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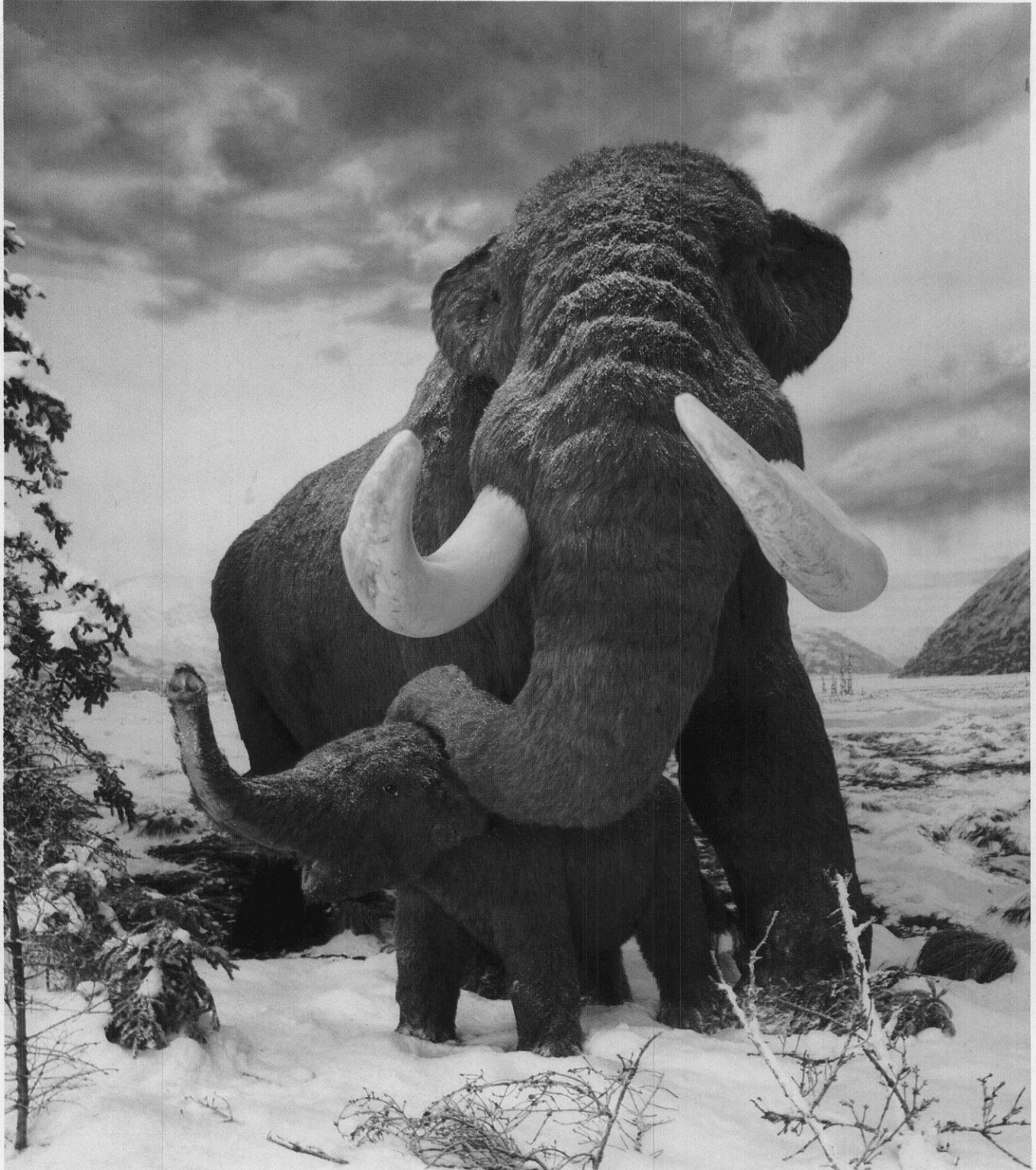
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WISCONSIN ACADEMY REVIEW

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September 1989
Volume 35, Number 4



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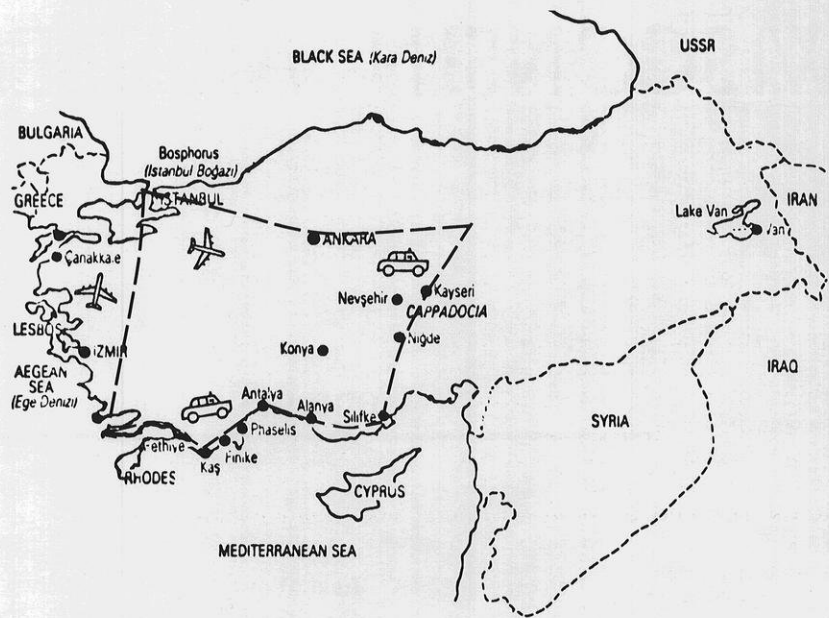
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Cover: A museum reconstruction of a mastodont and calf based on the first specimen of mastodont hair which was found near Milwaukee's Mitchell International Airport.

What I Did on My Summer Vacation

By Patricia Powell



September across the nation brings on a flood of first essays on this traditional, if tired, topic, and I, too, will earnestly sum up a rich experience in a few words. I accompanied my husband, who was doing research for a book, to Turkey.

A sturdy reading list and a previous trip in 1985 gave me the framework in which to fit the successive powers both from the East and from the West who had conquered this fertile land from 7000 B.C. to the present century: the Hatti, Hittites, Assyrians, Urartians, Phrygians, Greeks, Gauls, Romans, Seljuks, Ottomans.

The oldest archaeological site we visited was the Neolithic city of Çatal Höyük (southeast of Konya) dated from 6500 to 5650 B.C., only discovered and excavated in the 1960s. The guard, who had served with the original excavation team, showed us around the site—where the statue of the fertility goddess giving birth and where the bull heads were found. These and other impressive objects are now in Ankara at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in a reconstructed shrine hung with clay heads of bulls with real horns and lively polychrome mural paintings of human and animal figures.

The first peoples about which much is known, however, are the

Hatti, from Mesopotamia, who ushered in the Bronze Age (3000–2000 B.C.). The Hittites, who took over the cities from the Hatti, were unknown to historians until the nineteenth century; yet at its height the Hittite empire reached into Syria and challenged the power of Egypt. Indeed the Hittite king Muwatallis fought Ramses II to a draw in 1296 B.C. at the battle of Kadesh. Hattusa (east of Ankara near the modern village of Boğazköy)—occupied as early as the third millennium B.C. by the Hatti—is one of the major archaeological sites in the Ancient Near East. Remains of five Babylonian-type temples, at least one dedicated to the Storm God, are visible along with the citadel where 3,350 clay tablets inscribed in cuneiform were found in 1906, as are ramparts of the city with five gates including the well-preserved Gate of the Lions. The site is enormous, covering many hillsides in this high mountain plateau; the statuary, the friezes, the sphinxes, the ceremonial vessels in the shape of bulls are in the museum in Ankara. Nearby is the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, built about 1300 B.C. with bas-reliefs on the rock walls of kings and processions of gods; a short distance away are the excavations at Alaca Höyük, a site from the fourth millennium later occupied by Hittites.

Found there were bronze statuettes of sun disks with a stag which are some of the most stunning objects in the Ankara museum. At Alaca Höyük we shared a pleasant picnic with Turkish high school students and their biology teacher, whose first English question was “How much do teachers make in America?”

We also explored Kanesh (present-day Kültepe near Kayseri), probably a Hittite capital, which dates from the third millennium B.C. Associated with Kanesh is the main Assyrian trading colony, a *karum*, where thousands of Assyrian cuneiform tablets from the eighteenth century B.C. were found. Building foundations at both sites are clearly visible, and the guard who spoke no word of English, French, or German nonetheless showed us around the trenches and pointed out standing pottery kilns and family bread ovens.

The west coast of Turkey was settled by peoples from Greece around 1000 B.C. In the east near Lake Van were the Urartians from the east from around 900 to 600 B.C., and in central Anatolia were the Phrygians (about 750 to 300 B.C.), originally from the west, from Thrace. Along the south coast were the native empires of Lycia and Caria. The Lycian capital of Xanthos was one of the most memorable sites we

visited, primarily because of the narrative attached. The Greek historian Herodotus (fifth century B.C.) says that when the Lycians were besieged by the Persians in 545 B.C., the men shut up their women, children, and slaves in the acropolis and setting fire to it went out of the gates themselves to perish fighting. We were unable to appreciate the treasures of Xanthos until we saw the originals in a wonderful room in the British Museum; the monuments remaining in Xanthos are plaster of Paris replicas. Other attractive Lycian sites are Kaunos, reached by boat which passes by distinctive rock cut tombs rising above the river, and Patara, the port of the capital, the harbors of which have now silted over to form Turkey's widest sandy beach. Phaselis, founded by colonists from Rhodes in the sixth century B.C. and later occupied by Greeks and Romans, is now a national park—romantic ruins among pines—where Turkish families picnic and swim in the three warm-water harbors.

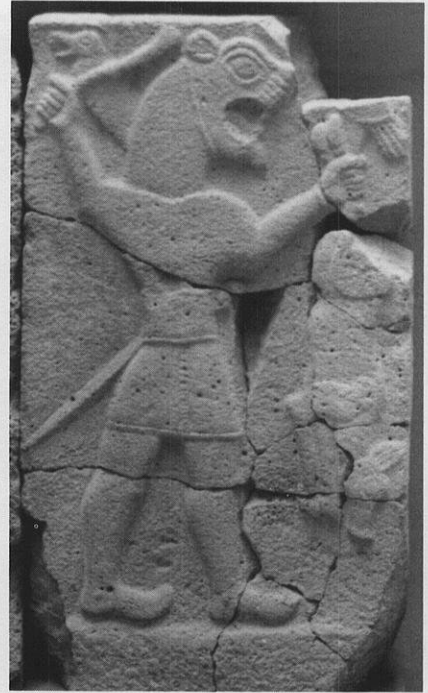
In 330 B.C. Alexander swept across Asia Minor spreading Greek civilization as far as Asia and Africa. At his death in 323 the kingdom was divided, and Asia Minor (Turkey) fell to his general, Seleucus, whose descendants were finally defeated by the Romans in 190 B.C. Thus the many Greek Hellenistic cities were occupied and refashioned to fit Roman style. Greco-Roman ruins along the southern coast, such as Side, Perge, and Aspendos, demonstrate the Greek requirement for aesthetic settings for their cities; these all are on mountains or promontories which command stunning views of the turquoise water below. Even Diocaesaria, about twenty miles inland, is set in the pines above a rugged gorge, which made enemy ascent nearly impossible.

In 288 A.D. the emperor Constantine moved the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople and embraced Christianity, beginning what we call the Byzantine Empire. In Istanbul (Constantino-

ple) today one of the most interesting monuments is the Byzantine church, the Kariye, dating to the fifth century. Restored in the sixth and again in the twelfth centuries, the mosaics (primarily from the fourteenth century) are superb. Perhaps better known is the Hagia Sophia, a Christian church dating from the sixth century, converted into a mosque and now a museum full of tourists and birds. Other monuments from the Christian era which we visited include those of Cappadocia, a volcanic area of fragile tufa which has been carved out and inhabited since the fourth century B.C. There are supposed to be 365 rock churches in the Goreme valley, including the Tokali Kilise which has fifth-century frescoes depicting the life of Jesus and the Apostles. Another geographic and social oddity of this countryside is Kaymakle—an underground city built and occupied from the sixth to the tenth centuries, a hiding place for persecuted Christians—eight floors with a central air shaft which provides enough fresh air seven floors below the surface to keep hoards of tourists breathing, if not unclaustrophobic. Being stuck below ground between two French tours was an experience I'll not repeat.

In 1071 the Seljuks from Mongolia invaded, spreading Islam. The religious capital of Turkey was and is Konya, where Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi (1207-73), mystic, scholar, and the foremost Sufic poet, founded the Whirling Dervishes. His tomb and mosque is now a museum visited by Muslims as well as tourists for its beautiful tiles and manuscripts of the Koran.

The Ottoman Empire began in 1281 and lasted until World War I, at times covering southeastern Europe, the Near East, and northern Africa. Examples in Turkey of Ottoman architecture which we most admired were the Ahmet Pasu mosque (1584) in Kayseri and the Suleymaniye mosque in Istanbul both built by the renowned architect Sinan, the Blue mosque (1609) in Istanbul, and the many caravan-



Neo-Hittite orthostat relief, 9th c. B.C., Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.

serai along the ancient trade routes, especially the 1660 example near Kayseri.

The modern world came to Turkey in the person of Kemal Ataturk, one of the great men of the twentieth century. When at the end of the first world war the Allies planned to dismember the Ottoman Empire, a young general (an original young Turk) renounced the Armistice of Mudros signed by the sultan and proclaimed the Republic of Turkey. After a bitter victory that expelled all Greek-speaking people from Asia Minor where they had settled 3,000 years before, Ataturk turned Turkey towards the West, by substituting the Roman alphabet for the Arabic, by calling for universal literacy, by separating government and religion, by declaring the equality of women. Not surprisingly, the monuments of modern Turkey—found in every village and city—are bronze statues of the father of his people, Kemal Ataturk.□

Authors

Anthony L. Barresi is associate professor of music education in the UW-Madison School of Music and Department of Curriculum and Instruction.

R. Byron Bird is professor of chemical engineering at UW-Madison, with specialties in transport phenomena and the physics of polymeric liquids. He holds a Vilas Research professorship and a John D. MacArthur professorship. He has pursued a second career in foreign language study, with emphasis on Dutch and Japanese. With Professor W. Z. Shetter of Indiana University he has written two books on Dutch: *Een goed begin* (1963) and *Reading Dutch* (1985). He studied at the University of Amsterdam in 1950-51 and in 1958 taught at the Technical University of Delft, which granted him an honorary doctorate in 1977. He also spent the year 1962-63 in Japan, lecturing at both Kyoto and Nagoya universities. He was elected a member of the National Academy of Engineering in 1969, a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1981, a Fellow of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters in 1982, and a foreign member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences in 1985. He received the National Medal of Science from President Reagan in 1987.

John Graber has an M.F.A. from Iowa and a B.A. from St. Olaf College. His poems have appeared in *The American Poetry Review*, *Christian Century*, *The Great River Review*, and in other magazines. He teaches high school English in Pepin, Wisconsin, but writes and lives with his wife and three children in the village of Stockholm on the Mississippi.

Kurt F. Hallin has spent ten years at the Milwaukee Public Museum pursuing his interests in mammalian evolution and paleoecology with emphasis on Wisconsin's Ice Age mammals. His major research interests concern mastodont paleoecology and determining why Clovis Paleoindians hunted mammoths perhaps to their extinction but only rarely hunted mastodonts.

Stephanie Hirsch of Eau Claire is a student at Swarthmore College. She received a National Endowment for the Humanities Younger Scholar Grant in 1986 to work on the Zona Gale papers. In the summer of 1987 she taught English at a UNESCO language camp in Pulawy, Poland.

Theodore Morgan declined into economics after some efforts in English, taking a bachelor's and master's in that field at Ohio State University, and teaching at Skidmore College and the University of Hawaii. The pull into economics was mainly from the desire to learn why and how the Great Depression of the 1930s came about; soon, in graduate work at Harvard he thought he knew. With another master's and a doctorate from Harvard, he taught at Harvard, Randolph Macon Women's College, Vanderbilt, University of Hawaii, Gadjah Mada University (Indonesia), but mainly at UW-Madison. There have been a number of stays away from Wisconsin: five years divided among Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and Singapore, shorter periods of work in Thailand and Kenya; three years in England at the universities of Sussex and of Manchester; and five years altogether in Hawaii, which became nearly a second home. There were thirteen books along the way, six important eco-

nomics articles, and many other papers; advising to the governments of Sri Lanka and Thailand; work with the World Bank and on the senior staff of the Council of Economic Advisers in Washington; development with the American Economic Association and support from the Ford Foundation of a long-continuing program for foreign students coming to graduate training in the United States; and "probably most important," he states, "joint production with my most supportive wife of three marvelous daughters. But such a listing does little justice to the pluses and minuses of these years."

Carolyn Johnson Muchhala left the teaching profession to become a full-time writer. Her work has appeared in *Amelia*, *Peninsula Review*, *Friendly Woman*, *Catholic Digest*, *The Other Side* and elsewhere. She lives in Menomonee Falls with her husband, three teen-aged sons, and a variety of four-legged creatures.

Ronald F. Nicotera is the director of the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources Bureau of Endangered Resources. After taking a degree in the biological aspects of conservation at UW-Madison, he began working for the DNR in 1962. He served as field wildlife manager for seven counties in south-eastern Wisconsin until he was hired as the first nongame biologist in the DNR Division of Game Management.

Susan Peterson, graduate of UW-Madison, lives in Ephraim, Wisconsin, and with her husband owns and runs an art gallery. A chapbook of her poems, *Preparing the Fields*, was published recently by Spoon River Poetry Press.

Emmy Lou Schenk, from Cedarburg, Wisconsin, earned an M.A. in English from UW-Milwaukee. Her short fiction has appeared in *The Rectangle*, *Alfred Hitchcock Mystery Magazine*, and the *AOPA Pilot*. She is coauthor with her husband of two nonfiction books. Currently she is struggling with a full-length mystery novel.

Merton M. Sealts, Jr., Henry A. Pochmann Professor of English, emeritus, UW-Madison, has published widely on nineteenth-century American literature. Reviews of his two most recent books appeared in these pages: *Pursuing Melville: Chapters and Essays 1940-1980* in June 1983 and *Melville's Reading: Revised and Enlarged Edition* in March 1989. "An Author's Self-Education," based on the latter work, was presented at a meeting of the Madison Literary Club in February 1989. He is now completing *Emerson on the Scholar*, a book about Ralph Waldo Emerson's image of himself as scholar.

Josephine M. Zell teaches English, French, and Latin in the Madison School District. She has a B.A. in English language and literature from the University of Manchester, England, and is completing an M.A. at UW-Madison. She and her husband Robert and their son and daughter live in Madison. Her poem "Early Maple," included in this issue, won first place in the 1988 Wisconsin Fellowship of Poets Trophy Poem Contest.

Last Words

Her dull yellow and brown flecked hand
jerked like an air-drowning, bank-thrown bass
and then she quit.

For a long time I leaned against the rock of it.
I saw her dead, but her fingers came back,
tapped twice on the bed before she slipped
so thin, sideways through the bars.

Still, sometimes I hear her, late:
two fingers tap her shy "good luck"
on my bed of sticks.

