THE EGYPTIANS

1963-64

YEAR BOOK

THE EGYPTIANS

1963-64

YEAR BOOK

THE EGYPTIANS

1963-64

CONTENTS

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Egyptians, "a club for the discussion of scientific, religious, economic and other topics pertaining to the welfare, culture and happiness of the people," was organized at a meeting of fifteen men held in the home of the late A. S. Caldwell on June 21, 1913. These men had been meeting as an unorganized group since 1911. The fifteen founders were: Charles N. Burch, A. S. Caldwell, J. B. Cannon, Elias Gates, Charles J. Haase, E. M. Markham, C. P. J. Mooney, Sanford Morison, J. Craik Morris, A. B. Pittman, J. W. Rowlett, A. Y. Scott, Bolton Smith, B. F. Turner and J. C. Wilson.

Before the organization was completed, fifteen others were enrolled as charter members, namely: Albert W. Biggs, E. C. Ellett, W. H. Fineshriber, J. R. Flippin, Thomas F. Gailor, Marcus Haase, Herman Katz, James P. Kranz, Walter Malone, R. B. Maury, H. Dent Minor, A. E. Morgan, Israel Peres, Alfred H. Stone and Luke E. Wright.

The name chosen for the organization was proposed by W. H. Fineshriber. The fact that ancient Memphis was in Egypt suggested the name. The by-laws stated that the membership should "consist of not more than thirty-three men of recognized standing, ability and influence in Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee." It was further stated that members were to present their contributions in the form of papers and that all papers were to be issued in printed form. This clause has resulted in the largest and most significant literary production of a general nature ever made by any group of Memphians.

From the beginning, The Egyptians were guarded against internal friction by a constitutional provision that "no resolution shall ever be passed committing the club as a body to any proposition." The club is unique in the unwritten law that its name is not to appear in the press in any connection.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

As Amended to May 31, 1960

ARTICLE I.—Objects.

Section 1. The subscribers hereto associate themselves for the purpose of discussing, at stated times and in a social way, such topics as pertain to the welfare, culture and happiness of the people, particularly of our own locality, state or nation. No resolution shall ever be passed committing the club as a body to any proposition.

ARTICLE II.—Name and Membership.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as THE EGYPTIANS, and shall consist of not more than thirty-three regular contributing members, who shall be citizens or residents of Shelby County, Tennessee, of recognized standing, ability and influence in the community, with other associates as provided in Section 2.

Section 2. Honorary membership may be tendered only to non-resident persons distinguished in the walks of education, literature, science or art; and such associates having no votes, shall be exempt from payment of all dues and assessments.

Section 3. Any member may nominate an individual for membership, submitting a brief statement of the candidate's qualifications to the officers of the club. If by majority vote of the officers, the candidate is acceptable, the officers shall circularize these qualifications to the members of the club at least one week prior to the following meeting. A secret ballot shall be cast by mail, with the minimum number of affirmative votes for election equalling at least two-thirds of the total membership, and if not more than two adverse votes be cast by the members, it shall be the duty of the secretary to invite such person to become a member.

ARTICLE III—Officers.

Section 1. The Officers of the club shall be a President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer, each to be chosen by ballot at the last meeting in May, to serve one year, or until a successor shall be elected.

Section 2. As a compensation for his services, the Secretary-Treasurer shall be exempt from the payment of all dues, charges and assessments.

ARTICLE IV.—Meetings.

Section 1. Regular meetings of the club shall be held at 6:30 p.m., the third Thursday in each month, between October 1st, and June 1st, beginning the third Thursday in October, except as provided in Section 2.

Section 2. The club may, at any session, charge the date of a succeeding meeting, or the President, with reason therefor, may change the date of the next meeting or call a special meeting as may be required.

Section 3. In the event of change or call for special meeting, as provided in Section 2, the President shall direct the Secretary to notify members thereof.

Section 4. Any member who shall fail to attend at least three meetings during a season without excuse shall be conclusively presumed to have resigned and such implied resignation shall become effective without action of the club. He shall, however, be sent the publications of the club for the full period for which he has paid dues.

Section 5. The time consumed by any paper shall not exceed thirty minutes and in the discussion which follows, no member shall speak more than once and not exceeding ten minutes, until all other members present shall have had the opportunity of speaking.

ARTICLE V.—Dues and Assessments.

Section 1. The annual dues shall be nine dollars and ninety cents, payable in advance, provided that a member admitted after February 1st shall be required to pay only one half the annual dues for the balance of the year

Section 2. A special assessment, if necessity arises, may be levied at any regular meeting by an affirmative vote of a majority of all the members of the club.

Section 3. Failure to pay dues or assessments within sixty days of notice shall be considered as forfeit of membership.

ARTICLE VI.—Quorum.

Section 1. Eight members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE VII.—Amendments.

Section 1. This Constitution and By-Laws may be amended at any regular meeting, provided the proposed change has been announced at the previous meeting and is adopted by an affirmative vote of a majority of those present; and provided, that not less than eight affirmative votes shall be necessary.

Section 2. Article II may be altered or amended only at the annual meeting (last meeting in May), previous notice of proposed change having been given.

ARTICLE VIII.—Papers.

Section 1. Any member of the club who shall fail to present a paper or deliver an address on the date assigned him, without an excuse that shall be satisfactory to the Officers, shall thereupon forfeit his membership. The Secretary shall give each member, to whom a paper or address is assigned, at least three months notice of the date assigned to such member. The subject of any paper or address shall be selected by the writer with the advice of the Officers and the Secretary shall announce topics for discussion not less than two months in advance.

Addendum.

On January 10, 1922, the following rule was, on motion, unanimously adopted and recorded: That out of town guests brought by members of the club be welcome; That members introducing guests who are residents of Memphis, be charged $2.25 (or such an amount as shall be determined from year to year) per meeting for each guest.

THE EGYPTIANS

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

1963-64

Officers

Hubert Garrecht ..... President
Ed Lipscomb ..... Vice President
John F. Moloney ..... Secretary-Treasurer

Honorary Member

Rabbi W. H. Fineshriber

Members

Otto H. Alderks
Walter P. Armstrong, Jr.
S. J. Buckman
Lucius E. Burch, Jr.
T. Herbert Darnell
John E. Farrior
Frank Faux
Hubert Garrecht
Dr. Henry B. Gotten
A. Arthur Halle, Jr.
Wesley Halliburton
Francis G. Hickman
Dr. T. S. Hill
Ralph C. Hon
McDonald K. Horne
C. C. Humphreys
Paul T. Jones
Ed Lipscomb
Arthur W. McCain
John F. Moloney
Clark Porteous
Peyton N. Rhodes
Rudi E. Scheidt
Elder L. Shearon, Jr.
Dr. Newton S. Stern
Dr. Thomas N. Stern
Edward F. Thompson
John H. Todd
Thomas F. Turley
C. Lamar Wallis
C. B. Weiss

PROBLEMS IN MANAGING THE PUBLIC DEBT

Edward F. Thompson

Read Before "The Egyptians," October 17, 1963

PREFACE

HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL DEBT

United States Treasury obligations are promises to pay on the part of the Federal Government. They are outstanding in a larger amount than any other class of investments, and they have reached astronomical amounts in recent years. They are basically secured by the same thing – the credit of the United States of America. The Federal Government has never defaulted in the payment of its principal or interest on its obligations, and there is little liklihood of default as long as the vast wealth of the nation furnishes a credit base of unquestioned integrity.

Prior to the 1930's, the Federal Government resorted to long term borrowing only for purposes of financing (1) the various wars in which the country was engaged, (2) the acquisition of additional territory, and (3) the construction of the Panama Canal. The history of the public debt prior to World War I shows that the government followed sound policies of providing adequate tax revenues to meet operating expenses, to pay bond interest, and to reduce the debt.

The tremendous expenditures for World War I and loans to other countries resulted in an increase in total debt to a wartime peak of $26.6 billion by August, 1919. During the following period of eleven years, the government operated on a balanced budget and reduced the interest bearing debt to about $16 billion at the close of 1930. The next eleven years saw a succession of budgetary deficits and a sharp increase in the total debt to $61.4 billion by November 30, 1941. These years of deficit spending were to alleviate the depression and included unemployment relief, public works program, con-

servation work, various large scale public projects, and loans to distressed corporations and individuals through a maze of agencies.

The history of our public debt since the beginning of World War II is familiar to all citizens. Although war-time tax levels reached confiscatory proportions during the war, the staggering costs of the war resulted in a federal debt of $279.8 billion by February 28, 1946. Surplus money raised in the victory loan drives of 1945 was applied to the reduction of debt. The advent of the Korean War in 1950, the prolongation of the cold war, and the adoption of the space program have all contributed to further deficits and increase federal debt.

COMPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL DEBT

There has been a notable increase in the marketable debt outstanding over the past eight years. There is also a decrease in non-marketable issues, and special issues remain about the same. Another important factor has been the substantial rise in one year maturities. All the partially tax exempt issues have now been called, and all Treasury issues since March 1, 1941 have been fully taxable in regard to interest income.

	June 30, 1955 (In Millions)		June 30, 1963 (In Millions)	
Marketable Issues				
Bills	$19,514		$47,230	
Certificates	13,836		22,169	
Notes	40,729		52,145	
Bonds	81,128		81,964	
Total Marketable Issues		$155,207		$203,508
Savings Bonds	$58,365		$48,314	
Investment Series	12,589		3,921	
Foreign Series, etc.	2,330		1,410	
Total issues publicly held	$73,284		$53,645	
Special issues	43,250		44,801	
Total non-marketable issues		116,534		98,446
Total Interest bearing debt		$271,741		$301,954
Non-interest bearing debt		NA		3,906
Total direct Federal debt		$271,741		$305,860

Source: Treasury Bulletin, July, 1963.

THE DEBT CEILING

The debt ceiling is an inheritance from earlier methods of debt management. Congress originally set the amounts, types, and terms of federal debt issues, but this method was too cumbersome to be effective during World War I financing. Congress later consolidated the various authorizations into a single ceiling. Congress also determines the level of expenditures and votes the taxes to provide the revenue. In recent times the Congress has provided in fact two ceilings, a "permanent" ceiling and a "temporary" ceiling.

The debt ceiling has been criticized because it limits the Treasury's choice of debt issues. Sometimes it has been unable to borrow in a favorable market since the margin to borrow under the ceiling was too small to permit additional borrowing at the time. It creates problems in the sale of savings bonds too, for the constant availability of such "tap" issues might cause the Treasury to exceed the statutory debt limit inadvertently. The debt limit as of June 30, 1963 was as follows:

Maximum amount of securities, Act of May 29, 1963		$307,000,000,000
Securities outstanding subject to above limitation: U. S. Government securities issued	$305,492,000,000	
Guaranteed securities held outside the Treasury	607,000,000	
Total amount of securities outstanding subject to statutory debt limitation		306,099,000,000
Balance issuable under limitation		$ 901,000,000

Source: Treasury Bulletin, July, 1963.

MARKETABLE GOVERNMENT DEBT

The table below compares the various type of marketable government issues outstanding at the close of each fiscal year. There have been rather sizable increases in all categories for the period from 1955-63 with the exception of Treasury bonds. Although this total has fluctuated widely within the period, there has not been much change in the overall total.

(In Millions of Dollars)

Year	Bills	Certificates	Notes	Bonds	Total
1955	$19.514	$13,836	$40,729	$81,128	$155,206
1956	20,808	16,303	35,952	81,890	154,953
1957	23,420	20,473	30,973	80,839	155,705
1958	22,406	32,920	20,416	90,932	166,675
1959	32,017	33,843	27,314	84,853	178,027
1960	33,415	17,650	51,483	81,297	183,845
1961	36,723	13,338	56,257	80,830	187,148
1962	42,036	13,547	65,464	75,025	196,072
1963	47,230	22,169	52,145	81,964	203,508

Source: Treasury Bulletin July, 1963.

MATURITY DISTRIBUTION OF MARKETABLE FEDERAL DEBT

The maturity distribution of the marketable debt indicates the unenviable task of the Treasury in constantly facing the necessity of refunding maturing issues. It is complicated by the tremendous quantity of debt outstanding and the great reliance on short term issues. In spite of the large increase in longer term maturities in the past three years, this has been offset by the greater increase in one-year maturities. The result is revealed in an actual decline in the average maturity of nine months in the past eight years.

(In Millions of Dollars)

	June 30, 1955		June 30, 1963		
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Change
Within 1 year	$ 49,703	32.02%	$ 85.294	41.91%	$+35,591
1 - 5 years	39,107	25.20	58,026	28.51	+18,919
5 - 10 years	34,253	22.07	37,385	18.37	+ 3,132
10 - 20 years	28,613	18.44	8,360	4.11	—20,253
Over 20 years	3,530	2.27	14,444	7.10	+10,914
Total	$155,206	100.00%	$203,509	100.00%	+48,303
Average length	5 years 10 months		5 years 1 month		

Source: Treasury Bulletin, July, 1963.

OWNERSHIP OF THE DEBT

Information of the ownership of the debt is also helpful. The years 1945 and 1962 are selected in order to indicate the large decline in commercial bank and insurance companies' holdings of the federal debt. These declines reflect the rise in bank loans that took place after the war and the increase in mortgages and corporate securities by insurance companies.

(In Billions of Dollars)

Owners	Dec., 1945	Dec., 1960	June, 1963
U. S. Government Agencies Trust Funds	$ 27.0	$ 55.1	$ 58.4
Federal Reserve Banks	24.3	27.4	32.0
Commercial Banks	90.8	62.1	63.5
Mutual Savings Banks	10.7	6.3	6.1
Insurance Companies	24.0	11.9	10.8
Other Corporations	22.2	20.1	19.8
State and Local Governments	6.5	18.7	20.8
Individuals - Savings Bonds	42.9	45.6	47.5
Individuals - Other Securities	21.2	19.1	19.2
Foreign and International	2.4	13.0	15.8
Other Miscellaneous Investors	6.7	11.1	12.6
Total Gross Debt	$278.7	$290.4	$306.5

Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin, August, 1963.

INTEREST CHARGES ON FEDERAL SECURITIES

Interest charges on the federal debt now constitutes our second largest item of expense in the federal budget. This high debt burden stems from the constant increase in the debt and the fact that since 1951 the Treasury has had to compete in the money market for other funds seeking investment and has had to pay the prevailing interest rate on its securities.

All citizens do not hold government bonds equally nor in proportion to the tax payments they make. Consequently, some people are taxpayers more than they are bondholders, and vice versa. To the extent that tax payments and interest receipts do not coincide, there is a shift of income from taxpayers to bondholders. Since the Treasury now needs more than $10 billion annually in order to pay interest on the debt, it introduces an element of rigidity into federal budget and makes the raising of revenue for other purposes more difficult.

(In Millions of Dollars)

Year	Public Debt Outstanding	Computed Annual Interest Charge	Computed Annual Interest Rate
1955	$271,741	$ 6,387	2.351%
1956	269,883	6,950	2.576%
1957	268,486	7,325	2.730%
1958	274,698	7,245	2.638%
1959	281,833	8,066	2.867%
1960	283,241	9,316	3.297%
1961	285,672	8,761	3.072%
1962	294,442	9,519	3.239%
1963	301,954	10,119	3.360%

Treasury Bulletin, July, 1963.

FISCAL POLICY

Fiscal policy applies primarily to the use of government expenditures and revenues to influence business conditions. If expenditures exceed revenues the deficit leads to the creation of debt. Dr. Welding Welfling in his book *Money and Banking* states that "The significance of the federal budget lies mainly on the total flow of spending in the economy . . . On the whole, government expenditures can be considered as inflationary or at least expansionary, and government receipts as deflationary. Government receipts take incomes from the public and . . . so reduce the aggregate expenditures that would otherwise be made. Government expenditures for goods and services increase the incomes of the recipients and replace the expenditures that would otherwise have occurred. A deficit

is likely to be inflationary for the simple reason that the government is making more expenditures than it is preventing through its collection of revenue."

Fiscal Year	Receipts	(In Millions of Dollars) Expenditures	Surplus or Deficit
1950	$36,422	$ 39,544	— 3,122
1951	47,480	43,970	+ 3,510
1952	61,287	65,303	— 4,017
1953	64,671	74,120	— 9,449
1954	64,420	67,537	— 3,117
1955	60,209	64,389	— 4,180
1956	67,850	66,224	+ 1,626
1957	70,562	68,966	+ 1,596
1958	68,550	71,369	— 2,819
1959	67,915	80,342	—12,427
1960	77,763	76,539	+ 1,224
1961	77,659	81,815	— 3,856
1962	81,409	87,787	— 6,358
1963	86,357	92,590	— 6,233

Treasury Bulletin, July, 1963.

EXPENDITURES BY FUNCTIONS

There is considerable agitation for a cut in Federal income taxes for both individuals and corporations. In fact, the House has already approved a bill for a tax cut to be effective in 1964. Much opposition has developed to a tax cut unless it is accompanied by a decrease in expenditures. Expenditures have continued to rise, and budget estimates for the present fiscal year are in excess of $100 billion for the first time. Since World War II we have seen a large fraction of the country's total output respond to government purchase rather than to private. Government purchase today accounts for about 20% of total output compared to approximately 50% during the war. Please note in the comparison of budgetary expenditures for 1958 and 1962 the large increase in practically every item in the chart below.

EXPENDITURES BY FUNCTIONS	1958	(In Millions of Dollars) 1962	Change + or—
National defense	$44,234	$52,743	+ 8,509
International affairs	2,231	2,545	+ 314
Space research	89	2,552	+ 2,463
Agriculture	4,419	7,028	+ 2,609
Natural resources	1,544	2,352	+ 808
Commerce and transportation	1,631	2,816	+ 1,185
Housing and community development	30	— 78	— 108
Health, labor and welfare	3,059	4,761	+ 1,702
Education	541	1,244	+ 703
Veterans benefits and services	5,184	5,187	+ 3
Interest	7,689	9,976	+ 2,287
General government	1,284	1,978	+ 694
Total	$71,936	$93,103	+21,167
Less: Refund transactions	567	— 513	— 54
Budget expenditures	$71,369	$92,590	+21,221

Source: Treasury Bulletin, July, 1963.

FEDERAL RESERVE POLICIES

This paper seeks to avoid any prolonged discussion of the pros and cons of easy or tight money policies followed by the Federal Reserve System. As the Treasury is the largest borrower in the money market, the Federal Reserve System plays a significant role as a banker for the commercial banks and for the Treasury, as well as the monetary authority for the nation as a whole. It exerts a powerful influence on the volume of member bank reserve balances.

The Federal Reserve Bank exercises control over member bank reserves through (1) changes in the discount rate, (2) changes in member bank reserve requirements, (3) changes in open market operations, and (4) moral suasion. Since the direct results of changes in the discount rate are largely psychological, they influence all interest rates, namely prime rate, treasury obligations, term loans, commercial paper, and the like. It may serve as a symbol of Federal Reserve policy, an indicator of concern over the monetary situation, and a fore-runner of changes in the level of yields and prices in the bond market. The discount rate was increased to 3-1/2% in July, 1963.

Changes in member bank reserve requirements are used rather infrequently but have the quickest and most direct affect upon member bank reserves. An increase in reserve requirements raises required reserves and necessitates reducing loans or investments to raise the necessary reserves. Conversely, a reduction in reserve requirements adds to excess reserves and allows the bank to increase its loans or investments. Thus an increase in reserve requirements is a powerful tightener of member bank reserve positions and of the money market. In contrast, reductions in reserve requirements increase the excess reserve of member banks and enable them to invest and lend more.

Open market operations include the purchase or sale of U. S. Treasury obligations by the Open Market Committee of the Federal Reserve Bank. This is the chief tool for executing Federal Reserve policy and has a major impact on member bank reserve positions. Purchases of government securities tend to increase member bank reserve balances, and sales conversely tend to reduce member bank reserve balances.

The Federal operates in all segments of the government market in its efforts to implement policy. Changes in U. S. Government securities of the Federal Reserve Bank are as follows:

	(In Millions of Dollars) June 30, 1960	June 30, 1963	Changes
Bills	$ 2,470	$ 3,332	+ 862
Certificates	8,507	14,454	+5,947
Notes	13,010	9,753	—3,257
Bonds	2,484	4,449	+1,965
Total	$26,471	$31,988	+5,517
Held under repurchase	52	39	— 13
Total securities	$26,523	$32,027	+5,504

Moral suasion has been frequently classified as "open mouth operations" by the Federal Reserve officials. There is also further control through margin requirements under regulations T and U, limiting the proportion of credit that may be extended on listed securities by brokers, dealers, and banks.

Just a note on present Federal Reserve policy. Present policy is one of ease in the money market. Member bank reserves are sufficient to meet lending demands of customers and to provide enough funds for investment requirements of the economy. Excess reserves in the past three years have tapered off from the $400 to $500 million level to present levels around $100 to $150 million. The Federal Reserve will have to supply reserves aggregating $1,500,000,000 over the next three months to offset the increase of money in circulation. Another factor that has been a deterrent on Federal Reserve policy has been the acute balance of payments problem. Even though Federal Reserve policy is one of ease, interest rates did not decline as much in the past recession or climb as rapidly in the recovery period. Federal Reserve policy in the government market sought actively to increase short term rates to prevent the outflow of funds abroad for investment and to maintain long term interest rates at the 4 to 4-1/4% level. This see-saw affair continues.

CURRENT TECHNIQUES OF TREASURY FINANCE

This section will deal with the techniques for managing the debt that have been developed by the Treasury Department over the years. Some newer techniques have been developed in recent years and older ones have been refined.

The size of the debt, its management, and its relationship to current business conditions are all factors taken into consideration in its financing operations.

THE TERMS OF OFFERING

There are important considerations for the Treasury Department to make in regard to the terms of its offering. In the first place, there are the types of securities to be offered: bills due within one year, short term certificates due up to fifteen months, notes due up to five years, or bonds due after five years. The Treasury Department needs to determine the maturities of the securities offered, to guage the probable impact upon the economy, to judge the effect upon the market for outstanding obligations, and to decide whether to refund for cash or exchange.

Consultations are held by the officials of the Treasury Department with representatives from the various investor groups to get their ideas upon the issues, rates of interest, market impact, and economic outlook. These representatives are from the Federal Reserve Bank, American Bankers Association, Investment Bankers Association, life insurance companies, savings banks, savings and loan associations, and government dealers.

