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# From the President

## *Building Torch for the Future*



As your new President, I will use this space to share my thoughts for the next two years. Continuing a long tradition for new IATC presidents, I have chosen as my motto *Building Torch for the Future*—and I intend to do just that. Yes, we do have challenges, but each challenge creates an opportunity. The International and many clubs have a declining membership of about 1% to 2%. Membership Director George Heron has created a Membership Committee comprised of Torch members, each with a success story of Torch growth. We are reviewing all our publications to incorporate modern printing, formatting, digital publication, and media integration. Director James Coppinger will help us create new promotional literature for general or specific club use. All of our brochures are in short supply and must be updated. Another opportunity! President-Elect Norine Haas chairs a new Finance and Budget Committee. Our IATC budgets will express our plans for the future. We have budgeted new funds for club growth, and Director for Conventions Jerry Bass

plans to encourage an expansion of the regional mini-meetings that some clubs have established as a successful tradition.

To introduce myself, I am a member and past President of the Albany Torch Club as well as the IATC Webmaster and a former IATC Regional Director. I am honored to have received both the Gold and Silver Torch awards. Professionally, I am a retired civil engineering executive who has had senior positions in both government and domestic and international engineering consultancy. During those career years, I pioneered the use of computer technology for engineering design and management. I serve on a number of environmental and cultural Boards of Directors, and I have been married to Eva for 57 years, have three adult children and five grandchildren. We spend the winters in Albany and the summers on Martha's Vineyard Island; we both enjoy swimming, kayaking, sailing, trekking, international travel, and most of all – good friends and discussions.

—Charles Carlson, IATC President

## Note from the Editor

### Manuscript Guidelines

Authors often ask my advice on how to convert an orally-presented “Torch talk” into a publishable Torch paper. In addition to IATC’s “Torch Paper” pamphlet, available from your club secretary, here are points I urge Torch authors to consider:

- Take seriously the 3,000-word limit, equivalent to 30 minutes of presentation. Instead of asking me to pare down a manuscript, I would prefer you do the cutting yourself, since you know what you really want to say.
- Remember what you have been taught about concise writing. Avoid a series of simple sentences, choosing instead to embed the main clause within a larger sentence. Recast the ideas that are expressed in the adjacent but less-important main clauses into modifying clauses or phrases.
- Let the facts speak for themselves; don’t call attention to yourself with “I think” or even “you will see for yourself.” The writer/

reader relationship is one of logical inquiry, not that of a cozy fireside chat.

- Help track assertions with notes in the text documenting published sources and pointing to matching endnotes. A modest bibliography should refer the interested reader to further research. Follow the formats specified in Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers...*, 7th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
- Your submission must be accompanied by the Manuscript Submission Form (signed by you and a club officer), available from your club secretary. Include an email address, and be ready to transmit your paper as an MSWord document if requested. Mail the hardcopy manuscript to IATC, Torch Editor, 11712C Jefferson Ave. #246, Newport News, VA 23606.

— A. Reed Taylor, Torch Editor





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## The rich can rest securely with their class war victory...

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managers to value investor concerns in the expectations market over performance in the real market. The unforeseen consequences turned out to be favorable for the wealthy at the expense of middle class workers.

The 1970s saw a growing interest in high-profit financial sector investment opportunities including a new instrument called a “mortgage-backed security,” and in the use of high payoff Leveraged Buyouts (LBOs). With the Vietnam War still dragging on, expectations were often gloomy. Then with the 1973 OPEC oil crisis, inflation rose to eight percent, increasing to eleven percent in 1974, and unemployment started rising. The bad economic times helped to elect Democrat Jimmy Carter to the presidency, but he was faced with “Stagflation,” the brutal combination of a stagnant economy, high unemployment, and higher than normal inflation. His inability to provide governmental solutions helped to pave the way for Reagan and his successors to promote market solutions.

### **The Class War Begins In Earnest**

The policies of the Reagan “free market” presidency provided several advancement opportunities for the rich. The firing in 1981 of the striking members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization signaled to businesses nationwide that union interests were no longer a priority to be protected by government. The cuts in the top marginal income tax rate from seventy percent to fifty percent in 1981, and to twenty-eight percent by the end of his second term, were two of several tax adjustments that would benefit the wealthiest Americans. These tax

modifications, coupled with declining union protection of wages and benefits, restricted most of the future economic gains to the top quintile of Americans.<sup>5</sup>

Leveraged buyouts (later called Private Equity transactions) became a booming business during the 1980s. LBOs were designed as short term money-makers that used tax-deductible borrowed money to buy targeted companies. Dividend payouts and fee earnings were boosted by laying off workers deemed surplus, and by slashing research and development expenses. After a four- or five-year period of wealth extraction, the target would then be sold.<sup>6</sup> In 1984 Reagan signed the Secondary Mortgage Market Enhancement Act (SMMEA), which exempted mortgage-backed securities from state regulation of new financial products, removed restrictions against institutions like pension funds from investing in such financial instruments, and required rating agencies to play a role in ensuring low-risk quality for investors.<sup>7</sup> This was a major boost for the financial sector, as the wealthy moved more and more capital into these lightly-regulated areas rather than into main street investment opportunities. This decade also witnessed U.S. support of relaxed international currency controls, allowing a huge increase in capital flow around the world and creating millions of dollars of profits in speculative bets on currency values. But the ease of mingling liquid assets from personal, corporate, criminal, and terrorist accounts also made it more difficult to track terrorist funds or to curb tax evasion crime. Accompanying all of these opportunities to increase profit through financial manipulation was happy talk about how aid to the rich would “trickle down” to everyone, and how tax cuts would increase revenue, while these policies actually produced an acceleration of the end of the “Great Compression.”<sup>8</sup>

The 1990s brought a huge growth in lobbying activity on a wide variety of issues, including a relaxing of the rules on investment banking. These efforts culminated in 1999 with the passage of the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act, a bill repealing the remnants of the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act which had separated investment from commercial banking to avoid conditions leading to the 1929 crash. Nevertheless, the repeal was passed by a Republican-controlled Congress, signed by the Democratic president, and had the blessing of Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan (an Ayn Rand devotee). Then in 2000 the Commodity Futures Modernization Act was also passed, which President Clinton signed into law, dealing with financial instruments little known by the general public. The bill deregulated investment banks and exempted most derivatives and credit default swaps from regulatory scrutiny. The stage was thereby set for huge profits to be made from the lightly-regulated financial sector before its collapse in 2008.<sup>9</sup>

### **The Final Blows**

The selection of a Republican President in 2000 produced a series of conditions for the rich to win a conclusive victory in the Thirty Years’ Class War. First came the Bush income tax cut of the top marginal rate to thirty-five percent. Then in 2003 the capital gains tax rate was cut to fifteen percent, a change which not only distorted investment logic but also provided the temptation for creative bookkeeping to declare income as a capital gain to secure the lower tax rate. In 2004, the Securities and Exchange Commission was successfully lobbied to remove rules that capped leverage at fifteen to one for investment banks. By 2008 these banks, as well as the hedge funds of the wealthy, were borrowing at near zero interest rates to invest at ratios up to thirty and forty to one to maximize profits,

while also putting the entire economy at risk. In another boost to the freedom and temptations of financial innovations, the SEC in 2004 also lifted a rule specifying debt limits and capital reserves. Firms would be allowed to police themselves in the marketplace, free to use their mathematical risk models without government regulation.

Later in the decade, two events indicated the final victory by the rich. In 2007, their lobbyists were able to use their influence to block an attempt by the Congress controlled by Democrats to raise the capital gains tax back to a more reasonable level. As 2010 ended they had convinced President Obama to yield to Republican demands that the Bush tax cuts not be ended, even though ending them for the rich had been a key campaign pledge.

### Where We Stand Today

A table by David Cay Johnston clearly identifies the economic winners (Table 1).<sup>10</sup>

Table 1. Gains of the top U.S. income percentile 1980-2008

<u>Income percentile</u>	<u>Increased income 1980 to 2008*</u>	<u>Percent increase</u>
0-90	\$303	1%
90-95	\$29,49	30%
95-99	\$71,450	51%
99-99.5	\$198,404	81%
99.5-99.9	\$479,870	121%
99.9-99.99	\$2,228,724	221%
<u>99.99-100</u>	<u>\$21,904,288</u>	<u>403%</u>

Source: Data adapted from Saez and Piketty, Table A6.

\*2008 dollars

The “Great Compression” of the three post-war decades has been eliminated. During the class war years of 1980-2008, the bottom ninety percent gained just one percent in annual income—an average of only \$303. Meanwhile the bulk of the gains went to the top income percentiles, with the top tenth of one percent gaining

almost \$22 million, or over four hundred percent. The wealthiest 300,000 Americans now enjoy almost as much income as the bottom 150 million of the lower quintiles. From the 1970s to 2007, the share of total income received by the top one percent increased two and a half times.<sup>11</sup> A *Washington Post* article notes that during our most recent years of economic expansion from 2000 to 2007 (including the Bush tax-cut years), the top ten percent received all of the average income growth, concentrating over sixty-three percent of all wealth in the hands of the top five percent.<sup>12</sup> Still another study demonstrates that the top one percent controls over a third of our wealth.<sup>13</sup>

Periodic reports from conservative organizations purport to demonstrate the heavy tax burden of the rich, drawing from federal income tax numbers to show that the top one percent paid more tax (over forty percent of tax payments in 2007) than the bottom ninety-five percent.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, this one percent still controlled a fourth of all income and over a third of all wealth, so the numbers were not that far out of line. When income taxes paid to all levels of government are considered the picture changes considerably, with the top one percent paying only 30.8 percent of these taxes.<sup>15</sup> The five percent difference between the share of taxation contributed by the wealthiest and their share of income shows that the progressivity of our taxes is minimal—not surprising given all the provisions lobbyists have promoted to provide opportunities for legal tax avoidance. The rich can also pursue illegal offshore opportunities for tax evasion, and they can take advantage of the global economy’s multiple subsidiary transfer and accounting options to creatively shape tax deductible costs or claim offsetting foreign tax credits to significantly reduce taxes owed in this country.<sup>16</sup>

Greater wealth also provides other

benefits. It can purchase legal representation to argue successfully, for example, that admittedly deceptive marketing practices do not constitute prosecutable fraud, as was done in the well-covered recent hearings involving Goldman Sachs. It can buy lobbying power to limit legislation and executive regulations that could negatively affect profits. It can help to pay for the establishment of additional secretly-funded advocacy groups, thanks to the *Citizens United* court case, to support friendly politicians like the state leaders who passed laws which reduced union viability and impeded the ease of voting, and the national leaders who voted to defund the agencies that regulate Wall Street. Wealth can buy abundant time on talk radio and television networks promoting conservative “truthiness” statements that are not fact checked, as well as such questionable “logic” as the famously false assertion by Senator John Kyl regarding Planned Parenthood that “was not intended to be a factual statement.” Finally, wealth can live in plutocratic perpetuity when moved to an offshore account in a tax haven such as the Cayman Islands, or to states here in America with legal tax-exempt dynasty trusts that set property aside for heirs forever.<sup>17</sup>

Another factor aiding the perpetual interests of the rich is the rightward shift in the political spectrum over the past thirty years. This shift led a *Washington Post* writer to list a variety of indicators which argue (only partly tongue in cheek) that Obama is a “moderate Republican.”<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, the even further rightward shift by the Republicans is revealed by how strongly the Tea Party, libertarians, and self-proclaimed conservative Christians support the budget blueprint of Congressman Paul Ryan, a believer in the radical free market economic values of novelist Ayn Rand. Ryan is reported to have credited Rand’s anti-government views with prompting his involvement in

politics, and his requirement that staffers read her novel *Atlas Shrugged*.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, the mainstream media have so far failed to note that her vision of capitalistic government explicitly promotes an atheistic value system that would favor the Ryan budget plan, with its major cuts in the social safety net for the poor and the powerless, coupled with significant cuts in taxes for the wealthy.<sup>20</sup> The rich can rest securely with their class war victory as long as this corrosive values connection in contemporary politics is allowed to fester in obscurity.

## Notes

1. For an overview of the issue, see Bill Moyers' response to the August 23, 1971 "call to arms" memo to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Bill Moyers, "How Wall Street Occupied America," *The Nation*, November 21, 2011. Extensive historical documentation is provided in Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer—And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010).

2. David Cay Johnston, "9 Things The Rich Don't Want You To Know About Taxes," *Willamette Week* [Portland, OR], April 13, 2011.

3. Judith Stein, *Pivotal Decade: How the United States Traded Factories for Finance in the Seventies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

4. Roger Martin, "Fixing the Game: The Unintended Consequences of an Economic Theory," *Huffington Post*, April 27, 2011, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/roger-martin/fixing-the-game-the-unint\\_b\\_854481.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/roger-martin/fixing-the-game-the-unint_b_854481.html) [accessed August 13, 2012].

5. R.G. Price, "In Depth Analysis of American Income and Taxation," posted September 23, 2003, updated November 17, 2004, rationalrevolution.net, [http://www.rationalrevolution.net/articles/american\\_income\\_taxation.htm](http://www.rationalrevolution.net/articles/american_income_taxation.htm)

[accessed August 13, 2012].

6. Josh Kosman, *The Buyout of America: How Private Equity Will Cause the Next Great Credit Crisis* (New York: Portfolio, 2009), 28. Many other pages list firms driven to bankruptcy, including some targeted by Bain Capital.

7. Bethany McLean and Joe Nocera, *All the Devils Are Here: The Hidden History of the Financial Crisis* (New York: Portfolio, 2010), 14.

8. Cutting top tax rates, plus huge deficit spending, boosted economic growth in the 1980s, but provided no "trickle down" to the bottom half. See Gayla Koerting, "Trickle-down Theory—History of Business in the U.S.," *American Business*, March 24, 2011, <http://american-business.org/2774-trickle-down-theory.html> [accessed August 13, 2012].

9. See McLean and Nocera for details about the huge profits acquired using liar loans, discriminatory interest rates, skewed bond ratings, deceptively marketed derivatives, and unsecured credit default swaps, all abetted by lax regulation.

10. Johnston.

11. Robert Reich, "Why We Really Shouldn't Keep the Bush Tax Cut for the Wealthy," The Blog, entry posted August 2, 2010, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-reich/why-we-really-shouldnt-ke\\_b\\_667816.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-reich/why-we-really-shouldnt-ke_b_667816.html) [accessed August 13, 2012]. See also [www.irs.gov](http://www.irs.gov) for similar adjusted gross income and federal income tax numbers (search "statistics"). Our current income disparity is almost back to the 1929 level before the economic crash of that year.

12. In the same period, eighty-seven percent of American wealth was earned by the top fifth. Bob Herbert, "Losing Our Way," *Washington Post*, March 25, 2011.

13. G. William Domhoff, "Wealth, Income, and Power," Who Rules America.net, entry posted September 2005 and updated March, 2012, 9, [http://](http://www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html)

[www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html](http://www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html) [accessed August 14, 2012]. See also household income equality data in a Gini Coefficient table in the *World Factbook* of the CIA which in 2007 ranked the United States 42<sup>nd</sup>, just above Cameroon, Guyana, and Iran. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2172rank.html> [accessed August 14, 2012].

14. Catherine Rampell, "Top 1% Paid More in Federal Income Taxes Than Bottom 95% in '07," *New York Times*, July 30, 2009, under "Business Day," <http://economix.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/07/30/top-1-paid-more-in-federal-income-taxes-than-bottom-95-in-07/> [accessed August 14, 2012].

15. Domhoff, 11.

16. Illegal offshore accounts were employed by many of the 17,000 American suspects sought by the IRS in the 2009 settlement case with UBS bank of Switzerland. Tim Worstall, "Apple's 9.8% Tax Rate: Entirely Mind Gargling Nonsense," entry posted April 18, 2012, *Forbes*, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/timworstall/2012/04/18/apples-9-8-tax-rate-entirely-mind-gargling-nonsense/> [accessed August 14, 2012].

17. Ray D. Madoff, "America Builds an Aristocracy," *New York Times*, July 9, 2010.

18. Ezra Klein, "Obama Revealed: He's a Moderate Republican," *Washington Post*, April 26, 2011.

19. Jonathan Chait, "Paul Ryan and Ayn Rand," entry posted December 28, 2010, *The New Republic*, <http://www.tnr.com/blog/jonathan-chait/80552/paul-ryan-and-ayn-rand> [accessed August 14, 2012].

20. Gary Moore, "Ayn Rand: Goddess of the Great Recession," *Christianity Today*, September, 2010, <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2010/september/2.36.html> [accessed August 14, 2012].

