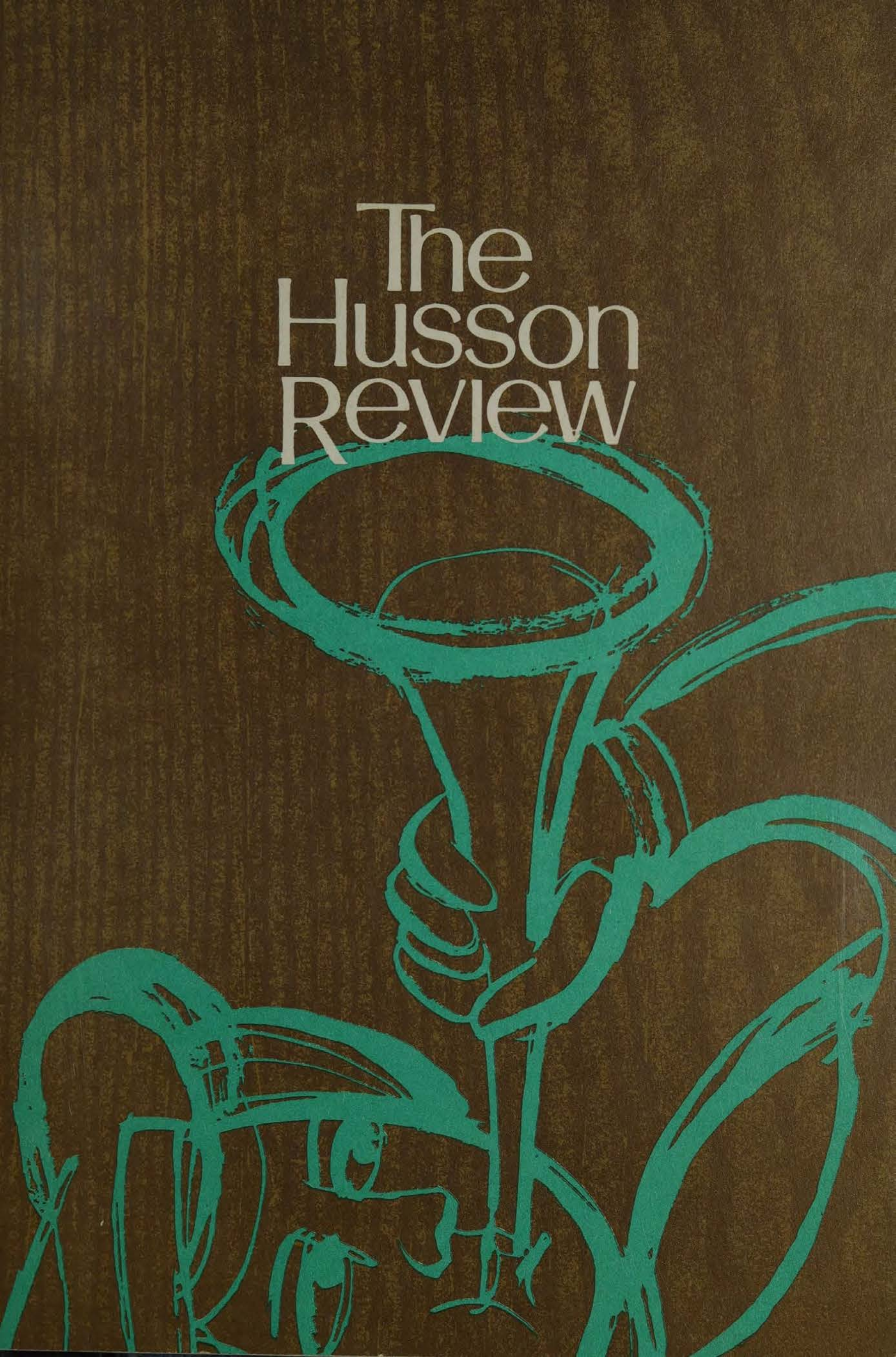
The Husson Review



The Husson Review

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The Husson Review welcomes contributions both in business and the liberal arts and will strive to maintain a reasonable balance in space devoted to each area.

Articles may follow either traditional forms of documentation or the MLA style sheet.

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The Communist Seizure Of Czechoslovakia

FREDERICK C. GIFFIN

In February of 1948, a relatively quiet and bloodless *coup d'etat* occurred in Czechoslovakia which placed the Communists in undisputed command and eliminated democracy on the Western pattern. In contrast to a popular revolution, which depends upon romantic or heroic spontaneity, the Czechoslovak affair—like the Bolshevik revolution in Russia—was "a revolution by arrangement."[1] The Communist faction in the state seized control through the effective use of official powers already in its possession. The manner in which the Communists obtained these powers and how they used them to bring about Czechoslovakia's engulfment into the Soviet orbit make an interesting case study of Stalinist tactics.

The Republic of Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918 and rapidly became one of the most flourishing democracies in Europe. It had a strictly democratic constitution, wide political liberty, a well-balanced economic structure, a hard working and orderly population, and the advantage of enlightened leadership. From 1919 until 1935, Czechoslovakia was presided over by Thomas G. Masaryk, a scholar and a statesman of considerable ability.

The broad political freedoms characteristic of this young democracy permitted the legal formation in 1921 of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC). At first, the movement was viewed in Moscow with suspicion and even contempt. But this attitude changed as the CPC proved its subservience to the Kremlin and, particularly, after Stalin's choice, Klement Gottwald, became General Secretary of the Party in 1929.

During the period prior to the Second World War, the CPC—the only communist party in Central and Eastern Europe which was allowed to function in those years—polled approximately ten percent of the vote. Its greatest success was in 1925 when it received over 940,000 votes, winning forty-one of the 300 seats in the National Assembly. Three years later, the Party's membership reached an interwar high of 150,000. After this time, however, the poularity of the Communists declined. Until the elections of 1946, they never again received more than thirty seats in the National Assembly; in 1930 Party membership dropped to a low of 28,000. Nonetheless, throughout the 1930's the CPC remained firmly under centralized control and free of any internal factional dissension.[2]

Perhaps the real groundwork for the Communist seizure of Czechoslovakia was laid at the Munich Conference in September, 1938, when France, Great Britain, and Italy capitulated to the demands of Hitler. The Soviet Union and the CPC exploited the Munich crisis very ably. The CPC greatly enhanced its prestige by joining the ranks of the "defenders of democracy and of the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia."[3] The Soviet Union, for its part, repeatedly assured Czechoslovakia of its readiness to meet the terms of their alliance of 1935, which provided for Soviet aid only if France, too, remained faithful to her obligations. Practically speaking, the Soviet assurance was worthless, as the

Soviet leadership knew in advance that the French did not intend to honor their obligations.[4] According to the subsequent testimony of his personal aide, although Czechoslovakia's president, Eduard Benes, was aware of the abstract character of the Soviet promises, "he never forgot that while Chamberlain and Daladier were working to break down his resistance, the Russians at least made a gesture of willingness to help, and no other country did even that."[5] Prior to 1938, Czechoslovakia had been perhaps the most western-oriented Slavic country. But the Munich crisis convinced Benes that, in order to guarantee the future safety of his country, he must turn to the Soviets.

If Munich may be regarded as the starting point of the Communist revolution, the Second World War may be viewed as its period of development. After March 15, 1939, when the German army occupied Czechoslovakia and Hitler declared a protectorate over the western provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, Benes and other national leaders fled to France and formed a Czechoslovak National Committee. The National Committee was recognized as qualified to represent the Czechoslovak people by both the French and British governments at the end of 1939. With the fall of France, the Czechoslovak National Committee moved its headquarters to Great Britain where, in 1940, it declared itself the Provisional Government of Czechoslovakia. This new government was granted full recognition by Great Britain and the U. S. in the summer of 1941.

Following the German invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941, the policy of the Soviet government and of the Czech Communists immediately became one of collaboration with the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. Early in July, Benes received a communication from Moscow assuring him that "the Soviet Government will not interfere in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. . . her internal regime and structure will be decided by the Czechoslovak people alone."[6] Two days later, the Soviet Ambassador to London reaffirmed this.[7] Then, on July 18, the Soviet Union established formal diplomatic relations with the Czechoslovak government-in-exile and agreed to a military alliance against Germany.[8]

The Czechoslovak Communists who had fled to Moscow in 1939—Gottwald among them—attached great importance to the agreement of July 18. According to one of them, from the day that the agreement was concluded "the centre of gravity for the Czechoslovak liberation began to shift from the West to the East."[9] With the signing of this agreement, the line of the Czechoslovak Communists changed from one of denouncing Benes' London government as a tool of the western imperialists to one of firm support of Czechoslovakia's war effort. And their patriotism was soon rewarded. At the beginning of November, 1941, Benes nominated four members of the CPC then resident in London, to the Czechoslovak State Council.

In November and December of 1943, two events occurred which brought Czechoslovakia still more under the influence of the Soviet Union. The first of these was the Teheran Conference. Beginning in late November and ending on December 2, discussions were held between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin which resulted in a secret agreement assigning Czechoslovakia to the Soviet sphere of influence.[10] The second event was a visit to Moscow by Eduard Benes. On De-

cember 12, the day after his arrival, Benes concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Aid, and Postwar Cooperation with the Soviet Union. This bilateral agreement "became the fundamental basis of . . . Czechoslovak foreign policy and lasted until the complete take over of Czechoslovakia by the Communists in February 1948."[11]

In a report sent back to the Czechoslovak government in London after he had signed the 1943 treaty, Benes optimistically asserted:

> I am convinced that a strict adherence to all treaties and agreements, not only with Czechoslovakia but also with Great Britain and the United States, can be expected with absolute confidence.
>
> In the whole course of the negotiations there was not one instance when the Soviet representatives did not emphasize at the appropriate moment that Czechoslovak home affairs did not concern them in any way and they would never interfere.[12]

According to Edward Taborsky, who accompanied the Czech leader to Moscow, Benes' brief stay in Russia played "a fateful role" in his subsequent attitudes toward things Russian and "definitely tinted his glasses with rose."[13] Stalin's repeated assurances that the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia were not the concern of the Soviet Union, coupled with his willingness to grant whatever Benes requested with no reservations, made a profound impression on the Czechoslovak statesman. From his view of the Soviet Union in 1943, Benes became convinced that "its revolutionary era was ended and that it was now passing through a stage of gradual transformation into what would eventually become socialist democracy."[14] In actuality, the Communist attitude was far different from what Benes believed it to be. In July, 1943, the Central Committee of the CPC had issued a brochure to tested comrades, which contradicted everything the Soviet leaders and Communists elsewhere were stating publicly. Chapter Six of the brochure, entitled "Revolution and the New State," outlined the intent of the Czechoslovak Communists very clearly: "The supreme revolutionary goal is the *establishment of a Czech Soviet Republic* and its attachment to the *Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.*"[15]

Much of the responsibility for the close ties formed between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union during the war belongs to Great Britain and the United States. Neither of these Western powers offered Benes adequate alternatives to collaboration with the Soviets. Indeed, on certain occasions they advised Benes to seek Soviet aid rather than turn to them for assistance. In 1943 and 1944, Benes attempted to secure weapons from the British for use by the Czech underground. His request was refused "on the ground that Czechoslovakia was within the sphere of Soviet military operation." He was told to ask the Russians for the necessary weapons. Similarly, Benes' request for American air support for the Slovak uprising in 1944 was turned down for the same reason.[16]

At the beginning of 1945, the Soviets suggested to Benes that he transfer his government from London to the liberated areas of Czechoslovakia. Accordingly, in mid-March, Benes, Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, and other Czechoslovak politicians traveled to Moscow to negotiate the formation of the first post-war government of Czechoslovakia. Actually there was little negotiation. Klement

Gottwald and his associates dominated the proceedings from the very beginning, "pressing home the tremendous psychological and political advantages accruing to them from the Red Army's control over Czechoslovakia and the overt Soviet support of their cause."[17] As a result, both the program of the new Czech government and the membership of the new Cabinet were primarily the products of the CPC leadership.

On April 4, 1945, the Czechoslovak government of the National Front was formed in the city of Kosice in eastern Czechoslovakia.[18] In the new Cabinet the Communists controlled all the key positions but the Ministry of Justice (headed by a member of the National Socialist Party), the Ministry of Foreign Trade (directed by Hubert Ripka, also a National Socialist) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (headed by Jan Masaryk, who had no Party affiliation). Members of the Communist Party directed the ministries of interior (the agency which exercised supervision over the police), information, education, agriculture, and social welfare. And the Communist position was further strengthened by the inclusion of Zdenek Fierlinger, a pro-Communist Social Democrat, as Premier, and of General Ludvik Svoboda, another pro-Communist, as Minister of Defense. Gottwald and Vilem Siroky, the respective leaders of the Czech and Slovak Communist Parties, contented themselves with deputy premierships.[19]

On April 5, 1945, the new government announced the Kosice Program, the main provisions of which had been determined in Moscow during the preceding March. According to this program, the Agrarian Party and other rightist parties such as the National Democratic and Slovak People's parties, were excluded from political life and outlawed. It also provided for the expulsion of Germans and Hungarians from Czechoslovakia, and determined that the organization, armament, and equipping of a new Czechoslovak Army would be similar to the Soviet system, that the army would be freed from "unreliable" and "reactionary" officers, and that only those with a positive attitude toward the new regime would be officers. In domestic policy, the whole state authority was passed on to the National Committees (bodies similar to the Soviets in the USSR), which were completely in the hands of the Comunists. In economic policy, the nationalization of business and industry was to transform traditionally industrial Czechoslovakia into a Soviet paradise. New land reform was to be achieved by the expropriation of larger landed estates. Perhaps most important, the Kosice Program announced that the Czechoslovak government would conduct its foreign policy in the light of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of December 12, 1943. In short, in nearly every aspect of national life, Czechoslovakia was to follow in the wake of the Soviet Union.[20]

In May, 1945, the Soviet Union took advantage of still another opportunity to strengthen its influence in Czechoslovakia. On May 5, an uprising against the Germans broke out in Prague. Although General George S. Patton's Third Army was only a few miles away, it was not allowed to come to the assistance of the insurgents. The United States previously had given way to the insistence of Stalin, who was determined that the Germans in the capital cities of Warsaw, Berlin, and Prague be crushed by the Red Army. Accordingly, on May 9, Prague was "liberated" by the Soviet troops of Marshal Konev. The American decision

not to intervene proved to be an important tactical blunder. In the opinion of Edward Taborsky:

> Had Patton continued to advance he could have liberated not only Prague but the whole of Bohemia and a substantial portion of Moravia. The Communists would have been denied the advantage conferred by the presence and active support of the Red Army and the N.K.V.D. in entrenching themselves in the most populous and most strategic areas of Czechoslovakia.[21]

The propaganda value which the Soviets and the Czechoslovak Communists accrued from the Prague liberation should not be underestimated. The Czech people were never allowed to forget who liberated their capital.

It is generally agreed that the Communists could have seized complete power in 1945 had they wished to do so. Apparently, the major reason they did not take over Czechoslovakia at this time was that Stalin wished to refrain as much as possible from alarming his western allies. He realized that much could still be gained by continuing the wartime policy of allied cooperation. Accordingly, the leaders of the CPC concentrated on converting Czechoslovakia to Communism by parliamentary means. The Party's main purpose was to gain a majority in the National Assembly and introduce a communist system by peaceful transition through legitimately constitutional channels, thereby validating the claim that the Party represented the will of the people.[22]

Two of the earliest acts of the Kosice government, following the liberation, were directly concerned with the Soviet Union. The first was the formal cession of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to the Soviet Union in June, 1945. The second was the granting to the Soviets of mining rights in the Jachymov district, an area rich in uranium ore located in the Rudolphi Ore Mountains near the border of Saxony. The granting of mining rights—essentially an action of the Communist controlled Ministry of Interior—was accompanied by an agreement in which Czechoslovakia undertook to deliver for the exclusive use of the Soviet Union its entire stock of uranium ore. The mining and shipping of the ore were to be supervised by Soviet engineers. A new agreement with essentially the same provisions was concluded in 1947.[23]

On October 14, 1945, the Communist-controlled National Committees sponsored the formation of a Provisional National Assembly to which each of the six parties of the National Front agreed to send forty deputies. Owing to the device of a technically separate Communist Party of Slovakia, the manner of apportioning deputies gave the Communists double representation. An additional fifty-seven deputies were drawn from special interest groups such as the trade unions and various cultural organizations whose representatives were subsequently compelled to join one of the established political parties. The end result was an Assembly in which the Communists held ninety-eight seats, roughly a third of the total number. Their position was further strengthened by the fifty seats held by the largely pro-Communist Social Democratic Party.[24]

One of the first major legislative acts approved by the Provisional National Assembly was the nationalization of industry. By a series of decrees at the end of October, 1945, the government nationalized coal and other forms of mining,

steel, iron, gas and electricity, armaments, most of the chemical industry, and a number of other industries declared essential to the national interest. In terms of workers employed, the decrees affected approximately sixty percent of all Czechslovak industry.[25]

A particularly effective instrument of Communist power in the immediate postwar period was land reform, which was supervised by the Communist-led Ministry of Agriculture. This consisted of a number of expropriation decrees directed mainly against German and Magyar property in all parts of the republic. The land area affected by the decrees, totalling approximately seven and one-half-million acres, provided an invaluable fund of patronage for the Communists. The Czech peasants who received the confiscated land were expected to support the Communists, and a great many of them did.[26]

The wisdom of the Communist-inspired land reform became evident in the elections of May, 1946, when the support of the traditionally conservative peasantry contributed significantly to the Communist victory. In the elections to the Constituent National Assembly, the Communists won thirty-eight percent of all votes cast, emerging "not only as the strongest postwar party, but as the strongest since the foundation of the Republic."[27] The Social Democrats, led by fellow-traveller Zdenek Fierlinger, carried thirteen percent of the electorate. Thus, the Communists and Social Democrats together obtained 153 out of a possible 300 seats in the Constituent National Assembly.[28]

Of the twenty-six ministers in the new government, nine were Communists and three were Social Democrats. While retaining control of the ministries of interior, information, agriculture, and social welfare, the Communists also gained the premiership (Klement Gottwald) and the ministries of finance and internal trade. As Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, who was a member of no party, remained strictly non-partisan, the radical left bloc of Communists and Social Democrats plus Minister of Defense Ludvik Svoboda (who sided with the Communists on almost all important issues) had thirteen votes in the government as against the twelve votes of the democratic parties.[29]

The astounding success of the Communists in the 1946 elections may be attributed primarily to their success in having created the impression of being good, patriotic Czechoslovaks, seemingly independent from Moscow. There were also more specific reasons for the Communist victory. In their electoral campaign they had taken full advantage of the Party's control of the communications media. The Party's pre-election propaganda was intensive and clever. The nature of this propaganda is suggested by the Communist attempt to gain support from religious elements by publicly insisting that clergymen and priests "be included in the category of hard-working laborers who were entitled to an extra meat ration."[30] Moreover, probably "no other party presented so specific a programme, and presented it as vigorously as the Communists."[31] The energy and positivism of the Party was particularly an asset with the younger voters (the voting age was 18). Perhaps the most interesting of the reasons which have been given for the Communist victory, however, is National Socialist Hubert Ripka's assertion that the Soviet High Command chose the time of the elections to announce its

intention of transporting occupation troops garrisoned in Austria across Czechoslovak territory into East Germany, thereby intimidating the Czech electorate.[32]

By the beginning of 1947, the CPC seemed to have become, as Communist trade union leader Antonin Zapotocky claimed, "the most loyal, the most constructive, and the most patriotic party."[33] According to East European specialist Professor H. Gordon Skilling, most of the Party's appeal to the non-Communist masses stemmed from its success in identifying itself with the great revolutionary changes that had occurred since 1945: the expulsion of the Germans, land reform, the nationalization of industry, the introduction of planning (such as the Two Year Plan decided upon in October 1946), and the alliance with the Soviet Union. All of these were "popular measures, enjoying widespread support, and strongly advocated by the Communist Party."[34]

As a result of its widespread appeal, the CPC had become a massive movement. At the time of the Eighth Party Congress in 1946, its membership totalled nearly 1,160,000.[35] Moreover, the Communists held a large number of key offices in the country's political and economic systems and had succeeded in obtaining a commanding position in certain national organizations, particularly the trade unions. Before the war the unions had been organized and supported by the various political parties. Now they were consolidated into the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (URO) under the leadership of the Communist Antonin Zapotocky. By the beginning of 1947, the URO had over two million members, and there was not a single question on which it differed from the policy of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia.[36]

In the summer of 1947, there occurred an event which marked the beginning of the great crisis which would result ultimately in the Communist take over of Czechoslovakia. On July 4, the Czechoslovak Cabinet voted in favor of participation in the Marshall Plan. But just five days later Stalin informed a Czechoslovak government delegation in Moscow that particpation in the Marshall Plan would be interpreted as a hostile act against the Soviet Union. Accordingly, on July 10, the Czechoslovak government published a communiqué declaring its intention not to attend the Conference of Paris. The announced reason for the withdrawal was that Czechoslovakia's participation might be interpreted as a blow to the friendly relations existing between her and the Soviet Union.[37]

Following Czechoslovakias' forced rejection of the Marshall Plan there began

> a series of events and movements which eventually was to make inevitable the use of force and violence by the Communist Party, for they clearly indicated that if the democratic processes were to be followed, communism in Czechoslovakia was doomed to suffer vast reverses and eventually lose its leading position in the government.[38]

The late summer and fall of 1947 witnessed a growing crisis within the National Front, involving controversies over almost all the major issues of policy, foreign and domestic. In the course of these controversies, the CPC suffered a number of serious reversals. Most important among these was the defeat of the pro-Communist wing within the Social Democratic Party—an event which shattered

Communist hopes to take over the government in a parliamentary manner. Only by counting the Social Democratic votes as their own could the Communists ever hope to gain that fifty-one percent majority needed for a peaceful transition to Communism. To make matters worse, all reports received by the CPC leadership during the winter of 1947 indicated that the Communists would *lose* rather than gain strength in the approaching spring elections. A poll taken in January, 1948, by the Institute for Public Opinion Research under the Communist-led Ministry of Information predicted that the CPC would win only twenty-eight percent of the popular vote—ten percent less than it had obtained in 1946.[39]

By the end of January, 1948, mutual suspicions and constant rivalry among the parties of the National Front had completely paralyzed government activities. The Communists and the non-Communists were engaged in a struggle for power, with each convinced that the other was planning to seize control and exclude their rivals from authority.