John Graber

Escape Artist

If she were to do it
she'd choose the bathtub
of course. Watch her

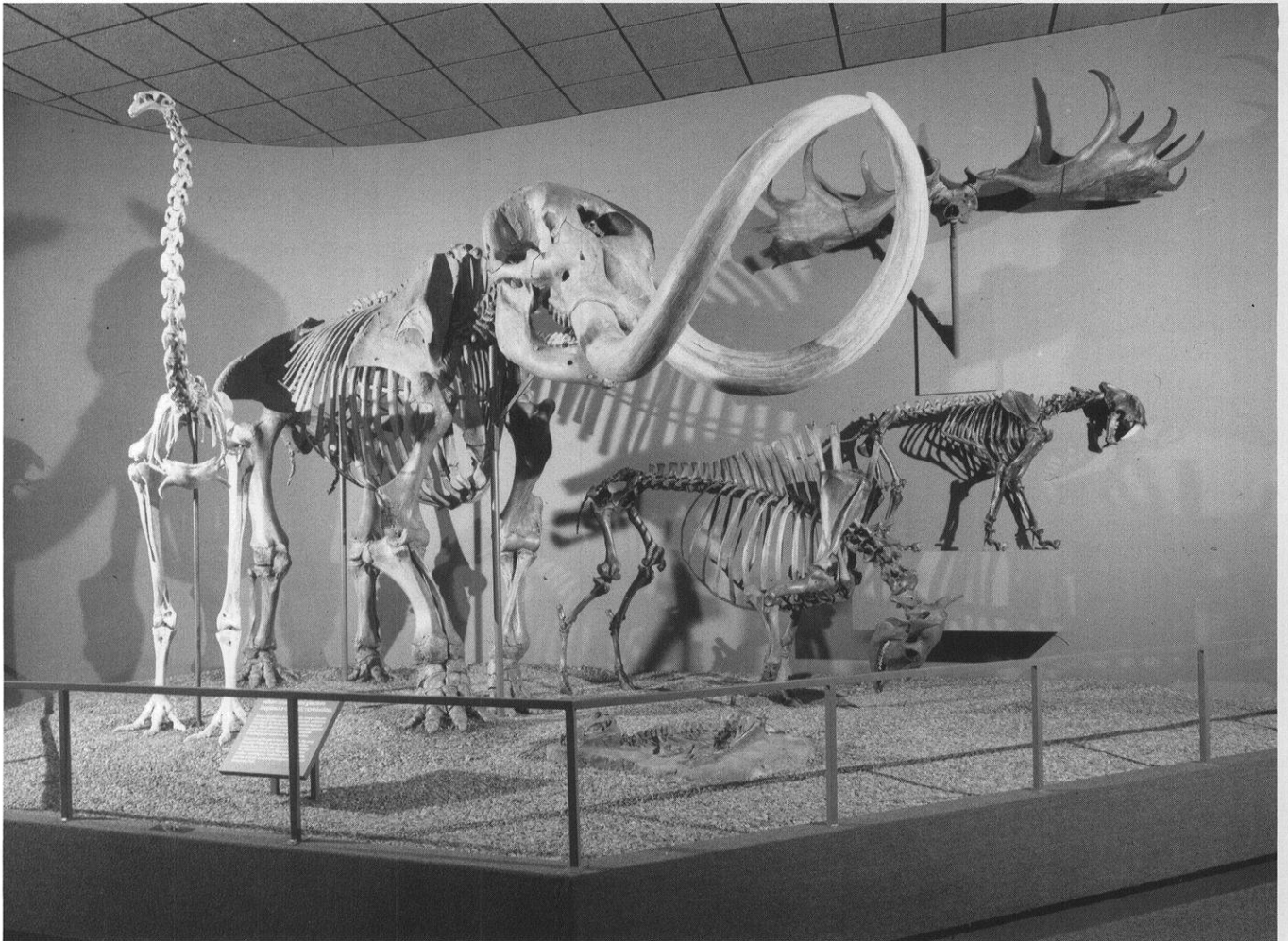
lips pursed, face as smooth as
blank as porcelain trace
one watery line across each wrist
fool
her innocent heart squeezing
fistfuls of indigo
blood along the map of her body
to the place of red blossoms

C. J. Muchhala

Wisconsin's Ice Age Tuskers

Ice Age Elephants and Mastodons

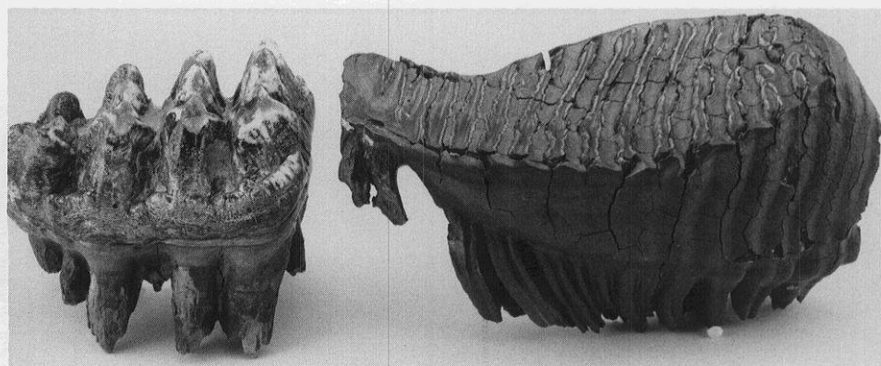
By Kurt F. Hallin



Found in 1903 in a peat bog near Denver, Indiana, this mastodont skeleton is the centerpiece of other Ice Age animals on permanent display at the Milwaukee Public Museum. (Photo courtesy of Milwaukee Public Museum)

Whether it's called "God's Country," "The Badger State," or "The Land of Sky Blue Waters," Wisconsin is certainly the Ice Age State. Those rolling drumlins, eskers, kames, and kettles which contribute to Wisconsin's unique charm and character also provide one of the best records anywhere of glacial movements and processes during the end of the Ice Age. As the two-mile thick glacier withdrew from Wisconsin some 10,000 years ago, it unveiled a new and dramatically altered topography. Across this new landscape spread a suite of animals foreign to present-day Wisconsin including bison, musk ox, caribou, and several gigantic and now-extinct mammals called the Pleistocene or Ice Age megafauna. Among the largest of Wisconsin's megafauna were the mastodons (often spelled mastodon), mammoths, and even a 300-pound giant beaver.

Wisconsin has no state vertebrate fossil, but considering the array of mammoth and mastodont fossils found from Kenosha to Dunn County, both would be prime candidates. Yet we often confuse mammoths and mastodons with one another—largely due to their striking external similarities. Because many museums exhibit them alongside real dinosaurs, some people believe that all large and extinct animals are dinosaurs. However, mammoths and mastodons are no more closely related to dinosaurs than you and I are. Many people believe, just as scientists once did, that mammoths and mastodons are one and the same. This issue dates back to the middle 1700s when many large fossil bones and teeth were discovered by farmers in the eastern states. During these early formative years of the science of paleontology, fossils of both mammoths and mastodons were thought to be from the same animal, then called the mammoth. Obvious differences in tooth structure and the long but more slender limb bones of the



Compared to the relatively primitive molars of mastodons (left), mammoth molars (right) are highly specialized for grazing on abrasive grasses. Such specialization makes teeth the most reliable fossil elements for distinguishing between mammoths and mastodons.

mammoth, compared to those of the mastodont, were then attributed to normal variations among individuals. It was further argued that since both animals had large tusks they must be the same species.

This matter was finally resolved in 1806 when the eminent French anatomist Baron Georges Cuvier argued convincingly that two distinct elephantlike mammals once coexisted in the New World. The cusps of mastodont molars reminded Cuvier of women's breasts, and he named the newly identified animal "mastodont" which means "breast tooth." Unlike the molars of the browsing mastodons which were adapted for chomping twigs, branches, and foliage, those of the mammoth were specialized for grinding abrasive grasses and are structurally similar to teeth of today's Asian elephants.

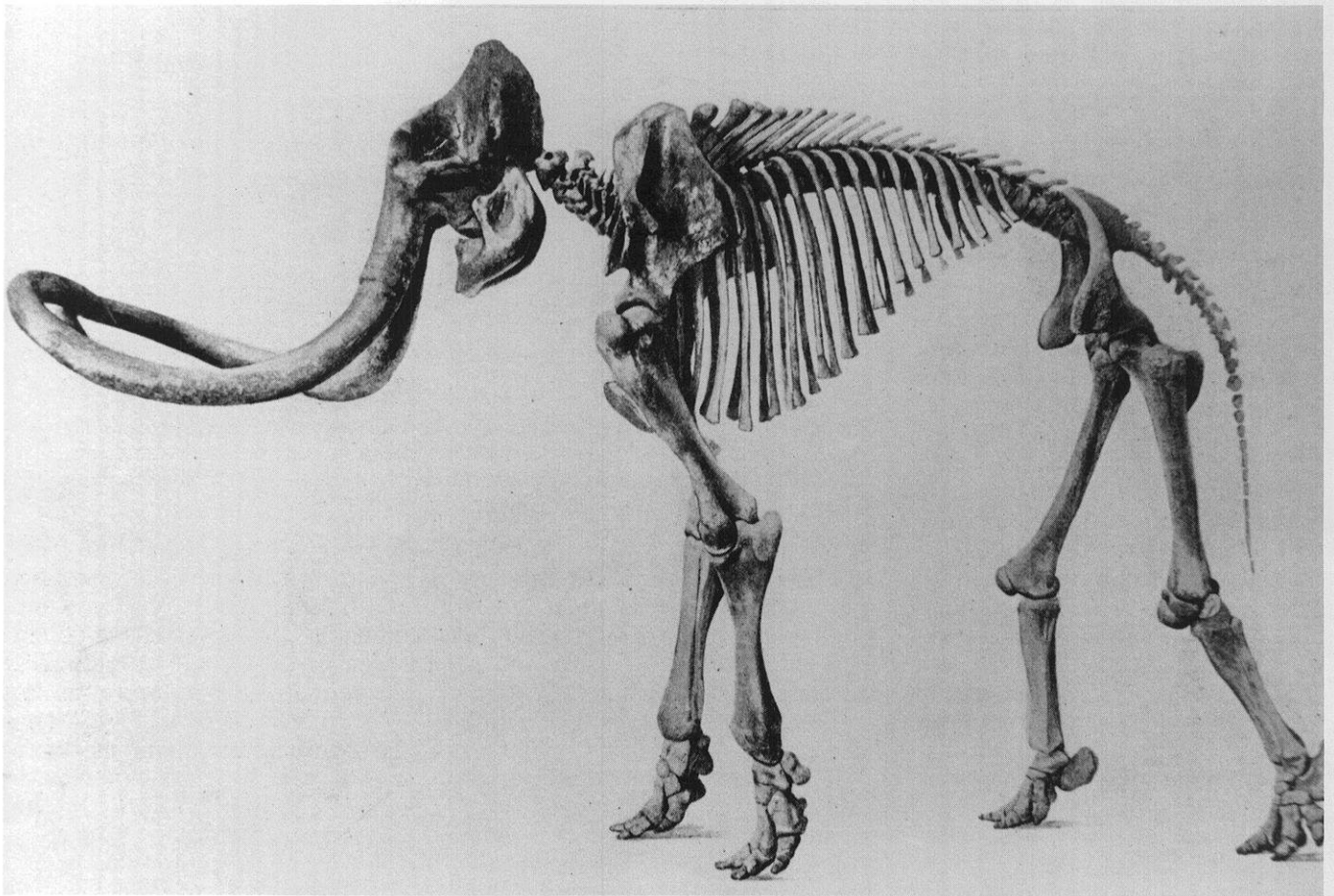
These dental adaptations not only indicate dietary specialization, but also ecological differences between the two animals. Woolly mammoths occupied cold northern tundra and taiga regions, whereas the more southern grazing species, the Jeffersonian mammoth, lived in open prairies. Less well known is the paleoecology of mastodons, although most experts suspect they browsed on twigs, conifer cones, and other vegetation growing around swamps adjacent to spruce forests and open pine park lands.

Cuvier was correct in separating mammoths and mastodons into different species based on differences in dentition; yet outwardly the animals show more similarities than differences—at least more similarities than one might expect between animals whose lineages diverged more than thirty million years ago.

All species of mammoth are classified in the Elephantidae—the same family as today's Asian and African elephants. However, most North American mastodons were in a single species and were the last survivors of a more primitive and now-extinct family, the Mastodontidae.

Such similarities are the result of parallel evolution, one of the more intriguing processes revealed by the fossil record. This parallel evolution occurs as distantly related animals independently develop analogous or similar features which were not shared by their last common ancestor. The development of tusks from an enlargement of two upper incisors in both mastodons and elephants (including mammoths) is a textbook example of this process.

Although adaptations like tusks may be studied in isolation, it is important to keep in mind that each adaptation functions as an integral part of the whole organism and that changes in one anatomical structure often are correlated with



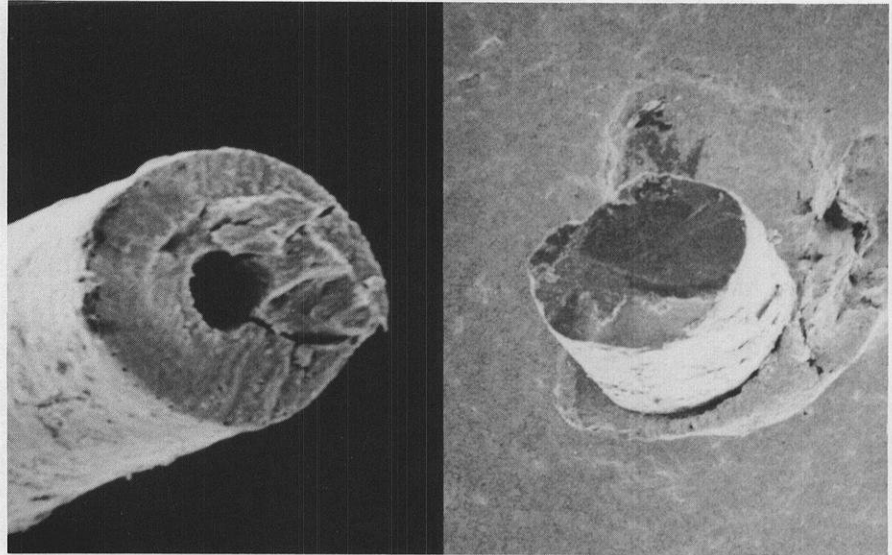
other changes. The development of tusks in both the mammoth and mastodont lineages resulted in a shortening of the neck and skull (front to back) to increase leverage over the long and heavy tusks. The trend toward larger body size in these offspring caused locking joints at the knee and elbow and the limbs to become more vertical. Together these trends of vertical limbs, a shorter neck and skull, and development of tusks made it increasingly difficult for mammoths and mastodonts to drink water and eat vegetation growing at ground level. The enlarged nose and upper lip forming the trunk or proboscis occurred in each lineage independently and allowed feeding contact with the ground.

In addition to their similar outward appearances, mammoths and mastodonts were contemporaries, and both became extinct almost simultaneously. The last mammoths

may have perished as recently as 9,500 years ago, and mastodonts outlasted them by several hundred years. Closely timed with the decline of the entire megafauna is the earliest conclusive evidence of humans in North America. A highly controversial theory for the megafauna extinction proposes that mammoths, bison, and other species, perhaps including mastodonts, were hunted to extinction by the early Clovis Paleoindians. Proponents of this "prehistoric overkill" theory cite evidence of spear points, stone knives, and scrapers found associated with skeletal remains of more than forty mammoths at twelve sites scattered throughout western North America. Of all North American mastodont sites, only the one at Kimmswick, Missouri provides direct association between mastodont remains and Paleoindian artifacts. For reasons still unclear,

Longer and more gracile limbs, a shorter skull, and a smaller pelvis and ribcage are among the subtle skeletal distinctions between mammoths and the stockier mastodonts.

Scanning electron micrograph of the first specimen of mastodont hair (magnified 700 X) found associated with the Milwaukee mastodont shows that mastodont guard hair is hollow and much finer than the mammoth guard hair shown at right (magnified 100 X) collected from a frozen mammoth carcass at Elephant Point, Alaska.

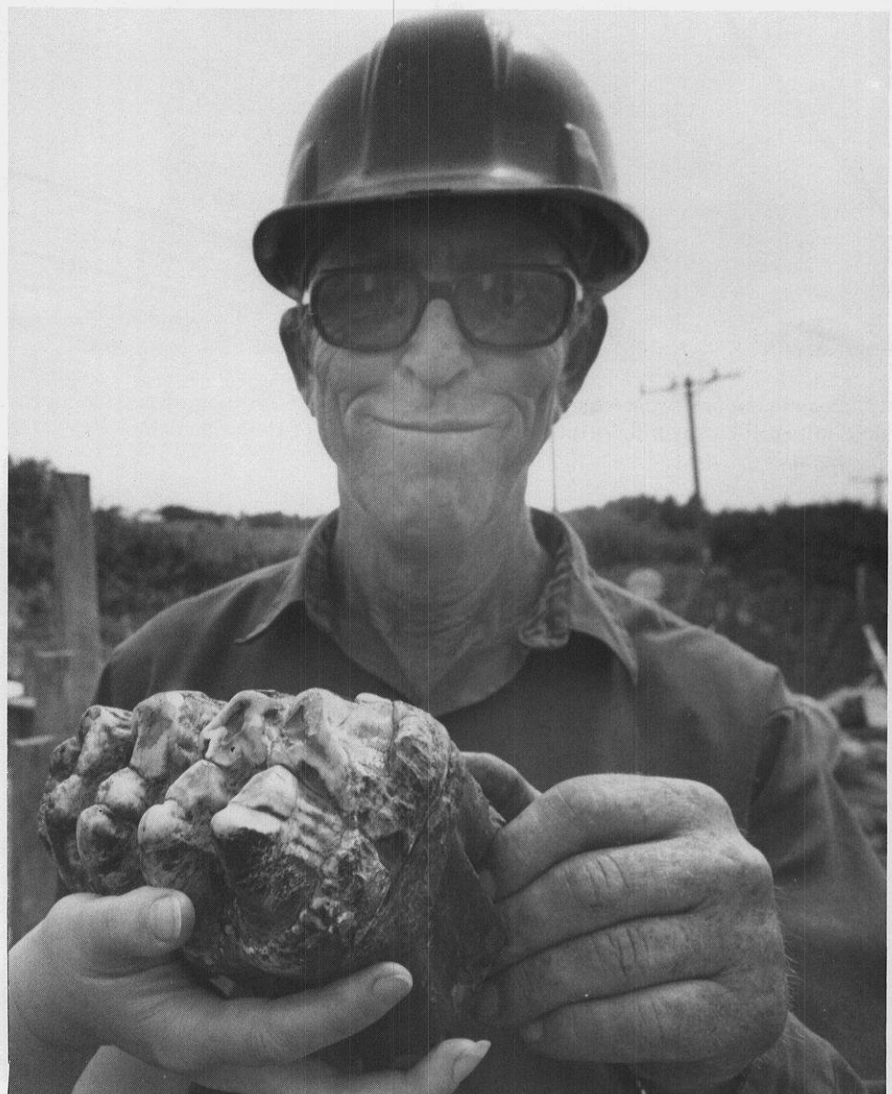


Paleoindians appear to have hunted mammoths more frequently than they did mastodonts.

Although the geographic ranges of mammoths and mastodonts overlapped across much of North America, woolly mammoths ranged farther northward across periglacial tundra and taiga environments. As a result of this northern range, more than forty nearly complete carcasses of woolly mammoths have been found frozen in Alaska and Siberia. Examination of these carcasses provides scientists with a rare opportunity to analyze first hand the soft tissues of this long-extinct animal. Such studies have resulted in a wealth of knowledge on the biology and paleoecology of mammoths.

Collecting a frozen carcass was daunting for many reasons: the location was remote and inaccessible; thawing and decomposition produced a putrid odor which attracted wolves, bears, and other potentially dangerous scavengers. Although Arctic wolves and others competed for these carcasses, the meat is unpalatable to humans. Widely published reports that defrosted mammoth meat was once served inside a dinosaur ribcage at a nineteenth-century English banquet were proved false.

Although the survival of soft tis-



Ray Malone proudly displays one of two mastodont molars he discovered near Milwaukee's Mitchell International Airport. (Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Electric Power Company)



Cohoes mastodont reconstruction based on a historic description of mastodont hair from the 1790s. Loren Eiseley later determined this was a description of green algae rather than mastodont hair. (Photo courtesy of the New York State Museum)

sues from long-extinct animals is unusual, it may occur under some conditions, as we recently discovered at the Milwaukee mastodont site. Two huge fossil molars were discovered by Ray Malone at a Wisconsin Electric Power Company excavation adjacent to Milwaukee's Mitchell International Airport. This is not simply the first mastodont found in Milwaukee County but the first time anywhere that mastodont soft tissues have been discovered. Two small mats of skin and hair were found in direct contact with remains of the mastodont skull and likely survived the millennia because of bur-

ial in a peat bog. Peat deposits are highly acidic and contain low oxygen levels, which may greatly reduce the normal rate of decay or consumption of organic materials by microorganisms.

Since the discovery of the first frozen mammoth in Siberia, mammoths have been reconstructed with a thick woolly coat of reddish brown or black hair measuring up to eighteen inches. But what about mastodons? Prior to the Milwaukee mastodont find a report dating from the 1790s described mastodont hair as long, coarse, and dun brown based on a sample found with a mastodont molar in a peat

bog in New York. This was the sole description of mastodont hair until Loren Eiseley disputed that report in the 1940s, concluding that the 1790 bog material was not hair at all but a filamentous green algae. Consequently all mastodont illustrations and museum reconstructions based on this description depicted mastodons covered in green algae!

Despite their similar external appearance, mammoths and mastodons are distinct animals and among the first to inhabit the post-glacial landscape during a pivotal period as humans first set foot in the New World. □



Melville in 1861. Drawn by Francis Day for the *Century Illustrated Magazine* 50 (August 1895), 563, from a photograph by Rodney Dewey of Pittsfield provided by Melville's widow.

An Author's Self-Education

Herman Melville's Reading

By Merton M. Sealts, Jr.

