

Winter 1984

The Gamut: A Journal of Ideas and Information, No. 11, Winter 1984

Cleveland State University

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THE GAMUT

A JOURNAL OF IDEAS AND INFORMATION

Number 11

FEB 3 2 1984

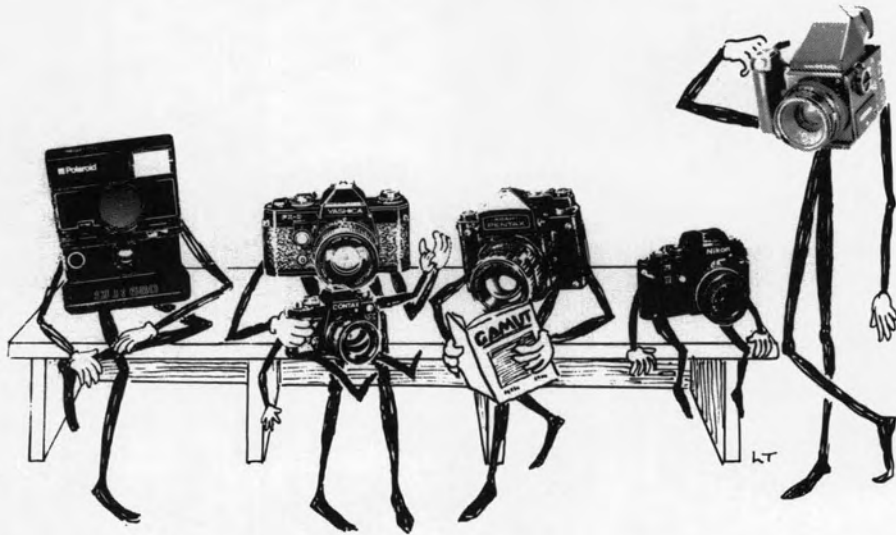
Winter, 1984

PERIODICALS



Cleveland Orchestra Portraits - p. 22

Attention, photographers:



See inside back cover

THE GAMUT

A JOURNAL OF IDEAS AND INFORMATION

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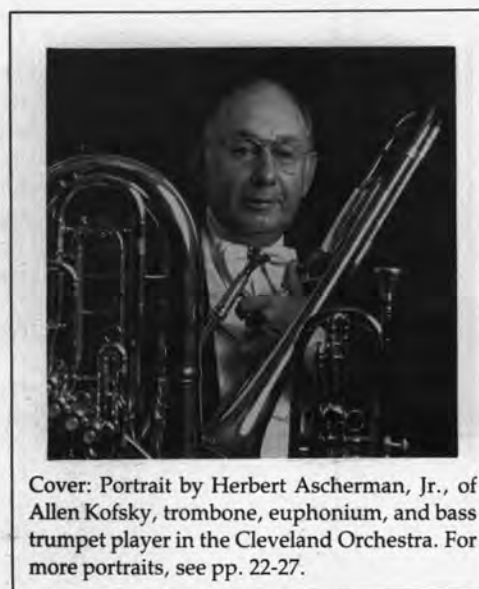
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Cover: Portrait by Herbert Ascherman, Jr., of Allen Kofsky, trombone, euphonium, and bass trumpet player in the Cleveland Orchestra. For more portraits, see pp. 22-27.

The Gamut: a Journal of Ideas and Information is published in the fall, winter, and spring of each year by Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio. Subscription rate: one year (three issues), \$12.00; two years, \$20.00; three years, \$25.00. Library rate, \$15.00 per year. Foreign subscriptions \$3.00 per year additional. Single copies, \$5.00; back issues, \$6.00. Claims for missing issues honored within six months of publication.

The Gamut invites commentaries for its "Back Matter" section and also the submission of new articles and creative works, especially by Ohio writers and artists, on topics of interest to readers of this region. Preliminary inquiries are welcome; detailed information for contributors on request. Submitted material will be returned if accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Address all correspondence to: *The Gamut*, Room 1216 Rhodes Tower, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH 44115.

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This issue of *The Gamut* is printed by R.V.R., Inc., Newbury, Ohio. Typography by the Cleveland State University Graphic Services, Marian E. Sachs, Manager of Composition Services. Published with the support of a grant from the Cleveland Foundation.

James Ewinger

Cultural Fisticuffs

FM stations fight for programming, but Cleveland area audiences may come out the winners.

From its beginning thirteen years ago, National Public Radio has had about it the air of a different time and a different place — ancient Athens, Renaissance Florence, maybe even Imperial Vienna. Uncle Sam has become a patron in order to ensure public access to culture and information. Yet, for all of its enthusiasm and idealism, NPR is in trouble. Taken individually, each of its problems is no more than many Renaissance masters had to endure from their secular and religious patrons. Taken together, though, NPR's problems bear more resemblance to the political and religious strife that fragmented Italy for centuries.

NPR itself is just now being hauled back from the brink of financial ruin after the hasty resignation of an idealistic but fiscally unwise chief, Frank Mankiewicz; a last-minute emergency loan from the federally underwritten Corporation for Public Broadcasting; and the appointment of a new president, Douglas J. Bennet, who has no background in broadcasting or journalism.

At the same time, an entrepreneurial rival has been created that constitutes a blessing for the wealthier public stations and a veiled

curse for their poor cousins. Called American Public Radio, it was formed by several NPR-affiliated groups, including the prolific Minnesota Public Radio, with the idea of providing more material for public stations.

Locally, Cleveland has been without its own NPR station for a bit more than five years. The state in 1978 ordered the financially strapped Cleveland Board of Education to get rid of WBOE-FM, the radio station it had run for decades. The station sat idle as several local factions fought to gain control. And even as this is written, the newly rechristened WCPN-FM is searching for financing in the hope of returning to the air within several months. Meanwhile, WKSU-FM, the NPR station run by Kent State University, is locked in a bitter and sometimes childish struggle of its own with WCLV-FM, Cleveland's commercial radio station specializing in classical music.

None of this actually imperils public radio here or across the nation. It merely means that public radio cannot forge ahead in the unfettered and idealistic manner that was envisioned by the Public Broadcasting Act that created it. That act, passed in 1967 during the

James Ewinger is a general critic and reporter for the entertainment section of The Plain Dealer, specializing in film, drama, television, and radio. From December, 1980, through February, 1983, he covered TV and radio exclusively. Before he joined The Plain Dealer in 1977, Ewinger served as reporter, editor, and critic with the Lake County News-Herald, and was editor of the weekly Rittman Press in Rittman, Ohio, in which capacity he was "called upon to do just about everything, at one time or another, except to operate the press." A native of Burlington, Iowa, Ewinger was graduated with a bachelor's degree in journalism and a minor in English from the University of Iowa, where he also worked on the Daily Iowan. He is married to Mary Carrol FitzSimons, a poet and writer. They live in University Heights and have a three-year-old son, Peter, who "lectures the neighborhood children on dialectical materialism and will recognize his father on command."



years of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society generosity (when, by the way, a lot of the federal-aid-to-the-arts legislation was passed), created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). This was to be a private corporation underwritten by federal money as well as private grants. The intention was to make a full-service network that would be an alternative to commercial broadcasting. CPB was to serve as a funnel for federal money, as well as an insulator from federal tampering. However, the federal specter of interference seems always to have haunted public broadcasting. Critics have questioned the ability of an organization to remain free from government pressures when the government underwrites the operation. They point, for instance, to President Richard M. Nixon's efforts to disembowel public broadcasting by cutting off its money; he is said to have done this in response to "The Great American Dream Machine," a show critical of American values aired by the Public Broadcasting Service.

Insulation from political interference, however, was thickened slightly when it was decided that congressional appropriations be made two years in advance. That is one reason that President Reagan's Visigothic fund cuts are just now showing up in NPR's budget. Congressional appropriations for fiscal 1984 total about \$12.5 million, down from an all-time high of \$15 million.

In spite of such pressures, both real and imagined, public broadcasting has had its triumphs. Among these is "All Things Considered," arguably one of the finest efforts in broadcast journalism ever offered — by anyone — in the United States. It is also NPR's main attraction, along with its a.m. clone called "Morning Edition." For the uninitiated, "All Things Considered" might be described as providing the rigorous scrutiny of PBS's "MacNeil-Lehrer Report" but without the tedium (when "MacNeil-Lehrer" went from a half hour to an hour, someone suggested it already felt like an hour), combined with the studious effervescence of, say, a Charles Kuralt, with a few strokes of whimsy and healthy eclecticism thrown in.

Beyond that, NPR produces programming in four areas: news, the biggest; the performing arts, including drama, jazz, classical music, and opera; so-called special programming, such as documentaries and special shows for minorities; and programs for the

sight-impaired.

The picture one gets from afar, from the sound of NPR, from various reports, and, indeed, from its recent brush with financial ruin, is of a group of solid professionals who still manage to have all the fun one normally associates with putting out a college newspaper. Thus it would seem that NPR and Frank Mankiewicz, its former president, were ideally suited for each other. With literate bloodlines (screenwriters Herman and Joe Mankiewicz are Frank's uncle and father) and with impeccable post-war liberal credentials (he was Robert Kennedy's press secretary and George McGovern's campaign manager), he appeared to be the very picture of the man to lead NPR to prominence — which he did.

"A great world of expansionism and dream, a Camelot society," is how his temporary successor, Ronald Bornstein, described the Mankiewicz years to the *Washington Post*. Mankiewicz, according to a *Washington Post* investigation, handed out hundreds of merit pay raises, lavished funds on new programming, and embarked on Operation Independence, which was designed to end NPR reliance on federal largesse.

The quest for independence was twofold. On the one hand, according to *The Washington Post*, NPR was to be "entirely funded by other than federal sources" by 1988. Gifts from corporations and foundations, which were to take up the slack, would be acknowledged much in the way that sponsors are mentioned on commercial programs. The other aspect of Operation Independence was called NPR Ventures, which, according to the *Post*, was to undertake profit-making ventures using the network's satellite system. A spokesman for NPR said that NPR Ventures has since been set aside, but not completely abandoned. The *Post* investigation cited an independent audit, claiming that too much was expected from the plan too soon.

The result was about a \$7.5 million deficit for fiscal 1983, reduction of the NPR staff from 449 down to 314 people, a last-minute federal line of credit for up to \$8.5 million, and the resignation of Mankiewicz.

The problem seems to have stemmed from too much well-intended ambition and too little scrutiny of the bottom line. I will not elaborate further except to say that there is some semblance of a happy ending. A sadder but fiscally wiser NPR will survive.

For public radio in Cleveland, the crisis has been longer, far more staggering — and the end is not yet in view. Not quite. The Cleveland school system had operated one of the oldest public stations in the country. WBOE-FM had been one of the many fringes that made the school system here the model that it is said to have been. But when the system finally was swamped by massive deficits in the 1970s, part of the bail-out plan included the sale of WBOE. For lack of money, the station went silent in October, 1978.

What is normally a slightly complicated process became downright forbidding, as the stage was set for the Babylonian captivity of WBOE. The station was put on the block in May, 1979, and bids were sought by the school board. There were two serious contenders: the Cleveland Public Library and what came to be called Cleveland Public Radio.

The players bear some further description here for reasons that will become apparent. Cleveland Public Radio was then (and still is) headed by William B. (Brad) Norris, an attorney whose other sojourn in the public spotlight was as the city's *pro bono* counsel in its antitrust action against the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company. His aim was to make WBOE over into something resembling WVIZ Channel 25, a private nonprofit corporation with broad community support dedicated to the continuance of public broadcasting. The library, on the other hand, claimed that WBOE would be better off under its control because the radio station and library system would meld nicely as a comprehensive information service.



Both entered bids; the library's was about a flat \$205,000, while Cleveland Public Radio's was \$234,000 in cash and the promise of in-kind services such as the station's educational facilities (e.g., the station would furnish taped material for classroom use). But the school board disqualified Cleveland Public Radio on grounds that were at best dubious and even highly suspicious. The bid requirements stipulated that each bidder had to offer

a minimum bid of \$200,000. Cleveland Public Radio's was in the form of a pledge from the Gund Foundation, the assumption of the school board's debt to the then U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for a capital-improvement loan, and, of course, the in-kind services. The school board said it had to be cash. Period.

Given the fact that the Gund Foundation is about as financially secure as a diamond mine, the distinction seems ludicrous. Given the fact that the library board is appointed by the school board, and is as such blood kin, the distinction does not seem quite so funny.

A few months after the questionable bidding was closed, the school board allowed the license to lapse. Until then, technically the license still existed and technically it still was assigned to the school system. But after expiration, the school board would have had to apply for the license just as if it never had had it in the first place. This also meant that anyone else could apply for it too, and all would have more or less equal chances at getting the license because it was now in the public domain. This is especially significant because any sale of WBOE's equipment was predicated on the Federal Communications Commission's approval of license transfer. Stations are sold, but licenses are not. Without FCC approval of the license transfer, one may indeed buy radio equipment but it is useless. Norris's group, in fact, was interested in buying the equipment only as a goodwill gesture toward the financially strapped school system and as the fastest means of putting the station back on the air. In the meantime, Norris's overtures to the library board had failed. He sought compromises, including a merger of the two parties for joint administration of WBOE.

All of that began to come to an ugly head in 1979, when the two parties began to harangue one another before an administrative law judge assigned by the FCC. Each claimed to be the most suitable applicant to "serve the public interest." In all of broadcasting — both public and commercial — that phrase is the *sine qua non* of getting and keeping a license. In commercial broadcasting it generally has all the moral force of a prostitute's feigned reticence. But in public broadcasting it actually means something, and there is no doubt that each party was wholly sincere.

In any case, to make a long story only a

little bit longer, the two groups went back and forth until June, 1982, when Norris and library board president Carl V. Asseff reached a compromise that occasioned a premature sigh of relief among public radio fans here. The compromise allowed the library to appoint three of Cleveland Public Radio's thirty-one board members. (Three others were to be appointed by Cuyahoga Community College and one by the Board of Education, with the remaining twenty-four to be elected by Cleveland Public Radio's general membership — comprised of anyone who cared to join.) With that out of the way, WBOE was rechristened WCPN-FM, and a June, 1983, date was set for the rebirth of the station. But, Norris said, the inability to line up complete financing, studio space, and a hole in the microwave umbrella that covers Cleveland all conspired against the station.

As of this writing, WCPN general manager Leonard Will, formerly of WERE Radio, has secured studios at 3100 Chester Avenue. A \$225,000 grant from the Gund Foundation is sustaining the station as it struggles back into existence. An additional \$300,000 matching-funds grant has been received from the Cleveland Foundation to finish the job. Cleveland Public Radio must raise \$600,000 in order to qualify. WCPN should be on the air by March, 1984, Will said.

The format will be ambitious — and expensive. Will's plans call for about 60 percent news and public affairs, and 40 percent culture, mainly jazz, blues, folk music, and a little bluegrass as well. When WCPN hits its stride, Will said, there will be twenty-three full-time employees (including fourteen reporters, a large complement by Cleveland radio standards), and it will broadcast 24 hours a day. Initially, the station will have little more than half that many people and will air for only 18 hours a day.

The budget, Norris said, will probably run around \$800,000 a year, with about half of the money coming directly from listener support. Only around 18 percent will come from National Public Radio, which is about normal (WVIZ Channel 25 president Betty Cope, for instance, said her station gets only about 17 percent of its support from federal monies). Norris said the remaining funds will come from business contributions, special fund-raising events, service fees for WCPN's satellite facilities, admission fees for certain live

programs, and in-kind services from volunteers.

One of the non-news programs sought by WCPN is a wonderful little thing called "Prairie Home Companion," produced by Minnesota Public Radio and distributed by American Public Radio, a sort of private-sector complement/competitor of NPR. The show is a delightful blend of knife-edged folksiness as practiced by Mark Twain and a little folk and bluegrass music. It is as much a satirical paean to the *real* Midwest (e.g., Minnesota and environs) as it is a re-creation of the old catch-all radio shows that were to be found before the birth of TV. As such, it is to public radio what the old Ebert-Siskel "Sneak Previews" show used to be to public TV: that is, uncharacteristically entertaining and popular.

But for the purposes of mapping out public radio in Northeast Ohio, "Prairie Home Companion" is also the bone of contention in a long-festering battle, one principally between NPR-affiliated WKSU-FM and commercial WCLV-FM. The battle briefly threatened to encompass WCPN even before it could get on the air.

To understand the problem completely, one first must understand NPR, APR, and their relationships to their respective affiliates. Unlike most networks, NPR is equally available to *all* of its stations no matter how many may be concentrated in one area. The programs of APR, on the other hand, are available for fees on a first-refusal basis to the station in each market that is designated a primary affiliate. APR is the entrepreneurial child of several public radio systems, including Minnesota Public Radio, and it is designed mainly for use as a complementary system for public stations. I hope you got all of that, because now it becomes truly complicated, as fraught with acronyms as the Department of the Navy, and as tortuous as a Lebanese whistle-stop campaign.

WKSU in Kent, thirty miles from Cleveland, is the primary affiliate of APR. Asked if that would pose any problems for WCPN's acquisition of "Prairie Home Companion," WKSU general manager John Perry said, "You bet it will." That is, he would not allow WCPN to have it. "If the people in Canton and areas beyond WCLV are to be denied quality programming, then I guess maybe there will have to be ... those individuals in Cleveland

who will not have access to certain ... programs. If there is enough pressure placed on [Robert] Conrad [of WCLV] to open up the markets, then maybe we'll take another look at it." In other words, by denying "Prairie Home Companion" to WCPN, Perry hoped to enrage the Cleveland audience so that it would rise up and pressure WCLV into freeing up the rights to certain shows that have been denied WKSU.

I detect there a logic that only a White House foreign policy advisor could envy, but that's neither here nor there because Perry has since reconsidered his position. "It would be political suicide," he said in early November. The real reason for the planned embargo, he later said, was a fear that by releasing any rights, he would open the door for WCLV to share some of WKSU's programs. Such a suggestion arouses the same enthusiasm around WKSU as intermarriage of the Hatfields with the McCoys.

The spat goes back to mid-1981, when Perry sought an *entente cordiale* with WCLV vice-president and program director Robert Conrad. Perry suggested that each refrain from claiming exclusivity on any show to the detriment of the other station. In return he offered some of his station's satellite-delivery services that would have obviated Conrad's use of inferior land-line delivery. Implicit in this was the idea that since the two had to share a major chunk of Northeast Ohio, they might as well do it peaceably. These were not two-fisted rock or country stations, after all, but purveyors of the fine arts.

Naturally, to Perry, this meant that he could keep such things as the San Francisco, Milwaukee, Chicago, and Cleveland orchestra broadcasts as well as the Metropolitan Opera. Just as naturally, Conrad took the gentleman's agreement to mean that he could have access to some of the choice offerings of NPR, including a radio adaptation of "Star Wars" that was sanctioned by the star-warrior-in-chief himself, George Lucas.

When Conrad tried to collect on what he thought was his end of the deal, Perry said that NPR rights were not his to give, that such permission could only be granted by NPR's board. Conrad tried NPR's board and thought he had a pretty good case.

At that time, WKSU's signal was directed away from Cleveland to protect WBOE (now WCPN). The FCC demanded this of WKSU because the two signals were close to-

gether on the FM band. It was based on an old rule that derived from the one-time inferiority of FM receivers, Perry said. The effect was that WKSU, even with a power increase, could not be heard very well in Cuyahoga County. Thus Cleveland proper was without any NPR programs — Conrad's salient point before the NPR board — because WBOE was silent by then. (The FCC still wanted the signal protected in those days, in anticipation of the day when it would be revived. The FCC tends to view a license the way a physicist looks at matter: once created, it can only be changed, but not destroyed.)

Even though Perry claimed to have no responsibility, he nonetheless exercised some by writing to NPR, advising against Conrad's request — something Perry freely admits. NPR ultimately ruled against Conrad, but not unilaterally. An NPR spokesperson in Washington, D.C., said that commercial stations can get its material if the market is not served by the network or if the local NPR affiliate gives its approval. Perry later told me that Cleveland would not be cut off from NPR for long, because he was then seeking permission to free up his signal to serve Cleveland as well.

Conrad's retaliation was not more chivalrous than Perry's opening salvo. He pulled the Chicago Symphony, Milwaukee Symphony, and New York Philharmonic from WKSU. He said he stopped just short of demanding an end to Met broadcasts on WKSU because of its significance. Conrad also left the Cleveland Orchestra broadcasts alone, as "a public service," he said, even though his station not only has the rights to the Cleveland Orchestra, but is the agency responsible for syndicating the orchestra around the country.

Perry calls this unfair, in part because WCLV is licensed to serve the Cleveland area, while WKSU is licensed to serve Akron and environs — essentially separate markets. This means that in essence Perry claimed WKSU and WCLV were in one market when it suited WKSU (his original agreement with Conrad and his redirected signal both imply this), but when the opposite argument suited WKSU, he claimed they served two.

The outcome is the public image of a bully for Conrad's WCLV and the loss of some rich programming for WKSU's audience — both unfortunate and unnecessary results.

The fact is, despite the loss, WKSU is far from destitute. It bears only the vaguest resemblance to Cleveland State's WCSB-FM

and CWRU's WRUW-FM. Both of these are college stations in every sense of the term. While they are ambitious and have wonderfully eclectic programming — including the only New Wave rock in town — they are staffed by students, generate a lot of their own material, and lack the budget of WKSU. This type of public radio station, generally without any tie to NPR, is more student lab or extracurricular activity than anything else. Though WKSU is part of Kent State, it is a fully professional station with alternative music, news shows, and other performance programs. WKSU is in many ways a typical non-commercial station and NPR affiliate as well. It went on the air in 1950 primarily as a training facility for Kent State students, and became an NPR-style station little more than a decade ago. Today it has thirteen full-time and six part-time staffers, all professionals, who keep the station on the air 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

The biggest single block of programming is classical music. A little more than 80 percent of the material is generated by WKSU, with about 12 percent coming from NPR (mainly "All Things Considered" and "Morning Edition"), and about 3 percent from other syndicates and networks (most notably the Metropolitan Opera and Cleveland Orchestra broadcasts).

WKSU's budget for this fiscal year is \$580,000, a little high because of some capital improvement money. Normally, Perry said, it might be closer to \$450,000. About \$120,000, or 18 percent, of that comes from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The university gives about 30 percent, with 52 percent coming from the listening public and Medic-minded local businesses.

The twist is that Perry is spending about \$40,000 this year on promotional advertising, mainly on commercial TV stations. "Doesn't everyone want to be competitive in the market place?" Perry said. By competitive he means "with all stations. Just because we're public doesn't mean that market realities don't apply. About 75 percent of the nation doesn't even know that public radio exists."

He said he buys about 150 spots on the stations twice a year during WKSU's fund drives. The reason is that, even though WKSU get its sustenance from the public, from private grants, and from federal monies, it still must compete with the commercial stations to

draw an audience. Without the audience the individual contributions would not be forthcoming, and without them, CPB would give considerably less. This is because CPB's aid is based on a percentage of non-federal funds in the previous year's budget.



The progress of public broadcasting, seen in isolation, is fairly limited. Of the 280 stations tied to National Public Radio, 163 are licensed to colleges and universities; 62 to community groups; 47 to state networks or local school districts; 3 to library systems; and 5 to a category called "other," which includes New York City's station and several that are owned by music camps.

"The effect," reported the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting in 1979, "is a public radio system that does not reflect the pluralism that is such a highly valued characteristic of American society." The commission found that in 1979 classical music was the stock in trade of fully 40 percent of the stations qualified for CPB support.

But the commission missed the point. As of January, 1983, there are 4,685 AM radio stations on the air, nearly four times the number in 1948 when TV was taking its first tentative and clumsy steps. Likewise there are 4,505 FM stations, or nearly ten times as many as there were in 1948. And there are 1,090 TV stations on the air as of the first of 1983. This freshening of radio has come about mainly because of prodding in various forms from the Federal Communications Commission, and to a lesser degree, because of public support for non-commercial radio.

Broadcasting's relationship with government always has been that of a sometimes contrary, frequently headstrong child with a patient parent. Virtually all legislative and regulatory action, going back to the seminal Federal Communications Act of 1934, has been aimed at getting the maximum service out of broadcasting.

The intention has been to make first radio, and later TV, all things to all people. Clearly, such efforts have failed in the case of television. But radio is another matter. By the

time Congress got around to public broadcasting in the late 1960s and early 1970s, such efforts were more enrichment of an already wealthy medium (in the best sense) than therapy for a failed experiment.

Contrary to early predictions, radio did not succumb after the birth of TV. It got better and more diverse. The FCC's careful cultivation of the FM band in the late '60s helped to ensure that finally, after what was by then more than thirty years of federal regulation, *something* at last seemed to meet the spirit of the Communications Act. The purpose of the act was to codify the principle that companies may own the stations, but the American people own the airwaves; that the electronic media are bound to serve a pluralistic society.

By the late '60s there already was a wide range of services available from radio. Contrast this with TV, which now operates the way radio did in its vastly overrated golden age before World War II. Television still is dominated by three commercial networks and their affiliated stations. Many would say the best expressions of our civilization are seen only on public stations, which in Cleveland generally seem to draw less than 5 percent of the audience, and on cable TV, which is rapidly becoming a toy for the rich.

While there are eight TV stations serving Cleveland (two public, the rest commercial), there are more than twenty radio stations, each specializing in something different. There are four stations alone serving the black community, several featuring news and talk, one commercial station with classical music, several with country music, and several more with various interpretations of rock music.

Though the non-commercial radio stations do not fare well in the ratings, they do nonetheless provide many and varied alternatives for those who find commercial radio too confining. WKSU-FM offers classical, jazz, and bluegrass music. Ethnic, New Wave, jazz, and blues music may be found on WCSB-FM, WRUW-FM (Case Western Reserve University), and WUJC-FM (John Carroll University), to name but a few.

Buried in the Carnegie Commission's lament about pluralism is the hint that public broadcasting may be — dare I say it? — *elitist*.

Well, it is. And whether the Commission likes it or not, this may be the most useful application of public broadcasting. The public taste being what it is, no one is going to draw much of an audience with culture, thus no one is going to make much money, thus no one is going to put very much of it on the air. It is said, for instance, that jazz music is little in evidence on Cleveland radio because it cannot draw a profitable-sized audience. Conversely, New York City *can* support jazz commercially, because 1 percent of the mammoth New York audience is enough for an advertising revenue base.

Public radio's real contribution is not merely in making these diverse art forms available to a relatively small group of people. It also allows the full range of our culture to be represented on the publicly owned airwaves. Stated another way, the elitist tendencies of public broadcasting make whole the fabric of American radio. While public radio is not in itself pluralistic, it creates a pluralistic medium when considered in concert with commercial radio.

To weigh the effects, the vices, and the virtues of public radio in Cleveland would be, at best, speculative because one of the two NPR-designated stations is not on the air (as of press time). But this much can be said: WCPN intends to offer a measure of public-affairs programming and news that has been little in evidence in commercial radio here. There is no reason to doubt that the station will become what its operators intend because it is relatively well insulated from the ravages of a ratings-dominated marketplace. Thus WCPN is unlikely to degenerate into the frothy small-talk shows and quick-hit news segments that characterize so much of Cleveland's commercial news-talk stations.

As to WKSU and commercial WCLV, I have no doubt that they will continue to snipe at one another for many years to come, making up in juicy off-the-air invective what both claim to be losing in programming. In the mean time, it should be noted that Athens, Florence, and Vienna were not without their own problems, and yet were able to deliver the legacy of Western Civilization to succeeding generations. So too will public radio and its commercial competitor survive.

Robert H. Jackson

The Second Greatest Sport

Dr. A.S.W. Rosenbach, perhaps the best-known and most successful American dealer in books during this century, once said, "the greatest sport, next to love, is book collecting."¹ To many collectors this sentiment still rings true. A mystery to the uninitiated, rare-book collecting is in fact enticing a growing number of people.

Originally the exclusive preserve of the wealthy merchant, the titled, or the well-heeled scholar, in recent times rare-book collecting has become the pursuit of Everyman. The changes in publishing that have accompanied literary and technological advances, along with dispersion of wealth, have made it possible for the contemporary book collector to indulge his hobby without expending large sums. Costly "high spots"² of rare-book collecting are no longer the test of a significant book collection. Today it is possible to assemble a good collection of affordable "modern" books.

As the book collector has changed so has the book dealer. Today's dealer can no longer rely on one or two wealthy individuals for his livelihood. Gone are the days when book dealing was often the incidental pastime of the bored dilettante. The successful contemporary book dealer is an active, full-time businessman, applying modern marketing, financial and promotional techniques to his work, thus helping to create a broader market of book collectors, which permits more dealers to flourish.

Increased interest in book collecting has been generated by regional and national book fairs, trade journals, and the active involvement of the major auction houses: Sotheby's (which succeeded Parke-Bernet), Christie's, and Swann Galleries. As the supply of true rarities has diminished, dealers and collectors have sought new hunting grounds, which still fuel the natural pleasure of the chase. Arcane collecting specialties, such as books about coach riding, fox hunting, or the Western Reserve, books with interesting bindings or eighteenth-century French cookbooks, now supplement the more traditional ones, such as old sports books, color-plate books, incunabula (books printed in the infancy of printing, the fifteenth century), topographical works, maps, and English and American literature. The constant pursuit of new specialties has created a vital atmosphere entirely new to the book-collecting world.

Collectors of art, porcelains, antique furniture, coins, or stamps are seldom called upon to justify their activities. Perhaps the intrinsic value of such collections, or the easy access to their visual or artistic qualities, is a sufficient explanation. Book collectors, on the other hand, are constantly assaulted with requests to justify their strange avocation. Ironically, they themselves have generated a large number of articles and books questioning and explaining the pleasures of book collecting. Writers such as Thomas Dibdin in the

A life-long resident of Cleveland, Robert H. Jackson is a partner in the law firm of Kohrman, Jackson & Weiss Co., LPA. He belongs to the American, Federal, and Cleveland Bar Associations, specializing in security transactions. He is a former chairman of the Federal Securities Commission subcommittee for the American Bar Association on shareholder proxy solicitations and tender offers, and has been an attorney with the Securities and Exchange Commission. He frequently lectures on securities and contributes articles to professional law journals. He received an A.B. degree from the University of Illinois and a J.D. from Case Western Reserve University Law School. His activity as a book collector, which began about six years ago, is a natural extension, he says, of a long-standing interest in philosophy: "Book collecting is really dealing in ideas."



First edition of Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* in the author's collection. Like most novels of its time, this was published in installments ("parts"). Part One is in the center; the other parts are stacked on the inner portion of a special box designed for them, and chemically impregnated to protect the paper from deterioration from air pollution.



early 1800's, A. Edward Newton and Vincent Starrett during the early part of this century, or currently Robert Taylor and Madeline B. Stern,³ have put forward a wide variety of reasons, often very personal. In fact, the impulse to collect rare books is not vastly different from that behind other forms of collecting activity: the sheer joy of ownership, pride of possession, the desire to own a rare thing of artistic beauty that others do not. The pleasure derived from knowing that your piece of Tiffany glass is a better example than others, that your Miro is the best example of its kind, or that your Dickens or Robert Frost manuscript is unique is hard to explain in terms of cold logic. For book collecting is above all a passion: you may as well ask a man why he married his wife rather than someone else as ask a collector why he collects.

Quite apart from the pride of ownership and the aesthetic pleasure derived from books-as-objects, part of the pleasure of book collecting is the education it affords. The book collector of today is as likely to be a banker, physician, or businessman as he is a scholar. The activity of collecting provides a relief from and a counterpoint to more mundane pursuits and permits the collector to remain in touch with and satisfy literary and artistic interests formed in high school or in college. Creating a collection focuses the collector's attention on the social and historical milieu of a given period and often leads to new knowledge. For example, my study of the publication of Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1921 inevitably led me to explore the history of Joyce's efforts to have the work published, of his self-

enforced exile from Ireland, of his relationships with such contemporaries as Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, and Samuel Beckett, who analyzed, criticized, and promoted Joyce's work. And I gained an insight into the concerns and temper of George Eliot's era when I learned that during the publication of the first edition of her novel *Felix Holt*, the title was changed to *Felix Holt, the Radical* to increase sales and sensationalize the novel.

The process just described might be called the intellectual element of the joy of book collecting. But the pleasure of a book as a physical object, the "thing in itself," is equally important, and perhaps to some collectors even paramount. Fine bindings, particularly those worked in leather, tastefully and intricately decorated, are a delight. Book illustrations, the ways in which artists confine their talent to small spaces, can be artistically satisfying. I can think of no better examples than the drawings with which William Blake illustrated his poems, elevating the whole into a unique art form, or Rockwell Kent's drawings for a three-volume edition of Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*, a masterpiece of twentieth-century book art, published in 1931.

Private presses give great attention to the art of the typographer and to the natural physical beauty of the paper and other materials used in the manufacture of books. Thus, books as objects appeal to the aesthetic sense of the collector as much as fine china or fine art. In fact, some rare books, such as the Picasso-illustrated Limited Editions Club edition of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* or Alexander

King's illustrations for the signed limited edition of Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones*, are themselves fine art.