The crisis came to a head at a meeting of the Czechoslovak Cabinet on February 1. The Minister of Justice, a National Socialist, presented a report on the extent of Communist control of the security police. Among other things, he charged that eight non-Communist police commissioners in Prague had been replaced. He was sufficiently convincing to persuade a majority, including the Social Democrats, of the necessity for a thorough investigation. In the meantime, the Communist Minister of Interior was instructed to reinstate the eight police commissioners and to suspend all nominations in the services of the security police until February 24, at which time the Government was to make a decision on this subject.[40]

With the Communist Minister of Interior's refusal to carry out these instructions, the ministers of three parties—the National Socialist, the Slovak Democratic, and the People's—agreed to provoke a governmental crisis by resignation. The National Socialist ministers informed President Benes of their decision on February 17. They explained that "by forcing a showdown on the security police issue, they could obtain, they assumed, the support of the Social Democrats and forestall the Communist plan of precipitating a crisis on the issue of nationalization after the workers' congress."[41] Whether or not Benes gave a clear endorsement of the resignations and pledged not to accept them is still open to question. What is important is that the National Socialists henceforth assumed that Benes was firmly behind their whole course of action.

On February 19, two events occurred which placed the crisis in an international setting. Valerian Zorin, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Lawrence Steinhart, the American ambassador to Czechoslovakia, arrived in Prague. Allegedly, Zorin had come to check on imports of Russian wheat and to participate in a celebration in honor of Soviet-Czech friendship on February 22. According to Hubert Ripka, "what was more probable, even obvious, was that Zorin had been sent to Prague to intervene in the internal crisis of the country—in other words, to help the Communists in their struggle against the democrats."[42] Ripka's position is shared by the former New York *Times* corres-

pondent in Czechoslovakia, Dana Schmidt,[43] and there is little reason to doubt its accuracy. Zorin did, in fact, openly indicate Soviet support of the CPC. Shortly after his arrival in Prague he had a talk with the non-Communist ministers in which he told them: "I do not understand the attitude of the resigning Ministers or of Benes, who opposed the people's will. The Soviet Union fully backs the energetic policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party."[44] Unfortunately, Steinhart could not counter Zorin's threat with an offer of United States support for the non-Communists. Months earlier, he had informed one of the National Socialist ministers not to expect any aid from the United States in the event of a showdown between Communists and non-Communists.[45]

At the Cabinet meeting on the morning of February 20, the National Socialist, People's, and Slovak Democratic ministers did not appear. Instead, they sent a communication to Premier Klement Gottwald stating that they would attend the meeting only if they were informed that the earlier decision concerning the police had been carried out. Gottwald gave them no such assurance, and the Cabinet meeting was not held. Several hours later the twelve democratic ministers handed their resignations to President Benes with the understanding that, if he did not accept them, new elections would be forced in which the Communists would be certain to lose. Fourteen ministers, including the non-party men, Jan Masark and Ludvik Svoboda, remained in the Cabinet. The government was, therefore, still in existence and under the fundamental laws of 1920 could continue to function.[46]

The Communist counter-offensive began on the same day. Gottwald, Minister of Interior Nosek, and Minister of Defense Svoboda visited Benes in the late afternoon and attempted to persuade him to accept the resignations and replace the retiring ministers with new ones. That evening the Presidium of the Party's Central Commitee issued a proclamation linking the domestic crisis with "a threat to the republic by agents of foreign reaction" and charging the three parties whose ministers had resigned with being "an anti-democratic, anti-popular, and anti-socialist bloc" intent on overthrowing the regime of people's democracy.[47] The Communists also began a purge of radio employees, deprived the Czech Press Agency of the right to send out news not approved by Communist censors, seized control of the postal, telephone, and telegraph services in Prague, and prevented many non-Communist officials from entering their offices.[48]

On the morning of February 21, Gottwald addressed a huge crowd of factory workers in Prague. He called for the acceptance of the resignations of the twelve ministers and for their replacement by representatives loyal to the original spirit of the National Front. This became "the theme of all subsequent Communist actions, and was endorsed in a resolution passed by the meeting."[49] A five member delegation from the meeting was sent to Benes to impress upon him the necessity of forming a new Gottwald government. This was immediately followed by another visit from Gottwald and Nosek. But the President refused to accept the resignations. He saw his task in the struggle to be that of bringing the parties together and urging them to cooperate. The Communists were not prepared to accept Benes' refusal so readily, however. They continued to

strengthen their position. After Nosek returned from the President's headquarters, he ordered special detachments of the gendarmerie (an organization created by the Communists in 1945 and 1946 on the pretext of maintaining order in frontier regions) to concentrate in Prague.

Sunday, February 22, witnessed the convening of the Congress of Works Councils and Union Branches in the Exhibition Building in Prague. Of the 8,000 delegates in attendance, all but 1,100 were Communists. It is therefore not surpising that the Congress, which had supposedly been convened to discuss the question of civil servants' salaries, turned into a spirited Communist demonstration. Both Gottwald and Communist trade union leader Zapotocky delivered fiery speeches in which they denounced the "reactionaries" in the National Front, accusing them of favoring a restoration of capitalism and a breach with the Soviet Union. The Congress then called for a one-hour strike to be held on February 24 as an indication of trade union support for the formation of a new National Front.[50]

Sunday evening was the occasion for two more important events. The first was the occupation of all the squares, major thoroughfares, and bridges of Prague by special units of the Communist-controlled gendarmerie. The second was the convening of the Congress of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, used by Gottwald as opportunity to repeat his accusation that the "reactionaries" were seeking to disrupt his country's alliance with the Soviet Union. Significantly, in the face of this intensive rallying of Communist forces, "the reaction of the non-Communist parties was one of passivity."[51] They held no meetings in Prague during the weekend of February 21-22 as a counteraction to the Communist demonstrations.

On Monday, February 23, the police undertook searches of the secretariats and editorial offices of the three opposition parties; security police and members of the factory militia took up positions at all public buildings and party headquarters of the National Socialist Party; the Communist Minister of Interior, Nosek, reported to President Benes that "a vast conspiracy" to seize power had been uncovered. In the meantime, the Communists were able to persuade the Social Democrats to "negotiate" with them.[52]

In contrast to the hurried activities of the Communists, on the 23rd, as on the preceding weekend, no non-Communist meetings were held. Four members of the National Socialist Party did meet with Benes during the afternoon, but they did little more than talk of constitutional processes of law and peaceful procedures. Their reluctance to act with greater determination is perhaps partially explained by the fact that since February 21, the Communists had been spreading rumors to the effect that Gottwald had Stalin's support and that Red Army troops were at the borders ready to move against the forces of "reaction." Moreover, just a few hours before the National Socialist delegation visited Benes, the Communist newspaper, *Rudé právo,* came out containing an article reprinted from *Pravda* which indicated full Soviet support for the Czechoslovak Communists.[53] Hubert Ripka, one of those who visited Benes on the 23rd, later ad-

mitted that this threat of Soviet interference had had a profound effect on the non-Communists: "It was feared more and more that resistance to the Communists would be interpreted and punished as an unfriendly act toward Russia."[54]

After February 23, there remained only two more tasks for the Communists: to paralyze completely the functioning of the democratic parties, and to persuade President Benes to accept their program. These last two stages were completed within the next forty-eight hours.

On February 24, Gottwald again visited Benes, reiterating the Communist demands, and Benes again refused to accept a new ministry not based on an agreement of all the parties. The Communist position was significantly reinforced, however, by the complete success of the one-hour strike which had been decided upon by the labor congress on the 22nd. The strike was accompanied by warning that if Gottwald's demands were not accepted, a general strike would be called. Still more indicative of Communist determination, Minister of Interior Nosek directed newly formed "action committees" in the seizure of opposition party headquarters and newspaper editorial offices. Finally, that night the Social Democrats completely abandoned all resistance to Communist demands. Anti-Communist members of the party's executive committee were expelled and the remaining Social Democratic leadership declared itself in favor of a new government and National Front.[55]

On the morning of February 25, Gottwald, Nosek, and trade union leader Zapotocky held a two hour meeting with President Benes. The nature of their discussion is unknown, but at the meeting's conclusion it was announced that Benes had accepted the resigntions of the twelve democratic ministers. Then, at four o'clock that afternoon, the President made it known that he would sign the decree nominating the new ministers proposed by Gottwald. All that remained was for Gottwald to report the Communist victory to a mass demonstration at St. Wenceslas Square.[56]

In the face of the Communist success, the non-Communist leaders and the members of their parties did little or nothing. Neither the army, the Sokol gymnastic organization (potentially a para-military force), nor any other organized body took any action against the new government. A hastily formed student demonstration against the new regime was readily dispersed by the police, and a parade of the workers' militia during the evening served to discourage any further opposition. The coup had been completed with a minimum of violence and with almost no active resitance. Doubtless, this lack of resistance can be attributed in part to fear of Soviet intervention. Zorin was still in Prague, and Soviet troops surrounded four-fifths of Czechoslovakia's frontiers.[57] As a recent official history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union openly admits, "a great factor in the liberation struggle of these peoples was the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union."[58]

The new Cabinet was sworn in by President Benes on February 27, and presented to the National Assembly on March 10. The Communists held the premiership, two of the three deputy premierships, and the ministries of interior, education, information, justice, agriculture, foreign trade, internal trade, and

finance. Moreover, almost all of the non-Communists in the Cabinet were pro-Communist. Jan Masaryk remained as Minister of Foreign Affairs until March 10, when he either committed suicide, as the Communists allege, or, as the bulk of the evidence suggests, was murdered. He was succeeded by the Communist Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Vlado Clementis. President Benes resigned on June 7, one month after the new constitution was announced.[59]

According to East European specialist William E. Griffith, had the West not indicated, if only by inaction, its essential lack of interest in Czechoslovakia, and had not the Soviet Union so strongly supported the Czechoslovak Communists, the coup "would not have succeeded as easily, nor would Benes or the democratic parties have been so weak in their opposition to it." Nonetheless, he writes, "the main blame for the coup's success must be put on the miscalculation and lack of coordination of the democratic parties and upon Benes' weakness and final capitulation to Gottwald's demands. . . ."[60]

The resignation of the twelve democratic ministers on February 20, was a serious blunder. In thinking that such action would compel the Communists to submit to new elections, and thus forestall a coup, they were suffering under the misconception that the crisis could be resolved on a parliamentary basis. They mistakenly assumed that the Communists would continue to follow parliamentary forms and practices. Accordingly, the non-Communists made no effort to obtain aid from elements of the army or other mass organizations that might have been willing to resist Communist pressure. Even in their use of parliamentary tactics, moreover, the non-Communists showed themselves to be lacking in skill, determination, and the ability to cooperate with one another. No real effort was made to secure joint action with the Social Democrats or with Masaryk in order to bring about a fall of the entire Cabinet. The non-Communists placed the responsibility for achieving a parliamentary solution on President Benes.

It can be argued, as does Griffith, that Benes should not have capitulated to Gottwald's demands. A realistic appraisal of Benes' predicament, however, makes his action a more understandable, if not indeed a more realistic, one than Griffith believes. On Wednesday, February 25, Benes found himself without any resources for resistance. He fully realized that the preponderance of power was in the hands of the Communists. They had the cooperation of the trade unions, the workers' militia, and the army; they controlled the press and the radio; and they enjoyed the support of the Soviet Union. Benes felt that if he rejected Gottwald's demands the controversy would almost certainly be settled through regrettably forceful means. And in that eventuality there was no doubt in his mind who would win. The non-Communists were virtually powerless, and there was no reason to expect active support from the West. Thus, it seemed to Benes that there was no other alternative than to surrender to the Communist demands. Under these circumstances, his decision appears to have been unavoidable. The opportunity to offer effective resistance against the Communists had passed. In a very real sense, Czechoslovakia's fate had been determined in the immediate postwar period, when Benes and the democratic parties had permitted the Communists to lay the groundwork for Czechoslovakia's enslavement.[61]

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NOTES

[1] U. S. Congress, House of Represntatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 81st Congress, 1st Session, *The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, Supplement III, The Coup d'Etat in Prague* (Washington, 1949), p. 1.

[2] See Edward Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia, 1948-1960* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1961), pp. 6-7; H. Gordon Skilling, "Revolution and Continuity in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1946," *Journal of Central European Affairs,* XX (January, 1961), 377; William E. Griffith, "Myth and Reality in Czechoslovak History," *East Europe,* II (March, 1962), 10.

[3] Josef Korbel, *The Communist Subversion of Czechoslovakia, 1938-1948* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1959), p. 32.

[4] Edward Taborsky, "Benes and the Soviets," *Foreign Affairs,* XXVII (January, 1949), 305.

[5] *Ibid.* Benes, formerly Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, had become President following the death of T. G. Masaryk at the end of 1935.

[6] Taborsky, "Benes and the Soviets," p. 308.

[7] George Svejda, *The Political and Diplomatic Preparations for the Communist Conquest of Czechoslovakia in February of 1948* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1959), p. 154.

[8] Hugh Seton-Watson, *The East European Revolution* (New York, 1951), p. 163.

[9] Vaclav Kopecky as quoted in Svejda, *Preparations for the Communist Conquest,* p. 156.

[10] Dana Adams Schmidt, *Anatomy of a Satellite* (Boston, 1952), p. 79.

[11] Svejda, *Preparations for the Communist Conquest,* p. 192.

[12] Shiela G. Duff, "The Tragedy of President Benes," *Contemporary Review,* CLXXIV (November, 1948), 268.

[13] Edward Taborsky, "The Triumph and Disaster of Eduard Benes," *Foreign Affairs,* XXXVI (July, 1958), 675.

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 678.

[15] As quoted in Korbel, *Communist Subversion,* p. 74. Korbel served for a time as President Benes' secretary.

[16] Taborsky, "Triumph and Disaster," pp. 679-90.

[17] Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia,* p. 13.

[18] The government of the National Front was made up of six parties: Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Slovakia, National Socialist Party, Social Democratic Party, People's Party, Slovak Democratic Party.

[19] Svejda, *Preparations for the Communist Conquest,* pp. 258-59.

[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 260-62; U. S. Congress, *The Coup d'Etat in Prague,* p. 6; Hubert Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved: The Story of the Communist Coup d'Etat* (London, 1950), pp. 28-29.

[21] Taborsky, "Triumph and Disaster," p. 680.

[22] See Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia,* pp. 15-16.

[23] Seton-Watson, *East European Revolution,* pp. 180-81; Jiri Kasparek, "Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia's Uranium," *Russian Review,* XI (April, 1952), 98-105. Kasparek, who was an official in the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the time the Soviets took over the Jachymov uranium mines, asserts that the cession was extremely unpopular with the vast majority of Czechs.

[24] Skilling, "Revolution and Continuity in Czechoslovakia," p. 377; Korbel, *Communist Subversion,* pp. 150-51.

[25] H. Gordon Skilling, "The Break-Up of the Czechoslovak Coalition, 1947-8," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXVI (August, 1960), 397.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 398; Hugh Seton-Watson, *From Lenin to Krushchev: The History of World Communism* (New York, 1960), p. 255.

[27] William Diamond, *Czechoslovakia Between East and West* (London, 1947), p. 16.

[28] Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved,* p. 47.

[29] U. S. Congress, *The Coup d'Etat in Prague,* p. 5; Korbel, *Communist Subversion,* p. 155.

[30] Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia,* pp. 16-17.

[31] Diamond, *Between East and West,* p. 18.

[32] Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved,* p. 47.

[33] As quoted in Skilling, "Break-Up of the Czechoslovak Coalition," p. 401.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia,* p. 17.

[36] Skilling, "Break-Up of the Czechoslovak Coalition," p. 402; Korbel, *Communist Subversion,* pp. 158-59.

[37] Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved,* pp. 50, 56-57, 61-62.

[38] Korbel, *Communist Subversion,* p. 187.

[39] Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia,* p. 19.

[40] H. Gordon Skilling, "The Prague Overturn in 1948," *Canadian Slavonic Papers,* IV (1960), 89-90; Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved,* p. 196.

[41] Skilling, "The Prague Overturn in 1948," p. 91.

[42] Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved,* p. 224.

[43] Schmidt, *Anatomy of a Satellite,* p. 109.

[44] As quoted in Svejda, *Preparations for the Communist Conquest,* p. 344.
[45] Schmidt, *Anatomy of a Satellite,* p. 110.
[46] Skilling, "The Prague Overturn in 1948," pp. 93-94.
[47] *Ibid.,* p. 94.
[48] Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved,* pp. 229-30.
[49] Skilling, "The Prague Overturn in 1948," p. 96.
[50] *Ibid.;* Korbel, *Communist Subversion,* p. 227.
[51] Skilling, "The Prague Overturn in 1948," p. 99.
[52] Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved,* pp. 259-76.
[53] *Ibid.,* p. 265.
[54] *Ibid.,* p. 267.
[55] Skilling, "The Prague Overturn in 1948," pp. 102-105.
[56] *Ibid.,* p. 106.
[57] U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 87th Congress, 1st Session, *Background Information on the Soviet Union in International Relations* (Washington, 1961), p. 22.
[58] *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* Edited by Andrew Rothstein, *et al.* (Moscow, 1960), p. 607.
[59] Skilling, "The Prague Overturn in 1948," pp. 107-10; U. S. Congress, *The Coup d'Etat in Prague,* pp. 19, 24.
[60] Griffith, "Myth and Reality in Czechoslovak History," pp. 40-41.
[61] Skilling, "The Prague Overturn in 1948," pp. 111-13; Taborsky, "Triumph and Disaster," pp. 669-84; Duff, "Tragedy of President Benes," pp. 264-70; Schmidt, *Anatomy of a Satellite,* pp. 139-40.

RHETORICAL STRATEGY IN JOHN MARSTON'S *THE MALCONTENT*

J. Arthur Faber

Whoever agrees with Oliver Goldsmith that an author's literary reputation is only as good as the price he commands at the booksellers[1] cannot but admire John Marston's foresight when he dedicated his first publication "To Everlasting Oblivion" and later was buried, according to Anthony Wood, "under the Stone which hath written on it *Oblivioni sacrum.*"[2] Marston's last editor, H. Harvey Wood, contended that the fact "that a succession of editors and readers have seen fit to deny him that oblivion is probably the highest testimony to his positive merits as a dramatist and poet."[3] T. S. Eliot, writing also in 1934, the year of Wood's first volume, remarked more candidly that "Marston has enjoyed less attention, from either scholars or critics, than any of his contemporaries of equal or greater rank;" furthermore, Mr. Eliot added that Marston "remains a territory of unexplored riches and risks."[4] During the past thirty some years this challenge has continued to prove more intimidating than inviting, for until this day Marston's oblivion rather than his reputation remains secure.

For at least one play, *The Malcontent,* Marston deserves more praise than he has received. Even if one accepts 1604 as its date (a very conservative date since it is really the *terminus ad quem*), it is easy to see why Marston's play seems to have been overshadowed by the plays of Shakespeare and Jonson, who were both at the peak of their productivity around this time. The day-to-day business of the theater in the early 1600's, however, does not warrant that assumption, for, as the title page of the amplified edition of 1604 as well as Condell's comments in the "Induction" suggest (p. 143),[6] *The Malcontent* was performed by the King's Men at the Globe even though they knew that the play belonged to the repertoire of the Children of the Queen's Revels at the Blackfriars where Marston's early plays were first performed. Such deliberate and acknowledged piracy at a time when the King's Men were well supplied with plays is itself a tribute to the merits of *The Malcontent.* It must also be remembered that Marston's reputation suffered more than anyone else's during the War of the Theater, 1599-1601. Jonson's devastating burlesque of Marston in *The Poetaster* (1601) still induces critics to caution. T. S. Eliot, for example, in praising *The Malcontent,* spoke concessively of its "freedom from grosser faults. . . rather than abundance of positive merits."[7] This kind of qualified praise is so typical that Marston can still be considered *le dramaturge malgré lui.*

Some critics have gone even further in their reaction to Marston. Failing to differentiate sharply between the author and certain characters he created, they categorically reject Marston as a perverse, debased, and unpleasant playwright.[8] It may well have been with such critical tendencies in mind that L. C. Knights warned that the malcontent type should not be regarded as "the naively personal" embodiment of how their creators felt.[9] Nor, it may be added, is it fair to take any one character as an index to an author's capabilities. With Malevole, the main character of *The Malcontent,* however, we encounter some-

one who in his rich complexity and subtle changes is a pretty fair measure of Marston both as man and playwright. By analyzing Malevole's character in relation to the structure of the play—an aspect which Marston handled in a controlled and detached manner—it is evident that Marston was not just a dejected moralist who vacillated betwen scepticism and stoicism until he took refuge in the Church but a playwright of considerable talent.