# Chief Quanah Parker: A Study in Leadership

*A close look at America's western history celebrates a white woman who chose Indian life and her Indian son who kept her name.*

**By Charles E. Wolfe**



## About the Author

A native of Elk River, MN, which he calls "the Lake Wobegone of 1931,"

Charles E. Wolfe grew up in Milwaukee, WI. With a BA from Northern Iowa University, a BD from Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, and a DMin from Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, DC, he served as pastor of Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Texas, New York, and Maryland. As an Army chaplain, he served in the stockade with military police, in underground silos with atomic missiles, and in Vietnam's Mekong Delta. He taught Hebrew Scriptures and New Testament at McDaniel College in Westminster, MD (from which his wife Helen retired as graduate school dean), and at Wesley Seminary in Washington. He also edited an exegetical journal for pastors. He and Helen, founding president of the Westminster Torch Club, have enjoyed travel and the four children and thirteen grandchildren who round out the family.

Presented to the Westminster Torch Club on June 2, 2009.



There was no town where my mother's family entered Minnesota. Though the log cabin was later plastered over to hide her embarrassment, I have always gloried in my log cabin birth. My great grandfather was just five years old when Fort Sumter kicked off the Civil War, creating a distraction that prompted the Sioux Indians to attack us white invaders.<sup>1</sup> Family legend has my great-grandmother baking donuts when a warrior suddenly appeared. When she offered him a donut, he tasted it, scooped up the whole tray, and then left! The Battle of Adobe Walls erupted in West Texas when my great-grandfather was an

eighteen-year-old backwoodsman, and by the time he was eighty-three years old he was telling me stories of the struggle for land between the Indians and the settlers. The child in me who thrilled at the deeds of the settlers could never have imagined that a major inspiration in my adult years would be a Comanche chief whose ability to roll with the punches would lead his people through catastrophe. When in Texas for graduate studies, Yankee though I was, I ended up as a pastor in the piney woods of East Texas, where I would encounter our hero, whose mother grew out of the same struggle for the land that had marked my forebears.

## Cynthia Ann Parker

In 1836, settlers had built a fort in East Texas for protection, but when no danger had emerged for several years they had let down their guard. With the gate open and the blockhouses unmanned while the men were away at work in the fields, a raiding party of Comanche and Kiowa Indians suddenly appeared and overran the fort, killing and scalping adults and carrying off nine-year-old Cynthia Ann Parker. The site, reconstructed and maintained as a Texas state park, always stimulated my imagination; for as I stood there, the violence would come to life all around me. Here, as in the Minnesota of the same era, we can hardly help contemplating the brutal cost of "progress."

When Cynthia grew up she married a Comanche war chief, bearing him three children. In 1861, when she was 34, she showed her preference for Indian life by trying to escape when Texas Rangers attacked her camp while she was alone with her daughter. They were run down and returned to her white relatives, who could never understand that at the core of her being she was really a Comanche rather than a rescued white woman. Her

daughter died within three years, and Cynthia grieved her life away, dying at last in 1870 of what can only be described as a broken heart.<sup>2</sup> But her story does not end here. Her son Quanah, born c. 1848 and away from home when the Rangers attacked, was destined to play a significant role in the life of his tribe.

## Quanah Parker

No details are known of Quanah's boyhood as a war chief's son, but whatever normal life he enjoyed ended with the capture of his mother by the Rangers and the death of his father two years later. The biracial orphan and his brother suddenly found themselves just barely tolerated. Since they no longer had blood relatives within the tribe, they had to scratch around for food and a place to sleep, a painful period Quanah recalled later, thinking he was treated like that because his mother was a white woman. Taking the only road open to him in a society that measured a man according to the scalps, captives, and horses taken in battle, he became such a successful young warrior that he was given the unusual distinction of the privilege of the floor in open council. It is noteworthy, however, that he took his mother's maiden name and, as Quanah Parker, openly affirmed both of his biracial origins. We assume that his brother also became a warrior, but he fades out of the story as Quanah more and more takes center stage.

The Comanche in the 1860s and '70s were nomads from the Rockies to the piney woods and from Oklahoma into Mexico as they sought pasture for their horses and buffalo for their food. As Texans pushed into their hunting grounds, a violent response was inevitable.<sup>3</sup> By October 1867 the barely-tolerated biracial orphan had become a chief, representing his tribe at the Medicine Lodge Creek Council in Kansas. The government was

pressuring the Indians to retreat to their assigned reservations; but Quanah, unable to give up the freedom of life on the plains, refused to sign the treaty. "I am not going to a reservation."<sup>4</sup> The result of such a declaration of war was seven years of bloody conflict throughout Texas, mostly hit and run raids rather than set battles. The turning point was the Battle of Adobe Walls in West Texas in 1874. Late in life, Quanah admitted that he had been there and had been wounded in the shoulder.

Adobe Walls was the base camp for thirty white buffalo hunters. Since their destruction of the herds was perceived as the primary threat to the Comanche way of life, they were the first target in a series of planned attacks. At dawn Quanah led a party of warriors who managed to get on the roof. As they prepared to cut holes so they could shoot down at the sleeping hunters, a loose ridgepole sounded the alert; the hunters reacted quickly and drove the warriors off. After a three-day standoff, Quanah knew he was beaten and called off the attack. This battle is important because the long-range buffalo gun introduced weaponry beyond anything the Comanche had.<sup>5</sup> This was the beginning of the end for the Lords of the Plains. In the next year, the Army had six different cavalry units crisscrossing the plains to force the Indians to keep moving, at last starving them out by denying them the buffalo herds. Concluding this action now known by historians as the Red River War of 1874-75, the Indians surrendered and entered the government reservation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.<sup>6</sup>

### **The Chief among Chiefs**

Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Red Cloud, Chief Joseph, and Geronimo are the other famous war chiefs who were also compelled to surrender and face the total collapse of their way of life. Their life and influence pretty much ended with the combat, but Quanah's significance continued to grow over the next thirty-six years. His life on the reservation, in fact, is significant beyond the Hollywood movies that feature the others. He

summed up his own life just a year before his death in 1911, when he moved his mother's remains from her Texas grave and reburied her at Fort Sill. Baptist and Mennonite ministers conducted the funeral and Quanah also spoke. He said, "Cynthia Ann love Indians so well no want to go back to folks. All same people anyway." He urged his people to "follow after white way, get education, know work, make living...to be ready for death like my mother, then we all live together again."<sup>7</sup> The next year he was buried next to her, his coffin wrapped in Indian blankets.

It required some 5,000 soldiers to bring Geronimo's fifty warriors to bay, but then he ended up a drunk selling photographs of himself to tourists. Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull had their great triumph at the Little Big Horn, but after their blaze of glory their lives fizzled out into despair and tragedy. By 1890, fourteen years later, the ghost dance promised the Sioux and the Cheyenne a return of the old way of life, for the ghost shirts would be impervious to the white man's bullets. When Sitting Bull left the reservation to participate in a ghost dance, government officials became alarmed and ordered his arrest and he was murdered by the arresting officers. The messianic fervor generated by the ghost dance, however, led to the tragedy at Wounded Knee. When Crazy Horse became restless on the reservation he too was murdered by arresting officers.

Red Cloud fought the soldiers to a standstill and in 1868 forced the closing of the Bozeman Trail to pioneers heading west. Undone at last by the repeating rifle, he could never quite make up his mind what to do next. Once on the reservation he opposed education and the efforts to turn the Sioux into farmers. He refused to fight at Little Big Horn, but he allowed his son to go. Even when he argued for Indian rights, he ended up failing to help his people because he never supported white government policy. As a sad sort of epitaph he has been described as "lost in a government file."<sup>8</sup> Chief Joseph led the fighting Nez Perce on a legendary 1700 mile retreat before being cornered

at last by General Howard, fresh from leading the charge at Gettysburg on Cemetery Hill. The legendary chief who led that trek was not ready to enter the new world, but continued to live in a tipi, becoming the bitter voice of a lost cause.

### **The Politician**

Quanah Parker, in contrast to the other famous chiefs, not only laid aside his bloody tomahawk but embraced life in his new world and, as the former War Chief evolved into an effective politician, he brought his people with him. With his mother's example, he said "If she could learn the ways of the Indians, I can learn the ways of the White Man."<sup>9</sup> He insisted on white teachers in the reservation schools so that the Indian children would become fluent in English as they prepared for citizenship in their new culture. He refused to attend any of the ghost dance ceremonies and barred his people from attending. He insisted that he depended upon the government and not upon any Indian Messiah. He thought that it was crazy to plot an uprising, considering the small number of warriors the tribes could still assemble. An uprising would simply turn them into vagabonds.<sup>10</sup>

At first all the land on the reservation was held in common by the tribe as a whole. Quanah became the diplomat, searching for the middle ground as he dealt with Indian Agents and negotiated with Texas cattlemen for grazing rights on Indian land in order to secure money to establish Indian herds. He even hired white farmhands to work reservation land as sharecroppers. Although he was sometimes criticized for taking too big a cut of the profits for himself, he was always ready to help any of his people in need and he distributed a share to every individual.

The insoluble problem, however, was the constantly increasing juggernaut of white settlers who coveted Indian land. Quanah fought to save the land from intrusive settlers, even gaining the ear of President Theodore Roosevelt. But it was all in vain; for the Jerome Agreement privatized reservation land: each Indian was to receive an allotment of acres as

private property. The sinister hook was that fifteen million acres of reservation land would be left over after the deliberately small-sized allotments had been made. The government would then buy the leftover land for a pittance. The Indians lost the fight when the Supreme Court in 1903 ruled that the government did not have to honor the Indian treaties. This decision opened the way for the Oklahoma land rush and its “Sooners.” A disappointed Quanah nonetheless faced irreversible facts and advised his people to make the best of a bad situation by carefully selecting the acreage for their allotments.

Quanah continued to fight for Indian rights, gaining such prominence that he was granted an audience with President McKinley. But when he complained of the government’s failure to honor its commitments, McKinley didn’t want to hear it and he was hustled out of the room. Nonetheless he continued his agitation until at last he gained full citizenship for the Comanche.

In addition to ambition, which he shared with the other famous chiefs, Quanah’s biracial origins offered him a political tool that they lacked—and he used it effectively. Because he straddled the red/white divide, he was able to become the middleman or broker, bringing the two sides to the table. The whites could deal with him because he could meet them part way due to his understanding the reality behind the old saw that “politics is the art of the possible.” And the Indians could follow him because he had retained such Comanche ways as refusing to give up his six wives and his regular participation in the peyote ceremony in spite of pressure from the Indian Agent and the missionaries. He defended the peyote ceremony, with the visionary effects of the drug. “The white man goes into his church house and talks **about** Jesus, but the Indian goes into his tipi and talks **to** Jesus.”<sup>11</sup>

### Just the Way It Is

But there is another critical factor in Quanah’s ability to deal so differently with the collapse of his world from the way

the other chiefs did. Johnny Cash’s old song is suggestive. “I don’t like it, but I guess things happen that way!” Categories of good and evil, fair and unfair, right and wrong, just and unjust are engrained—and rightly so, for they guide and evaluate our dealings with each other. They also generate, however, from the labels with which we define events, efforts to get revenge for unfair treatment if we can’t reverse its effects, or even failing all else, to retreat from life in a pout. But when we are dealing with massive events that cannot be undone, such categories may themselves be self-destructive when absorbed. Then we may well need a new category, one that is beyond good and evil. I call it inevitability. Quanah called it “the way things are.” When we eliminate fair and unfair from what cannot be changed, we are better able to get on with our lives. Quanah could, to the benefit of his people. The other chiefs could not, to the detriment of their people.

The westward expansion at the expense of the Native American population is such an inevitability beyond evaluation in terms of right and wrong. Marching to the drumbeat of “Manifest Destiny,” population pressure swept away everything before it with no more sense of unfairness than a river overflowing its banks. The settlers really believed that it was their right to dispossess the Indians. General William Sherman, in fact, told the Comanche, “You can no more stop this than you can stop the sun or the moon.”<sup>12</sup> Quanah figured this out in 1875 when he voted in council for the Comanche to enter the reservation. He then wasted no energy pining for “the good old days” but set to work to make the new days as good as possible. “Quanah never looked back. In hard times he looked resolutely forward toward something better.”<sup>13</sup>

### Conclusion

In hindsight we can debate the way the westward expansion was accomplished. We can detail injustice and even feel shame at the policies of our own government. But the expansion itself could not have been prevented and it

cannot be reversed. The ethics, therefore, can only operate within a framework of inevitability. This no more legitimates power than falling off a building legitimates gravity. The real issue for a leader is to know when to quit fighting, when the lost cause is a fact, when refusal to admit it will only cause more pain and suffering for more people to no purpose, for then we no longer work to improve the situation.

“I don’t like it, but I guess things happen that way!”

### Notes

1. Three battlefields from these attacks have been preserved.
2. S.C. Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon* (New York: Scribner, 2010), 81, 191. More details about this remarkable woman can be found in Charles Brashear, *Killing Cynthia Ann* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1999).
3. Quanah must have raided and scalped and fought settlers, soldiers, and Mexicans, but he would never talk about it after he eventually accepted life on a government reservation, for such stories at worst would have invited reprisals and at best would not have helped him in his efforts to adjust to the white world.
4. Dee Brown, *The American West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 114.
5. *Ibid.*, 119.
6. Twice I have been to the museum at Adobe Walls that displays Quanah’s war bonnet, shield, lance, bow and arrows, and tomahawk. It is tempting to reflect on the constant effort of battle tactics to keep up with weaponry, and how strategic bombing might be seen as the logical offspring of the destruction of the buffalo herds.
7. William T. Hagan, *Quanah Parker, Comanche Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 120.
8. *Ibid.*, 132.
9. Brown, 121.
10. Hagan, 60.
11. *Ibid.*, 57.
12. Gwynne, 228.
13. *Ibid.*, 319.

# Can We Drive Innovation If Creativity Is in Crisis?

*A new look at creativity research suggests that education needs the arts to stimulate innovation.*

**By Jan Mirenda Smith**



## About the Author

Jan Mirenda Smith's plans for medical school were set aside in favor of following the love of art she had enjoyed since childhood, growing up in a home that fostered creativity. Her school essays were illustrated—even written on parchment with burned edges in the case of a history paper. With an MA in Fine Arts from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and a Certificate in Museum Studies, she has enjoyed twenty-five years in the museum profession, currently serving as Executive Director of the Bergstrom-Mahler Museum in Neenah, Wisconsin. With a son just finishing a degree at Boston University's Opera Institute, she and her husband Scott have joined the Fox Valley Torch Club to indulge in their passion for learning.

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Funding for arts and art education has been questioned in economic legislation and reform as the global economy is challenged. This paper explores the importance of art and creative thinking in partnership with today's business, exploring whether their fueling of business initiatives and innovation might make the creative arts fundamental to educational reform and change—what business interests in the United Kingdom have defined as the “commercial application and successful exploitation of an idea.”<sup>1</sup>

## A Creativity Crisis in Education

The humanities and the arts offer the best opportunity for educators to stimulate

innovative creative problem solving and new paths of thinking, yet these approaches are being deemphasized by curricula devised to produce higher achievement on standardized tests. According to a recent *Newsweek* article, America is experiencing a creativity crisis in American education. In the 1950s the research of E. Paul Torrance provided a way to measure creativity in children by tasks they completed. With creativity defined as the production of something original and useful, the tasks completed for testing had no one right or wrong answer, but instead used divergent and convergent thinking to arrive at a desirable outcome. The tests measured figural aptitude with pictures assessing such major mental characteristics as fluency, flexibility, elaboration, originality, resistance to premature closure and to abstract titles, as well as extensive emotional expressiveness, storytelling articulateness, movement or action, expressive titles, internal visualization, richness and colorfulness of imagery. Verbal components were not tested. Given a problem and asked “How can you make this better and more fun to play with,” one eight-year-old boy amazed the administrators by quickly conjuring up at least twenty-five options. Children responding like this were tracked over the next fifty years, revealing such accomplishments as books, publications, awards, patents, productions, compositions, and designs. A significant number of children who demonstrated more creative solutions to tasks on the Torrance tests grew up to be inventors, authors, doctors, and other high achievers.<sup>2</sup>

The Torrance tests have been surprisingly accurate as a standard for measuring creative performance and

potential creative output, but not IQ. Studies in the 1990s found a correlation between creative accomplishment and childhood IQ at a ratio of 3 to 1, suggesting that IQ is not necessarily an accurate predictor of achievement. Nevertheless, reliance on academic achievement measured through standardized tests, rather than any assessment of creativity, has largely determined access to higher education. Generous funds and effort are devoted to remedial performance in an attempt to raise grades and improve test scores, and student tests are becoming a significant measure of teacher performance. Meanwhile, a recent study suggests that as intelligence scores continue to rise, creativity scores have been on a steady decline since 1990.<sup>3</sup>

## What Factors Might Contribute to the Decline of Creativity?

We can speculate on a few factors that contribute to this decline. Children are watching more television; are playing more video games and have less time for play at home and in school, where some schools have minimized recess. Their lives outside of school have become more scheduled. Imaginative play, role playing, and exploring offer the chance for risk-free testing. Thought and discovery need to be encouraged to protect childhood creativity, using any variety of materials on hand like cardboard boxes, blanket tents, and blocks. It is important to foster free association and problem-solving, with risk and failure as key elements in arriving at new solutions. Many families, especially the well-educated, cultivate an atmosphere of comfort with some risk, as well as confident self-expression. Although children may be over scheduled, the quality of the parental involvement and

engagement is high, as Malcolm Gladwell has pointed out in his recent book *Outliers*.<sup>4</sup> Parents coach their children by providing diverse opportunities and discussing diverse outcomes, empowering them to sort out ideas, question authority, and seek information that will lead to their own success. Observation, exploration, and educated risk become the formula for new decisions and ideas.

