
The Alumni Gazette
The College of

William and Mary



Summer 1981



On the Cover

The cover illustration is an English portrait (oil on canvas, 35½" x 29") of Peter John Potemkin by an unidentified artist of the Seventeenth Century. Potemkin was Russian Ambassador to England in 1682.

At one time the subject of the portrait was thought to be Captain John Smith. In 1938, however, Alexander Weddell identified the subject conclusively by comparison with an engraving in the National Portrait Gallery in London and a similar portrait in Russia.

A gift to the College in 1938, the portrait, which has been recently restored, will be displayed in Swem Library.

Photo by C. Fauerbach

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July/August 1981

Volume 49, No. 1



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Editor, Ross L. Weeks, Jr.
Associate Editor, S. Dean Olson
Design: June Siefert
Typesetting, Sylvia B. Colston

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.

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Taking Care of the Poor

Man's Inhumanity to Man is a Monopoly of No Period in our History. And Like the Poor, Public Welfare Has Always Been With Us.

By Merritt Ierley Jr. '58

The Reagan budget has focused new attention on the nation's social programs because it makes sharp cuts in many of them. Cries of "inhumanity" and even outright "meanness" have been raised, and yet the verdict is nowhere near so simply arrived at. Now, perhaps more than ever before, it is appropriate, and even essential, to look back and take stock, recognizing that man's humanity to man -- like his inhumanity -- is the monopoly of no one age.

The luxury car of ancient times was the horse. It was the transportation of the rich. Caligula is said to have had his horse made a senator. Poor people walked.

What was this to be seen in ancient Athens, then, about 400 B.C. Here was a poor man riding about town on horseback, a man known to be on the ancient equivalent of welfare by virtue of being an indigent cripple.

"Public welfare" in Athens at this time was known as *poleos argurion*, or literally, "city money." It was a

Merritt Ierley '58 is the author of *The Year That Tried Men's Souls* (New York and London, 1976), a journalistic reconstruction of the world of 1776. His article here is based on research for another book, this one on the historical development of welfare society.

form of pension granted to indigent and disabled citizens, and came to a little more than a drachma a week at a time when a laborer earned a drachma a day.

This ancient, alleged perpetrator of welfare fraud was crippled enough to require public assistance but not quite disabled enough to prevent his climbing on and off a horse, which he borrowed from an acquaintance of better circumstances.

"I have no means except public assistance," pleaded the man in the words of the orator Lysias, when summoned before the Council of Athens. "Providence has barred me from advancement in life, but you have done something to correct the balance. Do not undo it, I beg you."

Whether the man remained a beneficiary of *poleos argurion*, we do not know. Likewise, as a generality, we know relatively little about the provision of public assistance, or welfare, or whatever it be called, in times past. What has been written about the history of welfare has been heavy with Elizabethan poor law and the New Deal, and light or wholly lacking in attention as to other eras. The poor, however, have been with us always. Even a brief glimpse at the extent of public assistance a century ago is eye-opening.

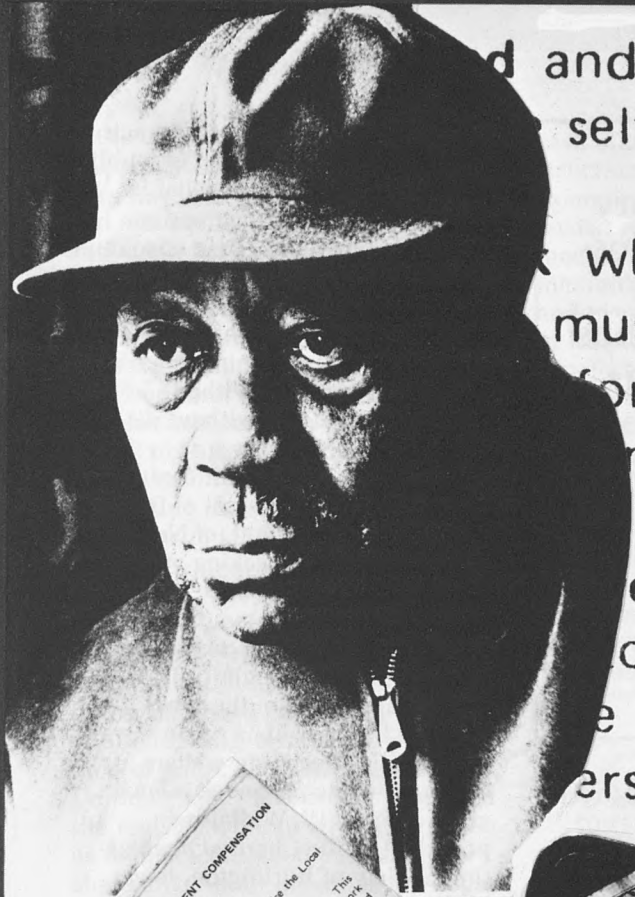
The notorious almshouse (also called poorhouse) reached its peak of use in the middle-to-late nineteenth century. It is perhaps recalled as the principal means of providing for the poor, and yet in plain numbers it was not. According to

U.S. Census Bureau records, the almshouse population of the United States in 1880 was 66,203.

Even so, considerably more were the beneficiaries of outdoor relief ("outdoor" meaning in the home, as opposed to institutional, or "indoor" relief). Brooklyn, N.Y., alone counted 46,000 in 1877; Washington, D.C., the same year, 40,000; and Chicago, another 40,000. Clearly, although the poorhouse was to have been the primary means of support of the poor, it was in fact less of a mainstay than direct subsistence in the form of food, clothing, fuel, free medical care, and sometimes cash.

Governmental machinery for dealing with relief of the poor reflected the size of the government and its constituency. New York City created an Alms-House Department in 1849 to oversee all public charitable operations, as well as corrections. In 1853, it had 10 institutions and agencies under its wing, and 234 employees. By the 1870's it had become the Department of Public Charities and Correction, and embraced 32 separate institutions and agencies (including almshouse, lunatic asylum, outdoor poor office, nursery, Bellevue Hospital, workhouse, city prison, ambulance corps, charity hospital, infant hospital, medical bureau, free labor and intelligence bureau, and inebriate asylum) and a staff of 550.

Out in Iowa, about the same time, a one-man poor office was an administrative simplicity that none-



WHEN YOU DRAW UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION YOU MUST:

1. Be unemployed and report as directed. Advise the Local Office if you are self-employed or farming.
2. Be able to work when you file your initial claim. This means that you must be physically able to do the work you have been performing or other work you are qualified to perform by training, experience or education.
3. Be available for work. This means that you must be ready and willing to accept suitable work, that you are available for work. Unavailability for work must be reported to the Local Office at once.
4. Report all money that you earn. This means the money you receive before any deductions are made for taxes, Social Security, or retirement.

5. Report any Social Security income.

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whether if you are going to work.



The faces of the poor were captured in these photographs by photographer Mark von Wehrden.



theless could care amply for the eligible poor. The needy received a cash allowance, which came to \$8 a week for a family of four -- half of which was adequate to buy a week's worth of flour, cornmeal, corn, rice, potatoes, brown sugar, eggs, butter, dried apples, bacon, ham, turkey, chicken, codfish, mackerel, and coffee (based upon actual prices of commodities on sale).

It is easy to assume that comprehensive medical care of the poor began with Medicaid in 1966. Yet in the 1870's, Cincinnati provided for a district physician in each ward at city expense. His job was to give free medical care, at home, to any needy resident requesting it. Prescriptions could be filled without charge. Massachusetts at this time provided free medical assistance to one person in every 15 of the state's population. In New York City, according to philanthropist Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., between 30 and 35 per cent of city residents received free medical care, some of it privately, most of it publicly financed. Of these, 80 per cent, or one in every four persons in the city, were estimated to be able to pay. One was a broker who explained that the "times were dull on Wall Street, and that he thought it well to economize in the way of a doctor's bill," to quote a *New York Tribune* article in April, 1877. The New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor ran a check on 152 persons who had received free medical care. Of that number, 82 were making decent wages, some as much as twice the statewide average for trade and manufacturing jobs; 58 were found to have lied about their addresses; and 12 were judged to be legitimate recipients.

Still another form of help to the poor and the unemployed a century ago was public works employment. In New York City, this included some 2,000 jobless men put to work developing Central Park. Earlier in the nineteenth century, in the wake of the depression of 1819, Pennsylvania built \$2 million worth of bridges and turnpikes.

Whatever the form of relief offered to the poor, it appeared to many contemporary observers that the demand was increasing more sharply than the supply, even taking into account the fluctuations of the economic cycle. Boston, between 1866 and 1876, recorded an increase in relief expenditures of 57 per cent.

Man reads history with one eye, closing the other to what he sees. Thus the lessons of history may be safely evaded, and each new generation claim the uniqueness of its own wisdom.

Brooklyn in 1852 spent \$7,140 on outdoor relief; in 1877, \$141,207.

Keeping pace with the increased demand for services was a demand for reform. A new county agent took office in Cook County, Ill., in the mid-1870's promising just that. "Promises have been made before," snarled the *Chicago Tribune*. This was a time they were kept. County Agent McGrath, in one year's time, cut relief costs from \$230,000 a year to \$90,000. "Dumbfounding," said the *Tribune*. What McGrath did was to require strict control over eligibility, weeding out the likes of the woman whose five children were reported to be either staying the same or decreasing in age from year to year, thus keeping their mother continually on public assistance. Brooklyn in 1878 terminated outdoor aid to the one in ten receiving it, and yet, "not one case of unusual suffering was brought to the notice of the public," according to Bureau of Charities President Seth Low, later anti-Tammany Mayor of New York and president of Columbia University.

A frequently mentioned reform was requiring those in need of public assistance to work for what they got (nowadays called "workfare"). Speaking in Saratoga, N.Y., at the 1877 National Conference of Charities, delegate William Stickney declared, "We have an idea that labor of some kind should be performed by the pauper in exchange for the relief given." Precisely what is being said a century later.

A Yale professor named Francis Wayland in 1877 argued that public assistance, and outdoor relief in particular, had a "direct and unavoidable tendency . . . to encourage the pernicious notion that the State is bound to support all who demand assistance; a notion which leads the recipient of relief administered in this way to accept it without gratitude and use it without discretion."

Excesses in nineteenth century medical care were the target of Dr. Henry B. Wheelwright, of Newbury Port, Mass. who, speaking at the 1978 National Conference of Charities, said it was a common thing to find the doctor "who doses from habit, the more energetically as he catches a glimpse of the town treasury." The welfare cycle -- welfare families begetting welfare children -- was perceived a few years later by W. W. Baldwin, president of the Charity Organization Society of Burlington, Iowa: "Willingness to accept support from the pauper fund is largely an inherited inclination and runs in families." That was in 1903.

Yet these and other complaints of our own time were hardly new then. A Committee of the Guardians of the Poor of Philadelphia in 1827 raised the incentive question: "The industrious poor are discouraged, by observing that bounty bestowed upon the idle, which they can only obtain by the sweat of their brow." And as for the rising cost of relief in general, New York Governor De Witt Clinton, in his annual message of 1818, complained that ". . . pauperism increases with the augmentation of the funds applied to its relief."

Not that much augmentation was needed. The largest single expenditure in the New York City budget of 1800 was the almshouse (\$30,000 out of a total budget of \$129,950). In 1785, Charleston, S.C., recorded poor relief as the largest item in its municipal budget, notwithstanding the fact that, in 1767, the South Carolina legislature had appointed a committee to find out why relief expenditures had increased 543 per cent in less than 20 years. In 1784, like Clinton later, a contributor to Boston's *Independent Chronicle* lamented that "the number of indigent objects has usually increased in proportion to the provision made for their relief."

It is the case throughout history that no one is ever really satisfied with how public assistance works, and simmering unhappiness now and again boils over into open agitation for change. Either public assistance is too liberal in application, stirring those whose labors maintain it, as the Philadelphia Guardians of the Poor observed in saying that "the industrious poor are discouraged"; or it is too restricted in application, ignoring many who need it and setting the stage for reformers of the opposite kind. Equitableness, indeed, in whichever way perceived as lacking, is always the root of welfare reform, and that has been so since the beginning. It was the case in ancient times. "The thief, the bearer of false witness, and the adulterer, alike receive the public dole of grain," observed Seneca in *De Beneficiis*, "and are all placed on the register without any examination as to character; good and bad men share alike in all the other privileges which a man receives, because he is a citizen, not because he is a good man."

In ancient times, public assistance was more comprehensive than at any time up to the past century. In Athens, there was old age and disability compensation (the *poleos argurion*). There was "workfare," one example of which was the construction of a new Temple of Athena, better known to later times as the Parthenon. There was a grain dole; public support to the age of 18 of the children of fathers who died in war; free tickets to the theater and state festivals (the Theoric Fund); and juries of as many as a thousand each (whose deliberative buzzings were satirized in Aristophanes *The Wasps*), the pay of which constituted a public income for the poor.

In Rome there was the dole, at first of grain but eventually expanded to include distribution of free bread as well as oil, pork and salt. There were *congiaria*, a special form of largess, which provided also for distribution of money. There were food stamps (*tesserae frumentariae*, in the form of a wood or lead token but otherwise no different from the modern version); medicaid (*archiatri populares*, or public physicians); aid to families with dependent children (the *alimenta*, through which eligible children received a regular monthly

cash allowance); work-relief (construction of the Colosseum, for example, on which project Vespasian rejected use of a cost-saving mechanical contrivance in favor of maximum employment of the poor); and even a prototypical Department of Health and Human Services (the *praefectus alimentorum*, a post established by Hadrian for overseeing the distribution of grants from the public treasury).

There were periodic attempts at "reform." One such was recorded by Dio Cassius: "The multitudes receiving doles had increased enormously . . . [Caesar] caused the matter to be investigated, and struck out half their names at one time."



There were those who warned that state largess was obtained only in exchange for liberty. So warned Cicero about agrarian reform: "That lands are displayed before the eyes of the Roman people, liberty is taken from them." So warned the tribune Licinius Macer: ". . . by the late law, so suddenly passed, for the distribution of grain." By the time the Empire was a half-century old, the Popular Assembly was gone, and, as Juvenal observed, the people of Rome . . .

For two poor claims have long
renounced the whole,
And only ask -- the Circus and
the Dole.

A policy of "bread and circuses," of course, had the virtue of keeping the people reasonably content. "The people of Rome," wrote Fronto, "are held fast above all in two ways, the dole and the amusements." But the dole, ever more munificent, and the spectacles, continually more magnificent, added markedly to the ever growing drain on the *fiscus*. There were some half-hearted attempts to cut the cost of government, with little to show for the effort. A wage and price freeze drove prices higher still. Inflation ravaged the Roman economy. A

ubiquitous bureaucracy regimented Roman life and centralized authority in the name of the state.

That that it may also become the case in modern times is plausibly argued by a fact: the Joint Economic Committee of Congress a few years ago compiled a list of all "Federal Income Security Programs," and estimated the number of beneficiaries of each. It counted 91 programs, from such obvious ones as Unemployment Compensation, Medicaid, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children, to such less obvious ones as Mortgage Insurance for Families that Are Special Credit Risks. More interesting is the hypothetical number of beneficiaries -- 201,089,614. The estimated population of the United States in 1974, the year of the survey, was 211,389,000.

To be sure, there were, among the 201 million, a great many duplicate beneficiaries -- a great many who received public support under more than one program -- just as there were a great many among the 211 million who never received any form of public assistance. Nonetheless, there is significance in those totals.

