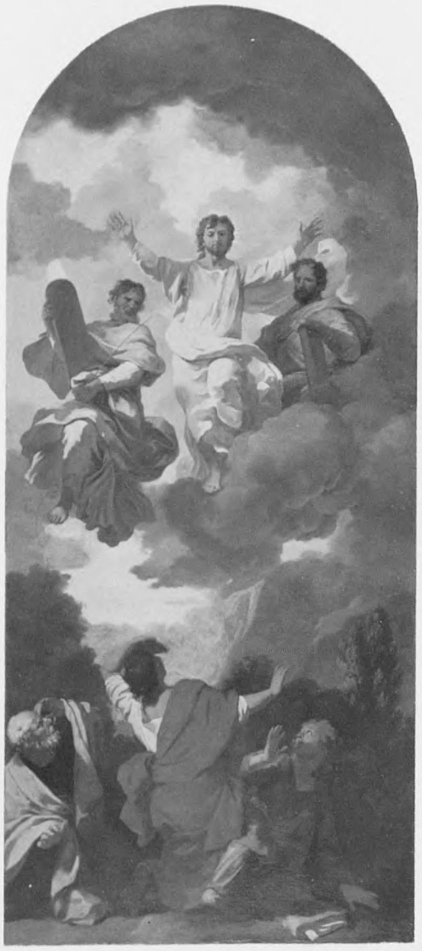
WILLIAM & MARY

THE ALUMNI GAZETTE MAGAZINE ▪ WINTER 1984



On the Cover

The cover illustration is a detail of an altarpiece (oil on canvas, 124 3/4" x 52¼") depicting the transfiguration of Christ and attributed to Gerard de Lairesse (Flemish, 1641 - 1711).

The painting has been lent to the Muscarelle Museum by James L. Greaves, William and Mary Class of '65.

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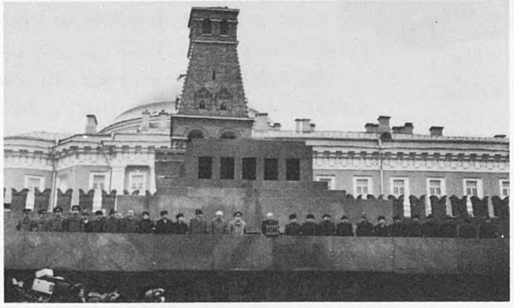

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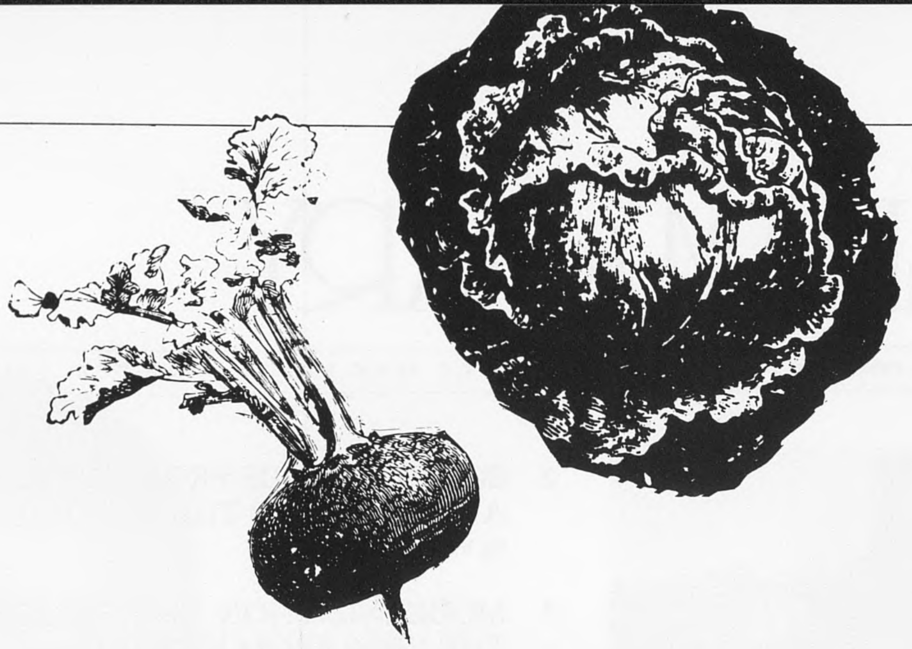
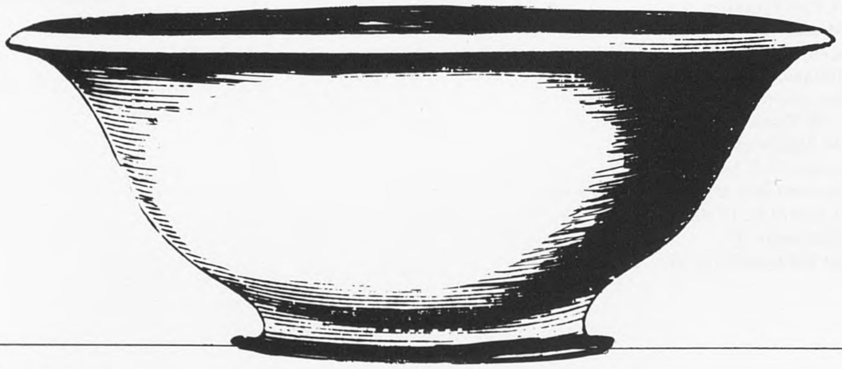


BORSHCH MADE FROM OLD CABBAGE ACCORDING TO THE BEST KREMLIN RECIPE:

SOME REFLECTIONS ON BREZHNEV'S DEMISE AND ANDROPOV'S RISE

By W. Bruce Lincoln '60

Muddled successions have plagued Russian politics for more than four-hundred years. Russians still have not arranged for an orderly (and predictable) transfer of power when a chief of state dies or is ousted, and the age-old dilemma of who will take the Tsar's (or the General Secretary's) place seems no closer to a solution now than it was in the days of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, Lenin, or Stalin. All of these were strong leaders who did not name heirs for fear that a clearly-designated successor might become the focus of new networks of political alliances that would dilute their own jealously-guarded authority. In this respect, Brezhnev's long-expected demise in November 1982 was no exception. Long-time KGB head Iurii Andropov took his place quickly enough, but how long Andropov will remain securely at the helm of the Soviet government is still by no means clear. Will he, like Brezhnev, continue as the new leader of the U. S. S. R. until his death (which may not be far off and would provoke a new succession crisis), or will he, like Stalin's first successor, Georgii Malenkov, have to give way to another Khrushchev? Or, perhaps, is Andropov himself a Khrushchev of sorts in the making, a reformer who will look for new ways to resolve the Soviet Union's long-standing economic problems?



These questions heighten the interest of observing Soviet politics, and, although no one outside a very small charmed circle of top Party officials can hope to know what happens inside the Kremlin, they add to the excitement of being "on the scene" when infrequent successions occur in the U. S. S. R. In some ways, these successions are not unlike the pot of borshch that remains a staple in the diet of working men and women all over Russia. One is never certain what goes into the pot, nor can one be entirely confident that the elements that seem readily identifiable are really what they appear to be, In some cases, the age of the cabbage may be important (contrary to the view generally held in the West, most borshch recipes call for more cabbage than beets), although a clever cook can make old cabbage nearly as palatable as the younger, more tender leaves. As with cabbage in the borshch pot, age can be important in Kremlin politics, but it is not the key factor; the combination of other elements, and the skill of the person who mixes them, is almost always more important.

> **"Simply put, Soviet workers have no incentive to become more productive unless they can buy something worthwhile with the money they earn."**

In the fall of 1964, I was working on my doctoral dissertation at the State Historical Archives in Leningrad when Khrushchev's ouster ushered in the Brezhnev era. Neither *Pravda* nor *Izvestiia* appeared that day (a sure sign that something particularly newsworthy was in the works), and this led western scholars, correspondents, and diplomats to the wildest sorts of speculation. The next day, *Pravda* reported Khrushchev's resignation, denounced what it now called his "hare-brained schemes, half-baked conclusions, and hasty decisions," and condemned his refusal to "take into account what experience has already discovered." In Leningrad and in Moscow, to which I moved a few weeks later, westerners were intensely interested in the new Soviet regime, although none of us had any idea about how long Brezhnev might remain, nor were any of us very certain about what he might accomplish. Furthermore, Brezhnev did not stand alone at the head of the new government. Aleksei Kosygin was Prime Minister, and Anastas Mikoian (soon to be replaced by Nikolai Podogorni) was titular chief of State. Khrushchev's heirs were men in their late fifties to early sixties, about a decade younger than the man they had driven from office. Hardly young, the cabbage that went into the borshch of Soviet politics then was not terribly old either, although the question of whether it was stable or fresh was another matter altogether.

Professor W. Bruce Lincoln received his AB degree with honors from the College of William and Mary (1960), his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (1966), and joined the Northern Illinois University faculty in 1967. He is the author of Nikolai Miliutin: An Enlightened Russian Bureaucrat; Nicholas I: Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias; Petr Petrovich Semenov-Tian-Shanskii: The Life of A Russian Geographer; The Romanovs: Autocrats of All the Russias; *Book-of-the-Month Club Featured Alternate Selection, 1982);* In the Vanguard of Reform: Russia's Enlightened Bureaucrats, 1825-1861; *and* In War's Dark Shadow: Russians before the Great War; *(Book-of-the-Month Main Selection, 1983; History Book Club Selection, 1983).*

As a Guggenheim Fellow, Professor Lincoln has just completed a year of research in the U. S. S. R. , Finland, France, and England for Russia in the Great War, *his next major book. A Presidential Research Professor at Northern Illinois University, he lives in Sycamore, Illinois.*

When westerners got together in Moscow and Leningrad during late 1964 and early 1965, they talked incessantly about the new regime, while the Russians I knew hardly seemed interested in even bothering to speculate about it. This seemed strange because Russians' acerbic sense of political humor so often cuts to the core of Soviet failings to describe them in sharply satirical terms. In fact, on the day of Khrushchev's fall, Russians quickly remarked with tongue in cheek that there was "neither truth nor news (the meanings of *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*) for sale anywhere." It seemed odd, then, that so few were inclined to speculate about the prospects for a Brezhnev era, but I put it down to their reluctance to talk with foreigners (the Stalin years were only a decade past), and the fact that, as a newcomer to the Soviet scene whose spoken Russian needed a good deal of improvement, much slipped past me.

During the next eighteen years, I visited the Soviet Union on a number of occasions, on some occasions for only a few months, and on others for almost as much as a year, to do historical research in the archives of Moscow and Leningrad. I was on one such visit to the Soviet Academy of Sciences in the fall of 1982 when I saw the Brezhnev era come to an end. When I went to breakfast in my hotel on the morning of November 11, it was clear that something strange was in the wind. Ever since I had gotten out of bed that morning, Radio Leningrad had been playing somber, funeral music, a sure sign that someone important had died. Still, that was no longer a rare occurrence. Since my first research visit to Leningrad and Moscow, the U. S. S. R. had come to be ruled by what might best be called a "geriocracy," a government in which most of the leading figures were over seventy, and often in fragile health. Perhaps because I had become so accustomed to associating the Soviet Union with Brezhnev, it never occurred to me that it might be his death that would be announced. As usual, I went to the State Historical Archive, to the room with bad lighting, high ceilings, beautifully carved moldings, and huge walnut cabinets done in the Empire style where I had worked for so many weeks and months since 1964. As always the view was spectacular; the twelve foot-high windows looked across the Neva River to Prince Menshikov's great palace, the famous administrative colleges of Peter the Great (now Leningrad State University), and the Academy of Sciences. Done in various shades of yellow, turquoise, rose, and green, the buildings always looked like a Chagall painting, whose character changed mercurically with the weather.

About half an hour before noon, an archivist hurried to tell me that Brezhnev's death had just been announced. Actually he had died on the morning of November 10, but it had taken Soviet authorities more than a day to decide how and when to announce the news. After several long stays in the U. S. S. R. , I felt more at ease with Soviet politics, but the uncertainties were no fewer. Certainly Brezhnev's death was not unexpected; probably a victim of Parkinson's disease and leukemia, it was surprising that he had lived so long. But compared with 1964, the crisis his successors faced was, if anything, greater. In 1961, Khrushchev's famous Twenty Year Plan had promised that, by 1981, "Everyone [in the U. S. S. R.] will live in easy circumstances. All collective and state farms," the Plan continued, "will become highly productive and profitable enterprises; the demand of Soviet people for well-appointed hous-

ing will, in the main, be satisfied; hard physical work will disappear; the U. S. S. R. will have the shortest working day [of any industrialized nation]." In sum, the Plan had concluded, Soviet citizens would enjoy "a living standard higher than that in any capitalist country." Now it was 1982, a year after the Plan was supposed to have met all its goals. Many Soviet citizens still did not have an apartment of their own; many more did not yet enjoy even the mere nine square metres of living space long established by Soviet experts as the officially-acceptable minimum needed to ensure the good physical and mental health of their people. Women still stood in line for long hours to do the day's shopping; meat usually was in short supply (very often simply unavailable) in most towns and cities except for Moscow, Leningrad, and a few other major urban centers; consumer goods continued to be shoddy, and clothing poorly designed. Many Russians (including many women) still earned a living by doing hard physical labor, and the work week was longer than in the United States.

But Brezhnev's heirs faced more than problems posed by long-unfulfilled promises. Soviet computer development was a full two decades behind the West, and that created a technology gap so large that it could be compared with the contrast between Europe in the Medieval and Modern Ages. In another decade, nearly all Americans under the age of thirty would be "computer-literate," while the average Russian would not by then even have seen a computer and probably still would not know how to drive an automobile. The implications of the "computer gap" for the technological development of the Soviet Union in the 1990s were as staggering as were its broader military ramifications. Such a gap could not be closed easily; perhaps it could never be closed completely.

Certainly none of the men who discussed the succession in the Kremlin in those days could have forgotten that some of them had pushed Khrushchev from office in 1964, in large part, because his efforts to develop Soviet agriculture had failed. Eighteen years later, Soviet collective farms still were abysmally unproductive, and poor harvests continued to make it necessary for the Soviet Union, a major grain *exporting* nation before the Revolution, to purchase huge amounts of grain abroad every year. The just-completed 1982 harvest had been disastrous and the best estimates were that the Soviet Union needed to purchase about 45 million metric tons of grain in the West. To do so would require vast amounts of scarce western currency that could be earned only by exporting larger amounts of increasingly scarce Soviet oil. Even if

The leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state gathered in Red Square in November, 1982, for a ceremony during the funeral of President Leonid Brezhnev, who had emerged as the Soviet leader after the fall of Nikita Khrushchev in 1964.

Soviet agents actually managed to buy that much grain abroad, it was extremely doubtful that their nation's limited port facilities could handle it that winter. Nor did I find it encouraging when large quantities of previously scarce meat suddenly appeared in the stores. Much of it was overgrown lamb and veal, a sure sign that livestock born that spring were being killed because they could not be fed through the winter.

A few weeks before Brezhnev died, I had been reading in the archives some tsarist police reports about food shortages in Petrograd during 1916, the year before the revolution. The list of foodstuffs then generally available in the city's shops was not very different from what I found when I walked through Leningrad's stores in the fall of 1982. By mid-October, there were reports that basic food items were being rationed in Russian provincial towns. Worst of all, it seemed to me that bread, the staff of life for all Russians, and one of the few readily available tasty foods, was not its former wonderful crusty self. For the first time in my memory, stale bread appeared on the shelves of Leningrad's bakeries, and bakers began to post suggestions about how dishes might be prepared from it.

The same causes lay at the root of all these problems: crude failures of overcentralized planning, the inept and wasteful allocation of scarce resources, and, above all, the appallingly low productivity of Soviet workers. A continual problem throughout the Brezhnev era, low productivity became especially serious in the 1970s. This is perhaps best illustrated by an incident that occurred when the Russians were hurrying to finish up the huge automobile plant that they were building to produce the Zhiguli, the Soviet version of the Fiat, in the early 1970s. Italian foremen had been brought in to direct the work; they had difficulty because so many of the construction crews came to work late, took extended lunch breaks, loitered in the toilets, and went home early. When the Italians tried to solve the problem by docking workers' pay for any time they were not on the job, large numbers of Soviet workers quit rather than give a full day's work for a day's pay. Although sometimes said in jest, there is more than a grain of truth behind the oft-repeated remark that the Soviet Union truly has become a Workers' Paradise because workers have to work very little, and are almost never fired for absenteeism, or low productivity.

One major reason for workers' low productivity during the Brezhnev years was a vicious circle from which there still seems to be no exit. Simply put, Soviet workers have no incentive to become more productive unless they can buy something worthwhile with the money they earn.

At the same time, there can be no appreciable quantity of consumer goods worth buying until Soviet labor becomes more productive. For more and more Soviet citizens, the only escape from this circle has been to buy scarce consumer goods and services on the Black Market, known as buying "*na levo*" ("on the left") in Soviet slang. By 1982, a disturbingly large portion of the Soviet consumer economy was concentrated *na levo*, and this drained more vital resources from state enterprises, which, in turn, aggravated the problems of low productivity.

Brezhnev had left these problems to his successors, and none of them could have been very far from the thoughts of his Party officials as they made arrangements to pay him their final tribute: four days of national mourning followed by a state funeral whose drama had not been equalled since that of Stalin in 1953. I was particularly interested to compare the reactions of Russians in Leningrad with those I remembered from the days of Khrushchev's fall in 1964. Again, I found great reluctance to speculate about the ways of Soviet politics. "Who do you think will replace Brezhnev?" I asked one Russian. "Who knows and who cares?" he replied. "*They'll* take care of it." "Do you think things will get better under a new regime?" I asked. "Let's hope they don't get worse!" And so it went, all across Leningrad for the next two days: friends, acquaintances, cab-drivers, waiters, anyone I asked, had no interest in speculating about how the policies of Brezhnev's successor might change life in Russia. Again, Russians seemed to react to politics as they did to their favored pot of borshch. They might make acerbic, satirical comments about the content, but they rarely cared to speculate about whether or not onion soup or spaghetti (neither of which is prepared in the Soviet Union, although all the ingredients are there) might make an interesting substitute, or how that might change the nature of one's dinner.

Brezhnev's funeral was an international event, and it spoke to the successes and failures of the man who had led the Soviet Union for almost two decades. It was a military funeral, full of pomp and circumstances, its rituals not at all unlike the funerals of the nineteenth century Romanov tsars whom the Bolsheviks so despised. All the way from where he had lain in state at the House of Unions to the Lenin Mausoleum, Brezhnev's coffin was accompanied by goose-stepping military guards. While he lay before the tomb of Lenin, the troops of the Moscow garrison marched past, quick-stepping at one hundred and ten steps a minute, as they did during important military parades. One after another, Brezhnev's comrades, themselves aged and short of breath from climbing the stairs of Lenin's Mausoleum, spoke their final tribute, and then a guard of honor helped them to carry his casket to the gravesite just behind the resting place of Lenin. There, two Soviet grave-diggers took over. Clumsily, they made ready to lower the coffin into the ground when one of them suddenly lost his grip and the coffin fell into the grave. In death, Brezhnev had for one last time been plagued by the failings of Soviet workers.

Andropov, the long-time head of the KGB, served as Soviet ambassador to Hungary in the years after the 1956 uprising and was closely associated with the reforms that made Hungarian agriculture the most productive in Eastern Europe.

Well before Brezhnev's funeral, his successor was announced. Iuri Andropov, former Soviet ambassador to Hungary in the years after the 1956 uprising, a man closely associated with the reforms that made Hungarian agriculture the most productive in Eastern Europe, and long-time head of the KGB, who had changed its image from one of a corps of clumsy thugs slouching on street corners in dark green felt hats to one that recruited the brightest and the best in the Soviet Union, was named to succeed Brezhnev. Immediately, the official Soviet rumor mill began to work at full speed to emphasize characteristics that might counter the inevitably negative image that stemmed from his career in the KGB and make Andropov seem particularly attractive to Western observers. Andropov, it was rumored, liked Western novels and jazz, preferred French cuisine, and drank Scotch whiskey rather than the usual vodka, the very things that Western intellectuals often critical of the Soviet Union tend to enjoy. In short, Andropov was rumored to be very different from his predecessors who had emphasized their working class origins. By contrast, the Soviet Union's new leader was said to be an urbane and cosmopolitan political figure, who spoke foreign languages, including English, fluently.

But what were Andropov's prospects for success, given the magnitude of the problems he faced? Certainly, a long-time head of the KGB knew more about the failings of Soviet industry, agriculture, and society than anyone else in the U. S. S. R. Andropov understood the desperate dilemmas posed by the low productivity of Soviet workers and by the corruption of Party and government officials, and the moment he assumed office, he launched an assault against those abuses. A more stern regime of labor discipline was to be imposed. Long favored by neo-Stalinists who thought it a solution to the problem of low productivity, this was to be combined with an attack against corruption among Party and government functionaries. Quickly, and without warning, police raided stores, restaurants, and even public swimming pools, to try to curb the worst abuses of the Black Market and to learn who among the patrons should have been at work. People were detained, sometimes arrested, reported to their superiors (who often were doing the same thing on a larger scale), and sometimes fined. At the same time, Andropov launched a campaign against men and women who used their official positions to collect bribes and trade favors.

