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Bridgewater Review



The Deliberation

- ★ **Political Bosses in Urban America:**
Corruption or Contribution?
- ★ **The Consumer Movement in the United States**
- ★ **Rediscovering James T. Farrell**

Bridgewater Review

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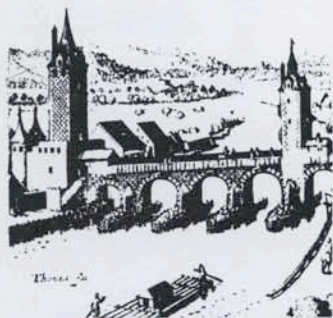
Rediscovering James T. Farrell



The Consumer Movement



Political Bosses



Medieval Regensburg



Louis Moreau Gottschalk

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

IS MEXICO THE LAST DOMINO?

The term national security is heard more frequently these days, especially with regard to the Caribbean and Central America. With revolution in El Salvador, Marxists in Nicaragua, a Soviet satellite in Cuba and general unrest in a number of other countries, the Reagan Administration is seeking to convince the American public that we must expand our commitment to this part of the world, and protect what the President calls our third border.

Amidst this debate over aid and advisers lies perhaps the most crucial issue of national security faced by this country since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. Unlike most countries of the world, particularly European countries, the United States has enjoyed safe and secure borders. Only on rare occasions has the United States had to take action to protect itself from an unstable, revolutionary or threatening neighbor.

Canada, despite its size, economic nationalism and intermittent displeasure with the United States has not forced this country to adjust its security priorities or deploy military units on its common border. Canadian-U.S. relations have always been conducted in an atmosphere of cooperation and mutual trust.

To the south, Mexico has certainly experienced its share of conflict with the United States from war and an occasional military incursion to economic dependence and financial indebtedness. And yet Mexico has never been looked upon as a threat to our security or as a stepping stone for the advance of international communism. Mexican-U.S. relations have thus not surprisingly been conducted from a position of North American dominance and with a good deal of Yankee detachment and arrogance.

The revolution in El Salvador, however, is forcing the United States to reevaluate the strength and stability of its southern neighbor. With talk of falling dominoes in Central America and widespread Soviet efforts to gain influence in this region, Washington has already begun planning for

circumstances that could threaten the United States from the south. President Reagan recently stressed the importance of stopping Communist insurgency before we have to fight to save Mexico.

To many, this talk of dominoes and threats to Mexico is a well orchestrated attempt to drum up support for more money and men for El Salvador. It is hard for most Americans to envision their country bordering on a nation in the throes of Marxist revolution or even ultimately controlled by Moscow. And yet one cannot ignore the context in which Central American policy is being developed in Washington. The strategists and planners are no longer seeing the revolutions in that area as isolated occurrences, but as part of a distinct plan to intimidate the United States by creating instability, revolution and, if possible, a pro-Communist government in Mexico. We have reached a point now where the Reagan Administration is looking beyond El Salvador and beginning to think the impossible -- a Communist threat to our southern border.

At this point the prospects of Mexico becoming another El Salvador are remote. Although Mexico has serious income inequality, disparity of land ownership and a less-than-democratic governing system, it has shown itself to be a stable nation capable of handling internal unrest. The key, though, to its future stability may be its \$64 billion debt and the tumbling price of oil. As oil prices plummet and the debt \$80 billion debt and the tumbling price of oil. As oil prices plummet and the debt

skyrockets no one can predict with certainty whether the Mexican government would be able to hold the line.

But whether Mexico is able to maintain stability and hold the line against a Communist threat to the south is academic at this time. The important point is that the Reagan Administration is formulating policy from the premise that Mexico is vulnerable and that a real threat to our national security is now within the realm of the possible.

As the debate over El Salvador evolves there are many who make comparisons to our early involvement in Vietnam and caution political leaders not to get mired in another guerrilla war. But should revolutionary activity increase in El Salvador, it may be difficult to say no to a Vietnam-style intervention, especially if the American public is convinced that there is more at stake there than just the fate of a tiny Central American country. The combination of war in El Salvador and a potential Iran-like situation on our southern border may be enough to spur American intervention. Americans would do well to watch closely as U.S. foreign policy develops in this part of the hemisphere. For the first time since the missiles of October, 1962, this country is embroiled in a controversy that will test our definition of national security and our willingness to once again become a policeman in the Caribbean Basin.

Michael J. Kryzanek

Jeroboam/Glaubinger



Rural Mexican village with ever-present Coca Cola advertisement

by Charles Fanning

No major American writer has been worse served by criticism than James T. Farrell. After the publication in 1935 of his first fictional series, the *Studs Lonigan* trilogy, Farrell labored for four decades under an unjust and unfounded critical accusation. During these years, many influential critics dealt with his fiction as it appeared by mechanical citation of a party line which ran as follows: "James T. Farrell is that sad case, a one-book writer. *Studs Lonigan* is credible fiction, albeit in the limiting and dated naturalistic mode pioneered by Theodore Dreiser. But his subsequent novels have been obsessive reworkings of the same materials, and nowhere near as good as *Studs*." The primarily New York-based writers who mouthed this line became the American critical establishment of the 1940s and 1950s, and their dismissal of Farrell was repeated in the academy by the next generation of scholar/teachers, many of whom never took the trouble to read the books in question.

In the 1970s, this unconscionable situation finally began to change. In the last year of his life (he died at seventy-five in 1979), Farrell received unmistakable signs that the tide was turning. These included the television mini-series of *Studs Lonigan*, several honorary degrees, and the Emerson-Thoreau medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. I want here to urge the continued reevaluation of Farrell's work by suggesting the importance, in particular of his second series of novels, the O'Neill-O'Flaherty pentalogy, which bore the brunt of critical

Photo by Robert Ward



ostracism and misreading, because the five novels appeared between 1936, the year after *Studs*, and 1953, at the beginning of the lowest ebb of Farrell's reputation.

James T. Farrell was born in 1904 and raised in a South Side Chicago neighborhood that became the setting for much of his remarkable body of fiction. Filling to date some fifty volumes, this work includes hundreds of stories and four large fictional cycles: the *Studs Lonigan* trilogy, the *O'Neill-O'Flaherty* pentalogy, the *Bernard Carr* trilogy, and the *Universe of Time* sequence, of which nine volumes were published before Farrell's death. The first two groups, the three *Lonigan* and five *O'Neill* novels, share a setting (the South Side neighborhood around Washington Park where Farrell himself grew up), a time frame (roughly, 1900 to 1930), and several characters. These eight "Washington Park" novels actually comprise one grand design with two contrasting and complementary movements: the downward, negative alternative embodied in *Studs Lonigan*, who dies pointlessly, and the upward, positive possibility embodied in *Danny O'Neill*, who lives to become a writer. The great tragedy of the wholly inadequate critical response to Farrell's work is that *Studs Lonigan* has been seen as the whole story, when, in fact, it isn't even half of the story about Washington Park.

Filling . . . some fifty volumes, this work includes hundreds of stories and four large fictional cycles.

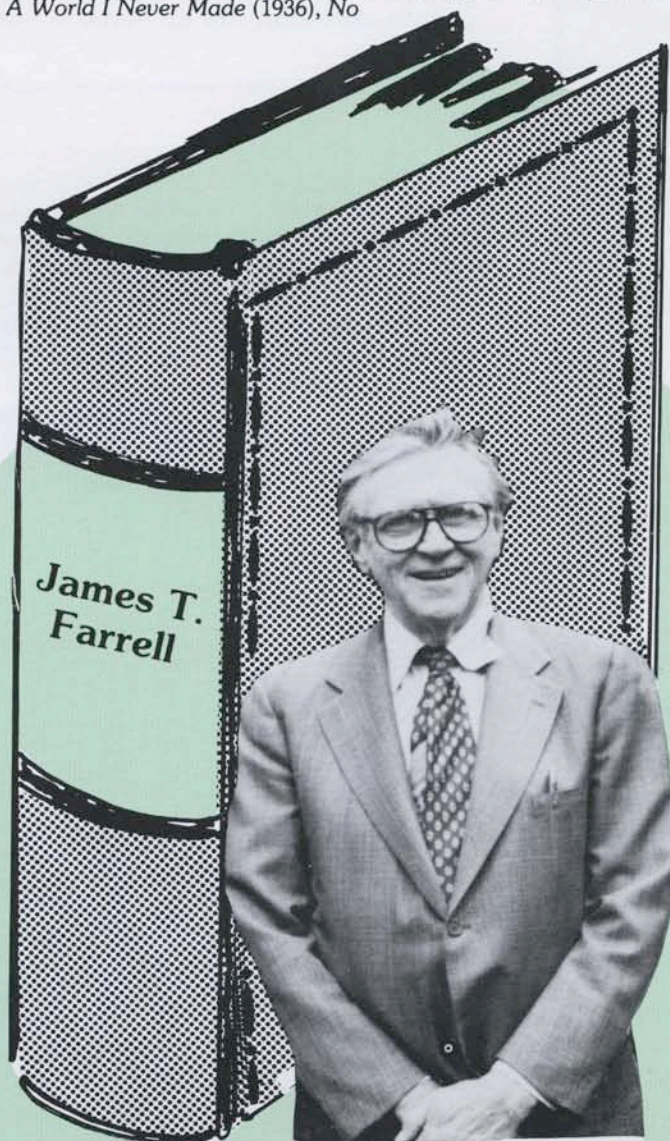
With a wisdom uncommon in beginning writers, Farrell knew that before he could tell the second part of the story, so much closer to his own experience than *Studs's*, he had first to deal with an attitude that, had it been applied to autobiographical materials, would have negated his aim of objectivity; that is, the young artist's exaggerated hatred and rejection of his background. In part, *Studs Lonigan* is the exorcism desired by young *Danny O'Neill* when, in the middle of the *Lonigan* trilogy, in which he is a minor figure, he vows that "Some day, he would drive this neighborhood and all his memories of it out of his consciousness with a book." Beginning with *Young Lonigan: A Boyhood in Chicago Streets* (1932), these novels trace the downward drift to death of their hapless, misguided protagonist. A

normally inquisitive boy, *Studs* shows signs of intelligence, even imagination, in early scenes. And yet he assumes the facile and corrupting "tough guy" values of the Chicago street-corner society to which he is drawn after graduation from eighth grade. As a partial explanation of the boy's failure of judgment, the trilogy chronicles the breakdown in the twentieth-century city of the previously directing institutions of family, school, and church, and *Studs's* origin in a well-fixed, middle-class family makes the indictment of urban "spiritual poverty" (Farrell's phrase) all the more severe. The result is a powerful narrative, terrifying in its seemingly inexorable progress to *Judgment Day* (1935).

Instead of the tight, fatalistic narrative drive of the *Lonigan* trilogy, the five *O'Neill-O'Flaherty* novels are more open and episodic, and in this looser structure is embodied a broader, fuller, but still unsentimentalized view of urban society. Moreover, in his complex creation of the interrelated lives of the *O'Neills* and *O'Flahertys*, Farrell has provided the most thoroughly realized embodiment in American literature of three generations of Irish American life. The novels are as follows: *A World I Never Made* (1936), *No*

Star Is Lost (1938), *Father and Son* (1940), *My Days of Anger* (1943), and *The Face of Time* (1953). Taken together, they are a great achievement in characterization, setting, and structure, one that has not been sufficiently acknowledged.

The portraits of three generations of Irish Americans, from the nineteenth-century immigrant laborer to a twentieth-century intellectual and artist, are compelling in their fullness and definition. A strong-willed immigrant matriarch, *Mary O'Flaherty* dominates the early novels. An aging, retired teamster, her husband *Tom* is a quiet man who comes to life only in the concluding volume, *The Face of Time*. Their children live out a range of responses to the second-generation ethnic dilemma at the turn of the century: cut off from faith in their parents' culture by shame and pressure to assimilate, they have had to make sense of the world on their own. *Shoe-salesman Al O'Flaherty* embraces *Horatio Alger's* dream of success by hard work and self-education. His brother *Ned* puts his faith in the simplistic anaesthesia of a hazy, pop philosophy, "the power of the wish." *Margaret O'Flaherty* is caught painfully between her Catholic training in the



neighborhood and the jazzy hedonism of the Loop, where she works as a hotel cashier. Her sister Lizz, married to poorly-paid teamster Jim O'Neill with a new child every year, retreats into a concentrated piety that insulates her from the constant crises of her daily life. A decent, pragmatic working man, Jim O'Neill fights tough odds to make a better life for his children, and loses to three paralyzing strokes. In *Father and Son*, he faces uselessness, boredom, and death with heroic courage and dignity.

In the third generation, the main character is Lizz and Jim's son, Danny O'Neill, a slightly younger South Side contemporary of Studs Lonigan who takes another road -- out of Chicago and toward

areas such as Washington Park provided and lacked for working and lower-middle-class urban Americans, and how this world changed over time, specifically from the late nineteenth century to the summer of 1927. Indeed, the choice of setting provides one of the classic and complementary elements connecting the O'Neill-O'Flaherty novels and *Studs Lonigan*. The *street* and the *park* emerge in the two series as archetypal opposing options for the city child. Each represents a possible way of growing up, with its own pantheon of heroes. The choice of Studs Lonigan, the *street*, is the destructive element, characterized by gang life with its brutalization of finer instincts by pressures to conform: to fight, drink, dissipate energy and time, all in the service

park and practices baseball by the hour through his childhood years. Significantly, the recurrent, ever-receding dream of Studs Lonigan's short, unhappy life is of his one afternoon in Washington Park with Lucy Scanlan during their eighth-grade summer. So the twig is bent for both boys, and the opposition of *street* and *park* as settings is central to Farrell's complementary delineation of the mix of character and environment that brings Danny to his vocation as an artist and Studs to his grave at twenty-nine.

After characterization and setting, the third, and the least critically recognized, element of Farrell's achievement in the O'Neill-O'Flaherty series is its thematic structure. Farrell has made this 2500-page



A lazy game of croquet whiles away the day in Washington Park around the turn of the century.

understanding and control of his life. Danny's environment is less stable than Studs's -- the O'Flahertys are raising him because the O'Neills are so poor -- but he is more intelligent than Studs, and he is driven by a persistent dream of accomplishment that crystallizes into the desire to be a writer. His story is the first American portrait of the artist in which the young man emerges from the Catholic working class.

As to setting, Farrell's characters exist in a place as fully and vividly presented as any in fiction. These books tell us in concrete detail what it looked, sounded, smelled, and felt like to live in Chicago apartment-house neighborhoods, what

of an ideal of being "tough and the real stuff." The center of street life in Washington Park is Charley Bathcellar's poolroom on Fifty-eighth Street near the El station; its heroes are the gamblers, drinkers, and loafers who congregate there. The *park*, on the other hand, is the creative and liberating element, the setting for a pastoral dream of release from the disorders of the streets and the claustrophobia of apartment living. The center of park life is the athletic field, a lined-out grassy place where rules are clear and enforced and success and failure are unambiguous. Its heroes are sports figures, from park league stars to the Chicago White Sox, the pride of the South Side. Danny O'Neill chooses the

sequence a single, coherent work of art without impeding its realistic narrative flow, by means of his brilliant organization of the material around two powerful themes. Two streams of experience mingle in these pages: the outer stream of social life, a chronicle of the works and days of three generations of Chicagoans, and the inner stream of consciousness, the perceptions of that chronicle and of themselves in the minds of the individuals living it. Throughout the series, the same two watershed experiences recur, always embodying major themes. These are death and illuminating revery. Deaths in the family constitute the central events of the outer stream and emphasize the most important social theme

of the series, what Farrell in his introduction to *Father and Son* called "the tragedy of the worker, the central social tragedy of our times." Solitary reveries are the central events of the individual inner streams of consciousness in the series, and these emphasize what I take to be the most important internal, or psychological theme - the inability of these people to articulate to one another their real perceptions, insights, and feelings. Clarifications of life and honest self-assessment come only in dreams and daydreams, and they are never shared. This theme gathers force in the three last volumes of the series, in which three major characters die without having spoken their minds to anyone. Crippled by three strokes, Danny's father, Jim O'Neill, spends his last days in silent reverie by the parlor window, unable to share his struggle for meaning with another living soul. Throughout the series, Danny's grandmother, Mary

O'Flaherty series is a major literary achievement by any measure, and the fact that all five novels are currently out of print is nothing less than a scandal.