Further to the point: in 1933, the first year of the New Deal, federal social welfare expenditures totaled \$1.3 billion; in 1979, more than \$160 billion. The increase is 12,208 per cent. The population of the United States, during the same period, increased from 125 million to 220 million -- 76 per cent. Thus it may be argued that welfare, or "income security," or "income transfer" -- that which began as public charity for all, and that virtually everyone, of every age, is eligible for some public benefit, needed or not.

Man reads history with one eye, closing the other to what he sees. Thus the lessons of history may be safely evaded, and each new generation claim the uniqueness of its own wisdom. One of these lessons is the danger of relying on the state to do what cannot be done in the first place, and that is to make all things equal for all men. It cannot be done, as so eloquently observed the Lord Chancellor of England on moving the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. There is perhaps nothing more futile, he said, than that the human lawgiver should assume to himself .

There were some half-hearted attempts to cut the cost of government with little to show for the effort.

...the power of making every one happy, at all times -- in seasons of general weal or woe -- and proclaim with the solemnity of a Statute, "Henceforth let human misery cease . . ."

The Chancellor, it should be noted, was Lord Brougham, a commoner by birth, a Whig, and a widely recognized champion of the poor who had supported such liberal legislation as expansion of public education, abolition of slavery, and law reform.

"Henceforth let human misery cease . . ." It cannot be done, and yet it is tried, albeit not always for the same reason. There are essentially two grounds upon which state benevolence is instituted: the philanthropic, or that which reflects a genuine concern for the plight of the needy; and the political, or that which reflects some pragmatic need of those who are in power. More simply put, state benevolence evidences a need of the have-nots or a need of the haves, or both.

As for the first, it is simply recognition that there are those who must depend on society for their basic maintenance -- as examples, the blind generally, the severely handicapped, the impoverished aged, the disabled who simply cannot earn a day's pay. Were this world always a noble habitation, the charitable inclination of fellow man might suffice for all the needy. It does not. The state steps in to assure that the most needy will not perish.

As for the second, the political basis of state benevolence, it is on the one hand a means of consolidating power (Pericles thus "bought the people over," according to Plutarch); and on the other hand, a means of keeping power or preserving the peace (Rome's "bread and circuses," which, wrote Fronto, "held fast the people of Rome" and

kept a lid on social unrest; Lyndon Johnson's appeal for Great Society legislation in the smoldering summer of 1965 with the warning that, "the clock is ticking").

Thus, looking back, we are reminded that duality is an inherent quality of man's nature. No man is wholly good, and none wholly bad. Nor any public policy devised by man. Yet we must wonder, as we look at an exploding federal budget, whose income security provisions are bursting well beyond \$200 billion per year, just what has been wisely withheld for fear of carrying with it the power of usurpation and tyranny held high in the name of benevolence. If the state is going to be paternalistic, it must be the parent with the birch rod as well as the parent who bestows the weekly allowance.

Yet there is another role of the parent -- that of teacher. In mid-Victorian England, a rich young liberal (his uncle was Speaker of the House of Commons, his father a member of the House of Lords) named Edward Denison went into the factory slums of London to see to the sharing of the wealth. What he saw changed his heart. "I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake," he wrote . . .

... by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked. Build school-houses, pay teachers, give prizes, frame workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains.

It is advice that requires neither increase nor decrease in the federal budget: lend them your brains, help them to help themselves.

With that other eye open, let us reflect upon an observation made by Andrew Stevenson as Congress, in 1827, debated the nation's first federal relief act, one providing \$20,000 in federal aid to the victims of a devastating fire in Alexandria, Va. Stevenson, a Jacksonian Democrat and later Speaker of the House, warned that it was a usurpation of power for Congress to appropriate federal funds for the benefit, however worthy, of so limited a segment of the federal constituency. It was the job of local government to attend to local needs, and of the federal, to

federal concerns. The constitutional question is not important here; the admonition speaks across the ages:

The power of doing good is often wisely withheld for fear of carrying with it the power to do evil. The greatest and most abominable of tyrannies and usurpations originate often in professions of great good and benevolence. The liberties of no country were ever overthrown, that it was not placed to the account of some supposed good.

To whatever extent public assistance equates with benevolence depends on whom is aided, and for what reason. To the extent it equates with usurpation, it is clearly not benevolence also. Inflation is a usurpation. So is a runaway bureaucracy.

The needy we will have with us always, for there will always be those who, for some reason, cannot support themselves -- those for whom public assistance is essential and right, the duty of society. It is quite another matter when state benevolence is distended into charity for all -- when obsession with security creates such insecurity that the result is chaos for all. In the welfare state of Great Britain in 1980, government spending accounted for more than 40 per cent of gross national product. In America it reached 30 per cent. More haunting now the lament of Lactantius in the declining days of Rome: "There began to be fewer men who paid taxes than there were who received benefits."

Society, of course, has much of which to be proud in its striving to smooth out the rough places of life. But in holding out the hope that that road can ever be smooth in all places for all its journeyers -- that human misery can be made to cease with the passing of a statute -- society deceives, and worse, it risks its very stability on that deception.

"There is nothing achieved by human strength," wrote Lactantius also, "that cannot equally be destroyed by human strength, for the works of mortal men are mortal." Mortal indeed -- and if the state, through a misconception of its power to be benevolent, comes to its own mortality, to whom then can it have benevolence?

The Biblical Enigma

The Bible is an Assortment of Poetry, Folk Tales, Myths, Legends, and History Whose Meaning is Altered by New Discoveries

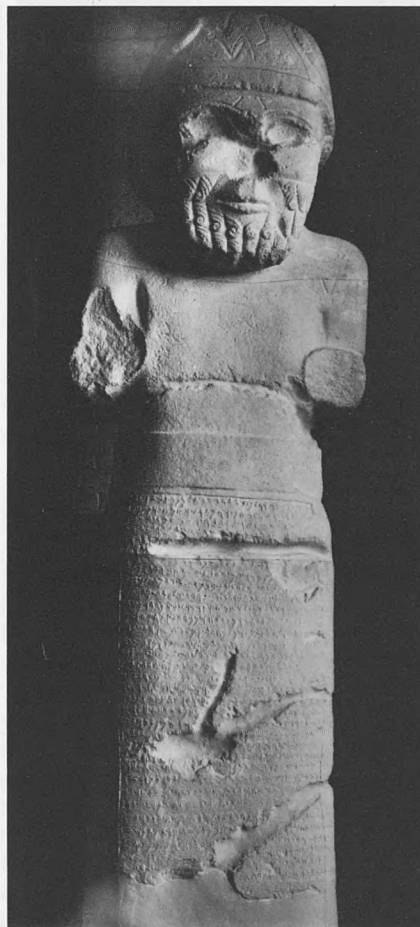
By Joseph P. Healey

When the movie *The Late Great Planet Earth* appeared in theatres the presence of Orson Welles as the narrator was impressive. It lent the same kind of credibility to the film that his current presence does to the wine that will not be sold before its time. The same period of time saw the publication of Erich von Daniken's *Chariot of the Gods*, an attempt to tie the origins of civilization to the chance passing of visitors from another galaxy. In this fanciful account biblical references, particularly to the Genesis stories, were copious. These popular presentations have enjoyed wide acclaim.

It is surprising how large an interest there is in proof of the biblical texts. And it is astonishing how many people absorb this material without giving any serious thought to it. None of the information conveyed in the reportage about these theories and films is free from serious flaws. But it demonstrates that there is a large scale interest in biblical study.

Most of us have been exposed to the Bible. And most of the people who are exposed to it form very definite opinions on it. But relatively few people ever get much beyond their childhood training. When people start arguing over the Bible they always seem to be able to pull

Joseph Healey is Associate Dean of the Undergraduate Program and Lecturer in the Department of Religion. He holds advanced degrees in Philosophy and Theology and the Ph.D. in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations from Harvard University.

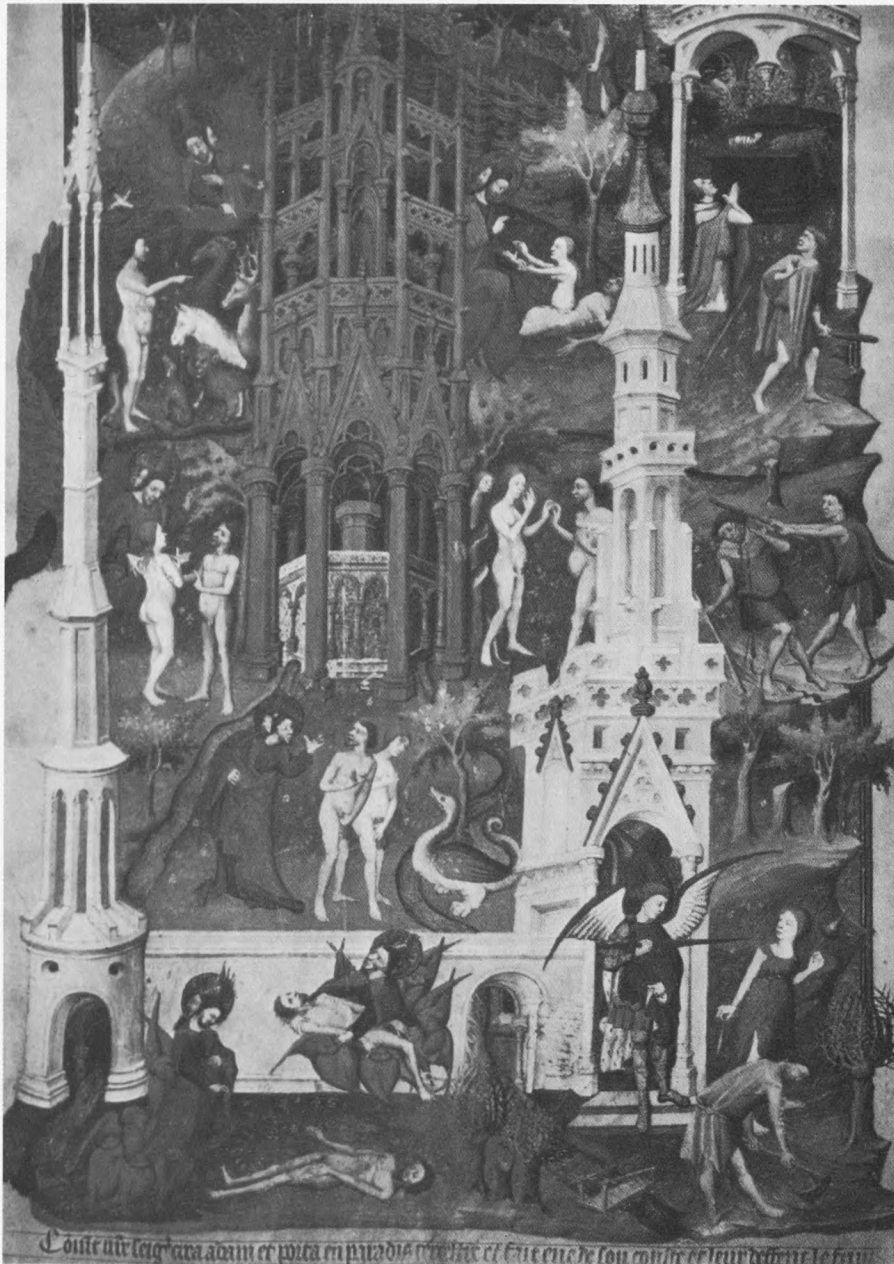


This colossal statue of the god Hadad with an 8th century B.C. inscription was found in north Syria. This same god appears in the Bible as Baal. Scholars are now finding many such links between the cultures of different parts of the Ancient Near East.

an article from "Time" or "Newsweek" or the papers that talks about proofs of the historical accuracy of the Bible. So much of what appears in popular writing about the Bible, however, is sensationalized. It is hard to distinguish the really significant discoveries that have moved biblical scholarship forward in this century.

Remarkably little was known about the biblical world at the beginning of this century. Only with the last quarter of the 19th century did some of the major sites in the Middle East receive any scientific attention. The City of Babylon, for example, was buried under over two thousand years of silt, sand, and debris until the 19th century. Many of the early discoveries were the work of military men. This fact led to the parody of the "modern major general" in Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pirates of Penzance." It was only in the 1840's that the first scientific deciphering of Babylonian cuneiform was begun. Thus, over 1,400 years (at least) separated the languages from the translators. Imagine a visitor from one of Von Daniken's spaceships trying to decipher a poem in English by e. e. cummings with only some old German texts from the 6th century for comparison. The results would be dubious indeed!

Gradually, however, the excavations of the German, French, and English in their colonial areas began to unearth vast records, sites, and art work. These showed the presence of highly sophisticated societies all over the Ancient Near East.



Biblical narratives have inspired art, literature, and music for centuries. Here a medieval artist renders the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise.

It would take several volumes to even briefly discuss the early discoveries. But there are two discoveries which have occurred in the last 30 years that are worth noting because they have been widely publicized and because they have demonstrated the difficulty and potential which new discoveries about the Bible present. The discoveries are those at Khirbet Qumran, and Tell Mardikh-Ebla. Both of these sites have yielded startling information that has or will seriously alter our understanding of the biblical world.

First, we ought to reflect that the Bible, and here I speak of both the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Testament, is a product of its time. People tend to forget this. They imagine that because of its sacred character it was written in some eternal vacuum. Despite its claims to divine origin, the Bible was written down at some point or points in time as literature. It embodies the same literary characteristics as any great piece of writing. It is an assortment of poetry and songs, folk tales, myths, legends, and history recorded to remember and so to

reinforce the foundational faith events of the communities that produced it.

To say this does not detract from its religious claims. In fact to understand it in this sense removes many needless obstacles to appreciating its power and appeal. In earlier times, when no comparative data were available, the literal, historical truth of every passage was the subject of countless debates. These pitted "biblicists" against "scientists" in an unequal contest between two very distinct ways of human knowing.

Educated men and women found it increasingly difficult to defend ideas like the seven days of creation against the incontrovertible discoveries of science about the origins and development of the physical universe, and of human life. If one could simply see that the Genesis narratives of creation (there are two--and contradictory at that!) were actually the Hebrew community's reflection on the nature of its God, and the relation of God to man and to the cosmos, and that they utilized common mythic patterns of the Ancient Near East, then the conflict between the "scientific" and the religious vision of the origins of the universe ceases.

Despite the growing evidence that all scientific study is conditioned, there is a persistent if hidden cultural prejudice which believes that the only truth worthy of the name is "scientific truth." People still think that science is dogmatic rather than experimental.

It is this same persistent prejudice that constantly seeks "proof" for biblical stories. From this arises the search for the ark, the discussion about the location of the Garden of Eden, the date of the flood, or the location of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is this obsession with proof that has caused so much hyperbole to arise when significant discoveries are made in the lands of the Bible. As the noted Near Eastern scholar Thorkild Jacobsen has tried to show, there are elements in myths which mirror historical realities. But this is not to say that one can find compelling, historically verifiable data to prove the connection. We view the past through the prism of the present. It distorts the view because what we receive is always passed on by imperfect means and the more so as the events portrayed are more remote.

That is why the first phase of new discoveries tends to be sensationalized. But the steady, ongoing work of making real sense out of what has been discovered is little discussed. A good example of this is the way in which the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls was first publicized. Articles and stories appeared in the newspapers and in magazines which concentrated on the "revolutionary" character of the documents and the major challenges they hurled at the general trends of scholarly work on the Bible. But the most interesting new data that emerged from the Qumran discoveries was the confirmation of the existence of a once little known Jewish sect called the "Essenes." This group was mentioned previously and briefly only in a few ancient authors: the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, the Jewish philosopher Philo, and the Roman historian Pliny.