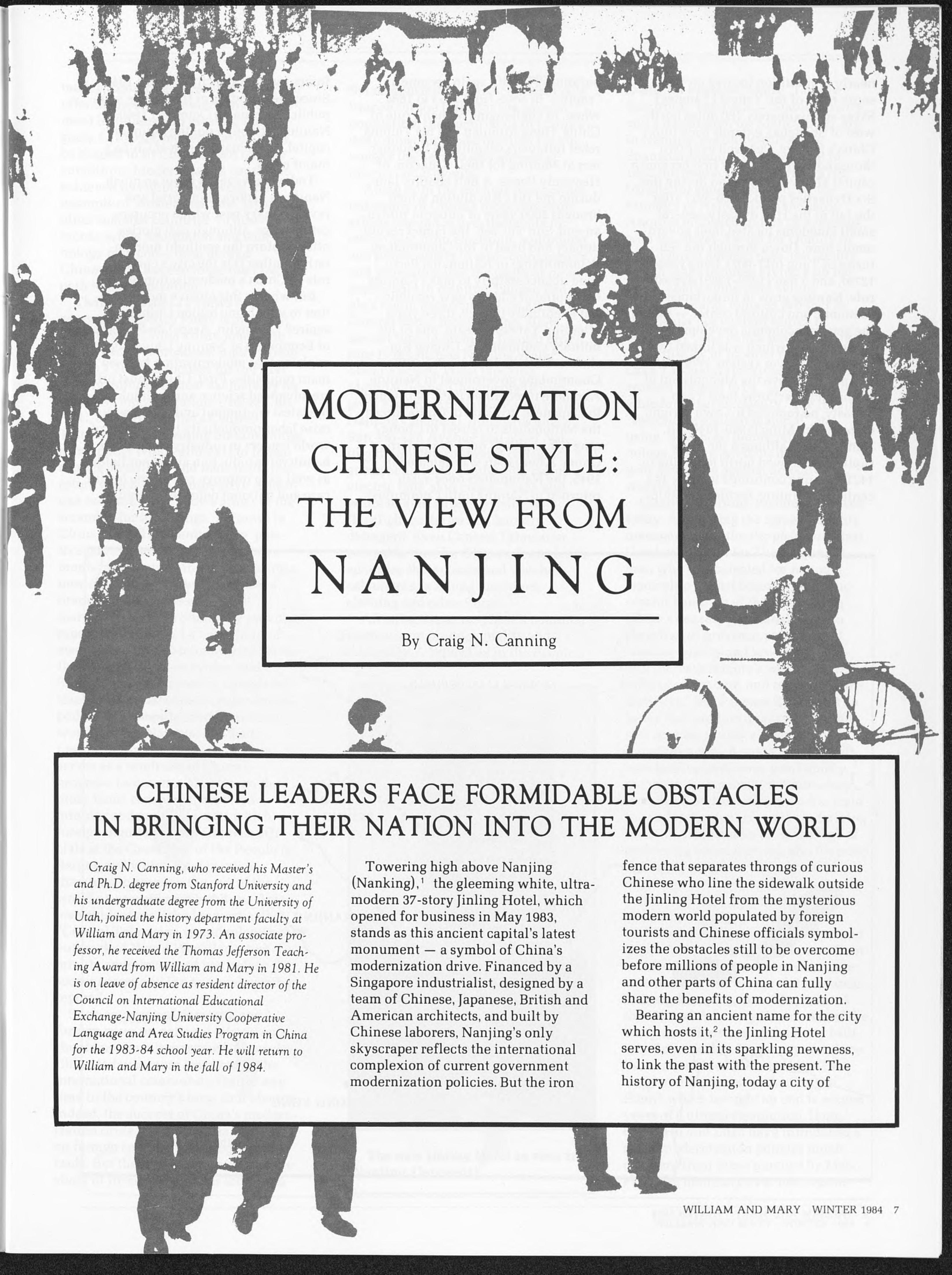
> "Clumsily, the two Soviet grave-diggers made ready to lower the coffin into the ground when one of them suddenly lost his grip and the coffin fell into the grave. In death, Brezhnev had for one last time been plagued by the failings of Soviet workers."

Andropov's initial campaign against corruption dramatized the magnitude of the problem. Newspapers were filled with stories about all sorts of men and women, from factory managers to modest workers, who had been apprehended in the act of devoting working hours to personal business or pleasure. Just after the campaign began, a story circulated about a group of police who descended upon a notorious black-market operation in Moscow. Everyone was detained, but those who could pay a bribe of fifty rubles (about an average week's salary) were allowed to leave. Then the police took the rest to a building on the outskirts of the city where people were told to leave their coats and boots in the checkroom, go into a room in the basement and wait for further instructions. Some hours later, when nothing more had been heard from the police, some of the people went to the checkroom and found that all of their coats and boots were missing. Even the police, if the story is true, were not above earning a bit of extra cash on the side. As a former head of the KGB, Andropov certainly was in a position to know how widespread the problem really was.

Obviously, Andropov's first efforts disturbed well-established patterns of Soviet life, but there is little chance that they alone can succeed on a broad level, for the practices they attack simply are too deeply rooted in Russia's historical experience. "We all steal," one of Peter the Great's advisers told him back in the early 1700's. "The only difference is that some of us do it on a larger scale than others," and the same is true of many government and party officials in the 1980s. What Andropov's highly publicized effort may accomplish, however, is to win him broad popularity among the mass of Soviet workers who have had to bear the tyranny of corrupt petty officials and party functionaries, as well as support from bureaucrats who see strict labor discipline as the solution to problems that actually have considerably broader and more complex dimensions that they prefer not to confront. This may make it possible for Andropov to urge a broader program of economic reforms upon the conservative Soviet bureaucracy which, through its passive resistance to any form of change, stands as a constant barrier to reform. These are the people who can destroy Andropov's reform efforts simply by doing nothing, just as they and their predecessors have destroyed other reform efforts during the Tsarist and Soviet periods of Russia's history. Only by establishing some solid base of support for his reform program among them and, more broadly, in Soviet society can Andropov have any hope for success.

Whether Andropov's failing health will enable him to continue his effort, whether the always-conservative Soviet military establishment will allow him to siphon precious resources from its long-standing list of priorities to the consumer sector of Russia's economy, whether Andropov will be able to maintain sufficient support for his effort among aged top Party officials who may not be ready (or even able) to think in terms of significant change, and whether he can establish support for his plans among those younger men on the Politburo and in the Secretariat who must continue reform policies after he and his generation pass from the scene, are questions about which we can only speculate at the moment. Still, the year following Brezhnev's death has brought the beginnings of cautious, careful change to the U. S. S. R. Americans tend to look for an intellectual "thaw" as the first evidence of change and progress in the Soviet Union, and this is an unfortunate mistake because it diverts attention from changes that are perhaps more significant over the long term. Andropov's reform efforts have not (and cannot, if he wants to keep the support of the conservative Soviet hierarchy) been extended to the cultural and intellectual realm. But that should not obscure the fact that they are alive today in the U. S. S. R. Whether they are alive and well, however, is a question that only time can answer.

Sycamore, Illinois
October 7, 1983



MODERNIZATION CHINESE STYLE: THE VIEW FROM NANJING

By Craig N. Canning

CHINESE LEADERS FACE FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES IN BRINGING THEIR NATION INTO THE MODERN WORLD

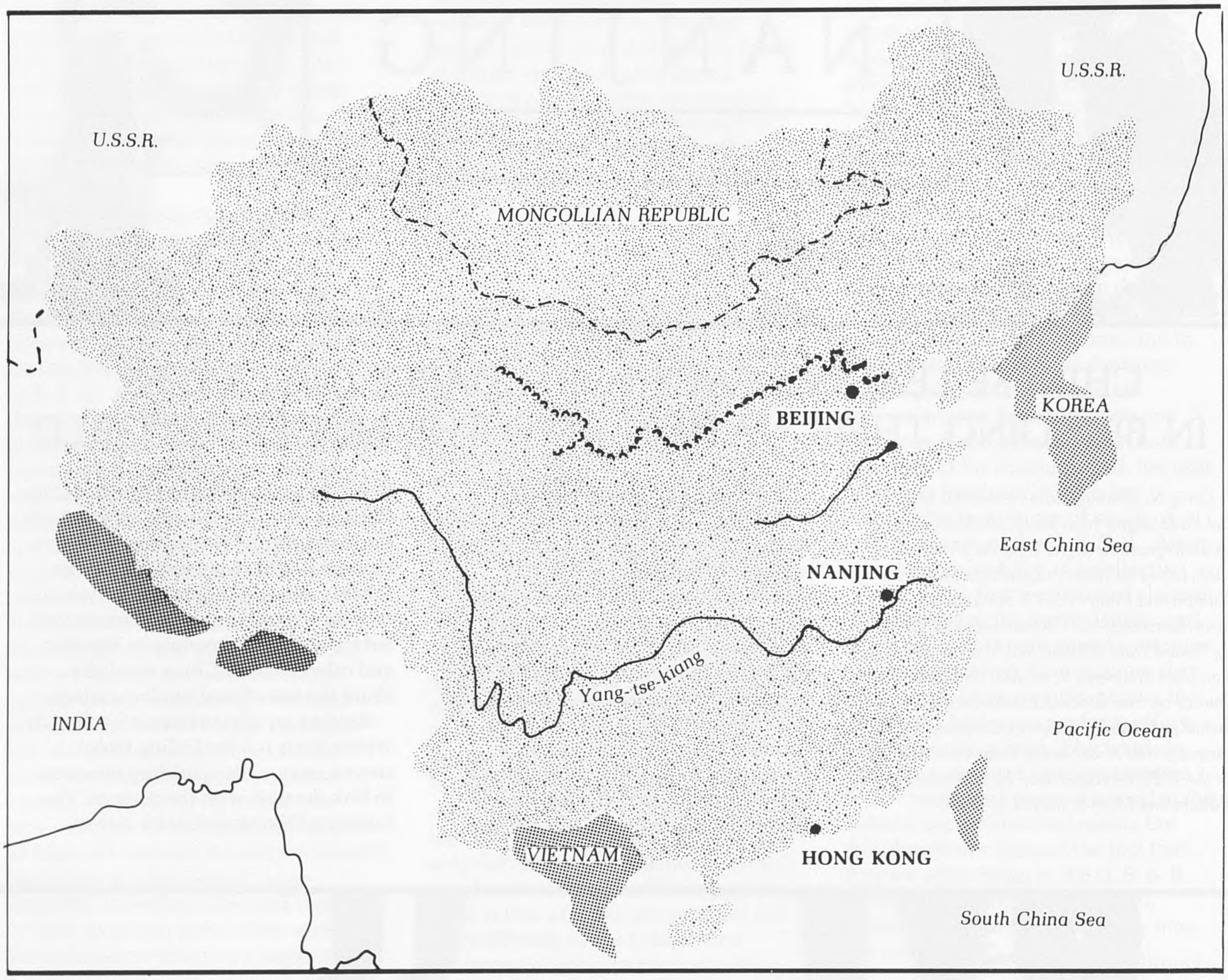
Craig N. Canning, who received his Master's and Ph.D. degree from Stanford University and his undergraduate degree from the University of Utah, joined the history department faculty at William and Mary in 1973. An associate professor, he received the Thomas Jefferson Teaching Award from William and Mary in 1981. He is on leave of absence as resident director of the Council on International Educational Exchange-Nanjing University Cooperative Language and Area Studies Program in China for the 1983-84 school year. He will return to William and Mary in the fall of 1984.

Towering high above Nanjing (Nanking),[1] the gleaming white, ultra-modern 37-story Jinling Hotel, which opened for business in May 1983, stands as this ancient capital's latest monument — a symbol of China's modernization drive. Financed by a Singapore industrialist, designed by a team of Chinese, Japanese, British and American architects, and built by Chinese laborers, Nanjing's only skyscraper reflects the international complexion of current government modernization policies. But the iron fence that separates throngs of curious Chinese who line the sidewalk outside the Jinling Hotel from the mysterious modern world populated by foreign tourists and Chinese officials symbolizes the obstacles still to be overcome before millions of people in Nanjing and other parts of China can fully share the benefits of modernization.

Bearing an ancient name for the city which hosts it,[2] the Jinling Hotel serves, even in its sparkling newness, to link the past with the present. The history of Nanjing, today a city of nearly four million located on the south bank of the Yangzi (Yangtze) River approximately 180 miles northwest of Shanghai, extends back into China's ancient past well over two thousand years. The city first became a capital 1700 years ago, and during the Six Dynasties period (220-581) after the fall of the Han dynasty, several small kingdoms located their governments here. Down through the centuries of Tang (617-907), Song (960-1279), and Yuan (1279-1368) dynasty rule, Nanjing grew in importance as an economic and cultural center — part of the general economic development of central China which was linked by the vast Yangzi River system. When Zhu Yuanzhang drove the Mongols out of China and overthrew their Yuan dynasty, he founded his own "bright" dynasty, the Ming (1368-1644), in Nanjing. And although the Ming capital was moved north to Beijing in 1421, Nanjing continued to grow as a center for printing, textiles and shipbuilding. The city again became a "capital" of sorts from 1853 to 1864, when, in challenging Manchu rule of China, Hong Xiuquan and his Taiping rebel followers established headquarters at Nanjing for their Kingdom of Heavenly Peace. A half century later, during the 1911 Revolution which brought 2000 years of imperial rule to an end, Sun Yat-sen, the famed revolutionary and head of the Guomindang (Kuomintang) or Nationalist Party, tried unsuccessfully to make Nanjing the capital of China's new republic. But eventually in 1928, three years after Sun Yat-sen's death, one of his military commanders, Chiang Kai-shek, established the capital of the Guomindang government in Nanjing. And here it remained until 1937 when the Japanese invasion of China forced the Nationalists to retreat to Chongqing (Chungking) deep in western China. After Japan was defeated in 1945, the Nationalists once again returned to Nanjing until Communist forces overran the city in April 1949. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1,1949, Nanjing, although not the national capital, has remained one of China's major cities.

Today, however, it is not so much Nanjing's historical imperial and revolutionary past which occupies center stage, although past glories often capture the spotlight momentarily. Rather it is the city's current role in China's modernization drama.

But what is this elusive modernization to which one billion Chinese aspire? Li Songlin, Associate Professor of Economics at Nanjing University, explains that modernization has two main requisites. First, China must utilize advanced science and technology, the latest equipment and facilities, to raise labor productivity to the ranks of world leaders in industry, agriculture, handicraft production and other fields, as well as to improve education, health care and national defense. Second,



modernization requires improving the effectiveness of economic management techniques. In meeting these goals, Li insists, modernization must be shaped to fit China's own unique conditions. Modernization cannot be achieved by simply following the example of Western nations, Japan or other socialist countries. In other words, while equipment and technology may come from abroad, Chinese will have to forge their own path to modernization.

That Professor Li's views reflect government policy today is apparent everywhere. China's only television news, which is broadcast nightly from 7:00 to 7:30 p.m., focuses for the first twenty minutes almost exclusively on domestic modernization. Unlike CBS, ABC, and NBC, China's Central Television Broadcasting Station enjoys a monopoly which allows it to forego reports on natural and man-made disasters which keep competitive American network news shows afloat in the scramble for top ratings. TV news in China instead concentrates on positive political and economic achievements: a Canton clothing store using a new computer system announces a dramatic 15% increase in profit margin; officials in Shandong province report the harvest of a new strain of sweet corn; Inner Mongolia celebrates the opening of a new bridge; and Shanghai toasts a recently completed track and special events center equipped with a computerized scoreboard worthy of the National Football League. Virtually every news item serves as a reminder of China's progress. International news, on the other hand, receives at most ten minutes and mainly reports which foreign dignitaries met Chinese officials at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing and which foreign crisis threatens to envelop the rest of the world on any given day. As one American student remarked sarcastically, "Central Television would relegate the outbreak of World War III to a two-minute announcement just before the soccer scores and the national weather report."

Such coverage of domestic and foreign news on national television should not be misconstrued, however. China today is more involved in the international community than at any time in the country's long, rich history. Indeed, the success of China's modernization drive rests in no small measure on foreign capital, technology and trade. But the art of diplomacy and the study of foreign affairs has long been the responsibility of officials specially trained for the task. For the general population, the importance of China's daily quest for modernization far outweighs the need to stay abreast of international events.

Along with the evening news, other indicators of China's modernization efforts abound. Advertisements for everything from electronic equipment and photocopiers to mini-compressors and generators line the pages of newspapers sold in Nanjing. Jiangsu People's Radio Broadcasting, an affiliate of Central Radio Broadcasting, allots special time to promote Jiangsu province firms such as Nanjing Water Meter Factory, Wuxi Stocking Manufacturing, Chuangang (Riverport) Electric Appliance Factory, and Nanjing Chemical. Billboards along Sun Yat-sen Avenue and other Nanjing thoroughfares praise consumer goods of all sorts: toothpaste, radios, electric fans, skin cream, black and white television sets, eyedrops, flashlight batteries and laundry detergent. Even Central Television sets aside time for Chinese factories to advertise their clocks and watches, calculators, washing machines, clothing and other items.

All advertisements share a common emphasis on product quality and reliability. A typical ad in the *People's Daily*, for example, reads: "Lufeng Electronic Products — Stable Quality and a Reputation for Meticulous Care." In Nanjing one billboard selling Shanghai-brand TVs boasts that in 1982 the product was awarded a certificate for superior quality by the Ministry of Astronautics Industry. Another billboard claims its eyedrops won the Silver Award for Quality in 1982. On yet another sign, the factory which manufactures Flying Fish batteries, challenging rival White Elephant brand, touts its product as "an ideally convenient source of electricity" and points proudly to its "long history of product reliability." Lake Tai-brand stockings for men and women are said to be "famous nationwide for superior quality," the result of "selecting excellent material" and using "advanced handicraft technology." Some products offer a one-year guarantee against defective workmanship.

The new Jinling Hotel as seen from Nanjing University.

Quality is serious business in China today. Addressing the issue of quality management in the *People's Daily* last October 20, Premier Zhao Ziyang, a man who was selected for national leadership in part because of his successful handling of the economy in China's densely populated Sichuan (Szechwan) province, stressed that "raising quality and lowering costs will increase society's wealth, increase individual income, and raise labor productivity." But Premier Zhao went on to say that product quality, important as it may be, is only a cornerstone in a foundation which contains a host of interlocking problems: profitability, managerial responsibility, monetary incentives and sanctions, worker training and individual income. Underlying them all, Zhao observed, is the task of preserving social stability and the need for steady progress, however slow it may be.

Premier Zhao Ziyang's ideas are shared by a group of top leaders, including Vice Premier Chen Yun and General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Hu Yaobang, who were assembled under the careful guidance of Deng Xiaoping, now Chairman of the Central Advisory Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Party Military Commission. In seven years since the death of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and the arrest of the Gang of Four,[3] which brought an end to eleven years of Cultural Revolution, Deng, Chen, Hu and Zhao have introduced a set of modernization policies much different from those pursued by Mao. Favoring monetary over ideological

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incentives to stir popular initiative, setting a less hasty pace for national development, educating a managerial elite and applying stringent birth control regulations, China's current leaders differ sharply from Mao. And it is now their policies, not Mao's, which guide China. It is their policies which are reflected on the streets of Nanjing and in other cities, towns and villages throughout the country.

Whether China's present leaders in the long run will be more successful than Mao in steering China toward modernization is by no means clear. Without doubt, Deng Xiaoping's team faces formidable obstacles, the most obvious being China's mammoth population, which was set at 1.03 billion in preliminary estimates from a 1982 census. Not only its size but also the growth rate and age distribution of China's population provide cause for alarm. The 1982 census revealed that the population, which stood at about 540 million in 1949, had nearly doubled in 33 years. It was not until the Song dynasty (960-1279), after more than 2500 years of recorded history, that China's population reached 100 million for the first time. But 100 million Chinese were born during an eight-year stretch from 1949 to 1957, and with its population at 840 million in 1971 it took China only six more years to produce another 100 million, as the population swelled by 1977 to 940 million people. Today, the bulk of this mass of humanity is young. Only 4.8% is over age 65. Those 30 years of age and younger comprise 65% of the total population. And China faces the staggering prospect of managing 210 million teenagers. A mere handful of teenagers is sufficient to confound teachers, principals and parents in some societies.

No government in the history of mankind has attempted to house, feed and clothe one billion people — today nearly one-fourth of the world's population. And while the tasks of educating, employing, governing and providing basic health care for their people challenge national leaders around the globe, in China these responsibilities assume monumental proportions.

Twenty-five years ago during the Great Leap Forward, Mao, arguing that China's enormous manpower pool held the key to success in modernization, harshly criticized Ma Yinchu, then Chancellor of Beijing University, along with other proponents of strict population control. But today the picture is very different. In Nanjing virtually everyone acknowledges that China's population is more a liability than an asset, realizing that for the country's standard of living to rise the rate of population growth must be reduced. A message from the Nanjing Municipal Committee for Planned Fertility on a nearby billboard puts it bluntly: "To meet the goal of quadrupling the annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the year 2000, our population must be held to less than 1.2 billion."

The evidence of a population bursting at the seams is everywhere in Nanjing: buses are jammed to capacity; pedestrians, confronting a rushing torrent of bicycles, trucks and official vehicles, find that crossing a street makes an afternoon's work; on sidewalks meandering shoppers and sightseers create a constantly shifting obstacle course; in department stores reaching a sales counter requires the strength and determination of an All-American fullback; in restaurants a seat once vacated is immediately occupied by another person in China's own version of *Bartholomew Cubbins and His Ten Thousand Hats.*

Conditions in other cities seem no different. Trains south to Wuxi, Suzhou, Shanghai and Hangzhou as well as north to Beijing and other cities are frequently sold out. Several times university students who were fortunate to catch a train to Shanghai in the first place have returned early to Nanjing after failing to find lodging.

Housing is yet another indicator of China's bulging population. Chinese students in Nanjing University dormitories are crammed eight or more to a room. Consequently, university officials have little difficulty finding Chinese students willing to risk living with strange foreign students for the opportunity to share a room with only two other people. Standard apartments for many faculty and staff members consist of one room in a concrete four-story building. Cooking, bath and toilet facilities are shared by apartment dwellers on each floor. Hot water is normally available two hours in the morning and evening in some faculty apartments and in foreign student dorms. Chinese student dorms have no hot water. Outside the university, housing conditions for most Nanjing residents are no better. By comparison, the large bedrooms with private baths in the new Jinling and other Nanjing hotels, as well as in the Foreign Experts' Building at Nanjing University, are palatial.