### Can We Teach Creativity?

The fact that the avocational interests of many noted achievers include at least one creative art or craft, music, poetry, or multiple creative pursuits shows the vital importance of creativity as a central part of education in order to produce growth and innovation in the workplace. We need to mandate the nurturing of creativity in the curriculum. Currently, California and Massachusetts lawmakers want to mandate the teaching and testing of creativity skills using Torrance's tests. Recent studies of divergent-skills testing question whether the Torrance test is a completely accurate predictor of creativity, but still admit it indicates personalities less likely to conform to structured situations and more comfortable in artistic disciplines. Although these studies conclude that creativity cannot be taught, and that mere divergent thinking only leads to being wrong in such fields as science and economics, they insist that all curriculums can be taught more creatively. Mere involvement in the arts does not guarantee creativity in writing or science, but the arts provide access to the creative thinking process better than any other core curriculum, assuring a foundation of innovation for the future workplace. As the Michigan Department of Education's Credit Guidelines in the Arts observe, "It is *insufficient* simply to take band or orchestra or a class in drawing or jewelry making or graphic design. Any course that wishes to satisfy the arts requirement must incorporate into itself, in an explicit manner, the teaching of and experience with the *entire creative process*."<sup>5</sup> A Florida study by a non-profit that uses art to teach critical thinking and visual literacy found

that students who participated in their Artful Citizenship program had significantly higher growth in visual literacy, and also showed higher achievement in math and reading. Tangential results included increased development of communication and critical thinking skills using art in "visual Thinking Strategies" that extended into other curriculum areas.<sup>6</sup>

Although academic achievement test scores provide a measure of success for entrance to college, creativity is a valued quality in those entering the job market. A 2007 survey of one hundred fifty-five corporate leaders and eighty-nine school superintendents, called *Ready to Innovate*, identified creativity and innovation as the most important—yet most elusive—skills to prepare students for the workforce. Although the study showed that employers indicated that individuals having some arts coursework might be more creative over those with technical skills, superintendents reported that the arts were electives in most curriculums and required in less than 10 % of the schools. This study suggests that diminishing the emphasis on creative coursework in education seems to work against building an innovative workforce.<sup>7</sup>

### Learning Outcomes of Art and Creative Experimentation

If we want to encourage the addition of creative experimentation in education, we have to invest in time, relaxation, and the encouragement of failure in the initial phases in order to make breakthroughs. A recent five-year experiment found that notable scientists who were encouraged in exploration and failure and given renewable project funding published more papers that earned high regard. A similar group, encouraged with non-renewable awards with stringent deadlines, had less noteworthy or successful outcomes.<sup>8</sup> Michele and Robert Root-Bernstein researched backgrounds of scientists and their work habits, careers, and life or cultural activities from 1958 to 1978 with unimpressive results. However, when the project was refocused in 1988 with a new emphasis on arts and crafts avocations,

recreation, time management, and scientific problem-solving tools, they arrived at more interesting results and correlations. Their work showed that Nobel laureates were more likely to engage in at least one type of artistic activity and some enjoyed up to twelve activities, considering the arts, poetry, dance, music, cooking and other creative outlets as part of being an educated scientist. Those who participated in a creative endeavor tended to have more successful results in their scientific work. It was also found that they managed their time to allow for their hobbies, selecting shorter term projects that resulted in more success. They thought that their avocations contributed greatly to a broader "mental toolbox" to assist with problem solving, and they also valued relaxation as a way to refresh their minds. They produced more successful projects than their counterparts who believed that if they worked long and hard on one project, they would eventually see results.<sup>9</sup>

The Root-Bernsteins have noted that computer chips are a combination of etching, silk screen printing, and photolithography. NASA uses chiaroscuro techniques, a shading technique of the Renaissance to enhance images. In medicine, we can attribute surgical stitches to the lace making origins, and the list continues. Indeed, "Scientific creativity depends not only on a well-oiled imagination coupled to habits of hard work, but, more importantly, on the ability to integrate in functional ways, a wider range of ideas, concepts and skills than usual."<sup>10</sup> These authors also reviewed the arts as an economic stimulus. In a recent blog, the authors cite several inventions that have artistic roots. Cell phones or PDAs rely on an encryption method called frequency hopping, a musical application adapted for use during WWII by composer George Antheil and actress Hedy Lamarr for transmission of radio waves to launch torpedoes. Such evidence makes it clear that the arts do drive innovation and successful scientists, and that inventors are artistic people.<sup>11</sup> Discovery, relaxation and play were key components of creative thinking in

another project in Michigan. In 1983, a collaborative project of the Michigan School system and twelve Michigan arts organizations wrote as a premise to their findings that “playmaking, acting out ideas, drawing and sculpting, dancing and making music with instruments are natural and essential means for people to gather and process information. For some children, their primary voices for communication and expression lie in the visual, aural and kinesthetic realm.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Seeing Things Differently Defines Thinking Skills for Innovation**

We learn everything through our senses. Research has found that our eyes are not only the pathway to our souls, but they absorb more information than we consciously realize for our minds to process. Harvard psychology professor Rudolf Arnheim described how humans learn to see and understand through visual stimuli:

Art may seem in danger of being drowned by talk....We have neglected the gifts of comprehending things through our senses... Our eyes have been reduced to instruments with which to identify and to measure; hence we suffer a paucity of ideas that can be expressed in images and an incapacity to discover meaning in what we see.<sup>13</sup>

A subsequent research study has determined five levels of aesthetic visual understanding. The lead psychologist wondered if these levels could be taught, so she formed partnerships with schools to ask some very basic questions of the participants in the beginning aesthetic stages, directing them to find visual clues from what they saw and use them to construct a narrative for the work of art. Two basic questions—“What is going on in this picture?” and “What do you see that tells you that?”—initiate discussion that investigates a work of art visually without judgment and helps to develop a narrative. The follow up question, “What do you see that tells you that?” directs analytical thinking and evaluation.<sup>14</sup>

The early childhood activity of fashioning narratives from visual clues in

art enhances the ability to recognize and create patterns, a valuable skill in creative problem solving and obviously essential to driving an innovative culture. According to the Root-Bernsteins, a psychological study found that babies rely on building patterns from visual and auditory cues to form their first ability to recognize and remember familiar objects. The more patterns we recognize and remember, the broader our sense of curiosity throughout life. Leonardo Da Vinci found recognizing and mentally storing patterns one of the ways of arousing his mind to various inventions.<sup>15</sup> A landmark study of the physiology of creativity found that the self “combines patterns together to create new ones that do not exist anywhere in reality, or it takes a small pattern from its surroundings and extends it in an imaginative elaboration.” Patterns are picked out of the environment solely on the basis of familiarity and thus become ever more familiar. Today many corporate training initiatives are attempting to recapture the creative thinking skills lost in our current educational model. A major university’s business school recently included pattern recognition as part of its training for executives.<sup>16</sup>

### **Value Judgments in Perception: Learning through the Senses**

Perception—understanding through the senses—plays a key role in learning, as shown by a values-based teaching method aimed at high school students that explores how a work of art can initiate a broader perspective on a topic that is not directly associated with it. The pattern of e.e. cummings’ poem *Falling Leaves* creates a visual sense of falling through the separation of letters. The method guides the interpretation through a sequence of questions that lead thinking and visual analysis to a study of nature, a study in gravity, and a parallel in life circumstances. The humanities once included science and mathematics, but with measurable outcomes becoming prominent in these fields, relying on the more logical areas of thinking, the humanities are now considered the arts and philosophy. Nevertheless, this division

between measurable outcomes and perception includes value judgments for both. Science facts can lead to a value judgment based on a subjective inference, while judgments about art are based on the possibilities suggested by perception. Another art work used by this method to train perception is Cezanne’s painting *Mont Sainte Victoire, 1886-87*. The viewers rely on visual cues the artist has imbedded in the work to define the meaning the artist sought.<sup>17</sup> Creative thinking skills begin with a problem to solve through investigation. As Edward de Bono has pointed out, perception is one of the most important elements of creative thinking, yet traditional education prefers logical deductive and critical thinking.<sup>18</sup>

### **Tools for Teaching Creative Thinking**

Asking whether creative and critical thinking can be taught, a current blogger concludes that over time by modeling behavior, asking probing questions, offering field trips and providing other investigative opportunities, a school can support a student’s learning to think creatively and critically, though measuring the outcome is the challenge.<sup>19</sup> In another blog, Rob Stokes describes an Early Design Education program that teaches a dimensional approach to problem solving, using design thinking to connect creative and analytical thinking. Usually introduced at the college level, this collaboration between Texas high school students and a professional design firm had successful results. Students were given real-world problems to solve including materials, costs analysis, and budgets, making the learning relevant with tangible outcomes. The process also provided a forum to test and evaluate their ideas.<sup>20</sup>

Creative thinking requires a combination of a declared problem; time; relaxation; observation; idea generation; analysis; and conclusion. Dr. de Bono has systematized this approach in his Six Thinking Hats corporate training program. The six colored hats represent separate thinking styles, with the blue hat as the overall logical sequencer of the group that owns the agenda. The other colors—red

for feelings, green for creativity, yellow for feasibility, white for outside information, and black for risk analysis—represent various ways of thinking about a problem. Participants are encouraged to approach a problem by trying each thinking style, figuratively placing a new color hat on their heads. This Parallel Thinking method ensures all ways of thinking about an issue are considered; ultimately a team can be ushered toward the common results after careful analysis of new options.<sup>21</sup> The method breaks down complex thinking skills into a practical methodology, helping the corporate structure recover the innovative thinking lost in an educational system badly needing revitalization, where creative skills learned outside the classroom through engaging in free play and in creative activities are marginalized by a society competitively over-scheduling youngsters to meet defined standards of achievement. In an economy driven by creative solutions for innovative product development, arts education should become more than a fringe subject in our educational priorities.

According to an advocacy consortium that includes Apple, Microsoft, and Intel, “There is a profound gap between the knowledge and skills most students learn in school and the knowledge and skills they need in typical twenty-first-century communities and workplaces.” Along with the three Rs and other crucial academic subjects, this partnership’s members assert, students ought to be learning four Cs: critical thinking, communication, collaboration, and creativity; and America’s schools are not set up for this. Unless U.S. businesses help bring about systemic changes, experts argue, they’ll eventually find themselves outmatched by nimbler and more innovative overseas competitors.<sup>22</sup> Here we see a corporate sector investing in innovative thinking strategies to compensate for what has been lost in an outdated educational system. A Wisconsin consulting firm seeks “unorthodox results” through a methodology for corporate training in creative problem-solving and innovation based on the

premise that ideas alone do not drive new solutions of economic value.<sup>23</sup> According to Jacob Bronowski, inventors often take an interdisciplinary approach to problem solving that leads to combinations and explosions when one moves outside the “master” comfort zone.<sup>24</sup>

### Conclusion

To solve our modern world’s challenges, we need to stimulate new ideas through a system that supports and nurtures critical, creative, collaborative, and divergent thinking in early education efforts as well as the lifelong pursuit of innovation. Ideas come from tangential associations, random pairings, relaxation, and broad learning in order to see that which has not been seen before, making matches of theories, ideas and associations that are new, fresh, and yes, innovative. Nobel laureates are nurtured over a lifetime of pursuit, seeking knowledge, giving in to curiosity, and reconnecting with the value of play, which often leads to discovery. The freedom to discover and create new associations presents a path to innovation. Immediate eureka moments may not always result, but such practice shapes a lifestyle toward long term personal rewards and has repeatedly made unimaginable contributions to society as a whole.

### Notes

1. HM Government, The Business Link, <http://www.businesslink.gov.uk/bdotg/action/home?r.i=1073792537&r.11=107388796&r.12=1074298365&r.13=1074027604&r.s=b&r.t=RESOURCES>

2. Po Bronson and Ashley Merryman, “The Creativity Crisis,” *Newsweek.com*, July 10, 2010, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2010/07/10/the-creativity-crisis.html> [Accessed August 17, 2012].

3. Ibid.

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# Our Survival in a Shrinking World

*Globalization brings challenges as well as opportunities for us as Americans to foster a liberal international order.*

**By William T. Alexander**



## About the Author

A graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, William T. Alexander developed a strong interest in world affairs during his service years, when he served on destroyers and submarines. He had opportunities to work with the Navies and Foreign Ministries of other countries as well as with the U.S. State Department, which assigned him to work with foreign ministry and military representatives from the four countries that supported West Berlin during the Cold War. The task was to develop possible courses of action short of all-out war in case Communist Russia blockaded West Berlin again. Later in his career, Alexander was Duty Captain in the Pentagon's Navy Command Center the night the Teheran Embassy was taken. After retirement, he continued his study of world affairs and geopolitics by reading and by attending Elderhostel/Road Scholar seminars on the Middle East, Pacific Rim, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the twenty-first century, conducted by retired ambassadors and other Foreign Service officers. He is a past president of the Hagerstown Torch Club and president of the Barbara Ingram School for the Arts Foundation.

Presented to the Hagerstown Torch Club on September 20, 2011.



Our world is shrinking—not physically, but functionally—through technology. The enormous changes resulting from the information explosion have interconnected earth's inhabitants

more closely now than ever before in a globalization a Harvard scholar has defined as worldwide integration with increasing flows of trade, capital, ideas, and people.<sup>1</sup> The two billion people now on the Internet are evidence of this condition. In the last twenty years, our interdependence has put us in immediate contact with a world of stark contrasts. Twenty years ago most of us had little awareness or concern about Libya, Yemen, Syria, or Somalia. Now events that happen in very remote parts of the world can have a significant impact on our country. What type of shrinking world our children and grandchildren will inherit, and whether the shrinkage is good or bad, will be the focus of this article.

Not too long ago, the collapse of the Communist Government in Russia left the United States as the most powerful nation on earth. With the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans as barriers, and our military might, our defenses were supposedly impregnable. On our planet we were the supreme power, the "king of the hill." And yet like Jonathan Swift's Gulliver, we were tied up by tiny Lilliputians who used terrorism and asynchronous warfare to level the playing field and cause us to deplete vast amounts of our national treasure.<sup>2</sup> One thing is very clear: the United States can no longer afford to play the role of the world's police force by itself. In fact, as *New York Times* columnist Tom Friedman called the United States a "Frugal Superpower" and warned, "See how you like a world of too little American Power, because it's coming to a theater near you!"<sup>3</sup>

In the last twenty years, our shrinking world has spawned several major threats that can potentially alter our way of life in significant ways. Although unpleasant, these issues are timely and vitally important for all Americans to consider. We need to be alert to threats and to start thinking about feasible solutions. This paper will discuss five developing challenges our country and the world must address with possible courses of action:

1. Global warming; world population; and the availability of food, water, and other resources.
2. The impact of "failed states" and dictatorships on world peace.
3. America's indebtedness and global economic interconnectedness.
4. The rapidly emerging Chinese Dragon.
5. The absence of an effective world government.

