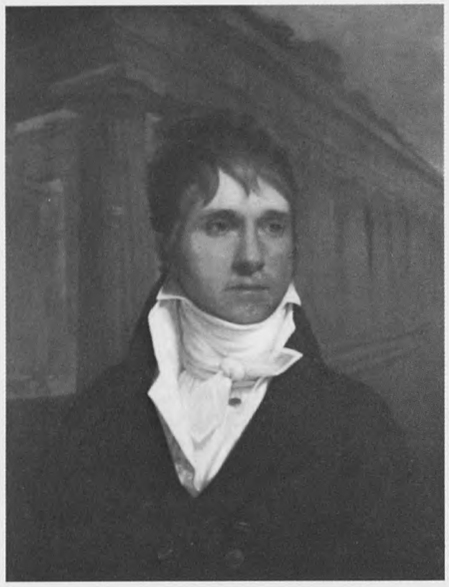
Alumni Gazette

William and Mary

Summer 1982



ON THE COVER

The cover illustration is a portrait (oil on canvas, 30 1/2" x 25 1/8") of William Short painted in 1806 by Rembrandt Peale (American, 1778 - 1860).

Born in Surry County, Virginia in 1759, Short graduated from William and Mary in 1779. While a student at the College, he was, in 1776, one of the founders of Phi Beta Kappa and served as president of that society from December, 1778 to January, 1781. He distinguished himself as a career diplomat, representing the United States in France, the Netherlands, and Spain. *(See article on P. 23)*

In the background of this portrait, Peale has painted the Temple of Ceres at Paestum, Italy, an allusion to Short's great reverence for the Classical Tradition.

The portrait was given to the College in 1938 by Mary Churchill Short, Fanny Short Butler, and William Short. For many years it was on loan to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and in 1976 it was included in "The Eye of Jefferson," the Bicentennial exhibition at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. It hangs today in the south parlor of the President's House.

Photo by Thomas L. Williams

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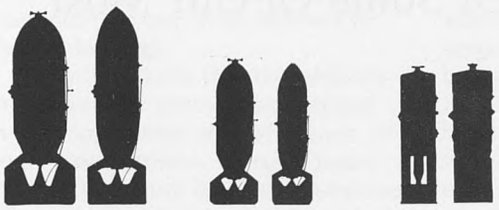

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

Editor: Gordon C. Vliet, '54
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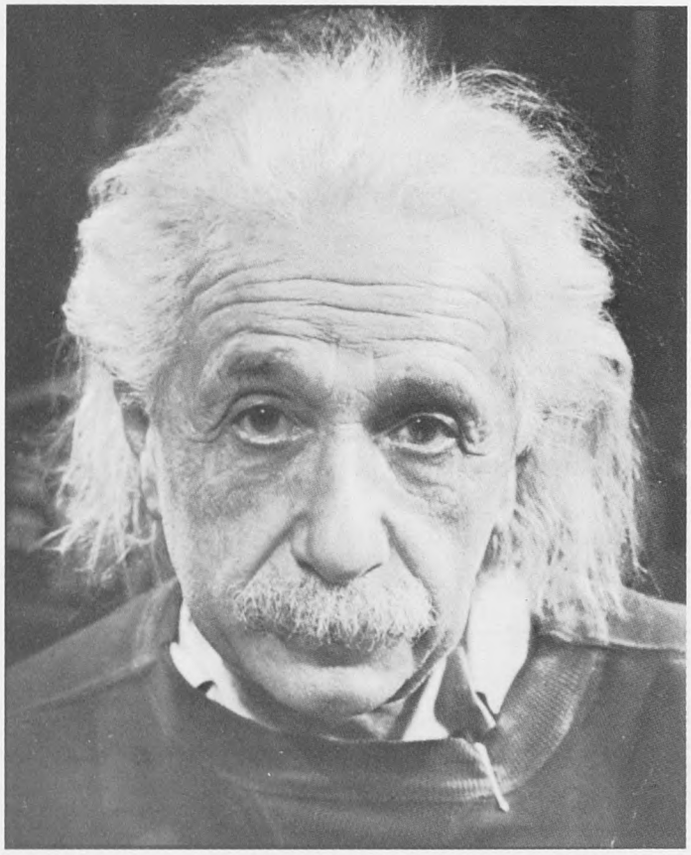
Drifting Toward Catastrophe

The Prevention Of Nuclear Holocaust Will Require Nothing Less Than A Transformation Of Some Of Our Most Cherished Beliefs

By Hans C. von Baeyer



"Einstein's claim that the unleashing of nuclear power has changed everything seems, at first glance, to be an exaggeration. Outside Japan, the bomb has not had many obvious effects on life or thought. But deep down beneath the surface something very basic has changed."

"The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." Albert Einstein's quiet but ominous warning of almost forty years ago comes closer to capturing the essence of our predicament than many of the countless anxious discussions of nuclear armageddon in today's media. The wise old master's words merit thoughtful examination.

To begin with, the terminology needs updating. The power of the atom is unleashed in electric generating plants, where atomic energy is under control, and in atomic bombs, where it is not. The terms "atomic energy" and "atomic bomb" have been replaced in common usage by "nuclear power" and "nuclear weapon" respectively. Technically this is a little more accurate because the power that is unleashed resides in the tiny central nucleus of the atom, rather than in the atom as a whole. Energy stored in the

Hans C. von Baeyer, Professor of Physics and Director of the Virginia Associated Research Campus, has been at William and Mary since 1968. From 1972 to 1978 he served as chairman of the physics department. His specialty is theoretical nuclear and particle physics, but he is also very much interested in communicating science to non-scientists. In 1979 he won the American Institute of Physics-U.S. Steel Science Writing Award for an article about gravity, published in the Alumni Gazette.

outer parts is electrical in nature and sustains the operations of chemistry. Sugar, coal and TNT are sources of atomic energy in the proper sense. Nuclei, on the other hand, are held together by forces that are much stronger than electricity, and consequently harbour much greater energies than those which are released in chemical processes. It is the artificial manipulation of the nucleus of the atom that characterizes our time: We live in the nuclear age.

Einstein's claim that the unleashing of nuclear power has changed everything seems, at first glance, to be an exaggeration. Outside Japan, the bomb has not had many obvious effects on life or thought. But deep down beneath the surface something very basic has changed. Winston Churchill, who chooses his words with care, remarked in 1955: ". . . the first comprehensive review of the hydrogen bomb [shows that] the entire foundation of human affairs was revolutionized, and mankind placed in a situation both measureless and laden with doom." This truth has recently found its most eloquent expression in Jonathan Schell's controversial book "The Fate of the Earth." What nuclear weapons have brought is the possibility, for the first time, of the extinction of the human race. Almost as important as that statement itself are its qualifications. Schell does not claim that nuclear war *will* result in the extinction of humanity. He only points out that this unparalleled catastrophe *may* happen. He insists, and most scientists agree, that our present knowledge is insufficient to rule out the possibility of extinction. A flavor of Schell's argument is conveyed by the single, albeit apocalyptic, sentence: "Bearing in mind that the possible consequences of the detonation of thousands of megatons of nuclear explosives include the blinding of insects, birds and beasts all over the world; the extinction of many ocean species, among them some at the base of the food chain; the temporary or permanent alteration of the climate of the globe, with the outside chance of "dramatic" and "major" alterations in the structure of the atmosphere; the pollution of the whole ecosphere with oxides of nitrogen; the incapacitation in ten minutes of unprotected people who go out into the sunlight; . . . a significant decrease in photosynthesis in plants around the world; the scalding and killing of many crops; the increase in rates of cancer and mutation around the world, but especially in the target zones, and the attendant risk of global epidemics; the possible poisoning of all vertebrates by sharply increased levels of Vitamin D in their skin as a result of increased ultra-violet light; and the outright slaughter on all targeted continents of most human beings and other living things by the initial nuclear radiation, the fireballs, the thermal pulses, the blast waves, the mass fires, and the fallout from explosions; and, considering that these consequences will all interact with one another in unguessable ways and, furthermore, are in all likelihood an incomplete list, which will be added to as our knowledge of the earth increases, one must conclude that a full-scale nuclear holocaust could lead to the extinction of mankind."

The possibility of extinction of the human race changes everything, just as the possibility of death changes everything for a single human being. We live our lives in the firm expectation of death at some vaguely specified future date. When that expectation changes, for example because a disease moves the date closer, or because a cure postpones it, life changes dramatically. If we were granted immortality our world view would change correspondingly. Humanity until recently had unquestioningly assumed its own immortality because there was no reason to believe in the possibility of the elimination of all human life.

Nuclear war changes that conviction and thereby changes a fundamental condition of life. The universal urge for procreation is proof of the concern of humanity for its own future. Through our children, and our grandchildren, and their children, we share in the immortality of the species. Like the trunk of a tree to its roots and to its leaves, we are connected to our ancestors and to our progeny. Extinction would cut us off from the future and render life as hopeless as a tree without leaves. But the realization of the possibility of extinction does not seem to have changed our modes of thinking.

There is a more modest sense in which everything has changed. In the context of Einstein's words, "everything" may refer specifically to war and in that limited arena the change is radical. By their vast power, nuclear weapons change the nature of war. The difference cannot be lightly dismissed with the remark that H-bombs are just like ordinary bombs, only stronger. Quantitative changes, when they are great enough, are perceived as qualitative. Niagara Falls is not well described as being like a kitchen faucet, only more copious. It is really a different kind of phenomenon.

The vastness of the power of nuclear weapons is unimaginable. The usual measures are megatons and megadeaths, meaning millions.

"The world today is at a crossroads. One road leads to utter hopelessness and despair, the other road leads to utter destruction and extinction. God grant us the wisdom to choose the right road."

-- Woody Allen

Since each of the superpowers stocks thousands of megatons, a global conflict would be measured in gigatons and gigadeaths, meaning billions. It is necessary to try to come to terms with such numbers by means of examples and analogies on a human scale. If a train of boxcars were loaded with a megaton of TNT, a spectator watching it pass at full speed would have to wait six hours between engine and caboose. And if the whole 300 mile long train were to blow up all at once, the explosion would be like that of a

single megaton bomb. To go beyond this image is difficult. Many bombs are rated at 20 megatons, but the corresponding train that reaches from Key West to Puget Sound and then back across the continent to Halifax, and blows up in one gigantic blast, is just as unimaginable as the bomb was in the first place.

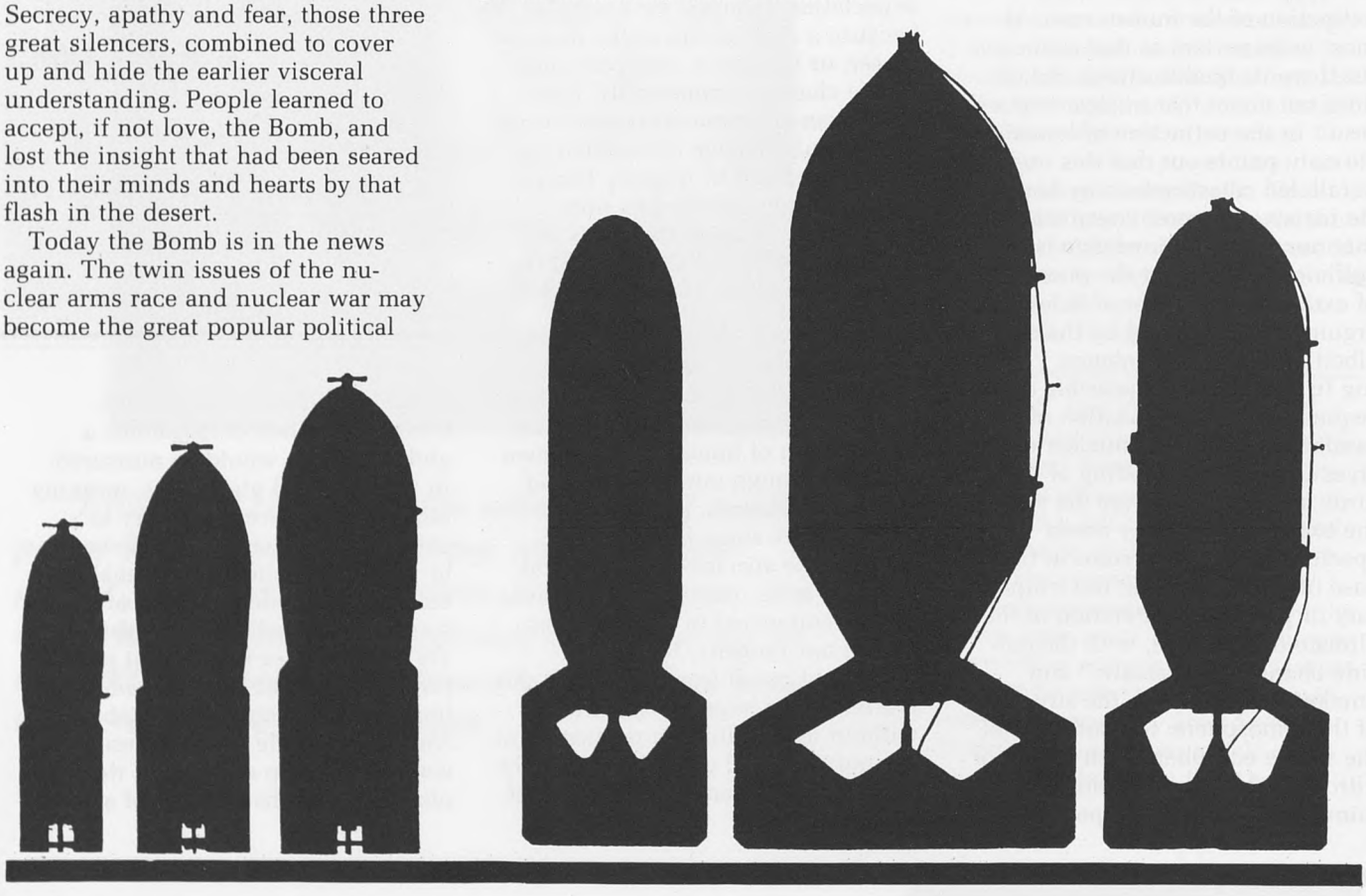
It is the enormity of the change in scale that makes nuclear war different from ordinary war. At the beginning of the Second World War the Polish army tried to stop Hitler's tanks with cavalry. Of course it was annihilated, but the methods of the fifth century were still in some sense compatible with those of the middle of the 20th. This is no longer the case. A WW II anti-aircraft gun, or a Spitfire fighter plane, have no conceivable effect whatever on an intercontinental ballistic missile. Everything about war has changed.

Einstein was not the only one who felt the discontinuous change brought about by the Bomb. Many of the scientists who witnessed the first nuclear explosion at Alamogordo sensed the power they saw unfolding into the sky and intuitively grasped the significance of the event. But then came Hiroshima, Nagasaki, the end of the war, weapons tests, H-bombs, the arms race. Secrecy, apathy and fear, those three great silencers, combined to cover up and hide the earlier visceral understanding. People learned to accept, if not love, the Bomb, and lost the insight that had been seared into their minds and hearts by that flash in the desert.

Today the Bomb is in the news again. The twin issues of the nuclear arms race and nuclear war may become the great popular political cause of the decade. As the debates grow in volume and intensity, the voter is confronted with a bewildering array of questions, each one important enough to merit special attention. A partial list of topics under discussion would include the numbers and strengths of American and Russian warheads; the numbers and types of missiles such as ICBM, ABM, SLBM, MIRV and cruise; the significance of new weapons such as MX and neutron bombs; the accuracy and reliability of missiles; the reliability of computer and communications systems; the effects of nuclear weapons; strategy and deterrence theory; the relations between nuclear and conventional warfare; the defense of Europe; the link between nuclear weapons and nuclear power; proliferation; the likelihood of accidental and deliberate war; weapons treaties such as SALT and the various FREEZE proposals; verification; American and Russian geopolitics; the social cost of the arms race; civil defense; the psychological effect of the arms race; opinion polls on arms and war; expansion of the arms race into space.

The complexity of the issue, combined with the immensity of the numbers and the horror of the potential consequences, make nuclear war a forbidding subject. It is tempting to forget about it and leave it to the analysts, the politicians and the military. The privilege of democratic freedom does not allow such luxury, however. In return for our cherished civil rights, we have the responsibility to become sufficiently informed to make intelligent choices.

Broad dissemination of accurate information about nuclear war is necessary, but it is not enough. Information is an evanescent commodity. Numbers change, attitudes evolve, concepts mature, the focus shifts, issues come and go. It is our responsibility to continue to monitor this kaleidoscopic wealth of information, to process, to sort, to store, to update and to discard it. But what Einstein calls for is nothing less than "changed modes of thinking," a phrase that suggests something different from information. It refers to fundamental patterns of thought that society has adopted long ago, and that individuals are taught in childhood and youth. It transcends the detailed discussion of the multitude of issues, of the unimaginable numbers and of the frightening consequences that make nuclear war so difficult a subject.



Einstein challenges us to think about these things in new ways. He warns that as long as we persist in living in an Einsteinian world with Newtonian attitudes, we are doomed. He invites us to overturn our thinking, so that we can set straight a world turned upside down by the Bomb. Like a good teacher, he refrains from telling us how to proceed, leaving the difficult task of devising new modes of thinking to those who will have to bear their consequences. We must examine our most cherished assumptions in order to avoid drifting into catastrophe.

One fundamental assumption in the arms race is the proposition that more weapons lead to greater security. This may be true for conventional war, but today it must be replaced by its converse: MORE WEAPONS MEAN LESS SECURITY. The reason for this seemingly paradoxial statement is related to the fact that for the first time in history we have progessed well beyond the saturation point in armament. If our security is plotted against the number of weapons in our stockpile, the result is a curve shaped like a mesa. It resembles the Laffer curve which links federal revenue to taxation. Both rise steeply at first, then reach a plateau and finally drop back down to zero. After the first obvious rise, which represents a proportionality between security and the number of weapons, a point is reached where destruction of the other side is assured. Beyond that the curve flattens out into a plateau: The ability to kill the enemy twice or thirty times over does not increase security.

Past the plateau the curve begins to fall. Here a new mode of thinking sets in: More weapons represent a liability rather than an asset because the chances of human error and technical malfunction increase with every new weapon placed in the arsenal. The more missiles there are underground or underwater, the more probable it becomes that a shot is fired by mistake. The more warheads there are stashed in a warehouse, the more difficult it becomes to guard against theft and sabotage. The more tactical nuclear weapons there are in the field, the greater the risk that a commander in the desperate heat or battle will fire one.

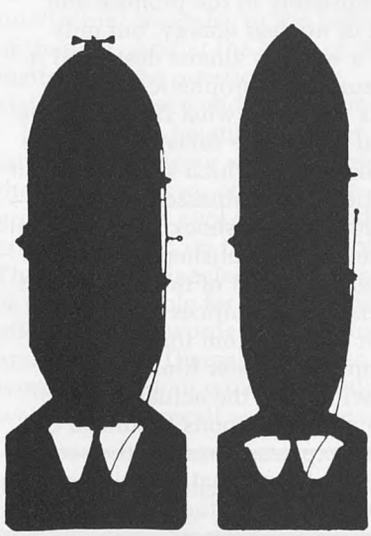
Of course the danger of an accidental attack affects both sides equally. In fact, our safeguards may be more reliable than those of the Russians. But the more weapons we pile up, the more they will build, and the greater will be the danger to both sides.

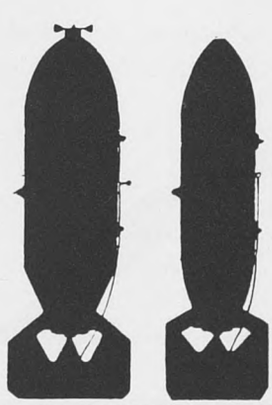
Ultimately the plot of security returns to zero when the stockpile becomes so huge that it requires 100% of the resources of the armed forces for upkeep, leaving nothing for defense. This is an absurd point on the graph, not likely to be reached in reality, but it anchors the curve at its upper end, in the same way that the Laffer curve is fixed at its upper end by the unlikely theoretical combination of 100% taxation and zero national revenue.

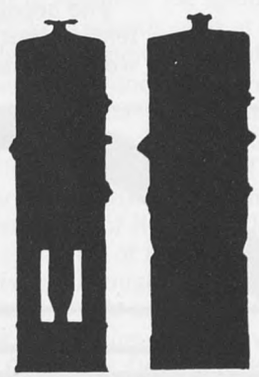
For the last several decades we were drifting along the plateau of the curve. Bombs and missiles were quietly accumulated, while our security remained relatively unchanged. Now we are moving into the region where more weapons begin to threaten the status quo. Both the US and the USSR are today less secure than they were in 1945, in spite of the existence on both sides of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, or perhaps because of it. It is time to consider a strange new mode of thinking: Reduction in arms means an increase in security.

Another fundamental belief is that the military must be prepared to wage war. In the nuclear age it is replaced by a different imperative: THE MILITARY MUST BE PREPARED TO AVOID WAR. Since the beginning of civilization armed forces have existed for the purpose of waging and winning wars. Today the concept of winning no longer makes sense. Since nuclear war is national suicide, it must be avoided at all costs. In the face of the unparalleled catastrophe of a nuclear holocaust, most of our effort, including that of the armed forces, should be applied to keeping the peace.