The Qumran discoveries were revolutionary, not, as the popular impression seems to be, because they radically *altered* our knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, but because they enriched our understanding in a unique way. They provided access to the oldest texts of certain parts of the Hebrew Bible that we possess. It was not that they contained some new revelation or new evidence for the date of the Exodus, the role of Moses, or any other still puzzling historical data in the Bible. But they added a whole new set of comparative philological and textual data with which scholars could now work as they tried to unravel the meaning and origins of the biblical text.

Working largely with much later texts (the standard Hebrew Bible, for example, which was used for scholarly research until the early 1960's is based on a manuscript of the 9th century) scholars had come to conclusions about the origins and development of the canonical or official text of the Hebrew Bible. Their conclusions were largely corroborated by the data provided through the textual remnants found at Qumran.

The data on the Essenes, on the other hand, added an entirely new dimension to the study of the development of post-exilic Judaism and early Christianity. The Essenes appear to have been an apocalyptic sect. The sect broke away from normative Judaism in the 2nd century B.C.E. Some of the most

interesting features of the sect are those that relate to the early church. Among these are the famous "baptism" of the Essenes, their communal meal, their reverence for the "Righteous Teacher" (apparently the founder), their emphasis on the coming cataclysmic end of the world, and their monastic life style. They provided evidence that Judaism in the last century before the Common Era was not a simple,

Despite its claim to divine origin, the Bible was written at some point as literature. It embodies the same literary characteristics as any great piece of writing.

monolithic religion. It was a heterogeneous religious community. From this evidence, also, features that were once thought to be unique to Christianity are seen to be part of the Jewish religious community's history. It helps, in short, to tie the Old and New Testament more closely together.

Within the last three or four years another sensational discovery has been the object of journalistic scrutiny. Since 1964 a team of Italian archaeologists directed by Professor Paolo Matthiae of the University of Rome has been excavating a site in Northern Syria, Tell-Mardikh. This site at first yielded mostly artifacts, debris, and the remnants of what was once apparently a large city. Early on the site was identified as the ancient city of Ebla whose existence was known from Akkadian (Mesopotamian) records. In 1974 and 1975 the significance of the discovery took a quantum leap with the unearthing of the Royal archives consisting of over 15,000 tablets. These tablets provided concrete evidence for the extensive power of Ebla, which had previously been considered relatively unimportant. Further, the language in which the tablets were written appeared to be a new addition to the growing

number of Ancient Near Eastern tongues. It seemed that the language might actually be Proto-Canaanite, the long sought parent language for Hebrew, and related languages of the Northwest Semitic family.

More sensational, and accordingly widely publicized, was the discovery of references to many biblical names of persons and places. The most sensational of all concerned the presence in the personal names of local folk, of the divine name *Yahweh*, the proper name of the Hebrew God (often mistranscribed as *Jehovah*). The impact of this discovery on biblical scholars is difficult to imagine. No clear references of an early date to this divine name are known outside the Hebrew texts of the Bible and some Jewish literary remains. Added to this were apparent references to Abraham, to the fabled cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and several other biblical references. Putting these together, the first tentative articles to appear hinted at the discovery of the ancestral home of the Hebrew folk and their divinity!

Like the early expectations that the Qumran Scrolls would give us an alternative "Old Testament," the sober reflections of serious scholars have brought the Ebla discoveries down from these heady heights to a more mundane level. First scholars questioned the simple identifications of the language as Canaanite. It is now widely thought that, in fact, the language is a variant of Old Akkadian which is not directly related to Hebrew. The task of deciphering the language is only begun.

A good example of the complexity of recovering history from these forgotten civilizations is the problem of the language of Ebla. All the tablets are written in elegant cuneiform (wedge-shaped) script, but the scribes used Sumerian signs. Sumerian was the first literary language of mankind. It was an logographic language, that is, each sign represented a word. Sumerian is not, however, a Semitic language. When the Akkadians conquered the Sumerians and founded the great Semitic cultures that were to dominate "world" history until the Persian era, they borrowed the signs used by the Sumerians to write their language. But they assigned new values to the signs making them now, not signs for whole words, but signs for syllables. Thus Eblaite is



The Dead Sea Scrolls, two examples of which appear above, have enriched scholars knowledge of the Bible.

written with Sumerian signs for a Semitic language. The translator, therefore, faces a formidable task. He must decide whether any given sign is a word sign or syllable sign, because, to complicate the matter for modern scholars, the semitic writers often used the same sign to indicate both the word and the syllable! And to add confusion to the whole process, the same sign could be used for several syllables!

So the question raised immediately by scholars trying to deal with the "biblical" references is whether the translators have read the signs correctly. It is now asserted that the references to Yahweh are, in fact, a misreading of a sign that can be read simply, "My God." The references to Abraham and variants of it are largely meaningless because the name is already known in other parts of the Ancient Near East. It must be considered ambiguous. The city name list once thought to refer to Sodom and Gomorrah has now been shown to be an incorrect translation.

In a recent article on the subject one author goes so far as to write,

"the Ebla tablets will have no special relevance for our understanding of the Old Testament."¹

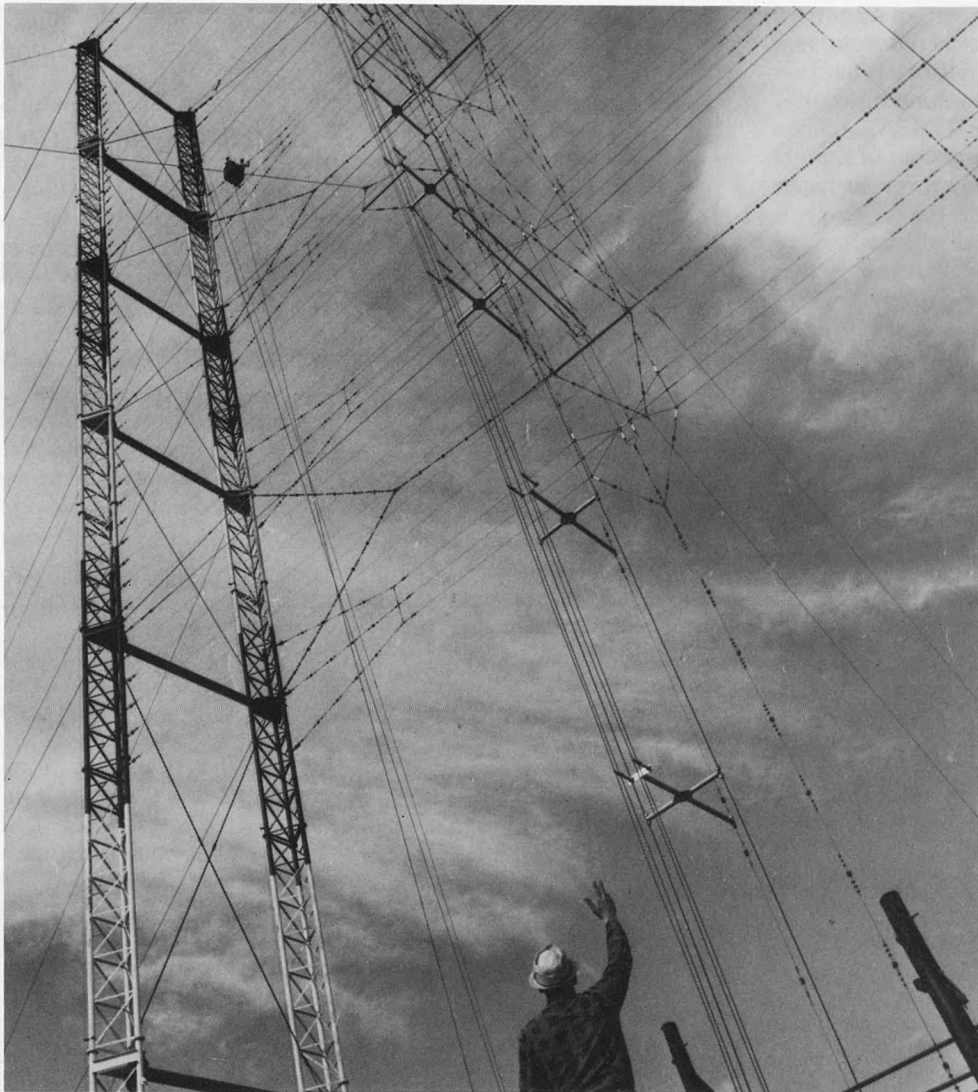
As Pope noted about knowledge, "drinking deeply sobers us . . ." it is, of course, much too soon to accept as a final judgment the conclusion of the author just cited. But it is becoming clear that the jubilation at finding evidence for this history of the Hebrews has now become more subdued. There are, of course, many authors who are still convinced that a close connection does exist and the debate will, no doubt, furnish ample material for a new generation of doctoral dissertations!

What both of these cases point up, however, is that the Bible is part of an incredibly rich heritage which we are only beginning to recover. Thousands, indeed, tens of thousands of cuneiform tablets from all over Mesopotamia remain untranslated. Museums and university storerooms all over the world are stocked with artifacts, tablets, seals, and manuscripts that are waiting to be classified, translated, and interpreted.

The Bible stands as securely as ever as a document of faith in the midst of all this. For centuries the Bible stood alone, a tiny but central piece in a huge and complex puzzle. Now, here and there bits and pieces of the great puzzle into which it fits are emerging. The current task of scholars is to deal with these materials through the more pedestrian tasks of deciphering, classifying, and soberly analyzing them to work out their real meaning and import. The years ahead will, no doubt, see many more sensational recoveries like those of Qumran and Ebla. Each one will have to be fitted into the pattern of the puzzle.

Christians and Jews alike can rejoice in this, and so can those who are not believers. The enormous cultural heritage of the Bible is fundamental to an understanding of Western society. The more deeply we sink our roots in the heritage conveyed to us through the biblical narratives, the more healthy our growth.

¹Robert Biggs, "The Ebla Tablets: An Interim Perspective," *BA*, 43, (Spring 1980), 85.



An antenna is constructed to beam Voice of America broadcasts around the world. VOA has 33 transmitters in the United States, 68 overseas, and a total power of 21,838,750 watts. It also uses five space satellite circuits to carry programs abroad.

How America Communicates Abroad

The U.S. International Communications Agency Operates in 200 Cities in 126 Countries to Tell the World About America and Its Culture

By James W. Baker '51

It's 4:30 p.m. in Madras, India. An American Foreign Service Information Officer and his Indian colleague enter the editorial offices of *The Hindu*, one of India's more influential English-language newspapers. After exchanging pleasantries with the editor over a cup of steaming South Indian coffee, they begin a

serious discussion about an editorial on United States-Indian relations that appeared in *The Hindu* the day before . . .

At that moment, thousands of miles away, about 40 Tunisian university students settle back in chairs in a small, comfortable auditorium in an office building at 2

Avenue de France in downtown Tunis--where it is 11 a.m.--watching a film entitled "Reflections." The documentary, one in a series, is a profile of American anthropologist Margaret Mead . . .

Meanwhile, in Jidda, an official in Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs leafs through the Arabic-

language *Al Majal* (Scope) magazine which he has just received in the mail from the local office of the United States International Communication Agency (USICA) . . .

In East Berlin, a member of the city's governing body turns on his short-wave radio and listens to a news broadcast about events in Poland on the Voice of America . . .

In Khartoum, about 100 Sudanese students are reading and studying in the red, white and blue American Cultural Center library, one of some 250 such libraries in 100 countries around the world . . .

At Yesilkoy Airport in Istanbul, the mighty engines of a 747 superjet roar as the huge aircraft rolls down the runway on takeoff. Settled back in Seat 27-C is a highly respected Turkish journalist, about to begin a six-week visit to the United States under a program sponsored by USICA. When he returns to Turkey he will join the ranks of tens of thousands of Americans and foreigners who have visited each other's countries under USICA exchange-of-persons programs over the past 41 years. These programs at last count had as alumni some 38 heads of state or government.

At this moment, the U.S. Ambassador to Algeria is escorting Algerian Prime Minister Mohamed Ben Ahmed Abdelghani through a brightly lit, tastefully arranged exhibit at the sprawling fairground just outside Algiers. Called "Textiles USA," the exhibit shows through actual objects and large photographs the latest American technology in the textile and fabric industry . . .

In Montevideo, Uruguay, a television show entitled "Ahora," one of 13 half-hour programs in a series dealing with subjects of mutual interest to the United States and Latin America, is coming on the air.

James W. Baker, a 1951 graduate of the College of William and Mary, has been an officer with the United States International Communication Agency (formerly the U.S. Information Agency) since 1963. He has served in India, Turkey, Pakistan, the Philippines and Washington, D.C. Prior to joining the government, Baker was a reporter and education editor on The Richmond News Leader for 12 years. He is currently posted in Tunis, Tunisia, where he edits a USICA magazine distributed throughout the Middle East.

"Ideas are what the International Communication Agency is all about," says John E. Reinhardt, the first director of the new agency. "The generation of ideas, the exchange of ideas, the refinement of ideas. In the USICA, we turn ideas into the belief that. . . 'Man's mind, stretched to a new idea, never goes back to its original dimension'."

The series, produced by USICA, is shown on television stations in 16 other Latin American countries . . .

And so it goes in countries around the world at this hour. An American professor from the University of California discusses U.S. foreign policy with university students in Buenos Aires. A Soviet bureaucrat reads USICA's Russian-language monthly magazine, *America Illustrated*. An Agency driver delivers the text of an important policy statement by the American Secretary of State to the editor of *Le Monde* in Paris.

These vignettes are typical of those reenacted daily in more than 200 cities in 126 countries around the world where offices are operated by the U.S. International Communication Agency.

The Agency, the United States government's information and cultural voice worldwide, has two distinct but related goals as set forth by former president Jimmy Carter in a message to Congress transmitting the reorganization plan of 1977 which established the newly organized U.S. International Communication Agency:

--- "To tell the world about our society and policies -- in particular, our commitment to cultural diversity and individual liberty.

--- "To tell ourselves about the world, so as to enrich our own culture as well as to give us the understanding to deal effectively with problems among nations."

The founding of USICA on April 1, 1978, represented efforts to bring all the elements of the U.S. government's "public diplomacy," that is,

its efforts to communicate with foreign peoples, into one structure which has the conduct of such diplomacy as its sole purpose. These functions had formerly been performed by the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchange (CU).

"Ideas are what the International Communication Agency is all about," says John E. Reinhardt, the first director of the new agency, "the generation of ideas, the exchange of ideas, the refinement of ideas. In USICA, we turn to ideas in the belief that, as Oliver Wendell Holmes said, 'Man's mind, stretched to a new idea, never goes back to its original dimension'."

Former President Carter, commenting on the new Agency formed during his administration, said: "Only by knowing and understanding each other's experiences can we find common ground on which we can examine and resolve our differences."

Reinhardt says it is also imperative "that other societies know clearly where we stand and why--as a government and as a people--on issues of concern. An important part of our mandate is the obligation to explain American policies as clearly and effectively as we can."

Thus knowing, understanding, communicating, explaining, making clear, and discussing are the key words in describing the work of the U.S. International Communication Agency.

How does a government agency whose annual budget totals about

\$418 million--roughly the cost of four Air Force advanced bombers--go about that task on a global basis? To understand the operation of USICA, one must look at its organization and the tools it has to work with.

