maine). Speech (May) 126

Eaton, Lawrence N. (Controller, Dead River Company, Maine). Professionalism and the Management Accountant (Nov.) 54

Faber, J. Arthur (Assistant Professor, Wittenberg University). Heads or Tails (May) 128 Dilemma (May) 129

Gillaspey, Lt. Col. (Ret.) Bruce Nicolson (Instructor, Husson College). Fiasco, June 19-20, 1863 (May) 142

Golden, Morris (Professor, University of Massachusetts). The Novel as Education. (Nov.) 7

Griffin, Gerald R. (Assistant Professor, Northeastern University). Hemingway's Fictive Use of the Negro: "the curious quality of incompleteness." (May) 104

Holmes, Edward M. (Associate Professor, University of Maine). Island Hunt (May) 132

Husson, Chesley H. Sr. (President, Husson College). Professional and Liberal Studies. (Nov.) 5

Lloyd, Alan C. (Editor-in-Chief Gregg Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York City). The Warp in Typewriting Developments. (Nov.) 67

Merrill, Delmont N. (Director of Athletics, Husson College). A Realistic Approach to Grading Students in Physical Education. (May) 119

Musselman, Vernon A. (Professor, University of Kentucky), and Dickinson, J. Alvin (University of Kentucky) Teaching for Concept Development (Nov.) 28

Parsons, Vesta M. (Professor, Husson College). Thoreau's *The Maine Woods:* An Essay in Appreciation (Nov.) 17 New Humanist Critic (May) 155

Polishook, William M. (Associate Dean, Graduate School, Temple University). In Pursuit (Nov.) 14

Powers, Marion Porter (Bangor, Maine). They Know (Nov.) 61
A Bowl of Apricots (May) 130
A Prayer (May) 129

Robinson, David S. (Assistant Professor, Husson College). Photograph (May) 125

Shumacher, Priscilla (Waterville, Maine). The New England Conscience (May) 127 Incantation (May) 128

Still, David (Instructor, Husson College). The Puddle Lake (Nov.) 62

West, Austin (Bridgton, Maine). Few Words (Nov.) 61
Dandelion (May) 126

Young, Edwin (President, University of Maine). United States' Foreign Assistance in Southeast Asia (May) 77

TABLE OF CONTENTS — MAY

United States Foreign Assistance in Southeast Asia 77

An Analysis of the Art of Computer Education with an Emphasis on Needs of the Field and Institutions Supplying That Need 81

The Last Place 96

Hemingway's Fictive Use of the Negro: "the curious quality of incompleteness" 104

The Panic of 1857 112

A Realistic Approach to Grading Students in Physical Education 119

Reflections: Picture and Poems 125

Island Hunt 132

The Unity of MIDDLEMARCH 137

Fiasco, June 19-20, 1863 142

Book Reviews:

Emden Town of Yore: Old Times There and in Adjacent Towns 153

New Humanist Critic 155

UNITED STATES' FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA*

EDWIN YOUNG

Those who invite speakers always take chances—not only on the quality of the speaker's presentation but also upon what he chooses to talk about. My own experience is limited to a few areas. I could talk about higher education in Maine but there has been a great deal said about that in recent weeks. Perhaps it would be well to let it rest until we take up the task a month or two from now with renewed energy. Let me say in passing—there are many problems but they will be worked out. For the last decade I have been active in the fields of economic development and education in Southeast Asia and so I have chosen to talk about some of the things that I have learned in that experience and see if we can come to some generalizations about U. S. foreign assistance.

For nearly a quarter of a century the United States has been giving large quantities of aid to foreign countries. What has been the result? Our first efforts seem to have been spectacularly successful. We, through the Marshall Plan, provided much of the capital that enabled Western Europe to recover from the devastation of the war. This recovery was very rapid indeed. In 1948, I was in Europe and saw only the beginnings of renewed economic activity. When I went back two years later recovery was well underway. For twenty years at least, we have given aid to India, Pakistan, Indonesia and many other countries. I single out India, Pakistan and Indonesia because I have some firsthand acquaintance there but what I say about them could be said about countries in the Middle East and in Latin America. At the moment, the per capita income in India and Indonesia seems no higher than it was when we first started. Why were we so successful in Europe and why has so little been accomplished seemingly in Southeast Asia? Perhaps we take too much credit for what happened in Western Europe. In hindsight we can see that in addition to the capital we put in, there was already a skilled, experienced, eager work force. Management existed, banks existed, transportation existed, and most important of all, knowhow existed; so we really supplemented a social political climate that was eager to move ahead. It is most fortunate that we did give massive economic aid to Europe because without our capital there was a very real threat that the communists would have moved in. It seemed to some of us in 1946 and 1947 that certainly France and Italy were headed in the direction of Communism. Our aid was the incentive needed to change directions. Now let us look briefly at Southeast Asia. The Dutch had been in Indonesia, particularly Java, for three hundred years and the country was used for the benefit of the Dutch. It was a source of raw materials and a market for Dutch exports. Good jobs went to the Dutch, and very

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* Commencement Address, Husson College, January 26, 1968

few Indonesians were educated or in any way benefited from increased productivity. In India the British by and large maintained the same sort of society that had gone on for centuries. The caste system continued and the principal source of income was from tilling the soil and often very poor soil at that. Most important to Britain was the fact that India provided a great market for British goods. Western medicine did have an impact but even this had its negative side. Some epidemic diseases were eliminated, famines were much reduced, and the result was a rapid rise in population.

Both Indonesia and India gained their freedom by revolution, the Indonesians by force of arms, the Indians by civil disobedience; but in both cases the populace was organized to fight Westerners. In neither case did the West leave a country really prepared for self-government although the Indians have done remarkably well despite their inexperience, poverty and language differences, and have kept a democratic government. Indonesia has gone through turmoil and civil war. We sometimes forget that the success of our own country depended in such a large part upon a pool of ambitious, able Europeans who were fairly often trained or educated and who had come to a land where the natural resources greatly exceeded the immediate needs of the population. For many years Europe supplied a continuous stream of trained manpower and capital. You can still find many surprising signs of it. For instance the Northwestern Railroad still runs on the left rails.

But though we are now one of the stronger nations, we have our weaknesses too. Thin skin and a faulty knowledge of the past are two of our weaknesses. We expect to be welcomed in the spirit in which we go bearing aid to countries less prosperous and badly in need of assistance. But how obvious is this spirit of good will? Do we expect too much? For four centuries Westerners have been exploiters in Asia yet we expect a high level of behaviour on the part of government officials in the receiving countries. Americans who go to India and other countries rail about corruption. I am interested in putting down corruption because I do not think that a corrupt society can endure. But what is the nature of this corruption in India? It is the corruption of a man feeling a first obligation to a relative; it is a family tradition, an age-long security system used until another source of security can be found or recognized.

We expect Western style democratic government. Western democracy as we know it has evolved over many hundreds of years and yet even in Western Europe it is rather fragile. We see its fragility in our own country in many local situations. It is difficult to name very many countries that have been truly democratic for more than a hundred years. Most of the countries about which we are concerned were ruled by strangers and in their revolutions and their efforts to break away from Western domination they enhanced the anti-colonial feeling and often used Socialist doctrine as a rallying point. Now they are suspicious of private enterprise. It seems to me that private enterprise has a great deal to offer anywhere. It has the most to offer to the new countries. The harnessing of the self-interest of the individual may be the single most useful device for eco-

nomic advancement. A man who can relate the product of his labor directly to the welfare of his family will work harder and more intelligently than anyone else. Yet we must understand why they identify capitalism and private enterprise with colonialism. We will succeed in time, I trust, in breaking down this prejudice. Another handicap in hindsight is that almost invariably our support has gone to those in power with little concern about change to bring representation of other groups into the government. Often we are accused of supporting dictators. When this is so and it sometimes is, we justify it in the name of stability.

Truly there are many issues in economic development. I would say in order of importance they are these: first, a government that makes every man feel that it is concerned with his welfare and that he can do well to support it; second, a sound program of education and training to turn out the management and workers for a developing society; third, change that respects the religion and cultural traditions of the people; fourth, programs to keep balance between resources, population, and perhaps above all a peaceful world, at least one where a small country is not being torn to take sides in a power struggle. Perhaps this order is too big but I think those of us who realize the enormity of the task will not be as impatient for a quick payoff, will strive to see that the Americans we send abroad and the programs we support are carefully chosen and based on our knowledge of anthropology, political science, and history as well as on our ability to offer material help now. Let me tell you about one of our success stories in Indonesia. Some ten years ago, the University of Wisconsin at Gadjah Mada, and the University of California, Berkeley at Jakarta, began to build facilities of economics. We sent professors there, brought graduate students to this country and spent several millions of Ford Foundation money. In the meantime our government and the Russians poured hundreds of millions of dollars into goods and armaments for the Indonesia government. Now the only discernible thing left is the trained young people. These were the young people who resisted the communists and are now providing the leadership for the country. That is the kind of resources and relationships we should be building—not vying with others to see who can provide the latest armaments.

One of the advantages of living abroad is that one gets perspective on his own country. Sometimes it is rather humiliating to try to explain why the U. S. way is better. I hope all of you will have a chance to live abroad sometime, for without such an opportunity your lives will be incomplete.

Many of the things I have talked about this evening in terms of economic development may also be applied to some of our problems at home, particularly problems of minority groups. We are led to expect that a few billion dollars and a crash program will solve problems that have been building up over hundreds of years. We expect solutions which maintain the present relative status of people, to be warmly embraced by those at the bottom of the pile. I think it might be well for us to see what is happening in other countries in order that

we may have some understanding of the magnitude of the problems we face at home.

Some curious person may ask what did I say here this evening while your minds were on things past and future. Tell them that I tried to say –

1. It is one world and we must help others both for moral reasons and for our own survival.

2. We must not get discouraged because our dollars did not immediately change situations created by centuries of colonialism, poverty, ignorance and war.

3. Rather than become discouraged with past AID experience we should take hope from our successes, such as Western Europe, the Peace Corps, Taiwan, miracle rice, malaria control; learn from our failures; apply all of our knowledge and keep on trying.

4. In helping other nations we can understand ourselves and our most pressing social and moral problems at home.

President
University of Maine

An Analysis of the State of the Art of Computer Education with an Emphasis on Needs of the Field and Institutions Supplying that Need*

LAWRENCE A. ALLEN

BACKGROUND

This is the age of the computer. For some time now we have been hearing a great deal about "man and the machine" . . . and who will be the victor. Indeed, this has prompted the suggestion of another age, that is, the age of anxiety.

In addition to an enumeration and constant references to a variety of "ages", our ears have been continually dinned by a number of explosions. All of these are familiar to anyone who reads a daily newspaper or even a weekly. The population explosion, the leisure time or recreation explosion, the sex explosion, the education explosion—and many others—but the explosion with which we are primarily concerned in this paper is the information and communications explosion and, specifically, what the implications are for the field of education.

Human beings have been observing for a long time that the world seems to be growing steadily smaller. Jet planes that streak across our oceans may soon be doing so at two or three times the speed of sound. Technology is increasing at an enormously accelerating rate. Just to keep up. . . one must run "scared". Information and communications have benefited greatly from the recent technological developments.

The most significant developments have taken place in the United States where technology is more widely used. Such technology, i. e., data processing equipment, the computer and information systems have assumed an increasingly valuable role because of their ability to cope with not only the great need for information but the tremendously expanding volume of knowledge being generated by our society.

Information and knowledge are "expanding" in geometric proportions. By 1800, the sum of human knowledge was doubling every fifty years. With the advent of the industrial revolution, we witnessed the birth of the information explosion. By 1950, the sum of human knowledge was doubling every ten years; and predictions were made that by 1970 knowledge would be doubling every five years. In fact, by 1963, in the natural sciences alone, 600,000 technical documents were being published yearly.

Other areas throughout the country began to feel the effects of this explosion. Medicine is a prime example. A doctor who finishes school in 1968 will have to go back to school within five years; otherwise he will be outdated; new knowledge will have replaced him.

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* This paper is Part I of a two part study. Part II will appear in the Fall-Winter, 1968-69, issue.

As knowledge and information accumulate, it becomes more and more difficult for anyone to have access to all the information needed. Yet, the need for government, business, medicine, education and other areas for quick and comprehensive information is not only apparent, but imperative. A business cannot function optimally today without it. Accordingly, the techniques of processing, filing, storage and retrieval assume tremendous significance.

Consequently, part of the answer to this information problem lies in the use of data processing equipment and computers. All the information related to an area can be stored in memory units in one or more computers that can be called into use when the need arises. This is, obviously, an over-simplification of the problem of production, storage, and retrieval; but essentially that is the "raison d'etre" for data processing equipment and computers and the development of what are now called information systems.

It is in the light of these explosions that the college of business is rightfully asking itself—what is my role in the education of personnel who will be able to assist in this whole area of information whether it be for government, business, education, or other social agencies?

THE PROBLEM

Realizing that the information explosion had tremendous implications, the Business Education Research Associates (BERA) group decided in May, 1967, to conduct a study in this broad area of concern. As educational institutions deeply involved in the fabric of society and the production of personnel who would operate the machines, as well as design systems, the group recognized that there was need for more "information" and "education". Accordingly, the decision was made that the greatest need was for information concerning activities in the field, and then a determination of the implications, if any, that the information would have for colleges of business. Because of the "explosive" nature of the field, it was further decided that a study should be conducted in two parts:

1. What is the "state-of-the-art" in the field of data processing and computer science education (which is the essence of this paper)?
2. What are some of the specific educational dimensions of this field, i. e., curriculum, faculty, students, texts, etc., and possible implications for the college of business?

Thus, the problem with which this paper is concerned is that of an intensive study of the field itself. After dwelling on this problem for awhile, it becomes apparent that one is really asking:

1. What are the *needs* for trained personnel in the area of data processing, computers, and systems? Where in our economy is the need greatest and for what type of trained personnel?
2. Who is doing the educating at present and are they meeting the need? Phrased differently, what kind of education is being provided by the

various educational institutions (and others), and are they meeting both present and future demands?

In short, this paper concentrates, if you will, on a market analysis of the field and, secondly, on what the competitors are doing.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

One of the special problems of this field is that of terminology. This is not unusual with a developing new occupation in the area of technology. For example, one of the new terms in this field of computer education is "systems". This is the most current term in vogue one might say. All in the field do not agree. However, it is known as the systems approach to information, or, more briefly stated, as the information system.

Combining and redefining various definitions, one comes up with the following:

Systems—A system may be defined in general as an interdependent and interacting group of units or elements that performs a function or accomplishes a purpose.

Subsystems—A large system is frequently composed of several subsystems. For example, systems for financial accounting, student transportation and business management instruction are subsystems for a college of business.

Integrated System—An integrated system is one that has planned interaction among the various subsystems. For example, in colleges of business, data usually falls into five categories or subsystems: students, staff, finance, facilities and instructional program. Information from any of these subsystems can be related to information from another. In a class, for instance, information about the instructor can be related to information about the students, the course content, the classroom and the expense of operating the class.

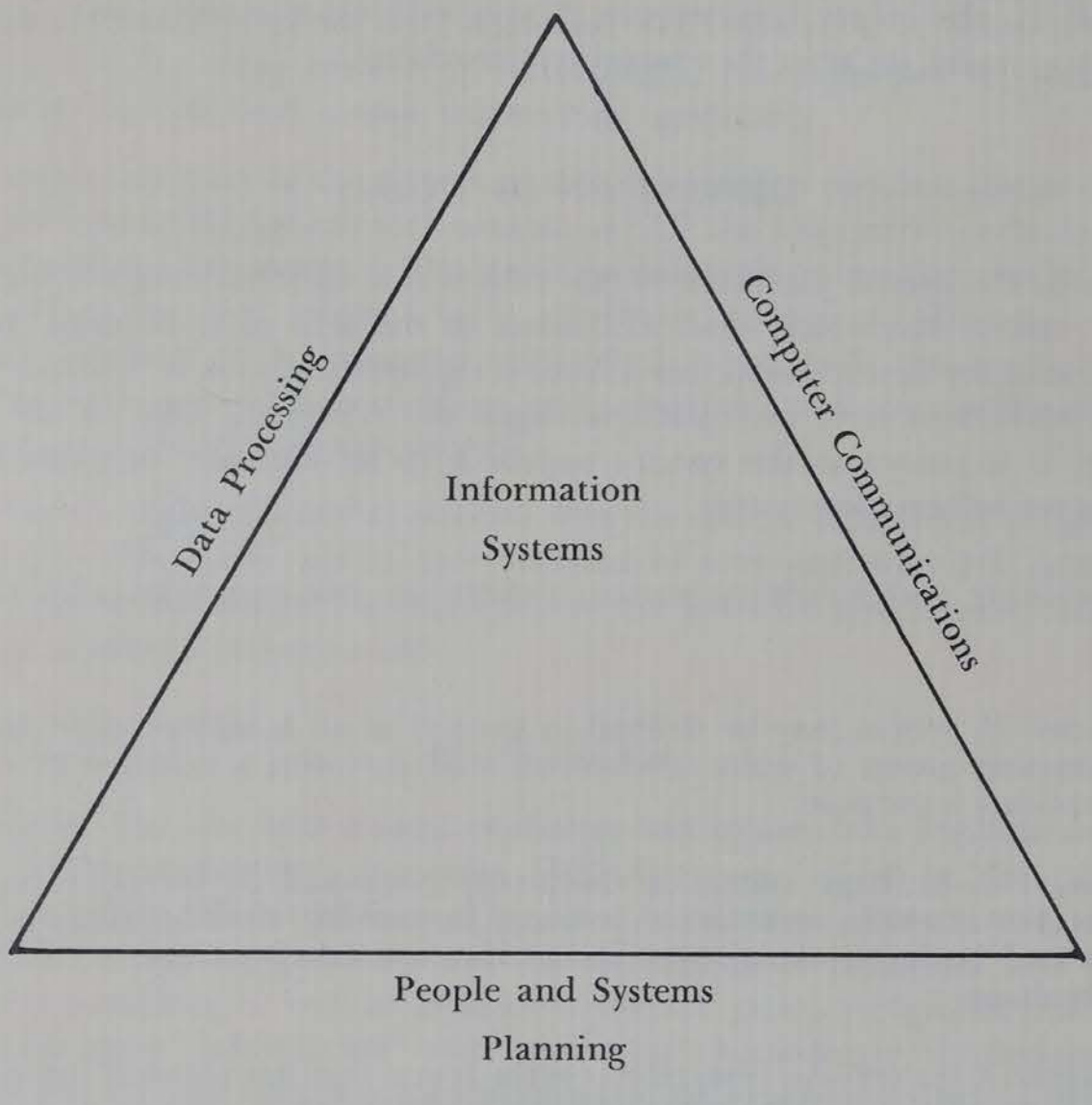
Total System—A total system is one in which all levels and subsystems are considered as a whole, rather than merely as a collection of separate units.

Input—These are the elements that go into a system. These can be either fixed or variable.

Process—This is everything that happens to the input elements after they enter the system.

Output—This is what the system produces.

More definitions are included in the Appendix. The following is an attempt to illustrate an information system.



METHODOLOGY

1. *Literature Search and Analysis*—The greatest source of information for the problem was that of the literature itself, both from within and outside the field. Without question, the amazing amount of material written in this field surpasses any other in the indexes—the information explosion is now a victim of itself!