This new mode of thinking contradicts the ancient and honorable instincts and biases of the military establishment and indeed of our whole society. The prevalent image is of the adversaries as two cowboys, standing on the prairie, armed to the teeth and ready to draw. The slightest lapse in vigilance leads to defeat. Each one must at every moment be prepared to fight. But the image in the nuclear age is slightly different. The cowboys are still facing each other, armed to the teeth, but they are not on the prairie. They are standing in a canoe in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. A sudden move will lead to death by drowning for both. In this circumstance it is obvious that their full attention and energy should be devoted not to fighting, but to its avoidance. To save his own life, one has to persuade the other that they should both sit down, throw their weapons overboard, and prepare for survival.







The traditions and training of our formidable military establishment, and the self-interests of industry and governments, provide powerful inertial forces against the new way of thinking. The difficulty is that one must learn to reason on several levels simultaneously. That the country should be ready and sufficiently armed to repel aggression is self-evident. It is by no means contradictory that at the same time this purpose should be subordinated to the primary objective of preventing war. In the end we get what we prepare for: If we prepare for war, we shall have war. If we prepare for peace, we shall have peace.

A third ingrained assumption that needs to be changed concerns our attitude toward the Soviet Union. We tend to see her as a caged bear, ready to pounce and maul the free world unless we stop her. George Kennan, in "The New York Review of Books" of 21 January 1982, has challenged that view and suggested a new mode of thinking about Russia. Summarized, it might be phrased thus: THE RUSSIANS ARE A GREAT PEOPLE. Kennan takes great pains to point out that he does not have, and never has had, "any sympathy for the ideology of the Soviet leadership," that "there are many important matters on which no collaboration between us is possible," and that "there are a number of Soviet habits and practices that I deeply deplore." Nevertheless, he laments the monotonous distortions, exaggerations, oversimplifications and dehumanizations that dominate our discussions of the Russian leadership. In recent years we have tended to ignore the Russians as people like us, with their own great history, ancient traditions, fierce pride, their own illusions, fears and hopes. We have naively reduced all interactions with them to the military arena, suppressing all other avenues of communcation such as diplomatic, economic, commercial, cultural, scientific, social and even athletic relationships. This simple-minded attitude is wrong on two counts. Directed toward the people of Russia, it prevents us from making contact with those who share many of our beliefs and who aspire, like we do, to peace and justice. Instead of inviting discourse with them, our posture shuts them out. Directed toward the leadership our attitude will have more dire results predicted by Kennan: "If we insist on demonizing these Soviet leaders - on viewing them as total and incorrigible enemies, consumed only with their fear or hatred of us and dedicated to nothing other than our destruction - that, in the end, is the way we shall assuredly have them - if for no other reason than that our view of them allows for nothing else - either for them or for us."

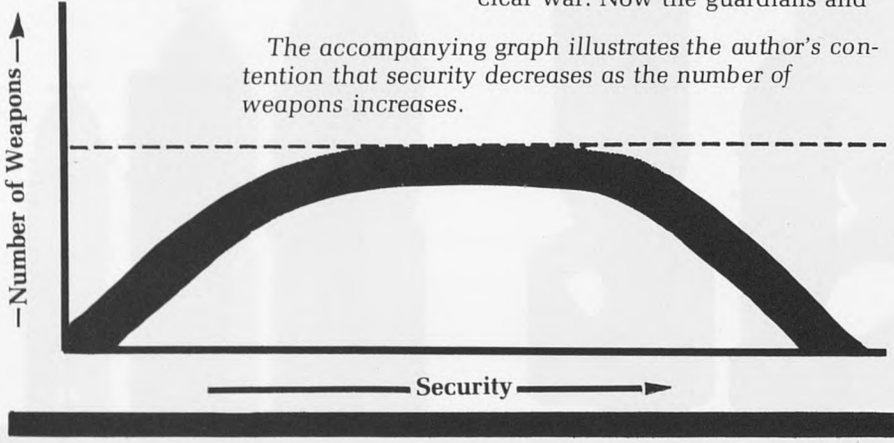
The understanding that more weapons do not necessarily increase our security, the conviction that prevention of war should have a higher priority than preparation for war, the renewed appreciation of the Soviet Union as a great fellow nation - these are examples of radical changes in thought. Many others are needed. It is time to apply this country's genius for innovation to the problem of peace. The technological fix, so successful in many areas of human activity, has failed to bring security to the world. New solutions are needed and will be found if we allow changes in our traditional ways of thinking.

The challenge must be taken up by many people. As purveyors of information, the news media have begun to address the issue of nuclear war. Now the guardians and purveyors of ideas, the universities, must follow suit. Their response is at this moment in its infancy. Courses and curricula on nuclear war, reading lists, film reviews, informal meetings, regional and national conferences, summer seminars and even a professional organization for the promotion of nuclear war education in Colleges and Universities are beginning to be organized around the country. The emphasis of these efforts is still mainly on information, but soon it will progress to a deeper and broader examination, based on solid information, of the modes of thinking that underlie the nuclear predicament.

Part of the motivation for teachers and students who concern themselves with nuclear war is the sheer exhilaration of the subject. The background information may be grimly depressing, but the creation of new ideas about peace is not. There can be nothing more life-affirming and satisfying, nothing more important, nothing more challenging or meaningful, than the preservation of the human race and the protection of future generations. At issue is the shape of the world of tomorrow. It is a joy to be part of a generation that creates it.

A vision of the possibilities of a peaceful world in the nuclear age was described by the novelist H. G. Wells in a utopian novel long before nuclear weapons were invented. In 1914, two decades before nuclear physics began and three before Alamogordo, he wrote "The World Set Free," subtitled "A Story of Mankind." In it the world wakes up from its stupor and responds appropriately to the promise and peril of nuclear energy, but only after a war has almost destroyed it. In hauntingly prophetic words, Wells describes what finally set the world free: "The catastrophe of the atomic bombs which shook men out of cities and businesses and economic relations shook them also out of their old established habits of thought, and out of the lightly held beliefs and prejudices that came down to them from the past."

Many years later Einstein, who had witnessed the actual development of the weapons predicted by Wells, expressed exactly the same idea, but hoped that we will come to our senses *before* the catastrophe.



The accompanying graph illustrates the author's contention that security decreases as the number of weapons increases.

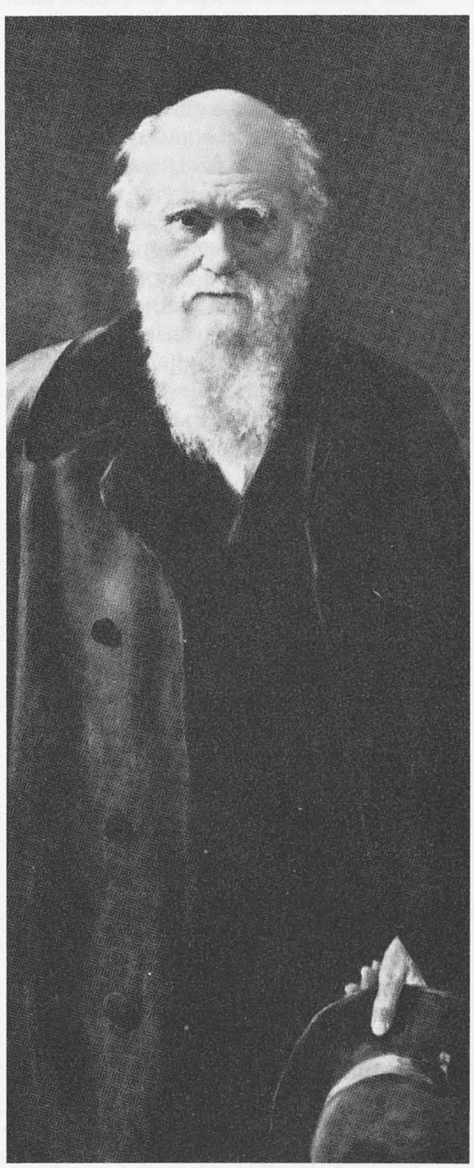
DARWIN DARWINISM AND RELIGION

On The Centenary Of Charles Darwin's Death, His Theories On Evolution Still Stir Controversy

By James C. Livingston

One hundred years ago, April 28, 1882, Charles Darwin was laid to rest in the nave of Westminster Abbey, close by the tomb of Isaac Newton. Darwin's funeral was attended by the truly eminent of the great Victorians. They came to pay homage to a man who already was being compared to Kepler, Copernicus, and Newton. As the coffin was placed in the grave, the magnificent words of Handel rang through the Abbey: "His body is buried in peace, but his name liveth evermore." Darwin's name has, indeed, lived on. In fact, before his death Darwin had been for two decades the symbol of one of the great intellectual struggles in the history of thought. And at the heart of the matter was the question of the claims of science and of religion.

It was at the height of the Darwinian controversy with religion in the 1860s that two of England's greatest orators spoke before audiences at Oxford on the subject of *The Origin of Species*. Both speeches are memorable for their rhetorical effect. But the words of T.H. Huxley and Benjamin Disraeli were also words of wisdom which it would be well for us to recall as, once again, we find ourselves engaged—in the current Creationist and the Sociobiology debates—by the implications of Darwin's revolutionary ideas.



John Collier's famous portrait of Darwin in old age now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery.

On the 29th of June, 1860, the British Association for the Advancement of Science met in the New University Museum in Oxford. Darwinism was the subject of the day and scientists and the general public—alike intrigued and yet bewildered—learned that Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, nicknamed "Soapy Sam" because of his facility in debate, was scheduled to speak. He had vowed to "smash" Darwin and Darwinism once and for all. T. H. Huxley—who came to be known as "Darwin's bulldog"—had been

Dr. Livingston joined the College in 1968 as Chairman of the Department of Religion. He spent the 1972-73 academic year at Cambridge in England as a Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. He assumed the position of Dean of the Undergraduate Program in 1973. In the summer of 1978, he returned to full-time teaching in the Department of Religion. Dr. Livingston is author of two books, "Modern Christian Thought" and "The Ethics of Belief." His manuscript for a book on Matthew Arnold won the $20,000 Bross Decennial Prize.

coaxed into attending the meeting; it wasn't long, however, before he recognized that the Bishop, despite his ease and grandiloquence, was not up to debating the finer points of Darwin's theories. Warmed by his own words, Wilberforce paused before his final peroration, turned to Huxley, and said, "I should like to ask Professor Huxley, who is sitting beside me and is about to tear me to pieces when I sit down, as to his belief in being descended from an ape. Is it his grandfather's or his grandmother's side that the ape ancestry comes in?" Huxley immediately perceived the unsoundness of Wilberforce's use of such an appeal to Victorian sentiment. He turned to his neighbor and whispered, "The Lord hath delivered him into my hands." He then rose to address the assembly. "I am here," he began, "only in the interests of Science--and I have heard nothing which can prejudice the case of (Darwin)." After explaining Darwin's meaning on a number of points, Huxley came to the matter of personal descent. He assured his listeners "that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for a grandfather." Rather, "if there were an ancestor whom I should feel shame in recalling it would rather be a *man*, endowed with great ability and a splendid position, who should use these gifts to . . ." There was a thunder of applause and Huxley's exact concluding words were later variously recalled. Clear to all, however, was Huxley's meaning: he was not ashamed to have a monkey as an ancestor but would be ashamed to be related to a man like Wilberforce who used his great talents in an effort to obscure the truth.

"The debate over Darwinism heated up and spread through Britain and beyond, but Darwin remained aloof, living in virtual seclusion for the last forty years of his life. . . ."

The second speech was given by Benjamin Disraeli at the Sheldonian Theater, Oxford, on November 25, 1864. Disraeli was troubled by what he perceived as a fresh danger--the claims of a new-fashioned scientism. "The discoveries of science are not, we are told, consistent with the teaching of the Church," Disraeli began. Yet, he continued,

> I am told that the function of science is the interpretation of nature, and the interpretation of the highest nature is the highest science. What is the highest nature? Man is the highest nature. But I must say that when I compare the interpretation of the highest nature by the most advanced, the most fashionable and modish, school of modern science with some other teachings with which we are familiar, I am not prepared to say that the lecture-room is more scientific than the Church.
>
> What is the question now placed before society with a glib assurance the most astounding? The question is this--Is man an ape or an angel? My Lord, I am on the side of the angels.

Great pleasure was taken in Disraeli's sportive wit--as he intended. But Disraeli was also deeply in earnest. The future Prime Minister was not attacking science, nor was he attempting, as were so many of his contemporaries, a curious reconciliation of science and religion by distorting both. No, Disraeli was concerned to warn the new and coltish science against intellectual pretension--against scientism. Though man be an animal, as he surely is, man is nonetheless something more, a self-transcendent being of unsurpassed and unpredictable imaginative and spiritual vision.

The debates over Darwinism heated up and spread through Britain and beyond, but Darwin remained aloof, living in virtual seclusion for the last forty years of his life at Down House in Kent. Reporting at the time of his death, the *Times* of London remarked that "the storm which hurled around *The Origin of Species* at its first appearance has subsided. . . . The story of scenes as those which took place at the celebrated meeting of the British Association in 1860 . . . reads at the present day like a scene from ancient history." The *Times* was, of course, quite wrong. Darwin lives on as a disturbing presence, and he remains the subject of contention in these last years of the 20th century.

While evolution in some form is accepted by the educated public as the foundation of modern biological theory, the meaning and truth of Darwin's theories, e.g., natural selection, remain in considerable dispute not only among philosophers, moralists, and religionists but also among scientific evolutionists. The paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould, for example, has proposed a theory of "punctuated equilibria" as an alternative to Darwin's mechanism of natural selection--one which suggests that evolution proceeds by fits and starts. Richard Lewontin, a colleague of Gould's at Harvard, rejects the idea that humans are the product of an evolutionary past, the result of natural selection. On the other hand, the biologist Edward O. Wilson, author of *Sociobiology* and *On Human Nature*, has applied Neo-Darwinian theory to the study of human social and cultural behaviour. Sociobiology is suggestive enough to compel serious attention; nevertheless, the enterprise has been severely criticized by biologists, social scientists, and philosophers alike.

While not comparable intellectually to the challenges of a Gould or Lewontin, "Scientific Creationism" represents today the most serious social and educational challenge to Darwinian theory, in fact to evolution and scientific inquiry itself. And it has, once again, focused attention on the still-uncertain relationship between science and religion. In the past several years attempts have been made to introduce the teaching of "Scientific Creationism" in the public schools as an alternative to the teaching of evolution. A bill requiring such a "balanced treatment" in science classes was passed by the Arkansas legislature and signed into law. It was to have taken effect during this year of the Darwin centenary.

As defined by the Arkansas Act 590, "Creation Science" includes scientific evidences and related inferences that propose to show:

1. The special creation of the universe and life from nothing;
2. the insufficiency of mutation and natural selection in bringing about the development of all living kinds from a single organism;
3. the fixity of originally created kinds of plants and animals;
4. the separate ancestry for man and apes;
5. the explanation of the earth's geology by catastrophism, including evidence of the occurrence of a worldwide flood; and

6. the relatively recent inception of the earth and living kinds--between 6,000 and 20,000 years.

On January 4 of this year, the Arkansas law was overturned in the Federal court in Little Rock by Judge William Overton in *McLean vs. Arkansas Board of Education*. The substance of Overton's decision was the judgment that "Creation Science" simply is not science; rather, that it is religion of a *very specific kind*. Overton thus ruled that the law is in violation of the constitutional separation of church and state. The statute, he ruled, endangers the free practice of religion by establishing in the public schools a particular set of religious beliefs namely, Christianity as interpreted by a form of biblical literalism or fundamentalism.

Members of the Creation Research Society, it was pointed out, must subscribe to a statement of faith which includes *commitment* to belief in a special creation and in a worldwide Noachic flood, as well as opposition to any form of evolution as contrary to the teachings of the Bible. As Judge Overton noted: "While anybody is free to approach a scientific inquiry in any fashion they choose, they cannot properly describe the methodology as scientific if they start with a conclusion and refuse to change it regardless of the evidence developed during the course of the investigation." He concluded:

> The evidence establishes that the definition of 'creation-science' has as its unmentioned reference the first 11 chapters of the book of Genesis. Among the many creation epics in human history, the account of sudden creation from nothing, or *creatio ex nihilo*, and subsequent destruction of the world by flood is unique to Genesis. The concepts are the literal fundamentalist's view of Genesis.

The Arkansas law, and ones like it that may appear elsewhere, must be thoroughly opposed not only because they contravene the Constitution but also because they will bring in their wake great confusion and, finally, ignorance about the real nature of science. Furthermore, they are a profound threat to academic freedom. For by such laws the State will not only legislate a particular curriculum but the specific theories or ideas to be taught as well. It is not difficult to see the State moving from biology to history, to economics, and civics. In terms of academic freedom, there is an important distinction to be made between allowing a teacher freedom to teach what he or she considers appropriate and a *legislative* mandate. Should "balanced treatment" legislate, for example, the teaching of Marxist economics?

> ***"The Arkansas law, and ones like it that may appear elsewhere, must be opposed not only because they contravene the Constitution but because they will bring in their wake great confusion and, finally, ignorance about the real nature of science."***

In their testimony the Creationists had tipped their hand. Throughout the trial they argued that there are only two possible "models" of origins, the Creationist and the Evolutionist. Students of religion, of course, are well aware that this is not so, that every great religion--be it primitive, ancient, or living--includes in its sacred literature etiological myths, cosmogonic stories of earthly and human origins. Many of these mythopoeic accounts provide us with profound insights and truths concerning our moral and spiritual condition. They are not scientific; they are poetry, but a poetry that is uniquely able to illuminate dimensions of our existence.

Creationism, we should insist, is *not* science; but neither should we assume that science is our sole means of discovering what is true and real, not to say what is wise or good. There is concern—not unlike Disraeli's—that an understandable backlash against "Scientific Creationism" might well lead to a reassertion of the dogma of scientism. It would appear that our educational failure is two-fold. Scientists tell us that the general college-educated public today is less well informed about basic science than that same public was several decades ago. Seventy-six percent of American public high school students graduate without a science course, or at best only one. In the last decade several textbook publishers, cowed by pressure from religious fundamentalists, have revised their scientific texts, reduced the amount of space given to evolution or included, for the first time, material on the *Genesis* account of creation in the study of biology! Is it any wonder that our young people don't understand the true nature or methodological limits of science?

Equally lamentable, however, is the public school's gross evasion of the study of religion as a demonstrable aspect of our cultural heritage and our contemporary life. It has either forgotten or not understood that the Supreme Court unambiguously ruled that it is permissible to teach *about* religion in the public schools. The justices went on to comment that it is not only permissible but educationally highly desirable--in courses in literature, history, and the social sciences.

My own experience, from over twenty years of teaching, is that most college students are abysmally ignorant of the broad consensus in the scholarly community with regard to the interpretation of the history and literature of the Western religious traditions—not to mention the Asian religions. For a start, the biblical creation story should be taught for its religious meaning as a document indispensable to an understanding of some of our culture's most important ideas and values. The book of *Genesis* should *not* be taught as science, or as the pseudo-science of Creationism. But neither should we allow those who lack literary tact or philosophical imagination--and are only capable of reading a text literally or not at all--to cast *Genesis* into the dustbin of prescientific error. For it includes what the philosopher W. M. Urban calls "indispensable myth."

The intellectual historian familiar with the Darwinian controversies of a century ago must look upon the current Creationist-Evolutionist brouhaha with a certain resignation as well as apprehension. Those who don't know the past truly are doomed to repeat it. Protagonists on both sides of the so-called religion-versus-evolution controversy suffer from a certain myopia. Fortunately, history sees things from a broader perspective and as infinitely more complex. Recent studies of Darwin and Darwinism, undertaken by intellectual historians, philosophers of science, and historians of biology--and based in part on a newly-published manuscript material--have stimulated a second look at, as well as some re-evaluations of long-held

views regarding Darwin, Darwinism, and religion. Of special note is the religious context of Darwin's own thought and achievement; the exact evolution of Darwin's religious views and his ambiguous relation to theism; Darwin's ideas concerning teleology and providential design; and the question of the so-called conflict between Darwinism and theology.

The "received" picture of Darwin's personal religious beliefs, as they evolved from youth to old age, sees Darwin moving from an early orthodoxy, which he retained during the *Beagle* voyage (1831-36), to a break with orthodox Christianity between 1836-38. Nevertheless, he remained a theist between 1838 and the publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859. It was only *after* the appearance of the *Origin* that Darwin was led to rethink radically the theistic implications of his work. By 1860-61, however, Darwin was a confirmed agnostic.

Recent research has produced numerous studies which call for a considerable revision of this portrait of Darwin's religious position--but with remarkably different conclusions. Howard Gruber and Paul Barrett, in their work on the early notebooks, conclude that as early as 1838 Darwin's musings were "leading him toward a more thoroughgoing philosophic materialism," seen, for example, in his awareness of "the intimate connection between kind of thought with form of brain." Sylvan Schweber is more emphatic and radical: "By 1839 Darwin was certainly an agnostic and possibly an atheist." In any case, "he was an utter materialist!"