OFFERING SECURITIES ON EXCHANGE

This type of offering is called an exchange for maturing securities. An announcement of the offering is usually made by the Treasury Department after the close of the market on Thursday, when the terms and regulations regarding the exchange are announced. The market then adjusts to the new offering on Friday, and the new issues are usually quoted on a when issued (W. I.) basis. The outstanding issues in the market are traded as rights, since they possess the privilege to exchange for the new issue or issues. They may adjust to the current state of the money market and credit availability.

The books are usually opened on the following Monday and regularly stay open for the exchange three to five days, depending to some extent upon the amount of securities involved. The Federal Reserve Bank and its branches act as fiscal agent for the Treasury Department and handle all de-

tails, processing all the subscriptions, canceling the old securities, and delivering the new securities about ten to fifteen days after the books are closed.

The amount of attrition poses a problem for the Treasury Department. The attrition denotes the amount of maturing securities turned in for cash rather than exchange for the new issues. At times it can be very embarrassing for both the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Bank. There are always some securities turned in and the amount is the perplexing problem.

CASH FINANCING IN REGULAR COUPON SECURITIES

When a cash financing deal is proposed, the procedures are similar to the refunding operations described above. Consultations are held with the various committees from the investor groups as well as officials of the Federal Reserve Banks and the Treasury. The department then selects the issue or issues, determines its maturity, fixes the rate of interest, establishes the price, and sets the subscription limits.

Allotments are usually necessary for most cash offerings. The subscriptions total many times the amount to be offered, and the Treasury reverts to preferential allotments. In many cases the subscriptions are padded, that is much more is put in for than is actually desired. This practice is particularly nefarious in the offering of intermediate and long term issues. Loans on subscriptions are frowned upon by the commercial banks. Bank subscriptions for bonds are usually limited to a percentage of its capital funds or a percentage of its time and savings deposits, whichever is greater.

The Treasury did not resort to underwriting syndicates until 1963 in the marketing of its issues, as is customary in the sale of corporates and municipals. Two underwriting syndicates have been used this year in the marketing of $250 million 4% bonds of 1993 and $300 million 4-1/8% bonds of 1994. Bidding was extremely close on the first issue and its success was assured; however, the second offering attained only moderate reception from the investing public.

CASH REFUNDING

This type of offering has been used by the Treasury in the past few years. It involves the sale of a new issue for cash

in an amount equal to the maturing issue or issues. Payment is also made by tendering the maturing issue. The procedures are similar to the exchange offering described above. This method of financing does give the Treasury closer control over the maturity structure of the debt and also eliminates the danger of attrition.

In the June, 1958 refunding, holders of the maturing obligations exchanged their securities for $7.4 billion for the 2-5/8% bonds of 1965 out of $9.6 billion eligible for the exchange, instead of taking the one year issue with an extremely low coupon rate. As a result, chaos came into the government bond market and prices declined rather sharply in a disorderly market thereafter for two or three months.

REGULAR TREASURY BILLS

These obligations are issued in bearer form without interest and are sold on a discount basis under competitive bidding. Bills are offered every Monday, due in 91 days or 182 days. Allotments are made to the highest bidders, and the bulk of the competitive bids goes to the dealers and money market banks in New York City. In the auction this week, bills went at an average price of 3.458% for 91 days and 3.568% for 182 days. The difference between the discount price at purchase and par at maturity is always considered interest income under the Internal Revenue Code. There is a 26 week cycle of bills available in the market. The bills are dated and due on Thursday, so payment must be made at the Federal Reserve Bank on Thursday for each week's new issues of bills. Trading starts in the new bills on Tuesday.

Treasury bills constitute the most important segment of the short term money market. They are held primarily by financial institutions who desire a high degree of liquidity with their funds. The primary holders besides financial institutions include corporations, trust and pension funds, state and local governments, foreign investors, and individuals. Increased offerings of bills are also used from time to time by the Treasury to raise additional cash, particularly in periods of tight money and in the first six months of the Treasury fiscal year, when tax collections are at a low ebb.

There are also outstanding some one year bills with maturities on January 15, April 15, July 15, and October 15.

These offerings will be discontinued in the future and will be superseded by an offering of one year bills maturing monthly in the amount of $1 billion each.

TAX ANTICIPATION FINANCING

This type of financing includes the tax anticipation bills, usually offered in the July-December period to mature in March and June. They are used to finance the cash deficit during the first six months of the Treasury's new year and are retired out of surplus revenues in the January-June period. They usually mature a week or ten days after the quarterly tax date and bear interest to that date. As a result, they are very attractive to corporations in the payment of their income taxes. Corporations are usually the largest holders of this type of bill.

FIXING COUPON RATES ON NEW TREASURY ISSUES

The rate of interest on new Treasury issues must be attractive against current market rates on similar maturities to induce investors to subscribe for the securities. The Treasury considers the position of the yield curve on government securities. Since 1931, investors have been used to an increasing yield curve where short term interest rates are lower than long term rates. The yield curve can also be flat as in 1957 when the Treasury offered three 4% issues due in one, five and ten years. In periods of monetary stress, there sometimes develop a declining yield curve, where short term yields are higher than long term yields. This type of market developed in the early 1930's and also in 1958.

The Treasury determines the rate on its new offering about 1/8% above the current level of interest rates. In case of a refunding, there is an adjustment to the current market in the price of rights as well as in the "when issued" securities. In some cases a premium develops on the new issues and at other times the market declines to the new issues. These adjustments are largely dependent upon the availability of credit and reserves in the banking system and Federal Reserve policy at the time. Since the accord agreement of 1951 between the Federal Reserve Banks and the Treasury, the Treasury must pay the going market rate of interest.

ADVANCE REFUNDING

The technique of advance refunding was started in the early 1950's when the Treasury sought to refund substantial amounts of the old tap 2-1/2% bonds into the 2-3/4% bonds of 1975-80. Secretary Dillon in announcing the terms of the latest advance refunding indicates that it is "another part of the continuing debt management program designed to finance the Government's requirements at the lowest practical cost, while also furthering the growth and expansion of the American economy, helping to restore balance of payments equilibrium, and developing a maturity structure of the debt itself that will contribute to flexible operations at minimum cost in the future."

The latest Advance Refunding in September, 1963 involved seven issues of securities aggregating $32.1 billion, of which $23 billion are held by the public. There were exchanged $6.5 billion, or 28.3% of the public held securities. Investors took $1,568 million 3-7/8% bonds due November 15, 1968; $3,698 million 4% bonds due August 15, 1973 and $1,260 million 4-1/8% bonds due May 15, 1994. The average maturity was extended four months to five year, three months, the longest since July, 1956.

SUMMARY

1. The Federal debt now amounts to slightly more than $1,600 for each man, woman and child living in the United States.

2. The Treasury Department has made little or no progress in debt reduction since the close of World War II.

3. The budget figures reveal that a deficit occurred during ten out of the past fourteen years.

4. Interest charges now amount to $10,119 million and the effective rate of interest on the public debt now amounts to 3.36%.

5. Congress now seeks to reduce the level of taxes on individuals and corporations rather than provide a frontal attack on expenditures to provide for a balanced budget, thereby increasing the deficit.

6. Each new administration brings new ideas on debt management problem, but the fundamental problem remains unsolved of a surplus in the budget and a reduction in the indebtedness.

7. The development of new techniques such as the use of "advance refunding" seeks to stretch out the maturity range without solving the problem of reducing the debt.

8. Federal Reserve policy seeks to increase short term interest rates to prevent the outflow of funds to ease the balance of payments problem and yet it needs to hold inviolate the maximum long term rate at 4-1/4% set by the Congress.

PUBLIC RELATIONS—
PRESS AGENTRY OR PROFESSION?

Ed Lipscomb

Read Before "The Egyptians," November 21, 1963

Not long ago my telephone rang at the office and a woman's voice said, "This is Miss So-and-So, public relations representative of Such-and-Such Park Association. I would like to come by and discuss a question on which we would sincerely appreciate your views." Some of you may have had a similar call, or may get one at any time.

If you do, and unless you are nosy or cautious enough to insist on further details before agreeing to a visit, you are not likely to know until the young lady has been at your desk for ten minutes that her purpose is to sell you a cemetery lot.

Shortly afterward, my home telephone rang one evening and a man's voice said, "I am making a public relations survey for a nationally known university in connection with some new educational material. I would like to come talk with you and your wife together, so that we may have her reactions also."

This one was the cagey type. An office visit would not do, nor would a home interview with me alone. Quite a bit of conversation took place before I felt confident enough to assure the caller that I had already purchased the new 24-volume edition of a well-known encyclopedia owned by his equally well-known university, and had also received the new 2-volume dictionary in which he would find me listed (believe it or not) as a "contributing editor."

These are examples of a broad spectrum of sales and service activity in which people use the term "public relations" as window dressing, as a means of achieving acceptability, or even as sheep's clothing.

So-called "public relations" men pass out ball point pens and book matches for taxicab companies, install beer displays in tavern windows, and handle customer credit and complaints.

Out-of-work politicians turned lobbyists show up in state capitals and in Washington with public relations shingles on their doors.

Banks on occasion designate new-business solicitors as public relations representatives. A national organization gives the same title to women employed to deliver baskets of groceries and other household items to families newly arrived in the community.

A colored athlete, who barely got through high school and failed entirely to qualify for college until pressure was put on the president, was successful in one area . . . he set a world record in a track event, whereupon he found himself nursed along to the simultaneous awards of a diploma and a $13,000-a-year "public relations" job from his grateful alma mater.

The list is long, familiar, and discouraging. It includes many and varied full-time glad-handers and party-givers, together with a host of young applicants who feel that they are fully qualified to enter the public relations field if they can repeat with conviction that magical phrase, "I love people."

A second category seeking extra mileage and money through "public relations" identification consists of those who measure their success and justify their compensation entirely in terms of column inches obtained in newspapers, pages in magazines, or minutes on the air.

The minimum requirements here are higher than those necessary for salesmen of cemetery lots and distributors of grocery baskets. Normally they include a typewriter, a mimeograph machine, and writing ability somewhere close to the average of all reporters on daily and weekly newspapers. It is often helpful but seldom essential to have talent as a back-slapper and apple-polisher, some amount of brass, and a knack for making mountainous reports out of molehills of results.

This is not to disparage in any way those men who openly and honestly confine their activities to the preparation and placement of various forms of ethical publicity.

These usually are hard-working men who may either occupy a one-room office or control a network of branches employing scores of people. Some specialize in activities and events designed to create news where none would otherwise exist. Others specialize in finding and exploiting news nuggets from the regular operations of their employers or clients. Still others represent stars of stage and screen, or confine themselves to

such austere assignments as producing material for technical or professional journals.

Government is a major operator in this field. Its publicity people work in "information" or "educational" sections, and are never referred to as PR men. A high percentage are former newspaper writers too old for strenuous activity, youngsters who can earn more under civil service than private employers would pay them, or unsuccessful reporters or broadcasters who have achieved their jobs through political preference. A minority are talented and dedicated career men.

Federal publicity people are found at all levels from small and obscure bureaus to the office of the President of the United States. The current President, in fact, heads up a pattern of press agentry so brazen — and at times so transparent — that it is easily discernible by any intelligent layman who wants to take the trouble to watch for it.

The idea, for example, of having the President's wife photographed on water skiis with a newly-returned astronaut while the latter was still the darling of the nation's front pages is worthy of a topflight Hollywood huckster.

There are those who strongly suspect, at least, that the President's sudden "discovery" of a Cuban problem which had been in public print for weeks — and his accompanying dramatic actions perfectly timed for the last few days preceding a national election — constituted a political publicity stunt highly dangerous to the welfare of the nation.

The White House can hardly claim detachment from the fact that memoranda have been issued by the Secretary of the Interior, a presidential aide, and a Commerce Department official advising recipients that news concerning large contracts and projects should be handled so as to enhance the prestige of the administration. One of these went so far as to instruct: "In making announcements of local projects, the President should be given a credit line in the lead paragraph."

Certainly government, in terms of either employees or total column inches, is the largest practitioner in category No. 2.

A third and final classification of public relations men — the category which, if there is one, has in it the potential of ultimate professionalism — consists of those who conduct what

we shall refer to here as legitimate programs based on the general thesis that sound public relations can be achieved only by: (1) policies and conduct which, if known to the public and properly understood, will meet with its approval; (2) the necessary steps to make sure that the public knows and understands the policies and conduct.

Such men believe that if attitudes and actions are good, and are known, good public relations will be assured. No miracles or mirages are needed — imagination in the use of techniques, yes, but not sleight of hand. If attitudes and actions are bad, no effort at magic will work for long, in that there is no financial fury like that of a public which finds it has been fooled.

The fundamental distinction between this category and the publicity group, then, is the emphasis placed on the concept that over the long pull no organization's public relations can be any better than it is entitled to have. Hence has evolved the recent but now widely held view that the public relations counselor or department is a two-way interpreter, responsible not only for communications but also for alerting management to adverse public attitudes, either present or potential, while there is still time to take corrective action with minimum difficulty or damage.

A case in point is that of the steel price increase of 1962. At the peak of this controversy there were many who asked if the steel companies had PR departments; and agreement was rather general that if such departments did exist their directors should be fired at once. The truth is that key men on the public relations staff of U. S. Steel were fully informed of management's plans for raising prices. Their advice was that public reaction would be unfavorable, that a storm of denunication could be expected from critics of steel both in and out of Congress, and that this would probably culminate in another Senate investigation of steel prices. Nevertheless, they realized that the public relations liability would have to be balanced against the need for increasing prices, and that this was a decision which had to be made by top management — not by the Public Relations Department.

What they did not anticipate was the intense campaign of retaliation by the White House — a campaign which was

unprecedented in the peacetime annals of our history, and which led the press to dramatize the resulting situation as a great showdown between the President and the steel companies. The companies obviously lost this battle rather ignominiously, but what has largely escaped general notice is the extent to which they are winning the war.

The same public relations staff which failed to foresee the intensity of political response was quick to recognize the opening it gave them — the opening for truly nationwide dissemination of facts about the steel industry's problems, needs, and national importance. Without the climate of public opinion thus created and made possible by the so-called fiasco of 1962, it is at least improbable that this year's selective price increases could ever have been accomplished with so little opposition on the part of customers, politicians, and the public at large.

Getting back to the three general groups already described— those who use the term "public relations" as window dressing, those who use it to describe publicity functions, and the legitimate general practitioners — we find that all three have a common ancestry. Greek poets as far back as the fifth century B.C. accepted money from those whom they glorified in verse and song. Plato, in fact, condemned poets as special pleaders, and recommended in his "Republic" that all of them be suppressed except those employed by the state to promote its own welfare.

Julius Caesar in 60 B.C. decreed that the acts of the Roman Senate should be publicized; and Augustus Caesar ordered special publicity treatment for families who were rearing large numbers of children. More importantly, Augustus gave to his friend and adviser, Gaius Maecenas, an assignment which has been described by one biographer as follows: "It was his task to feel the pulse of public opinion and to advise the blunter intelligence of the Princeps, and not less to create opinion for his day and all time." The phrase "all time" may sound ambitious, yet there is little doubt that many a present-day opinion of ancient Rome stems in part at least from the influence of Maecenas on the promotional writings of Horace and Vergil.

Wandering minstrels of the Dark Ages earned their bread and board from the lords of great castles largely because of the

favorable influence they were able to exert on public attitudes through praise of their patrons.

In England, up to the time in the 1700's when they were able to earn a livelihood through sale of their works to the public, it was common practice among writers not subsidized by private patrons to offer their services to political groups. The Tories employed Swift, and Addison worked for the Whigs. In the decade between 1731 and 1741, Walpole spent 50,000 pounds to pay political propagandists, and to have their more effective manuscripts reproduced.

Napoleon not only used pamphlets to bring himself to national prominence, but later staged spectacles which merit the envy of modern politicians who seek to employ the same technique. One of his biographers had this to say of the emperor's entry into Milan, "No scene in the history of warfare was more theatrical. The pageant was arranged . . . and the distances so calculated that Bonaparte was the one impressive figure."

Perhaps the greatest single public relations achievement in the history of our own country was the work of Alexander Hamilton and James Madison in bringing about the ratification of the Constitution against what today's opinion pollsters would have considered to be almost hopeless odds. Not only through the content, timing, and circulation of the Federalist Papers, but through personal maneuvering of key groups and indispensable individuals, they carried out a program so well conceived and so expertly executed that it has recently been analyzed in detail and carefully documented by one of America's leading historians, Dr. Allan Nevins, as an official project of the Foundation for Public Relations Research and Education.

Between ratification of the Constitution and the end of World War I, the road of public relations in America was a rocky and winding one. It included the early 19th century practice — still not altogether extinct — of expecting, and getting, liberal publicity treatment in return for paid advertising. Business and political organizations began to install special publicity departments under the name of "literary bureaus." Press agentry reached peaks of flamboyancy exemplified in the

person of P. T. Barnum, who in turn reached his own high point in the showmanship which accompanied the U. S. tour of Jenny Lind.

Such was the ancestry of today's public relations, although none of the historical activities referred to here was described by that phrase. It was not until the early years of the present century that the term was employed to describe a business function which sought to evaluate public attitudes, identify commercial policies and procedures with the public interest, and execute programs designed to earn public understanding and confidence.

This development originally was a logical response by management to the widespread attacks on business which grew out of the "robber baron" era in American industry — an era in which business had clothed itself in secrecy, and prominent figures had replied to inquiring reporters with such statements as "It's none of the public's business what I do" (George F. Baker), "I owe the public nothing" (J. P. Morgan), and the famous "The public be damned!" (William H. Vanderbilt).

As management found itself more and more confronted with widespread antagonism as the result of policies and tactics reflected in such outbursts, it began to call for assistance in accommodating itself to public opinion. Thus it was that the legitimate public relations practitioner began to emerge, and to be identified by that term. It was only after he had begun to achieve substantial success that fringe groups started usurping this same title in areas of activity like those described at the outset of this paper. Putting aside, then, the cemetery salesmen, space pirates, and ballyhoo experts, let us examine briefly the group in which seeds of professionalism, if they exist, are to be found.

The father of modern public relations is generally acknowledged to be Ivy L. Lee, a former newspaperman who in 1906 was called upon by the anthracite coal mine operators after they had outraged both press and public by their haughty attitude in labor disputes. Lee's second client, added in the same year, was the Pennsylvania Railroad, and in both cases he worked successfully at the twofold job of convincing management that changes in policy were necessary and convincing

reporters that he was not running a secret press bureau, but rather a service agency designed to assist both them and his clients.

Other pioneers who followed in the footsteps of Lee and expanded the scope and effectiveness of his work are too numerous to mention here. One of them is still active — Pendleton Dudley, in whose garage the Reader's Digest was born and who, at 87, is at his desk each day.

Who are the sons of these modern PR pioneers? What are their budgets and earnings? What do they do? Are they headed for professionalism?

What today's practitioners refer to hopefully as their professional organization is the Public Relations Society of America — an association composed of roughly 4,600 members, each of whom has had not less than five years of experience at an executive level in legitimate public relations.

The largest segment consists of 2,162* public relations executives of corporations. Second come 1,472 counselors — men who serve clients through public relations agencies in somewhat the same manner as advertising agencies serve in advertising. Third are 644 executives of civic, professional, educational, and charitable organizations; and finally, 322 from trade associations.

Backing up such executives are staffs which vary from near zero in small operations to several hundred. An average of estimates from reasonably well informed sources suggests that the total personnel engaged in legitimate public relations activity lies somewhere between 60,000 and 70,000 men and women, not including secretarial and other supporting services.

Salaries start with a national average of $5,000 to $7,000 for newcomers, and rise to a wide general range of $25,000 to $75,000 for public relations directors of large corporations. Incomes of more than $100,000 have been reported in exceptional cases.

Expenditures cover a similarly broad span, but it is no longer news when the public relations budget of a large corporation runs well into seven digits. The total of all PR budgets in the

*All figures are approximate, based on estimates made in July, 1963.

United States for 1963 is estimated by *Business Week* to exceed $2 billion; and the rate of current expansion is so rapid that projections indicate total expenditures as high as $6 billion by 1970, with comparable increases in personnel.

The size of today's budgets, together with the complexity of tools and materials with which public relations men work, already has led to a significant tightening of qualifications for employment. Very few youngsters today can land any sort of spot on a public relations staff without at least a liberal arts degree supported by special courses in the social sciences, journalism, or the principles and techniques of public relations practice. More than 200 universities and colleges offer public relations courses as a regular part of the curriculum; and one university (Boston) confers a master's degree in a special postgraduate school. Earlier this year the first public relations doctorate was bestowed by New York University on a Jesuit priest whose thesis was "Public Relations of Religious Institutions in a Pluralistic Society."

Most of the senior men who head today's larger PR departments entered the field originally through journalism, and the ability to write or edit is still a prime requirement. However, the man whose qualifications stop there can no longer have much hope of achieving top recognition in either title or salary.

Prominent public relations practitioners of my own acquaintance include a former vice president of Stanford University, a former dean of the faculty of Lowell Textile Institute, and former instructors at Columbia, Radcliffe, and Harvard. Others have served in such diverse capacities as supervisor of special agents for the FBI, governor of Kentucky, insurance attorney, Rear Admiral of the U. S. Navy, and executive assistant to Norman Vincent Peale.

These are not stunt men, back-slappers, whitewashers, or publicity flacks. It is as unfair to call them "image makers," "hidden persuaders," or "merchants of consent" as it would be to apply these same terms to a college president who seeks to earn a laudable reputation for his school, or an association executive who attempts to prove through performance and justifiable publicity that he is fulfilling with adequacy the purposes of his organization.

Obviously we cannot undertake here an explanation of what all these men do. However, a highly simplified cross section of public relations responsibilities in the corporate field may provide an outline which can be applied by adaptation and adjustment to other groups.

Philosophically, the public relations job consists of development and projection of corporate character and personality. The same general principles apply as in the development and projection of an individual's character and personality, which is to say that dependability, honesty, cooperation, sincerity, and consideration for the other fellow's point of view bring pretty much the same response when practiced by the corporate body as when practiced by the individual. The big difference is that it is far more difficult for a complex business to appraise and project such qualities than it is for one person. It is no less important, however, for it can mean life or death to a business organization, just as it can mean success or failure to an individual. Good personality to a corporation means a good name, which often can be equivalent to great riches.

Not long ago a simple experiment was conducted to demonstrate this point. Arrangements were made with a supermarket to display four different brands of plastic tumblers. All were manufactured to identical specifications, and all were identical in color. Out of 3,000 customers checked, 80% preferred the tumblers bearing the name and trademark of one company — a company whose performance and personality had earned an amazing degree of confidence.