Among our most prominent nineteenth-century American authors, four in particular were largely *self-educated*: Walt Whitman, Herman Melville, Emily Dickinson, Mark Twain. None of the four was a college graduate—though Mark Twain received honorary degrees—and perhaps coincidentally, none of the four was seriously regarded as a major author until our own century.

How such writers learned about the world, about themselves, and about their own craft is always a fascinating story, involving a varied combination of personal experience and later reflection upon it—reflection commonly abetted by the perspective they gained through the vicarious experience of reading. Like the four authors I have named, most of the principal figures in American literature, whatever their formal training, were great readers, men and women who schooled themselves for authorship by studying the works of other writers as they sought to perfect their own literary skills and to develop their individual idioms and styles.

Much has been done to identify and locate the books, magazines, and newspapers that our writers owned and borrowed. A useful sur-

vey of this work can be found in a fascinating article entitled "Private Libraries of American Authors: Dispersal, Custody, and Description" by Alan Gribben, the author of a monumental two-volume work of 1980 entitled *Mark Twain's Library: A Reconstruction*. Very few authors have taken the trouble to catalogue the books on their own shelves. Most of them are no more specific about their holdings than was Henry Thoreau, in a much-quoted remark in his journal of 1853: "I have now a library of nearly nine hundred volumes, over seven hundred of which I wrote myself." His wry reference was to the unsold copies of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, his first book, composed in part during his famous two years at Walden Pond from 1845 to 1847 and published in 1849. Yet Thoreau too was an avid reader of other writers, ancient and modern; Robert Sattelmeyer has recently published a four-hundred-page study of his reading.

My own research concerning an individual author began with my doctoral dissertation at Yale on "Herman Melville's Reading in Ancient Philosophy," completed in 1942. The dissertation in-

cluded an appendix listing books Melville had bought from his publishers, as noted on their successive statements of account that are preserved in the Melville Collection at Harvard's Houghton Library. Out of this beginning came a long article published serially in the *Harvard Library Bulletin* from 1948 to 1950 with later supplements, entitled "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed." This study first surveyed the records of Melville's reading and then listed all the titles he was recorded as owning or borrowing; Melville himself never undertook a projected catalogue of his personal library. Publication of this article was instrumental in turning up additional Melville association volumes, as they are known in the trade, leading to the appearance in 1966 of an expanded version of my work, this time in book form, that has been widely used by other scholars. In the spring of 1988, with the accumulation of much additional evidence, both internal and external, and the emergence of still more books from Melville's library, I published a new *Melville's Reading: Revised and Enlarged Edition*. A reviewer once delighted me by calling the 1966 edition a study of the self-education of a major author; the new volume of 1988 carries that study even further. Let me turn now to some of its major findings.

In Herman Melville's case, he could say with his own Ishmael, the narrator of *Moby-Dick*, that "A whale-ship was my Yale College and my Harvard." Indeed, Ishmael's words have often been quoted by those who assume that Melville's education was gained largely at sea. But this is to overlook his own statement to Nathaniel Hawthorne, in a letter of 1851 written while *Moby-Dick* was in progress, that until he left the sea in 1844 he "had no development at all."

From my twenty-fifth year I date my life. Three weeks have

scarcely passed, at any time between then and now, that I have not unfolded within myself.

Between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-two, 1844 to 1851, Melville had written and published five books and was finishing his sixth, *Moby-Dick*. These books, the tangible evidence of his "unfolding," were the product not only of their author's personal experience before the mast, but also of his wide and deep reading and reflection. Until he had gained perspective on his adventures, to adapt a line from T. S. Eliot, he had had the experience but largely missed the meaning. Like Mark Twain, Melville was an omnivorous reader, thoroughly at home in libraries both public and private, and a buyer as well as a borrower of books. As with one of his own protagonists, the title character of *Pierre* (1852):

A varied scope of reading, . . . randomly acquired by a random but lynx-eyed mind, . . . poured one considerable contributory stream into that bottomless spring of original thought which the occasion and time had caused to burst out in himself.

To borrow a phrase from Emerson's "American Scholar," Melville was "a creative reader" as well as a creative writer. Or to cite Eliot once again, good poets *borrow* but great poets *steal*, and as a creative reader and writer Melville learned to supplement what he had learned from experience by extracting and appropriating whatever he needed from an increasing variety of books and authors, and so to put his experience in perspective. A recent scholar, Nancy Craig Simmons, has characterized what he did in these words:

Melville's genius lay . . . in his ability to transform and complicate borrowed materials in ways that simultaneously explore the recesses of his own mind, his problems as a writer, and the culture in which he lived. (p. 147)

In the process of using his reading in this way he also succeeded in speaking to countless other readers and writers—across the years and around the globe. Now, long after his death, his achievement is at last fully acknowledged.

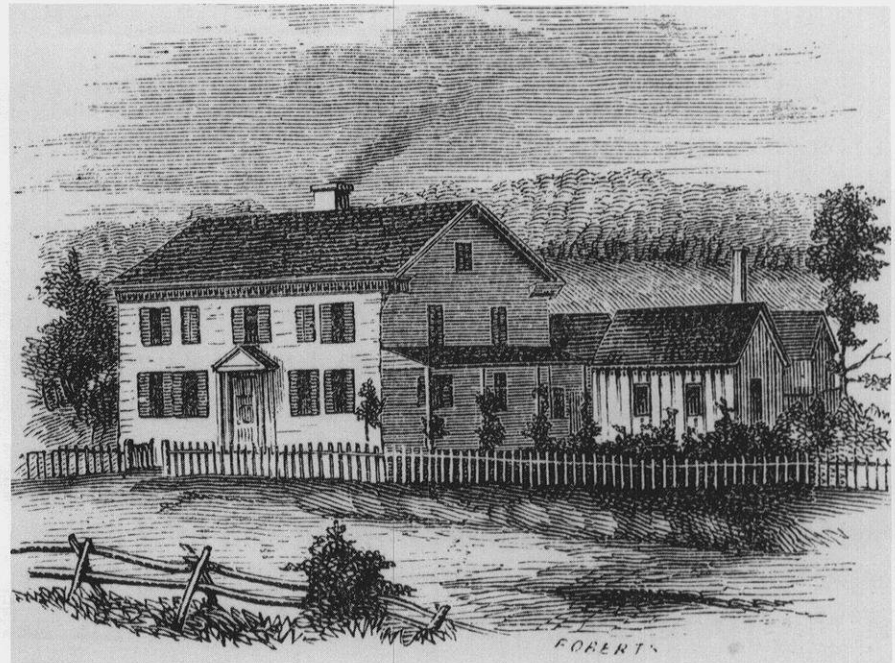
Melville's success in his own time began with his *Typee* (1846) and *Omoo* (1847), based primarily on his own experiences at sea and in the Pacific islands but greatly enriched by his reading in other authors' books on the South Seas. For later writings he also turned to specialized works: books on whaling for *Moby-Dick*, books of poetry when he began writing verse in the mid-1850s and after, books on Palestine when he wrote *Clarel* (1876), a long narrative poem, based partly on the journal of his earlier travels in the Holy Land, which reflects his own search for religious faith.

Equally important was his wide general reading: his boyhood devotion to Cooper and Byron, his mature knowledge of poetry and drama from the Greeks and Romans to Shakespeare and Milton and their contemporaries—he responded with special enthusiasm to seventeenth-century writers—, and his growing familiarity with authors of his own century. Among his contemporaries he read Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, and later Whitman at home; Wordsworth and Coleridge, Lamb and Hazlitt, De Quincey and Carlyle, Dickens, Tennyson, Arnold, and the Brownings in Great Britain; and Goethe, Schiller, Richter and Madame de Staël on the continent. He had a strong interest in philosophy, beginning with his exposure to Plato and Seneca in 1847 and 1848 and continuing throughout his life; during his last illness, along with "the Mermaid Series of old plays," he was reading Schopenhauer. And always the most abiding and pervasive influence was the King James Bible, which he obviously knew almost by heart and quoted in nearly everything he wrote.

Like many great readers, Melville came from a family that loved books. His father, an importer of French goods, books included, seems to have had an extensive library. His mother established a custom of reading aloud in the evening that was continued in the homes of her children, Herman among them. His brothers and sisters, readers all, exchanged books and their opinions about books among themselves and their friends, both in their early years and in later life. Moreover, as we have learned only recently, Melville himself had a better preparatory schooling—first in New York City and later in Albany—than had long been supposed. In Albany, for example, he studied ancient history, biography, and literature at the Albany Academy, acquiring a limited knowledge not only of Latin but even of Greek, and at the Albany Classical School he exhibited a talent for original composition.

When his father's business reverses and subsequent death brought an end to Herman's formal schooling, he continued to read on his own, making use of the libraries of an Albany uncle, Peter Gansevoort, of the Albany Young Men's Association, and of another uncle in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Thomas Melvill, Jr., with whose family he lived for the better part of a year. Later, when hard times led him to become a sailor, he read whatever came to hand in ships' libraries.

Melville's really intensive reading, however, belongs to the years of his "unfolding." For his first books, as I have noted, he began both to borrow and to buy works on the South Seas. With his initial success as an author, as he married and settled in New York City and came to move in literary circles, his reading markedly broadened, with consequent effect on his writing. In New York he had access to the extensive private library of his friend Evert Duyckinck, a prominent editor, and, through Duyckinck, to

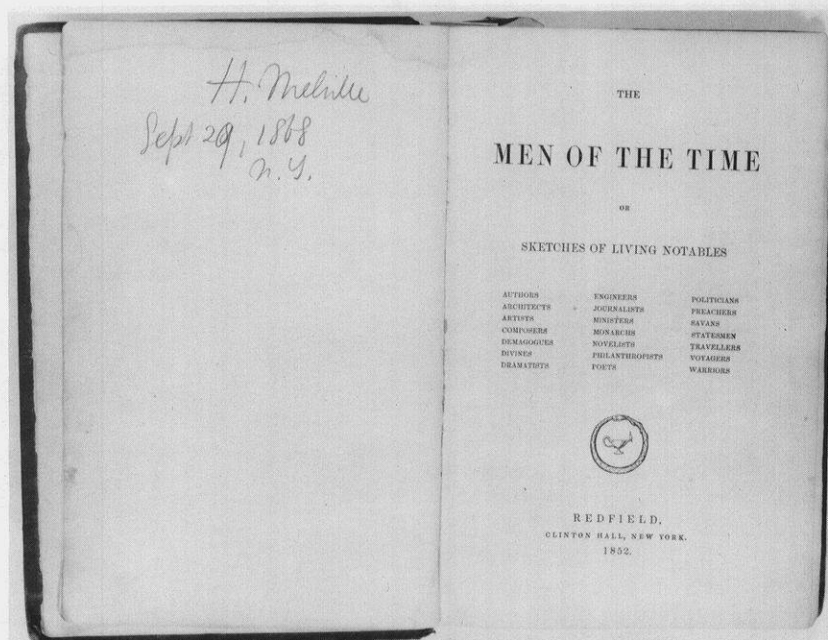
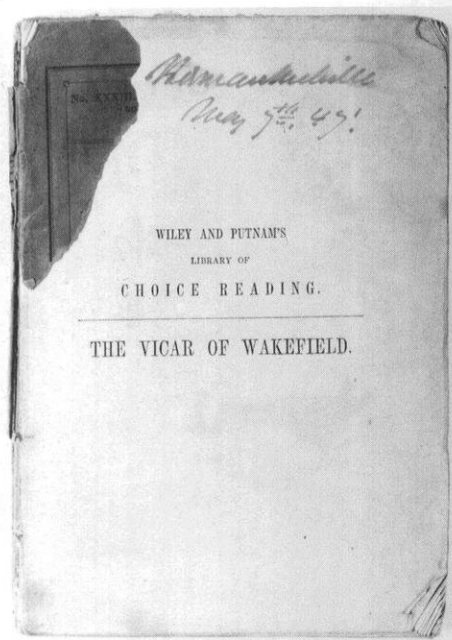


Melville's residence.

the resources of the New York Society Library, a private institution where both he and his brother Allan held membership. "By the way, Melville reads old Books," Duyckinck reported. "He has borrowed Sir Thomas Browne of me and says finely . . . that Browne is a kind of 'crack'd Archangel.' "

It was Browne who in turn led Melville to read the dialogues of Plato, which greatly influenced both the form and the content of Melville's third book, *Mardi* (1849). *Mardi* is a philosophical romance, quite unlike *Typee* and *Omoo*, that prepared the way for *Moby-Dick*. Meanwhile, Melville was beginning to build an extensive library of his own. His significant purchases of Dante, Milton, and Shakespeare, Wordsworth and Coleridge, all date from the late 1840s. So too does his first reading of Emerson, whom he had heard lecturing in Boston. In 1849, on a trip to Europe, he bought still more books, ranging from the plays of Marlowe and Ben Jonson to the writings of Goethe and De Quincey.

In 1850 the Melvilles moved from New York City to a farm near Pittsfield, Massachusetts that Herman called "Arrowhead." In addi-



Early and late signatures in books from Melville's library: *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *The Men of the Time*. (Sealts Nos. 232, 356; by permission, respectively, of the Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.)

tion to his old associations with the area there was his developing friendship with Hawthorne, then living nearby at Lenox, who exerted a powerful influence on *Moby-Dick*, both directly and through his writings. At Pittsfield Melville missed the resources of New York's libraries and bookstores—"the long Vaticans and street-stalls of the city," as he called them. Though he had access to the shelves of the Pittsfield Library Association, "They have no Vatican (as you have)," he wrote ruefully to Duyckinck, from whom he continued to borrow books—notably the writings of Thomas Carlyle, another major influence on *Moby-Dick*. At this same time he was also collecting works on whales and whaling, needed for the more technical aspects of *Moby-Dick*, being aided by relatives who bought books for him and by at least one New York bookseller who imported a volume from London.

Moby-Dick, now considered Melville's masterwork, was not the immediate success he had hoped for. He himself wanted to escape the reputation he had gained with

Typee as "the man who had lived among the cannibals"; contemporary readers and critics, however, wanted more books like *Typee* and *Omoo* and deplored what Melville offered them in *Mardi*, in *Moby-Dick*, and especially in his seventh book, *Pierre* (1852). As a result, his career as a professional author virtually ended during the later 1850s when, after the utter failure of *Pierre*, he had first written magazine fiction and then tried his hand at lecturing. (Early in 1859 he came to the Midwest, lecturing on "The South Seas" in Chicago, Rockford, Quincy, and Milwaukee.) In 1863 he left Pittsfield for New York City, where he lived until his death in 1891. He published four volumes of verse during these years, two of them privately printed. From 1866 until 1885 he supported his family by working as a customs inspector on the city's docks. After his retirement in 1885, in addition to writing verse, he composed his last prose work, *Billy Budd, Sailor*, not published until long after his death.

Most of the books that survive from Melville's own library date from the New York years. He vis-

ited bookstores in both New York and Philadelphia, reportedly spending more than his family liked, though his wife's receipt of an inheritance led her to allow him twenty-five dollars a month for buying books and prints. His purchases included volumes of poetry and criticism by various hands (notably Matthew Arnold), the works of Balzac, and many books on fine art, a major interest along with his continuing fondness for both drama and philosophy. The Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield's public library, holds many prints from Melville's collection, the gift of one of his granddaughters. A current subject of lively investigation, I might note, is Melville's sensitive response to pictorial art, as provocative as his response to books and abundantly evident from the time of his early works through the writing of *Billy Budd, Sailor* during his last years. One fascinating example is a recent illustrated volume, *Herman Melville's Picture Gallery* by Stuart M. Frank (1986), which collects and comments on the numerous prints and other images of whales and whaling that

Melville referred to in *Moby-Dick*, to the great enrichment of that mighty work.

In New York Melville also continued borrowing books: from Duyckinck, until his friend's death in 1878, and from various institutional collections—especially the New York Society Library, where he again held membership in 1890 and 1891 and from which he drew extensively, both for himself and for his wife and their unmarried daughter. He was reading authors such as Howells and Kipling and becoming acquainted with Schopenhauer; they preferred lighter fiction.

Epilogue

When Melville died in September of 1891, by then a forgotten figure among American authors, the inventory of his estate valued at six-hundred dollars his "Personal books numbering about 1,000 volumes." Some of these books were kept by his widow, passing after her death to a married daughter and later to four granddaughters. Three of the granddaughters in turn gave most of the books they had inherited to Harvard, where, along with various family papers, they now constitute the Melville Collection, housed in Houghton Library.

A fourth granddaughter presented most of her books to the New York Public Library, where they constitute the Osborne Collection. Other books and papers kept by relatives of Melville are also in the New York Public Library as part of its extensive Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, recently augmented by additional Melville Family Papers—a literal "find" that was purchased for the library after making a wholly unanticipated appearance in upstate New York. Many references to books and reading occur throughout the family correspondence.

The books that Melville's widow

Melville's listings of books obtained abroad in 1849, from his manuscript "Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent." (By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.)

Books obtained in London	
Ben Jonson. folio	13.
Dekker " "	10.
Beaumont & Fletcher folio	14.
Hudibras 18 ms. (old)	2.
Barrell's Johnson (10 vol. 18 ms)	21.
Lin Thome Browne folio	1696
3 cop. of Waverley from Bentley	
2 cop. of "Redburn" from Bentley	
Guide book for France	3 from Mr Murray.
" " " Germany	
Knight's London (3rd ed.)	1. 10. 0
Larator	10.
Rosseau Confessions (1	11.
Ca. de. of Otranto	1.
2 plays of Shakespeare	2
Charles Lamb's works (octavo)	3 from Mr Mason.
Final Memorials of Lamb	
Gurman 3 vol.	3.
Chatterton 2 "	3. 6
Old Map of London (1766)	
Anastasiadis (2 vol) Bentley	
Callet Williams (1 vol) Do	
Parthen (1 vol) Do	
Corinne " Do	
Frankenstein " Do	
Autobiography of England Ben Stet	5.
Marlowe's Plays Do	
Autobiography of Goethe (Bohn)	3.
Letters from Italy (Goethe) Do.	3.
Confessions of an Opium Eater.	1 6.

Books obtained in Paris	
Telemachus — About 2 francs.	
Anastasiadis (2 vol) " 4 "	
Views of Paris. (R. R. Staben.)	

Books obtained in Germany	
"Lays & Legends of the Rhine", Coblenz.	
"Up the Rhine" Cologne	
Panorama of the Rhine "	

Books obtained in France	
"Cadirol"	
Mémoires de Napoléon — Josephine. 5 francs.	
" (Baille)	1 "

Books obtained in Cologne	
Andreas Stoppers — Cologne.	
2 1/2 4 roches (6 francs)	

did not keep were sold to various book dealers in New York and Brooklyn when she moved to smaller quarters in 1892. No record was made of their titles, either by Mrs. Melville or by the dealers concerned, though we do know some of the individuals who bought from the Brooklyn shop. However, those books which had once been Melville's were not commonly identified in sale catalogues until the 1920s, when the first wave of the modern Melville revival began and the presence of Melville's autograph in a book came to enhance its worth substantially.

Since then, the value of Melville association volumes has steadily escalated. By 1945 a single heavily annotated book that Melville had used in writing *Moby-Dick*—the *Narrative of Owen Chase*, where Melville found the suggestion for the ramming and sinking of the *Pequod* by a whale—brought \$2,100 at auction in New York. In the 1980s, when a whole cluster of books has come onto the market, two individual sales at auction are especially noteworthy: Melville's copy of Dante brought \$16,000 and his Milton a cool \$100,000! All this out of a personal library once valued at a mere \$600. As Melville's Ishmael would put it, "Oh Time, Strength, Cash, and Patience!"

In the 1940s, when I first began tracking the books Melville had owned, 210 surviving titles were known, of which 191 had then been located; by June of 1988 these totals had increased to 270 known survivors, of which 232 have now been located. Fortunately, most of these are available to scholars, either in New York or Cambridge, at the Berkshire Athenaeum, at various institutional libraries holding one, two, or three books, or in the hands of cooperative private collectors. Others, however, have disappeared from sight after being listed in auction catalogues. The Milton and the Dante, for example, were bought for a well-to-do private individual whose name has been kept confidential, reportedly

because he has in mind a scholarly project of his own.

Still other titles of books read by Melville are known because records of his buying or borrowing have survived: the accounts with his publishers at Harvard; Duyckinck's notebook of "Books Lent," now in the Duyckinck Family Papers at the New York Public Library; the charging records of the New York Society Library, which is still flourishing; and other references to books and reading in the correspondence of the Melvilles and their relatives and friends, some published and some still in manuscript.

All of these available books and records are open to the Melville scholar because Melville himself was a book lover who bought and borrowed books, because many of those books and records concerning them were kept in the family or elsewhere, and because modern libraries have the facilities to treasure what has come their way, either by good fortune or through enlightened acquisition.