The historian Neal Gillespie has successfully, I believe, countered the claims of Gruber, Schweber, and others and has found support for his conclusions in the recent work of both intellectual historians and historians of science. Gillespie insists that Darwin's so-called "materialism" was simply a commitment to a science of laws and natural causes which, for him, was not incompatible with theism. In Gillespie's view, to assert that Darwin was not a theist at the time of the publication of *The Origin of Species* "requires subscribing to the improbable ad hoc hypothesis that Darwin not only deceived his public in his book but that he inexplicably deceived his close friends in his correspondence and even himself in his manuscripts and notebooks for over twenty years." How, then, Gillespie's critics ask, does one account for Darwin's letter of March 29, 1863 to his friend J.D. Hooker, in which he says that he "long regretted that I truckled to public opinion, and used the Pentateuchal term of creation . . ." The key, according to Gillespie, is the term Pentateuchal: "It was his ill-considered support of a religious form of special creation by the use of a biblical metaphor . . . and not aversion to theism, or even, perhaps, to an initial divine creation by some unknown means, that is the source of his regret and the object of his remarks."

John Greene's studies of the "long version" of Darwin's species book has also convinced him that up to the publication of the *Origin* Darwin held "an implicit evolutionary natural theology." Dov Ospovat reaches a similar conclusion: "Whichever interpretation we adopt for Darwin's statements on creation, we are led to the conclusion that in 1859 he believed life was produced by God, either directly or indirectly, either by 'the Creator' or by 'laws ordained by God'."

On Darwin's religious outlook after 1860 there is greater accord: one observes a gradual abandoning of his theistic assumptions and, as the *Autobiography* attests, the acceptance of an agnostic stance on the great metaphysical questions. And yet even here the most current studies picture a more complex, uncertain Darwin. In 1879, three years after writing his autobiography, Darwin acknowledged that his religious beliefs were constantly shifting. Yes, he was an agnostic but, as he confessed, "not always." To the end of his life one finds evidence of a Darwin perplexed and at times even afflicted by theistic questions. Honest to a fault, he kept the options open. He remained consistently ambivalent, for example, on the question of intelligent design--it remained for him a nagging doubt. In his last letter to Alfred Wallace, in 1881, he expressed his conviction that "the Universe is not a result of chance"--but at other times he wasn't sure. In Gillespie's estimation, Darwin remained to the end suspended between the older world of natural theology and the new scientific positivism. Gillespie's isn't a very neat portrait of the great man, but it is closer to the truth: "During the twenty years or so in which he worked on his theory and even during the agnostic period of his later life . . . elements of the creationist and positivist epistemes coexisted in Darwin's mind in a loose, paradoxical, and curiously unantagonistic way."

Few subjects in modern intellectual history have captured the interest of the public as has the so-called "conflict" between Darwinism and theology. And yet few studies have been so bedeviled by stereotype, ideological bias, and simple confusion about facts, terms, and chronology. Imprecise use of terms, selectivity in the choice of one's *dramatis personae*, and failure to distinguish whether the "conflict is between theology and Darwinism, or Spencerianism, or Darwinisticism, or Neo-Darwinism, or just some vague notion of evolution has thrown the issue into considerable confusion. This is evident to some extent as well in the media reports of "Scientific Creationism," the most recent chapter in the story.

James Moore's *The Post-Darwinian Controversies* (1979) has done excellent service in helping to sort out and correct this historical muddle. Principally, he has shown how influential works such as J.W. Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1874) and Andrew White's *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* (1876) conveyed to the public a false sense of a sharp polarization between religion and science and how they popularized the metaphor of "warfare" and "conflict." Moore rightly insists that our historical understanding of the religious responses to Darwin in the 19th century can no more be advanced by Draper's or White's military metaphor than by reading those responses simply in the light of later Fundamentalist reaction. Other recent studies support Moore's conclusion. The notions of polarization and conflict are now largely discounted. These studies reveal the tentativeness and uncertainty of both sides and emphasize the deeper continuities and even the sense of conciliation between the world views of natural theology and early Darwinism. What emerges from these studies is the fact that there was no coherent reaction to Darwin. The lines were not drawn simply between the scientists and the theologians. Scientists as a class were no more agnostic or atheist than businessmen.

There also appears to be growing evidence for the judgment that theo-

logy even thought that it had successfully accommodated itself not only to evolution but to Darwinism in the decades immediately following 1859. One of the finest studies of the immediate reaction to Darwin, Alvar Ellegard's *Darwin and the General Reader*, concludes: "The establishment of an evolutionary view had been virtually

After the publication of The Origin Of The Species *by Darwin, cartoons, like this one published in 1874, made their own contribution to the debate on evolution. (From the book,* Charles Darwin: A Man Of Enlarged Curiosity *by Peter Brent.)*

achieved among the educated classes before the end of the first decade after the publication of the *Origin of Species*. That was the first and most palpable change that the Darwinian theory worked in our outlook on man and the world." This and similar conclusions, while strictly correct, are nevertheless open to serious mis-reading. The fact of the matter is that while acceptance of various ideas of evolution continued to gain ground in the latter decades of the 19th century and well into this century, those ideas were largely incompatible with Darwinism. Indeed, *Darwinism* came increasingly under attack *both* in the scientific and in the religious community. It is quite erroneous, then, to speak of the religious acceptance of evolution as implying Darwinism. Those who found no conflict between Western monotheistic belief and Darwinism were, in fact, espousing one or another form of what Morse Peckham has called "Darwinisticism"--a blend of Darwinism and metaphysical ideas of development or progress. The failure to make appropriate distinctions between Darwinism and numerous other forms of evolution has obscured the real intellectual differences that existed and which continue to exist between Darwinian naturalism and Judeo-Christian belief.

The discovery of historical "continuities" between science and natural theology in the mid-nineteenth century is a salutary development in recent historiography--so, too, is the recognition that the controversy was not, to be sure, between distinct forces on either "side." Atheism or unbelief could not have been further from the minds of the main Anglo-American evolutionists of the last century. Their aim was to reconcile nature and theistic belief. But that aim and the growth of a scientific naturalism were increasingly seen to be incongruent--as was uneasily sensed by sophisticated believers. The "Christian" Darwinism of an important naturalist such as Asa Gray proved insubstantial. The durable religious forms of evolutionary thought during the past century have been those associated with one or another form of process metaphysics, e.g., Bergson, Whitehead, and, more recently, Teilhard de Chardin--forms denounced as unscientific by the Neo-Darwinians. On the other hand, some of these same Darwinians have attempted to deduce forms of spiritual life and moral conduct from natural selection, thereby often intruding their own metaphysical beliefs into their science.

As to the conclusions of the most recent scholarly studies of the Darwinian controversy, the following are significant with regard to religion: 1) The response to Darwin was highly complex, based on social and ideological factors rather than on a simple Science versus Theology polarity; 2) the persistent notions of "conflict" and "warfare" must be carefully qualified, if not rejected; 3) the accommodation to evolution, including Darwin, among the educated was not only widespread but subtle and creative, although frequently distorting of Darwin and ultimately problematic; and 4) the significance of Darwinism for religion remains today much in dispute. However, writers who wish to claim that, as a result of a century of controversies, the intellectual differences are a thing of the past either have not fully understood the inferences of evolution by natural selection or, alternatively, the implications of traditional Western theistic belief. The eminent Neo-Darwinian Ernst Mayr has asserted that Darwinism implies "the replacement of one entire *Weltanschauung* (world-view) by a different one," one which requires "a new concept of God and a new basis for religion." Mayr may be right. Others disagree and contend that acceptance of Darwinian evolution requires not the replacement but rather the radical reconception of traditional theistic belief.

One thing is certain: in any likely human future, both science and religion will be present, ambiguously, for both good and ill. Langdon Gilkey, a theologian and expert witness for the American Civil Liberties Union at the Arkansas trial, has rightly noted:

> Religion in one form or another--and its forms are almost infinitely various--is and will be there, like science . . . in demonic or creative form. Thus the relations between these two essential and permanent elements of culture represent a recurrent and foundational problem, an issue on which both the religious and scientific communities should be informed, about which each should reflect, and so to which the training of each should be directed.

It would be well to begin the dialogue. It is evident that for science and for religion Charles Darwin remains very much a presence a century after his death.

A DARWIN READER

Charles Darwin, Peter Brent (1981).
An excellent biography based on the most recent scholarship.

Darwin's Century, Loren Eiseley, (1958) p.b.

Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution, Gertrude Himmelfarb (1959).

Apes, Angels, and Victorians, William Irvine (1955), p.b.
The above books are lively, informative accounts of evolution before Darwin, of Darwin, and the Darwinian Revolution.

Charles Darwin and the Problem of Creation, Neal Gillespie (1979).

The Post-Darwinian Controversies, James R. Moore (1979).
Gillespie and Moore represent the best current scholarship on Darwin's religious beliefs and the religious response to Darwinism.

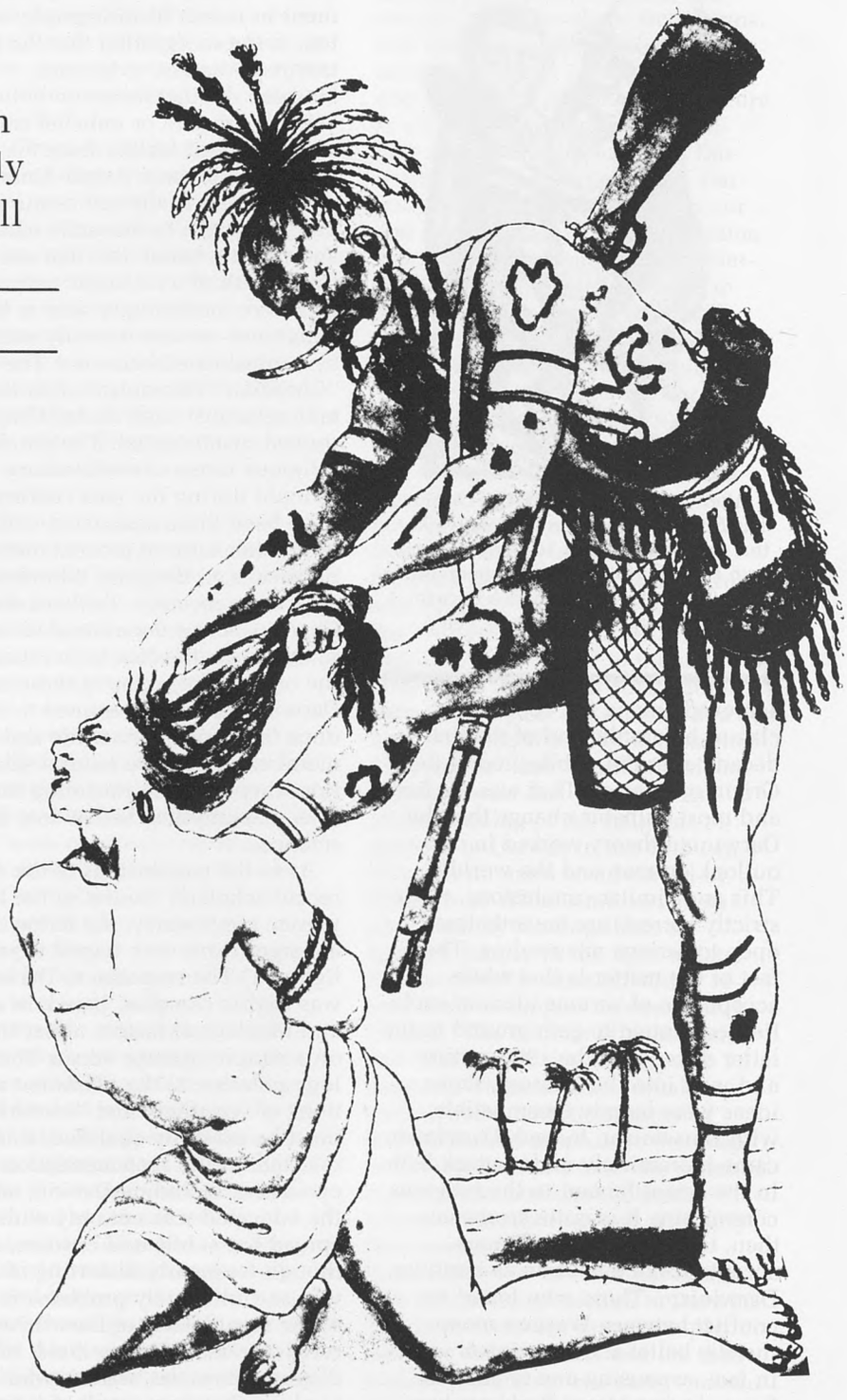
The Unkindest Cut Of All: Who Invented Scalping?

Despite Efforts To Blame It On The White Man, Scalping Really Is An Indian Invention After All

By James Axtell

Red-blooded Americans used to know with certainty that scalping was as Indian as moccasins and succotash. Teethed on Hollywood and fed the pap of popular culture, they knew by osmosis that scalping was invented and carried to a high (if low) art form by the American natives. Now they are not so sure, especially if they came to maturity during the march on Selma, Vietnam, Watergate, and the second battle of Wounded Knee. And if my informal polls over the past four years are at all accurate, the lack of confidence extends even to the students and faculty of a college that considers itself a Tribe.

The cause of this historical hesitance is a new and captivating version of scalping's ignoble history. It was born perhaps in 1820 when Cornplanter, an Allegheny Seneca chief, grew despondent over the disintegration of his nation. In a series of visions the Great Spirit told him that he should have nothing more to do with white people or with war, and commanded him to



An Iroquois warrior in a 1787 engraving prepares to "take the hair" of his Indian captive. (From the French And Indian Wars, American Heritage Junior Library).

A professor of history who joined the faculty at William and Mary in 1978, Dr. Axtell holds his B.A. from Yale and his Ph.D. from Cambridge University. Recognized as an expert on Indian history, he has published The Indian Peoples of Eastern America *and the European and the Indian among other books. He is currently at work on a three-volume ethnohistory of colonial North America.*

burn all his old military trophies, which he promptly did on a huge pyre of logs. The reason, as Cornplanter told it, was that before the whites came, the Indians "lived in peace and had no wars nor fighting." But then "the French came over," followed closely by the English, and these two nations began to fight among themselves. Not content to wage their own battles, each tried to involve the Iroquois. "The French," said Cornplanter, "offered to furnish us with instruments of every kind and sharp knives to take the skins off their [enemies'] heads."

We next hear the new history of scalping in 1879 when Susette La Flesche, a spirited daughter of a famous Omaha family, was interviewed by a newspaper reporter on the Chicago stop of her national tour to advocate justice for Indians. When she protested the United States Army's wholesale killing of Ute men, women, and children in a recent encounter, the reporter shot back, "But you are more barbarous in war than we, and you shock the public by the acts of atrocity upon captives and the bodies of the dead." "Scalping, you mean, I suppose," countered the young woman. "Don't you know that the white man taught Indians that? It was practiced first in New England on the Penobscot Indians. The General Court of the Province of Massachusetts offered a bounty of forty pounds for every scalp of a male Indian brought in as evidence of his being killed, and for every scalp of a female or male Indian under twelve years, twenty pounds."

Cornplanter's and La Flesche's rejections of the traditional wisdom of scalping are significant not only for their chronological priority but because they consecrated the polemical marriage of scalp bounties with the invention of scalping in the "new wisdom." In 1968, for example, the literary critic and moralist Leslie Fiedler asserted that scalping "seems not to have been an Indian custom at all until the White Man began offering bounties for slain enemies." And environmental writer Peter Farb, putting his finger on New Netherland's Governor Willem Kieft instead of the Massachusetts legislature, remarked that "whatever its exact origins, there is no doubt that [the spread of] scalp-taking . . . was due to the barbarity of White men rather than to the barbarity of Red men."

To counter the baneful effects of Hollywood westerns, the new wisdom was taken up by the powerful media of the East, among them NBC television and *The New Yorker* magazine. The week before Christmas in 1972, several million viewers of "Hec Ramsey" received a mini-lesson in history from the show's star, Richard Boone, when he carefully explained to a sidekick that the Puritans (of New England presumably) taught the Iroquois (of New York presumably) to scalp by offering them bounties for enemy hair. And when Ray Fadden, the curator of his own Six Nations Indian Museum in the Adirondacks, asked a reporter from *The New Yorker* if he knew that "scalping, skinning alive, and burning at the stake were European barbarian inventions, forced on Indian mercenaries," nearly half a million readers heard the rhetorical answer.

White friends of the Indians have been the most frequent advocates of the new wisdom in print, yet they have carried the new wisdom only so far. One of the political assumptions of the current Indian movement is that Indians should do their own talking and write their own history in order to help them gain control of their own destiny. Accordingly, when Vine Deloria issued his "Indian Manifesto" in 1969 under the pointed title of *Custer Died for Your Sins*, he soon became for many people the leading Indian spokesman. Not surprisingly, in a book filled with effective sallies against white America's treatment of native Americans, he employed the symbol of scalping. "Scalping, introduced prior to the French and Indian War by the English," he accused, citing a 1755 Massachusetts scalp bounty, "confirmed the suspicion that the Indians were wild animals to be hunted and skinned. Bounties were set and an Indian scalp became more valuable than beaver, otter, marten, and other animal pelts.

But the most bizarre episode in the historiography of scalping took place in a church in Flint, Michigan, on September 7, 1975. Bruce C. Thum (alias "Chief Charging Bear"), an evangelist and self-styled three-quarter Oklahoma Cherokee, demonstrated "how the Indians scalped the white man" to the morning Sunday school classes from toddler age through sixth grade. When confronted by an angry group of Indian demonstrators and parents, Thum lamely explained that "scalping came originally from Europeans" and revealed that he had been giving such demonstrations for more than a quarter of a century, and this was the first time his demonstration had sparked any protest. His manager added: "Anything you can do to get children to Sunday school today, you have to do."

"The new wisdom about scalping would not warrant serious attention if it were only an intellectual fad or if its proponents were a mere handful of colorful eccentrics. . ."

The new wisdom about scalping would not warrant serious attention if it were only an intellectual fad or if its proponents were a mere handful of obscure eccentrics like Chief Charging Bear. But it has had a long life and refuses to die, and its proponents include historians and anthropologists as well as Indians, critics, and editors. More important, the new wisdom is seldom argued in the bright light of controversy, where educated—and common-sensical—suspicions might be raised. Rather, it is insinuated into the public consciousness through seemingly disingenuous references dropped in discussions of Indian affairs or history. When the speakers are Indians, no matter how qualified to speak of Indian or colonial history, the statements are invested with even greater credibility. National television programs and newspaper articles that circulate via the major wire services propagate the new wisdom to such huge audiences that it has become traditional wisdom in its own right and demands a fresh appraisal.

The evidence for pre-Columbian scalping takes many forms. The first and most familiar is the written descriptions by some of the earliest European observers, who saw the Indian cultures of the eastern seaboard in something like an aboriginal condition. On his second voyage up the St. Lawrence in 1535, Jacques Cartier was shown by the

Stadaconans at Quebec "the skins of five men's heads, stretched on hoops, like parchment." His host, Donnacona, told him "they were Toudamans [Micmacs] from the south, who waged war continually against his people."

In March 1540, two of Hernando De Soto's men, the first Europeans to enter the Apalachee country in west Florida, were seized by Indians. The killers of one "removed his head or rather all around his skull—it is unknown with what skill they removed it with such great ease—and carried it off as evidence of their deed." This and other accounts from the lower southeast are consistent with the details described and illustrated by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues from his first-hand observations in 1564 while accompanying Timucua warriors on raids in northeastern Florida. In these skirmishes, he wrote,

> they cut the skin of the head down to the skull with pieces of reed sharper than any steel blade, from the brow in a circle to the back of the head; and they pull it off whole, gathering the hair, which is still attached to it and more than a cubit long, into a knot at the crown; on the spot (if there is enough time) they dig a hole in the ground and kindle a fire with moss. . . .Having got the fire going, they dry the skin and make it hard like parchment . . . and with the head skins hanging from the ends of their javelins they triumphantly carry them off home.

On returning to the village they placed the enemies' legs, arms, and scalps "with solemn ceremony on very long stakes" for a subsequent ritual.

Then for almost forty years the European exploration and settlement of eartern North America subsided into insignificance. Not until Samuel de Champlain re-explored the Canadian and New England coasts in the early years of the seventeenth century did scalping find another memorialist. In 1603 Champlain was invited to feast with a Montagnais sagamore and his warriors to celebrate their recent victory over the Iroquois. When they ended the feast they began to dance, "taking in their hands . . . the scalps of their enemies, which hung behind them. . . . They had killed about a hundred, whose scalps they cut off, and had with them for the ceremony." Their Algonquin allies went off to celebrate by themselves. While the Algonquin women stripped naked except for their jewelry, preparing to dance, their sagamore sat "between two poles, on which hung the scalps of their enemies."

When the Catholic missionaries penetrated the Huron country of southern Ontario they, too, found elaborate customs associated with the practice of scalp-taking. In 1624 Gabriel Sagard noted that after killing an enemy in combat, the Hurons "carry away the head and if they are too much encumbered with these they are content to take the skin with its hair, which they call *Onontsira*, tan them, and put them away for trophies, and in time of war set them on the palisades or walls of their town fastened to the end of a long pole."

AYER COLLECTION, NEWBERRY LIBRARY

A child is snatched from its mother by Indian raiders.