## **Global Warming; World Population; Availability of Food, Water, and Other Resources**

Scientists estimate that world population grew to 1 billion around 1800. By 1900 it was 1.7 billion. From 1950 to 2011 population has soared from 2.1 to 7 billion people, increasing the demand for food, water, and other resources proportionately.<sup>4</sup> In 1798, Thomas R. Malthus rather gloomily postulated that population when unchecked increases geometrically, and that subsistence increases arithmetically.<sup>5</sup> However, in Japan and parts of Europe, the birthrates have been falling, some to 2.1, considered

the “replacement rate for a stable population. In the last decade, Bangladesh has decreased its birthrate from 6 to 3. Accordingly, forecasters are predicting that world population will stabilize at around 9 billion by 2050.<sup>6</sup> That is still a huge number of people; when you factor in rapid industrialization around the world with an ever-increasing carbon footprint, the resulting global warming will cause significant sustenance shortages that could become critical. In fact, global warming has already started to shrink the size of glaciers in the Himalayas, reducing the flow of water to the Ganges and Yangtze rivers that supply the two most populated countries in the world. Water shortages will also reduce grain harvests and cause widespread famine.<sup>7</sup> Worldwatch Institute founder Lester Brown has concluded that we inhabitants of the world must reduce our carbon emissions by 20% for humanity to survive.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Impact of Failed States and Dictatorships**

Globalization expert Tom Barnett has divided all countries into two groupings. One group he calls the functioning “core” comprises two-thirds of the countries (including Brazil, Germany, South Korea and Canada) that are actively integrating their national economies into a global economy. The other third of the world’s countries, such as North Korea, Iran and Syria, known as “failed states,” are disconnected, posing the danger of bad actors flourishing in entire societies detached from the global community and under dictatorial control. Citizens of failed states are poverty-stricken, illiterate, victims of corruption and oppression and without much hope for the future. This dreadful existence is a breeding ground for violence, fanaticism and terrorism that unites desperate people

sometimes beyond the confines of national borders. Barnett points out that all of the world’s conflicts since the end of the Cold War have been brought about by the failed states, such as Somalia, Bosnia, Iraq and Afghanistan. It is significant that during the “Arab Spring” dissidents in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria and Yemen have used technology to rebel against their tyrannical governments.<sup>9</sup>

Like the Lilliputians, the failed states have used the techniques of terrorism and asynchronous warfare to gain their objectives. The pirates from Somalia now have larger and faster ships so that they can operate with relative impunity in the eight hundred square mile area off the Horn of Africa. Al-Qaeda found fertile ground to establish itself in several failed states like Yemen. There is also a real possibility that some of these states will obtain or have obtained weapons of mass destruction. We can only wonder how and when these weapons will be employed. The core nations have not been able to take effective and coordinated action to remove failed-state dictators and to support nation-building programs in the failed states. Two things are clear: 1) the United States has proven that one nation alone cannot be the “world’s policeman,” and 2) the NATO countries have limited effectiveness beyond their boundaries.<sup>10</sup>

### **America’s Indebtedness**

The recent report of the National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform asserts that America’s growing debt crisis is a threat to our continued well being and world leadership. Under the leadership of Alan Simpson and Erskine Bowles, both respected elder statesmen from different political parties, the report clearly stated that the only way to maintain fiscal stability was to cut

expenses while increasing tax revenues.<sup>11</sup> *Newsweek* columnist Robert Samuelson noted that although it was a good audit, it ducked the issue of the political challenge associated with implementing fiscal reforms. The ensuing political donnybrook over raising the debt limit has more than justified Samuelson’s charge that the commission ducked the political issue. Sadly our political system has become too polarized to work for a just and fair compromise. We need a solution that doesn’t harm the poor and destitute and doesn’t cripple the economic recovery of our business and industry.

The solution for paying down our debt will require citizens to accept their fair and equitable share of entitlement reductions, and for business and industry to accept their fair share of tax loophole closures. As noted in a CBS *60 Minutes* report, corporations must not be incentivized to move their corporate headquarters overseas to enjoy tax reductions.<sup>12</sup> We must discourage this behavior or risk dire economic consequences, not only for America, but for the rest of our interconnected world.

### **The Rapidly Emerging Chinese Dragon**

A special issue of *The Economist* discussed whether there would be peace or conflict between The U.S. and China, concluding that the relationship that determines whether the world is at peace or war is that between pairs of great powers. In one article, Jim Steinberg, Deputy Secretary of State, noted: “China’s choice of role is the greatest question of our time!”<sup>13</sup> The U.S. worries about how Chinese nationalism, fueled by rediscovered economic and military might, will express itself. The article reported differing views:

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*Let us hope that America and China will become convinced that it is best for both countries, and for the rest of the world, to work as partners and not to fight as enemies.*

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#### *The optimistic view*

China is not looking for new colonies, and unlike the former U.S.S.R, it does not have an ideology to export. However it is busily acquiring sources of raw materials around the world to meet its projected needs. While China's current economic growth is truly amazing, they are not without internal problems. They have a growing cadre of super rich and a vast horde of illiterate peasants who barely survive in small villages or in city slums. Their inflation rate is growing and 500 million Chinese are now on the Internet, which is a thorn in the side of their dictatorial government. Will the super rich continue to be submissive to dictatorial control?

One questions whether 1.3 billion people speaking many dialects and languages with varying ethnicities and cultures and inhabiting a huge land mass can be governed effectively. Rapid industrialization has created a significant number of environmental disasters, not the least of which is the building of the Three Rivers Gorge Dam. Lastly since both countries possess nuclear weapons, is an all out war worth fighting?

#### *The Pessimistic View*

Based on world history going back to the Peloponnesian Wars between Athens and Sparta, China and America are condemned to be enemies.

Traditionally the rising power gets impatient with the waning power's lack of submission and warfare ensues.<sup>14</sup> China now sees the U.S. as a waning power that will eventually seek to block its own rise.

#### *Other Issues*

The Chinese are quite secretive about the increasing size and capability of its armed forces. They have clearly signaled that they want military dominance in the South China Sea, long a "Mare Nostrum" of the U.S. 7<sup>th</sup> Fleet. Our Navy has learned about China's development of a conventionally armed short range ballistic missile that has the capability of sinking our most modern carriers.<sup>15</sup> One-third of the world's maritime traffic traverses the South China Sea, which is also rich in minerals, oil reserves and fishing grounds. Smaller countries on the rim of the South China Sea have voiced their concerns about the aims of their powerful neighbor.

This age of technology offers other ways to fight wars. For some time the Chinese, and to a lesser extent the Americans, have been developing cyber warfare along with methods to counter it. Our electrical power distribution grid, water supply, transportation systems, monetary and financial systems are vulnerable and could be easily derailed.<sup>16</sup> Our communication satellites can be destroyed in space. Lastly there is economic warfare that results from our indebtedness caused by our imbalance of trade. (China holds \$1 trillion in U.S. Government bonds.) Let us hope that America and China will become convinced that it is best for both countries, and for the rest of the world, to work as partners and not to fight as enemies.

#### **The Absence of an Effective World Government**

The time of America as the sole world power has passed. NATO is a

regional relic of the Cold War without strong commitments from all its members, and the United Nations is impotent and bureaucratic. How can nation-building be funded and implemented in the failed states? How can the core countries establish and maintain healthy economic interrelationships?

The United Nations' long-standing need for reform has been blocked by regional rivalries. The current Security Council's veto-wielding membership reflects a bygone era when what mattered most was who won World War II. As a result, the authority of the UN has been diminished—less able to debate issues because important actors are missing, less able to hand down opinions that count because they lack the seal of the world's great players. The Security Council's failure to stop Syria's Civil War is a recent example. Even UN membership is contested: France and Britain fear the loss of their influence, China objects to Japan and India being members, Mexico and Argentina object to Brazil, Italy objects to Germany, the African states cannot decide between South Africa and Nigeria. A Muslim state is needed. Should it be Turkey or Indonesia?<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, international government has shown that some change is possible. The International Monetary Fund was able to expand its membership from the G7 to the G20. Compromises must be made to reform the UN. The goal and the challenge is to have a Security Council that is small enough to do business, but large enough to be representative.

#### **Concluding Thoughts, or "How Can We Get Out of This Mess?!"**

I admit that these five challenges are not things that many Americans want to hear or even think about. We're good at kicking the can down the road. Some

of the solutions will be difficult and painful. However, once we Americans are convinced that the threats are real, and the consequences of inaction dire, we can “suck it up” and for the most part pull together to take remedial actions, as we did in WWII.

Six actions we can take as citizens can directly impact the outcome of these challenges:

(1) Accept the fact that global warming is a definite threat to our civilization’s existence and demand the reduction of our carbon footprint.

(2) Be willing to sacrifice some of our wellbeing to reduce our country’s massive entitlement and other expense burdens, as well as to reform the tax code in order to bring our indebtedness under control. Impartial economists unanimously agree that expense reductions and revenue increases will be mandatory.

(3) Demand that our elected representatives eschew party bickering and accept accountability for hammering out creative compromises to national and world challenges.

(4) Be aware that the sun also rises and sets on all countries of the world. We share this planet with more than 6.5 billion other people with whom we are interconnected, whether we like it or not.

(5) Broaden our understanding of world issues. Every day events occur beyond our shores that influence our way of life. We can no longer survive if we keep our heads in the sand.

(6) Be willing to consider sacrificing some of our national autonomy so that an effective world governance can bring about the replacement of repressive and dictatorial governments in the failed states, establish nation-building programs, and generate economic self sufficiency. The U.S. cannot do this alone and the UN is not capable of doing it as currently structured.

John Ikenberry, Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton, in an article on “The Future of the Liberal World Order,” declared that there is no longer any question that wealth and power are moving from the U.S. and Europe to emerging countries like China, India, and Brazil. The old order is increasingly sharing power with these rising states. From the 1940s, our country has pushed for liberal internationalism—that is, openness and rule-based relations enshrined in the UN and other international norms. The concern remains that these emerging powers would be inclined to return the world to a more contested and fragmented system of blocs, spheres of influence, mercantilist networks, and regional rivalries. Ikenberry asserts that the three emerging powers do not want to contest the basic rules and principles of the liberal international order. All three have become more prosperous and capable of operating inside the existing order. They would like to gain more authority and leadership within it.<sup>18</sup> I pray that Dr. Ikenberry is correct in his assessment, and I hope that this paper has stimulated your thinking about these global issues that face our country.

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# Whatever Happened to Randolph Scott? How Good Were the “Good Old Days”?

*Changing gender roles offer both opportunity and moral challenge to American culture.*

**By Stephen A. Brown**



## About the Author

Prior to his retirement as Sr. Vice President/General Counsel of the Uniform Code Council, Stephen A. Brown was Executive Vice President/General Counsel of the Grocery Manufacturers of America and counsel to the Ad Hoc Committee on a Uniform Grocery Product Identification Code. He is the author of *Revolution at the Checkout Counter: The Explosion of the Bar Code*. A graduate of Yale College and the Yale Law School, he is on the board of the Winchester Frederick County Historical Society, and is Clerk of the Session of Opequon Presbyterian Church. Stephen joined the Winchester Torch Club in 2007, presenting two papers, and is currently serving as president. He and his wife, Nancy, have three children and six grandchildren. The present paper grew from an exploration of a teenage experience into a paper on feminism.

Presented to the Winchester Torch Club on November 2, 2011.

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## The Good Old Days

As a high school sophomore, with hormones at their peak, my discovery that film director Otto Preminger was releasing a movie without the motion picture seal of approval led me immediately to plot how to lay eyes upon this important artifact of cinema history. The movie in question, *The Moon Is Blue*, described by critics as “a comedy of manners,” starred William Holden and

David Niven. The plot centered on the seduction of a virtuous actress by an architect (Holden) and the “roguish” father of the architect’s ex-fiancée (Niven).<sup>1</sup> The film failed to obtain the seal of approval because of its “light and gay treatment of the subject of illicit sex and seduction” manifested by the inclusion of the words “virgin,” “mistress,” and “pregnant” in the dialogue. Although the film was banned in Boston, it nevertheless was released and achieved modest success, both critically and at the box office.<sup>2</sup>

## Modern Changes in Sexual Attitudes

As with many breakthroughs, in hindsight the audacity of *The Moon Is Blue* seems almost ridiculously insignificant today. Thus, in the fall of 2009, a TV network broadcast a new comedy, *Accidentally on Purpose*, during the so-called “family hour” (8-9 pm), when children are presumed to be a significant portion of the audience. CBS described the show as a comedy about a single woman who finds herself “accidentally” pregnant after a one-night stand with a much younger guy, “and decides to keep the baby, and the guy.” This programming decision is hardly an aberration. According to a study by the Kaiser Foundation, the number of sexual scenes on TV nearly doubled between 1998 and 2005. In a typical week, two of every three shows on network TV contain sexual content, with an average of five such scenes per hour.<sup>3</sup> This change in our entertainment standards is emblematic of fundamental changes

in society. This half-century has seen American society move from the “organization man” culture of the 1950s, through the turbulent sixties, and past the unadulterated greed of the “me” generation. It has been a turbulent period, with many ramifications. While the coarsening of our entertainment standards has played a part in the changing role of women in our society, it is probably more of an effect than a cause. So let us look at some of the more significant causes, and assess their impact today. This paper will focus on the empowerment of women as a major force for societal change.

## The Rise of Feminism

The importance of the election of John F. Kennedy as a cultural catalyst cannot be underestimated. In 1960 and 1961, much as in 2008-2009, the youth of America believed that this election brought hope, change, and the possibility of improvement. This atmosphere of endless possibilities and importance of new ideas gave an undergirding of support to what has been called the second wave of feminism in America. The initial goals of feminists were quantifiable and objective—to obtain the right to vote and to enter the work force. The second thrust, emerging in the 1960s, was more qualitative, powerful, and threatening to conventional thought. These women argued for their right to control their own bodies and to define their own sexuality<sup>4</sup>. The Supreme Court decision in 1972 in *Roe v. Wade*, affirming the right to obtain an abortion, owes much to this second wave of

feminism. Yet for every woman shouting “our bodies, our selves” there is another woman defending the rights of the unborn. Almost forty years since this decision, the debate rages on unabated. Perhaps we should not blame the weakness of feminism for not carrying the day. Rather we should look to its strength in making the issue a legitimate one for debate. Clearly, women are not a monolithic bloc, but think and function as independent individuals.

To the generation maturing in the 60s, the motion picture code seemed ridiculously old fashioned as well as also offensive and repressive, and that decade brought the nudity of *Hair* and *Oh, Calcutta!* to Broadway. Motion pictures also became more daring as the impotent Hays Code was abandoned in 1968 (replaced by the current film rating system).<sup>5</sup> 1967 saw the release of *Bonnie and Clyde*, a film glorifying crime and violence and equating them with sexuality. What had been a scandal in 1953 was scarcely noted in 1967. Indeed, the American Film Institute has named *Bonnie and Clyde* one of the ten classic American films<sup>6</sup>. The sixties were the era of “sex, drugs, and rock and roll,” and “never trust anyone over thirty.” Yet for every yin there is a yang. During this same decade, there was also substantive and positive progress toward female empowerment.

### **A New Era of Female Empowerment**

In 1969, Yale acknowledged it had to admit women in order to continue as a great university, and my alma mater was not alone. Virtually all formerly male-only colleges went co-ed, and while some all-female colleges remained unchanged, men began to be admitted to many former women’s schools. The turbulent decade of the sixties paired hope with despair, social action with violence. There were race riots, violent anti-war demonstrations, and young men

fleeing to Canada to avoid the draft. We had the Peace Corps, the War on Poverty, and the Civil Rights Act. Our social conventions continued to change. The decade ended with the great love-in at Woodstock. In 1956, I was suspended from college for trying to smuggle a girl into my dorm after hours. By the end of the sixties, a girl was living in my old dorm room.

In 1972, the enactment of the Education Amendments, more familiarly known as Title IX, mandated gender equality in any educational program receiving federal funds.<sup>7</sup> The impact of this law has been profound across the entire education landscape, most visibly in athletics. In colleges, the number of female athletes increased 456% from 1971 to 2007, while male athletes only increased 31%. The increase in female high school athletes during this time is even more astounding—a 940% increase, vs. 19% for males.<sup>8</sup> The changing social conventions, economy, and Title IX in the 80s and 90s created a dramatic increase in the number of women in the workplace, with large numbers in professional, managerial, and executive positions. Whereas my law school class had only six women, today almost 50% of the class is female.<sup>9</sup> The old model of a working husband and a stay-at-home wife was replaced by two working partners. Today, there are more women than men in the workforce. In thirty-five percent of double-income households in the U.S., wives now make more than their husbands.<sup>10</sup>

### **The Downside of Progress**

With these changes, however, came unintended consequences—an increase in divorces, the emergence of “latchkey” children, and the “new normal” of children in single parent households shuttling between parents. Meanwhile, the number of single men and women living together without benefit of marriage increased dramatically.<sup>11</sup> These

changes in family structure soon became a part of popular culture. The cultural norm of the 1950s had condemned a “light and gay treatment of...illicit sex and seduction” in *The Moon is Blue*. By the 1980s, movies and TV shows premised on unmarried persons having a sexual relationship and cohabiting were not only ubiquitous, but also were being marketed to teens and even pre-teens. Indeed, it was difficult to find a show that celebrated chastity. In the typical programs, the “good” boy or girl was portrayed as either naïve or ludicrous.