In lieu of a final summation, here are two apposite comments on Melville's reading, the first by the late F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard and the second by Melville himself. "The books that really spoke to Melville," as Matthiessen finely observed in his *American Renaissance*, "became a part of him to a degree hardly matched by any other of our great writers in their maturity" (p. 122). Those of us who have closely followed Melville's absorption and transformation of what he read—a study in itself—will wholeheartedly agree with these words. A passage from Melville's *White-Jacket* (1850) nicely captures his own attitude toward books and reading. It is "a fact which every book-lover must have experienced before me," he wrote,

that though public libraries have an imposing air, and doubtless contain invaluable volumes, yet, somehow, the books that prove most agreeable, grateful, and

companionable, are those we pick up by chance here and there; those which seem put into our hands by Providence; those which pretend to little but abound in much.

Melville's own writings, we have found, fully support his affirmation here, to which most of us, whether authors or readers, would probably subscribe; I surely do myself.

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Spring

He is working high up
on his boat—working alone,
doing those things men do to boats,
mend, splice, slowly rub wood—
He whispers, “There is so little time.”
This sailboat is still on its cradle.
It takes much climbing to top
her gunnels. Once reached
his head is in the trees,
the mast another branch.
He views the life of rooftops, of birds.
He eats oranges in the cockpit, his hand
on the tiller, steering her through
soft white clouds.
He could sail to sea this way,
over the village, over herons flying north.
Below, the keel shaped like a wing,
freshly free of thick cold snow.
Today the sun reddens skin,
warms varnish, the dropped orange rinds.
Wings soar in the heat.

Susan Peterson

Early Maple

Lit by the evening sun, its branches rise
Laden with golden coin, unsought-for gift
Of April, tossing us her last surprise.

I watch, hoping no slightest breeze will lift
The oval discs that hang in tranquil light
Layered in fixed profusion. Leaden thrift

Is banished from society tonight.
This maple holds its wealth ready to spend,
Its fan of branches etched against the white

Of fading day. I see a bird ascend,
A dark thread through the gold, without a leaf
Displaced. These radiant moments will transcend

This day. Those who are generous in life
Wait to confer their gifts; their patience is
Their virtue, more than we are conscious of.

In golden silence they exemplify
The sacred prodigality of love.

Josephine M. Zell

Government Grows

By Theodore Morgan

It is conventional wisdom that in our western societies government has been growing and growing—in the United States certainly, and in some similar countries, like Sweden, perhaps even more rapidly. Conventional wisdom does not tell us whether this growth will continue.

The evidence supports this impression of past history. In the distant past of several hundred years and more, agriculture was so inefficient that nearly all the population had to be employed in food production—some eight-tenths or nine-tenths or more of the work force. We can go backward in our own western history by looking at some of the poorest countries of today. In 1980 according to the World Bank's *World Development Report 1988* (Table 31, p. 282), 93 percent of the work force in Nepal and Burundi were in agriculture, 86 percent in Uganda and Lesotho. If only, say, 10 percent of the work force is available for all nonagricultural pursuits, it is unlikely that government could employ more than a very few percent of the work

force—one or two or three—or that government's share of income would be much more.

In the United States, serious estimates go back to 1869. We show data for the share of the work force, and of income, for selected years up to 1929:

Table 1

Percent of total work force employed in government		Percent of national income attributed to government	
1869	4%	1869	4%
1899	4%	1899-1903	6%
1909	5%	1910-1913	6%
1929	7%	1923-1926	9%

Source of data: *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975, Series F 250-261, p. 240. The work force estimates are from John W. Kendrick, *Productivity Trends in the United States*, Princeton University Press, 1961. Income estimates are from Robert F. Martin, *National Income of the United States*, New York, National Industrial Conference Board, 1939. All percentages are rounded.

and Grows—But Why?

Starting with 1929, we can rely on more detailed data from the Department of Commerce. Table 2 shows real outlays of government, as a share of gross national product.

The share of all U.S. government has more than doubled in these nearly sixty years (though it has not changed much since 1960). The share of federal outlays has risen eight times in the period (though declining somewhat since 1960 and 1970, but without any decline in the Reagan years 1980-88). The share of state and local governments has nearly doubled in the nearly sixty years of services, to a plateau of 12 percent in the past twenty years.

Another useful measure of the relative size of government is total government spending, which includes not only purchase of output, but also transfer payments—social security and other. We can compare this total government spending with gross national expenditure (GNE), which is equal by definition to gross national product (GNP). (The difficulty with this comparison is that GNE excludes by definition transfer spending; and so we are comparing horses and camels, and have a bad conscience in consequence.) The comparison in Table 3 gives a sense of change in relative size.

Table 2: Government Real Outlays Compared to GNP

	Total government	Federal	State and local
1929	9%	1%	7%
1940	14%	6%	8%
1950	13%	7%	7%
1960	20%	11%	9%
1970	21%	10%	12%
1980	19%	8%	12%
1988	20%	8%	12%

Source of data: *Economic Report of the President*, January 1989, Table B-1, p. 308-9; *Economic Indicators*, March 1989, p. 1. All data are rounded.

Table 3: Government Spending Compared with GNE

	Total government	Federal	State and local
1929	10%	3%	8%
1940	18%	10%	9%
1950	21%	14%	8%
1960	27%	18%	10%
1970	31%	20%	13%
1980	33%	23%	13%
1987	35%	24%	12%

Source: *Economic Report of the President*, January 1989, Table B-79, p. 401. Federal and state and local spending add up to more than the totals, since there is double counting. Federal transfer spending to state and local governments is counted again in spending of those governments. All data are rounded.

These expenditure figures show continued growth in total and federal government spending, though state-and-local spending has fallen slightly in the past decade.

The data support with little qualification the generalization that government grows and grows, relatively as well as absolutely. Why? Will the growth continue?

1. Urbanization, higher incomes

The standard long-run reasoning explaining government growth centers on more urbanization and higher real incomes. Urbanization lifts the priorities given to outlays and controls that can be met best, or only, by social, generally government, outlays and efforts: sewage and other waste disposal, perhaps gas and electricity and some communications, education, hospitals, police, and many another service and regulation to meet the disadvantages and concomitants of citified living.

And as real incomes have risen, the welfare state has appeared and thrived: our standard for a minimum tolerable standard of living for everyone has risen.

2. War and tensions

A few years ago, one plausible argument was that war and then cold war and threats of military confrontation were to blame. Such a view has been a central theme in the Marxist and leftwing press and was supported by Arthur Schlesinger in *The Imperial Presidency*. But the argument is incomplete: It fails to explain the persisting two centuries of government growth in the U.S. and Europe, and elsewhere in the world.

3. Mature capitalism and government growth

Joseph Schumpeter, in his *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*—a volume showing his opinionated insights at their sharpest—portrays government growth as a result of an advanced and decrepit capitalism. The unprecedented successes of mixed-private enterprise in raising production—with associated increases in personal freedoms and social mobility—paradoxically weaken the system that created the successes.

Economic innovation becomes routine in large businesses (not the most convincing part of the Schumpeter vision). Therewith the capitalist entrepreneur loses his crucial function. Salaried managers and passive stockholders replace

the independent proprietor. The efficiency of the system means higher incomes and spreads education and leisure. These achievements create facilities and provide them to people with verbal and other media skills, people who wield the power of the spoken and written word. Often these people have a professional vested interest in social attacks—throwing monkey wrenches into the works. And as government grows larger and larger, private businesses find it in their interest to lobby for government activities where contracts are to be had and for restrictive regulations. So they support many kinds of government expansion. With anticompetitive regulations, private enterprise works worse.

The environment for private enterprise is increasingly hostile, and as the private economy works worse, government agencies and public authorities supplement and replace stumbling private economic functions.

Such is the Schumpeter vision. But it is clearly partial. Government has in many countries, and especially in countries that are rigidly socialist, earned a dramatic reputation for inefficiency, bias, and corruption. Such a reputation leads toward government contraction, not expansion. And government's share in economic life has been growing in low-income countries and in those with nascent private enterprise. These are *not* mature capitalism cases. Other causes for government growth must be at work.

4. The income distribution of voters

A fourth explanation is urged by Allan H. Meltzer and Scott F. Richard in *The Public Interest* (summer 1978, pp. 111–18): "Government continues to grow because there is a decisive difference between the political process and the market process." The market produces an income distribution that is more unequal than the distribution of votes. Voters with the lowest incomes have incentive to use, and

do use, the political process in order to raise their incomes. Politicians attract votes by offering benefits to people of lower-than-average incomes, who are the majority, at the expense of upper-income people, who are the minority. (The income distribution has a long upper tail, balancing the bulk of people of lower incomes.)

There is some optimism in the Meltzer and Richard view. Government responds to the electorate. Voters can check government growth if they want to; they may gradually learn to take a thoughtful, long-run point of view as to what is in the general interest and not choose a sector, and short-run interest.

In addition to these four explanations of government expansion, each of which has its own validity at given times and places, there are two other causes giving continuing pressure toward such growth. They are self-reinforcing. [These two influences exist also in business corporations and in nonprofit organizations. But there the pressures are checked: in corporations by the threat of bad financial results and ultimately contraction and bankruptcy, and in nonprofit organizations by the threat of falling financial support from outside.]

5. More lobbying from more special interests

Regulatory and welfare activities of government have achieved startling growth in the United States (and elsewhere) since World War II. The federal government had in the mid-1950s important regulatory control in only four areas: banking and finance, anti-trust, transportation, and communications. Now over eighty federal agencies regulate some part of private economic and social activities. Social welfare outlays, including social insurance, public aid, health and medical programs, veterans programs, education, housing, vocational rehabilitation, institutional care, child nutrition and wel-

fare, and other items, have multiplied several times as a share of total national expenditure.

As regulations and social welfare outlays have grown, a growing portion of the public—those whose futures depend on government actions favorable to them—have a concentrated incentive to lobby for specific government actions and policies. Notably, the millions among us dependent on social welfare outlays have incentive to lobby for more benefits and to retire promptly to the boondocks the politicians who vote against them.

Most of the population do not find it worth their time, energy, and money to oppose the many special interests, each pressing for its special favorite kind of expansion. These interests *do* find it worthwhile to be prodigal in energy, propaganda, and spending in the areas important to them.

And politicians in office respond to the incentive system:

With government's ever-widening role as a source of rewards and punishments, more and more of politics consists of responding to special-interest constituencies. A Congressman from a district where such a constituency is prominent has a powerful incentive to get on a committee that deals with those interests, so he will bargain and logroll for that appointment. Over time, therefore, committees tend to become dominated by Congressmen who favor generous appropriations for the agencies they oversee. (Tom Alexander, "Why Bureaucracy Keeps Growing," *Fortune*, May 7, 1979, p. 168.)

Only a slight experience in politics is needed to make one realize with dismay how deeply this bias in representation is built into the political system. Those who want something are likely to want it very much. The rest of us are quiet and stay home.

An important illustration of the force of pressure groups is our long experience of protection against imports. Ever since Adam Smith's

Wealth of Nations in 1776, and David Ricardo's successive editions of his *Principles* in the early nineteenth century, anyone with concern for the general good could have informed himself of the strong presumption that free trade, rather than protection, raises the general welfare. Qualifications are modest. But our legislators, besieged by lobbyists with plausible arguments, have generally voted for some level of protection, not for free trade.

The tyranny of vehement minorities is a continuing menace to effective democracy. (Notice that the lobby theory contradicts Meltzer and Richard's preferred theory which relies simply on the number of voters.)

6. Internal dynamics

Internal dynamics favor bureaucratic growth in all bureaucracies. It is the nature of the animal.

(a) For the heads and staff of departments and divisions status, power, and income are correlated with the number of people supervised. Clear incentive exists to swell one's own domain. For all employees, growth in the bureaucracy makes it more likely that better jobs will open up. Hence the incentive for spending less to get tasks done is negative; to urge less spending threatens the prestige of the unit and its chief. William A. Niskanen, in *Bureaucracy, Servant or Master* (1973), warns of the results of such eccentric behavior:

Consider the probable consequences for a subordinate manager who proves without question that the same output could be produced at, say, one half the present expenditures. In a profit-seeking firm, this manager would probably receive a bonus, a promotion, and an opportunity to find another such economy. If the rewards are not forthcoming in a specific firm, this manager usually has the opportunity to market his skills in another firm. In a [government] bureau, at best, this manager might receive

a citation and a savings bond, a lateral transfer, the enmity of his former colleagues, and the suspicion of his new colleagues. The bureaucrats who doubt this proposition and who have good private employment alternatives should test it—once.(p. 23)

A smaller budget this year suggests declining importance for the unit or too much spending earlier, and so, ominously, it threatens the size of next year's budget.

Sometimes a Machiavellian ploy is used: a budget smaller than that needed to provide services required by law is asked for, so that the agency must come back to the legislators later for an emergency supplement. More normal is the response to budget stringency or budget cuts of slashing not the central administrators or peripheral activities but services legally necessary or that the public plainly wants. So a National Park Service officer once testified that the only economy he could think of was closing down the Washington Monument to tourists. And once when the U.S. Customs Service budget was cut, the service fired every customs inspector, but no one else! (Alexander, *ibid.*)

(b) One part of bureaucratic bloat is that the need for communications increases as a power greater than one, when the number of people in the bureau grows. Three people need three lines of communication for each person to be in touch with each of the others; four people need six lines of communication; five people need ten lines of communication; and so on. The multiplication is greater in that checks for performance need to be imposed when numbers get large enough so that people are removed from direct surveillance by the chief. As reports and orders go up and down the chain of command, each tends to be distorted by the self-interest of persons along the way. (The process is vividly portrayed by Anthony Downs in *Inside Bureaucracy*, 1964.) The paperwork is highly demanding of time.

(c) Watchdog efforts to check on efficiency by the chief of a large unit or by the government executive or legislature are at a decided disadvantage. The inspectors are outsiders who must keep inquiring about functions and organization. It is the insiders, who have their interests to protect, who know where any skeletons are hidden. A competent insider should be able to baffle awkward inquiries with diversions and fogging. Inability to penetrate the fog, expiration of the reasonable amount of time that can be devoted to the inquiry, or simple tedium and fatigue is likely to leave the insiders in command of the field.

(d) The interests of government bureaucrats can fit in with the interests of outside groups, increasingly numerous, who want something done for them (5 above), and both interests fit in with those of elected office holders. Analyses along these lines are made by James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock in *The Calculus of Consent*, 1962 and by William Niskanen in *Bureaucracy, Servant or Master*, mentioned above.

Incumbents in office such as representatives and senators must, in order to stay in office, set reelection as their primary goal. Else the voters will discard them in favor of those who do have that priority. They are reelected not so much on their stands on national issues as by pleasing their constituents on matters that count most to them—their own incomes, status, and security. As Tip O'Neill concluded, "All politics is local."

The vast post World War II expansion of federal government—for hospitals, emergency medical facilities, Social Security, Medicare and other old-age provisions, education, waste disposal and environmental protection, housing, law enforcement, and more—opens up wide fields for internal dynamics to work for further government expansion. There are three relevant parties, all with the same interest: private interest groups who want

something, bureaucrats who want higher budgets and more authority, office holders who want to stay in office.

(e) Reinforcing all the above dynamics is the simple matter of size: the more people who depend directly or indirectly on government actions, the more people who will press for government continuance or expansion of the actions.

About one person in six of the total work force now works for government, federal, state, or local. For each such person, several more work in government-supported projects or on government contracts. These people, with their families, are a large proportion of the U.S. population, a proportion that has been rising over the decades.

But these people, with their strong interest in government spending, will shoulder only a small part of the general higher taxes caused by higher government spending in their sector. Their net interest is plain.

The total force of these pressures toward government growth is impressive. The built-in functioning of the system tends strongly toward continued government expansion.

For two hundred years and more the absolute and relative size of government in the United States and other western societies has been growing. There are objective causes for this growth in urbanization, the rise of real incomes, perhaps a built-in voting bias, and occasional special stimuli like defense, AIDS, and illicit drugs.

There are also at work the continual pressures of self-regarding groups, and the self-interest of elected officials and of bureaucrats. How can these pressures be offset, so that government better serves the common good? The possibilities of effective offsets appear limited and refractory. We appear to face the prospect of continued government growth without clear limit. □

Technical Japanese Translation

By R. Byron Bird

Science is universal, and writings on science appear in many languages. Fortunately for us, English is currently the *lingua franca* of science. This does not, however, absolve us of the obligation to read scientific works in other languages. It is particularly crucial that we as a nation have the will and ability to follow the research advances in those countries that are our most serious competitors in science and technology. Clearly Japan is one of the leading high-technology countries, but scientific writings in Japanese are largely ignored in the U.S. and Europe. Only a handful of our scientists have studied in Japan, and still fewer can read technical literature in Japanese. Japan, on the other hand, has sent thousands of scientists to study in the U.S., and Japanese researchers follow our scientific literature closely.

Here we discuss briefly the structure of the Japanese language and explain what has to be done to enable scientists to read technical Japanese. For there to be a real two-way exchange between Japan and the U.S., more must be done to bridge the language gap. It is no more difficult for us to learn to read technical Japanese than it is for the Japanese to learn to read technical English.

Words and Sentences in Japanese

We start by talking about some aspects of Japanese that are easier than you might think. First of all, Japanese is fairly easy to pronounce. For non-Japanese it is common to transcribe Japanese in Roman letters, with the consonants pronounced roughly as in English and the vowels as in Spanish. Double vowels have twice the length of single vowels, so that *o* is pronounced as in "solo" and *oo* is the same but twice as long. Similarly, doubled consonants are held twice as long as single consonants. Here are some Japanese nouns written in Roman letters:

GENSHI	atom
GENSHI-KAKU	atomic nucleus
RYUUSHI	particle
SHITSURYOO	mass
HANNOO	reaction
HANNOO-GO	post-reaction
SEISEI-BUTSU	product
WA	sum

Japanese nouns have no plurals, genders, or cases; there are also no articles (a, an, the). Compare this with German nouns, with plurals, three genders, and four cases, and with articles that have to be inflected.

Japanese verbs are almost "Esperanto-esque" in their regularity;

there are several conjugations, but only four irregular verbs. Examine the following inflections of the verb *wareru* (split) and *okoru* (occur):

Present	wareru	split(s)
Past	wareta	split
Provisional	warereba	if it splits
Tentative	wareyoo	it probably splits
Negative	warenai	it does not split

Present	okoru	occur(s)
Past	okotta	occurred
Provisional	okoreba	if it occurs
Tentative	okoroo	it probably occurs
Negative	okoranai	it does not occur

etc

All verbs have the same set of endings; there are many more inflected forms than in English, but within any form there are no changes. Thus where a Frenchman has to conjugate the present tense of the verb "to go" as *je vais, tu vas, il va, nous allons, vous allez, ils vont*, a Japanese just writes *iku*. Anyone who has spent months memorizing irregular verbs in European languages will find Japanese verbs seductive in their simplicity.

Japanese adjectives are easy, too. They are conjugated like verbs, as can be seen for the adjectives *omoi* (heavy) and *chiisai*, (small):

Present	omoi	is heavy
Past	omokatta	was heavy
Provisional	omokereba	if it is heavy
Tentative	omokaroo	is probably heavy
Negative	omokunai	is not heavy
Present	chiisai	is small
Past	chiisakatta	was small
Provisional	chiisakereba	if it is small
Tentative	chiisakaroo	is probably small
Negative	chiisakunai	is not small etc.

All adjectives have the same endings; there are no exceptions.

Japanese sentence structure is relatively easy to learn because it is systematic. The verb always comes at the end of the clause. "Particles" following nouns show the functions of the nouns in the sentence: *ga* indicates the subject of a verb; (*w*)*o* designates the topic of the sentence; *ni* means "in, on, into"; *yor*i means "than"; etc. These particles are handy signposts to help point the way in complex sentences.

With this brief grammatical introduction, you are now ready to read a sample sentence. Here is one from a textbook, where Einstein's equivalence of mass and energy is being discussed in the framework of disappearance of mass in a nuclear reaction:

If now we assemble the English words in the proper order (by the numbers) we get:

When a reaction occurs [in which] a heavy atomic nucleus splits into several particles, the sum of the masses of the products after the reaction is small[er], just by a little, than the mass of the initial atomic nuclei.

Note that in English the relative clause ("in which . . . particles") follows the noun it modifies ("reaction") and that a relative pronoun is needed, whereas in Japanese the relative clause ("omoi . . . wareru") precedes the noun ("HANNOO") and no relative pronoun is used. Also, in English we "compare" adjectives—"small, smaller, smallest"—but Japanese has no such inflections.

Another nice feature of Japanese is the word-building scheme. You've already seen that GENSHI (atom) plus KAKU (nucleus) equals GENSHI-KAKU (atomic nucleus). Similarly KAKU plus HANNOO (reaction) equals KAKU-HANNOO (nuclear reaction). Also GENSHI plus RYOO (amount) equals GENSHI-RYOO (atomic weight).

