

The Alumni Gazette
The College of

William and Mary



Summer 1980



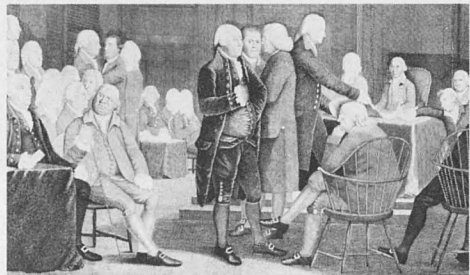
On The Cover

This portrait (oil on canvas, 46 1/2 inches is thought to be of Mann Page II. It is attributed to Charles Bridges (1670 - 1747), who was active in Virginia from 1735 - 1744. This is one of a collection of 10 Colonial portraits of the Page family given to the College in 1897 by Dr. R. C. M. Page. Mann Page II (1718 - 1778) was the son of Mann Page I and Judith Carter, his second wife. He was the progenator of the Rosewell branch of the family and father of John Page, governor of Virginia. He was a member of the Board of Visitors of the College in 1758 and a member of the Continental Congress in 1777. Colonial Williamsburg Photograph.

The Alumni Gazette The College of William and Mary

July/August 1980

Volume 48, No. 1



- 2 Party Politics
By Alan Abramowitz
- 6 Quitting
By Jean Wyer
- 10 Robert Andrews
By Wilford Kale
- 15 Gallery of Founding Fathers
By Ross Weeks Jr.
- 23 Bench Marks
By William Swindler
- 27 The Classic Influence
By James Baron
- 31 Inspiration From the Past
By Shirley Hufstedler

Editor, Ross L. Weeks, Jr.
Associate Editor, S. Dean Olson
Managing Editor, Jim Rees '74
Typesetting, Sylvia B. Colston

Officers of the Society are: President John H. Garrett, Jr., '40, Irvington, Virginia; Vice President, Henry D. Wilde, Jr., '53, Houston, Texas; Secretary, Marilyn Miller Entwisle, '44, Meadowbrook, Pennsylvania; Treasurer, Denys Grant, '58, Richmond, Virginia; Executive Vice President Gordon C. Vliet, '54. Board of Directors: To December 1981: James W. Brinkley, '59, Towson, Maryland; James E. Howard, '43, Richmond, Virginia; Robert H. Land, '34, Alexandria, Virginia; Austin L. Roberts III, '69, Newport News, Virginia; G. Elliott Schaubach, Jr., '59, Norfolk, Virginia. To December 1980: Marilyn Miller Entwisle, '44, Meadowbrook, Pennsylvania; R. Stanley Hudgins, '43, Virginia Beach, Virginia; Andrew D. Parker, Jr., JD '69, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Patricia King Sell, '58, La Jolla, California; Marvin F. West, '52, Williamsburg, Virginia; To December 1982: Stewart Gamage, '72, Alexandria, Virginia; John H. Garrett, Jr., '40, Irvington, Virginia; Denys Grant, '58, Richmond, Virginia; Jane Spencer Smith, '48, Grosse Pointe Shores, Michigan; Henry D. Wilde, Jr. '53, Houston, Texas.

Established June 10, 1933, by the Society of the Alumni of the College of William and Mary, box GO, Williamsburg, Va. 23185; monthly except January and July. Second-class postage paid at Williamsburg and Richmond. Subscription rates \$5.00 a year.



Jimmy the Greek has pegged Ronald Reagan as the current frontrunner. But is Reagan the choice of the party leaders or the selection of the voters who participated in primaries? Times-Dispatch photograph.

Party Politics

A Candidate May Not Need the Strong Push of Party Big Shots to Get Elected, But Once in the Oval Office, the President--and the Nation--Suffers from a Lack of Unified Support

By Alan Abramowitz

As the long 1980 presidential election campaign moves into its final phase, an incumbent president once again finds himself an underdog in the eyes of most pollsters and political observers. As astute a prognosticator as Jimmy the Greek

Alan Abramowitz, professor of government, earned a B.A. with High Distinction at the University of Rochester and advanced degrees at Stanford University. A specialist in the statistical methods of political science, Abramowitz has published several articles in political journals on the factors affecting voting behavior in U.S. Congressional elections.

has made Ronald Reagan the odds-on choice to win the presidency.

Having withstood a serious challenge for his own party's nomination, Jimmy Carter must contend with not only a formidable Republican opponent, but also an independent candidate, John Anderson, who will probably draw more votes from Carter than from Reagan. Of course, Jimmy Carter may yet confound the political oddsmakers and become the first president since Eisenhower to serve the two terms allowed by the constitution. The advantages of incumbency in a presidential election are considerable, as Carter demonstrated in his renomination campaign.

Yet it is clear that Jimmy Carter faces an uphill fight. What explains

this situation? More importantly, why have so many recent presidencies ended in either disgrace or defeat? Is there some common thread connecting the difficulties of such diverse individuals as Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter?

There is no simple answer to these questions. Throughout American history, the presidency has served as a lightning rod for public discontent with government policies and economic conditions. It is the natural focal point of public attention in a decentralized political system. Americans hold the president responsible for the policies of our national government, even though the president has only limited control

over these policies.

Since the 1960s, the economic, social, and international problems confronting the United States have led to a general decline in public confidence in governmental and non-governmental institutions, including the presidency. Any president would probably have had difficulty holding the support of the American people during this period.

The difficult nature of the times does not, of course, excuse individual presidents from any responsibility for the problems facing the country and for their own fate. As political scientist James David Barber argued in *The Presidential Character*, personality traits of individual presidents also have a substantial bearing on their success or failure in office. "Armchair psychoanalyses" of individual presidents' personalities have flourished in recent years. These are often superficial and simplistic in their assessment of presidential personality while ignoring the political context in which presidents act. Nevertheless, personality traits undoubtedly do influence presidential performance. Any explanation of the Watergate scandal would certainly have to take into account Richard Nixon's personal insecurity and paranoia. The problem with personality-based explanations is that recent presidents with quite different personality traits have encountered problems in managing the demands of the presidency. Moreover, the president's personality may be shaped by his experience in office. The personality traits displayed by Lyndon Johnson during his final years in the White House were quite different from those he displayed during his earlier career as Senate majority leader.

If the nature of the times and presidential character do not provide a satisfactory explanation for the crisis of the modern presidency, what are we left with? Perhaps, as some serious students of the presidency like Thomas Cronin have suggested recently, the demands of the office have grown to the point that the presidency is inherently unmanageable. The job may be too large for any individual. Only basic constitutional reform may offer any real hope for improvement. Before accepting this rather dire conclusion, however, one can suggest an alternative explanation for the contemporary crisis of the presidency: the increasing separation of the presidency from partisan

The demands
of the office
have grown to
the point that
the presidency
is inherently
unmanageable.

politics and the concurrent decline of our political parties.

It may seem strange to talk about the separation of the presidency from partisan politics when the president and many of his top advisors seem to be almost totally preoccupied with the upcoming election. Yet it is important, at this point, to draw a basic distinction between partisan politics and electoral politics. While partisan politics encompasses electoral politics (and much more), electoral politics is not necessarily partisan (despite the nominal presence of party labels on the ballot). Indeed, one of the most significant -- and detrimental -- political trends in the United States in recent years has been the separation of electoral from partisan politics. This is nowhere more evident than in our presidential selection process.

It is ironic that reports of public dissatisfaction with both major party nominees in 1980 are widespread in the aftermath of an era of reform that has left the presidential nominating process more accessible to the influence of the general public than ever before in our history. Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan were both chosen after long, grueling campaigns in which they decisively defeated their intra-party rivals. Millions of voters had the opportunity to express their candidate preferences in primaries and party caucuses open to almost anyone motivated to participate. No other democracy allows the general public to participate directly in selecting candidates for office. In 1980, over three-quarters of the delegates to the Democratic and Republican national conventions were chosen in primaries. As a result,

the outcome of each convention was foreordained by the results of the primaries. The conventions themselves have become little more than devices to ratify the decisions of the voters and kick off the general election campaigns.

It was not always this way. From 1832, when the first national nominating conventions were held, until 1968, the presidential nominating process was dominated by party and elected officials who were able to control large blocs of delegates from their states or localities. During this era of the "brokered convention," prospective nominees concentrated on courting a relatively small number of governors, mayors, and party officials whose support was crucial at the conventions. The general public played a fairly minor role in this process. Although there have been presidential primaries since the turn of the century (Florida enacted the first law providing for a presidential primary in 1901), until 1968 only a minority of the delegates were chosen in primaries. Most delegates were selected through party caucuses which were generally restricted to members of party organizations who had proven their loyalty to party leaders. By winning primaries, a candidate might demonstrate his vote-getting ability to party leaders, as John F. Kennedy did in West Virginia in 1960, but this did not necessarily guarantee nomination. In 1952, Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee won a large majority of the votes cast in the primaries, but the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson, who did not campaign in the primaries but was preferred by President Truman and other party leaders. As recently as 1968, Hubert Humphrey was awarded the Democratic presidential nomination without entering any primaries.

The turmoil and violence at the 1968 Democratic convention, which were viewed by millions of voters on live television, contributed to the defeats of Hubert Humphrey and a movement to reform the nominating process. A committee chaired by Senator George McGovern of South Dakota was established by the convention for the purpose of recommending changes in delegate-selection rules. The committee's recommendations, which were implemented for the 1972 Democratic convention, included efforts to increase representation of young people, minorities, and women at the conven-

It would be almost impossible, in any other democracy, for an individual with no national political experience to win election to the nation's highest political office. It would be almost impossible, in any other democracy, for an individual almost unknown to the officials and elected leaders of his party to become that party's leader and spokesman.

tion, and opening up party caucuses to participation by rank-and-file Democratic voters. However, instead of adopting the new and more democratic caucus procedures, many state parties chose to use a primary election. The number of primaries almost doubled between 1968 and 1972. Although the Republicans were not as interested in reforming their nominating process (since they had won the election), they were also affected by the spread of presidential primaries which were frequently by state legislatures for both parties.

The reforms of the presidential nominating process since 1968 have had consequences which were not entirely anticipated by the reformers. With the multiplication of primaries, the character of the pre-nomination campaign has changed dramatically. It is inconceivable today that a candidate could be nominated by either major party without campaigning actively in the primaries. Instead of courting a relatively small number of party leaders, prospective candidates must now wage a national campaign aimed at the general electorate. This, of course, requires money and organization. Moreover, since the primaries are spread over a period of five months, starting in February in New Hampshire, candidates must be prepared to devote themselves to full-time campaigning for at least a year, and preferably longer, before the general election. Our presidential election campaigns are far longer than those of any other democracy. Success in the early

primaries is often crucial to a candidate's chances of surviving, so enormous attention and resources are devoted to the states which hold these primaries, especially New Hampshire, even though very few delegates are at stake.

The effect of all of this has been to virtually eliminate the role of party leaders and organizations in the presidential nominating process. Candidates create their own campaign organizations for the primaries, and, once the nomination is secured, continue to run their campaigns separately from the party. The mass media, and particularly television, now play a prominent, and often decisive role in the campaign, by describing and interpreting the process for the voters. The media, rather than party leaders, are now the arbiters of success or failure in the pre-nomination campaign.

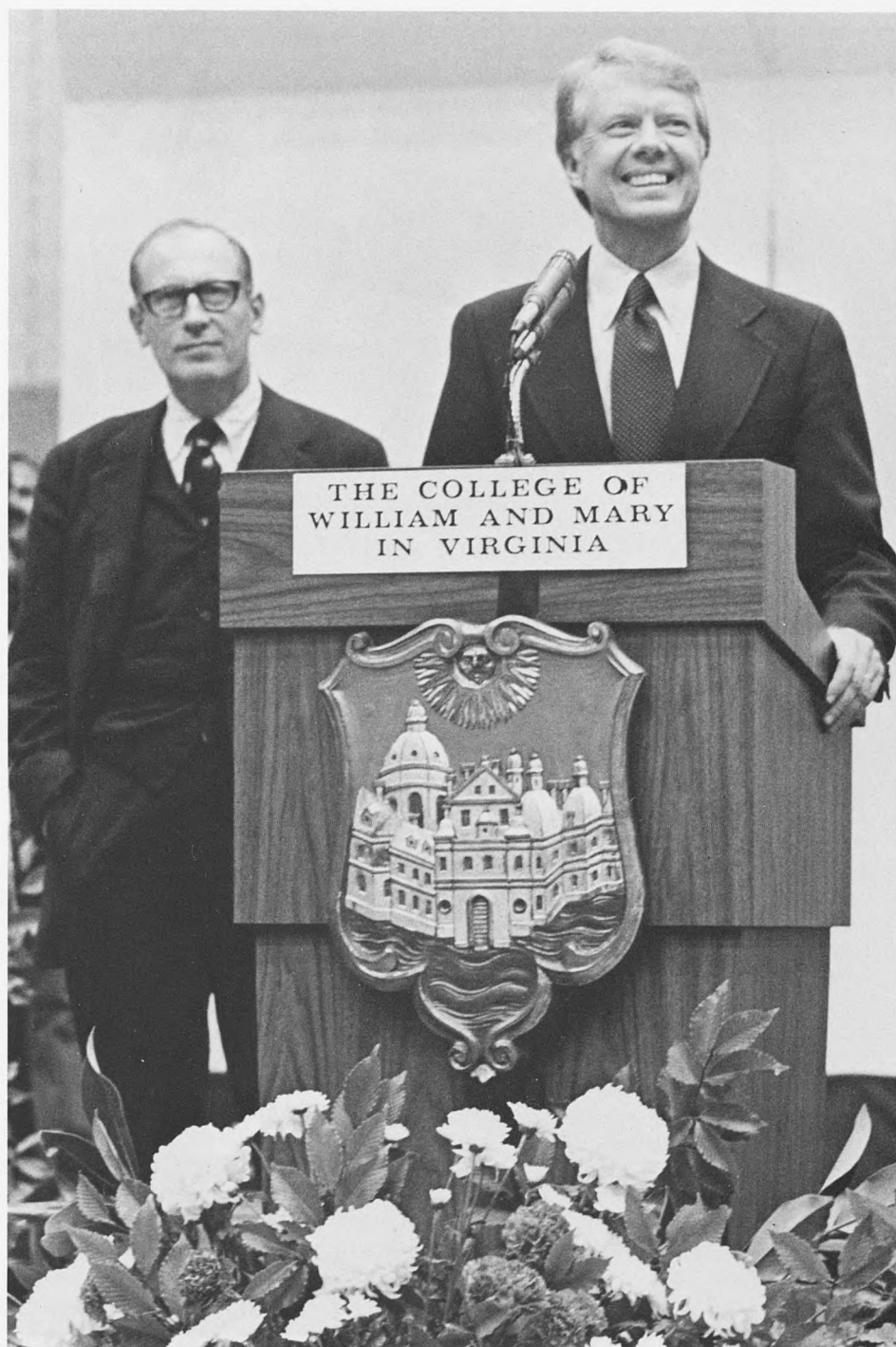
The post-1968 reforms have also changed the types of candidates who are likely to be successful in competing for the nomination. A relatively unknown candidate with little support among party leaders, like Jimmy Carter, can use success in the early primaries to gain public recognition and acquire the financial resources and organization needed in the later primaries. Once a candidate establishes himself as the frontrunner in the early primaries and caucuses, his momentum is often sufficient to carry him all the way to the nomination. The length of the campaign and the number of primaries also work to the advant-

age of candidates who can devote their full time and attention to running for president. Because they did not hold any public office, Jimmy Carter in 1976 and Ronald Reagan in 1980 were able to devote themselves fully to the presidential campaign for almost two years. In contrast, candidates who hold public office may not be able to devote sufficient time and attention to the campaign. A governor of a large state, like Jerry Brown, or a congressional leader, like Howard Baker, whatever their other qualifications for the presidency, cannot easily abandon their official responsibilities to campaign for the presidency.

The net result of all of this is that the qualifications and characteristics required to campaign successfully for the presidency are almost totally unrelated to the qualifications and characteristics required to govern the country successfully as president. It would be almost impossible, in any other democracy, for an individual with no national political experience to win election to the nation's highest political office. It would be almost impossible, in any other democracy, for an individual almost unknown to the officials and elected leaders of his party to become that party's leader and spokesman. We should therefore not be surprised when a new president takes several months (or longer) to learn how the political process works in Washington, or when members of his party in the Congress fail to support his policies.

As political scientist and former presidential advisor Richard Neustadt pointed out years ago in his brilliant study, *Presidential Power*, the power of the presidency is the power to persuade other political leaders in his party, in the Congress, and in the bureaucracy (as well as the public), to act in the president's interest because it is also in their personal interest to do so. The political skills of bargaining, negotiation, and compromise are essential for success in governing in our decentralized political system with its checks and balances and overlapping responsibilities. Yet our current presidential selection process does not reward or encourage candidates who possess these skills.