To some the intellectual or aesthetic pleasure of book collecting is secondary to an interest in books as profitable investments. Although not without its hazards, book collecting has often been profitable. Over the years, genuinely rare books have consistently increased in value. There are legendary stories of collectors making substantial profits from the formation of important collections — the collections of Robert Hoe, Jerome Kern, William Streeter, and William Stockhausen come readily to mind.⁴ Recently a physician in Minnesota spent approximately \$300,000 over a five-year period for high spots from the period 1600-1900. Last year he sold his collection for over twice that amount, thus making a substantial profit despite commissions, expenses, and taxes. It is true that he might have realized the same profit from more prosaic investments, such as stocks and bonds. But imagine the enjoyment he derived from acquiring his collection! This is the sort of dividend a stock or bond never pays.

Pure sentiment, I suspect, also plays an important role in book collecting. Early memories, fantasies and fears, and childhood experiences all shape the habits and interests of maturity. The doctor who collects old medical books is not unusual and may have begun with a childhood desire to serve his fellow men. The collector of classic children's books can relive his childhood dreams and fantasies while pursuing a respectable profession. Early interest in travel or the fine arts may manifest itself in the collection of travel books or the works of photographers and illustrators such as Arthur Rackham, Will Pogany, or Maurice Sendak.

Like any other collection, a collection of rare books may evolve as a chance assortment of "bright objects" or as an interrelated whole which has a form and value of its own. There is a temptation in the early phases of book collecting simply to acquire random high spots. This sort of disorganized approach, while it may have its moments of pleasure, usually produces an initial rush of buying followed by a rapid loss of interest. Unless the collector formulates a logical system for his collecting, identifying definite areas of specialization, he will find it difficult to sustain his interest. In a

disorganized accumulation lacking meaningful interrelation of its contents, the parts may paradoxically be worth more than the whole.

Choosing a topic, a period, an author, or a group of authors such as the Transcendentalists, Bloomsbury circle, or Pre-Raphaelites is perhaps the most difficult decision for the beginner. Typically, a collector's first efforts focus upon some favorite author or other topic of personal interest. One may begin by acquiring first editions of Ernest Hemingway and from there move on to works of the other expatriate authors of the '20s (Gertrude Stein, Hart Crane, F. Scott Fitzgerald); or someone interested in local history may collect books having to do with Cleveland or the Western Reserve. As a collector becomes more knowledgeable, he will find himself redefining his goals and wanting to upgrade the quality of his acquisitions as well as to refine his area of collecting. Suppose a collector has an interest in the works of Ezra Pound; he will quickly discover that these are difficult to obtain and expensive. If he then turns to T.S. Eliot, a friend and contemporary of Pound's, he will find the same is true of Eliot's works. He would do well to investigate other authors of the same period, less well known perhaps, but whose works are more generally available and cheaper, such as Siegfried Sassoon, Hilda Doolittle, Lytton Strachey, or Roger Fry. With the increasing number of collectors, the declining supply of truly rare books, and the high cost of those remaining, the need to search out new but significant specialties is ever present.

Fortunately, almost any interest can be developed through books. A passion for gardening may broaden into an interest in books having to do with natural history. A general interest in things military may focus upon any of a large number of subtopics, such as medal books,⁵ soldiers' journals, military biographies, or works devoted to specific wars or campaigns. Personalities — Napoleon, British royalty, American presidents, or other political leaders — provide a wealth of material. With some thought, any aspiring collector of rare books can find a topic which suits his interests and matches his pocket-book.

For the traditionalist, the basic categories of book collecting are chronological. The earliest — the incunabula — are so scarce that



Unpublished letter from Charles Dickens, in the author's collection. The text is as follows.

London, 1 Devonshire Terrace
Nineteenth April 1857

Dear Sir

I received your letter at Malvern (?) Since then I have been in some trouble. The sudden death of a little daughter — she was called Dora, in remembrance of a book you have read — has much afflicted us. But I cannot refrain from thanking you and assuring you that I am truly gratified by your communication.

Faithfully yours

Charles Dickens

William Dudley Esquire

they either exist in institutional collections or are available only at prices that discourage all but the very wealthy. Books printed between 1500 and 1800, usually referred to as "antiquarian," encompass such rare items as the Shakespeare Folios, the works of Milton, Isaac Newton, Defoe, Richardson, and Sheridan. The list of antiquarian books is extensive. While the number of books published during the antiquarian period is surprisingly large, it has become difficult today to form a meaningful collection of antiquarian works at reasonable expense without specializing. Secondary material — i.e., other than the so-called high spots — from this period is frequently available but is probably of interest to a limited number of collectors. Recently several dealers have offered lists of seventeenth-century minor poets and sixteenth-century pamphlets printed in England. It is doubtful that such materials have any general appeal to the majority of collectors who are not scholars.

Obviously, as the collector begins to focus on more modern materials, availability increases and costs diminish. Books issued during the nineteenth century were the beneficiaries of numerous technological advances in printing and publishing, and were designed to reach an increasingly wide public — a trend which has continued to the present.

Many books have been written to aid the collector in devising a specialty, but my preference is for Jean Peters's *Collectible Books: Some New Paths*,⁶ a work that recognizes the problems of the contemporary collector and offers much wise advice. Sections of this work deal with non-first editions, American trade bindings and their designs, the period

from 1880 to 1951, books in series, film books, American mass-market paperbacks, photography as book illustration, book catalogues, publishers' imprints, and American fiction since 1960. Additional topics to consider are Americana, naval history, theater, the history of printing, science fiction, and the occult. By carefully choosing topics which reflect personal taste, literary judgment, and degree of sophistication, and by avoiding areas which have become faddish and therefore expensive, the beginning collector should be able to begin to form a satisfying collection while confining his spending within reasonable limits.

As in most types of collecting, "rarity" is a central concept in book collecting. But rarity is elusive when applied to books. Books published only five years ago or even during the past twelve months can be rare, while even certain incunabula are still not considered rare since they have no other quality of importance.⁷ Nor can rarity be assured merely by the size of an edition. A privately printed novel with only five copies extant is obviously limited and scarce, but, if it is not sought after, it is not rare. With new materials, it is impossible to predict whether or not they will become rare. *Thirst*, the first published separate group of plays by Eugene O'Neill, appeared in 1915 in an edition of 1,000, but was remaindered within a few months of issue. Sold originally for \$1.75, its rarity became established only after O'Neill was recognized as America's major playwright during the 1920s. The book, unsigned, with its white dust jacket, has recently sold for over \$800; inscribed copies sell for twice that amount when found.

Another well-known example is the first English translation (from Persian) of the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* by Edward Fitzgerald, published by Bernard Quaritch (a famous English book dealer) in 1865 in an edition of 250 copies. Because of its obscure subject matter, small edition, and lack of promotion, it did not sell well, and most of the copies were placed in a warehouse where many were destroyed by a fire. Within several years, new poems were added to a new issue (a second edition), which eventually became popular. The first edition, when found, continued to sell for only pennies until the literary world awakened to the mastery of its content. Now one of the few extant copies, when offered for sale, fetches between \$10,000 and \$20,000, depending on condition.

The factors which make a book rare are thus scarcity and demand; the interrelationship of these two factors prevents their being considered separately. Simply put, rarity exists when demand is markedly greater than supply. A book has some quality of desirability when the collector wants the book whatever the reason. Desirability can be the result of the importance of the contents; the quality of illustrations or reputation of the illustrator; the paper, printer, or binding; the bibliographical interest or history; or some other quality totally trivial to all but those who value it.

Ironically, the more expensive and rare the book is, the more readily it may be found. The Kelmscott *Chaucer*, T.E. Lawrence's *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, and Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, books which have sold for \$15,000, \$7,500, and \$20,000 respectively, are far more available to the wealthy buyer than Aldous Huxley's first book of poetry, *The Burning Wheel*, W.M. Thackeray's *The Irish Sketchbook*, or James Joyce's first printed book, *Chamber Music*, which are offered at \$1,000, \$800, and \$2,000 respectively, when they can be found. Ultimately, the collector's ability to distinguish the truly rare book from the ordinary, to evaluate its relationship to other copies, to understand its bibliographical significance, and to accurately estimate its value will determine his success as a collector.

The better the condition of a book, the more it is worth. This may seem obvious, but it is easier to understand as an abstract propo-

sition than it is to apply in practice. Of course, any rare book may give pleasure to its owner even if it is in relatively poor condition. Condition may contribute more to the economic value of an item or a collection than to the collector's enjoyment of it. But as a collector becomes more sophisticated (some would say more fanatical), he will generally become more concerned with the condition of the items he acquires, as a coin collector may develop a passion for "brilliant uncirculated" coins rather than for well-worn coins of the same type.

As with rarity, condition is in part a subjective judgment and must take into account the period in which the book was published and other factors. For example, since the middle 1800s, the paper used in books has deteriorated in quality, primarily because of an increased use of unpurified wood pulp and chemicals instead of rags. This change led to increased acidity in the paper, which has the effect of making it brittle. "Foxing" is the term used to describe the aging process which affects such paper. Paper in books issued during the two World Wars has yellowed and is extremely fragile. A book like E.M. Forster's *Passage to India* rarely comes in fine condition and is generally badly foxed because of the paper's poor quality. On the other hand, books published before about 1840 may still be sparkling and bright because of the paper's heavy rag content. In modern times, while the use of paper with high acidity has continued in mass publishing, certain private presses publish limited or special editions using handmade papers with high rag content which minimizes the foxing process. Obviously, then, assessing the condition of a book must involve an understanding of the period in which it was produced and the nature of the materials then in use.

Age is generally the most important factor affecting condition. A book published 300 years ago cannot (with very rare exceptions) be in as fine condition as a book published ten years ago. Beyond these generalizations, however, the factors affecting the market's assessment of the condition of a book are extremely complex. Books which to the uninitiated vary only slightly in appearance may command vastly different prices. A modest discoloration of the gold leaf on the spine, a small bump on the corner of the cover, a loosening of the groups of pages

called "signatures,"⁸ a chip in the dust jacket, all may have significant effects on value. In time, by handling and examining many books and comparing their prices, a collector develops a feel for the condition of an item and the price it should bring in the market. Only through this hands-on learning process can the collector hope to assess whether an item is fairly priced when negotiating with a book dealer.

Opinions differ as to the importance of various criteria in evaluating the condition of a book. A controversy is currently raging in the book world about the condition of dust jackets as an integral part of the book. Before 1885, dust jackets were rarely used. If used, they consisted of a plain piece of paper placed around the book for the specific purpose of protecting the binding. In fact, prior to the early 1800s, books published in France and England generally came in soft paper covers (usually blue) so that the purchasers could have the book bound as they chose. Since about 1885 dust jackets have become popular as a merchandising tool, complete with graphics and designs to entice the would-be purchaser. In the United States, dealers and collectors generally insist upon dust jackets. Many English dealers and collectors, on the other hand, consider the American insistence on prime dust jackets (or wrappers, as they are still called there) as an unjustifiable aberration. In my own mind, the dust jacket is an integral part of a book's history, an extension of bibliographical information, and should rightly be an important factor to consider in acquiring a book. Some collectors or dealers will "marry" dust jackets to books which do not have them. This practice is fairly common when a famous writer or celebrity has received a book inscribed to him and the book lacks the jacket. The dealer or collector may then add the jacket to make such an "association copy"⁹ more valuable.

The condition of a book upon its purchase and its condition upon subsequent sale, perhaps many years later, are equally important. Preserving books to maintain their value is obviously important when they constitute a substantial investment. Slip cases or "clam-shell" boxes for storage, a stable environment with a fairly constant temperature and relative humidity of about 50 percent, and freedom from dust are all important elements of book preservation. Of course, it is generally not possible to improve

the condition of a book, but its condition can be prevented from deteriorating. A common ailment of books is the discoloration of the spine. This "sunning" results from exposure to strong light—especially direct sun. Deterioration also occurs at the top and bottom of the spine, which may become frayed or torn from handling, especially when the book is squeezed into a shelf.

Contrary to popular myth, rare books are seldom found nowadays in attics, buried under newspapers or in trunks. While it is not impossible still to purchase, in flea markets or at house sales, a few books for a dollar or two which have a retail value of \$20 to \$50, most of the time rare books are located in the most logical of places, that is, in antiquarian bookstores or auction houses. While the undiscovered treasure may still lurk in some forgotten place, the remote chance of locating it does not justify the time spent looking for it.

Once a person decides to make that tentative thrust into rare-book collecting and has developed some knowledge of his chosen subject matter, the basic question becomes: where and how to obtain books? The keystone of book collecting is neither the book collector nor the book itself but the book dealer. He is the life-blood, the source of supply and dispersal, knowledge, gossip, and, also, the source of frustration, anxiety and amusement. The tension between the book dealer and the collector is unlike that found in other collecting fields. With the rapidly changing economics which characterize the rare book market, the dealer is the source to which the collector should first apply.

For the most part, book dealers are not collectors (except of the specialized reference works from which they determine price, rarity, etc.); if they are collectors, they are seldom good dealers. Some of the present book dealers are truly knowledgeable, scholarly—or what are commonly called "good bookmen." Some are in business because they just happened along or because they failed as writers but still want to be associated with books.

Dealers offer a variety of services that auction houses do not. They are a source of ideas about new subjects to collect and authors that are of current interest. They like to put together collections as a challenge, as well as (of course) to make money. Second, they have the ability to search for particular books. Although collectors can also seek out



Group of "presentation" copies from the author's collection, including editions of *Saint Joan* signed by George Bernard Shaw and *The Grapes of Wrath* signed by John Steinbeck and the illustrator, John Groth.

items themselves, dealers are better at it. Third, they evaluate books offered for sale at auctions and execute bids. Fourth, they dispose of duplicate or unwanted books, and offer appraisal services. Finally, dealers will share knowledge with their clients and help develop the collector's own expertise.

What are dealers like today? Like collectors, they come in all varieties. In my experience, dealers range from the scrupulously frank to those employing seriously questionable practices, with all gradations between. There are occasional dealers who have general second-hand book stores with only a few antiquarian books; dealers who specialize in general subjects, such as travel or nineteenth and twentieth-century English and American literature, eighteenth-century literature, and more esoteric areas such as medicine or law or arctic travel or islands; or dealers who specialize in such narrow subjects as Australian history, topography, mythology, or local history. The dealer's background and personal interests often govern his area of specialization. I have heard of physicians who dabble in book dealing and have known scientists who cannot find jobs other than selling scientific books.

While dealers are scattered throughout the United States, the major ones are located

primarily in New York City and on the West Coast. Boston, Chicago, and Austin, Texas (home of the University of Texas, which possesses important collections), also have noteworthy dealers. Book-trade directories published by the Antiquarian Booksellers Association of America (ABAA), *Bookman's Yearbook*, *Bookman's Weekly*, *Bookdealers in North America*, *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review*, and *American Book Collector* are informative sources for finding dealers with interests relevant to the collector's. The major English dealers are centered in London, but many minor dealers operate part-time mail order businesses throughout England.

Some 20,000 books are printed annually in this country and a similar number in England. This vast publishing activity has created a large marketing and distribution network with outlets in drug stores, supermarkets, and gas stations, as well as in retail book stores. By contrast, the rare book market in the United States consists of probably 100-150 major dealers, a second tier of perhaps 200, a third of around 300, and an unknown number of flea-market operations and part-timers who sell used books for under \$10 and label them "rare." The second-tier dealers approach the level of the first in general knowledge but are undercapitalized or lack the total commitment needed to be good bookmen. The third tier consists of many types but primarily small dealers with small resources and limited knowledge, who sell books in the under-\$100 category. The rare-book market is thus quite small when compared to the retail book business. Some 15 to 20 dealers specialize in scientific and medical books, 30 in children's books, a dozen in Victorian literature, perhaps the same number in pre-1800 editions, and about 50 major dealers in modern literature.

One of the true pleasures of book collecting is browsing through the catalogues of dealers and auction houses. I find catalogues stimulating and informative, not only for their entertainment value, but as a means of discerning the personality, honesty, and expertise of the dealer. Studying catalogues provides insight into current price trends and market changes, such as which contemporary poet is now saleable and which under-ground novelist is no longer in vogue.

Catalogues, like dealers, come in all shapes and sizes—and degrees of forthright-

ness. I find first catalogues (by new dealers) the most interesting: since they are first efforts, they provide the dealer's best graphic examples and his best holdings. By the second catalogue, the dealer's supply of good books has diminished and he begins to recycle secondary materials often acquired as discards from other dealers. First catalogues which I have enjoyed recently include those from James Borg in Chicago, A. Gekowski (an American living in England), James Jaffe in Philadelphia, and the Bibliotopus in California.

Catalogues, particularly American ones, must be carefully examined to insure that their terminology is understood. After ordering from catalogues a few times, the collector soon learns to tell which catalogues are candid and accurate in their description of condition and edition and which should be discarded on receipt. Catalogues are truly a reflection of the personality of the compiler. The quality of the offerings, the variation of prices from one catalogue to another, the consistency of the scholarship, even the paper and printing — all are useful in evaluating the dealer and his stock.

Sawyer's of London, a firm of two centuries' existence, issues elaborate catalogues on glossy paper, with attractive pictures, high prices, and frequent offerings of superficial sets of standard authors or volumes in fancy bindings. By contrast, catalogues such as those of Bertram Rota have simple short titles of modern books with one-line descriptions and moderate prices. Blackwell's (Oxford), Maggs, and Quaritch provide far more

detail, yet are scholarly, and often make a good read. Catalogues of American dealers also reveal their scholarship and sometimes offer pictures of the contents, which are generally in fine condition. Howell (San Francisco) and H.P. Kraus (New York), although very successful promoters, are at the same time good bookmen, who know how to produce attractive, thoughtful, and educational catalogues that often remain valuable works in themselves. Joseph the Provider (Santa Barbara), a dealer in modern books who has at times produced superb catalogues, recently issued a detailed Henry Miller catalogue which will I believe be a reference work for years to come. Ann and David Bromer's catalogues (Boston) offer primarily illustrated books, children's books, and miniatures, and are attractive and well designed. Heritage's catalogues (Los Angeles) offer an interesting range of rare books.

With more dealers working out of their homes and with the need to expand lists of customers, catalogues have become extremely important in the book dealer's world, although a short supply of good books and increased mailing and printing costs have reduced their number.

Catalogues are an important barometer of the economics of the book market. Besides providing price information, catalogues constantly surprise me with unfamiliar authors or with unknown minor works of well-known authors. For example, even someone with my intense interest in Charles Dickens discovered not too long ago the extent of his

Some Northern Ohio Dealers in Collectible Books

Akron Antiquarian Books

Non-fiction.
William Chrisant, proprietor
439 West Market Street
Akron, Ohio 44303 434-3832

Asphodel Book Shop

Poetry and first-edition twentieth-century literature.
Jim Lowell, proprietor
17192 Ravenna Road
Burton, Ohio 44021 834-4775

Ferrini Galleries

Western Medieval illuminated manuscripts and early illustrated books.
933 West Exchange Street
Akron, Ohio 44303 867-2665

Peter Keisogloff

53 The Arcade
Cleveland, Ohio 44114
621-3094

McClintock Books

Mail order and science fiction.
522A High Street N.E.
Warren, Ohio 44483
339-2926

Old Erie Street Bookstore

2128 East 9th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
575-0743

Ovis Bookshop

Second-hand and rare books.
2252 Lee Road
Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118
371-8662

Publix Book Mart

General and used books.
Wesley Williams, proprietor
Playhouse Square
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

John T. Zubal, Inc.

Scholarly books and periodicals and antiquarian books.
2969 West 25th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44113
241-7640

production of minor books, magazine articles, letters, and miscellaneous items seldom publicized. The same is true of Thackeray, who wrote an enormous amount of peripheral work.

In analyzing catalogues, it is quite important to understand their subtle language, or even their silence, on such questions as whether a book has a dust jacket or whether the words "first edition" also mean "first state" (first press run). When catalogues describe condition of dust jackets, they should use well-defined terms, but seldom do. The adjectives describing condition fluctuate too: *superlative* in one catalogue may be the equivalent of *fair*; *fine* may mean less than fine; and the words *scarce*, *rare*, and *very rare* are often used interchangeably. It is essential in studying a catalogue to develop a sense for the relative judgments behind the dealer's estimate of the quality of his material, his pricing technique, and his ability consistently to find books of high quality for his customers. A minor satisfaction in the adventure of catalogue reading is to discover individual books that migrate from one catalogue to another over several years. You might think that such movement would cause prices to drop, but unfortunately this seldom happens.

A collector may also pursue his interests in auction houses. Many dealers, perhaps partly out of self-interest, say that collectors should not participate directly in auctions but should use a dealer who will serve them by appearing at the sale and bidding for only a 10 percent commission.¹⁰ Many collectors do not enjoy the sense of the chase that auctions offer and prefer to have dealers represent them. I do not share this view, although I use dealers frequently at auctions which I cannot attend. There is something very special about being at an auction, personally selecting and touching the books and attempting to obtain them by bidding competitively against other collectors and dealers.

Whatever one's preference, dealers can be helpful at auctions. Obviously, if you live in a city other than the one in which the auction takes place, your dealer can examine the items and save the collector a trip several days before the auction. He can give you advice about prices and allow you to remain anonymous if you wish. Also he is willing to sit in the auction room all day if necessary.

Dealers are also generally immune to auction fever, a phenomenon which can be very difficult for the collector to overcome. The symptom is a tendency to pay far more for a book than one wishes by overbidding, trying to outbid a competitor. In addition to avoiding this failing, when you give a bid to a dealer, you may be closing out some of the competition—a definite advantage. The strategy is to give dealers who specialize in a certain period the bids for items of that period.

The relationship between the book dealer and the collector is always one of tension. Most dealers are honest, but there are degrees of honesty and forthrightness. If you are unusually knowledgeable in your collecting field, trust your own instincts and never totally accept what the dealer tells you. He is in the business of selling; a certain degree of salesmanship will always be present. Caution is also the best rule to follow when encountering a dealer in his shop for the first time, unless he is willing to let you study his stock by yourself. If he is willing to discuss what he paid for a book or will tell you frankly what he believes it is worth, a basis for trust exists.

As with many kinds of collecting, rare-book collecting can profit the pocketbook as well as the intellectual and aesthetic sense. Though some collect rare books *only* with a view to profit, I do not consider these to be collectors in the true sense of the word. Still, genuine collectors may hope to realize a profit—or at least not to lose money on their collections. History demonstrates that this is possible and even probable. Book collecting, however, like any field of collecting, is subject to the vagaries of fads and fashions, and profits can by no means be counted on. For example, John Galsworthy's novels, which in the 1920s sold for \$1,000 or more, are today probably not worth more than \$25 to \$50. Prices for the works of Hemingway, still a controversial writer whose position in the world of letters has yet to be finally decided, reached great heights only a few years ago but have recently fallen. Prices for the works of F. Scott Fitzgerald and William Faulkner have increased steadily as their reputations have become more firmly established. The Watkins and Curtis photography books of the West and of Indians published during the late nineteenth century became popular only in the last few years and yet have reached



A complete set of the first edition of *David Copperfield* in "fine parts." Sets of serially issued books in fine condition such as these are rare, because volumes bound in this fashion were inevitably worn by the process of reading; few remain that are not dog-eared, with worn or stained covers.

amazing prices. Unfortunately, many collectors enter the field after a specialty has already become popular, buy at inflated prices and lose money when they come to sell.

One might think that the prices of literary works would relate logically to the status or popularity of the author. Yet this is not always so. Are not Henry Fielding and George Eliot as respected authors as Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway? Yet *Tom Jones* and *Middlemarch* do not bring prices comparable to those of *The Great Gatsby* and *The Sun Also Rises*. The market values for Philip Larkin, John Ashbury, and Thomas Pynchon are often higher than those for T.S. Eliot, Hart Crane, Aldous Huxley, and Eudora Welty, who are surely their equals. As a general rule, the works of a particular author will vary in price in accordance with the quality of the work. Thackeray's masterpiece *Vanity Fair* sells in fine parts for \$8,000 to \$10,000, while his lesser works such as *Pendennis* and *The Virginians* in fine parts sell for only \$700 and \$800 respectively. *Moby-Dick* commands from \$20,000 to \$50,000, while Melville's lesser novels sell for considerably less. Still there are many exceptions. George Eliot's first novel, *Scenes from Clerical Life*, for example, will bring three to four times the price of *The Mill on the Floss* or *Adam Bede*. That a work is an author's masterpiece does not automatically entitle it to the highest price. Scarcity of the first edition, a curious publishing history, or some other unique circumstance may alter the usual rule.

A faddish popularity for a particular author or subject can greatly affect prices.

Until the early 1960s, William Morris's Kelmscott Press books published during the late 1890s sold in the low hundreds except for the edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which has always been recognized as one of the greatest books printed by a private press, and perhaps the most sumptuous example of English printing. A reawakening interest in Art Nouveau, a fascination with the illustrations of Aubrey Beardsley, Edward Burne-Jones, and Morris's own multi-talented achievements, created a surge and demand for his book, which has increased from two to five times in value. The Kelmscott *Chaucer* has gone from \$4,000 in 1970 to \$15,000 today.

In addition to the fads and fashions of the marketplace, the book collector must be wary of dealers' techniques for creating artificial rarity or illusory uniqueness. Some printers will issue, besides the usual trade edition, a limited edition, signed by the author, of perhaps a hundred copies with a half-leather binding, plus twenty-five in full leather, selling the smaller editions at higher prices. Will such "limited" editions become true rarities? Impossible to say, but the collector who buys such items does so at substantial risk. Recently, the Pennyroyal Press of Barry Moser in Easthampton, Massachusetts, issued 350 illustrated copies of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass* for \$1,500 each. It is hard to believe that these are reasonable prices when the first editions of these works do not sell for much more.

An extreme example of private press exploitation occurred during the 1960s when

Loujan Press published Henry Miller's *Insomnia* in seven separate editions of 999 copies. One had an antique brass nameplate and colophon page autographed, another had three paintings signed, a third had six paintings signed and a brass nameplate, and so forth. Unfortunately, such manipulative methods have come increasingly into vogue, in books as in other collectibles. Broadsides (usually poems printed on one side of a large sheet) are often issued by private presses simply to extract the collector's money. John Updike and Joyce Carol Oates, fine but prolific writers, permit their minor poems to be printed by a number of private presses in limited signed editions. A list of their works is quite extensive, but close reading reveals many items that consist of only one or two short stories or poems. Because of this practice, the collector eager to achieve completeness is compelled to purchase all of these editions. I would argue that the practice is exploitative and unfair to the book collector.

Despite these cautionary tales, it is still generally true that rare books are a good investment. Periodically, various brokerage firms publish economic indexes showing which kinds of collectibles have maintained or increased their value over a five or ten-year period. While prices for diamonds and French Impressionist paintings have fluctuated wildly over the past two decades, Chinese porcelains and rare books have consistently shown an upward trend. James Joyce's *Ulysses* (the edition limited to 750 copies) has increased from \$1,400 in 1977 to over \$4,000 today. Rockwell Kent's illustrated edition of *Moby-Dick* sold for \$200 in 1973 and sells for over \$1,000 now. The *Yellow Books* (13 vols.) increased from \$180 in 1978 to \$800 in 1982, and Faulkner's *Notes on a Hornet* currently retails for \$450. In 1976 the book brought only \$100. Though potential profits are a satisfying consequence of as-

sembling a collection, to enter the collecting field solely with the goal of making a profit in my opinion negates the pleasure of the books and entails significant risks.

The retail prices quoted by dealers are generally higher than those a collector can obtain if he tries to sell his collection. The book dealer needs to make a 50-100 percent profit in order to survive and prosper. Thus a book collector who judges the value of his collection by published catalogue prices may be in for a severe disappointment when he tries to realize that price on the market through a book dealer. Book collections are not liquid assets. Auction houses do provide a limited market, but important auction houses at present sell only books with a minimum value of \$100, and the seller may have to wait from four to six months to receive his money after the sale. Further, auction houses may decline to handle a particular collection at a given time or altogether, for reasons of their own. A collection may have more value as a whole than if sold in parts if it offers something special such as depth, ancillary materials (letters, manuscripts), premium condition, or uniqueness. Yet the more valuable the collection and the more its value inheres in its being sold as a whole, the more limited will be the number of potential buyers. When a particular item or collection reaches or surpasses a six-figure value, only a very few rare-book libraries or wealthy collectors are possible purchasers. Books that sell in the \$500 to \$3,000 range are accessible to greater numbers of buyers and may have more appeal in the marketplace than either cheaper or more expensive books.

While book collecting may yield a monetary profit to the careful (and lucky) collector, in the final analysis, the true return on acquiring a collection of rare books is the pleasure that they give to the collector.

NOTES

¹ John Fleming, quoted in Seamus Stewart, *Book Collecting* (New York: Dutton, 1979), p. 9.

² A "high spot" is a book generally accepted as the author's best, and one which has had a significant impact in his field. "High spots" also refers to books representing an outstanding example of a particular kind of book-making, such as Henri Matisse's first book illustrations for Mallarmé's *Poésies* or the Kelmscott *Chaucer*. Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* is universally considered a high spot, although it is probably not his masterpiece.

Percy Muir provides a wry perception of high-spot collecting: "It is a prime example of having the

courage of someone else's opinion One great advantage for high-spot collectors is that, given an efficient secretary, even analphabetic can join the select rich. Of course, precaution should be taken against anyone so misguided as to want to read the books. Solander cases help because they are difficult to open and look much better on the shelves than plebeian original cloth or boards." *Collectible Books: Some New Paths*, ed. Jean Peters (New York: Bowker, 1979), p. xxiv.

³ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliomania: Or Book Madness, A Bibliographical Romance* (London: Longman, 1809). A. Edward Newton, *The Amenities of Book Collecting and Kindred Affections* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly, 1918). Vincent Starrett, *Penny Wise and Book Foolish* (New York: Covici, Friede, 1929). Robert H. Taylor, *Certain Small Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). Madeline B. Stern, *Books and Book People in 19th Century America* (New York: Bowker, 1978). A.S.W. Rosenbach, *A Book Hunter's Holiday* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1936); *Books and Bidders: The Adventures of a Bibliophile* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1927). William Targ, *Carrousel for Bibliophiles* (New York: Duschnes, 1947).

⁴ Robert Hoe's library of illuminated manuscripts, incunabula, and early printed books was sold in a number of sales during 1911-12. Perhaps the most important item included was his copy of the Gutenberg Bible, which sold for \$50,000, the highest price ever paid up to that time for a printed book. To this day, when a "Hoe" copy is offered for sale, it represents some special quality and often commands a higher price than the same book with an ordinary provenance.

Jerome Kern, the composer of musicals, assembled his collection of English and American literature during the 1920s. He decided to sell it just before the stock market crash in 1929. Many prices realized at that sale have not yet been exceeded.

William Streeter dispersed probably the finest and largest collection of Americana in 22 sessions lasting three years, beginning in 1966.

William Stockhausen's English and American literature collection was sold at Sotheby's in 1975. The association and presentation copies were of universal scope and in unusual condition. Items included Poe's *Tamerlane*, all of Jane Austen in original boards, and a fine run of Melville first editions.

⁵ Books which describe and illustrate military medals.

⁶ See above, note 2.

⁷ More than 39,000 separate titles were printed between the time when movable type was invented and 1501; all books printed during this period are labelled "incunabula" (things in the cradle). While many of the books are hard to obtain, much of the subject matter is obscure, most of it dealing with religious matters. Moreover, many books went through a number of editions during this time; later editions of obscure incunabula are simply not much sought after.

⁸ "A folded printed sheet forming one section of a book. A signature commonly has sixteen or thirty-two pages, although any multiple of four is possible. It is called a signature because originally signatures were folded by hand and the folders had to initial their work so errors could be traced." *The Bookman's Glossary*, ed. Jean Peters (New York: Bowker, 1983), p. 188.

⁹ "A copy of a book that bears an autograph inscription or notes by the author or is in any way initially connected with the author or with any other prominent person associated with the book" (Peters, p. 11). Presentation copies are generally inscribed gifts, usually dated, and may precede the publication date. "A book merely signed or inscribed by the author at the owner's request is an inscribed copy" (Peters, p. 164).

¹⁰ The standard policy of the major auction houses in America is to charge the seller of consigned lots 10 percent of successful bid prices for lots exceeding \$3,000 and 15 percent on lots below that amount. Buyers are charged 10 percent of the successful bid price. It is known, however, that auction houses will negotiate the commission charged to sellers if the collections are particularly desirable. Sellers' commissions as low as 4 percent are not unknown.

The reserve price "is the confidential minimum price agreed between the seller and auction house, below which the lot will not ordinarily be sold. [In effect, the seller is buying his own books back.] On unsold lots, less than the full commission may be paid" (Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc., "Important Information for Prospective Bidders"). Reserves are generally set at 75 percent of the lowest stated estimate for the lot.