It is true that Marston's work often appears unconventional. But this fact has more bearing on the present-day acceptance of his plays than on their quality. Certainly the generalization of Mr. Wood that "there is no easy writing in Marston, and . . . very little easy reading,"[10] cannot be applied to *The Malcontent.* Even a thoughtful first reading of the play impresses one with its vigor and fluidity, almost as if he were watching the producer-playwright of the Blackfriars at work.[11] The fullness of the stage directions is striking. Unfortunately, the entr'acte music of the private theater productions has not survived. Nevertheless, the play has an organic vitality, expressed in its predominant imagery of outdoor life—of the village and the farm,[12] which suggests a closer relationship to the continental tradition of pastoral tragicomedy than is generally supposed.

The centrality of the title character Malevole is one of the most obvious features of the play. What is not so obvious is that Marston retained Malevole as central character even though he is off stage for more than a dozen scenes. Marston demonstrated his theatrical good sense and economy of technique already at the opening of the play, in his use of "the vilest out of tune Musicke" to create atmosphere, and by having Malevole speak first when he is not yet seen and then introducing him in person only after Pietro's full character sketch and after a song in the third scene of Act I. Throughout the play Malevole is the controlling force, so that we could call *The Malcontent* also a one-man play. Malevole is more than an overreacher or ranter, however. He is an intriguer, someone who manipulates the action. In that sense Malevole is central not only to the play but also to the live theater experience. He stands between the play and the audience. The closing soliloquy of the third scene—the first time that Malevole is on stage—is very important, for by his saying:

> Well, this disguise doth yet afford me that
> Which kings do seldome heare, or great men use,
> *Free speach*: and though my stat's usurpt,
> Yet this affected straine gives me a tongue
> As fetterlesse as is an Emperours.
> I may speake foolishly, (I) knavishly,
> Alwaies carelesly, . . . (p. 150)

Malevole lets the audience in on the rationale of his disguise and on the true nature of his behaviour. This knowledge puts the play into perspective for the audience, and I believe it to be a deliberate and significant dimension of the play's total meaning—a dimension without which such serious subject matter could hardly have been treated satisfactorily as tragicomedy. A telling counterpart to Malevole as manipulator within the play and as intermediary between the play and its audience, is Hamlet, a poet disguised by madness. What the audience experiences is a growing sense of confidence in the central character,

a feeling reinforced by the alternation of Altofronto-Malevole and by his progressively discarding his disguise. By the end of Act IV Malevole's identity is a public secret. The disguise has been so effective, however, that Malevole can reassuringly speak of providence and faith, and reveal to the audience that "The time growes ripe for action; . . ." (p. 198). In the closing act the audience's confidence in Malevole's being in control over what happens is so strong that they know that nothing can happen to the hero: not even the wily Mendoza can poison him; the apparently successful villain is taken in by Malevole's feigning death just as surely as he was taken in by the disguise all along. *Fraudator fraudatus!*

This progress of the central character undeniably gives the play its sense of movement, or a feeling that there is a purposeful dialectic at work. What happens (the accidental in the strictest sense) is the product of the essential and the incidental aspects of the play; in other words, the correlation of character and motive is meant to produce action. Looking at the character of the Malcontent in terms of his fixed personality (*ethos*) and its occasional modifications (*pathos*), I believe that it can be demonstrated that Marston created this dramatic rhythm by means of what were in his day standard rhetorical devices. Since tragicomedy was a mixed art form newly introduced to England at that time, the establishment of such a pattern in *The Malcontent* is especially significant. Subsequent tragicomedies often lacked the apparent simplicity of Marston's play because they were less carefully worked out.

Aristotle defined rhetoric as "the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever," and distinguished three formal modes of persuasion which belong solely to rhetoric.[13] The first two, *ethos* and *pathos,* dealing with the essential character of the speaker and with the emotional response evoked from the audience respectively, are of particular relevance to an analysis of the central character of *The Malcontent;* the third, dealing with the intrinsic suasiveness of the subject matter, is more germane to the structure of the play, which will be discussed later. Marston played *ethos* and *pathos* off against each other in his characterization of Altofronto-Malevole. By means of ethopoeia he asserted the real character of the Malcontent so that his dramatic role becomes credible. By means of pathopoeia he assured the favorable response of the audience to the sequence of situations that make up the course of events. But it should not be assumed that these two modes are entirely distinct. The almost natural initial association of Altofronto with the *ethos* and Malevole with the *pathos* of the play is altogether too rigid. It does not take into account Malevole's recurrent use of sententiae, such as "Discord to malcontents is very *Manna,*" (p. 152) and "Hees resolute who can no lower sinke." (p. 152), which are a vehicle for the residual wisdom that places Malevole, with Shakespeare's Edgar and Thersites, in the category of wise-fools. Malevole seems to be aware of precisely that role when he says to Celso, "Why man we are all Philosophicall Monarkes/ or naturall fooles," (p. 152)—a statement in which the attributive adjectives are so placed that it is at once an accurate summary of what is and a paradoxical, though recognizable, reversal of what ought to be.

The same double vision is evident near the end. In Malevole's speech to Pietro just before he undisguises himself:

> Faith as baudes go to Church, for fashion sake: come, be not confounded, th'art but in danger to loose a Dukedome, thinke this: this earth is the only grave and *Golgotha* wherein all thinges that live must rotte: tis but the draught wherein the heavenly bodies discharge their corruption, the very muckhill on which the sublunarie orbes cast their excrement: man is the slime of this dongue-pit, and Princes are the governours of these men: for, for our soules, they are as free as Emperoures, all of one peece, there goes but a paire of sheeres betwixt an Emperoure and the sonne of a bagpiper: only the dying, dressing, pressing, glossing, makes the difference: now, what art thou like to lose?
> *A jaylers office to keepe men in bonds,*
> *Whilst toyle and treason, all lifes good confounds* (p. 197).

The break between pathopoeia and ethopoeia is not as simple as the division of the prose and poetry. Throughout this last speech of Malevole as ranting Malcontent, the hyperbolic imagery of organic decay and the tortured syntax not only reflect the process of purgation that Malevole has effected, but also reinforce the pervasive good sense by which he scares Pietro out of his dukedom. And this seemingly overdone speech is credible because it is based on the empirical evidence that Malevole has been gathering about the treacherous egalitarianism of vice, be it among bawds or pretenders. The fact that references like "man is the slime of this dongue-pit" violate our sanitized modern sensibilities is irrelevant in judging a 360 year-old play. It does indeed seem part of Marston's strategy in *The Malcontent* is to let the pathopoeia be dominant at first. There is a good reason for his doing so, for by initially directing Malevole's passionate vehemence at an audience that understands its cause, Marston creates a sympathetic body of listeners. Thus, Malevole's exclamations and questionings, his jeerings and mocking, his taunts and imprecations serve a definite dramatic function. Once the audience has been engaged by what happens on stage, ethopoeia gradually becomes more important, and the audience, already sympathetic to Malevole's predicament, is systematically won over as the central character demonstrates his sensitivity, moral uprightness, and good will. The response fostered in the audience by this tragicomedy is not the pity and fear of tragedy but its counterpart—indignation and confidence. We shall see how very appropriate these emotions are when we next consider the structure of *The Malcontent* from a rhetorical point of view.

If *The Malcontent* were produced for a modern performance, there would probably be intermissions after Acts II and IV. These breaks would be in keeping with the structure of the play, for it is organized in three related but distinct sections. I am disregarding the "Induction"—charming as it may be in giving a glimpse of the early seventeenth-century theater—because it is generally regarded as an addition written by Webster for the Globe productions, necessitated because the public theaters made less extensive use of music than the private theaters. With reference to traditional critical terms, Acts I and II could be considered the exposition, Acts III and IV as the complication, and Act V as the resolution, or, as Marvin T. Herrick has described it, the "comic catastrophe".[14]

Yet there is a clearer structural pattern in *The Malcontent,* for its three sections coincide to a remarkable degree with the three kinds of rhetoric—deliberative, forensic, and epedeictic—as expounded by Aristotle.[15]

Deliberative rhetoric is the language of politics. And it is noteworthy to what extent the first two acts of *The Malcontent* are concerned with politics, especially when references to adultery are taken as symbolic analogues of usurpation. In his address, "To the Reader," Marston makes it emphatically clear that the situation dealt with is hypothetical. But even so, the fact that Pietro Jacomo and his Florentine wife, Aurelia, have seized the dukedom of Genoa is a donnée. The political scene in Genoa is still unstable. Mendoza, the matchmaker who engineered Pietro's coup by means of a convenient wedding, is scheming to take over the duchal throne himself. When Malevole discloses to Pietro that Mendoza is cuckolding him, Mendoza craftily shifts the blame to Ferneze, not so much because he wants to get rid of a political rival as because he cannot tolerate to share his mistress Aurelia. How well Mendoza initially succeeds can be seen in Pietro's adopting Mendoza as his heir, whereupon Mendoza elicits the promise from Aurelia to kill her husband, Pietro. Had Ferneze been fatally wounded in the midnight scuffle, Mendoza's plan would have been perfect. At the end of Act II, however, the ubiquitous Malevole leads Ferneze to safety. Throughout these two acts the focus is on what is going to happen, i.e., on the future. Malevole establishes and reinforces that focus when he interrupts the vituperative exhortations of the duke's minions by speaking ominously of "Dreames, dreames, visions, fantasies, Chimeras, imaginations, trickes, conceits" (p. 148) and when somewhat later he terrifies the duke by speculating about the horrendous consequences of Aurelia's infidelity (p. 149ff.). In some ways Malevole appears to be shifty during these first two acts; yet his behavior is more consistent than that of Bilioso, for example, who promises his friendship for Malevole—"a firme correspondence, a mutuall-frendly-reciprocall-kinde of steaddie-unanimous-hartily leagued—" (p. 153) but later retracts it (p. 165). The *modus operandi* for Bilioso and his court friends is expediency. In order to alter the world of political intrigue, Malevole and Celso are forced to act in accord with the same criterion.

In Acts III and IV the tone of *The Malcontent* changes. This is due to a shift from the deliberative rhetoric of politics to the forensic rhetoric of the law courts. In these acts the events that have taken place are confirmed or legalized. Both Pietro and Mendoza seek to consolidate their position in that manner. Pietro sends off the bumbling Bilioso as ambassador, and he fails; Mendoza engages Malevole as his henchman and appears to succeed although in reality Malevole is accumulating all kinds of incriminating evidence against his employer. Mendoza further tries to legitimize his position by banishing Aurelia and by instructing the Hermit and Malevole to poison each other. Even Mendoza's overtures to Maria are made under pressure of punishment. Thus the focus of these two acts is not on the future but on the past. In addition to the pervasive corruption of the first two acts, there is in these two acts a pervasive culpability. Mendoza tries to hide his machinations by covering up his tracks; Pietro and Aurelia are both sent off into the seclusion of penitential meditation. It is sig-

nificant as an index to Marston's artistic control, that Mendoza almost succeeds in glossing over his villainy, so that Malevole despairs of the world: "World? Tis the onely region of Death, the greatest shop of the divell, cruelst prison of man, out of the which none passe without paying their dearest breath for a fee . . ." (p. 194). But at that point Bilioso returns with the mandate from Florence. When Malevole leaves the stage at the end of Act IV and says, "Let's cloase to counsell, leave the rest to fate,/ *Mature discretion is the life of state,*" (p. 198), all that remains is the formal restoration of the old order.

Appropriately enough, therefore, the tone of *The Malcontent* shifts again. In Act V the dominant rhetorical mode is epedeictic. Epedeictic rhetoric is the language of ceremony. Since this act culminates in a ceremonial mask, it is inexact to speak of it as being merely comic. There is a sustained moral perspective that is highlighted by comic irony: Mendoza had ordered the mask to celebrate his personal success, while it is used by Malevole to unmask him. The focus of this cermonial act is strongly on the present. For the informed audience any other focus at this point would be disappointing. The allocation of partners in the mask dance is strictly in keeping with the various degrees of virtue attained by the participants regardless of their disguise. Malevole dances with his lawful and faithful wife, Maria; Pietro with his unfaithful but repentent Aurelia; the inexperienced Ferneze gets Maquarellia, the professional panderess; the stalwart Celso, the admirable and chaste Biancha. Most of the characters likewise come in for their respective share of praise or blame. Maria, for example, is commended and honored, wheras Mendoza is censured and dishonored. Malevole dismisses him contemptuously: "Hence with this man: and Eagle takes not flies" (p. 215). The ceremonious close of the play is in keeping with traditional epedeictic rhetoric although it is certain that in its original form the mask in the closing scene of the play supported the rhetoric by means of its elaborate music, costumes, and sets, and that the mask predominated the otherwise fairly short final act.

After analyzing to what a large extent Marston used formal rhetoric in writing *The Malcontent,* it is of interest to recall Aristotle's dicta on stylistic decorum.[16] Aristotle thought a style appropriate when it had been adapted to the emotions of the hearers, to the character of the speaker, and to the nature of the subject. It is my contention in this study that Marston met the first and second requirement by his developing the *dramatis persona* of Malevole through *pathos* and *ethos,* and the third by the rhetorical development of the subject matter of his tragicomedy from the initial deliberative, through the intermediate forensic, to the final epedeictic mode. Thus, even a general rhetorical analysis of character and structure in *The Malcontent* indicates that Marston was far more deliberate about the manner and the matter of this particular play than he is generally credited with being; that he was a conscious stylist who deserves credit long overdue. Perhaps a more lasting tribute would be if, after an intensive analysis of all his works, one could finally say about John Marston's elusive talent also, *le style c'est l'homme.*

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NOTES

[1] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson,* I (London: 1924), p. 498.
[2] H. Harvey Wood, *The Plays of John Marston,* I (London: 1934), p. xxxix.
[3] *Loc. cit.*
[4] T. S. Eliot, *Essays on Elizabethan Drama* (New York: 1956), p. 162.
[5] E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage,* III (Oxford: 1951), p. 431 ff.
[6] Citations from the play are to the Wood edition. Because of the unfortunate absence of line references, page numbers are given.
[7] Eliot, *op. cit.,* p. 172.
[8] Theodore Spenser, "Reason and Passion in Marston's *The Dutch Courtezan," Shakespeare's Contemporaries,* eds. Bluestone and Rabkin (Englewood Cliffs: 1961), p. 204; compare also, Samuel Schoenbaum, "The Precarious Balance of John Marston," *Elizabethan Drama: Modern Essays in Criticism,* ed. R. J. Kaufmann (New York: 1961), p. 123 ff.
[9] L. C. Knights, *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (Peregrine Books: 1962), p. 262.
[10] Wood, *op. cit.,* p. xxxii.
[11] Una Ellis-Fermor, *The Jacobean Drama* (London: 1961), p. 82.
[12] *Op. cit.,* p. 87.
[13] Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric,* trans. J. H. Freese (Cambridge, Mass.: 1959), p. 15 ff., (Bk. I, Ch. ii)
[14] Marvin T Herrick, *Tragicomedy* (Urbana: 1962), p. 224.
[15] Aristotle, *op. cit.,* p. 33 ff. (Bk. I, Ch. iii).
[16] *Op. cit.,* p. 377 ff. (Bk. III, Ch. vii).

The Higher Learning In America: Any Relevance For Today?

THOMAS J. CASEY, S. J.

For any critic to be listened to seriously and continuously by his contemporaries, it is not sufficient that he can pick flaws in current practices and institutional procedures. If his criticism is to be considered as having validity, he must also be able to propose concrete remedies which give evidence of being an improvement on existing arrangements and the promise of overcoming the deficiencies he bemoans. Robert Maynard Hutchins is a critic of education in America who has been and is listened to. The reason for this lies primarily in the fact that he has presented a program for education which is supported by a well reasoned intellectual justification of what his conception of education is and how it may be best achieved. This he presents in his small work, *The Higher Learning in America.*[1]

Proposals for Educational Reform

Hutchins' main criticisms and proposals for improving education in America fall into four parts. Originally they were presented at Yale University in 1936 as The Storrs Lectures. In part one he treats what he calls the external conditions of education in the United States and he contends that in this area we are faced with a vicious circle. The state of the nation depends upon education and education in turn is dependent upon the state of the nation.[2] The development of a sound system of education and the consequent improvement of the national prosperity is thus conditioned upon a breaking out of this vicious circle. In Hutchins' judgment, this can be accomplished by a few institutions of higher learning showing sufficient strength of character to devote themselves to the cultivation of the intellectual virtues and then convincing the public of the value of what they are doing.

At the present time what most marks the higher learning in America is the confusion which characterizes its basic aims and purposes.[3] What Hutchins identifies as a love of money and a misunderstanding of the nature of democracy has allowed the university to respond to the whims of the public in formulating the curriculum and purposes in higher education rather than establishing them upon a rational foundation.[4] In his judgment the university will serve the public and democracy best by seeing that the curriculum is indeed open to everyone, and by demanding also that its successful completion will be measured by one's capacity to do independent intellectual work. Individual differences would be taken into account to the extent that each student would be permitted to proceed at his own pace and take the examinations when he felt he was ready.[5] But what the university must insist upon is that its curriculum represents serious intellectual content which the student must master. This is an aim of education which is not attained merely by insisting that we have great men on the

faculty nor by emphasizing utility and character building in the formulation of the curriculum.[6]

In part two Hutchins goes on to expose what he designates as the dilemmas of higher education and the implications they have for establishing institutions of higher learning as the kind of institutions he would have them be. At the present time our universities are characterized by vocationalism, isolationism, and a consequent anti-intellectualism.[7] Professional schools have multiplied on American campuses and are intent upon teaching students how to practice a profession rather than on communicating the intellectual principles upon which the development and progress of the profession really depend. This in Hutchins' judgment leads to what is not only bad for the universities but for the professions themselves, since emphasis on the practice of a trade necessarily de-emphasizes thinking about the principles of the trade which maintain and develop it.[8] Hence the university's unique contribution to a profession, an understanding of the intellectual principles which undergird it, is slighted or omitted almost entirely.[9]

The emphasis on vocationalism, moreover, and the preparing to perform one's life's work contribute strongly to the isolation of faculty among themselves and an inability to communicate in the manner traditionally characteristic of a community of scholars.[10] The basis for communication among scholars must come ultimately from sharing a common education which enables them to grasp the intellectual principles which are common to all intellectual disciplines and the professions based upon them. Once this common education is neglected and the distinctive dialects of professional subcultures develop extensively, as they must in the area of work and the practical application of knowledge, communication among members of different professions becomes quite difficult. They lack a common "language of communication." Consequently the cross-fertilization and stimulation which comes from scholars communicating on matters of common interest, but which are seen from different angles and perspectives, cease to operate on the university campus. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find a form of anti-intellectualism which prefers to guarantee that the graduate of the professional school is provided with a job rather than with the intellectual grasp of the principles which underlie the profession.[11]

With part three Hutchins becomes more positive in his proposals for what must be done if the university is to become the kind of institution he conceives it ought to be. While his main concern is for what should go on in a university, he devotes a whole chapter to general education which in his judgment is not the work of the university. He does this because he is convinced that no university will be able to do the job it should do unless those who enter the university have been equipped first with an adequate general education.[12] In his judgment the place for this general education is between the junior year in high school and the end of the sophomore year of college.[13]

In treating general education, Hutchins is concerned with the content proper to it.[14] He concedes that method and technique are important but only insofar as they succeed in communicating content, which for the most part will be found in books. This implies that people who aspire to an education must be

able to read. But what education, in his view, is all about is the training of intellectual virtues which result from the development of man's intellectual powers.[15] Education should draw out the elements of man's common human nature and this implies that it can be done by putting man in possession of true knowledge which is everywhere the same.[16] Hence there are common studies which everyone must master if he is to be called educated. The only variations which should be allowed for in the curriculum should be for letting the student master it at his own pace and in his own way and then take the required examinations when he feels that he is ready for them.[17] Hutchins believes that this mastery of basic content will be feasible once we abandon the modern heresy that all education is the formal education of the schools and thus restrict the work of the school to the intellectual training of the young. He would leave the rest of education to other agencies of the community.[18]

As for the actual content of the curriculum for general education, this will consist largely of a study of those books which can rightly be called classics. A true classic is a contemporary of every age.[19] A genuine mastery of books will demand that students are able to read and improve in this basic skill. Such books will help also to develop an ability to write and think in a logical manner, which are skills demanded of the educated.[20] To assure that the ability to reason correctly is adequately developed a study of the principles of mathematics must be included, for here reasoning is displayed in its clearest and most precise form. It is a difficult curriculum, but it is one that students can master; and since it is a curriculum that has intrinsic merit and worth, as Hutchins sees it, it is capable of motivating students to want to master it.[21]

In his final chapter Hutchins goes on to develop what the university should be as an educational institution of the higher learning. He would first purge our present universities of their chief characteristic which is disorder.[22] There is disorder there because the modern American university lacks a principle of order which would allow it to see a hierarchy of truths and thus be able to distinguish what is fundamental from what is subsidiary, what is significant from what is not. For this reason the modern university with its school and departmental structures resembles an encyclopedia with little more unity than that attained through alphabetical arrangement.[23]

Hutchins believes that without theology or metaphysics a unified university cannot exist.[24] Theology has departed from the university campus as far as being considered a discipline of any influence or importance to it, and we are thus back in the position of the Greeks without Revelation. Even the Greek position exercises little influence but since it is acceptable to the modern secularist in a way theology is not, we may hope to employ it on the campus if we explicitly recognize that we are always trying at least to get a metaphysics to order data and then try to get the most rational metaphysics available.[25] We may then be able to do some thinking about fundamental problems which should be the primary concern of the higher learning.[26]

Given such a premise as his starting point, Hutchins would then have the subject matter of the university fall under the three main areas of metaphysics,

social sciences, which study man's relation to man, and the natural sciences, which study man's relation to nature.[27] Students at the university would study under all these faculties of the university, giving most of their time to the faculty which has the closest connection to the profession they will pursue later in life. But any formal training in particular skills and facts pertinent to the profession would be communicated in research and technical institutes which would be connected with the university but clearly differentiated from its three principal faculties. This should result in having professors in all three fields who are thinking about the fundamental problems of these fields and who are communicating these fundamental ideas to their students without having any immediate vocational aim in view. Order would be thus restored to the campus curriculum and professors would again be able to communicate with one another as a true community of scholars since they were all engaged in pursuing truth within the same faculties and at a level that is sufficiently general to allow them to master the language of discourse.[28]

Steps at Implementation

In brief outline, this is Hutchins' prescription for making the higher learning in American universities what it must be to serve the best interests of the people who support it. How much support could he muster for his position today? At the negative level he could find probably a great deal of support. That is to say, the faults that Hutchins found in American education are still being found, and we are being urged to overcome them. After appealing to the principal research studies that were made of American higher education for the decade of the fifties, Axelrod had to admit they all pointed to a general evaluation of failure for higher education for that period.[29] The confusion and disorder which Hutchins identified as the chief characteristic of the university campus in the decade of the thirties was found still to be rampant in the fifties. Voices were still being raised which called for a revision of curriculum that would allow for the development of men as men whose full potentialities for personality development were nurtured on the university campus.[30]

A further indication that Hutchins' ideas are still being taken seriously and that the needs he identified for higher education still have to be met, may be found in some of the experimental programs which are turning up on university campuses. In the fall of 1964, the University of California at Berkeley authorized the Experimental Collegiate Program for one hundred and fifty freshmen. By formally breaking down departmental approaches to learning in the first two years of college and by following a program which uses books much as Hutchins advocated, a serious attempt is made to impart the type of general education he feels is necessary before there is any specialization. The experimentation which is being done with this and similar programs witnesses to the validity of Hutchins' initial analysis and his perception of how some of the needs he identified might and must be met.[31]

Also strongly reminiscent of his advocacy of overcoming departmental isolation, through the establishment of basic faculties where all faculty members are

concerned about fundamental intellectual problems and thus form a real community of scholars, is Henle's call for curriculum reform. If adequately implemented, this reform would allow men of today to be as versed and literate in current culture as were the educated men of the Roman and Renaissance eras.[32] Such a curriculum reform would stress a breakdown of departmental structures and emphasize the graspings of the basic intellectual principles upon which modern science and its achievements rest. The stress on the development of the intellectual habits of all scholars would allow them to form a genuine community of scholars able to communicate with one another and inspire each other with their particular insights and observations.