There was, of course, some pushback in this time of the political influence of “Moral Majority” and “Family Values.” And yet, there is a “dizzying gap” between the ideal and reality. According to the Pew Forum, evangelicals have a higher divorce rate than Catholics, Jews—and even atheists.<sup>12</sup> In what seemed to be a classic bit of irony, Bristol Palin, a teenaged unwed mother and daughter of the 2008 Republican vice-presidential candidate, became the national spokesperson for teenage abstinence, having quietly shifted from her declaration to Fox News that abstinence for teens is “not realistic at all.”<sup>13</sup> Similarly, in 1981, it apparently was important to certify that Diana Spencer was a virgin before she could marry Prince Charles. In 2011, when Kate Middleton married Diana’s son, Prince William, their living together for some time before the wedding drew little comment.<sup>14</sup>

Teenagers today enjoy “hooking up” in casual sexual encounters with no strings, no relationship, and no emotional commitment. In 2006, a book by Laura Stepp titled *Unhooked*, condemned this phenomenon in suburban Washington DC, claiming the practice was damaging to young women. Many outraged females responded that Ms. Stepp was a moldy throwback to an earlier overly-restrictive moral climate, and noted that

“hooking up” simply levels the playing field. In their eyes, men have always hooked up.<sup>15</sup> In the rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood “sowing their wild oats” could be forgiven. Celibacy, monogamy, and fidelity are not the hallmarks of this period of life. For those feminists who reject Laura Stepp’s criticism of “hooking up,” the practice is simply an attempt by a woman to act in a masculine way without being considered a whore. On today’s college campuses, it is far easier—and more common—to hook up than to establish a long-term relationship. The collegiate environment promotes “carnal interaction over cultivated relationships,” in spite of the academic assertion that humans naturally tend to form relationships rather than seek casual random contact.<sup>16</sup> The shift in attitude does mean that today’s college students meet the opposite sex as equals—a very different world from my day when only the male could ask the female out. For today’s adolescents, the dating and courting rituals of the 1950s must seem as quaint and eccentric as the code of chivalry seemed to me.

This cultural shift can be seen in our art, though whether the culture is cause or effect can be debated. Thus we arrive at the *Sex and the City* phenomenon, movie treatments spawned by the wildly popular TV series and part of the new female version of the “buddy movie” genre. This series about the sex lives of four thirty-ish single women in New York City clearly struck a responsive chord in its target audience—young, professional women. One critic described it as “life as a series of sexual encounters (without consequence), easily accessible cupidity, and...unrealistic fashion statements.”<sup>17</sup>

### **The Challenge of the New Millennium**

As the new millennium enters its second decade, we are a long way from

the medieval ideal of chivalrous knights protecting a maiden fair. The maidens in those tales had little or no reason for existence other than to reflect the glory of their knight. Some cultures still subordinate the role of women, but that is no longer true in most Western societies. Indeed, as the editors of a church training manual recently observed, *A Brief Statement of Faith*—the current confessional document of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.—asserts unequivocally “that at the most fundamental level of our being, male and female are equal. There is no superior gender or race. For the first time, a [religious] confession applies the equality of persons specifically to women.”<sup>18</sup> Notwithstanding the bold optimism of the Presbyterians, no one can seriously maintain that gender equality has been attained. The glass ceiling still exists; in the U.S., women make approximately seventy-seven cents for every dollar a man earns in a comparable job, and household responsibilities are still unbalanced.<sup>19</sup> The 2008 presidential campaign is celebrated for demonstrating that women can aspire to the highest office in the land. This may be true, but Ann Kornblut, political reporter for the *Washington Post*, notes in her book on the Clinton and Palin candidacies that tremendous obstacles still face women candidates that do not face men. Character traits such as toughness, admired in men, can be fatal for a woman candidate.<sup>20</sup>

However, the progress in recent years has been remarkable, even if measured only by our own community. In 1953, when I was lusting to see *The Moon is Blue*, there were no girls’ varsity sports at Handley High School in my home town of Winchester VA. There was but one lady lawyer—and she was viewed as an anomaly. Today, we have many female professionals, including our mayor, our Congressional delegate, and our state senator. The

president of our local university is also a woman. Unthinkable fifty years ago, her gender is scarcely noted today. Indeed, if you consider feminism and the empowerment of women a “liberal” cause, the increasing influence of women in our corner at the top of Virginia is counter intuitive. In this profoundly conservative area, as reflected in its voting patterns (and letters to the local paper), women have attained power, recognition, and respect on a national level that their grandmothers could scarcely imagine.

This is not simply a local or regional phenomenon. Whether it is academia, business, or politics, females occupy the top of the ladder. In 2008, for example, not only was there a serious female candidate for the office of President of the United States in one of our two major political parties, but the other party actually nominated a woman to run for Vice President. At the other end of the spectrum, for the first time in our history, women are being exposed to the perils of combat as members of our military services. Nor is this a purely American development. Women in powerful positions are common in the Western world. Even some of the more male-centric Eastern cultures reveal the beginnings of a feminist movement.<sup>21</sup>

As the playing field levels for men and women, the concept of recreational sex emerges. Our grandparents—mature adults during the days of the Hays code for motion pictures—would not have the faintest idea of what “recreational sex” is. We are today presented with influential models of promiscuity. And those who portray the promiscuous ones on screen seem to adopt their screen behaviors in their personal lives. It may be perfectly understandable to one who is a product of the hook-up culture that Tiger Woods could be a serial philanderer and be sincere when he professed his undying love for his wife. We are witnessing the

destruction of the double standard for men and women. Men have traditionally been given the freedom to “sow their wild oats” while women were expected to remain chaste and pure. Today experimentation is expected for both men and women as part of the maturation process.

## Conclusion

While it is a personal decision whether modernity is “better” than the “good old days,” those who long for the past must face the fact that it is unlikely to return. In the classic words of the country song,

Everybody knows when you go to the show

You can't take the kids along.

Tex Ritter's gone and Disney's dead  
And the screen is filled with sex.

Whatever happened to Randolph Scott?

Ridin the trail alone?

Whatever happened to Randolph Scott

Has happened to the best of me.

As the father of a daughter and the grandfather of five girls, I mourn the growing coarseness of our culture. However, for me at least, it is a price worth paying for the broadening opportunities for females in our society. We would all be much poorer without the increasing contributions of women in every aspect of our lives.

It is good that there are some women who choose to remain at home and fill the nurturing role for their families. It is better that some women choose to participate actively as equal partners with men in fields that are no longer traditionally male. It is best of all that women today may choose their path.

## Notes

1. “*The Moon Is Blue*,” Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Moon\\_Is\\_Blue](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Moon_Is_Blue) [accessed August 23, 2012].

2. Ibid. See also Alan Jacobson,

“Let’s Talk about Sex, Baby,” *Bright Lights Film Journal*, November 2004, <http://www.brightlightsfilm.com/46/moon.php> [accessed August 23, 2012].

3. Dale Kunkel et al., *Sex on TV 4* (Menlo Park, CA: Kaiser Family Foundation, 2005), 20, <http://www.kff.org/entmedia/entmedia110905pkg.cfm> [accessed August 23, 2012].

4. “Feminism,” Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/feminism> [accessed August 23, 2012].

5. “Motion Picture Production Code” (Hays Code), Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/hays\\_code](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/hays_code) [accessed August 23, 2012].

6. See 2008 ranking by American Film Institute, [http://www.afi.com/10top10/movie\\_detail.aspx?id=19356&thumb=2](http://www.afi.com/10top10/movie_detail.aspx?id=19356&thumb=2) [accessed August 23, 2012]. See also reviews at <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/30/movies/30penn.html?pagewanted=all> [accessed August 23, 2012].

7. For an overview of Title IX history, see <http://titleix.info/History/History-Overview.aspx> [accessed August 23, 2012]. Much has been written in 2012 marking the 40th anniversary of these laws.

8. American Association of University Women Legal Advocacy Fund statistics, <http://www.aauw.org/act/laf/library/athleticStatistics.cfm> [accessed August 23, 2012].

9. *Yale Law Reporter* [yearbook of Yale Law School], 1962; <http://www.law.yale.edu/admissions/admissions.htm> [accessed August 31, 2012].

10. Rana Foroohar, “The Richer Sex,” *Newsweek*, June 21, 2010, 21; Jessica Bennett and Jesse Ellison, “‘I Don’t’—The Case against Marriage,” *Newsweek*, June 21, 2010, 43.

11. Bennett and Ellison, 43.

12. Lisa Miller, “Marriage is Hard—The Religious Right Admits It,” *Newsweek*, October 19, 2009, 25.

13. “2008 Republican National

Convention,” Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008\\_Republican\\_National\\_Convention](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Republican_National_Convention) [accessed August 31, 2012].

14. Gene Lalor, “The Death of Virginity,” *American Conservative Daily*, Nov. 20, 2010, [www.americanconservative.com/2010/11/the-death-of-virginity](http://www.americanconservative.com/2010/11/the-death-of-virginity) [accessed August 31, 2012].

15. Associated Press review, “Does ‘Hooking Up’ Really Hurt Anyone?” <http://msnbc.msn.com/id/17540879#UEENBbWuZg8> [accessed August 31, 2012].

16. “Elis Say Going Steady Can Be Rocky,” *Yale Daily News*, February 12, 2010; “Yalies, under the Covers,” *Yale Daily News*, February 8, 2010.

17. Bill Gibson, [www.filmcritic.com/misc/emporium.nsf/reviews/sex-and-the-city](http://www.filmcritic.com/misc/emporium.nsf/reviews/sex-and-the-city) [accessed August 23, 2012]. The 1991 film *Thelma and Louise* was a pioneer in the new genre.

18. Eugene D Witherspoon Jr. and Marvin Simmers, eds., *Called to Serve; A Workbook for Training Nominating Committees and Church Officers* (Louisville, KY: Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Curriculum Publishing), sec. 3.20.

19. Betsy Stark, “The Male-Female Salary Split,” ABC News, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/story?id=2371178> [accessed August 31, 2012].

20. Anne E. Kornblut, *Notes from the Cracked Ceiling: Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and What It Will Take for a Woman to Win* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2009), Kindle Edition, [http://www.amazon.com/Notes-Cracked-Ceiling-Hillary-Clinton/dp/0307464253/ref=pd\\_sxp\\_fi/186-79378897154647#reader\\_0307464253](http://www.amazon.com/Notes-Cracked-Ceiling-Hillary-Clinton/dp/0307464253/ref=pd_sxp_fi/186-79378897154647#reader_0307464253) [accessed August 31, 2012].

21. See “The 2011 Global Women’s Progress Report,” *Newsweek*, September 20, 2011, 27. The entire issue is devoted to the topic “Where Women Are Winning.”

# Friendship among Partisans

*A classical ideal holds the key to more effective government.*

**By Frederick E. Blumer**



## About the Author

A graduate of Millsaps College, Frederick E. Blumer earned a BD in theology and the PhD in philosophy of religion at Emory University, with advanced graduate study in Göttingen, Germany, and further study under Cokesbury, Dempster, and Rockefeller fellowships. He taught at Nebraska Wesleyan University from 1962 to 1976, subsequently serving as vice president, provost, and editor of the Nebraska Wesleyan Press. While president of Lycoming College (1976-89), he also chaired the Foundation for Independent Colleges of Pennsylvania and served as treasurer of the Commission on Independent Colleges and Universities of Pennsylvania, president of the National Association of Schools and Colleges of the United Methodist Church, chairman of its Commission on Theological Education, and then as president of the University Senate of the United Methodist Church. Returning to the classroom in 1989, he concluded his career as Moll Professor of Faith and Life at Baldwin-Wallace University in Ohio.

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It is not by chance that the ancients who produced the Golden Age spent considerable time contemplating the nature of friendship, regarding it as anything but a trivial matter. They saw it as not only a source of personal happiness, but also as one of the foundation stones of a healthy society.

Recognizing that the erosion of friendship is one of Washington's critical problems, this paper will argue the position that **as friendship withers, so does our ability to govern ourselves.** To claim that friendship is a prerequisite for effective government would be hyperbole. My more modest proposal is to claim that because friendship nourishes cooperation, apart from which our ability to govern ourselves withers, we would benefit if there were more friendships in Washington. Friendship is a gentle shower but in a period of withering drought, it might revive a few parched partisans. To address this claim carefully, one must first clarify what friendship is, what it is not, and how it works. The inspiration for my presentation is the Stoic philosopher Cicero (106-43 BCE), whose essay on friendship has inspired western civilization for over two thousand years.<sup>1</sup>

## Honor at the Heart of Cicero's Philosophy

The major premise of Cicero's essay is that "friendship can exist only between good men." By good men he meant honorable persons "whose actions and lives leave no question as to their honor, purity, equity and liberality; who are free from greed, lust, and violence; and who have the courage of their convictions." Knowing there aren't many such people around, I suppose we should not expect to have many friends. But was Cicero right? Can't dishonorable people also be friends? If there is honor among thieves, can't there also be friendship? Cicero argued there can be no *true* friendship

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*Consider this: Friends also often disagree. They often see things differently, but friends respect each other nonetheless. ... They actually expect their friends to do what is right as best they know how.*

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among dishonorable persons because friendship presupposes *respect* and expresses *affection*. Respect and affection! And if you ask what motivates or elicits respect and affection, the answer must surely be *something good* rather than something dishonorable. Although we all are aware of needing friends, Cicero insisted friendship is anything but a deliberate calculation of the advantages that friends are likely to provide. We are less attracted to people who value our friendship because of what they can get out of us, and surely they feel the same way. This isn't to say that friendship does not benefit from mutual aid, which can increase one's stake in a relationship as it expands a recipient's gratitude. Cicero's point is simply that true friendship is never *disguised extortion*. Real friends don't regard their kindness and helpfulness to others as a kind of investment, based on expectations of ulterior gain. Cicero looks at this issue from the angle of losing a friend, noting that although we surely

grieve the loss of a dear friend, we don't *regret* the friend's death. All is well with the departed one; the notion that we have more to offer than the angel of death is presumptuous. The death of a friend is *our own* disaster, if there is truly any *disaster* at all. To be severely distressed at our own misfortune or loss does not translate automatically into being truly concerned for the welfare of our friend. It may mean that we are secretly interested primarily in ourselves. Mourning that becomes *regret* is more a sign of envy than of friendship.<sup>2</sup>

Because it can't thrive if imposed upon, it is very difficult to maintain a friendship for a lifetime, especially if one serves in Congress. Rivalries that grasp for advantage not only corrupt friendship, but can transform it into the most violent kind of enmity. A consideration of friendship's influence in government brings Watergate to mind, a time when some charged that the loyalty of Mr. Nixon's friends had led them to cover up the truth, supposedly to protect *his* interests. That seemed to challenge Cicero's thesis that friendship can exist only between honorable people. However, Cicero spoke to this issue by describing a Watergate-type situation in ancient Rome, when the discovery that Tiberius Gracchus was plotting revolution caused most of his friends to abandon him, and to be criticized for their disloyalty. Such critics supported another friend who remained loyal to Tiberius Gracchus and was brought to trial for complicity. In arguing for pardon, the defense cited the defendant's loyalty, stating that this fellow conspirator looked upon the wishes of Gracchus as law.

"Even if he wished you to set fire to the capital?"

"That is a thing," he replied, "that he never would have wished."

"Ah, but if he *had* wished it?" I asked.

"I would have obeyed."

In other words, friendship *demand*s unqualified loyalty. Cicero's conclusion: "The wickedness of such a speech needs no comment." In the light of contemporary politics, it is more than fascinating to consider again Cicero's thesis that virtue (i.e., what we today call integrity) is a *prerequisite* for friendship and that friendship cannot survive if virtue is abandoned. Cicero was emphatic on this point, offering this admonition as a basic rule of friendship: "Neither ask, nor consent to do, what is wrong, for the sake of friendship."<sup>3</sup>

Does this imply that those serving in Congress can no longer be friends? Does their need to ask favors of each other and to follow others' leads to get things done preclude true friendship? It certainly means that if we are to avoid becoming partners in crime, we must choose our friends carefully. But more important, it means that we should be prepared for friendship to dissolve if confronted by dishonor or crime. Stated in precise terms this means that one may ask *of* friends and do *for* friends *only* what is good and honorable. Adherence to Cicero's idea of friendship can reform partisanship. Voting with a friend who is committed to doing what is honorable while opposing others within one's party who advocate what is dishonorable may not always allow one to prevail but it will preserve the respect so essential to friendship. Furthermore, the preservation of respect under such trying conditions fosters and may even inspire party reform. It may even provide a bridge toward those belonging to an opposing party who are committed to doing what is honorable. Conversely, ignoring what is honorable destroys friendship, as partisanship degenerates into self-serving expediency.