It would be simplistic to blame all of our country's ills and all of the problems of recent presidents on the reformed presidential nominating system. Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon were both products of the pre-reform era, although it is my belief



Carter, although he had little support among party leaders, used success in early primaries to gain public recognition. His problems once he entered the oval office may be a result of poor party ties.

that the weakening of the parties reduced their accountability to other power centers in the political system which might have acted earlier to check abuses of presidential power. In fact, Richard Nixon's 1972 presidential campaign was almost entirely divorced from the Republican Party. However, it was ultimately the withdrawal of political support by his own party's congressional leadership that forced Nixon's resignation.

We should not romanticize the traditional presidential nominating process which produced its share of failures as well as a number of truly great presidents. In any event, it is too late to turn back the clock to an earlier era of strong patronage-based party organizations. Party organizations today are too weak, and voters are too skeptical and independent-minded for such a counter-reform movement to succeed.

Yet it should be possible to modify our nominating procedures to correct some of the worst features of the current system. Even though our presidential nominating process appears to be much more democratic than in the past, only about a quarter of the eligible voters bother to participate in the presidential primaries. There is widespread dissatisfaction with the party nominees, and turnout in presidential elections has declined steadily since 1968. It is unlikely that much more than half of the eligible voters will bother to turn out for the 1980 presidential election, a rate of participation much lower than that found in any other industrial democracy. Our drawn-out presidential campaign distracts too much of the president's time and attention while boring most of the voters. It is time for a change. But what sort of change?

Unfortunately, many current reform proposals would only compound the problems inherent in the current nominating process. A single national primary, a reform favored by a large majority of the public according to recent polls, would completely eliminate state and local party organizations from the campaign and favor celebrities or candidates with large campaign budgets. While it is naive to hope for a return to the era of the brokered convention, it would not be impossible to reform the selection process so as to strengthen the role of party leaders while retaining a substantial voice for the electorate-at-large.

Perhaps the most attractive alternative is some variant of the so-called "Colorado" system advocated by Senator Gary Hart of that state. Under this system, party leaders, through a series of caucuses leading up to a national convention, would propose several eligible candidates who would then enter a national primary. The primary would choose the ultimate nominee to run in the general election. Presumably, each of the finalists would be provided with and limited to a fixed campaign budget. There is nothing sacred about this specific proposal and a better system might be devised. A major objective of any new nominating process, however, should be to close the gap between partisan politics and electoral politics, and thereby close the gap between what is required to campaign successfully for the presidency and what is required to govern successfully as president.

Quitting

The Essential Art of Saying "No," Getting Out and Moving On

By Jean Wyer

What do a college senior, a recent divorcee, a person who is trying to stop smoking, and an individual celebrating a thirtieth birthday have in common?

They are all involved in some type of quitting and the uncertainty they feel is due, at least in part, to a bias against acts of withdrawal.

A strong emphasis in Western societies is placed on success. Especially in America, the concept is often operationalized as a continuation of effort. Our activities have slogans such as "Quitters never win, and winners never quit," and "When the going gets tough, the tough get going." This linking of failure with the decision to quit is both specious and damaging. Quitters may be winners. In fact, an essential ingredient for long term success as an adult is an understanding of the benefits and mechanics of quitting.

Jean Wyer, who joined the faculty at the School of Business Administration in 1978, wrote this article on quitting after delivering a similar presentation as part of the College's "Last Lecture Series" sponsored by the Office of Residence Hall Life. She claims to be an experienced quitter herself, and rushed to "quit" Vassar College by graduating at 19 years old. She later received an MBA at the University of North Florida and a C. Phil. from Northwestern. This month she will complete work for a doctorate in education from William and Mary.

Quitting and Societal Pressures

The bias against quitting can be seen in an incident between a young boy and one of his parents at a youth ice hockey game. The child had been thrown into the boards without sufficient padding. He had barely managed to struggle off the ice when the parent rushed up to say, "Get back out there, you're not a quitter, are you?" In this case, the strong bias against an act of cessation prevented the parent from considering any other alternative or the severity of the situation.

The trauma of the decision to quit in the face of societal pressure to continue is apparent in the variety of the responses of draft age men to the Vietnam War. There were people who quit, but invited the sanctions; they were the ones who burned their draft cards. There were people who quit and quietly accepted the sanctions; they refused to go and went to jail. There were people who simply declared that they were incompatible with the whole argument; they accepted service as conscientious objectors. There were the people who quit and attempted to avoid the organized sanctions by fleeing to Canada. And there were people who quit mentally and emotionally, but did not physically; they were the reluctant draftees.

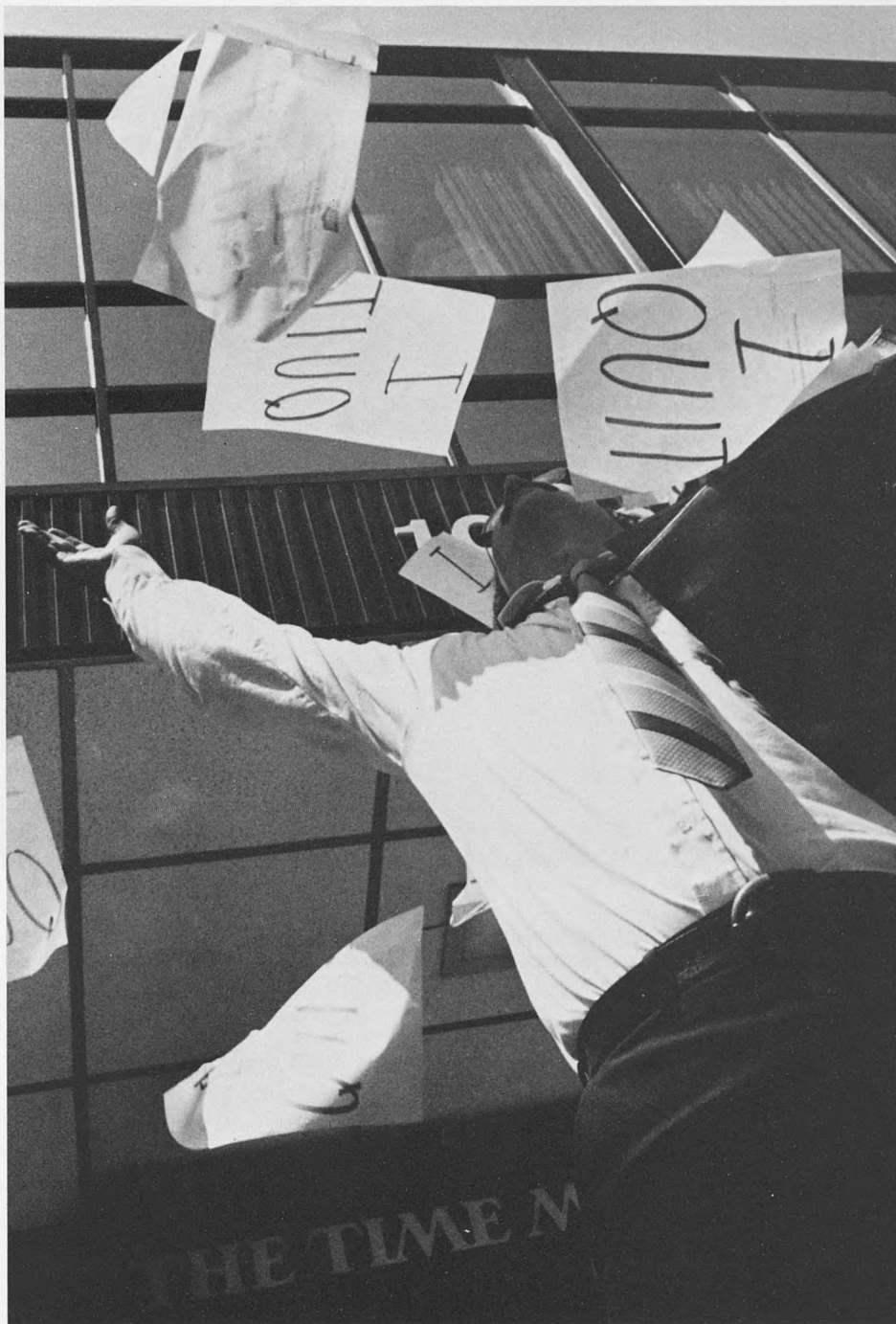
Not only is the bias against quitting an important topic when considered at the individual level. It is also a

significant societal issue. One of the reasons the scars of the Vietnam War are so deep is that Americans, individually and nationally, have no understanding of the decision to quit. As a nation we did not conceive of quitting as ever being reputable, and we had no way to make the decision to do it. We had no understanding that there are times when the optimal strategy is to cease incurring new losses and make a strong decision to take another course. The price for this restriction of our options is still being paid, and yet we have not significantly altered our opinion of quitting.

When viewed within a context of finite resources, the tempo of change in our society requires an understanding of the decision to quit. We cannot go on developing new uses for our personal and natural resources without deciding what to give up. Most of the attention focused on the problem of change has concentrated on the difficulty of accepting new situations, usually without a serious attempt to understand the process by which we lose the old.

What is Quitting?

Quitting is the act of terminating a relationship. This definition requires the existence of a person who is making the decision to withdraw (the subject), and of something to which the subject is related (the object). The relationship may be with another person, a group of people, an



Quitting a job can be one of the most traumatic and difficult kinds of quitting. But sometimes it's a necessary departure, and an alternative that every worker should consider.

organization, a work activity, a hobby, a habit, or any other significant factor in the subject's life. Each subject has a pattern of needs and wants that are known as a goal function.

Several special types of quitting exist. One is *Organized Quitting* -- the regularized termination of a relationship. Each year, at William and Mary and at all other colleges and universities, a new class of seniors leaps (or is pushed) into the

ranks of the Alumni. The intimate, day-to-day interaction with the college community ceases. The shock of quitting is defused in organized situations because the regular nature of the process allows the subjects to anticipate and to prepare for the separation.

Unavoidable Quitting is usually more difficult to face because of its negative impact on the need for autonomy. A prime example is aging. As a person leaves the tempting

comfort of youth and moves inexorably past the milestones of increased years, it is probable, although not always admitted, that the individual feels a sense of loss combined with the frustration rising from an inability to control the passage of time. We have made this process all the more difficult by the creation of arbitrary points of emphasis. To have to quit being 29 seems much more significant than to give up 28.

An important skill for anyone in a world full of opportunities is the ability to practice *Anticipatory Quitting*. Put more simply, this is the ability to say "No"--to understand in advance of commitment that one does not wish to devote one's limited resources to a proposed activity. Anticipatory quitting is an effective prophylactic against the more difficult quitting which will be required at later stages of increased commitment.

The Decision to Quit

Situations which necessitate quitting as an option may arise from changes in the subject's goal function or from changes in the object. Change is an inevitable life process. Activities and people which are of interest and benefit today may not be the best choice in the future. Shifting needs and interests are characteristic of the maturation process.

Implicit in the idea of change as fundamental to life is an understanding that "steady-state" agreements are likely to be doomed. Immobility of one party to a relationship cannot successfully bind other participants without a dysfunctional limitation on the freedom of all parties. Take, for example, the case of a person who has worked for one firm for a long time. The worker probably feels he has a commitment from the company not to make radical changes in his work environment. If the company responds to changing demand for its products by altering its organizational structure and supervisory practices, the worker may feel wronged. His understanding of the implicit stability of the contract conflicts with the firm's autonomy. Unless the worker's goal function will tolerate the new arrangements, this subject will have to consider quitting as an alternative.

The first step in the quitting process is the recognition of the problem and the concomitant need



Commencement is a type of organized quitting -- the regularized termination of a relationship. The shock resulting from this quitting is usually minimal because the regular nature of the process allows the subject to anticipate the separation.

for choice between alternatives. To avoid this choice is to yield one's autonomy to decision by indecision.

Some Propositions about Quitting

Even though change is inevitable, it is often hard to recognize, especially in the presence of conflicting ideas of what "should" or "ought to" be done. The most useful advice on when to consider quitting is extremely simple: quitting should be considered when the relationship is not fun anymore. A more formal statement of this idea is included in Proposition 1.

Proposition 1: Ends rarely justify uncomfortable means.

There are situations when enduring discomfort is suitably rewarded (an extreme example is a person, who has been bitten by an unknown animal,

taking rabies shots). However, these situations are rare and an individual who is uncomfortable with a process should seriously consider whether the expected results are a sufficient reward.

Once a decision to quit has been made, the problem of timing becomes important. As Proposition 1 indicates, a decision to quit or to continue is based on a cost-benefit analysis. The critical point in the timing decision is what costs and benefits should be included in the decision process. Proposition 2 gives some guidance on inclusion.

Proposition 2: The optimum time to quit is when future benefits no longer exceed future costs.

The key restrictive word in Proposition 2 is future. Although the analysis of situations involving human desires requires broad definitions of cost and benefit, certain

items merit omission. A sunk cost, that is, one that was incurred in the past and is not affected by the current decision, should not be included in the analysis. The classic operationalization of sunk costs is in the capital budgeting decision. A firm, considering the sale of a machine, should include the expected costs to operate the machine in the future and the expected future return. The original cost of the machine, however large, is not affected by, nor should it be considered in, the replacement decision. In the same manner, the evaluation of costs and benefits to determine an optimal time to quit should be based on future results and requirements and not on the burdens of the past.

Two responses to the implementation of a decision to quit are important: the subject's response (internal) and the object's response (external). A subject facing his or her own feelings about quitting may encounter lingering uncertainty about the decision to quit. A tempting method of resolving these doubts is

to argue that options not taken were inferior. This is, however comfortable it may seem, a fallacy. The road not taken is a road that can never be known. A captain who leaves a distressed vessel will never know whether the ship would have been saved if the crew had stayed aboard. Except in the most extreme cases, adopting an absolutely positive posture ignores the uncertainty inherent in the choice between mutually exclusive options.

Proposition 3: *Since one can only conjecture about what might have been, ex poste peace of mind is in the merits of the chosen alternative and not in speculation about an option not taken.*

The most comfortable subjects are those who can tolerate the ambiguity about outcomes which is inherent in the decision to quit.

The external response is especially important when the object withdrawn from is a person or a group of people. One who gives up a habit or a hobby is less likely to experience a negative response than one who leaves a group. Quitting would be easier if those who "marched to a different drummer" were tolerated, but they are not, and those who change rhythms often reap the most bitter returns. The characteristics of the object person or group determine the severity of the response.

Proposition 4: *The greater the need for cohesiveness within that group that is left, the greater the vehemence with which the quitter will be branded a traitor.*

The severity of the response of religious cults toward those who have chosen to leave is a current example of the relation between the need for unity and the reaction to withdrawal.

The subject facing a negative external response can lessen its impact in two ways. Understanding the inevitability of the reaction and

Quitting requires a mind set which fosters separation. Often this includes a desire for revenge. On the whole this is a subject best addressed by the biblical admonition to leave vengeance to a supreme being.

its relation to the internal structure of the group will reduce the personal nature of any aggressive responses. It is also helpful to identify and utilize emotional support from other quitters or from new sources. Continuing the example of religious cults, one of the tasks of the "deprogrammer" is to substitute non-cult persons for the group influence. The use of alternative primary support systems will lessen the sense of loss and vulnerability which often accompany the implementation of the decision to quit.

Quitting requires a mind set which fosters separation. Often this includes a desire for revenge. On the whole this is a subject best addressed by the biblical admonition to leave vengeance to a supreme being. Certainly, the risks to the quitter are minimized if revenge is not pursued. However, as this advice is often ignored, a proposition relating to effective revenge mechanisms is offered here.

Proposition 5: *Don't make waves, make confusion.*

Although applicable on a one-to-one basis, this proposition is especially effective in taking revenge against organizations. The latter thrive on attack, they revel in exposing the source of an expose, and they ridicule exhibitions of petulant pride. What organizations cannot handle is confusion. A behavior pattern that is sufficiently unpredictable will wreak havoc. If the organization expects retribution, give it instead contribution. If it foresees hostility, return pleasant humor. If criticism is

expected, freeze it with compliments. As the organization's expectations shift, alter the response pattern. The confusion that will result from such counter-intuitive behavior carries the sweetness of revenge with a significant reduction in the risk to the quitter.

Some sense of grief is a frequent companion to significant change. As time passes this sensation may mellow into nostalgia, but in its initial phases it may be quite uncomfortable. The grief may be in recognition of the facts of the situation that made parting necessary or it may be the result of the loss process itself. Regardless of the source, the best response (as there is no remedy) is understanding and compassion.

Quitting and Freedom

Although the subject of this article is quitting, it is also about control. The most exhilarating, but often scary, sensation comes from encountering the freedom of being in control of one's own life. Many people avoid this situation. They exhibit a posture of submission toward the societal bias against quitting, and in return for avoiding the associated risks, they forego any possible returns. For them, freedom is, as Kris Kristofferson's lyrics say in "Me and Bobby McGee" (ASACAP, 1969), "just another word for having nothing left to lose." For those who are willing to take risks, a greater freedom comes from having the ability to face loss.