2. *Interviews*—These were conducted in two ways: by letter and in person. The essential questions were reduced to three:

   a. What is the present state of the field of data processing and computer education, and what do you see as some of the current trends, i. e., information systems and retrieval?

   b. What are the manpower needs in our society for such people both immediate and long-range and where, i. e., what levels or positions have the greatest need?

   c. In regard to the education and training of people to fill the present and new positions, where is this being done and how effectively?

It should be pointed out that the literature search was conducted with the same three questions in mind:

2. *Catalogs*—The brochures, catalogs, and descriptive materials of the various educational institutions and other agencies were reviewed. These did not provide a great deal of information, although it was readily apparent that some institutions were "all things to all people" and would make you a success over night.

The methodology proved appropriate for the study and produced the desired data.

THE NEED FOR TRAINED EDP PERSONNEL

In any growing and changing occupation, the persistent problem is always that of personnel. . . trained, qualified personnel. There is no question that the computer field is growing rapidly and continually needing new people. An analysis of the field and the needs as expressed in a variety of ways by myriad societal organizations suggest very strongly that there is a need—and more important, that it will expand at a geometric rate.

Numerous speculations have been made about the number of trained people that the computer field will need by 1970 and 1975. This question is always complicated by the fact that it is extremely difficult to do a reliable census of need. So the estimates are really educated guesses based upon the best information available to the collectors.

Perhaps the most reliable sources of estimates that the literature contains to date are two—one done by CEIR, Inc., and another by Branedon Applied Systems, Inc. The American Federation of Information Processing Societies (AFIPS) engaged CEIR, Inc., to write a report concerning the need for personnel. CEIR is an independent consulting and software firm. From an exhaustive search of the literature, as well as interviews in the field with many authorities, they issued a report in the Spring of 1966 entitled "The State of the Information Processing Industry."

In summary, this report forecasts that there will be 60,000 computers in 1970 (versus 35,200 in 1966) and 85,000 in 1975. It was estimated that there were some 60,000 systems analysts practicing in 1965 and that the number would approach 200,000 by 1970. Further, it was estimated that there were from 60,000 to 120,000 programmers in 1965 and that their number would grow to between 200,000 and 650,000 by 1970.

The report done by Branedon summarizes in a similar fashion. In 1964, he foresaw a need for between 93,000 and 104,000 system analysts by 1970 and between 145,000 and 234,000 programmers by the same time. In early 1966, he foresaw a need for 190,000 system analysts and 200,000 programmers by 1970. In the fall of 1966, Branedon revised his earlier predictions to 190,000 system analysts and 220,000 programmers by 1970.

Does anyone doubt that we are in the age of the computer? Indeed, there are some people who feel that the computer came along just in time to save society from collapsing under the weight of its own complexity. "The trouble with a world like ours," says Professor Robert Frano of MIT, "is that we will soon need more experts to run it than there are people. Only a computer seems likely to keep us going." Professor Jacques Barzun of Columbia University, a noted humorist who might be expected to resent the machines has said, "I think computers are perhaps the salvation of the welfare state—particularly the overpopulated welfare state in which we're all going to live."

If there is any doubt concerning this major technological shift in our society and the increasing need for computer personnel, one has only to look at the classified sections of many metropolitan newspapers. In one Sunday edition of the *Los Angeles Times* there were 68 different advertisements for programmers. Advertisements for skilled data processing people can also be found under numerous headings.

It can, therefore, be demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that there is a need for skilled computer personnel and that this need is expanding in geometric proportions. Indeed, as of this moment, perhaps the most important fact about computers is that they are already essential to civilization as we in America know it. In spite of the fact that they are only 20 years old, they have been used mostly in obvious and unimaginable ways; their real potential has yet to be tapped. Yet, if all computers were to stop today, life as we know it would stop as well. It is impossible to have a nation as large, prosperous, and mobile as the United States with 200,000,000 people in constant interaction, without a computer. The complexities of keeping the communications lines open, getting the goods delivered, keeping the accounts and paying the bills represent too big a job for the unaided human brain and hands.

What are the explanations for this continued rapid rate of growth? There is not only one, but several reasons that may account for this growth.

Increased Workload

In the 1966 September-October issue of *Harvard Business Review,* Booy, Allen and Hamilton reported a study of 33 large manufacturing firms. Executives foresaw the continued growth of applications converted to the computer in all functional areas of business. Most of what has been done has been in the financial area; other areas such as production, marketing, engineering would, indeed, are being converted. New developments will also have their effect. These developments include computer-assisted corporate planning, new management reporting systems, fast response systems, and the corporate data file. These developments constitute a tremendous work load for system analysts and programmers.

Another major function, of course, will be additional computer installations. It is likely that the number of computer installations will at least double by 1975,

while the number of computers will almost triple by that time, according to the AFIPS projectors. Thus, the net result will still be more people needed.

Technological Change

With the many changes taking place in the field, many users of equipment will want to take advantage of such changes and to do so will want to redesign some of their existing applications. Some of these technological changes include:

1. New equipment such as optical scanning and data communications.
2. New computer techniques such as simulation and information retrieval.
3. New file design concepts, such as content retrieval from mass storage.

More people and, of course, more time will be needed to incorporate these new technological changes. Systems already in operation on the computer will have to be modified and, in some cases, completely redone.

Other Factors

Another factor in the current increased demand for system analysts and programmers is the shift to the third generation computers. These new computers are incompatible with prior computers and will require programmers' time to modify their programs. Some users will want to convert their present system design. Additional people will be required to perform the conversion.

Another factor is the growth of independent software companies. These companies will appeal to the skilled people in the field. They will "pirate" these people from user organizations and computer manufacturers. Thus, these organizations, in turn, will resort to getting even more people just to keep up.

Users of EDP Personnel

Indeed, the need for trained personnel might be pointed up in a more poignant fashion by looking more closely at the users of this recent phenomenon—the computer and its concomitant personnel to keep it running.

1. The biggest single user of computers is the United States Government. Computers not only scan tax returns and keep Social Security records, but also calculate census data, direct prospective employees to their Civil Service examinations and make out pay checks for over two million federal workers. The Air Force uses one of the most intricate computer systems to control its inventory worth over ten billion dollars. The huge space program, including the tracking and control of satellites and spaceships, would be quite impossible without computers.

2. The second biggest user is American business. Industry also uses computers for inventory control. A decade ago, inventories of the manufacturers used to fluctuate considerably causing changes in production and employment.

With computers, the peaks and valleys are reduced. In a certain sense, then, it can be said that computers have reduced the danger of recessions.

It would be impossible to list all of the uses of the computer by business but just to select a few examples: Schlitz uses it to make predictions of the sale of beer and where to build breweries; International Harvester uses it to make simulated runs of new trends to predict their life spans; Ford has a computer controlling a production run; Mobile Oil has a computer-controlled refining unit that automatically analyzes prices and then turns out whatever combination of products will be most profitable; Pillsbury has a machine that provides its executives, at eight o'clock in the morning, with a complete analysis of the company's sales and inventory position as of closing time the previous day; the stock exchange has a talking computer—simply call the computer on your touch-tone phone, touch three more buttons to give the code numbers—sit back and listen!

3. In health organizations and professions, especially medicine, the computer has been used in a number of ways. A computerized dummy of a human being is used in medical schools to educate doctors. In New York City, a computer is used for rapid analysis of electrocardiograms made right at the patient's bedside. In the Mayo Clinic, a computer keeps constant track of the blood pressure, body temperature, heart rate and breathing rate of patients undergoing surgery and flashes its findings on a TV screen in the operating room. In Brooklyn, a computer system keeps a second by second census of the beds available in nine hospitals.

4. There are many other uses of the computer. It is used by modern versions of the old-fashioned lonely hearts club in an attempt to help men and women find dates who share their interests and tastes. In Chicago, it is used to enforce payment of 2,500,000 parking tickets issued each year. And the Federal Bureau of Investigation has set up a nationwide computer system that will enable any local policeman to learn immediately whether or not a car has been stolen or involved in a crime, while the car is still in view. Perhaps the most unusual use of computers is that they are used to design and manufacture better computers—like living creatures they can reproduce themselves!

If the nation's computers went suddenly dead at this very moment, everyone would feel the effects. Self-service elevators, phone reservations, banks with an avalanche of checks and many industrial plants would close. We are moving into an age where the computer will be like a passenger automobile, available to take anybody wherever he wants to go, whenever he wants to go there. And all of this is going to require more and more trained personnel. A big question, therefore, is where are these people coming from and who is doing what to meet the needs of this fantastically growing industry?

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ART OF COMPUTER EDUCATION

AGENCIES EDUCATING AND TRAINING EDP PERSONNEL

1. *Colleges and Universities*—These are slowly gearing up to provide this type of education. Some universities are offering graduate degrees in computer science. The University of Kentucky, for example, offers a Bachelor of Science in Computer Science. The curricula, at least to date, have not been directed toward the interests of the business data processing community. In fact, most of the universities' educational effort of benefit to business data processing has been in their extension and evening course programs. This is not unusual. Extension programs provide the universities with a flexible means of meeting the new and changing demands of the community. Courses can be set up quickly, and instructors can be obtained from the business community. In time, such courses will influence the curricula of regular university programs. Changes occur slowly in "academia", perhaps too slowly to meet the demands of the field.

2. *Data Processing Institutes and Junior Colleges*—Courses and curricula have been set up in a variety of short term institutes which offer usually basic electronic data processing education. Typically, one can learn to be a programmer in taking so many weeks (8-12) of evening or day education programs. Many such institutes are, for the most part, private and profit-making. Also, they are, fortunately or unfortunately, "suspect" by other educational institutions as not being "sound education" and perhaps "fly-by-night" operations. However, others appear to be well-run and ethical operations. Of course, the major reason for an institute's being well-run and well-thought of in the community is the manner in which it is operated. Accreditation of such institutes is often lacking by any type of agency, thus causing greater concern on the part of educators. Furthermore, many of these institutes are conducted on a franchise basis.

Many junior and community colleges are incorporating data processing courses into their curricula. For the most part, however, such courses are introductory in nature, and do not appear to be too demanding. Usually, these schools do not have the ability to attract qualified instructors, even on a part-time basis. Qualified instructors would rather have the prestige of a college or universiy.

3. *Computer Manufacturers*—These people have provided the major effort in training novice programmers (via one to two week training courses) and in the orientation of executives by means of three to five day seminars. This service has been provided primarily by the computer manufacturer for customers and prospects. One of the shortcomings of the training provided by the computer manufacturer is the limited experience of the instructors. Often their backgrounds are limited to programming experience, seldom system analysis and design. Also, these courses are concerned solely with the computer manufacturer's hardware. But, the extent and magnitude of training done by these organizations cannot be overlooked. For example, IBM spends between 90 and 100 million dollars annually in all phases of training, employs 1800 people involved full-time in this activity and trains over 100,000 people per year.

4. *Software and Consulting Firms*—Some major software firms are offering training and others are planning to do so. Courses usually vary in length from one to five days. The courses are objective and taught by instructors with advanced degrees who are usually up to date in technology. These courses are typically restricted to business data processing. The courses are usually expensive, for example, $150.00 per person for a three-day institute. These companies are in a good position to respond quickly to the market and are abreast of the technology plus a professional staff. More extensive use can be made of these organizations; CEIR Inc., for example, offers both short and long-term courses. A major difficulty is that the courses are not offered for credit.

5. *Professional Societies*—The leading societies concerned with computer technology are: American Federation of Information Processing Societies (AFIPS); Association for Computing Machinery (ACM); Data Processing Management Association (DPMA) and the Systems Procedures Association (SPA). These societies contribute toward education and training by way of meetings, literature and curriculum recommendations. Meetings of the societies normally consist of three to four day national meetings once a year and one to two day regional meetings. They are not particularly efficient as educational meetings because they are directed to such a broad audience. Of current note and interest is the fact that ACM created a new position of Director of Education this year. Also, DPMA, in cooperation with Britannica Schools, organized, in the fall of 1966, the "Cooperative Management Development Program". This program, making use of Britannica Schools correspondence courses, is directed at the areas of managerial skills and business communications. Only a fraction, however, of the efforts of professional societies will be directed toward business data processing.

6. *Other Agencies*—A good deal of training goes on within organizations. These are known as in-house training. Many government agencies have established their own programs. Usually these programs are one or two one-hour sessions scheduled each week. Staff members do the teaching. The person does a good deal of study on his own. Some of these programs are quite successful.

High Schools are also becoming involved. Some programming courses have been conducted in high schools with encouraging results. And as school systems begin to use computers, it is more likely that programming instruction will be more widely offered. DPMA has offered courses in high schools, and it is quite apparent that more and more high school graduates will have had some experience with computer technology, even if only at the basic levels.

Other agencies are participating in the educational and training activities in the computer field. For example, the American Management Association conducts seminars dealing with the management of computer activities. The 3M Company has developed an introductory data processing course and visual aid materials that can be presented with their line of visual aid devices.

Thus, it would appear that with these many agencies active in the educational and training services for the computer field that the quantity of personnel needed may be met. However, with the tremendous need and rapid expansion, it is doubtful that the future needs can be adequately met on both a quantity and quality basis. So, it can be expected that the needs of the field will also be met by the *training* agencies, not the *eduaction* agencies, for some time to come. Unless a major educational element other than colleges and universities enters the field, then specialized courses offered by computer manufacturers, software and consulting firms, professional societies and in-house training programs will serve the needs of the field. What an opportunity for the college of business to become this other educational element!

CONCLUSIONS

The personnel shortage problem will continue to exist in the EDP field for the foreseeable future. The system analysts and programmer shortage is likely to remain critical throughout much of the period while conversion to third generation computers is occurring. In the longer term, 1970 to 1975, staff requirements will probably shift away from application programmers and toward system analysts.

The need and demand for skilled people will continue to grow for at least the next decade—and probably well beyond that—computer users will have to develop long-range personnel plans to meet these needs. Indeed, it is conjectured that the demand will become so great and the market so "tight" that unless educational agencies produce more skilled and trained personnel, recruiters will only be able to find the habitual job changer.

In summary, the implications for the college of business, on the basis of the data presented, are clear, lucid and shockingly simple. . . the college of business which does not engage in this type of education is commiting itself to obsolescence. If the school has not already begun this education, it shall have to do a lot of "running to keep up."

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study which is in essence a "market analysis" of the need and demand in the field with a further description of the agencies providing the personnel to fill these needs leads to further research which would aid the private business school. It has been shown conclusively that the college of business, if it wants to exist and provide education to fill a need, has no choice—it has to get in the "swim" of EDP and computer education.

In addition, this study has raised other questions of a more specific nature which would be of great use for the private business school. Consequently, the next study of this two-part series will be directed toward an analysis and depth study of the *curriculum* of computer science and EDP programming, the faculty

of such programs, a *student* analysis, *testing* and selective procedures, *costs* and such programs as "shared time" and accreditation of such program.

Univerity of Kentucky

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APPENDIX

Glossary of Terms

Access Time	(1) The time interval between the instant which data are called from a storage device and the instant delivery is completed, i. e., the read time. (2) The time interval between the instant at which data are requested to be stored and the instant at which storage is completed, i. e., the write time.
Analysis	The methodical investigation of a problem and the separation of the problem into smaller related units for further detailed study.
Automation	(1) The implementation of processes by automatic means. (2) The theory, art, or technique of making a process more automatic. (3) The investigation, design, development, and application of methods of rendering processes automatic, self-moving, or self-controlling.
Binary	(1) Pertaining to a characteristic or property involving a selection, choice, or condition in which there are two possibilities. (2) Pertaining to the numeration system with a radix of two.
Business Data Processing	Data processing for business purposes, i. e., recording and summarizing the financial transactions of a business.
Byte	A sequence of adjacent binary digits operated upon as a unit and usually shorter than a word.
Central Processing Unit	The unit of a computing system that includes the circuits controlling the interpretation and execution of instructions.
Character	An elementary mark or event that is used to represent data. A character is often in the form of a graphic spatial arrangement of connected or adjacent strokes.
Cobol	(Common Business Oriented Language) A business data processing language.
Computer Network	A complex consisting of two or more interconnected computing units.
Computer Program	A plan or routine for solving a problem on a computer, as contrasted with such terms as fiscal program, military program, and development program.
Data	Any representations such as characters or analog quantities to which meaning might be assigned.
Data Processing	Pertaining to any operation or combination of operations on data.
Debug	To detect, locate, and remove mistakes from a routine or malfunctions from a computer.

Digital	Pertaining to data in the form of digits. Contrast with Analog.
Digital Computer	A computer that operates on discrete data by performing arithmetic and logic processes on these data.
Downtime	The time interval during which a device is malfunctioning.
EDP	(Electronic Data Processing) Pertaining to data processing equipment that is predominantly electronic such as an electronic digital computer.
Flowchart	A graphical representation for the definition, analysis, or solution of a problem, in which symbols are used to represent operations, data, flow and equipment.
Fortran	(FORmula TRANslating system) Any of several specific procedure oriented languages.
Hardware	Physical equipment, e. g., mechanical, magnetic, electrical, or electronic devices. Contrast with Software.
Information Retrieval	The methods and procedures for recovering specific information from stored data.
Input	(1) The data to be processed. (2) The state or sequence of states occurring on a specified input channel. (3) The device or collective set of devices used for bringing data into another device. (4) A channel for impressing a state on a device or logic element. (5) The process of transferring data from an external storage to an internal storage.
Keypunch	A keyboard actuated device that punches holes in a card to represent data.
Linear Programming	The analysis or solution of problems in which linear function of a number of variables is to be maximized or minimized when those variables are subject to a number of constraints in the form of linear inequalities.
Magnetic Card	A card with a magnetic surface on which data can be stored by selective magnetization of portions of the flat surface.
Magnetic Disc	A flat circular plate with a magnetic surface on which data can be stored by selective magnetization of portions of the flat surface.
Magnetic Drum	A right circular cylinder with a magnetic surface on which data can be stored by selective magnetization of portions on the curved surface.
Magnetic Storage	A storage device that utilizes the magnetic properties of materials to store data, e. g., magnetic cores, tapes and films.
Memory	Same as Storage.

Output	(1) Data that has been processed. (2) The state or sequence of states occurring on a specified output channel. (3) The device or collective set of devices used for taking data out of a device. (4) A channel for expressing a state of a device or logic element. (5) The process of transferring data from an internal storage to an external storage.
Optical Scanner	(1) A device that scans optically and usually generates an analog or digital signal. (2) A device that optically scans printed or written data and generates their digital representations.
Program	(1) A plan for solving a problem. (2) Loosely, a routine. (3) To devise a plan for solving a problem. (4) Loosely, to write a routine.
Punched Card	(1) A card punched with a pattern of holes to represent data. (2) A card as in (1) before being punched.
Punched Tape	A tape on which a pattern of holes or cuts is used to represent data.
Random Access	(1) Pertaining to the process of obtaining data from, or placing data into, storage where the time required for such access is independent of the location of the data most recently obtained or placed in storage. (2) Pertaining to a storage device in which the access time is effectively independent of the location of the data.
Real Time	(1) Pertaining to the actual time during which a physical process transpires. (2) Pertaining to a performance of a computation during the actual time that the related physical process transpires in order that results of the computation can be used in guiding the physical process.
Simulate	To represent the functioning of one system by another, e. g., to represent one computer by another; to represent a physical system by the execution of a computer program; to represent a biological system by a mathematical model.
Software	(1) The collection of programs and routines associated with a computer, e. g., compilers, library routines. (2) All the documents associated with a computer, e. g. manuals, circuit diagrams. (3) Contrast with Hardware.
Storage	(1) Pertaining to a device into which data can be entered, in which it can be held, and from which it can be retrieved at a later time. (2) Loosely, any device that can store data. (3) Synonymous with Memory.
System	(1) An organized collection of parts united by regulated interaction. (2) An organized collection of men, machines, and methods required to accomplish a specific objective.
Time Sharing	Pertaining to the interleaved use of the time of a device.