In addition to the Lonigan and O'Neill complementary cycles, the Farrell canon contains many other riches. Published between 1946 and 1952, the Bernard Carr trilogy continues the action of the O'Neill novels in dealing with the young manhood of a working-class Chicago Irishman with literary ambitions who has fled to New York in search of experience and perspective. His emergence as a successful writer takes place in the context of a vivid rendering of the lives of New York left-wing intellectuals in the 1930s. Farrell also published several isolated novels including *New Year's Eve/1929*, a matchless study of modern man's retreat from the fear of death into a life of voyeurism, and over 250 short

Farrell perfected an urban American plain style, as the fitting mode for registering the self-consciousness of ordinary people living relatively uneventful lives.

O'Flaherty, has held back from expressing her softer emotions, and the only full sense of her character and concerns comes in a last, beautiful daydream in which she admits the pains of emigration, family deaths, and suffering that she has kept to herself for sixty years. Finally, her husband, Old Tom O'Flaherty, dies of a painful stomach cancer in *The Face of Time*, and reveals only in a last, lonely soliloquy his own sad secrets -- he has never felt at home in America, he is puzzled and embittered at having worked so hard and ended up with so little, and he wishes he were dying in Ireland.

Danny O'Neill's movement in the direction of art provides effective counterpoint to the clarifying but unshared reveries and unprotesting deaths of his relatives. He comes to understand the social tragedy of his family's thwarted lives and the psychological tragedy of their failure to communicate, and with understanding comes the resolution to use writing as a weapon against both tragedies: "His people had not been fulfilled . . . Yes, he was the first of his family who could go forth fully armed and ready to fight." Danny's isolated battling toward significant speech in *Father and Son* and *My Days of Anger* serves, by its uniqueness, to underscore the problems -- some internal, some imposed from outside -- of the Irish-American working-class culture in which he grows up. The O'Neill-

stories and novellas, in which his presentation of twentieth-century life became even more inclusive.

In 1963, Farrell published *The Silence of History*, the first novel of his fourth fictional cycle, *A Universe of Time*, which, in his heroic projection, was to have run to thirty volumes. Integrated by the central recurrent character of Eddie Ryan, another Chicago writer, born, like his creator, in 1904, the *Universe* cycle embodies a reassessment of Farrell's life-long concern with the experience of the artist in the modern world, as well as a continuation of the "lifework" that he defined in an introduction to the new cycle's sixth unit, *Judith* (1969), as "a panoramic story of our days and years, a story which would continue through as many books as I would be able to write."

Farrell's critical writings also fill several volumes, beginning with *A Note on Literary Criticism* of 1936. These contain useful explanations of the relationship between his life and his work, and unfailingly perceptive appreciations of writers and thinkers as diverse as Marx, Dewey, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Hemingway, Dreiser, Fitzgerald, and Ibsen. Of particular interest to students of Irish culture will be the recently published collection of Farrell's writings *On Irish Themes* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982, edited by Dennis Flynn).

In his fiction, Farrell perfected an urban American plain style, as the fitting mode for registering the self-consciousness of ordinary people living relatively uneventful lives. In his best work, a hard-won, minimal, eloquence emerges naturally from the convincingly registered thoughts of characters such as Jim O'Neill and Old Tom O'Flaherty. The authentic eloquence of their daydream/soliloquies remains one of Farrell's greatest achievements.

Farrell was first and foremost an American realist: fiercely and scrupulously honest, immune to sentimentality, and committed to giving serious literary consideration to the common life. The themes of his fiction are embedded in the contest of a fully realized narrative world, consistent with what he saw as "my constant and major aim as a writer -- to write so that life may speak for itself." Because these themes are so important and so thoroughly grounded in American, urban, and ethnic realities, it will become clear to more and more readers that James T. Farrell has done for twentieth-century Irish America what William Carleton did for nineteenth-century Ireland. Thomas Flanagan's placement of Carleton applies also to Farrell: "From the broken land of gunmen and gallows, of bent men upon bitter soil and lovers 'scattered like nosegays' across the meadows, came a writer so gifted that he could show us everything at once."

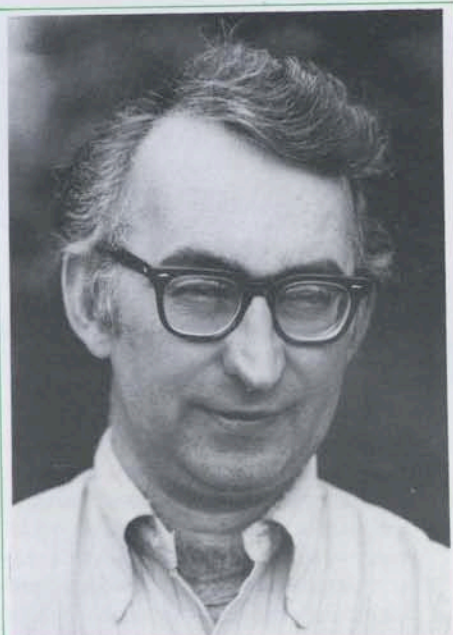


Photo by Robert Ward

Charles Fanning teaches Irish and American Literature at Bridgewater and is the author of several articles and three books. Supported by fellowships from the National Endowments for the Humanities and the Rockefeller Foundation, his main research interest has been the Irish immigrant experience in America.

Grocery prices slipped By MICHAEL KUCHWARA The Associated Press
Grocery prices slipped slightly last month, dropping nearly two-tenths of 1 percent, according to an Associated Press marketbasket survey. The price of meat prices contributed to the decline. The price of beef, pork chops and all-beef frankfurters of the 13 survey cities. The total marketbasket for the month in seven cities. The average decrease in the average increase.

Economic confidence WASHINGTON (AP) — The gauge of future economic strength rose the 11th straight monthly gain, government called today. Despite being the smallest year, it amounted to another sign that the economy is leading. The gauge, the Leading Economic Index, rose 0.1 percent to 100.1.

More signs confidence," said Raldrige, re-sum

THE CONSUMER MOVEMENT In The United States

Confidence

Commerce... resulted in a 1.4 percent increase in spending in May by 1.2 percent in April. By Kathleen Browne Ittig

Services claims for unemployment, 4-June to the 1980s, the government yet another recovery

What ever happened to the consumer movement in the United States? In stark contrast to the high visibility and widespread support enjoyed by the consumer movement during the last two decades, overt concern for consumer protection seems to have disappeared since the election of President Ronald Reagan.

To answer this question it is necessary first to identify the market conditions that currently dominate the U. S. economy and second to review the history of the consumer movement as it has evolved in this country during the last eighty years.

While most modern economic theory is based largely on the ideal of the competitive economy, in actuality the U. S. economy is increasingly moving toward domination by oligopolies. Oligopoly is the market condition in which an industry is dominated by relatively few firms in matters of price and output. Some of the effects of oligopoly are clearly to the disadvantage of consumers.

Some economists argue that oligopoly fosters non-price competition and that this results in economic waste. Economist Almarin Phillips has written in the *Journal of Economic Literature* (December, 1971) that economic "waste appears in the use of too many resources in the production of a multiplicity of differentiated products, in excessive sales promotion, in high distribution costs, in excess capacity and in slow rates of innovation."



Besides controlling our oligopolistic economy, most industries in this country are well organized and well represented inside and outside local, state and federal agencies. Of course, this concentration of power has not been ignored by other sectors in the economy. Both government and labor have made attempts to halt or at least countervail this trend. For example the federal government enacted anti-trust legislation but both the Federal Trade Commission and the Office

of the Attorney General have been ineffective in getting convictions in most cases. The weaknesses of government bureaucracy, not to mention the well-documented industry bias in most government agencies, seems to work continually to the disadvantage of consumers.

Labor, as well, has reacted to oligopoly by organizing workers into unions so that union members are effectively protected on the job and in the face of a rising cost of living. Once labor had established its own power base it showed little interest in controlling oligopoly or in recognizing its dual role as consumer-producer.

Consumers, then, are the least powerful segment of the national economy. Consumers have been the least organized sector in the economy and thus easily dominated by the other sectors. Because of its lack of power and inability to organize effectively, the consumer movement got a late start in this country and experienced uneven growth. Since its initial phase that began in 1890, the consumer movement seems to be following a cyclical pattern of evolution in which periods of consumer influence on the economy were followed by periods where the American public appeared tired of pushing for quality, safety and reform.

THE INITIAL PHASE The Early 1900s

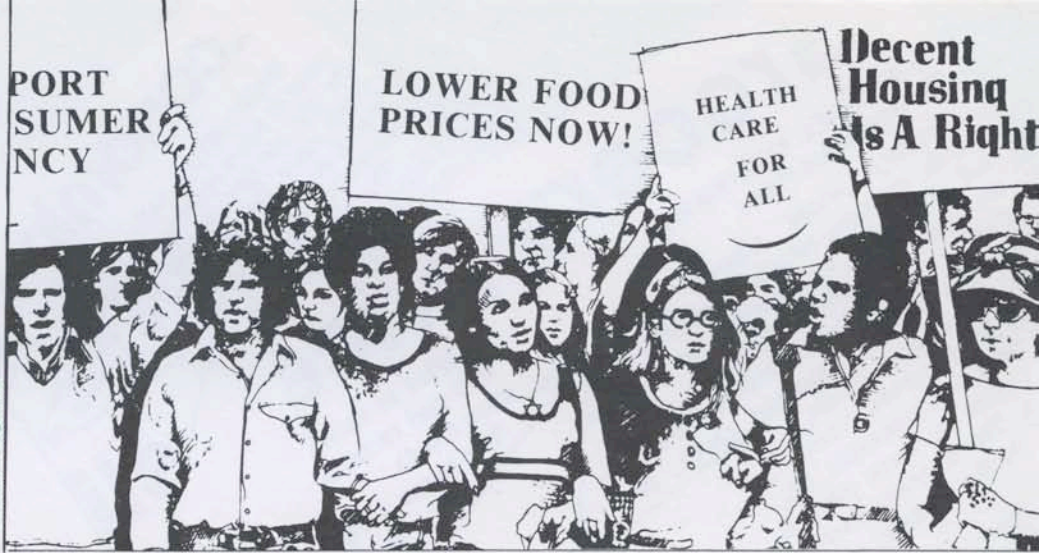
During this period there was a great interest in a variety of consumer protection laws and regulations, including weights and measures standards, usury laws, rudimentary pure food and drug regulations, meat inspection laws and laws against misbranding.

The initial pressure for these laws, however, did not come from consumers but from business interests attempting to protect themselves and their industries from the escalating bad publicity being generated by less scrupulous competitors.

A look at some of the events surrounding the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 provides some insight into forces operating to improve consumer welfare at the beginning of this century. In this period, the advent of both refrigeration and new chemical preservatives fostered the development of a centralized food industry and a national food distribution system. As the industry expanded there were increasing complaints of adulterated foods. The most common problem seemed to be the use of chemicals to make rancid food salable in interstate commerce. State regulations governing the local food supply became increasingly ineffective in the face of the burgeoning national food market. Initial pressure for the law came from organized farmers interested in protecting their reputations as quality food producers. However, the most publicity was generated by the chief chemist of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Harvey W. Wiley, and his "poison squad" through a series of experiments designed to show the effects of preservatives in the diet on human development. In addition, the timely publication of Upton Sinclair's exposé on the unhealthy conditions in the meat packing plants, *The Jungle*, served as the final catalyst for the passage of the bill. Throughout the campaign for passage of the



Prolific socialist author Upton Sinclair



Fortune Magazine

Pure Food and Drug Bill many citizen groups, although not primarily consumer organizations, became involved. These groups included the Federated Women's Clubs of America and the National Consumers League. Belying what its name might imply and despite its support of such pro-consumer legislation, the main thrust of the National Consumers League was improving the working conditions and wage policies of the garment and food industries.

As a result of the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, however, several consumer organizations did form in an attempt to see that the law was enforced, and to lobby for additional consumer legislation. These short-lived organizations consisted mainly of housewives; in Chicago, for example, the group was called the Housewives League. Their primary concern was the "sanitary conditions of food stores" but their concern expanded to include excessive pricing practices. Their activities in 1912 to break the high price of storage eggs provides an example of their method of action. To break the price of storage eggs which were being sold as fresh at thirty-four cents a dozen, they sold eggs on street corners at ten cents below the prevailing price.

Interest in consumer issues dissipated during the period that included World War I, the soaring inflation of the twenties, and the Great Depression. Family energy was focused first on the war effort and subsequently on economic survival.

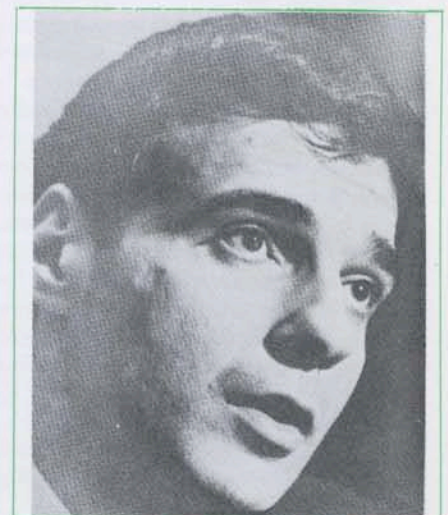
THE SECOND CONSUMER MOVEMENT

Thirty years after the birth of the consumer movement, it experienced a resurgence that was fueled by the New Deal. The policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt included the first federal government attempts to

institutionalize consumer representation and passage of a stronger Pure Food and Drug Act.

Apart from government activities there were several other significant developments that took place in the private sector that had a positive influence on consumer welfare.

Consumers Research was formed in 1929 by F. J. Schlink and Stuart Chase following the publication of their book, *Your Money's Worth*, which attacked advertising and high-pressure salesmanship and called for scientific testing and product standards to provide consumers with technical information they needed to make decisions. Schlink and Chase also formed Consumers Research to carry out this needed testing work. Then in 1935 after a bitter struggle between Consumers Research and its employees during which the Consumers Research management refused to acknowledge a National Labor Relations Board or engage in collective bargaining, a group of subscribers broke off and formed a new organization called Consumers Union. Consumers Union concerned itself with both consumer and related social problems. In three years it was bigger than Consumers Research and was able to help other new consumer organizations including the Milk Consumers Protective Committee of



Consumer rights crusader Ralph Nader

New York, High Cost of Living Conferences, and the Consumers National Federation, an information clearinghouse on consumer issues.

Consumer groups oriented to local problems were also organized during this period. Such an organization originated in Detroit in 1935 in response to the rising price of meat. Housewives organized a meat-buying strike which involved picketing to demand a twenty percent cut in meat prices. Although their twenty percent demand was not met, meat supplies increased, prices stabilized, and the idea spread to other major cities.

The growing influence of the consumer movement was temporarily stunted by another war, World War II, and the subsequent recovery period. The consumer had occasional representation in the federal government through the Council of Economic Advisors which had a Consumer Advisory Committee intermittently between 1947 and 1956.

- 1 **The Right to Safety** - to be protected against the marketing of goods which are hazardous to health of life;
- 2 **The Right to Be Informed** - to be protected against fraudulent, deceitful, or grossly misleading information, advertising, labeling or other practices, and to be given the facts he needs to make an informed choice;
- 3 **The Right to Choose** - to be assured, wherever possible, access to a variety of products and services at competitive prices; and in those industries where competition is not workable and government regulation is substituted, an assurance of satisfactory quality and service at fair prices.
- 4 **The Right to Be Heard** - to be assured that consumer interests will receive full and sympathetic consideration in the formulation of government policy, and fair and expeditious treatment in its administrative tribunals.

Secondly, he required twenty-two agency heads whose actions could affect consumer welfare to appoint a special assistant "to insure adequate and effective attention to consumer interests in the work of the agency. . . ."

The Consumer Advisory Council was assigned the task of translating Kennedy's consumer message into action. To do this they selected six topics mentioned in the message for priority. These were:

- 1 Consumer standards, grades and labels.
- 2 Two-way flow of information and opinion between government and consumer.
- 3 Effective consumer representation in government.
- 4 Consumer credit.
- 5 Interrelation among federal agencies and between federal and state agencies in areas of consumer protection.
- 6 Acceleration of economic growth.



"DECADE OF THE CONSUMER"

It wasn't until March 15, 1962, that consumer representation received attention from a President of the United States. On that date John F. Kennedy sent a message to Congress entitled *Consumers' Protection and Interest Program*. The message pointed out some of the problems facing the American consumer including our rapidly changing technology and modern marketing practices.