The Powhatans of Virginia put scalps to similar use in 1608. According to Captain John Smith, Powhatan launched a surprise attack on the Payankatank, "his neare neighbours and subjects," killing twenty-four men. When his warriors retired from the battle, they brought away "the long haire of the one side of their heades [the other being shaved] with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds." The prisoners and scalps were then presented to the chief, who "hanged on a line unto two trees . . . the lockes of haire with their skinnes."

The list of Europeans who found scalping among the eastern Indians in the earliest stages of contact could be extended almost indefinitely. But the later descriptions only reiterate the themes of the earlier. The first characteristic these descriptions share is an expression of surprise at the discovery of such a novel practice. The nearly universal highlighting of scalping in the early literature, the search for intelligible comparisons (such as parchment), the detailed anatomical descriptions of the act itself, and the total absence of any suggestion of white precedence or familiarity with the practice all suggest that scalping was a uniquely American phenomenon.

The second theme of these descriptions is that the removal of an enemy's scalp was firmly embedded among other customs that could hardly have been borrowed from the European traders and fishermen who preceded the earliest European authors. The elaborate preparation of the scalps by drying, stretching on hoops, painting, and decorating; special scalp yells when a scalp was taken and later when it was borne home on raised spears or poles; the scalplock as men's customary hairdress; scalp-taking as an important element in male status advancement; occasionally nude female custodianship of the prizes; scalp dances; scalps as body and clothing decorations; scalps as nonremunerative trophies of war to be publicly displayed on canoes, cabins, and palisades; elaborate ceremonial treatment of scalps integrated into local religious beliefs; and the substitution of a scalp for a living captive to be adopted to replace a deceased member of the family—all these appear too varied, too ritualized, and too consistent with other native cultural traits to have been recent introductions by Europeans.

The final characteristic of the early accounts is an obvious stretching for words to describe scalping to a European audience. The older English word *scalp* did not acquire its distinctly American meaning until 1675 when King Philip's War brought the object renewed prominence in New England. Until then, the best substitutes were compounds such as "hair-scalp" and "head-skin," phrases such as "the skin and hair of the scalp of the head," or the simple but ambiguous word "head." Likewise, the only meaning of the verb *to scalp* meant "to carve, engrave, scrape, or scratch." Consequently, English writers were forced to use "skin," "flay," or "excoriate" until 1676 when the American meaning became popular. French, Dutch, German, and Swedish speakers were also forced to resort to circumlocutions until they borrowed the English words in the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, the Indian languages of the East contained many words to describe the scalp, the act of scalping, and the victim of scalping. The New York Iroquoian languages, for example, were especially rich in words to describe the act which has earned them, however unjustly, an enduring reputation for inhuman ferocity. To the

". . .the removal of an enemy's scalp was firmly embedded among other customs that could hardly have been borrowed from the European traders and fishermen who preceded the earliest European authors."

Mohawks and Oneidas, the scalp was *onnonra*, the act of taking it, *kannonrackwan*. Their western brothers at Onondaga spoke of *hononksera*, a variation of the Huron word. And although they were recorded after initial contact with the Europeans, the vocabularies of the other Iroquois nations and of many Algonquian-speaking groups all contained words for *scalp, scalping,* and *the scalped* which are closely related to the native words for *hair, head, skull,* and *skin*. That these words were obviously not borrowed from European languages lends further support to the notion that they were native to America and deeply rooted in Indian life.

Words have done the most to fix the image of Indian scalping on the American historical record, but paintings and drawings reinforce that image. The single most important picture in this regard is Theodore de Bry's engraving of Le Moyne's drawing of "Treatment of the Enemy Dead by Outina's Forces." Based on Le Moyne's observations in 1564, the 1591 engraving was the first public representation of Indian scalping, one faithful to Le Moyne's verbal description and to subsequent accounts from other regions of eastern America. The details of sharp reeds to remove the scalp, drying the green skin over a fire, displaying the trophies on long poles, and later celebrating the victory with established rituals by the native priest lend authenticity to de Bry's rendering and credence to the argument for Indian priority of invention.

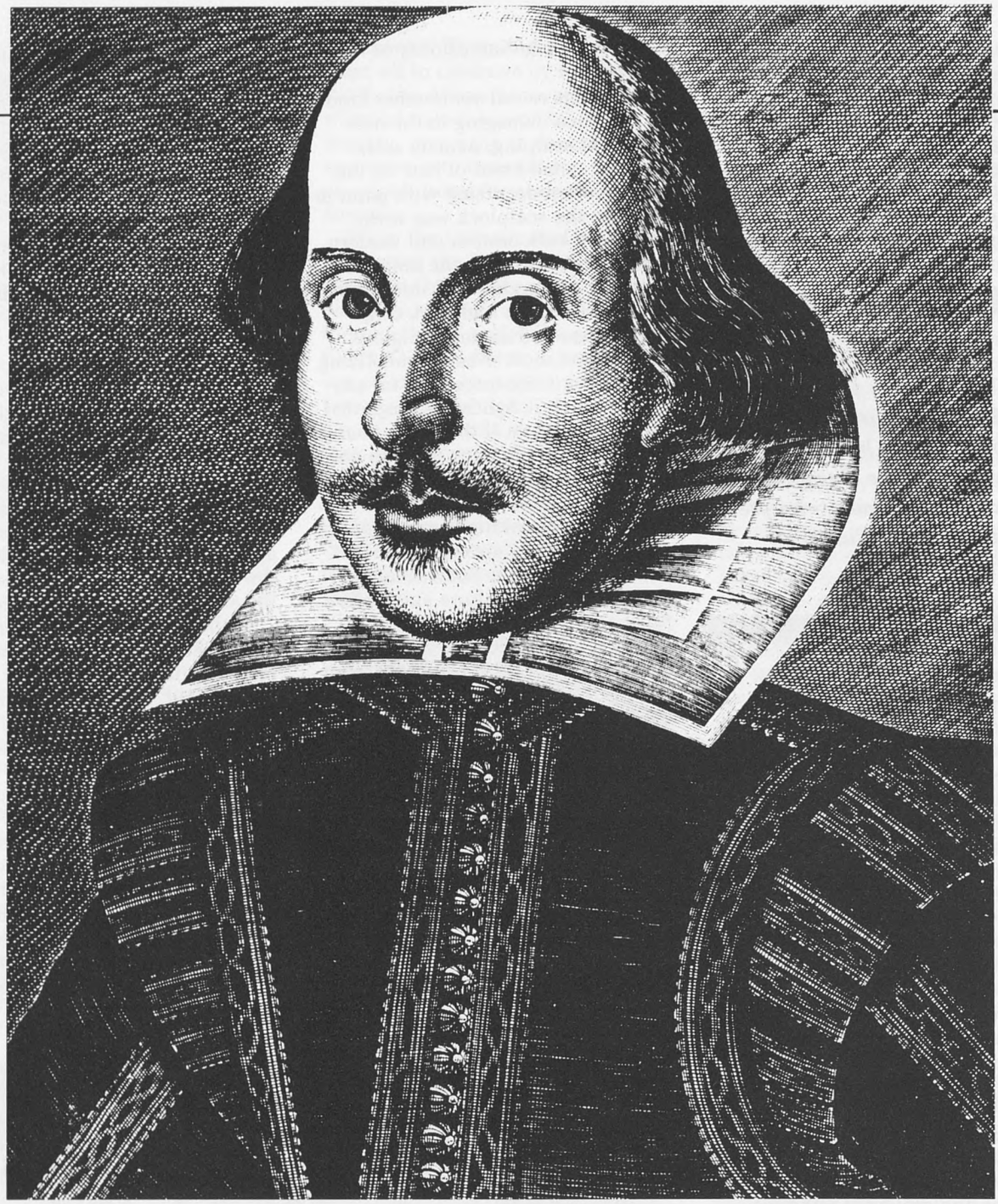
Drawings reveal yet another kind of evidence damaging to the new theory of scalping, namely scalplocks. A small braid of hair on the crown, often decorated with paint or jewelry, the scalplock was worn widely in both eastern and western America. Contrary to the notion of scalping as a recent and mercenary introduction, the scalplock originally possessed ancient religious meaning in most tribes, symbolizing the warrior's life-force, and for anyone to touch it lightly was regarded as a grave insult. If the white man had taught the Indians to scalp one another for money, there is little reason to believe that they were also cozened into making it easier for their enemies by growing partible and portable locks. Something far deeper in native culture and history must account for the practice.

One kind of evidence that alone establishes the existence of scalping in pre-Columbian America is archaeological. If Indian skulls of the requisite age can be found to show distinct and unambiguous marks of scalping, then the new wisdom of scalping must be discarded. A wealth of evidence, particularly from prehistoric sites along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and in the Southeast, indicates just such a conclusion. There are two basic kinds of archaeological evidence of scalping. The first is circular cuts or scratches on the skull vaults of victims who had been previously killed. These cuts are, of course, subject to various interpretations, given the existence of post-mortem ritual mutilation in many Indian cultures. But there are many examples with cut marks only where they would be caused by customary techniques of scalping.

The second kind of evidence is even more conclusive. In a number of prehistoric sites, lesions have been found on the skulls of victims who survived scalping long enough to allow the bone tissue to partially regenerate, leaving a tell-tale scar. Contrary to popular belief, scalping itself was not a fatal operation; the historical record is full of survivors. Scalping is the most plausible, if not the only possible, explanation for these lesions that appear exactly where eye-witness descriptions and drawings indicate the scalp was traditionally cut.

In the light of such evidence, it is clear that the Indians, not the white men, introduced scalping to the New World. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the colonists encouraged the spread of scalping to many tribes unfamiliar with the practice by posting scalp bounties. Nor can it be forgotten that Americans of every stripe–from frontiersmen to ministers--were tainted by participating in the bloody market for human hair. In the end, however, the American stereotype of scalping must stand as historical fact, whether we are comfortable with it or not.

An illustration from The New World: The First Pictures of America *shows a gruesome scene from a French-Indian battle skirmish in the New World.*



The Shakespeare Industry

Shakespeare's Work Has Spawned An Industry that Perhaps Could Use A Good Recession

By Robert J. Fehrenbach

Perhaps it's time for a good recession--maybe even a depression. Not in any of those industries that feed us, clothe us, and send our children to college, but in an industry most people haven't even heard of: the Shakespeare Industry. This Industry, which is suffering from rampant inflation, must not be confused with what John Webster meant in 1612 when he praised "the right happy and copious industry of Master Shakespeare." Webster, a poet and playwright like his contemporary Master Shakespeare, valued dramatic art and respected the labor that made it. Without question, the Shakespeare Industry provides a good deal of labor and has for a long time found a certain value in Shakespeare's plays, but a difference between Shakespeare's industry and the Shakespeare Industry there is.

The verbal similarity of the two indicates something about the difficulty, perhaps even the risks, of calling the latter inflated. For the work produced by the Shakespeare Industry in all its manifestations--scholarly, theatrical, cinematic--has taken on an aura of respect that is more appropriately accorded the works produced by Shakespeare's happy and copious industry. Unfortunately, one tends to get mixed up with the other. This confused perception that blurs the line between Shakespeare's art and the Industry that grew up after him is a disorder of the mind's eye that resists treatment because at worst it seems a harmless malady and at best it is thought benign, associated as it is with the veneration of a language's greatest poet.

There are additional problems. Wrapped in Shakespeare's borrowed robes, the Industry draws a wide range of followers, from the intellectual establishment that makes much of literature and research to those who otherwise give little evidence of having an interest in poetry and drama of any kind. A special magnetism, it is said, surrounds Shakespeare, a kind of cultural charisma that appeals to all and explains the great coming together of the bookishly purified and the aesthetically unwashed. From its awesome position of unassailable culture, the Industry can with the voice of its scholarly wing pronounce its doubters and questioners heretic, insufficiently enlightened in the true faith, and simultaneously with the voice of its popular wing portray its critics as a narrow elite, who miser-like want to keep Shakespeare untouched by hands other than their snobbish selves. It is a remarkable alliance, transporting the Industry to what can only be called a sacrosanct state. But all priesthoods occasionally need looking into, and the Shakespeare Industry is no exception.

"Among temperate scholars, certainly reason and perspective prevail. Alas and forbear. The Industry and its state of mind exist among scholars like a rapturous frenzy among mystics."

I

The term, "Shakespeare Industry," apparently was first used in a book, *Amazing Monument*,[1] written by Ivor Brown and George Fearon in 1939 before, relatively speaking, the whole business had really hit its stride. Brown and Fearon, in a manner of indulgent nephews relating the slightly daft activities of a well-meaning but peculiar old aunt, describe the birth and coming of age of the Shakespeare Industry in Great Britain, and provide a few details about the Industry's spread to the rest of the world. The purpose of their book was to

> chronicle and, if possible, to analyse and to explain this growth of a local loyalty into a local cult and the local cult into a cosmic industry (p. 7).

Lovers of Shakespeare, and doubtless patriotic Englishmen, Brown and Fearon nonetheless convey through their often marvelously wicked wit certain judgments about this "cosmic industry." "After all," they continue,

> Stratford, where they put up the bust of a poet as an encouragement to the purchase of petrol and will sell you any Shakespearean gew-gaw from a Hamlet cigarette-case to Shylock nut-cracker, is the home town only (p. 7).

And their conclusion to the first chapter suggests a certain peculiar gap between the Industry and Shakespeare:

> . . .we have cursorily examined the Industry in its local manifestations, with its votive offerings, its ceremonial homage, and its revels at the natal shrine. Here is an amazing monument of veneration, raised to a poet in a world where poetry is more commonly left to starve in neglect than promoted to the fame and flesh-pots of society's High Table (p. 25).

Surely no one would question Brown's or Fearon's devotion to Shakespeare. Yet, as an obvious protection against the Industry's misunderstanding them, the last page of their book is taken up with an apologia in which they offer:

> The last person to deplore the Shakespeare Industry would have been, in our opinion, William Shakespeare himself (p. 326).

(A specialist in English Renaissance drama, Professor Fehrenbach's publications include two books on contemporaries of Shakespeare as well as articles on Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers.)

And then in what may be mistaken by some readers not used to *encomia* delivered on sharp dealers, as the unkindest cut of all, Brown and Fearon continue their justification of the Industry through the person of Shakespeare:

> He was, as well as a poet of infinite perception, a man of property, a shrewd investor, and fond of a bargain. Surely, he would have been the first to see that reasonable chances were not missed (p. 326).

The title of their last chapter, "Outward, Onward, Upward," presaged what was yet to come. For in 1939, the library buildings holding the great private Shakespeare collections of Henry E. Huntington and of Henry Clay Folger had existed for only a few years and had not yet become the American Meccas West and East of Shakespearean scholarly activity; the cinema, despite the numerous silent films of Shakespeare, had really just begun trying to fit Shakespeare into the movie world, casting forty-year old matinee idols like Leslie Howard as Romeo and vaudeville veterans like Mickey Rooney and Joe E. Brown in a Hollywood version of *Midsummer Night's Dream* that seemed more a Busby Berkeley extravaganza than an Elizabethan drama; Stratford, Ontario, and Stratford, Connecticut were still just two towns named after that English place where Shakespeare had been born, and outside of England only Ashland, Oregon, had a Shakespearean Festival, though a Shakespearean Theatre in Dallas, Texas, had been blessed at some appropriate moment during its construction with earth from Shakespeare's garden and water from the River Avon; television was but a technological toy and BBC Radio was just starting to experiment with broadcasting Shakespeare's plays live; and not least of all, the major bibliography of the scholarship written on Shakespeare could be found in two thin volumes that took up barely two inches on the shelf.

The Shakespeare Industry was, nonetheless, about to go Bullish.

II

The origins of a phenomenon may tell us something about its nature and its future. For those given to citing pivotal moments in history, those special moments after which things are simply not the same, the beginning of the Shakespeare Industry is easy to identify: it occurred when that imaginative fellow with a way with words from the Warwickshire Stratford got his first play onto the boards in Elizabethan London. But that is akin to saying that the Airline Industry began when two bicycle repairmen from Ohio got their clutter of cloth and wire to lift off the ground for a few yards near Kitty Hawk. Each began something that produced an industry, but the character of the industry differs from the event that produced it. The character of the Shakespeare Industry seems to be best identified with events and people in mid-eighteenth century Stratford.

In 1623, seven years after Shakespeare had died, his friends gathered together his plays, those alreadv published and eleven heretofore not printed, and brought them all out in one large book. Almost unheard of at the time, this printing of the First Folio, as it is called, should have indicated that something big was going to come of Will Shakespeare's stuff. But, on the whole, the stage and criticism of the seventeenth century were not terribly auspicious for Shakespeare. When the theatres, closed in 1642, reopened after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, such contemporaries of Shakespeare as Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher, and especially Ben Jonson, were celebrated on the stage above Shakespeare. And though the critics and poets found in Shakespeare a certain genius, he was thought perhaps too rough for civilized taste. They rewrote his plays, for example, providing *King Lear* with a happy ending and *Antony and Cleopatra* with proper blank verse, proper unities, and proper dullness. Without question, it was in the middle of the eighteenth-century that the seventeenth-century rumblings about Shakespeare being "for all time," and the begrudging admiration for him shown in the many revisions finally burst forth in the character that was to be the basis of the Shakespeare Industry.

In 1769, David Garrick, renowned actor and successful theatrical manager (who, on occasion, also rewrote Shakespeare), put on the first Shakespeare Jubilee in Stratford.[2] This celebration of the great dramatist fell five years after his bicentenary or, if you will, 95 years short of his tercentenary. In any case, it consisted of several days of odes and speeches in high praise of Shakespeare, most of which were delivered in the midst of an unrelenting rain, and concluded with a horse race. Shakespeare's works were neither read nor performed, though much that Garrick wrote was. As one scholar put it, "Shakespeare received almost as much attention as [Garrick] at the Jubilee."[3]

Sometime before this 1769 celebration, an irritated owner of what had been Shakespeare's house in Stratford, New Place, chopped down a mulberry tree reputed to have been planted by the poet himself and, in an additional burst of eighteenth century spleen, had the house razed to boot. It seems he had tired of people gawking at the house and picking at the tree. A fellow townsman, with the remarkably appropriate name of Thomas Sharpe, retrieved the wood of that mulberry tree and turned out one gimcrack and doodad after another for forty years. The supply of these curios seemed so unending that there arose some question as to Sharpe's practices. On his death bed, in an indignant defense of his integrity, Sharpe signed an affidavit stating that every tooth-pick case and knicknack that he had sold as having been made from Shakespeare's mulberry tree had in fact come from that one and only tree. Appropriately, one of these curios found its way into the hands of David Garrick who, remember, was engaged in praising the Elizabethan dramatist by reading his own works.

One need not question Sharpe's or Garrick's appreciation of Shake-

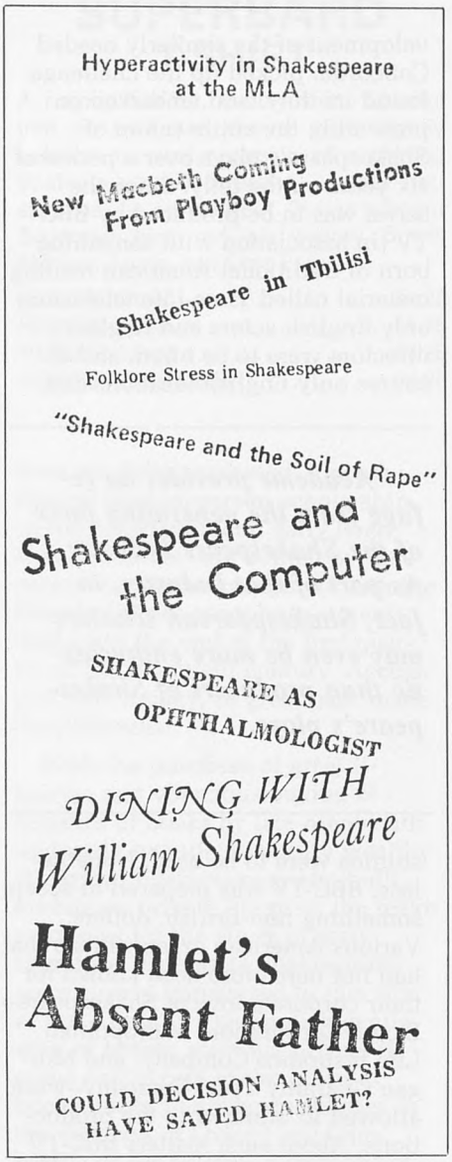
speare's genius or love of his poetry to note that these events have a peculiar character. They combine, for example, a celebration of Shakespeare that pays scant attention to what he actually wrote, that gives signs of having been arranged for reasons other than pure devotion to the dramatist's works, with selling souvenirs and trinkets that seemed even to the gullible to be motivated more by pecuniary concerns than the love of art. But perhaps of even more importance is the presence in Garrick's hurly-burly of a state of mind characterized by a wild enthusiasm and an excited devotion seldom seen except at moments of high fervor during religious worship and patriotic war. Energy, excitement, enthusiasm, promotion, and more piled upon more.

The Shakespeare Industry had begun.