In performing its over-all job, a major *internal* responsibility of the public relations department is that of keeping up with public attitudes and opinions affecting the company and its future, and of interpreting these to management as a basis for better informed policy and operating decisions. How much voice the PR department has in the actual formulation of policy varies widely from one company to the next, and up to now is more dependent on the individual stature of a particular public relations director than on his title or official position.

Another important internal assignment is that of employee relations — an assignment which includes such things as messages from management, employee handbooks and orientation courses, pay envelope enclosures, bulletin boards, suggestion

systems, recreation programs, plant newspapers, and company-wide house organs.

The publication of house organs alone has become an American industrial phenomenon. More than 3,000 are listed in *Gebbie's* directory of company publications. The largest have the format of magazines, and reach circulations as high as 200,000 copies. The Council of Industrial Editors estimates that if smaller publications issued on a regular basis are included the total exceeds 8,000, readership exceeds 80 million people, and the cost to the issuing companies is approximately $140 million per year.

The purpose of all this activity is not merely to keep employees satisfied with the company as a place to work, but also to make them missionaries among the 167 other people whose lives have been shown to be touched by the average factory employee.

The owners of the business, shareholders who may often outnumber employees, constitute another public to which the PR department is expected to give continuing attention. Annual reports, once drab and barely intelligible, have been simplified with charts, decorated with color, glamorized with photographs, filled out with chatty text, and in general converted from samples of accounting department drudgery into major sales presentations.

Plans and arrangements for stockholder meetings, dividend inserts, special bulletins, letters from the president, the preparation of company news for the financial press, and proper treatment of individual shareholders who may show up for visits are among other assignments falling wholly or partially on the public relations department.

The company's external publics are more numerous and require a much higher percentage of department time and budget than do such internal groups as employees and stockholders. In almost all cases they include plant communities, dealers and customers, local or national government groups, the press, and the public at large. Depending on the product a particular company offers, the list can be lengthened to include a variety of publics that range from home economists to disc jockeys to clergymen.

Programs of plant community relations are aimed at one primary goal – that of maintaining good will by being a good neighbor. Employee recruitment, the effect of plant community opinion on a company's national reputation, and such practical considerations as treatment by local officials and by taxing and zoning authorities are at stake. The program normally embraces participation of plant officers in civic activities from luncheon clubs to fund-raising. It includes special local-level publicity, open houses or other special events, financial contributions to public causes, the physical appearance of plant premises, and even at times the explanation or removal of such irritants as excessive smoke and disagreeable smells.

Dozens of books have been written about public relations activity affecting the whole long list of publics with which a corporation finds itself involved. *Here anyone interested* may discover the full scope of PR responsibility over an area which embraces opinion polls, institutional advertising, speeches by company officials, motion pictures, booklets and literature for schools, posters and exhibits, etc., etc. Rather than risk the boredom of further review, I hope that what already has been said will correct any possible impression that the average public relations department is limited in large measure to the writing of news releases for general media.

News and the placement of it do constitute a major assignment, and one which has had a far-reaching effect both on public relations and on channels of communication. One of the highest tributes which has been paid the development of public relations has been the extent to which editors, particularly newspaper editors, have come to accept the PR man as an important ally.

There are still editors here and there who look on all PR men as agents employed to spray the perfume or push the deodorizer button in behalf of their employers; and the large home of one prominent PR man has been described by a columnist as "the house that hot air built." Nevertheless, a series of studies recently completed by Scott Cutlip, professor of journalism at the University of Wisconsin, indicates that some 35% of the content of today's newspapers comes from public relations practitioners. A wholly separate analysis of

major dailies conducted by a former public relations director of General Mills, and later of General Foods, confirms the professor's findings.

Certainly such a percentage is too high if applied to the front page, but it is at least as much too low if applied to fashion pages and women's pages. In what advertisers refer to as r.o.p. (run of the paper), there is generally an interesting combination of locally written material, wire service stories which may or may not involve PR sources, and releases which to the trained eye are obviously the product of somebody's public relations department.

This is neither to commend nor to criticize either the editor or the PR man. It is simply to acknowledge two things: (1) public relations men by and large have come to learn that their releases and photographs must meet newspaper requirements or wind up in overflowing wastebaskets; (2) editors are quick to learn which PR departments are reliable, and to realize that without such help the costs of producing all the photographs and copy needed for many-paged editions would be well-nigh if not entirely prohibitive. No large newspaper or even wire service, in fact, can reasonably maintain the number and variety of specialists needed to report intelligently the many diverse developments in today's complex society.

Where, then – in the light of the total picture – does public relations stand with respect to professionalism? If you should ask me, "Is public relations now a profession?", the obvious answer in my opinion would be, "It is not," but there are indications that it is moving in that direction.

It has developed a substantial though still insufficient amount of at least partially scientific literature, much of it deeply rooted in the social sciences.

It is the subject of widespread and growing specialized education, although thus far there is no uniform or generally agreed upon structure of courses and teaching.

It has two professional journals – one lacks the resources for publication of lengthy research articles, and the other still performs in part at least the functions of a trade magazine.

It has a professional-type association, but an association in which membership is based on title and tenure rather than measurable competence in the field.

It has a code of ethics, but no adequate machinery for its full-scale enforcement.

Probably the two most difficult handicaps which lie between the current craft or art of public relations and the ultimate professionalism to which it aspires are inability to control entry into the field and the lack of adequate evidence that PR's primary purpose is ministry to the public good.

With respect to entrance requirements, the rumblings of potential progress are being heard. The Public Relations Society has just appointed its first National Accreditation Board, with instructions to proceed immediately with the development of standards based on rigid qualifications, written tests and oral examinations. Talk of licensing has become common, and the California legislature has had before it this year a bill which would set professional standards and require examination and certification. These are seeds which are likely to sprout as the years go by.

To qualify as ministers to the public good, there are some public relations men who have proved by their actions that they have the dedication and the backbone to resign an account or a job before they will compromise on questions or policies of public concern. By and large, however, the public relations man must still be considered a special pleader — an honest one, let us say, but still a special pleader.

It may be that even this, however, will *not* turn out to be much different from the role of the licensed attorney who is employed full time to defend his corporation in the courts, or the licensed physician who is employed to prove that animal fats create no danger through cholesterol or that tobacco causes no great risk of lung cancer.

As it exists today, public relations is either a staff function being performed by communications specialists with exaggerated views of their own importance and potentials, or it is a calling already embarked on the agonizing ordeal of striving slowly toward professionalism.

Whichever is true, the impact of public relations on current American life is such as to suggest keener awareness of it, greater attention to it, and increased knowledge and understanding of it on the part of responsible men everywhere.

THE FLUORIDATION PROMOTION — AN ENIGMA

JOHN H. TODD

Read Before "The Egyptians," December 12, 1963

Fluorine is a member of the halogen group (Gr. sea salt), which also includes iodine, bromine and chlorine. In its pure form it is a greenish yellow gas, extremely poisonous, and so corrosive that it is difficult to maintain in that form. Since it combines readily with minerals, it is often found in nature, most frequently in the form of calcium fluoride. The form customarily used for fluoridation of public water supplies (sodium fluoride) does not widely occur in nature; but is used in, and is a by-product of, industrial processes, notably the production of aluminum. Sodium fluoride is highly soluble in water, and, when ingested, is readily transferred to the blood stream and from the blood stream to other body cells. Calcium fluoride, occurring naturally not only in water but also in numerous foods (sea foods and tea contain rather heavy concentrations), is not readily soluble, and is much more slowly transferred to the blood stream and other body cells. To a substantial degree, combination with calcium, and to some extent magnesium, seems to increase the maximum non-toxic dosage substantially above that for sodium fluoride. Ironically, natural waters containing little or no fluorine — which fluoridation proponents would have us add artificially — generally are also low in calcium and magnesium.

Most of the knowledge of the effects of fluorine on animals and humans has been developed since 1930, largely as the result of successful efforts to identify the cause of endemic mottling of teeth in the southwestern states, and the cause of injuries to humans and animals exposed to materials used in, or fumes emanating from, certain industrial plants.

The theory, and the promotion of fluoridation of public water supplies have flowed directly from the activities of Dr. H. Trendley Dean while employed in the U. S. Public Health Service (1931-1953), and later by the American Dental Association. From 1948 until his retirement in 1953, Dr. Dean was Director of the National Institute of Dental Research.

After retirement, he became secretary of one of the Councils of American Dental Association.

After the discovery that endemic mottling of teeth (often called "Texas teeth") is caused by fluorine naturally occurring in water, Dr. Dean and his associates undertook to determine what limitations should be imposed on the permissable concentration of fluoride naturally present in public water supplies. In addition to the mottling effect of natural fluoride-bearing water, Dean noticed that children exposed to such waters from birth seemed to have less dental decay, at least when compared with children of the same age groups in communities where the water contained little or no fluoride. Although he once commented on the possibilities, Dean seems largely to have ignored differences in the calcium content of waters.

On the basis of Dean's work, the U. S. Treasury Department (in 1942, when it had jurisdiction of such matters) established 1.0 part per million (PPM) as the maximum tolerance of fluoride content in public water supplies. In 1946 the U. S. Public Health Service (which then had jurisdiction) raised the maximum tolerance from 1.0 to 1.5 PPM. Why this action was taken is not clear. It may relate to the experimental fluoridation of Newburgh, N. Y. water at 1.2 PPM.

The fluoride hypothesis is that: (1) If mothers, during the period of gestation, and children from birth until completion of dentition of the third molars (age 8 to 10 years), receive an average dosage of 1 mg. of sodium fluoride per day, such children will experience substantially less dental decay than children *of the same age* who receive no fluorine; (2) If the public water supply is treated with sodium fluoride at the level of 1.0 PPM (and if the concentration is maintained within 10% of that level), the members of the population, on the average, will consume one quart of water per day, and thus receive an average daily dosage of 1.0 mg. of sodium fluoride; and (3) On the basis of *absence, or ignorance, of conclusive proof to the contrary,* it is assumed that any harmful effects on people, animals or property (including the expected fluorosis, or mottling of teeth) will be more than offset by improvement in the dental health of children.

There is no claim of benefit from consumption of fluoridated water by persons more than about 10 years of age.

The hypothesis presupposes that most, but not all, children consuming such water until the age of ten will experience the claimed benefits, in varying degrees. The hypothesis contemplates, and accepts as being "not objectionable from a public health standpoint" that up to 30% or more of children consuming such water from birth until age 10 may be expected to experience dental fluorosis (mottled teeth) of the degree characterized as "very mild," or worse, on Dean's scale of dental fluorosis. Such mottling not only is permanent, but tends to become more conspicuous with increasing age. It is conceded that, if the average daily dosage of sodium fluoride significantly exceeds 1 mg., the resulting fluorosis will greatly outweigh possible benefits.

The fluoridation hypothesis has a number of weaknesses, some fairly obvious, some not:

(a) The development, and intensive promotion, of the fluoridation hypothesis were and are based primarily on epidemiological studies – i.e., studies dealing only with averages for entire populations, and largely confined to average effects on populations of children between the ages of 6 and 12 years (some of the more recent reports cover children to age 16);

(b) Fluoride is administered to the entire population, old and young, sick and well, under-nourished and mal-nourished although no benefits are expected for persons older than 10 years.

(c) Most water is consumed in industrial uses, and in bathing, washing, etc. Probably less than one-half of 1% is consumed by children under 10 years of age (the only ones supposed to be benefitted).

(d) The assumption that every person (child or adult), *on the average,* consumes one quart of water per day (in drinking water, beverages and foods), and therefore will receive an average dosage of 1 mg. of sodium fluoride per day is clearly not valid. Individual water consumption rates (both specific and average) vary widely from place to place (by reason of climate), and from time to time and person to person (by reason of varying weather, seasons, degrees of physical exertion, personal peculiarities, habits and degrees of health). Persons suffering from certain ailments (notably diabetics), athletes, and physical laborers consume much more water than

healthy persons of sedentary habits. Those who perspire freely consume more than those who do not. Consuming water fluoridated at 1.0 PPM, I, for example, would receive a daily dosage of sodium fluoride ranging from 3 to 12 or more milligrams (i.e., from 2 to 6 times what the U. S. Public Health Service concedes to be a toxic average dosage). The heating of water, as in cooking, while it reduces any chlorine content, increases any concentration of fluoride.

While the hypothesis presumes that fluoride concentration in public water supplies will consistently be maintained within 10% of the desired level, experience indicates that it is not accomplished in practice. In fluoridated cities, variations, up and down, from the mid-point between extremes have been reported of 24% at Rochester, N. Y., 28% at Indianapolis, 29% at Cleveland, 33.3% at Washington, D. C., 50% at Pittsburgh, and in Westchester County, N. Y., 53% at San Francisco, 65% at Baltimore, 71% at Milwaukee, 70% at 18 installations in West Va., and 100% at Chicago, and Morristown, N. Y.

Thus the fluoridation of public water supplies appears to be a rather haphazard method of administering to entire populations a substance known to be a cumulative poison (which can easily and cheaply be administered in a precise daily dosage and confined to those for whom it is intended). Can the effects be expected to be less haphazard?

(e) A fifth weakness of the fluoridation hypothesis (and promotion) lies in the method used to measure the extent of tooth decay. The hypothesis, and all of the studies on which is founded, are based on use of the "DMF Rate." This means the aggregate number of decayed, missing and filled permanent teeth, either per child, per 100 children, or per 100 teeth. The use of this measurement makes no distinction between the different teeth (except that it excludes the fourth molars, or "wisdom teeth"). It accords equal weight (1) to a tooth which is *missing* (presumed to be due to caries, although it is frequently reported that 75% of all missing teeth are attributable to gum disease), (2) to a tooth which is completely rotten, (3) to a tooth which contains the smallest filling, (although the tooth is otherwise perfectly sound and healthy, and may continue so for life), and (4) to the smallest speck which can be accepted by a trained dental examiner as evidence of an incipient cavity. This is comparable to adding

numbers of small boys, large dogs, and green apples. The sum of the numbers is not a total number of anything. How can statistics based on such a rate of measurement be accorded any reliable significance?

(f) A sixth weakness of the fluoridation hypothesis and promotion is that the *safety* of water fluoridated at 1.0 PPM (aside from resulting and expected dental fluorosis, or mottling) is *presumed,* (on basis of the asserted lack of knowledge of conclusive proof that it will be harmful), to be perfectly safe – not for any individual but – *for "the population."*

Dr. F. A. Arnold (in 1953) succeeded Dr. Dean as Director of the National Institute of Dental Research, U. S. Public Health Service, and as national and international leader of the fluoridation promotion. He personally directed or participated in many of the studies on which the hypothesis and promotion are based, and in the authorship of at least 19 of the published reports on the subject. I have been personally acquainted with Dr. Arnold for some 14 years. Two or three years ago, in a lawsuit in Chicago, he testified under oath to the safety of fluoridation. When asked on cross examination if he had any scientific proof that no individual would be harmed, his answer was: "I couldn't possibly have . . . the only thing I can say is that *I know of* no evidence whatsoever that would indicate that treatment of the water supply at one part per million will produce a deleterious effect *upon the population* consuming that water." (Ignorance of evidence of harm *to the population* is a far cry from proof that no *individual* will be injured.) In construing Dr. Arnold's reply, as in construing many statements by the proponents of fluoridation, it is greatly helpful, if not essential, to know some of the definitions and criteria which have been adopted by, and in, the U. S. Public Health Service. The mottling (fluorosis) of teeth, classified on Dean's scale as "very mild" or worse, is defined as "not significant," "of no cosmetic significance," "not objectionable," or "not objectionable from the public health standpoint" (i.e., there is no harm *to the population*) unless more than 30% of the children of the population are so affected. (Some public health spokesmen appear to accept more than 40%). Also, by definition, fluoridation at 1.0 PPM is *expected* to produce such degrees of mottling in up to 30% of the children of the population consuming the fluoridated water (again, some

spokesmen appear to expect more than 40%). Also by definition; "endemic dental fluorosis" does not exist unless the water supply contains more than 1.0 PPM of fluoride. Such terms and criteria are frequently used in the published reports cited as authorities for the effectiveness, and safety of fluoridation. To one without knowledge of the establishment of these definitions and criteria, such citations would appear to be justifiable.

In the final report on the Newburgh-Kingston experiment, Dr. Harold C. Hodge stated that "adequate factors of safety exist against the known toxic effects of fluoride." In reading this statement the innocent layman could be excused for inferring that all toxic effects of fluoride are known. The layman is seldom aware that very little is actually known of the cumulative toxic effects of 1.0 PPM fluoride in water supplies ingested over the average lifetime, to say nothing of successive generations. Nor could he be expected to know that "very mild" or worse dental fluorosis in 30% or more of all children exposed to such water supplies from birth (by definition) is not considered to be a "toxic effect." Nor could the layman be expected to know that the existence of "adequate factors of safety" presupposes ingestion of fluoride at an average daily rate of 1 milligram (i.e., one quart of water fluoridated to 1.0 PPM), and that use of the term does not take into consideration variations in fluoride concentration ranging up to 100%, or variations in individual water consumption ranging to and above 1,100%, with the result that the specific, if not the average, daily dosage of fluoride from ingestion of fluoridated water may range from 0.0 (zero) to more than 24 milligrams.

In the same report, Hodge is guilty of a common, and what appears to be a deliberate practice of fluoridation proponents generally, i.e., when evidence of possible harmful effects from water fluoridation is reported, to misrepresent the research work reported, or smear the reputation of the reporting researcher, or both.

(In the Jounal of the American Dental Association, Volume 52, March, 1945, page 313), after reference to possible risk of cancer from drinking fluoridated water, Dr. Hodge states: "The reports by Alfred Taylor, a biochemist of the University of Texas, *on the increased incidence of cancer* in mice drinking fluoride-treated water have been *shown* to be unfounded since the food that he was giving the mice had many times the fluoride content of the drinking water and the food was supplied both to the control and experimental groups. Subsequent tests *did not* confirm the differences." Similar statements are found in Item 3, Page 3, of the March, 1960 pamphlet of the American Dental Association "Fluoridation Facts – Answers to Criticisms of Fluoridation," and in Item 1, page 1, of the University of Michigan 1960 pamphlet "Classification and Appraisal of Objections to Fluoridation."

I wrote Dr. Taylor, inquiring about this. The following is quoted from his reply, dated January 30, 1961:

> "As a preliminary test, we placed 34 young mice on untreated drinking water as controls and 33 mice on drinking water which contained sodium fluoride. We were surprised to note, as the experiment progressed, that there was an accelerated rate of cancer development in the experimental mice. The results indicated, that, in mice destined to have cancer, fluoridated drinking water was associated with the appearance of the disease *at an earlier period of life.*
>
> "I naturally thought that those favoring the fluoridation of public drinking water would be interested in these results and so presented them to a group in the office of Dr. Edward Taylor, who at that time was the Head of the Dental Division of the Texas State Health Department. I explained that these were preliminary tests and that a more comprehensive investigation which would require two years for its completion was contemplated. I also stressed the importance of keeping the work secret until it could be checked by further research.
>
> "Someone in the group leaked the story out to the press and various garbled accounts were published over the country. At about this time we received a request from Dr. Dean of the U. S. Public Health Service for an account of the experiments, and later, he and Dr. Andervont, a cancer expert of the U. S. Public Health Service, visited our laboratories and were given every opportunity to check over our procedures. As a result of their visit, it was called to our attention that the commercial laboratory ration fed

to the mice contained a high concentration of fluorine in the bone meal supplement, and *this fact was assumed to invalidate the research.* Of course, we must keep in mind that the *same food was given to both control and experimental animals,* and it is well-known that fluorine tied up in bony tissues is different in its biological effects from fluorine as a fluoride ion in solution.

"Anyway, it was not our intention to consider this initial work as anything more than preliminary in nature, but the results were so striking and the fact that fluoridated water was being given wholesale to the total inhibitants of cities made it seem worthwhile to continue with the investigation.

"However, without waiting for the results of further tests, the Dental Director of the Texas State Health Department, to whom I had given the data on our experiments, published an article in a dental journal (Texas Dental Journal, 69:38, Sept., 1951) which attempted to discredit our research. Reprints of his article were sent over the country and it is still, nearly seven years later, being used to invalidate the implications of the results obtained in the tests with mice.

"Meanwhile, we went ahead with the investigation. Altogether, a series of 12 experiments were completed involving 645 mice. Groups of mice were utilized in these later tests which were maintained on food containing little or no fluorine. Mice of two different strains were used: one, a strain very susceptible to cancer, and the other more susceptible to other diseases. In most of these tests the concentration of fluorine in the drinking water of the experimental animals was 1 ppm.

"The results indicated that the *fluoridated drinking water shortened the life span of the mice an average of 9%. This was true regardless of whether the mice died of cancer or some other disease.* Also, there were 4 cases of urinary calculi, or bladder stones, among the mice on the fluoridated drinking water. In thousand of autopsies, this condition has never been encountered before among these animals in our laboratories. It has recently been reported that urinary bladder stones in human subjects have a high

concentration of fluorine. There have been two such reports, the last of which came from scientists associated with the U. S. Public Health Service. The details of our work together with data on its statistical validity were published in the April 1954 issue of DENTAL DIGEST.

"The results we obtained *did not indicate that the fluoridated water caused cancer, and we have never at any time stated that it did.*"

"After we became interested in the fluoridation problem, we searched the literature to find out what had been done in the way of laboratory tests to check the safety of fluoridated drinking water before it was tried out on the public. We were surprised to learn that *there had been practically no research with animals prior to the beginning of the program.*

"The promotors of the idea have relied on the fact that many communities have naturally occurring fluoride in their drinking water and that health statistics did not reveal any special toxic effects. There are several reasons why such data cannot be used in place of laboratory investigation. *Ordinary health statistics will not show ill effects of the order of those we observed in the mice maintained on fluoridated drinking water.* Also we must bear in mind the tendency of people to move from one place to another, so that it is very difficult to find a community which remains even moderately stable in its population over a 10 or 20 year period. Fluorine accumulates in the body and the *ill effects may become evident after decades of the continuous addition of the drug to our tissues. Our experiments with mice were equivalent to a 30 or 40 year period in a human life.*" (Emphasis mine).

Dr. Taylor wrote me last month that within the past year his previous results had again been rechecked, and again confirmed as to the effect on life span.

When I mentioned Dr. Taylor's work to dentist friends in Memphis, I received what has the earmarks of a "conditioned response." That response, in substance, is: "Don't you know that Alfred Taylor and his work have been completely discredited; and that he has almost been thrown out by his own University?"