As part of this message to Congress, Kennedy presented a statement listing four rights of consumers. These rights have been widely quoted since and include:

Of particular relevance to this study are Kennedy's remarks emphasizing the need for consumers to be organized and also to participate in government decision-making processes. His message pointed out that consumers "are the only important group in the economy who are not effectively organized, whose views are not often heard."

Kennedy's response to the problems of consumers was initially in two areas. First, he ordered the formation in The Council of Economic Advisors of a Consumer Advisory Council to "... provide advice to the government on issues of broad economic policy, on governmental programs protecting consumer needs, and on needed improvements in the flow of consumer research materials to the public. . . ."

After Kennedy's assassination, the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson had the responsibility of designing legislation that would begin to address some of the major consumer concerns. These efforts were further augmented by Johnson's "War on Poverty" which emphasized community organization and education. This made federal funding available for many programs with consumer organization and consumer education components.

President Johnson also established the President's Committee on Consumer Interests and created a new post at the executive level, Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs in January, 1964. Esther Peterson was appointed to fill this position and proved to be a very effective

spokeswoman for the consumer. One of her first assignments was to promote Johnson's twelve-law package of consumer legislation. The laws included "truth-in-lending, meat inspection, drug inspection and pesticide control."

In the private sector in the Sixties, the number and size of consumer organizations increased at a very rapid rate particularly at the state and local level where consumers organized for a variety of reasons. Some lobbied for legislation and others protested rising food prices. Ralph Nader became a household word. In 1965, after publishing *Unsafe at Any Speed* because of his concern with the poor engineering design and construction of automobiles and their relationship to automobile accidents and injuries, Nader's book was instrumental in the passage of the Highway Safety Act of 1966. While continuing to monitor automobile safety, Nader has applied his technique of researching and documenting through industrial and governmental sources, enlisting Congressional support, publicizing the findings through the press, book-length reports and public appearances. At the beginning Nader was doing much of the research himself, but in

The new Congress was not receptive to consumer legislation . . .

the late Sixties he expanded his activities to include the supervision of "Nader's Raiders," a group of young law students and graduate students who used his model of research to investigate many areas of consumer concern including the regulatory agencies: the Federal Trade Commission, the Food and Drug Administration and the Interstate Commerce Commission. As the size of his organization as well as the scope of its research into abuses of the public

interest by business and governmental groups continued to grow, Nader formed the Center for Study of Responsive Law as the main umbrella group.

While Ralph Nader's influence spread the Consumers Union also began to flourish. It expanded its consumer education program which supplements the product testing operation and increased the readership of *Consumer Reports* to four million subscribers. It also developed a program to educate consumers about life insurance, drugs, medical care, guarantees and warranties, and product safety. Consumers Union continued to organize local consumer groups as well as an international federation of consumer testing agencies, International Organization of Consumers Unions. In addition, Consumers Union frequently presented expert testimony in the consumer interest at government hearings on consumer legislation.

The Decade of the Consumer came to a close with the election of President Richard Nixon. Few consumer advocates believed that any progress in federal consumer protection would be made during his administration. Many were, therefore, surprised when it was Nixon who finally raised the status of consumer affairs within the federal government to an official executive rank by creating a new Office of Consumer Affairs in the Executive Office of the President. It appears that this was done to help defeat legislation for establishment of an independent Consumer Agency. Because the Democrats controlled Congress, however, some important consumer legislation was enacted. The most important legislation passed at this time was the law establishing the Consumer Product Safety Commission.

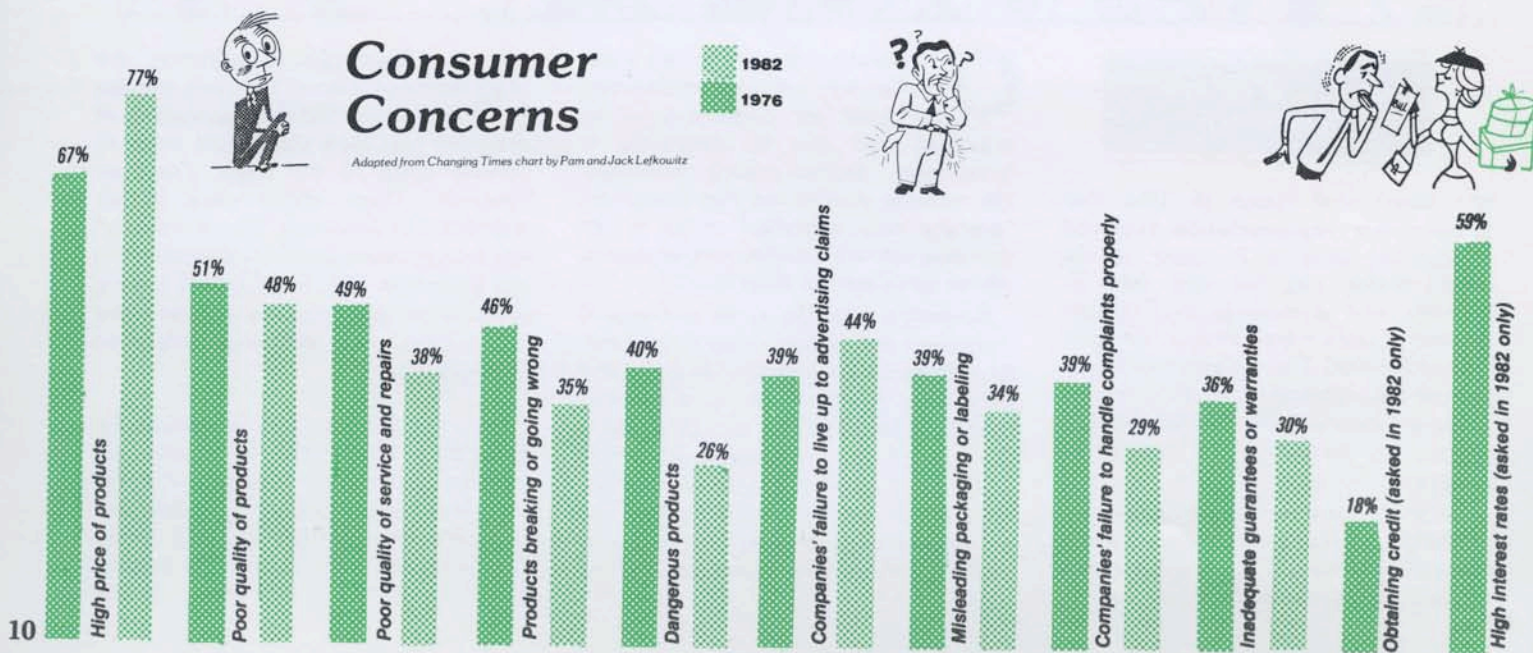
THE OPEC RECESSION YEARS

The last decade, *The OPEC Recession Decade*, has been a difficult one for consumers. More of their attention has been focused again on the issue of economic survival. The consumer focus has been learning to cope with the widespread inflation brought about largely by the OPEC orchestrated rise in oil prices. As in earlier downturns in the business cycle, overt consumer activism was weakened.

While consumers were concentrating on day-to-day survival, corporate lobbyists mounted a massive assault on "big government." Paralleling President Carter's call for deregulation in the business sector, organized corporate interests lobbied strongly for deregulation of the newly acquired health, safety and economic rights of Americans. The basic business message was that Americans could not afford consumer protection in a period of economic difficulty. The Carter Administration was pro-consumer and appointed a number of consumer leaders to important posts but little was accomplished. The new Congress was not receptive to consumer legislation and consumer organizations seemed to be temporarily weakened by the government skimming off their leadership.

For example, Carole Tucker Foreman, Executive Director of the Consumer Federation of America, was appointed to a high-ranking post in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Joan Claybrook resigned her position heading Nader's Congress Watch to head the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

Source: Louis Harris and Associates



THE CONSUMER MOVEMENT IN THE EIGHTIES

A national survey of consumer attitudes conducted by Lou Harris in October 1982, and sponsored by Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO) revealed that the Americans have confidence in the consumer movement and two-thirds of those polled say they believe the movement has grown stronger in the past five years. Despite this, consumer organizations have not been hopeful about the passage of new consumer legislation during the Reagan Administration. The focus is instead on holding the line but some slippage is occurring.

A current case in point is the issue of tire grading. In 1966, Congress mandated that a comparative grading system of tires be developed. Finally, fourteen years later in 1980, during the Carter Administration, the National Highway Traffic and Safety Administration issued the regulation. Tire manufacturers were required to test their tires and assign grades to them in three performance areas: traction, heat resistance, and tread life. This allowed consumers to compare types and brands of tires more easily.

This grading system came under the attack of the Reagan Administration almost immediately. The Reagan Administration views were surprisingly similar to two of the largest tire advertisers, Goodyear and Michelin, who were opposed to tire grading and tread-life grading, in particular. Smaller tire manufacturers such as Uniroyal and Kelly-Springfield favor tire grading and used it successfully to expand their market share. Consumer groups have actively supported tire grading. In a recent article *Consumer Reports* chided the Reagan Administration for on the one hand defending its free market philosophy that frequently states, "consumers should be provided information and left to make their own choices," while at the same time defying a Congressional mandate, "is taking away one of the most important pieces of information consumers have had in their shopping for tires." As capsulized by a *New York Times* editorial: "The Reagan Administration would evidently prefer our shopping for this technically complex product to be guided solely by advice from authorities such as the Blimp and Michelin Man."

Seven national consumer groups led by the National Consumer League (NCL) organized a coalition and in January 1982 and 1983, issued analyses of the Reagan Administration's impact on consumer policies and programs. The report's introduction states, "Almost every area of

vital concern to consumers was adversely affected by the Administration's relentless drive to deny the role of government in protecting citizens." Highlights of the study include the following anti-consumer actions taken by the Reagan Administration during 1982:

HEALTH

- Increased the proportion of health care costs that elderly Medicare beneficiaries must pay; hospital coverage deductibles rose twenty-seven percent from 1981 levels, and out-patient deductibles rose twenty-five percent.
- Denied Medicaid benefits to nearly seven million people as a result of cuts in welfare programs.
- Sharply reduced workplace safety and health inspections and enforcement activities; the total number of inspections fell twenty-five percent, citations for willful violations declined eighty-nine percent, and the number of backlogged complaints rose 189 percent.

FOOD

- Eliminated three million children, forty percent of whom were from low-income families, and 2,700 schools from the school lunch program.
- Dropped almost one million low-income people from the Food Stamp Program through eligibility changes.

TRANSPORTATION

- Rescinded NHTSA rules to require air bags in 1983 cars, a proposal that could save 100,000 lives and prevent 600,000 injuries over a ten-year span.

ENERGY

- Caused steep price hikes in natural gas because of revisions in pricing policies.
- Proposed to cut over thirty percent from an energy assistance program to help the poor pay energy bills.

CONSUMER INFORMATION

- Eliminated more than two thousand government publications and reduced availability of many previously free government publications.
- Drastically reduced funding for consumer education programs in every agency.

Barbara Warden, NCL's executive director and coordinator of the coalition, asserted, "The Reagan Administration is clearly turning back the clock on nearly a century of progress in consumer rights, damaging our economy and the welfare of the American people."

THE FUTURE OF CONSUMERISM

Futurist John Naisbitt has predicted in his popular book, *Magatrends*, that "Consumerism will increase during the 1980s with the distinct possibility that it will become extremely militant late in the decade." Harris also concluded from the ARCO poll that, "There is every sign of yet another explosion of consumer concern."

For the last century consumer movement activism has waxed and waned in response to the business cycle. In periods that the economy has been expanding the consumer movement has flourished, and in periods of economic downturn, as consumers have had to focus their energy on the economic survival of their families, the consumer movement has experienced some retrenchment. The current recession has been no exception.

As the economy recovers, the consumer movement will revive along with it. When it does, the focus is likely to be on the areas attracting a high level of consumer concern such as those identified by the Harris Poll including poor quality products, poor quality service and repairs, products breaking or going wrong, and dangerous products.



Photo by Robert Ward

Dr. Kathleen Browne Ittig, Associate Professor of Economics, received her Ph.D. and M.S. from Cornell University and her B.S.Ed. from Framingham State College. The author of over twenty publications in Consumer Economics, Dr. Ittig has been an invited participant in many national and international conferences and has frequently served as a consultant to business and government agencies including the National Science Foundation and the U. S. Office of Consumer Education. She is currently completing a study of Consumer Health Insurance Choices.

Political Bosses In Urban America

Corruption or Contribution?

by Dennis L. Lythgoe

In the years following the Civil War, America's cities grew dramatically, not only because of the Industrial Revolution, but because of the influx of immigrants. The result was political chaos, and the part-time politician couldn't handle the change. From this disorganization, the political boss, a distinctive breed, emerged. Even though many bosses were involved in graft and corruption, they also replaced chaos with order.

Most of the early bosses in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century came from either the corner saloon or the volunteer fire department. In either setting they were able to sell themselves as "people's men," who were down to earth and interested in service to humanity. "Big Tim" Sullivan and Charles Murphy of New

York both emerged from saloons. Sullivan was nicknamed "Dry Dollar" because he never laid a customer's change down until he had carefully dried the bar top with his towel. Murphy increased his clientele by serving a free bowl of soup with a five-cent beer. George Cox of Cincinnati was the owner of a saloon called "Dead Man's Corner," where numerous killings had taken place. Heavyset Jim Pendergast opened a saloon in Kansas City's working-class section called the West Bottoms. He provided pungent garlic bologna, cheese, and bread to anyone who bought a nickel beer. Like the saloon, the fire department provided an opportunity to make friends playing cards and making small talk. From that environment emerged Boss Tweed of New York.

A trademark of every one of these bosses was his concern for the poor and underprivileged. In a period of growing urban poverty, when the federal government declined to assume responsibility, politicians from working-class neighborhoods built their own welfare programs. The down-and-out knew they could get help from the boss, who would give them baskets of food or buckets of coal. The boss would slip a widow money to cover the cost of a respectable funeral and burial, or help an immigrant find a job and a place to live. After the immigrant was settled, the boss would help him to become naturalized, which increased the immigrant's pride and gave the boss another vote.

The bosses also created a system of political clubs for middle-class neighborhoods. The purpose was to provide social services for people who did not need a basket of food but who could not afford to belong to the elite country clubs. The political machine rented large halls for banquets and parties and dances. They sponsored picnics and barbecues, baseball leagues, and weekly bridge parties for women. In turn, people were expected to poll voters and pass out sample ballots at election time. In later years, people on the receiving end of social services were expected to drive people to the polls.

Wise bosses were heavy contributors to Catholic parochial schools or Jewish charities. Sometimes pastors even urged their parishioners to vote for machine politicians. Bosses did favors for small businessmen, especially storekeepers. Restaurants, saloons, and delicatessens found the friendship of the boss invaluable in securing health department approval. Many cities made the licensing of numerous small businesses appear to be a special favor. In return the businessman would display campaign posters in his window and talk politics with his customers.

New York's Boss Tweed had notorious alliances with businessmen who would provide kickbacks to the machine in return for contracts, whether for stationery, toilet paper, or construction work. In the early years of the Tweed regime, the fee was ten percent, while several years later it had grown to sixty-five percent. Tweed even paid exorbitant fees for advertising in newspapers which in return maintained a friendly editorial policy. The last year Tweed was in power the city paid advertising bills to newspapers in excess of one million dollars.

From San Francisco to the big cities of the East Coast, all forms of organized crime operated under the friendly eye of the machine. Hazen Pingree in Detroit tolerated prostitution in his city, not because he got a cut, but because he realized its popularity among the voters. Prostitution was illegal in Cincinnati, but it thrived under Boss Cox. Under the aegis of the machine, prostitutes were examined once a week and those free of disease were given work permits for seven days. In New York, the Tammany Machine instructed police to wink at violators as long as they paid the police and the organization a percentage of the take. Chicago was a notoriously wide-open city. Brothels prospered with boss-controlled police getting a percentage.

In the twentieth century, Chicago remained much the same under Richard J. Daley, whose moral code was "Thou shalt not steal, but thou shalt not blow the whistle on anybody who does." The Cook County Democratic Committee included a man named John D'Arco who was known as the crime syndicate's man on the committee. It was public knowledge that Chicago's Mafia chieftain Sam Giancana actually owned the First Ward through his representative D'Arco. As long as the Mafia didn't

City Hall
Boston, MA
Photo by Robert Ward

challenge him and remained satisfied with its limited share of city government. Daley could live with it -- the same way he lived with the "rascals in Springfield," meaning leaders of state government.