III

Salzburg's annual festival celebrates Mozart, every twelve-month Bayreuth offers its homage to Wagner, and just as regularly Stratford-upon-Avon honors Shakespeare--as do Stratford, Ontario, and Stratford, Connecticut, two communities blessed with the economic good fortune of having been named after the playwright's hometown in Warwickshire, a serendipitous accident that does not explain the presence of like Shakespeare theatrical fetes in such diverse places as Cedar City, Utah; Platteville, Wisconsin; and High Point, North Carolina.

When Brown and Fearon first commented on the Shakespeare Industry, there was but one summer Shakespeare Festival in the old country and one in the new. The summer repertory fete of Shakespeare in England was in Stratford, where the dramatist had been born, rather than in London where his plays had been performed. Roots apparently being stronger than professional ties--at least when it comes to the right to venerate national saints--Stratford had beat out London to become the home of the Royal Shakespeare Company (though now London gets the troupe in the winter), and the annual summer festival in the town of Anne Hathaway's cottage and her and her husband's second-best bed had passed its diamond anniversary when Brown and Fearon first described the Warwickshire origins of the Industry.



On this side of the Atlantic, the Industry had barely cut its teeth.[4] The first permanent Shakespearean festival was but four years old in 1939, having been founded by a professor at a small college in Ashland, Oregon, in 1935, as part of Fourth of July festivities, a date and a celebration not normally associated with Shakespeare, but then neither were the afternoon prize-fights planned to finance the evening performances of his plays. (The Shakespeare Industry is of an adaptable nature.) For reasons that would pain the soul of any entrepreneur, it was the 1950's before those struck with the gold-lined similarity of the North American cities' name to Shakespeare's Stratford were able to inaugurate two more summer festivals of Shakespearean productions. A patent-attorney and theatre buff got the one going in Connecticut in 1955, while it was a newspaperman with an eye toward tourism who was the drive behind the 1953 opening of the festival in Canadian midwest farm country.

The spirit of those in America being given to development and growth--as in the vocabulary of realtors and investors--in a manner not generally shared by those in the misty isles of Britain, it is not surprising that once the festival cat was let out of the bag in the States, more than two dozen summer celebrations of Britain's foremost dramatist would be found littered about the American countryside. This number represents only summer festivals and does not include the scores, the hundreds, the thousands of productions of Shakespeare's plays mounted by professional, amateur, and educational groups all over the world.

The gigantic nature of it all surpasses expectation. One may not be surprised to find Shakespeare's plays performed in Sydney, Melbourne, Bristol, Exeter, and Perth, but what is one to make of a Shakespeare festival mounted by the Committee for Shakespeare in Central Park, Louisville, Kentucky, or a Macbeth put on by the Theatrical Outfit and Gypsy Rainbow Dance Theatre in Atlanta--or Karasawagi (*Much Ado About Nothing* to us) in Tokyo, *Amleto (Hamlet)* in Verona, a Hebrew translation of *As You Like It* in Tel Aviv, or a Hungarian *Titus Andronicus* in Pecs. These and scores of other performances of Shakespeare in such diverse countries as New Zealand, Poland, Finland, the German Democratic Republic (East, that is), and even anglophobic France of all places, are serious productions, mounted at considerable cost, attempting to satisfy what is purported to be an enormous appetite for Shakespearean plays. The cultural stomach rumbles; it must be fed. Stuffed with nourishing theatrical Shakespeare, this apparently insatiable appetite demanded still more, we are told, and those who would never gainsay the yearning for culture, especially the Shakespearean kind, responded with a new fare that sticks around longer than ephemeral theatre: the movies.

Shakespeare in the motion pictures, as comparatively young as the cinema is, has a remarkably rich history. With probably four or five hundred films associated with Shakespeare's plays made to date, it is safe to say that no other writer

has been so frequently filmed--and with such a wide range, from Dick Powell in *Midsummer Night's Dream* to Olivier in *Henry V*, from *Kumonosu-Djo*, Akira Kurosawa's samurai adaptation of *Macbeth*, to the Eisenstein influenced Hamlet by the Russian Grigori Kosintzev. But however appealing, attractive, or campy some of these filmed versions of Shakespeare are, popular moviedom as a vehicle for Shakespeare--Shakespeare released from the art houses--didn't really come into its own until Franco Zeffirelli hit the silver screen with his version of *The Taming of the Shrew*, with its real live movie stars Taylor and Burton, and his lush confection *Romeo and Juliet* with its real live Italian town, virtually untouched since its medieval and Renaissance origins as the perfect movie set, and its real live kids who, if virtually untouched by the subtleties of blank verse, made for a pretty pair in bed. Others had tried with varying degrees of success, but now, without question Shakespeare was packaged to feed the cravings of his fans among the popcorn-set who had sat for years in the darkened commercial cinema houses apparently waiting for our finest poet to be transmogrified by Hollywood.

The visual medium of the motion pictures, which enjoyed such success in the thirties, forties, and fifties, was in the sixties and seventies unceremoniously taken over by its younger sibling in rivalry: television. This new theatre in a box was a bit slow in recognizing its own role in spreading Shakespeare to all those yearning for his glories. A few early TV versions of Shakespeare lurk in a dim memory, none of which is worth mentioning. But the Industry did finally realize that where only hundreds in the theatres and thousands in the movie houses could find the great dramatist, millions through television could be reached by him--and at one sitting too. In fact, thanks to the marvel of electronics, the audience now to be played to was the entire world, a true Globe Theatre. This audience, the Industry discovered, yearned not just for a few irregularly produced Shakespearean gems, via *The Hallmark Hall of Fame*, but for all thirty-seven of his plays--including some it had never heard of. Such an audience was not to be denied.

England, in a burst of foresight and energy not seen since its development of the similarly needed Concorde, picked up the challenge, found its duty, and embarked on presenting the entire canon of Shakespeare's plays over a period of six years on the telly. Since the series was to be produced by BBC-TV (in association with something born of traditional American reading material called Time-Life television) only English actors and English directors were to be hired, and of course only English locations and studios were to be used. Nonetheless, BBC-TV was prepared to accept something non-British: dollars. Various American organizations that had not heretofore been known for their corporate love of Shakespeare--Exxon Corporation, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Morgan Guaranty Trust Company--were allowed to underwrite the productions. About such matters BBC-TV was quite open-minded. After all, this was an enormous cultural undertaking, and how fitting that industry should serve the Industry. The unbelievable breadth of the audience awaiting Shakespeare, made up not just incidentally of paying customers, is seen in the reply given by the series' first producer when he was asked in 1979 who would see the programs: "Australia has already bought them; Canada has already bought them. We presume that New Zealand will buy them. And we know the Japanese are very, very interested. We've sold them to Sweden. I believe we're selling them to Russia.[5] Grandly called "The Shakespeare Plays," the series would be a kind of new First Folio with all thirty-seven plays once again preserved, not in mere print where a reader's imagination would have to range on its own, or where that same reader could reflect and interpret as he wished, but on video tape, in production, so that at a flick of a switch millions of viewers could find not just Shakespeare's works but "*The* Shakespeare Plays" fixed for all time. By comparison, Thomas Sharpe's feat of multiplying hundreds of curios from a single mulberry tree and David Garrick's promotional praising of Shakespeare in the face of a driving rain seem puny efforts indeed.

"Academe provides no refuge from the generating force of the Shakespeare Industry. As part of that Industry, in fact, Shakespearean scholars may even be more enthusiastic than producers of Shakespeare's plays. . ."

It is of course possible that the extensiveness of the produced Shakespeare demonstrates nothing more than the wide love and appreciation generated by audiences of every age for this poet who wrote, as Ben Jonson told us, for all time. His plays were not written to be kept in musty libraries, the property of scholars of the arcane, to be borne out reverently every now and then in museum-form to be seen and touched before being returned to their reliquary to serve as the source of more monkish scholarship. Plays, especially his plays, should be played. There cannot be too much of a good thing. Yet, as the number of the forms, the kinds, the vehicles of the productions balloon--and the emphases of these productions are revealed--the human perspective must begin to lodge questions, much as it did with Thomas Sharpe's multiplying curios and Garrick's bizarre Jubilee. Is it possible that over-production might debase a product? Having run out of Shakespeare's mulberry tree, have the venerators of Shakespeare found an even better inexhaustible material to purvey in his name: his plays? And leaving aside the pecuniary motive, does enthusiasm for a cause always serve to enlarge and enlighten, or might it, especially in its evangelical form, actually reduce or obscure what it seems to venerate by substituting zeal for understanding? Will we soon be treated to bumper stickers exhorting us to "Honk if you love Shakespeare"? Finally, is there something askew when the vehicle for conveying the expressed high love for Shakespeare becomes the focus itself, as when Garrick supplanted Shakespeare in his 1769 celebration of Shakespeare, or when the discussion that preceded and followed the recent BBC-TV production of *Midsummer Night's Dream* ignored Shakespeare and his play and consisted of one observation after another about this and that director, concluding that the broadcasted performance was a "homage to Max Reinhardt"? Perhaps the ultimate, if inevitable non-treatment

of Shakespeare in celebrating him was the 1979 version of *Hamlet* performed in Wroclaw, Poland, in pantomime. At last, a Shakespeare play without his words: pure theatre, an achievement one theatrical enthusiast hoped would not be the last such "venture into Shakespeare."

Perhaps those monkish scholars are the protectors of the great god Shakespeare after all. In their cells of academe, perhaps they do provide for the works a refuge from the zealous embracements of theatrical enthusiasts. Among temperate scholars, certainly reason and perspective prevail. Alas and forbear. The Industry and its state of mind exist among scholars like a rapturous frenzy among mystics.

IV

Numbers do not tell everything, but they do give indications. The first Shakespeare bibliography, which covered nearly three and a half centuries of publication prior to 1935, contained only about 3800 items, and listed 31 journals that printed articles on Shakespeare. A bibliography of the same kind covering the next twenty-two years between 1936 and 1958 listed over 20,000 titles and more than 150 journals publishing Shakespearean scholarship. The most recent Shakespeare bibliography, which covers only one year, 1980, is just under an inch thick, weighs in just short of a pound, and contains a list of over 500 journals in which the editors found the thousands of articles published on Shakespeare during that single year. At least a dozen journals are now devoted solely to Shakespeare and include *The Shakespeare Film Newsletter*, *Shakespeare Studies* (Japan), Shakespeare Translation, Shakespeare-Jahrbuch and Shakespeare-*Jahrbuch* (one for East Germany and one for West Germany), and *Hamlet Studies*, a journal given over entirely to the study of the melancholy Dane and published in New Delhi. The mind boggles.

Modern Shakespearean scholarship differs from earlier criticism in several ways. Commentaries during Shakespeare's lifetime were by no means uniformly complimentary and, perhaps most striking, were brief and few. Also, until the last couple of generations, scholars and critics interested in Shakespeare were mainly British, though for reasons not fully explained, a good deal of Shakespearean scholarship in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was written by Germans. Americans compared with the British did not contribute a great deal until the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century. Access, and then money, in great part, made the difference.

With the purchase of great libraries and voracious buying of bundles of books by late nineteenth and early twentieth-century wealthy American businessmen who built enormous private libraries, the major resources for the study of early literature, especially Shakespeare, were slowly transferred to this side of the Atlantic. The English gentleman of letters, with his private income and access to the rarest of books either in such repositories as the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge or the private collections of great families, had seen his day as the chief Shakespearean scholar. Scholarship passed to a wider body of interested students with the opening of such extraordinary research centers as the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California (1925) and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. (1932) and with the expansion of the libraries of the great American universities, all the result of unusual wealth.

However important the availability of Shakespearean materials was, it does not explain the burgeoning of Shakespearean scholarship in the second quarter of the twentieth century. The major factor, rather, seems to have been that same energy and that same state of mind--pecuniary interests aside but not to be entirely dismissed--that motivated the likes of Sharpe, Garrick and the newspaperman in Stratford, Ontario. The single summer festival on each side of the Atlantic in 1935 that ballooned into a good two dozen in the past year must be seen, then, as only one part of the Industry that was also busy producing thousands of tomes and tens of thousands of articles by enthusiastic scholars practicing their own kind of Shakespearean ecstasy.

The methods and approaches adopted by the modern Shakespearean scholar are so many that to mention but a few does not do justice to his imaginative faculties or, as some might say, his frenzied obsession. The computer, of course, has for a number of years been pressed into service to study all kinds of wonderful things Shakespearean, including the examination of his early texts. Those texts, in fact, have become a major scholarly occupation all their own, resulting in a variety of studies including the publication of edition after edition of Shakespeare's plays, a facsimile copy of a perfectly printed 1623 First Folio--a book that in fact doesn't exist and perhaps never did but was created by putting together all the good parts of the imperfect ones that do--and articles and books on the work of the different men who set the type of Shakespeare's early printed texts, men now nameless but ignominiously identified as Compositors A, B, E, X, and Y.

The bulk of Shakespearean scholarship, however, deals with thematic or artistic matters. In their scholarly essays, students of Marx study and claim Shakespeare, as do students of Freud, neither of which is to be outdone by students of existential philosophers, all of whom along with other intellectual partisans make Shakespeare one of their own in their writings, Shakespeare's images, his dramatic structures, his characters, his verse, his women, his fathers, his animals, his plants, his theatre, his ghosts, his magic, his religion, his politics, his knowledge of the law, of the sea, of the military, and yes of course, his life are studied and discussed and probed and, along with an even greater number of subjects, are written and written and written about. An especially peculiar group argue over who wrote Shakespeare's works. The Baconians want him, but only as Francis Bacon; others want him as Christopher Marlowe, or Edward de Vere, or even Queen Elizabeth I herself. One critic of renown has made a serious study of

the silences in Shakespeare; perhaps encouraged by that success a more recent scholar is now bringing out a book on the white spaces in Shakespeare's text.

These and thousands of scholars like them band together in such organizations as the Shakespeare Association of America and go to all kinds of Shakespearean meetings such as the World Congress of Shakespeare and usually hear at least one of their own deliver, with a remarkably straight face, a paper describing several Shakespearean subjects that somehow have been terribly neglected by the hordes of scholars. The many papers delivered for edification of the assembled throng are often printed so that the throng later unassembled can be reedified.

Academe, then, provides no refuge from the generating force of the Shakespeare Industry. As part of that Industry, in fact, Shakespearean scholars may even be more enthusiastic than the producers of Shakespeare's plays; academics in their ecstasy speak, for the most part, to themselves and or to one another. Loss of perspective is always a greater danger to closed societies than it is to those who must mix with other worlds. Yet scholars do, in their exchange, serve as a check on each other. The difference between the two faces of the Industry--the academics and the theatre people--is, however, insignificant. Both have broken out of bounds.

V

The "local cult," which Brown and Fearon described nearly fifty years as having grown "into a cosmic industry," has expanded today beyond probably anything considered possible in 1939. Indeed, the title of Brown and Fearon's last chapter, "Outward, Onward, Upward," has taken on a prophetic quality that one doubts either man imagined. One suspects that their reaction to it all would be mixed, as is anyone's who finds great joy in Shakespeare and would yet keep a certain balance about him. It is hard, after all, for one not to feel some twinges of excitement when he sees something so undeniably great as Shakespeare's works so widely performed and so widely studied. And who would gainsay the knowledge and pleasure various of these endeavors have in fact brought? Still, one cannot also help feeling

astonished and overwhelmed by the activity, diversity and immensity of the Shakespeare Industry. One has to be puzzled as to what it can possibly mean, and perhaps more than a little worried about what effect the whole burgeoning, inflated Industry will have on its single resource: Shakespeare's plays and poems.

The modern mulberry-tree-trinket--world is no real problem, though libraries of Shakespearean research and Shakespeare theatrical festivals seem to try to outdo each other with knicknack kiosks selling Shakespearean pot-holders and Super Bard T-Shirts. It is simply the silly side of the Industry just as it has always been. But a lesson can be taken from this merchandizing part of the Industry. Barely within the outer edges of Shakespeare's deific aura, this unapologetically pecuniary side sits less protected by Shakespearean respect, and therefore in its comparative nakedness, tells us something of the bizarre effects of enthusiasm.

Of course Shakespeare's works themselves will survive. They are sturdy stuff, and just as Handel's *Messiah* has shown its true mettle over the years by surviving all the community choruses performing with more energy than talent, Shakespeare's plays and poems have also survived, and will in the future--less, however, as a result of the Industry than despite it. But if there is no danger that the inflation created by the Industry will debase the real coin of Shakespeare, might that coin's image be so distorted that its real value will be lost on many of those who have commerce with it? Can the distinction between what is of value and what isn't be maintained if everything identified with Shakespeare is promoted as valuable, as worthwhile? The history of the Industry--its size and its energy--tells us that these are the real dangers it carries.

How can all the Shakespearean groupies--whether scholar or stagehand, editor or film director--rushing about in consort with the driving momentum of the Industry bandwagon maintain a perspective born of the critical eye, if indeed they have not lost it already? As energy is mistaken for understanding, excitement for appreciation, innovation for creativity, promotion for substance, enthusiasm for illumination, size and quantity for worth and value, the center from which all the joy and excitement have sprung runs the serious risk of becoming obscured by all the noise, hoopla, and trappings.

Anne Hathaway's husband himself knew when enough was enough. Even he, the great maker, pulled back, put things in perspective, retired from the stage and playwriting, and went home to put his house in order--and to raise an occasional sheep. Producers and scholars need not and should not cease their work and retire with Shakespeare. But they and those others who would find and know him ought to strive to see him plain, unobscured by the whirlwind born of their own passionate intensity.

"Allay thy ecstasy," he said with his usual clarity and wisdom, "In measure rein the joy."

ENDNOTES

[1]The book was published in the United States as *This Shakespeare Industry*.

[2]Much of the material about Garrick's Jubilee comes from Brown and Fearon's chapter, "Jubilees and Stuff," pp. 74-94.

[3]S. Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford, 1970), p. 155.

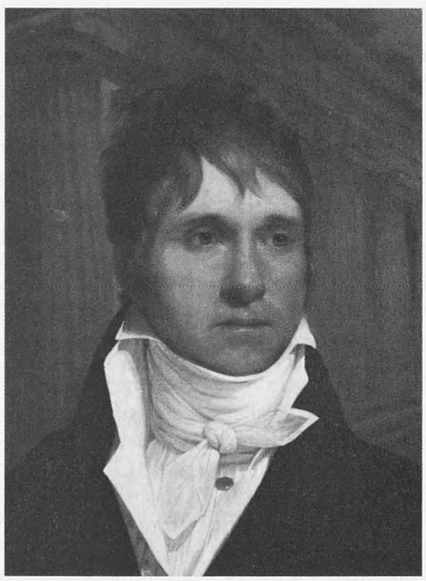
[4]Information about the Shakespeare festivals in the United States comes primarily from Glen Loney and Patricia McKay, *The Shakespeare Complex: A Guide to Summer Festivals and Year-round Repertory in North America* (New York, 1975), and Richard L. Coe, "Shakespeare Theatre in North America," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 27 (1976), 109-114.

[5]"Cedric Messina Discusses *The Shakespeare Plays*," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 30 (1979), 135.

WILLIAM SHORT
America's First Career Diplomat

Jefferson's "Adopted Son" Took Paris By Storm

By
Lucille McWane Watson



"His (Short's) talent, his virtues and his connections ensure him anything he may desire . . .He put himself under my guidance at nineteen or twenty years of age; he is to me therefore as an adopted son and nothing is more interesting to me than that he should do what is best for himself."

--Thomas Jefferson

When Thomas Jefferson went to Paris in 1784 as Treaty Commissioner with Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, representing the Confederation of States before the formation of the Federal government, he took William Short with him as his private secretary. This wealthy young Virginian of exceptional education and refinement, twenty years his junior, had graduated from the College of William and Mary in 1779 at the age of twenty. There he had been one of the founders of Phi Beta Kappa, then a student secret society, and its president from 1778 to 1781. Sponsored by his teacher, George Wythe, and with Mr. Jefferson as a client, he had begun the practice of law and from 1783 had been a member of the Virginia Executive Council of State before he left for France when only twenty-five years old.

Jefferson's affection for the promising young man, who had studied under his direction, is evident in his allusions to him as his "adopted son" although there was no legal basis for this designation. One instance when he used the term provides Jefferson's own explanation for it. It is contained in a letter to John Trumbull, from Paris, dated June 1, 1789, in which he wrote of Short ". . . His talent, his virtues and his connections ensure him anything he may desire. . . . He put himself under my guidance at nineteen or twenty years of age; he is to me therefore as an adopted son and nothing is more interesting to me than that he should do what is best for himself."

There were also family ties to strengthen Jefferson's relationship with his secretary. Henry Skipwith and his brother Robert, uncles of William Short, married half-sisters of Thomas Jefferson's wife, the former Martha Wayles. In the familiar pattern of oldtime Virginia kinships, the Jefferson daughters and William Short were thus cousins in the general usage then of that all-embracing term.

Upon arriving in Paris, the young secretary, on the instructions of Madison, Franklin and Jefferson, was sent at once to The Hague to negotiate with the Prussian minister there in connection with the Prussian Treaty. After returning to France his responsibilities increased and when Mr. Jefferson became minister to France, in March 1785, and set up a legation, William Short became the head of its staff.

It was at this time he accompanied Jefferson to a houseparty attended by some of the most prominent nobles of France for which the host was Duc Louie-Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld d' Enville.