Having an old and valued friend who recently retired after years of service as Chancellor of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas, I told him of this in a long-distance telephone conversation, and asked him if there was any truth in the response of my dentist friends. His reply was that he had never heard the slightest whisper of unfavorable criticism of Dr. Alfred Taylor, of his research, or of his reports.

Final report on the Newburgh-Kingston experiment.

In the same report (at page 294), Dr. Herman E. Hilleboe had this to say: "The opposition stems from several sources, chiefly food faddists, cultists, chiropractors, misguided and misinformed persons who are ignorant of the scientific facts on the ingestion of water fluorides, and, strange as it may seem, even among a few uninformed physicians and dentists."

This is by no means unusual. I have encountered almost identical verbiage in several instances. If you consider the statements quoted from Hodge and Hilliboe to be (shall I say "extravagant"?), here is a genuinely rare one. I can't vouch for it, but it is purported to be a verbatim quotation from the October 1961 issue of the Journal of the Connecticut State Dental Association: "Who are the anti-fluoridationists? For the most part, they are all cut from the same cloth and shaped from the same mould. If one scratches the surface deep enough he is likely to find a shady past, legal entanglements, even psychotic tendencies . . . In addition to these types, we have the mis-guided, mis-informed, uninformed and the arrogant ignorant."

In addition to the epidemiological studies (by Dean and others) of the effects of natural fluoride-bearing waters, the U. S. Public Health Service, and state and Canadian provincial public health authorities, in 1945 and 1946, instituted a series of experiments to appraise the effects of artificial fluoridation at 1.0 PM. The experiments were designed and planned to run for 10 to 15 years. The basic plan (not completely followed) was to select two cities of basically similar characteristics with little or no fluoride in the water supply, the water supply of each to remain unchanged throughout the experiment, except that sodium fluoride should be added to the water of the experimental city to maintain a concentration of 1.0 PPM, the school children (ages 6 to 10, generally) to be examined by dental examiners before the beginning of the experiment, and each year during the experiment, to compare the dental decay

in children of the experimental city with the dental decay in *children of the same age* of the "control" city.

The most highly publicized of those experiments were conducted at Newburgh, N. Y. (Kingston, N. Y. serving as the control), Grand Rapids, Mich. (Muskegon, Michigan serving as control), and Evanston, Ill., (Aurora, Ill. serving as control). Two independent studies were instituted somewhat later in Brantford, Ontario, without use of a control.

The published (and some of the unpublished) reports of these studies have been profusely cited by fluoridation proponents as authority for statements that fluoridation is (a) highly effective in reducing dental decay in children and (b) safe for administration to the entire population. (Originally these studies were termed "experiments." They are now called "demonstrations.") Other reports frequently cited in the same connection cover epidemiological studies in places where the water is naturally fluoridated. The best known of these are Dean's "21 Cities Study," Dean's "10 Cities Study," and Arnold's study of adults in Bartlett and Cameron, Texas (the water at the control city, Cameron, contained 0.4 PPM fluoride). Similar studies were made in other states.

In June, 1950, when none of the experimental studies was more than half completed, and permanent teeth of children born under fluoridation had not erupted, the U. S. Public Health Service publicly adopted the fluoridation hypothesis, and soon began its intensive drive to promote universal fluoridation of public water supplies.

In later independent dental examinations at Brantford, city health officials found only half the caries reduction claimed by the provincial health authorities.

Also, more recently, the New York State Department of Education (contrary to claims based on the Newburgh-Kingston study) reported that the proportion of dental defects in Newburgh children was found to be 53% higher, and the proportion of Newburgh children under treatment for dental defects 45% higher, than in non-fluoridated Kingston. While there was no increase in the number of dentists in Kingston (per 1,000 people) the number in fluoridated Newburgh increased substantially.

The "Statement on Fluoridation" (Dec., 1957) of the American Medical Association, frequently cited as "endorsing"

fluoridation, points out a number of serious flaws in the evidence relied upon to support the promotion.

There is much in the published reports of these studies to indicate that the dental effect of fluoridated water is at least more marked in the *delay of the eruption* of permanent teeth (hence in the incidence of decay) than in the prevention or reduction of decay. (See two pages of charts.)

Both the methodology of these studies, and the validity of the conclusions announced as drawn from them have been subjected to severe, and meticulously documented criticism by men who appear highly competent to make such appraisals. (They include, for example, Dr. Sir Arthur Amies, and Dr. Philip Sutton, of the University of Melbourne, Dr. Frederick B. Exner and Dr. George B. Walbott, who have devoted years to the subject, the late K. K. Paluev, an engineer and inventor connected with the General Electric Company, and the task committees of the Medical-Dental Committee on Evaluation of Fluoridation, a voluntary organization which claims as sponsors some 1,600 doctors, dentists and allied scientists, and the Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research.)

There are quite a number of reports of research by apparently highly-qualified people containing evidence indicating the possibility, if not probability, that fluoridation of public water supplies will in time result in grave injury to many people in fluoridated communities. Among these (in addition to Dr. Alfred Taylor, quoted earlier) are Dr. Ionel Rapaport, of the University of Wisconsin (who reported in a study of 300,000 births in fluoridated and non-fluoridated communities, that where the water contained 1.0 to 2.6 PPM fluoride, the number of mongoloid babies was double the number in non-fluoridated communities), Dr. C. C. Bass, Dean Emeritus of the Medical School, Tulane University (who, after 40 years of work in the dental field, reported in the June 1957 Louisiana State Medical Society Journal that even small doses of fluoride promote the activity of peridonticlasia (gum diseases) which cause the loss of 3 of 4 lost teeth, and which, in turn, tend to inhibit development of dental decay. In this connection, while they are not stressed, or cited, some of the proponents' reports of studies in naturally fluoridated communities – e. g., at Bartlett, Texas – include findings that very high proportions of all adults examined *had no teeth at all.*)

Dr. Reuben Feltman received a P.H.S. grant to perform fluoridation research with pregnant women. When his evidence proved unfavorable to fluoridation, his grant was rescinded. Other examples are Dr. Leo Spira's book-length report on many years of fluoride investigations in Great Britain, indicating that fluoridated water causes, contributes to, or aggravates a wide variety of physical ailments, and the book-length report of Cox, a chinchilla rancher, of his years of experience and much repeated work by pathologists and chemists retained by him, indicating that fluoridation of his water supply caused the near extermination of his chinchillas, that typical autopsies showed no apparent cause of death, that the cumulative toxic effects of fluoride ingestion are carried forward (and increased) from generation to generation, and that such adverse experiences ended after installation of a non-fluoridated water supply.

In addition to reports of adverse research results, there is a large body of opinion among competent and reputable physicians, surgeons and scientists (including two Nobel prize winners) to the effect that the results of research relied upon to support the fluoridation hypothesis and promotion are either highly questionable, or at best far from conclusive, and that many years if not decades of additional and meticulous study will be required to develop the knowledge essential to a valid determination of the safety, or lack of safety, of the fluoridation procedure. These are too numerous to list, much less quote; but they include Nobel award winners Drs. Hugo Theorell, of Stockholm, and Albert Schatz, of Philadelphia. I have copies of such statements by more than 130 other physicians, dentists and research scientists. They include a number of present and past state and provencial public health directors and presidents of state medical associations and men of the stature of Dr. Alton Ochsner, head of the Ochsner Clinic, and Ochsner Foundation Hospital in New Orleans.

The American Association of Physicians and Surgeons (which claims thousands of members who are also members of American Medical Association) staunchly opposes the placing of *any* substance in public water supplies for the purpose of affecting the bodies of the people of the community.

The fluoridation promotion bristles with perplexing questions to which I find no satisfactory answers. Most puzzling of all is the essentially anti-scientific attitude of the leading

proponents, including quite a number whose positions and degrees indicate that they are, or should be, "men of science." Typically, they never state both sides of the question (or even admit that there is another side). They never engage in public exchange or debate with anyone opposed to fluoridation. When confronted with adverse evidence or opinion, they seem to ignore it, if possible. Sometimes, as in the case of Dr. Alfred Taylor, they misrepresent the adverse evidence, then attack the misrepresentation.

Clearly some powerful motive was required to produce this strange state of affairs. What can it be? Some believe that Dean and his associates in the Public Health Service allowed themselves to be so carried away with the fluoride hypothesis, and so over-sold so many others in the medical and dental professions before the hypothesis could be either proved or disproved, that so many professional reputations are at stake, there can be no retreat. I simply do not know.

To me the most plausible – and most sinister – motive was suggested by Franz J. Maier, Director, Division of Dental Public Health, U. S. Public Health Service, in a 1950 presentation to the Southeastern Section of American Waterworks Association, when he is quoted as saying that "discovery of the role of optimum amounts of fluoride in water has led to the concept that the treatment of drinking water might include the addition of specific substances to prevent disease." Perhaps more revealing is the prediction by Surgeon General Scheele, quoted in the Nov. 6, 1953 edition of the Paterson, N. J. "Evening News," that community-wide attacks on "far more serious diseases than dental decay probably will be forthcoming after laboratory tests have paved the way." This prediction followed references to "chronic diseases," "viral diseases" and "mental diseases."

Entirely aside from the technical and scientific aspects of fluoridation, there is a moral and philosophical question which many (myself included) consider to be of even greater importance. That question is: Does *any* governmental authority, or the majority of qualified voters, or do both combined, have any moral right to decide or to dictate what shall be done to the body of any individual, or to the bodies of a minority of individuals, *against his or their will,* when the proposed action

respecting such unwilling person or persons is not required for, and cannot be effective toward, protection of the life, the health, or even the property of any other person or persons?

I feel that the only true answer is, and must be, in the negative.

KINGSTON-NEWBURGH, N. Y.

Decayed - Missing - Filled Teeth per child

Age	Newburgh Fluoridated 10 Yrs.	Kingston Non-Fluoridated
6	0.0	0.5
7	0.7	1.8
8	1.3	3.0
9	2.0	4.4
10	2.6	5.6
11	3.3	7.0
12	4.4	8.8
13	5.5	10.7
14	6.8	12.6
15	8.2	14.4
16	9.8	16.5

3-year delay

D. B. Ast. D.D.S., Table 5, page 319, Journal Amer. Dental Association, Vol. 52, 1956.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

Decayed - Missing - Filled Teeth per child
Before and after 10 years fluoridation

Age	1954	1944
6	0.19	0.78
7	0.69	1.89
8	1.27	2.95
9	1.97	3.90
10	2.34	4.92
11	2.98	6.41
12	3.87	8.07
13	5.05	9.73
14	6.78	10.95
15	8.07	12.48
16	9.95	13.50

3-year delay

Official P.H.S. Data (Publ. Health Rep. 71:652, 1956

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Decayed - Missing - Filled Teeth per child
Before and after 12 years fluoridation

Age	1958 (after 12 yr.)	1946
6	0.04	0.46
7	0.53	1.53
8	0.93	2.49
9	2.00	3.60
10	2.40	4.80
11	3.00	6.00
12	3.56	7.63
13	5.11	10.09
14	7.25	11.65

2-year delay

J. R. Blayney, D.D.S., at Hearings, Schuringa et al verus City of Chicago. Values for 9-10-11 inter-polated from graph.

BRANTFORD, ONTARIO

Before and after 10 years fluoridation

Age	1955	1945
6	0.16	0.40
7	0.55	1.66
8	1.13	2.44
9	1.71	3.18
10	2.21	3.80
11	2.84	4.68
12	3.30	6.31
13	4.52	7.78
14	5.54	8.60
15	6.51	9.94

2-year delay

1959 Report, Dept. Nat. Health and Welfare, Ottawa

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Before and After 6 years fluoridation

Age	1959	1950
6	.16	.30
7	.53	1.29
8	1.20	2.21
9	1.75	3.00
10	2.37	3.62
11	3.20	4.47
12	4.41	5.77
13	5.09	7.49
14	6.64	8.46

ONE-year delay only.

Data: Table 9, Dental Survey
Milwaukee Health Dept., 1959

PHILADELPHIA, PENN.

Before and After 5 years of Fluoridation
Decayed - Missing - Filled Teeth per child

Age	After 5 years	Before Fluoridation
6	0.14	0.34
7	0.44	0.87
8	1.28	1.20
9	1.70	2.45
10	2.62	3.29
11	3.25	4.43
12	4.39	5.58
13	4.97	6.27
14	5.99	7.22

1-year delay

Ref. Division of Dental Health, Philadelphia,
Dept. Public Health, 1960.

NEWARK, DELAWARE

Decayed - Missing - Filled Teeth Percent Caries - Free

Age	After Fluor.	Before Fluor.	After Fluor.	Before
6	0.2	1.1	88.8	54
7	1.1	2.3	44.9	22
8	1.7	2.9	31.5	8
9	2.8	3.7	11.3	4
10	3.4	4.9	6.4	7

Ref. Journal of American Dental Assn. Vol. 54, Jun
Note: 1-Year DELAY in DMF per child. At age of 10
caries-free children AFTER fluoridation than BEFO

SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI

Before and After 5½ years of Fluoridation
Decayed - Missing - Filled Teeth per Child

Age	After 5½ Years	Before Fluoridation
6	0.1	0.2
7	0.4	0.8
8	0.9	1.5
9	1.3	2.1
10	1.8	2.6
11	2.5	3.2
12	3.0	4.4

1-year delay

Ref. "The Effect of Five and One Half Years of Fluoridation,
Saint Louis, Missouri
By Earl Smith, M.D. and Ozias Paquin, Jr., D.D.S.

FLUORIDATION

List of Recommended References

"Newburgh-Kingston Caries-Fluorine Study-Final Report" By Herman E. Hilleboe, et al. Journal, American Dental Assn., Vol. 52, March, 1956, pp. 290-325 (compare DMF in Kingston with DMF in Newburgh for children 1 to 4 years older)

"Fluoride Drinking Waters," National Institute of Dental Research, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1962) U. S. P. H. S. Publication No. 825, $3.50 Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., pp. 204-205, 221, 232, 245 (compare DMF rate, or figure for caries free children in the fluoride-free community or before fluoridation with the same data in the fluoridated community for children 1 to 4 years older).

"Some Important Developments Presently Influencing Dental Health in America," by C. C. Bass, M.D., Journal, Louisiana State Medical Society, Vol. 109, No. 6, June, 1957, pp. 201-216.

Dental Digest, April, 1954 (Research report by Dr. Alfred Taylor).

Bulletin of the National Academy of Medicine (France) Vol. 140 (1956), Vol. 143 (1959), and Vol. 145 (1961) Reports by Dr. Ionel Rapaport.

"The American Fluoridation Experiment" by: F. B. Exner, M.D., and G. L. Waldbott, M.D. Editor: James Rorty. Publisher: The Devin-Adair Co., N. Y. (1957)

"Fluoridation – Errors and Omissions in Experimental Trials" by: Philip R. N. Sutton, D.D. Sc., L. D. S., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, Australia (1959).

"Fluoridation – Utter Failure" (1957) Analysis of Official Data by: K. K. Paluev, Box 813, Pittsfield, Mass.

"Statement on Fluoridation of Public Water Supplies" (1957) by the House of Delegates, of the American Medical Assn.

Reports of Medical-Dental Committee on Evaluation of Fluoridation (Sponsored by 1,600 Doctors, dentists and allied scientists) National Secretary: Dr. A. Allen London, Old Boonton Road, Boonton, N. J.

"The Drama of Fluorine," by Leo Spira, M.D. PhD, Published by: Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research, Milwaukee 1, Wisc.

"Hello Test Animals – Chinchillas," by W. R. Cox, Published by: Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research, Milwaukee 1, Wisc.

Hearings before the U. S. House of Representatives, Select Committee to Investigate the use of Chemicals in Foods and Cosmetics, February, 1952 (Pursuant to H. Res. 323, 81st Congress, 2d Session, and H. Res. 74 and H. Res. 447, 82d Congress, 1st Session). (Pages 1513-1543 reprinted January, 1953 by Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research, Milwaukee 1, Wisc.)

Hearings before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, U. S. House of Representatives (83d Congress, 2nd Session) on H. R. 2431 (May, 1954) (Pages 121-136, 141-244 reprinted in Nov., 1954 by Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research, Milwaukee 1, Wisc.)

Plaintiffs' Summation in the case of Schuringa, et al. versus City of Chicago, et al., No. 56 S 7984, in Chancery, in the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois (Chicago), (1960) 139 pages. (Copies available from Alice Schuringa, 15527 South Gate Street, South Holland, Illinois.)

TWINS

Dr. Henry B. Gotten

Read Before "The Egyptians," January 16, 1964

As a physician, an identical twin, and having some temperament toward inquiry, I have long been interested in a study of diseases in identical twins and what this might reveal as to the influence of heredity and environment. This occasion has led me to make a limited review of the subject and to add some of my experiences and thoughts on identical twins. The purpose of this paper is not to prove anything but to stimulate your imagination on the fascinating subject of heredity, environment and twins.

For clarification, identical or monozygotic twins are formed from a single ovum which splits into two separate cells after fertilization. Fraternal or dizygotic twins develop from two individual ova which are fertilized individually.

Therefore identical twins are always of the same sex, and barring intrauterine injury are physically alike. Fraternal twins may or may not be of the same sex, and are no more alike than siblings born at different times.

Since identical twins carry exactly the same genetic characteristics, a study of identical and fraternal twins raised in the same and different surroundings should give a great deal of information on the influence of heredity and environment. With this in mind, I have reviewed the past ten years of English written medical literature and some translations, on concordant diseases in twins. I have also obtained some valuable statistical material from my friend Dr. J. R. Gudger, Medical Director of the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York. As always, any comprehensive study reveals some startling facts previously unknown to the investigator.

In a study on genetics published in 1959, Charlotte Auerbach reviewed the physical characteristics of identical twins raised in the same and different environments. She found the bony stucture and physical measurements to be essentially the same, regardless of age. There was about 5 pounds difference

in weight when in the same environment and 10 pounds when the twins were from separate localities. A study for the Kresge Eye Institute showed a difference of 0.5% or less in the refractory indices of identical twins, regardless of age. A Danish study of electroencephalograms of identical twins brought up in separate environments, age 22 to 72 years, showed almost identical brain wave patterns. In a study of blood grouping in 133 pairs of twins, 33 of which were identical, there was complete agreement in the identical twins but not so in the fraternal pairs.

Auerbach also gave an account of the study of I.Q. in identical twins. Twins raised in the same environment had essentially the same I.Q. but in some instances, those raised in different environments showed considerable deviation. This was explained by the difference in the opportunity to learn, and in educational advantages, and not to a difference in mental capacity.

F. J. Kallman, in 1956, published his study on genetics in human behavior, a comparison of the development and emotional reactions of identical twins. He found little difference in development, mental capacity and reaction to emotional stress, regardless of age.

In the study of identical diseases in twins, we must separate developmental defects or known hereditary diseases from acquired ones. Further, bear in mind that environment begins in utero, as soon as fertilization starts a living individual. Environment, then, includes physical and chemical influences within the mother as well as all those factors that exist after birth. An example of this recently came to light when birth defects occurred after the use of thalidomide as a sedative in pregnant women. Another example would be the effects of radiation therapy in pregnancy. This may help to explain why there are some variations in identical twins, yet they have so much in common.

There are cases in the literature of identical twins born with harelip, cleft palate, cardiac defects, dislocation of the hip, strabismus, Mongolism and many other defects, indicating defects in the genes or injury prior to or after fertilization.

Congenital defects are understandable, as are certain hereditary diseases, but the development of some hereditary diseases

is significant. Diabetes, as an example, is known to run in families, but there are a number of cases in literature of diabetes occurring in identical twins at about the same time of life. I have under my observation identical twin sisters, 57 years of age, who developed diabetes, one at the age of 56, the other at 57. Likewise there are reported cases of coronary disease, high blood pressure, multiple sclerosis, Parkinson's disease, otosclerosis and many others of a degenerative nature, occurring in identical twins at about the same age in their lives. In 1958, cases of coronary disease were reported as occurring in twin sisters, age 40, within 6 months of each other. Both had previously developed nodular goiters and breast lesions. There are reports of identical twins developing cancers in the same organs, ruptured duodenal ulcers, abdominal aneurysms, alopecia and pernicious anemia. Twins, age 77, developed pernicious anemia within the same year, with similar symptom patterns, and both developed a tumor of the breast and Dupuytren's contracture. Four cases of cancer of the stomach were reported in the 1956 issue of the Archives of Surgery, as occurring in identical twins. In one instance the twins were 66 years of age and developed cancer within 6 months of each other. The 1955 Journal of Medical Society of New Jersey reports the occurrence of duodenal ulcers within a few years of each other, in identical twins living apart. Both required surgery for relief, and both developed and passed kidney stones during the years of observation. As a final example, the Archives of Dermatology for 1956 reports the occurrence of rodent ulcers in twin physicians, age 36. The lesions were over the right maxillary area in both twins, and occurred within 2 years of each other. These men lived far apart and had different exposure to sunlight. Both men had an infection of the left foot and similar changes in electroencephalograms.

There are numerous cases of mental disorders occurring in identical twins at essentially the same time, whether in the same or separate environments, and the majority showing the same emotional pattern. In one instance, twin boys, 24 years old, far removed from each other and with no knowledge of each other's illness, committed suicide within a few months of each other. In another report, twin sisters, age 73, living apart for years, developed similar anxiety reactions. These and many other examples show the similarity of emotional reactions in identical twins.

In a review from the Medical Department of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York previously mentioned, a study was made of the concordance in identical and fraternal twins.

INCIDENCE OF DISEASE IN TWINS

Disease	Number of Twin Pairs		% Concordance	
	Identical	Fraternal	Identical	Fraternal
Mongolism	11	39	91	8
Harelip	9	56	33	5
Mental Retardation	76	218	97	37
Pyloric Stenosis	18	29	66.7	3.4
Congenital Dislocation of the hip	29	109	41	3
Convulsive Seizures	30	130	66.6 96*	3.1
Rheumatic Fever	113	133	28	8
Tuberculosis	78	230	87.3*	25.6**
Allergies	34	25	59	20
Diabetes	65	116	65	18
Schizophrenia	174	517	86**	15**
Clubfoot	40	134	32	3
Measles	189	146	95	87

* Corrected for noncompletion of the manifestion period for epilepsy and for only clinically "idiopathic" index cases.
** Corrected concordance rates.