That such a proposal is more feasible than we might suspect at first received some confirmation from an experimental course recently taught at Berkeley. Called a success, the course was designed to teach the basic concepts of the natural sciences to nonscience majors. It is called the Contemporary Natural Science course and it passes up the traditional format which concentrates on mathematics and laboratory work. Instead it focuses on the fundamental unity of physics, chemistry and biology.[33] If this report is correct, it furnishes confirmatory evidence that the work which Hutchins proposes for the basic faculties of a university can be accomplished. Those who do not specialize in an academic field can still be taught a sufficient amount of it so that they can communicate with specialists in the field. That such a goal of faculty communication still needs to be achieved becomes apparent in Kranzberg's comments on the liberal curriculum in a scientific and technological age.[34]

Intrinsic Merit and Final Evaluation

Apart from the fact that there is evidence that Hutchins still has supporters within the academic community, what assessment can we give of his ideas in themselves. As is true of any philosophy of education, it finds its grounding in a view of the nature of man and his universe. While the actions and advocacies of men are never completely consistent with the philosophy of life they espouse, still that philosophy must be considered as the most influential factor in explaining their actions.[35] It is also likely to be the most important factor in determining what is finally accomplished through a philosophy of education. A building always bears the imprint of the architect to a greater extent than it does that of the contractor. It is just therefore to take Hutchins' philosophy of man as a fair indicator of the value of his philosophy of education and what he advocates in consequence of holding it.

Basically Hutchins endorses a philosophy that is Aristotelian and even to some extent Thomistic. At least he does not feel that Aquinas has been unfaithful to Aristotle's thought when he develops it within the Judaeo-Christian tradition. In practice Hutchins would ignore the strictly theological implications of such a philosophy and stick to what the Greeks would identify as a natural law of philosophy based on natures found within the universe. With such a philosophy he believes that he can find the principles of order and a hierarchy of

values which will enable him to find what order there should be in education and the hierarchy of knowledge values which should be pursued therein.[36]

Is Hutchins correct in the philosophy of man upon which he has based his philosophy of education? I would say that he is, but in so doing I am only asserting it; I am not proving it. The final answer to the question can be given only by a reflection on the evidence which can be gathered to support his philosophy and that cannot be done here. It is sufficient for my purpose now to call attention simply to the fact that this is Hutchins' position. Ultimately his philosophy of education and the policies for education which follow from it will stand or fall on the merits of his more ultimate philosophy of man and the universe. If there are any fundamental disagreements on this philosophy, they will have to be exposed and dealt with rationally before disagreements on educational policies can be adequately handled.

In conclusion it might be well to note that it is here where we find the reason why the reforms Hutchins advocated in education are implemented only in a piecemeal fashion rather than as a total program of education. Many, if not most, educators cannot buy the philosophy of man which underlies his philosophy of education. Hence they feel that they can do no more than accept partial programs which might fit just as well under a different philosophy of man from what Aristotelianism proposes. Under such circumstances reform is partial at best. It can hardly be expected that any of the important goals that Hutchins envisioned as being attained through an adequate curriculum reform would be achieved. By the same token such partial reforms and the implimentation of some of the things he advocated cannot be taken as evidence of the inadequacy of his proposals. Only when an integrated and full scale institutional experiment is made with his proposals for education will we have the grounds for an adequate evaluation of them.

In the meantime the experience to which we must appeal as validating Hutchins' basic positions is the admitted inadequacies of present educational policies and the frequent partial moves in the direction he wants to go. This points to the existence of some fundamental human needs which can be satisfied only in the manner he indicates. Otherwise, why are we always coming back to these positions? Why do we feel that we cannot ignore Hutchins and his philosophy even when we refuse to accept it?[37]

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NOTES

[1] Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven, 1936). This book was issued as paperbound in 1962 by the same press with a new preface by Hutchins. The references to Hutchins' thought are found in this paperbound edition.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-118.
[29] Joseph Axelrod, "New Patterns of Internal Organization," in Logan Wilson (ed.), *Emerging Patterns in American Higher Education* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1965), pp. 41-42.
[30] T. R. McConnell, *A General Pattern for American Public Higher Education* (New York, 1962), p. 189.
[31] "Experiment at Berkeley," *NEA Journal,* Vol. 56, No. 1 (Jan., 1967), pp. 21-22; 78.
[32] R. J. Henle, "Collegiate Education for Modern Culture," *The Educational Record,* Vol. 47, No. 3 (Summer, 1966), pp. 40-46.
[33] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* Dec. 13, 1967, p. 20A.
[34] Melvin Kranzberg, "The Liberal Curriculum in a Scientific and Technological Age," in Lawrence E. Dennis and Joseph F. Kauffman (eds..) *The College and the Student* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1966), pp. 177-184.
[35] Bertrand Russell, *Education and the Good Life* (New York, 1926), pp. 47-48. Russell gives examples of systems of education which clearly reflect the basic philosophies of life of the respective educators.
[36] Nevitt Sanford, "The Development of Social Responsibility through the College Experience," in Earl J. McGrath (ed.), *The Liberal Arts College's Responsibility for the Individual Student* (New York, 1966), p. 37. Sanford states that he believes there is a real need for educators to state clearly the great purposes of our colleges if they want the students to assume a sense of responsibility for them.
[37] Scott Buchanan, *Rediscovering Natural Law: A Report to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1962). In this short work, Buchanan gives an account of how natural law as a basic philosophic position was revived at various periods in history. He also gives the reasons why he feels that the theory of natural law needs to be revitalized at the present time.

Cuchulain: Yeats' "Mental Traveller"

James P. Farrelly

What else He give or keep
God grant me—no, not here,
For I am not so bold
To hold a thing so dear
Now I am growing old,
But when, if the tale's true,
The Pestle of the moon
That pounds up all anew
Brings me to birth again—
To find what once I had
And know what once I have known . . . .
— "On Woman"

"A writer must die every day he lives," Yeats asserted in the *Autobiographies,* and "be reborn, as it is said in the Burial Service, an incorruptible self, that self opposite to all that he has named 'himself.' "[1] No less illuminating than most of Yeats' observations on the poetic process, this statement reveals what was in essence Yeats' attitude towards the imaginative faculty and the role of the creative artist. Like Blake, Yeats saw the imagination as the one true reality, the eternal key to visionary experience. But the poet who wished to "pluck till time and times are done/ The silver apples of the moon,/ The golden apples of the sun,"[2] had first to asume a Mask, an Anti-self, which would objectify the quest of the "secret self" for truth and immortality. Only then could happiness be realized: "I think that all happiness depends upon the energy to assume the mask of some other self; that all joyous or creative life is a rebirth as something not oneself."[3]

In the face of these statements and others which pervade the whole of *A Vision,* we, as readers of Yeats, continually find it necessary to probe beneath the surface of his works in order to separate the man from the mask, the secret self from the poetic self. All too often, however, we trek the lyrical paths of Yeats' poetry only to find a glaring dead-end along the way. *A Vision,* too, often turns into a blind alley; but the later plays[4]—despite their theatrical weaknesses—open up avenues of insight seldom explored. In the mythological *persona* of Cuchulain, "a man/ Violent and famous,"[5] the poetic spirit of Yeats is heroically revealed. In a tragic struggle for vision in life, Yeats himself reached out with Cuchulain for the rose of immortality, the mystical vision.

Moreover, inspired by the cyclical "realm of the mind" in Blake's "The Mental Traveler," Yeats transformed Cuchulain into the embodiment of his own imagination. In this guise Cuchulain travels the phases of *A Vision,* lives heroically, dies prophetically as a harbinger of a new incarnation, only to be reborn again in the mind of some future poet. W. M. Rossetti's comment on "The Mental Traveller" sheds some light, I think, on Yeats' use of Cuchulain in the "Cuchulain Saga":

> The 'Mental Traveller' indicates an explorer of mental phaenomena. The mental phaenomena here symbolized seem to be the career of any great Idea or intellectual movement—as, for instance, Christianity, chivalry, art, etc.—represented as going through the stages of—1. birth, 2. adversity and persecution, 3. triumph and maturity, 4. decadence through overripeness, 5. gradual transformation under new conditions, into another renovated Idea, which again has to pass through all the same stages.[6]

Cuchulain, then, is Yeats' "mental traveller," wandering in the sacred kingdom of the imagination and ". . . hoping to find once more,/ Being by Calvary's turbulence unsatisfied,/ The uncontrollable mystery of the bestial floor."[7] For as the personification of Yeats' creative mind, Cuchulain also represents Yeats' propensity towards antithetical emotion. Caught in a primary dispensation which is "reasonable and moral," Cuchulain, in the person of his creator, seeks the return of an antithetical dispensation which is "emotional and aesthetic."[8] As a result, the tragic death of Cuchulain does not signal the end of the antithetical, pagan cycle, but the fall of the primary, Christian cycle. And with the transfer of the imagination from the poet-prophet Yeats to the poet of the new incarnation—in the symbolic death and resurrection of Cuchulain[9]—we are made keenly aware of Yeats' intellectual approval of the "rough beast" which is slouching towards Bethlehem to be born."[10] An analysis of the three plays in the "Cuchulain Saga"— *At the Hawk's Well* (1917), *The Only Jealousy of Emer* (1919), and *The Death of Cuchulain* (1939)[11]—will underscore, I think, the validity of these observations.

When we first encounter Cuchulain in *At the Hawk's Well,* he is a Young Man in search of the well of immortality, "climbing up to a place/ The salt sea wind has swept bare."[12] Despite the warning of the Old Man—who has "lain in wait/ For more than fifty years"[13]—about the Woman of the Sidhe, the Guardian of the Well:

> There falls a curse
> On all who have gazed in her unmoistened eyes;
> So get you gone while you have that proud step
> And confident voice, for not a man alive
> Has so much luck that he can play with it.
> Those that have long to live should fear her most,
> The old are cursed already. . . .[14]

Cuchulain is determined to drink "of that miraculous water."[15] His aims are thwarted, however, when he allows himself to be distracted by the hawk-like dance of the Guardian of the Well. As a result, he turns his head from the "plashing of the water" and follows the "clash of arms" to Aoife and her troops, heroically proclaiming: "I will face them. . . ./ He comes! Cuchulain, son of Sualtim, comes!"[16]

Viewed as dramatic representatives of Phase Eight of *A Vision*—the beginning of strength—the characters in *At the Hawk's Well* take on a new significance.[17] The daimonic contrast between the Young Man and the Old Man, in particular, is easily detected in the true and false faculties of the Mask and Creative Mind of Phase Eight. Whereas Cuchulain embodies true courage (Mask)

and versatility (Creative Mind), the Old Man represents false fear (Mask) and impotence (Creative Mind). The Guardian of the Well is also better understood in the aesthetic terms of *A Vision*. "Half woman, half bird," she functions as a Muse, but she has not yet reached her ideal form. Unlike the Fand of *The Only Jealousy of Emer,* she does not long for Cuchulain's kiss to complete her round; instead she runs and hides. It is Aoife, perhaps a Muse of Battle,[18] whom Cuchulain must pursue at the beginning of his heroic quest. The Woman of the Sidhe must wait until Phase Fifteen before she has the power to entrance the "Ghost of Cuchulain."

Cuchulain's next encounter with the Muse comes in *The Only Jealousy of Emer*. Here Cuchulain is discovered in "his grave clothes"[19]; his wife, Emer, and his mistress, Eithne Inguba, are sitting beside his bed. He has just murdered his only son, Aoife's child. Overwhelmed with grief, he fought with the "invulnerable tide"[20]; but the waves mastered him, and he is now possessed by Bricriu, "Maker of discord among gods and men."[21] Lured by the Woman of the Sidhe, whom the Ghost of Cuchulain recognizes as the Hawk Woman of *At the Hawk's Well*:

> I know you now, for long ago
> I met you on a cloudy hill
> Beside old thorn-trees and a well.
> A woman danced and a hawk flew,
> I held out arms and hands; but you,
> That now seem friendly, fled away,
> Half woman and half bird of prey. . . ,[22]

Cuchulain can forsake all memory with a kiss, and reach a state of complete beauty together with Fand:

> Then kiss my mouth. Though memory
> Be beauty's bitterest enemy
> I have no dread, for at my kiss
> Memory on the moment vanishes;
> Nothing but beauty can remain.[23]

When the eternal is wedded to the human:

> Time shall seem to stay his course;
> When your mouth and my mouth meet
> All my round shall be complete
> Imagining all its circles run;
> And there shall be oblivion
> Even to quench Cuchulain's drouth,
> Even to still that heart.[24]

Although he is plagued by the memory of Emer, Cuchulain finally follows Fand, repeating: "Your mouth, your mouth!"[25]

Emer, however, thwarts the union of Fand and Cuchulain when at the advice of Bricriu she cries out: "I renounce Cuchulain's love for ever."[26] Cuchulain awakens and embraces his mistress: "Your arms, your arms! O Eithne Inguba,/ I have been in some strange place and am afraid."[27]

Once again *A Vision* helps to clarify the action. Fand lacks only an hour or so to reach the sanctuary of full perfection, Phase Fifteen. When the ghost of

Cuchulain first beholds her, he asks:

> Who is it stands before me there
> Shedding such light from limb and hair
> As when the moon, complete at last
> With every labouring crescent past,
> And lonely with extreme delight,
> Flings out upon the fifteenth night?[28]

Fand replies she is not complete; she longs for Cuchulain's kiss. As the image of ideal beauty, the Muse of pure aestheticism, Fand offers Cuchulain poetic immortality outside of the cycles. If he embraces her, his journey would end, and he would no longer be subject to the "Great Wheel." Furthermore, since ". . . Chance and Choice have become interchangeable without losing their identity. . ."[29] at Phase Fifteen, Cuchulain would know nothing of desire:

> The being [at Phase Fifteen] has selected, moulded and remoulded, narrowed its circle of living, been more and more the artist, grown more and more 'distinguished' in all preference. Now contemplation and desire, united into one, inhabit a world where every beloved image has bodily form, and every bodily form is loved. This love knows nothing of desire, for desire implies effort. . . .[30]

But Cuchulain's destiny is not his own; the intruding voice of his wife decides. A figure of objectivity, conscience, and social responsibility, Emer utters the fateful words which force Cuchulain to resume his peregrination within the cycle, to endure

> . . . the crumbling of the moon:
> The soul remembering its loneliness
> Shudders in many cradles; all is changed.
> It would be the world's servant, and as it serves,
> Choosing whatever task's most difficult
> Among tasks not impossible, it takes
> upon the body and upon the soul
> The courseness of the drudge.[31]

In the final play of the "Cuchulain Saga," *The Death of Cuchulain,* Yeats presents the ritualistic death of his mythological hero, of his imaginative faculty. The action of the play carries Cuchulain from Phase Twenty-Two—the breaking of strength—to the end of the cycle. At Phase Twenty-Two, Yeats tells us, the being makes its last attempt at imposing its personality on the world; it desires a death of the intellect and will seek to change nothing. There is "neither change nor desire of change. For the moment the desire for a form has ceased and an absolute realism becomes possible."[32] And as the self passes from Phase Twenty-Two,

> . . . it is said to attain what is called the 'Emotion of Sanctity,' and this emotion is described as a contact with life beyond death. It comes at the instant when synthesis is abandoned, when fate is accepted. At Phases 23, 24 and 25 we are said to use this emotion, but not to pass from Phase 25 till we have intellectually realised the nature of sanctity itself, and sanctity is described as the renunciation of personal salvation. The 'Emotion of Sanctity' is the reverse of that realisation of incipient personality at Phase 8, which the *Will* related to collective action till Phase 11 had passed. After Phase 22 the man becomes aware of

> something which the intellect cannot grasp, and this something is a supersensual environment of the soul.[33]

Defeated by the forces of Maeve in *The Death of Cuchulain,* Cuchulain achieves the "Emotion of Sanctity" in the form of the Body of Fate from Yeats' own Phase Seventeen. He becomes the Saint of Phase Twenty-Seven, a man who "has a secret that makes him better than other men."[34] In this supersensitive role, he serves as a precursor of the "uncontrollable mystery on the bestial floor," a voice crying in the desert—signalling the downfall of the primary dispensation and the triumph of the antithetical.