Cleveland Orchestra Portraits



Herbert Ascherman at work.

Last fall Herbert Ascherman, Jr., was asked by the Junior Committee of the Cleveland Orchestra to photograph its players for a directory booklet called *Fanfare*. Ascherman is a professional photographer whose studio on Coventry Road also contains a gallery in which he displays the work of local photographers.

Although he was born in Boston, he went to school in Shaker Heights and, after acquiring bachelor's and master's degrees in English at the University of Hartford, came back to Cleveland. Before turning to photography, he tried his hand at teaching school and inspecting hardwood in Pennsylvania. Since becoming established here, he has taught and lectured on photography in a dozen schools, and his work has been exhibited in numerous galleries, including the Cleveland Museum of Art.

The *Fanfare* project grew out of the Junior Committee's desire to promote the Cleveland Orchestra for its 1984-85 season under the new Music Director, Christoph von Dohnanyi. A similar *Fanfare* was published once before, in 1974.

During the five weeks of October and early November last year, Ascherman spent many days and long hours at Severance Hall, the Orchestra's home in University Circle. Each time he moved in with a miniature studio, complete with lights, backgrounds, cameras, lenses, and assistant, and worked with the musicians before, after, and between rehearsals.

Ascherman gives the following account of his labors. "I had been allotted fifteen, maybe twenty minutes at the most, to take twenty-four frames of each musician. In this time, I had to get to know my subjects and create with them a portrait that would represent my own artistic ability and also be acceptable to the musicians themselves. At night, after developing the day's shooting, I would pore over my photography books, looking for ideas and inspirations — a different camera angle, another lighting set-up, a violin position that hadn't been used (there are thirty-two violinists). I drew heavily on the masters: Muray, Newman, Stieglitz, Steichen, Avedon, and Karsh of Ottawa" (with whom Ascherman has studied).

"Photographing musicians was easier, in some ways, than working with my usual subjects. As artists, they were not self-conscious; they were used to being photographed, and they knew how to handle their props without instruction. I was their 'conductor,' and, true professionals, they performed as directed." The instruments themselves became elements of the composition as well as emblematic conveyors of the musicians' personalities.

The pictures in *Fanfare* (to be published in early April) will be those chosen by the musicians. But an exhibition of 45 prints (11" x 11" on 14" x 20" mat) chosen by Ascherman will be displayed on the box level foyer of Severance Hall during the latter half of April.

From this musical harvest, *The Gamut* has chosen a half-dozen examples (including our cover). Our choice was dictated entirely by the interest and beauty of the images themselves. As it happens, each section of the orchestra (strings, woodwinds, brass, percussion, keyboard) is represented.



Daniel Majeske

Concertmaster

Technical Notes

Ascherman used a Hasselblad 500 C/M camera fitted with 150 mm. and 250 mm. Sonnar lenses. The film for this project was Agfa Pan (ASA 100) developed in Rodinal at 25:1. Lighting was provided by a 1250-watt Norman strobe with two heads and reflecting umbrellas. The finished prints in the exhibition will be made on Agfa Portriga-Rapid paper, toned with selenium.



Joela Jones

Keyboard



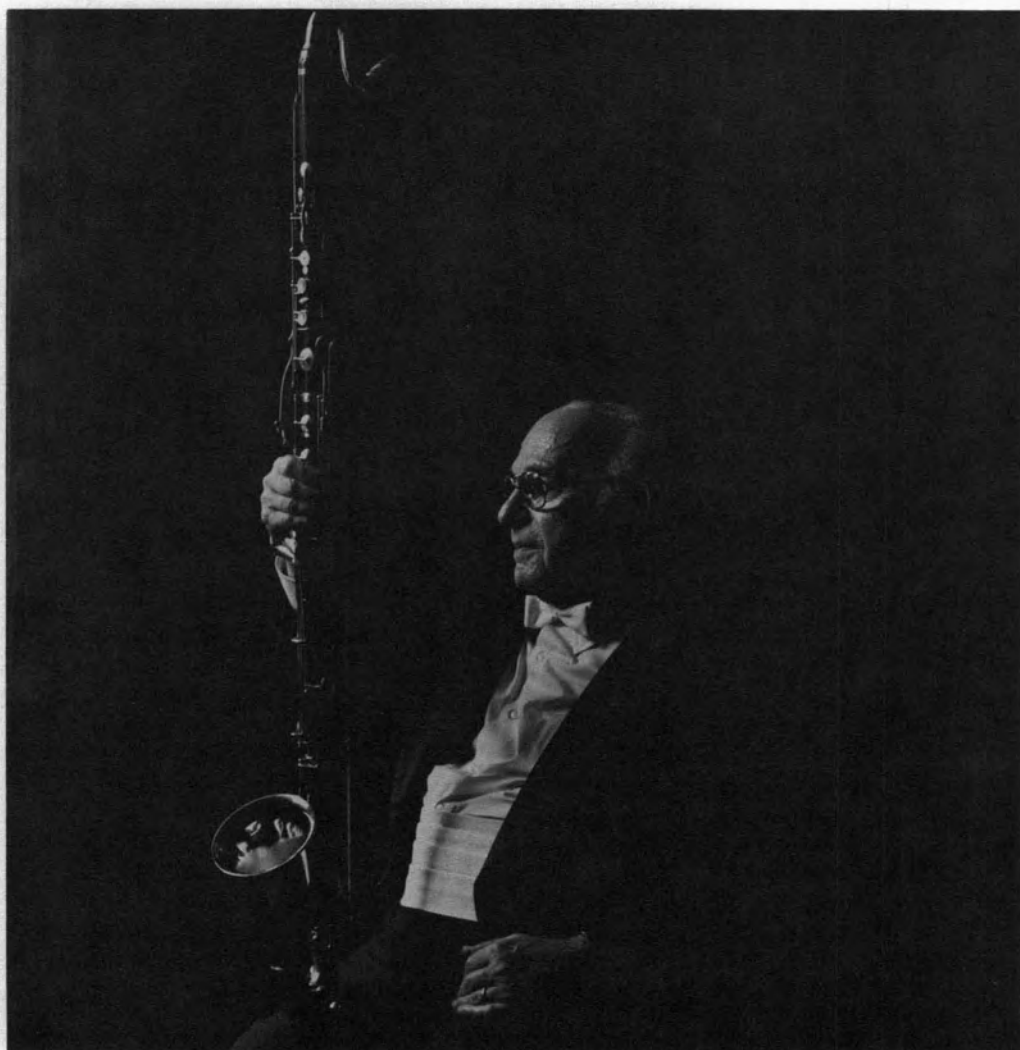
Leonard Samuels

Violin



Joseph Adato

Percussion



Alfred Zetzer

Bass Clarinet

Craig B. Shumaker

The American Steel Industry: Embattled Goliath

In 1982 the steel industry in the United States operated at only 38 percent of its rated capacity, down from 90 percent five years before; the figures for 1983 (not complete at this writing) promise to be little better. The drastic decline has been blamed on the recession, high labor costs, lack of capital, expensive pollution regulations, poor management, and foreign dumping. While all of these may contribute to the industry's woes, the grim fact is that steel-making in America is tied to an outmoded process, the blast furnace, which cannot compete with new high-technology systems that can operate in other countries at two-thirds of what they would cost in the United States. There will probably never be another blast furnace built in the United States — they cost too much; but the old ones will continue to be used until they can no longer be maintained. (The Japanese, incidentally, depend on blast furnaces, but theirs are more modern and efficient.) For reasons that will be explained below, by the year 2000 between 50 and 75 percent of the world's capacity for the newer, more economical methods of making steel will be located in Latin America and the Middle East.

The new high technology in steel-making is not microchip automation, but versatile use of the electric arc furnace to take advantage of rapid fluctuations in the demand for steel and the price of scrap iron. The electric arc furnace (EAF) itself is not new; it has been used to melt scrap steel for seventy-

five years. But what is new is the widespread use of directly reduced iron (DRI) in these furnaces.

DRI (also known as sponge iron)¹ is iron in solid pellet form produced by removing the oxygen from ore pellets without melting them. DRI pellets are easy to ship, store, and handle, and they can be used in place of scrap iron in an electric arc furnace, thus avoiding the need for large integrated steel mills with their coke ovens, blast furnaces, and basic oxygen furnaces.

The DRI/EAF system is flexible; it produces relatively clean steel with low pollution; and it does not require high-priced coke. When scrap prices are down, instead of using DRI, an EAF can still melt scrap steel (30 percent of all newly made steel is recycled). An EAF furnace is smaller and far easier to shut down and start up in response to economic changes than is a 200-foot-tall blast furnace. Typical EAF mills produce less than 250,000 tons per year, compared to large blast furnace mills that can produce over a million tons a year; thus operations are much easier to manage and control. DRI/EAF furnace steel also is inherently cleaner. The ore is converted to metallic iron with clean gases, and, since the iron never melts, it doesn't absorb impurities. Blast furnaces, in contrast, produce liquid iron contaminated with carbon, silicon, and sulfur, which then must be removed to produce acceptable metal. The blast furnace mill, in fact, converts clean iron

A native Ohioan who spent most of his formative years in Cleveland, Dr. Craig B. Shumaker presently works for the Standard Oil Company (Ohio) in Warrensville Heights as a research project leader. He received his B.S. and Ph.D. in materials engineering from Purdue University and his M.S. in ceramic engineering from the University of California, Berkeley. Although he has never worked for a steel company, he was co-author of a contract report for the U.S. Office of Technology Assessment on future trends in the steel industry while an assistant professor in metallurgical engineering at Ohio State University; he also consulted for an inventor of a new direct reduced iron process while at OSU. Dr. Shumaker's current position at SOHIO involves research on novel methods of extracting titanium and aluminum metal from their ores. Recently he gave an invited lecture at the University of Trondheim, Norway, on the feasibility of making aluminum sulfide from oxide ores.





Though the predominant means of making steel since the late 1800s, the blast furnace has become an American dinosaur. Pictured above is one of the remaining American blast furnaces in operation.

(as ore) to dirty iron (pig iron), then back to clean metal (cast iron and steel).²

The blast furnace process requires the use of about 20 percent scrap steel to control the heat. Scrap steel contains tramp elements — small but varying amounts of copper, tin, chromium, molybdenum, tungsten, etc.,³ which, if too high in concentration, must be removed. Exclusive use of DRI eliminates this problem.

The DRI/EAF method is not without drawbacks, though. Whereas the blast furnace is one of the most efficient chemical reactors, operating at 95+ percent of theoretical efficiency, the DRI/EAF system can consume up to twice as much energy to produce the same amount of steel. More important, DRI/EAF uses principally electricity and natural gas, which are expensive to transport. Hydroelectric energy costs 40 percent less than fossil- or nuclear-generated electricity, but it must be used within a few hundred miles of the dam. Hence, DRI plants are most economically located close to cheap energy — not in Japan or the European Common Market countries, but in the Third World — Latin America and the Middle East. Brazil has an abundance of hydroelectric energy and iron ore; Mexico has the gas and ore; and the Middle East has the gas and reasonably close ore. DRI and steel are already made in these locations and shipped as value-added products to

the United States. Because of lower foreign production costs, steel imports have risen steadily over the last thirty years to a present 22 percent of the U.S. market,⁴ most of it now coming from Brazil, South Korea, Argentina, Mexico, South Africa, Spain, and Taiwan — not, as is often assumed, from Japan or the Common Market.⁵

State of the industry

Until the past few years, the steel industry enjoyed steady growth from the time of the invention of the Bessemer steel-making process in 1856.⁶ Before that, the U.S. made about 50,000 tons of steel a year; by 1890, 10 million tons per year. (The new Standard Oil Corporate Headquarters on Public Square in Cleveland alone will use 20,000 tons.) Except during the Great Depression and the 1973 Oil Crisis, the industry experienced steady growth until 1978, its peak year, with a production of 136 million tons.⁷ Since then, as any resident of Ohio, Pennsylvania, or northern Indiana can tell you, steel has been sliding fast. Medium and small integrated (ore-to-product) steel mills, such as Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Wisconsin Steel, and Wheeling Steel, were early victims. The large ones have survived by closing down whole sites, like the Cleveland Works of U.S. Steel, and by diversification.

Jones and Laughlin was bought out in

1974 by the conglomerate LTV Industries.⁸ And now Republic has merged with LTV.⁹ That's great for Republic and J&L, but there will definitely be layoffs; J&L and Republic have nearly identical steel mills within a mile of each other in the Cleveland flats, and the steel industry is still operating at under 50 percent capacity.¹⁰

Armco Steel of Middleton, Ohio, saw the handwriting on the wall ten years ago, and has diversified until it is now over 50 percent in non-steel businesses (though it is still considered an innovator, with such contributions as one-sided galvanizing of sheet metal for car bodies; it was one of the first U.S. developers of DRI, with a commercial plant in Houston). And then there is U.S. Steel, which is now an oil company (it purchased Marathon Oil for \$4 billion in 1982).

Inland Steel of East Chicago, Indiana, is the exception among large steel mills; it has done little diversifying. To quote a famous fast food company, "[They] do one thing and [they] do it right." Traditionally, Inland has catered well to its customers, providing good service, good quality control, and specific alloys to meet the customer's needs.¹¹ Customer loyalty is strong, so Inland weathers recessions easier than some. Though Inland was one of the last major steel companies to replace its old open-hearth furnaces,¹² it was one of the first U.S. companies to install a continuous caster.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the Japanese built several of the world's largest blast furnaces; their steel mills are extremely energy efficient because Japan imports nearly 100 percent of their energy. DRI makes sense in Japan only if coking coal becomes unavailable; they will continue to fine tune their existing operations. In fact, the patent literature is flooded with Japanese inventions and processes to remove every calorie of thermal energy from iron and steel production.

But the really successful steel companies nowadays are the small non-integrated mills, or mini-mills, the ones that use electric arc furnaces. Steel made by this method has gone from 0.2 percent of the U.S. production in 1910 to 30.9 percent in 1982. The percentage has steadily increased (Fig. 1), and by 1990 may reach 50 percent.

Recent developments in the Cleveland area dramatize the changing character of the steel industry. Despite the closing of several

PERCENT OF STEEL MADE BY ELECTRIC ARC FURNACES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1910 TO PRESENT

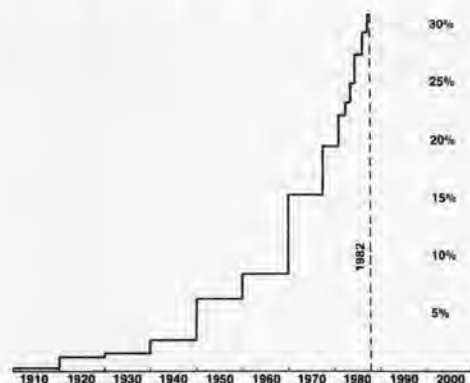


Fig. 1. Data from the American Iron and Steel Institute.

steel fabrication operations, such as U.S. Steel's Cuyahoga Works which made rod and wire products, an Oklahoma-based firm has plans to build an EAF mini-mill in the Industrial Flats. The irony is that the proposed location for the EAF is where Republic Steel's old nut-and-bolt plant was. This new mill has been the subject of political controversy because it will use non-union labor and, most likely, imported raw steel.¹³

The chemistry of iron-making

In a four-level ranking of metallic elements according to ease of extraction, iron is at the third level. On the first level are metals that already exist in their metallic state, like gold and silver. On the second level are those for which the ore can be heated in the air, such as copper. The third level requires heating in the presence of carbon. And the fourth requires the use of electrical energy at some point; aluminum and titanium are examples. These levels correspond to the relative affinity of the elements for oxygen. The advancement of the civilized world can be tracked by man's ability to master these progressively more difficult extraction processes.

Gold and silver are often found mineralogically in their metallic state, not as oxides or sulfides. Copper is found as a sulfide; when this sulfide ore is melted and blown with air, the oxygen combines with the sulfur, producing sulfur dioxide and leaving the metallic copper. When iron oxide is heated in the presence of carbon, the carbon combines with the oxygen in the ore, producing carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, and metal; this

process is called carbothermic reduction (Fig. 2). Hydrogen gas may also be used to remove the oxygen from iron oxides, producing water vapor and metallic iron (Fig. 3).

The most difficult metals to extract are known as the refractory metals; they are found as oxides and have such an affinity for oxygen that carbothermic reduction does not work. In fact, these metal oxides are used as bricks to line the furnaces to extract metals in the first three levels. The refractory metals require brute chemical force to extract — usually a combination of chlorination (conversion to chlorine compounds) and/or electrolysis (use of electrical energy to split the compound). All of these processes use a great deal of energy.

Iron is found in minerals throughout the earth's crust, where it is the third most abundant metal.¹⁴ Iron is mined primarily as magnetite (Fe_3O_4), hematite (Fe_2O_3), and goethite (FeOOH).¹⁵ These minerals are always associated to some degree with silica (SiO_2) and other impurities, known as gangue. For economical mining, the ore must occur in concentrations of at least 25 percent to justify beneficiation (removal of gangue). Some deposits, found in Brazil and Venezuela, are nearly gangue-free. Major iron ore deposits in North America occur around western Lake Superior and in Alabama, Newfoundland, and Quebec. Major deposits elsewhere are in western Africa, Australia, Sweden, Germany, France, India, and many areas of the U.S.S.R.¹⁶

Ores are beneficiated to save on shipping and unnecessary thermal processing. The silica compounds end up as slag, and great efforts are made by the ore companies and steel mills to remove as much of the silica as possible, usually down to less than 10 percent for blast furnaces and less than 2 percent for DRI processes. Mills, especially DRI producers, pay a premium for ore with reduced levels of silica. Beneficiation is achieved by taking advantage of the differences of the physical properties of the iron oxide and gangue, such as magnetism, density, particle size, and electrostatic susceptibility. Magnetite is, as its name suggests, magnetic, and it is the easiest of the iron minerals to separate. Hematite and goethite, which are non-magnetic, are fortunately found in higher concentrations because separations that take advantage of the other physical properties

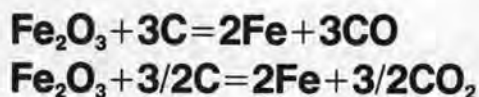


Fig. 2. Overall chemical reactions of iron oxide with carbon.

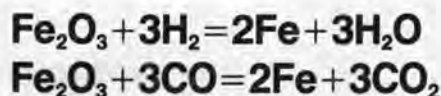


Fig. 3. Overall chemical reactions of iron oxide with hydrogen and carbon monoxide.

are more costly.

Beneficiation leaves the iron oxide as fine, dust-like powder unsuitable for shipping and processing (though some South American ores can be fed directly to certain types of DRI processors). Therefore this powder must be turned into pellets: the ore is moistened and rolled on a disk or in a drum to produce a snowballing effect (called agglomeration). Clay or organic binding agents are added, and the pellets are fired at about 1300°C, somewhat like ceramic pottery, to provide strength for handling and processing.

The key difference between the blast furnace and a DRI reactor is that the iron is never melted during the production of DRI. Liquid iron is a great high temperature solvent, able to absorb to some extent nearly every element known to man. But if the iron is never melted, absorption of impurities is far less. Whether the iron melts or not, the chemistry involved is exactly the same.

Iron oxide can be converted to iron using either solid carbon, gaseous hydrogen, and/or carbon monoxide. Using solid carbon works best at temperatures above 900°C. Nine hundred degrees is the upper limit of DRI production to prevent the formation of a gooey slag. The predominant reaction in a blast furnace is the one that uses carbon and produces carbon monoxide (CO) gas (Fig. 2). At lower temperatures (below 900°C), the other reactions shown by Fig. 2 and 3 predominate.

Integrated and non-integrated mills

The integrated mill is what most people think of as a steel mill; here iron as the oxide ore is processed in several steps to produce the finished product, such as sheet metal, I-

beams, tubes, and bars. These are the U.S., Bethlehem, and LTV steel mills, with capacities of a million tons per year. The non-integrated or mini-mills start with scrap iron and/or DRI and produce the finished product. These mills usually produce under 250,000 tons per year and the public would be hard pressed to remember the name of one of these mini-mills.¹⁷

The large integrated steel mills do all the hard chemical work on the iron, which is the removal of the oxygen from the ore; whereas the mini-mills, by using scrap or DRI, have let someone else do the chemical work, and of course they pay for it in the price of scrap and DRI.

The processing from ore to finished product for an integrated steel mill may be divided into three steps.

1. Pelletized iron ore, coke, and limestone are fed in layers at the top of a blast furnace (Fig. 4). Preheated air (1300°C) is injected along the sides near the bottom of this several-story-tall shaft furnace. The coke supplies both the heat for the process and the carbon for reduction of the iron oxide. The temperature near the air injectors is about 2100°C, thus causing

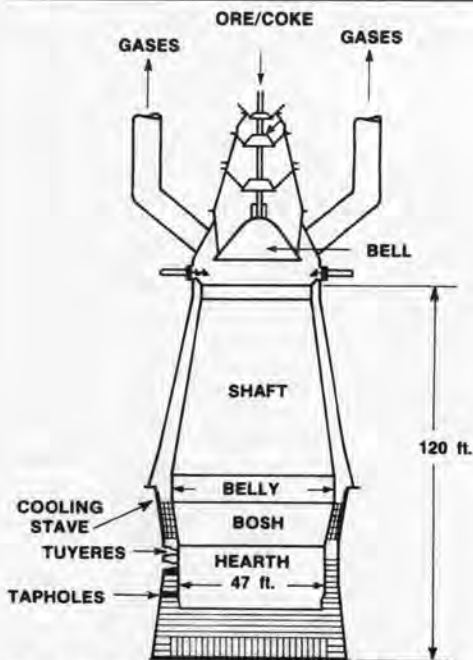


Fig. 4. Profile of a Japanese blast furnace. "Tuyeres" are air injectors. (Based on Peacey and Davenport, *The Blast Furnace*, Pergamon Press, 1979, p. 3.)

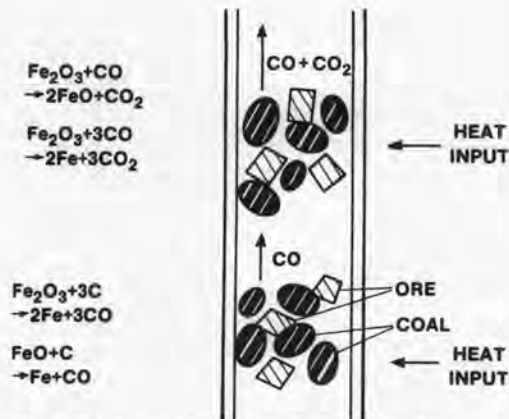


Fig. 5. Principle of carbon reduction shaft furnace processes. (Based on *Direct Reduced Iron*, Iron and Steel Society of AIME, 1980, p. 144.)

the ore to rapidly reduce and melt. The molten iron drips to the bottom of the blast furnace and is tapped. As the coke is consumed and the iron melts away from this zone, the large stack of layered ore, coke, and limestone (called the burden) continuously collapses. The gases (a mixture of carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, and nitrogen) pass upward through the burden, reacting with the ore (similar to Fig. 5) and preheating the burden. This process is very thermally efficient (95+ percent) because of its size and its countercurrent flow of solids and gases.

The function of the limestone is to combine with the coke ash and the silica impurities in the ore to produce a molten glass-like liquid called slag. The slag also drips to the bottom of the blast furnace and is removed hot.

The metallurgical coke required by blast furnaces is the Achilles' heel of the large integrated steel mill. Coke is made by heating coal in an oven to drive out volatile hydrocarbons, leaving large chunks of almost pure carbon. The necessary high quality coal, which is low in sulfur, ash, and volatiles, is being depleted and costs over twice as much as the bituminous coal used for power generation.¹⁸ And the coke ovens are environmental headaches: the levels of tar, sulfur, and carbon monoxide emissions are high and nearly impossible to control because of the archaic design of the ovens; disposal of contaminated quench water presents another problem.¹⁹

The liquid iron produced by the blast furnace, called pig iron, is contaminated with

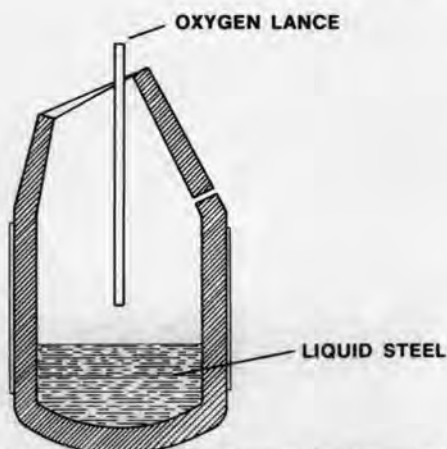


Fig. 6. Cross-section of a typical basic oxygen furnace. High pressure oxygen is forced onto the metal surface through a lance. The molten steel is poured by rotating the entire vessel. (Based on *The Making, Shaping, and Treating of Steel*, U.S. Steel Corp., 1971, p. 487.)

about 4 percent carbon, 1 percent silicon, and 0.02 percent sulfur.²⁰ (These percentages may not seem high, but remember that 4 percent carbon by weight corresponds to one atom of carbon for every four atoms of iron.) This iron is not usable for structural purposes nor malleable once solidified. Liquid pig iron is then transported to the Basic Oxygen Furnace (BOF).²¹

2. The BOF is the steel-making furnace (Fig. 6), where the excess carbon and silicon are selectively burned off with pure oxygen. This burning generates heat that is absorbed by melting scrap iron (up to 30 percent of the charge). In only thirty minutes, 150 tons of steel can be produced. Additional fluxes are added to produce another slag, and alloying elements are added. The composition of this slag controls the composition of the steel, since elements transfer between the floating slag and the molten metal. (This process, called slag refining, is a science unto itself.) The liquid steel is then cast into three basic shapes for product manufacturing.

For a non-integrated steel mill, steps 1 and 2 above are replaced with an electric arc furnace (Fig. 7) in which scrap steel and/or DRI is melted and chemically adjusted to the desired steel composition. The third major step, shaping and rolling, is the same for all types of mills.

3. Slabs, billets, and blooms, the three basic

shapes that are used to produce the saleable product, are classified according to cross-sectional area: billets and blooms have square cross-sections; those under 6x6 inches are called billets and those over 6x6 inches are called blooms. Slabs have oblong cross-sections with widths about ten times the height (typically 6x48 inches). The overall length of these shapes can be several feet. Sheet metal, like that used in car manufacturing, is fabricated from slabs. Rod, wire, and pipe are made from billets. And structural shapes such as I-beams are made from blooms. All of these products are made by squeezing and rolling the three initial shapes. The temperatures in which the steel is rolled depends on its desired final shape, initial alloy composition, and desired final physical properties. Temperatures above 700°C are common for initial rolling (hot rolling) and under 700°C for cold rolling — e.g., of automobile sheet metal.

Over half the energy used to make steel products goes into the forming of the cast shapes; in older mills the steel is cast into large ingots, reheated to 1300°C, hot forged, and cut into shapes. But the newer method of continuous casting (which involves some sophisticated process engineering) saves time, energy, and labor by skipping these steps. More than half of all Japanese steel is continuously cast, and the U.S. is catching up quickly. In 1981, only 21 percent of U.S. steel was continuously cast, and now the figure is 30 percent.²² Republic Steel has nearly finished installing a continuous caster at its Cleveland mill.

Not all steel mills make the same products; some specialize in structural pieces, some in sheet metal, some in wire and pipe. Because of this, some companies do better than others depending on how well the construction business is or how many cars Detroit makes. Specialty steels, such as stainless steel,²³ are most often made at mini-mills.

DRI technology

Unlike blast furnaces — which come only in three sizes, medium, large, and extra large — DRI units come in as many varieties as there are manufacturers — about twenty.²⁴ To name all of the processes is fruitless because the systems get new names as often as they get new investors. DRI was produced

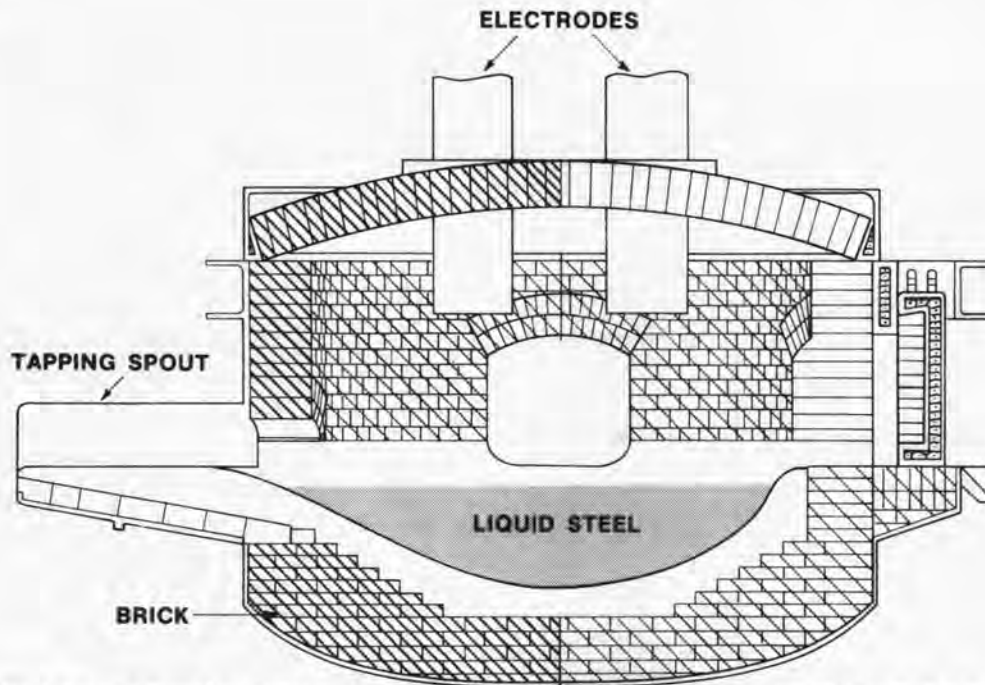


Fig. 7. Cross-section of an electric arc furnace. The large carbon electrodes strike an arc with the molten metal lying at the bottom. The primary function of the furnace is to re-melt and refine steel. The molten metal is removed by tipping the vessel. (Based on *The Making, Shaping, and Treating of Steel*, U.S. Steel Corp., 1971, p. 551.)

commercially in Germany and Eastern Europe as long as sixty years ago, and experiments date back to the early 1800s.²⁵ But Bessemer steel-making knocked out interest in DRI for nearly a century.

Although there are many DRI system designs, there are only four general types of reactor vessels: shaft furnaces, static beds, rotary kilns, and fluidized beds. Nearly half of the units are shaft furnaces and less than one-fifth are rotary kilns and fluidized beds.²⁶ Shaft furnaces and static beds are more thermally efficient and easier to operate than kilns and fluid beds. A shaft furnace unit looks like a blast furnace, but is much smaller (Fig. 8). Ore, usually pelletized, is fed at the top and fuel gas²⁷ is fed at the bottom; the product is removed from the bottom. When coal is used directly (not pre-gasified) it is mixed with the ore. Unlike the blast furnace, in which the iron melts, DRI systems must supply heat in such a way as to avoid melting the iron — sometimes by electricity, sometimes by slight oxidation of the fuel gas. The static bed systems are batch reactors where the ore remains in place until the entire reaction is finished and then it is removed. These

are less efficient processes because they are not continuous and are less automated.

Rotary kilns and fluidized bed systems are few because they use more energy, up to 50 percent more than the shaft furnaces. Rotary kilns have the added disadvantage of not working well when scaled-up in size. Kilns can use coal directly; fluid beds use only gas.

Only one-eighth of the world's DRI is made with coal;²⁸ the rest is made with natural gas. One-fourth of the world's DRI capacity is in Venezuela alone; only 6 percent is in the United States.²⁹ This clearly reflects the cost of using natural gas in this country. Iran, before the Islamic revolution, had 14 percent of the world's DRI capacity; now they have none. And they were in the midst of a great expansion program that would have tripled their capacity by 1985.³⁰ Most of the energy-rich countries are rapidly developing DRI plants.

Costs

Ore, energy, capital improvements, milling, and labor are the major costs associated with the production of finished steel products. Milling costs for final products can

vary significantly and can increase the price of steel greatly. Cold pig iron costs about \$200 per ton, hot rolled strip about \$300 per ton, and cold rolled strip, \$450 per ton.³¹ The increased costs reflect the considerable extra energy, equipment, and labor needed in the processing. These technologies are not likely to change significantly in the next twenty-five years, with the exception of continuous casting. Scrap iron prices can vary between \$30 per ton, its low price during 1982, and \$128 per ton, its top price during 1978. The price of DRI has varied from \$80 to \$110 per ton over the past five years.³² Comparison of these figures with the price of cold pig iron shows quickly the advantage that the DRI/EAF processes have over the traditional blast furnace/basic oxygen furnace process, in spite of the added cost of remelting the scrap or buying DRI pellets. Pig iron is more expensive than DRI because of the price of the coke; one ton of coking coal at \$60 per ton is required to make one ton of pig iron. And U.S. ore costs about \$60 per ton — that's \$120 per ton just for raw materials, not counting labor and capital.