Virtually no aspect of life in China is untouched by the population problem. Food in Nanjing today appears to be plentiful; a foreign observer sees no sign of starvation and only occasional indications of unusual hardship. Nevertheless, food production and its distibution to a population this size is never far from precarious. With slightly less than 3.7 million square miles of territory, China is the third largest country in the world. But arable land amounts to only 15% of the total land area and consequently population density is high. China has only .3 acres of cultivable land per capita (rural population) — less than in Japan and India; and agricultural productivity is low. Unfavorable weather, floods and other natural calamities invite disaster, as do man-made crises like the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s. Despite consistent increases in grain production over the past three decades, the stark fact is that population growth has kept per capita grain output near the level of the mid-1950s.

Population size has a major impact on education, too. In Nanjing and other Chinese cities schools are government-supported, and most young people can expect to attend elementary school (five years), lower middle school (three years) and upper middle school (two years). But in the countryside, where 83% of China's population is concentrated, schools must be supported locally. As a result, the length of education and its quality vary widely from one province to another. Overall, a relatively small percentage of China's rural population receives more than five or six years of schooling.

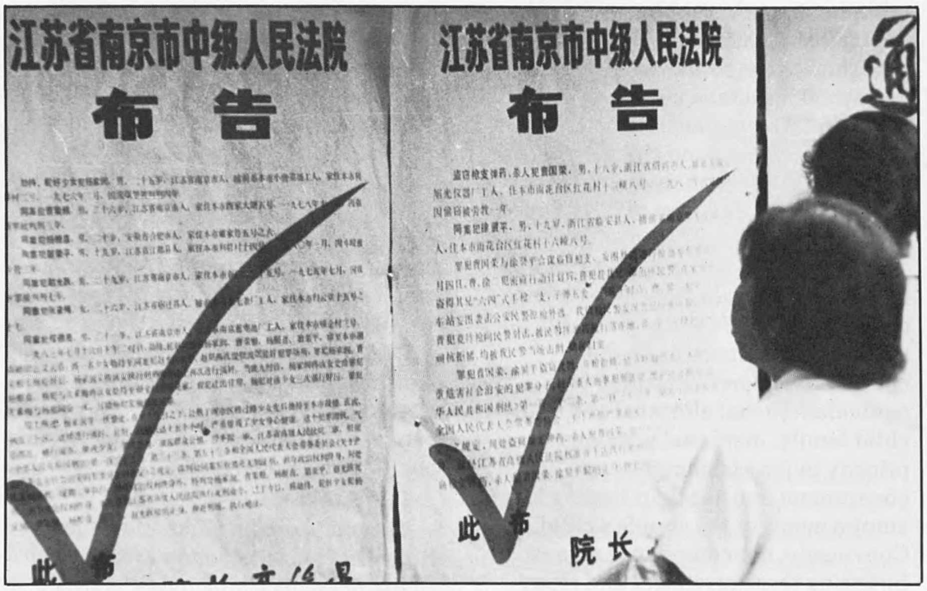
Higher education opportunities, confined almost exclusively to urban centers, are severely limited. Less than 4% of all qualified upper middle school graduates have been admitted to Chinese universities annually since 1977, when a highly competitive entrance examination system was reestablished. Nanjing University, one of China's few "comprehensive" institutions which combine arts and sciences, has only 7000 students. Although China has sent more than 10,000 students and scholars to the United States since diplomatic relations were established in 1979 and several thousand more to study in Japan and European countries, such numbers pale in significance when compared to the entire population. If China is to raise the scientific and technological level of the general population, or even a significant proportion of it, drastic adjustments in the present education system must occur. And without such an increase in general educational level, China's ability to utilize the advanced equipment and technology it seeks so desperately will be greatly restricted.

In a population of one billion, employment is no less a problem than education. Again the situation in Nanjing is instructive. Nearly every department store, retail shop and restaurant has a large staff of clerks, waiters and waitresses — called in China "service personnel." Only MacDonald's after a Saturday football game can approximate the behind-the-counter staff that is commonplace in China. In the Nanjing Friendship Store no less than four people manage the cashier's desk: two prepare bills and receipts and two handle money. Because the Friendship Store is off-limits to Nanjing's Chinese citizens, its service personnel are seldom overwhelmed with customers, although fancy Japanese buses periodically disgorge their loads of foreign tourists at the front gate. The primary reason for the large staff at the Friendship Store and elsewhere is employment, not service. Nowhere is this more apparent than at the Nanjing branch of the Bank of China. Row upon row of long, narrow tables are lined up behind the large U-shaped counter enclosing the customer area; forty to fifty clerks and tellers crowd these tables and a few additional desks along the sides of the large room. At one stage or another a routine transaction requires the attention of at least three people: one to prepare forms, another to check them, a third to count money. No security precautions are apparent. Even if bank robbery were a problem in China, which it isn't, only a lunatic would tackle the small army of service personnel working behind the counter.

The flip side of employment, of course, is unemployment, which as everyone knows breeds crime and other social ills. Chinese have been candid about their unemployment problem in recent years, noting that unemployment in the urban work force may run as high as 20%. In large part the unemployed consist of members of the so-called "lost generation," young people from their teens to their early thirties whose lives were disrupted by the Cultural Revolution. Many were sent to the countryside to work and only recently have returned to the cities where they hope to stay, with or without jobs. According to Chinese authorities, unemployed young men are mainly responsible for the crime wave in China's cities which prompted a nationwide crackdown last fall. Public Security personnel arrested thousands of criminals, many of them young men, who were subsequently shipped off to labor reform camps in Qinghai, Xinjiang, and other remote areas in western China. The most brutal aspect of the crackdown was the execution of several hundred young "repeat offenders." On three successive weekends last fall criminals with ropes around their necks and bound hands were paraded with much fanfare through the streets of Nanjing. A public meeting was held in late September at nearby Wutaishan Stadium where the offenders were again displayed and their crimes detailed before a large audience. All were executed at a remote location a few days later. Immediately afterward, large public announcements were posted throughout the city identifying the criminals and their crimes and explaining their punishment. A large red check mark across the announcement indicated graphically that an execution had taken place.

At Nanjing University, where one of the public announcements was prominently displayed, Chinese faculty members claim that the arrests and executions have accomplished their objective, that crime has declined, and that young people throughout the city are conducting themselves properly. Whether or not this is true, if Chinese blame high unemployment for urban crime, their problems are far from solved. By one estimate, 10 million Chinese, including 3 million urban workers, will join the labor force annually from now until the end of the century even if population growth is restrained. And during this same period, if China adopts labor-saving production techniques in the process of modernizing, the employment/unemployment dilemma will grow even more acute. The prospect of modernization creating new problems as it solves old ones is a paradox Chinese must face in their national development.

China's leaders recognize that population control lies at the heart of successful modernization, and they



Nanjing University students read a bulletin announcing the recent execution of criminals.

Resident Director Craig N. Canning, his wife Nancy, and students in the Cooperative Chinese Language and Area Studies Program jointly administered by Nanjing University and the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE). William and Mary is a member of a CIEE-administered consortium of twenty-nine colleges and universities which sponsors the Nanjing University program and similar programs at Beijing University and Fudan University.

have adopted strong measures to encourage couples to practice family planning. In 1980 the State Council, the administrative hub of China's central government now under the direction of Premier Zhao Ziyang, called for a policy of "one child per family." And a New Marriage Law promulgated the same year raised the legal age for marriage to 22 for men and 20 for women, although many localities have set higher minimum age limits. Along with the law, which obligates couples to practice family planning, the government has established rewards and sanctions aimed at gaining widespread compliance. A couple who plans to have only one child, for example, can register with the government to receive a broad range of benefits including maternity leave with pay, a "nutrition subsidy," an income supplement of 4 *yuan* monthly until their child reaches age 14, allocation of urban housing space or, in the countryside, a private garden plot equivalent to that allocated to a two-child family, increased pensions, priority in job assignments, and government assistance in finding local employment for the couple's child. Conversely, noncompliance means forfeiting these privileges and repaying previous benefits.

With these measures the government hopes to bring China's population growth under control. But to be successful, strong resistance must be overcome, especially in the countryside where China's population is concentrated. Deeply rooted attitudes about the importance of male heirs to work in the fields and to carry on the ancestral line, combined with fear of having no children (or only one) to support aging parents, are concerns which must be met and resolved. Population control policy must also face pressures to raise large families currently being generated by the Responsibility System, which was introduced in the countryside in 1979. The system allows small groups, production teams, and even individual families to decide what to produce, to engage in sideline production, and to work private plots. Most importantly, families can retain all profits from their endeavors above and beyond contractual quotas. Obviously, under this system large families stand to reap greater profits than small families with less manpower — a basic contradiction between national production goals and population control policy.

To sum up, then, population control, linked as it is with nearly every major problem facing China today, is fundamental to China's successful modernization. Employment, social order, education, food supply and housing are all problems whose solution ultimately rests on restraining population growth. In the last seven years, under Deng Xiaoping's guidance, Chinese leaders have initiated policies which emphasize the production of high quality goods for domestic consumption and export. They have tried to use material incentives to reward individual initiative and productivity. And they have sought to couple population control policy with material rewards, better housing and other incentives. But as the conflict between population control and the Responsibility System demonstrates, fundamental contradictions remain.

How successful these policies will be in guiding China's modernization is uncertain. The view from Nanjing, even from the 37th floor of the Jinling Hotel, does not extend to the future. But to the eye of an American raised on hot dogs and capitalism, many current policies seem sound, realistic and in tune with basic human needs and desires. Despite the contradictions and inconsistencies and the unprecedented scale of the challenge on the long road ahead, perhaps Deng Xiaoping's political heirs will find the pulse of this nation, just as Mao did in the 1930s and 1940s. If that happens, then the gap separating China and more modern countries will gradually be lessened, and the world Nanjing citizens glimpse across the iron fence outside the Jinling Hotel may not seem so far away.

Craig N. Canning
Associate Professor of History

On January 1, 1979 the People's Republic of China (PRC) officially adopted the *pinyin* (phonetic spelling) system for romanizing Chinese words. Except for "c", "x", "q", and "zh", which in *pinyin* denote sounds other than those associated with these letters in normal English usage, the system provides a straightforward approximation of Chinese words pronounced in the Mandarin dialect. Nanjing (Nahn-jing), for instance, is closer to the correct pronunciation than the old spelling of Nanking. Although *pinyin* romanization is used throughout this article, occasionally the author has included previous romanization to avoid confusion.

[2] Jinling, or "gold tomb," was the name given to a site on nearby Qingliang mountain by King Wei of the state of Chu in 333 B.C. Afterward Jinling became one of several names for Nanjing. Although official names for the city varied throughout the imperial period (221 B.C.-1912 A.D.), in common parlance it was called Nanjing or "southern capital" during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties.

flJiang Qing (Mao's widow), Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen — the Gang of Four — were arrested in October 1976 and put on trial in November 1980. Individually, each was found guilty of a set of specific crimes; collectively, they are held responsible for the excesses of the Cultural Revolution.

LONGEVITY WITH LEVITY

IF YOU DISMISS PLAY AS MERE TRIFLING FOLLY, YOU ARE DISMISSING A PHENOMENON THAT PLATO CONSIDERED AN ANSWER TO THE PUZZLE OF OUR EXISTENCE

By John M. Charles

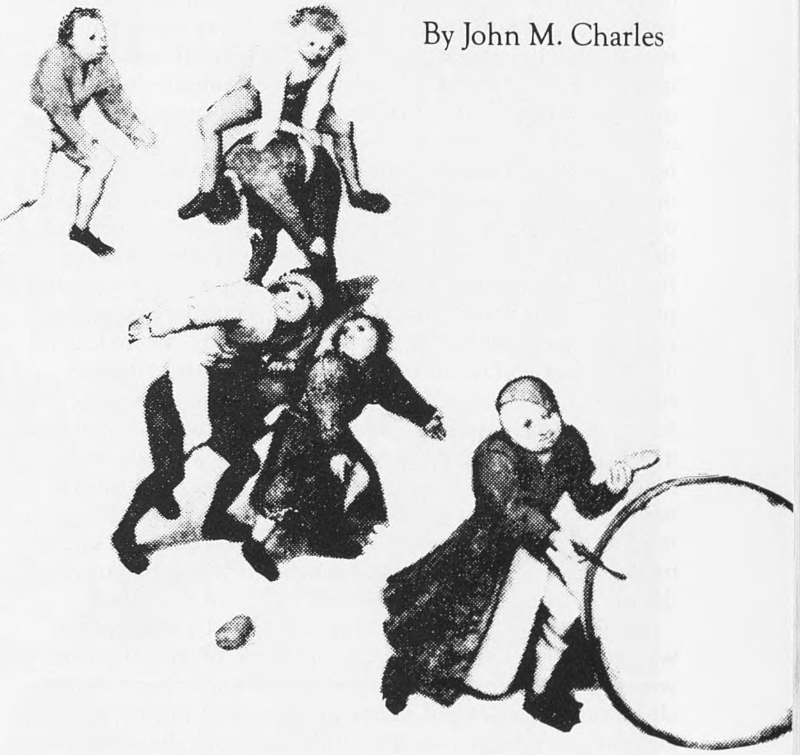
What runs through your mind when you think of "play"? Perhaps you associate play exclusively with children. You may be a parent who, swelling with pride, has marveled at the intensity of your child's preoccupation with play? On the surface bubbles laughter, amusement and hilarity, but beneath the facade child's play is a serious business. How could you forget the role of play in your household? Those long hours of silence when you wondered what mischief your son could be up to in the attic only to find him innocently immersed in a make-believe world of heroes and villains. Those tearful entreaties to be allowed to go out to play. The gleeful exuberance of your daughter hurrying back from school to join friends in a favorite activity. The absorbed expression of one transported to the distant shores of the imagination by bedtime stories. Ah, those halcyon days of yore!

Or, perhaps, you dream of your play-filled days at the College of William and Mary. Those hours of organized sports on Cary and Barksdale Fields, the fun of intramural and recreational activities and probably those spontaneous frolics in such favorite campus landmarks as the Sunken Garden and Crim Dell.

On the other hand, perhaps you dismiss play as mere trifling folly unworthy of serious attention. If so, you are dismissing a phenomenon that Plato considered an answer to the puzzle of our existence because it provides the opportunity for happiness and cosmological unity. Play entails having fun, it provides relief from tedium and stress, it means approaching life with levity. Furthermore, a daily dose of play will help to keep the doctor away. In an automated and sedentary world, our longevity increasingly depends upon our success in keeping hypokinetic diseases at bay. Given the significance of longevity and levity, you would think that play might be the subject of intense study, but it remains an elusive concept; one which we would each define differently. Because it is so important, but rarely attracts the scrutiny it deserves, I invite you to reflect with me for a moment about the place of play in your life.

WHY DO ADULTS "PLAY"? As we grow older, our perceptions of play, our reasons for playing and the way we play all change, but they don't disappear. Sadly, perhaps, one of the measures of maturity in our culture is the ability to hide our real selves. As we develop our adult identities, genuine expressions of spontaneity tend to become submerged beneath a veneer of sophistication. Consequently, a game which might have been a simple expression of exuberance and energy in childhood might adopt various subliminal undertones when played by the adult. It might become a game of power and dominance, a sexual encounter or a vehicle for psychological warfare or introspective reflection.

During the aging process, the games people play tend to focus increasingly upon the psychology of human relationships. Play may be an exploitative manipulation or social stroking behavior. We may approach the tennis court determined to dominate and demolish our opponent, or we might approach the same game with the expectation of mutual accord. Every ball hit may be a threat, a challenge or even an insult; in effect, a sanctioned form of fighting. Alternatively, each rally could be a harmonious dialogue punctuated by mutual admiration and support.



John Michael Charles is an associate professor in the Department of Physical Education for Women at William and Mary where his courses include the philosophy of physical education and an honors course. A native of England, he attended Westminster College, Oxford, before coming to the United States 10 years ago to earn his masters degree at Hendersen State College and his doctorate at the University of Oregon. Before coming to William and Mary, where he also coaches the women's soccer team, Dr. Charles taught at Wellesley College from 1977 to 1980.

Similarly, solitary pasttimes serve an array of psychological functions for the adult. Have you asked yourself why you play the way you play? Perhaps you crave health and fitness for functional reasons: to live longer, to look better, to feel better. If you are one of those intrepid characters who chooses to rappel from high places, challenge troubled waters in flimsy crafts or hurtle through the air at great speed, you are probably a thrill seeker, who enjoys taking risks, who seeks out extreme sensory stimulation, who relishes the pursuit of vertigo. At the more mundane level, ordinary mortals satisfy that need to achieve by jogging that extra mile and perhaps losing that extra pound. By choosing group activities ranging from disco dancing to team sports for social reasons you may fulfill affiliative needs for social approval, status, acceptance and love. To satiate your aesthetic sensibilities, you might turn to activities which stress appreciation of beauty in form, ranging from creative arts, like sculpture, to kinesthetic pasttimes, like creative movement, gymnastics and diving. You may play to escape from guilt and anxiety, to find security or just to relax. There are even those who play for ascetic reasons of self-denial and, curiously, find pleasure in mid-winter swimming. Whatever you choose, it is likely that the innocent naivety of your youthful play has been replaced by a network of adult drives and desires during the metamorphosis of maturation.

HOW DOES THE ADULT PLAY WORLD CHANGE? What happens to the rich fantasy world of our youth? Why do we replace make-believe play with formalized sports?

As we grow up, our needs change. The child plays, in part, to find out about himself, to experiment with different roles and characters, to develop an identity. As that child matures, the security of the family is replaced by the uncertainties of self-sufficiency. The value of play for an adult may be that the player can temporarily control the environment. Activities selected allow us to compensate for inadequacies at home and failures at work. They give us the opportunity to experience the sense of mastery and competence lacking in other spheres of our life. As the child grows up, his world becomes increasingly complex and confusing, daily decisions are more time consuming, complicated and threatening. In a world where the average citizen is being forced to absorb more and more information, often of a complex technical nature, at an increasingly accelerated rate, play may be a comforting medium of mastery. There is little doubt that one of the attractions of jogging is that it gives runners of all ages and all physical conditions an opportunity to be successful, however slowly or awkwardly they move. Around the campus of the College of William and Mary, and no doubt around your home, every day brings a new assortment of joggers of different shapes and sizes moving at different speeds in different directions but united by the sense of well-being and accomplishment that only the joy of experiencing movement firsthand can bring.

As we change, so the world in which we live changes as we age. The demands of family and work, of education and worship tend to curb the creativity of our childhood. Where children can dream and create personal play worlds, adults generally need structure. The child may play, the adult must play at something, usually a game. Perhaps because we learn that organization and structure are vital for survival at home and at work, the majority of adults choose play activities which are hedged in by rules and regulations. In the major sports of our culture, the flow of the game is legislated, and deviations from that pattern are eliminated by a complex code of behavior. It simply is not acceptable to kick the basketball, continue playing football beyond the sidelines of the field or to use two pitchers simultaneously in baseball. It seems that the more statistics dominate and the more goal-oriented the sporting activity becomes, the less spontaneity we see in the participants. As a sport develops, it becomes less playful in nature. What price progress!

A sport, like a child, tends to be most playful when young. Its birth is a flight of fancy. I am sure that the onlookers were flabbergasted when one of the players disrupted a soccer game at Rugby Public School by audaciously picking up the ball and running with it. Without this moment of playfulness, rugby, and coincidentally American football, might never have been conceived. James Naismith, we can be sure, was letting his creative energies run amok as he played with his peach baskets and idly conjured up the game of basketball. Even strategical innovations in a sport may be credited as much to the playful spirit of mankind as the marvels of technological research. Whoever first grasped the tennis racket with two hands on the backhand side forever changed the game, and whoever inspired Fosbury with the notion of vaulting stomach up revolutionized the high jump. But these playful pioneers are few; most of us prefer to conform to the structure of the sport and to model our skills after a predefined style.

WORKING AT PLAY. How often have you felt like the proverbial square peg trying to squeeze yourself into a round hole? The hole is your idealized image of how you should perform, based perhaps on which sports idol you should resemble. The square peg is that uncooperative body. It may be that you so badly want to be successful that you tend to forget to "play" the game.