THE LAST PLACE

LEE BRIAN

"All right," said Paul, "so I am crazy. I will concede the point for the sake of discussion, but the fact remains that I saw Schlinker. He was lounging by the Arts and Letters Building when I saw him."

Jean—who had never escaped from anything in Germany, and whose childhood had been spent in comfortable security in midwestern America, in a small town where her father had managed a bank—gently pooh-poohed him. She served herself another cup of coffee, daintily sliced the coffee cake, and smiled in kind disbelief at him.

"You had a bad dream," she said.

"A terrifying dream," he agreed, "but that was last night. This morning when I looked out the south window I saw him. To be sure, the man had changed. In twenty-seven years a person is certain to change. He has filled out a bit and one shoulder is higher than the other. But his eyes still bear that plucked-out look as if hawks had feasted on them."

"Paul," said Jean, "remember what Dr. Rudolph told you."

"I'm simply reporting what I saw. He was extraordinarily vivid."

The German scholars were descending upon the campus. Last year there were two exchange professorships in the social sciences. This year one came in history. Schlinker was bound to appear sooner or later. But Paul knew that he was far from prepared for the other's arrival.

"So he is here," said Jean. "If you recognize him, are you going to speak to him?" Paul shrugged. "And will you invite him over?" she continued. "After all, he was your father's pupil."

"He will never sit at my table," said Paul.

"Yes," agreed Jean. "Yes, darling."

For the moment her gentle understanding disturbed him. Yet Dr. Rudolph had explained everything in his careful way. "You see, both lives are intricately interwoven. No sure distinctions can be made between what is admitted as pure fiction and what is truth."

Schlinker had been his father's disciple, and Paul's first recollection was of the improvident student in his shabby coat sipping tea and eating buttered rolls in their home. Later, still in his early twenties, Schlinker had become a colleague and it was Paul's father who arranged the appointment. But when Hitler's hand fell upon the universities, it was Schlinker who refused to raise his voice in his mentor's behalf, even though half a dozen other colleagues had risked their own future to protest the dismissal.

"Perhaps," said Jean, who had been listening patiently to the old account, "you ought to see Dr. Rudolph again."

What would the doctor advise? He would say, "If you feel the need to believe in Schlinker's reality, please do so. When you see him, show your indignation by shunning him. Let him know that you hate him. But recognize that it is phantasy; and though necessary to your state of well-being, it remains unreal."

Paul smiled reassuringly to Jean. "It won't be necessary to see Dr. Rudolph."

"Paul," she cried and her face brightened. She was thinking, surely, among other things, of the thirty dollars saved each week.

He rose, kissed her and gathered his books. Outside the warm April morning gave off a good fresh smell of the earth. The apple tree blossoms had come out yesterday. The sun touched the tower of the Arts and Letters Building, now a solid white monolith with endless corridors and a complex of confusing stairwells, and the light seemed pure golden to Paul. In no other place did he feel so secure—as in that comfortable office on the third floor, Room 309D, which he shared with George McLang. Yesterday afternoon George, free of his last class for the day, had started talking to Paul about Joyce. It was apropos of Yeats' plays. Why do they fail, Paul had asked. And George, ready as always with his quotations, had quoted Joyce: Terror, Joyce had commented, is the feeling which arrests the mind in the presence of whatsoever is grave and constant in human suffering. Where was catharsis in Yeats? For one hour George talked freely, wonderfully. . . and he had his own class lecture on 'The Sound and the Fury' to prepare too!

Paul thought now of George and Joyce and Room 309D and in the warming sunlight he knew that Schlinker could only be a dream, a recurrent nightmare out of the familiar past. He plucked an apple blossom from the nearby tree as he walked and stuck it into his lapel. Presently he was standing before the class at one minute after nine and commencing his lecture on Yeats, the man and his early works.

There was a solid mass of students, and the day when he had faced them in nervous dread of their reaction to him was gone, though, understandably, it had taken years for a certain image of his father's last day in the classroom to be exorcised from his own mind. Now speaking so casually before thirty-five students, Paul believed again the legend of his charmed life. Who else could have made the Odyssey from Heidelberg to Ankara to Hongkong to Tokyo to Mexico City to San Francisco to—to this midwestern haven!

And as he lectured, he caught the words of his own distinct diction. Accent was there—delightful, droll, exotic, as Jean had exclaimed years ago—born of the half-dozen lands in which he had lived, and it was now marked, in addition to its own inflection, by the homely idiom of the western farmers and sons of pioneers who had dwelt in this land. Listening to his own voice as he read Yeats, he thought how pleasant it would be to spend the entire day reading the lessons of the poets in this secure spot.

After class he found his way down the labyrinthine hallway and at the departmental office ran into Dr. Crowvalt. "Aha, Paul," he said, "I had just instructed Miss Rogers to call George. Has he come in yet?"

"I haven't seen him this morning," said Paul, and for a moment he felt a vague apprehension. He disliked being taken by surprise. "Shall I leave word to call you?"

"Yes. Yes." Crowvalt absently looked down upon him from beneath his unkempt greying eyebrows. He was a tall man who naturally towered over most of his associates in the department. His smile in the moment was meant to be reassuring. "How is the poetry class, Paul?"

This was Paul's first year with specialized work in poetry. "We are reading Yeats," he said and returned the smile. "Each reading, especially of the early lyrics, seems like the first."

"That," said Crowvalt, "is the satisfaction of reading poetry." He himself taught Fielding and Richardson and the robust vulgarians of the period. "Well," he said, "I've kept you from coffee."

In the faculty lounge Paul's friends were waiting: Chuck Poston, who like Paul taught contemporary literature, and Fred LeFevre, a Jonsonian. Only George was missing; and seeing that he wasn't going to put in an appearance, Paul felt again something akin to fear. The three, however, without waiting, walked into the coffee lounge; as usual the room was packed. Coffee tasted best at this time of day after a good class session and in the company of his friends.

Poetry, literature and news of living writers were the subjects of the morning group. Who would win the National Book Award in Poetry? A new life of Ruskin had appeared. Spender's latest poem was in an eastern quarterly hitherto indifferent to his work. Poston modestly admitted that he had been asked by a literary journal to contribute a paper on Roethke. " 'Nor can imagination do it all/In this last place of light,' " he quoted. "What a fine poet," he said. He was putting aside his work on Eliot the playwright to do the article.

Now a discordant element came into the conversation, for mention of Eliot always brought out ambivalent reactions in Paul, and he could not commit himself to the poet. "Rachel nee Rabinovitch tears at the grapes/With murderous paws." Such fragments came to him in odd moments. "The Jew is underneath the lot." The malice of the poet's lines was there, always to confound his love.

"So Eliot will never come to America again," said Chuck. "I knew we should've tried to get some foundation funds to bring him here in the early '60's. Now the chance is gone."

"I don't regret it," said Paul.

"What! The greatest literary voice of the century—"

"A bigoted voice singing an authoritarian tune. A voice of malice."

Chuck protested and in another minute they were quarreling but only briefly, for Paul already regretted the outburst. He carried the defense but without George he felt insecure. Perhaps only George knew that this rage against Eliot had an old personal history and went back to his initial disappointment when in the first breathless discovery of Eliot in English he had come upon such lines as. . . "Chicago Semite Viennese". . . and others as offensive, for who could draw blood like Eliot. But in more lucid moments Paul used to ask, "Why Eliot alone? What about Chaucer, Marlowe, Dickens?" Was he going to condemn the whole canon of the literature he taught because of a few offensive lines? A thousand other lines, of beauty and truth too, were there to temper his condemnation.

Unresolved now as before, he left his friends and walked in the April sunshine, thinking how silly his anger was, and still abstracted in his thoughts, he stumbled upon Schlinker at the small hill which flanked the library. Schlinker was carrying an umbrella in one hand, and in the other, a green cloth bag filled with books. He had discovered the library, with its reddish marble facade and its open stacks, for Schlinker was nothing if not an intellectual.

Paul's first impulse was to ignore the man and walk on, but hearing his name called, he paused. "Please don't interrupt me," he said. "I have lecture notes to think about."

"Why do you brush past me?" asked Schlinker. He had learned, Paul noticed, to bring his voice down an octave so that it was no longer high and tentative. "We are old friends; we have much to say to each other."

"Nothing. Absolutely nothing."

"I bring you greetings from the land you left."

All at once, is if a sound machine had commenced to blast in his ear, Paul realized that Schlinker was talking German. "If you must speak German, then not so loud. And frankly I would prefer English."

"Paul! Is this a joke of yours! The language I used is the language of Goethe, Schiller, Heine."

"Heine, hell!" Paul cried. "You and your kind saw to it that a generation grew up without hearing his poetry."

"Yes," admitted Schlinker. "A temporary aberration. But do you damn a person for having a fever? No. On the contrary, you seek to cure the malady. I have a beautiful recollection of your illustrious father reading aloud to us. . . 'Die ungetreue Luise.' "

"Do not speak of my father. Please" Paul felt for a moment that his legs would cave in. His forehead was wet. Tree shrews and rats played before his vision. "You. . . with lies and distortions. . . you helped kill him."

Schlinker leaned against the railing, which protected the grassy slope of the library lawn from marauders. "Cigarette?" he asked. He was smoking American

cigarettes, and Paul could see that he enjoyed them. Now he was nodding. "That is fine—these noble sentiments about your father, and I cherish you for speaking them."

"In the University my poor father thought himself secure. That was his delusion."

"Alas," said Schlinker, "he was not alone in holding that view." He puffed delicately in silence. "But what is man's record if not a history of disillusionment?"

"You calmly stand there and admit that you are not interested in teaching the truth?"

"History has no truth," said Schlinker. "Each age defines it as it feels convenient." He finished his cigarette, stepped on it, and held out his hand to Paul. "As for myself, you have judged me correctly. I have no truth to teach. Only a law of mutability." He sighed, his hand still extended. "But the time for long memories has passed. In our hearts we remember the dead of other battles, but there are fresh battles today. We must prepare for them with new allies."

Paul wondered at the colossal arrogance of the man. They might have been discussing theater, music or *belles lettres*—Schlinker was that calm! But Paul remembered that he must match the other's polite demeanor with his own: he must avoid the near-hysteria of the earlier discussion in the lounge. "Then you are compelled to admit the falsity of your entire position," he said.

Schlinker had not withdrawn his hand. "Perhaps, perhaps," he conceded. "Earlier I used a word aberration. But let me remind you what a prominent German historian has written—namely, the tradition of anti-Semitism in Germany goes back a thousand years; the late Fuehrer did not invent it. The atrocities were a habitual evolutionary development of German history."

Yes, Schlinker was entitled to his cool smile. Paul had to recognize that fact: Schlinker had the argument both ways. "Now," he continued with a sage nod of his head at Paul, "there is a passage from Hegel which your father was fond of quoting to his mature students—namely, our previous history has only grasped the idea of eternal justice; but it is for the future to apply it."

Schlinker gestured with his outstretched hand. "I think your father would have agreed that Hegel belonged to a more idealistic age—but this, my dear Paul, need not concern you. You, my friend, have literature. In the words of poetry there is truth." He paused again, and then as if he read a line of doubt in Paul's face, he said: "Do not take my word for it. Look for yourself. . . in your own studies."

Paul had looked. In the moment he felt ashen. Schlinker might be corrupt but he spoke with insight, and it would be less than fair not to recognize the fact. To keep from shaking, Paul rushed forward to throttle his old foe, but as

he raised his fist he pitched forward against the rose bush. Perfume and aromatic herbs filled his nostrils and he felt himself sinking. And in the fact of falling—he was conscious as never before of the great disunity in his world.

At the same time he was conscious as well that someone had helped him. He stood up, found his glasses, which had fallen upon the ground, and turned to thank his benefactor. A boy in varsity sweater with freckles sprinkled generously from forehead to chin stood before him, inquiring, "Are you all right, sir?"

Paul looked at him and smiled in apology. "I must have slipped. That was stupid of me. But I sometimes miss the incline." He thanked the boy again, picked up his book and left the path. Back in his office he brushed his coat carefully and as he sat down he noticed a note from the department office to call George's home. He glanced at George's old slicker hung on the rack and at the other desk which was bare of papers and books. Momentarily he felt disappointed—since breakfast, he realized, he had been waiting to chat with George. He quickly dialed the number and Mary answered in a voice that conveyed her weariness. Would Paul please take George's eleven o'clock class again? George couldn't make it down this morning.

Paul hesitated to put his question about George.

"Yes," said Mary. "Yes. He didn't get in until three this morning, after six hours of drinking at the Falcon. I was just frantic. Oh Paul, what can I do?"

"Shall I come over after lunch, Mary?"

"No, she replied; and as he listened to her voice his eye fell upon the calendar. George had marked the days with a red crayon; they were the days he had missed. Were there so many, Paul wondered. Here was another—wasted. "No," she said, "it would only embarrass him."

George, who knew that Paul seldom took a drink, never asked him to share even a glass of beer at Maxie's Tavern. "I don't want to embarrass him," said Paul and promised to call later. He hung up, in the moment oppressed by his inability to help his friend. Outside the window the morning sun made a shadow of the Tower on the grass, and watching it diminish Paul felt relaxed, though as he reminded himself he had no reason to. . . Trouble, trouble, he thought. For his friend it was only another ruined day. Poor George! But now he must prepare for George's class. In the corridor less than ten minutes later when he came out for a drink of water he again ran into the chairman, who looked taller than before as he neared Paul, but his enormous eyebrows, unkempt and busy, softened th impression of power that his face conveyed. "Paul," he said, "can you spare a minute?"

"Surely," said Paul. He followed Crowvalt into the office, past Miss Rogers, who looked up from her typewriter and gave him a meager smile, as if to prepare him for something—he knew not what.

"Sit down—sit down," said Crowvalt. Paul sat on the edge of a soft leather chair. Crowvalt picked up a metal letter opener, looked at it, put it down. He swiveled in his chair, gazed at the greenery outside. "Paul," he said, "I am worried about George."

"Oh, George," cried Paul, at once relieved and at the same time seriously on guard, for suddenly he realized he had forgotten that earlier brief encounter with Crowvalt.

"That young man has not been completely honorable with us in the department—especially with you. You have been called upon to take his class—how many times this term?"

Paul waved a disparaging hand. "That's little enough. . . to help him."

"That's your business, but I'm getting tired of his truancy."

"He's a brilliant man, Dr. Crowvalt. I think I've learned more from just casually conversing with him—"

"What about his students?" interrupted Crowvalt. "What are they learning from his repeated absences?"

"If you don't mind my saying so, Dr. Crowvalt, we've got to make allowances for him. There are things against him. He grew up without parents, for one thing."

"I know. I know. They were killed in a car accident. In Texas, wasn't it?"

"When he was five. That affected him, sir, more strongly than we will ever know."

Crowvalt toyed with the letter opener again. "George is a grown man, Paul, and he occupies a responsible teaching position. He'd better start living up to his commitments."

"He knows he should. But he's a sick man."

"That's not what he tells me, Paul. Each time after one of these—what do you call them?—binges, he swears he's on the wagon." Crowvalt smiled as if to apologize for the slang; and now his mild voice, for all its softness, was stern. "Paul, my patience is coming to an end. I shall be forced to go to the Dean about him."

Paul found himself looking at Crowvalt's heavy eyebrows and talking rapidly. "And, sir, with your knowledge, I will follow you. . . to speak for him."

Crowvalt sat back in his swivel chair and examined Paul over his glasses. Paul could almost see the first impulse of anger melting. "My, my," the chairman said, "you are loyal."

"No sir, I simply know what it means to be in trouble." He met Crowvalt's gaze and did not turn away.

"No doubt, Paul, you're sitting here thinking to yourself, The old boy's got a heart of stone."

They both laughed briefly. Paul was immensely relieved that he had made the pitch for his office mate. "He does need help, sir, Very badly."

"Then help him as you can, Paul, but remember I've got a department to run, with more problems now than I can possibly manage, and some of them aren't soluble either. But George's is, and I'm not going to allow it to continue."

He got to his feet and, as if to demonstrate that there were no hard feelings, he patted Paul on the shoulder. They exchanged pleasantries about Yeats again, but when Paul came into the corridor his forehead was wet and his throat felt parched. Right after lunch he was going to run over to George's house. He would have it out with his friend this afternoon. George simply had to be compelled to see that he was flirting with disaster, and Paul knew that he alone could make Crowvalt's threat seem urgent. So I am thinking in purely selfish terms, he thought. . . . He did want George around to chat about Joyce and Donne and Frye. . . and to give him support when intellectually his own position was unsound. . . .

He leaned over the drinking fountain and the jet of water touched his cheek and cooled it. His anxiety passed and in the moment he felt fortified. Then as he drank he caught the shadow over him, and he wondered if he dared to raise his head. Finally since he could not remain crouched over the fountain, he straightened up. "Hello, Schlinker," he said with an effort at bravado. "Are you lost?"

He knew Schlinker was taken back by the warm greeting. "In such a maze who wouldn't be lost!" he fretted. "I was foolish enough to assume that it would be simple to find my way here to the Humanities Office. But I was mistaken."

"You are not the first to get lost," Paul wanted to tell him, and he could almost hear his own relaxed chuckle. Fortunately the corridor was empty; there was no one around. "Allow me to conduct you." And staying a bit ahead of his old foe, he marched down the white hallway. He made the correct turns and used the proper stairwell and kept his course until he came to the lounge of the Humanities office, with its cheerful blue rug, its reassuring bland drapes, and its general appearance of friendly welcome.

Houston, Texas

Hemingway's Fictive Use of the Negro: "the curious quality of incompleteness"

GERALD R. GRIFFIN

In the final chapter ("Postscript: A Look Backward and Ahead") to his book, *The Faraway Country: Writers of the Modern South,* Louis D. Rubin eulogizes William Faulkner, and, in so doing, comments on the difference between the impact of the death of Faulkner and that of Hemingway:

> Hemingway was a public figure, a celebrity, his photograph was familiar to millions. He projected the force of his personality upon his time. By contrast, Faulkner was quiet, unobtrusive; he shunned publicity, preferring to let his books speak for themselves.[1]

More importantly, for our purposes, Rubin goes on:

> But in part, too, the difference had to do with their art. There was a curious quality of incompleteness about Hemingway's lifework; though he had written five full-length novels, a number of excellent short stories, and several other books, everyone had been hoping that he would produce one more major work to crown his career. His death meant that such a work would never be written, unless by chance it waited unpublished among his manuscripts. Barring this unlikely happenstance, we would have to be content with what we had.[2]

Rubin, of course, in referring to Hemingway's "curious quality of incompleteness" is talking in terms of a last "big" novel to come from Hemingway, a work that would undo, perhaps, the damage that *Across the River and Into the Trees* had done to Hemingway's reputation. And, too, it would hopefully have more depth and more substance than the slender *Old Man and the Sea.* Perhaps Rubin is looking for the great American novel, that elusive, all-encompassing literary effort that will say all things to all men. In the context of this paper, however, I would use Rubin's phrase out of its proper setting and relate Hemingway's incompleteness to the fact that he rarely dealt with the American scene after his early Nick Adams stories of fishing and hunting in Michigan and environs. Hemingway is like Poe in this, except, of course, that Poe made even more use of non-American locales. Certainly, one may argue in defense of Hemingway that at least many of his major characters are Americans: Robert Jordan, Jake Barnes, Robert Cohn, Frederic Henry, Harry Morgan, and Robert Cantwell. But look at the places and subject matter: World War I in Italy and Switzerland; the Lost Generation in Paris and Spain; the mystique of the bull fight in Spain; the Civil War in Spain; the smuggling trade off the coast of Cuba; and World War II in Venice. Thus, we have Hemingway's incompleteness in the sense that as an erstwhile American fictionist, he is really functioning as a cosmopolite writing essentially of a European world. He is most assuredly not an American writing of the unique American experience *as it happens in the United States.* Hemingway may have seen life steadily, but he did not see American life

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[1] Louis D. Rubin, Jr., *The Faraway Country: Writers of the Modern South* (Binghamton, New York, 1963), p. 234.