INCIDENCE OF DISEASE IN TWINS

Disease	% Concordance		
	Identical	Fraternal	
		Same Sex	Mixed
Appendicitis	16.3	6.8	6.7
Asthma	11.0	0.0	0.0
Benign Tumors	20.0	12.7	10.5
Chest Infections	36.3	19.9	21.5
Otitis Media	30.1	9.8	10.8
Eczematous Dermatitis	28.6	8.0	8.6
Epilepsy	37.2	1.8	3.6
Fibrositis	25.0	11.1	9.9
Fractures	15.2	11.9	11.2
Hernia	25.0	10.9	8.5
Hypertension	27.2	5.9	15.6
Infectious Hepatitis	45.5	18.2	17.8
Malignant Growth	0.0	0.0	0.0
Peptic Ulcer	14.3	6.3	3.5
Piles	11.1	11.1	14.7
Psoriasis	11.1	13.3	7.7
Rheumatism	26.0	10.5	8.7
Psychoneurosis	14.3	0.0	4.5
Sinusitis	34.5	12.5	13.3
Skin Infections	20.8	14.1	10.2
Squint	41.8	19.3	18.1
Pulmonary Tuberculosis	7.4	4.8	8.0
Urinary Infections	14.3	20.0	9.5
Varicose Veins	30.0	12.9	9.2

You will see from the chart the high percentage of developmental defects which occur in identical twins as compared with fraternal twins. This is not surprising to us for we have

seen breeders take the horns off cows, "feather" their necks with white streaks and put "stockings" on show horses. However the development of diseases not due entirely to congenital defects or hereditary influences is more significant. Thus you will note 86% concordance in schizophrenia in identical twins against 15% in fraternal twins, 59% allergies against 20%, 67% convulsive state against 3.1%, and 65% diabetes against 18%. These might be considered hereditary disorders, but we see 28% concordance in rheumatic fever against 8%, 87% tuberculosis against 25.6%, 30.1% otitis media against 9.8%, and 45% infectious hepatitis against 18.2%. Lenox and Jolly studied the brain wave patterns in 173 pairs of epileptic twins and observed a high rate of concordance in the abnormal patterns. There is much more in the literature to document these conclusions but the above figures will suffice for our purpose. These figures emphasize the specificity of tissues and tissue susceptibility toward disease as well as that of the individual organs and individuals.

The foregoing may substantiate your general idea that identical twins look alike, and that their general patterns remain the same and respond to environment in much the same way throughout life. The high percentage of concordance emphasizes this but the disparity will also emphasize the fact that twins are individuals who respond to their environment in such a way as to create their own diseases. Rene Dubos in an article in 1959 reminds us that we create new diseases for ourselves as rapidly as we subdue old ones. These diseases stem from the way we manipulate our environment, social as well as physical, and the way we adjust to it. This is true for twins as much as for others. The influence of environment is well illustrated in a report in June 1963 from University of Rochester investigators to the American Rheumatism Association. One of each of 3 sets of identical twins developed crippling arthritis, and in each one the disability was related to long standing emotional stress which was not experienced by the opposite twin.

How much do twins think alike? From personal observation and limited studies, I conclude very much the same. Given similiar circumstances, their thinking patterns and emotional reactions will be essentially the same. Hundreds of times one twin will commit the same act or make the same remark

that the other had intended, sometimes understandably, sometimes to his opposite's surprise, and frequently to the point of annoyance. Let me illustrate. At an unfamiliar restaurant, I selected an unusual item not on the regular menu for the day. While I was awaiting the waitress's attention, my brother gave her the same order.

Thinking and emotional patterns are much more difficult to document than physical disorders but identical twins could give many examples as illustrated above. Likewise the studies of abnormal behavior, brain wave patterns and others further document these conclusions. For instance, identical twins, 73 years of age and separated since age 17, developed similiar acute anxiety states with confusion and agitation. The Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases in 1954 reports the schizophrenic reactions in identical twins who lived 1000 miles apart, yet showed extremely similiar patterns of behavior.

Having documented some of the similarities of twins let us now consider some of the other "facts of life" for twins. Twins occur about once in every 87 births, and identical twins once in every 290 births. Twins never cease to be a subject of curiosity. They are expected to look alike, act alike, dress alike and to be more attached to each other than siblings. They are constantly thought of and treated "as one of the twins," and forced into a pattern from which they are in constant rebellion. Early they are forced into constant competition, eating together, sleeping together, playing together, going to school together. They are put in the same classes, in the same seat, forced to divide playthings, books, clothes and attention. This "togetherness" has a psychogenic effect on the twins that influences them throughout life, not necessarily good. Each twin is constantly trying to be an individual, to establish his own identity and personality. He resists being a part of someone else. Consequently he is constantly subjected to emotional stress and competition with his twin to maintain his status quo. This situation may exist throughout his life and give rise to many emotional conflicts, personality traits or patterns of conduct. The twins may keep up with each other in childhood and young adulthood achievements, though the conflicts are many and competition exhausting. Because of the ever present conflict and competition the twins may develop hostility toward each other and long for separation. If the

other would just go away, how peaceful life would be, once more to be an individual and not a part of another.

Should one twin through circumstances become dominant, his or her partner is subjected to terrific emotional trauma. He or she is conscious of the disparity and conscious of society's assessment. The reaction can only be one of increased hostility toward the twin, and adverse reaction toward the twin's accomplishments, or a psychological withdrawal. If he or she can find some way to sustain the ego, well and good, but if not, a miserable existence is in store. Kallman in a study of 69 pairs of marriages in twins found serious maladjustments in 24 pairs, stemming largely from a twin in happier circumstances. The emotional sense of injustice related to the twin is a factor in adult adjustment. Not all twins feel this resentment and many can adjust to the more successful experiences of their opposite. In June 1963, Dr. Stanford Meyerowitz and Dr. Ralph Jacox from University of Rochester reported cases of identical twins, in which one of each set had developed crippling arthritis. In each case the affected individual was subjected to prolonged emotional stress related to their living arrangements. The study revealed essentially the same personality patterns and intelligence, and found that psychological factors related to stress accounted for the afflictions.

It is apparent from this that a twin is compelled to participate in a role prescribed by his family and society which is different from that of the non-twin, and not appropriate for adult life. Consequently his efforts to attain social and emotional maturity are attended with much more than the average amount of psychic trauma.

Here are some of the annoyances of being a twin. An identical twin never becomes too old to be asked to stand together for identification. Which one of you is the older? How can I tell you apart? Why don't you dress alike? Do your wives get you mixed up? Which one are you? These questions along with the "wisecracks," none of which are new to a twin since the dawn of his memory, constantly harass him and make his emotional adjustment more difficult. It is apparent from the above that the psychodynamics involved in twinship operate far into adult life and are factors in social

adjustment. Fortunately, and as a surprise to me, twins seem not to require psychiatric treatment more often than their proportion in the population.

From the foregoing material, one may draw a number of conclusions regarding the role of heredity and environment. It may strengthen your ideas as to the specificity of tissues, including the nervous system, and that which goes to make up the total individual. To me, the material emphasizes the dominant role of the genes and the great strength of the environmental factors which give a different direction to the inherent forces.

* Bibliography available, but not reprinted.

BRITAIN TODAY

By Francis G. Hickman

Read Before "The Egyptians," February 20, 1964

During my many trips to Europe in the interest of The Cotton Trade Journal, I grew to be very fond of some of the countries that I frequently visited. About 1953 I started to look for a home abroad where I might enjoy several months of the year after retirement. I finally chose England because of its central location and congenial environment. After two years' search for a suitable location there, I found a place 20 miles west of London on the Thames River, at Bray in Berkshire. During the past few years I have spent several months there each year and have found my part-time home a charming, delightful retreat. I shall try to give you some of the aspects of British life and activities with which I am familiar and have found to be especially interesting.

Dean Acheson and Selwyn Lloyd — I was shocked in Great Britain last summer to read the outburst of our former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, when he declared that Great Britain had lost its empire and had not yet found a new role to play in world politics. Disturbed by Acheson's remarks, the former British Cabinet member, Selwyn Lloyd, wrote an excellent article in the Saturday Evening Post, expressing disagreement.

Of course, one knows the British Commonwealth was never meant to be a military alliance. Every decision England has made has been for the preservation of peace and prevention of further communist advances. Selwyn Lloyd cannot understand how Dean Acheson can determine that Great Britain has "played out." Naturally, the old British Empire has vanished, but has not America done much to hasten the transformation faster than was wise or safe by urging the immediate elimination of all forms of colonialism? As a result, many countries were given independence before they had the skill and resources to look after themselves. This is obviously true in Africa.

I quite agree with Selwyn Lloyd when he says some of America's allies are becoming increasingly tired of feeling that

they are being pushed around and that the U. S. seems to want all the advantages, including the right to take action against Great Britain's shipping. The British reject the idea of interdependence of weapon production, and deplore denial of entry of British aircraft into the U. S. market.

MR. MACMILLAN AND PRIME MINISTER DOUGLAS-HOME — Following the recent scandals reflecting disorganization high in government echelons, lack of communications was apparent even until the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool in October. Prime Minister Harold MacMillan had succeeded in keeping the party's leadership in his own hands.

Two days before Mr. MacMillan was scheduled to deliver a critical speech at the Conservative Party Conference at Blackpool, he was taken suddenly ill and announced his intention to resign from the Prime Ministry.

Deputy Prime Minister R. A. Butler, 59, was a very likely candidate for the Prime Ministership. He had been appointed as Deputy Prime Minister by Mr. MacMillan. Rivals of Mr. Butler were Viscount Hailsman, Secretary of the Treasury, Reginald Maulding and Lord Douglas-Home. Mr. MacMillan showed reluctance in preparing a successor for the leadership, which he could have done even while keeping the reins of the party in his own hands. This lack in communication was held against Mr. MacMillan as a political fault.

When Prime Minister MacMillan found the two contestants for the post, R. A. Butler and Lloyd Hailsman, were in a deadlock, he suggested that the Queen call Lord Douglas-Home to form a new Tory administration. Friday, October 18, 1963, marked the dramatic climax for the Conservative Party when Alexander Douglas-Home was made Prime Minister.

Mr. MacMillan was wrong in thinking Lord Douglas-Home would be generally welcomed as the new leader. Tory MPs thought it was an insult to the House of Commons when Mr. MacMillan decided to call someone from the House of Lords for his successor.

But what kind of man is Lord Douglas-Home? He is an intelligent, wiry, sandy-haired Scot. He is the 14th Earl of Home and deep in the traditions of aristocracy, no matter what he chooses to call himself after surrendering his earldom. He

did not seek the Premiership. He was drafted. He is not considered personally ambitious.

"The Economist," a weekly periodical of conservative opinion, considered Lord Douglas-Home the worst possible choice. It said he has lack of push and intellectual eminence, has no contact with middle-of-the-road thought, and being a sexagenarian, is rather of precarious health. There is a strong possibility that the Conservative Party will be defeated by the Labor Party in the next general election.

CHRISTINE KEELER AFFAIR — Christine Keeler and another call girl, Mary Rice-Davies, rocked the government as it had never been rocked before by a sex-and-security scandal. I paid no attention to it the first few days, but when two old conservative papers I always buy, the Times and the Guardian, devoted entire pages to it, I took increasing interest. The same sort of thing goes on in all governments, and the affair would have been squelched had the Secretary of War, John Profumo, merely gone before Parliament and said that he, as a private citizen, had an affair with Christine Keeler; that he had not given away any secrets to the Russians, and was sorry and would resign. Instead he lied about it to Prime Minister MacMillan and to the House of Commons, and then later was compelled to acknowledge the affair.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY — Here in the United States we all know that some cities which we see today did not exist a number of years ago. During the war Oak Ridge, Tennessee, started with nothing but fields and became a thriving city in a couple of years. Today it has a population of about 50,000. In England we see similar examples of such rapid population advances. Corby, for instance, is a city I visited last summer, located 80 miles northwest of London and 57 miles east of Birmingham. It is in Northhamptonshire where iron ore has been dug and worked for centuries, but only in small amounts and isolated places until very recent times.

In 1931 Corby, a small stone-built village of 1,500, built around its 13th century church, was situated in the center of this vast ironstone field. It was mainly dependent on agriculture.

In 1934 Stewards & Lloyds of Scotland came into this area, not merely to extract iron from ironstone in a big way,

but to convert it from iron to steel, the steel to steel strips, and the steel strips to steel tubing – all in one gigantic process. Today the quarries employ more than 11,700 men and 700 women. In a year they turn out more than 100,000 miles of steel tubing of every description. The population has grown from the 1,500 to about 40,000. Most of the 11,700 workers come from far away – some from Wales and some as displaced Europeans, but the majority are from Scotland. The first housing project was opened in 1952, and since then a total of 10,700 units have been built. Corby is the youngest of all England's new towns.

History of The Theatre – During the past few summers I have seen every good play in London, and some not so good. The British theatre started in London with the Theatre Royal on Bridges Street on May 7, 1663, with a seating capacity of 700. Then in 1674 it became the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane and was enlarged to a capacity of 2,000. The third theatre opened in 1794; a fourth in 1820; and the present and fifth Drury Lane theatre was constructed in 1922.

Nell Gwyn, famous actress and mistress of Charles II, made her first appearance there in 1665; David Garrick, almost a hundred years later, made his first appearance in this theatre in 1742. "My Fair Lady" started running in the Drury Lane Theatre April 30, 1958, and has recently completed the last performance of its six-year run.

There are some 50 theatres in the West End. They are smaller than our New York theatres, and the charge for admission is about half. More evening dress is seen in the London theatres than in New York, in spite of the fact that their shows start earlier than ours. Often those attending have dinner after the show. Most of the theatres are old. The stage is usually below ground level, and the best seats are found in the stalls. Between acts tea is served to those who wish it, but more than half of the audience have drinks at the theatre bar. With 50 theatres located in a district occupying about one square mile, it is difficult to get a taxi after the show.

There are two good theatres for opera outside of London – the most notable at Glyndebourne in Sussex. This theatre, seating 800, is always full, and is located in what was formerly a Tudor Manor house. It is considered a major triumph to get a seat at Glyndebourne. The season lasts all summer but seats

are booked long in advance. One can try for a couple of weeks – long distance phone to Glyndebourne – or watch the newspapers on the chance that tickets may be for sale by those who cannot use them.

If you do not go by car – it is about 55 miles south of London – you take an afternoon train from Victoria Station about 3:00 P.M. and are met at the station by a bus. Everyone on the train wears evening dress. The show starts about 6:00 P.M., and an intermission dinner is reserved in a dining room adjoining the theatre. Many people take picnic suppers along with them.

Some of the best artists in Europe perform there. It is considered among the most perfectly produced and presented operas in the world.

The Chichester Summer Theatre Festival, also in Sussex, was triumphantly launched in 1960 under the direction of Sir Lawrence Olivier. The theatre, a completely new building, seats 1,360. It has a restaurant and large car park. Players include many of Britain's leading actors. The theatre is the dream of a local business man and it runs on a non-profit basis. One of the most striking features is the interest and enthusiasm that greets all its efforts.

Auctions and Art Galleries – Let me talk about art in Great Britain, with its 750 museums and art galleries. London far surpasses New York as an art center. I had an experience which emphasized this. After the war I purchased in Belgium a collection of old drawings of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries by Italian, French and German artists. I paid about $2,000 for them. When I brought the drawings back to America, I was referred to the Metropolitan Museum and a well-known art dealer in New York as a possible means of disposing of them. Both showed interest in purchasing a few if I would break up my collection, but I did not wish to do this. Then some years later, I took the drawings to the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where they were examined with considerable interest. However, they were unable to appraise them as to value.

In 1962 I took the book of drawings to the British Museum in London and showed them to the head of the Department of Prints and Drawings, who knew many of the drawings

well and suggested that I take them to a certain well-known art dealer in London. He also requested that I give the Museum a chance to buy two of the drawings which fitted into a series which the Museum was anxious to complete. I gave the two drawings to the Museum. This dealer, which he suggested, gave me $3,000 for six of the drawings, leaving me the remaining 220. I then showed them to Christie's, second oldest auction house in the world, dating from 1766, and Sotheby's, the world's oldest, established in 1744. As a result, I offered them for auction at Christie's who said I could possibly get three times as much as the estimate made at Sotheby's. The person in charge at Christie's went through these drawings with complete familiarity as to their value. The auction was held on March 26, 1963, and I returned to London to attend the sale. It lasted about an hour and a quarter. The names of all the drawings were listed in a catalogue which was sent, some time prior to the sale, to art dealers all over the world. At Christie's I received the amount which I had estimated them to be worth.

The firm, Sotheby, made nine million pounds profit last year — the largest profit in their history — so one can get an idea of the size of these auctions. They sell for estates as well as for individuals, offering various types of objects — jewelry, paintings, furniture, etc. I attended a sale at night by invitation. It was a full-dress occasion when the estate of a well-known New York art collector was sold. One painting, I remember, sold for 137,000 pounds or $393,600, which was the highest priced painting of the sale.

The principal art gallery in London is the National Gallery, facing Trafalgar Square. The second is the Tate Gallery, and then the Victoria and Albert Museum. Many large estates, now in the hands of the government have excellent paintings. In the galleries at London and in some private collections, the paintings rank with those in the Louvre in Paris, the Prado in Madrid, and the Pitti Palace and Uffizi Gallery in Florence.

Tea With The British — A cup of tea means more to the average Englishman than does breakfast or lunch. From the taxi driver to the business executive, tea is a must. It is served any time from 3:30 to 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon. In offices with three or more employees, tea is made and passed

around; in the home it is often served with sandwiches and cake.

Adult Residential Colleges — Twenty-four adult residential colleges in Great Britain offer summer courses from the end of March to the beginning of October. In Scotland, there is Newbattle Abbey College in Dalkeith, outside of Edinburgh, and others in England, such as those near Liverpool, Chester, Birmingham, Oxford, and to the South near Taunton. Some of these courses are for weekends only, and others run for one, two or three weeks. The fees are very low — around $24 to $40 a week for room, board, and the course. An average of 35 to 40 persons can be housed at one time in these residential colleges.

Most of the students come from outside of England, although the British are very welcome. A complete list of these schools and their locations can be obtained by writing to the National Institute of Adult Education, 35 Queen Anne Street, London W 1, England.

Two summers ago I spent a week at Newbattle Abbey College in Scotland. The Abbey was built in 1140 and the adjoining main building in the 16th century. In 1936 it was given to the nation by the 11th Marquess of Lothian, who was ambassador to the U. S. before World War II. The course started on July 14 and ended July 22. The week's schedule was devoted to the history of Scotland and its heritage. Lectures were given each day by professors from Scottish or English universities. These were followed by visits to places mentioned in their talks.

This past summer I was at Knuston Hall at Irchester in Central England. It is about four hours' ride from London by car. The course started August 18 and ended August 24. Knuston Hall was mentioned in the Doomsday Book and was owned by a Normanville family in 1325. It is in very good condition today, with later additions of bathrooms and other conveniences.

One of the principal benefits derived from the schools I attended was the opportunity to associate with about three dozen students — mostly foreign — during lectures and trips to various places nearby. The instruction was excellent, and the food wholesome and well prepared. I met people from

Australia, France, Holland, Spain and Italy – ranging in age from 20 to 65 – many of them school teachers. The attendance is dependent on similar interests of the students rather than age groupings. Studies for different courses run from gardening to poetry, English poetic drama, spoken French, German, Italian, music, amateur acting and painting.

Various Sports In Great Britain

Polo – Polo is safe forever as a pastime of the few. Prince Phillip, more than anyone else, has been responsible for the increased popularity of polo since the war. Every Sunday from May to September, crowds stream into Windsor Great Park in the hope of seeing him. Prince Philip formed the Household Brigade Polo Club some years ago. The Queen is a great polo enthusiast. This sport first started in India or Persia.

Soccer and Rugby – Soccer was started a few hundred years ago and is Britain's most popular game. Rugby is the second most popular sport.

Henley Regatta – The Crew Races in Henley take place the first week of July. It has been the mecca of oarsmen since 1829. Scandinavians, Germans, Russians, Americans and other nationalities take part, along with the many British crews. The exciting contests are for the Grand Challenge Cup for Eights, silver goblets for Pairs and the Diamond Challenger for Sculls. The distance of the course is one mile and 550 yards. One goes to Henley, about 35 miles from London, for the 10 o'clock opening on the first day, and races are held every five to ten minutes through the entire day. At 12:15 P.M. the first group goes to lunch. The second sitting is at 1:15 so that the races can start again at 2:30 o'clock. For lunch there are about 1,000 people at each sitting in a large tent used as a dining room.

Each member of the two old Rowing Clubs at Henley has been at one time a member of a rowing team. He usually wears his particular school emblem on his sport jacket – a tradition of 100 years or more. The English are known for their distinctive style of dress on special occasions, and at the Henley Regatta you see them at their most typical British appearance, as well as behavior. On the second, third, fourth and fifth days, there is a lapse of up to a half hour between races. Tea and various drinks are served during the match.

Tennis – The tennis matches at Wimbledon take place the same time as the Henley Regatta, and they continue for the whole week. The finals end on Saturday. Tickets are almost impossible to procure and are sold out months in advance. I have seen the finals the last two years by purchasing my tickets from scalpers at the entrance for three to four pounds each. There are 26 courts at Wimbledon, nine of them hard and the remainder grass. There is covered seating for 14,000 in the center court and for 6,500 in Court No. 1. Besides these enclosure, there are several courts outside with some seating facilities. This past year, Chuck McKinley, an American, won the men's singles and Margaret Smith, an Australian, the women's.

Attending the matches at Wimbledon is a memorable experience, with the crowds playing a big role in the excitement of the games. The support of the crowd goes to the best player, regardless of nationality. Lunches and tea are served behind the stand. Queen Elizabeth or Princess Margaret usually presents the cup to the winners.

Cricket – There are 400 cricket fields in the London area. The best place to see cricket played is at Lords in London. This is a very old playing ground, and the field is a perfect one. The real match to see is the one between Oxford and Cambridge. It is pleasant to watch the crowds, enjoy the color of the awnings, the whiteness of flannel trousers and the greenness of the lawn. It is a little difficult to understand cricket. The second best cricket stand and field is the Oval in the suburbs of London, where I saw the famous West Indies-England match. This is played every three years. It lasted four days. I attended the third day. The West Indians out-matched the first English team. They played better than expected. About one-fourth of those attending were West Indians. The West Indian team was made up of the best players in Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana. The fact that they play all year round gives this team an advantage.

Bowls – The game of bowls is probably the oldest sport in England. It was known three hundred years before Drake played his famous game at Plymouth. Shooting bowls is popular with the aristocrats. The players follow the bowls or the shooting with concentration as their eyes follow the paths of their

balls. In England there are 59,000 members of 2,470 bowling clubs.