Bosses came from every imaginable ethnic background. James Pendergast in Kansas City, Frank Hague in Jersey City, James Michael Curley in Boston, and Charles Murphy in New York were Irish-Americans. San Francisco's Abraham Reuf was a German Jew, Chicago's Anton Cermak was born in Bohemia, and Boss Tweed was from a long line of native Americans. Their education was diverse as well. Ed Butler of St. Louis, Richard Crocker of New York, "Big Tim" Sullivan, and George Cox of Cincinnati never finished grammar school. On the other hand, Doc Ames of Minneapolis received an M.D. before he was twenty-one, and Abe Reuf held a law degree.

Some bosses let their success go to their heads. Frank Hague had a home in New Jersey and one in Florida. Tom Pendergast owned an elegant mansion in Kansas City and traveled first class to Europe. Duke Vare of Philadelphia owned a home that cost a half-million dollars. Richard Crocker maintained a castle in Ireland, a house in Palm Beach, and an apartment in one of New York's most exclusive residential districts. Tweed lived in a Fifth Avenue showplace, kept his horses in a silver-trimmed mahogany stable and sported an expensive yacht.

But the bosses who were really astute avoided a show of wealth. Richard J. Daley continued to live in the same lower-class ethnic community of Bridgeport, four miles from the Chicago loop, for his entire twenty-one-year reign as mayor. He rarely traveled outside the state and wore the same old baggy suits, which is probably why Daley was the most impressive power broker of them all.

The primary reason for the longevity in office of many of the bosses was their ability to deliver the vote from people who were indebted to them at election time. It was an intricate system of mutual favors. Richard Crocker of Tammany Hall could get hundreds of precinct captains to do leg

work for the machine because of this system. The ward heeler or precinct captain got out the vote because people felt they should pay him back for a past favor. Likewise, he worked for the boss and the local organization because he was in their debt. In many instances, thousands of people who delivered the vote were also on the city payroll. In Kansas City, during Jim Pendergast's prime in 1900, he had almost five hundred jobs on the city payroll to give to loyal supporters.

Richard Daley always bristled when reporters used the term "machine" because he preferred "organization." But it was no secret that Daley's dual role as mayor and chairman of the Cook County Democratic Committee gave him final say over the award of some 35,000 patronage positions. At least weekly he would meet with his patronage director to peruse job applications right down to ditch digger. It was assumed that when the mayor gave his approval, the person who got the job would be considered a member of the machine and

building parks and squares throughout New York City. These improvements were evenly distributed among neighborhoods of all social classes. Jim Pendergast put his machine behind bond issues for parks and boulevards for Kansas City, and Boss Crump helped Memphis achieve one of the most attractive park and boulevard systems in the country.

Perhaps surprisingly, the bosses also did more than other white groups to achieve racial equality. Curley, who was Mayor of Boston on and off for thirty-six years, ran as well in the Lithuanian neighborhood of South Boston and the Italian section of East Boston as he did in the working-class Irish wards. In his last term in City Hall, he conferred minor patronage on the growing black community and joined the NAACP.

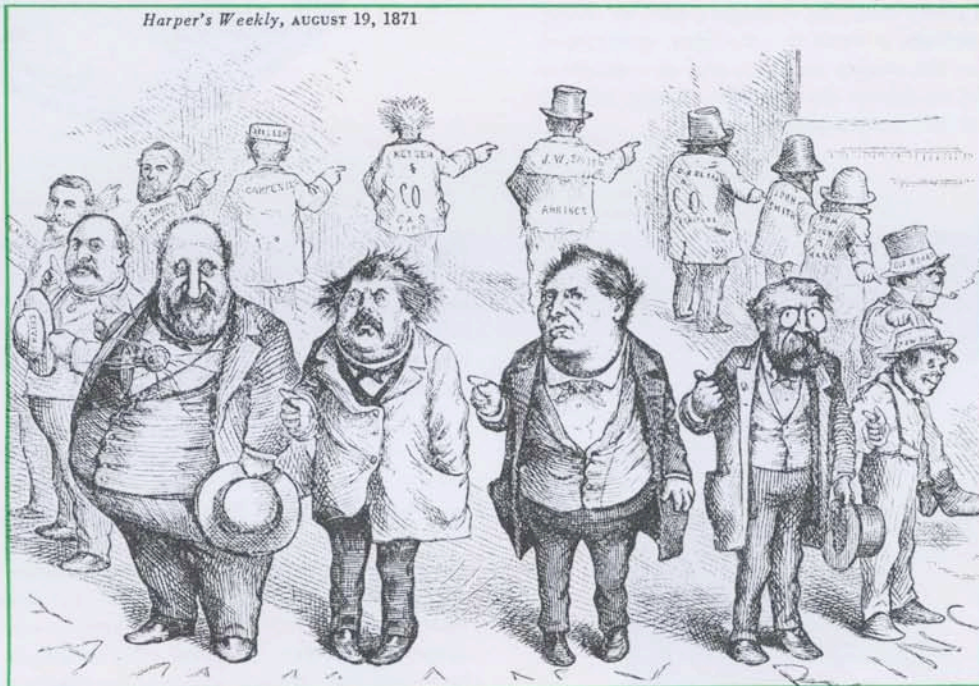
Pendergast distributed patronage to blacks in his organization, and Boss Cox paved the way for black enfranchisement by suppressing violence against blacks at the polls. Edward Crump actually gave blacks the vote in Memphis. In St. Louis, Jordan Chambers, a black ward boss, got his start

in politics by working in Boss Butler's machine.

Richard Daley was terrible with human relationships and purposely fenced out blacks in his Chicago machine, but essential services under his tenure were superb. Daley was acclaimed for providing an ingenious transportation system comprised of expressways fanning out from the central core with rapid-transit trains running down their median strips (or in Daley's words, "medium strips"). Chicago streets were con-

sidered to be the cleanest and best illuminated in the country. Once he said to the garbage truck drivers of the city: "You men, with the help of God, are going to make this the finest city. You are going to go out and make every street and every alley the finest street and the finest alley."

Under Daley, Chicago's police and fire departments were ranked by professionals as among the most effective in the world. In fact, when the police department was accused of corrupt practices, Daley conducted a nationwide search and hired one of the top law enforcement officials in the country to be Chicago's chief. In doing



Thomas Nast's devastating assault on the Tweed Ring helped bring about his demise. Members of the ring reply "Twas Him" to the question, "Who stole the people's money?"

could be counted on to work one of Chicago's 3,412 voting precincts at election time. Until the final two years of Daley's regime, that arrangement produced incredible success for the machine at the ballot box.

While it is tempting to condemn city bosses for corruption, it should be remembered that they supported many projects of public improvement. Tenement house reform, park and boulevard systems, and building programs were common projects readily embraced by the bosses. Under the Tweed ring, the Parks department made a major contribution in

so he salvaged his political reputation by picturing himself as a man of the highest integrity.

In the last few years of Daley's administration, private investors poured more than five million dollars into the downtown area. Daley constructed a record 45,000 low-income housing units in the North-, West-, and South-Side ghettos and virtually transformed one of the city's most decayed neighborhoods by giving it a branch of the University of Illinois. Most miraculous of all, Daley did it all without a budget deficit. As a result, Chicagoans generally forgave him his famous malapropism such as "We must rise to ever higher and higher platitudes," and "The police are not here to create disorder. They are here to preserve disorder."

If Boston has not been as consistent as Chicago in delivering services, it has certainly provided two of the important bosses in James Michael Curley and Kevin Hagan White. Curley was a unique figure, having served four terms as mayor, once as Governor of Massachusetts, twice as congressman and virtually dominated Massachusetts politics for forty years.

When Curley was first elected mayor in 1913, he assured voters that he and his wife would remain "just folks" and continue to live in their simple, frame house in Roxbury. Instead, he built a large brick Dutch-Colonial house on the exclusive Jamaica Way. The new Curley home had a forty-foot-long, mahogany-paneled dining room, fourteen-foot ceilings, a massive chandelier, gold-plated fireplace equipment for the marble fireplace, and an impressive winding staircase. The neighbors did not take offense until he installed white shutters with cutout shamrocks.



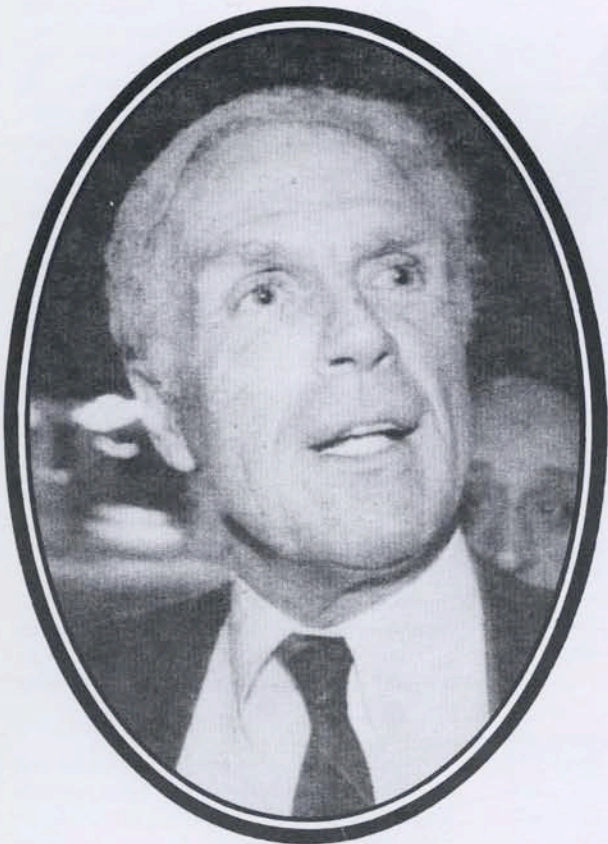
James Michael Curley

No one was ever sure how Curley acquired the money to pay for such a mansion, since he earned only \$5,000 a year as mayor. It was assumed that no city contract was ever awarded without a cut for Curley, but no graft was ever proved in court of law. Although he was known as "Mayor of the Poor," he dressed stylishly and aspired to be among the mighty.

Similarly, Kevin White flies first class, stays in first-class hotels, and cultivates expensive tastes. If he stays in New York City, he pays as much as \$250 for a suite; if he travels to Washington, D.C., on city business, he hires chauffeured limousines to carry him from agency to agency at a one-day cost of \$1,820. He maintains the Parkman House, a city-owned Beacon Hill mansion, as a combination office, personal retreat, and banquet hall. Recently, he spent \$10,300 of city money to furnish a campaign "office" in his personal residence, including a \$2,700 sofa. In reply to his critics, he insists that he must maintain the dignity of his office and that Boston is a "world-class city."

White has a patrician appearance, having been educated at Williams College, wears expensive suits and keeps his long white hair carefully sprayed to cover the baldness. While he considers his \$60,000 a year salary a disgrace, it has not altered his life style.

White also shares with Curley a flamboyant, charismatic reputation. People are inherently drawn to White just as they were to Curley, even though White is not an electrifying Curley-style orator. While building his political career, Curley studied the orations of Disraeli, Gladstone, Burke, Lincoln, and Daniel Webster, reciting them in his resonant voice and taking note of melodic-sounding words. He also studied breath control and arm gestures to prepare him to become one of the best rabble rousers of his time.



Kevin Hagan White

Curley, like White, was famous for the colorful, angry put down. After campaigning for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, he expected to be rewarded with a cabinet appointment. Instead FDR offered him the ambassadorship to Poland, and described it as a sensitive post. The incredulous Curley exploded, "If it's such a goddam interesting place, why don't you resign the Presidency and take it yourself?"

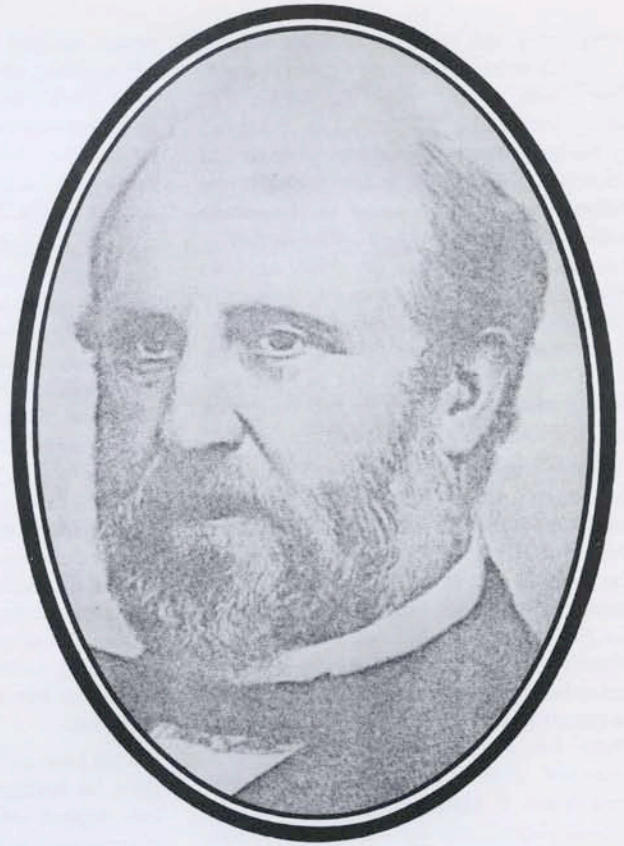
In a similarly candid comment, White explained his approach to city problems as a result of the controversial tax reduction bill known as Proposition 2 ½. "I'm teaching department heads to stay within their budgets for the first time. And they're breaking their asses and doing a good job." When asked if that confirmed critics' suspicions that he condoned poor spending practices, White reacted angrily: "The state can't hold a candle to my management techniques. I hire better talent and manage better than the state or any big city in the country."

Both Curley and White earned reputations as city builders. When Curley began his tenure, he organized a cascade of public works programs. Tunnels were dug under streets, the electric streetcar system was extended, brick-piece city streets replaced rat-infested tenements, swamps were filled and beaches came into existence, and hospitals were cleaned and painted. His many years of service left a physical imprint on the city.

White also changed the face of Boston, a fact which will secure him a notable niche in history. The transformation of Quincy Market into a stunning success attracting more than one million visitors a year is one notable example of White's dedication to urban redevelopment. The Boston waterfront is bristling with new and rehabilitated buildings, condominiums and hotels, with more planned.



Richard J. Daley



William M. "Boss" Tweed

Although he has been the underdog in each of his election campaigns for mayor, his career has been more consistent than Curley's. One of Curley's unique characteristics was his ability to lose an election when he seemed invincible, and yet rise from the graveyard to win an "impossible" victory. His four terms were intermittent, spread over thirty-six years from 1913 to 1949, as contrasted with White's unbroken string of victories since 1967. White is much more vital and durable at age fifty-three than Curley was in his final term at age seventy, suffering from diabetes, high blood pressure, and failing eyesight. Curley served in the interim periods as congressman and governor, but it was evident that his fondest love was the mayoralty.

Curley sought his last term as mayor with a felony charge hanging over his head. In 1945, at age seventy, he won election prior to being prosecuted for mail fraud. In the middle of the proceedings, the judge allowed a court recess so Curley could go home to Boston for the inauguration. Although there has been heavy conjecture as to whether the guilty verdict was politically inspired, Curley was sentenced to prison for six to eighteen months.

When he went home to Boston he was not ostracized, but greeted by a cheering crowd at South Station and a band playing "Hail the Conquering Hero Comes." Pending his appeal, Curley went to work at City Hall every day, collecting income from both his mayor's job and his congressional seat, from which he had not yet bothered to resign. Joe Kennedy implored him to resign the seat so his son Jack could run for it, but Curley insisted on pulling down two salaries until the end of 1946.

Curley was ordered to begin serving his term at Danbury Prison in June, 1946, even though his health was failing. Incredibly, "Curley's Law," passed by the legislature, allowed him to retain his office and salary while in jail, and John B. Hynes, city clerk, to serve as temporary mayor until his return. Just before he died at the age of eighty-four in 1958 at City Hospital, after being moved from the operating table across bumpy floors, Curley dramatically announced that the first plank in his platform for reelection as Mayor of Boston would be to "have the goddam floors in City Hospital smoothed out."

When Curley died, observers said that the heyday of the boss and the political machine was at an end. Others said the same in 1976 when Richard J. Daley died. Certainly it is much more difficult to construct machines that deliver the vote in the 1980s, but it is not impossible as Kevin White's career attests. White did not start out to become a machine politician. In 1967, he campaigned against the fiesty Louise Day Hicks for more humane, neighborhood-oriented city government. He was considered a bland campaigner, but he argued idealistically for improved schools, hospitals, and residential areas. He was not a radical, but he was sympathetic to the problems of the ghettos. He won by one of the smallest pluralities in the city's history, 12,522 votes of 192,860 cast.