With these ideas in mind, we can now focus our attention on *The Death of Cuchulain,* the "swansong" of Yeats' tragic Mask.[35] The setting of the play is a "bare stage of any period."[36] In the opening monologue, an Old Man, "looking like something out of mythology,"[37] intemperately castigates all those who have failed to achieve the timeless in art. Whether we can equate the Old Man with Yeats or not, it is difficult to say; but I prefer to read him as a personification of the Fool of Phase Twenty-Eight. As the producer of the play, it is he who has the last word in the cycle; it is he who "would know all wisdom if he could know anything."[38] And his words, his presentation of *The Death of Cuchulain,* assure us that a new cycle will soon follow. As Helen Hennessy Vendler has observed: ". . . the Fool occupies a special place. He is the last incarnation before a new cycle begins, and it is through him that a revelation can appear or the voice of the new era can speak. What Yeats needed in his system, and found in the Fool, was an image that could represent the psychological truth of inspiration."[39]

After the Old Man's frantic tirade, the play opens with a confrontation between Cuchulain and Eithne Inguba. Under the spell of Maeve, Eithne contrives to send Cuchulain to a certain death, but he unmasks her deceit. Still Cuchulain is for the fight:

> I am for the fight
> I and my handful are set upon the fight;
> We have faced great odds before, a straw decided.[40]

At these words the Morrigu, the goddess of war, enters and stands between the two lovers. Her presence separates imagination and inspiration; Cuchulain rejects Eithne and prepares for battle. Not to be outdone, Eithne counters with a prophecy of Cuchulain's imminent death:

> I might have peace that know
> The Morrigu, the woman like a crow,
> Stands to my defence and cannot lie,
> But that Cuchulain is about to die.[41]

At this point the stage grows dark. When the lights come up again, Cuchulain enters wounded. Suddenly Aoife appears; the wheel has come full circle.[42] In an image reminiscent of Blake's "The Mental Traveller," the Old Woman Aoife helps Cuchulain to fasten his belt to a pillar stone so that he can die upright. She has come to kill him, but first she has questions to ask. As a precaution, she winds her veil about him "that [his] strength may not start up when the time comes."[43] They talk of their son and of the events *On Baile's Strand,*

but Cuchulain cannot understand. "Because about to die,"[44] his faculties begin to sink in upon their environment. Assuming the role of the Saint of Phase Twenty-Seven, ". . . he will, if it be possible, not even touch or taste or see. . . ."[45]

When the Blind Man from *On Baile's Strand* interrupts the scene, we know immediately that Yeats could never have used Aoife as an instrument of destruction. As Helen Hennessy Vendler suggests:

> We realize. . . that Aoife cannot kill Cuchulain, not within Yeats' terms. She, by Cuchulain's reminiscence, is associated with all those that wear gold (The Player Queen, the Queen in *A Full Moon in March,* Fand, in fact all queens) and as such can no more harm Cuchulain, than could Fand in *The Only Jealousy of Emer.* Those magical women may have been the agents of destructive violence. The mission is reserved for the deformed inhabitants of the 'last leprous crescents of the moon.'[46]

Indeed, it is the Blind Man, the deformed possessor of "good sense," who commits the final act of treachery. As a result, Cuchulain becomes the true prophet of the "rough beast." Betrayed by his fellow countryman for twelve pennies—"Twelve pennies! What better reason for killing a man?"[47]—Cuchulain resolutely accepts his cruel destiny. A second John the Baptist, he is granted a vision of his "soul's first shape" before he dies:

> There floats out there
> The shape that I shall take when I am dead,
> My soul's first shape, a soft feathery shape,
> And is not that a strange shape for the soul
> Of a great fighting man?[48]

Just as his soul is about to sing, however, he is beheaded by the Blind Man, and there reigns

> Violence upon the roads: violence of horses;
> Some few have handsome riders, are garlanded
> On delicate sensitive ear or tossing mane,
> But wearied running round and round in their courses
> All break and vanish, and evil gathers head:
> Herodias' daughters have returned again,
> A sudden blast of dusty wind and after
> Thunder of feet, tumult of images,
> Their purpose in the labyrinth of the wind;
> And should some crazy hand dare touch a daughter
> All turn with amorous cries, or angry cries,
> According ot the wind, for all are blind.[49]

Suddenly the Morrigu re-appears. She is holding a black parallelogram, the size of a man's head; it is Cuchulain's head. In an address to the dead; she traces the inflicting of Cuchulain's "six mortal wounds" and introduces the dance: "Conall avenged him. I arranged the dance."[50] Immediately we are reminded of the opening remarks of the Old Man: "But I was at my wit's end to find a good dancer; I could have got such a dancer once, but she has gone; the tragi-comedian dancer, the tragic dancer, upon the same neck love and loathing, life and death, I spit three times."[51]

Emer's appearance as the dancer, then, is no surprise; she is the only one left. Aoife, Fand, Eithne Inguba, and the Morrigu have all gone. Emer finally

has her precious "memory,"[52] but she has little else—perhaps a "few faint bird notes."[53] How different from her heart-rending eulogy in the source: "Love of my life, my friend, my sweetheart, my one choice of the men of the earth, many is the woman, wed or unwed, envied me till to-day; and now I will not stay living after you."[54]

But the final triumph of *The Death of Cuchulain* is nowhere found in Emer's pathetic dance. We must turn back to "The Tower" to realize the play's "tragic joy." In the opening lines of Part III of that poem, Yeats asserts:

> It is time that I wrote my will;
> I choose upstanding men
> That climb the streams until
> The fountain leap, and at dawn
> Drop their case at the side
> Of dripping stone. . . .[55]

Men like these will inherit his pride:

> Pride, like that of the morn,
> When the headlong light is loose,
> Or that of the fabulous horn,
> Or that of the sudden shower
> When all streams are dry,
> Or that of the hour,
> When the swan must fix his eye
> Upon a fading gleam,
> Float out upon a long
> Last reach of glittering stream
> And there sing his last song. . . ,[56]

and his faith

> That, being dead, we rise,
> Dream and so create
> Translunar Paradise.[57]

Broken by the "sedentary trade," Yeats bequeaths his pride and faith to young upstanding men, to the poets of tomorrow, just as in *The Death of Cuchulain* he endows some future poetry with his imaginative faculty through the symbolic death and resurrection of Cuchulain.

The final lyric of the play also enhances the "tragic joy." The setting is an "Irish Fair of our own day."[58] A Street-Singer recounts "the tale that the harlot/ Sang to the beggar-man."[59] In her lyrical song the harlot contrasts imagination with reality, spiritual love with physical love. When she reaches the focal point of her song—

> Are those things that men adore and loathe
> Their sole reality?—[60]

she answers her question with three more:

> What stood in the Post Office
> With Pearse and Connoly?
> What comes out of the mountain
> Where men first shed their blood?
> Who thought Cuchulain till it seemed
> He stood where they had stood?[61]

But there is only one possible answer to all her questions: it was the heroic ideal of Cuchulain, the imaginative produce of Yeats' mind, that stood where Pearse and Connolly had stood. "No body like his body/ Has modern woman borne,"[62] because Cuchulain exists in this primary cycle only as a "mental traveller." His body exists solely in the mind of the Old Man of the introduction who "Imagines it in scorn."[63] His scorn, we remember, is for the real, the transitory. Only true art, like Oliver Sheppard's statue of Cuchulain, is timeless and endures. Although the creator, the poet, is subject to the scourge of old age and death, the imagination can live on, continually reborn into the poetry of a later age. Imagination becomes, as Wallace Stevens would have it, "the magnificent cause of being. . . , the one reality in this imagined world."

The harlot ends her tale, but the song is not yet over. The music from pipe and drum plays on. And "the three times fifty queens that loved Cuchulain [will see] him appear in his Druid chariot, going through Emain Macha; and they [will hear] him singing the music of the Sidhe."[64] For

> Many times man lives and dies
> Between his two eternities,
> That of race and that of soul,
> And Ancient Ireland knew it all.
> Whether man die in his bed
> Or the rifle knocks him dead,
> A brief parting from those dear
> Is the worst man has to fear.
> Though grave-diggers' toil is long,
> Sharp their spades, their muscles strong,
> They but thrust their buried men
> Back in the human mind again.[65]

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NOTES

[1] W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (New York, 1953), p. 277.
[2] W. B. Yeats, *Collected Poems* (New York, 1956), p. 58. Hereafter cited as *Collected Poems.*
[3] Margaret Rudd, *Divided Image* (London, 1953), p. 26.
[4] I refer to those written between 1917-1939.
[5] *Collected Poems,* p. 339.
[6] E. D. Hirsch, *Innocence and Experience: An Introduction to Blake* (New Haven, 1964), p. 312.
[7] *Collected Poems,* p. 124.
[8] W. B. Yeats, *A Vision* (New York, 1966), p. 73.
[9] I see no difficulty in relating the death and resurrection myth to Cuchulain, even outside of the regenerative terms of *A Vision.* Miss Eleanor Hull, writing on the Cuchulain cycle of Irish literature, observes: "There is no doubt that all the chief personages of this cycle were regarded as the direct descendants, or, it would be more correct to say, as avatars or reincarnations of the early gods. . . . There are indications in the birth stories of nearly all the principal personages that they were looked upon simply as divine beings reborn on the human plane of life." See Lewis Spence, *The History and Origin of Druidism* (New York, 1949), pp. 93-94. Sir James Frazer's explanation of the death and resurrection myth in *The Golden Bough,* then, is easily applied: "The divine life, incarnate in a material and mortal body, is liable to be tainted and corrupted by the weaknesses of the frail medium in which it is for a time enshrined; and if it is to be saved from the increasing enfeeblement which it must necessarily share with its human incarnation as he advances in years, it must be detached from him before, or at least as soon as, he exhibits signs of decay, in order to be transferred to a vigorous successor. This is done by killing the old representative of the god and conveying the divine spirit from him to a new incarnation. The killing of the god, that is of his human incarnation, is therefore merely a necessary step to his revival or resurrection in a better form. Far from being an extinction of the divine spirit, it is only the beginning of a purer and stronger manifestation of it. In every one of these instances, the life of the god-man is prolonged on condi-

tion of his shewing [sic], in a severe physical contest of fight or flight, that his bodily strength has not decayed." See *The New Golden Bough,* ed. Theodore H. Gaster (New York, 1964), pp. 305-306. Cuchulain must die because he is defeated in battle, but his soul, his divine spirit, lives on.

[10] *Collected Poems,* p. 185.

[11] I am ignoring *On Bailes' Strand* (1904) and *The Green Helmet* (1910) primarily because they were written before *A Vision* was resolutely begun.

[12] W. B. Yeats, *Collected Plays* (New York, 1953), p. 136. Hereafter cited as *Collected Plays.*

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 140.

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 141.

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 139.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 144.

[17] Although the system of *A Vision* was not completely worked out in 1917, the ideas were in Yeats' mind. Indeed, *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* appeared in 1918.

[18] Aoife seems to serve as one of those "ambivalent female archetypes" who, Northrop Frye suggests, appear in the cycle of human life, "sometimes benevolent, sometimes sinister, but usually presiding over and confirming the cyclical movement." See Frye's discussion of this archetype in "The Mental Traveller" in *Anatomy of Criticism* (New York, 1966), p. 322.

[19] *Collected Plays,* p. 185.

[20] *Collected Poems,* p. 36.

[21] *Collected Plays,* p. 188.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 191.

[23] *Ibid.,* pp. 191-192.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 192.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 192.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 193.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 193.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 191.

[29] *A Vision,* p. 136.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 62. Perhaps Emer represents the "conscience" Yeats speaks of in "The Tower":

> Does the imagination dwell the most
> Upon a woman won or a woman lost?
> If on the lost, admit you turned aside
> From a great labyrinth out of pride,
> Cowardice, some silly over-subtle thought
> Or anything called conscience once:
> And that if memory recur, the sun's
> Under eclipse and the day blotted out.

Collected Poems, p. 195.

[32] *Ibid.,* p. 163.

[33] *Ibid.,* p. 181.

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 180.

[35] The play is clearly a tragedy of Frye's phase three. Cf. pp. 191ff.

[36] *Collected Plays,* p. 438.

[37] *Ibid.,* p. 438.

[38] *A Vision,* p. 182.

[39] Helen Hennessy Vendler, *Yeats's Vision and the Later Plays* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), p. 47.

[40]. *Collected Plays,* p. 440.

[41] *Ibid.,* p. 441.

[42] Aoife appeared at the beginning and returns at the end. See footnote 18.

[43] *Collected Plays,* p. 442. The winding of the veil is, I think, directly related to "The Mental Traveller." The fastening of his belt is in the source.

[44] *Ibid.,* p. 443.

[45] *A Vision,* p. 181. The daimonic contrast between Cuchulain and Aoife is also reflected in the images of this scene. Traditional Christian symbols—pillar stone and veil—carry also the pagan connotation of the Druid stones and the dancing veil. Fastened upright to the pillar stone, Cuchulain resembles Christ on the Cross, but his six wounds seem to indicate a final defeat for the objective, the primary.

[46] Vendler, p. 241.

[47] *Collected Plays,* p. 444.

[48] *Ibid.,* p. 444.

[49] *Collected Poems,* pp. 207-208.

[50] *Collected Plays,* p. 445.

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 439.

[52] *Ibid.,* p. 189. Recall Emer's lines to Bricriu:

> I have but two joyous thoughts, two things I prize,
> A hope, a memory, and now you claim that hope.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 445.

[54] Lady Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (London, 1911), p. 349.

[55] *Collected Poems,* pp. 195-196.
[56] *Ibid.,* p. 196.
[57] *Ibid.,* p. 196.
[58] *Collected Plays,* p. 445. Carrying the John the Baptist image over to the Fair, I find it easy to relate the Fair to the Midsummer Night and Day festivals which were held on the feast of John the Baptist. This was the time of the summer solstice; the sun reached its highest point and thereafter retraced its steps downward. I think this can be related to Phase One, Moon in Sun, the start of a new cycle.
[59]. *Ibid.,* p. 446.
[60] *Ibid.,* p. 445.
[61] *Ibid.,* p. 446.
[62] *Ibid.,* p. 446.
[63] *Ibid.,* p. 446.
[64] *Lady Gregory,* p. 350. Leonard E. Nathan feels that "'in the Yeatsian scheme harlot and beggar preserve subjective vitality during an objective age." See *The Tragic Drama of William Butler Yeats* (New York, 1965), p. 284. If this is so, then the end of the harlot's song could represent the end of the objective era. She can return to her rightful place as the Queen in the antithetical cycle.
[65] *Collected Poems,* p. 341. I have not discussed "Cuchuain Comforted," primarily because Vendler does such a thorough job with it, pp. 247-251. However, I interpret the "shroud" as the death cloth for the passing primary cycle.

Communications And Political Development

Donald L. Losman

Communication functions and problems start as soon as two or more persons begin a relationship. "The content of communications is of course the very substance of human intercourse."[1] Political systems, being a subset of the general social system, can be analyzed with insight and perception when viewed as a study of communication flows. One writer even suggests that the entire study of political science be reconceptualized in communication terms.[2] While this position is as yet highly debatable, there is little question that the study of communications should open the door to a wealth of knowledge and understanding concerning political processes. As Almond has suggested:

> All of the functions performed in the political system—political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule-making, rule application, and rule adjudication—are performed by means of communication.[3]

This paper will enumerate and describe some of the more salient features of political development which can meaningfully be examined from a communications viewpoint.

Before proceeding further, two definitions should be given. The term political development signifies the transformation of political systems—from social arrangements having a small degree of differentiation of political structures to those evidencing greater differntiation and integration. The term political modernization signifies a political system capable of successfully ordering and mediating the political problems of technologically advanced, predominantly urban, societies. On the devlopmental spectrum, a modern political system appears as the higher pole—a highly differentiated, secularized political culture. The application of this definition will, no doubt, encounter some difficulties if applied to a large number of existing polities. However, the definition posits only a genre, of which there may be several species. A totalitarian dictatorship, such as the Soviet Union, and a representative democracy, such as the United States, would both be considered subspecies of the genre politically modern. Our definition more or less equates, or better, links economic and political development. The stresses and tensions of an urban, industrial society could hardly be accommodated by an undifferentiated tribal-type polity. Even the illustration is almost unthinkable—economic development cannot occur under such a political arrangement. That arrangement would either successfullyy stifle economic advance, or would find itself giving way to different political formations in the face of changing economic circumstances.

Communications devlopment can also be viewed as progress toward greater differentiation and specialization of the communications system. As society changes so does the structure of communications. The concentric and re-enforcing nature of political, economic, and communications changes is obvious upon only a cursory inspection. On this point Wilbur Schram has written:

> A more efficient communication system makes industrial development easier, and industrial development makes communication development easier. More and better newspapers provide more reasons to learn to read. . . The more that people feel able to take part in political activities, the more they feel the need of education and information. . . The typical history of communication development in countries where it is farthest advanced, is a chain of interactions in which education, industry, urbanization, national income, political participation, and the mass media have all gone forward together, stimulating each other.[4]

It should be noted that while all social, and therefore political, processes involve communication, obviously not all communicatory activity is political. On what basis can we judge a communication as being political? Before answering this query, we should perhaps first enumerate the elements of communicatory activity. "Every act of human communication involves a *source* generating a *message* which travels through a *channel* to an *audience*."[5] Finally, all relevant communications will have some effects. "Communicatory activity is considered political by virtue of the consequences, actual and potential, that it has for the functioning of the political system."[6] Thus, a great many communications, even those whose elements may be political in part, cannot be considered political communication. As Fagen points out, the President addressing his spouse, assuming it has no political consequences, is hardly a political communication. Nor are all programs by the government-owned British Broadcasting Corporation political since most do not have political effects. It is possible that none of the elements of the communication need be political, and yet, it can be so classified by its effects. Certainly the latent political consequences of seemingly nonpolitical communications are recognized by the Soviets; witness their stress on 'socialist realism' in the arts. Thus, we see that a political communication function can be served by almost any element within a system—a speech, a ritual, or a painting.

I. Communications Structures

In the traditional society, the communications system is neither distinct nor differentiated in any significant fashion from other social functions. Information tends to flow along the lines of social hierarchy, with the result that the significance of the communication is highly dependent upon the relationship between communicator and recipient. Information so transferred is subject to much distortion if a multitiered social hierarchy exists. In addition, the volume of information available in traditional systems is quite limited. Furthermore, the role of opinion leaders, significant in almost all societies, is doubly crucial here; they must not only interpret information but must also piece together and perhaps fabricate from the scant information at their disposal. Since there are no distinct communications media, the communications function is carried out wholly by informal face-to-face contacts and by the traditional social structures, such as the family.

Modern society, on the other hand, is characterized by a highly developed communications system. Special roles are tailored to the communications process and form a distinct part of the social fabric. Thus, we find professional news commentators, radio, television, newspapers, and magazines, in short, the mass

media. Political communication functions are also served by political input structures, such as interest groups, and by political output structures, such as legislatures. The role of traditional social structures is greatly reduced; surprisingly, however, the importance of face-to-face, informal communication channels remains, and perhaps even increase.[7] Under normal conditions, the vast bulk of the people in a modern society finds out about important news via the mass media. For very exceptional items, however, different channels may be activated. Fagen points out that in the case of the Kennedy assassination, almost one-half of all adult Americans received the news via face-to-face contacts. Nevertheless, as a rule the mass media are the most significant (on a volume basis) channels.

Two corollary points should be noted. Voluminous flows of information tend to swamp precipients. For this reason, the role of opinion leaders, as in the traditional society, is very great. Their function becomes that of sifting out irrelevant information and being abreast of the latest news rather than that of piecing together limited fragments. In addition, the huge bulk of information which modern governments receive requires scores of experts to assemble, interpret, and evaluate. Finally, repetition is frequently necessary, in that single messages are easily lost in the continual deluge of information flows.

There exist in modern society complex intererlationships between the mass media on one level, opinion leaders on another, and the general public on still another level. The concept of "feedback" is important in this regard. It refers to a return flow of information to political decision-makers and information disseminators, the contents of which include the nature and form of the information ultimately received by the public and the response to messages.

Without effective feedback, the capacity of a system to survive strains and tensions is quite limited. Czarist Russia is a case in point. There was very little feedback to political decision-makers; most of what did return was filtered through the bureaucracy and was duly distorted. "The downfall of the Russian autocracy was ultimately attributable to its inability to comprehend the forces which were shaping its course."[8] Faulty and inadequate information flows, in short, a lack of feedback, was basic to the shattering of the inflexible Czarist regime. It is significant that Soviet Communists have made every effort not to commit this error of their pedecessors.

The concept of feedback is certainly a crucial element in all communications systems. Professor Pye states, "The real test of modernization is the extent to which there is effective 'feedback'. . . ." He continued: "Modernization thus hinges upon the integration of the formal institutions of communications and the social processes of communications to the point of each must respond with sensitivity to the other."[9]

The third type to be considered is the transitional society, whose foremost characteristic is its dualism. The nation is quite fragmented. Usually the bulk of the population fall in the traditional sphere, living in relatively isolated villages and regions. There are, however, one or more large urban areas containing relatively westernized, more modern social arrangements. At this stage of socio-economic development, great communications problems exist, not only between

urban and rural areas, but among the rural regions themselves. Characteristically, the communications system of transitional societies can transmit only limited flows of information, at uneven rates to narrow groupings of people. Frequently riots have begun because only a limited amount of information was filtered through to certain groups. A fuller accounting would have merely evoked laughs or shrugs. The lack of mass literacy and professional communications interpreters tends to magnify the importance of local opinion leaders who must expand upon limited knowledge and make crucial value judgments.

The crucial problem of transitional societies is that of integration. This has also been referred to as national empathy, [10] nation-ness,[11] or national consciousness and pride.[12] "The national integration approach to political development finds its natural ally in the study of communication."[13] An effective linkage of hitherto isolated rural areas and the separate urban centers must occur. In addition, a bridge between the various national elites and other members of the polity must be created These are essentially tasks of the communications process and all availble media should be aimed at this end.

II. Traditional and Transitional Societies

In addition to integrative functions, other political ends, such as social mobilization, socialization (or re-socialization), party development and similar processes (antecedent to or concomitant with political modernization) can be meaningfully viewed from a communications viewpoint. Recognizing the essential communications problems involved will greatly speed both political and economic development. There are, of course, limits and difficulties often overlooked. Many of the developing countries' leaders have viewed modern mass media with great optimism, expecting to find in them integrative and modernizing forces capable of working near miracles. Such views have been tainted with naivete, often ending in disillusionment and frustration. A basic misunderstanding of communicative processes as well as an understandable, but almost utopian notion concerning the speed at which the desired changes are to occur, has soured the once strong belief in the media as a modernizer. Indeed, use of the mass media may prove both socially and politically disruptive, as was the case with the linguistic problem in India. Professor Pool describes some seemingly futile communications effects as follows:

> Agricultural advice broadcast on radio seldom gets followed in practice. Exhortations in the press to change established family or social patterns seem to have no results. People learn that caste discrimination, or a low protein diet, or spitting, or doweries, are disapproved in the modern world but they do not change. . .[14]

Just exactly what is realistically to be expected from the mass media? What other modes of communication may be necessary to supplement them? These are basic questions, the answers to which will now be discussed.

There is little doubt that the mass media—radio, television, newspapers, etc.—*by themselves* are of little use as a short run tool for breaking down traditional behavior patterns and spreading modern methods and outlooks. This limited usefulness of the mass media is primarily a function of ignoring crucial ancillary inter-personal information flows which must be properly guided if the

media are effectively to spread the gospel of modernization. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, only in societies which are characterized by a strong degree of mutual trust does one find acceptance of statements regardless of the source. More often some validation of information via personal contacts is necessary. In this sense, then, radio messages or the written word will find little acceptance without the support of face-to-face-channels. Secondly, "most of mankind does not regard the truth value of statements as terribly important."[15] Here, then, we have a dual problem—the people will reject or ignore information from anonymous media if they doubt the truth of the communication itself, and even when the correctness is recognized, impact may be nil.