Freedom is having the courage to quit.

Robert Andrews

Although He Worked Alongside the Most Famous People in Colonial America, the Nation's First Fine Arts Professor Remains a Mysterious Figure

By Wilford Kale '66

Robert Andrews is not a familiar name in the history of the College of William and Mary. He is not recognized like George Wythe, the first law professor, or William Small, who Thomas Jefferson said "fixed the destinies" of his life.

Andrews was one of those forgotten professors until about 14 years ago. In 1966, the late Thomas Thorne, Professor of Fine Arts, uncovered Andrews while he was examining some early William and Mary history and trying to find a suitable name for the College's new fine arts building.

To Thorne's delight, he discovered Andrews was named to a professorship in 1779 as part of what has been called the Jeffersonian reorganization of William and Mary. Jefferson first proposed sweeping changes in the curriculum of his alma mater, but the Board of Visitors made only those changes that could be accomplished within the framework of the charter of 1693.

According to the surviving faculty minutes of Dec. 29, 1779, Andrews

Wilford Kale is a William and Mary alumnus, class of 1966. Currently Bureau Chief of the Eastern Virginia office for the Richmond Times-Dispatch, he was an undergraduate history major and was part of the original research team in 1966 that prepared a special report that was the basis for the Board of Visitor's decision to name the new fine arts building after Andrews. He has written numerous articles for the Alumni Gazette and other publications.

was named "Professor of Moral Philosophy, the Law of Nature and Nations; the Fine Arts." Thus, he became the first college professor in America to include the study of fine arts in his course of instruction.

It was from Jefferson's original broad-ranging proposal to reorganize the College that the idea originated to introduce fine arts into the William and Mary curriculum. If Jefferson and Andrews and College President James Madison ever corresponded about the fine arts proposal, no letters survive.

In fact, although Andrews is mentioned in several Jefferson letters and there are surviving letters from Jefferson to him, none discusses Andrews' college teaching and none are of a personal nature.

Jefferson, however, did know of Andrews and his teaching ability since they lived in Williamsburg much of the same time and knew many of the same influential people.

Jefferson, in 1779, was Governor of Virginia. He had already written the Declaration of Independence and was 36 years old. Yet, according to famed Jefferson biographer Dumas Malone, "nothing Jefferson did or proposed in his entire career showed him more clearly to be a major American Prophet," than his proposal to expand the college curriculum including the new study of ". . . the fine arts."

A renaissance man, Jefferson saw art as an integral part of life, as Eleanor Berman explained in her introduction to "Thomas Jefferson Among the Arts."

"He (Jefferson) looked upon life's daily round with the eye of a humanist and an empiricist. He believed in reason, in utility, in the reality and significance of matter, in a deistic God who set this matter to his laws, and in a human liberty ordained according to these laws, which are 'the laws of nature and of nature's God'."

It was logical that Jefferson should urge the inclusion of the study of Fine Arts in the College reorganization, and that the fine arts should be incorporated in the professorship with "moral philosophy, the law of nature and nations. . ." Incidentally, Andrews, who graduated from the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, probably studied drawing, which was taught there prior to 1764, when he entered the school. Thus, he was the natural choice to teach ". . . the fine arts."

Examining Jefferson and the arts, it is easy to understand his choice of the phrase "fine arts" to encompass a wide ranging field of study. The term "fine arts" dates from 16th century Italy where the arts were elevated in stature to compete with the "liberal arts."

Exactly what were the fine arts in 1779?

The first professorship would be of ethics and fine arts and would consist, in Jefferson's own words, of "Moral Philosophy, Law of Nature, Law of Nations," under ethics and "Sculpture, Painting, Gardening, Music, Architecture, Poetry, Oratory, Criticism," under fine arts.

Jefferson, in a letter to his favorite granddaughter Ellen Randolph, on July 10, 1805, wrote: "I must observe that neither the number of the fine arts nor the particular arts entitled to that appellation have been fixed by general consent, many reckon but five painting, sculpture, architecture, music & poetry. To these some have added Oratory. . . others again, add Gardening as a 7th fine art."

On Sept. 7, 1814, in a letter to Peter Carr in regard to a program of study to be developed at a university and taught within a professional school, Jefferson wrote in part: "1st department, the fine arts, to wit: civil architecture, gardening, painting, sculpture and the theory of music. . ."

Thus, we can see that Jefferson's initial concepts of the fine arts at William and Mary did not change greatly and, in fact, were very similar to the fine arts notions he expounded later.

During the late 18th century the fine arts were taken from such works as Hogarth's "Analysis of Beauty," Burke's "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful" and Lord Kames' "Elements of Criticism." Those three books were included in a booklist which Jefferson prepared in 1771 for Robert Skipwith's library. The *Virginia Gazette* of the early 1770s (the college bookstore of the time) also sold copies of Burke and Lord Kames. Therefore, it is likely that those were used in a course of study in ". . . the fine arts."

William Howard Adams, in his introduction to the catalogue of the National Gallery of Art exhibit, "The Eye of Thomas Jefferson," wrote, "in his essay 'Jefferson and the Arts,' Fiske Kimball points out the paucity of artistic stimulation in Jefferson's Virginia and in his education. It may well have been the memory of these shortcomings that prompted him to include instruction in art in his

proposed reforms for the curriculum at the College of William and Mary.

"The eighteenth century was, nevertheless, an age of speculation on the theory of art and its function in an ideal society and from his readings in Hogarth, Burke and Lord Kames, among others, Jefferson indulged his taste in the philosophical analysis of abstract systems fashionable at the time."

There were, in Jefferson's own life, strong elements of philosophy and theory, as well as a sense of the practicum. With Jefferson's passion for architecture and Andrews' highly probable knowledge of drawing, it seems a strong connection that ". . . the fine arts" in Andrews' study contained theory and practical experience.

In fact, Jefferson, in his "Notes on the State of Virginia" written in 1781, gives strong support to a practical experience of ". . . the fine arts" under Andrews. He wrote about



Robert Andrews purchased this house in 1783 from John Blair Jr. It is one of the existing 18th century homes in Williamsburg's Historic area.

architecture in Williamsburg and lamented the lack of architecture genius, calling the College and public hospital "misshapen piles, which, but that they have roofs, would be taken for brick-kilns."

"But the principles of the art (architecture) are unknown and there exists scarcely a model among us sufficiently chaste to give an idea of them," Jefferson wrote.

"Architecture being one of the fine arts, and as such within the department of a professor of the college, according to the new arrangement, perhaps a spark may fall on some young subjects of natural taste, kindle up their genius, and produce a reformation in this elegant and useful art."

Thus, Jefferson not only makes his only reference to the fine arts professorship at William and Mary, but also supports an idea that the study of architecture in the fine arts at the College would include practical application as well as theory.

This concept of an expansion of the study coming about a century ahead of his time was typical of Jefferson. Berman wrote, "We see that Jefferson, in his general philosophy, as well as his philosophy of art, was an eclectic who drew whatever suited his needs from a variety of sources, recombining them, however, into something subtly distinctive and individual. . ."

Unfortunately, as so many other aspects of William and Mary history, there are no records existing to shed light on what, in fact, was the course of study offered by Andrews. However, just the inclusion of ". . . fine arts" in Andrews' professorship makes William and Mary the first college in America to take such action.

None of the other colonial colleges in existence prior to 1779 have any mention of the fine arts before Andrews, except for the drawing class at the College of Philadelphia. Fine arts, or classes in the arts, did not come into general use until the late 19th century.

Who was Robert Andrews?

Andrews' biography is sketchy at best and his personality is difficult to decipher from the few personal letters of his that exist. He was, however, a good friend of many of Virginia's social, religious and political leaders of the day. The few documents that have survived indicate that Andrews was respected for his teaching abilities and his mathe-

matical skills, as well as his companionship and friendship.

He was born in Cecil County, Md., near the Pennsylvania line, about 1747 or 1748, the son of Moses and Letitia Andrews. Although no birth date has been determined, it is believed that Robert was about two years younger than his brother John, who was born in 1745.

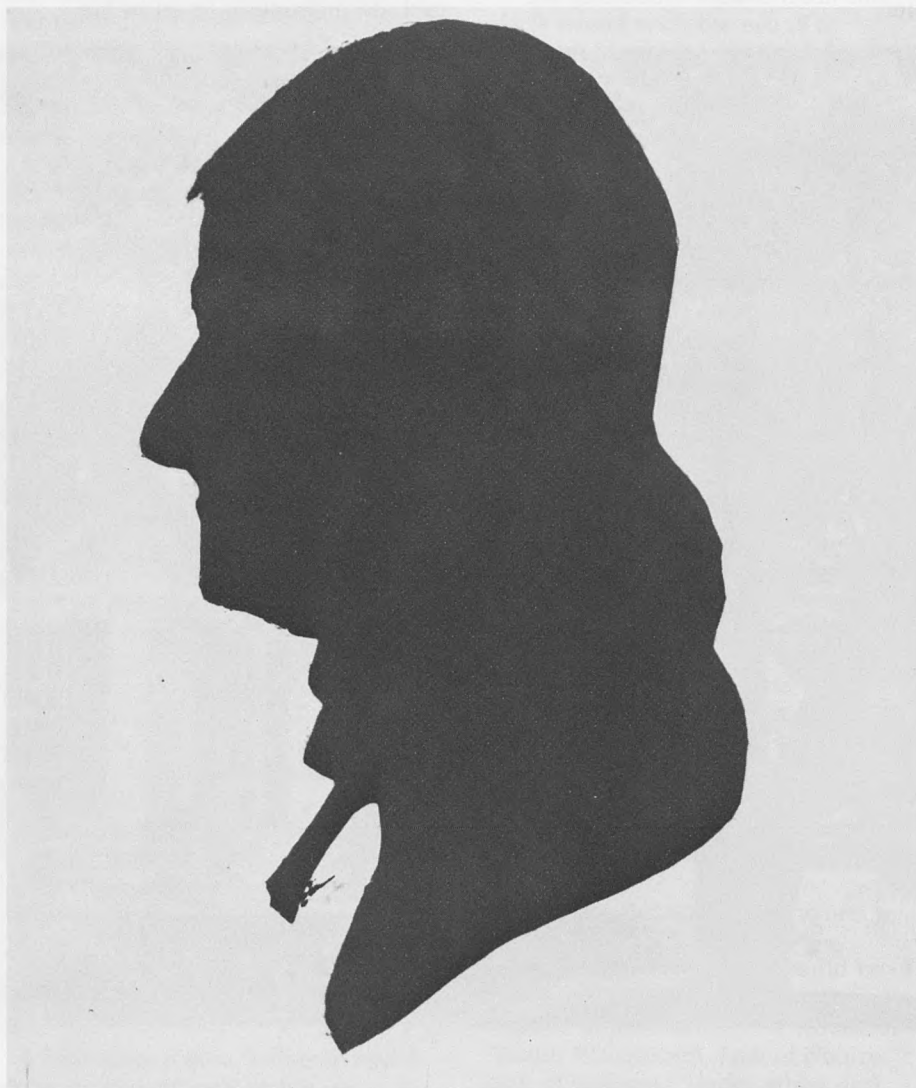
Andrews probably received his "grammar" education at Elk School in New Castle Parish, Md., and like his brother, attended the College of Philadelphia, entering in 1764 and graduating in 1766. At his graduation ceremony, Andrews delivered an oration on "Whether ease be the chief good?" He argued in the affirmative. There are references to Andrews preparing for the ministry; thus, he probably took a variety of courses in moral and natural philosophy.

Shortly after his graduation,

Andrews moved to Virginia, where he remained for most of his life. Records indicated that Andrews first served as a tutor in the family of Mann Page of "Rosewell," in Gloucester County about 1767.

Within a short time, Andrews apparently felt the call to the ministry. At that time, in the early 1770s, the Episcopal Church of America was embroiled in a battle over whether there should be an American bishop. The northern branch of the church favored the idea, while the southern branch was against it, feeling there would be even stronger ties with England. Without an American bishop, the church would relax, since there would be no direct ties with the English church except through the Bishop of London.

Andrews favored loose ties, while



This silhouette of Robert Andrews, cut during his lifetime, is the only known surviving image of the 18th century William and Mary professor.

Thomas L. Williams photograph.

his brother John favored an American bishop. Just a few years later, John and Robert also found themselves on opposite ends of the Revolution. John was a Tory sympathizer, while Robert actively supported the colonists' struggle.

Andrews was required by the church to go to England for ordination. He left in 1772, returning to Virginia in 1773. He was actually licensed to serve in Ware Parish on Dec. 26, 1773, but it cannot be established that Andrews ever served at Ware, since no Ware Parish records exist for that time.

Records do indicate that on March 9, 1774, the Rev. Andrews was appointed a member of a committee and designated "afternoon preacher" to the Committee for the Fund for the Relief of Clergymen's Widows and Orphans." He was one of 13

Virginia clergymen to sign a paper drawn up by 89 members of the House of Burgesses on May 27, 1774, recommending a general Congress for the colonies.

By his mid-20s, the Rev. Andrews had established himself in education, the ministry and politics. He also became recognized as an intellectual of sorts when on June 14, 1775, the Rev. Andrews, who then lived in Yorktown, was elected Secretary of the "Society for the Advancement of Useful Knowledge."

Records indicate that John Clayton had died between the first and second meeting of the Society and his place as president was filled by John Page, a close friend of Andrews from Gloucester. George Wythe, who later served on the William and Mary faculty with Andrews, was made vice president and James Madison, then

professor of natural philosophy and mathematics at William and Mary, and the Rev. Andrews were named secretaries. Andrews' growing friendship and association with Madison eventually led to his appointment at William and Mary.

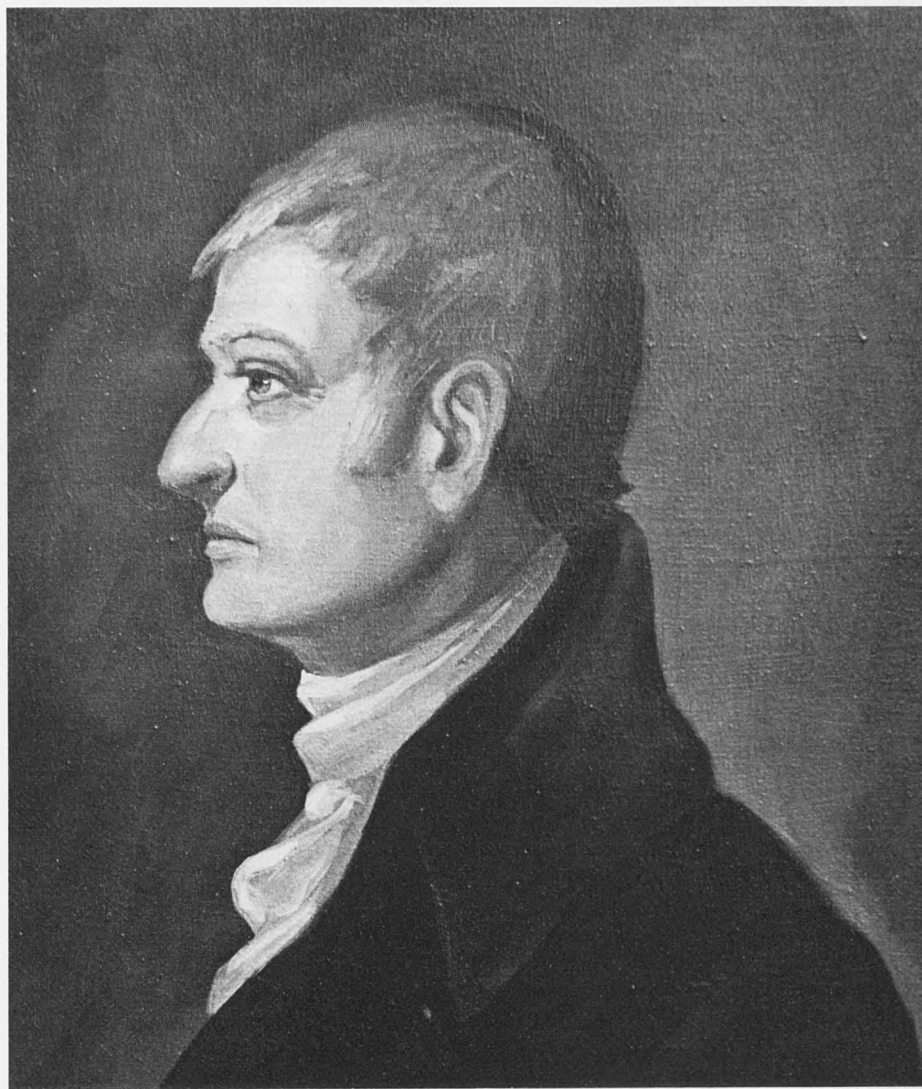
While in Yorktown, Andrews married Betsy Ballard of Princess Ann County. Little is known of Miss Ballard. A Robert Ballard owned land in York County near Thomas Nelson Jr., another friend of Andrews and probably a business partner. It is quite possible that Betsy Ballard was related to Robert Ballard and met Andrews while visiting Yorktown.