The Agency's staff numbers about 8,400 of whom about 4,000 are non-Americans hired in foreign countries. Nearly 1,000 American men and women are assigned overseas to handle press and cultural affairs at 203 U.S. embassies, consulates or other posts in 126 countries. They are supported in these efforts by some 3,400 colleagues at home, half of whom are engaged in the broadcasting operations of the Voice of America.

At the core of the USICA staff overseas are Foreign Service Information Officers, specialists in public diplomacy. Along with colleagues from the State Department and other agencies of the government, they advise the American Ambassador or Chief of Mission and handle official United States media and cultural

affairs in their countries. They also report back to Washington foreign media reaction to American government policies and actions.

The typical USICA post--in many but not all cases located in the American embassy--has several American officers and a supporting staff of host country employees. The officers are usually trained in the local language.

The communications program of USICA is as varied as the field of communications itself. The Agency emphasizes the importance of face-to-face dialogue among Americans and peoples of other societies. One means of bringing about this dialogue overseas is USICA's American "participant" program. Through it, the Agency, in response to specific requests from its overseas posts, tries to stimulate exchange of ideas in a wide variety of fields between selected foreigners and leading American authorities, whom USICA calls "American participants." The program provides the participants with opportunities to enhance their

own professional competence by meeting with counterparts overseas.

USICA seeks academics and others who can contribute to foreign societies' understanding of the United States and vice versa. In many cases these are persons planning private visits abroad, although sometimes the Agency pays for the American participants' travel. In an average year some 500 persons travel abroad under this program.

Also among the Agency's most important activities are the exchange-of-persons programs. Over the past four decades these programs have cemented strong personal and professional ties among emerging and future leaders throughout the world and have helped establish extensive international networks of scholars, public officials, journalists and other influential persons, involving tens of thousands of Americans and foreigners. Perhaps the best known of the numerous exchange-of-persons programs with which USICA is involved is the Fulbright Program. Since August 1,



A control panel in the Voice of America headquarters links studios there with an estimated 80 million listeners around the world each week. VOA broadcasts 875 hours weekly in 39 languages.

There will always be arguments and disagreements on the effectiveness of the Agency, but the dedicated men and women who work in Washington and around the world feel it is highly effective.

1946, when Congress passed the original legislation introduced by former Senator J. William Fulbright, it has provided study opportunities for more than 68,000 American and foreign students in more than 100 countries. The Fulbright-Hays Act continued the spirit of the program and extended many of its features. In addition to students, some 60,000 research scholars, teachers and others have been sponsored by this program. Thus the Fulbright program has brought some of the world's finest minds to American campuses and has offered the future leaders of dozens of foreign nations an insight into our society.

While most USICA officers consider personal contact as perhaps the most effective means of communication, this is not the only means employed by the Agency. In fact, USICA uses the whole range of communication tools.

For example, Agency-operated libraries worldwide contain about 1.6 million books and 22,000 periodicals which are used by more than 8.7 million visitors annually. Some of the collections are general while others are designed exclusively for reference or for specialized use by lawmakers, university students or American studies specialists, for example. About 25 American professional librarians work with 650 foreign national employees overseas in running USICA libraries. In recent years the Agency's libraries have reoriented their services, reflecting the technological and informational revolution in library science. Microfilm and microfiche machines, video playback equipment, and audio listen devices can now be found in many of them.

The Agency's book program involves translations, exhibits and donated books. Under the translation program, books have been published throughout the world in

more than 50 languages. The Agency also cooperates with the publishing world to stage six book exhibits annually which are seen in 120 cities around the world. Under the donated book program, USICA obtains books from American publishers for donating to developing nations and to certain educational specialists overseas, including Fulbright professors, for use in their subject areas. Some 200,000 volumes are disseminated annually through this program.

A major new initiative, launched just two years ago, is the "Arts in America" program which is designed to increase significantly USICA's capacity to communicate effectively through the arts. To implement this program the Agency has entered into a close working relationship with the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities under the auspices of the umbrella organization, the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities.

USICA also operates two foreign press centers, one in New York and one in Washington, to assist foreign journalists to cover stories in the United States. The centers make appointments for foreign journalists, assist them with credentials, and make the daily State Department press briefings available via closed circuit radio to correspondents who cannot be at the department. Similar arrangements are made for White House and other major press conferences.

The Agency's publications program reaches an overseas audience of millions in a variety of languages. Among the major USICA magazines are *America Illustrated*, a Russian-language monthly distributed in the Soviet Union; *Dialogue*, a quarterly

journal focusing on scholarly opinion and the arts; *Topic*, a bi-monthly published in English and French for distribution in sub-Saharan Africa; *Al Majal (Scope)*, an Arabic-language monthly circulated throughout the Middle East and North Africa, and *Problems of Communism*, a bimonthly scholarly periodical on communist affairs, published in English.

Films, video tapes and exhibits also play a key role in USICA's attempts to communicate with overseas audiences. Highly acclaimed is the Agency's "Reflections" film series which profiles distinguished Americans such as George Meany, Margaret Mead, Leonard Bernstein, Buckminster Fuller, and Samuel Eliot Morison. Another, called "Energy War," is based on the issue of deregulating oil and gas prices and explains how the legislative process functions in the United States. Outstanding among video tapes produced in recent years are such programs as "Universal Declaration of Human Rights--30th Anniversary," in which the U.S. position on human rights is explained and supported by the American Ambassador to the United Nations and others, and "Middle East Accords with Harold Saunders," in which the State Department official reviews the Middle East situation for a panel of foreign and American reporters. A major exhibit entitled "Agriculture USA" was shown over a period of more than a year to more than 1.25 million Soviet citizens in Moscow and five other Russian cities. Other recent exhibits staged by the Agency have focused on the arts in America, communications, the computer at work in the United States and the American textile industry.

Perhaps best known of the Agency's operations are those of the Voice of America (VOA), USICA's

radio broadcast division and the United States government's official overseas radio network, which reaches every country on the planet and has an estimated audience of 80 million each week. It broadcasts 875 hours weekly in 39 languages and is the United States' only means of communication with people in many societies where the flow of information and ideas is restricted.

All VOA programs originate in Washington, D.C. Twenty-four hours a day a steady stream of copy flows from various sources into the newsroom in the nation's capital. In addition to reports from VOA correspondents in news centers around the world, the "Voice" uses the reports of various American and international news services. Using these sources, writers and editors prepare a 24-hour continuous news file broadcast in English and trans-

Perhaps best known of the Agency's operations are those of the Voice of America (VOA), USICA's radio broadcast division and the government's official overseas network.

lated for VOA's foreign-language services. The VOA also broadcasts news commentaries, music, interviews, press conferences, discussion programs, speeches by high-ranking American officials, and documentaries on many facets of life and culture in the United States.

In all these efforts, just how effective is the U.S. International Communication Agency? There will always be arguments and disagree-

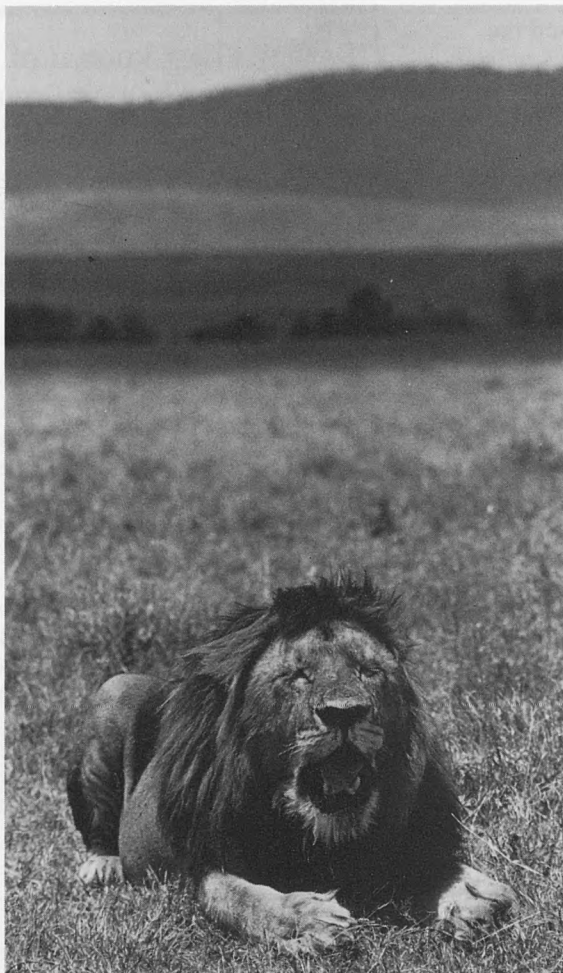
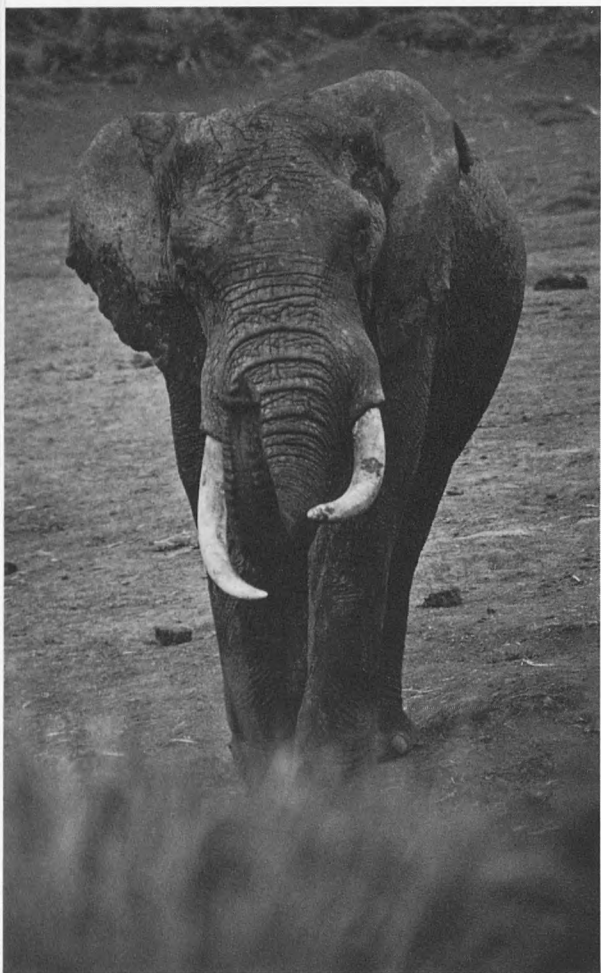
ments on this question, but the dedicated men and women who work for the Agency in Washington and at posts around the world feel it is highly effective.

Perhaps USICA's first director, John Reinhardt, summed it up best. "The work we in USICA do can and does make a difference," he said. "Surely there will always be real conflicts of interest among peoples. But I believe we can play a profound role in helping to reduce a multitude of conflicts that arise largely, if not entirely, from misunderstandings and misperceptions among people. And we in USICA can make an essential contribution to the creation of an international environment in which real differences are worked out rationally, sensitively and peaceably."

If indeed the Agency can do that, it will have done its job well.



Mrs. Walter Mondale, wife of the former U.S. Vice President, who opened the exhibit "American Now--A Look at the Arts in the 70s" in Belgrade, goes through the exhibit with USICA staffers and guests.



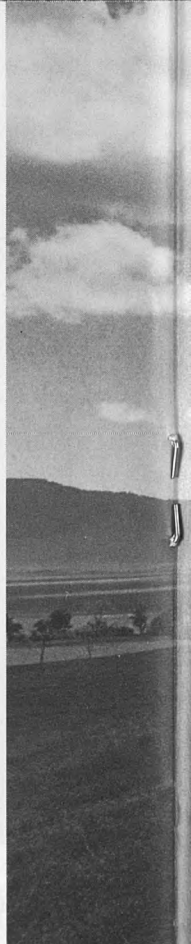
In January a William and Mary Alumni party of eight (and a like number from Brown University) spent three weeks in Kenya and Tanzania on a photo safari with Brown University photographer John Foraste. The text on these pages is also Foraste's.

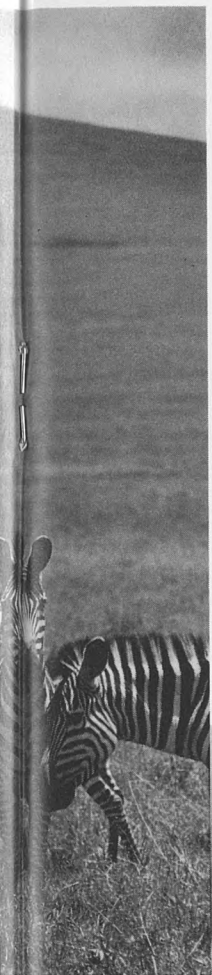
John Foraste is recognized by his colleagues and by the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) as one of the nation's top university photo journalists. He "sees and thinks as a photographer where both content and form are important and designed to work together." A photographer for Brown University since 1975, he has received many awards for black and white photographs and audio-visual shows from CASE, for which he is a frequent guest lecturer.

To see elephant, lion, zebra, impala, giraffe, cape buffalo, wildebeest, gazelle, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, ostrich, eagle, baboon, hyena, jackal, vulture, and other animals in their own natural environment is a wildly exhilarating experience. That spirit way deep inside you is refreshed. The elephants alone would have been enough.

Why do these animals allow you the great treat of studying them so closely? Since hunting in East Africa has been illegal for some thirty years, they do not feel threatened — though poaching is a very real problem. Each animal has his own safe distance and amusing way of responding to your presence: the elephant seems aware but undisturbed; the lion exudes boredom; the zebra, giraffe, and impala remain quite attentive; the gazelle is quick to flee.

Reprinted by permission of the Brown University Magazine.