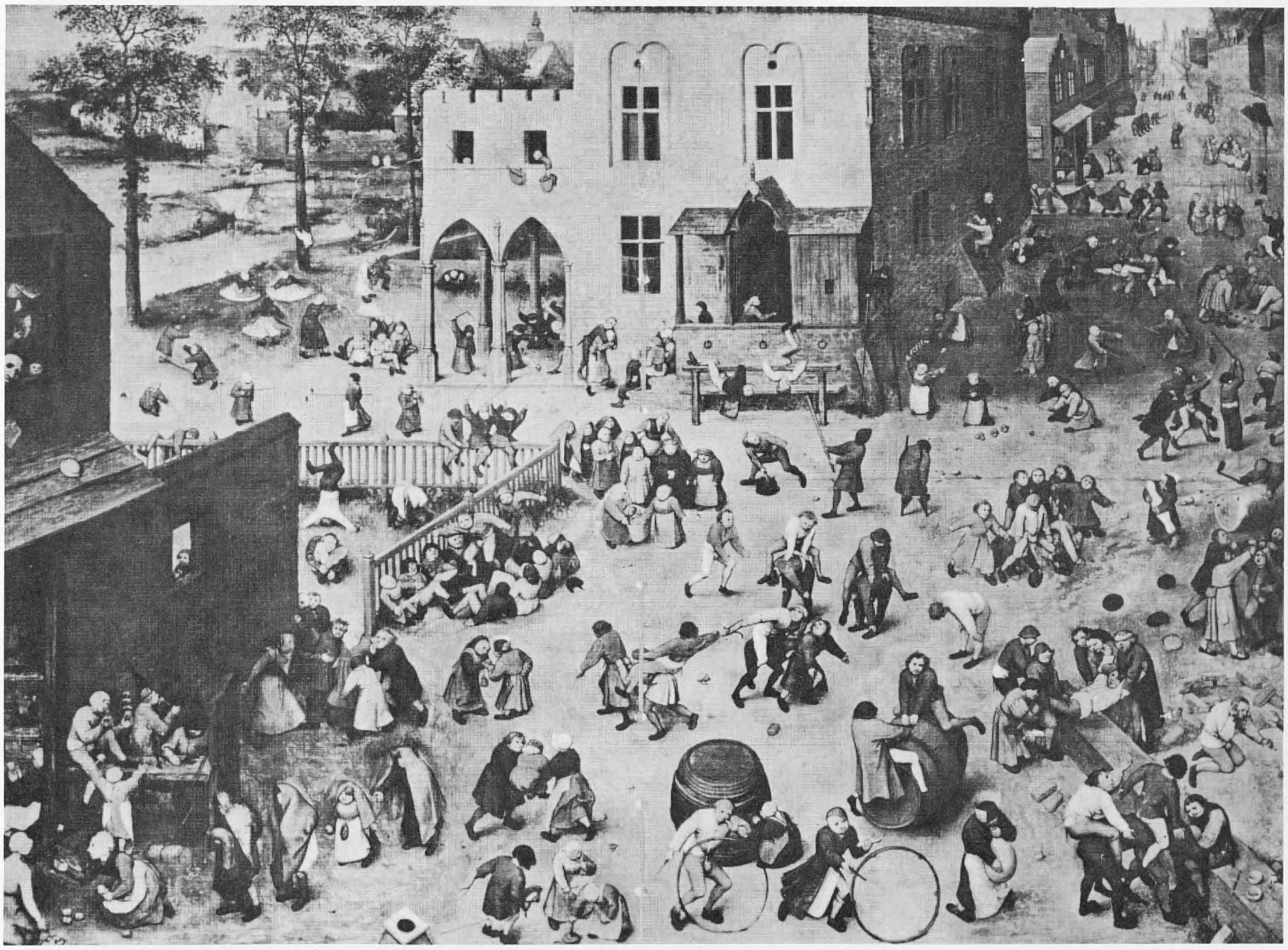
IN SICKNESS. . . Instead, you might assume the guise of a patient working to recover from some benign disease. The first step toward getting better is to select an "expert" to diagnose your problem: a technique therapist. During a session, this expert would prescribe a series of practices to remedy the flaws in your game. Then comes the arduous system of rehabilitation comprising practice and drill, drill and practice. Occasionally, just often enough to give hope and spur you to extra effort, you can see the system working, thanks to application, dedication and perceptive instruction. But, unless you are among the chosen few, those hours of practice may still have left you with some unnatural and inefficient movements. Of course, we react differently to the frustrations of failure. Some are spurred by their shortcomings to try and try again until they can fit that final piece into the movement jigsaw. But most react with anger and eventually withdrawal to such problems; rackets find their way over the fence and eventually back to the closet. The problem is that play has become work. Attempts to remedy deficiencies in a game have failed; the malaise seems terminal. There is nothing so tragic in the world of play as the human being who cannot seem to succeed. Whether it be in the elementary school gymnasium or the country club tennis courts, we can all be successful in enjoying our own bodies.

. . . .AND IN HEALTH. Play is healthy and uplifting, frustration and failure are not. In play, our choices are different; our preferences vary, our bodies are different, the athlete struggling to express itself within each of us is unique. Correct technique, points accumulated and statistical perfection should all take a back seat to playfulness, the fun of participation.

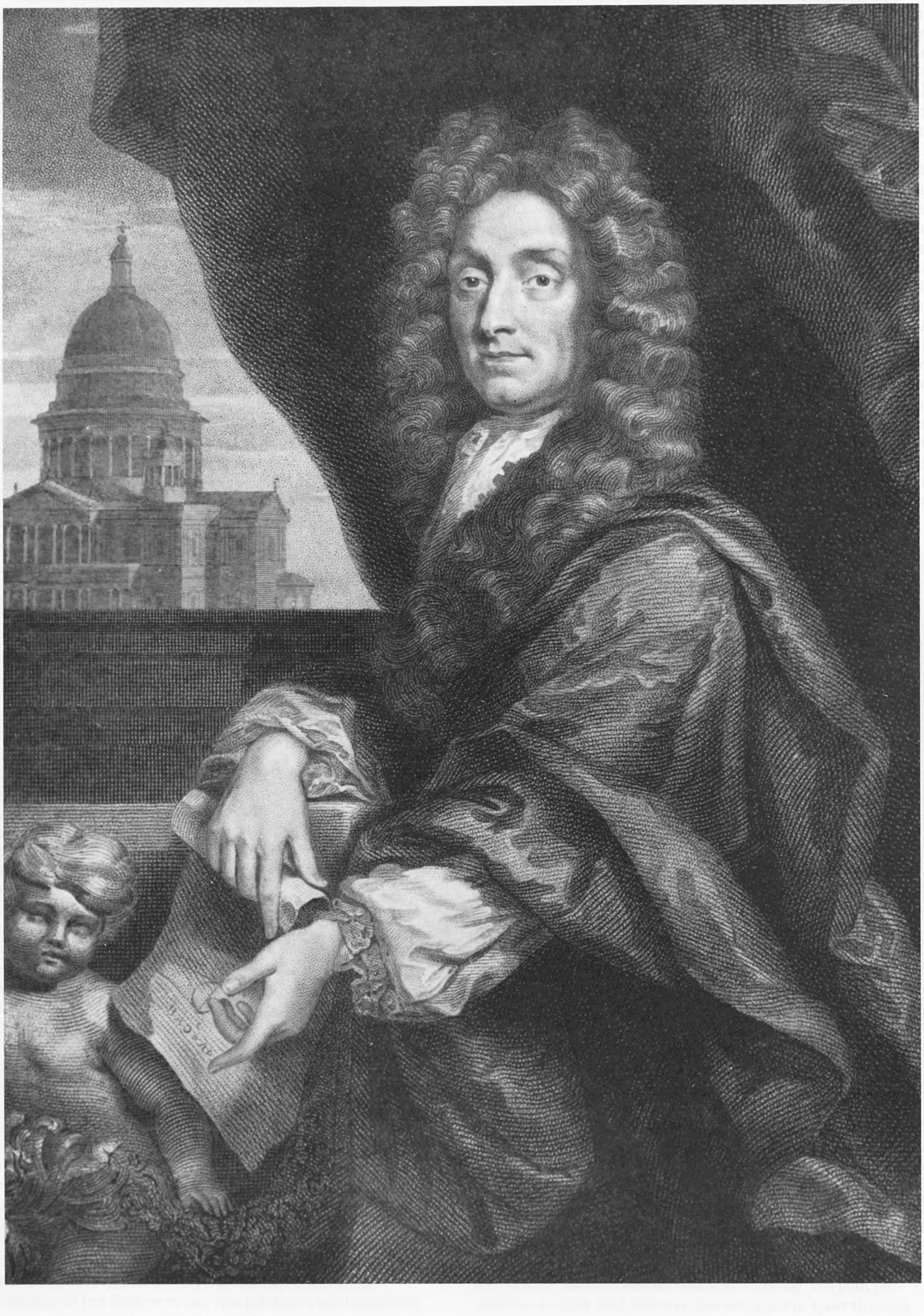
PLAYING AT WORK. Conformity and uniformity are not the only lessons we learn at work and apply to play. In much of our "leisure" activity, no less than in our work activity, we place a high value on advanced planning and goal setting and on competition and winning. We gain promotions at work and improve performance in sport through mastering progressively specialized knowledge and techniques. In the office and on the basketball court we stress the importance of efficient utilization of time. Indeed, what would the modern game of basketball be without the tension with time illustrated by the three-second rule, the shot clock and time-outs? As the strictures of maturity and the structures of work infiltrate play, we seem to lose the ability to dream and create, to suspend time and reality.

Play and work may seem somehow contradictory to those reared on the idea that work is a time of serious business and playtime is that left over at the end of the day when we can relax. However, playfulness is in the mind, not the activity. I'm sure that you can all remember being perfectly miserable playing tennis when the ball seemed to keep hitting the lines on your side of the court, but never on the other, when your partner seemed always to miss the easy volley, and the wind blew every time you tossed the ball to serve. Conversely, you have all found unexpected pleasure, fun and enjoyment in some work activities. Work and play increasingly overlap in our places of business. We find employment counselors advising their clients to select occupations which they consider most like play. Criteria for selection include personal interests, scope for creative energies, specific aptitudes and happiness as well as level of remuneration. Employers are showing a willingness to accentuate elements of play at work. The responsibility of group decision-making, increasing freedom to plan one's daily regimen and a willingness to accentuate the intrinsic pleasure of a task are indicative of a changing attitude toward play at work. But perhaps the greatest single sign of the integration of work and play is the boom in corporate fitness and wellness programs. Business and industry are beginning to give tacit endorsement to principles of play in the work place, when they say that the happy worker is the productive worker and that the profit margin can be measured in human terms rather than dollars and cents.

THE CULTURE OF PLAY. Traditional barriers are being broken down as playfulness becomes more acceptable in our culture. The social emphasis of recent decades has created a favorable atmosphere for the emergence of this play ethic. The humanistic thrust of the sixties may have spawned the excesses of the "me" generation and narcissism, but from this focus upon the self has emerged a belief in self-worth and quality of living. We see this changing emphasis in the world of work and the play world. Society is recognizing the importance of play as a form of human experience throughout the life cycle. On the one hand we find a proliferation of organizations dedicated to giving young and old alike first hand exposure to the joys of participation in a spectrum of leisure activities; on the other, masses of individuals are forsaking their armchairs to do their own thing. The play ethic is becoming acceptable; people want to live a little longer and have more fun doing it. They want longevity with levity.



It has been suggested that Bruegel's depiction of the playing children in his painting *Children's Games* (1560) may symbolize the folly of adults who waste time in frivolities which do not deserve their attention.



WREN:

A RETROSPECTIVE AT 350

CHRISTOPHER WREN WAS A TOWERING GENIUS IN AN AGE OF GENIUS

By John Fitzhugh Millar '81 MA

In October 1982 the 350th birthday of Sir Christopher Wren passed with little fanfare. In England, a small exhibition was held of his drawings and a total of three new books were added to the plethora of published material on Wren. Colonial Williamsburg, claiming financial exigencies, declined to mount a Wren exhibition even though Wren is the spiritual father of the architectural style embodied in most of their historic buildings. The College also declined for similar reasons, although the Episcopal chaplain on campus, The Rev. Richard May, offered a prayer of thanksgiving for Wren's life and works at a Thursday evening Eucharist in the so-called Wren Chapel. The rest of the United States, perhaps tired of so many anniversary celebrations of events and people so long past, apparently ignored Wren's birthday.

John Fitzhugh Millar, a 1966 graduate of Harvard, received his MA in History from the College of William and Mary in 1981. He lives in Williamsburg, where he is currently writing three books on architectural history, including one on Wren. Past books by Mr. Millar include The Architects of the American Colonies, Rhode Island: Forgotten Leader of the Revolutionary Era, *and* American Ships of the Colonial and Revolutionary Periods.

Christopher Wren (1632-1723) was a towering genius in an age of genius. He is best remembered today as an architect — perhaps the best the English-speaking world has ever produced — but he thought of himself as a scientist. As a founding member of the Royal Society (organized for the promotion of scientific progress) Wren joined such leading thinkers as John Evelyn, Robert Hooke, Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton, and contributed his share of new discoveries in anatomy, physics, mathematics and astronomy. In fact, it was through his prowess in astronomy that Wren developed an interest in architecture.

Wren was born in Wiltshire in a high-church Anglican family; his father was a clergyman, and one of his uncles was made a bishop two years after Christopher's birth. Wren attended Dr. Busby's celebrated Westminster School and then moved on to Wadham College at Oxford during the English Civil War — a difficult time for people of the high-church persuasion. Nevertheless, Christopher was an omnivorous learner and distinguished himself in anatomy and astronomy. He was awarded his B.A. in two years and an M.A. in another two. He was made a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, so he could continue his post-graduate scientific studies. In 1657, he was appointed Professor of Astronomy at the now-defunct Gresham College in London, and four years later he returned to Oxford as the University's Savilian Professor of Astronomy and was awarded his doctorate. At the age of 34, he had, by one count, made an impressive record of 63 inventions, discoveries and improvements in a wide variety of fields, and Robert Hooke, himself no mean scientist, was moved to remark about Wren that "there scarce ever met in one man, in so great a perfection, such a mechanical hand, and so philosophical a mind."

With such a brilliant career in science already established, what

Sir Christopher Wren with one of his most famous structures, St. Paul's Cathedral, in the background. (Colonial Williamsburg Photo) turned Wren aside into architecture, a field hitherto left largely to artists and sculptors? And what preparation in the arts had he had to enable him so naturally to take to architecture?

For such a transition in careers, one of the most important prerequisites was an enquiring mind, and Wren was amply equipped in that category. Another necessity was the availability of good examples of the new style of architecture for study (since the new style of architecture was loosely modelled on ancient Roman principles, the style was not then considered new but "antique"). Medieval London was a grim place, but it had been embellished with a handful of fine renaissance buildings, such as parts of Whitehall Palace and a new facade on otherwise gothic St. Paul's Cathedral, both by Inigo Jones. However, even more important in shaping Wren's outlook on architecture were two earlier buildings.

These were Gresham College, where Wren had been given lodgings to go with his professorship in astronomy, and the nearby Royal Exchange. Both buildings had been built in the 1560s by the Flemish architect Hendrik van Paesschen, about whom very little is known, and they represented the first time that the classical renaissance style had been used in Britain for complete buildings. Both were brick structures with limestone trim, and had arcaded loggias with imported marble columns ranging around their rectangular courtyards. A few Tudor and Jacobean buildings before Inigo Jones had been decorated with classical details tacked on as afterthoughts, but these two buildings had been conceived from the ground up as classical designs.

Wren's first opportunities in architecture were in university settings. In 1663, his uncle, the bishop, commissioned him to design a chapel for Pembroke College, Cambridge, and in the same year Wren also submitted a design for the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, both of which stand today. Neither was remarkable, although the ceiling structure of the theatre was innovative. Shortly after, Charles II commissioned Wren to make a report on the deteriorating condition of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and Wren went beyond mere structural considerations by proposing to crown the bald gothic church with a large classical dome surmounted by a pineapple.

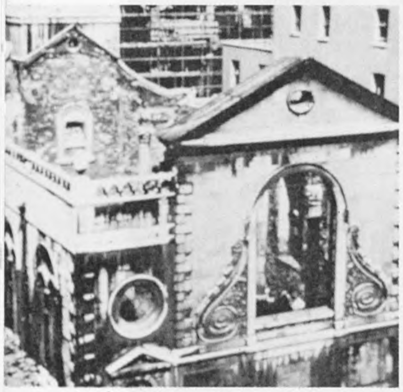
In 1665, perhaps realizing that he needed more background before he could be fully competent in architecture, Wren took a nine-month trip to the continent, where he studied the latest French designs in Paris and met Bernini. He may also have visited the Netherlands, but no record has yet been discovered of such a visit.

Not long after his return to England, Wren was faced with one of the most extraordinary opportunities ever offered to an architect. In 1666, following a disastrous epidemic of the bubonic plague, London was largely destroyed by a serious fire. Within days, Wren offered a revolutionary plan for rebuilding the city. He proposed to replace London's medieval jumble of narrow, crooked streets with a regular plan of wide, straight and sometimes parallel avenues, interrupted at intervals by plazas. He advocated strict zoning, whereby important buildings would be located to conspicuous advantage, and certain, less desirable industries would be banned from some areas. He considered that his plan would improve the health of the citizens, the trade of the merchants and the international reputation of the city, but it was not to be.

Vested interests from Charles II down to the smallest property owner wanted London to be rebuilt along essentially the original street plan, so Wren's plan was rejected. However, perhaps by way of compensation for this setback, Wren was given official commissions to design replacements for many important buildings destroyed in the fire. Among these were the Navy Office and the Custom House, but by far the largest commission was from the Church of England.

The fire had destroyed 87 churches,

Originally built in London in the late 1660s by Sir Christopher Wren, the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury (1), is shown after it was bombed during World War II in the blitz of London in 1940. In the mid-1960's, the church was dismantled and shipped across the Atlantic to the campus of Westminster College in Fulton, Mo., where it was reconstructed and restored as the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library (2) in the United States. (Westminster College photos). Other structures designed by Wren include the steeple of St. Mary-le-Bow, London (3), with dragon weathervane; Chelsea Hospital, London, (4) which was commissioned by King William as a residence for disabled or indigent army veterans, similar to Les Invalides built for Louis XIV a few years earlier in Paris.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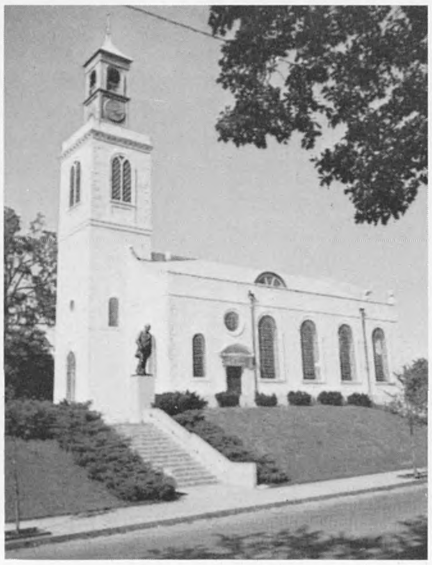
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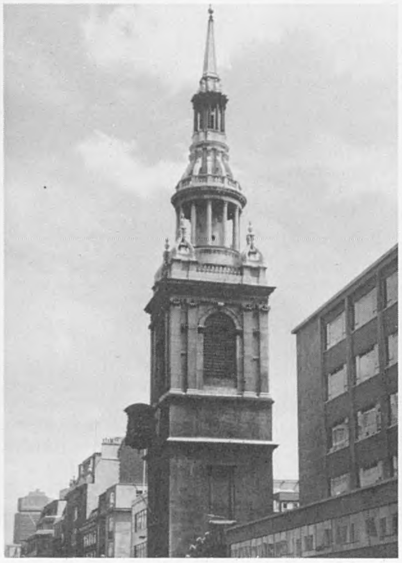
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including St. Paul's Cathedral (whose demise was hastened by the combustible scaffolding throughout, placed there as a convenience for Wren during his survey), and the authorities decided to build 52 new churches. Wren was asked to be the architect of all of them, a commission that was equally fortuitous to Wren and London.

Wren managed to design that many churches in such a way that no two were alike either on the exterior or in the interior. Part of his challenge lay in the fact that he was forced to adapt the irregular site-plans that had evolved over centuries to the more regular constraints of classical architecture. Almost all the churches were completed within twenty years of the fire.

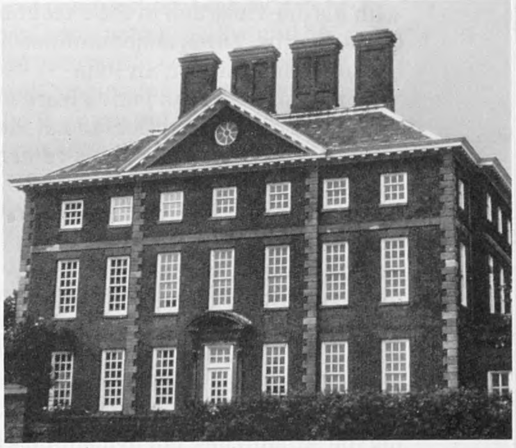
Wren particularly concerned himself with acoustics, a subject that appears to be poorly understood by many modern architects; judging from the surviving evidence, he mastered the subject. Although he belonged to the high-church tradition, which stressed liturgy and ritual, Wren considered that the most important acoustical consideration was that sermons should be able to be heard clearly by the entire congregation.

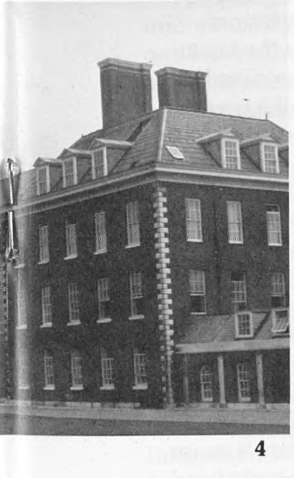
If the church interiors were somewhat circumscribed by practical consideration, the steeples were imaginative flights of fancy. Built for the most part of white limestone, they pricked boldly above the skyline and served as foils to the majestic bulk of the lead-covered dome of Wren's new St. Paul's Cathedral. London was justly esteemed as Europe's most beautiful city in the eighteenth century, an opinion shared by all who gaze today upon canvases painted by Antonio Joli, Samuel Scott, Antonio Canaletto and others, showing the view of London from along the Thames River.

Some of Wren's churches were pulled down in the nineteenth century as the residential population began to desert the center of London, but far more were destroyed by bombing during World War II. Of these, a substantial number have been rebuilt and beautifully restored since the war, although their section of London is now almost completely devoid of residents. Those who made the decision to rebuild the churches deserve the deep gratitude of future generations for preserving such a treasure, but at the same time the planners made other decisions that can be equally regretted: when central London was largely in rubble after the blitz, the planners could have insisted that a significant proportion of the land be reserved for residential use and that high-rise structures be banned from the historic section. Instead, they encouraged the construction of high-rise office buildings throughout the ancient parts of the city, with the result that the churches no longer have Sunday congregations to sustain them, and it is now impossible to see the panorama of Wren's steeple from the river. Canaletto's London is lost forever, but thirty years ago it was still attainable.