In short, the application of the mass media seems destined to failure as a short run tool. Such an approach ignores what has been termed the "two step flow" of communication.[16] For the mass media to have a significant effect upon the general population, the information transmitted must be legitimized and disseminated via local opinion leaders. Statements are accepted as valid and usable if they come from (or are accepted by) the 'right' people, regardless of their factual content. This has been borne out in agricultural extension work and is no less true in the political realm.

In general, it has been the communist developing countries which have recognized the importance of face-to-face contacts and opinion leaders. Strict control of the mass media represents just one segment of their integrated communications approach. Thus, party cadres and contacts are crucial at the local level. Every effort is made to convert local opinion leaders to the party's bidding. Such continuing efforts occur both during the party's ascent to power and after it has gained control. The alternative is usually elimination of the particular incumbents and replacement with more acceptable ones. The media are also used as a cornerstone around which local organizations and activities center. Hence, discussion groups are formed, wall newspapers appear, and a host of other media-related activities are born. The communists long ago recognized that media content alone will not be very effective. When combined, however, with re-enforcing personal contents and media-related activities, whole populations can be manipulated. The media contents themselves do not usually change attitudes; however, participation in action has been found to be very fruitful in this regard. Conversely, the failure of mass media efforts in the noncommunist developing countries can in large measure be attributed to a lack of grass-roots organizations and other gaps in the 'second step' of the communications process.

Clearly, then, the mass media, if they are to be effective as modernizers, must be part of an integrated communication approach. Inasmuch as word-of-mouth is by far the predominant means of information dissemination, success cannot be attained unless this channel is favorable to political modernization. Again, a lesson may be learned from the communist approach. Sagas and fairy tales and story-tellers and priests represent important channels of communication. The communists have frequently utilized these channels with singular success, while others have failed to achieve their ends due to ignoring them.

There are many problems and dangers to be encountered with the use of

mass media in the new nations. These include the problems of audience selection and the concomitant language used and media content. Professor Pool writes:

> The mass media in a stratified society inevitably have the problem of vulgarity in a particularly acute way. They can avoid vulgarity by pretending they are addressing their most cultured listeners. This results in media that . . . are not understood by the bulk of the population.[17]

This frequently has been the case in the Arab countries. Also, when a multitude of languages exists, as in India, the problem of language selection is great. Another possible problem, which may result from a genuine attempt at reaching the masses, is the alienation from the media of the ruling elites.

Two additional and potentially very acute problems remain. The first involves the integrative efforts of communications expansion. No doubt, communications expansion will promote consolidation of fragmented countries when relatively similar culture patterns, languages, and institutions exist. They may, however, as Deutsch suggests, "destroy the unity of states whose population is already divided into several groups with different languages or basic ways of life."[18] A second, and more dangerous—both potentially and actually—problem involves what Lerner has termed the "revolution of rising frustrations."[19] Today's communications systems have greatly raised the level of aspirations in the developing nations. Unfortunately, the revolution of rising expectations has been unmatched by an equally strong movement in actual achievements. This gap between aspiration and accomplishment is a source of much political instability. Failure for a society to reach the desired goals leads to resentment, which is channeled toward the existing governmental incumbents, the dominant party, and even the general political structure itself, not to mention more affluent foreigners. Political instability, in turn, impedes economic development and the growth of expectation-satisfying capabilities.

It has not been the purpose of the previous paragraphs to reject or downplay the role which communication in general, and the mass media in particular, can play in the development process. Rather, it has been to point out past failures and their causes as well as other troublesome areas. Just as there is a bleak side, so there is also a more promising picture. Without doubt, communication efforts have aided in the integrative process as well as the development of the party system and the general acceptance of the features of modern life. A long run picture presents a much more cheerful prospect. Disillusionment has often resulted from the impatient demands of overly sanguine rulers who somehow expected an overnight transition from feudalism to the welfare state. While the mass media by themselves usually neither precipitate immediate action nor change deeply held attitudes, they do focus attention on issues, stimulate motivations, project images, and provide technical information. Nor are these positive features a result of pure indoctrination or propaganda. Indeed, there is little question that "The entertainment aspects of radio. . . are as useful in building national identities and goals as the duller and more informative programs of government."[20]

Finally, we might note the tentative, but highly plausible hypothesis that the mass media can have pervading characterological effects. Lerner suggests

that the media provide an avenue for conceiving of ways of life different from those traditionally known and that this unlocks an untold number of doors (and frustrations), all of which lead to a more modern society.[21] McClelland, in studying motivations and achievement, noted that certain kinds of media content stimulate high achievement in a society. He also found that the mass media, by increasing the number of what Riesman termed 'other-directed' individuals,[22] could significantly promote the development of self-generating modernization elements.[23] Neither the Lerner nor the McClelland thesis require a two-step flow of communications, nor do they predicate inter-personal intermediaries. They are, however, more long-run phenomena, requiring a generation or two exposed to the mass media.

The role of literacy and education must also be mentioned. Again, the efforts are more likely to require the passage of time. In the long-run, education has historically been a lever of social change and modernization. Because it is slow acting, it also has an appeal to those who fear the possible adverse effects of quicker-acting media such as radio. It appears that the most practical course with regard to education is a stress on massive literacy via universal, albeit low quality, education. Traditionally, the new nations have had a supply of well-educated persons which exceeds their demand for such people, thereby alienating a very explosive group from the system. Rather than high quality education for a few, the Soviet example of the 1930's should be followed. Massive literacy should be the goal, with those of only eight grade education or so acting as teachers to enable all to attain that level of learning. Mass literacy will create a demand for more and better newspapers. It will enable greater participation in the political culture and more rapid socialization.

Education can also build a bridge between divergent communities and broaden understanding. It has been a highly cohesive force for nations such as Israel and Yugoslavia. However, when strong cultural divisions exist within a country, special care must be taken to insure that the educational system does unite rather than divide the various ethnic communities. Meier suggests that education has often "misfired when used as an instrument for unifying cultures, especially when a special form of teaching. . . is imposed by a central government with little consideration of local needs."[24]

Education is also effective in imparting political orientation and outlooks. As an extreme example, one might cite the teaching methods in Cuban or Arab textbooks. In these, other nations—the U. S. and Israel respectively—are negatively depicted.[25] Particular regimes or leaders can also be made the objects of indoctrination via education, the recent Communist Chinese situation being a case in point.

There can be no question, then, the pattern of communications and the mass media in particular, are powerful agents of social change, carrying profound consequences for the political system. Of course, the existing state of economic development will to some extent set limits to quantitative expansions in communications processes; nevertheless, the qualitative dimensions and the attainment of balance open almost unlimited prospects. There are, however, po-

tential destabilizing and regressive elements which can be unleashed. These can result from rising frustrations, distorted feedback via a hierarchal bureaucracy, miscalculation of the expected results from communications efforts, or ill luck, just to mention a few. The pitfalls, it seems, are as abysmal as the potential is unlimited.

III. Authoritarian Stabilizations and Charismatic Leadership

Authoritarian stabilizations and charismatic leadership, two phenomena to which transitional societies seem particularly prone, should be mentioned in order to illustrate the communications aspects of these political phenomena. "By authoritarian stabilizations we mean the actions of elites who suspend or ignore the particular range of procedures and structures. . . usually associated with the Western model of democracy."[26] These stabilizations are often rationalized by the argument that the masses are not ready for democracy. An alternative reason is the existence of emergency circumstances involving development tasks "too monumental to be met successfully under pluralistic political arrangements."[27]

The first argument suggests that communications from the masses to the ruling elites be sharply curtailed since it is the elites who already "know" and the masses who must learn. The second approach suggests a vast increase in communications down the hierarchy from the ruling elites since they must enlist and guide the efforts of the majority. Effective feedback, however, is essential if the rulers are to remain attuned to social reality. This usually takes the form of increased reliance on party information sources. The mass media are brought under government control and the expression of all effective opposition is stifled.

That charismatic leadership is in large measure a function of the communications system in almost a truism. Contemporary situations in both Cuba and Communist China clearly illustrate the tie between communications and this political phenomenon. Word-of-mouth, educational activities, and all official mass media in China extol Mao-tse Tung as well as the "words of Mao." Fidel Castro has made continuous use of radio and television, often in 4 and 5 hour harangues. In addition to the existing media, new channels, particularly of the grass roots variety, have been created to bolster Castro's position. In the following quotation, Professor Riggs concisely states the critical tie between communications media and charisma. "Under Charismatic rule," he writes:

> the leader seeks to gain control. . . through projecting an image of himself as the savior or hero who lead his people through a time of troubles to independence, progress, and power. The new media of communication made available by modern technology help him to project his image at mass meetings, over the radio and through motion pictures. His picture is everywhere apparent, larger than life. His name is invoked in cheers and rituals. . . . Thus the leader seeks. . . to bring the governmental apparatus under his control.[28]

IV. Modern Political Systems

Communications systems have shown great capabilities in modern political systems, totalitarian and democratic, as well as their limits and problems. Democratic states can be distinguished from totalitarian ones in a number of ways.

From a communications viewpoint, the autonomy of communicatory structures is a basic point of comparison. Communications freedoms, such as freedom of the press or freedom of speech, are essential to democracy. Most significant channels are free from political domination. Radio, television, and newspapers disseminate whatever information they see fit. "In a totalitarian system these structures are subject to a high degree of control."[29] Totalitarianism, by definition, implies control over all aspects of social life. Both communist and fascist political systems have completely subjugated, to the best of their abilities, all communication networks. In addition, information flows in democracies are generally multi-directional, but more one-sidedly downward in totalitarian systems.

Ebenstein has stressed the elements of mass enthusiasm and mass support which fascist regimes have enjoyed.[30] Such support cannot be elicited without skillful and massive propaganda campaigns utilizing every available communications medium. Fascism has appealed to and received support from all social classes. Fascist success in mastering propaganda techniques and communications networks is attested to by the ability to make contradictory promises to historically antagonistic groups and yet to retain the allegiance of each. While communist systems have not generally received such mass support, they have concentrated just as heavily upon indoctrination and propaganda, which permeates all controllable media. Common to all modern systems, however, is a substantial rate of feedback, be it through the free and open media of democratic societies or through the regimented and more purposefully constructed networks of totalitarian regimes.

Modern political systems, subject as they are to vast information flows and a high rate of feedback, are confronted with a number of problems, most of which may be subsumed under the heading 'distortion'. As the volume and complexity of information flows increase, political decision-makers are placed in a perplexing situation. The upward processing of information through a multitiered bureaucracy usually finds the decision-makers in receipt of distorted news, dated information, or a combination of the two. The possibility of distortion, of course, increases with the size and differentiation of bureaucracies. Pressure will be generated for decentralization which would entail the granting of autonomous decision-making at various levels within the hierarchy. If decentralization does not occur, top decision-makers will be swamped by the sheer volume and complexity of the information which is received. This, in turn, results in inefficient and often irrational decisions.

Decentralization has occurred on a much broader level and with less political tension in the democratic nations. On the other hand, "In totalitarian nations there have been efforts to maintain control and centralization at all costs. But the price paid has been considerable."[31] Communications channels have become clogged with information overloads. Workable operations are usually made possible only by a process of bureaucratic corruption via "fixers," bribery, and similar means. However, gross inefficiencies in the form of duplications, sluggish information movement as well as information concealment are commonplace. Totalitarian regimes also contribute to information distortion by their very nature. Reporting unpleasant facts is never a welcome task; it can become dangerous in

totalitarian systems, hence the tendency of tyrants to be surrounded with 'yes men.' Multiple channels—the secret police, the party and bureaucracy—are often used as checks upon one another, although "in times of stress the multiple channels are apt to reinforce distorted information rather than correct it."[32]

Even in democratic systems the danger of distortion is very real. The open nature of communications systems, however, allows balanced judgments. Bureaucratic distortions are often revealed by newspapers or radio commentators. Independent polling organizations, as well as other autonomous bodies, provide less biased and broader based feedback. The tendency toward decentralization, however, lessens the degree of high level control over the bureaucracy as well as builds vested interests within the governmental structure. Agencies designed to regulate private industry (or the nationalized ones in Britain) in the public interest have often perversely become tools of the organizations which they were intended to control. Decentralization and regulation may thus become means for vested interest aggrandizement at the general public's expense.

Modern socio-political systems are also characterized by a relatively high degree of literacy. Literacy both allows and evokes increased participation in the political cultural. In addition, political socialization is facilitated by teachers, textbooks, newspapers, and magazines. Ideological orientations are also imparted via the same media.[33] Literacy in and of itself, however, does not guarantee the particular kind of modern political system. It is sometimes alleged that mass literacy will produce democracy. However, "The educational experience of the Soviet Union indicates that literacy alone will not bring about greater democratization. The educational apparatus itself would have to be geared to the business of socializing people to democratic values and democratic roles"[34] Nazi Germany, of course, provides another example of highly literate, undemocratic society. Consequently, while it is generally accepted that mass literacy is a necessary condition for modern democracy, it is by no means a sufficient condition.

At this point it is interesting to note that the attempt by totalitarian regimes to control all media and carefully direct information flows has given magnified importance to unofficial, particularly word-of-mouth, communications. Despite the barrage of newspapers, magazines, radio, television and group meetings, unofficial word-of-mouth channels provide a major source of news. The importance of this medium of information exchange is attested to both by Nazi and Soviet efforts to suppress (via informers and severe punishment of Anti-regime stories, jokes, etc.) such communications. These informal channels may "be either a substitute for the official media, or a supplement to and corrective for the latter."[35]

Word-of-mouth information is usually substituted for the content of official media by groups with low levels of communications activity and some degree of alienation (either from the political system itself or the incumbents). The Soviet peasant is perhaps a classic example. Having little need to be well-informed for his own daily tasks and at the same time soured to the ideological and propaganda content of official media, the Soviet peasant tends to simply ignore the mass media. Radios are infrequently used; newspapers are snubbed.

"In fact," a 1953 report states, "many of the older peasants exhibit retrogressive illiteracy; they have forgotten how to read."[36] The word-of-mouth network under these conditions obviously assumes a vital importance. In addition to substituting for the official media, it tends to provide otherwise unavailable information such as news of crop failures or poor urban living conditions, such information thereby modifying the content of official channels. In general, however, word-of-mouth communications within rural areas are many steps removed from the original source and hence subject to considerable distortion. "The peasant, being least well equipped to assess the truthfulness of much news, is particularly vulnerable to rumors of low plausibility."[37] At times the regime has used this weakness in peasant channels to plant rumors which it wants circulated. It should be noted, however, that these characteristics of the Soviet peasantry are commonly found in today's transitional societies where peasants also tend to display low communications levels and some degree of alienation.

The intelligentsia and high placed persons, although significant consumers of the mass media, still greatly value word-of-mouth channels. These informal channels are clearly a supplement to, rather than a substitute for other media. While the mass media are most important in terms of volume of information, rumor provides reliability upon which to give credence to or reject the content of official media.

While the regime no doubt views these unofficial channels as dysfunctional —in that they are uncontrolled, tend to be myth-busting, highly critical and the like—they do provide some positive social functions. Information received via informal channels often helps one perform assigned tasks more efficiently. Hostility toward the regime is somewhat sublimated via derogatory gossip and jokes. Finally, it provides the citizen with a feeling of "what's really going on," thereby giving a sense of greater participation than might otherwise be the case. The role and significance of unofficial media reflect a basic information hunger by the Soviet people which has not been satisfied by the regime. The very strong desire for foreign magazines and newspapers also attests to this as yet unfilled need.

It is now in order to investigate the limits of and problems with communications systems in modern democracies. First on the list, perhaps, should be public apathy and ignorance. Important jobs of the mass media are to inform people of vital issues and to evoke their concern on such questions. Certainly one requirement of effective democracy is an enlightened citizenry which knows the issues, can meaningfully evaluate programs, and then vote on the basis of their evaluations. While voters do seem to be well informed concerning programs relatively close to them, the same cannot be said for many more remote, but nonetheless vital issues. In the United States, for example, public apathy and misinformation is rather shockingly high, despite very well developed communications networks. Witness the following results of national cross-sectional information polls:[38]

1. Forty-six percent of those polled in March, 1953, either had no ideas or incorrect ones concerning what is meant by the term 'price supports.'

2. Eighty-three percent of those polled in December, 1961, were uninformed or misinformed about the meaning of the term 'fallout' of an H-bomb.
3. Only forty-one percent of those polled in January, 1955, had never read or even heard about 'peaceful coexistence,' 59% being wholly ignorant of the phrase.
4. In December, 1961, seventy-eight percent had neither heard nor read of the European Common Market.

As is obvious, even the well-developed communications system of the United States has failed to penetrate certain barriers of apathy. Of course, this failure cannot be attributed solely to the mass media themselves, which may have reached the limits of their powers. Since information is available but is not examined, this ignorance may reflect a failure of political socialization patterns existing apart from the mass media. This ignorance and apathy may unfortunately increase as television more and more pre-empts other channels. It now appears that television is the prime source of news for most Americans, replacing newspapers or radio. This trend is likely to continue; however, television newscasts are meant to complement other media, not replace them. The events described are limited in detail and presented in capsule form. Television also tends to encourage more one-sided viewpoints; the same newscaster is turned on each day, whereas newspapers tend to present a number of features writers, usually of varied political persuasions and outlooks.

In a related vein there is the problem of what information should be passed on to the public and where the points of stress should lie. To the extent that the looks, appearances, hobbies, or wives of political candidates draw as much or more mass media coverage as the specific political issues involved, media information flows may tend to obscure issues or bias voters. If governments stand or fall on the physical appearances of the incumbents or on their personal, social, or sexual behavior rather than on political issues, effective democracy is no doubt weakened.

The term "credibility gap," which has become popular in the United States, refers to information distortion or concealment by governmental agencies and officials. Public "brainwashing" has also been alleged. These terms point up a basic communications problem of democracies. Obviously, not all vital government information, such as some security matters or the imminence of currency devaluation, can be made public. Where should the line be drawn? This represents a continuing problem for which no clear answer can be given. A related problem is that of censorship. Thus, a nation such as Israel, considered a democracy by most people, occasionally has its newspapers published with empty columns where censors' knives have struck. While such censorship of distinctly political issues does not occur in the United States, the problem remains in the area of the arts.

The problem of what information should be passed on is an aspect of the broader question of control. Ownership of media can also be subsumed under the heading of control. To what extent are private and public ownership of the media consistent with democracy? Does private ownership tend to abuse its po-

sition? Is governmental ownership an effective substitute, or is it also subject to abuse? Milton Friedman effectively points up one possible danger of public ownership with the following example:

> From 1933 to the outbreak of World War II, Churchill was not permitted to talk over the British radio. . . a government monopoly. Here was a leading citizen. . . Member of Parliament. . . desperately trying. . . to persuade his countrymen to take steps to ward off the menace of Hitler's Germany. He was not permitted to talk. . . because the BBC was a government monopoly and his position was too 'controversial.'[39]

Misuse of the mass media by private ownership and direction is a problem which again is polemical. Certainly the "yellow journalism" of Hearst's *New York Journal* and Pulitzer's *New York World* prior to the Spanish-American War is not wholly a relic of previous history. The 1954 trial and conviction of Dr. Samuel Sheppard for murder was later set aside by the courts on the grounds that press had so biased the Cleveland environment that a fair trial was impossible. A second trial later found Sheppard innocent of the charges. These two examples suffice to show the complex interrelation between the mass media of a political democracy and governmental process. Consequently, mass media, while making essential functional contributions in a democracy can also be dysfunctional in varying degrees.

There are several other current issues within the interacting sphere of politics and communications. One relates to wire tapping and the so-called "snooping devices." What role should such activities play in a democratic system? A second issue concerns the role of media during elections. Several years ago the potency of the mass media was attested to by the enactment requiring "equal time" to be given to presidential candidates during election campaigns. Currently, the networks are seeking to have this ruling rescinded. Is such a ruling an unjust restriction upon their rights? If their efforts succeed, can the American public be assured the fair and equal exposure of candidates? These and a host of other policy questions concerning communication networks must be continually faced by democratic systems.

Lastly, information gathering can and has had significant international repercussions, especially in the cold war era. The U-2 incident involving an American aircraft shot down on an intelligence mission over Russia is an example. More recently the United States has been involved with "spy" ship incidents. Again, obvious failures in American intelligence pervaded the entire Bay of Pigs fiasco. Similarly, extreme official ignorance, in short, a lack of information concerning the explosiveness of the Middle East situation, led to the inability of the United States to prevent or end the June, 1967, hostilities.[40] Conversely, the attempt at information dissemination via Voice of America and Radio Free Europe broadcasts have also led to some difficulties. In particular, the 1956 uprising in Hungary was to a small degree an inadvertent and regrettable result of a misinterpretation. Many Hungarians had interpreted free world broadcasts to mean that the United States would come to the rescue of freedom fighters in the event a revolution occurred. While the uprising no doubt would have taken place without Radio Free Europe, there remains a good deal of Hungarian bitterness

towards the United States since it stood idly by as Russian tanks crushed a revolt which they felt the United States encouraged.