The heyday of political machines is over. Kevin White has relinquished his hold on Boston.

White was immediately cast in the glamorous mold of the progressive mayor of New York, John Lindsay. Both were reform-minded liberals with humanitarian interests in contrast to the city boss who concentrated on services such as garbage removal. White's star rose so dramatically that he tried to step up to the governorship of Massachusetts in 1970, but he was no match for the more telegenic Republican Francis Sargeant. White did not even carry Boston.

Although again the underdog in his 1971 re-election campaign, White was becoming the consummate politician, and he defeated Hicks for the second time but by a much more impressive margin, 62.8 percent of the vote. His biggest disappointment was being passed over for the vice-presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket with George McGovern in 1972. He had always had national ambitions, but the lustre that surrounded the glamorous mayors of the 1960s faded in the 1970s. John Lindsay

never realized his ambitions for higher office either, and left office embarrassed by New York's fiscal problems. It was all the more impressive, then, that White managed to remain viable in a financially secure Boston as the last of the bright young urban leaders of the 1960s.

In his 1975 third term bid, White squeaked through with a scant five percent margin against Joe Timilty. He was embarrassed by Timilty's allegation of campaign abuses and was hurt by his identification with the turmoil over busing. After the election, White concentrated on oiling his political machine. As he switched his interest to providing efficient, reliable services, he was compared increasingly with Daley instead of Lindsay. He was attracted to economic and urban redevelopment as a means of pleasing a wider constituency. He was more conservative in his approach to public housing and tenant rights. His whopping victory over Timilty in 1979 attests to his adoption of the Daley-style machine.

This year as White contemplated a fifth term, he confronted scandal in a way that is too typical of the boss. The federal government is investigating allegations of financial misconduct by city officials. The probers include the FBI, the IRS, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Postal Service and U.S. Attorney William Weld. The mayor has not yet been implicated, but thirteen city employees in the past two years have been indicted on various charges, including fraud and corruption. Two of them are doing time in federal prison. A federal grand jury is even investigating the possibility that some of the four hundred donors to an aborted birthday celebration for White's wife were participating in a sophisticated money-laundering scheme.

It may be as the *Globe's* Mike Barnicle has said that no one will ever convict Kevin White of extortion, because he is just too arrogant to have participated in it. But no one doubts that he faced his most severe challenge as the investigations came dangerously close to the city's top office holder. Had he run for a fifth term, he would have matched Daley's twenty years in office and competed with Curley's coveted title of THE MAYOR, and he would have only been fifty-eight years old. Instead, White decided to step aside after sixteen tumultuous years.

The heyday of political machines is over. Kevin White has relinquished his hold on Boston, and in other major cities, machines are losing their leverage and their credibility. With the election of its first black mayor, Chicago, the quintessential city of machine politics, has turned its back on patronage. In spite of his checkered past, Harold Washington blatantly presented himself to

voters as an anti-machine politician. In Philadelphia, another black politician, Wilson Goode crushed old-style political boss Frank Rizzo. It is not an unwarranted or unexpected development.

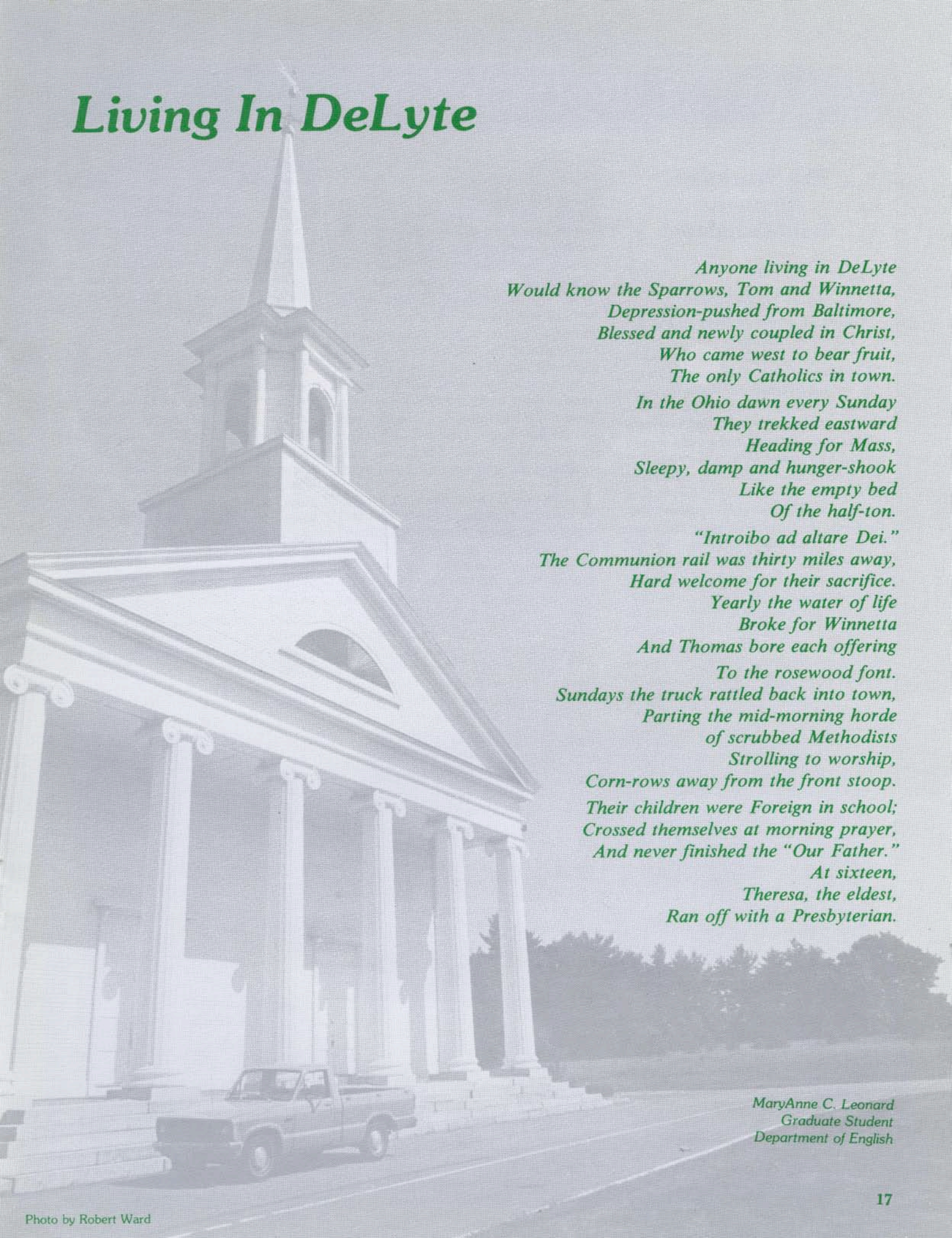
Urban America today has a more educated, more sophisticated electorate. Talented, energetic young people who might have become political bosses at the turn of the century are more likely to end up in the executive suite. Civil service regulations make it harder to practice patronage politics; and federal laws and careful press scrutiny make it more difficult to hide the rewards of graft. Corruption can never be condoned, and machine-dominated cities have always been costly operations. Nevertheless, the machines, in their own unique way, were enormously effective in solving immediate problems. By providing services to disparate interest groups, they obtained support for their policies and acted as effective brokers for fragmented communities. Current distrust of machine politics aside, it cannot be denied that bosses made a distinctive contribution to urban America. In the midst of seemingly insurmountable challenges, they actually made the cities work.



Photo by Alan Behunin

Dennis L. Lythgoe, Professor of History at Bridgewater State College, received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Utah. He is primarily interested in American Political and Western History, and has written numerous articles and book reviews for professional journals, more than one hundred newspaper articles, and currently writes a weekly history column for the Sunday magazine of the *Desert News* in Salt Lake City, Utah. His book, *Let 'Em Holler: A Political Biography of J. Bracken Lee*, (1982) was published by the Utah Historical Society and is a study of a major Utah politician. He is planning a book on the presidency of John F. Kennedy and serves on the academic advisory board of the Kennedy Library. He and his wife Marti live in Abington with Darrin, Kelly, David, Charlie, and Spencer.

Living In DeLyte



*Anyone living in DeLyte
Would know the Sparrows, Tom and Winnetta,
Depression-pushed from Baltimore,
Blessed and newly coupled in Christ,
Who came west to bear fruit,
The only Catholics in town.*

*In the Ohio dawn every Sunday
They trekked eastward
Heading for Mass,
Sleepy, damp and hunger-shook
Like the empty bed
Of the half-ton.*

*"Introibo ad altare Dei."
The Communion rail was thirty miles away,
Hard welcome for their sacrifice.
Yearly the water of life
Broke for Winnetta
And Thomas bore each offering
To the rosewood font.*

*Sundays the truck rattled back into town,
Parting the mid-morning horde
of scrubbed Methodists
Strolling to worship,
Corn-rows away from the front stoop.
Their children were Foreign in school;
Crossed themselves at morning prayer,
And never finished the "Our Father."*

*At sixteen,
Theresa, the eldest,
Ran off with a Presbyterian.*

MaryAnne C. Leonard
Graduate Student
Department of English

BOOK REVIEWS

1340 words

The Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens

by

John H. Dryfhout

University Press of New England
\$60.00

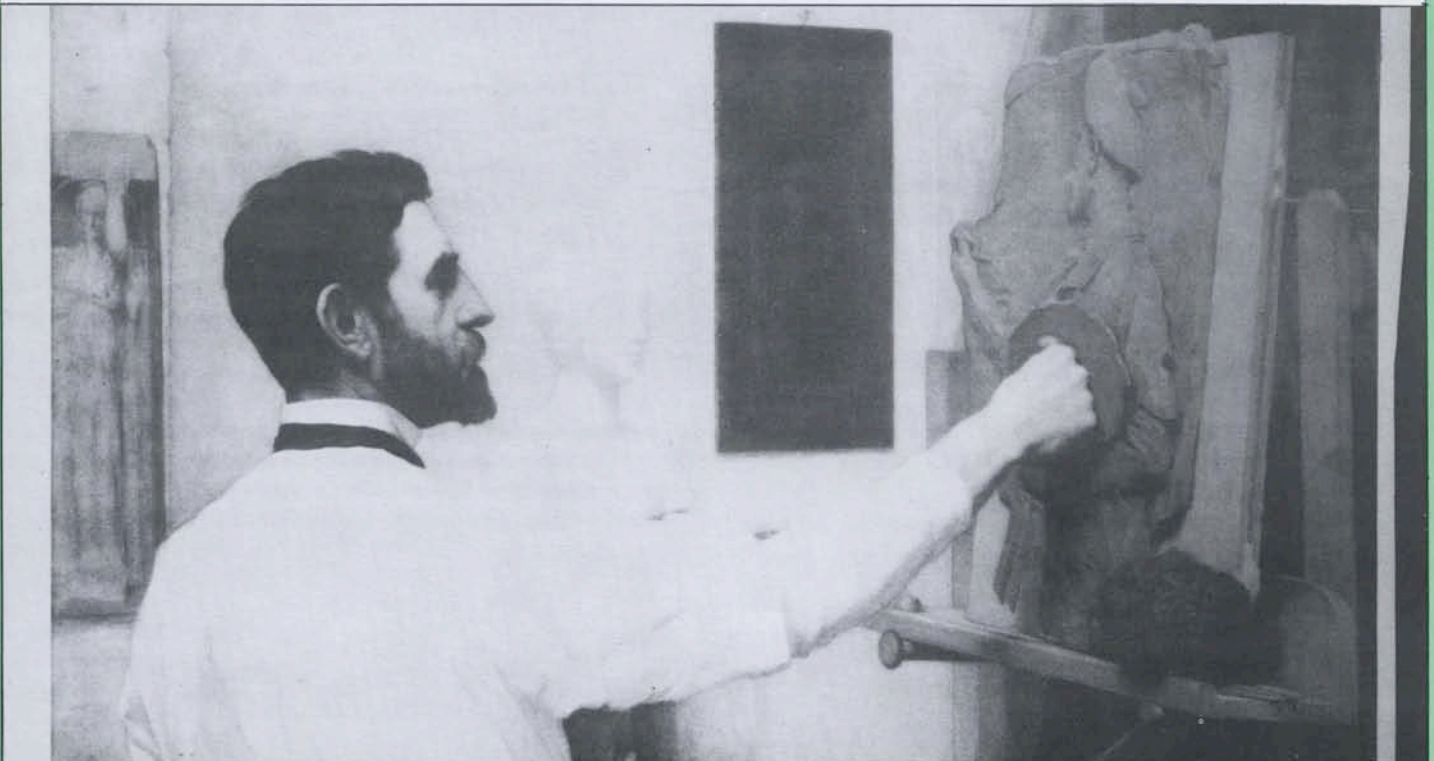
There is a myth in art comprising the belief that an artist's reputation is greater -- and his works more appreciated -- after his death than during his life. Too many brilliant and successful careers which were heaped with laurels in their own day, but which have been much less celebrated since, serve to refute this conception; among them is the career of Augustus Saint-Gaudens. By the time Saint-Gaudens died in 1907 at the age of fifty-nine, he had become a celebrity both here and abroad and had been the recognized leader in American sculpture for many years, as is evident in the range of impressive awards and honors enjoyed by the artist during his own lifetime. The French government alone had presented him with the most coveted of artistic distinctions, naming him corresponding member of both the *Institute de France* and the *Societe des Beaux-Arts*,

making him an Officer of the Legion of Honor, and purchasing for the State a bronze cast of his allegorical figure *Amor Caritas*. The fine arts academies of London and Brussels also had conferred upon him honorary memberships, and in his own country Saint-Gaudens had become an Academician of the National Academy of Design and an honorary member of the Architectural League. He had received honorary doctoral degrees from Harvard, Princeton and Yale, and had been feted and awarded special medals, various government appointments, and exhibition honors. Even more significant were the "prizes" obtained in the form of major public and private sculpture commissions which adoring clients were willing to wait, sometimes years, to receive from his hand.

In the year following his death, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York held a retrospective memorial exhibition of one hundred and fifty-four of his works; some five thousand people were in attendance at the opening. When the exhibition was opened again at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., tribute speeches were made by President Theodore Roosevelt and the ambassadors of France, Britain, Japan, Brazil and Mexico, signifying the extent of the artist's renown. At that time it seemed that the reputation of Saint-Gaudens not only as

America's greatest sculptor, but as an international artistic leader of the late nineteenth century, was assured. Yet, though several smaller showings of his work occurred in the succeeding years, the last important exhibition of his sculpture -- forty-six works at the Detroit Institute of Arts -- was no more recent than 1915, unless one also takes into account a showing of his portrait reliefs at the National Portrait Gallery in 1969.