In 1775 Andrews increased his political activity, becoming a member of the York County Committee of Safety, serving later on the general committee of safety (local government) for the Williamsburg area. With war activity in Virginia increasing heavily after independence was declared by the American colonies in July, 1776, Andrews felt drawn to the patriot cause. He enlisted as a chaplain in the second or the seventh Virginia Regiment in March, 1777, serving until he was later transferred to Col. Marshall's Virginia State Artillery. He eventually left the service in January, 1780.

Education also was important to him and on Sept. 12, 1777, Andrews advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* in Williamsburg with a man named Swinton. The two men sought pupils for a school they hoped to open in the Glebe in Sussex County sometime around Christmas. Evidently, the school failed to open, because in December, 1777, following the Tory purge of the faculty at William and Mary, Andrews became a professor.

On July 19, 1777, Andrews wrote to a Maj. Everard Meade in Amelia that "the visitors (at William and Mary) have not yet filled up any vacancies, so that I am still only Expectant." He wrote to the same Maj. Meade on Dec. 20, 1777, also from Williamsburg: "...the visitors having this week elected me to the moral Chair in College. If you think I can now be of any service to your little son, be assured that my Disposition to do it is as strong as ever." In an earlier letter Andrews had offered to help tutor Meade's son.

Andrews, believed to be the first William and Mary professor to receive his "college" education in America, served for two years, 1777-79, on a faculty that consisted of



Professor Thomas Thorne painted this portrait of what he believed Andrews may have looked like. The silhouette was used for the profile.

Thomas L. Williams photograph.

President Madison, Andrews and John Bracken "who shared all the (professor) chairs between them."

With his appointment to William and Mary, Andrews moved to Williamsburg and late in July, 1779, was elected chairman of the Williamsburg Committee of Safety. A few days later, he was elected to oversee the rationing proceedings in the Williamsburg area. In December, 1779, he was elected an alderman of the newly-formed Williamsburg city government.

Sometime during the fall of 1779, the two personal and professional friends--Madison and Andrews--were appointed to a special commission to define the Maryland--Pennsylvania state line. Because of the war, the commission did not complete its work until 1784.

Andrews was a very active member of the Williamsburg Freemasonry and through this association became acquainted with many of the first citizens of the city, among them Judge John Blair Jr. When Judge Blair was appointed to the Court in Richmond in 1780, Andrews rented his house, which still stands on Duke of Gloucester Street. This roomy house proved suitable for Andrews' large, growing family and he purchased it from the Judge in 1783.

It should be added that Andrews rose to the rank of Master of the Williamsburg Masonic Lodge in 1779-80 and also was first Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Virginia in 1780, at the time when his friend Judge John Blair Jr. was the Grand Master.

On Dec. 29, 1779, at a "meeting of the President and Professors of William and Mary College, under a statute passed by the Visitors the fourth day of December, 1779," the College was organized with "James Madison, D.C., President and Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics; George Wythe, LL.D., Professor of Law and Police; James McClurg, Professor of Anatomy and Medicine; and Robert Andrews, A.M., Professor of Moral Philosophy, the Laws of Nature and Nations; and the Fine arts; and Charles Bellini, Professor of Modern Languages."

About a year and a half after "...the fine arts" became part of Andrews' professorship. In the summer of 1781, "Madison's ablest assistant, Rev. Robert Andrews, was compelled to give up the chair and withdraw from the ministry in order to make a living," the college journal

said. Andrews then became private secretary to now Gen. Thomas Nelson Jr. of Yorktown, his longtime friend, serving with him until the first of the new year.

In 1781 Andrews became editor of the *Virginia Almanack* published in Richmond, which a year earlier had become the new capital of Virginia, moving from Williamsburg because of the war threat. Andrews edited the book until 1796 and during that time printed approximately 37 different editions for eight different merchants. The *Almanack* was similar to the *Farmer's Almanac* of today.

Although Andrews had resigned as Professor in 1781, he continued serving as Bursar of William and Mary, a post to which he was named in 1779. He was still bursar at the time of his death. Andrews returned to William and Mary in 1784, but this time as Professor of Mathematics, and there is no mention at all of his professorship including anything in the fine arts.

It is believed that following the revolution and the accidental burning of the President's House while French troops were quartered there, Andrews supervised the rebuilding of the home, in his capacity as bursar. His name is frequently mentioned in the College account ledger, May, 1784-April, 1791.

Andrews returned to the ministry for a brief while in 1785, becoming rector of York-Hampton Parish in 1785. This venture was probably for the sole purpose of attending the first convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in Richmond. At that first meeting, Andrews was elected Secretary and James Madison, president of William and Mary, was made the First Bishop of the American Church.

By 1787 Andrews, however, was no longer associated with the ministry and was subsequently elected a lay deputy to the Virginia State Episcopal Convention from Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg. He served in that capacity until 1799 when he was defeated in an election by a Mr. Waller. He was the sole Virginia representative to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America for four conventions.

Sometime in the early 1790s Andrews' wife Betsy died. She had given birth to five children during their marriage, with three of these living to maturity. In 1795 Andrews married a second time, to an old

friend, Mary Blair, daughter of Judge John Blair Jr.

The last years of Andrews' life are very sketchy. On Nov. 1, 1794, he was appointed to the Board of Directors of the Hospital for the Insane in Williamsburg, now Eastern State Hospital. No other records have been found regarding Andrews except that he continued his duties as Bursar at the College until his death in January 1804.

Because of his lengthy association with William and Mary, Andrews knew all the professors during the late 18th century, among them St. George Tucker, who succeeded Wythe in the law chair at the College. Tucker was obviously very fond of Andrews because he wrote a memorial for him to be used at the time of his death.

The memorial gives the only real personality glimpse of Andrews. Tucker wrote:

Sacred to the Memory
of the Reverend Robert Andrews,
A native of Pennsylvania;
For many years
Professor of Mathematics,
in the
College of William and Mary:
An office
which he filled with honor to himself
and with equal benefit to his Pupils,
and the Institution.
Religion and Philanthropy,
combined with the purest moral
principles,
regulated his conduct through life:
a warm & affectionate heart
Rendered him the delight of his
friends;
and his domestic virtues
ensured to his family
the enjoyment of every earthly
comfort & Blessing.
He departed this life,
the (24th) day of January in the year
(1804).

Esteemed, lamented and regretted
by all that knew him.

Gallery of Founding Fathers

The National Portrait Gallery in Washington Features a Number of William and Mary Patriots who Represent the Founding of the College--and the Nation

By Ross Weeks Jr.

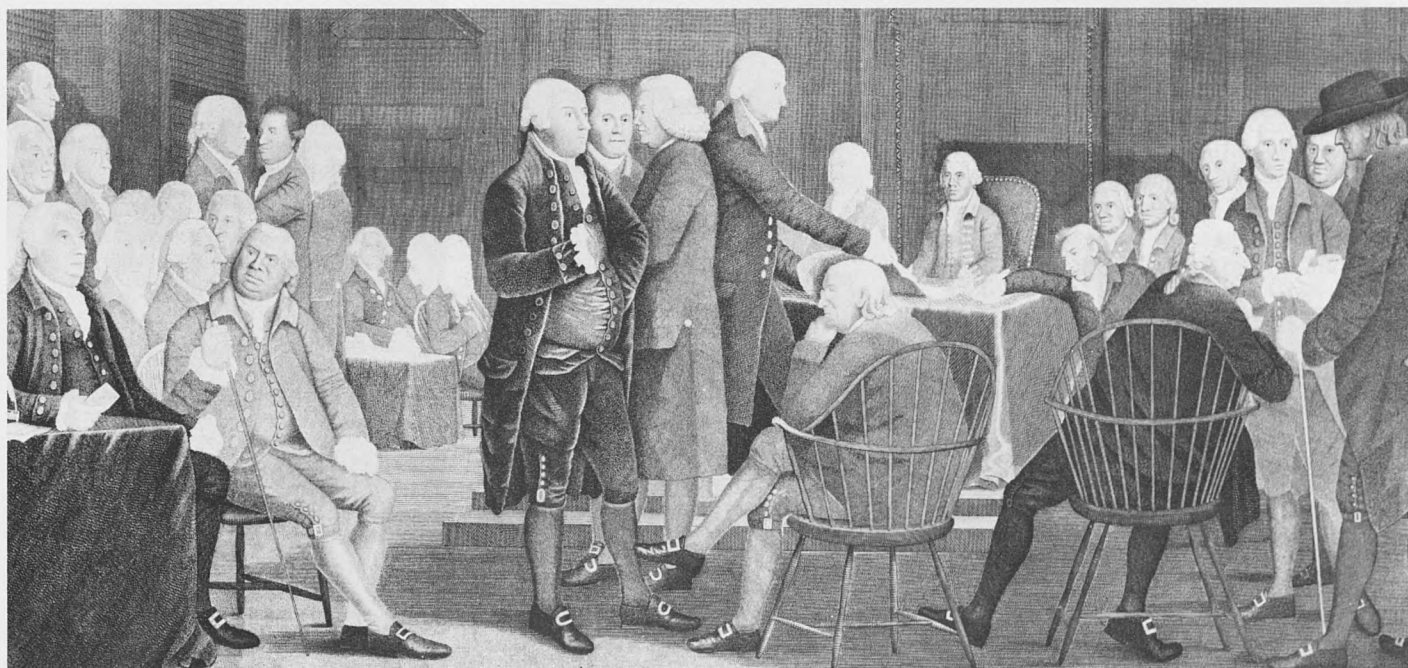
Since the National Portrait Gallery of Washington was established in 1962 by an Act of Congress, it has acquired hundreds of portraits of "men and women who have made significant contributions to the history, development, and culture of the people of the United States. . ." in the words of its charge.

Many of those whose portraits are on permanent exhibit in the Gallery have connections with the College of William and Mary, primarily before the Twentieth Century. Few American colleges or universities can boast such a representation of alumni in this prestigious national collection.

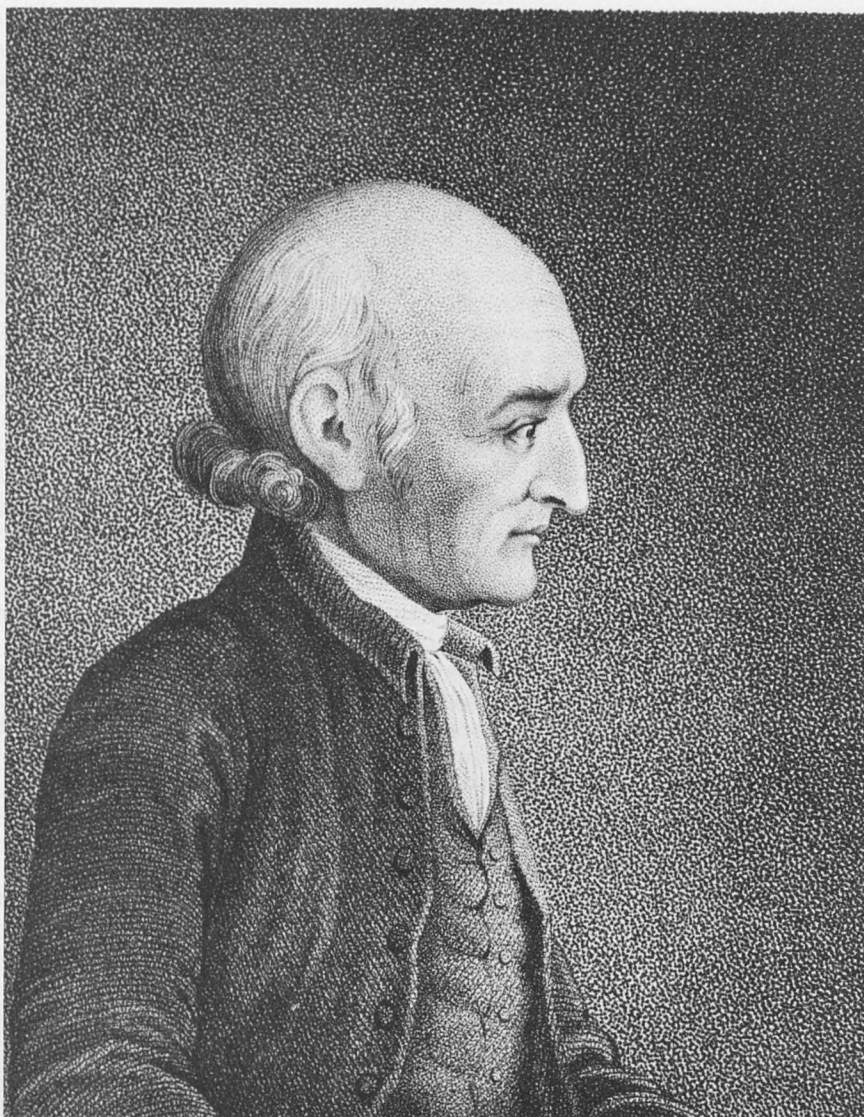
Through the courtesy of the Curator of the Collection,

the following selection of portraits and other likenesses has been made available to the *Alumni Gazette*. In some instances, we have chosen to publish the more unusual--rather than the typical--views of leading historical figures which commonly illustrate American history books and our own publications.

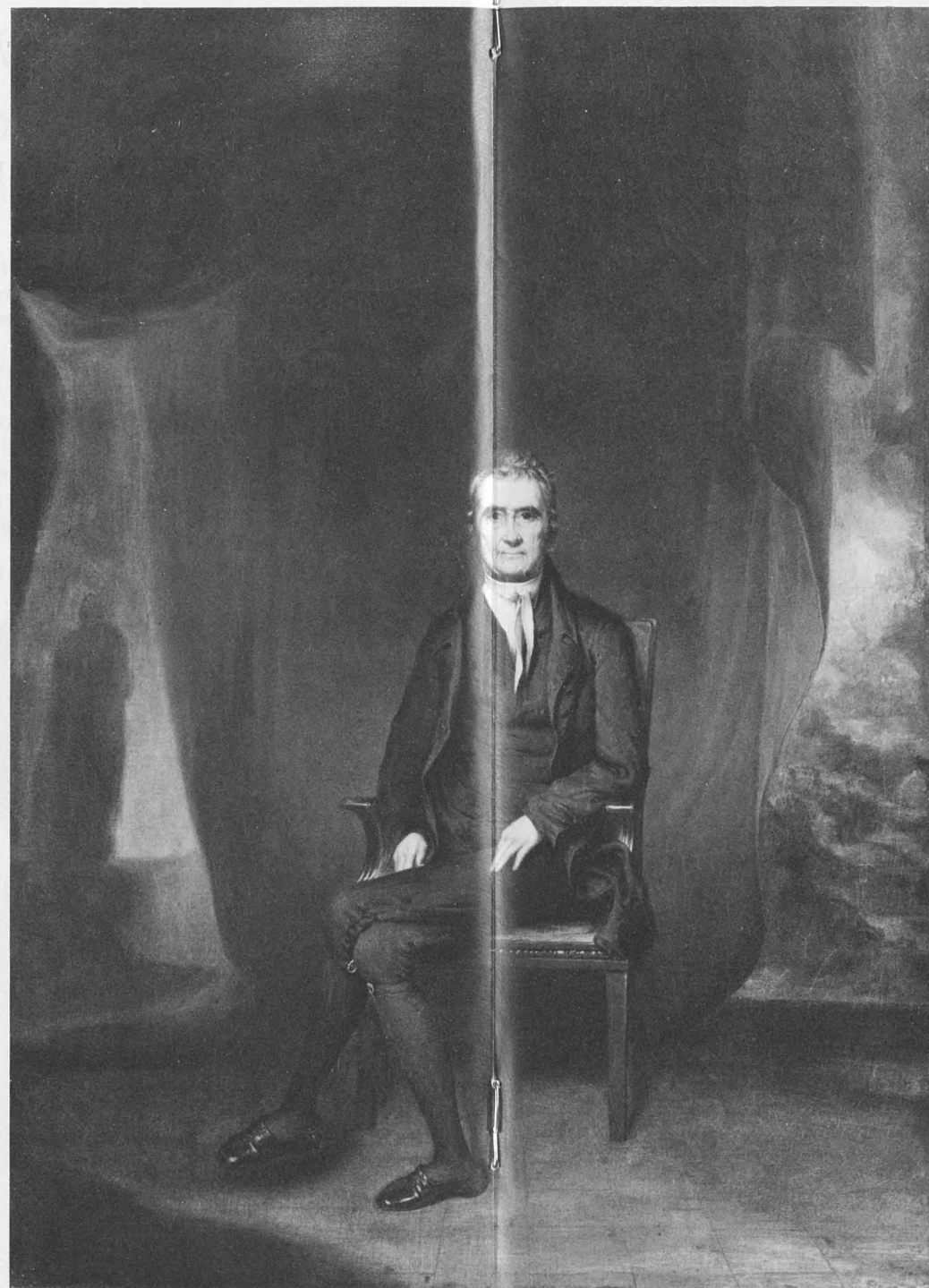
The National Gallery is operated as a bureau of the Smithsonian Institution. About two-thirds of its holdings have been acquired as gifts; the remainder were purchased with funds appropriated by Congress for Gallery operations. Open to the public free of charge, the Gallery makes interesting browsing for those interested in the history of the United States and, indeed, of the College.