WILLIAM AND MARY ON SAFARI

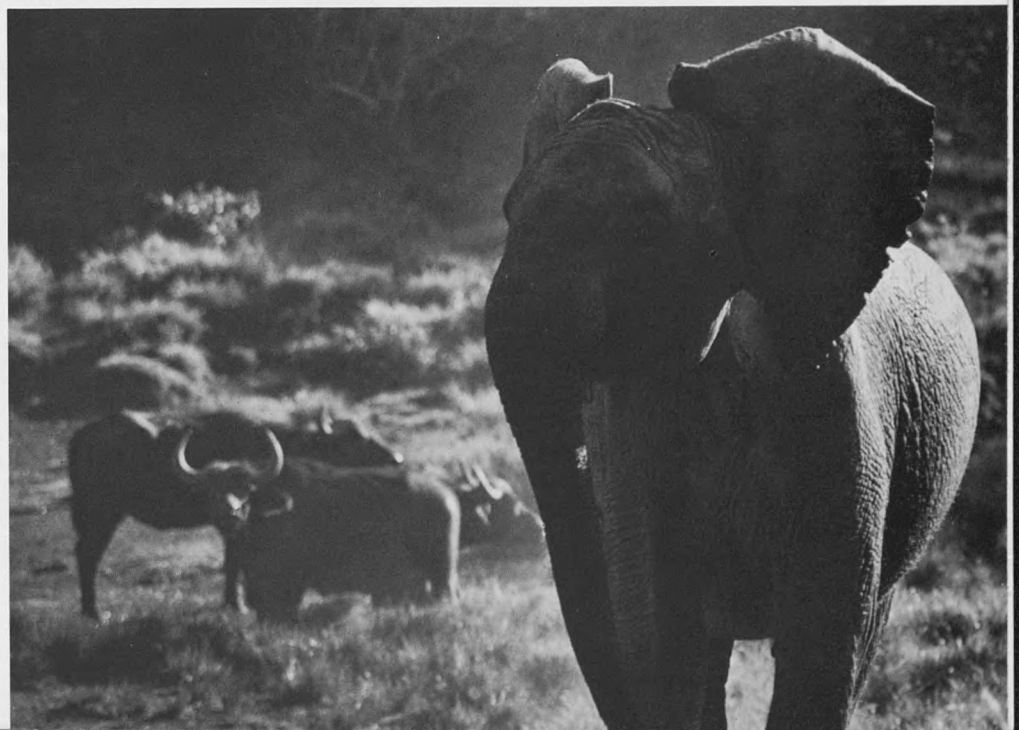
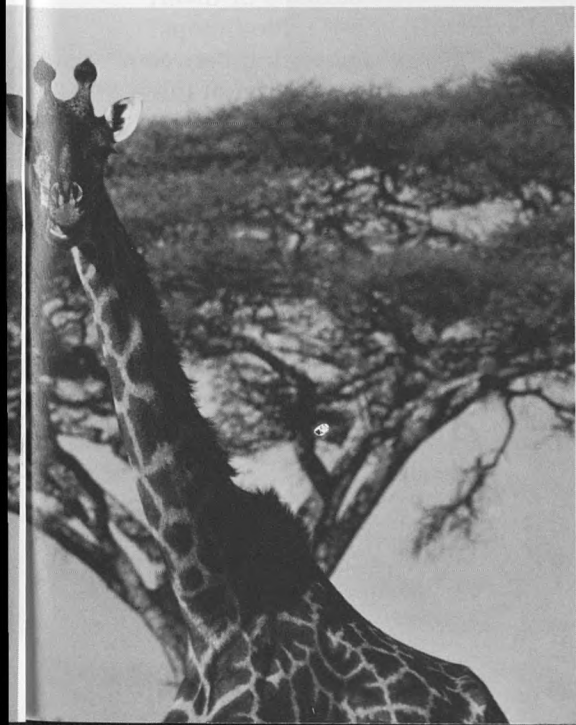
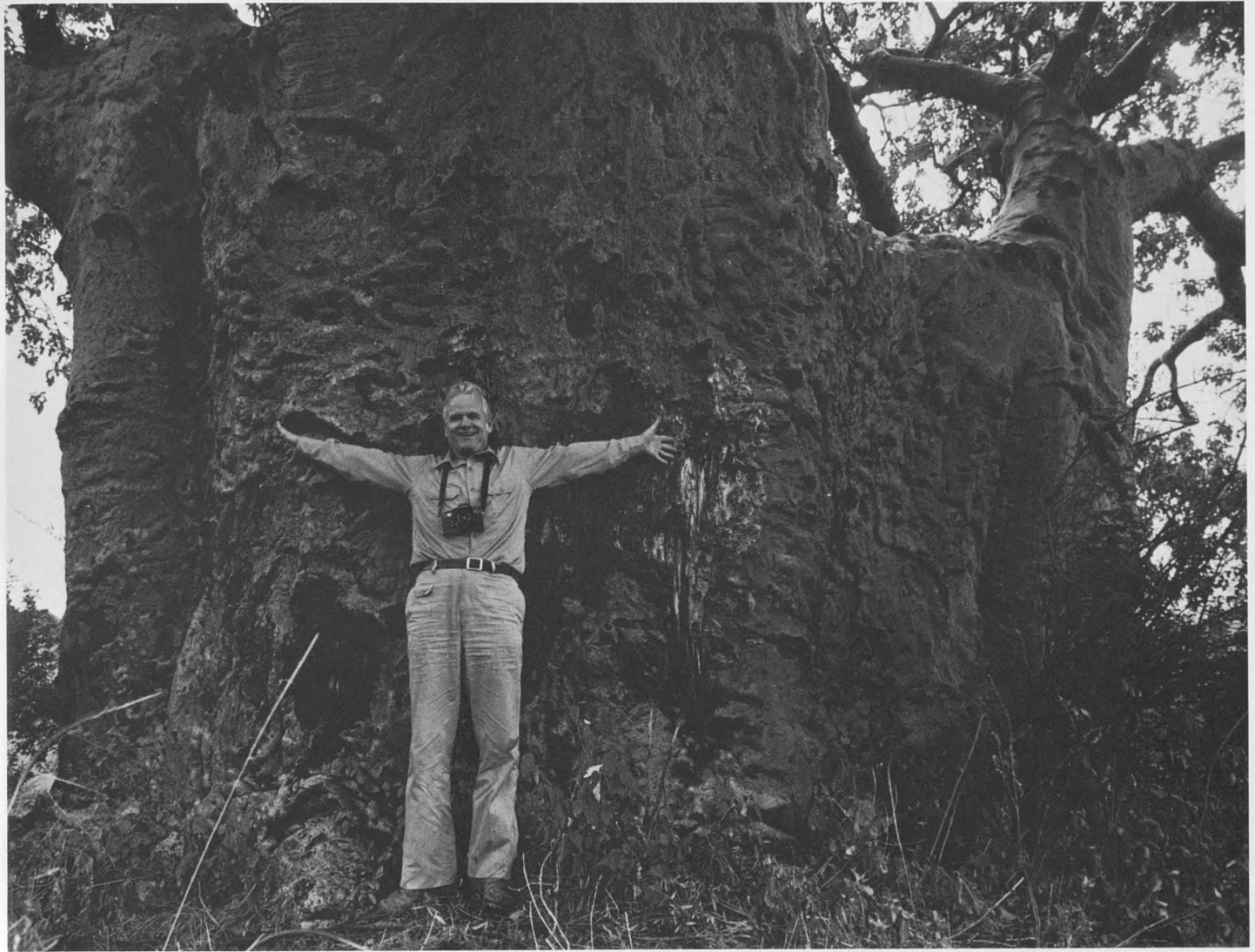




The lovely acacia trees, favorite food of the giraffe, frequently accent the East African landscape. Oh, the land! You have built up your expectations of seeing the animals and are generously rewarded. But the land? It is a wonderful surprise: changing light, textures, and patterns of the magnificent Ngorongoro Crater (previous page); the idyllic rolling hills of northern Tanzania (above); the vast, open, and amazingly varied plains of Meru, Samburu, and the Serengeti (next page).

At right is Bill Reynolds of Huntsville, Ala., husband of Toni Reynolds '51. Reynolds is standing in front of a giant Baobab tree in Tanzania. Described by one traveler as a "tree planted upside down," the Baobab is hollow inside and serves as a reservoir for rainwater. Its fruit provides villagers with vessels in which to carry many items. Others in the William and Mary party were John E. Wray III '50 of Williamsburg and his wife Bobbi, Beverly Tyler '44 of Waverly, Va., Mary L. Gill '28 of Petersburg, Elizabeth W. Lanier '30 of Petersburg, and George Morrissey of Alexandria.



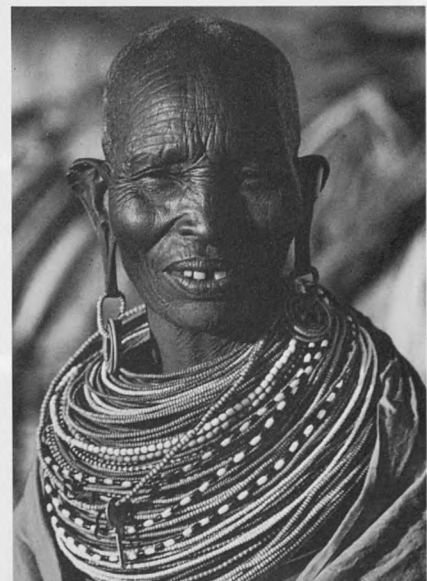


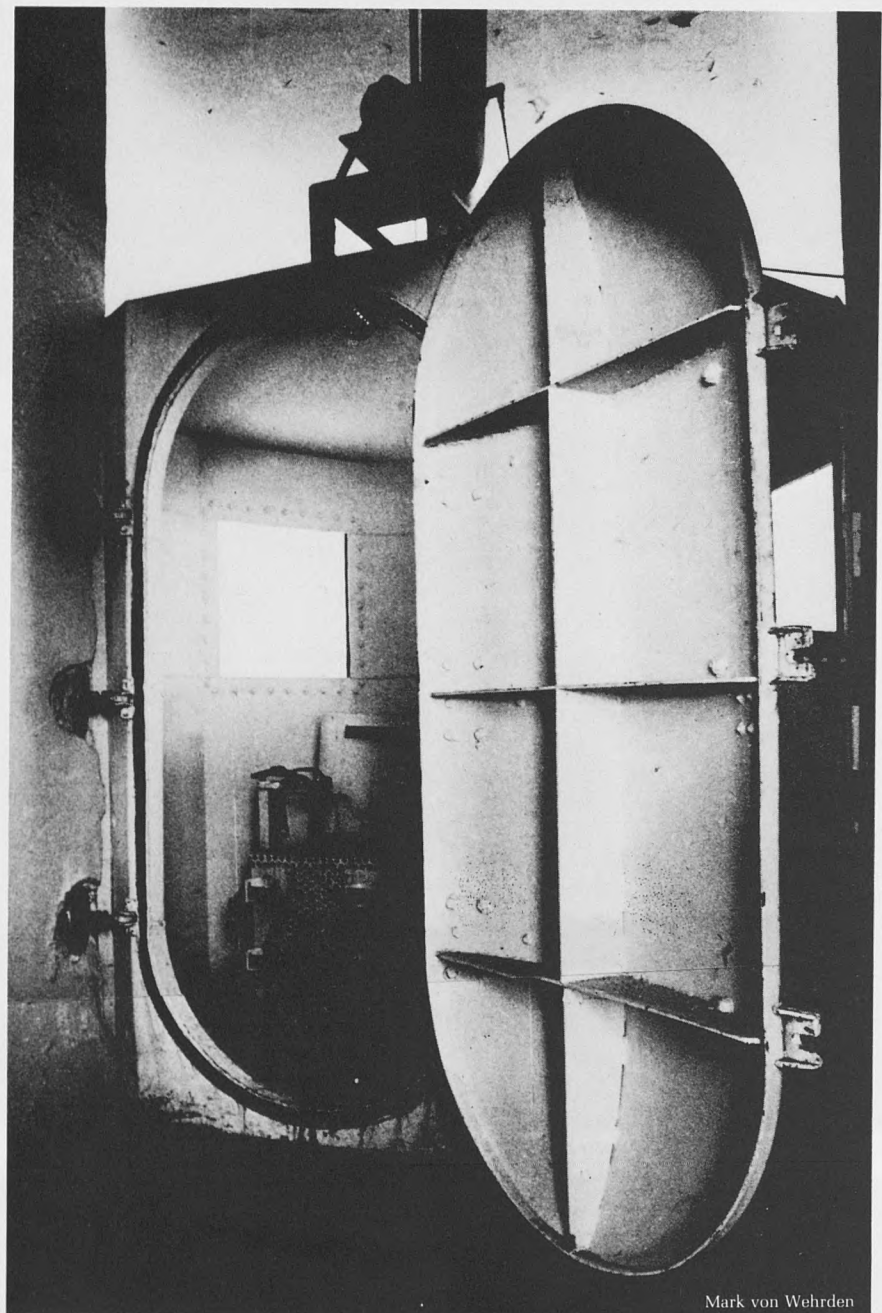


The traditional Masai tribesmen and Samburu woman. The densely populated, international, crime-ridden Nairobi. The wide, open, and protected plains and wildlife of the Serengeti. These are all significant parts of today's East Africa. How do you deal with the inevitable influences of modern society that travel far beyond the many new skyscrapers of Nairobi into the very traditional tribal cultures out in the plains? And the water is limited. So, do you supply the

chalky dry lands that are the natural and protected habitat of many animals or divert that water for the cultivation of food crops?

As you travel you feel the tension between modern society and the preservation of the land, animals, and traditional cultures. The maintenance of a delicate balance is an ongoing process forcing the African people to make difficult decisions that will affect them and, indeed, all spirited people for many years.





Mark von Wehrden

Missouri's gas chamber awaits its first victim in several years as the states try to come to grips with the constitutional problems of capital punishment.

As an example and for the sake of security, it would be wiser, instead of hiding the execution, to hold up the severed head in front of all who are shaving in the morning. . . .

Indeed, one must kill publicly or confess that one does not feel authorized to kill. If society justifies the death penalty by the necessity of the example, it must justify itself by making the publicity necessary. It must show the executioner's hands each time and force everyone to look at them

—Albert Camus

One of the witnesses, District Attorney Quinby of Buffalo, got up, left the room and fainted A deputy helped the warden fix the electrodes and the black hood. . . . The switch was pulled and the generator screamed like a fire siren.

Kemmler strained against the restraining straps, then relaxed. . . . A physician examined Kemmler and had just pronounced him dead when the corpse sighed. "He's still alive!" another doctor shouted.

Several witnesses fainted. The electrodes were refastened and the current was turned on again. . . .

—Paul Meskil, describing the first execution by electric chair

No newspaper or person shall print or publish the details of the execution of criminals. Only the fact that the criminal was executed shall be printed or published.

—Code of Virginia, sec. 53-322

Capital Punishment: A Death Row Game

A Sociologist Argues That Capital Punishment Doesn't Work as a Deterrent to Violent Crime, But Executions Are Likely to Increase in the Near Future

By Michael A. Faia

By the end of 1979 American prisons held 567 persons under sentence of death; recent newspaper reports (March, 1981) place the total at around 750. This is an extraordinary fact when one considers that since 1967 only four executions have taken place in the United States. On the other hand, this large numerical disparity is readily explained: it has occurred primarily because, since the famous *Furman* decision of 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court has been busily changing the rules governing capital punishment. And since many states pass new capital punishment laws about as quickly as their old ones are declared unconstitutional, the death row population throughout the seventies remained at five hundred or so, with an annual turnover of perhaps 150 cases. Those who left death row had been there, on the average, about two years.

Something important, however, has happened over the last few years. In 1979, for the first time in many years, the number of persons condemned to death was far in excess of the number removed from death row--159 to 56. The major reason for this abrupt shift appears

to be that, on the matter of constitutionality, the dust is beginning to settle. One cannot but anticipate increasing numbers of executions in the near future.

American public opinion, by all accounts, is strongly in favor of capital punishment: about two-thirds of all adults indicate support of the death penalty for murder, and this proportion has been increasing in recent years. More important than the overall level of support, however, is the distribution of support across various segments of the population. In dealing with controversial civil rights issues, for instance, we often find that, even when a particular form of civil liberty is not generally supported by the populace, it is likely to receive the greatest amount of support among the well educated, among those with prestigious occupations, and among those with political power. In such a situation, anti-libertarian views held by a majority are not likely to receive much in the way of political expression. In the case of capital punishment, however, those with great prestige and power apparently are as likely to support it as is public opinion generally. Once constitutional obstacles to increased executions are overcome (as they may have been already), one can imagine few additional obstacles in the realm of public opinion; the virtual absence of executions over the last fourteen years may turn out to be nothing more than an anomalous constitutional episode. If executions are not soon carried out at a sharply increased rate, one will be tempted to conclude that American law enforcement, legislatures, and

judicial agencies are engaging in what is likely to be perceived as a policy of bluff.