Horse Racing — One of the major sports events in Great Britain is horse racing, and each year I manage to get to Epsom Downs for the Derby, the outstanding race of the season, which takes place in May or June. Queen Elizabeth, Prince Philip and their children attend. Epsom Downs is about 22 miles from London. Approximately 350,000 people attend, and it is an event to see — especially the crowds. Many men in the stands are in top hat and the regulation morning dress; the women a little more conservatively dressed than at Ascot.

Horses from abroad — America and France particularly — are sent to the Derby to compete along with the English horses. The last two years I have gone to the Derby in a friend's charabanc — a small bus built to accommodate about 16 people. Lunch is brought along by the host and tea is also served at intervals. There are small stands over the field where bets can be placed, and these men are always in touch with headquarters by using the sign language to find out what odds to give. Usually the host invites his guests to accompany him to his home for dinner afterwards, with plenty of conversation among the crowd as to why this or that bet was won or lost.

The Royal Ascot is the truly fashionable race of the year. It is held the last half of June near Windsor. The grand stand, rebuilt very recently, holds approximately 20,000 and there are in all about 100,000 spectators. In a special section of the stand about one-fourth of those attending are in top hats and morning dress, with the ladies in corresponding finery. The ladies' choice of colorful, decorative hats is notably famous in the fashion world.

The fourth race is always the principal one. Every good Englishman likes to attend this notable race with his wife. Again, it is very difficult to get seats. The Queen, Prince and other members of the royal family traditionally drive by open carriage from Windsor Castle to Ascot and pass along the front of the grand stand on their way to the Royal Enclosure.

The Grand National is held in Liverpool annually. It was first run in March, 1837. About 60 horses start, and it is a steeplechase. It costs 100 pounds to enter the race. Sometimes only about six riders finish the race — the others are thrown

from their horses or drop out. The prize money is 17,000 pounds. The betting is terrific. Anyone who has not seen the Grand National Race can have no conception of the color and excitement of this event. About 150 to 200,000 people attend on a nice day. I have been three times and hope to have the opportunity to go again. It is always held in April.

NEWSPAPERS — My own profession as a newspaper man has made me save this for last — the British press. Someone asked what he should do to gain a quick understanding of the British character. The answer was, "Read the Times." The Times gives a revealing cross-section of British public opinion. Its stability stands like a great national institution, dating back to 1788. Today a quarter of a million copies are sold daily.

The Manchester Guardian — now the Guardian — was published in 1821 and has a 177,000 circulation. It is as much a national institution as the Times. It was originally the mouthpiece of the Liberal Party but now follows its own independent policy.

The Daily Telegraph sells a million copies a day and was founded in 1855. It has a high editorial standard. It is perhaps the most useful paper for visitors to Britain.

The Daily Mail, founded in 1896, has a conservative outlook. The founder was Lord Northcliffe. It has a sale of over two million copies daily. The Express has also a conservative outlook and sells four million copies daily. The Daily Mail, however, is a more conservative paper than the Express. The Express has some of the most skillful and experienced journalists in the country and is also probably the most factual and accurate newspaper.

The Daily Mirror sells over 4,500,000 copies a day and is the largest in Great Britain and probably in the world. We cannot, however, forget the News of the World published on Sunday with a circulation of seven million.

Three months from now I shall be back at "Doannee," my home in England. If any of you are abroad, remember the latch-string is out.

THE HUNT FOR THE ARMADA WRECKS

Lucius E. Burch, Jr.

Read Before "The Egyptians," March 19, 1964

Here is a part of a rib of an Armada ship. Here is an oak fastening dowel of another. This is a piece of timber of an Armada galleon blown up in Tobermory harbor. These appear as drab souvenirs when compared to those mounted on this board which are from the wreck of another Spanish ship lost on the coast of Yucatan in 1741. However, inanimate things gain a patina from their history when they have been associated with great events and, indeed, a sliver of wood smaller and less impressive than these may have caused the construction of magnificent cathedrals when believed to be a part of the true cross. I will, therefore, with your permission, say something of the great events which reflect a luster upon these pieces of oak.

The latter part of the sixteenth century gave rise to a rivalry between Spain and England of such intensity that it is difficult to envision it. There was conflict and hatred that touched every level of the national life of both countries. England, under Henry VIII, had but lately denied the supremacy of the Pope and the Catholic Church. The feeling in devoutly Catholic Spain against a nation of heretics was brought to white heat by the execution by Elizabeth of Mary, Queen of Scots. There was fierce commercial rivalry between the nations with England enviously watching the flow of gold and treasure into Spain from the new world which had been divided between Spain and Portugal by the mandate of the Pope. English privateers had harried the Spanish galleons all over the world, performing such exploits as Drake's voyage in the *Golden Hind* when, after pillaging and burning along the east coast of South America, he pushed on through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific and carried sword and fire up the undefended Pacific coast. Now, in 1580 Elizabeth had at last removed all pretense of disapproval of piratical practices and had knighted Drake aboard the *Golden Hind.*

It seemed to Philip II and his ecclesiastical advisers that the destruction of the heretical and piratical nation was

sanctioned by God and required by self interest, and a bold and grand plan was conceived which embraced no half measures. Instead of fighting the English at sea and hanging their captains from the yardarm when caught, which had been the method of the past, the plan was for the invasion of England. This would destroy the viper's nest and establish the Catholic faith among the many English Catholics. A magnificent army under the Duke of Parma was in the Netherlands and it would be no great feat to transport these men across the Channel and invade England. The coast could be seen on a clear day and the necessary barges had been built. All that was needed was to provide protection for the barges during the crossing for there did not exist in England the means to make defense against a landing, as there was no standing army in being at the time. The plan was to dispatch an "invincible armada" to sweep the Channel, to effect junction with the Duke of Parma and to invade England. These plans became soon known in England and Drake led two large and successful raids against the Spanish marshaling ports. Among the significant accomplishments of the latter raid was the destruction of 1700 tons of barrel staves and hoops, as well as many ships but, instead of following up the advantage gained, thrifty Elizabeth disbanded her fleet and the Armada slowly assembled in the Spanish and Portuguese ports along the Bay of Biscay. In May of 1588 the Armada of 130 ships sailed with the object of sweeping the Channel and occupying one of the Channel ports. The actual progress of the Armada is so well known as not to justify much retelling. As the Armada entered the Channel south of Plymouth, it was met by the British fleet of about the same number though of smaller size ships. The Spanish concept of a war ship was that of a transport for armed men intended to lay alongside the enemy for boarding by the crew and soldiers. The English regarded their ships not as transports but as ultimate instruments of war designed to destroy other ships and their tactics were to lay off to windward and to batter the enemy with their broadsides. Though not a single Spanish ship was sunk by English gunfire, these tactics were implemented by weather and by the deplorable internal conditions of the Spanish ships, not the least of which was the spoilage of provisions and loss of water resulting from these supplies being transported in casks made of unseasoned staves and

hoops. The result was that the Spanish were denied a landing at any of the Channel ports and they were pushed past Calais and past the Solent where the English broke off the engagement, having fired every pound of powder in the royal stores. Justly the Armada is reckoned as one of the great decisive military events of history. Its outcome solidified the religious and political systems of Europe which endure until the present. It established England as the dominant sea power and opened the way of English colonization of North America. It set the pattern of sea warfare wherein the war ship is an engine of war for the destruction of other ships which endured until the Battle of the Coral Sea, which may be said to have marked the end of the era of the fighting ship.

What became of the Spanish fleet? It sailed northward into the Atlantic, up the east coast of Scotland and north of the Orkney Islands and then turned south towards home. But, out of the 130 ships which had cleared Coruna in July, only 68 returned to Spain, and out of 30,000 soldiers and sailors who had manned the fleet only 9,000 scurvy ridden, tired, and wounded men returned. Of the rest of the ships, more than 20 were lost on the murderous rocks of the Irish west coast where many thousands of Spanish soldiers and sailors drowned and many thousand others were massacred by the wild Irish clansmen or by the English. It is with these wrecks along the Irish coast that we shall be henceforth concerned.

In December 1961 while shooting pheasant in Ireland I was approached by a tall young man with an introduction from a friend of mine in Sligo and a request for permission to shoot. I asked him to join us and in the friendship that resulted it developed that he was also a scuba diver, which is a rare thing in Ireland. It also happened that my friend Peter Legge was the son of the editor of the Irish Independent and through correspondence in the months that followed, with some encouragement from his father's paper and a good deal of research both here and in Ireland, we decided to attempt to locate some of the wreck sites the following summer.

By coincidence some of the sites selected for exploration corresponded with the final career of Don Alonso de Leyva. Of the many outstanding leaders of the Armada, de Leyva was perhaps the most exceptional. He was a professional soldier,

young, handsome, and able. He had been appointed secretly by the King to lead the expedition should anything happen to the Commander-in-Chief. By reason of his popularity and merit, the great families of Spain with relatives eager to join the enterprise made great effort to get them sent to England under the command of de Leyva. Virtually all of the noble houses of Spain were represented in his command.

On September 6, 1588 one of the great ships of the Armada, *La Rata Coronada,* limped in to Blacksod Bay carrying Don Alonso de Leyva and the young nobles who served under him. She was soon followed by the *Duquesa Santa Ana*. The *Rata* began to drag her anchor, went aground, and was wrecked. de Leyva got all hands ashore safely and took possession of and fortified a nearby castle. The next day he and his command boarded the *Duquesa* and with more than 800 on board set out to sea. Because of constant headwinds she could make no progress, so went about on a course to Scotland. She was able to pass the entrance of Donegal Bay which was the final trap for so many Spanish ships but was blown ashore and wrecked soon after at Rosbeg. For the second time de Leyva got his command ashore where they camped for 9 days. They had been successful in getting 2 cannon ashore and these were thrown in nearby Kiltooris Lake when the camp was abandoned. As these men were well armed they were a formidable force and were not molested while in the neighborhood. de Leyva was crippled in an accident in getting ashore but on hearing that a Spanish ship was at Killybegs in Donegal Bay marched his command overland, himself being carried in a chair. In the back country of Donegal there persists until this day the legend of a mighty prince borne through the country upon a throne. This story is undoubtedly the result of de Leyva's march through the country.

Upon arriving at Killybegs the galleass *Girona* was found at anchor, crippled and without a rudder. de Leyva put all hands to work repairing her from the wreckage of another ship and in mid-October the *Girona* weighed anchor, this time with the survivors of three ships, or a total of more than 1200 men. When it seemed that she had worked herself clear of all the navigational dangers that beset her, on a dark night off the Giant's Causeway the patched up rudder broke and

the *Girona* struck the rock of Bunbois. Of all aboard only 9 common seamen reached the shore and the gallant de Leyva and every one of the representatives of the noble houses of Spain were lost.

One of the most promising sites is near the school at Rosbeg about 200 yards off the point of a headland. There is a great deal of local tradition about this wreck. There are many about the village who claim to have heard men of the preceding generation state that they had seen the outlines of the wreck and have heard stories of attempts to raise the cannons. Peter Legge's wet suit had not arrived from England when we reached Rosbeg, so the whole diving section of the expedition consisted of one somewhat super-annuated diver. We launched about noon despite a very high sea coming in from the west and were able to establish an anchorage at the approximate point of the reputed location of the wreck. I went over and stayed about an hour. The bottom was clean sand and absolutely clear of any sign of wreckage or even rock. The depth was not great – only about 25 feet at half tide. The average tide was 12 feet which convinced me that all signs of the wreck must have long ago vanished in the sand for, otherwise, at a low spring tide the wreck would be easily visible.

The guns in Kiltooris Lake which are said to have been thrown there from the Armada were the next objective. Without difficulty we located one cannon – a gun approximately 7 feet long – but I doubt if it was ever a part of the ordnance of the Armada and is more probably a remnant of the fortified hold of the O'Boyles who had a castle on an island in the lake.

A necessary and pleasant part of such an expedition is to spend time in the pubs and talk to the locals and one hears many stories of reports of old men and legends handed down from olden times. However, at Rosbeg the Postmaster told me that he personally had seen a gun in Kiltooris Lake within the last 12 months. According to him he was fishing and snagged his line and in trying to extricate it found that he was hung on the gun at the lake bottom. He described it as being much like the gun found near the site of the old O'Boyle castle. He pointed out the spot in the lake and I went down and looked it over thoroughly and Peter Legge towed me several times over the site from a rubber dinghy

and I do not believe any gun is there or ever was. In the first place, it would have been a herculean task to get a gun of such size to the location where it was supposed to be in the lake; and, secondly, the bottom is very soft mud, it being possible to stick one's arm in it to the arm pit. Anything of any weight would have sunk out of sight almost immediately. However, I had my revenge. There were a number of interesting formations in the lake bottom consisting of holes that have the appearance of sink holes and lateral caves and in one were two very large eels. In reporting the result of the day's diving in the pub, I considerably exaggerated the size, appearance, and ferocity of the eels, and by the next morning the little village was alive with excitement over the monsters in Kiltooris Lake. The story had instant verification for questions regarding the fate of every missing sheep and dog in the past several years were immediately settled with responsible people positively stating that they had traced lost sheep to the very edge of the lake and that the tracks ended at the lakeshore!

The next day we moved to Cruit to attempt to find a ship that struck at Spanish Rock. Of all the wrecks there appears to be the most known about this one. In a rare pamphlet called "The Donegal Tourist" published in 1847 and which by sheer coincidence was found by a priest, a friend of Peter Legge's, in some papers being swept out, there is an account of an interview with an eighty-four year old man who in his youth had helped in raising some brass guns from this wreck. This would place the time at about 1790 at which time the wreck was visible from the surface.

We chose the particular day to explore this site because the Donegal Historical Society was having a field trip to the site and all the local historians were there. The site was pointed out as about 150 yards from the beach with a very definite location – about a boat's length from a submerged rock which could be plainly seen from the beach. We launched the dinghy, went down, and had a good look. The water was gin clear – as clear as any I have seen – and the sand smooth white. Visibility was nearly perfect. There definitely is nothing discernible anywhere near the area. Futhermore, if anything has been visible within recent years, the location would be known to everyone, as there would be only 8 or 10 feet over

the spot in low spring tides and with the water so very clear anything there could be seen from a boat and perhaps even from the beach. I felt that it would take an extensive dredging operation to reveal either of these wrecks but, in my opinion, there is little doubt that they lay near the points where we had been searching.

At this point we interrupted our diving in Ireland because I had an engagement for stag stalking in Scotland but, because of the proximity to the Isle of Mull, I took along my diving gear and two bottles of air.

The Scotch are strict keepers of the Sabbath and there is no stalking done on Sunday, so I loaded my gear in a small car and with Sandy MacKenzie, my stalker, and Rock, a white Setter I had brought over from Ireland, set out for Tobermory on the Isle of Mull. Just what ship went down in Tobermory harbor is uncertain as so much legend has sprung up around her and the great treasure which she is supposed to have been carrying. It is probable that she was the *San Juan de Sicilia* from Ragusa, a member of the Levantine squadron and commanded by Don Diego Enriquez. It is certain that she came safely to anchor at Tobermory harbor and that she carried a battalion of Sicilian infantry that was more than a match for any force that could be raised nearby. A satisfactory arrangement was worked out between the commander of the vessel and the local chieftain, McLean, whereby the Sicilian infantry was used from time to time to help McLean in his problems with bordering clansmen. In return the hospitality and protection of the place was extended to the ship and its crew but, to avoid misunderstandings, the commander of the vessel required three members of McLean's family to live aboard as hostages. All went well until the news of a Spanish war ship in a Scottish harbor reached London. Queen Elizabeth's very capable Secretary Walsingham then dispatched a certain John Smollet to the Isle of Mull to appraise the situation, which he promptly and capably did. He was able to penetrate whatever security arrangements existed aboard the vessel and got inside the ship and, as the narrative states it, "cast in the powder room a piece of lint and so departed." Within a short time the ship blew up and sank immediately to the bottom, carrying all hands with her except a few men on the upper deck who were blown bodily ashore.

This vessel was reputed to be the pay ship of the Armada and the Duke of Argyll obtained the salvage rights from the Queen. Nothing was recovered until about a hundred years later when grappling over the wreck site a gun was snared and hauled ashore. By the greatest good fortune it happened to be one of 23 bronze culverins that had been cast by Benvenuto Cellini for the King of France and donated as part of the ordnance of the Armada. It is about 11 feet long, richly ornamented, and may be seen at Inverary castle. It is valued at 100,000 pounds! Nothing further was recovered until a few years ago when the present Duke of Argyll engaged Commander Crabb, one of the early scuba divers in England, to come to Tobermory to undertake further salvage operations. Commander Crabb arrived with fairly adequate dredging outfit and there were recovered some old chests and cannon balls but unfortunately no gold. Then one day Commander Crabb received an urgent secret message from the Admiralty and never returned. It developed that he had been sent surreptitiously down to inspect the underwater construction details of some Russian cruisers then enjoying the hospitality of Portsmouth and he was never seen alive again. About a year later a headless body was found tentatively identified as Crabb's and it was only then that the Admiralty shamefacedly released the story of what Crabb had been up to.

I wanted to take a look at this location and after having been permitted by the very pleasant Postmistress to use the little post office on the mainland to change into diving gear, Sandy and I went with a local boatman across the Sound of Mull to Tobermory. The water was about 80 feet deep and I had no difficulty in locating the dredge holes left from Crabb's expedition. These penetrated about 20 feet into the mud bottom and pieces of timber of the ship are easily discernible. I found one interesting object which appeared to be a capstan head and after Homeric effort in getting it loose from the mud and to the surface was rewarded by the knowledge that I had rescued the float of a herring net! I was able to bring up only a few small timbers of the ship before my air was exhausted.

Upon concluding the dive I felt a sense of satisfaction, having found the spot so easily and having obtained some pieces of timber from the dredge hole. However, my troubles

were just beginning. The boatman had left me standing on the jetty, saying he was going for spare petrol. In about an hour he returned, saying the wind had risen and that no boat could possibly live crossing the Sound of Mull. The Sound is about a mile wide and was completely in the lee of the island and I would not have felt uneasy about crossing it even in the smallest dingy but nothing could persuade him, so I was stranded on the jetty in Tobermory, clothed from head to heel in a rubber diving suit, wearing a 75 pound block of double tanks, carrying several chunks of timber, and separated by a mile of water from my clothes and my Setter dog that was locked in the trunk of my car. There was nothing to do but make the best of it, so I walked into the lobby of the small hotel on the harbor front and must have appeared quite a weird sight to the group gathered about the fire in the drawing room having tea. They were all English and no race can be depended on more readily to rise to the situation and to do anything possible to further those engaged in sport. Not an eyebrow was raised, not a single exclamation of surprise was heard and they all looked at me as if such appearances happened every day. In a short time I was provided with clothes and made welcome at the fire and spent a very pleasant evening with my new friends relying on me to return their clothes and the proprietor perfectly happy in the belief that I would send him a check for my bill which became quite sizable as a result of the bar checks which accumulated as the pleasant evening passed.

Our next diving was done at Streedagh Strand which is quite close to my place in Ireland. It is known that three ships came ashore at Streedagh with terrible loss of life both in the drownings that were incident to the wrecking and subsequent slaughter of the survivors. Indeed, bones are said to be found to this day. Two of the ships are reputed to have struck the beach and of course are long ago covered by sand. However, out from the beach about half a mile there is an ugly rock just awash at low tide which is known locally as Spanish Rock, and tradition is that one vessel struck this rock and there was a good chance that her armament might be found. I dived on this rock at the best possible time, having a low tide, and enjoyed a memorable morning, but without finding any sign of the wreck. The coloring and fish life were fully as rich as anything found in the tropics, but it was a keen dis-

appointment to find no evidence of a wreck, as this was the most promising of the three at Streedagh. The remaining two sites held small hope because the ships came ashore upon a sandy beach and were plundered by the inhabitants of the region. However, of all the wrecks we have the best contemporary account of these, which is in the form of a letter of Francisco de Cuellar. This letter, lost for centuries, was discovered in the Academy of History collection Salazar in Madrid, and several years ago was published serially in an Irish daily paper. A young man named McCann, the son of a boatbuilder at Streedagh, had clipped the daily editions of the paper and had the entire account. As to these wrecks, Captain Cuellar said:

"The ship I sailed in was from the Levant, to which were attached two others, very large, to afford us aid if they could. In these came Don Diego and Enriquez 'The Hunchback' as campmaster and not being able to weather Cape Clear in Ireland, on account of the severe storm upon the bow, he was forced to make for the land with these three ships, which, as I say, were of the largest size and to anchor more than a half a league from the shore, where we remained for four days without being able to make any provision, nor could it even be made.

"On the fifth day there sprang up so great a storm on our beam with the sea up to the heavens so that the cables could not hold nor the sails serve us, and we were driven ashore with all three ships upon a beach, covered with very fine sand, shut in on one side and the other with very great rocks.

"Such a thing was never seen before: for within the space of an hour all the three ships were broken in pieces, so that there did not escape three hundred men and more than one thousand were drowned, among them many persons of importance—captains, gentlemen and other officials."

The elder McCann told me that in his youth, in certain conditions, tide, and weather, he himself had seen the ribs of one of these ships. As almost every location which is the site of an Armada wreck has these tales of old men, I did not pay any attention to it and had no real idea of investigating the site. However, having seen the unusual beauty of the depths

around Spanish Rock and the abundance of fish there, I was determined to return for spearfishing. When I arrived at Streedagh the tide was full out and there was no way to launch the boat, so I left it on the trailer and drove about a mile and a half up the coast to Streedagh Point thinking there might be a spot at which the launching could be accomplished. I stopped at a small country pub to inquire about the roads and fell into conversation with the barman who was naturally curious about the wet suit which I was wearing and full of the friendliness so common among the Irish. He had never heard of the Spanish Armada but remarked casually that there was an old ship in the sands that could be seen at very low tide. I paid no particular attention, thinking he was about to recount some tradition of a former century but, continuing the conversation for politeness, asked if he had ever seen it. To my surprise his answer was that he had seen it and had seen it that very morning! He said that he would be glad to show it to me but could not leave his work just at that time and gave me a bearing which was a line over three haycocks to a sand dune. We went there immediately and reached the beach just at the point of low tide. After searching around we discovered what appeared to be nothing more than several pieces of green moss such as one finds on stones on a sandy beach, but there were no stones and this was a pure sand bottom and moss does not grow on sand. Digging with our hands, we were able to find timbers extending beneath the sand. We had no tools of any sort so the effort was abandoned until the next day.