A similar neglect of the artist is to be observed in the paucity of published material about him. This is not to overlook the fact that, in the three-quarters of a century since his death, histories of American art rarely fail to mention Saint-Gaudens, usually in a dutiful summary of a few paragraphs that often qualify admiration with reproaches relating to the academic basis for his style. However, during this same period of time, until the past year, only two books have appeared which are devoted to the artist. One is *The Reminiscences of Saint-Gaudens*, compiled by the artist's son Homer Saint-Gaudens, who included his own recollections about his father among the insights and lively anecdotes of the artist's highly cultivated account of his own career. The two-volume work, published six years after the sculptor's death, is so thorough and fascinating a narrative of his life and work, and so revealing of the times and attitudes



Augustus Saint-Gaudens in His Studio in 1887, by Kenyon Cox, 1908,

Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
(Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Book Reviews continued

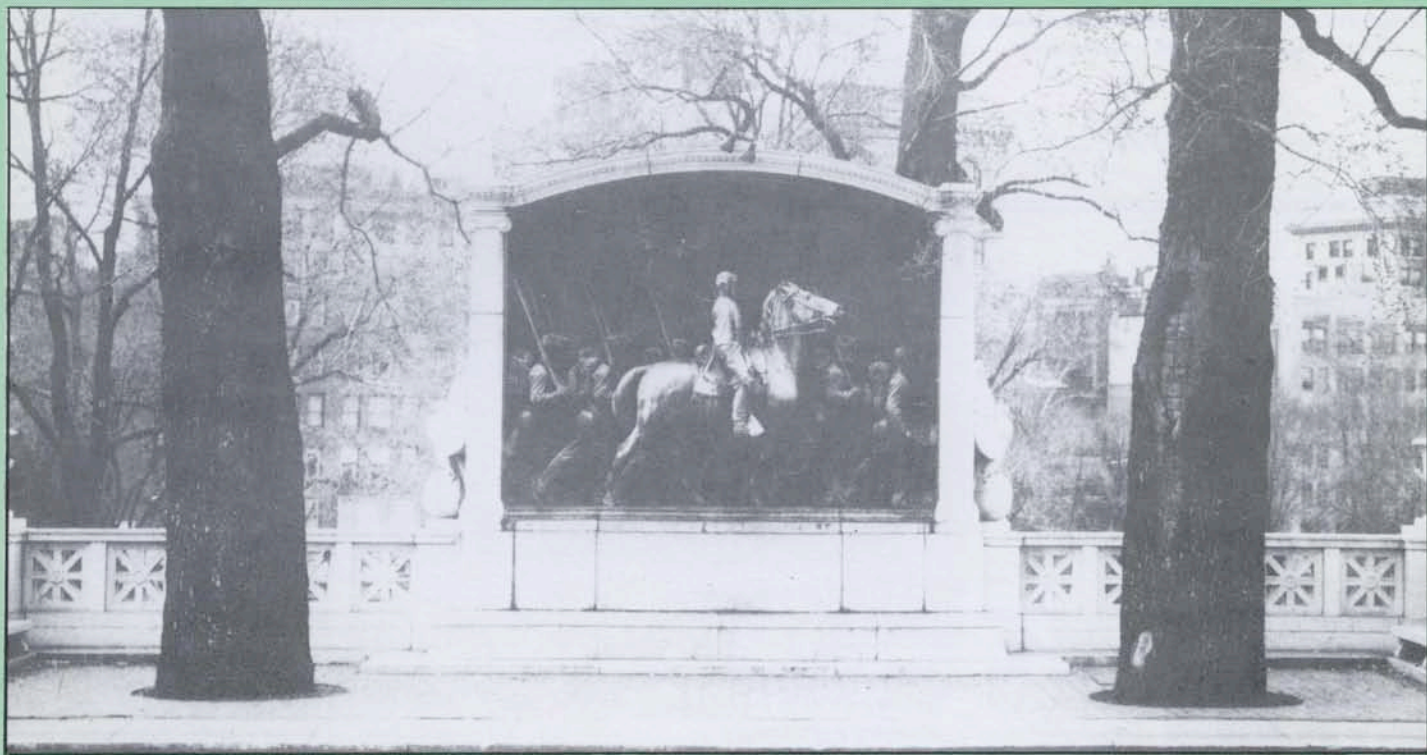
that contributed to and defined his career, that one might excuse the lack of later monographs with the assumption that would-be biographers of the artist had been frightened off by the completeness with which Saint-Gaudens had done the job himself. However, *Reminiscences* had been out of print for decades before its republication by the ethereal Garland Publishing Company in 1976, making it not readily available either before or after republication.

Nevertheless, for those who wish a real understanding of the artist, it is the primary source that provides important background information on his major projects. Taking as

The second of the two posthumous publications devoted to the artist, and the only objective biography, is Louise Hall Tharp's *Saint-Gaudens and the Gilded Era*. While well-based in fact and packed with information, it is strictly a personal and social history without artistic analysis or critical study. In 1969 when it was published, a reassessment of Saint-Gaudens' career could have been timely and might well have rekindled interest in his work and a new appreciation for his achievements. Instead, the biography, with its writing style which seems aimed at the high school reader, only confirms the dearth of more in-depth studies of the artist that existed until the publication last year of John H. Dryfhout's *The Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*.

for the first time. These, along with photographs relating to the artist and his life, total more than five hundred illustrations, making the book an incredible visual account of the artist without considering the text.

The catalogue itself is a prodigious accomplishment. For each of two hundred and fourteen entries a factual description is given along with a listing of all the casts of an individual sculpture and their locations, and mention of previous studies, variations, and related works. Exhibitions of the work and any bibliographical references to it are also listed. Therefore, each entry is, as it should be, a complete documentation and history of the object. An important work like the Shaw Memorial has an entry that runs for



Saint-Gaudens -- Shaw Memorial, Boston Common

an example the General Robert Gould Shaw Memorial (which is so well known and loved in Boston that a public subscription recently provided funds for its restoration), Saint-Gaudens recounts the history of the commission and his changing approach to the project. It began as an equestrian figure in-the-round until the Shaw family objected on the grounds that "he had not been a great commander and only men of the highest rank should be so honored." Therefore, despite what Saint-Gaudens considered to be a nominal fee of \$15,000 that he was receiving for the work, he came up with the idea of associating the General with his troops, who were black volunteers, in high relief. From that point, the artist called it "a labor of love," spending almost fourteen years on its completion.

Dryfhout is curator of Aspet, the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site in Cornish, New Hampshire. Through his long-term contact with the sculpture collection, personal papers and library there, he is of course eminently qualified to present material on the artist. Indeed, the book is the very performance of Dryfhout's responsibilities as the curator or caretaker not only of the artifacts of another man's creative production and memorabilia relating to it, but of that man's career and reputation in the broadest sense. The volume he gives us is that most valuable resource on an artist's work -- the *catalogue raisonne*, a listing and description of all known sculptures by Saint-Gaudens. The catalogue entries are accompanied by photographs of the works, many published

eight pages and features nineteen photographs, including pencil and plaster sketches and six of the more than forty portraits of Negro men that Saint-Gaudens modeled in the process of realizing the monument. The description of the piece includes James Russell Lowell's poem and the commentary by Charles W. Eliot appearing as inscriptions on the front and back of the sculpture and an account of General Shaw himself, a history of this commission (received through the influence of architect Henry Hobson Richardson), and even mention of its recent restoration. Following the catalogue, appendices deal with the Saint-Gaudens studio, the artist's assistants, works by his brother Louis, works previously misattributed to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and a useful listing of his

Book Reviews continued

sculpture in public collections. A comprehensive bibliography and indices of works by title and by subject form the last sections of Dryfhout's book.

Dryfhout's aim is appropriately -- and importantly -- objective documentation in its strictest and fullest application, and this he achieves admirably. No future scholarship on Saint-Gaudens or on this period of American sculpture will be able to ignore this invaluable contribution to the field, and hopefully it will spawn and nourish further important studies on the artist.

With Dryfhout's book and a large-scale exhibition of Saint-Gaudens underway, it seems apparent that his role in American art as a prolific, imaginative, powerful and influential sculptor, while never forgotten, is gaining in importance and interest again.

by Roger T. Dunn
Assistant Professor of Art

The Best Defense

by
Alan Dershowitz
Random House, 1982 - \$16.95

What do a nude bather and a terrorist bomber have in common? Not much, you might think. However, read Alan Dershowitz's book, *The Best Defense*, and your answer may change. They both have rights. Basic to the foundation of our society are the concepts of fundamental rights: the right to due process and the right to a feeling of security within the legal system. Another common link is that their rights are supported within the legal setting by Mr. Dershowitz. In this book Dershowitz gives his readers a guided tour through the vagaries of American justice, with its weaknesses, its corruption and, ultimately, its strength. There is much for everyone to contemplate and learn from this most readable book.

Mr. Dershowitz is a professor of Law at Harvard University, where he teaches the future generation of lawyers the theory of criminal law and the legal system. But Mr. Dershowitz is also a practitioner. *The Best Defense* is a collection of some of his cases, not all of which he won, but where in every

instance he practiced with dedication what he believes to be the noblest of all work, that of defense attorney.

His clients are not all lovable. Sheldon Seigel did, in fact, manufacture a bomb. That bomb was used by his fellow members of the Jewish Defense League in their surprise attack on the office of Sol Hurok, musical impresario for cultural and artistic performances. As a result of the attack Iris Kones, an office assistant, was killed. In legal terms she was the victim of a felony-murder, a crime punishable by death. Other attorneys, unable to tolerate or condone terrorist tactics, refused to defend him. Dershowitz, however, saw in this case as in others throughout the book a need on behalf of the legal community for a commitment to individual liberties and to a defense of threatened legal rights. The government prosecution, in its zeal for conviction of Seigel and other members of the JDL, made use of wiretaps and thereby

overstepped the bounds of legality. The defendants went free. The verdict may be disturbing, but Dershowitz had made the ultimate issue one of the government responsibility. Might its intervention and lack of ethics have been the larger crime?

The First Amendment gives rise to some of the more emotional and controversial issues of our society. At Harvard, the Quincy House Film Society needed to raise some money and decided to show *Deep Throat* as a fund raiser. In a separate case, Harry Reems, the male performer, is indicted in Memphis for conspiracy to transport an obscene film across state lines. Enter Mr. Dershowitz and his involvement -- legal only -- in *Deep Throat*. An injunction follows and Mr. Dershowitz defends both Reems and Quincy House. Both are acquitted on narrow legal points. The story of Reems and the students is often amusing, but the *Deep Throat* case raised questions of moral values, as well as questions on the



Saint-Gaudens -- Adams Memorial, Rock Creek Church Cemetery

Book Reviews continued

deeper issue of First Amendment rights in American society.

The importance of First Amendment freedom takes on a new meaning when contrasted with a system notable for its absence, the Soviet Union. The most poignant of the Soviet stories centers on dissident Anatoly Shaharansky. Shaharansky's involvement with the Helsinki human rights Monitors and their determination to talk about the cause of human rights and the plight of Soviet Jews resulted in his arrest by the KGB on grounds of being a CIA agent. Such a crime of high treason carries the inevitable sentence of the death penalty. Responding to a plea from Shaharansky's wife, Dershowitz becomes his lawyer and, following the tactic of a good defense attorney, turns the world into a courtroom. Contrary to all State Department policy, Dershowitz gets President Carter to deny the Soviet government's charge against its own citizen. Now the death penalty will, in effect, be branding the President of the United States a liar. Long-distance defense does not work. Dershowitz's cable closing argument does not influence the Soviet judges. The prisoner, standing alone at trial, is defenseless. The death sentence is averted, but not the guilty verdict; and a term of imprisonment, which is to all intents a slow method of death, is handed down. We now have a clearer picture of Soviet "justice" vs. the individual standing without rights or defense.

The stories go on. The police heroes in the movies *The Prince of the City* become the real-life antagonists when Mr. Dershowitz charges police entrapment and concealment and questions the role of detective Robert Leuci, the U.S. Attorney's office which encourages him and the judges who support him. In another case handled by Dershowitz the Tison boys spring their father from the penitentiary and he goes on a hideous rampage, killing and finally being killed. The sons are charged, tried and convicted of murder because if they had not helped him to escape there would not have been any killings. Under Arizona law their assistance in the escape made it possible for them to be guilty of the murders committed by their father. Dershowitz asks whether the brothers, now on Arizona's Death Row, should die for their father's crime.

At the same time that he is defending the lawbreaker in these cases, Dershowitz is everywhere, unceasingly, charging the government with its responsibility to recognize and respect the rights of the individual; in so doing he is our watchdog, guarding those First Amendment values which still make the American legal system one worth protecting.

by Pauline Harrington
Instructor of Political Science

Saint-Gaudens
Law supported by Power and Love
Boston Public Library Group

The Little Drummer Girl

by John LeCarré
Alfred A. Knopf, \$15.95

John LeCarré has taught us most of what we know about espionage. Ian Fleming's James Bond may have the glamour, gadgets and girls; LeCarré's agents have operated in the grit and grubbiness of cold war Europe that we would like to believe is the real thing. His operatives have presented themselves as ordinary people who practice their tradecraft in the most ordinary settings. It has been LeCarré's special talent to make us believe that when we walk through the park or eat in a restaurant those others conversing on a bench or whispering at a table may be engaged in clandestine business of international importance. George Smiley is a plain man devoted to entrapping Karla, the mastermind of Moscow Center. Most of Western Europe serves as his theatre of operations before the three-novel intrigue is concluded.

And, when it is concluded, we see that these agents and double agents are finally betrayed by very familiar weaknesses. Bill Haydon, Karla's mole in England's "circus,"



Book Reviews continued

is trapped by an imperfect recollection of one of his liaisons with Smiley's wife. Karla defects out of fatherly concern for his daughter whom he has placed in a Swiss sanatorium. Brilliant, calculating, detached as these agents may be, each possesses deep within some sentiment that when exposed results in this betrayal.

So it is in LeCarre's latest novel, though the action is carried on by a new cast of characters. *The Little Drummer Girl* introduces us to agents of the Israeli Secret Service, though it's never called that and the agents go by several names. The Israelis are hunting a Palestinian terrorist who has been blowing up Israeli and other innocent citizens throughout West Germany. The terrorist's identity is unknown; no photographs of him exist. He works by means of intermediaries, mostly young women of the radical left, who serve as couriers and courtesans. Slowly, painstakingly, the Israeli agents work their way into this terrorist network.

To succeed, they need a double agent who can gain the confidence of the terrorists, penetrate their group, and come to know the shadowy figure at the center. Selected for the job, though she doesn't at first know it, is a young British actress starring in a touring company production of Shaw's *St. Joan*. Charlie (real name Charmian) has led a feckless life, contemptuous of her middle-class upbringing, attracted to revolutionary causes. Her commitment, however, is more to the rhetoric than to the revolution. She is a born mimic and is looking for something real to imitate. She perfectly suits the Israeli's needs. By an elaborate subterfuge (too elaborate to explain in detail here) they recruit and train her to perform in what Kurtz, the operation chief, calls the "theatre of the real."

... they need a double agent who can gain the confidence of the terrorists, penetrate their group, and come to know the shadowy figure at the center

Charlie's first assignment is to drive a Mercedes loaded with Russian plastic explosives across Yugoslavia to Austria. She then returns to her London flat to wait until the terrorists approach her. The approach is made and Charlie is taken first to Beirut where she meets the Palestinians, then to a refugee camp where she lives

Saint-Gaudens -- Diana
Second weathervane
Madison Square Garden Tower



among the displaced. LeCarre has been criticized in some reviews for portraying the Palestinians too sympathetically; such criticism, I think, misses the point. The Palestinian leaders are letting their people live an illusion, the belief that they have been deprived of their homeland by the "Zionist entity." This sentimental illusion prevents them from dealing with the political reality. Charlie admires the Palestinians, even

LeCarre does not ask us to see the "theatre of the real" as a political drama. Insofar as any political struggle is apparent in the novel, it assumes the form of illusion being grafted onto illusion. Politics comes down to radical clichés and revolutionary postures directed at national power. The terrorist bombings are inconsequential. The desire for a homeland is an illusion that can be affirmed or denied, for Israeli or Palestinian both, by those who have the power to draw arbitrary boundaries on a map. Consequently, for LeCarre, Middle East politics distills itself to the essence of the tragic stage -- retribution and revenge. The "theatre of the real" is a psychomachia, a war of minds.

Kurtz knows this, as his name suggests by its heart of darkness echo. (He arranges to have a key Palestinian operative held and interrogated in an apartment of Munich's Olympic Village.) Joseph, Charlie's agent runner, suspects the true nature of the conflict and is in conflict with himself about continued participation; he has to be drawn out of retirement for this one last assignment. Charlie lacks any sense of these darker motives. She has read Thoreau and fancies herself marching to a different drummer. Kurtz, however, knows her to be a drum to reverberate whatever sound is struck. For him, she is Charmian, the chameleon. Her middle-class background has been so featureless, to the extent that Charlie has invented a sordid family history for herself, that Kurtz knows he can fabricate an identity for Charlie that will feed her romantic illusions about herself. It will be an identity all her own which she need share with virtually no one. As she moves around London with her new identity, Charlie develops "an affectionate disrespect for the innocents around her who failed to see what was shoved under their noses every day. They are where I came from, she thought. They are me before I walked through the looking glass."

The "theatre of the real" is, finally, a place of no illusions. It is a stage of violent sex and violent death, both of which climax the novel. Illusions, regardless, are necessary to life, even though so many of them may ultimately be destructive. Charlie, unable to speak her lines in a revue titled the Bouquet of Comedy, exits the theatre on Joseph's arm. He has returned for her; "it seemed that he wanted her dead or alive." Even in our illusionless age, sentimental comedy may still be the best antidote to the "theatre of the real." We are condemned to betray ourselves.