## Cicero's Vision of Friendship in the Moral Poverty of Modern Times

Cicero posed other riddles worth considering, especially in these troubled times. The fact that friendship leads to pain as we share the suffering of our friends makes us wonder if, in the long run, some friendships might not be worth the price. Could sharing the pain of a friend actually threaten friendship? Cicero astutely observes that friendship is the one thing we all want, *whether in prosperity or in adversity*. Prosperity is no fun if we have no one with whom to share it and adversity can be overwhelming when we are forced to bear it alone. But friendship has a price since, as Cicero observes, virtue always leads to pain. "If we want to avoid anxiety," he wrote, "we must avoid virtue itself... the just are [the ones] most pained by injustice; the brave by cowardly actions, the temperate at depravity... a rightly ordered mind will be pleased at what is good and grieved at the reverse. [Consequently], we conclude that mental pain which we must often encounter on a friend's account is not of sufficient consequence to banish friendship from our life, anymore than it is true that the cardinal virtues are to be dispensed with because they involve anxieties and distress."<sup>4</sup> In the case of Watergate, Mr. Nixon's friends were not so much distressed by the possibility that truthful disclosure would cause *him* pain as they were fearful that truthful disclosure might foul *their own* nests—a warning for all of us to avoid such rationalization. Cliff Hardin, Nixon's first Secretary of Agriculture (my personal friend), developed a friendship with Nixon that provided both men the chance to advance personal interests, all in the name of friendship! But Cliff Hardin was an honest and honorable man who resigned from Nixon's cabinet once he recognized Nixon's self-serving exploitation for what it truly was.

Cicero concludes that our *capacity* for friendship is limited by one thing only, character—that is, by our integrity and honor, by our own generosity and virtue or lack of it. Our realization that long-standing friendships are rare and that our own circle of friends is small can be frightening as we are forced to judge our own lives as well as the moral poverty of our time. Cicero wrote his essay on friendship when he was an old man, after he had endured political exile and all kinds of ingratitude from those he had served as a public official. He suffered the same slings and arrows that Winston Churchill did. But I don't think it was simply his personal experience that led him to conclude that old friends are the best kind. He reached that conclusion because he understood clearly that friendship rests upon a foundation of respect and depends upon character, something strengthened and developed over time. Dependability, stability, constancy, magnanimity, simplicity, generosity, and trustworthiness are, he insisted, the marks of true friendship. Cicero makes crystal clear the fact that friendship grows from *respect for the good we see* in someone. He knew it cannot survive dishonor and deceit, not so much because we decide it should be that way, but simply because we discover, sometimes to our surprise, that when respect flies out the window, friendship exits by the door. We find ourselves alone in an empty room. To dishonor a friend or to be dishonored by a friend is the epitome of betrayal and whether we become bitter or disillusioned or not, we simply discover that friendships die a natural death under those conditions.<sup>5</sup>

Cicero summarized the point precisely when he wrote, "Men who are united by affection learn, first of all, to rule those passions which enslave others, and in the next place to take

delight in fair and equitable conduct, to bear each other's burdens, never to ask each other for anything inconsistent with virtue and rectitude, and not only to serve and love, but also to respect each other. I say *respect*; for if respect is gone, friendship has lost its brightest jewel. And this shows the mistake of those who imagine that friendship gives a privilege to licentiousness and sin. Nature has given us friendship as the *handmaid of virtue*, not as a partner in guilt: to the end that virtue, being powerless when isolated to reach the highest objects, might succeed in doing so in union and partnership with another." What does all this have to do with what's going on in our lives these days? More than we may realize! What is going on in Washington, and indeed is at stake in society, is the deterioration of friendship. Consider what hype, evasion, radical partisanship, religious bigotry, racism, and deception do to friendship. If Cicero is even partly right in observing that deceit will dissolve friendship before our very eyes, or that with betrayal, trust exits through the window as friendship flees silently through the door, then we may finally begin to grasp that, as Cicero described it, friendship is not just a feature of a happy life, a pleasant appendage, but one of the foundation stones for an ordered and just society. It is high time we understood better what is at stake and committed ourselves more deliberately to the care and nurture of friendship. As Cicero says, "If we lose affection and kindness from our life, we lose all that gives it charm."<sup>6</sup>

### **Opportunities for True Friendship in Modern Politics**

With respect and honor at the heart of authentic friendship, we must understand that when someone discovers *our* dishonor or perceives some deceit that *we* inflict, we should

not be surprised to see our own imperfection mirrored in their eyes. Today, as Greece teeters on the brink of economic collapse, we note that the Socialist Prime Minister George Papandreou secretly called Antonis Samaras, his old Amherst College roommate, now head of the conservative opposition, to propose they work out together a plan to save the country. Their friendship did not require that they agree on what was best for their country; but it did allow them to *trust* one another sufficiently to work together behind the scene, in search of some golden mean that neither could yet envision. Samaras warned the Prime Minister that he might have to resign. Papandreou agreed he could do that if each would support a third independent candidate. They reached agreement in principle. However, when their secret talks were leaked, partisan hell broke loose as both parties again insisted upon the unconditional surrender of their rivals. Worse still, the trust that had guided their secret talks was replaced by suspicion. Who had leaked those secret talks? And why? Cicero's philosophy points to both what friendship can facilitate when governments face serious problems and what happens when friendship is absent or betrayed. The current Greek situation parallels a time not long ago when members of Congress lived in Washington, ate together in the Capitol restaurant, and played basketball together in the Capitol gym, a time when their children went to the same schools and played together. Many Democrats and Republicans were friends. Most critical of all, they showed *respect* for each other in spite of their differences, and they governed accordingly. Friendship deserves the credit for this "golden era."

By contrast, today's partisanship, like a giant mushroom, spreads toxic

spores into every corner of our national life. But although we complain, we too seem hell-bent on passing the buck, claiming the moral high ground as well as the status of victim—which means we not only believe someone else is obligated to make things right for us but also that our partisan definition of what is right should prevail. Most debilitating of all, because friendship now plays such a minor role in our national life, we view impersonal government as the only dependable hope for relief! You heard me right. Largely because we have neglected the cultivation of friendship, we are now wilting in a self-imposed hyper-partisan drought.

As hyper-partisanship replaces respect and trust in others, effective government is rendered almost impossible. As a recent column in the *Wall Street Journal* succinctly observed, Democrats are convinced that government alone can meet the challenges of our maturing global economy while Republicans cling desperately to traditional economic moorings and recoil in fear against the flawed models of a socialist Europe and mercantilist China.<sup>7</sup> Yet both parties look to their own political power as savior. But these diametrically opposed world-views are not beyond synthesis and compromise. People who think dialectically, as Cicero did, expect synthesis to emerge from one place only—from the *tension* between thesis and antithesis. They do not expect one side to prevail at the expense of the other. Neither do they strive to vanquish opponents or end the tension. Instead, they expect to be pleasantly surprised by third options that neither side previously envisioned. People who think dialectically *learn* primarily from those with whom they disagree. Opponents are the ones who awaken us from dogmatic slumber. Consequently, dialectical thinkers anticipate and

*welcome* surprise and discovery. Unfortunately, with a shortage of dialectical thinkers in Washington today, we suffer the consequences of hyper-partisanship.

### Summary

In summary, consider this: Friends also often disagree. They often see things differently but friends *respect each other* nonetheless. That is, friends trust each other sufficiently to believe that as new evidence is presented, the other guy is not only capable of changing his mind but ***can be counted upon to do so***. They respect their friend's **integrity**—they give friends/opponents credit for being open and deferent to whatever evidence is brought to light. They actually *expect* their friends to do what is right as best they know how. That expectation rests upon the respect they have for the character of their friends, respect for their honor and integrity. Furthermore, they admit that they owe as much to their friends. Synthesis and compromise do not demand surrender of one's principles. What they do require is an honest admission of one's own limitations and an openness to surprising options. They require *deference* to evidence, an open mind and an admission that in a changing world, all the evidence is never in. Productive compromise requires a willingness to be guided by discovery and an *expectation* that others will do the same. That is why I now suggest that we can no longer neglect the cultivation of friendship if we expect to return responsible government to Washington. It would be misleading to say that effective government occurs only among friends, but it does require prior respect for contending parties to trust that others can be open to possibilities not yet envisioned, displaying the integrity to respond as best they know

how when enlightened by mutual discovery. Simply put, apart from friendship based on integrity and born of respect, those with whom we disagree are reduced to foes. Underlying the malady we call hyper-partisanship is our failure to understand the nature and indispensable role of friendship in public life.

Cicero, an experienced and successful public servant, understood what friendship is, what it is not, and how it works. And most important for our time, he reminds us that friendship is something we must cultivate, nourish, and protect if mutual respect is to be allowed to accomplish what it alone offers to undergird the way we govern ourselves. Friendship is not a magic pill to cure every ill. Sentimental notions about friendship reduce it to Pollyanna fantasy or worse. Neither is friendship a universal solvent to dissolve all disputes. But **respect** of the kind fostering friendship, is an indispensable element of cooperation and successful relationships—especially successful government. Today's political dysfunctionality calls for serious reconsideration of Cicero's wise counsel.

### Notes

1. *Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero: With His Treatises on Friendship and Old Age*, trans. E.S. Shuckburgh, Harvard Classics 9 (New York: P. F. Collier).
2. *Ibid.*, 12-21.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 17, 26.
5. *Ibid.*, 30-35.
6. *Ibid.*, 36, 43.
7. Gerald F. Seib, "The Twin Forces Leading to Washington Gridlock," *Capital Journal*, *Wall Street Journal*, July 26, 2011.

# Are the United States and Europe Drifting Apart?

*In our shrinking world, the legendary “pond” may still loom large in differentiating Europe from America.*

**By Arthur Gunlicks**



## About the Author

A native of North Platte, Nebraska, Arthur Gunlicks received his B.A. from the University of Denver in 1958. After spending a year at the University of Freiburg, Germany, he served for two years as First Lieutenant in the U.S. Army. He then did his doctoral coursework at Georgetown University, wrote his dissertation at the University of Göttingen in Germany with the help of a Fulbright grant, and received his PhD in political science from Georgetown in 1967. After teaching for two years at East Tennessee State University, he became a professor of political science at the University of Richmond. He served that university as dean of graduate studies and associate dean of faculty for three years, and chair of the department of political science for three terms. He retired in 2005 after thirty-seven years at Richmond. He is the author or editor of seven books and numerous book chapters and articles in professional journals. He and his German wife Regine just celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary and enjoy time with two grown sons and three grandchildren.

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For two centuries the United States was seen by millions of Europeans as the land of opportunity and freedom, where one could start over again without the constraints of rigid European social structures, limited property ownership, lack of land for sons of small farmers, and lack of opportunities in general. It was seen by some intellectuals as a land free

of feudal traditions, a country at least striving to be a democracy with a degree of individual freedom generally absent in Europe. But numerous European intellectuals have also had a longstanding critical view of American society, regarding it as relatively uncultured, uncouth, and unsophisticated, lacking in a higher level of civilization. They see themselves as the Greeks, Americans as the Romans.

Andy Markovits asserts that the rejection of America by many European intellectuals is important in creating the idea of a united Europe. Thus he sees Europe as having shifted from anti-communism to anti-Americanism.<sup>1</sup> Others disagree. Peter Baldwin argues in a new book that if one looks at the statistics behind a variety of issues, we are much more alike than different. He concludes that some of the major differences are really between and among European states.<sup>2</sup> But many of the differences between Americans and Europeans go beyond numbers and statistical analyses; perceptions, assumptions, and prejudices are often more important than facts. Space prevents discussion of many of the issues that divide Europeans and Americans, but a few of them are mentioned briefly below.

## Different View of the Use of Force

One especially crucial issue today that separates Europeans and Americans is the attitude towards the use of military forces. Former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates spoke of this difference on a number of occasions, expressing his concern about declining European military capabilities, the impact of attitudes behind these reductions on American-European

cooperation in international crises, the effect on NATO in particular, and the unsustainable political and financial burdens that are faced by the United States.<sup>3</sup> A simple reflection of this difference can be found in the European reaction to 9/11. There was much support and sympathy for the United States, but no support for a “war on terrorism.” Of course, Americans use the term “war” for many issues—the war on drugs, on poverty, on cancer, etc. But “war” for Europeans is something to be avoided at all costs, and the general public has opposed the war in Afghanistan and especially the invasion of Iraq.

European governments are sometimes willing to provide military forces in peace-keeping actions, but rarely will they send troops on combat missions, even in areas close to Europe, such as Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Restoring peace during the breakup of Yugoslavia was supposed to be a European responsibility, but in the end only U.S. military forces were capable of achieving this goal. In Afghanistan, in contrast to Iraq, NATO has been engaged from the beginning in what was assumed would be a brief action. But most of the troops assigned to the more dangerous areas have been American and British, while the other NATO forces have been sent to areas with much less fighting. Indeed, the NATO acronym for its operations in Afghanistan, ISAF, is cynically referred to by many American forces as “I saw Americans fighting.” Iraq, of course, was and remains much more controversial than Afghanistan. Germany and France both famously refused to support the United States with military forces. Other than the British, even European states (“new Europe” as opposed to “old Europe”) that officially

supported the U.S. invasion of Iraq provided very few troops, and most of these were withdrawn long before the Americans finally departed in December 2011.

Robert Kagan has pointed to a deep division between the two continents in the willingness to use force, which he expressed in his often-quoted statement: “Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus.” He suggests, “It is time to stop pretending that Europeans and Americans share a common view of the world, or even that they occupy the same world. On the all-important question of power—the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power—American and European perspectives are diverging, Europe is turning away from power;...it is moving beyond power into a self-contained world of laws and rules and transnational negotiation and cooperation.... Meanwhile the United States remains mired in history, exercising power in an anarchic Hobbesian world where international laws and rules are unreliable, and where true security and the defense and promotion of a liberal order still depend on the possession and use of military might... When it comes to setting national priorities, determining threats, defining challenges, and fashioning and implementing foreign and defense policies, the United States and Europe have parted ways.”<sup>4</sup>

Kagan, like Markovitz and Baldwin, suggests that Europeans are more conscious of the differences than Americans, and he points to the highly critical attitudes of European intellectuals in particular. Americans do not have the multilateral experience of membership in the European Union, the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Thus, Americans “are less inclined to act through international institutions such as the United Nations, less likely to work cooperatively with other nations to pursue common goals, more skeptical about international law, and more willing to operate outside its strictures when they deem it necessary.” Of course, not all Europeans

think alike. And Kagan notes that American Democrats are often more “European” than Republicans. But Kagan believes that Republicans and Democrats have more in common with respect to the use of force. One can point to President Clinton’s bombing of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Sudan and President Obama’s delay in withdrawing from Iraq, his continuing use of force in Afghanistan, and his use of limited force in Libya.<sup>5</sup> Libya is an example in which a number of European states—but not Germany—were willing to take the lead in the use of force; however, without American technical support and supplies of various munitions, European actions would have been far more difficult and the apparently successful outcome much less certain.

### **Contrasting Attitudes toward Religion**

America and Europe also show strong differences regarding religion. In spite of the fact that most of the best known Founding Fathers attended church services but were non-communing Deists and not conventional Christians, the United States has been known since its early history for the role of religion and the variety of religious sects and movements. In spite of constitutional protections against mixing religion and politics, such as the provision that “no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States” (Article 6, paragraph 3 of the U.S. Constitution) and the establishment of the religion clause of the First Amendment, religion plays a far greater role in American political campaigns and public life than in those arenas in Europe. Indeed, an observer of the 2011-2012 Republican presidential nomination campaign might even be excused for thinking that at least some of the candidates were competing for the leadership of fundamentalist Christians. It is no wonder that many Europeans—and some non-Europeans as well—believe that the separation of church and state is in fact honored more in Europe than in the United States.<sup>6</sup>

Americans and Europeans display sharp differences regarding the role of

religion. Religion plays a small role at best in European political contests, where it matters little whether political leaders attend church or what they believe. As one spokesman for the former British prime minister, Tony Blair—a more religious government leader than usual—explained, “We don’t do God.”<sup>7</sup> Polling data show that far more Americans express a belief in God or an afterlife. Church membership, baptisms, and church weddings are declining in Europe, due in part to demographic changes. Attendance at religious services in Europe varies somewhat among and within countries, with Catholics more likely to attend church on a regular basis than Protestants; however, even attendance by Catholics is much lower in Europe than in the United States.<sup>8</sup> Abortion and, to a lesser extent, stem cell research are also controversial issues in Europe, especially in Catholic countries or regions, but they do not emerge as prominent concerns in elections, due in part to the place of women’s rights proponents in European parties and politics. It is no wonder, then, that some American politicians, as well as Christian fundamentalist religious figures, warn about the dangers of European secularization.