We loaded the boat with tools, dynamite, and diving cylinders and launched in good order with the help and encouragement of a large crowd that had gathered on the beach. We made a bangalore torpedo by using about 4 feet of gutter pipe containing several sticks of dynamite which we worked into the sand alongside the timber. Then another stick of dynamite capped and with a lit fuse was taken down and when the charge went off one large timber about two and one-half feet long and twelve inches square was blown clear of the sand. It contained a number of dowels and it was apparent that it was a part of the structure of a large ship. The rest of the day and part of the evening was spent in preparing a number of torpedoes and the next day, after doing a good deal of probing with crowbars and the insertion of charges, more than a van

load of timber was brought up. The vessel was a large and strong ship built entirely of oak and fastened throughout with oak pins. Only one bolt hole was found from which the bolt had long since rusted away, and in all the pieces brought out only one small piece of metal was found. Upon first being broguht to the surface, it was of bright appearance and could be easily bent. I thought it was lead. However, in 12 hours it had become covered by light rust and could no longer be bent. It is some kind of low grade iron. This vessel, when she struck, was high and dry and everything of value was stripped away long ago. The teredo worms have eaten every vestige of wood-work above the sand and there remain nothing but the lower timbers and ballast stones.

Here, then, is the last tangible evidence of one of the great military events of our history. Of the men who manned the ships, we can only say—

Their bones are dust
Their swords are rust
Their souls are with the Saints, we trust.

OBSCURITY IN MODERN AMERICAN POETRY

Walter P. Armstrong, Jr.

Read Before "The Egyptians" April 16, 1964

"He must have lost his mind!"

I can hear most of you saying, or, if you are too polite for that, at least thinking, these words, or others remarkably like them, when you first learned the subject of my paper tonight. For poetry is not a subject which is commonly discussed by men of substance and intelligence; at least, not poetry of the type which I propose to discuss tonight. An occasional limerick or bawdy verse goes well enough under the proper circumstances, but to spend an entire evening talking about the kind of stuff the so-called "modern" poets write! What a waste of time! and when there are so many other things of importance and practical value to be considered. Really, I am surprised that any of you at all are here tonight.

This, unfortunately, is the prevailing attitude towards poetry today. As much through the fault of the poets as that of the audience, it has grown away from the public taste, until a person who reads or, even worse, writes poetry is considered to be quite peculiar, while anyone who wishes to be accepted by his fellows on a basis of equality had better conceal any inclinations of this nature as carefully as possible. Poetry, most people believe, is for the effete, the introverted, the impractical; the dreamers, who instead of turning their dreams into reality like the hard-headed businessman, dissipates them in clouds of words, like Matthew Arnold's "beautiful and ineffectual angel beating in the void his luminous wings in vain." And yet the writing of poetry still goes on. Men dedicate their lives to it, when clearly they could make more money with the same talent and much less application writing advertising copy. Publishers annually produce at a loss volumes of verse which gain them nothing but prestige. And the poet and his audience draw further and further apart, the one because he will not try to communicate, the other because he will not listen attentively.

Sir Charles Snow, one of the few individuals who has managed to live comfortably in both worlds, has this to say

about the strange dichotomy which has developed in our civilization over the last half century:

"I believe the intellectual life of the whole of western society is increasingly being split into two polar groups. When I say the intellectual life, I mean to include also a large part of our practical life, because I should be the last person to suggest the two can at the deepest level be distinguished. Two polar groups: at one pole we have the literary intellectuals, who incidentally, while no one was looking, took to referring to themselves as 'intellectuals' as though there were no others . . . Literary intellectuals at one pole – at the other scientists, and as the most representative, the physical scientists. Between the two a gulf of mutual incomprehension – sometimes (particularly among the young) hostility and dislike, but most of all, lack of understanding. They have a curious distorted image of each other. Their attitudes are so different that, even on the level of emotion, they can't find much common ground . . . The non-scientists have a rooted impression that the scientists are shallowly optimistic, unaware of man's condition. On the other hand, the scientists believe that the literary intellectuals are totally lacking in foresight, peculiarly unconcerned with their brother men, in a deep sense anti-intellectual, anxious to restrict both art and thought to the existential moment. And so on."

Now, in this passage Sir Charles is speaking, not exclusively of poetry but of literature in general—or at least of a certain type of literature, for as F. R. Leavis says, "Snow's 'literary intellectual' is the enemy of art and life." But to document his statement in the broader field would require far more time and space than I can give to it tonight. In order to reduce my remarks to manageable proportions, I intend to confine them to what I have described as modern American poetry. In so doing, it is only fair that I should define my terms. By poetry I mean that type of writing which depends upon the use of rhyme, cadence and similar stylistic devices to heighten its effect and concentrate its meaning. By American I mean work which was produced and first came into prominence in this country. And by modern I mean the type of work first published during and immediately after the first World War. This is not an arbitrary choice, for later poets are usually referred to as "contemporary," although both

terms must obviously be modified as time goes on. But modern is more than merely a period; it has a different connotation as well. It implies a deliberate break with tradition, a reassessment of values, a new approach to age-old problems and perplexities. I am fully aware that during the period I have delimited, such poets as Robert Frost and Edwin Arlington Robinson were producing the major body of their work. But they were not modern in the sense in which I have used the term. This is not to detract from their accomplishment; it is only to say that they do not suit my purposes for the present investigation as well as do some others who were more experimental in method and technique. Of these I would like to examine a few in some detail in an effort to show how they have, by the very nature of their work, driven a wedge between themselves and their natural public and have then deliberately refused to close the gap which has been thus created, not by changing the nature of their work (which no one could reasonably expect of them), but by making even a minimal effort to make that work acceptable to the average reader by explaining what it is trying to accomplish. The result is that they have created a cult of obscurity in which they pass the time by interpreting each other's poems, meanwhile complaining of the lack of appreciation on the part of the general public, for which they have only themselves to blame.

The type of poetry which emerged as modern following the first World War was probably generated largely by the impact of two divergent literary cultures, the English and the French. American literature had not been rediscovered at that time (as it was later) and played very little part in forming the pattern which emerged. The English poetic tradition had found its Victorian culmination in Robert Browning, and especially in his dramatic monologues. Never before nor since has there been so popular a poet. During his lifetime there were Browning clubs everywhere, and he was the lion of all of them. Yet he did not compromise with his public, for when asked the meaning of *Sordello,* he is said to have replied rather caustically, "Madame, when I wrote that, only God and I knew what it meant. Now only God knows." Which caused Ezra Pound to exclaim years later in one of his Cantos: "Hang it all, Robert Browning, there can be but one *Sordello.*" But there were many *Sordellos,* and what had begun as am-

biguity rapidly became obscurity in the hands of the Edwardians and Georgians, until it resulted in the concept of the aesthete dedicated, not to communication or to the enlightenment of his readers, but to 'art for art's sake' as personified in Oscar Wilde and so devastatingly caricatured by Gilbert and Sullivan in *Patience*:

"If you're anxious for to shine in the high aesthetic line
as a man of culture rare,
You must get up all the germs of the transcendental
terms, and plant them everywhere
You must lie upon the daisies and discourse in novel
phrases of your complicated state of mind,
The meaning doesn't matter if its only idle chatter
of a transcendental kind,
And everyone will say
As you walk your mystic way
If this young man expresses himself in terms too
deep for *me*,
Why, what a very singularly deep young man this
deep young man must be!"

Meanwhile, across the channel, a somewhat similar development was taking place, but from a different direction. During the middle of the nineteenth century, a young French poet named Charles Baudelaire had discovered and translated Edgar Allan Poe, and, inspired by him and profoundly influenced by his aesthetic theories, had produced a remarkable volume which he called *The Flowers of Evil*. He in turn influenced a whole generation of French poets, perhaps the most significant of whom for our purposes was Stephane Mallarmé, the leader of the Symbolists, who expressed his theory of poetry in these words: "To name an object is to do away with three-quarters of the enjoyment of the poem which is derived from the satisfaction of guessing, little by little: to suggest it, that is the illusion." Among the followers of Mallarmé was Jules Laforgue, a lesser figure but one destined to have a profound influence upon American poetry through the admiration and imitation which he inspired in T. S. Eliot. Eliot, who was born in St. Louis, attended Harvard where he received a thorough grounding in philosophy, the classics and English literature, (especially the Elizabethans and the

then neglected metaphysical poets), and upon graduation in 1910, went to Paris, where he spent the balance of the academic year. Laforgue had been dead for twenty-three years, but his work was still being discussed in the reviews, and it was a new world to the young graduate, for comparatively little was known of modern French poetry outside of France at that time. He immediately abandoned the rather Tennysonian lyrics he had been writing for the Harvard Advocate and embarked upon the poems which constitute his first volume of mature verse, which appeared in 1917 under the title *Prufrock and Other Observations.*

Both the title poem and that which immediately follows in this early volume are long dramatic monologues in the Browningesque tradition, but reflecting the tenet of the symbolists that a poem should suggest rather than describe, and that words have an evocative content beyond their everyday significance. This type of poem came to be typical of Eliot; but tempting as it is to follow its development through *The Wasteland* and *Ash Wednesday* to the *Four Quartets,* a briefer example must suffice for our purposes. This is taken from Eliot's second volume, where it appears under the title *A Cooking Egg.* This is followed by two lines quoted (in French) from Villon, which are usually translated:

In the thirtieth year of my age
When I have drunk of all my shame.

And then there follows the poem itself, of which I quote the first two stanzas:

"Pipit sat upright in her chair
Some distance from where I was sitting;
Views of the Oxford Colleges
Lay on the table, with the knitting.

Daguerreotypes and silhouettes,
Her grandfather and great great aunts,
Supported on the mantlepiece
An *Invitation to the Dance.*"

There are six more stanzas, but for our purposes let us concentrate upon these two. They have been explained by one of our best known critics, in what has been hailed as one

of the major insights in modern literary criticism. I. A. Richards, in *The Principles of Literary Criticism*, says:

"I take Pipit to be the retired nurse of the hero of the poem, and *Views of the Oxford Colleges* to be the still treasured present which he sent her when he went up to the University."

Now, this is most ingenious; but would an old nurse keep pictures of her grandfather and great great aunts upon display, much less an *Invitation to the Dance*, which presumably is a romantic picture of the type of which Victorians were so fond? Professor Richards is ingenious, but is he right? At least one other critic, himself a professor, F. O. Mathissen, did not think so, for some ten years later he wrote:

"The age of the 'I' in the poem having been established through the epigraph as thirty, the following reasoning is brought to bear on these opening stanzas to determine the identity of Pipit: She is sitting 'upright,' 'some distance' away —she obviously can't be the poet's mistress. To whom does one send *Views of the Oxford Colleges* during one's first term up? And who alone would keep the volume upon the table for twelve years? Who, indeed, but one's old nurse?

Such ingenuity, although it springs from the realization that every word in a well made poem is designed to contribute to the total presentation, nevertheless overreaches iself through passing by a more obvious meaning to pursue a more recondite one. Pipit is clearly not the poet's mistress, though you are not told so except by the exact description that starts with the first line. But her name alone suggests that she is probably a little girl, an impression that is reinforced by all the other details in the poem, and made most apparent by

> But where is the penny world I bought
> To eat with Pipit behind the screen?

The *Views of the Oxford Colleges* are only one of the accurately observed details by which the poet depicts the room that surrounds the small existence of Pipit and separates it from that of the thirty-year-old 'cooking egg.' And the total impression of the poem is thus much simpler than if the reader goes through the uncalled-for gymnastics of first jumping the hero back twelve years to account for the *Views;* and

then back again to his childhood to account for the penny world which he bought at that time to eat with his old nurse. And in the simpler account, the contrast between the sophisticated world of the hero, with its smart disillusion and glimpse of social decay, and the innocent world of Pipit, becomes, if anything, more affecting.

There is an important distinction, as Richards himself has ably demonstrated, between a sensitve awareness to every potential shade of connotation in the words of a poem, and an over-alert kind of detective sense that it determined to ferret out hidden meanings."

When two such erudite professors disagree, what can be expected of us poor laymen? Perhaps after all we will have to fend for ourselves and make the best we can of what is presented to us. Let us suppose, for example, that Pipit is the poet's childhood sweetheart, with whom he shared "the penny world . . . behind the screen." Let us suppose that as he approached maturity he grew away from her, but still remembered enough to send her *Views of the Oxford Colleges* his first year up, although already he was becoming a part of a far more sophisticated world. Let us suppose that she continued to live in her little world, circumscribed by her grandfather and her great-great aunts, from which her furthest view of the horizon was, like Cinderella, an invitation to the dance, which in her case never came. And let us suppose that in his thirtieth year her former childhood sweetheart came to call and, in spite of the change in him, found her still the same, a spinster living in the past and in the future, but afraid to be a participant in the present for fear of the hurt which it might entail. What then would be the reaction of "a cooking egg," an egg past its prime, to one forever fresh but forever infertile?

Forgive this flight of fancy. But what I am trying to demonstrate is that where poetry is concerned, everyone is entitled to his opniion. But what of the poet himself? Is not he the best judge of what he meant to say? Probably not, according to Mr. Eliot, for many years ago he wrote:

"There are two reasons why the writer of poetry must not be thought to have any great advantage. One is that a discussion of poetry such as this takes us far outside the limits

within which a poet may speak with authority; the other is that a poet does many things upon instinct; for which he can give no better account than anybody else. A poet can try, of course, to give an honest report of the way in which he himself writes: the result may, if he is a good observer, be illuminating. And in one sense, but a very limited one, he knows better what his poems 'mean' than can anyone else; he may know the history of their composition, the material which has gone in and come out in an unrecognizable form, and he knows what he was trying to do and what he was meaning to mean. But what a poem means is as much what it means to others as what it means to the author; and indeed, in the course of time a poet may become merely a reader in respect to his own works, forgetting the original meaning — or without forgetting, merely changing."

Mr. Eliot's views did not change with the years, for much later he wrote again:

"I think that in every poem, from the private meditation to the epic or the drama, there is more than one voice to be heard. If the author never spoke to himself, the result would not be poetry, though it might be magnificent rhetoric; and part of our enjoyment of great poetry is *overhearing* words which are not addressed to us. But if the poem were exclusively for the author, it would be a poem in a private and unknown language; and a poem which was a poem only for the author would not be a poem at all."

Let us pursue this last thought to its conclusion. And as the next step beyond Eliot, let us take e. e. cummings, whose lack of respect for public acceptance of his poetry is notorious. Cummings, who graduated from Harvard five years after Eliot, first attracted notice with a war novel, *The Enormous Room,* in 1922. This was followed by three books of poems, the title of one which, *is* 5, seems to me to be of particular significance. For what Cummings is attempting to demonstrate is that life is not an algebraic equation, but that often two plus two is five, or more than the sum of the elements which go to make it up. If we were not more than the sum of our essential elements, Cummings seems to say, then there

would be no use in poetry or, for that matter, in anything else. And so when he sees a sunset he expresses it in these words:

stinging
gold swarms
upon the spires
silver
        chants the litanies the
great bells are ringing with rose
the lewd fat bells
        and a tall
wind
is dragging
the
sea

with

dream
-S

Obviously the most unusual characteristic of Cumming's poetry is its typography. By ignoring the conventional use of capitals he attempts to avoid the egocentric predicament, and to save these grammatical signs for situations where emphasis is required. But even in these typographic eccentricities he is following an established tradition of French poetry, instituted by Guilliame Appollanaire. However, our question is not one of originality, but of effectiveness. Does this form of expression contribute to the meaning of the poem? Robert Graves, himself a first rate poet, has undertaken to demonstrate that it does, by re-writing the poem in conventional form. Here is the result:

White foam and vesper wind embrace
The salt air stings my dazzled face
And sunset flecks the silvery seas
With glints of gold like swarms of bees

And lifts tall gleaming spires of light
To the imaginary sight,
So that I hear loud mellow bells
Swinging as each great wave swells,
Wafting God's perfumes on the breeze,
And chanting of sweet litanies
Where jovial monks are on their knees,
Bell-paunched and lifting glutton eyes
To windows rosy as these skies.
And this slow dragging wind—how can my dreams
forget—
Dragging the waters like a fishing net.

Says Mr. Graves: "This version shows that Cummings was bound to write the poem as he did in order to prevent it from becoming what we have made it." But was he? Mr. John Sparrow thinks not.

"Why," he says, "if not itself, it would necessarily have been the thing he gives us, Mr. Graves does not explain. Very beautiful and very moving poems, poems very different from *Sunset Piece*, have been inspired by sunsets in the past. And, in any case, having decided not to write Mr. Graves' poem, the reader may be tempted to ask, was Mr. Cummings really bound to write his own substitute? Most of us, after all, have managed to avoid writing Mr. Graves' poem without being forced into the disagreeable alternative of writing that of Mr. Cummings or anything like it. And is Mr. Cummings really so much to be preferred? To one at least of its readers, Mr. Graves' seems slightly the less unpleasing of the two.

Mr. Graves' comment reveals the attitude of many modern writers and critics towards the art of literature. Two unpleasant pieces are put before us, and we are told that if the author had not written the first, in his own method, he would have had to have written the second, in the method of his predecessors. And his readers manifest so much concern about the difference between the new method and the old that they forget to ask whether any end is served by writing bad poems whether of one sort or of the other."

Mr. Sparrow's criticism is just as unfair as Mr. Graves'. The truth is that e. e. cummings wrote his poem the way

he did because he was e. e. cummings, and if his method of expression conveyed an additional meaning to a certain number of readers, as apparently it did, then that was their good fortune, which the rest of us should not begrudge them. Not everyone speaks the same language, and not everyone writes the same kind of poetry. The important thing is that the poet have some meaning which he wishes to convey, and then he is free to choose the method which seems to him best suited to convey it.

There is another type of poem which was much favored during this period and which derives from impressionist painting and the Japanese *haiku*, a seventeen syllable short poem centered about a single idea. It is easy enough to determine what these poems say; simplicity of structure and clarity of expression are their hallmarks. But what they *mean* is an entirely different matter, for the whole purpose is to charge commonplace objects with new meaning by examining them in new contexts and relationships. William Carlos Williams was one of the earliest practitioners of this art, and an example from his work should suffice to illustrate the general type:

so much depends
upon

a red wheel
barrow

glazed with rain
water

beside the white
chickens.

Elizabeth Drew, one of our most perceptive critics, after describing this poem as having been "extravagantly praised," has this to say about it:

"Dr. Williams was working here on the Imagist idea of using no words that do not directly contribute to the presentation of the object. His negative success, as it were, is complete; there is nothing whatever superfluous in the poem. The only

question is whether there is enough there to make a poem at all; whether the bare bones live and whether their chirping is poetry."

This is the great danger in this type of poetry. As the language becomes more and more refined and the ideas more and more disembodied, a point is approached where the meaning is drained out of the poem entirely, and nothing but the bare bones of the words themselves are left. In order to illustrate this danger, let me take a final quotation from one of our finest poets, Wallace Stevens. The poem is *The Comedian as the Letter C,* and the lines which I have chosen, part of a very long poem, are these:

> He gripped more closely the essential prose
> As being, in a world so falsified,
> The one integrity for him, the one
> Discovery still possible to make,
> To which all poems were incident, unless
> That prose should wear a poem's guise at last."

Yvor Winters analyzes this passage as follows:

"These statements do not have the philosophical lucidity which would delight the present simple paraphraser, but they seem to mean, in their relationship to this poem, that Crispin (the central figure in the poem) has been turned away first from the attempt to study himself directly, and second from the attempt to indulge in exotic experience, and that he has been turned instead to the attempt to master his native environment—to master it, that is, for the purposes of poetry. The nature of this last procedure I do not pretend to understand, and since the words which I have just used are my own and are not quoted from Stevens, it is possible that my confusion is of my own contriving."

In other words, Mr. Winters, who is a professional critic and the author of several books upon modern poetry, and who therefore is presumably far better qualified than we to penetrate the hidden subtleties of these lines, has no real idea of what the poet intended them to mean. In fact, he does not even know why the name of the poem was selected, for he says, "the significance of the title, I regret to say, escapes both my learning and my ingenuity." Yet he describes Stevens, at

least in his early work, as "one of the greatest poets of the English language." This can only suggest that one of the measures of greatness of modern poetry has come to be the difficulty of understanding what it is really trying to say. If this is in fact the case, the relationship between the poet and his public is indeed in a sorry state.

Perhaps if the cause of this situation could be discovered, a remedy could be found. Here we can only speculate; but it seems probable that these poets have turned inwards, towards each other and towards the little coteries of critics and friends who support and read them because they had no place else to turn. Contrary to Matthew Arnold, they are not by nature beautiful ineffectual angels. It may surprise you to learn that T. S. Eliot is a director of one of the largest publishing houses in London; William Carlos Williams was a very busy and successful practicing physician in Rutherford, N. J.; and Wallace Stevens was vice-president of the Hartford Accident and Indemnity Company. These are men of ability and experience, fully capable of evaluating the practicalities of a situation. Yet they have a profound faith in the validity and efficacy of the poetic experience, which has found expression in their poems. If we are willing to bring to those poems the effort of understanding which they require, we can share that experience with them. But they do require an effort of understanding and unless we are willing to make that effort, the language of poetry will become more and more a private language comprehensible only to the initiate.

Perhaps you will say that this doesn't matter. But it does matter, for the poets and artists among us are still the seers who create the vision that we must follow if we are to progress. If we cut them off from the main body of our culture and force them to live in a world of their own, the cross-pollination which is the natural result of their work will not take place, and both they and we will lose by it. One of our recent political leaders has said very wisely:

"The artists among us are the men and women who work, think and dream in their efforts to let us know where we stand in our advancement towards our ideals. It seems to me that we can hardly get along without our artists, as we must also recognize that they cannot get along without us."

I suspect that few of you would guess that this was said by Harry S. Truman, than whom no more practical and hard-boiled politician ever lived. Yet he recognized the worth of this element in our society, without which our striving would be pointless and our efforts directionless.

Why, then, do so few people read poetry today?

First, because they are unwilling to bring to it the attention and concentration which it requires and deserves. We have become so used to having our information capsulated and predigested that most of us have gotten out of the habit of thinking except about those matters which contribute directly to our daily activities. Television and the comic strips have made the vast majority of people mentally lazy, to the point that when they are presented with a deliberate test of their ability to understand, the tendency is to turn aside to easier tasks rather than to rise to the occasion. We don't want to be challenged; we want to be pampered. Ask the average business man why he does not read more, and you will receive a variety of answers. "I haven't time," or "I'm too tired after the day's work" or "There are too many distractions" or perhaps simply an amazed "Who, me?". And so he turns to Perry Mason or James Bond and contentedly relapses into a vacuity from which it becomes more and more difficult to emerge as the years go by, until finally it just isn't worth the effort and it seems better merely to allow life to pursue its blissful way between the lengthening rows of prejudices and preconceived ideas.