William Short was soon captivating French people of all classes with his natural charm, his social graces, and his fluency in their native tongue. In turn he was captivated by one of them: Rosalie, the young Duchesse of the houseparty - Alexandrine Charlotte de Rohan-Chabot, daughter of the Duc de Rohan-Chabot and wife of the Duc Louis Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld, scion of one of the oldest noble families of France.

While his position as secretary would classify him as an underling, William Short moved in the fashionable circles of class-conscious Versailles and Paris with the social ease that was his heritage. He had been

presented at the court of Louis XVI as a Privy Councilor of Virginia, and during social seasons in Paris was in demand as a guest in some of its most exclusive salons. Often he escorted Rosalie to the theatre and to the lavish balls of the day when his grace as a dancer increased his popularity with his hosts and their friends.

By the time Jefferson returned to America in the fall of 1789 William Short had won such recognition in France that he could act on his own in many diplomatic matters. Upon the formation of the United States, President Washington appointed him acting Charge d' Affairs, on September 29, 1789. His formal appointment to the post came the following year, April 20, 1790, when his commission, the first conferred by the federal government on a U.S. Foreign Service representative, was confirmed by the Senate. The apt pupil of Franklin, Adams and Jefferson, trained by actual experience under their tutorship, thus became America's first career diplomat.

The hand-lettered William Short commissions with their crude hand-cut seals and signatures of the first President and his cabinet officers tell their own story. One issued to Short as "Commissioner Plenipotentiary" signed by Washington and Edmund Randolph "at the City of Philadelphia," July 11, 1794, "reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, prudence and abilities of William Short" gives him "full power and authority for and in the name of the United States" to go from Paris to Spain on a mission as minister to begin the negotiations that led eventually to the Louisiana Purchase.

An earlier commission signed by Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, "authorized and empowered William Short, Charge d' Affairs of the United States, at the Court of France to borrow on behalf of the United States in any part of Europe a sum of sums not exceeding in the whole Fourteen Millions of Dollars" to pay his country's public debt and foreign debt. (To have this authority given on November 29, 1790, to a young gentleman just turned thirty-one indicates that today's much overworked concept of the "generation gap" held no handicap for William Short.)

Performing the duties called for by such commissions brought Short into close touch with political as

A tiny miniature portrait of Alexandrine Charlote de Rohan-Chabot, the special woman in William Short's life for more than 40 years, was found in a secret compartment in Short's wallet. (Photos courtesy of the Smithsonian)

"Uncle Willie's Wallet"

William Short's Wallet Reveals Cherished Memorabilia

The compact little red leather "pocketcase" that belonged originally to William Short, "our first career diplomat," does not look its age for it has been treasured as a family heirloom down the years and carefully preserved by subsequent owners with its contents intact. It measures 5 3/4 inches in length and 3 1/2 inches in width and is held closed by a flap fitted with a gold clasp. Inside are six separate compartments lined with green silk, a small laid-in detached notebook bound in the same red leather, and a thin gold-tipped pencil.

Today when so few such personal possessions are saved after estate settlements its very preservation seems noteworthy. The case alone might quite naturally have become a keepsake after Short's death in 1849 but for the miscellany inside to have survived also, when it could so easily have been discarded as inconsequential, attests the devotion of his heirs.

The notations on its small papers, in Short's microscopic writing in English and French, are very much like those carried in pocketbooks today as reminders of various sort. They include expense accounts, inventories, travel notes, prescriptions, book lists, inscriptions, addresses, bond quotations and newspaper clippings. Only the several locks of hair, wrapped and labeled, seem the least bit oldfashioned.

Both the public achievements of William Short (1759-1849) and the biographical facts of his distinguished career are amply documented by official records in national archives. His long and eventful life, spent largely in the company of the greats of his day, coincided with many of the most dramatic episodes in American history and in some of these he was cast in a leading role. The esteem in which he was held by his associates likewise has been given due recognition. Often, however, it is in his own cherished memorabilia that a man's true character is best reflected. Important documentation therefore sometimes may be found in what might otherwise be regarded as mere trivia. When considered in this light, the pocketcase carried by William Short, together with its contents, becomes a significant historic relic.

Inheritors of the intimate heirloom that tells so much about its first owner have enjoyed displaying it

from time to time to show both its interesting memoranda and the quality of its construction. During such an inspection nearly a hundred years after Short's death it was found to have a secret compartment not noticed before. Tightly clamped to the inside of the hard back cover, a hidden compartment was discovered that upon being forced open revealed a beautiful miniature portrait of an eighteenth century lady, perfectly fitted into an oval depression obviously especially designed for it. It could surely be no other than "Rosalie," loved by William Short with such constancy for more than forty years that he never married although she was married twice.

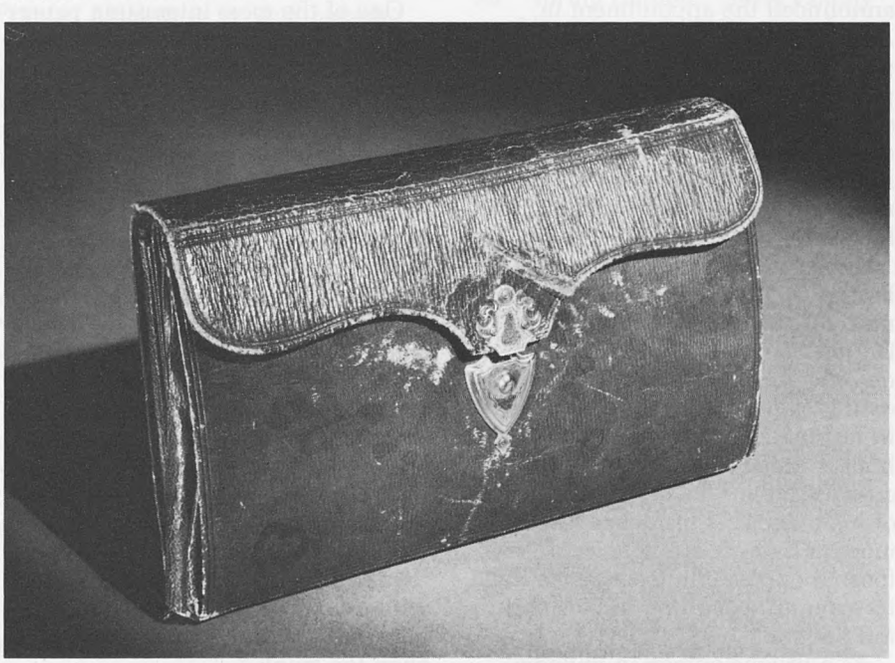
Perhaps it was because the first inheritor knew that she was there that he so treasured the repository and sealed the picture so carefully from prying eyes. Or was he, too, unaware of the work of art inside that may even have been concealed there by William Short himself? Whatever is the explanation, the portrait not known to exist before can now be shown and the intriguing story of its fascinating subject retold.

When the painting was found, Charles Wilkins Short III (1884-1954), then the owner of the "pocket-case," as he called it, began at once to seek to authenticate the likeness as that of "Rosalie," whose maiden name was Alexandrine Charlote de Rohan-Chabot, and to establish the identity of the artist.

When she and Short met she was the Duchesse de la Rochefeucauld, of a wealthy and talented family influential in French politics and social life. Much of the information used in the accompanying article was furnished the writer by that owner some months before he and his wife, the former Countess Camilla Hoyos, returned to London where they had been married and where soon after their arrival she died, in 1953, and he in 1954. The case then became the property of their three sons who always referred to it affectionately as "Uncle Willie's wallet." It came into its present ownership directly from them.

That "Uncle Willie" had loved so long and lost was as well known to the Shorts of later generations as to earlier members of the family and to historians. They often spoke of the romance and of Rosalie, as they, too, called the Duchesse, almost as if she were a kinswoman. To see her picture at long last was thrilling and to have it authenticated by a direct descendant was a great satisfaction. Recalling the story and the personalities involved brought to light much that adds color to days and ways of the early Republic. Even the few highlights mentioned here suggest the depth of the full account yet to be put together in its entirety.

L.M.W.



William Short's wallet, a compact little red "pocketcase," has been carefully preserved by succeeding generations of the Short family and is now in the Smithsonian Institution.

well as social leaders in France and elsewhere in Europe. Friendships resulted that served him well as an observer and reporter of those turbulent years. Foremost among these friends was Rosalie's husband, the Duc Louis Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld, and his mother the brilliant Dowager Duchesse de la Rochefoucauld d' Enville. Another influential associate was the Marquis de LaFayette.

Short had known the Marquis previously in Williamsburg and this acquaintance ripened into mutual respect and admiration in France. In a letter to President Washington, his former military colleague, General LaFayette wrote: "Mr. Short does the business of the United States with all the zeal and ingenuity of a most sensible and patriotic man . . . is respected and loved in France in a manner equally useful to the public and honorable to himself."

The attachment that developed between William Short and Rosalie seems not to have affected adversely his friendly relations with her family although it appears that from the beginning it was more than just another of those flirtations then so fashionable in court circles. The young Duchesse, married to her uncle, who is said to have been forty years her senior, and the attractive and popular young American diplomat were caught up in a deep and lasting mutual devotion. Numerous family papers and more than two hundred letters in the Short-LaRochefoucauld correspondence in the American Philosophical Society's collection document the love affair that continued from 1790 almost until her death on December 8, 1839. The correspondence, valued also for its first-hand accounts of events of the French Revolution, was acquired by the Society in 1952.

In May 1792 William Short was promoted to the post of Minister Resident to The Hague. Writing from there in September he made reference to those friends endangered by the violence of the revolutionists: "I saw the storm gathering and inevitably to burst on the heads of those with whom I lived and loved in France. The idea of being a spectator of so distressing a scene without being able to evert the impending blows, or contribute in the least to rescue from the ruinous wreck those to whom I was attached by all the ties of friendship, was insupportable to me."

Rosalie's letters to Short at this time told of the mounting terrorism directed against the aristocrats and finally of La Rochefoucould being so alarmed abut the danger to his wife and his mother that he moved them to the seclusion and supposed safety of their chateau in Normandy. Then came the shocking news of the tragic death of the patriotic Duc at LaRoche-Guyon, mobbed and murdered within sight of his wife and his aged mother on August 10, 1792.

William Short's frantic inquiries through Couverneur Morris in Paris about Rosalie and the Dowager Duchesse brought reassurances. Finally leaving the Netherlands for a new mission to Spain he arranged his journey so as to stop off in France to visit them. Traveling by land in his English carriage, with four horses and an outrider, he arrived at Christmastime for a fortnight's stay with them at LaRoche-Guyon. It was at this time that he proposed marriage to Rosalie.

Although now free to marry him, the distraught widow felt it her duty to look after the grieving Dowager Duchesse, who was both her mother-in-law and her grandmother, and so she refused. Understanding her reluctance and realizing their need for protection, Short at once did all he could to safeguard their property and to provide financial aid.

In Spain, where he served also as minister, William Short continued to distinguish himself in affairs of state until he resigned and again went to Paris to live from 1795 to 1802. During these years he came to know the leading figures in the new French Republic and received special attention from Napoleon whose brother Joseph, King of Spain, called him his "great friend." When he returned to the United States, among his treasured possessions was a silver traveling set, for food service, presented to him by Napoleon, parts of which are still held by descendants of his heirs. His intimacy with the Bonapartes was maintained throughout the exile of King Joseph in the United States, when the dethroned monarch was in residence in Philadelphia and nearby Bordentown before going back to Europe. A gift inscribed by him to William Short is still retained in the family - a small landscape sketch by his young daughter Princess Charlotte, who later married her cousin Napoleon Louis, brother of Napoleon III who was for a while King of Holland.

Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe had urged Short to settle near their homes in Virginia close to Charlottesville, and Jefferson had deeded two hundred of his *Monticello* acres to him on condition that he would start to build a residence on it within a year. However, Short chose a location of over two thousand acres next to Monroe's *Ash Lawn* and began to build there the house to which he hoped some day to bring Rosalie. Marble mantels and other fine fixtures collected in Italy and France were assembled for his *Morvan* that its decorations might be to her taste.

"Mr. Short does the business of the United States with all the zeal and ingenuity of a most sensible and patriotic man. . .is respected and loved in France in a manner equally useful to the public and honorable to himself."
-- General Lafayette

Six years after William Short returned home, President Jefferson persuaded him to become the first United States minister to Russia and announced the appointment in August 1808. Short proceeded to his post by way of Paris but the appointment was not confirmed. Jefferson's term was drawing to a close and a hostile Senate denied him this last request, claiming that a permanent minister was not needed in Russia.

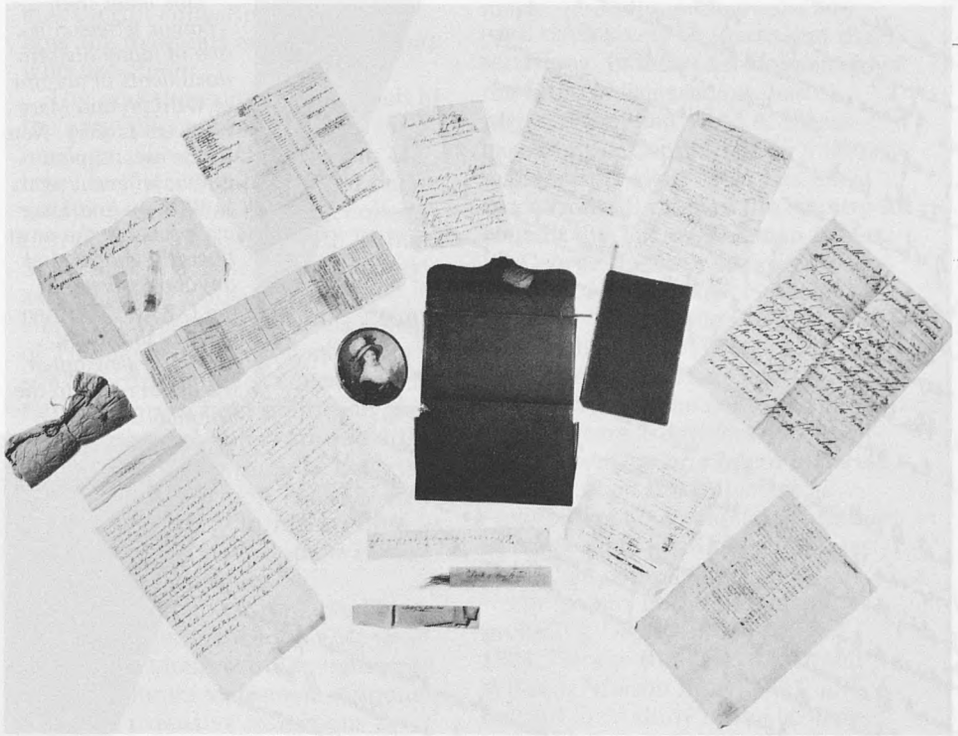
Short received this news in France in 1809 and remained there until 1810. After returning to the United States he lived in Philadelphia which he had adopted earlier as his home, staying at first in fashionable French boarding houses noted for their clientele and cuisine, buying in 1830 a fine house of his own. This residence "with modern bathing arrangements" was located opposite Independence Hall, its grounds extending to Washington Square.

As a private citizen in Philadelphia William Short became one of the country's leading financiers. He had inherited investments in the Barbados, England, Virginia and North Carolina, and through shrewd Dutch bankers with whom he had dealt on his diplomatic missions he had greatly increased his wealth. He also pursued his cultural and civic interests there. He had become a member of the American Philosophical Society when Thomas Jefferson was its president and served on many of its committees. He donated to its Library numerous rare books, and presented to the Society also, among other gifts, its Thomas Sully portrait of Thomas Jefferson. (Antiques, July 1973, p. 118). For the last decade of his life he was president of the American Colonization Society, the humanitarian effort he had long advocated and supported.

Growing old, William Short decided to see to it that his brother Peyton's sons would benefit by his fortune while they were still young, wishing to retain for himself only "enough to live comfortably in his quiet way." Accordingly he sent for Judge John E. Cleve Short of Cincinnati and Dr. Charles Wilkins Short of Louisville, told them of his desires and arranged the division. Time proved his confidence well placed. Both nephews achieved success and prominence, Charles Wilkins Short becoming the famous botanist and John Cleve Short, among other things, administering the estate of William Henry Harrison, having married Betsy Harrison, his first cousin, daughter of the President.

One of the most interesting papers in Short's wallet records "Uncle Willie's" concern during his diplomatic career for the disposal of his varied and valuable estate. The memorandum is headed: "Copy of paper pasted on the tin box left in my trunk of papers, Philad. Sept. 23, 1808." After a list of important documents there, including his will, are these instructions: "The above articles are in the tin box. In the trunk are papers, etc. of various kinds. Should I not return I wish my brother to examine them and destroy such as he may not choose to keep. Should my brother not be alive I wish this to be done by his sons John and Charles. The packet which is sealed for which I have exacted a request that it should be burnt without the seals being broken, I hope will be burnt by those who open the trunk."

Just what was in that sealed packet to be burned without opening? One wonders. Could it have



Short's wallet revealed a remarkable number of memorabilia and documents which provided important information on Short's life for this article.

been love letters that were *not* burned and now repose in public files? Was the "request," being neither a promise nor pledge, disregarded, or did William later change his mind? If somebody knows, it would be interesting to hear.

Rosalie's second marriage took place 1815, (other references consulted have 1810 as the year) which was William Short's final year in France. According to his biographers, Boniface-Louis-Andre de Castellane (1758-1837), like her first husband, was prominent in court circles of his time and in political movements. A royal army commander, he was promoted to Field Marshal in March 1792 but resigned the following August. He appears to have served in high places in several regimes and in 1805 was made a Peer of the Realm by Louis IVIII. His first wife whom he married in 1778 also had the name de Rohan-Chabot and so was apparently related to Rosalie. His son by his first marriage, Esprit-Victor-Boniface de Castellane (1788-1862), was also Marshal of France.

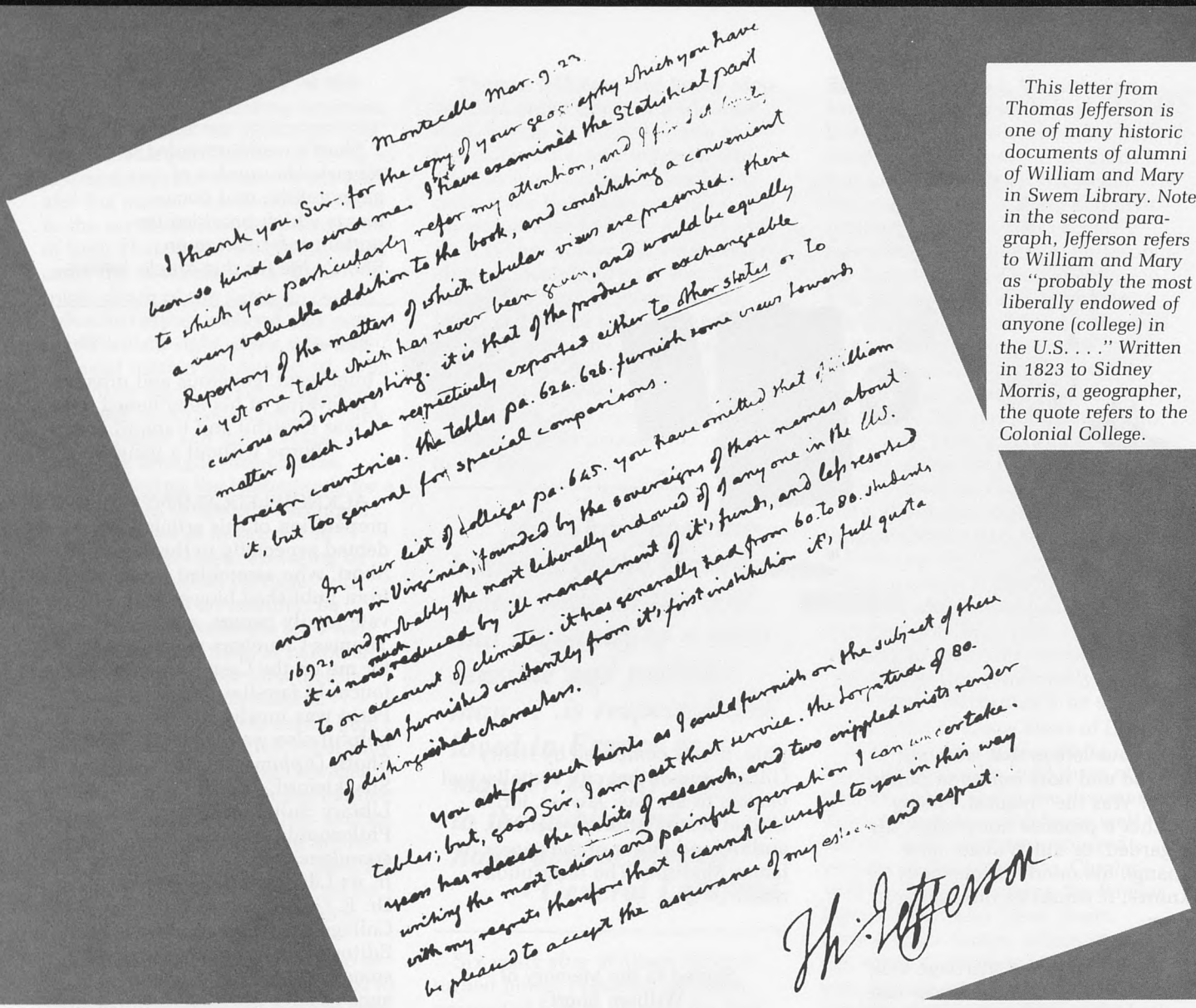
To eulogize William Short, the man and his accomplishments, no better statement may be found than the epitaph on his tomb in old Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia. It was composed by Henry Gilpin, one of that city's intellectual leaders of his day; lawyer, jurist, United States Attorney General, author, and editor of the papers of James Madison. The inscription reads:

Sacred to the Memory of
William Short
Born
At "Spring Garden," Surry County
Virginia on the 30th day of
September A.D. 1759
Died
At Philadelphia on the 5th day of
December A.D. 1849
His life private and public
Was distinguished by ability,
probity and industry never
questioned
He received from
President Washington with the
unanimous approval of the Senate
the first appointment to public office
conferred under the Constitution of
the United States
And from President Jefferson whose
affection and friendship he always
possessed, proofs of similar
confidence.
The public trusts he fulfilled with
a sincere patriotism,
A sagacious judgment and
moderation and integrity which
deserved and secured success.
In private life, which for many years
he fondly courted, he was social,
intelligent, generous and urbane.
The eveing of his lengthened days
was cheerful and tranquil and
borne without a pang.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: In the preparation of this article I am indebted especially to the late C.W. Short, who assembled for me notes from published biographies and private family papers, and to Bettye Thomas Chambers whose research for me on the Castellane and Rochefoucauld families and the artist Perin was invaluable. Extremely helpful also was the study *William Short, Diplomat*, by George Green Shackleford, published in the 1958 Library Bulletin of the American Philosophical Society, and correspondence with Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. its Librarian. Early letters from Dr. E. G. Swem, late Librarian at the College of William and Mary and Editor of its Quarterly, supplied some details. The Frick Art Reference Library provided confirmation of the statement that the miniature portrait has not been known previously. Appreciation for their complete co-operation goes also to Christopher Short, of England, and Peyton and Ambrose Short of Wilmington, Delaware and to the late James Short, of Colonial Williamsburg (not a kinsman), for assistance and encouragement.)