### **Division over the Death Penalty**

One of the most obvious issues dividing Americans and Europeans is the death penalty, a diplomatic embarrassment for decades because much of the world’s democracies—Western and non-Western—regard the practice as “cruel and uncivilized.”<sup>9</sup> Amnesty International reported that in 2009 China executed “thousands” (the precise number is a state secret, but in 2008 it was 1,718), more people than put to death in the rest of the world combined. Well over seven hundred people were executed in seventeen other countries, including, in order, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. In Europe there were no executions in 2009. Only Belarus still has the death penalty. The United States was the only country in North and South America to execute prisoners in 2009. Of the fifty-two people

executed, nearly half were in Texas, while New Mexico joined fifteen other states in officially banning the death penalty. By the same year, ninety-five countries had banned capital punishment.<sup>10</sup>

It is interesting and surprising to note that although lethal injection drugs, the most common form of execution in the United States, are produced in Europe, European countries are now refusing to export these to the United States. Even the United Kingdom, a close ally, has blocked the sale of such drugs and is urging the European Union to follow suit.<sup>11</sup> Public opinion would appear to support this action. Widespread protests before and after the execution of Troy Davis in Georgia in September 2011 were swelled by opposition from European politicians and editorial writers claiming that executions in America were “barbaric,” American justice “brutal and flawed,” a “barbaric hangover from an Old Testament morality,” and a violation of “an established norm of modern society.”<sup>12</sup>

Along with the death penalty, Europeans are critical of imprisonment practices and the length of sentences in the United States. The British news magazine *The Economist* has noted that “justice is harsher in America than in any other rich country,” and pointed out that “as a proportion of its total population, America incarcerates five times more people than Britain, nine times more than Germany, and twelve times more than Japan. Overcrowding is the norm. Federal prisons house 60% more inmates than they were designed for. State lock-ups are only slightly less stuffed.” In 2010 the U.S. had 748 inmates per 100,000 people; Russia was second with 600. The magazine cites criminologists who say that the American system imprisons too many people for too long; it criminalizes acts that should not be criminalized; and it is unpredictable. Imprisonment is increasing as a form of punishment, due in part to voter reaction to violent crime. Judicial discretion has been reduced or even removed in many cases, and minimum sentences have been increased.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, the U.S. Supreme

Court in the spring of 2011 ordered California to release 30,000 prisoners because of dangerous overcrowding, leaving to that cash-strapped state the choice of how to reduce the prison population.<sup>14</sup> The costs of incarceration in the United States are immense. Given the serious budget difficulties in the American states, it is not surprising that there is a good deal of new thinking about imprisonment and sentencing. According to a study reported by Reuters in 2009, it was estimated that “states spent a record \$51.7 billion on corrections in fiscal year 2008 and incarcerating one inmate cost them, on average, \$29,000 a year. But the average annual cost of managing an offender through probation was \$1,250 and through parole \$2,750.” The study noted that 9% of black adults were in prisons or jails, 4% of Hispanics, and 2% of whites.<sup>15</sup>

Related to crime issues, another practice that puzzles incredulous Europeans is the opposition to the regulation of firearms in the United States. European nations have no constitutional provisions concerning “the right to keep and bear arms” in Europe, and no equivalent to the National Rifle Association. They show no concern that an armed, tyrannical state will impose its will on an unarmed, helpless population. Not only do many American states make gun ownership legal and easy thanks to a 2010 Supreme Court decision that the individual right to bear arms applies to state and local laws, but it is now possible for residents of one state to secure a permit from another, distant, state to carry a pistol, a permit then recognized in thirty-two other states.<sup>16</sup> Virginia law now permits concealed weapons in restaurants that serve alcohol, thus joining twenty-eight other states with similar laws. At least in Virginia, restaurant owners may deny entrance to persons with concealed weapons.<sup>17</sup>

### **Social Welfare Differences**

In social welfare policy the United States can point to a few measures not matched by Europeans, such as Medicaid and food stamps; however, in numerous

other areas such as health insurance coverage, old age pensions, nursing homes, family policies, unemployment insurance, and various other programs, support in most European countries is far more generous (and, of course, taxes are higher). As Peter Baldwin notes,

Europe and America appear to be pitted against each other as never before. On one shore, capitalist markets, untempered by proper social policies, allow unbridled competition, poverty, pollution, violence, class divides and social anomie. On the other side, Europe nurtures a social approach, a regulated labor market, and elaborate welfare networks. Possibly it has a less dynamic economy, but it is a more solidaristic and harmonious society.<sup>18</sup>

Europe and America also display significant differences in their attitudes toward work and free time. Five- and six-week vacations are the norm in many European countries, typically divided between winter and summer. It is estimated that Americans work 350 hours a year more than Germans, often for less total compensation. Some observers suggest that “Americans live to work, Europeans work to live.”

Differences concerning the welfare state are, of course, well known in the United States, with many opponents of the Obama Administration accusing his government of trying to turn the United States into a “European socialist welfare state.” Obama himself is seen by some as a “socialist” determined to undermine the free enterprise system in the United States with various big-government policies—in particular, health care reform, government bailouts (TARP, initiated in 2008 by the *Bush* Administration!), stimulus measures, and various regulations. In fact, government regulation and social welfare policies within the free market framework found in all Western democracies today differ significantly from “socialism,” which is government ownership of such major means of production as major factories, transportation, certain services, and mines. Following the collapse of the “socialist” or communist systems of

Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, some American free enterprise purists have begun to call some European social democratic welfare states “socialist,” which in fact reflects a rather fundamental misunderstanding of the historical and current meanings of the term. Indeed, a continuum exists among Western democratic states, with the more free enterprise and individualistic United States at one end and perhaps the more social democratic Sweden at the other end.

Social policy involves still another difference between America and Europe, shown in the broad support in Europe for measures against climate change and public willingness to subsidize wind and solar power, along with much more skepticism and even opposition to nuclear power, especially in Germany, Austria, and Scandinavia. Europeans are among the most persistent and enthusiastic supporters of international efforts to limit climate change, whereas the United States is among the most resistant in promoting such efforts. The science behind global warming and climate change in general has few challengers in Europe in comparison to the United States, where many leading politicians at the state and national levels deny the existence of global warming or are reluctant to express acceptance of scientific evidence concerning environmental change—with notable exceptions, such as Al Gore.

## Conclusion

It may be, as Marten van Heuven suggests, that characterizing Europe and the United States as drifting apart on values conflates the two separate issues of core values and policy interests. Policy, he says, is in fact the more fundamental concern. But he acknowledges that “the analytical distinction between interests and values is not easy to maintain in practice. Common values are an interest. But common interests can grow into common values.”<sup>19</sup> I would argue that this is the point. Certain values have become interests, as in the cases of European solidarity and American individualism in the approach to the welfare state; European acceptance of scientific

evidence regarding climate change in contrast to considerable skepticism by many Americans; and the focus in Europe on multilateral approaches in conflict situations as opposed to an American willingness often to act unilaterally to protect perceived national interests.

It may likewise be true that values and interests are not necessarily shared by all European countries, that there are certainly differences among Americans concerning values and interests, that the divisions that do exist between Europe and the United States can be exacerbated or reduced by political leaders, e.g., the “Texas cowboy” George Bush versus the more “European” Barack Obama. It may also be that the divisions between Europeans and Americans will change over time, depending on new challenges and the policies adopted to confront these. Nevertheless, it seems that during recent decades, and especially since the end of the Cold War, which covered up some of the differences within the Western camp, there is good reason to believe that Europeans and Americans are not as imbedded in a system of “common values” as was once thought.

## Notes

1. Andrei S. Markovitz, *Uncouth Nation: Why Europe Dislikes America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007). See also Russell A. Berman, *Anti-Americanism in Europe: A Cultural Problem* (Stanford University: Hoover Institution Press, 2004).

2. Peter Baldwin, *The Narcissism of Minor Differences: How America and Europe Are Alike* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also Marten van Heuven, “The Transatlantic Relationship: The Interplay between Values and Interests,” *New Global Studies* 5, no. 1 (April 2011), 1, <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/ngs.2011.5.1/ngs.2011.5.1.1137/ngs.2011.5.1.1137.xml?format=INT> [citation information accessed September 4, 2012]. To read the article on a free trial, see [www.degruyter.com/page/flavor](http://www.degruyter.com/page/flavor).

3. “Gates Delivers a Blunt Warning

on NATO Future” and “Talking Truth to NATO,” *New York Times*, June 11, 2011.

4. Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 3-4.

5. *Ibid.*, 4-6.

6. Geoffrey Wheatcroft, “Let’s Just Be Friends...” Sunday Magazine, *New York Times*, October 30, 2011.

7. *Ibid.*

8. See, for example, “Zahl der Austritte aus katholischer Kirche abermals gestiegen,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 14, 2010.

9. Andrew Moravcsik, “The New Abolitionism: Why Does the U.S. Practice the Death Penalty While Europe Does Not?” *European Studies Newsletter* 31, no. 1, 2 (September 2001): 1.

10. “China Leads in Executions, Report by Amnesty Finds,” *New York Times*, March 31, 2010. The Texas governor, Rick Perry, in a Fall 2011 debate with other Republican presidential candidates, was applauded by the audience when he proudly mentioned executions in Texas.

11. “Britain Blocks Export of Lethal Injection Drugs to U.S.,” *New York Times*, April 15, 2011.

12. “In Europe, a Chorus of Outrage over a U.S. Execution,” *New York Times*, September 23, 2011.

13. “Too Many Laws, Too Many Prisoners,” *The Economist*, July 24-30, 2010, 26-27.

14. “California’s Prison Crisis,” Editorial, *New York Times*, May 24, 2011.

15. “Costs of Locking Up Americans Too High: Pew Study,” March 2, 2009, Reuters, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/03/02/us-usa-prisons-idUSTRE5215TW20090302> [accessed September 4, 2012].

16. “Gun Owners from Far Away Get Utah Permit,” *New York Times*, July 6, 2010.

17. “Gun Owners Celebrate Law,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 1, 2010.

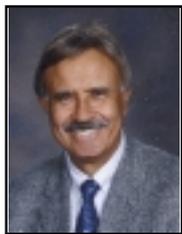
18. Baldwin, 1.

19. van Heuven, 1, 5.

# Who Wrote Shakespeare's Works?

*Regardless of the outcome, the quest for the "real Shakespeare" involves mystery and intrigue worthy of a James Bond thriller.*

**By Richard Holder**



## About the Author

Richard Holder immigrated to Montreal from Barbados in 1962 and graduated from Concordia University in 1969 with a degree in Commerce. First hired by Price Waterhouse, where he studied to become a Certified Public Accountant, he joined Deloitte & Touche for the next ten years, becoming a partner. In 1988, he joined the Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions (OSFI), the Canadian federal bank regulator in Ottawa, as a Senior Accounting Policy Advisor, retiring in 2008. He has always had a keen interest in the works attributed to Shakespeare, and solving the mystery of their authorship has become one of his hobbies, along with golf.

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Having always admired the exceptional quality of Shakespeare's works, in 1993 I accomplished a personal goal of reading the entire canon. Curious to learn more about the author, I was shocked to discover that Shakespeare's authorship had been questioned throughout the centuries by many prominent scholars. Determined to investigate further, I present in this paper the results of my research. My study required an understanding of the turbulent political times in England emanating from the religious policies of Queen Elizabeth I's church-state coalition, policies that had a direct impact on the authorship issue. The

balance of power between church and state was changed by Elizabeth in 1586 when she promoted the Archbishop of Canterbury, Conservative John Whitgift, to her Privy Council, rendering England no longer a secular state as church policies became government laws. The immediate impact was the introduction of new pressures to convert the entire population to Anglicanism. In March 1593, the Archbishop's powers were significantly increased with the absolute support of the queen who seemed bewitched by him.<sup>1</sup> He used these powers in widespread brutal enforcement through arrests and punishments such as disembowelling and burning at the stake. Whitgift's persecution of non-conformists was so severe that Burghley of the Privy Council called Whitgift's laws more draconian than those of the Spanish Inquisition. Whitgift's inquisition drew a fine line between honour and disgrace. The definitions of "crimes" such as atheism, treason and blasphemy were embellished to entrap free-thinkers. As England was no longer a safe place for those who questioned authority, thousands fled the country.

## The Authorship Debate

For the past two centuries, thousands of highly-respected scholars, judges, scientists, writers, poets, and dramatists have expressed serious doubts that William Shakespeare authored the canon.<sup>2</sup> The sceptics include men with impeccable reputations such as Charles Dickens, Henry and William James, Sigmund Freud, Mark Twain, George

Greenwood, Bernard Shaw, Calvin Hoffman, and hundreds more. More recently, in 2007, British sceptics opened a website called "Declaration of Reasonable Doubt," where over two thousand people have registered their doubts about Shakespeare's level of literacy and the knowledge that would be required to write about such subjects as law, theology, history, music, foreign languages, court life, astronomy, science, the classics, and Roman and Greek mythology. Indeed, no documentary evidence indicates that Shakespeare had any formal education at all. Surprisingly, his two children were illiterate. Shakespeare arrived in London in 1592 or 1593, but no record showed he was employed as an actor. Most importantly, no record has ever indicated he was an author. The only existing Shakespearian documents relate to baptism, marriage, birth of his children, grain trading, money lending, litigation, buying and selling of land and houses, theatrical shareholder matters, his death and his will. Strikingly absent from Shakespeare's will is any mention of books, manuscripts, or letters. This is particularly surprising as books were very expensive and were regularly willed to others. When he died, twenty of the thirty-six plays attributed to Shakespeare were not yet printed and none of them was listed among his assets. Six signatures exist but all are crabbed, inconsistent, and laboriously written; two are ink spattered.

According to an "unorthodox biography" of Shakespeare that cites the opinion of Mark Twain among others, the known facts about Shakespeare can be listed on one or

two pages.<sup>3</sup> Twain accuses Shakespeare's biographers of suspending customary criteria to weave inadmissible material into the narrative, extrapolating material from the plays themselves to describe Shakespeare's life through conjectures, speculation and misleading artificiality that ignored the complete lack of prima facie evidence that he was either a playwright or poet. The overwhelming message from the sceptics is that Shakespeare is unlikely to have authored the works. According to this line of reasoning, "William Shakespeare" first appeared with the release of the poem *Venus and Adonis* on June 12, 1593, as a pen name to conceal the true author's identity.<sup>4</sup> The theory of concealment raises three key questions: 1) What circumstances compelled the true author to use a pen name? 2) Were these events the reason for concealing his true authorship for over four centuries? 3) Would the repercussions of disclosing true authorship have been deadly for the author and others? Evidence presented in this paper will show that the answer to the last two questions is "yes," in terms of a study of the work and careers of the three writers most frequently identified as possible authors—Francis Bacon; The Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere; and Christopher Marlowe.

### **Francis Bacon**

Supporters of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) believe in his authorship of the canon largely because he was an aristocrat and a prominent writer. Privately tutored at home until age twelve when he entered Cambridge, he graduated in 1576, entered Gray's Inn, and became a lawyer in 1582. During his multifaceted career, he was a highly respected privy councillor, statesman, diplomat, courtier, lawyer, lecturer, prose writer, parliamentarian, and attorney general under James I. Overall,

he wrote several legal books, a book on good and evil, much scholarly prose (mostly in Latin) and several other books. Although he was not a playwright, he dabbled in poetry, writing five short rhyming poems, but no blank verse. His poems have been judged to be inferior to the Shakespearian poems.<sup>5</sup> Experts have estimated that it took twenty to twenty-five years to write Shakespeare's works. It would have been impossible for Bacon to do this, considering his known busy and long career. Although Bacon wrote various tracts under his own name, he was not a playwright and had no vital secret compelling him to use "Shakespeare" as a pen name. It is clear that he did not write the works.

### **Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford**

The Earl of Oxford was an aristocrat and courtier born in 1550, fourteen years before Marlowe and Shakespeare and eleven years before Bacon. After receiving a BA from Cambridge and an MA from Oxford, he toured Europe extensively, experiencing court life in Italy. He also owned a touring company of actors called the Oxford Boys that for a few years performed comedies in Europe. His supporters claim he wrote some plays by the time he was forty (1590), but they were lost and no titles or dates exist. In his relatively long life (fifty-four vs. the average life span of thirty-six) there is no proof that he produced any drama. Biographers use extensive speculation, extrapolations, conjecture and inferences from Shakespeare's plays to describe de Vere's life, including the notion that his family reflected the families of Hamlet and Henry IV. These conjectures are not known facts; lacking *prima facie* verification, they fail to offer substantive evidence of authorship. It appears that de Vere published sixteen short poems under his name, poems assessed by several experts as inferior

to Shakespeare's poems.<sup>6</sup> The question arises then about the reason he would have chosen to use a pseudonym to publish the acclaimed Shakespearian poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. Additionally, *Venus and Adonis*, released in 1593, appeared to have been written by a young man, whereas Oxford was then forty-three. His claim to authorship is severely weakened further by two major anachronisms. First, he died in 1604 before twelve of Shakespeare's plays were written and printed; and second, *The Tempest*, written in 1611, was based on a 1609 Bermuda shipwreck that occurred well after Oxford's death.<sup>7</sup> Since Oxford had no compelling reason to use Shakespeare as a pen name and there is no evidence he wrote any genuine drama, I conclude that Oxford did not write Shakespeare's works.