[2] Rubin, p. 234.

whole. And nowhere is this incompleteness more conspicuous than in the area of the Negro. For all of his literary output, Hemingway's use of the Negro is something far less than consequential. Consider even his first major collection of short stories, *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories.* Of the forty-eight stories and two plays in the volume, only *one* ("The Battler") has a Negro in any role of importance; in some two or three other stories the Negro is mentioned only in a slight way. Significantly, included in this collection is virtually every America-oriented piece of fiction Hemingway ever wrote.

One must admit, then, that as a genuine historical American presence, and, even more importantly, as an *American* (*i. e.,* a vital entity in the current American milieu), the Negro has been largely ignored by Hemingway. Ralph Ellison, in "Twentieth-Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity," speaks unhappily of the American writer's failure to make esthetic and dramatic use of the American Negro's experience:

> Obviously the experience of Negroes—slavery, the grueling and continuing fight for full citizenship since Emancipation, the stigma of color, the enforced alienation which constantly knives into our natural identification with our country—have not been that of white Americans. . . . Thus when the white American, holding up most twentieth-century fiction, says, 'This is American reality,' the Negro tends to answer. . . . 'Perhaps, but you've left out this, and this, and this. And most of all, what you'd have the world accept as *me* isn't even human.'[3]

Ellison goes on to assert that both minor and major American fictionists are guilty of such omissions; in particular he cites "Hemingway and Steinbeck (in whose joint works I recall not more than five American Negroes). . . ."[4]

Admittedly, Hemingway made little fictive use of the Negro, and that applies to all of Hemingway's work. But what *can* be said of his use of and attitude toward the Negro in the Hemingway canon? Upon close scrutiny of his fictional Negroes, what precise assessment, if any, can be made? First, for the most part Hemingway is fairly pedestrian in the epithets he applies to the Negro. He generally uses either the word *Negro* or *nigger* and close examination reveals a recognizable pattern so that in the context of a given story one may successfully predict which of the two he will employ. In the dialogue, *nigger* is always used by low or thoughtless characters. For example, in the first scene in "The Killers," Al, the gangster, demands of George:

> "Who's out in the kitchen?"
>
> "The nigger."
>
> "What do you mean the nigger?"

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[3] Ralph Ellison, *"Twentieth-Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity,"* in *"Images of the Negro in American Literature,* ed. by Seymour L. Gross and John Edward Hardy (Chicago, 1966), pp. 115-116.

[4] Ellison, p. 116.

"The nigger that cooks."

"Tell him to come in."[5]

In *A Farewell to Arms,* in the only mention of a Negro in that novel, Catherine has been teasing Fred Henry about being an Othello without an occupation, now that Henry has left the war. Henry replies to her: "Othello was a nigger. . . . Besides I'm not jealous."[6]

Two other examples of the use of the pejorative term are from *To Have and Have Not.* Harry Morgan, the smuggler, describes the Negro who is the bait-getter: "He's a real black nigger, smart and gloomy, with blue voodoo beads around his neck. . ."[7] After Harry has died, his wife, Marie, sorrowfully reminisces about their earlier days together. In reference to Cuba, she thinks:

> They got too many niggers there too. I remember that time he took me to Havana when he was making such good money and we were walking in the park and a nigger said something to me and Harry smacked him, and picked up his straw hat that fell off, and sailed it about half a block and a taxi ran over it. I laughed so it made my belly ache.[8]

Finally, the most abusive language Hemingway has a character direct at a Negro is in a little-known story titled, "The Light of the World." While waiting for a train at the station in a lonely Michigan town, a prostitute has been volubly proclaiming her intimacy with the late Stanley Ketchel, the boxer. (She refers to him as Steve, not Stanley.) She is pointedly reminded that Jack Johnson had once knocked Ketchel out. The prostitute denies this in foul terms.[9]

It must be reemphasized, however, that the characters mouthing these words are usually low-class, and have little or no education. Thus, such demeaning language is in keeping with their character. Conversely, Hemingway frequently has a more cultured character use the word *Negro.*

In *Across the River and Into the Trees,* Renata, the sophisticated and refined countess, walks by a shop window in Venice with Colonel Cantwell. She stops and says:

> I would like that small Negro with the ebony face and the turban made of chip diamonds with the small ruby on the crown of the turban. I should wear it as a pin.[10]

For all of Cantwell's adherence to the Hemingway Code of Masculinity, as evinced by his fondness for remembering how rugged he used to be, even he has a certain quality of refinement, of *savoir-vivre.* He and his driver, Jackson, talk

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[5] Ernest Hemingway, "The Killers" in *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories* (New York, 1938), p. 370.

[6] Ernest Hemingway *A Farewell to Arms* (New York, 1929), p. 274.

[7] Ernest Hemingway, *To Have and Have Not* (New York, 1937), p. 11.

[8] Hemingway *To Have and Have Not,* p. 258.

[9] Hemingway, "The Light of the World," in *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories,* p. 487.

[10] Ernest Hemingway, *Across the River and Into the Trees* (New York, 1950), p. 105.

one day of American cities and towns, especially of the ones that are violent. "Memphis," says Cantwell, "is only tough if you are a Negro."[11] That Cantwell uses the word *Negro* is singularly important here, it seems to me, in that one must remember Cantwell and Jackson are both soldiers, and to have them lapse into the monotonous vulgarity and profanity of the army ambience would not be totally unexpected. Hemingway, however, apparently in deference to Cantwell's breeding, maintains decorum, especially in Cantwell's reference to the Negro.

That Cantwell is a gentleman is obvious, too, in his comments on Shakespeare's Othello. In *A Farewell to Arms,* Frederic had pointedly referred to Othello as a nigger, emphasizing the fact that he, Henry, was white, and Othello was black. On leave in Venice, Colonel Cantwell sees himself and Countess Renata as being somewhat different from the hero and heroine of Shakespeare's play:

> They were not Othello and Desdemona, thank God, although it was the same town and the girl was certainly better looking than the Shakespearean character, and the Colonel had fought as many, or more times than the garrulous Moor.[12]

When Cantwell says, "They were not Othello and Desdemona, thank God," he is probably thinking of the tragic ending of the Venetian lovers, rather than the fact that Othello was a Negro and Desdemona was a white.

That Hemingway is keenly aware of the denotative implications of the words *Negro* and *nigger* is further seen in *For Whom the Bell Tolls.* Robert Jordan, a young American college instructor of Spanish, an educated man, relates to Pilar and Maria an incident which he had witnessed as a very young boy in Ohio. He and his mother had been on their way to a wedding and in a small town they saw a mob hang and burn a Negro. In his narrative, Jordan never uses the pejorative word. If Harry Morgan or even Fred Henry had been narrating the story, one might well imagine the language used.

When a character has nobility, no matter how unlettered he may be, Hemingway seems to invest him with a discernible nobility of speech. Old Santiago, in *The Old Man and the Sea,* is such a person. He is far removed from the social ambience of Countess Renata, yet he has a tragic dignity which is evident in his speech. In order to give himself confidence for his harrowing ordeal with the gigantic marlin, Santiago on the second day recalls his beating of a splendid Negro athlete in a monumental arm wrestling contest in Casablanca. Always the black man is referred to as a Negro.[13] Once again Hemingway has made the careful distinction between the speech of the noble and ignoble, the thoughtful and thoughtless.

It may seem as if this initial concentration on just two words in Hemingway's works is a bit overdone, and as if the issue were being pressed far more

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[11] Hemingway, *Across the River and Into the Trees,* p. 36.
[12] Hemingway, *Across the River and Into the Trees,* p. 230.
[13] Ernest Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea* (New York, 1952), p. 76-77.

than it should. When one considers, however, the glaring absence of any real Negro material in Hemingway, then what would otherwise be a trifle seems to take on a new dimension of importance.

Since we now know how his characters speak about Negroes, the next question to be answered might be this: What do his fictive incidents involving Negroes reveal about his attitude toward them? It is here that we are on less firm ground because Hemingway never makes any kind of didactic statement or *credo* that serves as a reliable and central clue; rather, one must examine the fragments of evidence he provides and then attempt to establish a fairly tenable hypothesis. We know for certain that social causes never intrigued him, and his underdeveloped social sense comes through unmistakably clear in almost everything he wrote. Even in his last years, as candidly reported by A. E. Hotchner in *Papa Hemingway,* he showed no interest in the Civil Rights movement, in the struggle of blacks and whites alike to obtain the rights of the Negro as set forth in the Constitution. One can state defensively that he was not well. He underwent severe fits of depression as Hotchner relates, yet Hemingway's whole life is that of an aloofness from and a relative unawareness of the social order and the movements and events that both stabilize and change it.

Leon Edel, in his essay, "The Art of Evasion," speaks of Hemingway's failure to adjust his material to society-at-large; he accuses Hemingway of avoiding the larger view of life:

> Big-game hunting or watching violence in a bull ring or daydreaming through long hours of fishing. . . are all fascinating pursuits for our hours of leisure or when given a proper perspective and taken in proper proportion (unless indeed one earns one's living by fighting bulls or as a career-fisherman). When they become a substitute for other forms of life—and granted that they themselves are part of life and partake of it—they can become an evasion of life.[14]

It might not be too inaccurate to say, then, that Hemingway's world is not the world that most of us know and have come to terms with; thus, when we look for the Negro in Hemingway we must expect to find him more often than not in Hemingway's milieu rather than his own.

The immorality in the abusive subjugation of the Negro by the white man in America never becomes a conscious concern of Hemingway. Never, never does he say through a character: "Slavery was evil; to deny the Negro his full rights is a form of immorality!" Naturally, one would not expect Hemingway to have a Nick Adams or a Jake Barnes utter such an artistically unadorned or unsubtly stated condemnation of slavery and race bigotry. But never artistically or subtly does Hemingway reveal his attitude. The closest he comes to making such a declaration is in *For Whom the Bell Tolls.* Jordan has heard Pilar recall the beginning of the Spanish Civil War an in unnamed town. Her story is a gruesome and detailed account of the violence of those early days. The drunken towns-

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[14] Leon Edel, "The Art of Evasion," in *Hemingway: A Collection of Critical Essays,* ed. by Robert P. Weeks (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1962), p. 171.

people massacred the Fascists in a bloodily bizarre parody of the running of the bulls to the arena. Jordan is prompted to relate a similar tale of violence in America: "In this town a Negro was hanged to a lamp post and later burned." Pilar wants to know if the white man had been drunk, too. Jordan does not know: "As I said, when they lifted the Negro up for the second time, my mother pulled me away from the window, so I saw no more. . . But since then I have had experiences which demonstrate drunkenness is the same in my country. It is ugly and brutal."[15] The *it* refers to drunkenness, not the hanging and burning of the Negro.

What is indicated here by Jordan is not the murder of a black man, but rather the curse of drinking which drives men to commit such horrible acts against their fellow men. Do white men have to be drunk to abuse and murder Negroes? Obviously not; Hemingway, however, circuitously evades any condemnation of racial violence *per se*.

Hemingway's Code with its Code Hero places a premium on masculine achievement, on "grace under pressure," on style. It is only natural then that physical prowess and success should dominate much of his writing. And when a Negro is admired by Hemingway, it is for that part of the Code which applies to the Negro.

For example, Bill Gorton, in *The Sun Also Rises,* relates to Jake Barnes an incident in Budapest in which "an awful noble-looking nigger"[16] knocked out the local favorite in a boxing match and Gorton had to rescue the Negro from the rioting fight crowd. Colonel Cantwell has always admired the Moors because they are "excellent soldiers."[17]

In *The Green Hills of Africa,* the Negro is shown in several instances to be highly competent, thus drawing kudos from Hemingway. He describes Droopy in this way:

> Droopy was a real savage with lids to his eyes that nearly covered them, handsome, with a great deal of style, a fine hunter and a beautiful tracker.[18]

Note why he praises Droopy. He has "style"; he is good in the ritual of hunting. Equally praised is M'Cola, another Negro. "M'Cola used a knife beautifully and I liked to watch him skin-out. . . I enjoyed as always his fast, clean, deliberate scalpeling with the knife."[19] But when M'Cola fails the Code, when he lets the rifle bore get dirty, invective is his remuneration. ". . . I had said nothing but I was full of contempt and there had been indictment, evidence, and condemnation without a word being spoken."[20] Like William Gilmore Simms before him, Hemingway admires ability and skill in the Negro.

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[15] Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (New York, 1940), pp. 115-116.
[16] Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York, 1926), p. 71.
[17] Hemingway, *Across the River and Into the Trees,* p. 230.
[18] Ernest Hemingway, *The Green Hills of Africa* (New York, 1935), p. 46.
[19] Hemingway, *The Green Hills of Africa,* pp. 235-236.
[20] Hemingway, *The Green Hills of Africa,* p. 204.

Finally, Santiago, in reminiscing about the Negro hand wrestler he had bested, is unsparing in his encomium. He recalls the massive Negro as being "a fine man and a great athlete."[21]

One of the oddities of Hemingway's fictive treatment of the Negro is that few actually appear in the novels and stories; rather, characters talk about them, remember them, such as we have seen Gorton and Santiago do. The ones that do appear in person are somewhat stereotypical in looks and behavior. In his play, *The Fifth Column,* a Moorish tart from Cueta has kinky hair.[22] In "The Battler," Bugs, the protector of the punch-drunk Ad Francis, constantly speaks in an ingratiating tone, is supercilious in his attitude toward Nick Adams, and is described several times as possessing "a low, smooth, polite nigger voice."[23] The Negro cook in "The Killers" is so frightened that he will not listen to Nick and George discuss Ole Andreson's dilemma: "I don't even listen to it," he says, shutting the door.[24] The "nigger drummer" in *The Sun Also Rises* is described in the phrase, "all teeth and lips."[25]

In his use of stereotypical phrases, Hemingway is evincing a rather unsophisticated approach to the Negro. And such stereotyping by a writer of his stature perhaps marks the low point in his literary treatment of the Negro.[26]

Obviously, there is nothing either terribly startling or alarmingly revelatory in the observations made above; collectively they comprise one more aspect of Hemingway which has hitherto remained unexamined. That Hemingway failed to bring creative insight and artistic enlightenment to the Negro experience and dilemma is undeniably not a central failure. In defense of him, one must state quite simply that Hemingway is *not* an American writer specifically in the sense that his work reflects the issues and problems that are indigenous to America. Perhaps the real value of a discussion of this nature is to show how one major American writer, by virtually exiling himself from America, loses contact with and concern for problems that are uniquely American. Certainly one must praise Hemingway, and praise him highly, for the weight and achievement of his literary art; however, when one reflects on what he did not write about, and in this instance the American Negro, one must lament the loss of what might have been an original and substantive contribution to the portraiture of the Negro in America.

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[21] Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea,* p. 77.

[22] Hemingway, *The Fifth Column* in *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories,* p. 8.

[23] Hemingway, "The Battler" in *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories,* p. 236.

[24] Hemingway, "The Killers" in *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories,* p. 95.

[25] Hemingway *The Sun Also Rises,* p. 62.

[26] Although Ellison ("Twentieth-Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity") does not catalogue Hemingway's Negro characters, he does assert that Hemingway's writing "performs a function similar to that of the stereotype. . . ." (p. 128) Ellison follows this judgment with a discussion of the moral and cultural implications inherent in the presentation of stereotypical Negroes.

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THE PANIC OF 1857

ROBERT E. COLEBIRD

The 1850's were an era of high prosperity for the Illinois farmer and for agriculture in the United States as well. The demand for foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials increased as population grew and as incomes rose following gold discoveries in California in 1848 and Australia in 1851. Railroad building contributed significantly to this period of marked expansion in the American economy. In the summer of 1857, however, the general prosperity of the decade was interrupted momentarily by a banking and financial crisis whose effects upon agriculture in the West were severe and protracted. The experience of Illinois farmers and merchants were typical of those throughout the nation.

Between 1820 and 1869 the population of the United States increased threefold, rising to 32.3 million on the eve of the Civil War.[1] The natural increase, attributable to a stepped-up birth rate, was augmented by the rising tide of Irish, German, and, to a lesser extent, English immigrants reaching American shores. With the annual output of California gold averaging $50 million between 1848 and 1859, the total amount produced reached $650 million by 1860. Australia contributed an additional $600 million to the world's gold stock during this decade. With the domestic specie supply almost doubled by the $390 million of gold coined in the United States, prices and incomes rose, the flow of goods and services accelerated, and investment outlays increased.[2] As a result of the increase in the supply of loanable funds produced by the gold phenomenon, the cost of borrowing fell and manufacturing activity expanded. Foreign commerce grew, and with it the merchant marine. American exports increased, in part as a result of the Crimean War, from $132 million in 1850 to $278 million in 1856, and, at the same time, our purchases abroad rose from $150 million to $330 million.[3]

If gold discoveries beginning in 1848 were the spark which ignited the boom, then it was the commercial banking system that fueled the prosperity of the next decade. Over one-half of the approximately 2,000 independent banks comprising the commercial banking system of the nation were chartered in the 1850's, the outgrowth of free banking laws passed by the states early in this decade. The bulk of the money supply consisted of deposit credits and note issues of these banks.[4]

The decade owed its growth and prosperity primarily to the boom in railroad building and the economic activity it generated by providing efficient low-cost transportation connecting the agricultural producing regions of the North Central states and the Mississippi Valley with eastern and foreign markets. Heavy

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1. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States,* Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, 1960), p. 7.

2. Chester Whitney Wright, *Economic History of the United States* (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), pp. 243, 268, 308, 364-365.

3. Charles F. Dunbar in O. M. W. Sprague (ed.), *Economic Essays by Charles Franklin Dunbar* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), pp. 267.