Words corresponding to one part of speech can be changed into others by various methods. Adjectives can be converted into nouns by changing *-i* to *-sa*: *omoi* (heavy), *omosa* (weight). Verbs can be formed from many nouns by affixing the verb *suru* (to do): HANNOO (reaction), HANNOO-suru (react). By adding *-yasui* to a verb

stem we get an adjective with the idea of "easy to . . .": *wareru* (split), *ware-yasui* (easily cracked, brittle). By adding *-kata* to a verb stem, we get a noun meaning "way of . . . -ing": *wareru* (split), *ware-kata* (way of splitting). And adding *koto* to the present tense of a verb gives a noun: *wareru-koto* means "(the act of), splitting." These and other ways of producing new words facilitate vocabulary building.

Many thousands of words are easy to recognize since they are of European origin: *uran* (uranium), *arugon* (argon), *waiya* (wire), *na-toriumu* (sodium). Most of these are modified in order to fit into the Japanese phonological system; for example "valve" becomes *barubu*, because the *v* and *l* sounds do not exist in Japanese. Some are very drastically shortened and almost unrecognizable: *pasokon* (personal computer), *waapuro* (word processor).

This brief introduction to Japanese grammar should remove some of the mystery about the language and dispel the notion that it is impossible for foreigners to learn Japanese.

The Japanese writing system

If Japanese were written with Roman letters, learning to read Japanese would be relatively straightforward. But Japanese is *not* written in Roman letters, and learning to read Japanese in an orthography contrived for foreigners is wasted effort. Let us now examine how Japanese is actually written with KATAKANA, HIRAGANA, and KANJI.

The Japanese do not think in terms of consonants and vowels, but in terms of syllables. The forty-six basic syllables are shown in Table 1, first in Roman letters, then in KATAKANA, and next in HIRAGANA. As we show in the table, additional syllables are obtained by adding diacritical marks. There are also ways to indicate vowel and consonant doubling, as well as consonant palatalization, but we don't discuss these topics here.

Omoi	GENSHI-KAKU	ga	ikutsu-ka-no	RYUUSHI	ni	wareru	HANNOO	ga
Heavy	atomic-nucleus		several	particles	into	splits	reaction	
(4)	(5)		(8)	(9)	(7)	(6)	(2)	
okoru	toki,	HANNOO-GO	no	SEISEI-BUTSU	no	SHITSURYOO	no	WA
occurs	when	post-reaction	of	products	of	masses	of	sum
(3)	(1)	(16)	(15)	(14)	(13)	(12)	(11)	(10)
hajime-no	GENSHI-KAKU	no	SHITSURYOO	yor	wazuka-da-ga	chiisai.		
initial	nuclei	of	masses	than	but-just-a-little	small.		
(22)	(23)	(21)	(20)	(19)	(18)	(17)		

Table 1: The Japanese syllabary

Japanese Syllables Written in Roman Letters

	...	K	S	T	N	H	M	Y	R	W
A	a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa
I	i	ki	shi	chi	ni	hi	mi		ri	
U	u	ku	su	tsu	nu	fu	mu	yu	ru	
E	e	ke	se	te	ne	he	me		re	
O	o	ko	so	to	no	ho	mo	yo	ro	(w)o

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n

Japanese Syllables Written in KATAKANA

	—	K	S	T	N	H	M	Y	R	W
A	ア	カ	サ	タ	ナ	ハ	マ	ヤ	ラ	ワ
I	イ	キ	シ	チ	ニ	ヒ	ミ		リ	
U	ウ	ク	ス	ツ	ヌ	フ	ム	ユ	ル	
E	エ	ケ	セ	テ	ネ	ヘ	メ		レ	
O	オ	コ	ソ	ト	ノ	ホ	モ	ヨ	ロ	ヲ

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ン

Japanese Syllables Written in HIRAGANA

	—	K	S	T	N	H	M	Y	R	W
A	あ	か	さ	た	な	は	ま	や	ら	わ
I	い	き	し	ち	に	ひ	み		り	
U	う	く	す	つ	ぬ	ふ	む	ゆ	る	
E	え	け	せ	て	ね	へ	め		れ	
O	お	こ	そ	と	の	ほ	も	よ	ろ	を

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Note: Adding ^ˆ to the KATAKANA for the K, S, T, and H syllables, gives the G, Z, D, and B syllables (e.g., ガ = ga, ゼ = ze); adding ^ˆ to the H syllables gives P syllables (e.g., ポ = po). Addition of ^ˆ to the KATAKANA for shi and chi gives ji; and ^ˆ added to su and tsu gives zu. Similar comments apply to the HIRAGANA.

The KATAKANA are used primarily for writing foreign loan words, and some examples are shown in Table 2. The HIRAGANA are used for writing the particles and for verb and adjective endings; they are also used for writing some verbs, nouns, and adverbs. In Table 3 we give the words in the sample sentence above that are written with HIRAGANA. It takes time to learn these symbols, but they do not pose a severe problem.

The major hurdle in Japanese is mastering the KANJI. There are thousands of these Chinese ideographs, but the Japanese government has tried to limit the number of ideographs by promulgating an official list of 1945 KANJI. You have to learn how each KANJI is written (the number and sequence of "strokes") in order to use a KANJI dictionary. Learning KANJI is somewhat facilitated by the fact that they are often composed of smaller units that are easy to recognize; for example, the KANJI for names of trees and wooden objects often contain the elementary character for "tree." Then you have to learn the various "readings" (i.e., pronunciations) of each KANJI: there may be one or more ON-readings (the pronunciations taken over from Chinese) and one or more KUN-readings (the native Japanese pronunciations). In Table 4 we show the KANJI that are needed to write the sample sentence above, along with their most important readings; endings written in HIRAGANA are enclosed in parentheses.

Why do the Japanese cling to this complicated orthography, when it is clearly possible to write their language with Roman letters? Tradition and culture have played important roles, of course. But one overriding consideration is probably the enormous number of homonyms (words with the same pronunciation), which can be distinguished only by the KANJI. For example, there are over twenty-

Table 2: Foreign loan words written in KATAKANA

アルゴン	arugon	argon
ウラン	uran	uranium
ナトリウム	natoriumu	sodium
ベンゼン	benzen	benzene
プロパン	puropan	propane
ワイヤ	waiya	wire
バルブ	barubu	valve
パソコン	pasokon	personal computer

Table 3: Words and endings written in HIRAGANA

が	ga	{subject marker}
を	(w)o	{object marker}
は	wa	{topic marker}
の	no	of
より	yorì	than
とき	toki	when
おこる	okoru	occur(s)
いくつかの	ikutsu-ka-no	several
わずかだが	wazuka-da-ga	but just a little bit
重い	omoi	(is) heavy
重かった	omokatta	was heavy
小さい	chiisai	(is) small
小さければ	chiisakereba	if it is small
初めの	hajime-no	initial {adj.}
割れる	wareru	split(s)
割れない	warenai	does not split

Note: The topic marker wa is always written as は and not as わ

five words that are Romanized as "KOOKA," but each of these is written differently (see Table 5). Also, perhaps the Japanese like the idea of using the same character for a word of Chinese origin (with the ON reading) and a word with the

same meaning but of Japanese origin (with the KUN reading). Japanese people have told me that when they look at a KANJI the meaning jumps right out at them, and that "speed reading" is natural for them.

Table 4: KANJI and KANJI compounds

<u>Kanji</u>	<u>Readings</u>	<u>Meanings</u>	<u>Compounds</u>	<u>Meanings</u>	
量	RYOO	quantity	原子量	GENSHI-RYOO	atomic weight
	haka(ru)	measure	量子	RYOOSHI	quantum
子	SHI	small entity	原子	GENSHI	atom
	ko	child	粒子	RYUUSHI	particle
			原子核	GENSHI-KAKU	atomic nucleus
物	BUTSU	thing	生き物	ikimono	creature
	mono	object	生物	SEIBUTSU	organism
			生成物	SEISEI-BUTSU	products
反	HAN	opposite	反応	HANNOO	reaction
			反応後	HANNOO-GO	post-reaction
質	SHITSU	substance	物質	BUSSHITSU	substance
			質量	SHITSURYOO	mass
			たんぱく質	TANPAKU-SHITSU	protein
重	JUU	heavy	重さ	omo(sa)	weight
	omo(i)	heavy	重量	JUURYOO	weight, poundage
			二重	NIJU	double

Table 5: Examples of homonyms: A few of the words that are pronounced KOOKA

効果	effect	校歌	school song
硬化	hardening	降下	descent, falling
高価	high price	工科	engineering department

Table 6: KANJI for numbers

1	一	5	五	9	九	10 ⁴	万
2	二	6	六	10	十	10 ⁸	億
3	三	7	七	100	百	10 ¹²	兆
4	四	8	八	1000	千	10 ¹⁶	京

Examples: 60 六十 ROKU-JUU
 581 五百八十一 GO-HYAKU-HACHI-JUU-ICHI
 92347 九万二千三百四十七 KYUU-MAN-NI-SEN-SAN-BYAKU-YON-JUU-NANA

Most westerners are fascinated by the KANJI that are used for numbers (see Table 6). It is particularly interesting that the oriental system uses powers of 10⁴ whereas the European languages are based on powers of 10³.

To conclude this brief discussion of the writing system, we give in Table 7 the sample sentence written in standard Japanese orthography. Note that there are no spaces between the words, but the use of the mixture of KANJI and HIRAGANA, with the particles serving as "markers," makes it possible to identify the words and their roles in the sentence. Clearly mastery of the writing system is essential for reading Japanese.

Learning how to read technical Japanese

Because the KANJI are the principal deterrent to learning to read Japanese, the first obvious question is which KANJI to learn first in order to optimize the learning process? In 1967 I undertook to get a partial answer to that question by finding the KANJI frequency distribution for a general physics book. I went through all 43,000 KANJI in the book and listed the KANJI in order of decreasing frequency; I found that the percentage P of KANJI in the text that can be read using the first N KANJI of the frequency list is as follows:

N	12	20	60	100	200	300	400
P	20	31	50	63	82	90	95

That is, with the twelve most frequent KANJI, you can recognize 20 percent of the characters encountered! The results of this project were very encouraging. Later Professor N. Inoue and his students in Tokyo compiled similar lists based on general chemistry and biology texts, and the results of their study, along with mine, were included in an appendix to our technical Japanese reader. The top twelve KANJI in the three lists are shown in Table 8. By combining the three

Table 7: Sample sentence

重い原子核がいくつかの粒子に割れる反応がおこるとき、反応後の生成物の質量の和は初めの原子核の質量よりわずかだが小さい。

Omoi GENSHI-KAKU ga ikutsu-ka-no RYUUSHI ni wareru HANNOO ga okoru toki, HANNOO-GO no SEISEI-BUTSU no SHITSURYOO no WA wa hajime-no GENSHI-KAKU no SHITSURYOO yori wazuka-da-ga chiisai.

Table 8: The top twelve characters in the KANJI frequency lists

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Physics	電	力	体	流	子	図	度	動	線	気	物	光
Chemistry	酸	水	化	素	溶	子	液	合	塩	分	物	質
Biology	物	生	分	体	動	細	質	胞	化	類	子	酸

Note: The characters 子 and 物 appear on all three lists. The characters 体, 動, 酸, 化, 分, and 質 appear on two of the three lists.

lists, which have a lot of overlap, we obtained a ranked list of 500 KANJI for general scientific reading, and our book emphasized the 500 characters in this list.

More recently we combined our earlier results with other frequency studies to produce a better tabulation: a list of 365 high-frequency KANJI and a supplementary list of 135 moderate-frequency KANJI. These lists are based on wider selection of text materials and reflect the current vocabulary in some of the newer fields of science. The list of 365 has been featured in our new Japanese grammar book for scientists and engineers; this book presupposes *no* previous familiarity with the language.

In preparing the manuscript for our new grammar book, we also did frequency studies for verb forms and grammatical constructions in scientific texts. Thus our textbook presents the most important KANJI, vocabulary, morphology, and syntax in the earlier chapters. We also include information on how to use the reference works needed for scientific translation. After the initial discussions on pronunciation and the syllabaries, no Romanized writing is used. The result is an introductory textbook aimed directly at those people who want to acquire Japanese reading knowledge for science and engineering.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison was the first university in the U.S. to institute courses on technical Japanese. Professor E. E. Daub has taught these courses for over a decade and class-tested the instructional materials we have prepared. His ten years in Japan included teaching chemical engineering in Japanese at Doshisha University; he has had considerable experience in translation of technical articles and patents. He also worked with Professor Inoue on a book on technical English for Japanese scientists. He is the leading scholar in the field of teaching technical Japanese translation in the U.S., and the University of Wis-

consin is fortunate to have him on the staff.

One might well question the advisability of having textbooks and courses that are so narrowly focused. Would it not be better to take the standard first two or three years of university-level Japanese based on the excellent grammar books and tapes now available (which emphasize the spoken language) and then proceed to the reading of technical Japanese? Ideally we feel that it *is* better to learn the spoken language first so that one develops "Sprachgefühl" that carries over into technical reading. Regrettably most scientists and engineers do not have time in their curricula or in their busy schedules after graduation to devote that much time to foreign language study. Also the standard Japanese courses do not emphasize the 365 most important KANJI and associated vocabulary needed for technical reading. Furthermore the standard elementary courses dwell on aspects of the language that are vital in spoken Japanese but not needed in technical reading: levels of politeness, differences in men's and women's speech, intonation patterns, verbs of giving and receiving, polite requests and entreaties, names of members of the family, the verbs for putting on and taking off various items of clothing, etc. Our grammar book (see references) omits all these and presents only those elements of the language that are essential for technical reading. Having mastered this part of the language, the additional grammar needed for conversation can be acquired subsequently. We feel that persons who have started their study of Japanese by learning how to read technical Japanese will have invested sufficient time and energy in the language that they will be strongly motivated to learn how to speak Japanese.

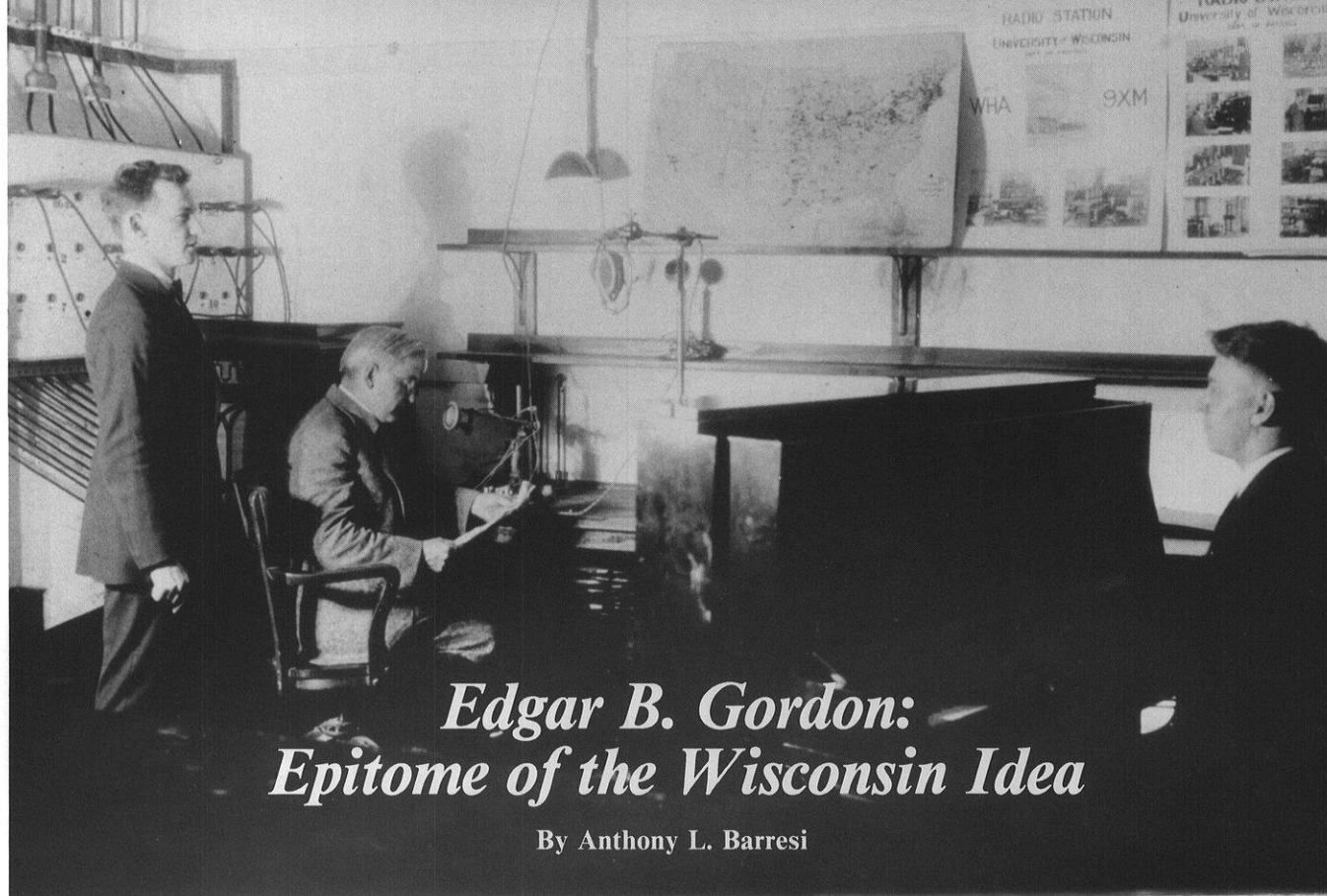
We feel, then, that it *is* possible for U.S. scientists and engineers to start bridging the language gap and gain access to the Japanese technical literature. It is not an easy

task, but we hope that our instructional materials will help make a rough road smoother. More U.S. scientists and engineers ought to study in Japan, and we need a greater understanding on the part of the leaders in U.S. industry, academia, and government as to the reasons why this activity is so necessary. The key to understanding another culture is the language of the people, and the greater the cultural gap, the greater the need for language study. To learn about the high-technology culture that is modern Japan, we need to learn Japanese.

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Edgar B. Gordon: Epitome of the Wisconsin Idea

By Anthony L. Barresi

The Wisconsin Idea is a concept that has its roots deep in the history of the University of Wisconsin. Having its genesis in sociological considerations, this concept became an "institutional state of mind which viewed the university not as a place but as an instrument."

... In the spirit of the idea, campus leaders sought to identify public problems, to stimulate public awareness and concern, to interpret the public educational needs to the university, to focus university skills and resources upon them, and thence to translate university insights into a wide range of formal and informal educational service activities throughout Wisconsin and beyond. (Allan G. Bogue and Robert Taylor, editors. *The University of Wisconsin: One Hundred and Twenty-five Years*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1975, p. 253.)

Through a myriad of formal and informal programs, the university

tried to achieve the idea as expressed in 1904 by President Charles Van Hise—to make "the beneficent influence of the university available to every home in the state" or, as has so often been quoted, to make the boundaries of the state the boundaries of the campus. (*The University with a State as Its Community*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 1961, pp. 1-26.)

To accomplish such aims it has been necessary over the years to attract people to the campus who are compatible with the goals of the idea. Such individuals had to be socially concerned, people who believed that their educational efforts could make a difference in the social, political, and cultural lives of the citizens of the state. Just such a person was Edgar B. Gordon (1875-1961) who came to the university in 1917 and eventually became the beloved radio music teacher to a million of the state's children. This article will place Gordon within the framework of the Wisconsin Idea by quoting from his unpublished and unedited

memoirs found in the Gordon papers housed in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin archives. More specifically, this article will chronicle the activities that led this writer to refer to Gordon as the "epitome of the Wisconsin Idea."

The development years

Edgar B. Gordon was born in Frankfort, Indiana, and received the greatest part of his formative education in the Winfield, Kansas, public schools where his father was a music teacher. At an early age he became an accomplished performer on the cornet and later on the trombone and violin. The teaching of music, however, was a goal formulated early in his life:

I was born to be a teacher. I have never had any other idea than that I would eventually be a teacher. I came by this feeling honestly because my father was a natural-born teacher ... My earliest recollections have to do



Edgar B. Gordon, boy cornet virtuoso.

Awarding of the Child Welfare Prize to the community of Winfield, Kansas (1915).

with his work as a teacher and all through my boyhood he was constantly feeding me knowledge and encouraging me in the development of skills, first upon the cornet, later on the slide trombone, and finally on the violin.

Upon his graduation from high school, Edgar went to Chicago to continue his violin study at the Chicago Musical College.

Shortly after he married Edna Stillwell in 1900, Gordon met Dr. Graham Taylor, director of the Chicago Commons Settlement house, who prevailed upon him to join the staff. It was during that experience that Gordon recognized the powerful influence music had upon the "social integration" and life enrichment of diverse ethnic and racial groups. His work with the settlement house chorus "had a pioneering aspect, in that it was experimenting with the idea of a union between an aesthetic and so-

cial experience." It was in this cultural milieu that Gordon's feelings of social responsibility as a teacher were aroused, where he moved from the performing musician's "art for art's sake" stance to that of a teacher concerned with the social and character development of his students.