Although DRI/EAF processes require more energy than the BF/BOF process, capital equipment costs for DRI are far below those of a fully integrated steel mill. In the mid-1970s U.S. Steel Corporation considered building a 3.5 million ton per year fully integrated steel mill near Conneaut, Ohio, on the

shore of Lake Erie.³³ In 1978, this facility, incorporating the latest BF, BOF, and continuous casting technology, was to cost \$3.1 billion. By 1980 that estimate escalated to \$4 billion. Now what would you buy if you had \$4 billion: a new steel mill or an oil company? U.S. Steel opted for Marathon Oil.

It is easy to conclude that no more blast furnaces will be built in the United States. Of the projected \$4 billion required to build a new fully integrated steel mill, at least one-third is needed for the coke ovens and blast furnace. That \$4 billion translates to a capital investment of \$1,150 per annual ton of capacity. The coke ovens alone account for \$150 per annual ton.³⁴ Written off over twenty years, the capital expense to produce a ton of pig iron would have been \$25 per ton. That, added to the \$120 per ton for coke and ore, brings the cost of pig iron to \$145 per ton. Adding in labor costs, figuring about one man-hour per ton at \$25/hour, that pig iron jumps to \$170 per ton.

Recent cost estimates to build a new DRI/EAF mill in Saudi Arabia are \$870 per annual ton of capacity — compared to the \$1,150 it would cost to build a new mill in Ohio, despite the higher construction costs of the Middle East. It is generally accepted that DRI/EAF mills cost 30-35 percent less to build than BF/BOF mills.³⁵

Because the cost of coke is so high, even natural gas-based DRI systems operating in the U.S. have been competitive. Armco Steel's gas unit in Houston was economical in the early 1970s, though with decontrol of natural gas that unit is now often idle. The general concern that natural gas prices will continue to escalate has prevented more natural gas systems from being built in this country; most of the U.S. efforts have been focused on developing coal-based units. But the threat of foreign-made DRI still remains.

The cost of producing DRI in South America is barely half that in the United States (Fig. 9):³⁶ such is the advantage of being near high grade ore and cheap energy. The price of ore is less than half of what it is in the U.S. because of low beneficiation costs. Natural gas costs about one-eighth as much. Capital is about equal and labor is less, but these are not a large percentage of the total cost in either case. Shipping costs of South American DRI is estimated to be \$5 per ton to a U.S. port-of-entry.³⁷ Middle Eastern DRI

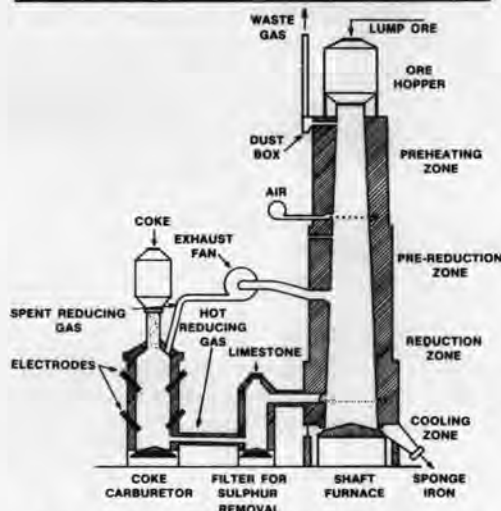


Fig. 8. Wiberg-Soderfors DRI process. Lump ore is fed to the top of the tall reactor and discharged at the bottom. (Based on *The Making, Shaping, and Treating of Steel*, U.S. Steel Corp., 1971, p. 411.)

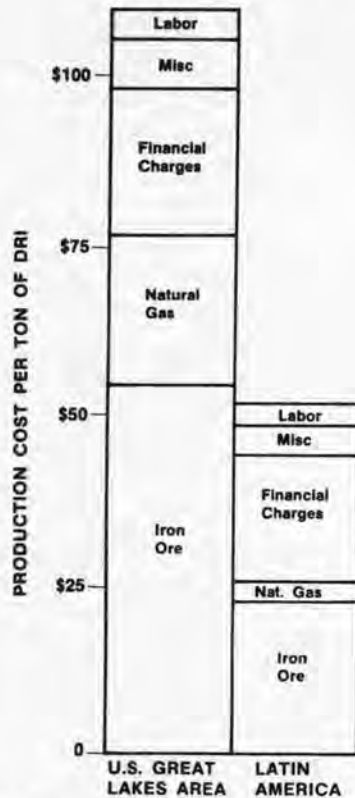


Fig. 9. Estimated costs to produce one ton of DRI in the Great Lakes Area as compared to Latin America in 1978. (Based on *Direct Reduced Iron*, The Iron and Steel Society of AIME, 1980, p. 210.)

can be shipped here for about \$30 per ton. Not only can the Third World produce cheaper DRI, it can carry out the final stages of steel production more cheaply, too. Electricity to process a ton of steel at an American EAF mill costs \$20 per ton (assuming \$0.03/kwhr), whereas in South America, where hydroelectric energy goes begging, that cost is only \$10 a ton. In a 1979 report prepared by the U.S. Office of Technology Assessment, South America and the Middle East are predicted to have 50 percent of the free world's DRI capacity by the year 1990 and 75 percent by 2000.³⁸ Though these estimates were made before the recent world recession and assumed straight-line growths in the demand

for steel and the price of ore and energy, one can still reasonably assume production of at least 50 percent by Third World countries within the next twenty years. Much of this DRI and finished steel will find its way to North America, creating more pressure on the already strained U.S. steel industry. Recently, the heads of the major steel manufacturers complained to President Reagan about Third World dumping of steel in this country.³⁹ Even if there is some truth to this claim (which is questionable), its significance is negligible compared to the large global trends just described.

A shaky future

The present recession has merely masked the difficulties facing the U.S. steel industry. When times get better for the rest of the business sector, the road will still be rough for the large integrated mills. (As this article goes to press, U.S. Steel just announced permanent shutdowns in three states that will eliminate some 10,000 jobs.) The Third World is installing DRI/EAF plants and these countries will be able to sell us iron cheaper than we can make it at home; the market will remain saturated.

A similar phenomenon is already apparent in the copper industry. Although the demand for copper has risen from a year ago, its price remains below the production cost for U.S. producers. The copper markets are being saturated by South American producers to help pay off their huge debts to Western banks.⁴⁰ Countries like Peru and Brazil can produce copper at two-thirds the cost of U.S. producers because of their high-grade ores and lack of pollution restraints.

Present large steel-makers will be tied to their blast furnaces until viable coal-based DRI processes are developed or the rising price of coking coal forces the investment in DRI. Meanwhile, small producers will not have fared badly. Though "high-tech" sounds out of place applied to steel making, it may be the equalizer between the Davids and the Goliaths of the industry.

NOTES

¹ Examination of DRI under a microscope reveals a porous structure which resembles a sponge; about one-half of a DRI pellet consists of pores.

² The principle chemical difference between iron and steel is carbon content. When the carbon content is below 2 percent, the term steel is used; when the carbon content is over 2 percent, it is known as (cast) iron.

When the carbon content is near zero and all other impurities are zero, then the term high-purity iron (HPI) is used.

³ Tramp elements come from numerous sources: chromium and molybdenum are alloying metals that are put in the steel intentionally; tin and tungsten are often used as coatings; copper frequently comes from wiring in junk cars.

⁴ American Institute of Metallurgical, Mining, and Petroleum Engineering, *Journal of Metals*, 35, No. 2 (February, 1983), 11.

⁵ The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (PD), "Steel Chiefs Meet With Reagan on Imports," Nov. 1, 1983, p. 2-D.

⁶ The Bessemer steel-making process, named after an English inventor, reduces the high carbon content of pig iron by blowing air through the steel. The carbon burns instead of the iron. Strangely enough, royalties in the United States for making "Bessemer" steel were earned by William Kelly, who independently developed the same process.

⁷ *Journal of Metals*, 35, No. 2 (February, 1983), 11.

⁸ John Leo Koshar, "LTV's Acquisition Scorecard," PD, September 29, 1983, p. 9-E.

⁹ Thomas W. Gerdel, "Republic, J&L to Merge as LTV," PD, September 29, 1983, p. 1-A.

¹⁰ *Journal of Metals*, 35, No. 10 (October, 1983), 7.

¹¹ Private communication from Prof. G.R. St. Pierre, Chairman of the Department of Metallurgical Engineering, The Ohio State University. Dr. St. Pierre is a renowned expert on the steel industry and a former researcher at Inland Steel Company.

¹² Open-hearth furnaces predate the BOF. These furnaces are large and shallow, about 70 ft.x15 ft.x2 ft., and require ten hours to refine pig iron into steel. About 7 percent of the United States's steel is still made with open-hearths. (From *The Making, Shaping and Treating of Steel*, 9th Edition [Pittsburgh: Herbeck & Held, 1971], p. 509.)

¹³ Thomas W. Gerdel, "Steel Yourself, Cleveland," PD, December 4, 1983, p. 1-E; Gary R. Clark, "Workers, Mayor Split on Flats Mill Loan," PD, December 16, 1983, p. 1-A.

¹⁴ Silicon is the most abundant at 28 percent; aluminum is second at 8.1 percent; iron is third at 5.0 percent. These metals are present as oxides, and oxygen makes up 47 percent of the earth's crust. (J.D. Gilchrist, *Extraction Metallurgy*, [Oxford, England: Pergamon Press, 1980], p.10.

¹⁵ When geothite is heated it decomposes to form hematite and releases water vapor.

¹⁶ *The Making, Shaping and Treating of Steel*, pp. 178-207.

¹⁷ The largest EAF mill is National Steel in Chicago, with over one million tons annual capacity. Nucor and Chapparel are two more "famous" mini-mills.

¹⁸ Metallurgical grade coal is found geographically with "conventional" bituminous coal in western Pennsylvania and surrounding areas. Power utilities pay \$25 to \$35 per ton of coal depending on transportation costs, whereas metallurgical coal costs \$55 to \$65 per ton.

¹⁹ Efforts in recent years have been made to maximize the coke efficiency in blast furnaces; some of these ideas include injecting powdered coal and hydrocarbon fuels with the blast air and charging the blast furnace with some scrap. Another is form-coke, a synthetic coke made from coal powder and tar; but it is quite expensive. A more radical idea is to use electric powered plasma torches to inject 3000°C recycled blast furnace gas instead of preheated air. This scheme eliminates the extra coke needed to supply the reactor heat; however, this is only economically feasible in areas of cheap electricity, such as Norway, Sweden, Northeastern Canada, and Brazil.

²⁰ Because of the depletion of low sulfur metallurgical coal, the sulfur content of pig iron has been drifting upward. This requires an extra desulfurizing step after the blast furnace; lime (CaO) is injected into the pig iron to form solid calcium sulfide (CaS), which floats on the iron.

²¹ The term "basic" originates from a general acid-base chemistry behavior of the slag.

²² *Journal of Metals*, 35, No. 10 (October, 1983), p. 7.

²³ Stainless steel typically contains 18 percent chromium, 8 percent nickel, 73 percent iron, plus some small amounts of manganese, silicon, and carbon.

²⁴ Bryan C. Cunningham and James G. Stephenson, "Direct Reduction Processes," *Direct Reduced Iron* (Warrendale, Pennsylvania: The Iron and Steel Society of AIME, 1980), pp. 64-95.

²⁵ J. George Sibakin, "Development of Direct Reduction in the Iron and Steel Industry," *Direct Reduced Iron*, p.3.

²⁶ Congress of the United States Office of Technology Assessment, *Technology and Steel Industry Competitiveness* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June, 1980), p. 196.

²⁷ Fuel gas is a mixture of carbon monoxide, hydrogen, nitrogen, and lesser amounts of water vapor and carbon dioxide. It is made by burning coal or natural gas with small amounts of air — sometimes called gasification when coal is used. Fuel gas from coal is scrubbed to remove trace amounts of sulfur gases. When made from natural gas, it is also known as reformer gas.

²⁸ See note 26.

²⁹ See note 26.

³⁰ Alan English, "Geographic Effects of Raw Materials and Fuel in DRI Production," *Direct Reduced Iron*, pp. 193-197.

³¹ G.R. St. Pierre and Associates, *Impacts of New Technologies and Energy/Raw Material Changes on the Steel Industry* (Washington, D.C.: Congress of the United States Office of Technology Assessment Contract No. 933-1630.0, July, 1979), p. 16.

³² J. George Sibakin, p.8.

³³ G.R. St. Pierre and Associates, p. 49.

³⁴ G.R. St. Pierre and Associates, p. 49.

³⁵ G.R. St. Pierre and Associates, p. 51.

³⁶ H.W. Lownie, Jr., "Prospects for the Future of Direct Reduced Iron," *Direct Reduced Iron*, pp. 210-211.

³⁷ Congress of the United States Office of Technology Assessment, p. 174.

³⁸ Congress of the United States Office of Technology Assessment, p. 208.

³⁹ See note 5.

⁴⁰ Steven Greenhouse, "Economic Recovery Leaves Copper Behind," *New York Times*, October 16, 1983, p. 30.

Elliot and Sandra Philipson
**Dominick Labino,
 Master of Molten Glass**

A little off the Anthony Wayne Trail southwest of Toledo, past the outskirts of Grand Rapids, Ohio, and down a dirt road in the middle of miles of farmland, stands a gray metal building where Dominick Labino creates some of the world's most exquisite and sought-after blown glass. Each year art pilgrims from all over the globe visit Labino's studio and the nearby farmhouse where he lives with his wife, Elizabeth, and their galloping German shepherd, Jenna. Visitors who find Labino at work — as they usually do — are greeted by an energetic, ruddy-complexioned man of 73, dressed, typically, in an old plaid shirt, green factory pants, and work boots, with striking white hair pulled back under a working cap. Although he no longer creates glass works in the presence of visitors — he says they distract him — Labino enthusiastically describes the art and science of glass blowing, as well as his role in revitalizing this ancient art in what is now known as the Studio Glass Movement of the 1960s.

For decades before the '60s, most glass objects were manufactured by such companies as Steuben in Corning, New York, and Libbey in Toledo. Factory efficiency and the

economic conditions created by two world wars and the Great Depression had eliminated the market for high-quality cut glass and art glass, and individual glass blowers had been put out of work. By 1951 the sole remaining hand-operation plant of the Libbey Glass Company in Toledo was closed, and no American schools or universities taught courses in glass blowing. In the 1959 exhibit of contemporary works sponsored by the Corning Museum of Glass, called "Glass '59," entries from industry predominated.¹

What brought the craft back to life was the Studio Glass Movement, which began in 1962, with two workshops at the Toledo Museum of Art. Led by Harvey Littleton, Dominick Labino, and Harvey Leafgreen, these workshops proved revolutionary because they demonstrated that molten glass could be worked by an individual artist, and in a studio rather than in the traditional setting of a factory.

A forerunner of the Studio Glass Movement was Maurice Marinot, a French painter (d. 1937) who became fascinated with glass in 1910 and worked alone at night in a factory after he had learned the basics of glass blow-

Elliot Philipson, M.D., is an assistant professor of reproductive biology at Case Western Reserve University. A native of Utica, N.Y., he attended the University of Vermont and the School of Medicine and Surgery at the University of Rome; he interned at Long Island College Hospital, and was a resident at Albany Medical Center. Sandra Philipson, born in Weymouth, Mass., received a B.A. from the University of New Hampshire and an M.A. in history from Tufts University. She has been a teacher, a university administrator, and an editor and marketing manager for Macmillan Publishing Company. In 1982-83 she was Managing Editor of The Gamut.

The Philipsons' shared interest in photography and glass collecting led to their recent visit to the farm studio of Dominick Labino, whose work they have long admired. "We found both the Labinos inspiring, both personally and professionally," writes Sandra. "As we were leaving, Mr. Labino came out of his studio with two crystal bluebirds, one for each of our absent children The experience of our visit was as priceless to us as the bluebirds and the other glass piece we added to our collection."





Dominick Labino in his workshop.

ing from the factory workers. Dominick Labino has written about Marinot in a way that indicates some of his own feeling for the medium: "He translated the ideas of his fertile imagination into the glowing, molten glass from which would emerge a vibrant form or an exciting color effect. His rhythmic manipulation was not achieved quickly or easily . . . With patience he became skillful, almost gifted in the way he could handle the viscous, but pliable mass as he captured a form momentarily, and fixed it in solid and sure resolution."² Marinot's own view was more down-to-earth: "To be a glassmaker is to blow the substance to transparency into the blind furnace and to reblow it with the tools of one's art — one's lips: to work in the heat, sweating with fever, the eyes full of tears, the hands seared and burnt."³

In 1962 Harvey Littleton, an artist-potter from the University of Wisconsin, inspired by conversations with the Spanish artist Jean Sala and by visits to Naples and Murano, wanted to see if the artist alone in his studio could create art works in glass. He went to the Toledo Museum of Art for help in organizing the now famous workshops.

Labino's contributions to the workshops were technical as well as artistic. He taught the workshop group how to construct proper furnaces for melting glass, and he supplied them with "475" glass, which he had invented for Johns-Manville. The "475" glass comes in the form of marbles that are very du-

rable and melt easily, allowing a longer working time for the artist.⁴

Participants in the first workshop were delighted. "They joyously played with the molten glass, and with great effort made the glass bulb on the end of their blow pipes into glorious bubbles."⁵ Harvey Leafgreen, a retired glass blower from Libbey, showed the group basic techniques of blowing glass. The second workshop, in June, 1962, attended mostly by teachers, investigated many techniques for glass blowing and lamp working.

Labino has made available technical knowledge on the formulating of glass, and on the design and construction of furnaces which are practical for studio craftsmen. His design of a triple-hinged swinging door on his own glass-melting furnace works so effortlessly and safely that it has been copied many times by studio glass blowers.

With the advent of better and smaller furnaces and improved techniques, blown glass soon became recognized again as a viable artistic medium. Use of the medium spread, and many schools and universities began to teach glass blowing. An exhibition at the Corning Museum, "New Glass: A Worldwide Contemporary Survey," held from 1979 to 1983, revealed the impact of the Studio Glass Movement: many exhibitors were now individual glass blowers.⁶

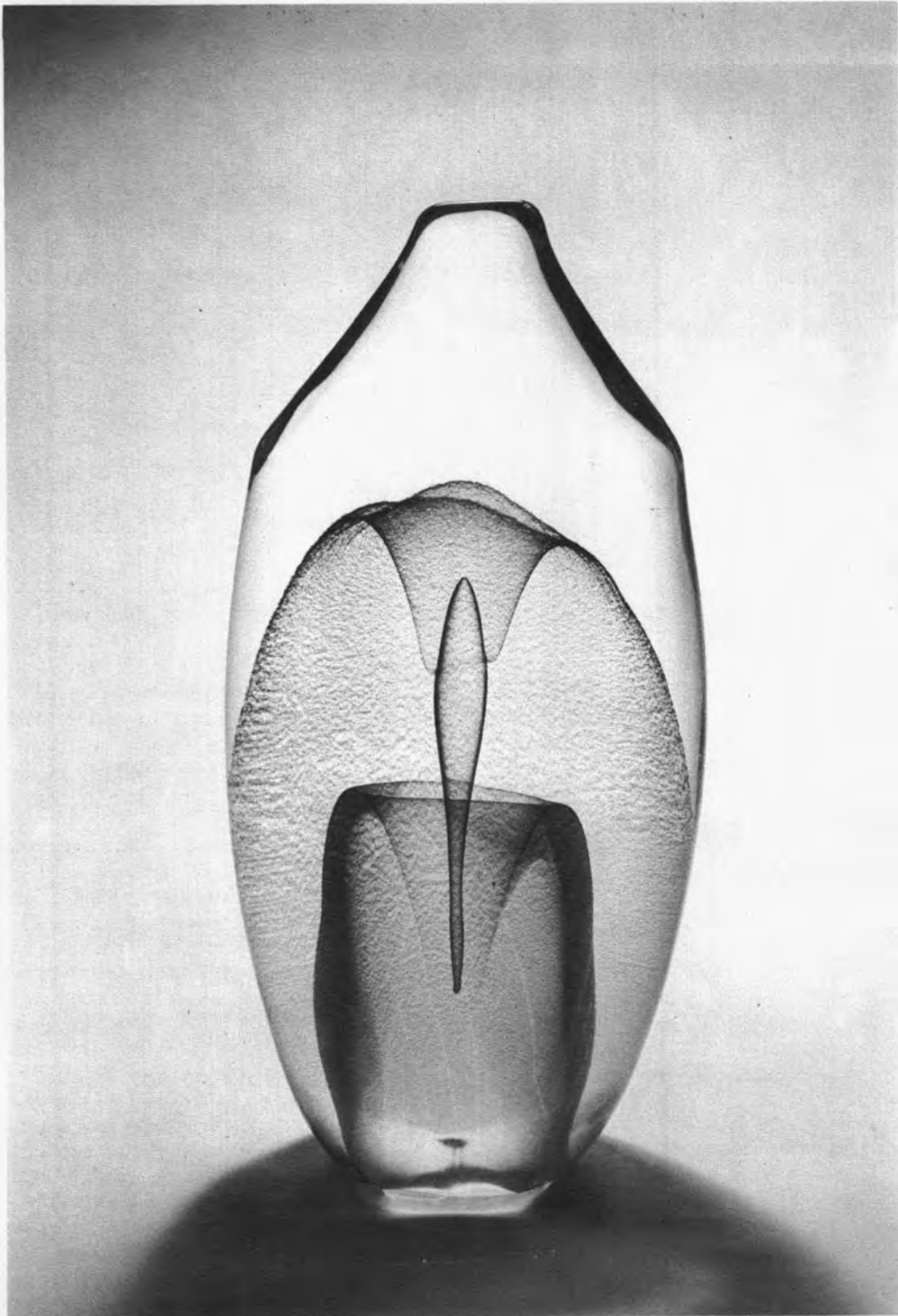
Since those workshops, Labino has produced works that can now be found in over sixty museums here and abroad, including the Corning Museum of Glass, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Smithsonian Institution, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, and the Toledo and Cleveland Museums of Art. He has won many national and international awards and has received commissions for sculptural glass works in fourteen public buildings.

Ironically, despite Dominick Labino's role in the Studio Glass Movement and training at the Toledo Museum of Art School of Design, he doesn't view himself primarily as an artist. "An artist is someone who can do something once and can't do it again. A scientist can do it over and over again," he says — adding, "I play golf like an artist." And he blows glass like a scientist. He knows glass on a molecular level.

Labino's background is as a scientist and inventor for the glass industry. Educated



Cased Festooning (1972), by Dominick Labino. Blown glass with multi-colored festoons on opaque white, cased in colorless glass. (Photo by Weyer of Toledo)



Emergence in Polychrome (1981), by Dominick Labino. Hot glass sculpture with gold veiling and crystalline iridescence. (Photo by Weyer of Toledo)

at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, he was Vice-President and Director of Research and Development for Johns-Manville Fiber Glass Corporation. He began to construct the studio on his farm near Grand Rapids in 1960; in 1965 he retired from Johns-Manville to devote full time to his own technological and artistic projects, and, his two daughters having graduated from high school, he and Mrs. Labino moved to the farm. Labino holds over 60 patents, most of which relate to glass and glass fiber production. Three of his developments of glass fibers for insulation against extremes in temperature were used in the Apollo, Gemini, and Mercury space crafts. His invention of pure silica fiber in 1952, which was used as insulation in jet aircraft engines, was used in 1980 to make the tiles that covered the Space Shuttle Columbia. He has recently invented a new instrument which automatically measures the softening point of glass.⁷

"I am top heavy on technology," he admits. One of his pet peeves is his perception that many young people interested in glass blowing don't want to learn the science of working with glass: "Art is art and technology is technology," he says, "but technology comes before art. It's the scientist that leads the way, and art is always behind. There's a nonsense on the part of artists; they don't want to be involved in technology — it's a bad word." Such artists "want to create shapes and colors, unencumbered by the discipline of studying glass chemistry."

Labino's own knowledge of the chemical and physical properties of glass contributes to what many consider his greatest achievement — his glorious color. In the words of Otto Wittman, former director of the Toledo Museum of Art, "No other glass craftsman has achieved such extraordinary color relationships, or subtle variations of tones. He has an inherent feeling for color in addition to a mastery of the technology of molten glass."⁸

Labino explains the complex technology involved: glass color is dependent on the presence of particles in solutions, suspensions, or emulsions, as well as the furnace atmosphere (temperature and oxygen concentration) and the acid-alkali ratio. A small amount of gold chloride or silver nitrate introduced into the glass batch makes the widest variety of colors. In combination with small amounts of tin and iron, he elaborates,



Elizabeth and Dominick Labino on their farm near Grand Rapids, Ohio.

copper can produce turquoise, blue, green, or red, depending on the elements and furnace atmosphere. In the same way, iron and manganese can produce shades of violet, yellow, dark blue, and black glass. Cobalt can be used to create beautiful hues of blue. Understandably, it takes years of study and experience working with glass to produce high quality results.

Glass blowers need to know chemical composition for yet another reason. Formulation of the ingredients of the batch in the correct proportion is necessary if the glass is to last over time. To explain, Labino digresses on the definition of glass. "What is glass? No one has really come up with a good definition," but a tentative one by the ASTM⁹ is "that glass is an inorganic product of fusion which has cooled to a rigid condition without crystallizing." Glass can be produced by melting a glass-forming oxide, silica. The difficulty is that silica is hard to melt, and therefore it must be compounded with lime (a stabilizer) and soda ash (a flux to lower temperature and viscosity). This mixture critically affects the quality of glass, and glass with improper levels of lime or soda ash may fall apart in fifteen to twenty years.

The equipment of glass production fills Labino's studio. It is a maze of annealing ovens, machinery, furnaces, and tools of every description. Labino spends long days

here, beginning at 8 a.m. and often ending at 11 or midnight. He does most of his actual glass blowing in the solitary quiet of night. After a batch of powdered ingredients has been mixed and melted to the proper consistency, he inserts the blow pipe, which is slightly conical at the end. Then he blows into the pipe and a shimmering glass object emerges from the gob of molten glass. The glass is then cooled and separated from the pipe by scoring it with a file and tapping the pipe; it is then transferred to the pontil, a rod that holds the object for the finishing process.

The finished piece goes into the annealing oven to cool gradually. The last step is the annealing process. This is a gradual cooling to eliminate internal strain which would persist if the outer surface cooled more rapidly than the interior of the wall. The completed piece is placed, while it is still hot, in a heated chamber where it remains until the strains are removed, cooling gradually at first as the temperature is slowly lowered, and then faster after the critical point is passed. When the piece emerges from the annealing oven, Labino checks for stress with a polariscope, an instrument using polarized light to view the object ("rainbows" appear in spots where stress remains). "The simple tools of testing," Labino says, "should be a prerequisite for any glass blower if he is to avoid the embarrassment of having a piece break, perhaps in an exhibition. If the polariscope shows that excessive strains exist, the piece should be either reannealed or discarded."¹⁰ No Labino piece has ever cracked or broken in exhibition from improper annealing.

Labino's tools, other than his lips and artist's eye, include a file which scores the glass; a set of jacks (metal spring tools which resemble large tweezers and are used to open the top of a vessel and shape the shoulder and neck); shears for cutting off excess glass; pincers for pulling glass from the surface, feathering, and twisting; and sticks and wooden paddles, usually of fruitwood, for stretching the tops of vessels and for grooving and shaping necks and stems. He also uses a series of rounded wooden blocks with small handles that shape the bottom of the glass object. "Wooden tools," Labino explains, "while very inflammable, are better for working the glass because they do not chill the glass as metal does . . . Also, the wooden tool which has been dipped in water gives off

steam which acts as a cushion between the tool and the glass, which is not the case with a metal tool."

His tools are essentially the same as those used by glass blowers twenty centuries ago. This is not surprising, "since they are in reality substitutions for human manipulation," he says. "The tools . . . have an inherent relationship to the process. The shapes are determined by the nature of blowing into a pipe, since the first form to take shape is rounded. Thus each successive step revolves around this sphere and the various ways in which it may be enlarged, lengthened, or changed by forming a neck, opening up to make a bowl, or spinning to make a flat surface."¹²

Labino believes there is a correct tool for every job. If he doesn't have it, he invents it. "Tools are toys," he jokes, "and he who dies with the most toys, wins!" He designed and constructed much of his polishing and grinding equipment, including his grindstone. Once he built a blast furnace so he could melt



Footed Fountain (1978), by Dominick Labino. In the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art. (Photo courtesy of the artist)



Elizabeth Labino playing glass armonica constructed by her husband.

down an old Studebaker engine and turn it into a set of iron bells.

Labino's mind is constantly active with new ideas and projects and problems to investigate. Discussing some recent advances in microbiology involving new media for growing cultures, he exclaimed, "It's hard to stay on one subject when other things are so exciting, too." In 1974 he constructed a replica of Benjamin Franklin's glass armonica, and more recently he built a glass carillon of his own design. Mrs. Labino plays both instruments, performing pieces by Mozart and other composers written especially for the armonica.

The Franklin armonica, of which there are only four in this country, consists of a bank of 30 glass bells nested horizontally on a turning metal shaft. When the performer touches the bells lightly with moistened fingers, they emit an eerie, ringing tone. The bells range in diameter from nine inches for the lowest note to two and a half inches for the highest. As

invented by Franklin, the shaft is driven by a foot pedal and flywheel, but Labino's armonica uses a small, quiet electric motor.

He built the armonica after the Boston Museum of Fine Arts asked him to make six bells for the authentic Franklin armonica in its collection. After a great deal of research he produced the bells for the museum and then made his own reproduction, right down to the wooden case. The other two armonicas in the country are in the Franklin Institute and the Corning Museum of Glass (for which Labino made a replacement middle C).

Labino's carillon is unique in that it uses glass bells; in all other carillons they are metal. His next project is to enlarge the carillon to 61 bells, adding a keyboard from an old organ.

Whatever new projects his fertile mind turns to in the future, whether artistic or scientific, we may be sure that they will be conducted with the same rare combination of imagination and technical skill that has characterized his work throughout his life.

NOTES

¹ Robert A. Cohen, "Origins of the Studio Glass Movement," *Glass Studio*, No. 32, p. 36.

² Dominick Labino, *Visual Art in Glass* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1968), p. 88.

³ Cohen, p. 37.

⁴ Cohen, p. 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Cohen, p. 53.

⁷ The Harrop/Labino glass softening point system, manufactured by Harrop Industries, Inc., Columbus, Ohio, requires only 75 minutes to test a glass sample, and replaces the traditional method which involved forming a sample fiber and observing it in a specially built furnace, using an expensive microslide cathetometer/telemicroscope.

⁸ *Dominick Labino: A Decade of Glass Craftsmanship, 1964-74*, catalog to accompany exhibits at the Pilkington Glass Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Toledo Museum of Art, 1974-75, p.7.

⁹ American Society for Testing and Materials.

¹⁰ Labino, p. 125. Most of the preceding description of the glass-blowing process is drawn from this source, pp. 121-25, and from Labino's conversation.

¹¹ Labino, p. 121.

¹² *Ibid.*



Fountain (1981), by Dominick Labino. Hot glass sculpture with gold veiling. (Photo by Weyer of Toledo)

NAVAJO

The "code" the Axis couldn't crack

by Ellen Schauber

The rumor that the U.S. Marine Corps used the Navajo language as a secret code during World War II turns out to be true.¹ But why Navajo? From a linguist's point of view, the answer provides insight into how languages can be so different and so difficult for non-native speakers, yet sufficiently similar that they are all learned in the same way by different peoples and equally well by children. Of course, one must also consider the fact that a language could be used for military purposes only if there were a sufficient number of speakers available to the armed forces. The Navajos, among the largest American Indian groups, with a population of 150,000, are among those native Americans who have maintained their own language. In addition, many Navajos enlisted in the armed forces. And, most important of all, the Navajo language is sufficiently complex to be incomprehensible to any non-native speaker who has not studied it extensively.

The Navajo language is among the most familiar of the Athapaskan language group, the Apachean languages being the other most familiar. Although the main Navajo reservation crosses the borders of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado (covering an area about the size of the state of West Virginia), the language family takes its name from its origin in Alaska. But how could any natural language be so difficult that the Germans and Japanese could not break the code? The grammar is basically similar to that of other languages, but the complexities of Navajo are greater. Combinations of grammatical techniques are used which individually are quite clear, but together interact to become quite opaque. Navajo, like some African and Oriental languages, is a tone language; that is, the same syllable may have different meanings depending on the pitch it is given. It also contains sounds not found in English. The grammar includes unusual word order, complex combinations of meaning units, and the masking of meaning units with pronunciation changes.