4. Paul B. Trescott, *Financing American Enterprise* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 30-31.

investment in new right-of-way and rolling stock pushed the iron horse westward and forged a network of routes linking the North Central states with New England. In the East, the immediate and obvious success of railroad building generated an aura of over-optimism. Ignoring prudent investment calculation, promoters pushed construction in the Middle West far beyond the possibility of adequate financial return. Government land grants were easily obtained and capital for construction was readily available through bond and stock financing and bank loans. Charles F. Dunbar estimates that in a six-year period beginning in 1850 Congress allocated approximately twenty million acres of land for railroad building.[5] By July 1857, an estimated $100 million in short- and long-term railroad bonds and $500 million in railroad stock were outstanding.[6] Bank loans representing largely new railway projects increased from $95 million in January 1856, to $122 million by August 1857[7]. In the seven-year period from 1850 to 1857, railroad mileage in the United States increased from 8,500 to nearly 24,000.[8] Railroad building in Illinois during this period brought the state total to 2,700 miles and, more importantly, lines now traversed the interior of the state, thus opening a vast new territory and linking it with the East.[9] Added to this was the significant decline in freight rates on four East-West routes.[10]

The rise in farm commodity prices prompted the establishment of new farmsteads and increased the acreage under cultivation, raising the demand for land and boosting land values. Land sales by the Illinois Central Railroad rose from 107,614 acres in 1854 to 335,722 acres in 1857.[11] The value of farm land in Illinois increased 121 percent between 1850 and 1860.[12] By 1860, Illinois had surpassed both Ohio and Indiana in wheat and corn production (see Table 1) and was not far behind her two rival neighbors in the output of beef and hogs. Amid rising productivity, agricultural output grew 33 percent between 1849 and 1854.[13]

During this period the American economy was becoming more responsive—and more vulnerable—to changes in business conditions. Although the liberal

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5. Dunbar, p. 272.
6. George Washington Van Vleck, *The Panic of 1857* (New York: Columbia, 1943), p. 34.
7. Ira Ryner, "On The Crises of 1837, 1847, and 1857, *University of Nebraska Studies V* (April, 1905), p. 23.
8. George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951), p. 346.
9. Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), p. 150.
10. Taylor, Appendix A, Table 2, p. 442.
11. Paul Wallace Gates, *The Illinois Central and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), p. 260.
12. Paul Wallace Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture 1815-1860* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 402.
13. Robert E. Gallman, "Commodity Output, 1839-1899," *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century*. Studies in Income and Wealth, Vol. 24 (Princeton University Press for the National Bureau of Economic Research, 1960), Cf. Charels L. Flint ,"A Hundred Year's Progress," *Report of the Commissioners of Agriculture for the Year 1872* (Washington, 1872), pp. 274-304. For a discussion of rising productivity in agriculture in this period see Marvin Towne and Wayne Rasmussen, "Farm Gross Product and Gross Investment During the Nineteenth Century," also in *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 245-315.

extension of credit by the banking system had financed the nationwide expansion of railroads, industry, and agriculture, the indiscriminate granting of loans was now gradually transforming an orderly expansion of business activity into unrestrained speculation and inflation. Along with the rapid rise of circulation and deposits after 1851, New York banks became a depository for reserves from Western banks. Their loan potential was thereby increased and with it the possibility of a liquidity problem. By 1857, specie reserves had fallen to 13 percent of deposit liabilities of commercial banks and, in the South and West particularly, loans were precariously overextended.[14] The rail traffic forthcoming in sparsely settled regions of the West where track had been laid produced insufficient revenue to cover the high fixed charges resulting from heavy bond financing.

Signs that the boom was shaky went largely unnoticed. When the New York Stock Exchange panicked briefly in 1854, the specter of tight money was only temporary and the business failures which resulted were confined largely to the Ohio Valley. After an increase in the London bank rate to between six and seven percent in the winter of 1856-57, British enthusiasm for American railroad bonds waned and capital was redirected to the domestic market. Export prices for grain suffered after the end of the Crimean War in 1856, as did the demand for American shipping.[15] The fall in stock prices (see Table 2) and weakening of the bond market in October 1856, signaled the end of the expansion era and warned of an impending collapse. Temporary optimism occasioned by high export demand for cotton and tobacco was quickly dispelled by the bank contraction in New York in January 1857, and the report of a drastic reduction in sales and collections in the West. Specie holdings of New York banks were severely taxed by the tight money market in Europe with its consequent demand for funds and by the unanticipated import increase resulting from a sugar crop failure here. When news of an embezzlement brought down the New York branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, a heavy investor in railroad bonds, in August 1857, the whole nation was plunged into panic. In the liquidity crisis which followed, New York banks engaged in a wild scramble to call loans—loans which were rendered unpayable by falling stock prices. The crash of several New York and Boston banks echoed in a wave of bank, railroad, and commercial failures and by the middle of October specie payments had been suspended. Railroad building ground to a halt and thousands of factory workers became jobless as industrial production declined.[16]

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14. Dunbar, p. 271.
15. North, pp. 212-213; Wright, pp. 387-388; Van Vleck, pp. 60-79.
16. Dunbar, pp. 266-293. See also:
Theodore F. Burton, *Financial Crises and Periods of Industrial and Commercial Depression* (New York: Appleton, 1902), p. 284.
James Sloan Gibbons, *The Banks of New York, Their Dealers, The Clearing House and The Panic of 1857* (New York, 1864), pp. 343-399.
A. Barton Hepburn, *History of Coinage and Currency in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1903), p. 163-168.
For emphasis upon the banking dimension of the Panic see Clement Juglar, *A Brief His-*

The aftermath of the Panic of 1857 fell most heavily upon the farmer in the western states.[17] Although by the summer of 1859 the South and the industrial North had witnessed a marked recovery—the former resulting from strong export demand for cotton, tobacco, and sugar, and the latter through a rise in factory employment and increased capital expenditures in manufacturing—the agricultural Middle-West failed to participate in the revival primarily because the reduction in exports of farm staples kept prices low. Shipments of breadstuffs, which had surpassed $50 million in 1856 and 1857, fell to $32.8 million in 1858 and to $22.8 million in fiscal 1860. The chief cause of this decline was the loss of the principal market, Great Britain—the British having resumed trade in the Baltic and Black Seas and having made heavy purchases in Germany and France.[18] Adding to the Illinois farmers' plight of falling wheat, corn, and hog prices and heavy indebtedness, a series of crop failures resulted in a further decline in land values and farm income.

Finding themselves in desperate financial straits, threatened with foreclosure and loss of their property, debt-ridden Illinois farmers and merchants resorted to all manner of arrangements to meet their obligations. Geoge Barnet paid his note for $1,654.43 due the Illinois Stock Importing Association by surrendering ten $100 shares in the Association and sending a check for the balance to John Williams, a Springfield merchant and banker and official of the Association.[19] Davis and Pierce, merchants in nearby Sweetwater, who had bought goods wholesale from Williams, paid him $982.22 they owed him in the notes of their own customers which they guaranteed. Williams agreed to discount the interest on notes paid within thirty days.[20] In explaining his inability to pay Williams for goods purchased wholesale, D. D. James, a country merchant, wrote that he held $1,600 in notes due in December from farmers who had not yet been paid for the sale of their hogs.[21] With loans now nearly impossible to obtain, prospective borrowers offered a high rate of interest and whatever security they could find

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tory of Panics and Their Periodical Occurrence in the United States (New York, 1893), pp. 82-93.

The international events and repercussions of the Panic are discussed in H. M. Hyndman, *Commercial Crises of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892), pp. 63-88.

A contemporary chronicle of events and explanation of the Panic is found in *A Brief Popular Account of all the Financial Panics and Commercial Revulsions in the United States from 1690 to 1857 with a more Particular History of the Two Great Revulsions of 1837 and 1857 by Members of the New York Press* (New York, 1857).

Samuel Rezneck discusses the causes and remedies of the panic as interpreted in newspapers and periodicals of the day in "The Influence of Depression Upon American Opinion 1857-1859," The Journal of Economic History (New York, 1942), vol. 11, pp. 1-23.

Also Louis B. Schmidt, "The Westward Movement of the Wheat Growing Industry in the United States," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* XVIII, No. 3 (July, 1920), pp. 299-401.

17. North, p. 213, Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture 1815-1860,* pp. 90-91.
18. Dunbar, p. 290, Gates, ibid., pp. 90, 199, 402.
19. George Barnet to John Williams, February 19, 1858, Black and Williams Collection, Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois.
20. Davis and Pierce to Williams, July 15, 1858.
21. D. D. James to Williams, January 29, 1858.

in a frantic search for funds. A case in point was John Huffman who, in his plea for a $50 loan from Williams in January 1858, offered to pay 50 percent interest annually and have his note cosigned by his employer William Crow.[22]

Like other frontier merchants who made the greater portion of their retail sales on credit, Williams found himself with many notes his customers could not pay. His practice in handling delinquent accounts was to write to a correspondent acquainted with the indebted party and his circumstances. E. M. Douglass notified Williams in reference to the $80.80 note of George Fisher, that although collection at present seemed unlikely, a judgment against Fisher might make recovery possible at a future date.[23] H. U. Vandever, Williams' agent in Taylorville, wrote that he would eventually collect the note of William Pierce and Dennis A. Johnson.[24] When Lionel Lacey of Lincoln called upon John Harp to remind him of his note due Williams, Harp cited illness and crop failure as the reasons he had not paid. He pleaded for additional time, adding, "if you push me they will sell my team and then I cannot do anything."[25] Some debtors fled the state. Colonel White of nearby Elkhart told Lacey that a party named Dean, whose indebtedness was estimated to $70,000 was believed to be planning to leave Illinois for Central America. Lacey recommended that Williams begin a lawsuit against Dean immediately. He offered this advice to Williams on pursuing debtors: "Claims under $200 at five percent in the circuit court do not more than pay for the writing and making out of papers; but large claims pay well particularly where lands can be sold and personal property can be got without other suits."[26]

Wholesale houses on the Atlantic Seaboard also felt the impact of the depression in the West. Western merchants, having purchased goods on credit from these firms, were now unable to make remittances because their own customers, the farmers, had defaulted on their payments. When the eastern merchants pressed the collection of their bills, western storekeepers raised cries of protest. "When men during such times as the present, show a disposition to drive me to the wall," wrote B. F. Bristow, a Jacksonville merchant, "I feel a good deal like kicking." Bristow offered Morgan County Bonds in lieu of cash to his creditors, Siter Price and Company of Philadelphia.[27] Remarking that "it would be better to have the bonds than B. F. Bristow and Company," Siter Price wrote that they would take the bonds providing they were marketable and the interest would likely be paid. Otherwise, they would extend the time of the loan. Bristow replied that he would pay ten percent interest on the note if allowed more time to pay.[28] Newlin Marshall and Company of Philadelphia considered

22. John Huffman to Williams, January 11, 1858.
23. E. M. Douglass to Williams, September 10, 1859.
24. H. U. Vandever to Williams, September 1, 1859.
25. John Harp to Williams, December 23, 1859.
26. Lionel P. Lacey to Williams, July 27, 1858.
27. B. F. Bristow to Williams, January 15, 1858.
28. Siter Price and Company to Williams, February 12, 1858, Bristow to Williams, March 16, 1858.

foreclosure proceedings against Wright and Brown, a Jacksonville firm indebted to them.[29]

As agricultural prices slumped, farm machinery sales fell sharply. Reduced income and the uncertainty of commodity markets left farmers short of cash and reluctant to commit themselves to installment payments they would perhaps be unable to meet. Implement makers employed a variety of marketing practices in their attempts to increase sales. In the spring of 1858, Nathanial Hanson of Alton, licensed manufacturer of Pitts Patent Separator (and horse driven mechanism) sent John Williams, his agent in the Springfield neighborhood, a package of circulars describing his new models. Hanson instructed him to repaint his inventory of earlier model threshers, offer them at last year's prices, and allow up to two years repayment on a credit sale.[30]

Selling activity in eastern wholesale markets in the spring of 1858 also reflected the economic depression. Fearful that western buyers would curtail their purchases following low commodity prices and heavy farmer indebtedness, importers and jobbers of dry goods, hardware, and groceries in Boston and New York offered the lowest possible prices and the most liberal terms of payment. "I never saw such exertion made to sell goods" wrote John Williams to his partner George Nelson Black, while on his semiannual eastern buying trip. "They are becoming concerned that they will have a small trade this spring." Williams was jubilant over the low prices he found in Boston. "We can make money and look cheap," he told Black.[31]

Recovery from the panic was slow, especially in the agricultural West where the decline in railroad construction and the slowing down of westward migration compounded the problem of low wheat prices. Land sales fell off as did capital flows from eastern and foreign sources. Economic conditions revived momentarily in 1860 as prices climbed, but the following year a steep price decline set in. With the coming of the Civil War, a resumption of the high rate of economic growth of the 1850's was delayed until the 1870's.[32]

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29. Newlin Marshall and Company to Williams, April 29, 1858.
30. Nathaniel Hanson to Williams, March 29, 1858, Cf. Cummings, Matthews and Company to Williams, July 21, 22 and August 2, 1858; C. H. McCormick to Williams, March 8, 1858, September 30, December 15, 1859, Oct. 1, 24, 1860.
31. John Williams to George N. Black, March 24, August 15, 1858.
32. North, pp. 212-215.

TABLE 1

OUTPUT OF FOUR AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES IN OHIO, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS 1840-1860

	Total Bushels 000	% U.S. Total	Total Bushels 000	% U.S. Total	Total Bushels 000	% U.S. Total
Wheat						
Ohio	16572	19.5	14487	14.4	15119	8.7
Indiana	4040	4.8	6214	6.2	16848	9.7
Illinois	3336	3.9	9415	9.4	23837	13.8
Corn						
Ohio	33668	8.9	59079	10.0	73543	8.8
Indiana	28156	7.5	52964	8.9	71589	8.5
Illinois	22634	6.0	57647	9.7	115176	13.7
	Total	% U.S.	Total	% U.S.	Total	% U.S.
Beef Production	Number	Total	Number	Total	Number	Total
Ohio	1218	8.1	1359	7.7	1635	6.4
Indiana	620	4.2	715	4.0	1069	4.2
Illinois	627	4.2	912	5.1	1584	6.2
Hog Production						
Ohio	2100	8.0	1965	6.5	2252	6.7
Indiana	1624	6.2	2264	7.4	3099	9.2
Illinois	1495	5.7	1916	6.3	2502	7.5

Source: Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), pp. 323, 341, 389, 436.

TABLE 2

RELATIVE DECLINE IN BONDS AND STOCKS AUGUST 22 TO OCTOBER 13, 1857

	DECLINE 1857	
Security	From Aug. 22 to Oct. 1	From Oct. 1 to Oct. 13
Virginia State Sixes	13½%	10%
Missouri State Sixes	11%	8%
Illinois Central Railroad Bonds	32%	16%
New York Central Railroad Sixes	18%	4%
New York Central Railroad Stock	19¼%	5%
Delaware and Hudson Canal Company	16%	24%
Bank of America	15%	19%
Bank of Commerce	22¼%	13%
American Exchange Bank	40¼%	15½%
Metropolitan Bank	33%	17%
Park Bank	26%	18%
Panama Railroad	20%	10%
Reading Railroad	36½%	3½%
Michigan Central Railroad	37%	6%
Michigan Preferred Railroad	21¾%	0
Illinois Central Railroad	32½%	9½%
New York and Erie Railroad	17%	3%
Galena and Chicago Railroad	25%	9%
Chicago and Rock Island Railroad	31½%	3¼%
Cleveland and Toledo Railroad	15¼%	7¼%
Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad	36%	0
Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad	20¾%	1%
Pennsylvania Coal	11¾%	15¼%

Source: James Sloan Gibbons, *The Banks of New York,* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1864), page 358.

A REALISTIC APPROACH TO GRADING STUDENTS IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

DELMONT N. MERRILL

Physical education, unlike any other learning area in the life of an individual, involves the total person as it relates to any given time.

Of the many approaches available in physical education, on all levels, few utilize textbooks, *per se*. Granted, certain phases of physical education may use a handbook and courses in Health and Hygiene do have basic textbooks; nevertheless, the major curriculum of all physical education programs on all levels emphasizes in varying degrees the participation in physical activity.

For this reason a realistic evaluation of the total progress of a student in physical education is not always obtained.

Objectivity has been given an approved status by some in connection with tests in physical education, while subjectivity in measurement is frowned upon due to its human weaknesses.

Davis and Wallis conclude:

> The fact of the matter is that tests and measurement are quite subjective. The content of all tests is subjectively determined. The selection of a given test to use for marking, classification, or other purposes is a subjective process. The administration of a test is a subjective procedure. The taking of a test by the pupil is subjective. The recording of the test data may be open to human frailties. The interpretation of data and drawing of conclusions are subjective. Someone has to decide the action that is to be taken after conclusions are drawn, and this obviously is a subjective process.[1]

Means other than testing should be used in evaluating an individual's total performance in the physical education class.

Pupil growth of progress must be considered in light of the stated course objectives. In appraising the extent to which the objectives have been achieved, a broad evaluation of all facets of the individual's contribution to the program should be carefully measured.

> Since, however, measurement tools are not yet available to appraise many aspects of educational structure and individual-pupil growth, education, as an art, must employ qualitative judgments to appraise many outcomes. Reliance must be placed upon other forms of appraisal in addition to measurement, such as simple ratings, observation, interviews, and other qualitative techniques.[2]

The total individual should be considered in relation to others in society as far as his abilities and capacities are concerned. Many areas of learning can be

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[1] Elwood C. Davis, et al., *Toward Better Teaching in Physical Education*, p. 362.

[2] Clyde Knapp, et al., *Teaching Methods For Physical Education*, p. 353.

appraised scientifically; however, some values will be appraised by the expert opinion of the instructor and his staff.

Instructors should prepare in advance to rate all students at nearly the same time and under similar conditions on personality traits and social behavior to make their findings valid.

Cumulative records should be used in evaluating the pupil's achievement. Areas such as health, participation in physical education activities, membership on teams, participation in extracurricular activities associated with physical education, and level of skill attained, should all be considered in grading the individul.

Of importance, also, is a record of interests that have arisen in connection with the program; such as camping, hiking, golf, water sports and other activities.

> . . . . the subjective judgment of competent and fair persons, based on the evidence at hand, is extremely valuable. Such judgments may excel, in usefulness, objective measures which concern themselves with the superficial items of motor experience. In such areas of personality development, social adjustments, and expressions of attitudes and interests, they are indispensable.[3]

The grading system should be easy to administer, easy to understand and uniform for all physical education classes within the school. It should consider, carefully, the physical differences of the individuals enrolled. To this end the author suggests dividing them into three classifications: 1) the regular physical education classes, 2) skill competency for those lacking minimum skills and, 3) adaptive for physically handicapped.[4]

In establishing a grading system the following statement of aims and objectives will serve as a basis for pupil evaluation:

STATEMENT OF AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To the provision of opportunities for the understanding and appreciation of the highest ideals and standards in health and physical education.
2. To the creation of proper and acceptable behavior patterns and attitudes.
3. To the promotion of a deep regard and respect for the physical values inherent in our civilization that have been taking form since time began.
4. To the development of certain skills in a wide variety of physical and recreational activities.
5. To an appreciable exploration and evaluation of things physical.
6. To the development of an appreciation of democratic principles and of social cooperation as against social conflict.

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[3] Jesse Feiring Williams, *The Principles of Physical Education,* eighth edition, p. 487.
[4] Charles A. Bucher, et al., *Methods and Materials for Secondary School Physical Education,* p. 273.

A REALISTIC APPROACH TO GRADING STUDENTS

PROPOSED GRADING SYSTEM

Development of Physical Maturity (25%)

1. Strength
2. Endurance
3. Speed
4. Power
5. Agility

Tests: Pull ups, shuttle run, 50-yard dash, sit ups, standing broad jump, 600-yard walk, softball throw, and swimming tests.