V. Summary

We have seen that traditional and transitional political systems, when viewed from a communications perspective, differ from modern systems primarily by their relatively low rates of feedback, low levels of literacy, and poorly developed mass media. Modern political systems, on the other hand, tend to differ from each other—democratic versus totalitarian—by the vastly greater degree of control and the more uni-directional (as opposed to circular) flow of communications in latter.

Political and economic development go hand-in-hand with communications development—a lag in one slows growth in the others. In order for information flows to increase, a resource commitment is necessary. Economic development, in turn, requires social overhead capital, an important part of which consists of telephone, telegraph, and mail systems. As the economy grows the mass media will mature, evidencing increasingly greater importance.

Industrialization has historically been a socially painful and tension-ridden process. Political stability tends to speed development; instability, to hamper it. In order to avoid the increasing social frustrations which destabilize the polity, an integrated communications approach, stressing grass-roots organizations and opinion leaders is necessary. The mass media, radio in particular, have too often been used as vehicles through which politicians stimulate expectations by impossible promises and unsupported claims, and too little for technical, cultural, and entertainment purposes. For the new nations, a balanced communications approach can be a major agency for economic and political modernization. As Lerner has written:

> The association of effort with reward, of aspiration with achievement, is a communication process. People must learn to make this association in their own daily lives—linking what they see with what they hear, what they want with what they do—what they do with what they get. Communication is, in this sense, the main instrument of socialization, as socialization is, in turn, the main agency of social change.[41]

Literacy must play a role in this integrated approach. The ability to read stimulates the acquisition of technical skills and avails the citizenry of alternatives to the earliest penetrating mass media, usually state-operated radio broadcasts. Literacy will also tend to increase participation and political awareness. Once the 'take-off' is launched, self-generating economic growth, unless stifled by political upheavals, will bring increased communications sophistication and a more participant political culture. Development of the media, the political system, and the economy will proceed in mutual re-enforcing fashion.

National integration, it was noted, is one of the main political tasks of transitional societies. Integration can meaningfully be approached as a communications problem. These transitional systems are particularly susceptible to charismatic regimes and authoritarian stabilization. Both these political phenomena entail significant involvement with all networks of information flow. As

economic expansion occurs, the political system evidences greater differentiation and specialization. In addition, the role of government, both in democratic and undemocratic states, tends to increase. It was found that problems of information distortion afflict politcal decision-makers in all modern systems. Finally, just as the nonliterate voter is a potentially dangerous force in the developing nations, for modern democracies the literate non-voter or misinformed citizen may be equally dysfunctional.

This paper has attempted to view political development from a communications perspective. It is felt that meaningful insights concerning political and economic change can be gained by such an approach. A major purpose has been to demonstrate that economic, political and communication development tend to be mutually re-enforcing and proceed along parallel lines. As has been demonstrated, however, there are critical points of departure or transition by which varying political arrangements may be associated with the same levels of economic and communication development. But these differing political arrangements, superimposed upon the same economic and communication potential, will each put that latter potential to different uses, subject it to different controls, and develop its own more or less distinctive patterns of information flows.

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NOTES

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[16] See E. Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communication," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* Vol. 21, 1957, pp. 61-78 and E. Katz, "Communication Research and the Image of Society: Convergence of Two Traditions," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 65, No. 5, March, 1960.
[17] Pool, in Pye, p. 244.
[18] Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," in H. Eckstein and D. apter, eds., *Comparative Politics* (New York, 1963), p. 589.
[19] D. Lerner, "Toward A Communication Theory of Modernization," in Pye, pp. 330-345.
[20] J. Grossholtz, *Politics in the Philippines* (Boston, 1964), p. 206.
[21] Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society.*
[22] D. Riesman, N. Glazer, R. Denney, *The Lonely Crowd* (New York, 1953).
[23] D. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton, 1961).
[24] R. Meier, *Developmental Planning* (New York, 1965), p. 269.
[25] The following examples are typical. "There have been 3,000 lynchings in the U.S. in the past 60 years, and an average of how many per year?" Or, "if two Arab soldiers are surprise-attacked by 15 Israelies, and 6 Israelies are killed, the rest of the invaders being driven back over the border, how many years were chased away?"
[26] Fagen, pp. 114-15.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[28] F. Riggs, "Bureaucrats and Political Development: A Paradoxical View," in J. LaPalmobara, *Bureaucracy and Political Development* (Princeton, 1963), p. 162.
[29] G. Almond and G. Powell, *Comparative Political* (Boston, 1966), p. 171.
[30] W. Ebenstein, *Today's Isms* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), p. 101.
[31] Almond and Powell.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[33] In addition, guidelines to specific political activities, including detailed information, is provided by the written word. *The Agitator's Notebook,* perhaps the most important magazine in the U.S.S.R., serves this specific function.
[34] J. LaPalombara, "Notes, Queries, and Dilemmas," in LaPalombara, p. 59.
[35] R. Bauer and D. Gleicher, "Word-of-Mouth Communication in the Soviet Union," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* vol. 17, no. 3, July, 1953, p. 302.
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 304.
[38] *Public Opinion Quarterly,* Winter, 1963.
[39] M. Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago, 1963), p. 19.
[40] The American lack of information and concern was doubtless a partial result of a failure in communications in the State Department bureaucracy. For many months preceding the crisis, the position of Undersecretary of Middle Eastern Affairs had been vacant.
[41] Lerner, in Pye, pp. 349-50.

INTRICACIES



Photograph by Lester J. Nadeau, Husson College

INTRICACIES

SCHOODIC

WILLIAM D. ELDRIDGE

Schoodic is yellow rocks made black
By the pounding surf of incoming tide,
It is a multitude of gulls and shags
Stubbing toes on barnacles and tourists,
The geometric abruptness of craggy cliffs
Made small by endless arms of sun and sea
Stretching beyond tomorrow to distant shores,
For here, the lonely harshness of Maine's coast
Emits an awesome rebuke to creature man;
Forlornly aware of his own puny presence
In face of effortless forever at Schoodic.

Yarmouth, Maine

QUODDY HEAD

WILLIAM D. ELDRIDGE

Quoddy Head is a feeling not a place
A Downeast expression of Maine mystique
Where fog lies heavy o'er lighthouse and sea
And time suddenly has no beginning or end,
Only the mighty foghorn's blaring sound
Gives this spot a vestige of reality
That is quickly lost in eerie echoes
Sounding endless warnings on shrouded coast,
Til chilled by icy wind swirling mist and mind
You become not self but part of a siren song,
Unreluctant captive of the awesome spell
At Quoddy Head.

Yarmouth, Maine

COMBAT

RICHARD L. HALL

black out-sized bell-bottoms
and a heavy infantry coat
(light dye and
fur collar for
domestication),
furniture, silver, and china
lashed high on your back,
you are refugee from under-
ground fleeing the occupation.
the morning sets a wider blue in your eyes
and washes rose just below;
to us your ease seems waiting—
we have never known it other
and miss it again.

Emory University

FOUR BY PATRICK CALLAHAN

NANCY

Love falling
white snow
decks you
in lights.

INTRICACIES

NUDE ON BEACH

Touched in sun
her gold
flows to breathing,
asleep mid light—
bright pools.

CHEER LEADER RUNNING

Tanned weight
redistributes
in fluid curves.
Leg curves
down and in,
flows back
and out.
A beauty in ellipse.

IN SPRING

You are a wayfaring breeze
a pull of grasses on sunbright meadows
a stir in willows.

You are a dogwood blossom
a softness of white all pink on the tips
as scentdrunk as May.

You are a thunderstorm lightning
a flash through heat and stunning drops
and lashing, windtorn rain.

University of Notre Dame

NOT TO THE SWIFT

EDWARD M. HOLMES

Why he was drinking with Oscar at all Raymond was uncertain. He was not even sure he liked Oscar. Yet when they had met on the fishwharf that morning and Oscar had suggested they have Spider Philbrick call at the liquor store, Raymond agreed. Oscar was high-line fisherman in Black Harbor. Whatever a fellow might think of him, he could not blink that fact. It was a compliment to have Oscar want to drink with a man.

They sat now on trap-nail kegs in one of the sheds on the wharf, watching Itchy and Scratchy bait trawls. Raymond, feeling the glow from the first gulps of rum, wondered at how little Itchy and Scratchy ever changed. They looked the same now as they had when he was a boy: they were grimy and beard-stubbly; their torn, fish-gurried dungarees hung at their knees as if they, the men, were about to jump; their shirts, rotting at the seams, were patterned on sides and back by great shadows of old sweat. Like performing monkeys they darted their crabby fingers over the tubs, lifting the cut herring, burying expertly the sharpened hooks in the gray, solid meat, coiling the baited trawls neatly in the tubs, and sprinkling the courses of baited hooks with salt.

They worked feverishly, as if they were Oscar's slaves, as if they feared that if they stopped long enough to take a breath or a pinch of snuff, or to go to the end of the wharf to the toilet, Oscar would lift one black boot and bruise their bones for them. Which he might, at that, Raymond thought, glancing at Oscar, who, genially at ease on his trap-nail keg, nursed a rum bottle in a muscle-hardened hand and leaned back, letting his broad shoulders touch the wall. Now and then he drank, sluicing rum into his throat with a sound like the waves lapping against the wharf.

From the corner of his eye Raymond saw Oscar thrust his feet out before him, his elephantine seaboots tripping Itchy, caroming him against the tubs.

"Har-harrr!" Itchy laughed, picking himself up and hastily reaching for more bait.

"How nasty mean can you get?" Raymond asked. "You're lucky Itchy didn't sink one of them trawl hooks into your throat."

Oscar spat toward the stove, "That's likely, ain't it? I can picture that."

" 'Stead of tripping him you'd ought to give him a drink, baiting trawls for you at starvation pay."

"Are you crazy?" Judicially Oscar held his bottle up to the light. "Hell, a little roughin'up's good for him, ain't it, Itchy?"

Without thinking, Raymond extended his fifth to arm's length. "Have a drink, Itchy?"

"Nah—ah-nah-nah," Itchy said.

"He don't want none anyhow," Oscar said.

"I know." Raymond put the bottle to his lips and drank.
Scratchy laughed moonily.

"Only way I can keep Itchy and Scratchy out of jail," Oscar said, "is having 'em bait trawls day and night."

"Better off in jail," Raymond said. "A good thick stone wall between them and you."

Scratchy's snuff-stained teeth showed behind his grin, and Raymond looked away from the three men and through one of the grimy windows at the harbor, as if it were not a place he had been looking at more or less all his life, as if the forty or fifty fishing boats at their moorings and the spruce woods on the far shore were a new and different world. Beyond the spruces in the gray light of March rose the slim spire of the parish church, bending to leeward like an elm in the southwest wind. "That's not so," Raymond thought. "A spire don't bend like that, not so's I'd notice it. But, the rum. The rum, of course—"

"Well, Itchy and Scratchy ain't good for very damn much," Oscar was saying. "Good for baiting trawls and tripping up, huh? Good for breeding, I guess."

What must it be like to be high line? To sit around talking about your neighbors like that? Raymond recalled the day he and Oscar, like others loafing around the village store, had heard Carl Speier tiresomely explain how Doc Sherman had saved his life. "Huh," Oscar had said, "he didn't save much." And his words had been good for laughter for twenty seconds. Truly, in saving Carl, Doc Sherman had not saved much. Raymond could see that.

"Breeding, that's right," Oscar was saying. "How about that oldest girl of yours, Scratchy? What's her name?"

Raymond saw Scratchy's ridiculous, tilted home six miles up a dirt road away from the harbor. He saw Scratchy's outlandish and pitiful woman, and a scattering of badly clothed and lethargic children.

"How much you want for that oldest girl, Scratchy? Just for an hour or two, how much you want?"

"Christ, Oscar, you got no respect—?"

"Respect!" Oscar spluttered repulsive sounds.

"Scratchy, for Godsakes you going to let him talk like that?" Not knowing he was going to do it, or even knowing he was doing it, Raymond jumped to his feet. In his sudden movement he lurched against Scratchy, who instantly jumped back into Oscar. The keg, already precariously balanced, slid flat, and Oscar sprawled on the wharf. The bottle slipped from his grasp and, dribbling Virgin Islands rum, slithered toward the trawl tubs. Itchy jumped for the bottle and set it upright. Scratchy retreated across the room, mumbling and whinnying explanations.

"Ah neahr hit you, Othcar. Raymond puth me ina you. Did. Raymond puth me."

In one motion Oscar swung to his feet and half way across the shed, towering over the whimpering Scratchy, his arms flailing with the impersonal ferocity of a northeast gale, his blows thudding against Scratchy's arms, sides, face, until suddenly Raymond was between the two and for a moment Oscar's fists—once, twice—struck him. The man stared as if trying to recognize a stranger.

"Christ, Ray. Get out of my way before I beat you into fish guts."

Raymond felt the liquor soaking up into his temples. So this was the way others got into drunken fights on the wharf, into the whiskey-sodden blood-lettings. Were they, like this, as unavoidable as wind or sleet? "Maybe you will and maybe you won't," he heard himself saying. "I don't know the answer to that."

"Well I do, by-Jesus." The voice was truculent but the man gave to his head a slight, puzzled shake.

Rum, rum throughout. . . Was it possible that Oscar was, behind the noise, in some doubt? "Scratchy told you the truth: I pushed him into you."

"He ought to be beat up, general principles," Oscar said.

"So it was my fault your rum got spilled—"

"Hell with the rum," Oscar said.

"I'm sorry. Make up your loss. Have a drink of mine."

Who, Raymond wondered, was swaying? Both, no doubt. He offered his fifth, and slowly Oscar grasped it by the neck and drank. Two long swallows. . . Then, staring at him with heightened concentration, Oscar handed the bottle back.

"Raymond," he was saying deliberately, "Raymond—you're a peculiar character. Yes sir. . . you're a peculiar character."

"God," Raymond thought, "he's going to put his arm around my neck."

Thirty minutes later he was at the wheel of his boat, the platform trembling under his feet in response to eight throbbing cylinders, the exhaust above his head thundering into the gray sky, and the craft herself pitching, arrow-like into a growing, southwest chop. Rum sloshed and splashed vigorously within him, and the Gulf of Maine sloshed and splashed vigorously without. Spray blanketed the windows and soaked the decks at every third or fourth pitch. He felt as if the fresh, on-shore wind were blowing through him, purifying him, carrying the rum fumes off to leeward, and with his hand on the wheel he was mighty, he was exalted, he was by God god-like.

Then suddenly he shook his head, perplexed, trying to recall why he was out on the water. He had not come to haul traps. Oscar, of course. He had got Oscar off the wharf before Oscar could again torment Scratchy. He had persuaded Oscar, as one, partially drunk, does another, partially drunk, to move his powerboat from the wharf out to the mooring where it belonged. Drunkenly, on the edge of the wharf, they had argued over engines, Oscar lecturing him about getting a new one.

"You know I can't buy no new engine," Raymond had said. "I got kids to support."

"All the more reason."

"More reason what?"

"More reason you should get a new one."

"Don't need one."

"How long you had it?"

"Six years."

"No good."

"Good enough. I'll show my heels to your boat any day." —"You can't do it," he told himself. "You know you can't." *But he's so damned superior!* "Stop arguing with yourself."—

"By God mister I guess you won't," Oscar said.

"Well by God mister I will."

So he had launched his punt, rowed out to his boat at her mooring, unsteadily pulled the punt up on the stern deck, and had warmed up his engine Then Oscar had idled alongside and in exaggerated, alcoholic solemnity had agreed to round the buoy at the east end of Carter's Island, and return. Oscar, sure of his own craft, had given Raymond the start of him by two minutes, and now Raymond, rum-fuddled and soothed by the familiar roar of his engine, had just recalled that he was, after all, in a race.

He looked astern where Oscar's boat pitched violently toward him, splitting wave after wave, and throwing to port and to starboard great jets of spray, arched like the wings of an oncoming gull. Four miles beyond Oscar's craft loomed the familiar shore, the spruces, and the church spire a dimnishing black spike on the horizon. Steadying himself, Raymond took a drink from the bottle he had wedged between a bait tub and the bulkhead. He pulled his attention away from the familiar shore and tried—Ah, he was shrewd, he was!—to estimate Oscar's progress. Oscar was gaining, the bastard.

Raymond opened the throttle another notch, but the change made no difference. Perhaps if he disconnected the throttle wire from the carburetor. . . But when he started below, to duck down into the oil-fumed cabin, his head swam. He had no license fooling around a hot, wide-open engine, not while he was drunk. The only chance was to out-maneuver Oscar rounding the buoy. He tried to concentrate on efficient steering, but the spray, masking from him the oncoming seas, the jolt and shock of successive, endless waves constantly pushed him off course, constantly called for correction, then for re-correction. And how much of it was sea? how much rum?

Whatever it was, Oscar was closing the gap. Pitching, pounding their planking ruthlessly against the sea, both boats approached the buoy with only a length

between them. In the seconds before the turn, Oscar, over-hauling, cut inside. Raymond had left him no room.

A sea caught in the narrow space between the two hulls, exploded, dashing green water into both boats. Raymond, seeing that in the next two seconds they might foul one another and promptly sink, sheered off gently to starboard. He turned his head toward Oscar's craft, the obvious source of danger, and in that instant his own boat rolled broadside into a trough. Then it rose, swung high, canted on its beam-ends as if suspended by unseen forces. Quickly Raymond grabbed for support, and simultaneously the hull rolled down sickeningly into the next rough. He felt the bruise of the wooden cheese rind against his thigh and knew in a drunken way that he was going over. Then he was under the water, choking, gasping, spitting out brine. Miraculously he was in air for a second, then under, then up.

This was probably the finish. Everyone had once had friends whose boats had been found empty.

He was conscious suddenly that the gunwale was almost breaking his arms, that his hands were welded around the stanchion next to which he had slipped over. His boat, still charging ahead under full throttle, rolling, thrust him viciously under and lifted him just as violently above the seas. Still there was, he felt in a matter-of-fact way, little hope. The chance that a man in his position, soaked, cold, and battered, could muster strength enough, or maintain it long enough to pull himself inboard was almost non-existent. But of course he tried.

Twice he lodged the toe of a sea-filled boot over the gunwhale; twice it was shaken off. The third time it held. Then, painfully a knee; later, an elbow. . . He hung on, resting, between immersions and batterings gathering strength for another effort. Minutes, like hours, passed before he managed to roll his body onto the deck, then over the cheese rind into the cockpit.

He lay on the platform, gasping, like one of the fish he himself had thrown there in the past, conscious but without strength to move. When later he crawled to the wheel and pulled himself half upright, he cut the throttle to one-third and swung the bow into the oncoming waves.

Then, and not till then, the fear seized him. Suddenly he felt the blood drain from his face, his mouth go dry. He shook compulsively, felt his stomach surge upward, and sank dizzily to his hands and knees and was sick.

Because of the way he had gripped the stanchion, his hands were covered with blood. And now he was more than afraid; he was shocked and afraid at his own monstrous irresponsibility. He stared unsteadily back over the four miles of jagged water to the spruce woods, to the mouth of the harbor where Oscar's boat was now entering, and knew that even sober and in calm seas, he could not yet go back. Laboriously he dipped a bucket of sea water, washed the blood from his hands and sluiced his vomit from the deck. But there was more to be done than that.

Near dawn, over flat, mirror seas, Raymond nosed his boat out of the shelter of Mink Cove at Carter's Island and began hauling his string of more than a hundred traps. Every move was a torture to the cut, smarting hands, to the inflated, pain-filled head, to the bruised body, the sore muscles, the leaden stomach. Pain became as rhythmical as the repeated ritual of hauling traps, the rounding up to the buoy, gaffing, the turns of wet warp on the winch head, the painful hoist of the trap to the deck, the expectant examination, opening, cleaning out of crabs, sea culch, old bait, the throwing over of shorts, the occasional gathering of full-grown lobsters, the re-baiting, a glance, two glances toward the horizon to check his marks, and the resetting of the trap.

More cautiously than was necessary, he had eased his boat into Mink Cove the afternoon before and had picked up a vacant mooring, knowing well that Carey and Anna would take care of him, or that if they could not, others on Carter's Island would. Gaffing an unused mooring, making the sea-slick noose fast to his boat, launching the punt and rowing to the beach had been painful struggles. Dizzy, nauseated, and palsied, he had not believed he could ever finish them. Yet one at a time he had, sloppily, gropingly, accomplished each, and had walked unsteadily to the Phillips' house.

"Telephone Laura for me, will you, Anna?"

"Don't you want to call her yourself?"

"No. I'll pay for the toll."

"Forget it," Carey said

"I'll pay for it. Tell her I'm drunk and staying to sober up. Ask her to tell Oscar Bryant so he won't think I'm broke down and come out to help. But I must pay for it; I—"

Later he lay restlessly in bed, trying to accustom himself to the dull, dismal wearing off of rum, to the fact of his own survival, then slept heavily and awoke before daylight when he heard Carey moving the stove lids and putting wood into the fire.

He fumbled into his borrowed clothes, pausing after each motion to stare into the semi-darkness, to rub a bone or muscle. Then he stood blinking under the kitchen light.

"You'd ought to lay in bed, for Godsakes," Carey told him.

Raymond shook his head.

"How about some breakfast?" Anna was cooking eggs and bacon, putting milk, cereal, toast out on the table.

"Thanks," he said, "but I guess I won't eat."

"Stomach as bad as all that?"

"Close to it." He sank into a chair and held his head.

" 'Twan't worth it, was it, Ray?" Carey said.

Raymond said, "No."