Since language is the main method of communication among all human beings, all languages must convey approximately the same sorts of things. There are, however, differences in the amount of specificity or abstractness in the actual words of each language. For example, in English we can say, "I want," "I think," "I wonder," "I mean," but in Navajo the same word is used for these meanings: /nisin/.² On the other hand, whereas in English there is one general verb "to handle" (objects), in Navajo there are twelve different verbs for this action, the choice depending upon the characteristics of the object being handled. As described by Robert Young and William Morgan in their dictionary, *The Navajo Language*,³ /'áál/ is used when handling one bulky, roundish and hard object, such as a bottle, book, hat, or car; /ghéél/ is used for handling a pack or load, anything bundled or loaded together; /jih/ is used for handling plural separable objects, usually small of size and large in number; /jil/ is used for holding anything on the back, such as a baby or pack; /jo/ is used with non-compact matter, such as wool or hay; /káál/ with things in a vessel, like a pail or box; /léél/ with slender, flexible objects like a rope, snake, one hair; /nił/ is used for handling many objects, but fewer than /jih/, such as two or three books, puppies, ropes; /téél/ for one animate object, as a baby, a sheep, or a bug; /tjł/ for slender stiff objects like a pole, stick, cigarette, or

Dr. Ellen Schauber is Associate Professor of Linguistics at Northwestern University.



pencil; /tʰoh/ for handling mushy matter, like mud or mortar; and /tsos/ is used for handling a flexible, flat object, like a sheet of paper, a blanket, or a cloth.

Each of the above stems can be used to mean "carry," "pick up," "take," "bring," "put down," "exchange positions," etc. Thus Navajo has a set of verb stems that are extremely general in the type of action represented, but extremely specific in the sort of object receiving the action. English, in contrast, has a number of specific verbs used indiscriminately with various types of objects. Insofar as distinctions analogous to the Navajo are made in English, they are made with phrases (adjectives, prepositional phrases, etc.) qualifying the object; insofar as distinctions analogous to the English are made in Navajo, they are constructed through prefixes (examples below).

Languages can thus be differentiated according to degrees of abstractness and specificity: what aspects are abstract, what kinds of things are specified, and how specific is the specification? As the above examples demonstrate, the Navajo verb is, for many reasons, the most interesting part of the language. In most languages, words can be broken down into meaningful parts, called *morphemes*. In English, for example, the verb *unloaded* consists of three morphemes: *un* (negative) + *load* (stem) + *ed* (past tense marker). Each of the various Navajo "handling" verbs above is listed according to one morpheme, its future stem. Navajo adds specificity to the action aspect of these verbs by combining many morphemes, usually prefixes, with the stem. The rich system of prefixes can fill out the verb to the point where it can itself be a whole sentence. Thus, Navajo is a good example of an *agglutinative* language,⁴ a language in which many separate morphemes (meaning-bearing units) are combined in a specific order in a single word. In each of the following examples, the morphemes of a verb are separated by +, then the morphemes are explained, and finally the verb is translated.

1. ch'i+dee+sh+ááł
"out horizontally" + F(=inceptive aspect, that is, denoting beginning. [di/], combined with /ghi/ mode) + 1st person subject + "handle" stem
I will carry it out horizontally.
2. 'a+hi+dee+sh+ááł
indefinite object + seriative (in a series) + F + 1st person + "handle"
I will carry it in or away by making several consecutive trips.
3. 'ał+ná+á+dee+sh+ááł
back and forth between two points (/ał/, reciprocal + combined with /ná/, beside, in place of, and /ná/, return) + F + 1st person + "handle"
I will carry it back and forth.

The single abstract Navajo stem meaning "go," "come," "walk," and a variety of other English verbs, varies according to the number of people involved. Like English *am*, *is*, *are*, the Navajo stem for "go" changes according to number, but whereas English has inflections only for "one" and for "many," Navajo verb forms indicate whether the subject is one person (singular), two people (dual), or many people (plural):

4. ch'i+náá+dí+d+ááł
You (singular) will go out again horizontally (as, through a door).
5. ch'i+náá+do+oh+t+'ash
You (two) will go out again horizontally.
6. ch'i+náá+do+oh+kah
You (many) will go out again horizontally.⁵

There is a further quirk to the Navajo number system. When the plural is used, an action can be thought of either as a mass action or as a separate action performed by each individual in the group: /yikah/, "they (more than two) are walking along (as a group)" contrasts with /deíkááh/, "they (each of a group of more than two) are walking along." Further, if each member of the group is con-

sidered to be performing an action individually, the verb can also specify that each person is performing the action one after another, sequentially: /yah 'ohkááh/ commands more than two people to come in together, while /yah 'axohkááh/ means to come in one after another.

In the above examples, it is the final morpheme, the stem, which varies. The other morphemes, not having anything to do with number, remain the same. These other units, however, are good examples of agglutinating prefixes in Navajo which in English are separate words. Thus, in example 4, /ch'í/ means "outward horizontally," /náá/, "again," /di/, future, and /ni/ second person singular (you). Note that the listing of the separate prefixes is not identical to the word itself: /di/+ni/=dii/.

It is this feature, the change of pronunciation of the individual units (according to phonological rules) when several syllables are combined, that is most responsible for the choice of Navajo as a secret code: the actual pronunciation can be so remote from the apparent value of the combination of prefixes, that the language becomes incomprehensible to the uninitiated. A commonplace example is the Navajo word "you are eating," which is spelled and pronounced /'iyá/. This word actually represents a string of morphemes which would be analyzed as /'i+ni+yá/. And /yiilzhééh/, "we cut hair," is the pronunciation of /iid+í+zhééh/.

Navajo, like English, marks first person (I, we), second person (you), and third person (he, she, it, they). But in addition Navajo has what has been called a fourth person — often used either as an indefinite or as a method of differentiating one third person from another. In examples 7, 8, and 9, /ji/ and /dz/ mark fourth person, while /yi/ denotes a third person subject followed by a third person object. Sentence 8 is ambiguous; it is clarified by adding the fourth person marker *dz* in 9.

7. *jini*
4th person + say
It is said.
8. *ashkii at'éeé yiyiiltsanéé bitah doo hats'fid da*
(i) The boy who saw the girl was sick.
(ii) The girl who saw the boy was sick.
9. *ashkii at'éeé dziiltsanéé bitah doo hats'fid da*
The boy who saw the girl was sick.

Sentence 8 is ambiguous because Navajo has no grammatical indication of gender in its verbs or adjectives. The fourth-person marker *dz* in 9 resolves the ambiguity by signaling which is the subject.

Although Navajo does not have the kind of gender distinction found in many languages, it does have a spatial contrast which is analogous to gender distinctions.

10. *kin shil yá'át'éeéh*
house 1st person + with 3rd person + be good
I like the house.
11. *kindi shil yá'áhoot'éeéh*
house + at 1st person + with *area* + 3rd person + be good
I like it *at* the house.

The /di/ is a spatial marker (morpheme) adjoined to the end of a word which necessitates an agreement marker (/hoo/) in the verb.

In the examples above, another difference between Navajo and English emerges: word order. The basic order in English is subject, verb, and object(s) or prepositional phrases: "I like the house"; "John comes from someplace." In Navajo, the basic word order is subject first, then the object or any phrases, and finally, the verb. But where there are two nouns in the same clause (i.e., not pronouns, and so always third person), the more "human" noun must come first.



12. tsís'ná na'ashjé'ii yishish
bee spider 3+3+P+ sting (3rd person + 3rd person + Past tense + sting)
The bee stung the spider.
13. *tsís'ná ashkii yishish
bee boy 3+3+P+sting
The bee stung the boy.
14. ashkii tsís'ná bishish
boy bee 3+3+P+sting
The boy was stung by the bee.

In (12) and (13), the subject is "the bee." But since bees are less human than boys, it is not possible for the bee to appear in the subject position. The sentence must be made passive, which (as in English) puts the object before the subject. A bee cannot sting a boy, but a boy can be stung by a bee.

There are, of course, many other differences between Navajo and English word order, just as there are so many other differences between the two languages that space does not even permit their mention. Still, this partial catalogue of differences should aid in understanding the complexity of natural languages in general, and the special complexity of Navajo. It is not that the grammatical principles used in Navajo are unique. It is the special combination of distinctions, but especially the putting together of so many meaning units (morphemes) into one word and then obscuring them through rules for pronunciation changes, that made Navajo a useful secret code. I know only one Anglo who speaks Navajo both fluently and grammatically. It's no wonder Navajo friends have been known to refer to him jokingly as a witch doctor.

NOTES

¹The Navajo "Code Talkers," as they call themselves, still stay in touch with one another, meet as a group, and march in parades. They are a source of pride among the Navajos. In military operations they used coded talk, that is, they gave special meaning to words but used normal Navajo grammar.

²Slashes (/ /) are the linguist's way of indicating phonemic (representative) pronunciation.

³Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971.

⁴The most extreme example of an agglutinative language is Inuit or Eskimo (see *The Gamut*, no. 8 [Winter, 1983], pp. 31-34).

⁵Note that these examples have been translated "go out." Since this Navajo verb stem, like the "handle" stem, is abstract compared to the English, a better translation would be, "to move on foot at a walk." The same Navajo stem (in its variety of forms) would be used for English "go," "come," "walk," "start," "arrive," "enter," "join," "meet," "divorce," "separate," "find," etc.

Authentic border designs from Navajo Reading Study, University of New Mexico.



Jeanette E. Tuve

Florence E. Allen, First Woman State Supreme Court Judge

The largest potential voting bloc in American politics is the women's vote, but it has never been consolidated effectively to support either candidates or issues. That the potential existed and could be used was dramatically illustrated more than sixty years ago when a Cleveland woman, Florence Ellinwood Allen, ran for judge of the Ohio Supreme Court against five male candidates and was elected with the support of a state-wide network of enthusiastic women. She was the first woman to be elected to any supreme court; she predicted that such elections would become commonplace. Her prediction has not come true, but perhaps it will, for the possibilities of women's voting power are even greater today than they were sixty years ago.

Allen's strength as a political candidate was rooted in the women's rights movement and the campaign for woman suffrage. The women's movement originated in the mid-nineteenth century as an outgrowth of the crusade to free the slaves, when some reformers advanced the idea that women as well as slaves were subject to inequalities in American society. The high point of the movement was reached in 1848 when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott called a convention in Seneca Falls, New York, to discuss the social, civil, and religious rights of women. Three hundred men and women attended the convention and adopted a Declaration of Sentiments modelled on the Declaration of

Independence. The document declared that men and women are created equal, but that women had been deprived of their inalienable right to the elective franchise, to representation in the halls of legislation, to equal participation with men in the various trades and professions, that they had been excluded from the ministry, and, if married, were considered "civilly dead." The goals were broad and unfocused; methods of achievement were unformulated. The organization was soon dissipated in the trauma of the Civil War.

The movement was revitalized in 1890 when Carrie Chapman Catt organized the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Its goals were clearly focused on a single issue and indicated in the name of the organization. A host of capable women joined Catt, most of them of middle-class, Protestant, north-European heritage, many of them with a talent for organization. The women by and large had the support of their male relatives, men who venerated the right to vote as the foundation of the only tolerable form of government.

The old argument that equality is woman's natural right persisted, but new arguments which could be politicized were added at the turn of the century. The Progressive Era was in full tide with its call for honest and efficient government responsible to the people. The cult of true womanhood was also

*Jeanette E. Tuve, an associate professor of history at Cleveland State University, grew up on a farm in Michigan. She received a B.A. from the University of Michigan and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Case Western Reserve University, specializing in modern Russian economic history. Professor Tuve is author of several articles on Russia and of a book, *The First Russian Women Physicians* (forthcoming from *Oriental Research Partners*), and has written a full-length biography of Florence Allen, for which she is now in search of a publisher.*



in full tide, with its conviction that women were more moral and more pure than men and were guardians of the coming generation. Homemaking had been upgraded as a science of efficient management, a virtue needed in government: through suffrage, it was argued, women's moral superiority and housekeeping skills would contribute to honest and efficient government.¹

Florence Allen was in the mold of the typical suffragist. Of New England Protestant stock, she was the descendant of families who had migrated into Ohio's Western Reserve in the mid-nineteenth century. Her maternal grandfather, Jacob Tuckerman, attended Oberlin College and was principal of New Lyme Academy, a coeducational college preparatory school in Ashtabula County. Her paternal grandfather, Edwin R. Allen, of the family of Ethan Allen, was a farmer, dentist, and justice of the peace in nearby Girard, Pennsylvania. Women in both families were educated. Allen's mother, Corinne Tuckerman Allen, was the first student to matriculate at Smith College and was a constant worker for social reform. Her father, Clarence Emir Allen, started his career as a professor of classical languages at Western Reserve Academy, but was soon lured by the opportunities of Utah. There he became a lawyer, managed several successful silver mines, and served in the Utah legislature and in the United States Congress. It was in Utah that Florence Allen was born in 1884, the third of six children.

Her early education was received in private Protestant academies and at home, where she was taught Greek, Latin, and music, and acquired an interest in law and politics. High ideals of social morality and perfectibility and individual responsibility for public service were acquired from her family. For her college education she returned to her father's alma mater, Western Reserve University, where she attended the Women's College and graduated in 1904 with a Phi Beta Kappa key and a remarkable record of activities in drama, music, literature, and social organizations.²

College-educated women of Allen's day thought of themselves as a new generation whose members had a greater variety of career options than women had ever had before. She was intrigued by the prospects of a career and explored several possibilities. She studied music for two years in Berlin with in-

tent to become a concert pianist, only to find that she was more successful as a music critic than as a performer. She taught at Laurel School in Cleveland for a few years. Teaching was a traditional profession for women but did not fulfill her expectations. She explored the possibilities of social work at Jane Addams's Hull House in Chicago and Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement in New York. Social work was new and idealistically purposeful but not financially rewarding. After a half-dozen years of psychological conflict about her future she decided to become a lawyer. As a profession the law met all her requirements. She had a very idealistic view of it, considering it the ethical basis of society and believing that to do justly was the highest human endeavor. It was financially rewarding and, perhaps most important, it was a challenge because the profession was dominated by men. Only 1.1 percent of practicing lawyers were women in 1910.³

Western Reserve University Law School refused Allen's application because it did not admit women, but in the fall of 1910 Allen was admitted to New York University Law School. NYU was unique in that it not only admitted women but encouraged them to enroll. It was among the five largest law schools in the country, and 12 percent of its students were women.⁴ The women law students had an active organization and were among the charter members of the National Association of Women Lawyers, the purpose of which was to promote women in the legal profession. To support herself in law school Allen worked as secretary to Maud Wood Park, a leader in the woman suffrage movement.

While Allen was in law school the campaign for woman suffrage in Ohio began. In 1910 the voters of Ohio had decided to reform their constitution and bring it in line with the goals of the Progressive Era.⁵ Forty-one amendments were proposed, one of which would extend the suffrage to women. A special election was called for September 3, 1912, to vote on the amendments. The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association was capably led by Harriet Taylor Upton, who was an old hand at politics and knew very well how difficult suffrage would be to achieve.⁶

Maud Wood Park opened the campaign in Cleveland in April 1912 with a great public rally in the Knickerbocker Theatre on East



Young lawyer Florence E. Allen in her Cleveland office.

84th Street, followed by organizational meetings in private homes along Prospect and Euclid Avenues. The women decided to use the new dramatic methods of mass public rallies and demonstrations which English suffragettes were using so effectively. Allen hastened to Cleveland as soon as law school was out to join the campaign. Their first effort was to rent a trolley car, festoon the sides with "Votes for Women" signs, and travel to Medina where forty young women marched and rallied for suffrage.

Allen spent the summer of 1912 in Ohio campaigning. Part of the time she spent in Cleveland working at headquarters on Euclid Avenue. There she met many women influential in the community: Elizabeth Hauser, a newswoman and former secretary to Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Zara DuPont of a distinguished industrial family, Lucia McCurdy McBride, a socialite and wife of a well-known philanthropist, Belle Sherwin, daughter of one of Cleveland's wealthiest industrial families, a graduate of Wellesley, founder of the Cleveland Consumer's League* and Director

of the Visiting Nurse Association, Minerva Brooks, a Vassar graduate and daughter of an outstanding lawyer, Edna Perkins, a professor at Western Reserve University.

Allen's chief task was to organize the campaign in the counties of Ohio. She travelled the length and breadth of the state organizing women and speaking to women's clubs and steel workers, to associations of lawyers, teachers, and ministers. She spoke at churches and county fairs, band concerts and farmers' institutes, circuses and carnivals, on street corners and courthouse steps. She declared her willingness to speak as long as anyone would listen.

Illustrative of the friendships Allen made in the summer of 1912 was that with Vadae Meekison, who practiced law with her husband in Napoleon, Ohio. Vadae and Florence campaigned together in Henry County, travelling by horse and buggy. Florence did most of the driving, for Vadae had a baby girl in her lap. They carried a soap box in the back of the buggy to stand on to speak, and considered themselves very lucky in one town when the proprietor of a traveling medicine show allowed them to use his stage for their speeches. Vadae Meekison and her daughter were life-long supporters of Florence Allen's public career.

Most of the women Allen organized

*For an account of this organization, see Leah Beth Ward, "The Consumers League of Ohio: Early Champion of Working Women," *The Gamut*, No. 7 (Fall, 1982), pp. 81-92.

and worked with were upper-middle-class women, living in domesticity. Most had led sheltered lives and shrank from the thought of public oratory or even of trying to persuade their acquaintances of the merits of woman suffrage. At the outset few could articulate their political thoughts, but by the end of the summer many could, even in the face of heckling and catcalls. Everywhere the sisterhood stood together and Allen made "a fine acquaintance among forward-looking Ohio women,"⁷ that in the long run would have productive political rewards.

When the vote came in September 1912 the woman suffrage amendment lost by a vote of 295,000 to 335,000.⁸ The suffragists were not discouraged, least of all Florence Allen; they believed that their message had not reached enough people. Plans were immediately started for another campaign.

The amended constitution included provisions for initiative and referendum, and the suffragists decided to try this method. In early 1914 Allen again travelled the state, organizing a crew of women to circulate petitions among the male voters to get the ten percent of signatures required. No longer were the suffragists meek, shy, and sheltered women. They aggressively went out seeking signatures, no number too small. Allen's speech in Mt. Vernon in July, for example, brought 50 signatures; in New Lexington, 27 signatures;⁹ and so the total grew and in due time the petitions were filed with the secretary of state.

Lines of conflict were drawn more sharply in 1914 than in 1912. Voters were asked to decide on three issues: one was woman suffrage, the other two were options concerning the sale or prohibition of alcoholic beverages. The liquor industry vigorously opposed the vote for women, believing that if they were enfranchised they would vote for prohibition. The large industrial cities, Cleveland and Cincinnati, were rapidly filling with southern and eastern Europeans who were not interested in either prohibition or woman suffrage. The liquor industry was generous with money for the campaign and provided picnics at Euclid Beach, free beer, posters in trolleys which working men rode to instruct them how to vote against woman suffrage.

In smaller cities and rural areas the women found better support. In Ashland, for example, Allen spoke to a Chautauqua audi-

ence of 2,000 and got "good applause." In Wooster she spoke from the grandstand at the county fair. In Mansfield she went to a "whopping meeting" of the Federation of Women's Clubs and received their endorsement.¹⁰ Newspapers were generally supportive, their editors presumably coming from the New England stock who supported suffrage. Everywhere Protestant ministers and their congregations opened their doors and their hearts to the suffragists.

For Allen the high point of the campaign was a debate with Lucy Price in Gray's Armory in Cleveland. Price spoke for the anti-suffragists. The cavernous auditorium was filled, President Charles F. Thwing of Western Reserve University presided, and the newspapers reported fully. Allen argued that the vote was woman's natural right, that women wanted to vote and that in western states where they did vote politics had been purified, crime had declined, and legislation beneficial for workers and children had been adopted. The Ohio legislature, Allen argued, is very skimpy in providing money for child welfare but spends it like water in taking care of the potato bug and looking after the welfare of hogs. With woman suffrage she promised that those priorities would be rearranged.

Price argued that women did not want the vote, that it would be a burden to them, and that in western states where they had the vote crime had increased along with the divorce rate and families had suffered when mothers became interested in politics.¹¹

The women who had campaigned for the vote had worked hard and courageously and lasting bonds of friendship developed between them. Their efforts were overwhelmed by the slicker and more expensive campaign of the opposition, and woman suffrage was defeated again in 1914, more overwhelmingly than in 1912.

Florence Allen graduated from NYU Law School *cum laude* in June 1913, and the following year passed the bar examinations in Ohio. She searched for a position with a private law firm in Cleveland, where she had excellent connections through her family and friends. No law firm was willing to take on a woman colleague; every man interviewed found some excuse. One said, pointing to a few snow flakes floating past the window, "Why, I wouldn't think of sending a woman down to the Court House on a day like this."¹²

In the fall of 1914 she opened her own office and volunteered for the Cleveland Legal Aid Society. Work for the Legal Aid Society widened her perspective to the problems of the poor and underprivileged. Poor people with all kinds of human problems came to her: abused wives who couldn't afford a divorce, parents whose children were in trouble with the police, tenants who had landlord problems, people who had been defrauded by the "smooth-talking sharks" (Allen's phrase) that preyed upon newcomers in Cleveland. Allen represented cases at court and became acquainted with the judges. Visits to the police court were especially unpleasant, and on at least one occasion the "vile, stinking place"¹³ made her physically ill. Fees for her work were small and slow in coming.

As a young lawyer, Allen's only certain client was the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, which retained her as legal counsel from 1914 to 1920. A case for this organization took her for the first time to the Ohio Supreme Court. The new Ohio constitution had given cities the right to frame charters and determine their own officials. The suffragists thought that a city charter could, therefore, give women the right to vote for municipal officials. East Cleveland, a prosperous suburb, was chosen as a test case, and in 1916, with the aid of Allen and others, a new charter including woman suffrage for municipal offices was adopted. The Board of Elections refused to count the women's votes, doubting their legality. The Woman Suffrage Party initiated a taxpayer's suit to test the right of women to vote in a charter city. With Allen as the party lawyer, the Ohio Supreme Court upheld the right.

In 1917 the Ohio legislature, aided and abetted by the suffragists, passed a bill permitting women to vote for presidential electors. Opponents immediately circulated petitions for a referendum on the legislation. The suffragists suspected that many of the signatures were fraudulent. Again attorney Allen traversed the state and found that many signatures were obviously written by the same hand, with the same pen, in the same saloon. Lawsuits were initiated in selected counties to challenge the petitions, and in the four counties where the courts heard the cases more than ninety percent of the signatures were found fraudulent. In most counties the

courts or boards of election delayed action, and the referendum went on as scheduled, and the legislation was recalled by a large majority.¹⁴ At this point the women retired from the scene of battle and waited for the Nineteenth Amendment to give them the vote. It came in 1920 and was ratified by the state legislature, but woman suffrage was never ratified by the male voters of Ohio.

One of the most interesting cases Allen participated in as a woman's advocate was that of *Employees v. Cleveland Railway Company*. The company had employed women street car conductors during World War I. When the war ended the men returned and wanted their jobs back. The upshot was a three-day strike that paralyzed Cleveland transportation, followed by a settlement between the company and the union that included dismissing the women conductors. The case for the women conductors was appealed to the National War Labor Board, Allen being one of the attorneys for the women. This body recommended that the women not be fired. It was a victory for Allen and working women, but a hollow victory, for the company honored its agreement with the union and women conductors disappeared from the streets of Cleveland.¹⁵

In the midst of the street car case, through acquaintances in the Democratic Party, Allen was appointed assistant prosecutor for Cuyahoga County, the first woman in the country to fill such a position. As assistant prosecutor she was in charge of grand jury hearings and indictments, vastly broadening her experience in criminal cases and in the city and county courts.

Before suffrage, women's political voices had been heard through the activities and resolutions of a nationwide network of women's organizations: the National American Women's Suffrage Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and a host of others. In addition to the NAWSA, Allen was active in the National Association of Women Lawyers and several alumnae organizations. In her early years in Cleveland, she was a charter member of the Women's City Club and the Business and Professional Women's Club. After 1920 she was active in the League of Women Voters and the women's division of the Democratic Party. The support of women's organizations was crucial to her ca-

reer. As early as February, 1920, the Ohio Federation of Business and Professional Women urged Governor Cox to appoint Allen to a vacancy on the common pleas bench.¹⁶ The proposal failed because suffrage had not been ratified and a woman could not be appointed to an elective office.

It was not until August, 1920, that the 36th state, Tennessee, ratified the Nineteenth Amendment after a long battle and woman suffrage became law, only ten weeks before the November election. Allen had spent many sleepless nights during the Tennessee delay, but now the way was clear for her to declare her candidacy for judge of the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas, a candidacy which had been publicly proposed by the Business and Professional Women's Club. "With the winning of the vote," said Allen, "women gained the right as well as the duty to assume their part in public and professional life, to stretch their minds and their ability to serve humanity."¹⁷

The primaries were long past and it was necessary to be nominated by petition, but many of Allen's old suffrage friends had been enlisted to help. The day after woman suffrage became law, she phoned her petitions committee and the campaign was on. Women workers left no stone unturned in getting signers, some climbing high scaffolding to get signatures from busy construction workers. She ran on a non-partisan ticket, partly be-

cause reformers had long been calling for the separation of politics from the courts, but primarily because she believed there was a large constituency of women who would welcome the opportunity to vote for a female candidate.

Support came from many sources, but most notable was the support of women and women's organizations. Maud Wood Park, national president of the League of Women Voters, came to speak for her candidacy. Belle Sherwin, president of the Cleveland League, explained that although the League did not support candidates they had made an exception in Allen's case because she was a non-partisan candidate. The Business and Professional Women's Club published and distributed campaign literature. The Consumer's League, Lakewood Civic League, Lakewood PTA, and the Women's Protective Association all boosted her candidacy. The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and *Cleveland Press* were very supportive, urging women to register and all voters to cast their ballots for Allen.¹⁸ When the votes were counted she led the ticket by a generous margin. When asked to comment, Allen said she was "the beneficiary of the entire woman movement."¹⁹

The Common Pleas Court to which Allen had been elected was a glaring example of an institution in need of the kind of house-keeping reforms that the suffrage cam-



Business women support Allen's candidacy for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

paigners had promised women would bring. More than 6,000 cases were backlogged and awaiting trial.²⁰ Excessive delays made it possible for the accused to jump bail while the facts of cases were forgotten, muddled or concealed in the lapse of time. There was no administrative head of the court. The twelve judges rotated from criminal to civil cases without regard to experience or continuity. Critics claimed that some of the judges were loafing on the job and some were downright lazy, that most of them were playing politics to the detriment of justice, that they were spending more time at weddings and picnics, wakes and funerals than in the courtroom, and that many were beholden to pressure groups. Critics said there was no dignity in the courtroom, judges didn't bother to wear robes, came and went without announcement, and fraternized freely with whoever was there. For interesting cases, spectators jammed the courtroom and followed the proceedings like a sporting event. One critic said that "the courts are run like bar-rooms"; another said that this was an exaggeration, but that "in dignity of atmosphere" the courtroom "does not rise above a salesman's display room in a hotel."²¹ So upset were the people of Cuyahoga County about the lack of efficiency in their courts that a complete investigation was funded by the Cleveland Foundation and the results published in 1921.

While the public eye was on the courts, Judge Allen was personally performing her duties in her own energetic and efficient way. There was decorum and dignity in her courtroom. She never appeared without judicial robes. She insisted upon being called "Judge Allen" at all times. Her court started promptly. Jurors were scolded for being late. Attorneys who weren't on time were replaced. Requests for political favors were ignored. Cases were not delayed unless there was proof that they could not be heard. Victims of crime received special consideration. She prided herself on the number of cases that were heard in her courtroom: 570 in the first twenty-one months.²²

Sensational criminal cases brought Judge Allen special publicity and demonstrated her ability to dispense speedy and certain justice. Frank Motto, the leader of a gang that killed two Cleveland business men in a robbery of their company's payroll, was tried in her courtroom. Suspicious characters in-



Florence Allen is sworn in as first woman Judge of the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas.

vaded the courtroom and prowled around her house during the trial, making police protection necessary. A letter was received threatening to murder Allen and the members of the jury if Motto was convicted and executed. But the trial continued, Motto was found guilty of murder in the first degree, and Judge Allen gave him the death sentence. She denied a stay of execution and had no regrets when he was executed. Her courage and dedication to justice had prevailed in a very "manly" way over supposedly feminine foibles of timidity and leniency.

A much more sensational case was that of William McGannon, Chief Justice of the Cleveland Municipal Court, who was accused of murder. Twice he was tried for murder and acquitted, but it seemed obvious that some of the witnesses gave false testimony. In a third case, with Allen presiding, he was tried for perjury and found guilty. It was only in her courtroom that McGannon was found guilty of anything, and it was apparently Allen's clear instructions to the jury that helped to bring a decision in the case. "Judges cannot think that they are above the law," she told him as she sentenced him to the penitentiary. "They must be subject to the law the same as private citizens. Judges ought to know the spirit of the law, which demands that all tell the truth in a court of justice . . ." ²³ The *New York Tribune* reported the conviction and sentencing of McGannon as "the most dramatic incident in the history of the Cuyahoga County Courts."²⁴

Many letters of commendation came to Allen after sensational cases. After the

McGannon case, for example, the President of the Cleveland Federation of Women's Clubs wrote to tell her how proud women were of her, how impressed they were with her handling of the case, and concluded, "If at any time the Federation can be of assistance please call on us."²⁵

In the summer of 1922 there was a vacancy on the Ohio Supreme Court bench and Allen decided to declare her candidacy. Women from all over the state who had known her in the suffrage struggle wrote or telephoned to ask how they could help. Again she ran on a non-partisan ticket and entered by petition, and women did most of the work. Susan M. Rebhan, who was an experienced YWCA organizer, managed the campaign. Under her direction three women divided the state and went to every county to select a chairperson for the campaign, always women. So avidly did the sisterhood circulate petitions that more than double the required number of signatures were filed. The list of workers was a veritable rollcall of the former suffragist organization and all the allied women's clubs. Rebhan later wrote that "it was always women, women marching on the voters like an army" and bringing Allen's campaign platform.²⁶

The platform contained only 36 words: I believe in law enforcement, justice for all, business methods applied to the courts, efficient work by public servants, respect for law, order and the courts. Politics should have no place in the administration of justice.²⁷

The platform was printed on three-by-five cards and passed out by the thousands. Florence Allen clubs were formed by women in 66 counties to help with the work. Rebhan's instructions to organizational meetings said it was important to include women from both political parties, from a variety of churches, women's clubs and PTAs. If members could speak for the candidate, that was very good, but at least they could pass out platform cards.

Every morning for two months before the election Allen spoke at a morning church service, not referring to her candidacy, but giving a religious message urging men and women, especially women, to feel responsibility for improving their community. She had arranged her court schedule so that she was on duty during the regular vacation time in August and had time off in October to campaign. During October she was booked by her

campaign manager like a vaudeville star. There were meetings morning, noon, and night, at clubs, homes and factories, in theater halls and in the open. The thirty-six words became known all over Ohio.

Neither political party supported her. The Republicans were outright hostile and asked their women not to support Allen, although many openly did. Vadae Meekison simply stacked the literature against Allen in her basement and went right on campaigning. Rose Moriarity told her audiences that the gang in Cleveland had been "cleaned up" because of Judge Allen's presence on the bench.

Newspapers generally were sympathetic, supporting her because she was a woman and women should be represented in the courts. In case any voters had doubts about a woman as a supreme court judge, they were reminded that even if she were elected there would still be six men on the bench. There was a small finance committee composed of men, friends of Allen's father. After it was over the chairman wrote: "I have to laugh when I think that this campaign was put over by three or four women with a few men sitting at the table looking on and wondering where we would get the money to pay the bills."²⁸ Actually Allen's campaign was much better endowed than that of any other candidate: more than \$5,000 was raised, mostly from small contributions by individual women.²⁹

There were six candidates for the two associate judgeships to be filled. Allen was the only non-partisan candidate. She was elected by a plurality of 48,000 votes and carried 30 counties,³⁰ becoming the first woman to be a judge in a state supreme court. She did not run well in those areas where woman suffrage had been heavily defeated, particularly Cincinnati and Cleveland.

Again Allen gave full credit to the sisterhood for her victory, and it was credit where credit was due. It seems unlikely that otherwise she could have managed a statewide campaign without party support. Not only did the women plan appearances, raise money, pay her expenses, promote her locally and probably vote for her, but all the records show a long list of women who personally welcomed her, were proud that she had come, saw that every need was taken care of, and took her into their homes as an honored guest. She was the women's woman.



*Merry Christmas
Hazel Nite.*

Supporter of Allen for Supreme Court used 1922 campaign picture for Christmas card.