Development of Physical Skills (25%)

1. Motor ability
2. Physical capacity
3. Motor efficiency
4. Motor educability
5. Motor capacity

Tests: Rogers Strength Test, California Physical Fitness Pentathlon, Illinois High School Physical Condition Test, Larson Muscular Strength Test.

Development of Mental or Interpretative Powers (25%)

1. Game rules
2. Team play
3. Game strategy

Tests: Standardized tests found in rules book, teacher made tests.

Development of Personality and Character (25%)

1. Cooperation
2. Willingness
3. Leadership
4. Followship qualities
5. Sincerity
6. Health habits
7. Attendance

Tests: Rating scales, check lists, observation, cumulative records, the McCloy Test, and B. E. Blanchard rating scale.

Period

RATING CARD

Squad

Name Age Grade

Physical Maturity 25%							Physical Skills 25%							Interpretations 25%							Personality and Character 25%						
Pull ups	Sit ups	Shuttle Run	Broad jump	50 yd. dash	Soft ball throw	600 yd. run	Badminton	Basketball	Volleyball	Soccer	Touch Football	Gymnastics	Track and Field	Badminton	Basketball	Volleyball	Soccer	Touch Football	Gymnastics	Track and Field	Cooperation	Willingness	Leadership	Fellowship	Sincerity	Health habits	Attendance

(absent days only)

Avg. ..... Avg. ..... Avg. ..... Avg. .....

Extra Credit

Intramural participation .....

Varsity team membership .....

CODE

I=Incomplete

E=Excused

A=Absent

T=Tardy

NS=No Shower

.....

Final Grade

CHALLENGE

A great many physical educators feel that standardized tests are the only true measure of an individual's physical ability. However, such concomitant learnings as attitude and appreciations cannot be measured scientifically.

To be sure, the other extreme of evaluating attainments in physical education favors observation, check lists, rating sheets, personal interviews, and the "common sense" of the teacher.

The author feels that the proposed grading system, with its combination of objective and subjective forms of evaluation, is a reasonable solution to the problem of fair and accurate grading in physical education. The grade should indicate the individual's progress and development in regard to his own potential.

> As long as grades are given, they should represent the estimated degree of achievement the pupil has made of the outcomes of physical education, toward which teaching and learning have been directed.[5]

The objectives used as a basis for grading in physical education are broad, indeed, and the process of evaluating pupil progress will have as a base both scientific procedures as well as expert opinion based on simple ratings, observation, interviews, and other qualitative techniques.

"Physical education aims to reflect life, the best life, and surely a vigorous life. It favors competition and is interested in personal achievement."[6]

Husson College

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[5] Davis, et al., p. 398.

[6] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

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REFLECTIONS



Photograph by David S. Robinson, Husson College

HE LOVES ME

Laurel V. Beaudin

He loves me, loves me not . . .
What fragile happiness
In daisy petals!

DANDELION

Austin West

Yellow, youthful dandy
  Flirting debonair,
Beware, the wind though handy
  And desirous. She will steal your hair!

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

SPEECH

Louise Darey

The average man does not like
the satirical or caustic tongue;
He likes the syrup of words
Dripping with clichés,
Sentences parsed with tedium.
It makes him feel safe.
There is no danger from a new idea,
A contradiction or an argument.
Swathed in the flannel of mediocrity,
He talks and listens,
Always agreeable to the hackneyed phrase,
Obedient to the ordinary.

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

REFLECTIONS

SPRING

INA LADD BROWN

A painting
of hope –
a slope of arbutus,
a delicate pastel
of white violets
quite unexpected
in the arc-shadow
of the frail bridge
over the brook.
Look! rainbowed trout
captured forever
in a silver frame;
and the name?
Ah, the name is
Spring!

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

THE NEW ENGLAND CONSCIENCE

PRISCILLA FARRINGTON SCHUMACHER

The old hard-bitten rider, Tradition,
pricks one's sore, sweating sides
with rusty spurs;
restores or re-stirs
weak will and unresolved intention,
and guides one down the narrow road,
lest one should trip
(meanwhile, flicking his mare's bent back
with a long-tasseled whip!).
He tightens the steel bit of strict conformity–
should one toss a rebellious head to shake off the
unwelcome load;
yanks harder on the taut reins of convention–
lest one peer curiously
outside one's stiff, black blinders
at a world,
unfortunately, beyond one's recognition!

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

INCANTATION

PRISCILLA FARRINGTON SCHUMACHER

The solitary pioneer wife,
shaded by her pink sunbonnet
(long-since faded in the meridian glow)
kneels in her door-yard garden,
gathering "such herbs . . . as are . . . in blow".

Separated from the physician
by miles of wooded gloom,
she unearths mysterious roots,
or nips off plan buds before they bloom.

Trusting this hoard of herbs and simples
(transplanted when she was young)
to draw from the black fruitful ground
the mystic power to heal,
she savors the quaint names upon her tongue,
chanting softly to herself:
"Gensing, camomile, hore-hound, wood bitney, golden seall"

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HEADS OR TAILS

J. ARTHUR FABER

A poet has an undemanding job.
All he must do is breathe
and sit around—
to see day and night,
hear sound and silence,
feel pleasure and pain,
to smell life and death,
taste satisfaction and want,
and give a finite voice
to these infinitives
is quite enough.
The economics proves it
simple. A poet gives.

Wittenberg University

REFLECTIONS

DILEMMA

J. Arthur Faber

The difference
between writing poetry
and writing about poetry
is the difference
between action
and passion.

The pain is different,
but who knows what
hurts more?

Wittenberg University

A PRAYER

Marion Porter Powers

Cover me with stars,
And I shall not complain
Of winter cold
Nor hear the bitter wind
Rage over me.

Cover me with stars,
And all regrets, the pain
In living will become
Processional white choirs
Where Eden lies at noon.
And I shall be at home
To bask the centuries away.

Cover me with stars.

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

A BOWL OF APRICOTS

MARION PORTER POWERS

The serpent spilled no blood on Eden's green,
Usurped no citadels, nor lay in wait
For integers of life to die.
Hence presently pomegranate bloom
And apricot resumed their gala way
Of yielding fruit—pomegranates, classical,
The food of gods;
A bowl of apricots the ultimate
In daily bread.

Member, Poetry Fellowship of Maine

THE CREATION OF MAN

(An Indian Legend)

RUTH V. BELKNAP

Near the Oconeechee River
In the land of Smoky Mountains—
Rising high into the heavens,
Interlacing peaks and ridges,
Marked by trails and smoking chimneys,
Covered deep with oaks and dogwood,
Gay in May with pinks and laurel—
Where the Indian still is living,
There this tale of man's creation
Was related by a Red man
From the Ute-land to the westward.

"Once upon a time," he told us,
"Earth held beasts and birds and fishes,
Flowers, insects, lakes, and forests,
But no man had God created
For a master for his nation.

REFLECTIONS

"God then took some clay and shaped it,
Made a man with care and purpose;
Then God baked him in the embers,
Kept them hot and burning brightly,
Looked on man with much elation;
Soon joy changed to stricken horror;
Facing God, there stood a Black man.

"Once more God took clay and water,
Fashioned man again with patience,
Placed around him blazing firewood.
Only minutes brief, God waited;
Gently set the form before him,
Gazed astounded at his handwork
Moaning loudly, sad and weary,
'This is just a *half-baked* creature
I'm ashamed—I made a White man.
This is not the man I must have
To be master of my nations.'

"Thus did God make one more effort,
Took more clay and formed an image,
Placed it under flames and ashes,
Watched the shadows as they lengthened,
Smiled upon his work with pleasure,
Took it from the flames and shouted,
'See the Red man, all behold him,
Last of all, my perfect master!' "

Bangor, Maine

ISLAND HUNT

EDWARD M. HOLMES

Medric Island loomed black and solid between Raymond Harland's forty-foot dragger and the red, lowering sun. From the water, the island often looked black to Raymond, and for years he had avoided it, although he knew that its shade at such moments was a trick of light and perspective, true but impermanent. The green of vanishing fields, the splash and odor of lilacs, the cool fire of evening primroses, the odor of ripened bayberries—these too were truth annually, and also of course impermanent, except perhaps less so in his mind, where he held them from the old years before he and Clara had moved to the mainland. Almost always he had delayed going back, without ever quite knowing why. Yet today he had turned the *Dark Lady* toward the west cove of Medric.

He had throttled the engine down almost to an idling speed—what his father would have called a dead-slow bell—so that the craft slid almost quietly through the glass-like water, under the shadow of the point, past the rockweed-covered lodge at the entrance to the cove, and up to the sea-grassed buoy that marked Phil Davis's mooring. Phil was a neighbor of Raymond's in Oak Harbor, one who had put down a mooring at Medric Island, as everyone—even the game warden—knew, for poaching purposes. Raymond shifted to neutral and slid gently alongside the buoy. He reached for the gaff, hooked the buoy line, and pulled the loop up where he could grasp it. It was slimy, naturally, healthily slimy, from age-old ocean growths. He clung to it. Reverse. Then silence. "Finished with engines," Father would have said. He walked forward along the narrow deck, the inch-thick nylon in his fist. Phil had put down heavy gear. ("Boys, we can't afford insurance, but we *can* pay for safe rigging.") The sweat suddenly stood out on Raymond's forehead. He breathed hard, feeling the moisture on his arms and legs, as if he had been trying to lift Phil's entire ton-weight rock that he knew lay down there three fathoms beneath. He slipped the loop over the forward bitt and rested, almost gasping, on the edge of the cabin trunk. Suddenly there were aches in his arm muscles, and he took a deep breath, leaing forward, closing his eyes for a moment. Is was as if he could hear Clara telling him, please, for her sake, to go easy. And so he would. When he looked again, he was staring at the bitt and the eye-splice of the mooring line draped loosely around it. Grandfather Harland. He had once left the loop of *his* mooring slack and free like that, forgetting he had done it, and then in the night the seas had rolled in from the south, the loop had jumped off the bitt, and Grandfather Harland's schooner had been converted to drift wood among the rocks. Loss: total. Raymond's father had had to build up from scratch.

He reached for a light line and secured the mooring loop to the bitt. At the same time he caught the odor of bayberries brought to him on a light wind from the island. Medric had always been loaded with bayberries. He and Clara had gathered them Sundays the fall after their marriage, and Clara had made three or four candles. It was a good, rich scent. Slowly he made his way aft, glanced at the orange disc of the setting sun—a good day tomorrow—and went below to

light the galley stove—baked beans, two pork chops—and to pour a long drink of rum into a coffee mug.

Later he lay contentedly in his berth, thinking idly of the morning, of the good, satisfying feelings of a loaded rifle cradled in a man's arms as he enters the woods. He would go up over the hill from the cove, through grandfather's pasture, past the foundation of Father's house, and on to their apple orchard, such as was left. It was in the apple orchard he had found Elaine about forty days ago in his youth, and she had calmly, sweetly offered him an apple. They weren't even ripe yet, and were all Harland apples, of course, in the first place, but Raymond had never told her that. He did not remember now what they had talked about. What did seventeen-year-olds in the grip of nature—or anyone else for that matter—talk about? Probably a good thing to forget. Alice had filled the house for a few years with blasts of boys and music, and Jimmie had gone for girls and guitars, but Raymond somehow had never thought of either of them as approximate versions of his earlier self. Now Alice was up in Darien—What was it she wrote about "on a peak"? No sense to it—making him again a grandfather, and Jimmie had given up his guitar for a slide rule, and was building sleek, smooth roads across the state, making it something for people to get through as quickly as possible—like the measles. Before the roads, steamboats: Boston to Portland, Boston to Bangor, Portland to Bath, Rockland to Bar Harbor. Big steamers: the *Northland,* the *Camden,* the *J. T. Morse.* Make three or four each of Father's little coastal trader: Swans Island, Castine, Belfast, and back. Little, but too big for Father at that. Father had gone up to Bert Ames' office in Belfast the day of his second run to ask Bert to insure the *Silver Feather* and put a binder on as of twelve noon, but there was a sign on Bert's door reading "Out to Lunch." Not that it meant that, of course, since everybody that had lived in town over a year and a half knew that when Bert went out to lunch he was more often than not trying to make life interesting, or at least tolerable, for the widow Ackley, two blocks away on Free Street. So Father had made the run back uninsured, and that night, his engineer, afoul of the rum bottle, left a bag of cotton waste close to the fire box and regained consciousness just in time to escape lightly roasted. The *Silver Feather* burned and sank at her own mooring. Loss: total. And Raymond had had to build up from scratch.

He awoke before dawn, and when faint light came, had had his breakfast, had rowed the punt ashore, puffing a little had pulled it above high water mark, and had lodged the grappling, the painter taut, among the beach rocks, crushing it in under his boot ("Always secure a boat.") Now his rifle across his arms, he climbed slowly over the pinkish rocks where the Medric fishermen forty years ago had tarred their old-style, untreated warps. He could see in the crevices, even now, streaks of the black. Beyond the rocks he followed the dim trace of a path between the bushes, the high alders, the young spruces, seeing not the wild growth, the ruthless return of wilderness, but the mowed fields of childhood, and the houses and barns where Eph Savage and Joe Torrey and Frank Ham-

mond and the others, when they were not fishing, had raised pigs and cows and ducks and chickens. Beyond a grove of spruces, he knew was the burying ground, the stones probably canted a bit.

He could just barely remember Grandfather Harland's burial, the funeral in the church—it was gone now, burned in 1938—where one of the ministers from the mission had preached the service, not shouting, as some had once, so that everyone could hear the terrors of hell without leaving his own front step, but lifting oddly his heart into his voice, speaking fully, like organ notes, of the glory of God on earth.

But Father's was another matter, clearly etched as if it had all happened last week: they had brought his body out from the mainland in a dory and beached it at high water, waiting until the tide dropped so that the bearers could stand dry-footed on each side to lift the box. Crossing the fields, Carl Torrey had suddenly, out of respect, taken off his cap and then laid it on the top of the box, and Raymond, who had been carrying the side opposite, had snatched it off with his free hand and stuffed it into his pocket. Later he had given it back to Carl, of course, but he had felt embarrassed and self-accusing for months, and it had cost Clara many hours to get him out of it.

At the grave they had waited while Carl and Ab Torrey returned to the shore to get two-by-fours to lay across the opening, and the ropes. Then when everything was in place, four of them took a strain on the lines while Ab removed the two-by-fours, and they lowered the box, slung in the weathered, seaman's ropes, into the earth. There had been nobody there to read or speak, but they had stood silent a moment until a gull cried in the distance. Then Ab had reached down for one of the shovels and scooped up a few pounds of earth, and after that, Raymond, who had sharply missed Clara beside him, had been able to help. That was the day of Jimmie's birth.

Pushing back the dead, lower branches in a grove of spruces and following a path that he could scarcely see, Raymond came out into the half clear space of the orchard, the trees old now, crooked and misshapen, but still bearing irregular, clumsy fruit. Beyond the fourth and fifth trunks he could have pointed to the spot in the grass which had been his and Elaine's place—and though he could not recall the words, he could remember her voice, the tender concern, the leafy pattern of her skirt—and then at supper Father told how a deer had been lying in the orchard: he had found the grass all crushed. Father looked at him, and Raymond had not dared to speak. So later Raymond built a camp for Elaine and himself far out in the woods where there were only red squirrels and the shy, frightened mink, the bayberries, and the odor of fir and spruce. And Father knew that too, but he did not mention it. Then Elaine's folks learned—how, Raymond never discovered—and whisked her away to upper New York state, not to return to Medric Island so much as a weekend, let alone again the entire month of August.

He stood quietly beside one of the apple trees, with a good sweep of the orchard below him. "Be comfortable," Father had said, "nothing sticking into you or itching or rubbing. Give yourself a chance to shoot straight. And be ready. Wait. Wait. Above all, it takes patience." He waited. There was no sun yet, although there was more and more light, and, looking for a sign, he watched carefully the young spruces at the edge of the orchard. He thought of the other deer, the ones he had shot, the ones he had missed, and the ones he had never fired at. There was that first one, when he was young yet and had thought he could do anything, and he had had buck fever. "Doe, not buck fever," Father had said. He had stood there, the gun to his shoulder, seeing the gold and the white, and the shimmering muscle along her flank, and in the presence of the incredible, the unbelievable glory and excitement, had been unable even to snap off the safety catch. "Shoot. Shoot," Father had whispered, but he had been paralyzed, lifted somehow above the earth, and unable to flex so much as a finger. Then the doe's ears had twitched, one forward, one back; her nostrils trembled, and she flew, bounded really, but to him it was like flight, once, twice, and she was off into the blackness of the woods. Whether it was regret or someting else, he did not know, but behind the woodshed that night he had wept.

What was it there in the orchard Elaine had said? "Ray, don't be frightened. Please. I care about you. I care about nothing else," she said, and gently, almost like a goddess, she lifted both hands and stroked his neck. Like a child, he had been moved, and afraid he would cry, but he had not, quite.

That fall, the fall of loss and sorrow and darkness—she could not come back, and she would not write—he had shot the buck. "You must touch wood both sides of the trigger," Father said. "Squeeze, don't pull, the trigger. When you pull a trigger, you are going to miss." He had not missed, and Father, with the knives honed to a razor edge, had showed him how to dress out the meat. Then there was the one he had shot and had neither killed nor missed, and he had run frantically through the brush, not even putting on the safety catch, following the signs of trampled bushes and blood. But he had never caught up. He was too old to weep now, but he knew the shame, the sorrow, the remorse, and he cleaned the rifle and set it back in the rack, not to be touched for twenty-three months.

He should never have written that boy's diary at all, of course; or having written, he should have destroyed it, but he forgot, and Clara found it in the attic and it was as if he had struck her with his fist. "If only you had told me," she said. "If only you had said something about her, or had a snapshot, or something that was hers to throw on a dusty shelf!" And he had asked one of the neighbors to sit with the babies while he and Clara walked, watching the waves pound futilely on the rocks, while he answered all she needed to know, until she could perhaps believe that silence had not meant untruth, not a loss of faith.

"Never shoot unless you are sure. If you are unsure, don't shoot." Suddenly Raymond realized he was sighting on a buck not forty yards off, and a larger

buck than he had ever seen on Medric. Quietly, surely, he brought his hand back and moved the safety catch. He could hear his heart beat; the blood throbbed in his temples; and from the east the sun abruptly cast a ray of gold over the tree tops. "When you are sure, squeeze the trigger; don't pull it." There was the old, accustomed explosion, the recoil at the shoulder, and the deer leapt high, high from the earth.

This was beyond belief. He had never seen such a buck. Its feet scarcely touched the ground. Shot through the heart, it should collapse now at once. Then Raymond felt the orchard swaying toward him and knew he was lying at length, his rifle beside him, on the crumpled turf. And there were bayberries, the leaves, the twigs brushing against his face, the good, pungent scent of the fruit strong in his nostrils for just a moment before the coming of the dark.

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The Unity of MIDDLEMARCH

Mary Agnes Arnold

In his introduction to MIDDLEMARCH, Gordon S. Haight feels that this book sets a limit ". . . to the development of the old-fashioned English novel (p. xv). . . ."[1] In its tradition and scope it is similar, in some respects to Henry Fielding's TOM JONES. But unlike Fielding and his leisurely comments and interjections, George Eliot approaches the stylistic technique of the twentieth century novel in that she lets the characters themselves handle the plot and removes herself as commentator. In doing this, her craft in handling the complexities of character and scene is more smoothly skillful; George Eliot reveals the necessary background for realistic character motivation throughout the novel in contrast to Fielding's furious manipulation in the last one hundred pages of TOM JONES.