Model of Social Control

Bluff, of course, is a tactic of games. If advocates of capital punishment were shown to be strongly committed to the gamesmanship model of social control, this would come as no surprise to social scientists familiar with the typical finding, reported by both the Gallup Poll and the Harris Poll, that advocates of capital punishment generally believe in deterrence, in threatened punishment, as an effective means of social control. For when one examines the deterrence doctrine in its many ramifications and applications, it becomes clear that deterrence is a type of game; in this context, bluffing is but one ploy among many.

What does it mean to say that deterrence is a type of game? In addressing this question, it is helpful to think about the development of "game theory" during World War II. Military planners at that historical juncture were often faced with problems such as what to do if a German submarine were sighted at a particular point in the Atlantic. If a given number of torpedo attack planes were available within a given radius, what sort of search pattern would maximize the probability that at least one attack plane would find the target?

Although this problem may appear to be highly complex, it is amenable to the kind of strict mathematical solution that game theorists dearly love. There is a

Michael A. Faia is professor of sociology at the College. He holds the doctorate from the University of Southern California, and taught in California and Wisconsin before coming to William and Mary. Faia's teaching and research interests include social stratification, demography, higher education, deviant behavior, and research methods.

finite list of "players" and a finite list of clearly defined alternative strategies, options, or "moves." For every move, one can decide among a manageable series of countermoves. For virtually all combinations of move and countermove the resultant "utilities," or outcomes, are readily calculated: we either destroy the submarine or we do not, and either outcome will entail measurable costs and gains.

Although one could easily introduce further complexities, this game is inherently less complicated than those deterrence games that form the cornerstone of American nuclear strategy, or those deterrence games that we attempt to play with potential murderers. The latter include an infinitude of players, an infinitude of moves, an infinitude of outcomes, and an infinitude of perceptions as to what the game is all about. They are far more difficult to comprehend within the imagery of game theory.

Future Moves

Any deterrence game, by definition, has the additional complication that we attempt to communicate to other players what our *future* moves will be if they choose particular options that we wish to discourage; threats, in other words, must be communicated to be effective. In the case of the enemy submarine, no communication with its commander is essential to the game. If, however, we had wished to *deter* enemy submarines from, say, entering our territorial waters, prior communication would have become mandatory. Such prior communication is the most fascinating aspect of deterrence; it also opens up the prospect of bluff, or what military strategists would call "lack of a credible deterrent."

German submarine commanders, for all their undoubted faults, probably played their particular game with extraordinary skill, if not alacrity. They knew well the players, the moves, and the stakes. They knew how to evaluate a warning--that is, they knew the circumstances under which they had better allow themselves to be deterred. Let us suppose, for the sake of ludicrousness, that a potential murderer in Virginia were to enter into a similar game with law enforcement and penal agencies. Here, in splendid Dostoyevskian tradition, are the typical thought patterns of what an

econometrician would call the "rational potential murderer":

"First objective: avoid execution. Second objective: kill Mr. X. Third objective: rob Mr. X's store. Relative value to me of these objectives, in arbitrary units: 10,000 units, 1,500 units, and 300 units respectively. (I've hated Mr. X ever since he caught me stealing a copy of *Playboy* featuring my beloved Rita Jenrette.) Potential costs and their associated probabilities: (1) I'm killed by Mr. X or the police at scene of crime, 5,000 units (only half as bad as being executed); associated probability, say, 3%; (2) I'm caught and sent to prison, 1,000 units; probability 70% (FBI *Uniform Crime Reports*, 1979). (Add a cost of 300 units for mandatory year in prison under Virginia gun law.) Ergo, my basic minimax strategy (that is, a strategy that minimizes or eliminates the chances of my suffering the maximum loss, execution): make absolutely certain that I am not the actual triggerman for Mr. X, for under Title 18.2-31(d) of the Virginia code (1980 supplement--must update this) I'm liable to execution if I kill Mr. X while robbing him. Modified strategy: enlist an accomplice as triggerman. New cost (for accomplice): 10 units. This makes me totally invulnerable to electrocution (*Coppola v. Commonwealth* 257 S.E.2d 797; *Harrison v. Commonwealth* 257 S.E.2d 777; *Johnson v. Commonwealth* 253 S.E.2d 525 1979). (Must update this too.) Here, then, is my tentative balance sheet: total costs multiplied by their probabilities give a total risk of 1420 units; total benefits multiplied by their probabilities give a total gain of 1620 units. Gain minus risk, then, is 1620 - 1420 = 200, and therefore, as a 'rational potential murderer,' I must get about the job as soon as possible for an expected gain of 200 units. One unit, to me, is worth at least thirty hamburgers. At \$1.35 for a 'Whopper,' I stand to gain the equivalent of \$8,100."

Clearly, our "rational potential murderer" is far more advanced than Raskolnikov. He is also much more into hamburgers.

A few tax chiselers may be this calculating, and tax chiselers can be deterred. So can people who may be

The legislators involved in such deliberations may repeat the timeless platitudes about deterrence, but they typically assess the deterrent value of their actions about as carefully as potential rape-murderers read codes of criminal procedure.

tempted to violate parking regulations. Professional killers, for that matter, may be this calculating and might even be deterrable if our threat to catch and execute them had credibility. But the prospect of deterring next year's crop of rape-murderers or cop killers or mass killers by threatening them with, say, a lethal injection may be about as strong as the prospect of deterring pit bulldogs from attacking by threatening to take away their doggie bon-bons. It will be appropriate, later, to review the evidence on this issue.

Rational Choice Standards

In the meantime, we shall formulate the issue in another way. If potential killers are deterrable, *i.e.*, if they play the deterrence game rationally, then is it not appropriate to assume that state legislatures, when they enter into deterrence games with potential capital offenders, would themselves play according to a comparable set of rational-choice standards? On the contrary, one could argue that state legislatures, easily carried away by emotion, do not play the capital-punishment-and-deterrence game any more rationally than their adversaries. And if state legislatures--not to mention courts of law--do not play deterrence games rationally, then it is highly unrealistic to expect potential murderers to do so. To change focus a little, if the United States used nuclear weapons capriciously, its prospects of deterring the Soviets from this or that form of undesired action would probably diminish substantially despite President Nixon's conviction that "unpredictability," in the uses of power had materially augmented his. And yet, capriciousness and

unpredictability are the essence of America's use of capital punishment; in recent years, for instance, a major determinant of whether a person is executed is the degree to which the person is suicidal.

Take as another instance the typical way in which state legislatures decide whether or not to abolish capital punishment, or to reintroduce it after a period of abolition. Such decisions have been made several times during this century and earlier, and the decisionmaking pattern is almost always the same. Consider Missouri. In 1917, the Missouri legislature abolished capital punishment. Shortly thereafter a man was convicted of killing a sheriff and his son during a jailbreak, and was sentenced to life in prison. In early June, 1919, a mob broke into the jail and lynched him. A month later, at a special session, an enraged state legislature reenacted capital punishment despite the fact that the governor had provided strong evidence that abolition had not increased the homicide rate. Similar decision making processes have occurred in Delaware, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Maine, and Colorado; in a few instances, an emotion-dominated decision went *against* capital punishment.

The legislators involved in such deliberations may repeat the timeless platitudes about deterrence, but they typically assess the deterrent value (or lack thereof) of their actions about as carefully as potential rape-murderers read codes of criminal procedure. The Virginia legislature, for instance, recently added to its list of capital offenses a new category involving multiple murders: if one kills ". . . more than one person as a part of the same act or transaction," one is subject to execution. Debate on this issue may have been highly edifying, but it is a virtual certainty that the legislature paid little if any attention to the nature and distribution of multiple murder in Virginia or other states in recent years, or to the prospects of suppressing multiple murder by means of threatened or actual executions. In the absence of such inquiries, one can only conclude that the legislature decided the matter on an emotional basis, perhaps with an eye toward retribution.

Irrational Belief and Behavior

Although irrational belief and behavior are popularly thought to have many dimensions, convolutions, and subtleties, the irreducible essence of irrationality is relatively simple: irrationality consists either in being wrong about consequences or in being indifferent toward consequences. If one is irrational, for instance, in the classic sense of failing to use syllogisms properly, what this means is that one is wrong about the consequences of a set of premises. The Virginia penal code illustrates one of the ways in which legislatures (and courts) act irrationally by being wrong about consequences. Under the current Virginia code (Title 19.2, Sec. 264.4), there are two ways in which a jury is allowed to justify the imposition of a death sentence: first, the jury must find that the defendant's conduct was ". . . outrageously or wantonly vile, horrible or inhuman . . ."; or, second, that the defendant, if not executed, ". . . would commit criminal acts of violence that would constitute a continuing serious threat to society . . ." Leaving aside the problem of defining words like vile, horrible, and inhuman, we are faced with the unavoidable necessity, under the second standard, of predicting how a killer would behave in the future if we were not to execute him. It is here that we encounter profound difficulties.

A case recently decided by the U.S. Supreme Court, *Estelle v. Smith*, addressed precisely this issue. Originating in Texas, the case involved a psychiatrist, Dr. James Grigson, who had testified in numerous cases involving the possible imposition of the death sentence. Under a Texas law similar to Virginia's, prosecutors must prove that the defendant, if not executed, would constitute a continuing threat to society. In the case of defendant Ernest B. Smith, Grigson made such a determination after a ninety minute examination the purpose of which Smith did not know. The American Psychiatric Association, challenging Dr. Grigson, has said in effect that Grigson's procedures are inescapably irrational, that neither Grigson nor anybody else can accurately predict the consequences of sparing Smith's life; Grigson, in other words, is probably wrong

about consequences. In May, 1981, the Supreme Court ruled that defendants may refuse to submit to psychiatric examinations and that, in deciding the matter, they may consult a lawyer.

Thorsten Sellin, in his recent book *The Penalty of Death*, argues compellingly that murder tends to be a one-time offense, that ". . . in general capital murderers rarely commit a homicide while on parole." (Most murderers, of course, are not capital murderers.) The 1979 edition of the *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics* provides additional evidence on this issue: among persons convicted of criminal homicide and paroled during 1974 through 1976, the number committing new acts of willful homicide by the end of 1976 was seven-tenths of one per cent. Ninety-six percent of such parolees had committed no new offense of any kind. By comparison, among persons convicted of armed robbery, new acts of armed robbery had been committed by 5.5 per cent. Furthermore, parolees convicted of armed robbery were nearly as likely as those convicted of homicide to commit acts of *homicide* while on parole. Future acts of homicide, then, are very rare and hard to predict regardless of whether one has already been convicted of this offense.

The Deterrence Philosophy

The deterrence philosophy, of course, aspires not merely toward preventing future offenses by those already convicted; in addition, it attempts to discourage future criminal acts by potential offenders, whoever they may be. Even Mark Chasteen, whose wife and children were viciously murdered by Steven T. Judy and whose desire for retribution became a compelling passion during the weeks preceding Judy's execution (1981), supplemented his references to Old Testament standards of vengeance by citing the deterrence doctrine. (Judy, as is usually the case with convicted killers, demurred.) The Judy execution and the other three executions of recent years provide an excellent opportunity for testing whether wide mass-media reportage of relatively isolated instances of extreme punishment adds to deterrent impact. If it does not, then the typical execution, the routine execution, the execution that attracts little atten-

tion, does not hold forth much promise of acting as a deterrent.

Gary Gilmore

Take, for instance, the execution of Gary Gilmore in Utah, January 17, 1977. This execution was the first in the United States since 1967; it received unprecedented attention in the media. Since the Gilmore execution occurred early in 1977, and since potential killers in Utah were likely to be aware of his execution, the 1977 (and later) homicide data for Utah should provide a singular opportunity to test the deterrence doctrine. Since most homicides are instances of aggravated assault carried to their logical conclusion, we should also give attention to Utah's aggravated assault rate for the same period.

The necessary data are found in the FBI *Uniform Crime Reports*, in which yearly crime rates are available through 1979. As is true of virtually all studies of the deterrent impact of executions, this brief inquiry into violent crime in Utah gives little cause for supposing that even a widely publicized resumption of capital punishment will have any appreciable effect. The Utah murder rate was higher in 1979 (4.8 per 100,000 population) than at any other time during the 'seventies. And the aggravated assault data tell much the same story: in 1979, 194 persons per 100,000 reported serious attempts on their lives, as compared with 126 per 100,000 for 1976.

The Utah findings, nevertheless, are inconclusive. They are inconclusive for the same reasons that virtually all deterrence studies are inconclusive. First, we do not have an adequate measure of the capital murder rate, *i.e.*, the rate of those forms of murder that, under the law, are potentially subject to capital punishment. And given the variations among states in the definition of capital murder, it will probably remain nearly impossible to obtain such a measure. Most research, therefore, uses the "murder and nonnegligent manslaughter" data supplied by the FBI, but these data consist mainly of non-capital offenses. Typically, researchers merely assume that capital murders are a constant percentage of all murders, but this assumption is almost certainly wrong. Furthermore, there are capital offenses that do not involve homicide, especially in historical statistics. Among 3,863 persons

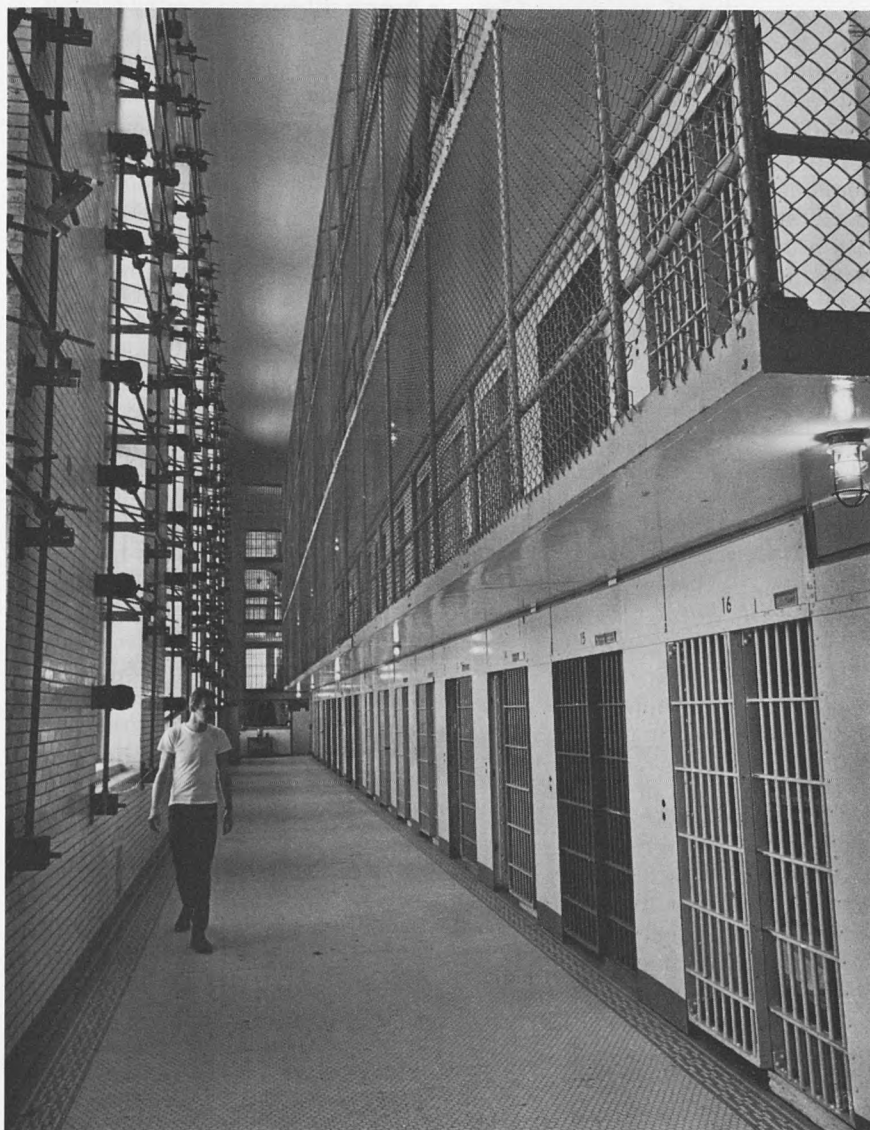
executed under civil authority since 1930, 525 were executed for rape and other offenses not involving murder. (Researchers usually ignore unofficial executions, *i.e.*, lynchings.) Finally, if one uses homicide data supplied by vital statistics agencies, one has the usual problem of being unable to isolate instances of capital homicide; in addition, vital statistics agencies include in their rates justifiable homicide, executions, and allegedly some instances of manslaughter through negligence.