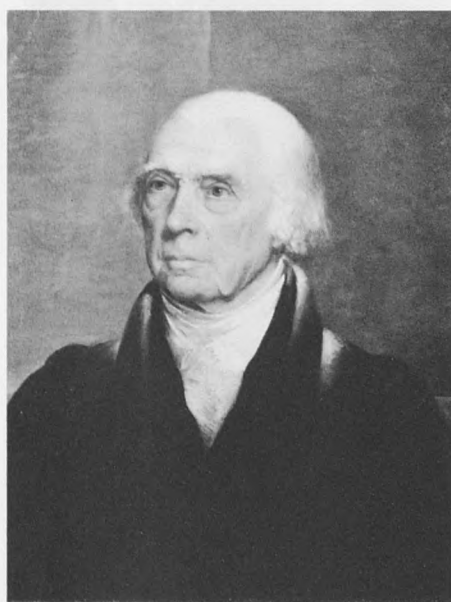
The College was very much a part of this historic scene, "Congress Voting Independence," a stipple and line engraving (19 x 25 3/4 inches) from an unfinished plate by Edward Savage done between 1796 and 1817. Peyton Randolph, who studied at the College about 1739, was President of the First and Second Continental Congresses (1774 and 1775) but did not live to take part in the events of 1776. Another member of the first two Congresses was Richard Bland, a student in 1720; he declined re-election to the 1776 Congress. Those involved in the vote for independence included Thomas Jefferson (who was Peyton Randolph's alternate the previous two sessions); Benjamin Harrison V; George Wythe and Carter Braxton. Braxton was a student in 1753-56 and a member of the Board in 1769; he succeeded Randolph as a member of Congress.



The College's first professor of law, George Wythe, who attended William and Mary circa 1746 and was named to the faculty in 1779, served as a member of the Board of Visitors as well. This sepia watercolor on paper (9 13/16 by 5 1/2 inches) was painted about 1825 by James Barton Longacre (1794-1869) after another portrait by an unidentified artist. Thomas Jefferson learned his law in Wythe's Williamsburg home and later persuaded the Board to create for Wythe the professorship of law and police. He taught at William and Mary for 10 years before becoming Attorney-General of Virginia.

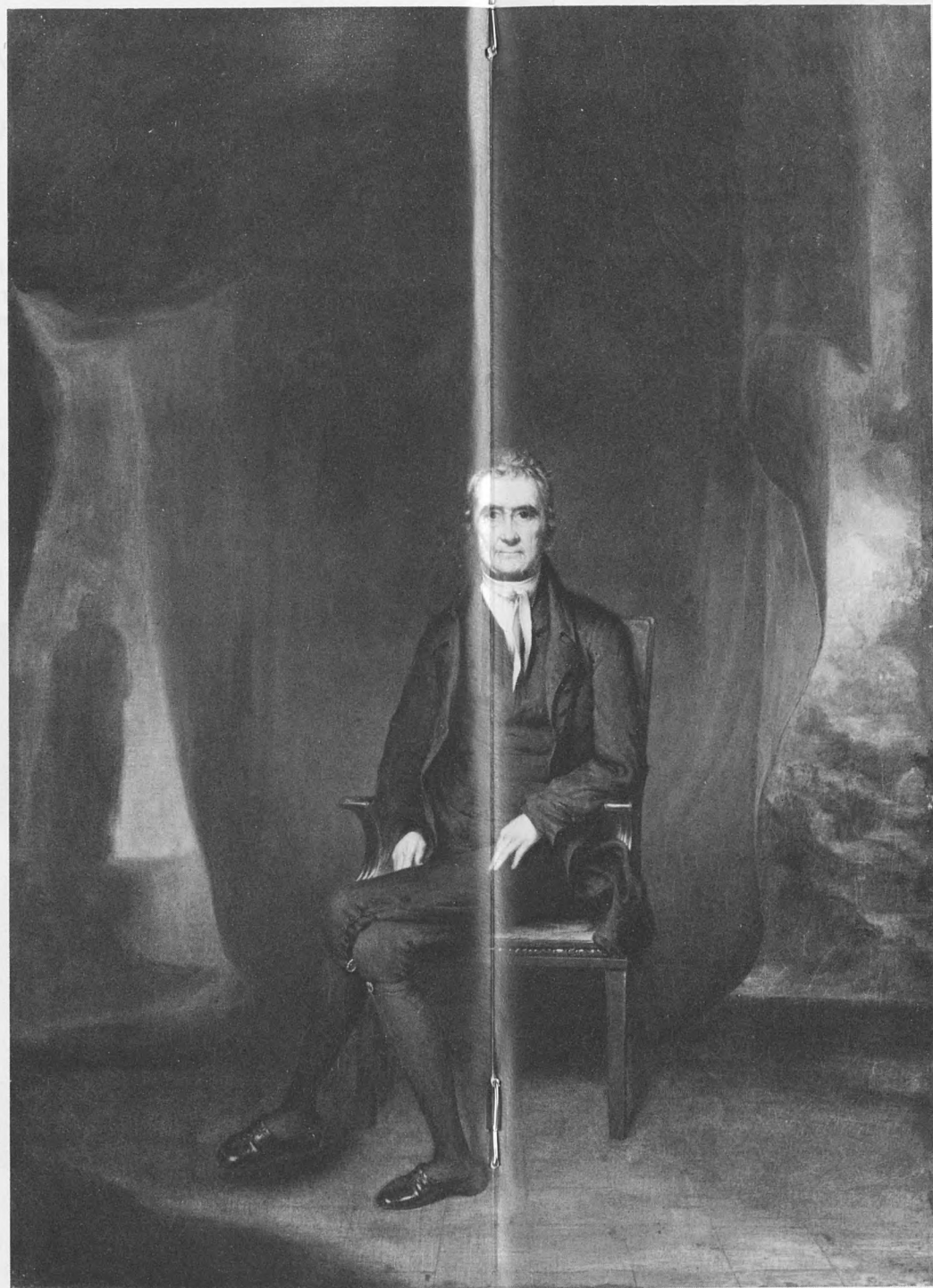


The great Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, was portrayed in 1832 by William James Hubbard (1807-1962) in this oil on canvas which measures 24 1/4 by 15 1/8 inches. Marshall studied in 1780 under George Wythe, the College's first professor of law, and their names have been perpetuated in the Marshall-Wythe School of Law.

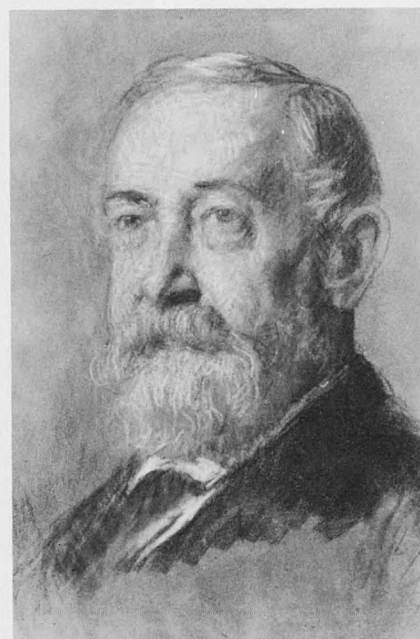


James Madison, the Fourth President of the United States, served on the College's Board of Visitors in 1779 with Thomas Jefferson. His cousin, the Reverend James Madison, was eighth President of the College (1777-1812) and Episcopal Bishop of Virginia. This oil on canvas, attributed to Chester Harding, was painted circa 1825-30 and measures 30 by 25 inches.

The College's first professor of law, George Wythe, who attended William and Mary circa 1746 and was named to the faculty in 1779, served as a member of the Board of Visitors as well. This sepia watercolor on paper (9 13/16 by 5 1/2 inches) was painted about 1825 by James Barton Longacre (1794-1869) after another portrait by an unidentified artist. Thomas Jefferson learned his law in Wythe's Williamsburg home and later persuaded the Board to create for Wythe the professorship of law and police. He taught at William and Mary for 10 years before becoming Attorney-General of Virginia.



The great Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, was portrayed in 1832 by William James Hubard (1807-1962) in this oil on canvas which measures 24 1/4 by 15 1/8 inches. Marshall studied in 1780 under George Wythe, the College's first professor of law, and their names have been perpetuated in the Marshall-Wythe School of Law.

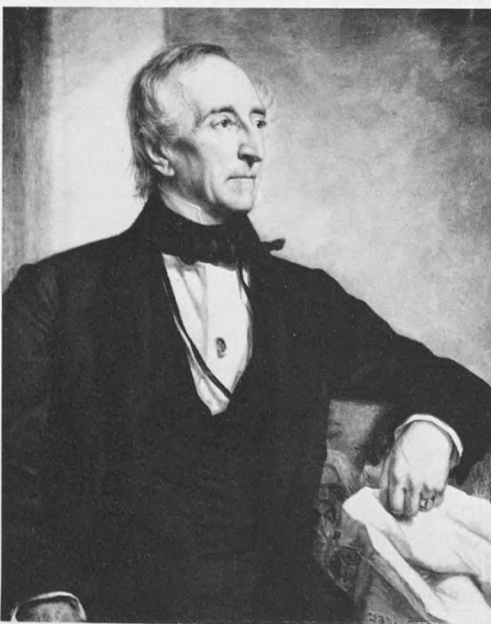


The Harrison family of Virginia historically was tied with the College before and after the Revolution. The most prominent was Benjamin Harrison V of Berkeley, Charles City County, who attended sometime between 1720 and 1735, was a member of the Board in 1773, signed the Declaration of Independence and served as post-Revolution Governor of Virginia. One of his sons, Benjamin VI, earned the A.B. from William and Mary in 1806 and upon his death, the Berkeley plantation left Harrison family hands. Another son, William Henry Harrison (above), born in 1773, chose to attend Hampden-Sydney College briefly and then moved west, later to become the ninth President of the United States. The lithograph of William Henry Harrison (10 5/8 by 10 1/2 inches) was done by Albert Newsam (1809-1864) after Rembrandt Peale. William Henry Harrison's Presidential campaign slogan -- "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" -- invoked the name of alumnus John Tyler, who succeeded Harrison upon his death in office. The charcoal-and-chalk drawing (18 x 12 inches) of Benjamin Harrison was done about 1889 by Eastman Johnson (1824-1906). But for the availability of medical training at Hampden-Sydney, William Henry most probably would have attended William and Mary as did most of the male members of his family until then.

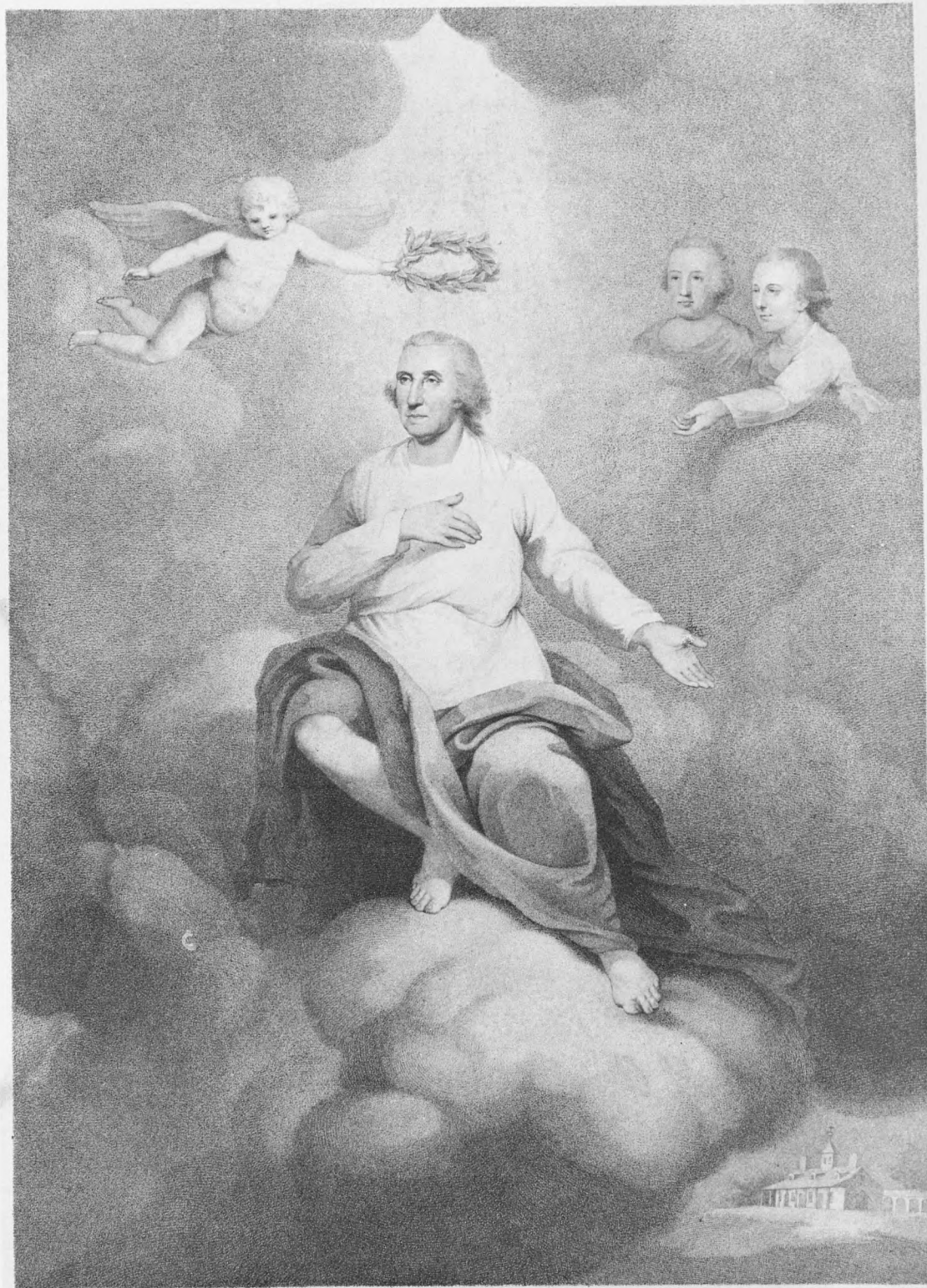


Jean Baptiste de Rochambeau, the French commander in the American Revolution, worked closely with General Washington after Lord Cornwallis' evacuation from Williamsburg, with the American and French commanders using George Wythe's home as headquarters. Rochambeau had oversight over the College's buildings, used then as hospitals for French wounded; the President's House was a hospital for French officers, and it burned in November, 1781. President Madison negotiated with Rochambeau for 12,000 pounds sterling in damages from the French government to rebuild the House. This undated oil on canvas (25 3/4 by 21 1/2 inches) is by Joseph Desire Court (1797-1865), the gift of Andrew W. Mellon.

The Tenth President of the United States, John Tyler, who enrolled in 1806, was the most noted of the many members of the Tyler Family in Virginia who studied at William and Mary and helped guide it through the 19th and early 20th centuries. His father was named to the Board of Visitors in 1804; this Tyler was Chancellor of the College from 1859 until 1862; and his son, Lyon G. Tyler, was President of the College from 1888 until 1919. This oil on canvas (36 1/8 by 29 1/8 inches) was painted in 1859 by George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-94).



John Randolph of Roanoke, who attended the College in 1792, served in the United States Senate from 1825 to 1827. One of a large number of Randolphs who were associated with the early College, he is not to be confused with John "The Tory" Randolph, who remained loyal to the Crown in 1776. This oil on panel (30 by 25 inches) was painted by John Wesley Jarvis (1780-1840) in 1811. It was the gift of Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert to the National Gallery.