Gordon returned to Winfield in 1907 after a frustrating year as head resident in the Los Angeles College Settlement. He was soon engaged to teach violin and theory at the Winfield College of Music, to organize a college-community orchestra at Southwestern College, and to assist his father in public school work. Additionally, he became involved in dramatic activities and community arts presentations. In short, he soon found himself "pretty much in control of the musical resources of the community resources."

... All the time there was stirring within me something of the spirit





Music festival in old Music Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison (1930s).

which prevails in the settlement and a more or less subconscious desire to give all of the musical activities a social slant that would be significant in the life of the community.

In 1913 Gordon's arts activities were influential in the receipt of a child welfare prize offered to any Kansas community that could present evidence of having the best environment for raising children. When the "out-of-state" judges came to survey Winfield, the community was ready:

We, of course, presented everything that could possibly influence the judges in our favor. Especially did we exhibit our educational set-up of which we were justly proud. The judges heard our various organizations, witnessed a play produced for their special benefit, and were given an overall picture of our community arts program . . . Finally, the great day arrived when a telegram informed us that we had won first place.

In their decision the judges especially noted "the unusual manner and degree in which the fine arts had been integrated into the life of the community."

The winning of the child welfare prize marked the beginning of Gordon's activities on a national level. *Good Housekeeping Magazine*, hearing of the award, asked Edgar to write an article on the Winfield experience for the December 1915 issue. Peter Dykema, of the University of Wisconsin Extension and School of Music, read the article and contacted Gordon about coming to Wisconsin to work. After deliberation Gordon, in 1917, accepted the offer of the dean of extension to be the director of community music and drama, a post which he held until 1921 when he became the chairman of school music (music education) in the school of music.

Radio music teaching

While Gordon's activities could be chronicled in several areas—music education professor, president of the Music Supervisor's National Conference, choral conductor—the activities that most closely represent the Wisconsin Idea are those related to his radio teaching. In fact, these activities continued in an unbroken line from some of the earliest voice broadcasts in 1921 until he retired in 1955.

First radio instruction

WHA Radio was one of the earliest radio stations in the nation, having begun as an experiment in the physics department around 1915. In 1921, Professor Earl M. Terry, chairman of that department, asked Gordon if he could "provide some kind of music for their Friday evening program."

. . . I finally consented because the idea intrigued me and, if I could do nothing more, I could at least play recordings of some good music and perhaps make some explanatory comments that might be helpful in enjoying the music. Thus was begun the first educational broadcast series in the history of radio . . . On Friday evenings at the time of the broadcast, large numbers of people would come to the studio to observe this "miracle" of sending out music and the human voice without the use of wire.

Gordon developed instructional techniques in this series, which included "remote" broadcasts of artists appearing on campus. Especially notable is his account of the broadcast of a Pablo Casals recital:

. . . It was decided to ask permission to broadcast his program. It was the first time he had received such a request, so that it took a lengthy conference between Mr. Casals and his manager before consent was given. In the evening of the recital, a microphone was placed on the floor in front of the artist. It was Mr. Casals's habit to play with his eyes closed. On this occasion, however, he opened them frequently glancing down suspiciously at the microphone as if he were expecting it to explode at any minute.

The Wisconsin Idea was well served by these early broadcasts in that Gordon was making high-quality musical experiences available to rural Wisconsin residents who normally might not have been able to experience such live performances.

Journeys in Musicland

Gordon's radio involvement did not cease at the conclusion of the music appreciation series. From 1922 to 1931 he conducted radio teaching experiments to explore techniques effective for teaching music to children over the radio. He even conducted a choral rehearsal via radio with a chorus 100 miles away. These experiments were, in fact, a testing ground for media teaching techniques that he would use in his Journeys in Musicland series from 1931 to 1955.

In the late 1920s, WHA Radio hired Harold B. McCarty as its first full-time director. McCarty, with his associates Harold Engle and William Harley, conceived a series called School of the Air which would supplement the work of rural and small-town fourth and fifth grade teachers in the study of music, science, art, and math. Recalling this period, McCarty stated that he first contacted Gordon to "sound him out" about the idea, and Gordon's enthusiastic response encouraged WHA to pursue it. (McCarty Interviews, 3 February 1984)

Earlier radio experiments and experiences as a consultant for the NBC broadcasts of the Walter Damrosch music appreciation programs for children in the late 1920s convinced Gordon that successful radio instruction for children required the children to be actively involved. He wanted the children to be exposed to and sing "music of quality"—music from art and folk song literature that had stood the test of time. Additionally, he wanted the performance of these songs to be musical: the songs had to be "sung with tonal accuracy, expressiveness, and with pleasing tone quality." In order that the children might better use music in their everyday lives, Professor Gordon decided to teach some music-reading skills, a teaching task that had not been attempted before over the radio.

... I had serious doubts as to the possibility of doing this since the accepted method involves the use of the blackboard and other visual aids; the theory being that music reading should be an extension of the aural experience already achieved. Since a large

percentage of the song material used in the middle grades is diatonic and in major keys this aural-visual approach to reading seemed a natural one.

But how was he to achieve the visual aspects of this kind of instruction using an aural medium exclusively? A song book containing the songs to be learned and the music-reading instructions and exercises was issued each year in order to provide visual materials for instruction. In all, fifteen such books were issued annually from 1940 to 1955 and sold to the children at cost.

An interesting side-light to the appearance of these song books was the fact that a great many families purchased copies for home singing. Many mothers wrote that they, too, were taking the music lessons over their home radios.

Within the files of WHA are numerous testimonials from teachers and students concerning the effectiveness and popularity of the Journeys in Musicland. But one anecdote in the memoirs best illustrates the dedication of the participants and the achievement of the Wisconsin Idea:

One day I received a call from a traveling man whom I had not known before. He related this incident to me. He said he was driving up north of Madison on one of the trunk highways and was astonished as he was passing a rural school to see all of the children burst out of the building and dash toward his car motioning him to stop ... Greatly excited, the children wanted to know whether he had a radio in his car. He said he did, and they explained that the current had gone off in their school, and it was just about time for them to take their radio music lesson.

Children in a rural Wisconsin classroom listening to a Journey in Musicland broadcast (early 1940s).





Gordon the Minnesinger teaching demonstration chorus and visiting children at a 1950s' broadcast.

Would he be willing to let them take their lesson over his radio? He was too amazed to protest so he tuned in and sat there for thirty minutes while the children sang their songs. He assured me that I had added one more "fan" and that ever since he makes a point to tune in for the lesson and has even begun to learn some of the songs.

Radio music festival

While preparing a radio program on Gordon in 1985, the author interviewed numerous former students of the music program. One woman asserted that Gordon's charismatic personality, his "magic, came right through the radio." Another claimed that his program opened a world of music for her that she would never have experienced in her rural Wisconsin home and that her life-long participation in music is largely the result of her early exposure to music through the radio lessons.

In 1934, Professor Gordon invited schools to Madison on a Saturday to sing the songs they had learned. He did this to test the teaching procedures that had been used and also to expose the children to the enjoyment of social music making.

I rarely have had such a feeling of nervousness over the outcome of a performance. The children had not sung more than a few measures of the first song, however, before all of my fears were allayed. . . ."

The beauty and expressiveness of the singing so impressed the professor and the WHA staff that they decided to host the Madison festivals on the first Saturday in May each year. Over the years these gatherings grew in size until three to four thousand children assembled each year in the Stock Pavilion or Field House to sing together.

With the advent of the Wisconsin FM network for educational radio in the late 1940s, more and more schools enrolled for the music programs. Because many of these schools were far from Madison, WHA and Professor Gordon decided "to take the festival to the children."

... Through the county superintendents of schools we scheduled festivals on a regional basis, schools from nearby counties coming by bus to the festival center. We found that high school gymnasiums provided the best place. . . The coming of a Spring Radio Music Festival to a community was highly exciting. In

most instances it brought more people to the town than had ever been there before. Yellow school buses were arriving from every direction and, when they finally got there, filled all of the parking space for blocks. Most of the children brought their lunches, but notwithstanding this the merchants' ice cream, candy, and other eatables dear to the hearts of youngsters reaped a harvest. Every shady place was occupied by groups of children eating their lunches.

During the 24 years of broadcasting 125 festivals were held in 47 counties of the state. Each of these rarely had fewer than 1,000 participants, and in the larger centers there were often more than 3,000 children. A picture of one of these gatherings at Stevens Point appeared in a 1947 issue of *Life* magazine, and a live broadcast of a Madison festival was produced over the NBC national network in 1946 (McCarty interview, 10 July 1985).

Somewhere along the years the fatherly appearance projected by Professor Gordon gained him the nickname of "Pop." While the name was never used by the children or his university students, its use by WHA personnel became pervasive. At his last Madison radio festival in 1956, "Pop" Gordon spoke to the children about the importance of music in their lives. And he even implied that participating in music would make them more sensitive and therefore "better" people. Through radio programming he had indeed spread the beneficence of the university—the sociological and aesthetic influences of music—across the state into schools and homes of numerous Wisconsinites. "Pop" Gordon was truly the epitome of the Wisconsin Idea. □

To Alight in Some Green Place and Be

Zona Gale and Portage, Wisconsin

By Stephanie Hirsch

Ben Logan went east, Hamlin Garland went east, and Thornton Wilder went east, but they eventually returned to Wisconsin. Though the small town could not keep them physically, it held their minds. The small midwestern town lets few escape completely.

Although authors tend to portray the home town wherever it may be with unusual affection, the midwestern connection seems unique. From her office in Chicago, Abigail VanBuren describes her home town, glossed by time, in a letter to a reader on March 17, 1983:

We never really "leave" those places in which we are happy. I know all of us left a part of our hearts in Eau Claire—where neighbors were all "good" neighbors, where the crime rate was almost zero, where policemen put coins in the meter for you if your time ran out—instead of giving tickets, where children could play out of doors until the dark and be fearless, and "May Baskets" were hung on the front door knob every May 1st.

Like so many writers, VanBuren moved to the big city only to turn her thoughts back to the small town.

Born in Portage, Wisconsin in 1874, Zona Gale traveled the world but always returned to Portage. She published her first novel in 1906, *Romance Island*, which was followed by her first Friendship Village novel in 1908. After these books Gale began a prolific publication of magazine articles, novels, and plays, which continued until her death in 1938. She produced such critically acclaimed pieces as *Birth*, *Preface to a Life*, *Miss Lulu Bett*, and its Pulitzer Prize-winning play version. Gale was ranked with such literary stars as Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, and Edith Wharton.

Although she attended school in Madison, worked in Milwaukee and New York, Portage kept calling her back.

Gale, as an only child of parents she admired and respected, had an intimate relationship with her parents. They were her protectors, her encouragers, and, I believe, her best friends. Although she spent six years as a journalist in Milwaukee and three in New York, Gale claimed to have never stayed away from home for much more than a year at a time. Her parents provided a retreat for the periods of her life which were too stressful. In 1904 she moved back to Portage to live with her parents and write. When Ridgely Torrence, Gale's suitor from 1916 to 1918, proposed to her, she could not sort out the confusion and ran to hide at home until she could again face the world.

"Come on home, Zona!" cried every letter from her parents. Even if she had hated every aspect and person of the small town, she would still have been compelled to return because of her parents' almost desperate appeals, such as these Mama Gale assaulted her with when she was in New York in December 1915: "Now that it is all only lovie lovie lots and lots—I went in your closet this morning and saw your clothes hanging there so cute and I talked out loud at them. O I want to see you Purfectly awful. I most dead. . . ." And another on December 11: "I don't care what you say—lovie and lovie—O Zona come on. You are so longggggg leavin'." And yet a third letter on December 11: "o ZONA I most dead. I want to see you so bad. I want you to remember that our Christmas to you is letting you stay there, so friendly like." And after Christmas, on December 27, 1915: "Now it is snowing hard—O my goodness I wish you would come home—I am tired of waiting for you to come." And she began

the new year: "I thought in the night I would telegraph you if you wanted to see me alive you better hurry home."

It seems strange that the author Gale chose to live in an environment which had few resources to deal with cultural energy. She was keenly aware of the contrast between Portage and the centers of culture. In her essay "Period Realism" published in the *Yale Review* (September, 1933) she wrote: "It is still true in a provincial town to say of one that writes poetry is to say it with a shrug." While living in Portage, Gale spent evenings writing to her extensive group of authors and friends from the city. If she felt troubled that the town lacked sophistication and culture, it is not because she was starved for culture but because she was disappointed that the town members weren't even a little hungry.

Although a member of the community, she was not like its other inhabitants. She had the dialect mastered, and she understood the mannerisms and traditions, but once a city dweller she could never be an unconditional villager again. The unnamed narrator of *Friendship Village* reflects, "And as they stood, gossiping and eager, the women bird-observant of one another's toilettes, I own myself to have felt like an alien among them." If Gale understood such disadvantages of the small town as lack of cultural and social awareness and tolerance, she also loved the town because of its sense of community, pride, history, physical beauty. She speaks of Portage as one would of an older, respected friend. When not in Portage, she says the name almost wistfully, as if conjuring a great nostalgia of the days of Portage life. Zona Gale wrote in an early draft of an essay about Portage dated 1924:

The small town today is a place where one can find plenty of leisure, where people talk about their garden, where children have a place in the home, where members of the family come into intimate contact with each other, and where there is not that air of breathlessness that plants one impression on top of another so fast that all are lost.

In the essay about Portage Gale described the town:

The natural physical aspect of the place is lovely—we have more trees than people, a sure advantage to any town. Also we are no checkerboard. For our streets run with fine freedom, intimating what might be the real temperament of geometry when left to itself. (*Portage Wisconsin and Other Essays*. New York: Knopf, 1928)

And in a letter to a friend, Henry Chester Tracy, in March 1926, she describes the day:

After three joyous days of sun, with the robins back and the blackbirds here, and the evening grosbeaks still with us and our Kentucky cardinal in lyrics on the river bank, now this morning it is softly snowing.



Zona Gale Breese. Photo by De Longe Studio, Madison. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

For her the physical beauty was worth returning to and worth sharing in her writing. Here she found her rest from the world, enclosed with the pure beauty of nature, while she was within steps of downtown Portage.

Zona Gale was an integral member of Portage society and an important and often charter member of its organizations, such as the Woman's Civic League, Jr. Golden Gossip League, Catholic Gossip Club, the Study Club, the Park Board. She founded the Woman's Civic League in Portage and pressed for women's involvement in the development and government of the town. She attempted to apply the social consciousness and feminist views of the big city to Portage. She donated her first house to the town, and a letter from Mary Waterstree written in February 1938 thanked her: "How splendid to open your old home for the Civic League and how proud they were to show me about and tell me about the rooms. I heard a great deal about your generosity."

Gale's generosity was not without recompense. From the small town she took material for her stories

and essays. Her material lay in Portage; the most barren time of her career was her three years in New York. In her beautiful home and in the quiet of the Portage afternoons, Gale found an ideal climate for work. She acted out her credo of the perfect life: "for to go and for to see, yes—And then for to alight in some green place and be. . . ." (Gale's handwritten note probably made in 1927 in the margin of a manuscript copy of her essay "Portage, Wisconsin").

Gale often publicly commented that the small town was the ideal place for any author to write. She wondered in the *Portage Daily Register* (December 29, 1938): "How can an artist function in New York with so few hours and so much food—or so little?" Answering the question, "Is it possible for an artist to live well and work well in the United States," she responds that the artist should work in

a small middle western town with a lawn running down to a river, a river intent not to stay straight. The evening would be for reading or for writing or for friends . . . An intimate touch with the town would be held in other ways—by school, park, library and many a hearth. Above all the children. Can an artist exist and function freely in the United States? I think that he can do so if he knows where and how.

Gale's friends, her memories, her past, her family, and her church were all concentrated in Portage, reason enough for her to love the town. In her essay on the town she calls Portage, Wisconsin "charged words" which do something which the words "Vienna," "Paris," "Pasadena," and "Calcutta" cannot: "For such words I have not entered upon, nor have they created in me this current . . . to one born and bred there, a town may be less a place than a force, less a force than a fragrance." Capturing the pull of the home town, Gale continues in her Portage essay,

May it not be that one born and bred in a town and rooted there by ties, by houses in which one has lived, by childhood, by first school, and by grave—may it not be that such a one does actually see that town heightened, drawn through deeper perception, adjusted to contacts not only of the eye and the memory, but of other and far more sensitive cells and powers?

If in her twenties ambivalence and ambition called her to the city, she reconciled herself to the town. In her 1928 collection of essays she confirms this:

And yet in these years, after all, I have re-discovered Portage. It is suggested that if everyone could live only enough to re-discover his family and his friends or an enemy, the same thing might be true. But in fact, I have re-discovered Portage twice. As a child I accepted it, as a girl I detested it, and now I think that I understand it. It is a great thing to understand

a town. This does not mean necessarily loving the town—one feels that one understands, say, parsnips, without loving them. But at least one can not be unjust towards town or person if both are even a little comprehended.

The affection Gale felt for her town was reciprocated. She was respected for her success. The townspeople were flattered that she returned to them when the world was open to her. Richard S. Davis published an article in *The Milwaukee Journal* (December 31, 1938) which eloquently captured the town's reaction at her funeral:

. . . all the sects in Friendship Village, and all the godless as well, were represented by the quiet people who had gathered there to wait . . . outside the day was bitter cold . . . People looked toward the fifth row, where for so many years the little Miss Gale of the World and Portage had worshiped. People stood blinking forward into the vagrant reflections of the sun on the altar. There was no turning to see, no curiosity, no morbid searching for evidence of grief. All eyes were turned on the sunlit lilies, and the roses, and their greens, and everyone in the church had his own memories.

From her early drafts of the Portage essay in the Zona Gale Papers in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin come these reflections: "Forever familiar and forever new, Portage is for me irrevocably 'home town.' For 'home world' one may at last take for granted, but 'home town' is special."

Zona Gale

1874	Born in Portage, Wisconsin
1895	Graduated from University of Wisconsin
1895–1901	Worked as journalist in Milwaukee
1901–1904	Worked as reporter on <i>Evening World</i> and freelance writer in New York
1904	Returned to live in Portage
1906	Published first novel <i>Romance Island</i>
1907–1917	Published nine novels
1918	Published <i>Birth</i>
1920	Published <i>Miss Lulu Bett</i>
1923	Published <i>Faint Perfume</i>
1928	Published <i>Portage, Wisconsin and Other Essays</i>
1928	Married William Llywelyn Breese
1929–1938	Published eight more novels
1938	Died in Chicago of pneumonia □

Wisconsin's Endangered Species Program

A Ray of Hope

By Ronald F. Nicotera

Once again bald eagles glide serenely through the skies of northern Wisconsin. Tourists as well as residents see them regularly, and that makes the tourism industry happy. In fact, everyone seems pleased with the return of the eagle. This happy sight seemed impossible back in 1970 when the Wisconsin bald eagle population was

plummeting and very little reproduction was occurring. Twenty years later the eagle has returned. How did this happen?

In the early 1970s when Wisconsin's first endangered species legislation was enacted, a group of concerned Department of Natural Resources (DNR) experts gathered to review the fauna of Wisconsin and determine their population sta-

tus. The work of this Endangered Species Committee resulted in a series of significant changes in state policy.

In 1974 the first nongame biologist was hired to work on the fledgling endangered species program. The original legislation needed to be strengthened, and Wisconsin's flora also needed protection. In 1978 a much expanded

Bald eagle



endangered species bill was passed, which included plants for the first time. Shortly thereafter, an office of DNR Nongame and Endangered Species was created to work exclusively on those species. In 1983 the Bureau of Endangered Resources was formed, which merged programs on endangered, threatened, and nongame species; natural areas; and later the Natural Heritage Inventory into one unit. Wisconsin was the first state in the nation to combine all programs dealing with fragile habitats, rare, and nongame species (species not hunted, trapped, or fished for sport).

The list of Wisconsin endangered and threatened species has changed many times since the early 1970s. Some species originally on the list were removed as additional information was obtained. Some had disappeared, and some were more abundant than we originally thought.

The Natural Heritage Inventory was created by the Wisconsin legislature in 1985. This unit within the DNR Bureau of Endangered Resources analyzes Wisconsin's flora and fauna in an objective and systematic way, utilizing base maps and computer analysis. Three hundred and sixty-three species (including the 142 currently listed) were exhaustively reviewed over a three-year period, leading to the current revision which was completed mid-summer of 1989. Two hundred and eight plants and animals are now on the Wisconsin Endangered and Threatened Species List.

Endangered species need more than protection by laws and penalties. They need active programs of research, management, and sometimes restoration. They need understanding and care. Their life histories must be determined, and their survival needs must be provided. This is one of the primary objectives of the Bureau of Endangered Resources (BER).