- Lucille McWane Watson

The author is the founder and former editor of The Iron Worker, *a magazine published by the Lynchburg Foundry Company, a family business. Listed in Who's Who of American women, she has written several articles for antiques magazines and other publications. She has given to the College a Queen Anne Chest-On-Frame and silver crafted in Philadelphia from the Short Family Collections.*



Monticello Mar. 9. 23.

I thank you, Sir. for the copy of your geography which you have been so kind as to send me. I have examined the Statistical part to which you particularly refer my attention, and I find it full, a very valuable addition to the book, and constituting a convenient Repertory of the matters of which tabular views are presented. there is yet one table which has never been given, and would be equally curious and interesting. it is that of the produce or exchangeable matter of each state respectively exported either to other states or to foreign countries. the tables pa. 624. 626. furnish some views towards it, but too general for special comparisons.

In your list of colleges pa. 645. you have omitted that of William and Mary in Virginia, founded by the sovereigns of those names about 1692, and probably the most liberally endowed of any one in the U.S. it is now much reduced by ill management of it's funds, and has resorted to an account of climate. it has generally had from 60. to 80. students and has furnished constantly from it's first institution it's full quota of distinguished characters.

You ask for such hints as I could furnish on the subject of these tables; but, good Sir, I am past that service. the torpitude of 80. years has reduced the habits of research, and two crippled wrists render writing the most tedious and painful operation I can undertake. with my regrets therefore that I cannot be useful to you in this way be pleased to accept the assurance of my esteem and respect.

Th: Jefferson

This letter from Thomas Jefferson is one of many historic documents of alumni of William and Mary in Swem Library. Note in the second paragraph, Jefferson refers to William and Mary as "probably the most liberally endowed of anyone (college) in the U.S. . . ." Written in 1823 to Sidney Morris, a geographer, the quote refers to the Colonial College.

Papers of Alumni In Swem Library's Manuscript Collection

Alumni Of The College Follow Jefferson's Dictum In Preserving History In William and Mary's Library

By Margaret Cook

On 4 October 1823, alumnus Thomas Jefferson wrote to a friend: "I agree with you that it is the duty of every good citizen to use all the opportunities which occur to him for preserving documents relating to the history of our country." Saving historical papers has been one of the activities of the College Library since the 1920's. Dr. E. G. Swem, a "grand acquisitor," brought in collection upon collection during his tenure as College Librarian. This rewarding task is being carried on today by Librarian Clifford Currie, Associate Librarian John Haskell, and Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books Margaret Cook. The Library at the present time has approximately 500 collections of Virginia family papers, together with records of local organizations and the papers of former faculty and alumni. Assembling papers of distinguished alumni has always been a goal of the Library, and at the present a stepped-up plan to more actively collect papers of the College's graduates is being instigated. The purpose of this article is to inform the reader of the Library's

(Margaret Cook is the curator of manuscripts and Rare Books in William and Mary's Earl Gregg Swem Library.)

manuscript collections of alumni, how the materials are cared for, and who uses them.

The quotation cited speaks well of the care Jefferson took of his own heritage. The Earl Gregg Swem Library has over 760 letters and documents to and from him in a collection of correspondence with William Short and in a collection of papers assembled by College Professor Henry A. Washington for his edition of Thomas Jefferson Papers. Jefferson's correspondence covers a wide range of topics from politics to gardening. Several letters are about the colonial College, which he described as "probably the most liberally endowed," and has "furnished from its first institution its full quota of distinguished characters."

Jefferson's papers are joined by those of Chief Justice John Marshall and James Monroe, other eighteenth century alumni-statesmen. Although not such extensive collections as Jefferson's, Marshall's and Monroe's papers each form important groups of manuscripts and are much consulted by scholars. The Marshall collection given over the years by the family contains a number of letters to his wife "Polly"; his College law notes and Richmond account book; and letters from Joseph Story, Bushrod Washington, Timothy Pickering, and Martin Van Buren. The library has contributed copies of its Marshall manuscripts to the Institute of Early American History and Culture's project of editing and publishing the *John Marshall Papers*.

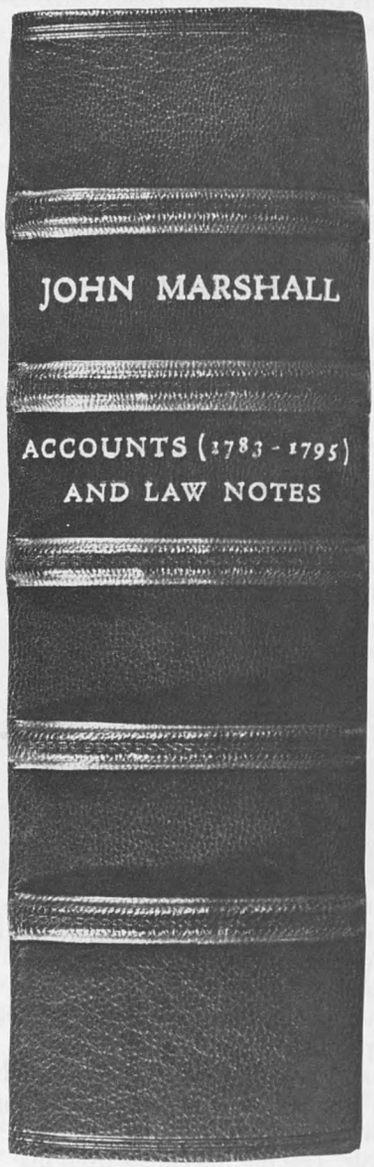
Many of the Monroe Papers were donated by Jay Johns, industrialist, who also bequeathed Ash Lawn (Monroe's plantation home, not far from that of his friend Jefferson at Monticello) to the College. The other Monroe materials were purchased at auction at Sotheby-Parke-Bernet last year. Unlike Marshall's papers, the Monroe Papers do not contain many personal letters to his family, but rather include correspondence to him from such notable people as Edmund Randolph, John Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and John C. Calhoun.

The Tucker-Coleman Papers given by Mrs. George P. Coleman and her daughter, Dr. Janet C. Kimbrough, class of 1921, are rich in Virginia history and College history. One of the Library's most heavily used collections by researchers, the papers of St. George Tucker, class of 1772, and his family, have been cited in many scholarly monographs and used extensively in theses and dissertations. In fact, Carl Dolmetsch, of the English Department, has directed more than 10 M.A. theses based on St. George Tucker's literary manuscripts alone. Scholars have come from all parts of the country to consult the Tucker-Coleman Papers. St. George Tucker's sons were also alumni of the College: Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, class of 1801, and Henry St. George Tucker, class of 1799, and their letters and other manuscripts in the collection document careers as lawyers and teachers of law. One prominent historian has described the collection as "magnificent . . ., one full of interest of many kinds, [which] should be published completely."

The papers of the Blow family including George Blow, class of 1804, George Blow, Jr., 1831, and William Nivison Blow, 1841, are helpful for a study of the economic and social history of Southside Virginia. The progenitor of the family, Richard Blow, owned stores in Norfolk, Portsmouth, Williamsburg, and Petersburg, and was a shipowner. His descendants' papers offer to the historian a wealth of information concerning their plantation in Surry County called "Tower Hill."

The medical profession is well represented in the Galt Family Papers, a collection which spans over 100 years. Dr. John Minson Galt I, class of 1762, Dr. Alexander Dickie Galt, class of 1789, and Dr. John Minson Galt II, class of 1839, were all associated with Eastern State Hospital in Williamsburg as physician or superintendent from 1795 to 1862. In family, personal, and medical papers, their contributions to the care of the insane are well documented.

Of twentieth century political interest are the recently donated personal papers of Mills E. Godwin, Jr., class of 1935, first elected to the Virginia General Assembly in 1947 and Governor, 1966-70 and 1974-78. His papers include speeches, correspondence, clippings, and audio-visual materials and are a source for the study of his career as well as a source for the study of recent Virginia history. Of a slightly earlier period are the papers of William Munford Tuck of South Boston, Virginia, class of 1917, dating from the 1920's, which tell the story of a colorful and conservative Virginia



Among the collections are papers and documents from the George Blow family, including a rendition of one of the members of the family thought to be Richard Blow (above), and John Marshall's Accounts and Law Notes. The Notes were collected while he was a student at the College under George Wythe.

lawyer, governor, and congressman. A biography of Tuck appeared four years ago, based in part on his papers. The recently acquired professional papers of Ted Dalton, class of 1924 (father of former Governor John Dalton who also is an alumnus of the College), present the views of a progressive Virginia Republican. Documenting his two campaigns as the Republican candidate for the Virginia governorship in 1953 and 1957, they provide a balance to the papers of Virginia Democrats in the collection. The Library is also grateful to have the papers of Schuyler Otis Bland, class of 1896, Congressman for the first district of Virginia, 1918-1950.

Of military interest are the papers of William B. Taliaferro and John Lesslie Hall, Jr. General Taliaferro fought in both the Mexican War and the Civil War and his papers--both official and personal--document the interesting career of this member of the class of 1842 from Gloucester, Virginia. Vice Admiral Hall, class of 1909, a son of one of the "Seven Wise Men"--as the faculty in the 1890s was known--did not follow in his father's footsteps; instead he opted for a naval career where he rose quickly to become known as the "Viking" Admiral for his imposing and commanding presence and for his amphibious warfare assaults, all boldly and meticulously planned and executed with precision, during the second World War.

Although historical papers are emphasized at the College, literary collections of alumni also play an important part. Starting with the poems, plays, and essays of St. George Tucker and following with the papers of James Barron Hope, class of 1848, the nineteenth century "Virginia laureate," to the present day with publications by John Weaver, class of 1932, and manuscripts of novels by Stephen Marlowe, class of 1949, literature is well represented.

An unusual collection is formed by the papers of Moncure Robinson, class of 1818, a railroad entrepreneur. Tracing his career from his student days at the College and a year in Europe to matriculate at the Sorbonne and to study canals and bridges, to his Presidency of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad, the Moncure Robinson Papers document with unusual precision the life of one of Virginia's early business leaders.

Among papers of other lawyers than the Tuckers are those of George Washington Southall, class of 1827, of Williamsburg. He handled cases from the surrounding counties, and his files reveal considerable genealogical information especially for the "burned" Virginia counties such as James City and Gloucester, the records of which were lost during the Civil War.

Of a quite different kind is the collection of papers of Robert Morton Hughes who was class of 1873 and was later rector of the Board of Visitors. Partly his personal and business papers and partly an autograph collection, it includes letters by Mark Twain, Ellen Glasgow, John Quincy Adams, Mark Hanna, and Woodrow Wilson.

"An unusual collection is formed by the papers of Moncure Robinson, class of 1818, a railroad entrepreneur. Tracing his career from his student days at the College and a year in Europe to matriculate at the Sorbonne and to study canals and bridges, to his Presidency of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad, the Moncure Robinson papers document with unusual precision one of Virginia's early business leaders."

Diaries can be a fine source of biographical information and social history and William Lamb's journal is no exception. Lamb, confederate officer, businessman, mayor of Norfolk, in his student diary (1855) affectionately describes, with a nineteenth century flavor, the College as it was at his commencement: "I had to bid farewell perhaps forever to the sweet scenes of my College life, to those familiar faces that by long intercourse had become like the sweet faces of home. Farewell old Williamsburg, God bless you and yours. Within your venerable walls I have been happy, pleasure has attended me along your grass grown streets . . . I could not leave these scenes, familiar as the face of some old friend, dear is the memory of buried love with any place but a sweet home awaits me." Lamb was to return to the College as a member of the Board of Visitors in 1867.

The manuscript collection also includes papers of William and Mary faculty such as Benjamin Ewell, John Millington, Lyon G. Tyler, G. Glenwood Clark, Harold Fowler, and Richard L. Morton. In addition, the Library possesses the papers of a distinguished professor of economics at Washington and Lee. Robert H. Tucker, who was William and Mary class of 1893, in his unpublished reminiscences describes himself as coming to the College with no formal high school education and standing in awe of the "Seven Wise Men." He must have been stimulated by his teachers for he remained in academic life, published widely, and served a year as President of Washington and Lee in 1930.

These, in a capsule, are some of the Earl Gregg Swem Library's papers of alumni. Some of them pertain in part to their experiences at the College, while others document their professional careers. The staff of Swem Library with the full support of Ed Crapol, chairman of the History Department, seeks to more actively follow Jefferson's dictum and encourage alumni to give family, personal, and professional papers to their alma mater.

A deed of gift will transfer property rights, including copyright, from the donor to the Earl Gregg Swem Library. Information on the very simple procedures involved can be obtained readily from the Librarian.

Once a collection has been received, it is accessioned, processed, and catalogued by a professional staff which carefully follows the strictest archival standards. For some of the Library's eighteenth and nineteenth century collections, an item by item description is prepared; this provides a more valid intellectual control over the collection and constitutes a finding aid which can be invaluable to the researcher. Modern papers, tending to be more voluminous than earlier papers, lend themselves better to series and folder descriptions. Most of the collections at Swem Library

have a chronological arrangement.

The manuscript collections are used by graduate and undergraduate students, by faculty, and by visiting scholars. Use of the collection increases yearly as the Library's manuscripts become better known through national guides and bibliographies and through citations in books and journal articles.

The Earl Gregg Swem Library is actively seeking letters, diaries, documents, business papers, literary and other manuscript and typewritten material of prominent alumni. Please get in touch with Professor Ed Crapol of the History Department or Miss Margaret Cook of the Manuscripts and Rare Books Department of the Library.

"The Viking Admiral"

Among the collections of papers described in the accompanying article are those of Admiral John Lesslie Hall, Jr. '09, a member of a distinguished Williamsburg and William and Mary family.

The Admiral Hall papers are an example of the diversity of the Swem Library collections; they have received just as careful handling as if they were Jefferson's, and they have a value to military historians that may exceed others at Swem.

Hall was one of Virginia's most distinguished flag officers, a friend of General George S. Patton, and an expert in amphibious warfare techniques.

His father, Dr. John Lesslie Hall, was one of the famed "Seven Wise Men" at William and Mary when the College reopened in 1888. Dr. Hall taught English and history, and his son entered the College at the age of 14. Young Hall played varsity basketball and baseball, and was quarterback on the football team. After his studies at William and Mary, he accepted an appointment to the Naval Academy at the age of 18.

Hall's early Naval career included duty in the Asiatic area, teaching at the Naval War College, and duty with the Atlantic Fleet. Chief of Staff to the Fleet's Commander of Battleships when World War II broke out, Hall helped develop the massive amphibious invasion of North Africa and later of Sicily.

A tall, imposing figure, Admiral Hall was "one of the most competent, level-headed, and highly respected flag officers in the Navy," wrote historian Samuel Eliot Morison. His appearance and his battle experience gave him the nickname "Viking of Assault" in the headquarters of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, and he earned it again when he landed half of the American troops at Normandy on D-Day, and helped protect them on Omaha Beach. That completed successfully, he was sent to the Pacific to command an attack force which invaded Okinawa, and then took part in the occupation of defeated Japan.

Promoted to Vice Admiral, he held additional commands before taking charge of the Armed Forces Staff College in Norfolk, later retiring as a four-star admiral in 1953.

William and Mary, recognizing his unique career perhaps told best in his papers, conferred on him both the Alumni Medallion and the honorary Doctor of Laws degree. The Virginia General Assembly passed a joint resolution in his honor, and President Eisenhower called on him to be national chairman of the United Services Organization.

Admiral Hall died in 1978 and lies buried in Arlington National Cemetery, overlooking the Potomac.

Admiral John Lesslie Hall '09, nicknamed the "Viking of Assault" by General Eisenhower, served as Chief of Staff to the Atlantic Fleet's Commander of Battleships when World War II broke out. He helped develop the massive amphibious invasion of North Africa and later of Sicily.

James Blair
First Rector

Herbert V. Kelly '40
Current Rector

"One Discreet And Fit Person"

Beginning With The Reverend James Blair, Unique Group Served As Rectors Of The College

By Wilford Kale '66

"They shall have one discreet and fit person, that shall be elected and nominated out of their number, in the manner hereafter mentioned, that shall be and shall be called Rector of the said college. . ."

With those words the Royal Charter that established the College of William and Mary in Virginia on Feb. 8, 1693 delineated "for all time coming" the executive position of its Board of Visitors. From that date until the present, with the exception of three years during the Civil War when there was no person in the office, the post of Rector has been filled.

Under the Charter, the Visitors initially were to be "eighteen men or any other number not exceeding the number of twenty. . ." King William III and Queen Mary II in providing for the organization of the college arranged through the Charter that the Rev. James Blair, who was to be the college president "during his natural life," also would be the first rector.

The word rector, a church-related term, has been used by successive holders of the office, but until about three years ago the incumbent in modern times had always been referred to as the "Rector of the Board of Visitors." Dr. Robert J. Faulconer '43 of Norfolk, a board member, carefully scrutinized the charter and determined, rightfully, that the post should be called "Rector of the College," the term initially used in 1693. The title was subsequently changed.

The Charter says the rector "shall have power to have, exercise and enjoy the said office of rector of the said college, for one whole year, then next ensuing and thereafter, until some other rector of the said college shall be duly elected, preferred and sworn into the said office."

Initially that passage of the charter determined that the rector should be elected annually and according to the surviving board minutes such was the case in most situations. There were occasions, however, when the same rector was merely continued in the post. Now, under the board's current by-laws, the rector can be elected for a maximum of two, two-year terms. The Charter has no such proviso, and, in fact, persons have held the post for as long as 22 years, according to existing records.

Under provisions set down by King William and Queen Mary, the board of visitors, from 1693 until 1888, was a self-perpetuating board, with surviving members electing the new members. After the silent time 1881-88, when President Benjamin S. Ewell kept the old charter alive by ringing the bell, William and Mary became a "state normal school" and under the agreement with the Commonwealth of Virginia, the board of visitors was set at 20 members, with 10 being named by the governor and 10 members constituting the old Charter organization and filling their own vacancies.

In 1888 then rector Judge W. W. Crump of Richmond was elected by the group as "President of the Board of Visitors," while continuing in his historic post of rector. Crump resigned in 1890 and former Confederate Army Gen. William B. Taliaferro of Gloucester County became president of the board of visitors and rector. In 1892, according to board minutes, the Charter group decided to elect Colonel William Lamb of Norfolk as the rector of the college, while General Taliaferro remained as board president.

Lamb, acting as the leader of the old charter board, continued in the rector post until 1906 when the acts of the General Assembly established William and Mary as a state institution of higher education and ordered a reconstitution of the William and Mary board of visitors. However, Lamb, the oldest board member and rector, was not reappointed to the new board by the governor.

Therefore, in 1906, the old "President of the Board," then Robert Morton Hughes of Norfolk, was elected rector, under provisions of the legislation and the Royal Charter. The specific legislation provided that the Royal Charter was applicable in places where state law did not otherwise provide.

Between General Taliaferro and Hughes, Dr. John W. Lawson of Isle of Wight served as "President of the Board of Visitors" although he did not carry the title, "Rector." He was, however, the presiding officer of the board and was the power at William and Mary rather than Colonel Lamb.