Women were eager to participate because it seemed like the good old days of the suffrage campaign or a fulfillment of what they had hoped for from the suffrage movement. By this time the women's movement was again in great disarray, splintered by factionalism once the vote was achieved, its leadership exhausted or diverted to other causes. In rallying around Florence Allen they could believe that their expectations were being achieved.

In the long run the suffrage failed to create a block of voting women united for any candidate or cause, but in 1922 enough unity remained to start Judge Allen on a distinguished career. In 1928 she ran again for the supreme court. This time she ran on her record, was supported enthusiastically by both men and women, and achieved a sweeping victory, with a plurality of about 350,000, carrying 68 counties,³¹ including Cleveland, Columbus, Youngstown, and Akron. During her eleven years on the Ohio Supreme Court she contributed to the liberal interpretation of laws concerning the rights and welfare of working people, extension of education, and municipal regulation of public services.

In 1934 she was appointed by President Roosevelt as judge of the Sixth Circuit Federal

Court of Appeals, the first woman to be appointed judge of a federal court of general jurisdiction. During her long tenure as a federal judge, from 1934 to 1959, she made significant contributions to constitutional and patent law. She was the presiding judge in the much-publicized case of the *Tennessee Electric Power Company v. The Tennessee Valley Authority*. The case stands as one of the first to be decided in favor of New Deal policies and as a turning point in the new orientation of the courts toward more responsiveness to changing social conditions and needs. For more than twenty years Judge Allen was a candidate for appointment to the United States Supreme Court, but in those times the women's vote was not important enough to influence any president to appoint a woman justice in defiance of the traditional masculinity of the court.

Florence Allen was a woman ahead of her time, a pioneer in her profession, a role model for thousands of young women to follow. Today about one-third of law school students are women, 12 percent of practicing lawyers are women,³² there is a woman justice on the U.S. Supreme Court, and the women's vote is a factor which every politician must take into account.

NOTES

¹ Monographs on the woman suffrage movement include Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia, 1965); Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1959); Anne F. Scott, and A. M. Scott, *One Half of the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1975).

² Documents about Allen's family background are in the Western Reserve Historical Society manuscript collection, Florence Allen papers, containers No. 1 and No. 6. Allen's autobiography, *To Do Justly* (Cleveland: Western Reserve, 1965), pp. 1-28, includes an account of her early years.

³ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Women in Law* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 4.

⁴ Beatrice Doerschuk, *Women in the Law* (New York: Vocational Commission, 1920), p. 115 and Alfred Z. Reed, *Training for the Public Profession of the Law* (New York: Carnegie Foundation, 1921), p. 452.

⁵ See Hoyt Landon Warner, *Progressivism in Ohio, 1897-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State, 1964).

⁶ Ida Husted Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, v. 5 (New York: Arno, 1969) includes an account of the struggle for woman suffrage in Ohio. The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association Yearbook (1912-1920) also has information. Also Florence Allen and Mary Welles, *The Ohio Woman Suffrage Movement* (Cleveland: Preservation Committee, 1952) and Virginia Clark Abbott, *The History of Woman Suffrage and the League of Women Voters in Cuyahoga County, 1911-1945* (Cleveland: LWV, 1945).

⁷ *To Do Justly*, p. 32.

⁸ Warner, pp. 340-341.

⁹ Diary entries, July 22 and 23, 1914.

¹⁰ Diary entries, August 10, 11, and 15, 1914.

¹¹ Debate information from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 29, 1914, p. 10. Allen's research notes for the debate contain statistics about the relationship between woman suffrage and social improvement as supplied by the *Woman's Journal*, official publication of the NAWSA.

¹² Allen papers, WRHS, container 15.

¹³ Diary, February 9, 1915.

¹⁴ Information from Allen and Welles, pp. 50-51; Abbott, pp. 55-56, and letter of Allen, November 15, 1917, to editor of *New York Evening Post*, Allen papers, WRHS, container 6.

¹⁵ Summarized from National War Labor Board Docket no. 491 in Allen papers, WRHS, container 6.

¹⁶ *Forty Years of Progress and Service, 1920-1960* (Columbus: OFBPWC, 1960), p. 29.

¹⁷ From speech delivered to NYU alumnae, Allen papers, WRHS, container 15.

¹⁸ Abbott, p. 75. *Cleveland Press*, October 29, 1920, p. 1.

¹⁹ *To Do Justly*, p. 16.

²⁰ *Cleveland Press*, September 9, 1920, p. 2.

²¹ Reginald Heber Smith and Herbert B. Ehrmann, *The Criminal Courts, Part I of Survey of Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland: Cleveland Foundation, 1921), p. 70.

²² *To Do Justly*, p. 51.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 62. Her 14 pages of instructions to the jury are in Allen papers, WRHS, container 15.

²⁴ *The New York Tribune*, June 26, 1921, Allen papers, WRHS, container 30.

²⁵ Letter of May 16, 1921, in Allen papers, WRHS, container 6.

²⁶ The best summary of the campaign was written by Susan Rebhan for the *Salt Lake City Telegram*, January 7, 1923, second section, pp. 1 ff. Allen papers, WRHS, container 26. Allen's family lived in Salt Lake City.

²⁷ Allen papers, WRHS, container 26.

²⁸ Letter from John Barden to C.E. Allen, November 10, 1922, Allen papers, WRHS, container 6.

²⁹ The amount was \$5,714.00. Other candidates spent from \$1,000 to \$1,500. Noted in *Marion Tribune*, November 17, 1922, and many other newspapers. Allen papers, Library of Congress, container 6.

³⁰ Records of the campaign and election are in Allen papers, WRHS, container 14.

³¹ Allen papers, WRHS, container 14.

³² Epstein, pp. 4 and 5.

Candace S. Shireman

Marble Mirrors of Society: Cemeteries in Cleveland, 1797-1984

Near the entrance of the Bedford, Ohio, cemetery is an oblong-shaped monument with a gabled lid, said to contain an above-ground sarcophagus. Rumor has it that the tomb was constructed in this manner to avoid the consequences of burial in the earth: the deceased was believed to be a vampire! Whether or not this particular rumor has any basis, it is true that graves often tell us a good deal about their occupants. All that we know, for example, of Charles Dumperth, buried in Cleveland's Monroe Street cemetery a century ago, is recorded in his epitaph: he was called "schuftig" ("rascal"), and

He had no wife, loved wine and song,
Had many a friend, did no man wrong.¹

Much can be learned about the life not only of an individual but of a civilization, a society, or a community by observing what it does with its dead. Architecture, in Eric Johannessen's words, is "an index of a place's physical and spiritual identity,"² and in the architecture of death — tombs, monuments, and memorials — we can see the builders' conceptions of themselves and their world. In fact, it is often only through funerary remains that we are able to glean information about the lives of peoples and cultures long vanished.

Even relatively recent history can be illuminated by a study of cemeteries. Those of Cleveland, for example, reflect the city's development from a simple village modeled after the New England prototype, to a complex, multi-cultural metropolis. In Cleveland's cemeteries can be seen certain general trends in American attitudes toward death, as well as some idiosyncratic departures.

From necropolis to bursting churchyard

The ancient Greeks and Romans established laws against burial of the dead within the city limits. Burial grounds were removed from the cities and generally took the form of imposing, above-ground tombs arranged along the main roadways to the cities, or catacombs constructed in caves or underground. Such extramural burial, often interpreted as evidence of aversion to or fear of the dead, also reflects an awareness of the health hazards posed by deteriorating corpses. Cremation was an accepted practice, and many catacombs had honeycomb-like structures called columbaria, "pigeon holes" where the ashes of the deceased were safely sealed in urns or other containers. Other portions of the catacombs or mausolea were constructed with shelf-like compart-

Candace S. Shireman was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, and grew up in Rushville, a small rural town southeast of there. She received a BFA degree in studio art (painting and drawing) from Lake Erie College in Painesville, Ohio, and currently manages the visual art collection of the Cleveland State University Library. Of her attraction to the present topic she writes: "I've had an interest in old cemeteries for as long as I can remember. I know this comes from all those hours I spent as a child following my mother from courthouse to library to cemetery as she diligently unearthed the family 'roots,' long before Alex Haley made that activity a popular pastime. I would fidget in the courthouses, nap in the libraries, but when we hit the cemeteries, I knew I was in my element. "Mom always impressed upon me the relationship between knowing family history and knowing oneself. When my friends tease me now about my 'fascination with death,' I just tell them it's really a fascination with life."



ments or crypts where the remains were interred in stone sarcophagi, the precursors of the elaborately carved tombs in Medieval and Renaissance churches and of the modern casket. We still use the term "mausoleum," derived from the tomb of Mausolus of Caria (died 353 B.C.), and our contemporary structures of that name more closely resemble those of ancient custom than other intervening forms. The ancient Greek or Roman necropolis (literally "city of the dead"), typically set in a natural landscape abounding with pines, cypresses, ivy, myrtle, and roses, became the model for the great garden cemeteries of nineteenth-century Europe and America, and the same trees and shrubs continue to be associated with places of burial.

From Hellenistic times, altars were erected in tombs and catacombs, and some pagan burial rites, together with rituals at the tombs, were absorbed into early Christian observances. (Christians and Jews buried their dead underground in the catacombs during the Empire as prescribed by Roman law.) These altars "ensured a church-like quality in many parts of the cemeteries. When churches were later built over places of burial or near places where martyrs had died, altars were erected that contained fragments of bone from the catacombs."³ The presence of saintly remains was perceived as having a redeeming effect on those buried in close proximity, and so relics were sought for the aura of sanctity they provided. Thus guardianship of the dead gradually passed to the Church, which eventually derived considerable financial gain from burial practices.⁴

As new churches were built away from old burial sites, the dead were then buried under or beside the churches, and this eventually came to be regarded as the only possible place of sepulture for Christians.⁵ For the average individual in the Middle Ages, burial was directly in the ground instead of in catacombs and tombs. Sometimes the shrouded bodies were laid directly in the earth, but some type of container was the norm from early times. Protection of the corpse from dispersal was encouraged by the Christian belief in a material resurrection, which in fact ruled out the previously acceptable practice of cremation almost until our own century.⁶

In early times many Christians, especially the wealthy and noble, sought the privilege and status of interment within the church itself. They were laid in a shaft in the church floor, lined or unlined with masonry, oriented toward the altar, and covered with a slab. As demand increased, burial places adjacent to the church were required. Authorized in 752 by Papal decree, churchyards were enclosed by walls and consecrated by a bishop to ward off evil influences. Thus we can see a fundamental change in attitude toward the dead, which were no longer regarded with the aversion of antiquity.

When burial took place in churchyards, the most desirable plots were those near the chancel; the churchyards became in effect extensions of the walls of the church for purposes of interment.⁷ The open space surrounded by cloisters was also used for burial, and spaces under the eaves of many cloisters, called charnels, were used to store old bones that had been dug up in an attempt to cope with overcrowding.

With the Reformation, funerary architecture, especially in Protestant countries, became increasingly a matter of "taste and individual demand."⁸ From the sixteenth century, churches began to be filled with huge funerary monuments, with Britain leading the way in this development (e.g., Westminster Abbey). The American colonies repeated the European practice of church floor and churchyard burials, though with fewer and more modest tombs.

Because the church profited from burial within or near the church building, it ignored the rising clamor of a few reformers concerned with public health. Burial grounds became increasingly congested; bodies were interred in layers right up to the tops of the walls, so that many churches appeared to be built in pits.⁹ Such overcrowding continued until nearly the end of the eighteenth century; something had to give, and in the case of the *Cimetière des Innocents* in Paris, it literally did. This churchyard was so full that in 1780 the pressure caused the basement walls of an adjoining apartment building to give way; the area was permeated by a noxious miasma; Paris was properly scandalized and nearly asphyxiated.¹⁰ The ensuing public outcry forced the closing of *Les Innocents* and other old cemeteries, and the systematic removal of the



Early nineteenth-century painting showing funeral cortege arriving at the gateway of Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris. (From *Famous and Curious Cemeteries* by John Francis Marion. Reprinted by permission.)

bones to an ossuary south of Paris called the Catacombs, dedicated in 1786. Plans for the first extramural, "modern" cemetery (as we know it today), Père Lachaise, were begun in 1801.

Early Cleveland cemeteries

Overcrowded cemeteries were not a problem in early America, but the concept of the extramural burial ground is apparent in the small burial plots that sprang up on hillsides or in shady groves through the countryside as necessity dictated. Cleveland's first burial ground is a good example. The first boat of the second surveying party of the Connecticut Land Company to the Western Reserve arrived here on June 1, 1797. Soon, news of the drowning in the Grand River of David Eldridge, one of the party traveling by land from Conneaut, reached the encampment on the Cuyahoga. Seth Pease, a surveyor with the first party as well as with this second venture, records in his journal entry for June 4, 1797: "This morning selected a piece of land for a burying ground, the north parts of Lots 97 and 98; . . . attended the funeral of the deceased . . . Mr. Hart read church service."¹¹

The cemetery on Lot 97 occupied the corner of Ontario and Prospect streets where the parking garage behind the May Com-

pany now stands. Historical accounts describe it as surrounded by bushes and blackberry briars, behind which stretched forest. "A little south on Ontario was a large mound, said to be the work of the Mound Builders."¹² This plot was to remain Cleveland's only cemetery for nearly thirty years, and many noted pioneers and early residents of the village were buried there.¹³ In December of 1825, the owner of the property gave notice of his intentions to develop Lots 97 and 98 for commercial purposes. Removals began the following year upon the securing of land further away from the village. This tract became the first official city burial ground, the Erie Street Cemetery, still located between what is now East 9th and East 14th streets.

But long before 1826, the settlement of the area had proceeded, with the arrival of more pioneers, who began converting the forest into farmland, and whose presence is still evident in the small, scattered family burial grounds they left behind. Graves of the Comstock family, dating from 1810, are present in the old Hillside Cemetery in Valley View, a burial ground also referred to in historical accounts as "Pilgurrah" or the "Old Indian" burial ground.¹⁴

Another old burial ground is still preserved at Euclid and Nela avenues in East

Cleveland on the hillside above Nine Mile Creek, adjoining the First Presbyterian Church of East Cleveland. A log church was built here in 1807.¹⁵ The oldest grave is that of Susannah Barr, wife of the first pastor of the church, the Rev. Thomas Barr. The pastor and his family probably lived near the original log church on the site, then owned by Thomas and Eunice McIlrath, and in 1812 Susannah was buried near the home, as was customary, or near the church on the site. This event provoked the congregation to consider the site for a cemetery, and the land was probably purchased from the McIlraths to secure a proper burial ground for the congregation. Buried with the Barrs are the McIlrath family, John Shaw (for whom Shaw High School is named), Enoch Murray, first Mason to settle in the Western Reserve, and two soldiers of the Revolutionary War, three from the War of 1812, and five from the Civil War.¹⁶

According to William Rose's history of Cleveland, the burial lot on the Fish family farm became the oldest public cemetery west of the Cuyahoga, now known as Scranton Road Cemetery at Scranton Road and Wade Avenue on the city's near west side.¹⁷ Headstones here date back to 1808, although written records for the cemetery exist only from 1849, when the North Brooklyn Cemetery Association was organized to maintain it. Early members of the Association are buried there, and their names are also preserved in the street names of the surrounding area: Branch, Castle, Brainard, Clark, Barber, Meyer, and others.

The history of this cemetery illustrates certain trends of urban growth and development and the virtual disappearance of the family burial plot from Cleveland and the American landscape in general. As old families succumbed and their farmlands were sold and subdivided in the course of advancing urbanization, their burial plots became vulnerable. The old attitudes regarding the sacredness and dignity of the dead were replaced by a more modern standard — the value of real estate. James Fish's grave, for example, "is said to lie under Scranton Road near the cemetery,"¹⁸ indicating that the original family plot literally fell in the path of progress. Its expansion with the burials of neighbors and later residents in the vicinity is a phenomenon repeated in other parts of

the city, as already illustrated at Nine Mile Creek. It lacked the protection of a church congregation, however, and descendants of its early families sought a solution to the maintenance problem in the formation of their cemetery association.

The rise of such benevolent organizations, self-entrusted with the care of the departed, occurred throughout America from the early 1800s. Whether of religious affiliation or privately organized and administered, these groups performed a much needed civic service in the turbulent times of rapid and often erratic growth.

When Scranton Road Cemetery filled to capacity and the North Brooklyn Cemetery Association could no longer function effectively on its behalf, the property reverted to the State of Ohio because of delinquent taxes and diminished assets. The large number of graves bearing the Fish name — thirty of them — in Denison Street Cemetery between West 23rd and West 24th streets suggests that transfers from Scranton Road were made: some stones here date from 1823, but Denison Street Cemetery was not officially opened by the city of Cleveland until 1844.

Alger Cemetery at Lorain Avenue and Rocky River Drive near Kamm's Corners also developed from a family plot and nearly suffered the same fate as that of Scranton Road Cemetery. It was begun by the Alger family, early settlers to the area then known as Rockport Township. Nathan Alger's interment (in 1813) was the first, and his epitaph indicates the family's sentiments regarding their burial ground:

My friends, I'm here, the first to come,
And in this place, for you there's room.¹⁹

The cemetery indeed swelled with friends, neighbors, and later residents in successive generations. It was later deeded to the county; the pioneer status of the Algers apparently helped in securing its preservation.²⁰ A notation in records at the Western Reserve Historical Society indicate that "In 1977, the cemetery was still being used and maintained."

The Old Axtel Street Cemetery on Cleveland's southeast side and the Wagar Cemetery were not so fortunate. The former was demolished in 1881 to permit railroad construction, and the bodies transferred to the newly-organized Harvard Grove Ceme-



The stone "Gothic" entrance gate of Monroe Street Cemetery, erected in 1870, is similar to that of Erie Street Cemetery in downtown Cleveland.

tery nearby. Transfers from the Old Wagar Cemetery and the Kidney family plot adjacent to it, on the corner of Detroit and St. Charles Avenue in Lakewood, took place throughout this century. By 1957, very few stones were left standing and the grounds were overgrown; what remained of the cemetery was demolished that year to make room for a parking lot, the Kidney and Wagar families being transferred en masse along with "84 unknown" to Lakewood Park Cemetery on September 25, 1957.²¹

The relocation of the original Shaker cemetery in what is now Shaker Heights is another example of the primacy of profit in Cleveland's burial history. In 1824, the North Union Shaker colony laid out its burial ground on the banks of Doan Brook, which ran through the settlement's farm where South Park Boulevard now curves toward Lee Road. The lot, about 100 feet square, was divided into four quadrants by two alleys, one running north to south and the other east to west. The women were buried in the two northern quadrants and the men in the two on the south side, following the Shaker

custom of constant separation of the sexes. With characteristic Shaker efficiency, the burial ground was situated and designed to facilitate expansion on the east and west sides. Each quadrant contained forty individual plots, and the numbers could be augmented to any extent required.²²

In 1889, the remaining members of the society at North Union (less than 30) moved on to southern Ohio, leaving their cemetery behind. When the Van Sweringen brothers were developing the area in 1912, they succeeded in having the eighty-seven neglected graves removed to the old Warrensville West Cemetery further south on Lee Road between Van Aken and Chagrin boulevards. According to an obituary list copied from the original settlement manuscript, forty-one deaths were attributed to "consumption," the nineteenth-century term for tuberculosis. William Cramer, although "not a Believer, nor a Member of the Society," still found enough favor there to be included with the Sisters and Brethren, While Robert Matthews, a member but a suicide, "was taken away."²³

Municipal development: practical solutions

As Cleveland continued to grow — its population in 1826 reached 400 — people literally came closer together, and a larger sense of community began to evolve.²⁴ As already noted, the present Erie Street Cemetery was established when Leonard Case and other civic minded men purchased land, then considered “far out of town,” on Erie Street south of Prospect to receive remains from the Ontario Street lot, which was being commercially developed. Title was passed to the Village of Cleveland with the understanding that the land be used for burial purposes,²⁵ an important point when discussions of abolishing the cemetery arose in the early part of this century.

Originally the site contained only two acres, but it was later enlarged to ten. “No regular register of the sale of lots or of burials was kept before 1840, in which year the whole tract was replatted and a complete record opened and kept up thereafter.”²⁶ By 1860 nearly all of the lots had been sold: in just thirty-four years, the city had outgrown it. The cemetery’s stone Gothic-style entrance gate was erected in 1870 at a cost of \$8,296. Similar gates were built that same year at Monroe Street and Woodland Cemeteries, both city owned and maintained. Buried at Erie Street along with the early settlers are “Lorenzo Carter; Levi Johnson, an early builder; Samuel Dodge, business leader; the Rev. Stephen J. Bradstreet, pastor of the Old Stone Church; John W. Willey, the first mayor; Joseph L. Weatherly, founder of the parent of the Chamber of Commerce; and Leonard Case, distinguished lawyer.”²⁷ Also included are soldiers from every war with American involvement up to World War I, and two Indian graves, traditionally planted with corn. The south side of the cemetery was also used at one time as a “potter’s field.”

By the turn of the century, the Erie Street Cemetery, being full and therefore, like nearly all of the older, city-administered cemeteries, not contributing anything to the municipal coffers, had fallen into deplorable condition. The first suggestion of demolishing it arose in 1907, three years after the opening of city-owned Highland Park Cemetery out in Warrensville Township. Transfer of remains to this new suburban site had indeed already commenced. The Annual Re-

ports of the Superintendent of the city’s Division of Cemeteries from 1912-1914 emphasize the strained conditions of inner-city cemeteries and make strong recommendations for transfers to help alleviate the maintenance burden. But at this point a group of civic-minded Clevelanders, fearing that Erie Street Cemetery would disappear, in 1914 organized the Pioneer Memorial Association to assume responsibility and promote its preservation.

The idea of re-using the land occupied by the cemetery did not disappear, however, and in 1923 a thorough report on the cemetery was made by the Chamber of Commerce’s Committee on City Planning in response to suggestions from various sectors for a more “appropriate” (i.e., more profitable) use of the site. By the early ‘20s the area had become the city’s worst slum, with rampant crime and congested living conditions exacerbated by the incoming railroads and concentration of the bulk of the city’s industrial concerns there. Many officials supported the demolition of the cemetery in the curious (if genuine) belief that it was the source of the area’s criminal activities.²⁸ But in the end, the Pioneer Memorial Association, backed by strong public support, kept the cemetery in its original site.

The year 1830 marks the initial awareness in America of the cemetery reform movement typified by the creation of Père Lachaise in Paris and similar garden-type cemeteries located in rural settings in England. In 1831, luxurious and pastoral Mt. Auburn Cemetery was opened in Boston and served as the model for similar public burial sites throughout the United States. Boston, however, was a well established city by then, and Cleveland, still a frontier town, would not catch up to the example of Mt. Auburn until the construction of Lake View Cemetery in 1869.

Life for newly-arrived immigrants here was difficult, but they shared the responsibility of caring for their dead, as had the earlier settlers. Around 1829, Settlement Road in old Rockport Township, now West 130th Street, crossed fields owned by German farmers. It was in that year that a group of them formed the German Settlement Cemetery Association to collectively purchase land in that area for a private burial place.²⁹ They were all members of the newly-built Imma-

nuel Evangelical-Reformed Church which adjoined the selected burial lot they called "God's Acre." Members of the group paid 50 cents a year dues for the privilege of purchasing plots at \$5 per adult and \$2.50 per child. Rockport became West Park, which was eventually annexed by Cleveland, and as the descendants died or dispersed, the cemetery gradually followed the typical pattern of decline described earlier in this survey. Although largely unrelated to the original Association members, members of the adjacent church continued to maintain the cemetery up through the 1960s.

The earliest Jewish settlers in Cleveland immigrated from Germany and Austro-Hungary. Twenty members of the Jewish community met at the home of Samson Hoffman on Seneca Street (West 3rd Street) and formed the Israelitic Society, their first religious organization, in 1839. "Upon the death of an itinerant Jewish peddler the following year, a burial plot was purchased in Ohio City for \$100 and Willett Street Cemetery had its beginning."³⁰

As economic conditions improved, Cleveland rallied and began to evidence an awareness of the climate of social reform that was being felt throughout the country. In the 1840s Erie Street Cemetery was replatted (i.e., the lots were renumbered), and the city

began official record-keeping in city cemeteries. On November 12, 1841, Monroe Street Cemetery in Ohio City was dedicated by Cleveland to provide much-needed burial accommodations apart from Erie Street.

Bishop Rappe of the Catholic Diocese of Cleveland consecrated St. Joseph's Cemetery on January 22, 1849. It was the first Catholic cemetery in the city, originally totaling fifteen acres on Woodland Avenue and East 79th Street. The layout of the hilly site is basic, but picturesque, with its curving paths and preservation of many old trees from the heavy forests that once blanketed the area. Many of the older stones bear Irish surnames. On March 2, 1928, a *Cleveland Press* article announced the sale of a portion of the cemetery by the Diocese to the Van Sweringens for expansion of the Nickel Plate railroad, part of the general Union Terminal project.³¹ Earlier in Cleveland's history, church affiliation had usually saved cemeteries from such encroachment, but in the twentieth century, profit prevails.

The establishment of St. Joseph's Cemetery at the beginning of 1849 was providential, for in June of that year Cleveland's worst epidemic struck. Contemporary accounts refer to the "plague" of Asiatic cholera that swept the city and inspired reforms in the form of a tax levy to establish an additional



Grave of Lizzie Ely, "Queen of the Gypsies," in Woodland Cemetery, with food, wine, and decorations that mysteriously appear every winter.



St. John's Cemetery has many monuments, a characteristic typical of older burial grounds.

poorhouse and hospital. By 1851, thousands across the country had died of cholera. Cleveland's death toll is recorded as 130, a figure probably reflecting deaths within the city limits only. Gravestones in Parma Heights' old cemetery on Pearl Road, indicating six members of one family all dead within a week, tell the story for much of the area.

Cleveland's most solid response to this epidemic was Woodland Cemetery on Woodland Avenue and East 71st Street. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the idea of the rural garden cemetery had penetrated to some of Cleveland's more socially and economically prominent citizens, especially the notion of using cemeteries in the European manner as green oases for recreation in the city in lieu of public parks. Until the 1860s in Cleveland, demands for public grounds apart from Public Square had been regularly defeated. Woodland Cemetery, incorporating some of the new views, was dedicated on June 14, 1853; in 1870 the Gothic entrance was built, providing an office, record vault, and visitors' room at a cost of \$7,500. Much of the original ornamental stone and ironwork in the form of "mausoleums, monuments, individualized curbs, benches, iron lace enclosures . . . and other furnishings," along with a 60-foot Indian mound, have disappeared over time.³² By 1952, much like Erie Street Cemetery thirty years before, Woodland was surrounded by a depressed area. A motion was introduced in city council to demolish the cemetery, transfer all 83,000 bodies to High-

land Park, and clear the grounds for redevelopment in the form of low-income housing projects; but within a year, the motion was defeated by strong public sentiment.

Among the older, more somber monuments still remaining, those of the newer Ely/Stevens plot stand out in bright contrast. The pink granite stones bear photographs of these members of an apparently English Gypsy clan — a European custom preserved here by many immigrants. The grave of Lizzie Ely, "Queen of the Gypsies," is distinguished from the others by a white wrought iron trellis and flanking cedars. During the holidays in late December and early January, tinsel garlands and colored ornaments decorate her grave along with a customary bottle of wine, left in festive remembrance.

Across the street from Woodland, St. John's Cemetery was consecrated on thirteen acres of land purchased in May, 1855, largely to serve as the main burial place for "Catholic priests who died while serving their parishes."³³

Another local effort to provide more up-to-date cemetery accommodations occurred when a nine- to twelve-acre tract was acquired in September, 1859, from Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Fuller by East Cleveland Township authorities.³⁴ East Cleveland Cemetery has its share of Revolutionary and Civil War veterans and, as in the case of other older city cemeteries, the street names of the surrounding area are recalled in many individual and family grave markers: Coit, Quilliams, Taylor, Silsby, etc. A number of these markers were reportedly quarried in

the old Doan's Corners area or from the bluestone quarries in the Belvoir/Monticello Boulevards area of Cleveland Heights.

The rural garden movement

Woodland and the other smaller cemeteries that departed from the traditional linear grid pattern of planning were reflecting not only social ideas imported from Europe, but also literary and philosophical attitudes that were widespread in England and America. The eighteenth-century "graveyard school" of poetry, exemplified by Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," made fashionable the pleasing melancholy of meditation on life, death, and immortality among the yew trees and moss-covered tombs. And the English Romantics popularized the idea of fleeing the bustle of the city and absorbing the benign influences of rocks, streams, and trees. Emerson, Thoreau, and their fellow American Transcendentalists developed their own version of the traditional notion that God is manifest in Nature; following Wordsworth and Coleridge, they emphasized communion with nature as a means of spiritual and personal edification. A cemetery landscaped like a park or natural woodland would, according to the new views, permit a freer and more "natural" experience of grief and consolation. The bereaved would feel comforted and renewed by solitary or communal contemplation in the "restorative rural setting," and at the same time, "away from the unnatural and unnerving pace of urban life, people could

contemplate the meaning and management of their lives."³⁵ To foster this new Romantic experience, burial places were sought even further away from urban areas and the unpleasant reminders of the reality of death afforded by their crowded, decrepit cemeteries.

It wasn't until the creation of Lake View Cemetery in 1869 that Cleveland achieved a rural garden cemetery that fulfilled the ideal exemplified in Boston's Mt. Auburn, as explained in the writings of Dr. Jacob Bigelow and Andrew Jackson Downing. Lake View was a grand vision executed in an appropriately grand manner. The original 200-acre tract (now 285) on Euclid Avenue at East 123rd Street was purchased by the Lake View Cemetery Association, a small group of wealthy and prominent east-side gentlemen. Under the leadership of their first president, Jephtha H. Wade, the non-profit philanthropic organization selected the site for its sufficient distance from the city limits (then East 55th Street), and its abundantly forested hills with their commanding view of Lake Erie (whence the cemetery's name). These choices, reflecting an awareness of the natural surroundings, clearly show the Association's criteria.

Improvements upon Nature were quickly undertaken. Tasteful landscaping, incorporating the native trees and shrubs on the site with additional rarer varieties, resulted in a substantial arboretum that still serves as a sanctuary for many forms of wildlife. Winding paths progress upward from

Lake View Cemetery is a fine example of the rural garden style. Monument to President Garfield rises in the background.



the Euclid Avenue entrance to the upper slope topped by the memorial to President James A. Garfield and backed by Mayfield Road. Nearly every curve is accented by clusters of trees, wisteria, azaleas, crabapples, or rhododendrons as well as elegant mausoleums and memorial stones executed in the popular revival styles of the period: Classical Greek and Roman, Egyptian, Gothic, Celtic, and Art Nouveau. The Neo-Classical mode seems to have been the most favored, and picturesque vistas from any vantage point throughout the cemetery — looking past the uniform burial plots of more recent decades — still yield the original, highly desired effect of an idealized Arcadian landscape. Neatly tended blankets of ivy cover almost every grave, masking the otherwise stark appearance of bare ground and softening the harsh edge of death.

Expense was not spared at Lake View, as it was intended from the beginning to be the final resting place for Cleveland's most illustrious citizens. Buried here along with former U.S. President Garfield are John D. Rockefeller, Marcus Alonzo Hanna, Samuel Mather, John Hay, Jephtha Wade, Charles Brush, Leonard Case, the Van Sweringens, and many others who "made great contributions to the area's and nation's industrial, civic, social and cultural development."³⁶ The cemetery's master plan thus reflects the educational function of the nineteenth-century garden cemetery. Not only were such places intended to provide respite from daily life and a refuge for personal healing, but also to serve as places of public instruction — outdoor museums where one could pass the time observing nature in the presence of the departed great, gazing at beautiful sculpture and architecture, and reading uplifting passages on the monuments. Visitors would leave emotionally, morally, and intellectually improved. The purpose is still served today: with the Garfield Memorial and Wade Chapel, currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and other monuments designed by notable artists and architects, Lake View Cemetery attracts many visitors throughout the year.

In 1880 Joseph Carabelli, an Italian sculptor and stonemason, arrived in Cleveland and founded the Lake View Monumental Works on Euclid Avenue across from the cemetery's main entrance. Specializing in

granite and marble carving, Carabelli's business attracted many skilled artists and artisans from Italy whose craftsmanship is prevalent in memorial sculptures throughout the cemetery. Many are in the distinctive bluestone from the local east-side quarries mentioned earlier. As demand increased and more jobs became available, families from the original Italian settlement along Woodland and Orange avenues, together with newly arriving immigrants, moved further east to the Murray Hill area adjacent to the cemetery, now known as Little Italy. East 123rd Street on Lake View's west side was once called Carabelli Avenue in honor of this enterprising artisan.³⁷

Lake View has always followed a policy of nonsectarianism, accommodating all faiths, races, and creeds. As with the early church burials in Europe, the presence of the rich and famous within its stone and ironwork enclosure attracted others less prominent; Lake View became the "in" place for interment, a symbol of having finally "arrived," if not figuratively in life then at least literally in death. Although now over a century old, it was "conceived with such foresight that . . . space is available to meet interment requirements for the next fifty years."³⁸ It is still operated as a nonprofit organization with management vested in a Board of Trustees whose members serve voluntarily without compensation. The concept of civic duty exemplified by the earlier nineteenth-century burial societies has been preserved here, a rarity in view of the contemporary approach to cemetery management.