Charles F. Angell
Associate Professor of English

Toleration and Persecution The Jewish Community of Medieval Regensburg

by Donald L. Keay
Professor of History



Stone Bridge of Regensburg

Circa 1300

It is often assumed that European Jews of the Middle Ages were a small minority constantly harassed and persecuted by a bigoted Christian population determined to annihilate them. Had such a situation existed, the Christians surely would have succeeded. A truer picture, however, is one of long periods of peace and prosperity as Jews lived side by side with their Christian neighbors, both benefitting from social and economic relations.

It is true that Jews suffered from various restrictions and restraints. They could not hold land under feudal tenure since mutual obligations and responsibilities were based on sacred Christian vows and ceremonies. But they could and did own property within the medieval cities both on an individual and collective basis. Their urban communities became centers for the production of trade goods by skilled artisans and craftsmen and at the same time provided links in the great trading routes which extended into the heart of Varangian Russia, the marts of the Eastern Mediterranean world, and the bazaars of Bagdad. The Jews provided the means by which luxury goods were transported from the East to fulfill the needs and desires of European nobility and the upper echelons of the Christian hierarchy. They also served as bankers to kings, popes, dukes, and bishops, providing them with the necessary funds to wage wars or carry on extensive building programs.

Although anti-Semitic attitudes often appear in works of theologians and scholars, widespread antagonism and prejudice were not whipped up among the masses until the calling of the First Crusade in 1095 and the accompanying religious frenzy which spread throughout Western Europe. The result of this outbreak of fanaticism was wide-scale murder and destruction inflicted upon Jewish communities, particularly in France and Germany.

From that time on sporadic outbursts against the Jews took place, sometimes related to religious bigotry, but increasingly

fired by economic issues. Christian merchants and bankers began to take over international markets and the Jews were gradually reduced to pawn broking, a business which led to resentment and hatred, especially among the lower classes who believed the Jews were taking advantage of their financial plight by exacting exorbitant rates of interest. Since the economic issues alone were not sufficient justification for the destruction of Jewish communities, other charges were often raised, as Jews were accused of various types of despicable and anti-Christian activities such as stealing and desecrating the sacred host, poisoning water supplies, and engaging in human sacrifice through the ritualistic slaughter of Christian children.

Yet even during the most violent of the anti-Semitic attacks there were clerics, nobles, and burghers who attempted to protect Jews from violence and destruction. Their motivations varied from economic self-interest to Christian charity and human decency. In this respect a study of the Jewish community of Regensburg, Germany, is quite revealing. For two and a half centuries the leading citizens and politicians persisted in their conviction that it was the duty of government to protect all of its people, including Jews, from physical persecution and financial oppression. Although not always successful in carrying out its policy, the city government at least mitigated the impact of violence, whether the threats came from the Dukes of Bavaria, roving gangs of religious fanatics, or the irate burghers themselves. The Jews as a group also benefitted from imperial and royal charters and from the generally benign and tolerant attitudes of the bishops of Regensburg.

The results was that for the most part the Jews of Regensburg lived securely and prosperously until the second half of the fourteenth century brought a serious decline in trade and industry. The Jews then

became convenient scapegoats for the financial difficulties plaguing the city. In 1519 after a long period of oppression and violence, they were expelled from the city; their homes and property were destroyed, and their wealth was confiscated.

The story of the Jews of medieval Regensburg starts in the late eleventh century. In 1096 the first blow was struck when the religious hatred against the Moslem Turks was diverted to the Jewish Infidel, who lived within the Christian community itself. Under the leadership of Counts Emicho and Emmerich, religious fanatics went from city to city where, reinforced by local mobs, they killed and looted the Jews whose only hope of escape was to receive baptism. In Worms almost the entire community was slaughtered, as the Jews preferred death rather than renunciation of their faith. In Mainz the bishop tried to protect the Jews by giving them sanctuary in his palace, but eventually he surrendered to the demands of the mobs and shared in the plunder. Archbishop Herman III of Cologne dispersed the Jews into neighboring villages to protect them, but the effort was in vain as they were hunted down and massacred by Emicho's Crusaders and local peasants. Emicho and his cutthroats arrived near Regensburg in early June where, supported by clerics and townspeople, they rounded up the entire Jewish population, herded them into the Danube, and performed a mass baptism with a wave of the hand. At the same time a mob inside the city looted and ravaged the synagogue.

When King Henry IV learned of the atrocities, he was outraged and promptly ordered that all forced baptisms be considered null and void and gave special permission for the Jews in Regensburg to rebuild their synagogue. Thus the traditional way of life was restored, but the events of 1096 boded ill for the future. The persecutions had deepened the sense of isolation and widened the cultural chasm between Christians and Jews. The minds of

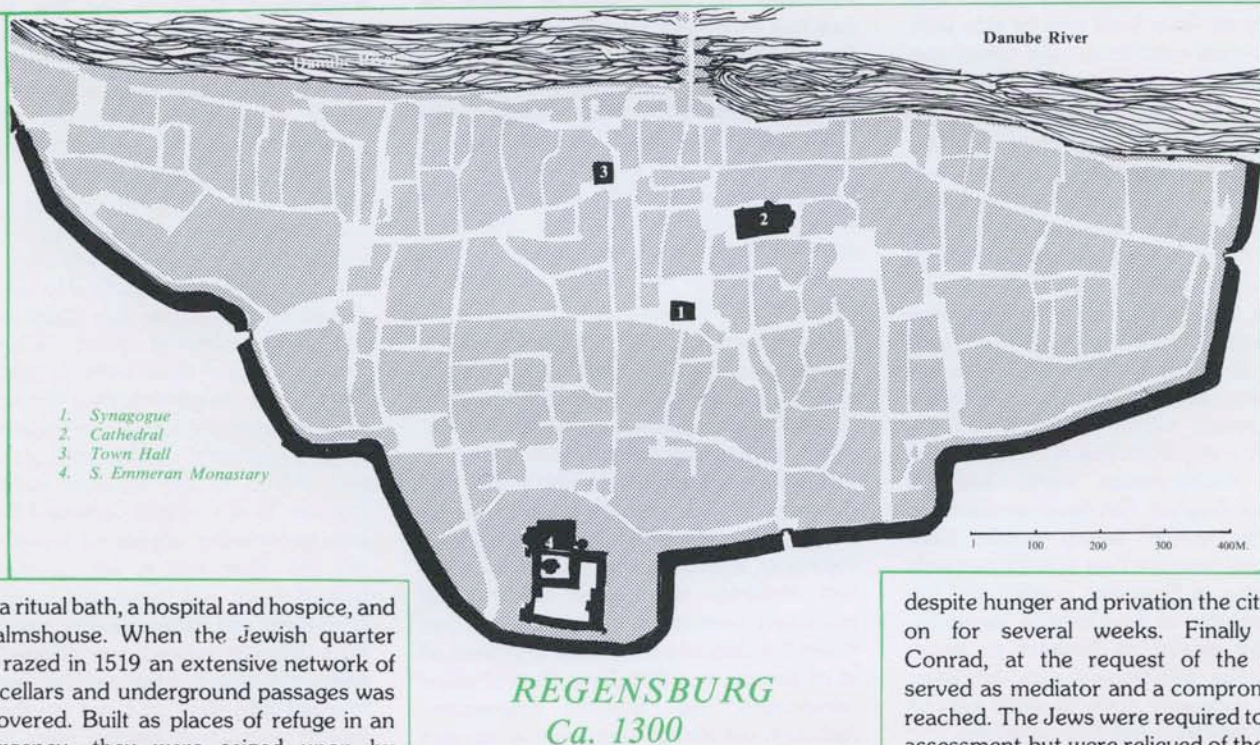
the common people were so poisoned that they believed the killing of the Infidel was pleasing to God. This belief was kept alive generation after generation by clergymen who, because of their sincere but narrow-minded religious zeal, often stirred up riots by city mobs.

Despite the official policy of protection by emperors and the city government, steps were taken during the twelfth century to protect the Jews of Regensburg from violent attacks. The *Judenstadt*, or Jewish quarter, was enclosed by fortified walls and towers with gates which were closed every evening and reopened each morning by a city official. Within the walls were private homes, shops and the various facilities needed to maintain the traditional way of life. The synagogue was the center of the public and private life, serving as a house of worship and prayer, a school, and a meeting place to hold elections, conduct judicial proceedings, and resolve matters of communal concern. The community also

Although rigorously enforced in some parts of Europe, the edicts were virtually ignored in Regensburg despite strong efforts to bring compliance. In 1267 a papal legate, Cardinal Guido, presided over a synod of prelates in Vienna at which edicts were issued to all clerics to gain obedience to canonical decrees. In Regensburg a fiery, popular preacher named Berthold promoted the cause as he thundered from the pulpit denouncing sinners, heretics, and especially the Infidel, stirring up hostile feelings among the thousands who heard his eloquent sermons. In 1281 Emperor Rudolph while in the city issued directives to Jews within the diocese, ordering them to obey the bishop in regard to canonical restrictions on their behavior and activities. Despite papal agents, church synods, imperial edicts, and the voice of Berthold, friendly relations between Christians and Jews continued in Regensburg as the two communities lived and worked together. The local government refused to enforce

Rabbi Hayyim protested that charters and customary practices made such collections illegal, but principle had to be surrendered to expedience since it was obvious that attempts to insist on rights would bring open resentment and retaliation from the townspeople. It was deemed more practical to pay what was considered an unjustified and illegal tax out of fear rather than face potential consequences.

Even though the new tax assessment was seen as another attack on the Jewish community, the city government of Regensburg was prepared to take strong measures to protect the Jews from exploitation by outside authorities. In 1297 Emperor Adolph authorized Duke Otto of Bavaria to collect a sum of 200 *Pfund* from the Jewish community. When ducal agents arrived to collect the funds, the council refused to grant permission and rioting mobs forced the agents to leave. Otto placed a siege around Regensburg, but



had a ritual bath, a hospital and hospice, and an almshouse. When the Jewish quarter was razed in 1519 an extensive network of sub-cellars and underground passages was discovered. Built as places of refuge in an emergency, they were seized upon by Christians as evidence of those secret criminal activities of which the Jews had often been accused.

Social relationships between Christians and Jews were undermined by the directives issued by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Jews were required to wear identifying symbols (i.e., the yellow badge). Their social intercourse with Christians was restricted, and they were required to remain within their homes hidden from sight during sacred days in the Christian calendar, especially Holy Week.

the directives or to punish violations.

In 1293, however, a conflict broke out between the Jewish community and the city government over the issue of municipal taxation. The council levied new assessments to defray the costs of strengthening walls and fortifications. Both clerics and Jews protested, insisting the defenses were secure enough and the real purpose was to make payment of city taxes obligatory for those who had traditionally been exempt. The prelates won their case by appealing to higher authority within the church, but the Jews had no such recourse.

despite hunger and privation the city fought on for several weeks. Finally Bishop Conrad, at the request of the council, served as mediator and a compromise was reached. The Jews were required to pay the assessment but were relieved of the regular annual imperial tax for the ensuing three years. The defense rendered the Jews in this instance was not entirely altruistic, since many wealthy burghers were convinced that a successful attack against the rights of one group of citizens could undermine the rights of all: extortion of money from the Jews could easily be extended to Christians as well.

On three important occasions within the span of the next fifty years the very existence of the Jewish community was severely threatened. In 1298 a widespread persecution began in Roettingen where accusations of desecration of the

consecrated host were made. A Christian fanatic known as Rindfleisch gathered a mob of cutthroats, burned the Jews of the town, and, claiming to have a divine mission to root out the "accursed race," journeyed from city to city murdering and pillaging the Jews. In 1336 a similar movement was instigated by an innkeeper named Johann Zimerli. The leaders called themselves the *Armleder* because of the leather bands worn on their arms, and the followers were known as the *Judenschlaeger*.

The most serious crisis came during the period when the Great Plague ravaged Europe (1348-50). Believing that the pestilence was a judgement from God on a sinful world, fanatics saw in the Jews a convenient scapegoat and accused them of heinous crimes, particularly the poisoning of wells and other water supplies. But on each occasion when danger threatened the Jews of Regensburg, the city council stood firm and issued decrees declaring its intention of protecting its citizens from harm as a matter of honor. The prompt action was effective each time, even though segments of the local population were in sympathy with the anti-Semitic movements and neighboring communities did suffer violence and persecution.

During the second half of the fourteenth century, the status of the Jews deteriorated as the economy of the city went into serious decline. Emperor Charles IV had deliberately diverted the international trade routes to his city of Prague and the loss of commercial activity caused the migration of merchants and artisans to more prosperous cities and towns. Although the Jews were not to blame for the declining trade and industrial production, they were accused of profiteering from financial hardships as more and more people found it necessary to borrow money and pawn personal possessions to money lenders who were accused of charging usurious rates of interest.

As part of his effort to gain the support of Regensburg in a struggle with the princes of the Empire, Emperor Wenzel issued an imperial document dated September 16, 1390, releasing the members of the city council and the citizens from all debts owed to the Jews and directing the latter to surrender all promissory notes, pledges, and pawned objects without compensation. The proclamation brought great jubilation among the lower classes and immediate steps were taken to enforce the terms. Some Jews complied and turned over papers and articles; others secreted assets and fled from the city. The burghers initiated a house to house search within the Jewish quarter, seizing property and imprisoning Jews who attempted resistance. Members of the council were troubled, since some still believed that providing security for the Jews and their property was in the best interest of the city. But they too were blinded by the prospect of immediate relief from debts, and, rationalizing that any preventive measures would have little or no effect, joined in the general spoliation.

Anti-Semitic riots broke out during the Hussite War and also following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, as Jews were accused of secretly conspiring with and aiding the heretics and Moslems. The Church decrees in regard to Jews were enforced and stringent municipal ordinances further eroded their rights. Merchants and businessmen found access to markets severely limited as boycotts were placed on Jewish goods, and Christian artisans refused to sell their wares to non-Christian customers. Virtually all social relations between Christians and Jews were prohibited, especially the entertainment of each other in private homes or public eating places. The gates of the *Judenstadt* were regularly locked on Christian Holy Days and any Jews who tried to leave the city were seized and returned so they could be forced to continue paying their taxes. At one point Duke Louis of Bavaria joined with Bishop Henry IV in an effort to convert the Jews. A rabble-rousing Dominican Friar, Peter Schwartz, himself a convert, gave lectures to prominent Jews who were forced to attend, pointing out "errors" in their theology and teachings. The efforts were in vain and Christian leaders became convinced that the Jews were too stubborn to listen to reason and so were beyond redemption and must bear the consequences of their own obstinacy.

... accusing them of usury, of reviling Mary and of murdering Christ.

In 1473 another converted Jew named Hans Vogol accused Rabbi Israel Bruna of purchasing and then slaughtering a seven-year-old Christian in ritual sacrifice. Bishop Henry was convinced, but members of the city council were not and, under pressure, Vogol finally admitted he had lied. The seventy-year-old rabbi was released on condition that he sign a pledge not to attempt retaliation or seek revenge. The issue of ritual murder was raised again two years later in Trent. The body of a three-year-old Christian boy was washed ashore near the home of a Jew who, under torture, confessed and implicated other members of his community. The testimony of yet another convert named Wolfgang provided evidence against members of the Regensburg community. Seventeen men were tortured until they confessed. After a short trial they were imprisoned and their property confiscated and for several months the rest of the community was barricaded within their quarter. An appeal was sent to Emperor Frederick III who finally forced the release of the prisoners, but only after placing the city under the ban of the Empire and threatening to revoke the municipal charter.

Frederick continued his protection of the Jews when rumors spread concerning another alleged child murder in Baden and accusations of desecration of the host in Passau. Several Jews of Regensburg were charged with complicity but Frederick interceded and ordered that they be neither tortured nor put to death, but should be treated as other prisoners. After two years of protracted negotiations, the release of the accused was arranged, but only on condition that they make substantial payments to the city and sign an oath not to seek revenge.

The policy of protecting the Jews from illegal or unjust violence or persecution was continued by Frederick's son and successor Maximilian. But preachers and scholars continued to revile the Jews and spread anti-Semitic propaganda as the development of Gutenberg's printing press facilitated the dissemination of such material among the literate population, while vile drawings and caricatures of Jews were spread among the uneducated masses. The old accusations were constantly reiterated but more emphasis was placed on economic issues. The Jews were accused of living in idleness, sloth, and lust supported by ill-gotten gains extorted from poor Christians. Such slander and malice brought physical attacks against the Jews as both men and women suffered violence and abuse in public places. Stories of murder, robbery, stonings and other outrages were reported in city records but it appears that little was done to protect the victims or punish the guilty. A popular anti-Semitic preacher, *Dompregger* Balthasar Hubmaier arrived in Regensburg in 1595 and the young firebrand bitterly denounced the Jews from his pulpit, accusing them of usury, of reviling Mary, and of murdering Christ. He insisted that Christians must be freed from the curse of the Infidel and exhorted the people to be ready to take action and expel them from the city when the opportunity presented itself.