### **Christopher Marlowe**

Christopher Marlowe, born in 1564 to a shoemaker in Kent, won a scholarship to King's School in Canterbury, graduating with honours, and another scholarship to Cambridge University to study theology, classics, and history, earning a BA in 1584 and an MA three years later. As a young scholar, Marlowe spoke and wrote six living languages—English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Dutch—and was proficient in reading classical Latin and Greek; he also had a strong working knowledge of German and Danish. One of a handful of extremely brilliant Cambridge students dubbed "university wits" by fellow students, Marlowe translated many plays and poems from Latin and Greek. Several authorities consider that modern English drama started with Marlowe in 1587.<sup>8</sup> In the next six years, he wrote seven successful plays—*Dido, Queen of Carthage*; *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*; *The Jew of Malta*; *Dr Faustus*;

*Edward II*; and *Massacre at Paris*. He also penned three poems, including the incomplete *Hero and Leander* (rated by most reports as the best Elizabethan poem) and *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love*. A compulsive and prolific writer, he likely would have written more had it not been for the distraction of his espionage duties overseas. Unlike Bacon and de Vere, Marlowe was a professional dramatist and poet, the first writer to adapt English blank verse successfully to drama and poetry. He was also the first to bring tragedies to the English stage.<sup>9</sup> According to many scholars, no young playwright has ever been as accomplished or popular as Marlowe was in 1593 when he allegedly died at age twenty-nine. His plays consumed London, playing to full houses and bringing him acclaim as England's greatest playwright. Although Marlowe and Shakespeare were the same age, Marlowe's work preceded Shakespeare's by several years, ending with his alleged death before Shakespeare had produced a single play.

Marlowe believed in religious freedom at a time when there was none. Although a graduate in theology, he rejected religion as practiced in England which he had come to regard as oppressive and "a childish toy" believing instead, that non-religious education was the answer to enlightenment. His belief in widespread education contrasts with the fact that Shakespeare's two children were illiterate. Colleagues regarded Marlowe as a free thinker and humanist with membership in The School of Night, whose members included Walter Raleigh, Thomas Harriot and the Earl of Northumberland. Religious leaders including Whitgift derisively called it the "School of Atheism." In 1584, his best friend's cousin, Sir Francis Walsingham, recruited Marlowe to help the Secret Service detect foreign plots to replace

the Queen with the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots. Espionage created problems for him at Cambridge, which refused him his MA degree due to long absences in France and his probable conversion to Catholicism. The university reneged when the powerful Queen's Privy Council sent a stern note ordering them to grant the degree because Marlowe had done "good work" for the queen.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout Marlowe's short life most of his peers admired him for his academic and professional brilliance, but a few envied and hated him. The latter included Richard Baines and religious leaders including John Whitgift. Baines, a notorious liar, twice tried to have Marlowe killed or disgraced. In 1593, the Church's persecution of freethinkers, Puritans and Catholics heightened and on May 18, Whitgift issued a warrant for Marlowe's arrest after notes allegedly written by Marlowe supporting heresy were found. On May 20, the warrant was served while Marlowe was at Walsingham's estate. Walsingham immediately provided bail pending completion of charges and Marlowe was required to report daily to the Privy Council. Whitgift knowing Baines hated Marlowe deliberately hired him to prepare a list of indictments against him. Suddenly, the young playwright's life was irrevocably changed for the worst and he became desperate, knowing a terrible death was imminent. At this point, Marlowe had only three options. He could await Whitgift's death squads and be executed; he could become a fugitive, likely be caught and executed; or he could conspire with Walsingham and other Secret Service colleagues to fake his death and escape to Europe as an exile.

Marlowe was reportedly killed on May 30, before Whitgift's death squad arrived. According to the official coroner's report, two Secret Service

colleagues, Poley and Skeres, and Walsingham's servant Frizer met with Marlowe in Deptford, near London, at a home frequently leased for Secret Service use. The meeting's purpose was never revealed but it must have been vitally important since Marlowe did not report that day to the Privy Council. After dinner, Frizer and Marlowe reportedly quarrelled about the bill and Frizer stabbed Marlowe in the eye with a dagger with a two-inch blade. Marlowe reportedly "instantly" died. After the coroner's inquest, the corpse was reportedly dumped into an unmarked grave. For about two centuries virtually everyone believed that the great playwright had indeed died and was buried as reported.

### **What Really Happened on May 30, 1593**

Access to the report of the inquest on June 1, 1593, was restricted to a few, including the Privy Council and Walsingham. After studying the old coroner's report found by Dr. Leslie Hotson in 1925, many experts grew suspicious and independently concluded that Marlowe did not die on May 30 but instead was smuggled into exile.<sup>11</sup> These experts questioned why Marlowe, facing impending death, would have a fight over a dinner bill or spend one day with colleagues he hardly knew, when he was facing execution as soon as the following day. It was a typical Secret Service manoeuvre to feign an agent's death prior to resurrecting him as a new character elsewhere. Fortunately, as government spies, Marlowe's associates and bosses were England's foremost experts in faked deaths and disguised identities. Two of them, Sir Thomas Walsingham and Lord Burghley, were close friends, powerful and influential, while Poley and Skeres were experienced secret service colleagues who worked for Burghley together with Marlowe. These experts

were in Deptford solely to save Marlowe's life and Walsingham is believed to have directed the operation. Poley and Skeres were the only witnesses to the "stabbing" by Frizer and they substituted another corpse for Marlowe's. Frizer, as instructed, stabbed the right eye of the corpse further disguising it. The murder weapon that "killed" Marlowe was a dagger with a two-inch blade. Surgeons have confirmed that such a blade would not kill a man if plunged into his eye socket and certainly not "instantly."<sup>12</sup> As Marlowe's life had taken a turn for the worse, so had that of John Penry, a Puritan minister who had been arrested in May for religious heresy and found "guilty". On May 29, Penry was hanged two miles from Deptford. It is believed that Poley and Skeres procured Penry's corpse on May 29 and substituted it for Marlowe's. On May 30, Penry's wife went to take her husband's body away but it had mysteriously disappeared.

Marlowe likely left for exile in Europe the night of May 30, 1593. Concealing the vital secret of having faked his death, he was eternally compelled never to use his name again as he and his protectors risked execution by Whitgift. He planned to continue writing and to use a living person's name as his pen name. It appeared he preferred someone with little or no education in case a future authorship dispute arose. Some writers have stated Marlowe hoped to have Burghley petition the queen to forgive him and grant a pardon so he could reclaim authorship. He, however, suffered another setback by being immediately blacklisted by the church, a condemnation only recently lifted after four centuries. Most likely his printer/publisher and friend, Richard Field, suggested the name of William Shakespeare, his friend and neighbour from Stratford. Later, Marlowe's

representatives and Shakespeare probably agreed that, for a fee per play, Marlowe would use "William Shakespeare" as his pseudonym for life.

### **Evidence That Marlowe Lived to Write the Works**

Evidence that Marlowe lived in exile to write the Shakespearian works has been growing as scholars study the plays, the recurring themes and the supporting historical evidence. Many eminent scholars have stated that Marlowe wrote between one and twenty-five of Shakespeare's plays.<sup>13</sup> Others have noted that the similarities between the works of Shakespeare and Marlowe are astounding in terms of literary influence, line and verse, style, theme, use of metaphor, characters and plot, structure, comic scenes, use of the supernatural, theological stance, Biblical references, parallel passages, classical sources, and more.<sup>14</sup> Forty of the more than one hundred sonnets attributed to Shakespeare tell an agonizing story about the author's painful and reluctant journey into exile. A clue to Marlowe's likely authorship of *The Jew of Malta*, produced in 1589 but for security reasons not published until 1633, appears in a prologue added a year after Whitgift's death in 1604. Marlowe (using "Machiavel," one of his aliases) stated in it that he lived "beyond the Alps" and now was returning to England to meet friends.

Albeit the world thinks Machiavel  
is dead,

Yet was his soul but flown beyond  
the Alps;

And now the guise is dead, is come  
from France,

To view this land, and frolic with  
his friends...

After Whitgift's death, another clue to authorship was inserted in *Hamlet* (Act 1, Scene 5), a play on the name of Whitgift:

Ay that incestuous, that adulterate  
beast,

With witchcraft of his wits, with  
traitorous gifts,

O wicked wit, and gifts that have  
the power

So to seduce; won to his shameful  
lust

The will of my most seeming-  
virtuous Queen...

Thus Marlowe used the ghost to show anger at Whitgift's bewitching hold over Queen Elizabeth which was so strong that Whitgift had masterminded the English inquisition. Another clue can be seen in Marlowe's 1584 student portrait found in 1952 at Cambridge in a pile of rubble which is inscribed with a Latin motto: "What nourishes me destroys me." A similar sentence is found in Sonnet 73 written in exile: "Consumed by that which nourishes me."

Several passages in *As You Like It*, deemed Marlowe's most autobiographical play, indicate his authorship. The phrase "... a great reckoning in a little room" (Act III, scene 3) refers to Marlowe's supposed death at Deptford. Until recently, few people knew these exact words were in the coroner's report. In the same scene a minor character, Sir Oliver Mar-text, appears, whose name some believe translates as "Marlo text," meaning authored by Marlowe. In Act III, scene 5, "Whoever loved that loved not at first sight" echoes lines in Marlowe's famous poem, *Hero and Leander*. Interestingly, in Act V, scene 1, a character named "William" appears for the first and only time, described as an illiterate country bumpkin living near Stratford, an assumed reference to William Shakespeare.<sup>15</sup> In 1901 a Bacon supporter asked the American physicist Thomas Mendenhall to help establish Bacon's authorship of the Shakespeare corpus. Using his newly-developed method of determining

authorship by using frequency of word-lengths to construct a graph of the writer's unique ratio-curve, Mendenhall found no correlation between Bacon and Shakespeare, but instead was shocked to discover that Shakespeare's and Marlowe's curves matched perfectly, the first time such a parallel had been observed. Concluding that the writings of these men were likely by one man only, Mendenhall suggested it was Marlowe because his writings preceded Shakespeare's by a number of years.<sup>16</sup> It is known that Walsingham bequeathed 70 English guineas (\$70,000 today) to his scrivener. Some believe that Marlowe's manuscripts were transported to Walsingham and there rewritten by a scrivener to hide Marlowe's handwriting before going to the printer. Coincidentally and ironically, Condell, an actor, claimed that whenever Shakespeare delivered a new play to the company, the manuscript was written in flawless handwriting as though by a scrivener.<sup>17</sup>

### Conclusion

Having escaped Whitgift's burning stake through a justified deception that neither Whitgift nor anyone else detected, young Marlowe went into secret exile, most likely in Italy. From then on, he carefully concealed this secret to protect himself and those who had helped him escape death. Therefore, he had the most compelling reason to never use his name again. Marlowe's achievements tower over anything produced by either Bacon or Oxford. Modern English drama started in 1587 with Marlowe, and today in Westminster Abbey's Poets corner, Marlowe is recognized as one of England's greatest poets and dramatists. His lifespan is shown as "1564-?1593." The question mark reflects the belief of many that he lived several years after 1593. Based on all the above evidence,

I have concluded that Christopher Marlowe wrote the Shakespearean works and is likely the greatest playwright of all time.

### Notes

1. Patrick Cheney, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 70.
2. John F. Michell, *Who Wrote Shakespeare?* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), 8-16.
3. Diana Price, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 9, 12-13.
4. Samuel Blumenfeld, *The Marlowe-Shakespeare Connection: A New Study of the Authorship Question* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2008), 245.
5. Michell, 120.
6. Blumenfeld, 342.
7. Michell, 171.
8. Daryl Pinksen, *Marlowe's Ghost: The Blacklisting of the Man Who Was Shakespeare* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2008), 3.
9. Algernon Swinburne, quoted in Blumenfeld, 47.
10. David Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Faber & Faber, 2004), 158.
11. J. Leslie Hotson, *The Death of Christopher Marlowe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), 28.
12. Calvin Hoffman, *The Man Who Was Shakespeare* (London: Max Parrish & Company, 1955), 83.
13. David Rhys Williams, *Shakespeare, Thy Name Is Marlowe* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1966), 53.
14. Alex Jack, *Literary Similarities Between Marlowe and Shakespeare*, *The Marlowe Studies*, <http://www.themarlowestudies.org/>

[literarysimilarities.html](#) [accessed September 10, 2012].

15. Hoffman, 148-49.
16. Michell, 239.
17. Price, 199.

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# 2013 Paxton Lectureship Award

The Paxton Award, created in honor and memory of W. Norris Paxton, past president of the International Association of Torch Clubs and editor emeritus of *Torch*, is given to the author of an outstanding paper presented by a Torch member at a Torch meeting. The winning author for the 2013 Award will receive an appropriate trophy, a \$250 honorarium, and paid registration to the 2012 IATC convention in Portsmouth, VA. The winner will be introduced at the convention banquet where he or she (or a designated representative) will deliver the paper on June 29, 2013.

**Eligibility:** The author must be a member of a Torch club. The paper must have been delivered to a Torch club meeting or a regional Torch meeting between January 1, 2012 and December 31, 2012 (inclusive), and be submitted to the IATC Office by February 15, 2013. Current officers and directors of IATC are ineligible for this award during their terms of office.

**Procedure:** All papers to be published in *Torch* should be sent to the IATC Office, Attn. Editor, 11712C Jefferson Ave., Newport News, VA 23606, along with the current Manuscript Submission Form (available from the club secretary or IATC Office), duly signed by the author and a club officer. Paxton candidates will be selected by the Editorial Advisory Committee from all papers submitted for publication in *Torch*. The Paxton Award Committee will consider the EAC-recommended 2012 papers in the spring of 2013 to determine the 2013 award winner.

**Judging:** The reading and judging panel comprises five people: a member of the Board of Directors of the IATC, one of the last five winners of the Paxton Award, a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee, and two members selected by the IATC Board of Directors. Judging is based on the principles set forth in the IATC brochure "The Torch Paper," available from the IATC Office, and the "Manuscript Submission Suggestions" at the Publications link of the IATC website [www.torch.org](http://www.torch.org). The winner of the Paxton Award and other contestants will be notified early in May 2013.

## **Additional Information:**

- A publishable Torch paper should be approximately 3,000 words in length.
- Local clubs are not allowed to submit papers directly for Paxton consideration.
- The Paxton Award paper will be published in the Fall 2013 issue of *Torch*.

## Gold & Silver Torch Awards

At our annual convention, special Gold and Silver Torch Awards may be given to individual members for truly outstanding service, through nomination by their local clubs, submitted in advance through the Awards Chairman.

### **Gold Award**

The Gold Torch Award honors members who have served Torch at the local, regional, and—most importantly—the International level. To qualify for this award, the nominee must have been a Torch member for at least 10 years. In any one year, the number of Gold Torch Awards may not exceed 0.1% (rounded to the nearest whole number) of the membership of the International Association of Torch Clubs (i.e., three awards for membership of 2,500 to 3,499).

### **Silver Award**

The Silver Torch Award recognizes members who have served in an exemplary manner at the local club level. To qualify for the Silver Torch Award, the nominee must have been a member for at least 5 years. In a given year, the number of Silver Torch Awards nominees by a local club may not exceed one for each 25 members or portion thereof.

Nominations for both Gold and Silver awards should be sent by March 31, 2013 to Norine Haas at IATC, 11712C Jefferson Ave #246, Newport News, VA 23606 with copies to your regional director.

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**Call to Annual Business Meeting and Torch Convention—Columbia, SC—June 27-30, 2013**

*Thursday, June 27:* 3:00pm Officers' Exchange; 4:00pm Business Session I; 5:30pm Dinner & Torch Paper #1  
*Friday, June 28:* 8:00am Membership Development; 8:45am Business Session II; 10:00am Torch Paper #2; 11:15am lunch & Tours; 5:00pm harbor tour on stern wheeler Carrie B. with music, dinner and Silver Awards  
*Saturday, June 29:* 8:15am Meet the *Torch* Editor; 9:00am Torch Foundation Membership Meeting; 10:00am Torch Paper #3; 11:15am lunch & Tours; 6:00pm Banquet, Gold Awards, Paxton Paper (black tie optional)  
*Sunday, June 30:* 7:30am Breakfast; 8:00am Interfaith Session; 9:00am Torch Paper #4; 10:30am Business Session III

**2013 Convention Speakers**

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Thursday, June 27

***Early SC Rocks!***

***A Lawyer's View of  
Pre-Civil War  
South Carolina***

Ed Latimer, past president  
of IATC, retired attorney

**Torch Paper #2**

Friday, June 28

***The Development of  
Thinking Machines***

Eric Davis, technology expert  
and life-long conservative who  
stands just to the right of  
Attila the Hun

**Torch Paper #3**

Saturday, June 29

***Duro Europos:***

***On the Edge of Empires***  
Fr. Thomas Moore,  
Archpriest of Holy Apostles  
Orthodox Church

**Torch Paper #4**

Sunday, June 30

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## *Reflections*

*Everything always  
bears looking into,  
astonishing as  
that fact is.*

Marilynne Robinson,  
*The Death of Adam* (1998)

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