Because of its great scope, some critics have accused MIDDLEMARCH of lacking unity. Haight mentions Hugh Walker's statement ". . . that it is 'not one story, but a bundle of stories loosely tied together (p. xv). . . .'" But with a closer reading of the novel, one will find that there is an interrelationship between its structure, its several character groups and their seemingly separate plots. It is precisely within this carefully planned interrelationship that Eliot provides a great deal of unity.

There are in the novel one or two more minor devices which should be dealt with first. One is George Eliot's manner of "name dropping." In a chapter or section devoted to one particular plot, she will refer in passing to a character connected with another plot, a technique with its parallel in advertising's subthreshold stimulation used today, to subtly remind the reader of the continuous working of the other actions of the novel. An example of this is seen in Chapter Forty-Five (p. 331) with the reference to Garth's connection with the hospital. He has not been seen since Chapter Forty and will not reappear for extensive treatment again until Chapter Fifty-Two. Another example is seen in Chapter Forty-Seven (p. 346) when Ladislaw goes to the Lowick church in hopes of seeing Dorthea. Joshua Riggs Featherstone is mentioned as being a member of the congregation. He has not been mentioned since Chapter Forty-One and is not again until Chapter Fifty-Three.

Unity in MIDDLEMARCH is also achieved through its backdrop for the action—the town of Middlemarch itself. Haight considers Middlemarch as the hero of the novel; but it is not the hero in the same sense that the heath is the hero in Thomas Hardy's THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE in which there could be no substitute for the heath while Middlemarch could be any provincial town in England on the eve of the Reform Bill, involved in its local politics, railroads, and class distinction. But while the setting is important and the "name dropping" technique is interesting, it is the careful interstructure of the novel that should be examined most closely.

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[1] The text used for this paper was Houghton Mifflin Company's Riverside Editions, B6, 1956.

There are four main plots within the eight books of the novel. The first book, "Miss Brooke," concentrates on the development of the romance between Dorthea and Mr. Causabon and foreshadows the development of their relationship to Will Ladislaw. With the Dorthea-Causabon-Ladislaw plot are associated Mr. Brooke, Cecilia, the Chettams, and the Cadwalladers. But also in this book, the characters of the other three plots are introduced with the exception of Raffles and Joshua Riggs whose parts are somewhat minor. Ladislaw is the dominant character connected with the Lydgate-Rosamond plot. In the plot centering on Fred Vincy and Mary Garth, it seems that all the characters from the other plots have their influential moments as is also the case in the plot centering on Mr. Bulstrode. Mr. Farebrother weaves his way through each of the plots with his major role in the romance of Fred and Mary. Although chapters one through ten center on Dorthea, Causabon and the Brookes, in Chapter Ten at the dinner party Lydgate and Vincys, among others, are introduced, and this leads into the next two chapters which center on the Vincy family, Rosamond's sweet nature, Fred's problems concerning his profession and Mary Garth, and the situation at Stone Court.

These same situations are further developed in the opening of "Old and Young." The conflict between Fred and his father and the relationship between Fred and Featherstone develop in the opening chapters. Chapters Sixteen through Eighteen focus upon Lydgate and his position as a new (young) doctor with new theories in a community entrenched with old situations and ideas concerning medical practice and politics. The most obvious development of this theme of "Old and Young" exists in Chapters Nineteen through Twenty-Two when we see Dorthea and Causabon on their honeymoon in Rome and their shadowy dissatisfaction with their marriage. In this book George Eliot creates a counterpoint of old and young.

In "Waiting for Death" George Eliot immediately concentrates upon the Vincys and the Garths as we see Fred's trouble concerning his debt and his dependence upon the hoped for inheritance from Featherstone. From this evolves the family invasion by all of Featherstone's poor relatives as they wait for his death which closes the dramatic scene between him and Mary Garth. Because of Fred's fever, the romance between Lydgate and Rosamond flowers and results in their engagement. They are dropped at this point as they prepare and wait for the wedding. In a certain sense Lydgate is waiting for his death, since his marriage eventually destroys any possible fulfillment of his ideals in medicine. Even though George Eliot drops the Causabons at the end of Book Two immediately to take up the Vincys and Featherstones, there is a subtle connection with the conversation between Will and Dorthea and their deepening friendship. Surely the reader feels that Causabon is somewhat in the way of the relationship; cannot the very title, "Waiting for Death," suggest possibilities to him? If not, his imagination is stirred in Chapter Twenty-Nine with Causabon's heart attack immediately following a slight clashing of tempers with Dorthea concerning Will,

and Dorthea's discovery in the next chapter that he has *possibly* fifteen years to live.

Featherstone's death closes Book Three, and his funeral opens "Three Love Problems." With the reading of the will, Joshua Riggs is introduced and is seen again with Bulstrode in Chapter Forty; the machinery of the Bulstrode plot begins to slowly move with this meeting. Because of Fred's disappointment in the will, his romance with Mary is hindered even more. Here also is the beginning of the slight triangle between Farebrother, Mary and Fred which becomes obvious in Book Five (Chapter 52) and Book Six (Chapter 57). The second love problem which George Eliot handles is that of Rosamond and Lydgate as Vincy offers certain objections to the marriage and is overcome. In Chapter Thirty-Seven Ladislaw has returned to Middlemarch and is editing Brooke's political organ, the 'Pioneer.' Causabon's hostility toward Will only makes Dorthea more deeply sympathetic and attracted to Will. In the last chapter Causabon discovers the extent of his illness from Lydgate. He faces death with the realization that his life's work may become meaningless and that Dorthea will be free to marry Ladislaw who often disconcerts him intellectually. The book ends as Causabon tells Dorthea, ". . . You are young, and need not extend your life by watching (p. 314)." The next book is "The Dead Hand."

Causabon's hand is felt even after his death because of the codicil to his will. This book deals not only with the intricacies of Dorthea's and Will's feelings and of Lydgate's position and Brooke's political adventures, but also of Bulstrode and Riggs at Stone Court. And this reminds the reader of Featherstone's dead hand and his power in affecting the lives of his family, especially of Fred Vincy. Raffles reappears in this last chapter (Chapter 53) with a vague allusion to Bulstrode's past of which we do not receive a full account until the next book in Chapter Sixty-One.

The next book, "The Widow and the Wife," begins with Dorthea's return to Lowick Manor. One might wonder what the relationship is between this chapter and the previous one. The connection is subtle; Book Five closes as Raffles remembers Sarah Dunkirk's married name, which is Ladislaw. And this leads George Eliot to Dorthea. The primary purpose of this book is to show the contrasting pictures of Dorthea and Rosamond as they both involve themselves with Will Ladislaw, and the book ends with his departure from Middlemarch. In addition to this, Fred's problem of his future is solved as he begins to work with Garth, and the triangle involving him, Mary, and Farebrother develops as mentioned above. The Bulstrode plot is also furthered, his past is revealed completely to the reader, and he offers Will a sum of money to compensate for his earlier omission.

Since the book closes as Will leaves the Lydgates' home, the next book, "Two Temptations," opens with the revelation of Lydgate's financial difficulties and his increasing alienation with the towns-people and the medical profession, and presents the growing alienation between him and Rosamond as she interferes

with his arrangements for the house and by writing to Sir Godwin requesting money. Lydgate is tempted to try various solutions to his problem and finally asks Bulstrode who refuses. But the two temptations refer mostly to Bulstrode and what one might consider as his two secret sins which are revealed before the book ends. The one is his refusal to reveal the existence of his daughter to his first wife, and the second is his allowing Mrs. Abel to give brandy to Raffles. Lydgate is bound to Bulstrode through the loan he receives and, in the eyes of the townspeople, as an accomplice to what was considered as Bulstrode's "murder" of Raffles. The situation reaches its climax at the meeting in the Town Hall at which Bulstrode is denounced and Lydgate is associated with him. When Dorthea hears of this, she immediately wants to defend Lydgate, but, with the opening of the last book, she is convinced that this is not in her province.

In "Sunrise and Sunset" George Eliot resolves the conflicts to the extent that they can be resolved and offers pleasant vistas for some. It is impossible for Bulstrode to redeem himself, and he, therefore, plans to leave Middlemarch. Dorthea and Ladislaw and Mary and Fred are united. Lydgate's financial problems only are solved.

In order for George Eliot to achieve the unity of MIDDLEMARCH, it is not enough that she simply have a unity of structure and organization and that the different plots should, at times, mingle. Not only does she show similarity and difference of character through similarity of situation as shown above, but also in basic attitudes and traits of the characters.

The flaw in Rosamond is not that she is strong willed but that her will is centered on herself alone. She views all things in light of their effects on her life and social position. Because she is so conscious of herself, she really cannot feel any emotion and does not realize the emotion of others. Parallel to Rosamond's strong will is Dorthea's, which is directed not at herself but toward others. Her one wish is to make life beautiful for everyone. It is through Dorthea that Rosamond, for a few moments, does become alive in their interview in Chapter Eighty-One. Rosamond has always considred Dorthea as a county divinity worthy of her study (Chapter 43). She becomes the person who ". . . predominated in all things concerning her (p. 580). . ." When Dorthea goes to her with the thought that this meeting ". . . might be a turning-point in their lives. . . in those three lives which were touching her (p. 582). . ." Rosamond is particularly susceptible to enter a new world of life and emotions because of Will's accusations the previous day and her first realization of the pain she could cause. But Rosamond's mold has been too strongly cast, and when she reveals Will's love for Dorthea; she ends her confession feeling as though this could repel Will's reproaches. Rosamond cannot change.

If a romantic, one can be satisfied with Dorthea's love for Ladislaw in opposition to Haight's dissatisfaction (p. xiii). The romantic philosophy is held in common by Dorthea, Will, and Lydgate, although Rosamond hinders Lydgate

from living by his philosophy. She views accomplishments in terms of status only. Will and Lydgate have both revolted against their family background. Lydgate was impressed by Dorthea when he first met her and thought her as exquisite as music. His subsequent impressions of Dorthea's concern for Causabon and the trials she endured confirmed his impression that Dorthea was what a woman and wife ought to be and caused him to respond hopefully to Dorthea's offer to talk to Rosamond.

Dorthea is not only strong-willed and romantic, she even has the Victorian obsession with work as do Mary and Garth; he and Dorthea each admire the other for this characteristic. Fred Vincy is a strong contrast to this. Even though Farebrother is his rival in some sense, Fred and the Vicar are sympathetic in relation to Fred's indecision concerning his entering the Church and the Vicar's admitted dissatisfaction with it. It is Lydgate, perhaps, who truly perceives the Vicar's dissatisfaction and, at first, exults that he finds such satisfaction in his own progression. These parallels and conrast of characters provide a unity where to the casual reader there seems to be none.

Unity in MIDDLEMARCH, then, is not a matter of a simple device or one main plot, as is often the case of a less complex novel. Instead, it is the result of the novelist's interrelating of plot and character patterns, the subtle and careful preparation for character development, and the delicate intertwining of human lives in an English town such as Middlemarch.

League of Women Voters of The United States
Washington, D. C.

FIASCO
JUNE 19 - 20, 1863

Lt. Col. (Ret.) Bruce Nicolson Gillaspey

Evaluation of the defeat suffered by the North at the first battle of Manassas aroused in certain thinking politicians, on both sides, an appreciation of the necessity for a trained and well-equipped military force, capable of enforcing the political aims of the opposing parties. In consequence, armies of professional pattern began to take form. These troops made flexible, hard-hitting weapons when properly handled. Unfortunately, these keen tools were often entrusted to untrained hands. The men who met at Chickamauga Creek in the Confederate State of Georgia on 19-20 June 1863 were of this tough professional breed. Their commanders met the test of expertise with varying degrees of success.

Braxton Bragg, General C.S.A., pet of Jefferson Davis and an unloved, dour, martinet, commanded the Army of Tennessee. Bragg, detested by his division commanders, had proved himself as a battery commander of courage and ability during the Mexican War. He could not attain the competence required for army command.

William Starke Rosecrans, Major-General commanding the Army of the Cumberland, was, like Bragg, a West Pointer. He was a man of endless energy and industry—a good organizer, a master strategist. He was also a poor tactician and his brain was said to be better than his nerve. As a general officer, he was more capable than Bragg—but his place was as chief-of-staff to an army commander. He lacked the peculiar attributes of the successful fighting leader.

The clash at Chickamauga occurred more as a result of political than strategic necessity. The Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers were controlled by the Union. Before the middle of 1862, naval power held the Mississippi River for the North. An overall, logical plan of campaign demanded that the South be divided and defeated in detail. Political considerations in Washington, however, dictated that eastern Tennessee, the home of many Union sympathizers, should be captured and held for the Union. As is usual in such case, this area was of no great trategic or tactical value. Its capture would not shorten the war, but—it might make political capital.

The introduction to Chickamauga was written at Stone's River where Rosecrans with superior force defeated Confederate troops which had previously raided at will through the border states.

Following the battle of Stone's River, Rosecrans took possession of Murfreesboro in the first days of January 1863 and promptly sat down to wait out the winter months. In the meantime, Braxton Bragg had his headquarters at Tullahoma and his army was so dispersed as to cover the routes to Chattanooga. During the winter there were no operations on a large scale between the two armies.

The Confederate cavalry service, greatly outnumbering the Federal cavalry, for a time was able to keep the Union Army on half rations. Rosecrans was unable at any time during this campaign (Chickamauga) to put an adequate cavalry force, properly equipped, into the field, in spite of copious correspondence to the Department Commander and the War Department.

In furtherance of the political strategy in vogue in Washington, the War Department was persuading, urging, and even threatening Rosecrans to induce him to move against Bragg's army and drive it out of Tennessee. Likewise, Grant, fearful that a portion of the Confederate army would be detached for service against him around Vicksburg, also urged attack as a means of keeping the Southern forces from any overwhelming concentration of strength against any of the Union armies operating in the Western states.

Before the beginning of the campaign of maneuver around Tullahoma, the Union army numbered around 60,000 effectives, while the Confederate army numbered only about 41,000. The Confederate General Buckner was separated from Bragg in Eastern Tennessee, and the Army of the Ohio (Union) was organizing under Burnside for a march into East Tennessee from Kentucky. On the 23rd of June 1863, Rosecrans moved out of Murfreesboro and began a well-conducted series of maneuvers which succeeded in forcing Bragg to move away from his entrenchments and to retreat to Chattanooga.

Rosecrans followed and began operations against Chattanooga. The town was easily captured without resort to siege operations by another series of map maneuvers which worked perfectly. Thus, the North came into possession of an important railway center and the key to eastern Tennessee, northern Alabama, north Georgia, and middle Tennessee. Spurred on by the urging of the War Department to attack the enemy south of Chattanooga, and believing carefully manufactured reports obtained from deserters (to the effect that Bragg's Army was retreating in disorder in the direction of Rome, Georgia) Rosecrans again sent his troops forth on a masterly map solution to the situation thus presented to him.

In actuality, Bragg had been joined by Simon Bolivar Buckner and Walker's Corps of two divisions from Joseph E. Johnston's forces in Mississippi. Longstreet was en route to join from the Army of North Virginia with two divisions and Alexander's battalion of artillery.

In accordance with the plan made by Rosecrans for pursuit of the supposedly demoralized Confederate Army of Tennessee, the three corps of McCook, Thomas and Crittenden were ordered through gaps in the mountains at such distance apart as to be unable to support each other in the event Bragg turned to strike any one corps. Bragg, meanwhile, had concenrated at Lafayette, and was aware, through his superior cavalry and intelligence service, of the opportunity to destroy the Federal corps in detail. However, due to the dilatory tactics of his division commanders, the continual bickering in councils of war, and the fact

that the generals commanding divisions did not trust his judgment, Bragg was unable to carry out the logical plan of destroying the Union Army, corps by corps.

Negley, of Thomas' Commands, pushing through Stevens' Gap, and on to Dug Gap, met the enemy in great strength. Thomas, quickly analyzing the situation, sent immediate word to Rosecrans, but it was not until two or three days later that Rosecrans would give credence to the intelligence so forwarded. At that time he gave orders for a concentration of his Army at the Eastern end of Stevens' Gap and planned to take up a defensive position covering the roads to Chattanooga. On the morning of the 16th, Crittenden's corps was at Lee and Gordon's Mills, Thomas at Pond Spring, and McCook on the right at Stevens' Gap. Granger, with the reserve corps, was at Rossville and Mitchell's cavalry corps covered the right of the Army. Minty's brigade was on the Ringgold Road east of Reed's Bridge, and Wilder's Mounted Infantry at Alexander's Bridge over Chickamauga Cheek. Bragg had been joined on this date by Hood with three of Longstreet's brigades—six others and a battalion of artillery were on the way.

Instead of waiting until his army had been reinforced to full strength, Bragg planned an immediate attack to turn the left flank of the enemy and cut him off from the roads back to Chattanooga. Therefore, on the 18th, he issued orders for an immediate move. Hood, with his own and Bushrod Johnson's troops, was to cross at Reed's Bridge, turn left and sweep up the Chickamauga towards Lee and Gordon's Mills. The turning movement was to be followed progressively by each division of the Army of Tennessee.

Rosecrans had guessed Bragg's plan of battle, and accordingly moved Thomas and McCook to the space between the crossings of the Chickamauga at Alexander's and Reed's Bridges.

The Confederates advanced slowly and ran into stiff resistance from the outnumbered Union cavalry. No decisive action was accomplished on the 18th. During the night of the 18th, the forces on both sides were in movement and by the morning of the 19th, all the Confederate infantry, except the divisions of Hindman, Breckenridge and Cleburne, were on the west side of the creek. Neither Army knew the exact position of the other and none of the Federal commanders on the field were aware that seven-tenths of Bragg's army was across the Chickamauga. The opposing lines, when dawn broke on 19 June 1863, were approximately six miles long.

Thomas, holding the left of the Union line, was informed that a single Confederate brigade had crossed the river in the vicinity of Reed's Bridge. He ordered Brannon forward with two brigades to drive it back. This precipitated a general engagement with troops flung in piecemeal all along the line. Only gradually did the battle become general.

FIASCO, JUNE 19-20, 1863

The first day's fighting was indecisive, and a council of war at the Union headquarters that night was not productive of any concerted plan of attack or defense. On the early morning of the 20th, Rosecrans began to reinforce his left by withdrawing troops from the vicinity of Lee and Gordon's Mill and sending them to the left in the direction of Thomas' position. Thomas, during the night, had strengthened his position and reversed his extreme left flank. The strengthening consisted of breastworks of logs, rails and rocks.

On the second day, Bragg's plan for the fight was simple and should have been executed without difficulty. He persisted in the attempt to turn the enemy's left where Thomas was firmly entrenched and he expected to launch the attack at dawn. Early morning fog and the congenital slowness of the "Bishop-General," Polk, prevented the assault from getting under way on time. Because of Polk's failure to move according to orders, Hill (commanding on the extreme right of the Confederate line) was delayed until well after breakfast. It was not until 7:30 a. m., that Breckenridge's division opened the battle and pushed on beyond the Rossville Road, but reinforcements had been hurried to Thomas' left, and although Breckenridge was in a position to take Thomas' main line in reverse, Negley's division and other troops were able to check Breckenridge's enveloping movement and drive the Confederates away from Thomas' left and rear. At about 11 a. m., Confederate divisions attacked the right of Thomas' position. Fighting was heavy all along Thomas' line but there had been practically no fighting along the right of the Union line. Accordingly, Rosecrans continued to draw troops from the right to send to Thomas on the left.