During the last few years recovery plans were completed and initiated on several species. Some are



Forster's tern

responding well as we will see in the following summary.

Management

Bald eagle The number of occupied territories has risen steadily from 108 in 1973 to 325 in 1988. The recovery goal is 360 nesting pairs by the year 2000, but this could easily be achieved by 1990 or 1991.

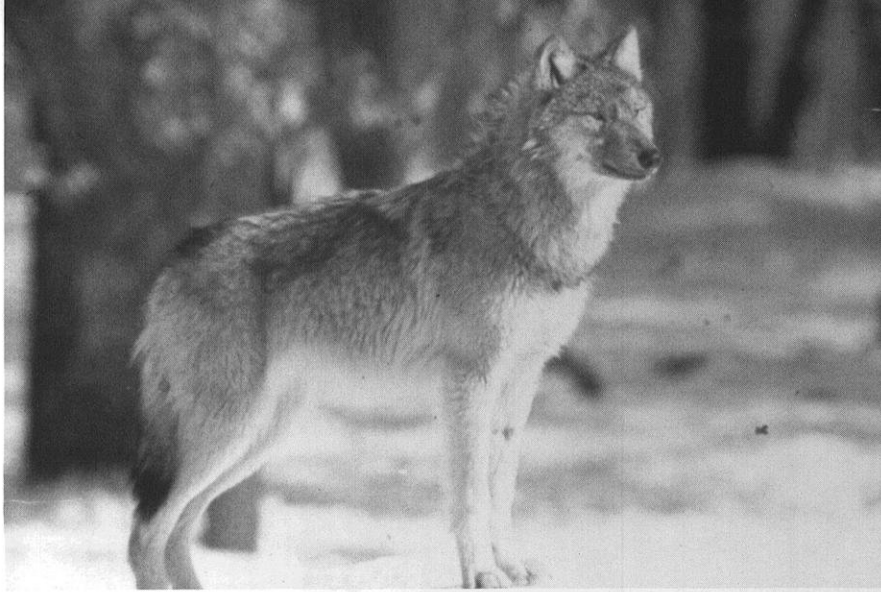
Wisconsin's eagle population has expanded since DDT was finally banned. This pesticide caused egg-shell thinning to the extent that no reproduction could occur, resulting in a drastic decline in eagles. An active program of population monitoring, protection of eagles and their nest trees, and rehabilitation has also helped. The eagle will soon be upgraded from endangered to threatened status.

Osprey The osprey, another success story, will also be upgraded to threatened status. There were 271 active nests in 1988, an increase of 30 over 1987. The recovery goal is 300 active nests by 1990, but that goal may be achieved in 1989. The DDT ban is probably a major reason for recovery. An active management program of installing osprey nest platforms in areas of declining habitat and of population monitoring as well as banding has aided osprey recovery.

Forster's tern This waterbird, which nests in colonies, prefers nesting on reed mats at the edge of, or floating on, water. In this state they are found primarily on lower Green Bay and the big lakes of east-central Wisconsin. The long-term maintenance of high water levels on these lakes has caused flooding of potential nesting habitat over many years. One extremely successful management technique is the installation of artificial reed mats or platforms which float on the water but are anchored to the bottom. On some lakes Forster's terns have used every platform available. Unfortunately, this technique is very labor intensive since several hundred platforms must be placed in the water each spring and taken out each fall.

The recovery goal is 800 pairs at ten sites over a ten-year period. In 1987, 944 pairs were counted at seven sites. In 1988, this increased to 1,200 pairs at twelve sites. The future is encouraging for this species.

Double-crested cormorant In 1973 there were only sixty-six pairs of this colonial nesting species in Wisconsin. We now have more than 3,000 pairs, and the species has been removed from the endan-



Timber wolf

gered list. While a graduate student at UW-Stevens Point, Tom Meier developed a management technique which proved to be highly successful: utility poles with seven nesting platforms arranged in a spiral on each pole were installed in clusters, providing sites for the birds to nest. The original work was conducted at the Mead Wildlife Area in central Wisconsin, but the technique has been used in several other places on state land and also on other public areas, including Green Bay and the Mississippi River. More than 1,200 platforms have been erected. Tom Meier is now the manager at the Mead Wildlife Area.

Gray wolf Thousands of gray wolves (also called timber wolves) once roamed throughout Wisconsin. Following settlement, they were shot, trapped, and bountied; their original habitat was cut over and removed. By the late 1940s they finally disappeared from Wisconsin's landscape.

As the forests were restored and the deer herd increased, wolf habitat was once again available. By the mid-1970s the wolf had returned to Wisconsin. Two wolf packs were breeding in western Douglas County by 1978. A wolf-monitoring project was started in the late 1970s to determine the extent of the wolf population in Wisconsin. Another pack was found in Lincoln County in 1979. Since then the known wolf population has fluctuated between fifteen and thirty animals; in the spring of 1989 the DNR estimated the wolf population at about thirty.

A timber wolf recovery plan prepared by the DNR recommends a population goal of eighty animals, which is the estimated carrying capacity of the remaining wolf habitat in Wisconsin. The planning process was slow and quite controversial, but after four years the plan was finally approved. In February 1989 Wisconsin became the first state in the nation to reestablish the timber wolf within its borders.

A key to the planning success was the involvement of many diverse interest groups and the fact that wolves will *not* be introduced or released. Rather, they will be protected and managed and allowed to repopulate naturally. The plan calls for continued population monitoring, education, habitat management, protection, and damage abatement and will be evaluated and changed if necessary after five years.

Reintroduction

Barn owl This species, Wisconsin's only endangered owl, is at the northern edge of its continental range here. Only one naturally nesting pair was known in 1985; since then no nests have been observed.

A two-part management plan, implemented in the early 1980s, included installing 116 nest boxes at suitable sites in southern Wisconsin and releasing young owls from captive parents held at facilities at the International Crane Foundation and the Milwaukee Zoo. From 1982 through 1987 ninety-eight owls were released primarily in

Dane, Racine, Ozaukee, Sheboygan, and Waukesha counties. Five owls released in the Sheboygan-Manitowoc counties area were equipped with radio transmitters in order to track the birds. Two of those were found dead; the others disappeared. The State of Iowa also introduced over 300 barn owls. None of the released owls has returned to either state.

Captive releases of barn owls in Wisconsin were not successful and after 1986 were discontinued. Monitoring of barn owl nest boxes will continue in the hope that owls will be found nesting in some of them.

This species continues on the verge of extirpation due, we believe, to the continued loss of grassland habitat which provides food (mice) for the owls.

Peregrine falcon Like other birds of prey, this species was devastated by DDT, disappearing as a Wis-

Peregrine falcon



consin breeding bird during the early 1960s. The BER in 1987 released fourteen young falcons from the forty-first floor of the First Wisconsin building in Milwaukee and six more in 1988 from Van Hise Hall on the UW-Madison campus.

That year also saw the first successful nest of peregrines in Wisconsin since 1962. A pair of one-year-old birds, released from sites in Minnesota and Illinois, mated and produced two eggs at the hack box on the First Wisconsin building. This is the only known example of one-year-old peregrines successfully breeding in the wild. Peregrine releases will continue through 1991, at which time the project will be reevaluated.

Adult peregrines have nested and hatched young at several historical sites on Wisconsin cliffs along the Mississippi River for the past three years. No young have survived as yet due to predation by great horned owls or raccoon or perhaps both. This continues to be a major problem.

Trumpeter swan The only swan species to nest naturally in this state, they last nested in Wisconsin during the late 1800s. In 1987 the BER began to return this magnificent bird to Wisconsin.

As of the spring of 1989, twenty-three trumpeter swans of various ages are being held for release into suitable Wisconsin habitat. In addition, six were released at the Crex Meadows and Fish Lake Wildlife areas in Burnett County.

During the late spring of 1989 forty eggs collected from Alaskan trumpeter swans were brought to Wisconsin to be incubated and hatched at a Milwaukee Zoo facility. The cygnets will eventually be placed in ponds in southern and western Wisconsin for twenty-three months where they will grow to adults and will be released at suitable wetland sites. Cross fostering was attempted in 1987 and 1988 when trumpeter swan eggs were placed under mute swan parents, but no young survived in the first year and only three in 1988 out of a total of fifteen eggs. Michigan and

Ontario have also tried this technique with similar results. Wisconsin DNR will no longer use this method.

Pine marten This endangered mammal was extirpated from Wisconsin in 1925 due to logging and unregulated trapping. Favorable forestry practices have helped the northern forest to grow back, and suitable habitat is once again available.

Pine martens from Colorado and Ontario were successfully reintroduced into the Nicolet National Forest in the 1970s. The small population has not expanded, although it is reproducing.

In order to ensure its presence in Wisconsin, a second population of martens is being established in a large closed area of the Chequamegon National Forest in northwestern Wisconsin. Animals are being translocated from Minnesota. Approximately sixty animals have been released since 1987. Another thirty to forty will be translocated in 1989. When the population goal of 100 is reached, releases will then cease, and the population will be monitored to determine reproduction and range expansion.

There are many success stories in Wisconsin's endangered species program. Unfortunately, there are also many species which are not responding to management or are continuing to decline. For instance, the piping plover has not been observed as a nesting species for the past three years. Nesting surveys of loggerhead shrikes located only six nests in 1988. Common tern breeding pairs declined again in 1988 to 376 pairs from 515 in 1987. Grassland bird populations have seriously declined. Ongoing research should tell us the scope of that decline, suggest reasons for it, and recommend remedial action.

Much of the management and recovery work in the past has dealt with only a few species, primarily birds and mammals. In the future we can expect to place much more emphasis on protection and management of plants, fish, reptiles,



Pine marten

amphibians, insects, and other invertebrates like clams and snails.

Endangered species activities in Wisconsin will take on a new focus in the coming years in response to the following changes:

- A newly completed strategic plan to guide the Wisconsin endangered resource program into the next century.
- Additional staff trained in aquatic ecology, botany, herpetology, and invertebrate zoology.
- A growing public and political awareness and desire to preserve Wisconsin's natural diversity.
- A growing desire to manage species by community rather than by the individual.

Wisconsin's endangered resources program, which includes endangered and threatened species and nongame species, will depend more and more on private volunteers, organizations, and industry to help achieve long-term protection of the precious natural heritage that remains in Wisconsin.

Wisconsin's efforts to preserve and protect endangered species have increased in the past two decades. Success is not yet within our grasp, but there is an ever growing ray of hope. □

Fiction

The Four O'Clock Eagle

By Emmy Lou Schenk

Somewhere out on the lake, a loon wailed, not joyfully as loons do during the mating season, but short and sharp. To Barbara it sounded like a mother warning her child not to cross the street alone. Turning to look over her shoulder, she said, "Joe, listen. The eagle must be coming."

There was no response.

Biting her lip, Barbara fought her irritation. All those years he'd been saying he wished he could spend more time up here at the cabin, and now here they were, sitting on the deck practically full time, and he wouldn't even look at the lake. Instead he had reversed his chair so that it faced the line of white cedars which bordered the small slough behind the cabin. He liked to listen to the frogs, or so he said.

But frogs sing in the spring, for God's sake, not in August. Why did he say things like that?

"Well, the loons are sure upset about something, Joe, only I can't see them. They must be over behind the point. Anyway it's pretty early for the eagle, not quite three-thirty."

And the eagle rarely came before four. He always flew in from the north, wings flat, gliding close over the ancient hemlock which shaded the deck. Years back, when they had first noticed him, they had asked a ranger why he was so regular.

"What makes you think it's always the same one," the ranger had replied, his eyebrows arched as if they were nuts or something, but then he had gone on patiently to explain that Sucker Lake where the bald eagles nested was about five miles due north of the cabin, so of course the eagle (they were sure it was always the same eagle, no matter what he said) would come from that direction.

Barbara had had a million questions to ask, but had put them off because the kids were fidgeting. Having grown up on television nature programs, they were inclined to find the real thing quite boring, although occasionally Jill would go along with Barbara on a spring wildflower hunt. Barry never did. Once when she had more or less forced him to come, he had found a patch of yellow lady's slipper orchids and then ground them into the mud. Acting out his hostility, the school counselor had called it. But what reason had he to be so hostile? Maybe he had been smoking pot or something. Back then, nobody thought about their kids doing things like that, not like now when every newspaper told you what to watch out for and how you could hire somebody with a dog to come sniff it out. Picturing a strange dog nosing through Barry's drawers, Barbara shook her head. Did people really

do that to their own kids?

Actually the only interest either of the kids had shown in the eagle was when Barbara had suggested it might be fun to find a name for him, and then all they had done was fight about it. Jill called him All-Bran because he was so regular. This put Barry in a rage because it wasn't properly patriotic. He called him E Pluribus Eagle—Eppy, for short.

Smiling at the memory, Barbara had wondered what Barry would have said if she had told him what she called the eagle. The old pirate, that's what she called him because once when she'd been out in the canoe, she'd seen him, or some eagle anyway, perched near the top of a white pine watching an osprey fish. The osprey would dive, come up empty-taloned, rest for a moment, then dive again. High above him, the eagle sat motionless, his white head twisted to one side as if posing for the steel engraver. After a time it had occurred to her that the osprey didn't know the eagle was there. She was wondering if she should warn him in some way, yell or wave her arms, when suddenly the osprey threw back his shoulders (had that really happened or was it only in her imagination?) and dived once again, this time coming up with a greeny-gold fish.

Do something, she told herself, warn him now, before it's too late. But even as she drew breath to scream, the eagle swooped to the attack. There was a flurry of wings, the cruel yellow beak flashed. Seconds later, the damned old pirate was heading off toward Sucker Lake, the greeny-gold fish struggling in his talons.

Barbara sighed. "What I said, Joe," she repeated, a little louder this time, "is that it's not quite three-thirty." You had to make sure he heard, not that he couldn't if he wanted to. Just whisper something you didn't want him to hear. His ears were sharp enough then. "The loons must be fussing about something else."

"Well, the days are getting shorter now. Maybe the eagle comes earlier to make up for it."

It didn't make sense exactly, but at least it was a response. "Did he start coming earlier last year in August?"

"August? Is it August already?"

Damn it all, anyway. First he was there, and then he wasn't. Would it have helped if he'd stayed on at the university? But no, he had insisted on taking early retirement. The last thing he wanted, he said, was to turn into one of those doddering old fools who

couldn't find their classrooms without some TA to lead them there by the hand.

He had wanted to sell the house, too, and perhaps she was wrong to insist they keep it. The house was too big, too hard to keep up, four bedrooms, two baths, a family room and no family anymore. Jill married with two kids and living in San Diego. Barry, a captain in the Army, an honest-to-God military attache in Mali, West Africa some place, just a spot on the map. Before that he had been in Somalia, and before that the Sudan. Did he still smoke pot, she wondered. Had he ever?

Not that it mattered now. What bothered her now was wondering what he did in those places. Whenever she asked, he'd push his fingers through his curt army haircut and say, "Just routine stuff, Mom. Nothing very interesting."

Pulling her cotton sweater tighter around her shoulders, Barbara stared out across the lake trying to find the loons. Perhaps they'd taken the chicks into the little bay to feed. A good breeding year. Two chicks. Last year there'd been only one and it had lasted less than a week. Probably a weasel had gotten it. There were no muskies in the lake.

"Do you remember, Joe, how we used to love to wake up and hear the loons singing in the night?"

Joe straightened. His head bobbed, then fell forward so that his chin rested on his chest. "No." Still hunched he reached awkwardly for the glass of white soda she had put out for him. "Awful stuff. Why do you make me drink this awful stuff?"

"No sodium," she replied automatically, still thinking about the loon's night song, although waking in the night now brought more agony than pleasure. On the worst nights, she found herself wishing Barry had told her more about his job and less about the countries where he did it, whatever it was, the starving pot-bellied children too weak even to cry, the political prisoners flogged till their bones cracked, then chained to iron rings on their cell walls in case they might yet be foolish enough to attempt an escape, the lepers pruned of their limbs as if by an amateur gardener who thought thus to force new growth. On those nights, she found her ears straining to hear the children, her body clenched as if to share the prisoners' pain, the pain so intense that sometimes she almost envied the lepers. Lepers feel no pain, or so Barry had told her. It was one of the symptoms of the disease.

"Well, they've quieted down for now," said Joe. "Maybe he'll miss a day for once, show a little independence. That's what eagles are all about, isn't it?"

"Sure, Joe," she said, feeling her spirits lift. It was a good response, almost a joke. Perhaps things weren't as bad as the doctors said. Doctors could make mistakes, telling people they had six months to live and then finding them hale and hearty ten years later. "Besides, how does an eagle know what time it is? It's not like they have wrist watches."

She looked over at him. He was staring at her, half

turned in his chair, his eyebrows knitted as if in fierce concentration.

"No wrists," he said after a long moment. "But he might have a pocket watch, you know, like my dad's old Elgin. What do you think, Barbie. Do eagles have pockets?"

Laughing more heartily than the joke deserved, she found herself wondering if he had indeed meant to be funny. "Actually what they probably have are those watches that hang around your neck on a chain. When I was a little girl, my Aunt Stella had a watch like that. No, wait, it didn't hang around her neck exactly. It was on this round button thing that rolled up the chain like a yo-yo. Do you remember those? Some people hung their glasses on them."

Joe frowned, then turned back to the woods. "Your Aunt Stella is dead. Now be quiet, just once. You make it so hard to hear." His head was cocked toward the line of white cedars.

"For Christ's sake, Joe. It's August." But she mustn't snap at him. It wasn't his fault, not really. "I'm sorry, honey. I didn't mean to—it's just that, well, what I think is, eagles don't really need watches anyway. What they need are calendars. I bet he has one in his nest, what do you think, something with Currier and Ives' prints maybe."

"Calendars. Sure." Joe's shoulders lifted and fell in what was possibly a small laugh. "Well, pretty soon next year we'll be in Florida. The Blaiselys like Sanibel Island. Of course, they don't give two hoots about frogs."

"Yes, they say it's all shells there. You walk along the beach and look."

"Well, scratch that then. I wouldn't want to be on the same island as the Blaiselys."

"You wouldn't? But you just said—"

"I know, but she's got those yappy poodles, probably lets them poop on the beach."

"The poodles got old and died, Joe. She has some kind of Oriental cat now."

"For God's sake, Barbie, I know that. She calls it Genghis Khat."

"What? Oh, gosh, yes, Joe, you're right. I'd forgotten."

"That's okay, Barbie, people get forgetful sometimes when they get older. Anyway, I don't want to live on Sanibel Island, okay?"

"Fine with me, Joe. I've told you time and again I don't want to move. I love it right where we are."

The loons wailed again. What was bothering them, she wondered. It didn't matter if the eagle came. The old pirate presented no danger to them, not any more. Even the chicks could dive now, and besides, the eagle only picked up dead fish or stole from the osprey.

"When we move," said Joe, "Barry will have to get his stuff out of the house."

"But you just said—I mean, it doesn't matter Joe."

We have plenty of room."

"Don't argue, Barbie. What is he now, thirty at least, much too old now to keep a pile of junk at home. Look, he won't mind. I wrote to him about it weeks ago, before we came up north."

"You wrote to him?"

Joe stirred his drink. The ice cubes clinked against the side of the glass making a sound like wind bells. "Wrote what?"

"A letter, about Barry's things, you know, to Barry."

"I—I . . . Do I . . . a letter . . . who's Barry?"

Barbara felt her eyes sting. Sundowning. That's what the doctors called it. They explained everything so neatly, with fifty dollar words to mask the harsh meanings. He might seem quite normal in the morning, but she should not be surprised if his cognitive impairment worsened progressively in the afternoon. But, she had asked, isn't there something you can do, give him some kind of medicine, an operation, anything at all? No, no, they said, looking at their wrist watches, late for their golf game probably, not really much you can do, nothing.

Nothing. There was nothing anyone could do about anything, not the eagle, nor the prisoners, nor the starving children, nor the lepers. Nothing.

The funny thing was that Joe had seen it coming long before she had. All that talk about doddering old fools. She should have known.

"Barry is your son, Joe," she said softly. "He's a military attache doing God-knows-what in Africa. You said you wrote to him, remember?"

But of course he couldn't have without her knowing it. Get the stamps, find the address, no, it wasn't possible. More likely he was remembering something from years back.

What causes it, she had asked. Not really sure, the doctors had stated neatly. Although some research indicates an excess of aluminum, builds up a sort of plaque in the brain cells, only it would have made absolutely no difference at all if she had used stainless steel pots. Nothing she could have done about it, nobody's fault.

"Never mind about Barry," she said. "It doesn't matter, only look, Joe, I don't think that stupid eagle's coming today anyway. How about we go for a swim before it's too late. We need the exercise."