Homicide Data

Another problem is that murders occur that the police do not discover; this distorts the homicide data. Even for the serious crime of aggravated assault (as opposed to

simple assault), the police fail to discover about two-thirds of all offenses as reported in victimization surveys. If we make the reasonable assumption that the best way to reduce the murder rate is to get people to take fewer shots at one another, make fewer knife attacks, and wield fewer clubs and fists against one another, we are immediately assailed by the inescapable fact that we do not have adequate data on aggravated assault, except for the limited information gathered in recent years by victimization surveys.

The Utah data illustrate further difficulties. First, we have established no control over extraneous factors that influence the murder rate independently of capital punishment. Violence in Utah (as elsewhere) may be more strongly



Mark von Wehrden

The cells on death row in American prisons continue to fill at an alarming rate. But the author predicts that, as the Constitutional dust settles, executions will become more common. Approximately 750 persons were on death row by March of 1981.

influenced by things like access to firearms, "traditions" of violence, or general social and economic conditions than by the execution rate. We cannot adequately assess the effects of executions until these extraneous factors are held constant. Furthermore, violence rates in a given locality are largely a matter of "momentum" in the sense that the major determinant of this year's murder rate may be last year's murder rate. If this is true, then instead of examining the murder rate per se we should perhaps examine changes in the murder rate from one year to the next, as a few studies have done. Finally, even if we had evidence that a deterrence program tended to suppress a given type of violent crime, it would help clinch the argument if we could actually identify large numbers of potential offenders and show that (1) they were aware of the deterrence program and (2) had actually had their behavior modified by it. (It has been pointed out, however, that deterrence may sometimes operate subconsciously.)

Over the years, many research scholars have tried to avoid the methodological pitfalls discussed above. A classic series of studies by Thorsten Sellin attempted to control for extraneous influences on the homicide rate by comparing contiguous clusters of states that differ as to whether their laws permit capital punishment. Sellin has never found evidence of deterrence; his work has been replicated many times with similar results. A more recent study, by economist Isaac Ehrlich, resulted in one of the most controversial papers ever published by a social scientist. Focusing on actual execution rates rather than the mere presence or absence of capital punishment laws, Ehrlich presents a methodologically sophisticated argument that, between 1935 and 1969, capital punishment did indeed have a deterrent impact on homicide. What was especially innovative about Ehrlich's research, aside from its use of actual execution rates, was its attempt to state the deterrence hypothesis within the elegant framework of econometric theory, to test the hypothesis over a relatively long period of time, and to control for extraneous influences such as population age composition and general economic conditions. Ehrlich's study was widely reported in the mass media and was even cited by the solicitor general of the United

States in arguments supporting capital punishment before the Supreme Court. Over the last five years a substantial amount of research has been stimulated by Ehrlich's sensational findings.

Detractors of Ehrlich

As one might expect, Ehrlich is not without his detractors. David Baldus and James Cole, among others, have faulted him primarily for (1) using the entire nation, rather than individual states, as the focus of his study; (2) failing to identify all the factors, other than capital punishment, that may influence homicide rates; and (3) failing to justify several critical methodological decisions. Several scholars have attempted to repeat Ehrlich's work, with results that consistently dispute the deterrence hypothesis. William Bowers and Glenn Pierce, for instance, gathered together data on precisely the variables used by Ehrlich, but based on their own sources. Their major conclusion was that Ehrlich's finding of a significant deterrent impact was due entirely to the inclusion in his analysis of data from the 'sixties, a period when execution rates were approaching zero while homicides--not necessarily capital homicides--were increasing. When the years following 1964 were eliminated from the analysis, deterrence was no longer in evidence. Finally, economist Lawrence Klein and collaborators, working under the auspices of the National Academy of Sciences, had the good fortune to receive from Ehrlich his original data. After reproducing Ehrlich's results within rounding error, Klein *et al.* demonstrated that by introducing into the analysis additional factors thought to influence murder rates--such as the general level of all forms of violent crimes (e.g., aggravated assault), gun ownership, or length of prison sentences for murder--the apparent deterrent effect of capital punishment vanishes. As Klein *et al.* say, "the computer that printed out a significant . . . coefficient for Ehrlich's execution variable might not have done so had it known that terms of incarceration for murders became more lenient during the 1960's." Computers, alas, don't know much about penology.

Deterrence Hypothesis

In addition to the several studies attempting to repeat Ehrlich's research, many recent inquiries have

used procedures similar to those of Ehrlich in their scope and sophistication. Almost without exception, these inquiries have failed to produce evidence of deterrence. In 1975, William Bailey published a study that took the unusual but highly appropriate step of testing the deterrence hypothesis for first and second degree murder separately; no deterrent impact was discerned among states allowing capital punishment. In the same year, Peter Passell completed a powerful analysis of comparative state data (1950 and 1960) on homicides and executions, again with no evidence of deterrence. Brian Forst has presented a study similar to Passell's, but for different years; again, no evidence of deterrence. More recently, Bailey provided evidence that increasing the "celerity" of capital punishment--the speed with which executions are carried out--is not likely to produce deterrent effects. Kilman Shin, in a little known but excellent volume, has undertaken numerous tests of the deterrence hypothesis (some involving cross-national data), all with negative results. Gary Kleck has published a brilliant study suggesting that, in the United States, gun ownership has a large impact on homicide rates while executions have no significant impact. Finally, a recent paper by Bowers and Pierce uses monthly homicide and execution rates (1907-63) for the state of New York and finds that, rather than acting as a deterrent, executions may actually stimulate homicide. The idea that executions may stimulate homicide is called the counter-deterrence or "brutalization" hypothesis. (Another recent article, by David Phillips, provides support for the Bowers-Pierce brutalization theme, although Phillips' results were inconsistent on the question of deterrence.)

The conclusion appears inescapable: the deterrence hypothesis has not withstood the test of social research. No honest, competent social scientist could, would, or should appear before any legislative committee or court of law and hold forth promise of reducing this nation's appalling murder rate--about 21,000 slayings in 1979--by the simple policy of stepping up the frequency of executions. If we persist in this policy, as we apparently intend to do, we are probably setting ourselves up for a frustrating national failure.

The War Work Program

An Alumnus Details the Story of One of the Great SNAFU's in William and Mary's History

By Fred L. Frechette '46

Once upon a time ERA signified 'earned run average' and EPA was nothing more than 'ape' spelled backward. It was a period when our language was not so saturated with acronyms that their significance was diluted, an age in which acronyms were not thrust upon us but grew naturally. Thus, when World War II spawned SNAFU, it became universal, an expression remembered with something akin to fondness.

SNAFU, of course, is the acronym for 'situation normal, all fouled up'. (Some people substitute an earthier Anglo-Saxon term.)

One of SNAFU's great appeals was that, though born of military and naval necessity, it adapted readily to civilian needs, from bureaucratic bungles to errant educational efforts. It was particularly well-suited to a forgettable William and Mary experience . . . forgettable, that is, except to those who were part of the situation that was fouled up.

Fred Frechette '46 was one of the 12 Massachusetts boys recruited for the War Work Program by Dr. Albert DeLisle. With his wife Caroline (Geddy) '50, he once again resides in Williamsburg after a career which included 10 years in journalism or allied fields and 20 years as an independent writer-director-producer of industrial motion pictures. His credits include more than 150 films and his free-lance articles have appeared in several national publications.

If hardly anyone else recalls the short-lived War Work Program of 1942 and if College records on the subject are scanty and inaccurate, it is understandable. The War Work Program was not among William and Mary's most illustrious moments.

On its face the War Work Program seemed noble and altruistic, for it offered penniless young men an opportunity to work their way through college. Good intentions undoubtedly played a part, but so did pure expediency, a desperate effort to flesh out depleted male enrollment. Hastily staged and inadequately planned, it began in July and blundered its way to oblivion in December.

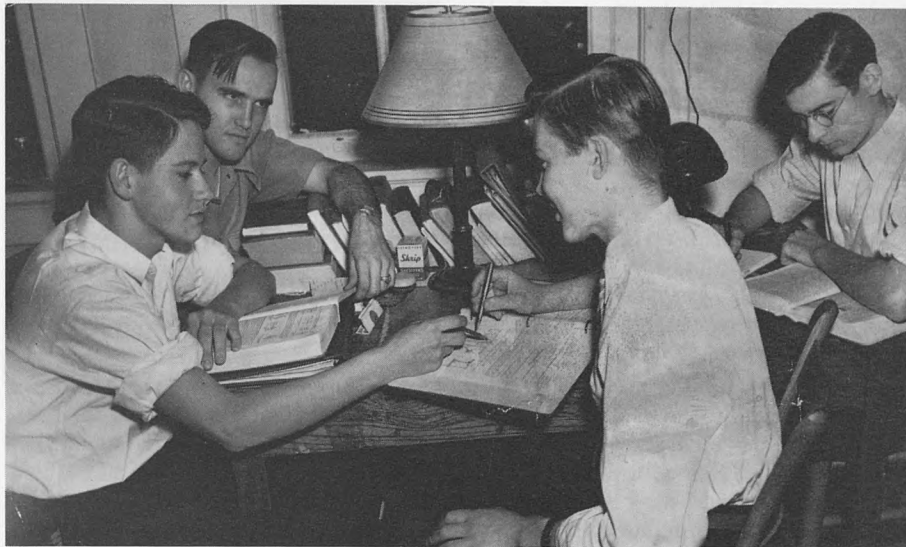
The War Work Program might have become William and Mary's most ignominious failure since 1693 except for a stroke of luck which bailed out the College and retrieved some of the War Work boys from its wreckage. Almost overnight the War Work Program became Work Study. War Work was swept under the rug so abruptly and with such finality that one suspects the College wished it had never happened. But perhaps 150 alumni, men now in their 50's, vividly remember that William and Mary SNAFU. They were the War Workers.

Ex-War Workers share a number of distinctions. They constituted the largest group of non-athletes ever recruited by the College. They were the direct cause of a change in the

employment requirements of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. They were sent by William and Mary to jobs which required them to work literally ankle-deep in TNT surrounded by thousands of tons of high explosives. And they became, unwittingly, charter members of the very successful Work Study Program.

In the spring of 1942 the war had eroded male enrollment and dried up the flow of applications from men for the fall term. President John Stewart Bryan, then in the final months of his tenure, solicited suggestions on ways to avoid empty dormitories. Dr. Sharvy Umbeck, professor of sociology and tennis coach (later president of Knox College), proposed a solution. Rapidly-expanding defense installations in the area were desperate for help. His idea, based upon a program at the University of Chicago, was to seek young men willing to work their way through college, place them in jobs and enroll them as part-time students. From their earnings they would pay weekly installments on their room, board and tuition.

The prospect of helping deserving young men obtain an education and contributing to the war effort while filling a College need was so attractive that Bryan bought it. But Umbeck, committed to a summer job in Chicago, was not available to implement it. The project landed in the lap of Economics Professor Hibbert D. Corey.



War Workers in Tyler Hall, fall of 1942. From left, Frank Kerns '50, Floyd Shelton '51, Harmon Hoffman '49, and Robert Bradford. The latter was drafted before he could complete his first semester so his name does not appear in College records. He became one of six War Workers known to have lost their lives in World War II. The others were Bill Grymes '46, Earl Hart '46, Bob Johnston '46, Clarence Tully '46, and a youth remembered only as Lafferty. (Photo by Linwood Aron '48, also a War Worker.)

Some people familiar with the War Work Program blamed Corey for the mess which ensued, but he may have been as much a victim of circumstances as were the War Work boys. Years later, in conversations with the writer, he insisted bitterly that he had neither solicited nor welcomed the assignment. He recalled he was about sixth choice, that the first five nominees had managed to produce excuses to avoid the task. He could not. "And by the time Mr. Bryan got down to me it was almost the end of May. I was told to line up jobs and find boys in time to start the program July 1st. I had no idea how little preparation had been done."

Under the circumstances, Corey probably performed as well as anyone could have. He lined up jobs easily enough, for the Naval Mine Depot (now Naval Weapons Station) at Yorktown promised to hire every young man Corey sent there. Finding qualified young men to enroll in the program in the four or five weeks remaining to him was a more difficult proposition. Although he sent announcements to newspapers, wire services and radio stations, Corey realized that personal solicitation was necessary. He would have to recruit the boys.

Corey turned to an expert for help. R. N. "Rube" McCray, chief recruiter for Football Coach Carl Voyles (and later Voyles' successor), organized

and mounted a recruiting drive. As a result, faculty and staff members went on the road following final exams in early June. Among those who enlisted at least one War Worker were: Donald Davis, biology; Ramon Douse, music; Wayne Gibbs, accounting; Harold Phelan, mathematics; Tom Thorne, fine arts; Pop Werner, football assistant, and Ben Reid of the Norfolk Division.

The most productive recruiter was Dr. Albert DeLisle, an assistant professor of biology. He signed up boys in Danville, Va., Frederick, Md., and Johnson City, Tenn., then produced a 12-man contingent from his native South Hadley Falls and neighboring Massachusetts cities.

Recruiters worked through high school principals and teachers to identify recent graduates with the qualifications and desire, but not the funds, to attend college. A visit to the boys and their parents followed. If the prospect was of or nearing draft age, he was told he could enlist in an Army or Navy reserve program at William and Mary, thus opening the possibility of a commission. Combined with the promise of earning his way through college, it was an attractive and challenging offer, because the recruiters painted a rosy, optimistic picture of the War Work Program. It was not their fault. They did not know that planning for the program was virtually non-

existent, that no one had anticipated the problems which would arise.

Corey ran into them almost immediately. For example, he discovered that many of the boys being enrolled, particularly those from rural Virginia with its 11-year school programs, were 17, some only 16. But minimum age for Civil Service employment at the Mine Depot was 18!

Supported by an urgent plea from the Depot's commanding officer, Corey hurried to the Civil Service Commission in Washington. He somehow managed to cut through bureaucratic red tape. The Commission obligingly enacted an emergency rule lowering minimum Civil Service age to 17 for the duration of the war. To find jobs for the soon-to-arrive 16-year-olds, Corey went knocking on doors around Williamsburg.

Corey was still trying to solve problems -- and encountering new ones -- when the boys began to arrive. Near the end of June, 1942, Bill Holland '46 of Surry County crossed the Jamestown Ferry and checked into Tyler Hall. He was the first War Worker.