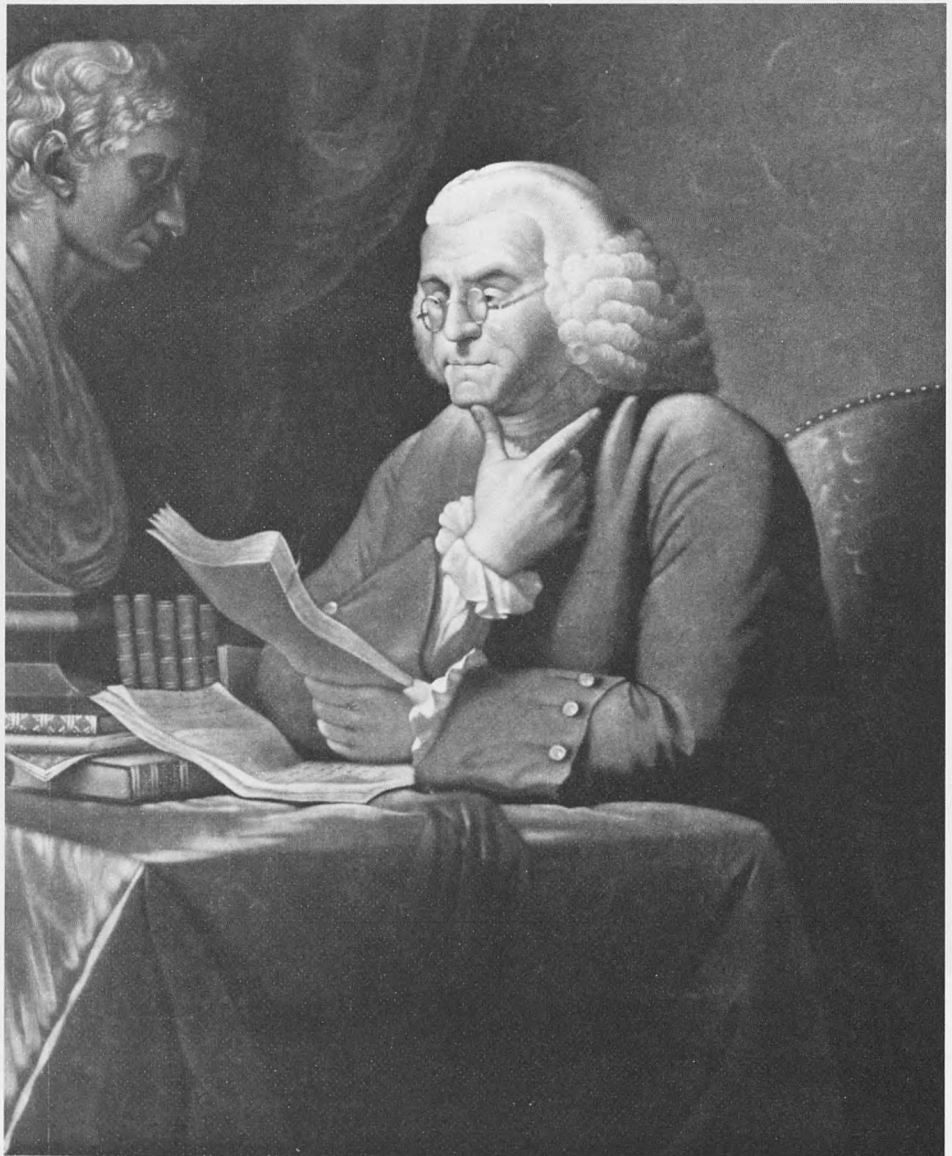


George Washington, the first American Chancellor of the College (1788-1799), is glorified in this stipple engraving by David Edwin (1776-1841) after Rembrandt Peale's famed portrait. The engraving measures 20 7/8 by 14 3/4 inches. Washington, though not an alumnus, received his license as Culpeper County surveyor in 1749 from William and Mary. It was his first public office, and the College's Chancellorship was his last.

((APOTHEOSIS) OF (WASHINGTON))



James Monroe, who attended William and Mary in 1774-76, was a delegate to the Continental Congress, United States Senator from Virginia, Governor of Virginia and the fifth President of the United States. His Albemarle County residence, Ash Lawn, located within sight of Jefferson's Monticello, was willed to the College in 1975 by Jay W. Johns and is a major Charlottesville-area visitor attraction. This undated oil on canvas is attributed to James Herring (1794-1867) after the more well-known portrait by James Vanderlyn. It measures 30 by 25 inches and was the gift of Andrew W. Mellon.



William and Mary conferred its first honorary degree (Master of Arts) upon Benjamin Franklin in 1756. Earlier, he had received an honorary degree from Harvard College. Franklin was among the luminaries who, over the centuries, have been entertained in the President's House of the College. This mezzotint (18 by 14 inches) is by Edward Savage (1761-1817) in 1793 after Benjamin West, after David Martin.

Benjamin Franklin D.D. F.R.S.

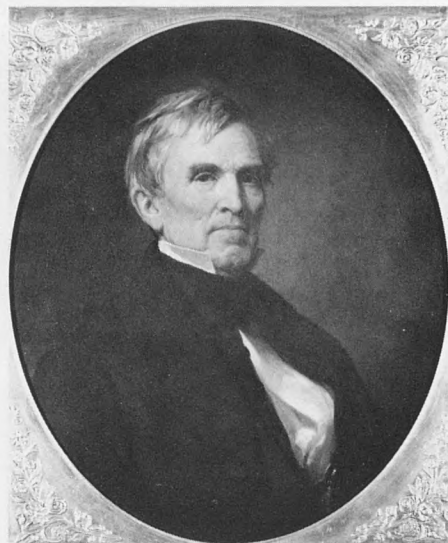


This hand-colored aquatint, ca. 1798-99, is an unusual depiction of Thomas Jefferson, William and Mary's most notable alumnus who credited Professor William Small with "fixing my destiny for life." Jefferson attended the College in 1759. The aquatint is by M. Sokolnicki (1760-1816) after Thaddeus Kosciusko. It measures 9 3/4 by 8 1/8 inches.



Robert "King" Carter is the subject of this oil canvas (49½ by 39 3/4 inches) painted about 1720 by an unknown artist. Carter, who was Secretary of the Council of the Virginia Colony, was a member of the College Board of Visitors in 1723, the first of many members of his family to help guide the early development of the Colony's college. The first Carters to attend William and Mary were his sons, John, Robert, George, Landon and Edward, all between 1720 and 1735. His grandsons Charles and Edward were enrolled in 1752.

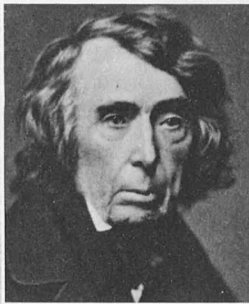
The Marquis de Lafayette, whose forces supported General Washington in the decisive American victories ending at Yorktown in 1781, was no stranger to the College. In sending Lord Cornwallis' British troops into retreat from Williamsburg, he evicted Cornwallis from the President's House which he had pre-empted as his residence for the occupation of the city. Lafayette later received an honorary degree (LL.D. 1824) from the College. This engraving by Jean Marie Lerous (1788-1870), dated 1824, is after Ary Scheffer and measures 21 3/4 by 14 3/4 inches. It was the gift of Stuart P. Feld to the Gallery.



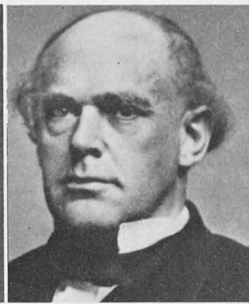
A student in 1805, John Jordan Crittenden served as Governor of Kentucky, United States Senator and Attorney General of the United States. This oil on canvas (29½ by 24 3/4 inches) was painted in 1857 by George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-1894) and was the gift to the National Gallery of Mr. and Mrs. Silas B. McKinley.



Jay



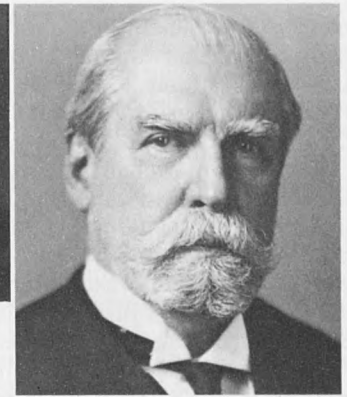
Taney



Chase



Fuller



Hughes

Bench Marks

A Longtime Student of the Judicial System Rates the Good, the Bad and the Mediocre Magistrates Who Have Served as Chief Justice

By William Swindler

John Nance Garner is remembered for an eloquent description of the Vice-Presidency as an honor not worth a bucket of warm spit. In somewhat more sedate terms, John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States, saw little future in his office. When President John Adams tried to get him to take the job a second time, Jay unhesitatingly refused. As a last-minute expedient, to keep the highest judicial office in the government from falling into the hands of the incoming Jeffersonian administration, Adams had to take anyone who was at hand. He settled for a second choice, a loose-jointed Virginian named John Marshall.

Later, the Chief Justiceship became the professional pinnacle of legal ambition -- even though, for some like Salmon Portland Chase, the Presidency would have been preferable. For William Howard Taft, the only man to hold both offices, the center chair on the Supreme Court

William Swindler, professor of law emeritus, earned a B.A. at Washington University, a Ph.D. at the University of Missouri and an LL.B. at the University of Nebraska. A former journalist, Swindler is the author of numerous articles and books dealing with constitutional law, including a definitive study of all 50 U.S. state constitutions. Swindler was elected to the Board of Directors of the American Judicature Society in 1972 and has served as a member of the Chief Justice's Committee on Supreme Court Memorabilia.

was infinitely more attractive than the White House. In the twentieth century, it is hard to imagine its being refused by any leader of the bar to whom it was offered -- although there still persists an apocryphal story that President Herbert Hoover once offered the position to Charles Evans Hughes in full confidence that Hughes would be compelled not to accept, and Hoover would be free to choose someone else after the courtesy of making the offer.

According to this story, persuasively argued by at least one lawyer who declares that he was personally told the details by the principals, Hoover felt compelled to offer the position to Hughes, the distinguished leader of the bar who had once been an Associate Justice before he resigned to run for President in 1916. Since Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., was then (in 1930) Solicitor General of the United States, handling most of the government's litigation before the Supreme Court, there would be an obvious conflict of interest in having the father on the bench and the son arguing for the government before the bench; and a paternal concern for the son's professional future would compel the father to decline the judgeship. But the senior Hughes accepted, according to the tale, and Hoover, having telephoned the offer, hung up with the nonplussed comment, "The s.o.b. didn't think of his son at all."

The fact is that the Chief Justiceship has a mystique as well as a good many myths about it. In the first place, there is the perversely persistent tendency of the com-

munications media to label the Court in terms of its Chief, or its Chief in terms of the Executive who nominated him. Ten years after the appointment of the present incumbent, some news writers and commentators still glibly refer to "the Nixon Court," blandly disregarding the unanimous holding of the Burger Court *against* Nixon in the 1974 Watergate tapes case. The constitutional history of the nation is punctuated by a number of instances in which a President has been disappointed when he assumed that his nominee would follow the President's own political philosophy once in office. "Worst appointment I ever made," Dwight Eisenhower is reported to have said numerous times with reference to Earl Warren -- which, in the view of most historians, says more about Eisenhower than about the Chief Justice.

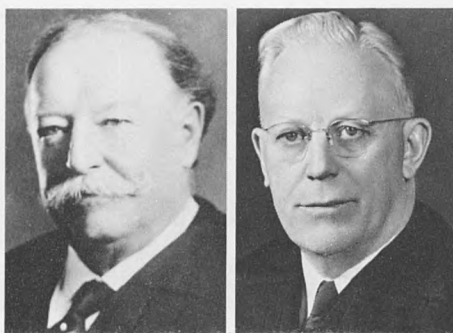
Not all Chief Justices have been great, or for that matter deserved to have their names even preserved as labels for their judicial eras. Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was never a Chief Justice although recurrent journalistic errors have invested him with that mantle, was an intellect who towered over his Chiefs. For all Marshall's own greatness, his constitutional jurisprudence was finally preserved in a permanent, meaningful corpus, as it were, by the *Commentaries* of his longtime friend and colleague, Associate Justice Joseph Story. Charles Freeman Miller, Stephen J. Field and the first John Marshall Harlan all made weighty contributions to American law from positions on either side of the center

chair on the bench, in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, Louis D. Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, Hugo L. Black and Willam O. Douglas made their presence felt.

Yet the center chair has been as a flickering flame to a moth in some instances. Justice Robert H. Jackson's craving for the appointment was a virtual scandal in Washington after the death of Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone. According to some reports, President Taft had to disappoint Hughes who had been led to believe that his appointment as an Associate Justice was merely a first step to becoming Chief Justice. It would be 14 years later before another President would name Hughes as Chief Justice -- as successor to Taft himself.

In the final analysis, the Chief Justice of the United States is *primus inter pares* -- first among equals. The court has always been made up of fiercely independent members, and the ability of a Chief to harness these energies and develop a consistent doctrine of ruling case law has been the ultimate measure of the Chief's ability. Taft called it the capacity to "marshal the Court" -- not to a rubber-stamp conformity but to an amalgam of principles representing a stable frame of judicial reference. Taft considered that this was the kernel of John Marshall's own administrative accomplishment as the "great Chief Justice," and it is a striking fact that among the great constitutional decisions of Marshall's age there was either complete unanimity or an absence of dissent. In a less genteel, more harried era consensus has not come easily. Justices vehemently disagree with each other, lobby persistently to win wavering votes for their positions, and are human enough to charge unresponsive brethren with a distorted understanding of the law or the facts. As the publication of the recent book "The Brethren" demonstrates, only someone uninformed on the Court's history, or prepared to describe the situation in pejorative innuendoes, would suggest that it is different now from what it has been in the past.

John Jay did have a point: there really was little to the office of Chief Justice when he took it over in September 1789. As an appellate agency, since it had little original jurisdiction, the Supreme Court simply had to wait until lower courts had generated some business from which appeals could be taken. The first several terms of what is today



Taft

Warren

the most important judicial agency in the legal world were first consumed in waiting for cases to be brought up, admitting some lawyers to the bar of the Court, and promulgating some rules of practice -- after which, having waited until a quorum of its original six members had assembled, it adjourned. During Jay's five years on the bench, in fact, there was never more than a handful of cases and the Justices spent most of their official time at the onerous task of riding circuit, something Congress had thought fit to occupy them and keep them "in touch with the country."

At least one of Jay's colleagues, John Rutledge, never did make it to a session of the Court, resigning his office without ever appearing. There was apparently more than appeared on the surface, in this particular matter. To say that it was hardly worth the time of a jurist to come from South Carolina to New York, only to find that the Court had no business to dispose off, was not the whole story. Rutledge always seemed to have had a personal antipathy for Jay -- perhaps a disappointment in the competition for George Washington's favor. When Jay was sent off to England to negotiate a supplemental peace treaty, and then resigned his judicial office, Rutledge did not hesitate to let Washington know that the President now had a chance to correct the mistakes of not having appointed the South Carolinian as the first Chief Justice. So Rutledge returned to the bench as the second Chief, and to a forbidding *denouement*.

The Rutledge appointment was made between sessions of Congress, so that under the provisions of the Constitution his interim commission would expire at the end of the next session if not confirmed. It was not -- and primarily because of his own actions in speaking ill of a fellow Federalist. But that Federalist was John Jay, whom Rutledge on various

occasions allowed was substantially inferior to himself in "law knowledge," and Jay's draft treaty left such a bitter taste in American mouths that only rigid party loyalty would see it through ratification. Rutledge was not prepared to go that far, and his vehement criticism of the man and the draft was more than the party majority in the Senate could take. Whatever other personal problems Rutledge may have had -- and the brilliant but neurotic South Carolinian apparently had more than his share -- he seems to have gone out of his way to insure his own undoing.

Oliver Ellsworth, the third Chief Justice, was the example of a good man in the wrong spot. To apply an overworked phrase, he simply lacked the judicial temperament, or at least a zeal for the judicial office. Ellsworth made his own lasting contribution to American judicial history by leading the Congressional effort to draft the Judiciary Act of 1789, which implemented the judicial article of the Constitution and established the national court system. His appointment as the third Chief Justice within six years said more about the erratic beginnings of the court system than about his own qualifications and potential. Judicial business was beginning to pick up, and by the end of the decade the Supreme Court would finally be in a position to define its own function within the national system of separate and equal powers. But any court was uncomfortable forum for this Connecticut Yankee; the political and legislative life was his familiar environment, and he departed the judicial scene in the waning months of the Adams administration.

Thus the character of the judicial function in the American constitutional system was still inchoate at the end of the decade since it had been established, waiting for the fortuitous combination of personal, political and professional skills to provide a catalyst. Possibly there could have been different agents who could have begun the ferment of action equally effectively. It is a matter of historical record that the two Virginians, Thomas Jefferson and his cousin Marshall, whose interplay at this time, when national circumstances required the final emergence of a practical definition of national character -- federalism if you will -- did in fact galvanize the necessary forces. It is always interesting (even

though idle) to speculate on how clearly the protagonists in a turning event in great affairs perceive the issues and their own roles; but it may be reasonably suggested that Jefferson and Marshall perceived the challenge of their day with unusual clarity.