The opportunity did come with the death of Emperor Maximilian in 1519. The city government negotiated with prominent clerics and after a staged anti-Semitic demonstration a delegation of officials ordered the Jews to leave the city. The council claimed it could no longer guarantee the protection of their persons or property, so to keep the peace and prevent popular insurrection they must go. The women and children left, quickly followed by the men a few days later. Mobs swarmed through the *Judenstadt* and soon the gates, walls, houses, and synagogue lay in ruins. The Jewish cemetery was desecrated and many of the inscribed stones were used as building material. A short time later a Christian Church, the *Mariankapelle*, was erected on the site formerly occupied by the synagogue. The bones of a dead child supposedly found in the Jewish quarter were placed in the church as a constant reminder of the "crime and outrage" of the Jews.

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Many of the Jews took up temporary residence in Standtshof just across the Danube from where they attempted to negotiate permission to return. Eventually they succeeded, but their communal way of life was destroyed never to be restored. The Jews continued to live and carry on business in Regensburg largely because they served necessary economic roles but always on sufferance and at the pleasure of the city government and the Christian citizens.

It is well known that the European anti-Semitism which reached its murderous culmination in the Nazi era had its roots in the Middle Ages. Perhaps less well known, however, is the fact that prejudice against the Jews was by no means universal during the medieval period, even in Germany. Between 1100 and 1350, the Jews of Regensburg were not only tolerated, but were also granted the same protections accorded to Christian citizens, often in defiance of papal edicts, emperors' decrees and the exhortations of religious fanatics. Today we are experiencing a resurgence of interest in the Third Reich, stimulated by movies like *Sophie's Choice* and the publication of Hitler's spurious diaries, as well as by our continuing fascination with some of history's most evil men. But as we recall the horrors of the Nazi period, we should remember also the twentieth-century counterparts of the citizens of Regensburg, those Christians who hid Jews in their attics, helped them escape to England, or even adopted Jewish children. In these Christians, as in their Regensburg forebears, the sense of justice overcame the vicious prejudice around them, and they kept this humanitarian spirit alive in a dark age.



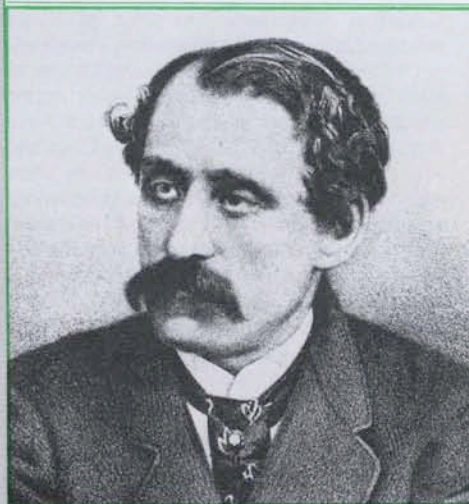
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CULTURAL COMMENTARY

Louis Moreau Gottschalk: America's Dashing Musical Ambassador

by Henry Santos
Assistant Professor of Music



L. M. GOTTSCHALK

Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829 - 1869), the first American pianist and composer to achieve international fame, can truly be described as a musical ambassador. He toured France, Switzerland, Spain, the U.S., Canada, the West Indies and South America. But ironically, although Gottschalk's compositions and piano virtuosity made a great impact abroad, his work received an unenthusiastic and in some cases hostile reception from the musical establishment in his native country.

Gottschalk was born in New Orleans of Jewish and Creole parents and was reputed to have been one-eighth Black. His keyboard talent was recognized early: he began taking piano lessons at the age of three, and at seven he substituted for his teacher as organist at St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans. When he was only twelve, the child prodigy left New Orleans to go to Paris for further study.

In Paris, Gottschalk was introduced to the leading composers and writers of the day. He studied piano with Sir Charles Hallé, who founded the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester, England, as well as with Camille Saint-Saëns, a pupil of Kalkbrenner and Felix Mendelssohn, and Camille Saint-Saëns. With Pierre Maleden he studied composition. In the salons of Paris he became acquainted not only with other musicians, such as Chopin, Berlioz, Offenbach and Bizet, but also with writers like Hugo, Dumas Pere, Gautier and Lamartine.

In probably the greatest period of pianists, Gottschalk was compared favorably with such paradigms of piano artistry as Chopin, Liszt and Thalberg. His playing was described somewhat extravagantly by contemporaries as resembling a "cascade of pearls," and "glittering stardust": he had "the golden touch." The Romantic Period's emphasis on the subjective and emotional quality of music, coupled with a greater freedom of form, molded Gottschalk's artistry. Berlioz praised him as "one of a very small number of those who possess all the different elements of the sovereign power of the pianist, all the attributes that environ him with an irresistible prestige." Chopin also praised him: according to Gottschalk's sister, after hearing her brother's performance of Chopin's *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in E Minor*, the Polish composer proclaimed that Gottschalk would become "king of the pianists."

In addition to winning renown for his piano virtuosity, Gottschalk also developed a reputation as a composer. His piano works introduced Europeans to the Afro-Caribbean rhythms of the New World. Three of his most popular compositions, "Bamboula," "La Savanne" (Ballade Creole), and "Le Bananier," (Chanson Negre) were based on New Orleans Negro folk tunes. According to the French composer Hector Berlioz, "Everybody in Europe now knows 'Bamboula,' 'Le Bananier,' . . . 'La Savanne' and twenty other ingenious fantasies in which the nonchalant grace of tropical melody assuages so agreeably our restless and insatiable passion for novelty."

Gottschalk returned home and travelled by stage coach and railroad car throughout the United States and Canada. He was the first concert pianist of international stature to perform in many small towns in the East, middle and far West.

Gottschalk's kind of recital was somewhat different from those of our own day. The program was highly varied, and often included a few opera selections, a movement from a concerto, a symphony, a play, a juggler, and some piano solos. As Gottschalk was the visiting artist, he was expected to include the local talent on the program. If a work pleased the audience, the artist was expected to repeat it -- many

times. It was understood that all the profits of the evening went to the artist, and if he triumphed, he might be crowned on stage with a laurel wreath.

Another type of program which delighted audiences was the multiple piano program. For these events, the stage held anywhere from two to forty pianos and gave the local amateurs an opportunity to play. In Rio de Janeiro in 1869, the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* reported a concert that included the *National Hymn* played by forty young ladies on thirty-five pianos.

Gottschalk participated in some of these large-scale concerts. During a visit to Rio de Janeiro, he was given command of the Army, Navy and National Guard bands. Eight hundred performers were under his baton. According to Gottschalk's journal, the group comprised "eighty-two snare drums, fifty-five strings, sixteen bass drums, six flutes, eleven piccolos, sixty-five clarinets, sixty trumpets, sixty trombones, fifty-five saxhorns, fifty tubas and French horns -- assembled into nine bands of the National Guard, four of the Imperial Navy, one of the Army, one of the War Arsenal, and an orchestra of seventy 'professores' and two German orchestras." Gottschalk instrumentated fifteen thousand pages of music, working with eleven copyists right up to the performance. However, only by repeating the program two days later, at reduced prices, could he hope to gain from this inordinate expenditure of energy, money and time.

Wherever Gottschalk went, it was necessary for him to secure sponsors, and his musical appeals to patriotism served him well in Europe. In Switzerland, his arrangements of Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* made him popular. In Spain, his *El Sitio de Zaragoza* (The Siege of Saragossa), a *Symphony for Ten Pianos* based on Spanish airs, endeared him to that country. These works included all the fanfares and battle sounds traditional in this type of composition. Beethoven's *Wellington's Victory* and Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* were of the same genre.

Returning to this hemisphere, Gottschalk continued his earlier success by arranging the national airs of the Americas. In 1862 he dedicated *The Union* to General George McClellan, and performed it in the North and East during the Civil War. In 1864 he played this piece for President and Mrs. Lincoln. *The Union* is a combination of *The Star Spangled Banner*, *Hail Columbia* and *Yankee Doodle*, with the appropriate imitation of drums, bugles and guns in thundering octaves. Capitalizing on the success of this formula, Gottschalk is said to have replaced the American anthems with Spanish airs, calling the result the *Grand National Symphony for Ten Pianos: Bunker Hill*. In Chile, he called it *Solemne Marcha Triumfal a Chile*; in Uruguay, *Marche Solennelle*; in Brazil, *Grand fantasia sur l'hymne national brasilien*.

Despite his success abroad, Gottschalk was not greatly admired in the U. S. In Boston, in October 1853, he was severely criticized by music critic John S. Dwight for not playing the standard classical repertoire, by which he meant the works of Beethoven and the other German masters. Gottschalk, whose training had been in Paris and who was French in taste and manners, found himself in a country dominated by German musical culture. In Boston, all the symphonies of Beethoven had been performed except the first, with the ninth having been played twice. Dwight was particularly proud of an open letter to his newspaper from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* of Leipzig, complimenting Boston on its musical accomplishments. Gottschalk's salon works and opera transcriptions were not substantial enough for the people who wanted to hear Beethoven. Thus his music, which in time would emerge into jazz and musical comedy, as well as American folk songs, Afro-Cuban melodies and spirituals, was ignored by critics of that time.

In the West Indies and South America, however, no critic like Dwight existed, and Gottschalk's influence on the musical life of those countries was enormous. He performed his opera transcriptions and arrangements of native songs and dances to the delight of audiences who were described as "primitif" and "ardente." The pianist's compositions were the inspiration of such composers as Ignacio Cervantes (1847-1905) of Cuba and Juan Morel Campos (1852-1891) of Puerto Rico. These Afro-American and Afro-Cuban elements were later to evolve and be developed by such diverse Black American composers as Scott Joplin (1868-1911), Thomas Turpin (1873-1922), Duke Ellington (1899-1974), T. J. Anderson (1928 - present), and Hale Smith (1925 - present), to name only a few.

Commenting on the arts in society, Harold Cruse, author of *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, states "the cultural arts are the mirror of the spiritual condition of a nation and the use of a nation's social ingredients in its art reveals a great deal about how a nation looks at itself." The fact that Louis Gottschalk and his music had to go to Europe and South America for recognition is an indication of the failure of American society to accept music not recognized as in the classical tradition. Even in our own times, the musical descendants of Gottschalk have had difficulty gaining acceptance from the establishment. In 1965, for example, the Pulitzer Prize Committee declined to award Duke Ellington its prize for excellence in American music, despite Ellington's forty years as a musician of international renown.

In recent years, indigenous American music has received more serious attention. William Bolcom, American pianist and composer, comments on the importance of one's own national music: "I am not a nationalistic composer, or pianist or musician. By accident of birth, however, I am an American . . . I have been fascinated by what that means. One can't be bound by it, but one ignores it at one's peril, for then the musician is fated to be nothing by a dispossessed European. Only by understanding it and accepting it can we transcend being American to make music that is truly universal."

A century before, Louis Gottschalk had also been fascinated by the unique qualities of native American music. After a career abroad and years of obscurity, he is still unrecognized as a major contributor to our national musical heritage.

(O my Charmer Spare me)
CAPRICE.
The Author in this movement (which is entirely original) has endeavored to convey an idea of the singular rhythm and charming character of the music which exists among the Creoles of the Spanish Antilles. Chopin is a well known transcriber of the national airs of Poland, to his Mazurkas and Polonaises, and Mr. Gottschalk has endeavored to reproduce in works of an appropriate character, the characteristic traits of the Dances of the West Indies.



The Last Word

During the 1980 presidential campaign, then candidate Reagan asked if we were "better off now than we were four years ago." It is now 1983 and we are more than half way through his term in office. It, therefore, seems appropriate that we look at the American economy and see if we are indeed better off as a result of President Reagan's economic policies. In order to do this, let's examine five of the traditional standards for judging the state of the economy: prices, unemployment, output, interest rates and budget deficits. With these five guides it is possible to determine the changes that have taken place since the President took office and the current status of our economic well being.

In the area of prices and inflation we continue to experience a diminishing of our purchasing power, despite a moderating trend. In January of 1981, the Consumer Price Index for the United States stood at 260.5 using 1967 as a base year. This meant that prices rose 160.5 percent since 1967. In June of 1983, the CPI stood at 298.1. This was a rise of 37.6 percent over the last two years. Despite statements to the contrary we have experienced a healthy increase in prices since the President took office.

Although the Reagan Administration takes credit for what it claims is an inflation rate that is under control, it glosses over the numbers relating to unemployment and the human misery that unemployment brings.

In January of 1981, the unemployment rate was 7.4 percent of the labor force. This was about 7,847,000 people who were out of work. The unemployment rate for June of 1983 was 9.5 percent. This was more than 11,000,000 people. In terms of change this was an increase of two percent or over 3,000,000 people in the unemployment lines since the President took office.

Three things must be considered at this point. Many of these people are heads of families who are suffering because of this unemployment. A second consideration is that many people have become so discouraged that they have stopped looking for work. They are not counted as being unemployed. For all practical purposes the government treats them as nonpersons. Finally, many of the employed are people who are working at jobs below their skill level. These underemployed people are also among the forgotten. Taken together, these three categories of unemployed, discouraged job seekers, and underemployed point to a much more serious problem than President Reagan cares to admit.

The amount of goods and services produced in the general economy in a year is called the Gross National Product or GNP. Any change that takes place in the GNP is called economic growth. In the last quarter of 1981, the GNP was \$1.5078 trillion, as measured in 1972 dollars. In the fourth quarter of 1982, the GNP was \$1.477 trillion

or a decrease of greater than two percent. During this period the GNP dipped as low as \$1.4707 trillion. This is negative economic growth. In other words, we were producing less goods and services during this period of the Reagan Administration.

In January of 1981 an annual interest rate on a regular home mortgage in the Boston area reached 15.17 percent. In November of 1982, it was 13.87 percent where it has stayed for some time. This is a decrease of 1.30 percent, but still a long way from the 9.75 percent this author pays and the five percent his parents paid. What is perhaps most disturbing is that there are signs that interest rates are now on the upswing.

Although interest rates have come down, we must look at the federal deficit to see if they will continue to drop. The deficit for fiscal 1981 was \$59.7 billion. For fiscal 1982, it was \$110.6 billion. Treasury estimates of the deficit for 1983 and 1984 respectively are \$210.2 billion and \$190.2 billion. I have seen estimates putting the fiscal 1983 budget as high as \$270 billion. Where does the government get this money? They go out into the market and borrow it which pushes interest rates higher. During the time that I was writing this article the government borrowed \$6 billion and borrowed an additional \$8 billion soon afterwards.

After looking at the Reagan record it seems necessary to grade the President on his economic performance. Let's take a look at his report card.

Report Card on Reaganomics

Prices - Although prices are still rising, they are not rising as fast as they were in 1979 or 1980. This is due more to the monetary policy of the Federal Reserve, the glut in the world oil market and the general slowing down of the world economy and not to the efforts of Ronald Reagan. The fact still remains that inflation has moderated. I would, therefore, give the President a **C**.

Unemployment - Unemployment is a total disaster. The level of unemployment remains the highest since the Great Depression. Not only have the President's policies aggravated the problem, but he has done nothing to alleviate it. — **F**

Economic Growth - Even though total blame for the slowdown in growth cannot be attributed to the President, he must accept some of the blame. His policies to solve this problem have been misdirected (the tax cut) and inconsistent (increased military spending while social programs suffer). I have to give him a **C**.

Interest Rates - Interest rates have indeed come down. However, there are signs that increased government spending is going to kick them up again. Still they are down from what they were in 1980. I think the President rates a **C** here.

Budget Deficits - As for the budget, it is interesting to note that Democrats are preaching fiscal restraint and the Republicans are backing record deficits. The \$200 billion deficit speaks for itself. **F**

PROGRESS REPORT

Reaganomics

- C** — Inflation
- F** — Unemployment
- C** — Economic Growth
- C** — Interest Rates
- F** — Budget Deficits

As can be seen from the report card, in my opinion, the Reagan economics program did not score well, but if we do begin to come out of the predicament that *Reaganomics* got us into, you can be sure that the President will get the credit.

by **Stanley Antoniotti**
Assistant Professor of Economics

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