Following the royal wedding in 1981, hundreds of millions of people around the world are aware of the beauty of Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral. Few know, however, of the frustrations that Wren must have faced as the design evolved. His first design, before the Great Fire, called for the medieval church to be recased in classical stonework and crowned with a high dome. His first plan after the fire was for a round church, somewhat like the Pantheon in Rome. Next came a Greek-cross plan with a dome reminiscent of St. Peter's in Rome. Wren's favorite design, which is preserved in the form of an enormous wooden model in the attic of the present cathedral, was rejected, in part because the clergy claimed they needed more space for elaborate processions and in

St. Lawrence Jewry, London (5), shown shortly after its restoration, whose steeple, like many of Wren's shorter spires, was built of wood covered in lead sheeting; St. James Garlickhithe, London (6), shown during post-war restoration that is now complete; Winslow Hall, Buckinghamshire (7), one of very few private houses definitely designed by Wren whose size and shape recalls some of the larger mansions built in Virginia half a century later; and Hampton Court Palace (8), a few miles up the Thames from London. Wren enlarged this Tudor palace, once the property of the notorious Cardinal Wolsey, and created a masterpiece in the Dutch taste for his stolid clients, King William and Queen Mary.
(Photos by author)





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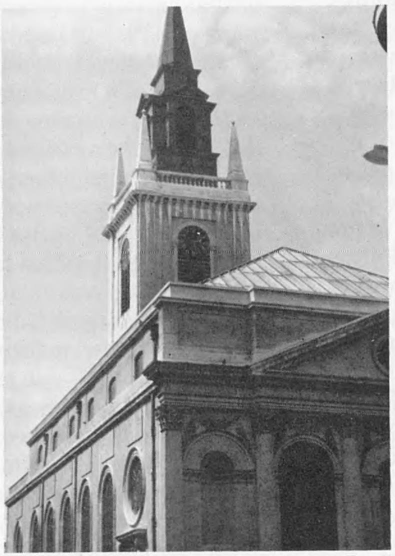

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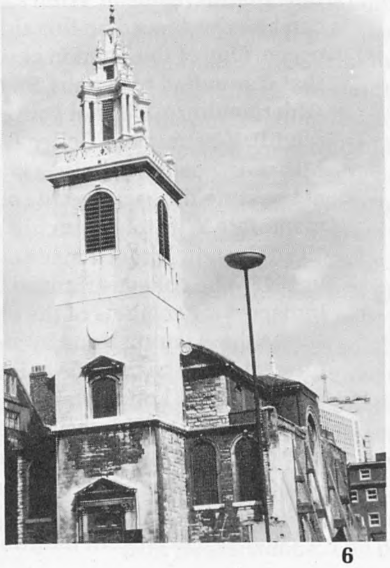

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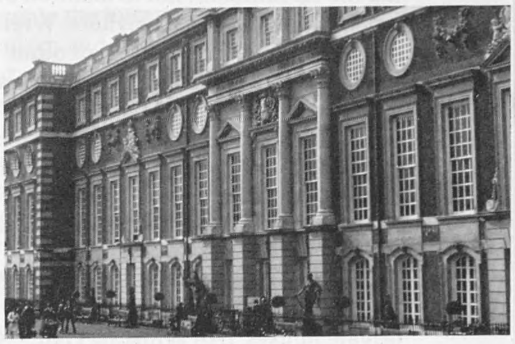

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part because it was not then technically possible to transport the huge stones required for the columns at its entrance. In desperation, Wren cobbled together a design that modern critics universally regard as dreadful — it included a tall steeple on top of its ill-proportioned dome — and to Wren's horror both king and church officials were delighted. He quickly regained his composure and successfully sought permission to alter the design as he saw fit during construction. The result fortunately looks nothing like the warrant design.

The most impressive part of St. Paul's is the dome. Wren understood that a dome that looks right from the inside will look too small on the outside. His clever solution was to place a decorative inner dome well below a decorative outer dome, both of them being supported by a hidden brick cone between them, which also held up the heavy stone cupola on top. Although they worked in a different medium (cast iron), the builders of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., were careful to study Wren's various plans for domes at St. Paul's, showing that Wren's genius was still appreciated even in the Victorian era.

One of Wren's greater achievements was in selecting his assistants. He attracted men of rare talent to help him with his drawings and in the execution of his designs. Three major architects, Nicholas Hawksmoor, Sir John Vanbrugh and Sir John James, learned their trade in Wren's office, and at the end of his career Wren was instrumental in establishing the talented James Gibbs as his successor. Wren saw that the finest craftsmen of the day were engaged to carry out his plans, sculptors like Edward Pierce and Grinling Gibbons, fabricators of wrought iron like Jean Tijou, and painters like Sir James Thornhill.

In spite of the heavy task of designing the 52 churches, not to mention a handful of churches elsewhere, Wren still found time for a variety of other building. He designed royal palaces, as at Hampton Court; hospitals, as at Greenwich and Chelsea; college buildings at Oxford, Cambridge, London and Winchester; almshouses, as at the charming Trinity Almshouses at Mile End Gate, London; the Greenwich Royal Observatory, by which the zero meridian line is fixed; and a very few private houses, like Winslow Hall, Buckinghamshire.

Although Wren's talent did not dim as he reached old age, new architectural styles came into vogue that left Wren sadly out of favor. He found himself meditating upon the famous text from the first chapter of Exodus: "There arose a pharaoh which knew not Joseph." Wren died in 1723, aged 91, but an ungrateful nation refused to erect a memorial to him. Loyal friends and family members persuaded church authorities to allow them to place an inscription on the floor under the center of the dome at St. Paul's: "Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice" — reader, if you are searching for his monument, just look around you.

> "And what about the so-called Wren building at William and Mary? . . . Wren's authorship of even the original design has never been conclusively proved, but it is now known that Wren's younger son, William, settled in Virginia as a teenager in the 1690s. . . and he may well have carried any Wren plan for the College on the ship with him."

Many visitors to London may find their visit enhanced if they heed that inscription. It is possible to visit all the surviving Wren churches in a single day of hard walking, and such a tour can provide a useful counterpoint to the more usual sightseeing at Buckingham Palace, Westminster Abbey and the Tower of London.

For those who are unable to cross the Atlantic, some of Wren's genius can be experienced on this side of the ocean. One of the London churches that was gutted by bombs, St. Mary Aldermanbury, was not going to be rebuilt. Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, needed to build a chapel and at the same time wished to commemorate Winston Churchill's famous "Iron Curtain" speech made at Fulton in 1946. The college arranged to transport the remains of the church across the Atlantic stone by stone and re-erect it on the campus at Fulton. The Bishop of London laid the first stone in 1966, and almost three years later the church was rehallowed for use, completely and authentically restored.

There is a persistent tradition that various New England churches with tall white steeples were designed by Wren. Some of these, like the Congregational Church in Sandwich, Massachusetts, are not even in Wren's style. Others, like St. Michael's, Marblehead, Christ Church ("the Old North"), Boston and Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, are closer to the Wren style, but are much more likely to have been designed by a New England man who may once have worked under Wren in London.

And what about the so-called Wren building at William and Mary? Hugh Jones, in *The Present State of Virginia* (published in 1724, the year after Wren died, so he would not have been able to contradict it) stated that the College was "first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there." The College, which was never completed after the original 1694 design, was seriously damaged by fire in 1705 and was rebuilt in slightly altered form. After various other misfortunes and alterations, it was restored to its mid-eighteenth-century form in the 1930s through the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Wren's authorship of even the original design has never been conclusively proved, but it is now known that Wren's younger son, William, settled in Virginia as a teenager in the 1690s (other relations already lived in Virginia), and he may well have carried any Wren plans for the College on the ship with him.

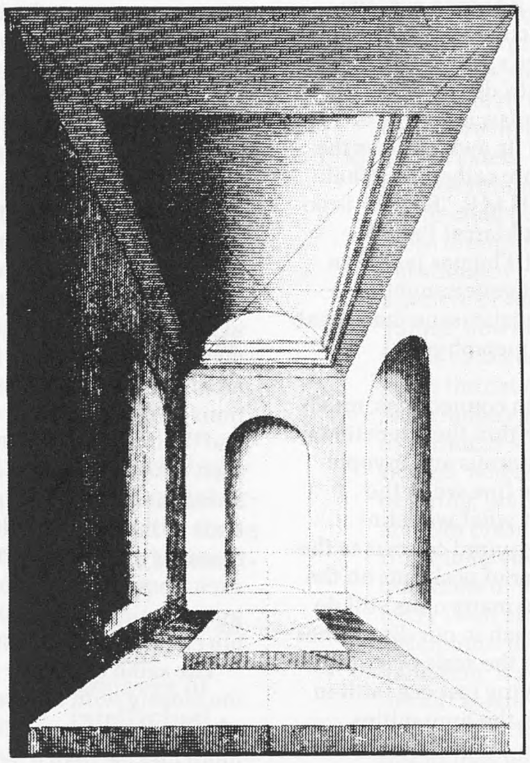
William Wren's grandson, James, followed in his great-grandfather's footsteps: he designed at least six churches, two houses and a courthouse in Virginia in the second half of the eighteenth century, and was a friend and neighbor of George Washington in Fairfax County.

Thus ends our brief glimpse of the brilliant man who presided over the transformation of London from a gloomy medieval city into the beautiful capital of one of Europe's leading nations, and who may well have set the tone of the architecture of Virginia's elegant eighteenth-century capital. His life spanned the period from absolutist Charles I to constitutional George II. When he was born, English music was dominated by the recently-dead Byrd, Gibbons, Weelkes, Morley and Dowland, and when he died the incomparable Handel was at the height of his powers. In Wren's life, England made the transition from a troubled island kingdom into a major world power, and no one symbolized that transition more than Wren, both in his science and his architecture.

RETHINKING THE HUMANITIES

INTELLECTUAL TIMIDITY AND THE LACK OF MORAL IMAGINATION HAVE PUSHED THE HUMANITIES TO THE FAR EDGES OF THE ACADEMIC CURRICULUM

By Giles B. Gunn



The humanities in our time are in considerable trouble. Almost everywhere one looks in American institutions of higher education, one finds them in a state of enforced retreat to the far edges of the academic curriculum. This retreat is the more notable for two reasons: first, because it is continuing in the midst of a much ballyhooed "return to basics" that is supposedly reviving general education requirements in undergraduate programs; and second, because it is occurring despite a host of what were once regarded as such promising developments for the humanities as the creation, during the administration of Lyndon Johnson, of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the subsequent establishment of the institute for advanced study in North Carolina known as the National Humanities Center, the founding of a professional lobbying organization in Washington, D.C., called the National Association for the Advancement of the Humanities, and the appearance of new interdisciplinary journals in the humanities like *Humanities in Society* and the *Raritan Review*.

The reasons for this discouraging state of affairs are numerous. The pressures of the economic marketplace are one factor; the careerism of this generation of students is often cited as another; national priorities which favor science, technology, and social engineering would be a third; and the general materialism of the American people, which makes us so indifferent to, if not hostile toward, intellectual and aesthetic and even emotional satisfactions might be a fourth. However, there is an additional factor that is too rarely mentioned and too important to forget. This factor is not to be found outside the gates of the humanities but within them, and has exhibited a more corrosive effect on their actual practice than any of the factors previously mentioned.

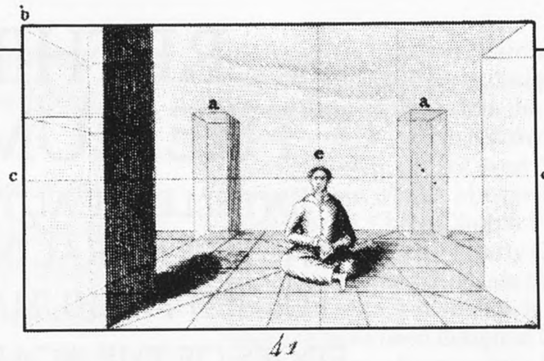
The factor I have in mind — there are actually two sides to it — concerns the intellectual timidity and lack of moral imagination that so often characterize the way the humanities have been represented both within the Academy and outside it. I say intellectual timidity because of the way we who profess them have, time and again, evaded so many of the hard disciplinary questions about the relations between the humanities and the other branches of learning in higher education, even about the relations among the various components within the humanities themselves. Not only have we failed to spell out the relations between the humanities and the sciences, natural, social, and physical; we have largely ducked questions about what literature has to do with philosophy, or what language study has to do with historical understanding, or what appreciation in the visual arts has to do with the arts of composition. I say lack of moral imagination — it would be more accurate to call it a failure of moral imagination — because as proponents of the humanities we have not been successful in developing compelling explanations of what the humanities are ultimately good for, of how they constitute, in Kenneth Burke's phrase, a kind of "equipment for living," of why the learning they afford often survives the supercession of its general conclusions. Instead of constructing arguments for their general relevance, we have defended arguments for their special uniqueness. Instead of developing methods for their practical application, we have refined techniques that restrict their accessibility.

As humanists we should have cooperated with one another in resisting those powerful forces in our society which have conspired to isolate the humanities from the rest of the academic curriculum and to relegate them to an even more exclusive corner outside it. The sad truth is that, to an astonishing degree, we have wittingly or not collaborated with those forces by treating the humanities as special enclaves of intellectual privilege. Imaginative literature, we have insisted, is not to be confused with the life around it and must be studied solely within the terms of its own origination. History, we have maintained, should be restricted to a study of events in relation to their antecedent causes and subsequent consequences and cannot be extended to a question of its uses. Philosophy, we have agreed, is not about the meaning of existence or the nature of wisdom but about the study of language and what can be asserted, or not asserted, with its assistance. The performing arts, we have implied, are best left to aspiring professionals, since the disciplines they require and the forms they serve have nothing to do with general ideas. And so it has gone, with a good many subjects and modes of critical inquiry simply left out of account. Folklore is overlooked because it is neither history nor literature. The crafts are discounted because, supposedly, they are not art. Ethics and theology are omitted because they are not disinterested. The theoretical sciences can be neglected because they are not humanistic.

The wonder in all this is how reasonably intelligent human beings can tolerate, much less perpetuate, such childish — I am almost compelled to say, unforgivably childish — nonsense. Gregor Mendel's early experiments with genetics are just as extraordinary a human achievement, just as profound a contribution to the eventual relief of man's estate, as William Shakespeare's experiments with tragic form; the New England boatright's design for the American clipper ship just as miraculous a marriage of aesthetic form and human function on its own scale as the medieval architect's design of the Gothic cathedral. What Charles Darwin undertook aboard the H.M.S. "Beagle" is no less a part of the humanities than what Marcel Proust undertook in his corklined room. What Thomas Jefferson proposed about the appropriate form of government for a free people is no less essential a humanistic issue than what Fyodor Dostoevsky exposed about the metaphysical anguish of modern freedom.

Our present inability to perceive such connections, much less to incorporate them structurally within the educational curriculum, is evidence of just how timorous and myopic we have become. Somewhere along the line we in the humanities relinquished too much. But what we relinquished was not a certain number of required courses to the sciences, was not even a certain number of positions on the faculty. What we gave up, and what too many of us still do not seem to miss, was a belief not so much in our disciplines *per se* as in the kinds of knowledge and the sorts of ability they furnish or make possible. And having lost our faith in the kinds of learning and competencies the humanities represent and enable — programming a computer does not involve the same sort of challenge, challenging though it may be, as mastering the subtlety of a Bach Cantata; acquiring the ability to read a corporate financial statement does not raise questions of the same order of magnitude or personal menace as *Moby-Dick* — we simply no longer possess a language, or at least a language free of cliches, to discuss such things. And without an adequate language to discuss and debate them, we no longer know how to think about them intelligently, much less how to pose their challenge adequately to our students.

Sometimes we talk as though the humanities referred to a kind of subject matter like the "great books" or the "great ideas." At other times we speak as though the humanities suggested a particular set of procedures or methods by which to study such things. At still other times we seem to refer by the word humanities to the effect that a particular kind of study of certain sorts of subjects can have on human beings themselves, such as making them more civilized, more humane, more intelligent, or more well balanced. At yet still others we seem to mean by the humanities those specific qualities which are the civilizing agents themselves and which are sometimes produced by a particular kind of study of selected sorts of material. As an example of this latter sense, it is said in *Moby-Dick* that "blasted if he be, Ahab has his humanities." And what Captain Ahab has in this case is the remnant of those qualities of mind and feeling, of sensibility, that prevent him from becoming fully demoniac until the very end. Ahab's humanities are the instrumentalities by which we know that his heart has not been completely eaten away by the stake of revenge planted there; they are what cry out against the faceless indifference of supernal power with the words: "In the midst of the personified impersonal, a personality stands here."

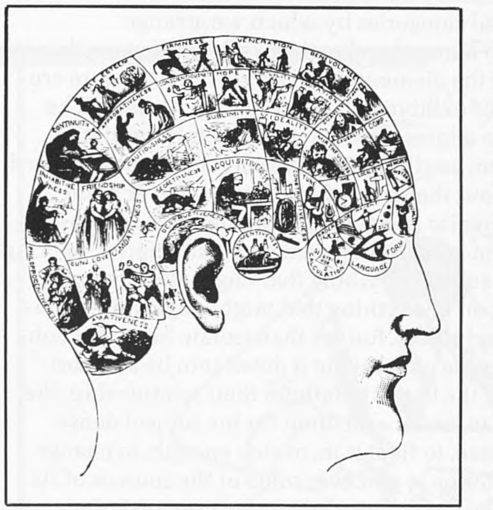


Each of these senses of the word *humanities* has its integrity and its uses, but each also has a way of encroaching upon its neighbors. The problem arises when in our discussion of the humanities one of these senses is established as arbiter of the place and meaning of the other three. Take, for example, the tendency to define the humanities in terms of a particular subject matter, and let us suppose that we try to erect a fairly generous definition of what that subject matter includes. Even if we could agree on a definition as broad, say, as those arts of thought and feeling, those traditions of reflection and expression, in which human beings and their destiny are in some way central to the discussion, then what are we to make of Goethe's work on colors or Lamennais's treatise on scientific classifications? Are such texts as these, which did so much to facilitate thinking and discovery in all areas of intellectual life in their time — are such texts as these to be excluded from the canon of the humanistic tradition simply because one of them is ostensibly concerned with optics and the other with insects?

The same quandary arises if we associate the humanities too closely with any particular method of analysis or mode of critical approach. Even if by method we mean nothing more precise than a demonstrable concern with qualities as well as measurable quantities and a refusal to rest content in an attitude of neutral detachment with regard to questions of value, what are we to make of a book like Sigmund Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*, which was based so largely on empirical observation and so scrupulously attempts to maintain an attitude of scientific disinterestedness in relation to the implications of its findings? Surely Freud and Lamennais and Goethe were doing something that falls within the sphere of the humanities inasmuch as they managed, through these works, to change conventional understandings of the human world and our relation to it. Yet most of the definitions of the humanities which associate them with interpretive disciplines that are sensible of subjective factors would rule such works out of account.

For many people in the humanities, the Victorian writer and critic, Matthew Arnold, seemed to provide a way out of this dilemma by inviting us to associate the humanities, not only as a subject matter and a method but also as a set of qualities, with what he called forthrightly "the best that has been known and said in the world." Yet Arnold's way of putting this was not without its problems. For one thing, it seemed to accentuate the importance of things thought and written at the expense of things made or done. The great deed and the material construction were obliged to accept a very secondary position in relation to the intellectual formulation or the literary masterpiece. A second problem with Arnold's statement is that it treated the products of humanistic achievement as monuments to be appreciated rather than as models to be emulated. Arnold's rhetoric favored a view of the humanities as a repository of texts that are conceived, to borrow a distinction from Edmund Wilson, not as among "the great springs of life" but rather as comprising many of the jewels in life's crown. Third and finally, there was something inevitably hightoned and self-consciously obscure about Arnold's formulation. What precisely was meant by "best," and who made such determinations anyway? Arnold's way of putting it encouraged the tendency to think of the humanities as something produced only, as Charles Frankel, the late Director of the National Humanities Center, once put it, for the "leisure of the theoried classes."

"As humanists we should have cooperated with one another in resisting those powerful forces in our society which have conspired to isolate the humanities from the rest of the academic curriculum and to relegate them to an even more exclusive corner outside of it. The sad truth is that. . .we have wittingly or not collaborated with those forces by treating the humanities as special enclaves of intellectual privilege."



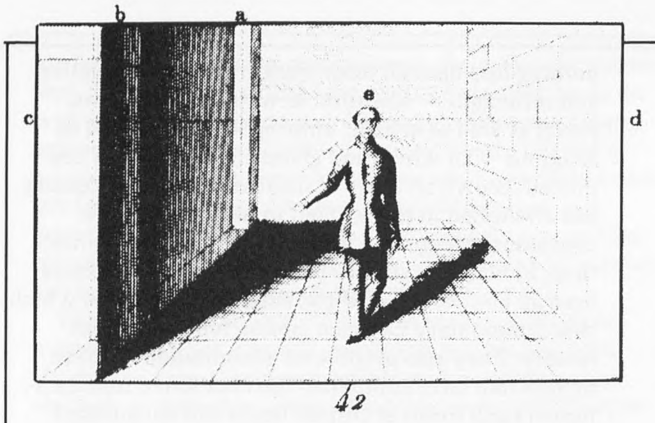
For these reasons I would propose that we substitute for the word "best" in Arnold's statement another of his favorite words, the word "critical," but I would further urge that we conceive of the word "critical" less in Arnold's terms than in John Dewey's — as a word referring to that habit of mind, that intellectual disposition, that seeks to comprehend experience not only for its own sake but for the sake "of instituting and perpetuating," in Dewey's language, "more enduring and extensive values." The humanities are therefore critical in a double and not a single sense: they refer to those traditions of inquiry and expression where our civilization, actually any civilization, places its own presiding beliefs, sentiments, and rituals under the most searching intellectual and imaginative scrutiny in the very act of giving them formal realization; at the same time they comprise those critical methods in which civilizations attempt to repossess and re-adapt these inherited traditions from the past to the changing needs of the present and the future by cultivating the arts and sciences of appropriate response to, and interaction with, them.