The result is familiar history. To say that the Jeffersonian and Federalist views were submitted to adjudication in the course of the great constitutional litigation, from *Marbury v. Madison* in 1803 to *Gibbons v. Ogden* in 1824, is not entirely accurate. Rather, the Marshall Court used its unassailable vantage point to shape and engraft its own concept of federalism upon American life. It was not the Jeffersonian majority in Congress and the Presidency from 1801 to 1825 (the period coincident with the leading Marshall opinions) that had the final word; rather, it was John Marshall's Court, replying to Jeffersonians like Spencer Roane (cf. Story's dismissal of Roane's arguments in *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*) or John Brockenbrough (in the majority opinion in *McCulloch v. Maryland*), or the states' rightists in general in the holding in *Cohens v. Virginia*. It was Marshall accepting Daniel Webster's argument on the contract clause in the *Dartmouth College Case*, or breaking the stranglehold of state laws affecting interstate commerce in *Gibbons*, that determined the future course of American political and economic development.

What was Marshall's ultimate formula for consensus on his Court? After all, Jefferson and two fellow Virginians in the White House put various anti-Federalists on the bench with the Chief Justice, but to no perceptible effect. Part of the answer was that there was time to think things through. The Court of the early nineteenth century had fewer than 50 cases a term to be considered, as against 20 to 30 times that number in the modern age. Another part of the answer was congeniality and intimacy. Living together in the same boarding house throughout the term, the six members could discuss a case at leisure over wine after dinner, and they were personally compatible. Marshall, by tradition of folklore, is supposed to have ensnared each new appointment to the Court and converted that person to the Chief's viewpoint; the fact is that the composition of the bench was remarkably uniform throughout the period of the greatest constitutional

The saying goes,
"Marshall has made
his decision, now
let him enforce it."

cases, and these men were comfortable and familiar with each other.

There is some doubt whether Andrew Jackson actually said, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." Certainly Jackson, like Theodore Roosevelt 75 years later, felt that the judicial views should be responsive to the time if not to the current administration. Moreover, Jackson had an opportunity which Jefferson never had; namely, to install his own man as Chief Justice. Roger B. Taney had been Jackson's field commander in the great war on the Second Bank of the United States. Certainly Taney's reputation as a jurist and Chief Justice has been clouded by this event at the beginning of his career and by the troubled and divided decision in the *Dred Scott* case at its climax. And yet, as one member of the present Court has observed to this writer, the ultimate test of the durability of the Marshall doctrine was the way in which it was adapted and applied in the period which immediately followed. That current scholarship is taking this view may be discerned in the two leading recent studies of the period: the Taney volume in the *Holmes Devise History of the Supreme Court*, by the late Carl B. Swisher, and the current biographical study of Taney by the Baltimore legal historian, Walker Lewis.

The Marshall-Taney period (1801-1864) may be regarded as a continuum violently terminated by the Civil War and Reconstruction, which had a cataclysmic impact upon the Supreme Court and the Chief Justiceship such as to send both into a period of decline. The situation was not helped by the qualities of the two men who succeeded Taney -- Chase, and Morrison R. Waite. But then the times were thoroughly hostile to the idea of a detached and objective judicial posture. Moreover, the character of the American people was in a state of fundamental metamorphosis, reorienting itself toward the morality of industrialism in the North and the zeal for rapid expansionism in the

West. The now dominant theory of *laissez-faire* economics, based on the popular advocacy of social Darwinism, was fundamentally rewriting the rules of constitutional decision. It was converting the original assumptions of the Fourteenth Amendment into a ready implement for the emerging economic individualism of the new corporation, uninhibited by all but minimal powers of state or national government. The Chief Justices of the twentieth century would henceforth deal with a constitutional corpus which, under the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, was fundamentally different from what had been known to Marshall and Taney.

Melville W. Fuller's tenure, which lasted for more than two decades, would carry the court from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. Whatever his constitutional philosophy, Fuller may be rated in the upper echelon of Chief Justices because he restored self-respect to the Court itself after the demoralization of the Reconstruction generation. It was a little thing in itself, but his introduction of the now traditional handshaking by all the Justices before going onto the bench was a reminder of the civility of attitude which was essential to the regaining of the sense of dignity which had been taken for granted before the Civil War. Good feeling developed -- a not insignificant ingredient of dedicated attention to judicial responsibilities, as the atmosphere of the Court in Marshall's time had attested. The dramatic scene, in the Income Tax dissent of 1896 with Harlan pounding the bench and leaning past Fuller to direct his protest at Justice Field, was kept in perspective. After all, Field affectionately said of Harlan on several occasions that the Kentuckian went peacefully to sleep each night with one hand on the Bible and the other on the Constitution.

The theory that Chief Justices might best be selected from among the Associate Justices was rudely dispelled by both instances in which it was tested, with Edward D. White, who succeeded Fuller, and with Harlan F. Stone, whom Charles Evans Hughes recommended as his own successor. White, the ex-Confederate Senator from Louisiana, was originally chosen as an Associate Justice by Grover Cleveland, as a third choice after the Senate had rejected his first two nominees. He was elevated to the center chair by

President Taft, who clung to the view of many lawyers that previous judicial experience was a leading qualification for Supreme Court membership. The story that White offered to hold on to the position until Taft himself could be named as his successor is largely apocryphal. In any case, White's own disorganized habits and the centrifugal forces engendered in national life by the progressive movement predestined the Court of his day to division.

Of all the Chiefs whose place in judicial history rests upon their administrative as well as jurisprudential leadership, William Howard Taft may be put first in time. Taft, both as President and as Chief Justice, led in the steps to modernize the national judiciary and put it into a better position to cope with the complexities of the twentieth century. The first judicial code of the United States was enacted in 1922 during his Presidency. Two of the major features of the "judges' bill" of the 1920s were lobbied through Congress during his Chief Justiceship. Taft's narrowly conservative view of constitutional law has militated against his recognition as a responsible and imaginative administrator. But the fact is that since 1922, administration has been at least half of the Chief's job, not only for the Supreme Court but for the entire federal judiciary. It is neither fair nor realistic to evaluate the performance of modern Chief Justices unless both of these responsibilities are taken into account.

Under Taft, an administrative clearing house, now known as the Judicial Conference of the United States, was created by Congress in 1922; and in 1926 the so-called "certiorari act" gave the Supreme Court discretionary jurisdiction over the major part of its appellate business, determining on the merits what cases it would hear. Taft was always fond of saying that no individual litigant had a right to a day in court on the same case more than twice -- once at the trial level and once in review. Taft's point was if the individual could have his rights tried in the United States District Court and an appeal, if warranted, in the intermediate circuit court, the Supreme Court would be left free to address the more important business of disposing of ultimate questions of constitutionality and of uniformity of judgments on the same issues in different circuits.

If Taft's contribution to a modern concept of judicial administration has been lost sight of in the face of the ultimate rejection of most of his constitutional doctrine, the same in a different aspect may be said of Charles Evans Hughes, who presided over, and preserved, the Court in the course of a constitutional revolution during the New Deal era. Hughes saw through to completion the Taft legislative program for administrative modernization (in the uniform rules of procedure) and moved the Court into a new building of its own, for which Taft had lobbied. But Hughes will be remembered correctly in history for his political adroitness in the great confrontation with Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Court crisis of 1937. The President, one of the master politicians of American life, launched the attack upon the Court when popular resentment at its reactionary decisions was at its height, and the Chief Justice not only shattered the Roosevelt offensive but in the process turned the constitutional doctrine around. It was a deft maneuver which, one may say without too much exaggeration, set the course of American constitutional development from that day to the present.

The full turn of constitutional thought in the critical years of the New Deal left the Court after Hughes in a wildly careening intellectual state. When this was followed by the swift completion of centralization of government power under the lash of necessity during the second World War it may be understood why Chief Justice Stone's coincident tenure was such an apparently unstable one. The Court itself was completely changed in personnel, thanks to a succession of Roosevelt appointments after the 1937 crisis, which by the time of Stone's appointment as Chief had seen almost all of the members of the previous decade disappear from the scene. Stone, essentially a Wilsonian-type liberal, simply was beyond his administrative depth with a bench made up of these new types, who instantly began to squabble among themselves as to what the post-New Deal constitutional structure was to be. Gone forever was the conservative-liberal polarity that Stone had known since he had come onto the bench in 1925. This new breed eventually would polarize into schools of "judicial restraint" and "judicial activism."

Under these circumstances, Harry Truman appointed his political crony,

Fred M. Vinson of Kentucky, essentially as a caretaker Chief Justice in order to calm the boys down and pour oil on troubled waters. But the future was coming on too swiftly; before the end of the Vinson tenure, the issue of racial equality in the matter of integrated public education was to work its way onto the Supreme Court docket. Conservatives who rail at Earl Warren and date all the unsettling challenges of modern constitutional decision from *Brown v. Board of Education* fail to realize not only that this case was first argued in the last term of the Vinson Court, but that it was set down for reargument in what was expected to be the next term of the same Court, and -- but for Vinson's sudden death -- from all the evidence would have been decided in just the way it was in fact decided.

In any case, this review of the function of the Chief Justice has brought us finally to the position of devising a perspective for the modern Court of the last half of the twentieth century. It is now appropriate to resume the consideration of the continuum first discerned in the Marshall-Taney era, particularly since this concept was suggested by a member of the contemporary Court as an appropriate frame of reference for evaluating a similar continuum with respect to Earl Warren and Warren E. Burger.

Who have been the great Chief Justices of our history? In this writer's view, John Marshall and Earl Warren stand together at the top of such a list for reasons having less to do with constitutional ideology than with their demonstrated ability to cope with two of the three major crises of American life. That the Court played no effective or even creditable role in the third crisis, of Reconstruction, is a matter of record. Under the continuum principle, Taney and Burger are inseparable from the process that singled out Marshall and Warren. Then add Charles Evans Hughes, who kept the Court and the Constitution unscathed in another critical era; Taft, who shaped the administrative character of the federal judiciary of the twentieth century; and Fuller, who redeemed the Court itself after the intellectual disintegration of Reconstruction. Then allow John Jay the grace of having the potential greatness, had history simply allowed him the opportunity. That is seven, possibly eight, out of fifteen Chief Justices in almost two centuries. A democracy could have fared worse.

The Classic Influence

One of the World's Most Brilliant Film Makers
Creates Works Which Reflect the Important Influence of the Classics

By James Baron

Confronted by the masterpieces of a great artistic genius, scholars and critics want to know: "What are the sources of an artist's inspiration? What education and experiences of life set this psyche apart from the rest of us? Whence comes this brilliant insight?" If only the answers suggested for such questions could be made less speculative and subjective, teachers of the humanities might hope to inspire more examples of such genius from among their own students.

Ingmar Bergman has been writing and directing great dramatic works on stage, film, and television for nearly 40 years, mostly in Sweden. Besides the recent successes of his production of Mozart's *The Magic Flute* and his own *Autumn Sonata*, he is famous world-wide for *The Seventh Seal* (1956), *The Virgin Spring* (1959), *Persona* (1966), and *Scenes from a Marriage* (1973). Scholars searching for the roots of Bergman's artistic powers have done much to elucidate the uniquely Swedish character of Bergman's background: his childhood as son of a prominent pastor of the Swedish state church, the dominant influence of the

James Baron, professor of Classical Studies, earned a B.A. at Catholic University and advanced degrees from the University of Minnesota. A member of the American Philological Association, Baron specializes in the works of Homer, Catullus and Horace.



A break during filming: Max von Sydow, Liv Ullmann, Bergman and Gertrude Frich.

cult of August Strindberg's ghost on Swedish writers and dramatists, and Bergman's reading of writers of the symbolist school, both Swedish and foreign. But there is another aspect of Bergman's training which may help to explain his wide appeal to people who do not share his Swedishness--his schooling in the classics:

"Latin was the only subject which truly interested him."

Thus wrote the late Marianne Hook about the renowned author-director's secondary education. There are, nevertheless, some hints that Bergman's study of the language of Cicero and Vergil was not all joy and

bliss. His first commercial filmscript, *Torment* (1944), depicts a crisis in the life of a sensitive youth who is part of a class struggling through Caesar's Civil War under the heel of a tyrannical Latin teacher nicknamed 'Caligula,' who is sadistic in the technical psychiatric sense. The director of the film, Alf Sjöberg, adapted the script to suggest Europe under Hitler, but that was not part of Bergman's intentions. In another movie, young Minus in *Through a Glass Darkly* (1961) is spending his summer vacation battling with sub-junctives and ablatives, although at one point he is caught pretending to study, while actually concentrating upon a pin-up photo concealed in his grammar. The contorted complexity of the grammar rules which he recites clearly represents the terrifying incomprehensibility of adult life to this boy as he is about to emerge traumatically from childhood. The mastery of Latin seems to be one of those personal symbols so typical of Bergman. It is a part of the puberty crisis, a torturous and terrifying rite of initiation into adulthood.

Thanks to the efficiency of Swedish bureaucratic record-keeping, the annual reports of Palmgremiska, the gymnasium which Bergman attended, have outlived the school and are accessible in the Stockholm City Archives. They indicate that Bergman read a number of important selections from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the fourth book of Vergil's *Aeneid*. Whether they are labeled archetypes or stereotypes depends on the

viewer's ideological attitudes, but the females of Bergman's early films have a great deal in common with Vergil's Dido and the heroines of Ovid. Seized by love, they are forced to, or beyond, the brink of disaster by persons and forces far more powerful than themselves. Only rarely are they saved by the power of true love. The vivid personifications of inanimate objects in even the directing notes of his filmscripts may also be compared to the living human souls in animals and nature in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

But these are generalities. It is possible to find in his later films more specific evidence for the influence of Ovid on Bergman's mature genius. The following is Horace Gregory's translation of Ovid's description of the rape of Persephone:

*"This was the place where
Proserpina played;
She plucked white lily and the violet
Which held her mind as in a
childish game
To outmatch all the girls who
played with her.
Filling her basket, then the
hollow of small breasts
With her new picked flowers.
As if at one glance, Death
Had caught her up, delighted
at his choice,
Had ravished her, so quick was
his desire,
While she in terror called to
friends and mother,
A prayer to mother echoing
through her cries.
Where she had ripped the
neckline of her dress,
Her flowers had slipped away
-- and in her childish,
Pure simplicity she wept her
new loss now
With bitter, deeper sorrow than
her tears
For the brief loss of spent
virginity."*

In Bergman's *Wild Strawberries* (1957), a flood of memories about youth and lost innocence, embodied in his cousin Sara, overwhelm old Professor Isak Borg as he revisits his boyhood summer home:

*"Suddenly I saw her. When I
turned around after looking at
the strangely transformed
house I discovered her where
she was kneeling in her sun-
yellow cotton dress, picking
wild strawberries. . . . Suddenly*

*he kissed her hard and rather
skillfully. She was carried
away by this game and re-
turned his kiss with a certain
fierceness. But then she was
conscience-stricken and threw
herself down on the ground,
knocking over the basket of
wild strawberries. She was very
angry and began crying with
excitement. Sigfrid: Don't
scream. Someone might come.*

*Sara. Look at the wild straw-
berries, all spilled. And
what will Isak say? He is
so kind and really loves
me. Oh, how sorry I am,
oh, what you've done to
me. You've made me into
a bad woman, at least
nearly. Go away, I don't
want to see you any-
more, at least not before
breakfast. I have to hurry.
Help me pick up the
strawberries. And look, I
have a spot on my
gown."*

(Mallstrom-Kushner
Translation)

Compare Persephone's spilled flowers with Sara's basket of wild strawberries (a personal symbol of innocent childhood joys which occurs in several Bergman films), the torn or spotted dresses, and the reactions of the maidens.

Ovid wrote a set of rather long elegies known as *Heroides* or *Letters of the Heroines*. Although they are superficially letters in form, they are more like dramatic monologues. Ovid's training for the bar reveals itself to such an extent that they have been called briefs for the defense. Recent works by T. P. Wilkinson, W. S. Anderson, and Howard Jacobson have done much to elucidate the typical patterns of structure and thought in these letters.

One of the most memorable monologues in all of Bergman's works is the scene from *Winter Light* (1962) in which Pastor Tomas Ericsson opens a letter from his ex-mistress; as he begins to read, her face appears on the screen and the letter turns into a monologue of unprecedented length in film. It certainly exemplifies "grief mixed with anger," the general tone of Ovid's epistles. Although Tomas has



Sara and Sigfrid relax in *Wild Strawberries*, one of Bergman's most acclaimed films.

not fled, but only ended their intimate relationship, Marta fits perfectly Anderson's characterization of *Heroides I-XV*:

"They are separated from the man they love, to whom they have entirely committed themselves. . . "The plaintive heroine regards herself as alone, deserted, abandoned."

Marta says (in Paul Britten Austin's translation):

"Such thoughts can pass through the head of a school-teacher of an evening when the telephone doesn't ring and it's dark and lonely."

Anderson writes:

"Deep in her memory is fixed the scene of her parting from her beloved."

Bergman captures the vividness of Marta's memory of the past summer's parting by using a flashback scene while Marta narrates that part of her monologue.