Not to be outdone in social awareness and civic pride by their neighbors across the river, the prosperous merchants and comfortable middle-class families of the west side also envisioned a spacious, beautiful, and convenient garden cemetery to serve their own needs. Following Lake View's example, the Riverside Cemetery Association was duly organized and dedicated to the task of securing an appropriate location. In 1876, the Association published a *Prospectus*, and eventually Titus Brainard's farm overlooking the Cuyahoga River, in the area now bounded by Interstate 71, West 25th Street, and Denison Avenue, was chosen and purchased over a period of twelve years. B.O. Schwaegerl, landscape architect and engi-

neer, was entrusted to make a thorough topographical survey and prepare plans along the lines suggested in the *Prospectus*: "In accord with our higher and holier sensibilities, cemeteries should repel from the mind of the visitor all sense of recoil, and while they constrain us to feelings of veneration and repose, they should in turn call about us a spirit of quiet charm and beauty in keeping with our reflections . . . Landscape architecture, as applied to modern cemeteries, is doing much to ensure this result."³⁹

The first burial in Riverside took place in the spring of 1876, and elaborate formal dedication ceremonies followed on November 11 of that year, with U.S. President-elect Rutherford B. Hayes, then governor of Ohio, in attendance as guest speaker. An important portion of Cleveland's history is contained in the German family names of many of the monuments: "There are brewers such as the Schlatters, Gehrings, and Leisys, the Weidemans who were wholesale grocers, and the Spangs of bakery renown."⁴⁰ The James F. Rhodes family plot is also here. Many of the monuments were produced by the nearby American Granite Works, established in 1890 by Frank and James Uher, brothers originally from Bohemia. Although now separated from the river by the Jones & Laughlin steel plant, the cemetery once afforded a panoramic view of the valley's natural beauty; gone too are the artificial lakes with rustic bridges that, along with many flowers and trees, once made the grounds so romantic, as it was for couples like W.G. Marshall, founder of what is now the Cunningham Drug Store chain, and his bride, who drove through the cemetery on their honeymoon long ago.⁴¹ The construction of Interstate 71 reduced the cemetery to its current eighty-nine acres, but the declaration of Riverside as a Cleveland landmark by the Landmark Commission in 1976, the cemetery's centennial, should halt further encroachment.

The park lawn plan

Even as Riverside Cemetery was being constructed, the country was experiencing a new spirit of "Progressivism," marked by the consolidation of business and the organization of labor, and the abandonment of "individualism for cooperation . . . localism for cosmopolitanism."⁴² The rural garden cemetery, based upon a Romantic emphasis on

the individual and designed to promote solitary communion with nature, was, by the 1870s, supplanted by the new "park" or "lawn" ideal, "which subordinated individuals to society [and] paralleled the species perspective of death."⁴³

The park lawn design has dominated cemetery planning up to the present day. Instead of wooded hillocks threaded with meandering pathways and accented with monuments and tombs, the park lawn cemetery features gently rolling grassy meadows with selective clusters of foliage placed to "accent the openness of the plan instead of [picturesquely] shadowing the gravesites."⁴⁴ Only a few paths subdivide the lawn which visitors cross to reach the gravesites. Few if any vertical monuments mar the desired effect of a vast, uninterrupted, "post card" vista; small bronze or stone tablets placed flush with the turf are substituted instead.

An address by the Rev. E.E. Baker in 1900 to the recently organized Association of American Cemetery Superintendents reveals the convictions of his constituency and resounds with the prevailing contemporary viewpoint:

This is an age of organization . . . We must cease our individual activities. No man liveth unto himself alone, and no man dieth to himself alone. This is an age of social life, and the social point of view, co-operation and conference, working not independently and alone, but together for the mutual advancement of all that we represent and all that is dear to us for home, for the city, and for the nation.⁴⁵

In the park lawn cemetery, all reminders of *individual* death were eliminated. Regulations forbade fences, curbing, elaborate plantings, burial mounds, and conspicuous markers on graves — all of which made their maintenance easier and less expensive. The institution of "perpetual care," whereby the deceased's survivors pay the cemetery management to care for the grave "in perpetuity," meant the complete and final transfer of responsibility for the dead from the individual to the corporation. With the control of one's own death now out of one's own hands, the homogenization of treatment of the dead was quickly accomplished.

Cleveland's adoption of the park lawn model for its cemeteries seems to have been a gradual process. Cemeteries constructed here in the last two decades of the nineteenth



Whitehaven Memorial Park on Cleveland's far east side exemplifies the park plan style. Individual grave markers are at ground level, so that from a distance the cemetery looks like an uninterrupted greensward.

century and the first decade of the twentieth show marked differences between their oldest portions and subsequently developed sections. The original part of Harvard Grove fronting Lansing Avenue was laid out in 1880 in a simple grid pattern. Numerous old monuments, mausoleums, and vertical markers of all shapes and sizes are packed in among tall trees. The back part of the acreage extending to Harvard Avenue, however, consists of a wide sloping lawn dotted with flat horizontal markers arranged in neat parallel rows. Subdivided by a single Y-shaped road, the lawn is sparsely planted with shrubbery and only a few trees.

Mayfield Road Cemetery (Jewish, dedicated in 1887), Calvary (Catholic, 1893), and Highland Park (city-owned, nonsectarian, 1904) all show similar juxtapositions of wooded portions filled with monuments and park-like sections where flat tablets predominate. With the possible exception of Mayfield, which shows an admirable attempt to blend with its adjacent neighbor Lake View, these later cemeteries either began or grew from transfers of graves from older burial grounds. Such activity usually meant movement of monuments as well as bodies, and so the sections marked for relocation in the newer cemeteries have an older appearance. Even Lake View and Riverside, although initially conceived in the rural garden mode,

both included extensive undeveloped property for future growth that eventually took shape in the park lawn style, producing the same visual dichotomy.

In 1925, Whitehaven Memorial Park on S.O.M. Center Road north of Wilson Mills Road on the city's far east side was purchased by a group of local businessmen. Its profitable return as an investment was assured by effective advertising describing it as Cleveland's first park plan cemetery. It had a huge marble mausoleum with chapel and a "Tower of Memories" rising 150 feet at its center, the whole approachable via a 100-foot-wide esplanade. Amplifiers installed in the tower would provide music from a concert pipe organ for outdoor services. "Mounds, tombstones, and private monuments [were] eliminated at Whitehaven, making it appear like a beautiful private park."⁴⁶ What more could any modern, socially conscious individual want for a place of final repose?

True to the materialism of a rapidly developing consumer society, splashy advertisements in *The Plain Dealer* and *The Sunday News* between 1929 and 1931 announced the development of Crown Hill Cemetery on Route 91 at Twinsburg, midway between Cleveland and Akron. If the time was ripe for something bigger and better, Crown Hill promised to deliver the ultimate, located so

far from Cleveland as to be almost permanently insured against undesirable encroachment in future years. Its out-of-town promoters touted its departure "from the conventional cemetery in that it seeks to make the resting spots of those who people it a part of the natural scheme of the 256 acre tract." Tombstones were discouraged, restrictions were placed on family monuments, and the use of "Old English" architecture "complimentary [sic] to the rusticity and stately beauty of the acreage" was to complete the vision. We are left to wonder at how the rainbow-hued fountain, waterfalls, and tinted marble corridors of the mausoleum ("as fine as kings had a few short years ago and yet in reach of average people") fit in with the "natural rusticity"!

We were not to know, as the projected \$1,500,000 plan later proved to be an elaborate attempt to defraud the public of thousands of dollars in advance burial lot subscriptions by means of false advertising. The ensuing scandal culminated in the conviction of the cemetery's promoters, who had perpetrated the same scheme in Chicago a few years before. This telling instance of, if

not the American dream then at least an advertiser's dream, was not a complete disaster, however. The formation of a Crown Hill Cemetery Association by local businessmen and the establishment of an endowment rescued the life savings of many contrite Greater Clevelanders, and the cemetery is still in operation today.

Acacia Masonic Memorial Park on the east side and Lakewood Park and Sunset Memorial Park on the west side are only a few among many cemeteries following Whitehaven's lead. They serve a wide range of people while preserving the unifying park lawn ideal of cemetery planning, now the sole contemporary model in Cleveland as it is throughout the rest of the country. But hardy individuals can still express their attitudes toward life in alternative burial practices. Riverside Cemetery preserves "personal landscaping opportunities"; the corn that is still planted on the Indian graves in the Erie Street Cemetery and the adornments occasionally visible on the grave of Lizzie Ely, "Queen of the Gypsies" indicate that the spirits of some of Cleveland's own are not easily bought.

NOTES

¹ Epitaph cited by George Davis, "Play Ball on Burial Lot," *Cleveland Press*, Aug. 14, 1937, sec. 2, p. 9.

² Eric Johannesen, *Cleveland Architecture 1876-1976* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979), p. ix.

³ James Stephen Curl, *A Celebration of Death: Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), p. 69.

⁴ Curl, p. 69.

⁵ Curl, p. 74.

⁶ Curl, p. 72.

⁷ Curl, p. 74.

⁸ Curl, p. 103.

⁹ Curl, p. 135.

¹⁰ John Francis Marion, *Famous and Curious Cemeteries* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1977), p. 4.

¹¹ S.J. Kelly, "The First Cemetery of Cleveland," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 11, 1939, p. 6.

¹² William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: the Making of a City* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1950), p. 35.

¹³ Although Erie Street Cemetery, opened in 1826, is considered the first official city cemetery, its founding by civic-minded Clevelanders is predated by an earlier community effort further east. In 1823, "Job Doan and associates, acting as The Society for a Publick Burying Ground in the East Part of Cleaveland near Job Doan's Esqr.," purchased about an acre and a half on the northwest corner of Euclid Avenue at East 105th Street, then called Doan's Corners. "Stately elms bordered the property, the north end . . . used as a cemetery while the south end served as a village common," a combination prevalent in early New England (Rose, pp. 99-100). The cemetery still existed in 1857; in 1895 the Euclid Avenue Congregational Church was built at the corner, and this site eventually came under the ownership of the Cleveland Trust Company in 1905. The developments in the general area suggest that the old cemetery was demolished around this time.

¹⁴ Pilgurrāh, meaning "pilgrim's rest," corresponds to the name of the Moravian missionary settlement founded in that general area in 1786, predating the village of Cleveland by a decade. The "Old Indian" designation may refer to Indian burial mounds in the vicinity. Also buried in this cemetery is Silence Hathaway, a direct descendant of Priscilla Alden. (John Sabol, "Pioneer Graveyard Needs Help," *Cleveland Press*, Sept. 28, 1970.)

¹⁵ Ellen Laughry Price, *A History of East Cleveland* (East Cleveland, Ohio: 1970), p. 44.

¹⁶ Rose, p. 70.

¹⁷ Rose, pp. 67-68.

¹⁸ Rose, p. 68.

¹⁹ Rose, p. 70.

²⁰ *Cuyahoga County Cemetery Inscriptions*, typescript compiled by the Lakewood Chapter D.A.R. and Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, 1978, p. 1. In the Western Reserve Historical Society.

²¹ *Cuyahoga County Cemetery Inscriptions*, 1978, n.p.

²² *Cuyahoga County Cemetery Inscriptions*, typescript compiled by the Western Reserve Historical Society, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1934, p. 322. In the WRHS. According to Caroline Piercy's *Valley of God's Pleasure: a Saga of the North Union Shaker Community*, this portion of the Western Reserve was then known as North Union, hence the Shaker society's name. The Believers themselves called their settlement "The Valley of God's Pleasure." (Piercy, N.Y.: Stratford House, 1951, pp. 3, 219.)

²³ *Cuyahoga . . . Inscriptions* (1934), p. 322.

²⁴ Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Committee on City Planning, *Erie Street Cemetery: Report* (Cleveland, 1923), p. 7.

²⁵ Rose, p. 106.

²⁶ Cleveland Chamber of Commerce *Report*, p. 5.

²⁷ Rose, p. 725.

²⁸ The report cited "occasional use of the old burial ground as a rendezvous for thieves or as a temporary cache for their loot. The space behind the old vault is used as a distributing market by illicit dealers in cocaine, opium and other drugs. Even old graves have been 'raided' more than once by officers of the law for contraband liquor." (Cleveland Chamber of Commerce *Report*, p. 7.)

²⁹ Robert E. Tidyman, "'God's Acre' Now Lies Amid Ruins," *Plain Dealer*, March 12, 1959, p. 50.

³⁰ Rose, p. 166.

³¹ "Cemetery To Be Moved For Nickel Plate," *Cleveland Press*, March 2, 1928, sec. 2, p. 21.

³² Robert J. Liederbach, *Cleveland Past: with Notes* (Cleveland: Dillon/Liederbach, Inc., 1975), p. 57.

³³ Rose, p. 315.

³⁴ Ownership of this cemetery, located on East 118th Street just north of Euclid Avenue, has been in question since East Cleveland was annexed in 1892. It is usually referred to as East Cleveland Cemetery, was once known as Wade Park Cemetery, and also bears the official name of East Cleveland/Cleveland Heights Cemetery. As recently as 1960, the city of Cleveland was still disclaiming all rights and responsibilities as owner.

³⁵ James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), p. 109.

³⁶ The Lake View Cemetery Association, *Lake View Cemetery* (current promotional pamphlet, n.d.).

³⁷ Gene P. Veronesi, *Italian Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland State University Ethnic Monograph Series, 1977), pp. 188, 198-99, 224.

³⁸ Lake View pamphlet, n.p.

³⁹ Cleveland Riverside Cemetery Association, *Prospectus* (Cleveland, 1876), pp. 4, 6.

⁴⁰ *Cleveland Press*, Sept. 27, 1978.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Farrell, pp. 117, 118.

⁴³ Farrell, p. 118.

⁴⁴ Farrell, p. 116.

⁴⁵ Farrell, pp. 116-117. The founding of the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents (AACCS) in 1887 marked the establishment of that occupation as a respected *profession* and provided an organized forum for the spread of the park plan, which its members consistently supported.

⁴⁶ *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 15, 1928.

Gladys Haddad

The First Women's Colleges

In the nineteenth century, women's education reflected their role in society, but women's colleges also changed those roles.

At the age of seventy-seven Freud asked in despair, "What do women want?" In the early nineteenth century, in the United States, one answer might have been: higher education. At that time, for a variety of reasons, colleges or universities admitted only men. It was thought that women were physically and mentally too weak to stand the rigors of college study, and also "that such training would raise woman above the duties of her 'station.'"¹ Of course, among upper-class families in England and on the Continent could be found many highly educated women who were instructed by private tutors. But for the middle classes who shaped America's institutions, a female was viewed, as far as educational opportunities were concerned, as either daughter, sister, wife, or mother — all roles tied to home and family and not requiring college training.

One common perception elevated woman to an angelic creature, fragile and ethereal; another honored her as the Mother, guardian of civilization, divinely entrusted with the rearing of sons who went out and conducted the business of the world. Though these perceptions were used in part to deny higher education to women for years, women's roles as mothers and teachers ultimately provided the justification for admitting them to colleges in this country.

Three colleges for women in Northern Ohio furnish an excellent illustration of how

higher education for women got its start in America: Lake Erie College in Painesville, a "daughter" of Mount Holyoke, based on the single-sex seminary model embodying missionary ideals; Oberlin, the country's first co-educational college, a frontier experiment with profound religious underpinnings; and the College for Women of Western Reserve University, a "coordinate" college established alongside the men's college for the daughters of prosperous Clevelanders.

Seminaries for women

The pioneers of women's education were the leaders of the female seminary movement, which, at its height from 1830 to 1860, reflected the ideology that women should use their rational powers within a limited sphere to manage the home and educate children and to spread the word of Christianity. The seminaries, the first institutions to provide education for women beyond the rudimentary level, and the dominant agencies for female instruction for three-quarters of the nineteenth century, sought to prepare women to be better wives, mothers, teachers, and missionaries. The period's most notable educators — Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, and Mary Lyon — exemplified the qualities of "true womanhood" in their educational designs. Mary Lyon, whose life spanned the first half of the century, established the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary

Gladys Haddad, a native Clevelander, was raised in Cleveland Heights. She received her B.A. from Allegheny College, a B.F.A. from Lake Erie College, M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Case Western Reserve University, and a Certificate from the Institute of Educational Management at Harvard University. Her dissertation, "Social Roles and Advanced Education for Women in Nineteenth Century America: A Study of Three Western Reserve Institutions" — Oberlin, Lake Erie, and the College for Women at Western Reserve — has led to her two major research interests, an institutional history of Lake Erie College (its first), and a biographical study of Flora Stone Mather, major benefactress of the College for Women. Dr. Haddad is Professor of American Studies at Lake Erie College, where she has served as academic dean and assistant to the president. She produces and hosts a series of television documentaries for the Lakeland Cable Network entitled, "Lake Erie College — In Place," that features the buildings of the College and their history in an institutional chronicle.



at South Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1837, which served as a model for the education of women throughout the world; to it the development of women's education in the Western Reserve can be traced.

Mount Holyoke taught that the life of a missionary was one committed to material self-denial, teaching from a sense of duty, a general benevolence, and a readiness to answer where Providence should point out the post of duty, in this country or abroad. Mount Holyoke and other seminaries fulfilled their mission to teach women with curricular programs that ranged from a modest advancement in the basics, with an emphasis upon ornamental "female" accomplishments — e.g., needlework — to an emulation of men's colleges with an education that approached a classical curriculum. Still, the curricula of these seminaries did not equal those offered by men's colleges, and the female seminaries did not qualify as degree-granting institutions (graduates received diplomas). Some, like Mount Holyoke, a classically based institution, progressed to that point later in the century. Many other female seminaries emphasized teacher training and evolved into normal schools. In fact, one of Mount Holyoke's biggest contributions at that time was preparation of disciplined female educators.

In the spring of 1847, Mount Holyoke graduate Roxena B. Tenney came to the Western Reserve to be principal of the Willoughby Female Seminary. She later wrote:

The trustees of a medical college in Willoughby, Ohio, applied to Miss Lyon to send them a teacher to establish a seminary for young ladies in Willoughby. The College faculty had disbanded and left a good building for that purpose. She recommended my humble self and I commenced working March 1847, in a town of only forty families with fourteen pupils.²

The Willoughby Female Seminary, Mount Holyoke's "first god-child in the West," was the Western Reserve's only single-sex institution of higher education for women until 1856, when a fire brought it to an end.³ After a brief interval, that same year the school was reorganized "on the Holyoke plan," fifteen miles east of its former location, as the Lake Erie Female Seminary in Painesville. The missionary ideology espoused by Mary Lyon was integral to the development of both schools.⁴ Both schools replicated the courses, methods of instruction, discipline,



Mary Evans, graduate of Mount Holyoke and president of Lake Erie Female Seminary from 1868 to 1909.

and general regulations of Mount Holyoke. The teachers were Mount Holyoke graduates intent upon an institutional mission to provide "the most thorough mental, moral and social discipline, the acquisition of sound knowledge and of pure evangelical principles."⁵ It was the aim of the trustees "to present the young ladies of the west, full facilities for obtaining a thorough and finished education."⁶

Buildings for the accommodation of school and boarders were to be furnished by voluntary contributions and placed free from encumbrance in the hands of trustees, "who should be men of enlarged views and Christian benevolence." The teachers secured should possess a missionary spirit that moved them to "labor faithfully and cheerfully, receiving only a moderate salary." The style of living was to be neat, plain, and simple. The domestic work of "the family" was to be performed by members of the school. Board and tuition was to be placed "at cost, or as low as may be, and still cover the common expenses." The whole plan was to be conducted on the principles of "missionary operations," with surplus income placed in the treasury for operating expenses.⁷

Following the laying of the Seminary's cornerstone on July 4, 1857, a commemorative editorial appeared in the Painesville *Telegraph*:

It is quite a modern idea, this, that Girls are capable of any considerable intellectual improvement....

APPENDIX.

This Institution is designed to furnish to young ladies all the requisite facilities for a thorough education at a greatly reduced expense. It is based upon principles of benevolence and perfect equality; it recognizes no distinction but that of merit and talent and is equally open to all. All sectarianism is excluded, being entirely at war with the fundamental principles of the Institution.

The system of instruction and the mode of discipline are adapted to develop the highest intellectual moral and religious capabilities of the young lady.

An extensive course of study is pursued in the Seminary in three regular classes, denominated Junior, Middle and Senior. The studies of each are designed for one year, though the pupils will be advanced from class to class according to their progress and not according to the time spent in the Seminary.

STUDIES REQUIRED FOR ADMISSION TO THE SEMINARY.

Candidates for admission to the Seminary will receive a thorough examination in the following studies—English Grammar, Modern Geography, History of the United States, Mental and Written Arithmetic, Watt's on the Mind, Andrews' and Stoddard's Latin Grammar and Andrews' Latin Reader. For the coming year, the prescribed amount of Latin will not be considered indispensable.

It is recommended that each be acquainted with two or three authors in Arithmetic as Greenleaf's and Davies' University, also with Colburn's or Stoddard's Intellectual Arithmetic.

Candidates for advanced standing are examined in the studies above named. In those studies of the regular course, with which they suppose themselves thoroughly acquainted, they take a rapid review, the length of the daily lessons being regulated by the accuracy and promptness of the recitations. All such candidates must make due allowance for the time thus occupied or they will be disappointed in their classification.

CATALOGUE.

COURSE OF STUDY.

Junior Year.

Latin. } Cornelius Nepos or Sallust.
General History.
Mitchell's Ancient Geography,
Robinson's Algebra,
Playfair's Euclid,
Cutter's Physiology,
Ecclesiastical History,
Green's Analysis of the English Language.

Middle Year.

Latin—Virgil.
Stockhardt's Chemistry,
Olmstead's Natural Philosophy,
Olmstead's Astronomy,
Wood's Botany,
Alexander's Evidences of Christianity,
Day's Trigonometry,
Rhetoric.

Senior Year.

Latin. } Cicero,
Latin Prose Composition,
Hitchcock's Geology,
Paley's Natural Theology,
Haven's Mental Philosophy,
Wayland's Moral Science,
Butler's Analogy,
History of Literature.

All the members of the school attend regularly to Composition, Reading, and Calisthenics.

Instruction will be given in Vocal Music, and Penmanship, also in Drawing and French to those who can attend to them without detriment to their standing in the regular studies. Those who have attended to Instrumental Music can have the use of a Piano a few hours each week.

It will be seen that Instrumental Music is not embraced in the course of study,—but for the ensuing year, competent instruction on the Piano will be provided for any young ladies who may especially desire it, and who can give the necessary time to it without interference with the regular studies of the course. For such instruction and for the use of Piano, a reasonable extra charge will be made.

Reproduced above and at the top of pages 78-79 are pages from the *First Annual Catalogue of Lake Erie Female Seminary*, describing the 1859-60 term.

In this Lake Erie Seminary it is proposed to give young ladies the opportunity for securing as good an education in every way, as the best colleges of the land are furnished young men.⁸

Hailing the dawn of women's abilities, the editorial made clear the secondary role to which women still were to be relegated:

The Women of the Republic — the Mothers of our future men — every Patriot and Philanthropist must rejoice at all these efforts for the development and strengthening of their highest and noblest nature. The great interests of civilization will be safe when in the hands of the sons of educated mothers.⁹

On September 13, 1859, Lake Erie Female Seminary, "designed to furnish young ladies all the requisite facilities for a thorough education at a greatly reduced expense," opened to enroll 127 who met the minimum age requirement of fifteen for admission. Within a few days they were examined for their knowledge of English grammar, modern geography, American history, arithme-

tic, philosophy, and Latin, which determined admission to the Junior class, and in the studies of the Middle and Senior classes for those seeking advanced standing. Students were given a probationary period of a few weeks duration in order to make an assessment of their fitness "in maturity of character and mental discipline" to carry out a year's work. Another review took place at the end of the year to determine continuance at the Seminary.¹⁰

Prospective students were expected to be present the first day of the term prepared to commence their examinations. Students furnished their own linens, blankets and table service, specifically a dessert spoon and teaspoon. Clothing suggested for Painesville's climate included flannels, warm stockings, thick shoes, overshoes, and an umbrella. Students were asked to bring an English dictionary, Latin lexicon, an ancient and modern Atlas and Bible, Bible dictionary, and standard hymn book. The academic year

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REQUIRED AGE.

None are admitted to the Seminary under fifteen years of age, and it is much better that none should enter under sixteen or seventeen. If more apply than can be received, the preference will be given to those of most maturity and advancement.

No one will be admitted to the Middle or Senior Class, without a corresponding advance in age.

Those who design to pursue the prescribed course of study, will find it a great advantage not to enter too young, nor without sufficient previous preparation.

It is, as we believe, very bad economy of time, of money, of intellectual strength, and of facilities for the growth of the character and for the enlargement of the soul, to finish the higher studies, young, and afterward to pursue the study of Latin, French, Drawing, Music, &c.

But let young ladies enter on their Senior year, under the conviction that it is really the last year of their pupilage, and let them have the companionship of a class of as much age and maturity, as such a standing in the Institution demands, and, if they are not too young for sober reflection, more can be expected from its influence on their intellectual growth, on the strengthening of their moral principles, and in the cultivation of the heart, than in ordinary circumstances.

BOOKS AND STATIONERY.

Books and stationery can be purchased in the place, though it is desirable that young ladies bring with them any of the regular text books which they may own, an English Dictionary, a Modern Atlas, the Sabbath Hymn Book, the Jubilee, the Western Bell, or any other musical work—also books for reference and standard poetical works.

A Commentary on the Bible will be found very useful. The Bible lessons for the ensuing year will commence with the Old Testament.

TERMS AND VACATIONS.

The year is divided into three terms, the first and second of fourteen weeks each, and the third of twelve.

The first term of the ensuing year will commence on Thursday, September 13, and close on Thursday, December 20th.

The second term will commence on Friday, January 4th and close on Thursday, April 11th. The third term will commence on Friday, April 26th, and close on Thursday, July 18th.

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EXPENSES.

Board and tuition exclusive of fuel and lights will be \$100 per year; \$45 to be paid on entrance, and \$45 at the commencement of the second term. It is expected that the tuition will be paid promptly in every case. No deduction will be made for a short absence. In case of a protracted absence the charge will be made by the week at the rate of \$100 per year.

FAMILY ACCOMMODATIONS AND DOMESTIC DEPARTMENT.

All the teachers and pupils board in the establishment. The family and school are so organized that they form constituent parts of the same whole, each advancing the interests of the other, and both uniting to promote the improvement and happiness of the household.

All the members of the school aid to some extent in the domestic work of the family. The portion of time thus occupied is so small that it does not retard their progress in study, but rather facilitates by its invigorating influence. It is no part of the design of this Institution to teach young ladies domestic work. Home is the proper place for the daughter to receive instruction on this important subject.

ADMISSION.

The regular time for the admission of pupils is at the commencement of the year (in September).

None will be received for a part of the year, except in extraordinary cases, and unless this condition is specified in the engagement to enter the Seminary.

A few weeks at the commencement will be considered probationary, that any who are deficient in maturity of character and mental discipline may not remain through the year to their own disadvantage, and to the injury of others.

Pupils are admitted only for one year. At the expiration of that time it can be decided whether the best interests of the pupil will be promoted by a longer continuance in the Seminary.

It is expected of all who are admitted,

1. That they will be of the required age.
2. That they will be well prepared in the studies required for admission.
3. That each young lady will provide her own napkins and towels, one pair of sheets and pillow cases, and one blanket, a carpet for her room if she desires one; also one table or dessert spoon, and one tea spoon marked with the whole name.
4. That every article of clothing be distinctly marked with the whole name.

was arranged in three terms — Fall, Winter, and Summer — and concluded with public examinations and exercises held during "Anniversary Week" in early July.¹¹ An account of this event was provided by teacher Ellen Wright, recording in the *Seminary Journal*:

The Examinations began Tuesday afternoon before a very pleasant company of visitors. About the middle of the afternoon the class in calisthenics went through various figures...gracefully accomplished. The success of the young ladies during examination...and the music was pronounced almost as good as that at Holyoke.¹²

On Wednesday and Thursday, throngs of visitors came to the seminary to hear oral recitations and compositions by students in history, geography, mathematics, science, literature, Latin, philosophy, and religion, alternating with musical and athletic performances. Just before noon on Thursday, the procession formed for the graduation exercises held outdoors in the sylvan setting of the grove. There the graduates, dressed in white, received diplomas and heard minis-

ters' prayers and addresses by educators.¹³

Under the principalship of Lydia Sessions from 1859 to 1866, enrollment reached 150 and the Seminary graduated between six and twelve each year. In the winter of 1866, Miss Sessions resigned to marry William W. Woodworth, pastor of the Congregational Church in Painesville. The teachers shared the government of the school until September when Anna C. Edwards of Mount Holyoke was appointed principal. After two years, she was succeeded by Mary Evans, also of Mount Holyoke, who served the school for 41 years, retiring in 1909.¹⁴

In the fifteen years from its start in 1859, Lake Erie Female Seminary enrolled 1,800 students, the majority from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Michigan, although twenty-eight states were represented. Only 140, or 8 percent, graduated; of these, 37 became teachers and missionaries. The low proportion of students finishing the course of study was attributed to rising admission requirements, the availability of public high schools, the opening of

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PUNCTUALITY AND RECREATION.

It is important that every pupil should be present every day of the year and at every appointment, unless prevented by sickness. The regular study hours should also be uninterrupted. No one should expect to leave at the close of a term, until every exercise is finished, or fail of returning before the term commences, without the loss of a single half day. Without a high standard of punctuality, it is impossible to maintain a high standard for study and correct recitation. One absence prepares the way for a second, and a deficiency of promptness in one pupil, will have its influence on others. Perfect punctuality, without interruption, through the whole year, is therefore the standard presented to each pupil on entering the Seminary. Calls and visits should be made by the young ladies only on Wednesday, the regular recreation day. Their friends in the vicinity are requested to confine their calls to that day, as far as convenient—but the friends of the Institution, and strangers from abroad, are invited to call on the teachers, at any time most convenient to them (the Sabbath of course excepted.)

SABBATH.

The young ladies do not make or receive calls on the Sabbath; neither should they spend a single Sabbath from the Seminary during term time. This Institution is the result of benevolent efforts, and that it will be decidedly religious in its influence has been the reasonable expectation of its friends.

In using the appropriate means of giving to the Institution such an influence, the Sabbath is far the most important day. While absence on any other day is greatly to be regretted, it is far more so on the Sabbath. However great may be its privileges in any other spot, the excitement of visiting, of meeting friends and of home scenes, will prevent in a great measure, the benefit that may be derived from a proper observance of the day. The place of weekly labors, is the most favorable spot for the scenes of the Sabbath.

APPLICATIONS.

Communications relating to admission to the Seminary, may be addressed to the Principal, Miss LYDIA A. SESSIONS, Painesville, Ohio.

Applications for the next year should be made as soon as possible, and should state the name, age and general characteristics of the applicant.

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ANNIVERSARY AND PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS.

The closing exercises for the present year will take place on Thursday, July 19th. An address will be delivered at 11 o'clock.

Public examinations will commence on Tuesday, July 17th, and close on Thursday morning.

TO ACCEPTED CANDIDATES FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

1. Endeavor to avoid a late failure. If circumstances render your attendance doubtful, you are requested to communicate immediately the degree of uncertainty.

2. Endeavor to be well prepared for examination on the studies required for admission.

It is recommended that a few weeks before entering the Seminary be devoted to a thorough review of the Preparatory studies.

3. Be careful to be present the first day, (Sept. 13). All should come on Wednesday, that they may be in readiness to commence their examinations on Thursday morning.

4. Provide clothing suitable for the season and climate—such as flannels, warm stockings, shoes suitable for walking in unpleasant weather, and an umbrella.

A copy of this Catalogue will be forwarded to each accepted candidate for the ensuing year, with this paragraph marked. If there is a mistake about the application of any to whom it is thus forwarded, information should be communicated immediately.



other college doors for women, the Civil War, and financial depression.¹⁵ Many young women of traditional outlook viewed the seminary as a brie, terminal educational experience that enhanced their marketability as marriage partners. In its first forty years Lake Erie Seminary gradually expanded its course of study, reaching a standard that in 1898 qualified its graduates for a college degree rather than a seminary diploma. In that year the name of the institution was changed to Lake Erie College and Seminary, and in 1908 to Lake Erie College.