But all this is beginning to sound too lofty and abstract. Let me try to summarize what I have said thus far by making two observations.

1) To the extent that the word *humanities* refers to a particular kind of subject or body of material, I mean nothing less than all those traditions of investigation and reflection — scientific as well as philosophic, social as well as artistic, anthropological as well as religious — in which any given civilization has conducted its own scrutiny of itself and, where necessary, has attempted to revise itself in behalf of a more capacious present and future. As a "field of inquiry," then, humanistic studies involve considerably more than an analysis of all those exemplary forms in which this commentary has been conducted throughout history. They also involve an examination of those factors that have compelled the creation or modification of such forms at certain times and encouraged their neglect or hastened their repudiation and disintegration at others, as well as an examination of the differences such forms have made to the societies, and the people living within them, whose imaginations they have helped create and control.

2) To the extent that the word *humanities* refers instead to a discriminable method of approach or set of intellectual procedures, the humanities encompass all those disciplines where, or any disciplines when, questions of value are at once ingredient in and constitutive of the very form of investigation itself.By values, however, I do not mean anything as specific as ideals or norms, conscious or unconscious. Rather I mean the categories of significance by means of which we arrange experience — any experience, all experience — hierarchically. Wherever experience is ranked, wherever it is assigned a place in some vertical ordering, there we are in the presence of valuations and can presumably examine values. But we do not find ourselves in the presence of disciplines where questions of value actually constitute the form of inquiry itself simply when value questions are raised. Disciplines become humanistic only when valuing, or valuation, is central to what is being questioned. Thus insofar as the term *humanities* designates a mode of inquiry rather than a subject of study, it does not point to disciplines which are concerned with values as such — as though art history, say, was humanistic but marine biology was not — but to disciplines which, whatever their object of focus, make processes of valuation, whether explicit or merely implied, if not the chief subject of study, at least instrumental to the inquiry.

To bring this closer to home, does this mean that there is a canonical list of "greats" for the humanist, whether texts, individuals, ideas, or actions? The answer is surely Yes and No. Surely there is a kind of indispensability to texts like the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, or the *Aeneid* because for hundreds of years these texts have embodied, in our civilization at any rate, much of what it means for human beings to be mighty in force and rage, or resourceful in survival, or to subordinate themselves to the interests of the state or empire. Yet to study these texts humanistically is not to accept their normative status uncritically but to reassess that status constantly by comparing these texts with all the other paradigms that have defined our view of the human or affected our attitudes toward experience. For as a kind of study as well as a source of things studied, the humanities, as I have already indicated, are not about the worship of a single list of texts which are considered a repository of more or less absolute truths that admit of but one correct interpretation. As a discipline of inquiry, the humanities are equally concerned with the reasons why, and the ways in which, such



texts as these have given a meaningful shape and coloring to our experience, with why these texts and not others have determined the hierarchies of significance by which we organize so much of the rest of our experience. Hence the debate about these texts is not incidental to their study but integral to it, part of the *res* and not merely about it.

The question that remains is whether these texts and the traditions they comprise, however unstable and evolving those traditions inevitably prove to be, serve any more practical purpose than their normative function? What bearing, it is fair to ask, what concrete relevance, do they possess beyond the provision of models for the relationship between what we might call intellect and experience, or consciousness and the life that surrounds it, which are replicable, imitatable? The answer is to be found in the particular responses they are designed to bring into play, the specific aptitudes and skills they activate in their comprehension. Their practical "cash value," as William James would have defined it, is in no small measure the result of the intellectual and affective procedures they enable. That as humanists we have not been particularly sensitive to these dimensions of our discipline is nothing to the point. Would that more of us could have found it necessary, during the Vietnam War, to compare Achilles' wrath and Hector's bravery with Lyndon Johnson's petulance or Richard Nixon's deviousness. And would that even now we could discern the fresh perspective that is shed on the current conflict in the Middle East by the night scene from the 24th chapter of the *Iliad*, where Achilles and Priam, the slayer and the father of the slain, sit down together and weep, the one for what he has destroyed, the other for what he has lost.

Connections such as these will be made, I am convinced, only when humanists break free of the Arnoldian model. Having situated their materials at such great remove from the ordinary precincts of experience, and having placed upon that material valuations that are often considered inviolate, they have forgotten that much of this material came into existence only by violating the customary canons of valuation and only in order to reassess the elements of the ordinary. In other words, what lent such works their original power of disturbance was their ability to challenge conventional understandings of experience in behalf of a new valuation of its constituent elements. What they represented had practical bearing precisely because they disclosed new bearings of and within the practical. But this, of course, is the way that advances occur in almost any field of intellectual endeavor. It is not that we keep discovering things beyond the ken of experience; it is only that the ken of experience keeps enlarging as we discover new ways to construe its components.

From this it should be obvious that if there are any significant differences between the humanities, say, and some of the harder sciences, it is not altogether obvious where those differences actually lie. They do not seem to lie in the distinction between the theoretical and the applied — the humanities, after all, do have their uses — or in the differences between methods of analysis — humanists like scientists also proceed by framing hypothetical conjectures for which they seek evidentiary verification. Nor do these differences lie in the goals which science and the humanities, respectively, set for themselves, since both seek an enhanced understanding of the sources, nature, and effects of the object under investigation. Such differences as there are — and certainly there are differences — show up most clearly in the different sorts of problems that initiate their inquiries and less clearly in the way they proceed to organize those inquiries.

The sciences, we like to tell ourselves, address problems that are empirical in nature, or at least that are accessible to empirical observation and experimental manipulation. The humanities typically confront issues for which, when there are empirical analogues at all, are so much more difficult to make out. It is clearly more difficult to make out the mechanisms and categories by which we arrange experience into hierarchical patterns of significance than it is to determine the elements themselves. But the more crucial difference is exhibited in the way they proceed. The sciences tend to address every subject by differentiating that subject from anything with which it might be confused in order to delimit the focus of inquiry to an ever more selective and precise aperture. The humanities generally move forward in an apposite manner, by attempting to bring to bear on that subject anything that might shed a more searching light on it, anything that might augment its contextual meaningfulness. Rather than isolate his or her subject for the purpose of breaking it down into its compositional elements the better to fathom their relationship, the humanist tries to create a medium for his subject dense enough, as it were, to float it in, or rich enough, to change the metaphor, for us to perceive some of the sources of its spell. Rather like the photographer, the humanist often needs to add filters, not remove them, in order to make the object of perception fully disclose itself.

To put this another way, the humanist most often tries neither to simplify understanding nor to expand it. The effort is all in another direction: to deepen it. And thus when it is asked — and it is often asked of humanists — if there are not more universally recognized and technically refined methods for comprehending their subject, the best answer may be the one Erich Heller once furnished: "Only methods, perhaps, that produce the intellectual pressure and temperature in which perception crystallizes into conviction and learning into a sense of value.

Giles Gunn
William R. Kenan, Jr. Distinguished
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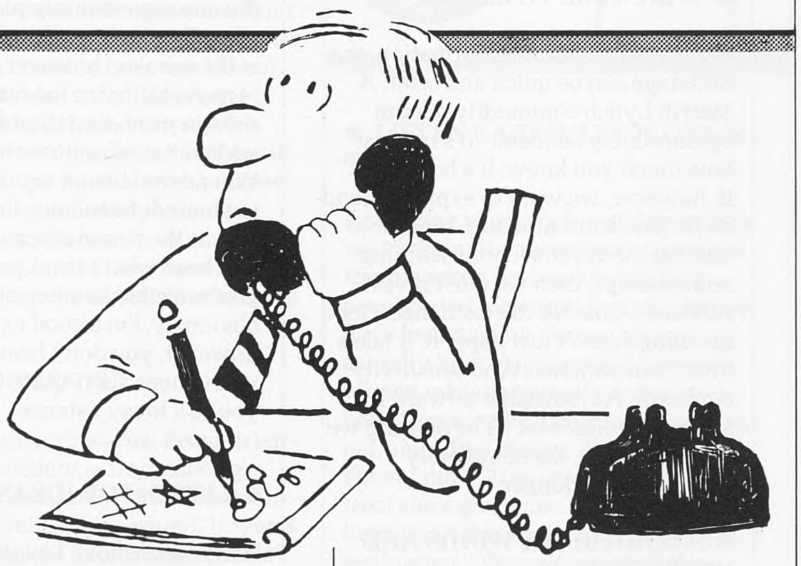
LISTENING

THE SKILL WE HAVEN'T HEARD ENOUGH ABOUT

By Robert Maidment



The telegraph, the phonograph, and the telephone replaced distant drums, cave drawings, and smoke signals in our evolving skills at recording and transmitting information. Silicon chips and magnetic strips only represent our continuing sophistication in the technical aspects of communication. While the receiving, recording, and retrieval of data become more exacting, human understanding and acceptance remain imprecise. It seems as if the closer we approach Marshall McLuhan's "global village," the more distant are the inhabitants.

We frequently encounter others who retain naive notions regarding the listening process. This lingering, myopic view suggests that once I've spoken, it's up to you to get the message. We often make the following assumptions about our listeners:

- The listener can hear.
- The listener is listening.
- The listener wants to hear what we say.
- The listener understands what we say.
- The listener will act as we wish in response to the information received.

When one or more of these assumptions is inoperative, however, faulty communication is guaranteed. Communication is a two-way process requiring a "partnership" between speaker and listener. Because of ever-present distortion, messages need to be checked and confirmed. Since messages convey both thoughts and feelings, effective communication embraces both. Another view of the speaker-listener relationship includes such environmental factors as acoustics, distractions, proxemics, a real or perceived audience, and the amount of time available for a given interaction as well as its location.

The art of communication is ever-changing. Current studies of certain psychic phenomena, body chemistry processes, neuro-linguistics, circadian rhythms, right/left brain relationships, and personal wellness patterns will yield additional data providing an expanded stage and setting for our communications.

Another lingering myth about the skill of listening suggests that we already know what we need to know. Actually, few of us *ever* really master all of the listening skills we need for effective communication. When participants in seminars on interpersonal skills are asked, "How many of you have listening problems?", predictably few hands are raised. When questioned further, however, if anyone has made a recent listening error, had some difficulty recalling verbal directions, or misinterpreted what someone said, all but those who believe they walk on water freely acknowledge less-than-perfect ability. This personal admission is an initial step in dispelling the myth. An "I can learn to listen more effectively" replaces the "I've already heard it all." Effective listening is a lifetime pursuit. Instant miracles are rare.

Most of us listen inefficiently. We are willing victims of the Three-Quarter Listening Law:

- Three-quarters of each waking day is consumed by talking and listening activity;
- Three-quarters of what we do hear, we hear imprecisely; and
- Three-quarters of what we hear accurately we forget within three weeks.

Executives of the Sperry Corporation, the company that "understands how important it is to listen," claim that while listening is the most often used basic communication skill, it is the one least often taught:

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Communication Skill	When Learned	Extent Used	Extent Taught
Listening	1st	45%	4th
Speaking	2nd	30%	3rd
Reading	3rd	16%	2nd
Writing	4th	9%	1st

Chart reprinted by permission, The Sperry Corporation, © 1983

We're aware that we spend much of our time processing sounds — invited and uninvited, rhapsodic and raucous, clear and cloudy, inspirational and insipid. Not so apparent, is that we invest precious little time learning how to tune-in, sort-out, attend to, extract from, talk about, and recall what we do hear.

Listening is sensing. It goes beyond hearing or assessing only the spoken words. Listening is committing. It goes beyond recalling previous conversations or continuing a dialog simply because it's convenient to do so. Listening is caring. It goes beyond impersonal verbal exchanges or faking attention while we'd prefer doing something else. Listening implies that a virtual transfusion takes place. For a given moment two become one and neither can again be quite the same. Listening — focused, sensitive, interactive, and responsive — is a most remarkable but severely underutilized creative force.

The following notations reveal a few characteristics of the listening phenomenon. If, as author John D. MacDonald suggests, "a good listener is more rare than an adequate lover," perhaps our pursuit of preciseness in listening is futile. However, with a heightened awareness of faulty listening habits, our appreciation for good listening increases as well. Rare? Yes. As we strive to improve both our receptive and our expressive skills, opportunities increase for minimizing misunderstandings.

● FIRST, FIND A LISTENER

To be heard I need a listener. Your presence suggests only a physical state. Perhaps you don't want to listen to me now — or later either. You want to be doing something else. Ignoring your need, I persist in talking, and you in turn continue ignoring — and listening to nothing. Similarly, a man winks at a woman in a dark room. He knows what he's doing but she doesn't. A message sent is not a message received. Worse than having nothing to say and saying it is having something to say to someone having no inclination to listen. Of course, if a person isn't communicating, the least he can do is remain silent.

● TAKE TIME TO LISTEN

If we're only sharing information, the exchange can be quick and brief. A Merrill Lynch commodity maxim appropriately concurs: "It's not just how much you know. It's how soon." If, however, we want to explore friendships, check out hunches, tune-in to feelings, or develop better working relationships, then we must invest sufficient time for the exchange. Good listening doesn't just happen. It takes time. And patience. And sensitivity. And skill. As journalist Edward R. Murrow reminds us, "The obscure we see eventually, the completely apparent takes longer."

● AVOID HEAVY WINDS AND DENSE FOG

We assist our listener by using words to express rather than to impress. Messages that are heavily laden with "bafflegab", a fog-enshrouded assortment of archaic, obtuse, ponderous, or invented verbal static, ensure faulty reception. Spokespersons for larger, bureaucratic enterprises seem to be particularly prone to utter simple thoughts adroitly disguised as complex clouds. Briefings become drenchings. Whenever we convert a clear breeze to a heavy wind, we punish our listener who predictably retaliates with current inattention and future avoidance. Sound doesn't carry well through dense fog. But, on a clear say you can hear forever.

● CHECK EMOTIONAL LEVELS

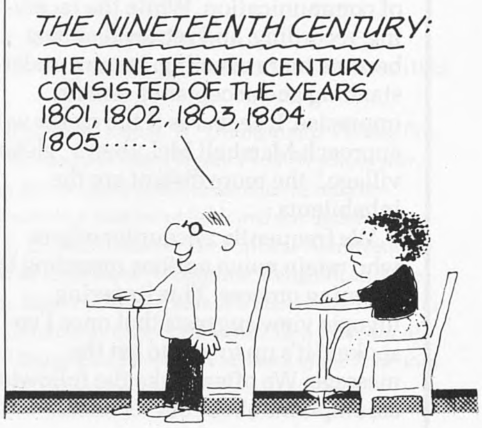
Among the disparate factors that influence and thereby distort messages between a speaker and a listener is the present emotional state of either. Our moods affect word choice, voice tone, and body language. While the official agenda — the actual topic of conversation — appears to be totally rational, the unofficial agenda — the internal body chemistry — distorts the exchange. Because I always listen to you with the mood I'm in, I'm altering your message just as your emotional temperature is altering my message to you. These normal, ever-present emotional highs and lows are uniquely ours. And, we listen to everything with this precious uniqueness.

● DON'T BLAME YOUR LISTENER

Effective communication blends expressive and receptive skills. Knowing that whatever message received *is* the message seems to place the burden of understanding upon the listener. It is the *speaker*, however, who bears responsibility for the message, takes risks in providing it, and possesses a wide range of options in delivering it. Whenever I blame my listener for failing to understand me, I ignore my own role in the communication process. If you hear what I want you to hear, then you're a good listener, and, quite obviously, I'm a good explainer. If, however, you don't hear what I want you to hear, then, quite obviously, you're a lousy listener.

● LISTEN FOR IDEAS

Historian Arnold Toynbee chided his colleagues for placing "facts on the throne and ideas on the scaffold." When there is a choice, effective listeners opt for ideas since facts can be resurrected. Two important mental functions in listening are recall and comprehension. Recall is a "to-have-and-to-have-not" function involving memory. It is that portion of what we


THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CONSISTED OF THE YEARS 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805.....

hear that can be restated later. Comprehension is a "to-have-and-to-hold" function involving mastery. It is the portion of what we hear that is thoroughly understood and intelligently applied. While I may have a vast memory without mastery, I cannot have mastery without memory. Let the ideas rule without hanging the facts.

● LISTEN SMARTER

Although the importance of listening for ideas was stressed, we don't want to shortchange factual material. Often our problem is receiving the facts from a rapid-fire source. We draw blanks in listening as we shield ourselves from frustration or panic. While we're probably not equipped to listen both faster and better, we can listen smarter. Prior to being inundated by a data banker we can ask: Do I need to hear this? If not, can someone else sit in who does? If so, how much do I need to know? Is the material written down? Is it available? If not, can the material be taped for later replay and study? Can we schedule frequent breaks so we can relax, discuss, and review the material in smaller doses? Smart listeners listen smart.

● LISTEN SILENTLY

An Italian proverb warns: From listening comes wisdom —from talking, repentance. Ironically, the silent skill of listening relies upon sound. It seems quite appropriate to rearrange the letters L-I-S-T-E-N and produce S-I-L-E-N-T. When we're silent, attentive, and receptive, a special listening is possible. Psychoanalyst Theodore Reik called it "listening with the third ear." Our internal listening ear mulls, interprets, speculates, posits, and reviews. The active listener tunes in to the speaker's non-verbal gestures, subtle meanings,inner feelings, and unstated messages. I know that you're really listening to me when you hear what I'm *not* saying.

● ENGAGE YOUR LISTENER GENTLY

During a brief military obligation I unerringly froze at two shrill commands: "Now hear this!" and "Listen up!" Never once did I hear the polite and plaintive, "May I have your attention please?" Well, it worked. Partially. Shrillness did elicit an unwavering stillness. But somehow the messages, amplified via a leather-lunged drill instructor, usually provoked a "What was that all about?"or a "What did he say?" This approach fixes attention while paralyzing the brain. One cannot command another to listen. Whisper in my ear and I'll follow you anywhere.

NOW, REPEAT AFTER ME: THE RAIN IN SPAIN FALLS MAINLY IN THE PLAIN.
IT'S PLAIN DISDAIN THAT'S LOUSIN' UP YER BRAIN!

● LISTEN CAREFULLY TO YOUR TAPES

According to psychologist Albert Ellis we often invite unnecessary personal trauma when we react to our own exaggerated interpretation of what we have heard rather than what we actually hear. An unintended, work-related mistake verbally noted by the boss, for example, can evoke this internal, amplified dialog: "She must think I'm an idiot," "I'm unworthy of the trust she's given me," or "I'm going to hear about this again during my next evaluation." We can acknowledge errors freely and openly and determine not to repeat them. When we listen to our own internally exaggerated messages of gloom and doom, we become temporarily immobilized. What we hear is seldom as destructive as our own internally taped replay. "Is it me or is it Memorex?"

● REDUCE THE SIGNALS

When major professional sports club owners began extending schedules, they created overlapping seasons and competed for our attention. During one such period, I watched a sports fanatic friend impressively track two televised and one radio event simultaneously without confusing fouls, penalties, errors, and commercials. He had learned to mix the sights of slam dunks and body checks with the sounds of base hits and pitched beers into a comprehendible collage of sensory data. While most of us cannot extract meaning from such a cacophony, we do sort out what we want to hear allowing other sounds to reverberate unattended. If given a choice, we play attention to only one game at a time.

● WHEN YOU CAN'T HEAR, SAY SO

Notice how we occasionally continue the pretense of conversing when we cannot "hear" the other person. Regional accents or dialects, speech patterns, soft voices, and environmental noises are contributing factors. Rather than ask our companion to repeat, explain, speak up, slow down, or to move to a quieter space, we nod, smile, maintain eye contact, and utter an assenting "Yes" or "Uh, huh." Perhaps it's a case of not wanting to embarrass our companion. Or, possibly the reticence is caused by our not wanting to be embarrassed. Either way messages are mixed and friendships are fractured.

● RESPECT DELAYED LISTENING

We tend to perform to another's expectation only when we're both ready and willing. Advice giving illustrates the point. Parents, preachers, and psychiatrists have long noted that progeny, parishioners, or patients accept what they hear only when they are ready and willing to hear what they hear. Often this "revelation" takes place hours, days, months, or even years later. Thus, we have another hearing phenomenon — delayed listening. We say to ourselves, "*Now* I know what she meant" or "He's been trying to tell me that for some time." Truth to the contrary, "light" sometimes travels slower than sound. Replays are not always instant.

● INTERRUPT WHENEVER NECESSARY

When we were very young, we were admonished never to interrupt others while they were talking. The "others," of course, were our parents and various authority figures. Such programming effectively controlled our natural interruptive impulses. As adults, we've unnecessarily retained this conditioned silence. Certain situations, however, actually invite interruptions: danger, not hearing, not understanding, misunderstanding, misstatement, details of previously shared surgery, and familiar jokes. During these interactions we have a responsibility to interrupt since matters of safety, savvy, or sanity are involved.

At other times an interruption remains an annoyance.