For the past two years, an effort has been made to research and compile a list of rectors of the college from 1693 to the present. The list, which accompanies this article, is the up-to-date version, but with scores of dates vacant. Many of the college records and files have been destroyed through the plague of fires that visited William and Mary beginning in 1705 and continuing through the 19th century.

(Wilford Kale '66, chief of the Williamsburg bureau of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, has an ongoing interest in the history of the College of William and Mary. This is part of a continuing study on College rectors, and if any one has additional information, please contact either the author or the archives office at Swem Library.)

Rectors of the College

1693-95
The Rev. James Blair, Williamsburg
1695-96
Miles Cary, Warwick County
1696-97
John Smith, Gloucester County
1697-98
The Rev. Stephen Fouace, York County
1698-1702
Unknown
1702-03
William Byrd I, Henrico County
1703-04
Lt. Gov. Francis Nicholson, Williamsburg
1704-05
Miles Cary, Warwick County
1705
Lt. Gov. Francis Nicholson, Williamsburg

Minutes of the board of visitors are not complete and other college records are skimpy and all of the holes, especially in the 18th century, simply cannot be filled. Records in London at Lambeth Palace, the home of the Bishop of London, and in the various records offices in England have revealed many of the rectors' names. Unfortunately, bits of college history often simply state, "the rector directed that the board should. . ." and the name of the rector is never mentioned.

Records in the Earl Gregg Swem Library clearly point out that John Tyler, who was rector in 1840, continued in the post after he assumed the presidency of the United States following the death of William Henry Harrison. In fact, Tyler was named to the William and Mary board in 1813 and served 49 years until his own death in 1862. The only other person known to have served longer on the board was the college's first president, the Reverend Blair.

Tyler had earlier served as rector, 1827-28, and resumed the rectorship in 1848 continuing in office until he died. The Civil War was then raging around William and Mary and no board of visitors met from 1861-65. Therefore, from 1862-65 there was no incumbent.

According to existing records, the longest tenure as rector was 1918-40 when James Hardy Dillard of Charlottesville served in the post. The only known rector who lived out of state when he was elected was John R. L. Johnson Jr., '28, who was from Chadds Ford, Pa.

1706-15
Unknown
1715-16
Lt. Gov. Alexander Spotswood, Williamsburg
1716
Philip Ludwell, James City County
1717-28
Unknown
1728-29
The Rev. James Blair, Williamsburg
1729
Richard Kennon, Charles City County
1730-36
Unknown
1736
Henry Armistead, Williamsburg
1737-57
Unknown
1757
William Lightfoot, Charles City County
1758-59
*Peyton Randolph, York County
1759-60
Gov. Francis Fauquier, Williamsburg
1760-66
Unknown
1766-67
*Dudley Digges, York County
1767-69
*James M. Fontaine, Gloucester County
1769-70
Gov. Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, Williamsburg
1770-79
Unknown
1779-81
*Judge John Blair, Williamsburg
1781-89
Unknown
1789-90
*St. George Tucker, Williamsburg
1790-1812
Unknown
1812-13
Robert N. Nelson, Williamsburg
1813-14
*Robert Saunders (Sr.), Williamsburg
1814-15
William Browne, Williamsburg
1815
Robert G. Smith, Richmond
1816-17
Unknown
1817
James Semple, Williamsburg
1818-1820
Unknown
1820
*Burwell Bassett, Williamsburg
1821-25
Unknown
1825
William Browne, Williamsburg
1826-27
Unknown
1827-28
*John Tyler, Williamsburg
1828-29
*John Page, Williamsburg
1829-36
Unknown
1836-37
*Edmund Ruffin, Prince George County
1837-39
*Thomas Martin, James City County
1839-40
*Robert McCandlish, Williamsburg
1840-42
*President John Tyler, Williamsburg-Washington, D.C.
1842-44
*Thomas G. Peachy, Williamsburg
1844-45
*Robert McCandlish, Williamsburg
1845-46
*John B. Christian, Williamsburg
1848-62
*John Tyler, Charles City County
1862-65
No incumbent
1865-69
Bishop John Johns, Alexandria
1869-71
*William H. MacFarland, Richmond
1871-83
*James Lyons, Richmond
1883-90
*Judge W. W. Crump, Richmond
1890-92
*Gen. William B. Taliaferro, Gloucester County
1892-1906
*Col. William Lamb, Norfolk
(1890-98
*Gen. William B. Taliaferro, President, Board of Visitors)
(1898-1905
*Dr. John W. Lawson, Isles of Wight, President, Board of Visitors)
1905-06
*Robert Morton Hughes, Norfolk, President, Board of Visitors)
1906-18
*Robert Morton Hughes, Norfolk
1918-40
James Hardy Dillard, Charlottesville
1940-46
*J. Gordon Bohannon, Surry County
1946-48
*A. Herbert Foreman, Norfolk
1948-52
*Oscar L. Shewmake, Richmond
1952-62
*James M. Robertson, Norfolk
1962-64
*Judge Sterling Hutcheson, Boydton
1964-66
James Brockenbrough Woodward, Jr., Newport News
1966-68
*W. Brooks George, Richmond
1968-70
*Walter G. Mason, Lynchburg
1970-72
*Ernest Goodrich, Surry County
1972-76
*R. Harvey Chappell, Richmond
1976-78
*John R. L. Johnson Jr., Chadds Ford, Pa.
1978-82
*Dr. Edward E. Brickell, Virginia Beach
1982
*Herbert V. Kelly, Newport News

*Known Alumni

(There was a reorganization of the Board of Visitors and from 1892-1906 there was a Rector of the College and a President of the Board of Visitors at the same time with the Board President being its principal officer and the Rector, representing the group of Visitors selected under provisions of the Royal Charter.)

Memories Of The White House

A Veteran Observer Of The Presidency Shares Her Unique Insights Into The Men Who Occupied The Oval Office

By Helen Thomas

(Helen Thomas, White House Reporter for United Press International, gave this talk to the Society for Collegiate Journalists at William and Mary on April 17, 1982. She is the senior White House Correspondent.)

"The importance of a free and robust press cannot be underestimated. We know that no dictatorship can tolerate or survive under a free press. That we are a thorn in the side of government officials, and others in public life, is obvious. But to be less means that we have defaulted on our jobs. We know it is not our role to be loved, or even liked. Respected we hope, for being fair."

It's been a great treat to be in Williamsburg these past three days and to mingle with the students at William and Mary. One is filled with the constant reminder that so much of our early history had its beginnings here: and so much has been preserved in keeping with the faith of the founding fathers.

Has it been a more perfect union? Well, there is always room for improvement. But democracy works and I have found out in covering the White House that even with attempts to abuse and usurp power this remains a government of laws, and no man, not even a president, is above the law.

The American Presidency is very powerful indeed, and more so in times of crisis. But there are checks and balances if Congress does its job and the press remains ever vigilant.

I have heard presidents complain that they have the loneliest job in the world. . .The splendid misery. . . an awesome burden. But I never waste my sympathy knowing how much they coveted the job, how much is at stake and the immense ego and confidence it took in the first place for them to run for the presidency.

And I feel about the presidency, as is said in the Bible, that without vision, the People perish.

One hopes and prays that a president will have vision, imagination, compassion, good sense, and a host of other qualities, including honesty, for without credibility a president cannot govern. Johnson and Nixon in our times went down the drain because they had lost their credibility--they were no longer believed, therefore they could no longer govern.

Presidents hold the highest public trust; ultimately in this push button age, they have the possibility to make decisions that affect all mankind.

Different presidents view their roles in different ways. But to a man they all want to make their mark and to be remembered for greatness in the pages of history. And they all put their own stamp on the job.

Some have seen their roles as landlords, maintaining the status quo against change. Others have felt the need to right some of the wrongs in our society, to make it truly equal and to enhance the responsibility of government toward all citizens.

Others, as President Reagan, see government as a hindrance to man's progress and ability to run his own affairs. He believes he has a mandate to relieve the federal government of the responsibility for social reform. And in that respect he has been chipping away at programs that have come into being from the New Deal to the Great Society.

In President Reagan's short presidency, there has been much to write about and much to think about. He represents a dramatic change in White House style, a Reagan Revolution. His is probably the most conservative administration since his hero Calvin Coolidge resigned in the White House.

He is a true believer in the bootstraps, Horatio Alger approach. He also is a devotee of trickle down supply side economics. In Washington, the Wags are saying that is the money that David Rockefeller trickles down to Jay Rockefeller.

A man who exudes charm, charisma, so likeable, Reagan had a longer honeymoon than most of his predecessors. He took the trauma of being shot by a potential assassin with amazing grace, and a sense of humor, telling his wife, "I forgot to duck."

But tensions are rising, his popularity is slipping, his polls dropping and he is faced with the credibility of his self-imposed deadlines--that is an upturn in the economy by early summer.

In a government town and political pro that he is, Reagan believes that the least government is the best government. It is not far fetched to say that if his American dream were to come true, there would be one building left standing in the Washington area--The Pentagon.

Reagan's domestic policy was best summed up by budget director David Stockman who said, "the government owes the people no service."

His foreign policy was summed up by a State Department official, who understandably asked for anonymity: to wit: we want to be a reliable arms supplier. Or as one correspondent put it, "The Russians are coming."

The president's appointees are the fox in the chicken coop. A man is named head of the Interior Department who wants to turn over many of the public lands to private business, and whose Department organization chart starts at the top with God, then James Watt, on down.

Then there is the pro trust professor who is head of the Justice Department's anti-trust division and believes oil companies should be permitted unfettered take overs. A woman at the head of the Environmental Protection Agency who as a member of the Colorado legislature voted against most of the anti-pollution laws. A woman at the head of the Peace Corps who previously headed a P-TA and had not traveled before. And his rejected appointment of a man in charge of the State Department's human rights division who had written many articles against the validity of human rights considerations in foreign policy.

I could go on, but won't.

Another interesting note is that so many of the Nixon people who suffered the trauma and tragedy of the Watergate scandal are back in the top jobs. Many of them gave up high paying and influential positions to return to Washington. It's a puzzlement. One wonders why.

It is not to make amends although some departed under a club. But the compelling magnet of politics and power has lured them back once more into the breach. . .in that uncertain demanding arena. . .even though, like Reagan, they view government as an impediment.

In an assessment of his presidency, Reagan's forte is in the domestic field. He is a man of conviction, an ideologue, and he feels economics is his special expertise.

He is also, as you know, a great persuader, and is a gifted speaker. But last year is behind him and he is finding that he cannot always work his magic spell.

In foreign policy, he is still feeling his way. He came to power determined to emphasize U.S. military prowess. And there is no question that Reagan's foreign policy has unsettled the Soviets. But it also has scared some Americans along the way to the Forum. His tough talk on El Salvador produced a strong reaction from parents who bombarded the White House with letters to the effect of, "Hell, no, we won't go."

The world has been rocking along confident that there would be no nuclear holocaust in view of what Churchill called "the subline irony" of mutual terror. Now suddenly, the theory of the balance of terror is fading and is being replaced by the idea of superiority with Reagan claiming, and many scientists disputing, that the Soviets can destroy us without a mutual blow.

But something is happening; in the country, and the White House is taking note. . .There is a growing drive for a nuclear freeze and it's coming from the grass roots.

And remember it was not so long ago when everyone laughed when Carter said his daughter asked him: "Daddy, what's a megaton."

In terms of his personal style, Reagan listens to his advisers and makes up his own mind. The White House is run corporate style, and Reagan operates as chairman of the Board who does not concern himself with the nitty gritty details that preoccupied his predecessor.

And then, of course, there is his relationship vis a vis the press. In the Kennedy era managed news got its name. Today it has been developed to a fine art.

Our access to Reagan is extremely limited. More and more reporters and cameramen are being kept out of the Oval Office for fear Reagan will be asked a question, and of course, he would be. He has a tendency to want to answer a question that is tossed at him, and that troubles his aides. But we say, "Let Reagan be Reagan."

"I have heard presidents complain that they have the loneliest job in the world . . .The splendid misery. . . an awesome burden. But I never waste my sympathy knowing how much they coveted the job, how much is at stake and the immense ego and confidence it took in the first place for them to run for the presidency."

Since the assassination attempt, of course, security has tightened drastically. And in the name of security, with the secret service ruling the roost, the press is kept at bay. This makes Reagan's aides happy.

Reagan himself has become more ticked off at the press, saying that we are accenting the negative. It has not reached any stage of basic hostility or the gulag that we once knew in the Nixon era.

I know that in the eyes of some the role of the press is dubious and we are self appointed watchdogs, anointed by none, feared by some and guided we hope by one main ethical goal--to pursue the truth wherever it leads us. If government servants are watched, well we are too. We reporters get a report card every day.

And every day we are tested for our accuracy, and our profound responsibility to the American people.

Our credibility is at stake but so is the president's. I watched two presidents go down the drain because they had lost their credibility. They were no longer believed, and therefore they could no longer govern.

A Supreme Court justice once said that "a constant spotlight on public officials lessens the possibility of corruption."

And in the words of Justice Brandeis, if the government becomes the law breaker it breeds contempt for the law.

The importance of a free and robust press cannot be underestimated. We know that no dictatorship can tolerate or survive under a free press. Control of the press and the ratio station are the sine qua non of such governments.

That we are a thorn in the side of government officials, and others in public life, is obvious. But to be less means that we have defaulted on our jobs. We know it is not our role to be loved, or even liked. Respected, we hope, for being fair.

Each president has had his troubles with the press going back to George Washington and the present occupant in the White House is no exception.

We have a photograph of FDR in our press room which is inscribed to the White House reporters "from their devoted victim."

"When the press stops abusing me, I'll know I'm in the wrong pew," said Truman.

I'm reading more and enjoying it less, said Kennedy.

What LBJ said is unprintable.

Nixon had his enemy list and once when the press walked into the cabinet room for a picture taking, Nixon looked up and said, "It's only coincidental that we're talking about pollution when the press walks in."

Carter always seemed to be saying, "Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do."

As for Reagan, well it's like those silent movies, he thinks we should be seen and not heard.

But I thought that Amy Carter kind of summed up the attitude when her mother escorted her to school on the first day of class right after they moved into the White House. Reporters and camermen had been alerted that they could record that historic moment, and forever afterward not harass Amy.

As they were walking down the path to the school door, Amy looked at the press and said to her mother:

"I don't mind Carter being born again, but did he have to come back as himself?"

"Mom, do we still have to be nice to them?"

But I'll go with Jeff Carter, the youngest son. During the first Christmas in Plains Ga., we were standing across the street from the family home and keeping an eye on Carter who was playing with his grandchildren, for our benefit we thought.

One TV camerman told Jeff, don't you feel sorry for your father, having the press gawking, the burdens, and so on. Jeff said, "No, he asked for it."

And that's the way I feel about presidents.

I have memories of the past. There have been times to cry and times to laugh.

I remember when John F. Kennedy gave a dinner for the Nobel Prize winners and said: "Never have so many intellectuals gathered under one roof since Thomas Jefferson dined alone."

And I remember Kennedy was asked during the 1960 campaign if he thought the priests were going to vote for him. I don't know, he said, but I think the nuns will.

I remember when Kennedy greeted Martin Luther King in the White House and said, "I have a dream." And I remember at the civil rights rally at the Lincoln Memorial, a rabbi who said the greatest sin of all in the Nazi era was "silence."

And I remember Martha Mitchell, a voice crying in the wilderness, who said, "politics is a dirty business."

And I remember at the LBJ ranch when Johnson asked Bill Moyers, defrocked minister who became his press secretary, and later a big TV star, to say grace. Moyers bent his head and Johnson said, "Bill, speak up!"

"I wasn't talking to you, Mr. President," Moyers replied.

And I remember when Johnson underwent gall bladder surgery and Moyers told him afterwards that the psychiatric ward had been transformed into a press room. What happened to the patients, Johnson asked: "We gave them all press cards," Moyers said.

And I remember Midge Constanza who said, "I don't mind Carter being born again, but did he have to come back as himself."

I remember asking Billy Carter if he had been born again, and he said: once is enough.

One of my favorite people is Miss Lillian. I called on Miss Lillian in Plains a few years ago and she was still fussing about a French woman correspondent who had interviewed her and persisted in asking her about her son Jimmy Carter's promise--never to lie.

Do you lie, she asked Miss Lillian?

Well, replied Miss Lillian, I might tell a little white lie.

The reporter then asked what do you mean by a little white lie.

In exasperation, Miss Lillian told her: do you remember when you came through the door and I told you how beautiful you looked. Well, that's a little white lie. And it was Miss Lillian who said sometimes when I look at my children I wish I had remained a virgin.

And there was Henry Kissinger. Once when I teased him that the Russian Minister of Culture, Madam Furtseva, seemed to be flirting with him, he said: Do you blame her.

And once when a woman ran up to him and said: Oh, Doctor Kissinger--thank you for saving the world. He said, you're welcome.

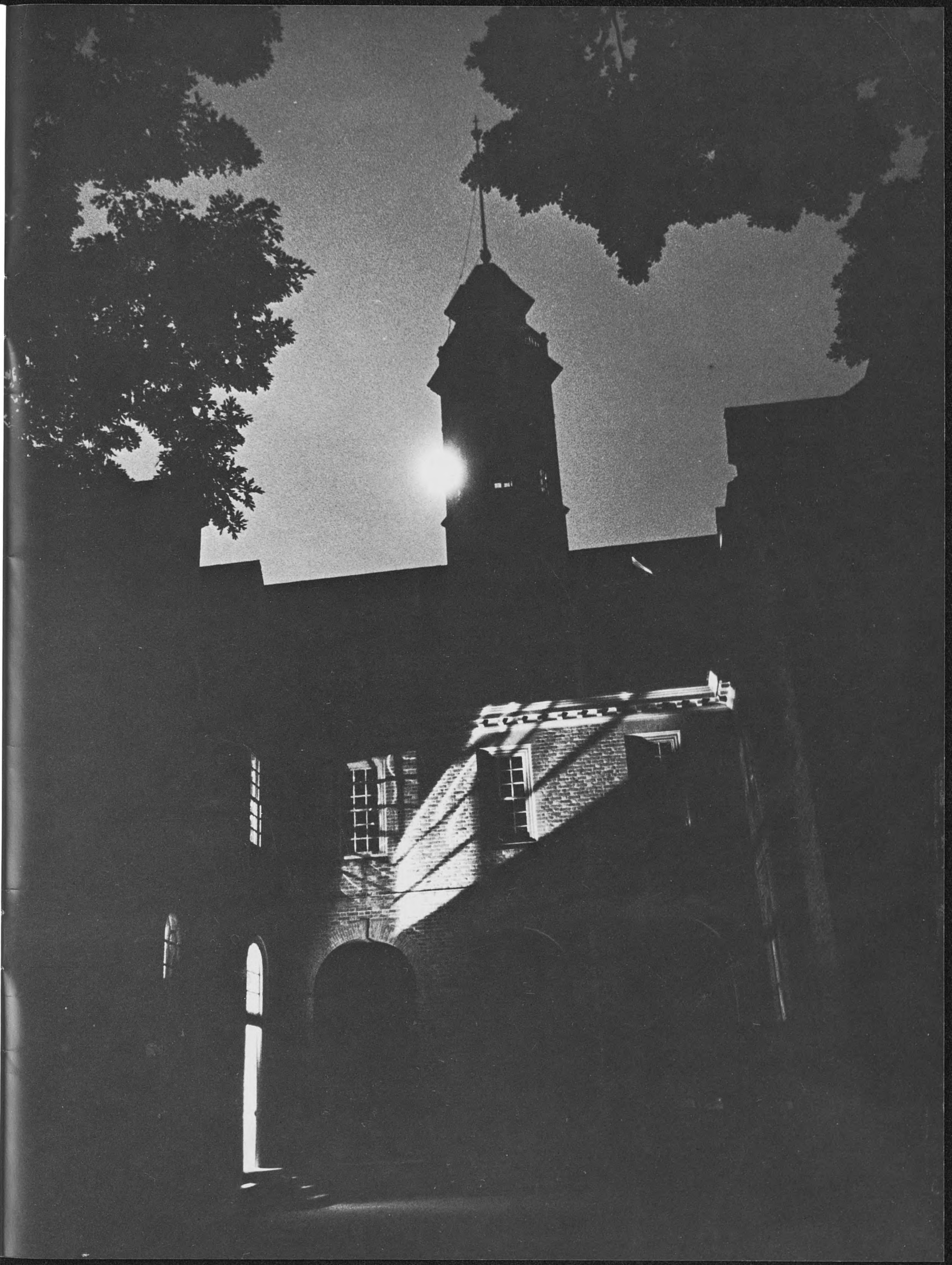
And when he teased his secret service agents that he might be kidnapped by terrorists, they told him, "don't worry, we'll never let them take you alive."

We all have a stake in what happens to our nation, and how we are governed. We all hope the best for any president, and therefore, for ourselves.

In the mantle in the State Dining Room under the great portrait of Lincoln is engraved the John Adams prayer: it reads, may only good and wise men live here.

And it was Lincoln who said: Let the people know the truth and the country will be safe. I believe that.

And I believe that it behooves the press to keep an eye on presidents, who have pushbutton power over all Americans, to keep us informed and make democracy work.



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