Anna put a cup of coffee before him on the table. The fumes steamed pleasantly toward his face. He sipped, then drank. "Now how about some food?" she asked.

"I mustn't eat."

"You're sure?"

Raymond looked up at her and nodded.

"He'll change his mind," Carey said.

"Going out to haul," Raymond told him.

"What?"

"Going out to haul."

Carey stared at him intensely. "Ever hear of the Day of Rest?"

"Can't help that," Raymond said.

"Your clothes ain't dry yet."

"If you don't mind. . .? I'll return yours later."

"You got gas and bait?"

He thought a moment. "Yes, I got gas. Got bait too."

"I'll put up a dinner bucket," Anna said.

"Thanks, Anna." Raymond sipped his coffee. "But I ain't going to eat."

"You'll starve before ten o'clock," Carey said.

"I know."

"This man ought to have a doctor!"

"I'll get me one when I get home. Can you let me have a quart jar of water, Anna?"

"You ain't even sane," Carey said.

Raymond nodded. "I'd just like to take that jar of water, if you can spare it."

Anna had been watching him in silence. "Leave him alone, Carey," she said.

"What?"

"I'll get him the water."

"That's it." Raymond finished his coffee. "Just a quart, if you would. And I'm much obliged."

"Don't think of it," Anna said.

Now he was hauling the forty-eighth or fiftieth trap, growing used to fighting the weariness, the pain, the hunger, making the familiar, rhythmical motions: one hand on the wheel, one on the throttle, the shift to neutral, the stretch for the gaff, two turns on the winch head. . . As the hours passed, as the engine roared momentarily, then idled, then roared again, and the number of hauled traps mounted, he felt many old poisons leaving mind and body.

He looked about him for the habitual checking of marks: Hill Rock just off the head of Carter's Island, church steeple over the notch in Mason Point. He was always using that spire for a mark. Damn thing stood up there like a lighthouse. Once he drew a line on his own house and wondered if Laura expected him back yet. Probably not. She could still telephone Anna if she got nervous. Near noon he hauled the last ten of his string and forgot pain, forgot muscle, forgot even the clean emptiness the day had given him. He felt as if he could have hauled another hundred, as if his energies, confined to the regular motions of hauling gear, were inexhaustible. A westerly breeze ruffled the water, and new, bright sunlight sparkled on the ripples, piercing the old, cold grayness, and in the distance glistening from the white paint of the steeple. After selling his catch at the buyer's scow, rounding up to his own harbor mooring, cutting the ignition and making fast, he felt a great, sudden weariness around the eyes, a deep, skin-taut, healthy weariness mingled with the promise of rest.

At home, elbows on the kitchen table, Laura watched him, listening; sometimes she turned her head and looked through the window at open water, the muscles of her face tightening. When he had first entered the kitchen, she had said, "Oh, you're back."

"About time, ain't it?"

"I should call it that."

He had taken off his boots and had gone to the sink, drawing water in a basin. "Where are the kids?"

"Over to mother's. So you was off on a drunk?"

"Ayeah."

"Enjoy yourself?"

"Terrible last night."

"Served you right, didn't it?" Laura said.

"Guess so."

"You must be hungry."

Raymond reached for a towel. "I could eat. I hauled through the string this morning."

"Oh," Laura said. She put hot stew, bread, tea, cake on the table. "Any excuse for all this?"

"Not a damn bit."

"How did it start?"

"Itchy and Scratchy—"

"That pair! They're not much."

"No, they're not much. But Oscar treats them like they was less." From the stew he selected a large piece of beef.

"Underpay?"

"And over-work."

"And then beats them up."

Raymond was putting margarine on a piece of bread. "Worse. Let me explain. . ."

Later, an elbow on each side of his empty plate, he watched Laura absorb what he had said, watched her turn from him to look out at the water and then turn back. "Itchy and Scratchy," she said.

"Ayeah, but I'm not through yet. When I come ashore just now, up over the wharf, I heard some noise there in the shed."

"Yes?"

"I went in to look. Itchy and Scratchy was still at it."

"Baiting trawls?"

"That's right. No races for them. No rum neither."

"Godsakes, how many sets does Oscar make?"

"He's in and out, in and out fast," Raymond said. "Nothing but work."

"Work and drink," Laura said.

"It's seven miles up to Itchy and Scratchy's place. They ain't been home in two nights. Slept on a pile of croker sacks in that fishwharf shed."

"What do they eat?"

"Damned if I know. Bread and baloney maybe, or even the bait. It was pretty good bait."

"Ray!" she said.

"Well, it's possible. You ain't seen them just now like I did, Scratchy's face all bruises, stubble, and dried blood, and him going on working for Oscar after Oscar said—"

"It's sickening."

"What is?"

"Oscar."

"So I told them when they'd finished, come up to the house and I'd drive them home. Is the car running?"

"It is if we put some gas in, and the clutch lasts," Laura said. "You're beat out; you ought to rest."

"So should they."

"I'll drive them home," Laura said.

"They stink, you know."

"I know. Go over lay down on the couch and get some sleep."

"I got to take them home. I said I'd do it."

"Don't be stubborn," Laura said.

"All right. You'll need some money." He put his wallet down on the table.

"I won't need it all," Laura said.

He stretched himself on the couch and his wife covered him with a blanket. She took her coat from a hook in the closet, put it on, and picked up Raymond's wallet. "I'll just get ready, so when they come—" She sat beside him on the edge of the couch. He half turned to the wall and closed his eyes, and Laura pushed her work-hardened fingers slowly through his hair. "How do you feel now, Ray?"

"It's a funny thing," he said without looking. "It's a funny thing, but right now I feel good."

"I'm glad of that." Laura said.

University of Maine

THE RECORD OF AN EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ATLANTIC CROSSING

B. Richard Burg

With the changing religious climate in England during the early years of the reign of Charles I, a large number of clerics who refused to conform to the dictates of the Anglican church were forced to undergo varying degrees of persecution. Some were simply ordered to conform to established practices; they experienced no further difficulty if they complied. Ohers who refused to compromise their beliefs were often removed from their pulpits. One of the members of the latter group was the Reverend Richard Mather of Toxteth Park in Lancashire. In 1634, he had been brought before an ecclesiastical court to answer for his Puritan doctrines. He was convicted of deviating from established church practice and forbidden to preach. Proscribed by the English hierarchy and unable to earn a living, the minister made the decision to travel with his wife and family to New England. There he could serve a true church and be free to practice Christ's ordinances.[1]

During the journey, the Lancashire cleric kept a record of the vicissitudes encountered in migrating from Toxteth Park to Boston. The account of the Atlantic crossing is largely drawn from that journal.[2]

The Mathers began their trek to North America on 16 April 1635, taking with them many of the possessions they would carry across the sea.[3] They traveled first to the nearby village of Warrington, and then on to Bristol. When they arrived at the port town on the twenty-third of the month,[4] they found that some of those who were going to accompany them to New England had already assembled. Others who were to be their traveling companions did not arrive until early May. The tardiness on the part of these members of the company did not delay sailing, for even after they arrived, their ship, the *James,* was not sufficiently prepared to put to sea. So while favorable winds blew almost daily, the Mathers waited three weeks as the vessel that had been promised for the first days of May was loaded and made ready. The family stayed with several friends in Bristol for the month and two days of imposed idleness.[5]

Late in May, the passengers were finally able to board the ship, though they had to pick their way among the piles of cargo which had not yet been stowed, but were lying in random heaps about the deck. Two government officials came aboard later in the day, checked the identity of the passengers, administered the oath of allegiance to all adults, and examined certificates issued by the ministers of the parishes from where they had come. When this was done, the ship was given the necessary documents needed to sail. On 23 May 1635, they moved from Bristol dock to a larger harbor some four or five miles away in preparation for setting out across the Atlantic. In the new harbor, the Mathers' vessel anchored next to the *Diligence,* a ship preparing to sail for Newfoundland.

The next day being Sunday, one of the passengers aboard the *James,* Daniel Maud, preached a sermon in the morning, and Mather exhorted in the after-

noon. The day was windy and the ship bobbed up and down on the water, giving many of the women and children their first experience with seasickness.

On Monday, the passengers were anxious to put to sea, but the crew members would not sail until all of the gear stacked on the deck was safely stowed below. Even with the help of the passengers, the goods could not be moved rapidly enough to sail that day. Mather and his companions watched with sorrow as the *Diligence* weighed anchor for her destination while they remained in the harbor, engaged at labors that should have been long since finished. The next morning the ship was to begin the voyage and the crew proceeded to make her ready. At last, when all had been prepared and they were actually getting under way, the wind shifted directly against them, and they were forced to drop anchor and resume waiting for a more favorable change in the weather. Their anger and frustration at this turn of events may have been assuaged somewhat in the evening when the *Diligence,* the ship that had sailed on Monday, was driven back into the harbor by the wind. A New England bound craft, the *Angel Gabriel,* was also forced into the harbor by the weather.

The perverse wind continued for several days, and during the interval the passengers on the *James* exchanged visits with those aboard the *Angel Gabriel.* At one time, when Mather and some of his company were aboard the other ship, it was visited by Sir Ferdinando Gorges.[6] He spoke briefly to them, wishing them well in their undertaking.

The days at anchor in the harbor meant there were numerous trips ashore in order to replenish the supplies of food and water for the passengers and cattle. On Saturday, when the wind became more favorable, the captain and several sailors were ashore on one of these trips so they could not sail. The following day, the wind again favored sailing but since the captain and members of the crew had not yet returned, the ship continued riding at anchor. The day being the Sabbath, Mather preached a morning sermon and Maud spoke in the afternoon.

By Monday, the absent crew members had returned. On the same day, the wind again shifted, and the *James* could not sail. The strength of the gusts kept the ship bobbing at anchor, and the motion sickness of the first Sunday on shipboard returned for many of the travelers. The wind finally became favorable on Thursday, 4 June, and since the full crew was aboard, the *James,* with its weary but joyous passengers, put to sea along with four other vessels that had also been in the harbor waiting for propitious winds.[7] After a near collision with the *Angel Gabriel,* the *James,* and the rest of the fleet of tiny ships,[8] two bound for New England and three for Newfoundland, began the voyage across the Atlantic. During the first hours at sea they sailed approximately thirty miles before a combination of wind and the tide again halted them. They were forced to drop anchor off the Welsh coast until evening when favorable conditions returned and allowed them to continue toward North America. By Friday, the wind had again shifted and the ships were forced to anchor off Lundy Isle, some sixty miles short of Lands End. The seas were heavy and many of the passengers were vomiting. Mather and others from the *James* visited the island, and several

excursions were made ashore for water and provisions despite the weather. Later the little fleet, despairing of a favorable wind change, moved some forty miles to Milford where the harbor was better and they could more easily ride out the high seas.

While anchored at Milford, Mather received an invitation from Sir James Parret, a knight who was aboard the *Diligence.* Since he had never met the man, he was a bit uncomfortable over the summons, for he had no idea why Sir James would want to speak to him. When Mather arrived, he found that the meeting was social in nature. It had no other significance, although Parret did mention he regretted that so many of the faithful were leaving England. On departing, the minister received good wishes and when he returned to the *James,* he wrote in his journal that the knight, ". . . Used me courteously,"[9] but he added no more information about his visit.

On the fourth Sabbath, most of the travelers went ashore to attend religious exercises at a nearby church in Nagle, while Mather did double duty aboard the *James,* preaching for both morning and afternoon services.

While the ships remained in the harbor waiting for better weather, the time passed slowly with only two incidents occurring to enliven the dreary days. The first of these was a quarrel between the captain and one of the crew over the sailor's drunkenness and blasphemy. The other event that broke the boredom was a visit to Nagle taken by Mather, his wife, and family. The short respite from shipboard restrictiveness must have provided a welcome change for the parents as well as for the children.

On Monday, 21 June, the wind proved favorable, and the five ships again put to sea after twelve days at Milford. By noon, England had dropped below the horizon. The joy of beginning the actual crossing was diminished slightly by the heavy winds and rough water that made most of the company seasick again, but at least they were underway. The following day, the fleet of five ships separated, the Newfoundland bound vessels taking a course different from that of the *James* and the *Angel Gabriel.* The captain first thought of sailing with the other three ships because of the protection they afforded, but since the *Angel Gabriel* carried sixteen guns, it was decided this was sufficient to guard against any danger. As the *James* was the faster of the two ships, she furled some of her canvas to avoid losing contact with her comrade.

After several days of sailing, the monotony of the green sea was broken by the sighting of a school of porpoises, and adults as well as children were delighted by the antics of the playful mammals as they dove and frolicked about the ship. The afternoon also offered its measure of excitement to the travelers, for at about two or three o'clock, the vessels began pursuit of a shipload of Turkish pirates, or at least what they supposed were Turkish pirates. The supposition was based on the events of the previous day when the three Newfoundland bound ships sailed out of sight. At that time, the *Mary,* the smallest of the trio, was the last to disappear over the horizon. Later, when the "pirate" ship was sighted a small craft resembling the little vessel was observed next to the Turkish rover. With imaginations laboring more furiously than their straining yards

and billowed canvas, the Englishmen assumed the *Mary* had been taken as a prize, and they set out to free her. What visions they may have had of bloody sea combat against the taupe skinned heathens, or how they visualized a heroic rescue of Christians destined for oriental slave markets cannot be known, but their fantasies were not to be fulfilled. As the *James* and the *Angel Gabriel,* driven by a sturdy east wind, cleaved through the summer sea, their dual quarries parted. Both the smaller ship and the vessel manned by the supposed sons of Islam widened the distance between their sterns and the guns of their pursuers. Soon the English, with only the open sea and unbroken horizon before them, returned to their course for New England.

The next few days were uneventful according to Mather's record, nothing taking place that could compare to the excitement of a chase across the vastness of the Atlantic. On 29 June, the travelers were well entertained when a porpoise was caught and taken aboard the ship. Mather, struck by the animal's similarity to one of the denizens of a Lancashire farm, described the event:

> For bignesse [it was] not much lesse than an hogge of 20 or 25 shillings a piece, and not much unlike for shape; with flesh fat and leane, like in color to the fat and leane of an hogge, and being opened upon ye decke had within his entrails, as liver, lights, heart, guts, &c., for al ye world like a swyne from the stye to the tressle, and opened upon the decke in viewe of al or company, was wonderful to us all, and marvelous merry sport and delightful to or women and children; so good was or God unto us, in affording us the day before spiritual refreshing to or soules and this day morning also delightful recreation to or bodyes, at ye taking and opening of this huge and strange fish.[10]

Mather made a visit to the *Angel Gabriel* several days after the porpoise incident, and enjoyed dinner with the captain, dining on mutton and turkey, with good sack to accent the fare. Several days after this, the fortified ship became separated from the *James,* and though they searched for her for a short time, she was not to be seen again.

The days of July were passed watching the weather, observing the fish, and gazing skyward, hoping to catch sight of an occasional sea bird. Religious services were a regular feature of the voyagers' Sabbath, but the most observable characteristic of the days seemed to be their sameness.

On 24 July, a school of whales was spotted, and Mather carefully recorded the spewing of their vapor in his account of the voyage. The experience also served to reaffirm his faith in God, for upon seeing one of the monsters, he first realized how Jonah could have lived in the stomach of one of the gigantic creatures.

The beginning of August brought with it the regular sighting of land birds, and the sailors were now able to catch cod, bringing them aboard almost as fast as they could throw their hooks over the side of the ship and haul in the fish.

On 10 August, the *James* anchored at Richmond's Island, about ninety miles from Boston. The purpose was to pick up a pilot to guide them through the dangerous waters around Massachusetts Bay. Two days later they began the last section of their voyage. The weather was mild, the sailors brought an abundance

of mackerel aboard the vessel, and they were able to reach the Isle of Shoals on the night of 14 August.

Having crossed the Atlantic without any serious problems, the *James* had her first brush with disaster only a few miles from her destination when, on 15 August, a violent storm broke against the American coast. The *James* caught the full force of the gale, and in the first few hours of the tempest, three anchor lines were torn apart by its violence. The crew was at last forced to cut the ship free from its remaining anchor in order to save it from destruction. The distressed voyagers then tried to sail from the islands and shoals that surrounded them, but their canvas was shredded by the wind and ripped from its yards and prevented the ship from succeeding in its frantic dash for the sea. Terrified, they waited and watched with horror as the hurricane drove them through the white and turbulent water. At every instant they expected to hear the crash of splintering wood and shattered timbers as the hull disintegrated against the dark monoliths protruding from the sea. The pitiful storm-battered travelers on the *James* sent prayers to heaven, beseeching God to save them from inevitable death.

The storm roared on unabated, but their supplications were answered. The ship miraculously missed destruction as it rode wind and sea between the rocks and hidden shoals of the Massachusetts coast.

Others were not so fortunate as the Mathers and their shipmates. Nearby the rolling and battered *James,* a pinnace sailing from Newberry to Marblehead was caught in the tempest and dashed to fragments against the rocks. The Reverend John Avery, traveling to Marblehead to take charge of the church in that village, was lost along with his wife and several others aboard the tiny craft. The fate of the boat might have remained unknown except that Anthony Thatcher and his wife, cousins of Avery, were washed ashore, and they related the sad tale of the wreck of the pinnace and the deaths of the passengers.[11]

When the storm subsided, the English travelers were almost unscathed. A boat they had been towing from Richmond Island was torn loose from its line at the stern of the ship, but none were aboard it and only the goods it was carrying went to the bottom of the sea. The company also suffered one casualty. "Richard Becon lending his helpe to ye seamen at ye haling of a cable, had catched about his arme whereby his arme was crushed in pieces, and his right hand pulled away, and himselfe brought into dolefull and grevous paine, and misery."[12]

The ship continued to its destination, and during the night of 16 August 1635, they, ". . . Came yt to ancre again before Boston, and so rested yt night with glad and thankfull hearts yt God had put an end to [their] long journey being over one of ye greatest seas in ye world."[13]

On 17 August 1635, the travel-weary passengers of the *James* disembarked in Boston, leaving the vessel that had been their home for the preceding twelve weeks and two days.[14]

The trip across the Atlantic had been highly successful by the maritime standards of the seventeenth century. The ship had left England with one hun-

dred passengers, twenty-three crewmen, a like number of cattle, three small calves, and eight horses. Despite the excessive length of time spent aboard as a result of the many delays before they were able to get away from England, not one of the persons or animals on the *James* had died. There had been accidents and illnesses to be sure. A woman and her child had come down with scurvy; Richard Becon had been mutilated by a cable during the storm; numerous others had contracted an assortment of diseases, but none of them succumbed to their maladies. As for the Mathers, they were troubled with seasickness, as were the other passengers, but none of them, including Katharine and the small child, Joseph, experienced any serious illness during the crossing.

Their relief at reaching North America was compounded when they learned the news that the *Angel Gabriel,* their companion during the early days of the voyage, had arrived in New England. Unfortunately, during the storm she had not been as lucky as the *James.* Anchored at Pemaquid when the hurricane struck, she was broken and sunk along with all of the cargo she carried. The disaster could have been worse, however, for most of those who had crossed aboard her were saved; only four or five of them lost their lives in the disaster.

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[1] For a full account of Mather's difficulty in England, see Increase Mather, *The Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God, Richard Mather, Teacher of the Church in Dorchester in New England* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1670).

[2] Richard Mather, *Journal of Richard Mather, 1635,* Vol. III: *Collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society* (Boston: David Clapp, Jr., 1846), pp. 5-32.

[3] There is no inventory of the items the Mathers carried from Toxteth Park to New England, but they did bring a chair with them to the Bay Colony. The piece of furniture is thought to have belonged to Mather's father (Hannah Mather Crocker Ms., "Reminiscences and Traditions of Boston," in the possession of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, cited by John W. Dean, 'Editor's Note,' *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XLVII [July: 1893], p. 340n.).

[4] This information is included under the entry date of 16 April 1635. It is obviously written later since it describes events occurring as much as one week after that day (Richard Mather, 16 April 1635).

[5] Since much of the foregoing description of the sojourn from England to North America is contained in Mather's *Journal,* only direct quotations from its pages will receive specific citations.

[6] Sir Ferdinando Gorges was born around 1566, entered the military profession while a young man, and may have served in the low countries and against the armada. He later served as governor of Plymouth, and became interested in North American colonization after coming in contact with a group of Indians brought across the Atlantic by George Weymouth in 1605. The following year in 1606, he was one of the stockholders of the Plymouth Company, and fourteen years later he played a major part in the organization of the Council for New England. After the Council gave its powers to the King in 1635, Gorges attempted to get title to Maine, and he succeeded in this in 1639. During the English Civil War, he remained a royalist. He died in 1647 (DNB, XXII, pp. 241-43).

[7] The *Diligence,* the *Bess,* and the *Mary,* bound for Newfoundland, and the *James* and the *Angel Gabriel* sailing for New England (Richard Mather, 1 June 1635).

[8] The largest, the *Angel Gabriel,* was of 240 tons, and the smallest, the *Mary,* was a mere 80 tons (*Ibid.*).

[9] *Ibid.,* 12 June 1635.

[10] *Ibid.,* 29 June 1635.

[11] Cotton, Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England; From Its First Planting In the Year 1620, Unto the Year of Our Lord 1698,* III (London: 1702), p. 77.

[12] Richard Mather, 15 August 1635.

[13] *Ibid.,* 16 August 1635.

[14] With the landing in Boston, Richard Mather's record was brought to a close. The last dated entry was 16 August 1635, but it included mention of events that took place the following day as well.