● TRY MNEMONICS

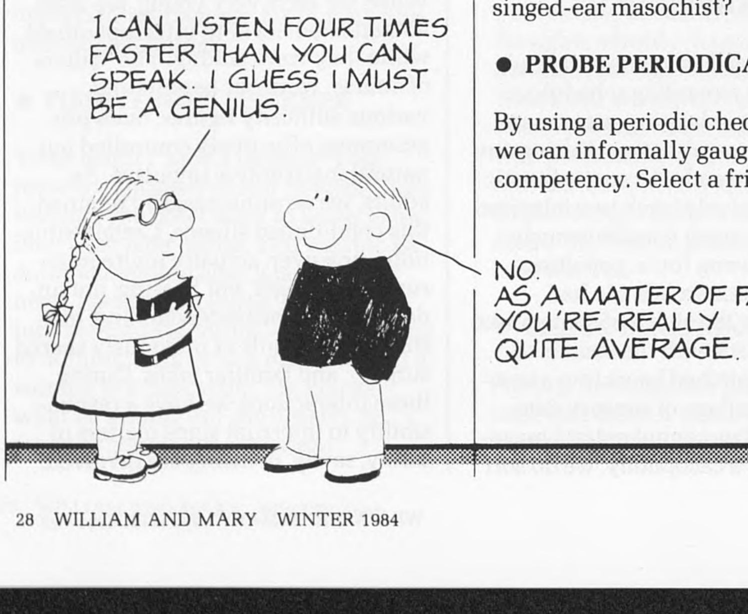
Our forgetting curves usually display two consistent characteristics — sharp and upward. Names and numbers, dates and places elude recall. The primary cause is inattentiveness. "Did he say turn right or turn left?" "Was the dosage three pills twice daily or vice versa?" "Let's see, her name was Ginny May, or was it Minnie Gay?" Those who specialize in helping others recall details suggest that we practice various forms of associative memory skills. Rhyming names with familiar or outlandish objects, sequencing events in patterns, and forming initial letters into key words are among these "coathook" techniques that hang personal meaning onto elusive facts.

● LISTEN TO THOSE WHO KNOW

The difference between the basic and the applied researcher is that the former fishes in a pond while the latter fishes in a pond were there are known to be fish. Similarly, to improve upon the accuracy of information received, we seek, whenever possible, a person known to be knowledgeable. We're understandably wary when hearing any response beginning with "I believe," "It seems as if," "They might," "If I recall," "I'm not sure, but," or "I'm almost absolutely certain." Listening to and acting upon what follows leaves us upstream without a paddle, downstream in the rapids, or conducting basic research instead of catching fish.

● DIGEST THE DRY & THE DIFFICULT

According to anthropologist Edward T. Hall, "To collect sets in your mind is easy, but to decipher a pattern is difficult." Medieval scholars regarded the brain as a muscle. Modern researchers define the brain as a storage vehicle for electro-chemical impulses. Yesterday's alchemists and today's neurobiologists agree, however, on one aspect of brain functioning: "Use it or lose it!" Unfortunately, we tend to tune-out dry or difficult subjects. After all, a talk describing the metaphysics of pragmatism isn't likely to draw a crowd. Ethereal or esoteric topics can: 1) Extend our understandings ("I didn't know that. . . . ."); 2) Expand our attitudes ("I feel differently about. . ."); and 3) Exercise our skills ("I'm now able to. . . ."). Energizing the brain by listening to challenging material enables our between-the-ears computer to function. Tune-ups are better than tune-outs.


I CAN LISTEN FOUR TIMES FASTER THAN YOU CAN SPEAK. I GUESS I MUST BE A GENIUS.
NO. AS A MATTER OF FACT, YOU'RE REALLY QUITE AVERAGE.

● AVOID COMPULSIVE TALKERS

Author Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. claims that "People have to talk about something just to keep their voice boxes in working order so they'll have good boxes in case there's ever anything really meaningful to say." Compulsive talkers contribute something. They teach us not to listen. Endless diatribe is the number one deterrent to effective listening. If one has nothing to say and keeps on saying it, what's to be gained? Anything times nothing always equals nothing. Since most of us decline to challenge the compulsive talker, we resort to other devices — avoidance, non-listening, and, in extreme cases, strangulation. Even worse, we *pretend* to listen thereby encouraging the talker. Pretending to listen is hard work so who's the troubled one? My run-off-at-the-mouth acquaintance? Or me, the singed-ear masochist?

● PROBE PERIODICALLY

By using a periodic check-up approach we can informally gauge our listening competency. Select a friend or colleague with whom you interact frequently. Invest 20 uninterrupted minutes and, *in turn*, candidly answer these questions:

1) On a 1-10 scale how do you rate me as a listener?
2) Can you recall any specific situations when I apparently wasn't listening to you?
3) Do I usually give you my full attention when you're talking?
4) Do you generally feel comfortable in talking with me?
5) Do I ever cut you off, appear to be disinterested, or avoid eye contact?
6) Am I usually open to your feedback; do I sometimes react defensively?
7) Do you feel that I'm genuinely interested in you as well as what you are saying?
8) Are you willing to tell me when you feel I'm not listening *while it's happening?*
9) Do you have any specific listening suggestions for me now?
10) Would you be willing to do this again in 60 days?

You can, of course, add to, delete, or modify this list. More importantly, you and your friend or colleague have begun refining each other's listening skills. Only when I can listen to you about me can I better know myself.

● A FINAL NOTE

Listening is no longer a skill we haven't heard enough about. If this overlooked and underdeveloped other half of talking were marketable, our "ad board" might read:

> Listening is a gift you give someone — it has no strings attached, requires no credit, costs nothing, is risk free, yields high interest, is readily available, and benefits everyone. And anyone can start a franchise. Interested? Inquire within.

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THE TURBULENCE OF TRANSITION: THE DEREGULATION OF THE AIRLINES

THE AIRLINES FLY INTO UNFRIENDLY SKIES AS THEY TRAVEL FROM DEREGULATION TO THE FREE MARKETPLACE

By Marvin M. Stanley

Each and every day aircraft of the United States scheduled airlines make about 13,500 takeoffs, with an average 60 revenue passengers aboard. In 1982 a total of 293,244,000 passengers purchased tickets for 4,930,842 departures aboard the 2,830 U. S. scheduled airlines' aircraft.

This is a big industry, with over $31 billion in assets and 330,000 employees. In 1982 total operating revenue was $36.4 billion; unfortunately, total operating expense was $37.1 billion. The result was an operating loss by the U. S. scheduled airlines industry of $733 million, the third loss year in a row. When fixed costs, such as interest expense and general management, were included the airlines lost $916 million last year.

In the last three years, the U.S. scheduled airlines have had operating losses totaling $1.4 billion and net losses, after included fixed charges and other income, of $1.2 billion.

However, not to worry if you are an airline passenger. In the past three years there were but nine fatal accidents and 239 fatalities during 15.5 million flights carrying 876 million passengers. The ratio of fatalities was 1 in 3,665,272 passengers, a remarkable safety record.

Now, if you are an airline stockholder or an airline executive you do have some worries. The worries have existed for several years; they probably will continue for a few more. This is an industry in transition from governmental regulation to the freely competitive marketplace. There have been corporate casualties, and there well may be more.

There have been many structural changes in the industry. Braniff became bankrupt. Pan American acquired National. Southern and North Central merged to become Republic, later acquiring Hughes. Allegheny became USAir, retaining the name Allegheny for an extensive group of affiliated commuter carriers. But, some new names emerged: New York Air and People Express drew news media attention with cut-rate fares along high-density traffic routes. Formerly intra-state Southwest in Texas and Pacific Southwest in California expanded and became inter-state airlines. There are many new names little known outside of their regional area: Apollo, Cochise, Elan, Golden West, Mississippi Valley, Sun Land, T-Bird, etc. In 1978 the industry's Air Transport Association had 29 airlines in their data summary; the 1981 data included 93 airlines, of which 16 had been newly-certificated by the Civil Aeronautics Board in that year.

Change began in the airline industry with a vengeance in January 1979 after Congress in late 1978 passed legislation progressively deregulating the U.S. airline industry. This was the first of three major legislative actions removing regulatory control of the airlines by the Civil Aeronautics Board and subsequently lessening the regulation of railroads and trucks by the Interstate Commerce Commission. In two Congressional sessions governmental economic supervision of interstate common carrier transportation was completely revamped.

The view that common carrier transportation, which holds itself to serve the general public, warrants government supervision because of its importance to the economic life of the nation has long been held by theorists and practitioners alike. In fact, in all nations except the United States most railroads and nearly all airlines are owned and operated by the central government. Only in the United States are common carriers privately owned and governmentally supervised.

In 1877 a Supreme Court decision in the case of Munn vs. Illinois, litigation dealing with a grain elevator, held that there was a vested public interest in such industries and that the Federal

PEOPLExpress

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Government, not the several states, had the power to regulate through the interstate commerce clause of the United States Constitution. This led to the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, creating the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) and establishing the first quasi-judicial regulatory body in the Federal Government.

The ICC was really a toothless tiger until the Transportation Act of 1920 gave it control over railroad freight rates and routes. This was in the aftermath of the dismal performance of the railroads in World War I, which led to brief governmental operation of the nation's railroads.

Aviation, which had been somewhat of a fascinating toy prior to World War I, blossomed under the impetus of military crisis, and the 1920's saw an emerging airline industry in both Europe and the United States. At first America's airlines were mostly owned by aircraft manufacturers who attempted to promote public interest and aircraft sales by carrying passengers. By 1938, with the growing tension in Europe, the Federal Government began programs to promote aviation in this country. One action was creation of the Civil Aeronautics Board, like the ICC a Federal quasi-judicial regulatory commission, to both economically regulate and promote the then infant airline industry. Promotion was something new, for the ICC never was charged with promoting the railroads, trucks, barge lines, and oil pipelines which by 1940 were their economic regulatory responsibility.

World War II saw tremendous strides in aviation technology, and millions of highly-trained, experienced air crews, mechanics, and operations supervisors in 1945 returned to a civilian world newly-fascinated by commonplace air travel. Most returned to non-aviation pursuits, but a sufficiently interested cadre of trained personnel was available to launch the airlines upon a golden age of industry expansion. Trained personnel were at hand, aircraft were available, and the public was ready for air travel.

During the 1950's and 1960's the Air Force, primarily, and the Navy to a lesser degree, paid for research and development permitting manufacturers to provide faster and larger aircraft in repetitive cycles to an expanding industry at lower cost than otherwise would have been possible. As an example, the Boeing 707, first intercontinental jet airliners, was the direct outgrowth of the Air Force's KC-135 tanker aircraft. With the exception of those years in which re-equipment costs diluted profits, the airlines prospered and grew, and grew, and grew. . .

In 1951 the U.S. scheduled airlines carried 25 million domestic passengers; 30 years later in 1980 they carried 267 million, a compounded average annual growth rate of 8.3 percent at a time when real Gross National Product was growing at an annual rate of 3.2 percent per year. The airlines participated in, and certainly contributed to, the nation's growth. In 1982 the airlines provided 86.3 percent of all intercity passenger travel aboard public service common carriers in the nation.

Theorists for decades had argued the wisdom of common carrier regulation by the ICC and CAB, postulating that the regulatory agencies were not fostering open market competition but were protecting the competitors. As a matter of interest there were no new airlines formed in the United States subsequent to 1950 until deregulation. The dual mission of the CAB to economically regulate and simultaneously promote was considered particularly abhorrent. Beginning with Eisenhower every American president argued for relaxed common carrier governmental control, but in 1976 President Ford was the first to propose formally to Congress that common carrier regulations be significantly reduced. Two years later, under the Carter Administration, legislation, incorporating essentially the same provisions requested by Ford, was enacted.

The airlines were the first common carrier mode to be deregulated, and the legislation was complicated, providing for a multi-year transition period. Essentially, regulatory relaxation was concentrated upon four points: pricing freedom within certain initial boundaries, route expansion, route abandonments, and relaxed entry for new airlines. Nearly five years later it is possible to obtain some indication of how the airlines have fared in the cloudy and sometimes unfriendly skies of a freely competitive marketplace.

As with any industry, the nature of the product tends to establish the eco-

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Figure 1
Revenue Passenger Load Factor
U.S. Airlines in Scheduled Operations
1978-1982

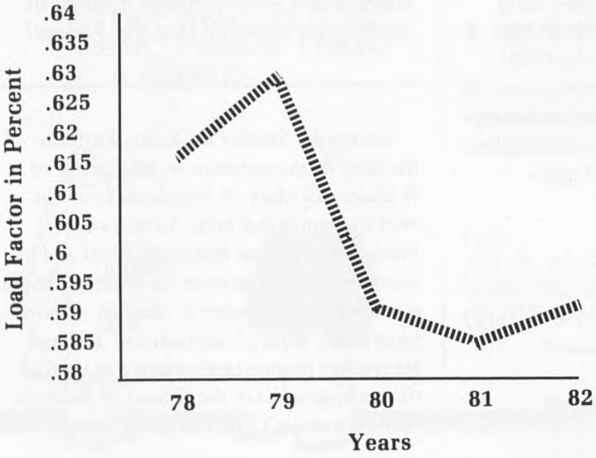
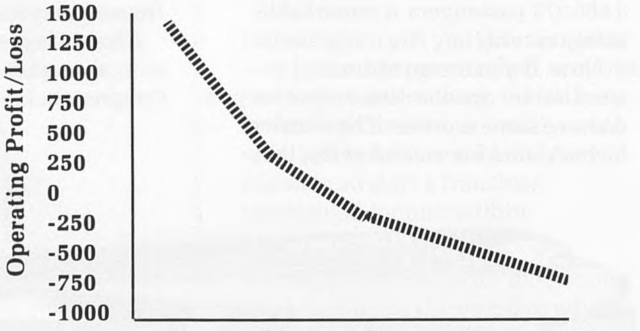


Figure 2
U.S. Airlines Operating Result
1978 - 1982
Millions of Current Dollars



nomic structure of the industry and managements' competitive actions and reactions. Air transportation is a perishable, derived demand service. Movement of an airline seat, for example, between New York and Los Angeles cannot be stockpiled or inventoried. Once the aircraft takes off the opportunity to earn income on an empty seat on that flight is gone forever. This has led to considerable discount pricing on high-density, competitive routes where all airlines are scrambling to fill such seats. Price wars, except during tourist seasons, for a while were commonplace. But, not on routes where there was limited competition or where one airline had a service monopoly. On such routes prices tended to rise. The result has been much airline jockeying for market positioning on routes, and considerable cross subsidization between markets.

The airlines have experienced considerable capacity growth 1978 through 1982. Dividing revenue passenger miles (one passenger transported one mile) by available seat miles (one seat transported one mile) produces a most important airline measure of operating efficiency, the load factor. From 368.8 billion in 1978 airline industry capacity grew to 439 billion available seat miles in 1982. At the same time revenue passenger miles grew from 226.8 billion to 259 billion. Capacity growth rate was a compounded average annual 4.5 percent per year. Revenue passenger miles rose at a rate of 3.4 percent per year. The resulting load factor is shown in Figure 1.

The airlines hit a historically high load factor of 63 percent in 1979; so the 1980 — 1982 decline is really not too dismal. The experience of 59 percent load factors during that period is still much better than the 53 to 56 percent range of 1972 through 1977. The load factor is a system-wide measure. Some flights, of course, are completely filled with passengers, others only sparsely filled. It might seem that filling more seats would be a solution to the airlines' financial woes. Perhaps; but in a study a few years ago the Air Transport Association held that a system load factor approaching 65 percent would result in passengers being turned away on major, high-density routes. ATA's view was that the airlines could not be expected to achieve higher system-wide load factors as a means of improving economic performance without a corresponding reduction in ability to meet overall passenger demand.

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From 1978 through 1982 the airlines found operating revenue growing at a compounded average annual rate of 12.3 percent, but operating expenses growing at an annual rate of 14.6 percent. The result was increasing operating losses as shown in Figure 2. The hoizontal line is the operating breakeven line.

There is considerable industry concentration among the U.S. airlines. A total of 43 airlines are designated by the CAB as large regionals, nationals, and majors. There are 11 airlines in the majors category. These 11 airlines, 25.6 percent of the larger U.S. airline companies, carried 77.2 percent of the scheduled service passengers in 1982. Despite dominant market positions, however, these 11 major airlines had operating losses of $1.65 billion 1980 - 1982, while the entire industry was losing $1.39 billion. As a group, the big airlines were the heavy losers.

One major reason, though rising costs, particularly fuel, were in part to blame, was the increasing incidence of price competition, particularly by new entrants, and with each other, along the major, high-density routes. One industry observer has commented, "The airlines have got to stop giving away air travel." Discount fares became a way of life. In 1982 discount fare traffic accounted for 78 percent of total revenue passenger miles, and the average discount off of full fare was 46 percent.

An instinctive reaction well could be that the airlines should increase passenger fares. But, it is not that simple. Air travel is quite sensitive to economic uncertainty. Business travel declines and personal travel may seem too expensive. Price elasticity of demand is present in any marketplace, including the demand for air travel. For business the alternative is to use the telephone, for personal travel the alternative is to vacation at or closer to home. With the airlines depending upon passenger travel for 84 percent of their revenue any downturn in demand can be dangerous.

Futhermore, the airlines' demand growth in recent years gives some evidence of a maturing marketplace. This is shown in Figure 3.

Though not identical with the classical market maturation curve, the U. S. airlines market demand experience 1972 - 1978 indicates a possibly maturing market for air travel, leading some students of the airline industry to ask if the 1980 and 1981 demand downturn was the result of economic uncertainty or initial evidence of a maturing air travel market. The results are inconclusive, since there was a slight upturn in 1982, which could have been the result of anticipated economic improvement. It also could have resulted from a slight decline in revenue received per passenger mile, down 5 percent from 12.35¢ in 1981 to 11.76¢ in 1982. No one really knows, and only time will tell, but there is some demand uncertainty in the airline marketplace.

One thing is reasonably certain, however, and that is that the fortunes of the airline industry, relying for any significant profit on passenger travel, are closely tied to the strength of the U.S. economy. Figure 4 shows the relationship 1972 - 1982 of the airlines' revenue passenger miles to deflated Gross National Product.

At the end of the third quarter 1983, which historically is the peak demand quarter of the year due to vacation travel, the U.S. airlines were doing better. During the first half of 1983 the U.S. scheduled airlines lost about $550 million. In the third quarter of 1983 early reports, as of this writing, indicate a $650 million profit for that quarter alone. The indications now are that the industry will return to profitability for all of 1983.

The causes of this profitability are many and varied.

* traffic growth is showing signs of recovery with the upturn in the economy.

* costs seem to be stabilizing, particularly fuel, and labor costs are going up at a declining rate.

* capacity is being held down, probably resulting in some aircraft being idled, which would have had to happen anyway sometime during 1984 to remove from service some older aircraft not meeting new noise suppression standards.

* Load factors are improving with traffic growth and capacity reductions. Comparing the same months in 1982 vs. 1983:

September	1983	61.5%
	1982	59.5%
August	1983	62.0%
	1982	60.0%
July	1983	61.7%
	1982	59.7%

* This improvement in load factors is very significant because some 90 percent of incremental revenue from the higher load factors drops straight through to net operating results.

Individual airlines have fared well. As of the date of this writing seven of the 15 "national" airlines reported profits. More important, the "majors" seem to have made a dramatic turnaround, with some of the profit results as follows: United - $127.5 million, American - $117 million, TWA - $80 million, thought most of this came from international operations since TWA domestic suffered a loss, Pan American - $80 million, USAir - $37.9 million, and Piedmont - $26 million. Unfortunately, Eastern suffered another loss, this time a smaller than previously $17.3 million. Continental had not reported as of this writing.

During 1983 airline managements seem to have adopted a new and, frankly, more rational viewpoint re their operations. Attention currently is not so much on building traffic as it is on controlling costs. Admittedly, passenger fares are slowly climbing, though already quite high on routes with limited competition, but the improving national economy is seen as making higher fares possible without incurring disproportionate reductions in seats sold.

Deregulation is now almost complete. The CAB is in more or less of a holding posture, with its legislatively-mandated disbanding on January 1, 1985. The airlines, more and more on their own, are reaching a more stable plateau.

Economic forecasting is always difficult, and it has been compared to driving a car while looking into the rear view mirror, for historical experience is the usual basis for any extrapolation into the future. Risky business, but here goes.

Growth in the U.S. airline market should be quite modest in 1984, perhaps a one-half to one percent rise above 1983 in passengers carried and in revenue passenger miles. Given the improving U.S. economy, which undoubtedly will hold until after the elections in the fall of 1984, the airlines should experience increased profitability in an economy which can stand higher airline fares without consumer resistance. It looks like the airlines will be in the black as an industry at the end of 1983, a refreshing change from recent experience. Probably the U.S. industry will end 1983 with an industry-wide profit of some $200 to $400 million. Not too much, perhaps, but still far better than the $750 million loss in 1982.

The basic problem, however, is too many airlines with too much excess capacity. The apparently resurgent U.S. national economy may obscure the problem for a while, in fact may delay the terminal period of the U.S. airlines' excess capacity illness for as much as two years. Then, look out. There should be failures in 1985 or 1986, perhaps one or two before then. The remaining companies, however, will be stronger, competitively lean and better attuned to the often conflicting demands of cost control, market demand, management growth aspirations, and profitability. The tough times for the U.S. airline industry are not yet over, but they already have flown through most of the turbulence of transition from regulation to homogeneous oligopoly in a free marketplace.

Here and there are heard suggestions for returning to regulation. To return to where the airlines were in 1978 would be impossible, and the results of 1983 should still those few cries heard in that regard. There may be a few adjustments to the airlines' regulatory environment, but probably not of sufficient significance to undo what has already transpired. The clock can not, will not, be turned back. The industry survivors, and the nation's airline passengers will be better off for it.