Second, because anti-intellectualism has come to be more generally acceptable than intelligence. "Egg heads" are spoken of condescendingly, and no one wants to be one of them. And reading modern poetry is definitely an "egg head" characteristic. So, the acceptable thing to do, the conformist attitude which keeps the individual from standing out from the crowd in lonely isolation, is to disparage all poetry, and particularly modern poetry. "That stuff's too complicated for me," is the usual comment. "Leave it to the long hairs and the professors." And so the myth continues to grow that all poetry is so complicated that no normal person can understand it, or, for that matter, would want to. And this despite the fact that not one in a hundred of those who hold this belief most firmly has ever actually read a single line of Eliot or Cummings or Stevens or Williams.

I hope that I have been able at least to some extent to dissipate both of these fallacies. Because if you bring to modern poetry even the minimum of attention, the degree of attention for example which you would give to your newspaper or to a business document at your office, it can be intensely rewarding. And if you get into the habit of doing this, it will soon develop that modern poetry is not nearly so complicated as it has the reputation of being, particularly if you quit worrying about what the poet is trying to say and concentrate upon what the poem means to you. If it means nothing to you, go on to another one; but give it a fair chance first. After all, you might get to like it and end up in the company of such egg heads and long hairs as Harry Truman and the vice-president of the Hartford Accident and Indemnity Company.

There is a new spirit in the air today; a spirit which is no longer willing to abide the average or the lowest common denominator as the measure of what our society can accomplish. It is the spirit of excellence, and its symptoms are everywhere. Its credo is that where a few lead, the rest must follow; where nothing less will be accepted, something more will be accomplished. If this spirit prevails, which I hope and trust that it may, then perhaps it may appear that our modern American poets, by refusing to compromise with mediocrity, preserved through a dark age something of the basis from which it ultimately emerged. If so, they served a very real purpose, which we can best encourage, not by requiring them to write so that we can understand them, but by creating a society in which they will be understood.

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS

ELDER L. SHEARON, JR.

Read Before "THE EGYPTIANS," May 21, 1964

The highway billboard has what the advertising fraternity calls impact. Not a result of tricks of color or layout, the impact is entirely in the copy. In letters eighteen inches high there is written the command: "Impeach Earl Warren Save Constitutional Government." In a setting of billboard messages which command the motorist to smoke, eat, drive, switch, chew or consume in some other way, the verb "impeach" demands attention.

The impact is there, but what about the logic of the message? Obviously those persons who gave of their substance to erect this series of billboards know that Earl Warren alone renders no effective opinions. Their attack on the Chief Justice must be an attack on the Supreme Court itself, or on a minimum of five of the justices. And a survey of the criticism directed at the Chief Justice and the Court over the past decade tends to support the view that the Supreme Court, as an institution, has somehow wandered off the track. The key word in the oratory and writing of the Court's critics is "usurpation." Not all the blasts are couched as intemperately as that leveled by the former congressman from Little Rock, who described a 1959 decision as the work of "oath-breaking usurpers" on the Court. On the contrary, concern has been voiced in this same period by responsible writers and public figures who have no constituency to appease. There is a substantial body of opinion in this country which subscribes to the view that the Supreme Court has somehow acquired, and is exercising, power not rightfully vested in this branch of the government.

If this view is correct, violence has been done to the separation of powers in the American constitutional system; and, to the framers of our Constitution, his separation was

believed to be one of the prime safeguards built into the structure of the national government.

The doctrine of the separation of powers gained acceptance in the form set forth by the French political philosopher, Montesquieu, whose writings were part of the literature of pre-revolutionary France. In "The Spirit of the Laws" Montesquieu examined the various forms of government, and arrived at the conclusion that political freedom could be nurtured only in a system which separated the executive, legislative, and judicial powers. Divided, he viewed each branch as a check on the others. It was this theory of separation, with the resultant checks and balances, that was accepted as an hypothesis by the leaders of the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

If we accept the words of the influential Alexander Hamilton, however, Montesquieu's meaning "can amount to no more than this, that when the whole power of one department is exercised by the same hands which possess the whole power of another department, the fundamental principles of a free constitution are subverted." Moreover, Hamilton recognized that simply delineating the scope of each branch in a written constitution would not insure the continued separation; but he did believe that the separation was provided for through the type of over-lapping structure built into the American system. The checks and balances were such that the "constituent parts may, by their mutual relations, be the means of keeping each other in their proper places."

It is apparent from reading The Federalist Papers quoted above, as well as other documents concerning the Convention of 1787, that it was the legislative branch, and more particularly the House of Representatives, which was viewed as the potential usurper of constitutional authority.

It must be remembered that the list of delegates who framed the Constitution did not include Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, Patrick Henry or Thomas Jefferson. These bold radicals, whose philosophy had strong influence on the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the early state constitutions, were no longer the men of the hour. Their concern for personal liberty and distrust for government, particularly centralized government, were missing

in the leadership of the Convention of 1787. For the men of influence in the Convention were Hamilton, Madison, Washington, the Morrises, the Pinckneys, Randolph, Blair and Franklin. This was leadership by men of substance, concerned with establishing a national government capable of dealing with national problems and providing stability. For them, the important check in a system of checks and balances was a check that would prevent the popular branch of the government from operating full sway – particularly in the enactment of laws touching property.

Moreover, with the presidency removed from the arena of direct popular elections, with the Senate also elected on an indirect basis, and with an independent judiciary appointed by the president with the concurrence of the senate, the new constitution must have appeared reassuring in its barriers to usurpation by the popular branch of the legislature.

As to the judicial branch, certainly Hamilton foresaw no enlargement of power. This branch of the government had no capacity to support its usurpations by force, and since there existed the important constitutional check in the impeachment power, there would be an effective brake on its actions. He pointed out that the legislative branch, under the Constitution, exercises control over the purse, while the executive controls the sword; but the judicial branch has "no control over the direction of the strength or the wealth of society." Even when he considered the possibility that the court might "substitute their own pleasure to the constitutional intentions of the legislature," he evidenced no concern, accepting this evil as a small price to pay for an independent judiciary.

There can be no doubt that Hamilton and his colleagues were not prophets in their evaluation of the power potential of the Supreme Court. But this is hardly surprising, since they could not have been expected to foresee the changes the political party system would bring about in the American constitutional system.

The first fourteen years in the life of the Supreme Court gave little sign that Hamilton's assessment was incorrect. John Jay, the first Chief Justice, spent a year of his tenure in England on a diplomatic mission. Samuel Chase, appointed in 1795, postponed a term of the Court so that he could work

for the election of John Adams to the presidency. And, in 1801 Congress postponed a term of the Court for fourteen months to prevent a case being heard. The juidicial branch was showing no signs of competing on equal terms with the other two branches of the new government.

Not until 1803, two years after John Marshall's appointment as Chief Justice, did the Supreme Court acquire the appearance of a coequal in the company of the legislative and executive branches. This new stature was built on a bold foundation – Marshall's decision in Marbury v. Madison. The case involved an application for mandamus to compel action by the Secretary of State, and the opinion of the Court, written by Marshall, gave a dissertation on the theory of limited government with its necessary distinction between fundamental law and legislative enactment. The decision denied the application on the grounds that the Judiciary Act of 1789 was unconstitutional, since Congress had exceeded its Constitutional powers in attempting to add to the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. So, ironically, in the act of renouncing one addition to its own power, the Court added a power of much greater significance.

"It is emphatically the province and the duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the law to particular cases must of necessity expound and interpret that rule." Thus was established the great doctrine of judicial review; and, although there was little criticism of this assumption or expression of power at the time, thousands of pages have been written in the intervening years debating its legitimacy. Judicial review was not a new doctrine. Well-documented studies of the Constitutional Convention show that most of the influential delegates favored this judicial power. Moreover, records of debates in four of the ratifying state conventions indicate that delegates to those conventions recognized this as a power of the Supreme Court. Yet those who consider judicial review to be judicial usurpation point out that no proposal regarding this power came before the Constitutional Convention. They maintain that, had the delegates intended to give a legislative veto to the Supreme Court, it would have been placed in the enumerated powers just as was done in the case of the executive veto.

Important as judicial review has been, and there is no doubt that Marshall asserted, or created, a power of tremendous potential, it is debatable whether the wielding of this power has been the vehicle for the Supreme Court's major influence in national policy.

On one point, there can be no argument. The acceptance of the doctrine of judicial review by the other two branches of the federal government meant that henceforth the powers were less separated. For the Supreme Court could now enter the legislative process with a negative on the will of the people expressed through their elected representatives.

Once enunciated and established, this power of the Court was used sparingly. Between 1803 and 1870, there were only six instances of judicial invalidation of Congressional legislation. Two were prior to the Civil War and four came during the 1860's. The enactments of the state legislatures, however, bore the full brunt of the federal judicial power. Almost 100 state laws were declared unconstitutional in this same period. For the Supreme Court, at least during the almost forty years of Marshall's leadership, was dedicated to the Hamiltonian principles of federal supremacy.

A resounding announcement of these principles, and regarded by many as his greatest state paper, was Marshall's opinion in McCulloch v. Maryland (1819). This decision not only gives the classic statement of the implied powers doctrine, but also clearly recognizes the existence of implied limitations on the powers of the states. The case involved the constitutionality of the establishment of a National Bank. This was the Second Bank of the United States, chartered in 1816, and immediately the target of state legislative attacks.

In dealing with the validity of the Congressional action in chartering the bank, Marshall's opinion took the first giant step and clearly identified the Constitution as organic in nature. Acknowledging that our government is one of enumerated powers, he examined the extent of the powers actually granted and pointed out that the Constitution did not, like the Articles of Confederation, exclude incidental or implied powers, nor require that everything granted be expressly or minutely described. His argument then dealt with the "necessary and proper" clause, declaring it to be an enlargement,

not a diminution, of the stated powers. Securing his legacy of constitution-making by the Court, he foresaw the need for recognizing the document as an instrument "intended to endure for ages to come, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs." What national agency will do Marshall's adaptation of the Constitution? The pattern is set. It will be the Supreme Court.

As to the Maryland statute in question, Marshall declares that "states have no power by taxation, or otherwise, to retard, impede, burden, or in any other manner control the constitutional laws enacted by Congress."

Criticism of Marshall's decision was immediate and vigorous. So bitter was a series of newspaper attacks by Virginia Court of Appeals Judge Roane that Marshall felt compelled to write a reply. The Virginia legislature passed a resolution to recommend the removal from the Supreme Court of the power to decide a case in which a state was a party. Ohio defied the Court by continuing to collect its tax on the branch of the bank in that state.

While the Court's decision in McCulloch v. Maryland did not change the relative power positions of the three federal branches as of 1819, it did provide the constitutional philosophy that would later be justification for the powerful role of the Supreme Court in shaping the political and economic destiny of this country. For Marshall had rejected the idea that the framers of the Constitution had "meant to provide by immutable rules for exigencies, which if foreseen at all, must have been seen dimly, and which can be best provided for as they occur."

It might have been expected that the Civil War and Reconstruction would be the setting for some lasting shift in power to or from the Court, but such was not the case. While it is true that President Lincoln defied the Court – at least for a time – in the Merryman Case, the Court managed a safe rebuke to the Executive Branch in Ex Parte Milligan, which was argued in 1867. In this case, the Court faced for the first time the exercise of the power of the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in an area removed from actual military operations. Ruling that the President had no constitutional power to establish the court, a military commission, the decision contained the ringing pronouncement

that "no doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its (the Constitution's) provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government." It must be remembered that this stance, as protector of individual liberty in a time of crisis, was taken by the Court after the crisis had passed.

In 1867, the year following the Milligan Case, the Court avoided a clash with Congress over the Reconstruction Acts in Mississippi v. Johnson, by denying the state's motion to file a bill of equity to enjoin President Johnson from enforcing the legislation. The Court stated its adherence "to the general principles which forbid judicial interference with the exercise of executive direction." Then, in 1869, when there appeared a possibility of the Court declaring the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional, Congress passed a special statute removing the case from the court's jurisdiction – even though arguments had already been heard.

In 1870-1871, the fifteen month flip-flop of the two Legal Tender Acts, from unconstitutionality to constitutionality, served only to lower the Court's prestige and to furnish further elasticity in the Constitutional fabric by the doctrine of resultant powers – implied powers deduced from a combination of expressed powers.

For the most part, the Supreme Court was moving circumspectly in this period and avoiding open clashes with the other two federal branches. However, in the most far-reaching decision in the post-war decade, the Court took a stand completely at odds with the legislative branch. From the records of the period, there appears no doubt as to the intention of the congressional authors of the Fourteenth Amendment. They meant to include the whole body of civil rights, and especially those in the Bill of Rights, as part of the privileges and immunities which the states were forbidden to abridge by legislative action. However, in the Slaughterhouse Cases of 1873, the Supreme Court, in a five to four decision, interpreted the amendment so that the privileges of Federal Citizenship did not include the protections set forth in the First Amendment, and so that the due process clause was not a limitation on the police power of the states.

Did the Supreme Court engage in constitution-making in interpreting the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment?

Obviously the answer is in the affirmative. In so doing a massive shift in the national power structure was postponed for seventy-five years. However, it was not a shift in power between the three Federal branches. It was a shift from state to federal power.

Perhaps the most striking judicial development in the last quarter of the twentieth century was the gradual development of the "due-process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Sprouting as a thin procedural limitation, it blossomed into a full substantive barrier against state and national legislative economic regulation. The early attitude of the Court, as expressed in 1877 in Munn v. Illinois, was that the ballot box, not the judiciary, was the last resort for relief from arbitrary or confiscatory rates. However, by 1890 this position had moved to a recognition that due process not only required judicial review, but that it was the right of the Court to make the final determination of reasonableness — on the basis of fair return on investment.

This development of due process, plus the strict definition of the Congressional power to legislate under the Commerce Clause, meant that by 1890 the Supreme Court was equipped to be the umpire in virtually all business-government relationships. Monopolies in manufacturing were held beyond the scope of the Sherman Anti-Trust law in U. S. v. E. C. Knight, decided in 1895. Also in the field of national legislation, the Court reversed Hylton v. United States (1796) to declare a federal income tax unconstitutional. Moving in a direct course, due process and the restricted Commerce power were invoked to block state and national legislation attempting to regulate child labor, minimum wages for women and children, and the hours of a work week.

The Court's failure to yield to the pressure of state and local socially-oriented economic legislation, while drawing fire, did not reach national proportions until the New Deal legislation was nullified by judicial review. Then, in 1935 and 1936, in a shattering collision with Congress and the President, the Supreme Court declared the N.I.R.A., the A.A.A., and the National Bituminous Coal Act unconstitutional. In the resulting bitter fight over Roosevelt's attempt to pack the Court, judicial independence was maintained; but the President later achieved his purpose through a less naked use of

power. Thus, beginning in 1936 with N.L.R.B. v. Jones & Laughlin, the Supreme Court began its shift on the overriding national issue — the responsibility of government in the economic sphere.

Somehow the picture of the Supreme Court in the New Deal period is one with overtones of aggression. In reality, the Court's role was secondary. First, it delayed temporarily the change in national policy initiated by the executive and legislative branches. Then, after the shift in the majority, it performed a bit of John Marshall's adaptation of the Constitution. In both cases, in the negative stand and in the affirmative one, no new power was exercised by the Court.

While attacks on both majorities in the New Deal Court were vigorous, they now appear calm and objective in comparison to the violent blasts unleashed at the Warren Court. However, the difference in intensity does not appear to result from any enlargement of the function of the Court. Rather it stems from the super-charged emotional content of the issues involved. Civil rights in the field of public education and in the area of the activities of the Communist Party strike hard at the national nervous system.

In the famous, or infamous, Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka of 1954, the Supreme Court, by reversing Plessy v. Ferguson's "separate but equal" doctrine, created a cleavage in the national conscience for decades to come. Yet most of the attacks aimed at the decision are directed first toward the citations by the Court of authorities outside the legal field, and second, at the fact that the "separate but equal" doctrine had been recognized for over fifty years. However, three years earlier, Chief Justice Vinson's opinion for a unanimous Court in Sweatt v. Painter had referred to "qualities which are incapable of objective measurement" for determining whether educational facilities met the equal protection of the laws requirement. So, by 1950, the Court was pulling away from the precedent of Plessy v. Ferguson. At any rate, neither the source of citations, nor the tenure of a precedent reversed, will support the charge of usurpation.

Typical of the decisions identifying the Warren Court in the public mind as a protector of the Communist Party U.S.A., is the one rendered in 1955 in Yates v. United States. The

case involved the conviction of fourteen members of the Party. The opinion, written by Justice Harlan, resulted in the freeing of five of the defendants and the ordering of new trials for the remaining nine. The reversal of the convictions was based on two points. First, the Court insisted on a narrow construction of the word "organize." Second, the opinion maintained that the trial judge had failed to instruct the jury properly in the distinction between advocacy of an abstract doctrine and advocacy directed at promoting unlawful action. The strict construction of a penal statute is a long standing rule. In the words of John Marshall it is "founded on the tenderness of the law for the rights of individuals; and on the plain principle that the power of punishment is vested in the legislative, not in the judicial department".

The Supreme Court did not invalidate the Smith Act, nor did it exercise legislative power any greater than had been done over the past 150 years. It did state that certain judicial standards must be met in securing convictions under this legislation. For, like the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the Smith Act makes advocacy and teaching a crime and challenges the First Amendment. While many critics feel that the Court's insistence on recognition of the civil rights of known Communists is doctrinaire at best, such a stand is not at odds with the tradition of the Court. For, it is clear that the framers of the Constitution fully recognized the importance of an independent judiciary as the guarantor of the freedoms of the First Amendment against official acts of the legislative and executive branches.

To the layman, however, the Yates decision kept certain admitted Communists from going to jail. In terms of the result, the path of legal logic is bewildering and frustrating. The criticism of the Supreme Court was immediate and violent.

Emotions also are super-charged by such headlines as "Supreme Court Bans Prayer in Schools." Many do not read further to determine whose prayer is banned, and still fewer are willing to recognize this issue as one of any complexity. There is the cry that the Supreme Court is anti-religion.

Historically, the Supreme Court has imposed upon itself limitations in that it has consistently refused to deal with cases involving what became known as "political questions." Among these were cases dealing with the determination of the

existence of a republican form of government in a state. The Court held that this was a question best answered by Congress. It is ironic that the Supreme Court has now removed this limitation in the reapportionment issue. One less "political question" now exists. The irony lies in the fact that it was a Tennessee case that prompted the Court's extension of its power. Here we have from the states-rights section a move increasing not only the scope of Federal power but the area in which the Supreme Court exercises jurisdiction.

While no paper of this length can do more than touch on major developments illustrated by a relatively small number of significant cases, possibly it has indicated one aspect of the relationship of the Court with the other federal branches. The Court has altered the Constitution. Also a legislative function has been performed by the Court. But if there has been usurpation, it is not a recent innovation. The separation of powers, as understood by the delegates of 1787, still exists.

Recent years have brought a barrage of proposals for limiting the powers of the Supreme Court. However, for the two powers that prompt the proposals, there appear no valid alternatives. What alternative to judicial review would be in the national interest? How can statutory interpretation be limited without nullifying the judicial function?

Furthermore, had there been alternative resting places in the federal system for these two powers, what significant changes would have been made in the direction of national policy? It appears most unlikely that any of the deep currents of social and economic change would have been blocked or diverted. For the Supreme Court does not really initiate change; and it is doubtful that it can ever, for any extended period of time, stay out of step with the dominant sentiment of this country.

Our world has grown smaller, our organizations larger, our risks greater, and our problems more complex, than ever before in this nation's history. It is extremely improbable that limiting the powers of the Supreme Court can appreciably alter the implications of these facts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beard, Charles A., "The Supreme Court And The Constitutions," (Prentice-Hall, 1938)

Cahn, Edmond, "Supreme Court And Supreme Law," (Indiana University Press, 1954)

Gordon, Rosalie M., "Nine Men Against America," (Devin-Adair, 1958)

Hamilton, Alexander; Madison, James; Jay, John, "The Federalist," Edited By Benjamin F. Wright, (Belknap Press, 1961)
McKee, Thomas Hudson, "The National Conventions And Platforms 1789-1900" (The Friedenwald Co., 1900)

McLaughlin, Andrew Co., "The Courts, The Constitution And Parties," (University of Chicago Press, 1912)

McLoskey, Robert G., "The American Supreme Court," (University of Chicago Press, 1960)

Pritchett, C. Herman, "Congress Versus The Supreme Court 1957-1960," (University of Minnesota Press, 1961)

Pritchett, C. Herman and Murphy, Walter F., "Courts Judges And Politics," (Random House, 1961)

CASES

Adkins v. Children's Hospital, 261 U.S. 525 (1923)

Adler v. Board of Education of City of New York, 342 U.S. 485 (1952)

Barenblatt v. United States, 360 U.S. 109 (1959)

Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co., 259 U.S. 20 (1922)

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)
Chisolm v. Georgia, 2 Dall. 419 (1793)

Cooley v. Board of Wardens of Port of Phila., 12 Howard 299 (1852)

Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494 (1951)

Gibbons v. Ogden, 9 Wheaton 1 (1824)

Hammer v. Dagenhart, 247 U.S. 251 (1918)

Kent v. Dulles, 357 U.S. 116 (1958)

Kentucky Whip & Collar Co. v. Ill. Cent. R. Co., 299 U.S. 334 (1937)

Legal Tender Cases, 12 Wallace 457 (1871)

Lochner v. New York, 198 U.S. 45 (1905)

Luther v. Borden, 7 Howard 1 (1849)

McCardle, Ex parte, 7 Wall. 506 (1869)

McCulloch v. Maryland, 4 Wheaton 316 (1819)

McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 U.S. 637 (1949)

Marbury v. Madison, 1 Cranch 137 (1803)

Merryman, Ex parte, Fed. Case No. 9487 (1861)

Milligan, Ex parte, 4 Wallace 2 (1866)

Mississippi v. Johnson, 4 Wallace 475 (1867)

Munn v. Illinois, 94 U.S. 113 (1877)

N.L.R.B. v. Jones Laughlin Steel Corp., 301 U.S. 1 (1937)

Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)

Pollock v. Farmers Loan & Trust Co., 158 U.S. 601 (1895)

Sweatt v. Painter, 339 U.S. 629 (1950)

United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp., 299 U.S. 304 (1936)

Uphaus v. Wyman, 360 U.S. 72 (1959)

West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish, 300 U.S. 379 (1937)

Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298 (1957)