Most of the boys arrived in the first two weeks of July. To the credit of Hib Corey, Rube McCray and others involved in the recruiting campaign, almost every one of them was met at the train or bus station by a College representative. Harry Tanzer '49 who made the long train trip from Massachusetts July 12th, recalled he arrived with one suitcase and \$5.12 in his pocket. "If I had enough sense to be afraid I would have been crying, but two things helped me. First, I met some of the other boys coming from the South who had even less than I did. Second, a football coach, Swede Umbach, met us at the station, introduced himself, reassured us and conducted us to our dormitories."

The welcome of a Swede Umbach (not to be confused with Sharvy Umbeck) or a Rube McCray, smiling, greeting them by name, helping with luggage and answering at least some of their questions, provided the impression that William and Mary was glad they had come. It was a state of mind which helped the War Workers endure the disillusionments which followed. Housing, for instance. The first arrivals were assigned to rooms in Tyler Hall on the basis of double the designed occupancy. Later arrivals

went into the attic of Old Dominion, the upper floor of the old infirmary, rooms over the Corner Greek's and A&P and other spaces dredged up in the war-crowded town.

No one knows exactly how many young men ultimately checked in as enrollees in the War Work Program. If a roster was ever compiled, it has disappeared. Former War Workers agree the number was well over 200, possibly close to 300. But attrition began immediately. Some boys packed up and left Williamsburg a few days after arriving.

Homesickness and overcrowding might have caused some to leave, but there were other reasons. Not the least of them was the food situation. In theory the War Workers were to be fed by the Dining Hall. In practice they had to use their scanty cash resources to supplement the fare. The College dining establishment, short of both staff and food because of the war, never fed them adequately. The bagged lunches issued to the boys each morning were particularly grim.

A bitter disappointment was discovery they would not start classes until September. Many, if not most, arrived under the impression they would enroll in summer session. Instead they were expected to work full time at College-assigned jobs, pay for room, board and transportation, and make weekly payments toward fall tuition. This became even more galling when they discovered they could have earned far more by staying home and working.

Most were sent to the Naval Mine Depot. After filling out a simple form, fingerprinting and a cursory physical examination (they were supposed to demonstrate their ability to pick up a 60-pound weight and carry it 12 feet but, fortunately for many, this requirement was overlooked), they were issued badges with the lowest of all Civil Service classifications: Second Class Laborer.

Except for a handful assigned to other jobs -- the 16-year-olds, for instance, worked on a pipeline construction project -- the War Workers immediately became intimate with TNT, the Depot's chief stock in trade. It came in 58-pound wooden boxes -- 50 pounds of explosive in an eight-pound container 12 inches wide, 19 inches long and 10 inches high. During most of the hot, humid summer of 1942 they unloaded TNT

from scores of boxcars which glutted the tracks, including several temporary sidings, within the Depot.

TNT boxes were not skid-loaded. There were no fork lifts. Every box was manhandled -- tens of thousands of them -- one at a time. And because the Depot had run out of magazine storage, they were stacked in huge piles on what had been a World War I Naval Air Station.

Many of the hastily-fabricated boxes leaked. Others fell apart in handling or dropped and burst open. As a result, the War Workers moved on a thick carpet of what looked and felt like yellow soap powder. TNT filled their shoes like beach sand. It impregnated their hair, skin and clothing. They became accustomed to it. Too accustomed. In hiding-places they thoughtfully built into the vast stacks of TNT, they thoughtlessly took cigarette breaks!

War Workers were often drafted from the TNT crew to perform more onerous tasks. One hellish job required the use of live steam to remove caked TNT from obsolete depth charges. This took place on a concrete apron at P-2, a small plant at the bottom of an artificial hollow. Working there with a steam hose on a 90° or 100° day was an experience not easily forgotten. (The old TNT was probably unstable, too. Less than a year later P-2 vanished in an unexplained explosion. Of the men working there at the time -- none of them War Workers -- only a single shoe was ever found.)

Without doubt the most unsavory assignment given the War Workers was the handling of an explosive known as Ammonium Picric. After working with the vile stuff for an hour or two the boys turned yellow -- clothing, hair and skin. At first it was amusing to discover it also caused urine to turn bright orange. The jaundiced look and gaudy excretion persisted for several days.

Eventually the War Workers cleaned up the Depot's backlog of TNT boxcars and were transferred to the Mine Assembly Plant. They were not reassured to see that this establishment was surrounded on all sides by a towering artificial hill, not to protect the plant, but to protect the rest of the Depot in case of an explosion.

Hundreds of contact and magnetic mines, each capable of blowing a ship in half, arrived at Mine

Without doubt the most unsavory assignment given the War Workers was the handling of an explosive known as Ammonium Picric.

Assembly fully loaded with TNT. The task of the teenagers from William and Mary was to make them operational by installing and connecting the firing components -- sensing devices, booster charges and detonators. A misconnected wire, short circuit or similar accident would have terminated the War Work Program abruptly.

A perfect example of the Program's inept administration was the astounding statement, made in a report submitted to incoming President John E. Pomfret, that the boys' work at the Depot was "of a non-hazardous nature!"

That incredible SNAFU was emblematic of the way in which the College lost touch with the realities of the War Workers' situation. Although tanned and toughened by their summer of grueling labor, the boys had fallen into desperate financial straits. Their pay as second class laborers was simply too low both to meet living expenses and make the expected tuition payments.

Nevertheless, in September almost 200 surviving War Workers were permitted to register. About half were assigned to work Monday, Wednesday and Friday, the remainder Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. On non-working days they attended classes (there were Saturday classes). Most carried two three-hour courses and a five-hour science. They were granted one hour of physical education credit in recognition of their exertions at the Depot. Thus they could earn 12 semester hours of credit. Normal load was 15 hours.

Being away from campus three days a week, carrying a demanding academic load and possessing little spending money limited the War Workers' participation in normal student activities. Their self-esteem was not enhanced when, grubby and grimy after their 10-hour work day, they were unloaded at College

Corner in full view of hundreds of coeds walking to and from the post-office.

The boys found it difficult to feel entirely a part of the campus scene, so they tended to close ranks. They put up their own candidates for president and vice president of the freshman class and, voting solidly, elected them. It was the bright note of their autumn.

They were caught in an economic squeeze. Working only three days cut their income, already insufficient, in half. Jim Carpenter '49 recalled the weekly pay as \$13.93. Roy F. "Dusty" Ash '48 said it was more like \$13.65 -- \$13 to W&M, 50¢ for the bus and 15¢ for us." The War Workers, particularly out-of-staters facing higher tuition charges, fell farther and farther in debt to the College.

They were also squeezed between the need for study time and the physical demands of their jobs. Because of wartime daylight saving they were soon leaving and returning to campus in the dark. As the weather became colder and wetter, their work became an ordeal. If they were not shivering in the unheated Mine Assembly Plant, they were outdoors performing heavy physical labor like loading or unloading flatcars full of mine anchors. After days like this it was difficult for the boys to stay awake, let alone prepare for tomorrow's classes.

It is no wonder that their morale plummeted, that they lost their motivation. Absenteeism became a serious problem at the Depot and the College dropout rate accelerated. By Thanksgiving the War Work Program had all but disintegrated. But just then, unsought and unlooked for, a rescuer materialized.

Dr. Pomfret had taken office as president September 1st. He put Dr. Umbeck, originator of the War Work idea, in charge of the program as soon as he returned from his summer job in September. It did not take them long to become aware of the chaos they inherited. Dr. Pomfret liked the basic idea, but he realized the employment arrangement with Naval Mine Depot was unsatisfactory. He and Umbeck agreed the only way to save the program would be to find better jobs for the boys. That was not too easy.

As the fall term progressed Umbeck transferred War Workers to more suitable employment whenever he found openings. For example, Dick Duncan '50 and Fred Flanary '50 became shoe salesmen at Casey's. Harmon Hoffman '49 became an usher at the Williamsburg Theatre. Tommy Smith '46 and Johnny Warner '50 became Dining Hall waiters and played trombone and trumpet, respectively, in the College Dance Band.

These were steps in the right direction, but of themselves would have been too little too late except

for a fortuitous conversation in late November between President Pomfret and Vernon M. Geddy, executive vice president of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., during a bridge game. The president casually mentioned the problems he faced with the War Work Program. Geddy surprised him by saying the Restoration could probably hire some of the boys. Within a couple of weeks an arrangement was worked out between William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg. Early in 1943 the Travis House, a restaurant, was opened with a staff of ex-War Workers as waiters. But that's another story.

In December, the boys suddenly discovered that they were enrolled in something called the Work Study Program. War Work had died quietly and mercifully. Provided with new hope and the realization they were not, as they imagined, unwanted orphans, the survivors stuck it out. Most were provided new jobs, but a gritty few stayed at the Depot until the end of their freshman year.

Ex-War Workers -- those, at least, who responded to a recent survey -- exhibit no bitterness at having been victims of the mismanaged program. They take pride in the fact that they were able to survive all the adversity. They also give William and Mary credit for its good intentions. But they understand better than most that the road to SNAFU, like the road to hell, is paved with them.



Author Fred Frechette '46 and Bland Crowder '50 (second from right) hold a wooden box, circa 1942, that is the type used to package TNT at the Naval Mine Depot. It was unearthed for the War Workers '30th Reunion by the Public Information Officer at the Naval Weapons Station. War Workers handled thousands of them. Others in the photo are (left to right) Woody Aron '48, (Frechette), Bill Holland '46, Ed Crowder '51 BCL, Owen Elliott '47, Fred Flanary '50, (Crowder) and Floyd Shelton '51. All are ex-war workers.



Max Robinson spent several days at William and Mary in February talking with students. (Photo by Mark von Wehrden)

A Letter To My Kids

A Famous Newsmen Talks About The Truth and Race Relations in America

By Max Robinson

ABC-TV anchorman Max Robinson gave this address at the annual banquet of the William and Mary Chapter of the Society for Collegiate Journalists in February.

I want very briefly to read a letter to you to my children. And bear with the implications of that. I hope you will listen and consider what I say with the open mind that journalists always have.

Dear Mark, Maureen, Michael and Melik:

This is perhaps the most painful letter that I have ever undertaken to write you. Let me get right to the point. I know you've heard reports concerning a speech I gave at Smith College in Massachusetts. Now let me tell you that the thrust of my remarks, which were made over a

period of three and a half hours, is that in this country, black and white, we must share, or start to share, our perspectives and perceptions of each other and of the world.

None of us has all of the truth, but by sharing, each of us will have a better opportunity for a larger share of that reality which would make us as Americans the even greater nation that we can and, I believe, will be.

To the extent that Black America fails to communicate its hurts, its hopes, its aspirations to white America, we are all losers as Americans. And to the extent that we become invisible, the ignored community to white America, the American dream becomes a mockery to those who thirst for freedom around the world.

Equality of opportunity denied to any group of people in this country, be it racial, religious or otherwise--that denial becomes a threat to those of us who have the opportunity. The sharing of perceptions and perspectives is extremely critical for those of us in the media. No matter whether it happens to be television news, newspapers, magazines, radio, whatever the media, the failure to really know each other, the failure to understand at times the differences in what amounts to two realities in this country--one black and one white, and for that matter, one male and the other female--the failure to incorporate in the journalistic decision-making process the rich diversity of this country--is a fundamental failure to do our jobs as reporters.

I met a man last night, Thomas Schlesinger; he and his gracious wife Katherine were kind enough to have me to their home. Tom Schlesinger used to be a reporter with the *Washington Post* and is a very important presence here in Williamsburg. Mr. Schlesinger at one point during our conversation made the point that there really is no such thing as a melting pot in this country, and I quite agreed with him. In fact, in many ways I've always been concerned about the need to think that there should be. Of course, our American experience cuts across racial and religious lines, as indeed it should. But the diversity is equally important. Perhaps, my children, rather than the melting pot, I am more inclined toward the stew, which leaves the potatoes and carrots close to each other, each sharing flavors, but still intact in their essences.

This morning, a ceremony was held in Norfolk inducting my father--your grandfather--into the CIAA (Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association) Hall of Fame. As you know, my late father had a profound influence on my life; in many ways, he was my only hero. He taught me to have the courage of my convictions, to love and respect people--all people--regardless of race, creed, class or color. He taught me the importance of honesty, integrity, and he never allowed me to forget the history of our people.

You know, my children, I have talked to you a lot about the importance of that history, for it was a great philosopher Santayana who said, in effect, that if we don't remember the mistakes we made yesterday, we are destined to repeat them tomorrow. But it's equally important for your white peers to know about your history. It's deeply disturbed me to find all too often Afro-American studies on campuses across this country almost exclusively attended by black students. For if white students fail to study our history, they will lack an understanding of our perspectives as a people, an understanding which is basic to the good health of this country.

If there are some who are disturbed when I cling to my perspectives, my culture, my history, I would invite you to understand that they do the same with theirs without thinking about it. It is a sign of poor health that my position

would appear to be extraordinary. In fact, I have rather a double challenge, because, in large part, I share in the majority culture in this country, in its history, and in its perspectives and that makes for some difficulty at times. Suffice it to say, that my history, my culture, my perspectives are vital to my survival.

During my stay here at William and Mary as journalist-in-residence, I've had a chance to meet and exchange ideas with some of the students on campus and I must confess that I have been somewhat disturbed by the number of students who feel that the First Amendment rights of reporters should be viewed as privileges rather than rights, and privileges which, on more than a few occasions, might well be denied.

I'm doubly concerned about those attitudes because I think they reflect to a great extent many of the same attitudes in the larger society. Any erosion of First Amendment rights in this country is an erosion of our democratic society as we know it. It's a significant threat to what makes America special.

I've also expressed the feeling that there should be a couple of journalism courses here at William and Mary, and every other liberal arts college in this country, so that there's a better understanding of the reporter's role in this society. But in addition to that, I think it's important for all informed citizens in this country to have a better understanding of what we do as reporters, so that they may read their newspapers and watch television news programs more critically. I've always found that media improve to the extent that the viewing, listening and reading public demand it.

My children, there have been some cynics among us who have questioned my call for change, people who have said that change is not really possible. I believe in the American people, but even if I

didn't, I don't see how I could stop trying. I'm reminded of a story about an old African wise man who spent years sitting in his village attempting to share his wisdom and vision with his people. He would speak out and preach about the need for change, for improvement, but they simply never listened. And one day a youngster in the village walked up to the old man and asked him why, in the face of obvious defeat, did he continue his attempts to teach and preach. The old man looked at his questioner and informed him that some time he had realized that his villagers were incapable of change. But said the old African wise man, I speak out not because I any longer think I can change this, I speak out so that I will always be sure that they will never change me.

America is not that village, but we have much to do to become a greater nation. We can't become strong by simply talking tough. We cannot be great simply because we want to be--by simply saying we are. To a great extent I believe in FDR's statement that all we have to fear is fear itself. To understand that as Americans we need have no fear of each other; that through a deeper understanding of each other, a sharing of perspectives, and perceptions, we can hope that one day racial polarization will be a thing of the past. When we say land of the free and home of the brave, there will be no one smirking in a forgotten corner of America.

But my children, getting to that day does not require you to forget your culture or your history. In fact, it's quite the other way around. Always remember you have been richly blessed by the labor of love of generations of Afro-American people. Your inheritance is the realization of all their dreams. Give thanks to them. They have made you who you are, and I think you are great!

Love, Daddy.

On the Back Cover

The idyllic setting of the Wren Yard was captured in this photograph by Lyle Rosbotham '71, a free-lance photographer from Arlington, Va. The Brafferton is in the background.