Anderson:

"Nevertheless, all the heroines believe that they have a claim on the man: an explicit or implicit foedus or bond links the two, which imposes fides, loyalty, on them both."

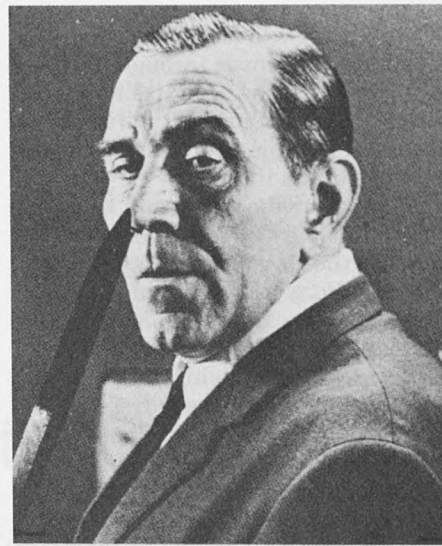
Marta:

"After all, we'd been living together quite a while, almost two years. One would think this represented a certain little capital in our poverty, in tenderesses exchanged. . . ."

Anderson continues:

"The heroines have remained faithful and regularly represent themselves as still loving (amans), but the long absence of the man, perhaps also information about his disloyal behavior, leads to complaints, unhappy charges that he is anywhere from slow to respond (lentus) and iron-hearted (ferreus) all the way to cruel (crudelis), criminal (sceleratus) and faithless (perfidus)."

Marta charges the clergyman with



At left, Marta in *Winter Light*, with overtones of Ovid's *Heroides*. At right, the artiste in *The Rite*, played by Eric Hall.

ignoring the message of Jesus and the Gospels -- love -- in contrast to her own unreligious but loving parents.

Anderson again:

"The heroine hopes, usually in vain as we know, by these complaints to stir the conscience of her beloved and so bring him home, to re-create the foedus and the once-glorious context of reciprocal passion."

Marta is aware of the likelihood of failure, but the appeal of her closing words is the same.

Howard Jacobson's book, entitled *Ovid's Heroides*, gives much more detailed analysis of the *Heroides* as a genre; Bergman's scene fits his analysis to perfection.

Like the letters of Ovid's heroines, Marta's letter begins and ends with a clear reference to the fact that it is a letter to distinguish it from an ordinary dramatic monologue. It compresses the past, present, and future hopes into one critical moment, thus covering the whole story, not just the present. This compression is based on a combination of narrative and psychic portraiture which is not psycho-analytic, but psychosynthetic, pulling together a unified character from the present and the past. Jacobson refers to the *Heroides* as a casebook in abnormal psychology. To quote Ingmar Bergman himself about Marta:

"For me she's a monstrosity, a primitive natural force. . . ."

Marta's letter contains more of the typical themes which Jacobson finds in the *Heroides* than most of the *Heroides*. Marta's claim to be worthy of love can be found in God's answering her prayer by making Thomas the great task of her life. The *inauspicious wedding night* theme is explicit in her complaints about "our clumsy attempts to get around the lovelessness of our relationship." She blames her sleeplessness on the eczema in the second paragraph of the letter.

Jacobson's *one soul out of two* theme finds expression first to God: "Give me a meaning to my life and I'll be your obedient slave!" and later to Thomas: "I love you and I live for you. Take me and use me." Like Ovid's heroines, she argues that she has *worthy ancestors* and fulfills the *physician, heal thyself* theme by praying when the pastor cannot. Thus this superb scene matches Ovid's mastery of the depiction of frustrated love on the Roman poet's own terms.

Bergman's works also reflect influences from classical Greek literature.

The framework for the plot of *Wild Strawberries* is a day-long automobile journey from Stockholm to Lund by Professor Isak Borg, who is to receive a degree from Lund University, his *alma mater*, in honor of his fifty years of service to medicine. Like many modern travel tales, it has its roots in Homer's account of the journey of Odysseus.

Like Odysseus, Borg (note that the initials are the same as Ingmar Bergman's, even including the un-

used first names, Evald and Ernst, respectively) journeys through storms, dreams, and Hell itself back to a reunion with humanity, from which he cut himself off during the best years of his life.

The females who guide and inspire him on this journey correspond very closely to the Homeric archetypes. Marianne, Borg's daughter-in-law, who drives the car and guides Isak's thoughts toward the discovery of his failings as a human being, is Athene, who protects and guides Odysseus and his son Telemachus on their journeys of self-discovery. The elder Sara corresponds in function, but not in personality, to Odysseus' wife, Penelope, inspiring memories which enkindle the hero's desire to return home to human love. Borg's anti-Penelope wife, Karin, probably is derived from Molly Bloom of James Joyce's *Ulysses*: both of them drive away their husbands--into their wanderings.

The younger Sara, the hitchhiker whom Borg meets at the seashore, is Nausicaa, the soul of self-confident, effervescent youth whom Odysseus encounters on the beach at the first stage of his return to humanity. Both heroes also visit their lonely mothers just as they begin their journeys through Hell, which in Borg's case consists of a surrealistic nightmare of a final examination followed by a walk in a grove full of snakes to the scene of one of Karin Borg's infidelities. The devilish Alman presides over both the examination and the walk and reveals the reality of Borg's guilt toward other human beings to him.

Bergman's brilliant adaptation of the tragic legend of Phaedra, the wife of King Theseus of Athens, who falls in love with her chaste stepson, Hippolytus, has been discussed in *Scandinavian Studies*, vol. 48, no. 2 (Spring, 1976). By a deft adjustment of the archetypes and a little parody, Bergman turns elements of the tragedies of Euripides and Racine into a Mozartian tragi-comedy, called *Smiles of a Summer Night* (1956), which touches human nature just as deeply as the older tragic versions.

From certain films and many of his comments in interviews, Bergman shows he is in touch not only with the classics themselves, but also with some important trends in scholarship about the classics. He seems particularly conscious of the "Cambridge School's" emphasis on the role of the rituals of worship of

To ignore
Bergman's experience
of the classics
is to paint the
elephant without
his tusks or
his ears--
not the most
vital organs,
but certainly
important aspects
of his
uniqueness.

Dionysus on the development of early Greek tragedy. Dionysus was not just the wine god. He was a typical annual vegetation deity whose yearly death and rebirth was the focus of the Athenian festival at which the great tragedies were performed.

To some scholars, Aeschylus' trilogy on the House of Atreus seems to reflect the stages of Dionysiac ritual: The death of the old order in an atmosphere of foreboding followed by terror in *Agamemnon*; fear and searching with suddenly shattered hopes for a new beginning in *Libation Bearers*, and the slow birth of the new order in *Eumenides*.

Ingmar Bergman's *Filmtrilogy* was apparently not planned in advance as a unit, but his own remarks on the title page of the book show that he was using the term 'trilogy' in the light of the Cambridge School's analysis of Aeschylus' works. The first film of the set, *Through a Glass Darkly*, asks the same questions about God's tolerance of evil and injustice as Aeschylus' "Ode to Zeus" in *Agamemnon*. The characters, especially the schizoid visionaries Cassandra and Karin, are somewhat comparable, but not the plots. Like *Agamemnon*, *Through a Glass Darkly* ends with a false answer, not at all a satisfactory solution to the questions

raised. The second film, *Winter Light*, "unmasks" the false "certainty" of the first film (to use Bergman's own words). It begins in the midst of a religious ritual, like *Libation Bearers*, and consists mainly of a lot of intense soul searching by a strong female and a man who has doubts about the divine origin of his mission: Elektra and Orestes, Marta and Tomas. Both the Greek play and the Swedish film end with a startling reversal of expectations.

The final film of the trilogy, *The Silence* (1963), directly contradicts the optimistic conclusion of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, focusing on the importance of speech, a central part of the imagery of Aeschylus' entire trilogy. At the tragic festival in Athens, the three tragedies of each day's performance were followed by a satyr play, a ribald, slapstick romp with little plot or thought, corresponding to the orgiastic, joyous victory celebration in honor of the holy marriage of the reborn vegetation god and Mother Earth, the supreme deity of prehistoric Mediterranean cults. Bergman's *Filmtrilogy* was followed by *All These Women* (1964), a satyr play in every respect except for the absence of a chorus of satyrs.

Bergman also wrote and directed a film for Swedish television, titled *The Rite*, which describes the obscenity trial of a trio of traveling actors whose performance amounts to a slightly modernized orgiastic Dionysiac ritual. The magistrate becomes acutely aware that he is in danger of suffering the fate of Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae*, who is dismembered by his own mother while she is possessed by hallucinations in the midst of the worship of Dionysus.

Bergman does not use his classical sources pedantically, like a professor, or superficially. Rather he has absorbed and assimilated the essence of some of the classics into the complexities of his own creative genius. To pretend that the classics give the whole answer to his brilliance would be as foolish as the conclusions of the people in the familiar folktale about the blind men who tried to describe an elephant after touching only its leg, trunk, or tail. But to ignore Bergman's experience of the classics is to paint the elephant without his tusks or his ears -- not the most vital organs, but certainly important aspects of his uniqueness.

Inspiration From the Past

Shirley Hufstедler Comes to the College
To Christen a New Department and to Savour the History of Higher Education

By Shirley Hufstедler

It is a special pleasure to be in Williamsburg today, a city which I have visited often and with enthusiasm during my term of service on the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Board of Trustees. Although the purpose of my visits was to work, and although I tried to be diligent in fulfilling my responsibilities, I must confess that I took every possible occasion to play hookie. I would walk the streets of this beautiful city where history beckons from every doorway; and each time I would think how lucky were the people who lived here and how lucky above all the students who pursued their educations here. Surely there could be no atmosphere more conducive to learning than this.

The occasion of my return to Williamsburg today is to celebrate the establishment of the United States Education Department. Months ago, when we began to think within our departmental family of the most appropriate way to mark this occasion, we decided immediately

The Honorable Shirley Hufstедler, recently appointed by President Carter as the first secretary of the new Department of Education, delivered these remarks at a special ceremony at Phi Beta Kappa Memorial Hall, May 8, as part of a national "Salute to Education." Secretary Hufstедler accepted a collector's item, a desk from the Wren Building, as a gift from the Society of the Alumni.

that we did not want it to be just a birthday party for a new federal agency. Instead, we wanted to take advantage of this moment when the nation's attention -- and its media -- would be turned our way, to stage a "Salute to Learning" -- a celebration of the past, the present and the future of American education. We wanted to remind the nation of its incredibly rich educational heritage. We wanted to draw attention to the exciting new things that are happening in classrooms today. And we wanted to raise the question of where education is headed in the 1980s and beyond. Within the context of this larger, more important celebration, there would be many opportunities both to celebrate the new Department's birth, and to begin the process of defining its role.

We asked organizations, individuals, and schools all across the country to participate in the festivities, and the response was overwhelming. As a result, the "Salute to Learning" has been observed in every part of the country, in states and towns from coast to coast; and no two places have done it the same way. Like American education itself, this celebration has had the beauty, the strength and the vitality of utter diversity.

We were drawn here today by the opportunity to learn about what is happening right now. But we were drawn, even more, by what has happened in the past. If we would understand and savour the history of higher education in this country,

there is no better place to do it than here in Williamsburg. Now, by history I do not mean mere existence over a long period of time, though it is hard to be indifferent to the age of things when we celebrate this evening on the steps of a magnificent building that has endured for almost 300 years.

History here at William and Mary has another meaning. The College's past offers an extraordinary collage of the diversity of American higher education. It has typified at various times and under various circumstances the whole range of educational choices available in this country.

The school's beginnings, of course, go back to frontier days. We are accustomed to thinking of Virginia as settled and safe, but in 1619 the English men and women who settled here lived very much on the edge of existence. Even in those unsettled and dangerous times, however, the people felt the need for an institution of higher education. They made plans to build a college in the small town of Henrico which, if it existed today, would be about 12 miles south of Richmond. The effort came to naught -- it was aborted by the great Indian massacre of 1622. But the effort to begin was typical -- duplicated many times in many places as Americans moved across this vast continent. Immersed though they were in the struggle for existence in hard country, our ancestors always counted education among their first needs.

The College was officially chartered in 1693, -- by King William and Queen Mary, of course. It came into existence with a special relationship to the Church of England. Here, too, William and Mary was typical. Almost all of our earliest colleges were church-related, and an extraordinary number continue in that relationship today. It is through those colleges and universities that we trace our academic heritage back more than a thousand years to the great universities of Europe, which were founded around schools and faculties of theology.

When a local boy -- and college graduate -- by the name of Thomas Jefferson became Governor of Virginia, the College formally ended its relationship with the church -- although there was still a close association throughout the 19th century. Again, this was a pattern repeated many times by small schools to the North -- such as Harvard and Yale. Gradually, a whole array of independent liberal arts colleges developed. These played, and continue to play, an enormous part in our higher educational system. It was only in this century -- less than 50 years ago -- that enrollments in public universities and colleges exceeded those in private universities and colleges for the first time.

During the preceding 150 years of our history, the leaders of society were educated through private institutions. Again, William and Mary exemplified the American colleges' historic role by training leaders not just for its region, but for the entire country. Here great teachers were at work, men like George Wythe, and here students of extraordinary talent were at their books, men like Thomas Jefferson. These students watched and participated in the brilliant, extended debate over the future of the American colonies. Some of them emerged as key national leaders -- including four presidents, a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and many others. In fact, William and Mary has been called the Alma Mater of the nation. Other schools might dispute that title, but the case for William and Mary is very strong.

One of the prices that our institutions of higher education pay for independence is their vulnerability during difficult times. If they slip, there is often no safety net below. William and Mary learned this lesson during the years after the Civil War. The school was even forced to close

We are
determined to help
build a future for
American education
that will match --
and exceed --
the past.

its doors during the 1880's. When it reopened, in 1888, it had taken on yet another role: in exchange for state aid, the College undertook to prepare teachers for the public schools. In doing so, the College was, once again, typical of hundreds of "normal" schools, across the country, new and old, which took up this special task.

In 1906 William and Mary transformed itself into a state-supported university and, continuing to ride the wave of the future in higher education, the College became coeducational in 1918.

So here on this one campus, we have one of our oldest, most settled colleges, yet one that was literally born on the frontier. We have a church-related school, a small private college, a normal school, and a great public university. We have an all-male school, and a coeducational one. We have a school that has known great prosperity, and one that has known abject failure. We have, pre-eminently, a training ground for leadership over the course of three



Secretary Hufstedler

centuries. Is it any wonder that we have come to William and Mary on this special occasion to symbolize the history and the diversity of American higher education?

You will notice that in my summary of the College's history, I have not mentioned the federal government. This is not because there has been no federal involvement with the College. In its early years, one could argue that William and Mary intervened in the affairs of the federal government -- that is to say, her students helped create it. The central government did not return the favor until 1862 when federal troops involved themselves in College affairs by burning the building that surrounds us tonight. Understandably, it was a long time before the government was invited back.

I am not here today to reassert the federal presence. It is too late for that. Federal support for education has long since found its way onto the William and Mary campus -- and onto every campus in the country. Major federal grant programs sustain advanced research; hundreds of thousands of students receive financial assistance through federal grant and loan programs; still other programs focus on educational improvement, developing institutions and many other areas.

So, as the Department of Education begins its first year of existence, and William and Mary edges closer to its three-hundredth, our destinies are linked. The questions that will face all of higher education in the 1980's and beyond inevitably will involve the federal role in general, and the role of this Department in particular.

We will not resolve those questions tonight; but we can resolve to work closely together as we seek solutions. We in the new Department are determined to help build a future for American education that will match -- and exceed -- the magnificent achievements of the past. In doing so we will secure the foundations of the nation's social, economic and intellectual health. That is the true meaning of our "Salute to Learning" festivities.

I want to thank all of you for participating and, most especially, I would like to thank the College of William and Mary, and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation for trusting us -- and, more than that, for helping us to gain both perspective and inspiration from the past.



Two huge stained glass windows have found an appropriate home in one of the entrances to the new Marshall-Wythe law school building which will be dedicated at Burgesses Day this fall. Originally part of a series of six windows commemorating former fellows of All Souls College at Oxford University, the two windows, which were given to the College as a bicentennial gift from the law faculty of Oxford, depict Sir William Blackstone (left) and Sir Christopher Wren. They had been removed from All Souls College and stored during World War II to save them from damage. When the law faculty at Oxford learned of the then - approaching 200th anniversary of the chair of law at William and Mary last year, they voted to remove the windows, have them cleaned and repaired and to give them to the Marshall-Wythe School of Law for installation in the new building adjacent to the National Center for State Courts.

On the Back Cover

A sometimes overlooked but fascinating building, the Brafferton stands across from the President's House and across Jamestown Road from the Campus Center. It was originally constructed for use as a school for young Indian boys during the days when white settlers were intent upon spreading Christianity to the local tribes. But the school was forced to close because of poor attendance--the chiefs wanted sons who were good farmers and hunters, not readers and writers. Today, the building houses executive offices.