Not waiting for a response, she got up and walked toward the cabin door, now painted blaze orange. It will help if you provide redundant sensory cues, the doctors had told her, smiling as if they had found an answer. It was like those backpacking guides which told you to carry a whistle in the woods in case you get lost. Joe had laughed at that. What you carry the whistle for, he said, was so you'd have something to do while you waited to be rescued.

If indeed the rescuers were on their way. More likely there was no one out there who knew you were lost. Certainly no one who cared.

Still if you kept busy enough, you could pretend you

were still in control. And so the bathroom door was painted green, the closet doors were purple, the front door black.

Unfortunately, after a while you run out of doors. Never mind, you can label things, black ink and childish capital letters, JOE'S COMB, JOE'S TOOTH-BRUSH, JOE'S RECLINER, SOFA, TOILET, BED, TELEVISION, everything labeled except, of course, for the locked cabinet where she kept the car keys.

Her hand on the knob, Barbara examined the screen. It was dusty, and a spider had spun a web in one corner capturing several flies. One still struggled. Carefully she picked it out from the web, brushed it slightly, set it free, but the web stuck fast to its wings and the fly fell to the ground. Listening to its buzzing fury, she became aware of another sound, Joe, coughing. No, not coughing exactly, more like the rattle a car makes trying to start up with a nearly dead battery.

Turning, she saw him hunched over in his chair, his hands trapped between his knees, his shoulders shaking.

"What is it, Joe?"

The coughing, or whatever, stopped. His hands flew up, one reaching toward her, the other placed over his mouth so that when he spoke his voice seemed not to come through his lips, but from some dry well deep inside.

"Please, Barbie, stay here with me. Just listen once, the frogs are singing so nicely. You could hear them, too, if you'd try."

Try! Jesus God, didn't he know how hard she tried. Balling her fist, she rasped her knuckles down the screen. The pain was sharp and immediate as a slap. As she watched the blood ooze out, bright red against her tan, she found herself envying the prisoners. If nothing else, they could hate their jailers without guilt. She had said something like that once to the doctors, but they had only frowned neatly. They didn't know where Mali was. There was no point in trying to explain.

"Joe," she said carefully. "I *am* trying. You know that, don't you?"

There was no answer. Standing barren by the door, she wiped her knuckles on her sweat shirt. If only she could grab his shoulders, shake him till his brains unscrambled, but she mustn't. It wasn't his fault. There was nothing to do about it. Besides, in a moment the urge would pass. It always did. God willing, it always would.

"Don't be afraid, Joe. I'll stay with you. Look, please, I'm listening, doing my best anyway. Please God, isn't that enough?"

Then, quickly, so she wouldn't have to figure out whether he had heard, she forced her eyes tight shut, and, with great show, cupped her hands behind her ears. At first there was only silence. Then, in the dark space inside her head, she heard once again the wail of the loon, felt the eagle's shadow pass painlessly over the sunlit sky. □



BOOK MARKS/WISCONSIN

THE MIDWEST RESPONSE TO THE NEW FEDERALISM

edited by Peter K. Eisinger and
William Gormley. Madison: The
University of Wisconsin Press,
1988. 319 pp. \$15.75.

By Cornelius P. Cotter

President Reagan's emphases on deregulation, on fundamental revision of the pattern of state-federal fiscal relations to effect reduced federal outlays, and upon dismantling large portions of the welfare state stand in ironic contrast to the steady rise in federal spending, massive annual deficits, and doubling of the national debt during his two terms. Yet these fiscal legacies should not obscure Reagan's success in engineering the largest changes in the federal government's taxing policies and the first major retrenchments in social programs experienced in half a century. Within seven months of inauguration Reagan signed the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981 eliminating or shrinking expenditure on over two hundred grant-in-aid programs. On the same day he also approved the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, reducing taxes by 132.5 billion dollars. In the succeeding Reagan years congress and state governors received a stream of ambitious proposals for constricting the federal role and expanding that of the

states for scores of programs. As a result, state program administrators and political leaders simultaneously sought to anticipate the consequences of proposed future changes and to juggle revenues and outlays for cuts already made.

The nine empirical studies of the impact of the "New Federalism" included in this book were "initiated" as President Reagan entered his second term (p. 7), and so tell us something of these processes midway through the administration. Their focus is on the six midwestern states—Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio—which comprise one of the ten standard federal administrative regions. (Two of the studies deal with the four Lake Michigan states, and there is a chapter on Michigan and one on the single community of Columbus, Ohio.) The chapters are grouped to emphasize varying Reagan administration approaches to restructuring relations with the states—Block Grants, Budget Cutbacks, Deregulation, and, for some programs, intensified regulation or Regulatory Federalism. Introductory and concluding chapters by the editors and Mark Rom's essay on "The Political Economy of the Midwest" (Ch. 2) provide perspective and integration. The consistently comparative emphasis of the empirical chapters—comparing over time programs within a state, comparing states within the region, and com-

paring single states or the region with the rest of the nation—also contributes to the sense of unity of purpose which accompanies the appropriately diverse approaches.

The chapters address questions that will influence future studies. Two obvious questions concern the evenness of the impact of the Reagan cuts across the states, and the will and capacity of states to replace the cuts. Mark Rom builds a persuasive case for the differentially hurtful impact of federal grant-in-aid cuts for the midwestern states. These states rely "more heavily on manufacturing for income" and are "more involved in durable goods production" than the rest of the nation and in consequence the Midwest is more severely hurt by recession than is the rest of the country. Average income in these states dropped below the national by 1982, yet they continue to pay much more in federal taxes than they receive back in disbursements, and all six are among the bottom ten beneficiaries of defense spending (Ch. 2). The Reagan changes worsened the adverse position of the midwest states. The level of all federal aid per capita for the Lake Michigan states fell from \$70.92 to \$60.10 between 1980 and 1982, but for the rest of the nation increased from \$67.38 to \$75.75 (Bingham and James, Ch. 6, 148-49).

On the issue of replacement funding to sustain desired levels of activity for selected programs,

Richard Elling points to Michigan as "a state with a 'will' to replace [but] lacking the means to do so" (Ch. 3, 61-62).

However, some replacement did occur even in fiscally strapped Michigan . . . state current dollar spending increased for alcohol and drug abuse, and for maternal and child health programs.

Caputo reports midwestern cities buffered libraries, social services, and health services from the reductions commensurate with the federal cuts, but provided less insulation to environmental protection, public safety, and street and road departments, and provided the least by way of shield to parks and recreations programs (p. 130).

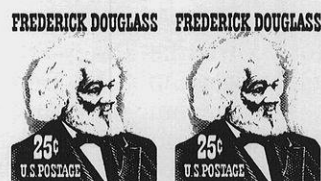
Anticipation of federal cuts and consolidations may be important in shaping state or city planning for program outlays and revenue needs. Yearly surveys of mayors, city managers, and chief financial officers permit David Caputo (Ch. 5) to compare the anticipated impact with the subsequently reported actual impact of Reagan budget cuts. In 1981, 42 percent of his respondents from the Lake Michigan states thought services would be eliminated, 61 percent expected service cutbacks, and 47 percent employee layoffs. A year later the consequences of the federal cutbacks were perceived to have been "considerably less drastic than had been anticipated." And again in 1982 officials "overestimated the impact of the budget cuts" (pp. 124, 126). Budgeting for the coming fiscal year rests upon assumptions concerning the economy, the level of external (federal) funding, and other factors. Caputo does not dwell upon the distorting impact of inflated estimates of federal cuts on state and local budgetary processes which, after all, are predictions of and determine future funding levels for programs. But he does report that "the measures implemented in 1982 to meet the budget reductions were considerably less drastic than had been anticipated in 1981" (p. 124).

Eisinger and Gormley (Ch. 1, 10-11) expect the patterns of state and city response to be associated with political culture, partisan orientation, institutional capacity (strong governor, legislative professionalism, extent to which administrative agencies are "well integrated"), and the prior level of dependency on the federal government grant programs. They conclude:

States and their communities have had to adjust to a new era of fiscal self-reliance and the future holds little promise that the situation will revert to pre-1980 patterns (p. 15).

Accurate as that statement may be, the general contours of such self-reliance, its detailed expression in the program priorities of the states, and interstate problems created by a possible magnet effect of the varying attractiveness of state packages of social programs, all must be studied systematically across the nation. This book points the way but, as the authors recognize, may not prove a reliable basis for estimating the consequences for states and communities of the second Reagan term, much less the long term ahead in which annual deficit levels and rising national debt are likely to impose continuing pressure for further devolution of program responsibility to the states.

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MY BONDAGE AND MY FREEDOM by Frederick Douglass. Edited and with an introduction by William L. Andrews. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1987. 496 pp. \$35.00 cloth; 307 pp. \$10.95 paper.

By James A. Gollata

The prominence in American history enjoyed by Frederick Douglass is clearly evidenced by his visage on the U.S. postage stamp used to mail this review. This prominence, nearly too obvious to state, would never have come about without the courage he exhibited in both escaping slavery and publishing his life stories.

Douglass wrote three autobiographies, of which this is the second. The first, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, was published in 1845, seven years after his escape. The brief volume recounts the period from his birth in 1818 in Maryland until his flight to liberation. *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), nearly four times longer, expands this story and adds Douglass's experiences as an anti-slavery orator in both the northern United States and in Great Britain, to which he fled for sanctuary upon publication of the first work. The third autobiography, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881, revised 1892) carries forward Douglass's life through the Civil War and Reconstruction, but at the sacrifice of some of the narrative on slavery and early abolitionist speech-making. *My Bondage and My Freedom* is then the most inclusive volume of Douglass's early years, now embellished by the annotations and introduction provided by William L. Andrews, a professor of English at UW-Madison until last year.

Andrews, responding to a statement in the original introduction by James M'Cune Smith in which Douglass is described as "a Representative American—a type of his countryman," argues that the autobiographer went beyond the "I-narrator" of the American literary renaissance of the 1850s to the self-realization "of his own identity, mission, and message." Andrews sees Douglass's work as much more than the typical slave-narrative, of which there are many, but as a perceptive self-examination of *national*, rather than simply sectional

(either North or South), significance. The book attains this status through Douglass's development and use of his intellectual capacities both during his travails and at the point at which he relates them.

Many of the "themes" used throughout the book are brought about by involuntary conditions. "Home" to Douglass during his first half-dozen years was a cottage shared with his grandmother on an estate managed by his master, Aaron Anthony, who may also have been his father. But as Douglass states, "Slavery does away with fathers," a condition illustrated through the selling of their own half-children by white masters and the break-up of even married slave couples.

After a time the boy was delivered to the locale of the "Great House," where he was introduced to his older slave siblings and the reality of being owned by another person. Of the three classes, including slaveholders, slaves, and overseers, none is free and all are dehumanized. The ill-treatment of "human stock" through whipping, near-starvation, and the very nature of the obligations attendant upon ownership of human beings is demeaning—and fraught with ironies. However severe the punishment, even death of slaves, it was important that word of it not pass the boundaries of the plantation to society at large; yet it was essential to maintain this severity of control, since the better-treated slave dreamed of freedom more than did the totally subjected one. The more learning Douglass later attained, and the more leisure and relaxed treatment he enjoyed, the more he desired complete emancipation.

At the age of nine, Douglass was sent to Baltimore as a "present" to the young son of his master's distant relative. Here was a superficially more free home where Douglass learned to read, an act which forever changed his outlook and provided both the joy of discovery and the catalyst for irrevocable discontent with his lot. As Andrews

observed in his *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760-1865* (reviewed in *Wisconsin Academy Review*, September 1987), the importance of reading as equal to liberation from a master is a commonality in many slave narratives. Douglass learned to read from his new mistress, whose naivete was soundly checked when her husband explained that such a route would only lead to discontent. But there was no turning back, since Douglass had discovered "the direct path from slavery to freedom." The rest of his "bondage" exegesis bears this out.

During the next seven years in Baltimore, Douglass secretly continued his reading and learned to spell from neighborhood white boys. He also discovered personal religious faith (which occasionally faltered but eventually persevered) and the hypocrisy of the professed religiosity of owners and all others who sanctioned slavery, a paradox to which Douglass often returns.

Douglass was next sent to the village of St. Michaels, Maryland, where another master found difficulty with the irrevocably spoiled slave and placed him with a "Negro breaker," whose harsh treatment nearly succeeded until Douglass physically resisted him, gaining further notoriety but placement under a kinder master named Mr. "Freeland." It was then that Douglass planned his escape, but this was thwarted, and he was shipped once again to Baltimore to become an apprentice with the prospect of eventual emancipation. The act of turning over his earned money to a master, however, redoubled his resolve and in 1838 Douglass escaped to New York.

The brief second part of the autobiography relates Douglass's "Life As A Freeman," including his meeting with abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. It was under Garrison's aegis that Douglass publicly related his experiences under slavery until the publication of his first book and subsequent travels in Great Britain (1845-47) from

which he returned to found his weekly, *The North Star*. Douglass's break with Garrison came about through the author's belief that the U.S. Constitution, rather than being a document condoning slavery, forbade it. Andrews points out that Douglass had, in accepting Garrisonism, denied one form of paternalism for another and that it was necessary that he divest himself of this attachment in his new role as "community-builder."

An appendix includes various speeches given by Douglass and a letter to his former master. Andrews's scholarship provides a significant service to this classic personal and intellectual history.

James A. Gollata is director of the library at the UW Center-Richland at Richland Center.

THE ROMANCE OF WISCONSIN PLACENAMES

by Robert Gard and L. G. Sorden. Minocqua, WI: Heartland Press, 1988. x, 308 pp. \$9.95 paper.

By Sharon Mulak

"Wisconsin names are uniquely of the state and reflect its character" (p. viii). So begins this expansion on Gard and Sorden's earlier volume (1968, 144 pp.). Robert Gard's reputation as a collector of stories and promoter of this state is undisputed. His tales of the folks down the road and the better-known heroes and scoundrels (*Wisconsin Lore*, 1962; *This Is Wisconsin*, 1969), of those regional quirks that mesh to form our state, have provided pleasure to many readers over the years. It is because his sources and those of the late L. G. Sorden, in the book at hand, are often people interested in their homeland and that descriptions are too often given as fact lacking caveat, that the line is frequently crossed from fact into the land of folklore and pseudo-history.

A glance at some other "name-book" sources (*Wisconsin's Historic Sites*, 1948; *Wisconsin Travel Companion*, 1983; *Discovering Wisconsin*, 1973; *Brevet's Wisconsin Historical Markers & Sites*, 1974; and *Dane County Place Names*, 1968) reveals that much of the new text ignores or conflicts with the material found in these books. An exception is with the last-named book, which has been borrowed from liberally in places in phrases that are remarkably similar, though Gard and Sorden stripped the entries of their history and cautious nature. This conflict and omission are all the worse because the first edition promised that a follow-up would add much. Many pages have indeed been added; however, the condensed version of the explanations is frustrating, and the assertive nature of presentation makes one wary that so little can convey so much truth. I did find excerpts from old newspapers (e.g., the entry for Gogebic Iron Range) to be interesting and to be sprinkled with the cautionary notes the rest of the book needs.

An earlier review in the Autumn, 1969 *Wisconsin Magazine of History* enumerates the first edition's faults in historical inaccuracies, spelling errors, and incorrect derivations for Indian words. Scholars should keep these same criticisms in mind when using this later edition. The information found in both books is jargon to the etymologist, fable to the historian. Readers need to place emphasis on the "Romance" of the title; finding tales about one's favorite haunts does stimulate an interest in learning more about them, perhaps, even if a little digging in other sources robs the entries of some of their verity. This reviewer wishes the authors had placed a cautionary note as a preface, so the unsuspecting researcher did not cite this volume without remembering its faults. It is hoped that a future volume might build on this and approach Wisconsin place-names in a more scholarly manner.

Sharon M. Mulak is a peripatetic reader and librarian at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

DISCOVER! AMERICA'S GREAT RIVER ROAD, WISCONSIN, IOWA, MINNESOTA, ILLINOIS by Pat Middleton. Stoddard, WI: Heritage Press, 1988. 210 pp. \$9.95 paper. (To order from publisher add \$1.50 for postage and handling: Heritage Press, Route 1, Stoddard, WI 54658)

By Patricia Powell

I did my early traveling without investing in guide books, on the assumption that important sights and sites would be touted locally—one of the many foolish ideas I once entertained. I have come round to the other extreme, that before, during, and after I examine a place, I need a good guide book for history and perspective—such as the Blue Guide, Nagel's or at least Fodor's or the new Baedeker. This new Wisconsin guidebook makes me want to go back to places I explored along the river without sufficient background.

While *Great River Road* lacks the thorough scholarly apparatus of a Nagel or Blue Guide, it does offer short histories of the towns and sites of interest in the Upper Mississippi Valley, together with geological and wildlife notes. Primarily this volume guides campers and other recreational travelers with numerous maps and specific directions ("turn right by the K-Mart") to parks, campsites, boat landings, and wildlife refuges.

The detailed maps will be useful to bikers and hikers interested in back roads. Information on historic houses and museums and dates for festivals and special events are given for each town on the "tour" starting in Prescott, Wisconsin, east of St. Paul and traveling down the river to Galena, Illinois.

While I haven't had a chance to test Middleton's maps and directions, I look forward to long fall

weekends with this most realistic guide to capture the romance of the Mississippi.

Patricia Powell is the kind of print-oriented person who doesn't believe what she is seeing until some book corroborates it.

Recently Received Books

Thomas Bontly. *The Giant's Shadow*. New York: Random House, 1988. 300 pp. \$17.95, fiction, a midwest professor in West Germany becomes entangled in East-West hostilities

John Gruber, *Focus on Rails*. Introduction by Bill Withuhn. North Freedom, WI: Mid-Continent Railway Historical Society, 1989. 49 pp. \$4.50, history of the photographing of trains

Tom Klein. *Loon Magic*. Preface by Sigurd T. Olson. Third Edition. Minocqua, WI: NorthWord Press, 1989. \$50.00 cloth; \$19.95 paper. 164 pp., an updated version of loon life showing the effects of acid rain on distribution and population levels; forty new photographs

Donald Kummings. *The Open Road Trip*. Tunnel, NY: The Geryon Press, 1989. 30 pp. \$9.50 cloth; \$5.00 paper, poetry

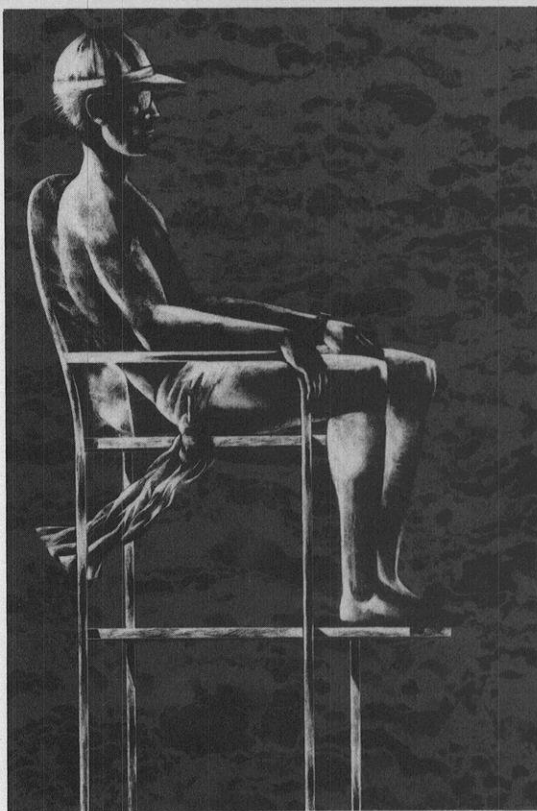
Rensselaer Van Potter. *Global Bioethics: Building on the Leopold Legacy*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1988. 203 pp. \$9.00 paper, an extension of the ethics of biotechnology to ecology

Athan G. Theoharis and John Stuart Cox. *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988. 489 pp. \$27.95, a biography of the FBI director's surveillance of private activities of prominent Americans, members of Congress, and the press which served the political interests of several presidents □



WISCONSIN ACADEMY
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Nancy Burkert, "Centre & Circumference"
Original image in brush and watercolor, ©1980
Poster is high-quality color reproduction designed
in 1986 for Wisconsin Academy



Robert Burkert, "Lifeguard"
Two-color lithograph, umber black and cobalt
15" × 22 1/2", 1986
Edition of 100

Wisconsin Academy Gallery

The Wisconsin Academy Gallery is a noncommercial exhibition space accessible to Wisconsin artists in all media. The gallery, remodeled in summer 1986 to provide a more diverse space, is managed by a committee of artists. Past gallery fund-raising events have included prints by John Wilde and original works by such Wisconsin masters as Aaron Bohrod, Warrington Colescott, John Colt, Dean Meeker, Don Reitz, James Watrous, and Lee Weiss.

In return for a specified contribution to the gallery patrons may select a poster or a limited edition lithograph. Funds donated help support Wisconsin Academy art programs and publications to advance the interests and understanding of art in Wisconsin.

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