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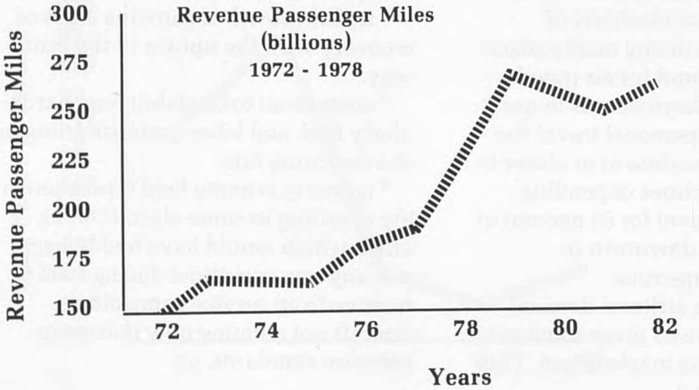
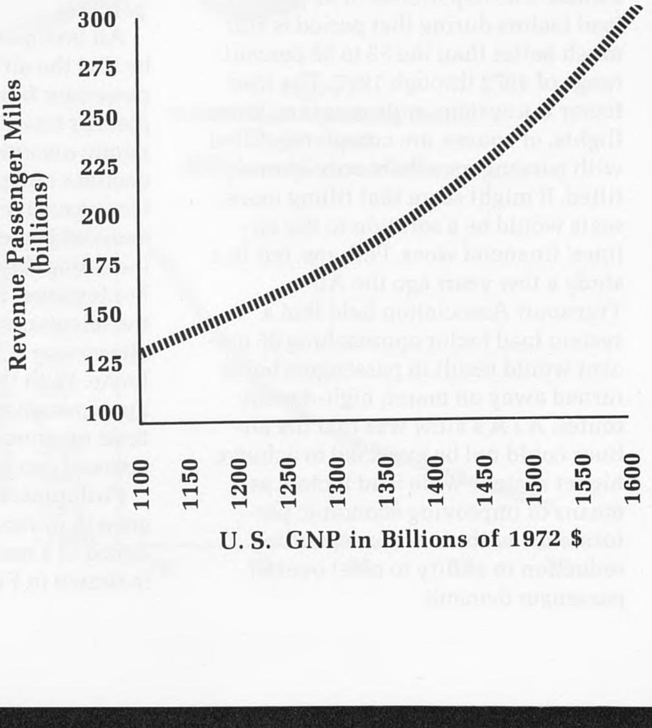


Figure 3
Revenue Passenger Miles (billions) 1972 - 1978

Figure 4
United States Real GNP (1972 $) vs. U.S. Scheduled Airlines Revenue Miles



HENRY PURCELL: WILLIAM AND MARY'S COMPOSER

England's Greatest Musician Composed Some of His Finest Music During The Reign Of The College's Founders

By Frank Lendrim

In its long history Westminster Abbey has been the scene of many great state occasions. Certainly the chief participants in the ceremony that took place there on April 11, 1689, were a somewhat mismatched couple, who, on that particular day, were very unhappy. The ceremony was a coronation, and the couple was William III and Mary II. Although their marriage was never idyllic, on this particular occasion there were even more compelling reasons for their unhappiness.

William, resolute in the rightness of the Glorious Revolution which brought him to the English throne, was sorely disappointed by the behavior of the English toward him and his Dutch advisors. He longed for his native country and tongue. For the Protestant cause, the English-born Mary had given up her many friends and her quiet life in the Netherlands which she had so enjoyed for the past eleven years. She had few friends in England, and certainly on her coronation day, as had been true in the days preceding the coronation as well as the days which were to follow, she must have frequently thought of her recently exiled father, James II: what might the frightening consequences be if her father and husband were ever to be paired against each other on the battle field?

Mary also was greatly troubled by the trappings and panoply of the actual coronation service. Her desire for a quieter service was over ruled by Bishop Compton and other clerics. Among the several elaborate parts of the service that day was the music that had been expressly written for the ceremony by England's leading musician, Henry Purcell. We have no knowledge as to what William and Mary thought of their coronation music, but given the state of their

Dr. Lendrim has been director of the William and Mary Choir since 1974 when he joined the College after 13 years on the faculty at Kenyon College. He will lead the Choir on its third tour of Europe this summer. Research for this article was gathered in England during a six-month research leave in the spring of 1983. Dr. Lendrim received his undergraduate degree at Oberlin College and his master's and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Michigan.

minds on that occasion, they probably cared little for what they heard, musical or otherwise! How ironic that the next great state occasion in Westminster Abbey that would involve both William and Mary, as well as Purcell, would occur about six years later and would be the funeral for Queen Mary. Again, for that occasion, Purcell would compose special music, some of his finest.

Who was this composer, Henry Purcell, whose own career in several ways was so closely tied in with the reign of William and Mary?

Purcell's career is almost unique in Western music, not only for the very few facts and little documentation which survive about his life — and this in spite of the enormous amount of surviving music — but also for the fact that his entire career and life was spent in London, either in the service of the monarch or of the church, and one church in particular, Westminster Abbey.

In examining his early years and first appointments, one is almost tempted to say that Purcell just *had* to become a musician. His father, Thomas Purcell, was a professional musician, who, from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, until his death in 1682, was employed at the court and sang in the choir of the Chapel Royal in London. The father's work at court also included writing and performing music for both the lute and the viol, instruments of the period.

Little is known of the early years of Henry Purcell. Even the year of his birth, generally said to be 1659, is sometimes disputed. There was no registration of his baptism, itself not too unusual in the turbulent days at the close of the Commonwealth. When he was about six years old, Purcell was admitted to the Chapel Royal as a chorister — a testimony of his musicality — singing in the same choir as his father. Purcell joined the choir during its initial period of rebuilding and reinstatement paralleling the restoration. Before the Cromwellian era, the men and boys who made up the Chapel Royal Choir had developed an enviable reputation for musical excellence, and many great and near-great English musicians of the past had been associated with the choir either as singers or as directors.

Recruiting for the singers of the choir, particularly for the boys, was very extensive, and numerous stories were told of the persuasive recruiting that went on throughout the kingdom in order to make certain the finest voices were brought to London to sing in the monarch's choir. During Purcell's years in the choir, there were twelve boys singing. Singing in the choir also meant receiving an education, similar to a present day boarding school. In addition to the study and writing of Latin, each chorister had lessons on the lute, violin, and organ. Purcell evidently took full advantage of all of the musical opportunities afforded him here since his later work as both composer and performer on these instruments gives testimony to the soundness and excellence of the training he received in these early years.

In 1673 Purcell's voice changed, and almost as if by preplanning, he received his first position at court — that of an unsalaried apprentice to John Hingston, who was "keeper, maker, mender, repairer, and tuner of all of the royal instruments including all string, wind, and keyboard instruments." What an opportunity for this fledgling musician of fourteen, since it included not only all of the instruments in London, but also in Hampton Court and Windsor. During this same period, Purcell began to study organ at Westminster Abbey and was appointed to tune the Abbey organ.

What was the musical scene at the English court during the years of the 1660's and 1770's of the reign of Charles II? With the restoration of the monarchy, a resumption of the previous rich musical court life was instituted. Charles II, having spent a good part of his exile in France, in many ways tried to model the artistic and musical life of the English court after that of the French, especially by having in residence a group of string players directly copied from the "vingt-quatre violins du Roi" (24 violins of the King) as found in the French court of the time. (Charles also sent one or two of his English musicians to study at the French court.) In addition to these string players, oftentimes referred to as the "King's Band," the numerous musicians at court included singers, woodwind, string, and keyboard players. However, the particular favorite of Charles remained this group of string players. Charles liked to have them play at all court functions at which he was present, particularly at meal times. Later in the 1670's, Charles directed that his "band" was to play for services in the Chapel Royal where their early appearances evidently caused quite a jolt to the musical and religious conservatives of the day. The diarist Evelyn wrote that "a Consort of 24 Violins betwene every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a Tavern or a Playhouse than a Church."

> **". . . Purcell simultaneously held the five major musical positions of the realm until the time of his death. His duties showed the amazing versatility of the man: organist, choir director, tuner, and repairer of nearly every instrument, singer, teacher, editor, harpsichord player, string player, and lastly, of course, composer."**

In 1677 Purcell received his first salaried position at court, that of "Composer in Ordinary for the Royal Violins." His duties were to compose music for the King's violins, as well as to direct these musicians. Two years later in 1679, Purcell was appointed organist at Westminster Abbey. How amazing that by the time he was twenty, Purcell had succeeded older and more famous musicians to hold the two most important musical posts open to an English musician at the time. Interesting also is the fact that his own talents resulted in his receiving these appointments, and, in so far as can be ascertained, neither jealousy nor dishonesty had any place in these appointments. (Throughout his entire life, Purcell enjoyed the friendship and support of colleagues and the public.)

Indeed, Purcell's whole career seems to be one where, as one writer has commented, he was able to "scoop up" royal appointments. The following list gives some indication of the rapidity of these appointments. (In receiving a new appointment, Purcell still continued with the other ones.)

1682	Organist at the Chapel Royal. (He was one of three to share the position which also included singing in and directing the choir.)
1683	Keeper of all of the royal instruments upon the death of his mentor, John Hingston.
1685	Member of the "King's Private Music," i.e., personal harpsichord player and composer for the King.

Purcell, who was only 36 when he died, is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Thus it was that Purcell simultaneously held the five major musical positions of the realm until the time of his death. His duties showed the amazing versatility of the man: organist, choir director, tuner and repairer of nearly every instrument, singer, teacher, editor, harpsichord player, string player, and lastly, of course, composer. Purcell was given the opportunity to compose all types of music for any and all vocal and instrumental combinations. Furthermore, Purcell had at his disposal the best singers and instrumentalists of the country and wrote music equal to their abilities. How many composers in Western music have wished for this seemingly ideal arrangement?

In all of these appointments, Purcell's music making had to please the reigning monarch, and evidently his work met with the approval of Charles II, and also the later reigns of James II and William and Mary. One of Purcell's frequent additional duties was to compose odes or salutes for the monarch or members of the royal family celebrating birthdays, births, returns to court following domestic or foreign trips, celebrations of victory, seasonal salutes, music for coronations, etc. As with everything he composed, Purcell did his very best, although one wonders how he must have winced when he had to set to music such lines as:

His absence was Autumn, his presence
is Spring,
That ever new life, and new pleasure
does bring,
Then all that have voices, let 'em
cheerfully sing,
And those that have none may say:
"God save the King."

(The above celebrated Charles II's return to London from a Windsor visit.)

Following the death of Charles II in 1685, Purcell continued with the same musical duties during the short reign of James II. The troubles that characterized the reign of James II somehow were not reflected either in the quantity or the quality of the music that Purcell wrote during this period. However, because of James' ardent Catholicism, the Chapel Royal was no longer as important, and instead James had a private chapel in the palace at Whitehall. Stories circulated about the disrepair of the organ at the Chapel Royal and of the reduction of the size of the choir. The last work that Purcell wrote for James was the ode, *"Sound The Trumpet,"* written to celebrate the monarch's birthday on October 14, 1687. The following year, even though James was still on the throne, no birthday odes were forthcoming, and one can only surmise that the monarch did not want any public celebration of the birthday realizing his days as a monarch may have been numbered.

Shortly before the coronation of William and Mary, Purcell accepted a commission from a Josiah Priest who ran a girls' boarding school in London. Priest was also a dancing master at court. Purcell was asked to set to music the story of Dido and Aeneas. Questions have long been raised as to why Purcell accepted this commission since it had nothing to do with either the court or with Westminster Abbey. Did he do it because he felt some possible uneasiness over the two new monarchs, William and Mary, and his hoped for continuance as court musician, or was it simply something completely new in a very different musical area to challenge him?

Certainly it is true that, increasingly during the 1680's, Purcell came to be interested in the London restoration theater, and he eventually supplied the music for some fifty plays. The total amount of theater music varied from only a small amount of incidental music to plays which have much music and were termed "semi-operas," or as one writer commented, were "neither fish nor fowl." Dido and Aeneas turned out to be something quite different and was a work set entirely to music with no spoken dialogue. (The libretto was supplied by the Poet Laureate, Nahum Tate.) How almost paradoxical that this work, which would become his most famous composition and oftentimes termed the first and perhaps the finest opera in the English language, had its origins neither in the court nor in the church.

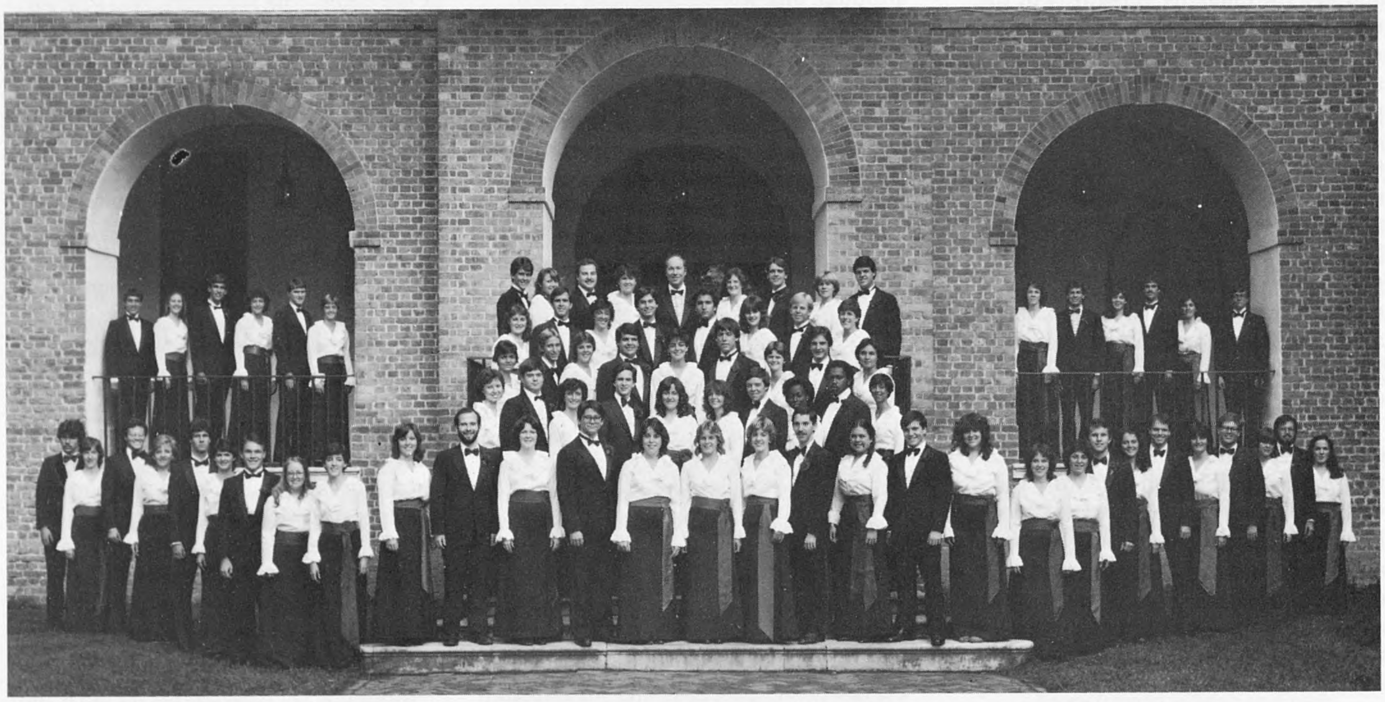
What were Purcell's thoughts as he contemplated the new monarchs, William and Mary, and his second coronation in four years? Perhaps he took it all in stride, since no change was contemplated in his official duties, or at least we assume Purcell hoped that! Here again, as is true with nearly every aspect of Purcell's life, there are no written records. Certainly he must have welcomed the strong Protestantism of the new monarchs and with it the hoped-for strengthening of his favored Chapel Royal. In addition to his duties as Abbey organist, Purcell wrote several choral works for the coronation. Shortly after the coronation, he was confirmed in all of his court appointments.

However, Purcell must have been sorely disappointed when, early in the reign of William and Mary, and in an economy measure, the number of musicians employed at the court was reduced. Also, while William and Mary were interested in the Chapel Royal and did revitalize it somewhat, they preferred the chapels at Kensington Palace and Hampton Court to that at Whitehall. It is perhaps because of this that Purcell became increasingly interested in supplying music for the London theater during his last years.

Purcell's first official composition for the new monarchs was a birthday ode for Queen Mary on April 31 of the same coronation year of 1689 entitled, *"Now Does The Glorious Day Appear."* Thus began an annual tradition lasting until Mary's death in 1694 of the annual birthday ode written by Purcell with texts supplied by numerous court poets. Six of these odes were written, and in them Purcell, with his early apprentice years behind him and now at the height of his creative powers, composes some of his finest instrumental and vocal music. These odes averaged about thirty minutes in length and were written for a large choir and fully developed orchestra. They contain instrumental overtures, much as he had written for earlier court functions, vocal solos almost in the operatic style, and extensive choral writing such as had been found in his earlier sacred and secular music. All were written in his favored language, English. (In the setting of English words to music, Purcell is an absolute master whether it be a sacred text or the bawdiest ballad of the day. As one commentator wrote, "Over and over the music fits the text like a glove.")

Queen Mary must have been pleased by the odes since in all of them, either by direct or indirect suggestion, she is referred to in a very flattering manner. But unlike Charles II, who took great pride and interest in the court musical life, William and Mary had considerably less interest in the subject in spite of the very high quality of music that was being written for them by Purcell.

William, possessor of a dour personality and certainly not universally loved, evidently had some fondness for military music. Even when the number of court musicians was reduced, there were still 16 trumpeters and drummers on the staff. However, his interest in music apparently went no further than this. When he first landed at Torbay in England in 1688, he was accompanied by drummers and trumpeters who were brought from the Netherlands. A contemporary writer complains that William never went to the theater and even during court balls, he would be in another room plotting campaigns. While William may have had little interest in music on the domestic scene, he did, as one writer has noted,



The College of William and Mary choir will perform in Westminster Abbey in May near Purcell's tomb.

"appreciate the importance of impressive music for good foreign policy." On his first return trip to the Netherlands in 1691 after assuming the English throne, William took with him 43 musicians including fifers, trumpeters, sackbut-players, incense bearers, drummers, singers, and dancers.

Certainly these were very difficult times, and the Glorious Revolution, initiated in 1688, demanded that William spend much time during the early years of the joint reign away from England on numerous overseas campaigns. Another writer states that "he did not understand poetical eulogy, and those poets who praised him complained that their flights of sublimity were beyond his comprehension . . . it is probably not too removed from the truth to say he found listening to the musical setting of verses a tedious task, and from what we know of his personality, he probably did not attempt to disguise his boredom." In defense of William, he never really felt at ease with the English language. This is certainly true during the early years of the reign, and these were the years of Purcell's associations with the court.

Mary, greatly beloved in contrast to her husband and probably the most popular queen since Elizabeth I, seems to have shown more interest in music, although one writer comments that "her taste does not seem to have been of any great depth. She liked music of a lighter vein." In spite of her great piety and strong religious zeal, Mary did attend the theater and apparently enjoyed performances. Undoubtedly, she must have seen plays which featured Purcell's music. Another writer, while discussing the marvelous birthday odes that Purcell wrote for Mary, mentions that "it is ironical to think that William and Mary, of all of the Stuart Kings who heard odes, were probably the least interested."

While Purcell wrote yearly birthday odes for Mary, he apparently wrote absolutely none for William. William did have birthday odes written for him on a yearly basis, but by other lesser composers at the court. Purcell obviously felt a special fondness for Mary, and certainly the vocal and instrumental music he composed for her funeral in Westminster Abbey is some of his greatest. Through this music he shows his real grief at her death. In fact, throughout his entire career, Purcell always seems to be stirred by the subject of death, perhaps because three of his own six children died in infancy.

In the last year of his life Purcell continued his activities at an increasingly furious pace almost as though he knew his days were numbered with his numerous responsibilities at the Abbey, the court, and the theater. Because of pressures from overwork and numerous commissions, Purcell, early in 1695, asked his younger brother, Daniel, himself an impressive musician, to come to London to be his assistant. Daniel readily agreed. That Purcell wrote with great haste in this period is further seen in the numerous borrowings he made from earlier compositions, incorporating them into compositions of this period. The list of compositions in his last year, 1695, is mind-boggling, and even with Daniel's help, overwork began to take its toll.

Ironically, the one event of Purcell's life which we have the most documentation for are the events surrounding his own death and funeral.

On November 21, 1695, the eve of St. Cecilia's Day, the day which he had so often celebrated in music, Purcell made out his will. (The evident haste of the preparation of the document with its misspellings and omitted words, bear sad testimony to the state of both mind and body.) That same evening, about midnight, he died. Although the exact cause of death still is unknown, it may have been from overwork or from tuberculosis which ran in his family.

The decision was made that he be honored by being buried in Westminster Abbey. His widow selected the final resting place: in the North aisle at the foot of the organ which he had played for so many years. For the funeral the entire clergy of the Abbey was present along with the combined choirs of the Abbey and of the Chapel Royal. The music for the funeral was by Purcell himself and was the same that had been performed a few months earlier for the funeral of Queen Mary.

On his tomb an inscription was placed in Latin, the translation of which is as follows:

Applaud so great a guest, celestial pow'rs,
Who now resides with you, but once was ours;
Yet let individious earth no more reclaim
Her short-lived fav'rite and her chiefest fame;
Complaining that so prematurely died
Good-nature's pleasure and devotion's pride
Died? No, he lives, while yonder organs sound
And sacred echoes to the chior rebound.

A few years later and on a pillar above the tomb was placed a plaque on which was written in English the following:

Here lies
Henry Purcell, Esq.
Who left this life,
And is gone to that blessed place,
Where only his harmony
Can be exceeded.

And so ended the short career of the man called in his time the "Orpheus Brittanicus." One contemporary wrote, "Sometimes a hero in an age appears: But scarce a Purcell in a thousand years."

Purcell was only thirty-six when he died, and one wonders what additional musical glories might have been forthcoming had he lived longer; particularly in view of the London musical scene which, in a few years after his death, would welcome its most famous musical immigrant, George Frederich Handel. However, let us be grateful for the tremendous musical legacy he did leave us, because of, or in spite of, royal patrons. Certainly the setting that court patronage and the church provided probably gave the needed impetus and Purcell did the rest.

On May 27, 1984, as part of their third European tour, the William and Mary Choir will give a concert in Westminster Abbey. The choir will stand just a few feet from the tomb of Purcell, and it will include music of Purcell among its selections. The choir is also arranging with the clergy of the Abbey to have a short commemorative service near the tombs of William and Mary, also in the Abbey, just before the concert. Through our presence and our singing, we will attempt to honor all three of these people.

The photo on back cover of a campus scene near Crim Dell is by Maggi Schlotter of the Office of Publications at William and Mary.

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