A little after 11 o'clock, Rosecrans issued an order which has since caused more discussion and controversy than any other one incident occurring during the battle of Chickamauga. Rosecrans, on the basis of improper, and insufficient information, ordered General Wood to "close up on Reynold's division as fast as possible and support him." The order was confusing and Wood, rather than close up to Reynolds' right, moved behind Brannon—the next division in line between Wood and Reynolds—and to the rear of Reynolds, in order to support him. Coincidentally with Wood's withdrawal, Longstreet's corps attacked the position previously held by Wood.

Eight Confederate brigades, arrayed in three solid lines of battle, swept wildly through the gap. Two of Davis' brigades (Federal) were broken immediately. Then instead of turning left, as the general plan of battle had been, Longstreet turned right against the main body of the Union forces, sweeping Van Cleve and Sheridan before him.

Rosecrans and the entire right wing of his army were forced from the field and clattered pell-mell down the road for Chattanooga. At 4 o'clock, Rosecrans reached Chattanooga, followed by Crittenden and McCook, corps commanders, and the division commanders Van Cleve and Negley, with the intelligence that Sheridan and Davis were also in retreat.

The impetus of the rush through the center brought Longstreet to a position on Thomas' right front. Thomas, in view of developments on his right, had retreated to Horseshoe Ridge, a series of small hills commanding the road network leading to Chattanooga. Here, with both flanks reversed and despite the lack of support and the withdrawal of his ammunition train, Thomas held on throughout the afternoon.

At about 2 p. m., Thomas found that Confederate troops of Forrest's command had worked around to the rear of his position. There were no reserves to beat off this fresh attack and the Confederate brigades were massing for a general attack all along the line. At this moment, the relief column headed by General Steedman of Gordon Granger's reserve came in view and beat off the Confederate elements attempting to surround Thomas. Further Confederate attacks developed after 4 o'clock, but Thomas' line held until orders were received from Rosecrans to retire. Following these orders, Palmer, Wood, Brannon and Baird left the field, protected by skirmishers. They left the Confederates beating out a grass fire which threatened the wounded on the ground.

Bragg, not having reconnoitered the field, personally and having either garbled or no information on the tactical state of his troops, refused to order an immediate pursuit of the beaten Federal Army. Thereby twice within a month, he lost an opportunity to decimate or destroy the only force threatening cleavage of the Confederacy.

Thus ended the engagement at Chickamauga Creek. The Confederate forces had possession of the field but had suffered more casualties than their opponents. The Federal force was defeated and in retreat but had not been rendered completely ineffective.

Because Gettysburg was the only great battle fought on Northern soil, and because regiments from eastern states composed a great majority of the troops engaged, all the interest of the Union seemed centered in Gettysburg alone. There were other great battles besides Gettysburg which have claim to historical recognition. The most pretentious and most inaccurate of Gettysburg claims is that it was a decisive battle and the most important of the war. It is true that the Army of Northern Virginia here sustained the greatest repulse in all its history. But—can Gettysburg be called a decisive battle or even a defeat comparable to those suffered by the Union before this date? The entire Confederate Army retained possession of its position on the battlefield for a whole day after fighting had ended. It challenged the Army of the Potomac to renew the contest. The Union command prudently refrained from further combat, making no counter-assault and allowing the Army of Northern Virginia to withdraw virtually unmolested from the field and across the Potomac. At Chickamauga, on the contrary, on 20 September, every division of the Army of the Cumberland was engaged and after every one had been in turn beaten, the largest part of the Federal Army abandoned the field in a general rout, leaving their dead and wounded where they

fell and strewing the ground with weapons accoutrements and impedimenta in their flight.

On the next morning, 15,000 stand of arms were collected by the Confederates including 4,500 weapons secured by one Confederate division alone. This division's request to continue pursuit was met with refusal, though one third of it had not participated in the assault. The halt to the Confederate assault, from a military standpoint, was the most stupendous blunder of the war, for not only this Confederate division but others were ready to pursue. These troops included brigades that participated but little in the action that day, and many that had not moved since noontime. Yet, according to the diary of a distinguished Federal general who participated in the action, "The great Army of the Cumberland could have been blotted out by only a single division of the enemy pouncing upon it before the morning of the 21st of September."

The failure of the Confederate commander to realize the possibilities inherent in the exploitation of this defeat of the opposing army made possible the following campaigns of Grant and Sherman which resulted in the partition of the Confederacy and the final linking-up of military and economic forces to defeat the Army of Northern Virginia.

Member, the Company of Military Historians
Husson College

SUPPLEMENT

ORGANIZATION

(Federal)

Militia

Militia under call of April 15, 1861, ordered by Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas, April 16, 1861:

COMPANY (Infantry)
1 Captain
1 First Lieutenant
1 Ensign
4 Sergeants
4 Corporals
1 Drummer
1 Fifer
64 Privates

COMPANY (Foot Riflemen)

Same as infantry except there may be a bugler instead of a drummer and fifer.

REGIMENT (Infantry or Foot Riflemen)

10 Companies
1 Colonel
1 Lieutenant Colonel
1 Major
1 Adjutant
1 Regimental Quartermaster
1 Surgeon
1 Assistant Surgeon
1 Sergeant Major
1 Quartermaster Sergeant
1 Drum Major
1 Fife Major

BRIGADE

4 or more Regiments
1 Brigadier General
1 Aide-de-camp
1 Brigade Inspector

DIVISION

2 or more Brigades
1 Major General
2 Aides-de-camp
1 Division Inspector

Volunteer Army (Federal)

After various changes, the organization of the Volunteer Army was, on September 6, 1862, defined as follows:

INFANTRY (Regiment)

10 Companies
1 Colonel
1 Lieutenant Colonel
1 Major
1 Adjutant (Lieutenant)
1 Surgeon
2 Assistant Surgeons
1 Chaplain
1 Sergeant Major
1 Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant
1 Regimental Commissary Sergeant
1 Hospital Steward

FIASCO, JUNE 19-20, 1863

INFANTRY (Company)

1 Captain
1 First Lieutenant
1 Second Lieutenant
1 First Sergeant
4 Sergeants
8 Corporals
2 Musicians
1 Wagoner
64 Privates (minimum)
82 Privates (maximum)

CAVALRY (Regiment)

12 Companies or Troops
1 Colonel
1 Lieutenant Colonel
3 Majors
1 Surgeon
1 Assistant Surgeon
1 Regimental Adjutant (Lieutenant)
1 Regimental QM (Lieutenant)
1 Regimental Commissary (Lieutenant)
1 Chaplain
1 Sergeant Major
1 Quartermaster Sergeant
1 Commissary Sergeant
2 Hospital Stewards
1 Saddler Sergeant
1 Chief Farrier or Blacksmith

CAVALRY (Company or Troop)

1 Captain
1 First Lieutenant
1 Second Lieutenant
1 First Sergeant
1 Quartermaster Sergeant
1 Commissary Sergeant
5 Sergeants
8 Corporals
2 Teamsters
2 Farriers or Blacksmiths
1 Saddler
1 Wagoner
78 Privates
2 Musicians allowed for each Company
(rated and paid as privates)

ARTILLERY (Regiment)

12 Batteries
1 Colonel
1 Lieutenant Colonel

1 Major (for every 4 batteries)
1 Adjutant
1 Quartermaster
1 Chaplain
1 Sergeant Major
1 Quartermaster Sergeant
1 Commissary Sergeant
1 Hospital Steward

ARTILLERY (Battery)

1 Captain
1 First Lieutenant
1 Ensign
1 Quartermaster Sergeant
4 Sergeants
4 Corporals
2 Artificers
1 Drummer
1 Fifer
122 Privates
Provision made to allow President
to add other designated officers.

General Organization

With the call for the first three-year volunteers, May 3, 1861, came directions for general organization.

Brigade

4 Regiments
1 Brigadier General
1 Aide-de-camp (Lieutenant)
1 Assistant Adjutant General (Captain)
1 Surgeon
1 Assistant Quartermaster (Captain)
1 Commissary of Subsistence (Captain)

Division

3 or more Brigades
1 Major General
2 Aides-de-camp (Captains or Lieutenants)
1 Assistant Adjutant General (Major)

The militia act of July 17, 1862, empowered the President to organize army corps. The size and makeup of the corps was left to the discretion of the commanders.

The following corps officers were provided for, who were also to constitute the staff of the commander:

1 Assistant Adjutant General
1 Quartermaster

1 Comimssary of Subsistence
1 Assistant Inspector General
who shall bear, respectively, the rank of
Lieutenant Colonel and Major
also
3 Aides-de-camp (1 Major, 2 Captains)
to be appointed by the President and Senate on
nomination of the commander.

REGULAR ARMY

Infantry

Regiments in the regular army consisted of two or more battalions each with eight companies to the battalion. The organization of a company was, as its minimum, the same as for a company of volunteers, except that no wagoner was allowed. This made a minimum of 82 men and officers. The maximum allowance of Privates was 82, making the total strength of the company 100.

The minimum for a battalion was 656 officers and men, besides 1 Major, 1 Battalion adjutant (Lieutenant), 1 Battalion Quartermaster and Commissary (Lieutenant), 1 Sergeant Major, 1 Quartermaster Sergeant, 1 Commissary Sergeant, 1 Hospital Steward; aggregate 663. With all companies full, the maximum strength of the battalion was 807.

Regimental officers were: 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 1 Regimental Adjutant (Lieutenant), 1 Regimental Quartermaster and Commissary (Lieutenant), 1 Drum Major, 2 Principal Musicians, 24 Musicians for band (these were later abolished.) Aggregate 2,020 as a minimum, or 2,452 maximum regiment.

Cavalry

The regiment of cavalry consisted of three battalions, each battalion of two squadrons, and each squadron of two companies, each of which organized as follows:

Minimum: 1 Captain, 1 First Lieutenant, 1 Second Lieutenant, 1 First Sergeant, 1 Company Quartermaster Sergeant, 4 Sergeants, 8 Corporals, 2 Musicians, 2 Farriers, 1 Saddler, 1 Wagoner, 56 Privates, Aggregate: 79.
Maximum: 72 Privates. Aggregate: 95.

The battalion officers were the same as in the Infantry, except that the Battalion Adjutant was not necessarily a Lieutenant, and there were, as additional NCO's 1 Saddler Sergeant and 1 Veterinary Sergeant.

Minimum: 325 officers and men.
Maximum: 389 officers and men.

The regiment, when it included three battalions, totaled from 997 to 1,189 officers and men. The regimental officers were: 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant Colonel,

1 Regimental Adjutant (Lieutenant), 1 Regimental Quartermaster and Commissary (Lieutenant), 2 Chief Buglers, 16 Musicians (later omitted.)

Artillery

The artillery regiment consisted of eight or twelve batteries. Battery officers were of the same rank and number as found in the regular cavalry company. Spcialists also followed the cavalry T/O, except for the omission of the saddler and the substitution of two artificers for the two farriers.

> With a minimum of 58 privates, the aggregate strength was 80 officers and men.
> The maximum battery had, in addition to basic officer, NCO and specialist strength: First Lieutenants, Second Lieutenants, 2 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 6 Artificers and 122 Privates. Aggregate 156.

With 12 companies, the regiment had a minimum of 960 company officers and enlisted men besides the regimental officers: 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 3 Majors, 1 Adjutant, 1 Regimental Quartermaster and Commissary (Lieutenant), 1 Sergeant Major, 1 Quartermaster Sergeant, 1 Commissry Sergeant, 2 Principal Musicians, 1 Hospital Steward, 24 Musicians for band (band later deleted.) Aggregate 997. The maximum was 1,909.

General Organization

The regulars were divided into two divisions of two brigades each. Each division to have: 1 Major General, 2 Aides-de-camp (Captain or Lieutenant), 1 Assistant Adjutant General (Major from Adjutant General's Department), 1 Quartermaster (from Regular Staff of the Army), 1 Commissary of Subsistence (from Regular Staff of the Army.)

A brigade to have: 1 Brigadier General, 1 Aide-de-camp (Lieutenant), 1 Assistant Adjutant General (Captain from Adjutant General's Deprtment), 1 Assistant Quartermaster (Captain), 1 Assistant Commissary (Captain).

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BOOK REVIEWS

Emden Town of Yore: Old Times There and in Adjacent Towns

By Ernest George Walker. Independent-Reporter Company. Skowhegan, Maine. 1929.

Reviewed by Richard Cohen

A chapter of Ernest Walker's book, "Embden's Sweet Auburn," which is the history of Embden's lake community, is reminiscent of Oliver Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* ("Sweet Auburn, lovliest village of the plain" [1. 1]). Intentional or not, the title and the first paragraph contain a parallel to the poem which may be applied to various sections of the book, as well as to the remainder of this chapter. Mr. Walker writes: "Summer and winter and in all moods of weather it is a region fair to look upon. Hills of enduring beauty outline the horizon. Interesting groups of men and women grew up there generation after generation. Ties of kinship and neighborliness prevailed." Although neither Embden nor its lake region is deserted, they have been hurt by mechanization. The world of the cottages, of the pond, of the "summer vacation places" of people from Massachusetts or Rhode Island or New York, "this large and congenial neighborhood," as Mr. Walker notes in 1929, "has changed tremendously." The observation is particularly true now. The lumber teamsters now drive in large trailer trucks, and the sedate jogging of horses has changed to restless automobiles; the people vacation about what has become another polluted lake.

Unlike Oliver Goldsmith, and despite the recognition of change, Ernest Walker mistakenly believed that nature had conquered man. In 1929, perhaps it was impossible to prevent the land from "reverting to the forest;" but in this decade, it is nature which has been defeated (as was the Deserted Village) by the exploitation of shore frontage.

Ernest Walker's book, which is a meticulous genealogy interspersed with interesting historical fragments that begin with the eighteenth century, enables those who have intimately known this area of Maine to return pleasantly to what we today consider a comfortable past.

Among the first settlers was a widow, Olive Hutchins, who travelled north in 1782, with her four children and an Indian guide who eventually kidnapped her baby and returned it within two days, saying, " 'Squaw no want white baby. She got papoose enough now.' "

Benjamin Berry served under General Arnold (The Arnold Trail passes through Embden) and reported that he [Berry] and the men " 'were soon sold—

yes sir, sold was the word.' " The company, which was kept on short rations, finally guessed that Arnold wanted the men weak " 'so [they] could not fight if the British came.' "

Eventually the wilderness of Embden became an enticement for speculators from Providence, Rhode Island; and it is rather interesting to imagine what may have occurred had the "boom era" continued and the region developed. The decade of the 1830's, however, was a period in which New Englanders began, as did other easterners, to hear of the opportunities of "rich, virgin lands in the middle west." One is further reminded of Goldsmith and the migration from his Auburn. The Embden region remained largely ignored by the outside, with the exception of the Civil War in which 140 men enlisted or were drafted (and presumably World War I), until the automobile and motorboat era.

Embden Town of Yore was loaned to me by a granddaughter of William H. Holbrook, the town's first Civil War volunteer. The book became a reminder that beyond the nostalgia of all those summers of Embden, one tends to forget that in towns such as this there is a history of wars, speculators, farmers, lumbermen, vacationers, laborers, teachers, lawyers, writers, doctors, and women giving birth. Ernest Walker does depict, in his way, a prose "Sweet Auburn," as he recalls a past previously unknown to me and awakens memories of dirt roads, brooks, an unpolluted pond, and a sky full of stars.

Husson Collge

NEW HUMANIST CRITIC

Paul Elmer More's Shelburne Essays on American Literature. Selected and Edited by Daniel Aaron. Harcourt Brace and World, 1963. $4.95.

Reviewed by VESTA M. PARSONS

The din of verbal battle between Paul Elmer More and Henry L. Mencken has long been silent. *The Shelburne Essays* have been out of print for some years, and the status of New Humanist critic Paul Elmer More has sunk to that of brief mention in the history of American literary criticism.

Aaron's collection may well indicate that More's name is to be more than a footnote in American literature. Although his prejudices and didacticism may prevent his ever regaining his once-held prestige, More does deserve serious reading in his scholarly studies of the Golden Age or "first cycle" of American literature. Daniel Aaron's selection of seventeen esays is thus particularly valuable to the readers of Hawthorne, Thoreau, Poe, Longfellow, Whittier, and Emerson.

Many of these essays were "occasional pieces" in recognition of the centenary of Longfellow, the publication of George Woodbury's *Nathaniel Hawthorne,* or the public appearance of Henry Adams' *The Education of Henry Adams.* As a literary editor in New York, More was, of course, aware of timely topics in the book market. To journalistic pressure, he added a vast background of scholarly reading and the painstaking work of thorough research. There is no evidence of slipshod writing in *The Shelburne Essays.* Prejudice and moralizing—yes; but error resulting from half-knowledge—no!

A few examples will serve to indicate the essays in the Aaron collection.

More's treatment of Longfellow is sound. For some time it was difficult to assess the lasting value of Longfellow's poetry. He was "the best loved poet," but unfortunately he was loved for the wrong poems. Then came the years when he was peremptorily dismissed for sentimental treatment in *facile* rhyme and for lack of originality and depth. More unreservedly admits Longfellow's weaknesses, but he also lauds the magnificence of the sonnets to the point where he recommends publishing a volume of the sonnets alone, a volume which would place Longfellow "as a peer among the great writers of England." Perhaps first honors should go to the six sonnets with which Longfellow prefaced his translation of Dante's *The Divine Comedy.* Other readers might give first place to the sonnet on Chaucer which so "happily celebrated" the poet of *The Canterbury Tales.* There is also a strong appeal in the sonnet of his old age in which Longfellow wistfully looks at the books on his study shelves as the "ornaments and arms" of his earlier years.

More also antedated modern scholars who have recently tried to give a just assessment of the quality of Whittier's verse. For a time it was fashionable to be

scornful of Whittier, to deplore his lack of intellectual training, and to emphasize the crudeness of his technique. Today there is at least moderate praise for the *genre* painting of "Snow Bound" and considerable respect for the sincerity of Whittier's devotional poems. These views represent essentially the same judgment that More expressed more than sixty years ago. As a discerning critic, Paul Elmer More condemned the bathos in such unfortunate expressions as "holy Eva" but he also attributed to Whittier a very considerable ability in his portrayal of "the ideal of the home" and in his portrayal of the true quaker spirit in *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim.*

More's "Henry Adams" handles with dexterity an enigmatic figure in American letters. After some years of existence in a limited edition "distributed to a few friends," *The Education of Henry Adams* was published. This event had been expected to produce quite a splash in the literary puddle. More's critical judgment at the time of publication that perhaps the world would make little or nothing of the *Education* is probably nearer the mark than the romantic optimism which years of exclusiveness had engendered. Among the weaknesses which More noted and time has affirmed are that the book is too diffuse and that Adams' frustrations become monotonous. On the other hand, More's ability to pick up striking passages and philosophies is firmly exemplified. He makes specific reference to Adams' expressed belief in the law of chance, the hostility of nature to man and the indifference of any Supreme Being in connection with the death of his sister—this famous passage which was to become a major chapter in the bible of the naturalistic writers.

Mr. Aaron has performed a worthwhile service in preparing this Collection. It is to be hoped that a similar labor may bring together in a single volume the best of Paul Elmer More's essays on English writers.