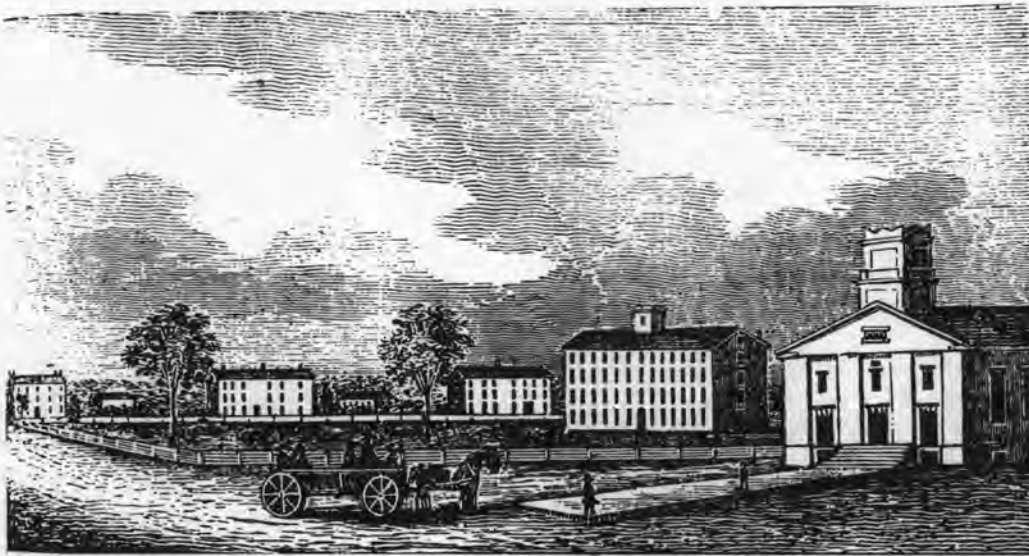
Coeducation

In 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville wrote, "Americans send priests out into the new states of the West and establish schools and churches there."¹⁶ The effort to Christianize the West arose from deep religious convictions as well as from a pragmatic interest in furthering law and order. Pastor John Jay Shipherd heard the call in Vermont to go forth into the "unplowed spiritual fields" of what was to New England the West: Ohio. In

October of 1830 he arrived at the frontier settlement of Elyria in Lorain County, Ohio, twenty miles west of Cleveland. Within three years he was joined by former Vermont academy classmate, Philo Penfield Stewart, with whom he talked, read, prayed, and eventually decided upon a plan for the Oberlin colony and school.

Shipherd conceived of a new colony of dedicated souls in the virgin forest far from the taint of established and sin-infected towns. The whole enterprise would be devoted not to worldly ends but to the salvation of men's souls. When the settlement was firmly established, a school would be founded which would serve, by educating missionaries and teachers, as an evangelical agency to create new colonies, churches, and schools. A manual labor system was to be employed whereby students worked on the college farm, workshop, or boarding house to defray costs.

On December 3, 1833, the school opened with 20 children enrolled in the "infant school" (primary school) and 40 "young



Oberlin Collegiate Institute in 1846. "Ladies Hall" is the third building from the left. (From a drawing by Henry Howe).

gentlemen & ladies" in the academic or preparatory school.¹⁷ On February 28, 1834, the Oberlin Collegiate Institute was granted its charter by the Ohio Legislature "to confer on those whom they may deem worthy, such honors and degrees as are usually conferred in similar institutions."¹⁸ The Institute was dedicated to provide "the most useful education at the least expense of health; time and money" and designed to "extend the benefit of such education to both sexes" to thoroughly qualify them as Christian teachers, "both for the pulpit and the schools." A prominent objective was:

the elevation of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex, all the instructive privileges which hitherto have unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs.¹⁹

The Collegiate Department offered "as extensive and thorough a course of instruction as other colleges." The Female Department "furnished instruction in the useful branches taught in the best Female Seminaries," but was not of college grade.²⁰ Women, however, were eligible for "all the instructive privileges" of the institution and attended classes in every department.²¹ For the first time, male college students shared their classrooms and instruction with women. In 1837, four women presented themselves as qualified for entrance into the regular course of the Collegiate Department. They had prepared themselves by taking sub-

jects at Oberlin with men qualifying for the college course. They were the first women in history to matriculate for a regular college course. Thus, true college education for women began as coeducation.

In Oberlin's early days, because academies preparing for college were exceedingly rare in the West, a preparatory department was a necessity, providing instruction in geography, mathematics, elementary Latin and Greek, English, history, and religion. For those interested in the college course, Latin and Greek were required; those taking the teacher's course followed the English curriculum. Histories of Greece, Rome, England, and the United States were required of both.²²

The preparatory studies for women entering the ladies' course were lighter and more elementary. History, Greek, and Latin were not included. Their preparatory work was not secondary education at all. Hence the ladies' course itself became partly secondary, and the women in it took many classes with male preparatory students in English grammar, history, geography, and the Bible. The ladies' course was heavily weighted toward religion, important presumably for prospective wives and mothers destined for work in missionary and teaching endeavors. Women who wanted to pursue the classical college course took Latin and Greek with men in the preparatory classes to qualify themselves.²³

In 1850, when the Oberlin Collegiate Institute was renamed Oberlin College, some thought the title misrepresentative, since the

College was only part of the institution, accounting for only 69 of the 500 students enrolled there. The majority had always been in the Preparatory and Female Departments.²⁴ Between 1833 and 1866, over 11,000 students — 6,500 males and 4,800 females — the sons and daughters of farmers with pious intentions, poor preparation, and little money moved through Oberlin. The majority at first came from New England and New York, a trend which reversed itself over a thirty-year period as more of the student body was drawn from the Western Reserve.²⁵

Oberlin's founders educated women for what was considered their proper sphere. The first Oberlin faculty included Dr. James Dascomb, professor in sciences, and his wife, Marianne Parker Dascomb, first principal of the Female Department. She was a graduate of Ipswich Seminary who had studied with Mary Lyon prior to the Mount Holyoke enterprise.²⁶ A frontier wife and educated woman, Marianne Dascomb provided an attractive model for the school's women students. The ideal of evangelical womanhood dominated the imaginations of Oberlin's females. For them the frontier represented an opportunity for spiritual and benevolent activity as wives, teachers, or missionaries.



Marianne Parker Dascomb, first principal of the Oberlin Female Department.

Oberlin was founded when the place and time were right for bringing the sexes together. Interest in education was high. On the frontier, society was in a fluid state; ideas and customs were not fixed. Experiments could be attempted that in the traditional East would have been doomed at birth. Oberlin's co-founder Philo Stewart wrote:

There are many in the Eastern states who are determined that everything at the West shall be modeled after the tradition of the fathers. But let us inquire what kind of institutions are needed in the West...²⁷

Many small denominational colleges followed the pattern of Oberlin in the next three decades, and the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862 created land-grant colleges and universities to which women were admitted on the same terms as men. Coeducation became the rule in the Western states and in the new universities of the East, such as Cornell, which admitted women in 1872.

Coordinate education

In the meantime, controversy continued to surround the education of women; they still needed to prove that they were intellectually, physically, and emotionally capable of meeting the demands of higher education. The founding of Vassar in 1859 and Smith and Wellesley in 1870 marked the first attempts to provide a collegiate education for women similar to that for men, one distinguished at the outset by the classical curriculum and its award for completion, the baccalaureate degree.

When efforts to secure admission of women to Harvard and other universities failed, a new arrangement became popular: the coordinate college, a division for the education of women affiliated with a college or university for men. In 1879, the "Society for Collegiate Instruction of Women" was formed; at first called the "Harvard Annex," it was named Radcliffe College in 1883. It was joined by other coordinate colleges, including Barnard at Columbia in 1883, Sophie Newcomb at Tulane in 1887, and Pembroke at Brown in 1891.

During the nineteenth century Western Reserve University progressed from a single-sex, all male institution, to a coeducational school, to a coordinate arrangement with a women's college parallel to the men's college.

David Hudson, founder of Western Reserve College, was a prosperous Connecticut farmer infused with a Puritan sense of mission. He sought an opportunity to express his faith through good works. A purchase of 7,000 acres of land in Connecticut's Western Reserve in northern Ohio led him West, where in 1800 he started a colony based upon high moral and religious principles. In the wilderness twenty-three miles southeast of Cleveland, Hudson established the town which took his name. He founded its church, grade school, and, in 1826, a college for the purpose of educating ministers.²⁸

It was well past the century's half-way point when Western Reserve College offered education for women. In 1871, a young woman from the town of Hudson approached President Carroll Cutler with a request to study at the College. Unable to afford to attend school away from her home, she wished "to pursue certain studies and recite in the classes of certain professors." Cutler, who was an advocate of advanced education for women, acted unilaterally and astonished both trustees and faculty by announcing that "women would be admitted to all the privileges of the College on the same conditions as men."²⁹ It was a policy that during the next seventeen years would allow forty-three women to matriculate and nineteen to graduate.

In 1882, as a result of a gift of \$500,000 from Cleveland millionaire Amasa Stone, Western Reserve moved from Hudson to Cleveland and changed its status from a college to a university. Stone's gift carried other conditions: control of the board of trustees,



Ford farmhouse at corner of Euclid and Adelbert streets, the first location of the Western Reserve College for Women, c. 1888.

supervision of building construction, and selection of the College name — Adelbert — in memory of his son, victim of a drowning accident while a student at Yale.³⁰

At the time of the move from Hudson, the college had a faculty of eight and a student body of seventy-five, five of whom were women. By 1884, two years after the move to Cleveland, Professor Edward Morley asked if "the proper time had come to ask whether the college is committed to the education of women in the same classes with men" or was "looking towards the establishment of a parallel or annex course of instruction for young women."³¹ President Cutler argued that he was not only opposed to turning out the women, but that he considered their presence in the College in all respects good and desirable.³² In 1887 the faculty had increased by one, and enrollment decreased to sixty-five, sixteen of whom were women. In Cleveland in the 1880s, the number of women graduating from high school was twice that of men. Young men left home to attend college; young women remained nearby. Coeducation in private and public colleges was thriving in Ohio and other parts of the country. Clearly, the growing number of women seeking education at Western Reserve challenged an "institution modeled after New England ideals, in close touch with Yale College."³³

President Cutler resigned early in 1886, in part because of the coeducation controversy.³⁴ Hiram C. Haydn was elected president of Western Reserve University but retained his position as pastor of Cleveland's Presbyterian Old Stone Church. Haydn announced at his inauguration on January 24, 1888, that women would no longer be admitted to the college. This was not intended as an indictment of coeducation, he maintained, but the current situation called for an institution which furnished young men the advantages they were seeking elsewhere "in colleges for men only." There was an earnest suggestion for "founding a College for young women in proximity to our own, and in every respect equal to it in its course of instruction."³⁵

"What Shall We Do With Our Daughters?" was the rhetorical question Dr. Haydn put to his congregation at the Old Stone Church almost three months after he suggested the creation of a women's college to replace coeducation. "It is a matter of imme-



Buildings of the Western Reserve College for Women around the turn of the century. Left to right: Clark Hall, Haydn Hall, and Guilford Cottage, the College's first dormitory.

mediate interest whether our city is to have a college for women," he said. "I know of nothing in the way but the cost of it."³⁶ His parishioners were among Cleveland's wealthiest families, and it was to them that he made his appeal for the endowments to sustain the college for women. He was particularly successful with women who had male models of giving within their families. Of these, Flora Stone Mather was foremost.

Flora, the youngest child of Amasa and Julia Gleason Stone, was born in 1852, two years after the family that included Adelbert and Clara came from Massachusetts to settle in Cleveland. She was reared in a home on Euclid Avenue's millionaire's row and educated at the Cleveland Academy, one of several secondary level schools established in Cleveland by Linda Guilford, a graduate of Mount Holyoke under Mary Lyon. In 1881 Flora Stone and Samuel Mather, long-time friends and neighbors, were married, uniting two of Cleveland's wealthiest families.³⁷

Flora Stone Mather's many gifts to Western Reserve University included \$50,000 to endow its first chair of history in the name of Hiram C. Haydn. Contributions from her family enabled the College for Women to open in rented quarters at the southeast corner of Euclid Avenue and Adelbert in 1888.³⁸

Haydn established an Advisory Council of local women, appointed by the board of trustees, which had ultimate responsibilities



Flora Stone Mather

for the educational and social conditions of the College for Women. The Council began to build the library and to furnish the first classrooms of the new college with their own pictures, furniture, and curtains.³⁹

In honor of Linda Guilford, Mrs. Mather contributed \$75,000 for building and endowing the College's first dormitory in 1892. Called Guilford Cottage, it was given



Students of the Western Reserve College for Women in the 1890s.

"in grateful loving acknowledgment of the debt which this community owes to her" who had established reputable instructional programs in several academies and seminaries in Cleveland.⁴⁰ At the dedication of the building named for her, Linda Guilford cited the opportunity for women enrolled in a college course as "keeping step with their brothers along the paths of higher learning."⁴¹

While women's opportunities for becoming educated grew during the century,

the roles in which this education could be applied remained essentially the same — wife, mother, and teacher. Nevertheless, the expanding number of educated women undoubtedly led to women's suffrage in 1920 and to the ever increasing importance of women in business and public life. The pioneers in women's education might be surprised at the long-term outcome of their efforts, and some of them might even be pleased.

NOTES

¹ John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 67.

² Beth Bradford Gilchrist, *The Life of Mary Lyon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910), pp. 393-394.

³ *The Lake Erie Record*, 12:2 (November and December 1897), p. 21.

⁴ On June 23, 1856, just three months after the Willoughby fire, the articles of association under which the Lake Erie Female Seminary was incorporated declared: "The object of this institution shall be to promote thorough and complete female education and for that purpose the system of instruction, the principles of government and the general plan of management shall be substantially after the model of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary of South Hadley, Massachusetts" (*Articles of Association of the Lake Erie Seminary*, 23 June 1856, Lake County Recorder's Office, Painesville, Ohio).

⁵ *First Annual Catalogue of the Willoughby Female Seminary, Willoughby, Lake Co., Ohio 1848-9* (Cleveland: M.C. Younglove and Co., 1849), p. 16.

⁶ *Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Willoughby Female Seminary, Willoughby, Lake Co., Ohio, 1850-51* (Cleveland: Harris, Fairbanks and Co., 1851), pp. 14-15.

⁷ *Historical Summary of Lake Erie Female Seminary for 1876* (extract from *Historical Sketches of Higher Educational Institutions of Ohio*), Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, n.p.

⁸ *Painesville Telegraph*, 16 July 1857.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *First Annual Catalogue of the Lake Erie Female Seminary in Painesville, Ohio, 1859-60* (Painesville: M.R. Doolittle, 1860), pp. 7-10.

¹¹ *Tenth Annual Catalogue of the Lake Erie Female Seminary in Painesville, Ohio, 1868-9* (Painesville: Telegraph Job Office, 1869), p. 14.

¹² *Lake Erie Seminary Journal*, 7 September 1859 to 12 December 1862, MSS, Lake Erie College Archives, Painesville, Ohio, n.p., 3 October 1860. The keeping of a "journal" was practiced at Mount Holyoke and those schools patterned after it. A teacher was responsible for making the entries and they were addressed to Holyoke or a sister school and sometimes both. For example, the Lake Erie Journal opened one year, "Dear Friends at Holyoke and Oxford." Western Seminary at Oxford, Ohio (Lake Erie's sister school — a Mount Holyoke "daughter"), as well as Mount Holyoke, received the "Journal" news via copies made for them; the original remained at the home school.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Lake Erie Female Seminary, Painesville, Ohio, June 23rd to 26th, 1884* (Cleveland: J.B. Savage, 1885), p. 9; *General Catalogue of Officers and Students of Lake Erie College 1859-1913* (Published by the College, Painesville, Ohio, 1913), Lake Erie College Archives, pp. 7-8.

¹⁵ *Historical Summary of Lake Erie Female Seminary for 1876*. Data was available in two tables: "Number of Students in Lake Erie Female Seminary in Each Class Annually," and "Attendance at Lake Erie Seminary Annually From Each State of the Union and From Foreign Countries." Over the period of fifteen years, sixteen students came from abroad, over half between 1872 and 1875. *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁶ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J.P. Mayer (New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1969), p. 292.

¹⁷ John F. Scovill to William J. Edward, 17 December 1833, Typescript, File 7/1/5 Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

¹⁸ Robert S. Fletcher and Ernest H. Wilkins, "The Beginning of College Education for Women and of Coeducation on the College Level," *Bulletin of Oberlin College*, New Series 343, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ "The First Annual Report (and Catalogue) of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute," November 1834, Typescript, Box 17, Robert S. Fletcher Papers, Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

²¹ "Circular — Oberlin Collegiate Institute," 8 March, 1834, Typescript, Box 17, RSF Papers, p. 3.

²² "Oberlin Collegiate Institute Catalogues," 1835; 1836; 1838; 1839.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Robert Samuel Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College: From Its Foundation Through the Civil War* (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1943), p. 710.

²⁵ Fletcher, pp. 507-509.

²⁶ Fletcher, pp. 128-131.

²⁷ Philo P. Stewart to Levi Burnell, 10 April 1837, Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin Ohio.

²⁸ C. H. Cramer, *Case Western Reserve: A History of the University 1826-1976* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), p. 179.

²⁹ Hiram C. Haydn, *Western Reserve University: From Hudson to Cleveland 1878-1890* (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1905), pp. 65, 70.

³⁰ Cramer, pp. 77-78.

³¹ *Western Reserve College — Adelbert College, Minutes of the Faculty: 1866-1895*, 26 May 1884, pp. 153-154, Case Western Reserve University Archives, Cleveland, Ohio.

³² Carroll Cutler, "Shall Women Now Be Excluded from Adelbert College of Western Reserve University: An Argument" (Presented to the Board of Trustees, 7 November 1884: Cleveland, Ohio), Case Western Reserve University Archives, Cleveland, Ohio.

³³ Cramer, p. 95.

³⁴ Lydia Cody, "My Recollection of the Co-educational Controversy at Adelbert College," Case Western Reserve University Archives, Cleveland, Ohio (Typescript), p. 4.

³⁵ *Records of the Trustees of Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio*, from February 20, 1872, to June 16, 1890; 24 January 1888, p. 499, Case Western Reserve University Archives, Cleveland, Ohio.

³⁶ Hiram C. Haydn, "What Shall We Do With Our Daughters? A Discourse," A sermon delivered at the First Presbyterian Church, Cleveland, Ohio, April 9, 1888 (Printed, n.p.).

³⁷ Constance Mather Bishop, "My Mother — Flora Stone Mather," *Western Reserve University Bulletin* (5 December 1938), 41:16.

³⁸ Cramer, *Case Western Reserve*, pp. 102-103; Haydn, *Western Reserve University*, pp. 109-111.

³⁹ *The Advisory Council of Flora Stone Mather College: Western Reserve University, 1888-1951* (pamphlet, Case Western Reserve University Archives, Cleveland, Ohio, pp. 5-6).

⁴⁰ *In Memoriam Flora Stone Mather 1852-1909* (Cleveland: Privately Printed, 1910), p. 10; Haydn, *Western Reserve University*, p. 183.

⁴¹ Haydn, *Western Reserve University*, p. 134.

Shony Long

Magical Gliding

Skating is like dreams

Moving like water

Body cutting space

Exploring angles

Spirit without inhibition

Reaching out to catch the star

Chasing the tail of the dream¹

Thus Toller Cranston, 1976 Olympic Medalist in figure skating from Canada, expressed his feeling about ice skating. Other skaters, if not so poetic, would probably at least agree with Stacey Smith, Olympic ice dancer from Cleveland Heights: "Ice skating is an ideal integration of physical, intellectual, and artistic pursuits It is also an activity that you can participate in your whole life."²

Indeed, skating has inspired tributes from writers through the centuries, including the German poet Klopstock, Goethe, Wordsworth, Louisa Mae Alcott, and E.B. White. Henry David Thoreau in his journal for December 29, 1858, wrote:

I think more of skates than of the horse or locomotive as annihilators of distance, for while I am getting along with the speed of the horse, I have at the same time the satisfaction of the horse and rider, and far more adventure than if I were riding. We never cease to be surprised when we observe how swiftly the skater glides along The skater has wings, *Talaria*, to his feet.

The sport goes back farther than recorded history. Skates of bone and leather

have been discovered on the feet of a stone-age skeleton in Holland, and others have been excavated from the fens around London. Bone skates from Sweden dating from around the ninth century have been preserved, and ancient Swedish skates made from walrus teeth are on exhibit at the National Museum of Ethnology in the Netherlands. The Edda, a collection of Old Norse sagas, depicts Uller, god of winter, as being remarkable for his "beauty, arrows, and skates."³ He is described speeding over the ice on animal bones.

The earliest important evidence of skating in England is found in a "Description of the Great City of London" by William Fitzstephen, a monk of Canterbury who was born and raised in London and died in 1191. He writes:

When the great fen or moor, which lies beyond the walls of the city on the north side, is frozen, many young men play on the ice. Some, striding as wide as they may, slide swiftly; some tie bones to their feet, under their boots, shoving themselves by a staff, and so slide as swiftly as a bird flying in the air, or an arrow out of a cross-bow.⁴

The oldest known skating illustration, a 1498 woodcut by Johannes Brugman, entitled "Vita Lydwina," gives evidence that females were early participants in the sport and that the Dutch were using metal blades on their skates that long ago. Lydwina was born in 1380 on Palm Sunday in Schiedam.

Shony Long, born and educated in Cleveland, attended Flora Stone Mather College and the School of Library Science of Western Reserve University. After working in different branches of the Cleveland Public Library system, she has for the past fifteen years been a part-time librarian at the Coventry Branch of the Cleveland Heights-University Heights Public Library. Her interest in ice skating began when her daughter, Heather, became involved in the sport; she has published articles on skating in the Plain Dealer, American Skating World, and Skating.



Brugman's picture depicts the skating accident, when, at sixteen, Lydwina fell and broke a rib. She became an invalid, entered a convent, and grew devout. Although she was in agony, it was said that she prayed constantly and that miracles happened at her bedside. She died on Easter Sunday, 1433, and in 1890 she was canonized by Pope Leo XII, becoming St. Lydwina of Schiedam, patroness of ice skaters.⁵

Holland — perhaps because of its many canals that freeze in the winter — has long been famous for its skaters. The French traveler Carlo Antonio Pilati, writing about 1779, notes that, with the coming of cold weather, the Dutch undergo a strange transformation in physique: "Heavy, massive, stiff creatures during the rest of the year, suddenly they become active, ready, and agile, as soon as the canals are frozen."⁶ The British have not been far behind the Dutch in their enthusiasm and skill. On December 1, 1662, Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary that "first in my life, it being a Great Frost, [I] did see people sliding with their skeetes, which is a very pretty art."

Pond and lake skating are dependent upon the whims of the weather. In the days when only outdoor skating was possible, skaters in the ponds of Central Park in New York, for example, might have as few as six-



Woodcut from *Vita Lydwinae*, 1448, showing Lydwina's fall on the ice.

teen days of skating because of the weather. So artificial ice has been a boon to skating in modern times. After experiments by a number of inventors in the earlier nineteenth century, Dr. John Gorries, of Apalachicola, Florida, was granted the first patent on an ice-making machine in 1850. It was not until 1876 in London that the Glacarium, the first indoor rink using artificial ice, was opened by Professor John Gamgee. Within twenty years, London had three refrigerated ice rinks, and on both sides of the Atlantic more rinks were being built.

The first skating club was established in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1742, and others soon sprang up in England and on the Continent. The London Skating Club, one of the most prominent, was singled out for notice by the Victorian sports historian Lord William Pitt Lennox:

It is wonderful to relate that, notwithstanding the few severe frosts we have in England, compared to other countries, our islanders are the most graceful skaters in the whole civilized world: a fact that will be borne out by all who have witnessed the exploits of the London Skating Club in the Regent's Park on the Serpentine river . . .

There are many English ladies who excel in this Winter's sport; and certainly nothing can be more interesting than to see a well-dressed, well-formed fair one going through the graceful figures and many movements on the ice.⁷

By 1813 British skating enthusiasts began to publish their own journal, *Frostiana*. In 1879 the English and Scottish clubs united to organize the sport's first federation, the National Skating Association of Great Britain.



Copper engraving of Dutch peasant on skates, by Pieter Quast (c. 1630).

The first American club was established in Philadelphia in 1849, and the United States Amateur Skating Association dates from 1886. The International Skating Union (ISU) began in 1892 with headquarters at Davos, Switzerland. In 1921 the governing body of amateur figure skating in America became the United States Figure Skating Association (USFSA), which soon joined the ISU. At that time the charter member clubs of the USFSA numbered seven. Today there are about 400 clubs with 40,000 members, and eighteen state and regional inter-club associations across the country, including the large New England Inter-Club Council and associations in Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis-St. Paul.

A focal point in American skating is the USFSA Museum in Colorado Springs, supported by the USFSA Memorial Fund, established in 1961 as a memorial to all eighteen members of the 1961 U.S. World Team, who lost their lives in a plane crash en route to the World Figure Skating Championships in Czechoslovakia. This fund also provides revenue for small skating scholarships.

Two skaters prominently featured in the USFSA Museum Library and Hall of Fame are Jackson Haines and Sonja Henie, considered the skaters most responsible for revolutionizing modern figure skating. Haines, an American, born in 1840, transformed skating from the old-style formal geometric trailings to the present international style of free-flowing strokes and dance movements. Since he did not receive recognition in the United States, in 1864 Haines sailed to Europe, where he became one of the most celebrated sports figures of his day. After eleven years abroad, he decided to return home, but on the way he came down with pneumonia and died in Finland in 1876. His tombstone in the Finnish town of Gamla-Karleby reads, "Jackson Haines, the American Skating King."

Although Haines never returned to America, his style of skating was eventually adopted throughout the country, mainly through the efforts of Irving Brokaw. In the United States at the beginning of this century, good skating form was thought to consist of "a formal uprightness of carriage, straight-legged with flexing only to stroke, arms kept

Skates and Figures

Perhaps the best way to understand figure skating is to examine the skate itself. The blade is curved very slightly from heel to toe, like the rockers of a rocking chair. This curve minimizes contact with the ice, thus allowing the skater to perform complex turns and spinning motions. The toe pick at the front of the blade is used primarily in executing jumps and spins.

The bottom of the figure blade is specially ground to be concave from side to side, so that when a skater stands upright on two skates, there are actually four microscopically thin blade edges in contact with the ice. Skating on these two edges per skate is not the correct way, though — doing so produces "flats," tiny parallel tracings on the ice, like a railroad track. The figure skater learns to glide on only one edge of one skate. The edges are named for their location with respect to the skater's body, inside or outside. Since each edge on each foot can be skated in a forward or backward direction, there are eight different edges which are the basis of figure skating.

To demonstrate mastery of these

edges, figure skaters practice three distinct disciplines: figures (referred to also as "school" or "compulsory" figures — consisting of 42 prescribed patterns to be traced in the ice); freestyle or free skating, and ice dancing. Since figures teach balance and control both of the skate edge and of the body, the practice of these is basic to all other forms of figure skating. The 42 figures themselves are variations of the figure eight. Skating these demands intense concentration and superb balance, for the object is to trace a perfect circle with clean, well-placed turns while showing excellent skating form.

All figures are based on circles. Some figures (serpentines) consist of three circles, one-and-a-half skated at a time on each foot; and some consist of two circles, both of which are skated first on one foot, then the other. When skating the figures, the body must lean properly on the correct edge. In other words, skating figures could be defined as drawing circular patterns with the movement of the body, using skate edges as inscribing instruments.



Advertisement for Cleveland's Elysium Rink, c. 1925. (Courtesy of the Cleveland Public Library Picture Collection.)

close to the sides, and face turned always in direction of progress."⁶ After Brokaw spent the winters of 1904-1908 abroad, he returned to the United States eager to introduce the rhythmic, fluid Jackson Haines style. In February of 1908 in Boston he gave the "first demonstration in the United States of figure skating in International Style." Thanks to Brokaw's enthusiasm, the Haines style did take hold and is standard today.

Sonja Henie was the first international celebrity of ice skating. At nine she was the National Skating Champion of Norway. She retained this title for ten years, as well as being

Olympic Gold Medalist for three consecutive Olympiads. When she came to the United States in 1936, she joined the professional ranks and went on tour across the nation, winding up in Hollywood. This was the beginning of her film career. The twelve films and many ice shows she starred in made ice skating exciting and glamorous, and stimulated new interest in skating across the country. Henie not only popularized ice skating, she revolutionized figure skating for women. Before her, free skating for men was athletic, while women were expected merely to be graceful; but Henie added to the women's repertoire the same jumps and spins performed by men.

Most skaters learn to skate for fun and recreation. But somewhere along the way a few young people decide that for them skating is more than a leisure activity. They make a commitment to skating, begin to take private lessons, and join the local skating club and the USFSA so that they can participate in the official tests and competitions. They practice in the dark hours of early morning and in the evening after school.

The serious skater prepares for proficiency tests and competition in figure skating, freestyle skating, ice dancing, and pair skating, which are organized in an elaborate hierarchy of skill levels: preliminary, first test, juvenile, intermediate, novice, junior, and senior. Accreditation in figure skating entails passing, at each of the nine levels, test in six to twelve figures. The other categories have similarly demanding requirements. The USFSA organizes regional, sectional, and national competitions, and the ISU holds international events to which each country may send from one to three contestants.

Skating Tests

The USFSA annually publishes an *Official Rulebook* which includes the curricula of figures and dance, the test structure, and a listing of member clubs. *Skating*, the official magazine, contains articles of current and historical interest, listings of events, and results of competitions. In the words of the *Rulebook*, "Tests — figure, free skating, pair and dance — are the measurement of progress Official tests sanctioned by the USFSA

are conducted by member clubs" (1982-3, p.ii). An odd-numbered panel of judges independently grade the figures, and the decision is determined by a majority vote. Skaters vary as to how long they study and practice for each test level. Six months is usually the minimum time, while some skaters take two or three years on certain levels. When skaters have completed all nine figure tests they are accredited as having passed the Gold Test in figures.



Easter bunnies from Cleveland on Ice, the 15th annual ice show held at the Arena in 1952. (Photo courtesy of Judy Gruehl, a skating pro at the Cleveland Heights Pavilion.)

Figure skating is the oldest event in the Winter Olympics. It became part of the games in 1908, even though the Winter Olympics did not become a separate event until 1924. Each country may send two entries to the Olympics with the exception of countries that placed in the top five in the World Championships the previous year, which are allowed three entries.

Amateur skaters who have reached the top of the pyramid — the National and World Champions — have come from many parts of the United States. Our 1983 Men's and Ladies' National and World Champions, Scott Hamilton and Rosalyn Sumner, are from Bowling Green, Ohio, and Edmonds, Washington. Hamilton left Bowling Green to skate first in Philadelphia and then in Colorado. Sumner has always trained in Edmonds. The most prestigious centers of skating activity in the United States are Colorado Springs, Colorado; Wilmington, Delaware; and Lake Placid, New York. Rinks in these areas are world-renowned, hosted many world-class competitions. The top skating profes-

sionals, those who have coached the greatest number of champions, work at these rinks.

The Broadmoor World Ice Arena, situated between the Rockies and the USFSA headquarters, might be thought of as the Mecca of champions. It is managed by Ed Shipstad (son of the entrepreneur of the Ice Follies); Carlo Fassi, who has trained four Olympic champions, coaches there. Ron Ludington, who works with ice dancers and pair skaters, is the prominent coach at the Skating Club of Wilmington. Lake Placid has been the site of two Winter Olympics.

Though Cleveland is not on a par with these three centers, it is the scene of significant skating activity. Of the seventeen skating clubs in Ohio not based at a university, eleven are in this area and belong to the Greater Cleveland Council of Figure Skating. (The university-based clubs are at Bowling Green, Kent State, Ohio State, and Miami University.) In 1907 Cleveland boasted the second largest indoor rink in the country, with the opening that year of the Elysium, an elegant skating palace owned by Dudley and Hubert



Finale of the 13th annual ice show at the Cleveland Arena in 1950. (Photo courtesy of Judy Gruehl.)

Humphrey. The Elysium not only provided an excellent facility for local skaters, but was also the scene of ice shows and of national and international competitions; it was the home of Cleveland's first professional hockey team. In 1937 the Cleveland Skating Club, whose members had skated at the Elysium, purchased the property of the Cleveland Tennis and Racquet Club. This was the first private figure-skating organization in the United States to own its building. That year the club's annual Carnival featured skating champions Richard Button and Barbara Ann Scott, world and Olympic champions. In 1937 the Arena on Euclid and 32nd St. opened, and with two new indoor rinks the city became ice-conscious as never before. A much larger facility than the Elysium, the Arena had a seating capacity of 1500. In the 1940s war restrictions brought about the closing of the Elysium. In 1943 the property was turned back to the original owner, Case School of Applied Science. For ten years the landmark, at Euclid and East

107th St., housed a used-car business, and then in 1953 it was razed. The Arena survived until 1976. Members of the old Elysium Club and the Arena Club still meet regularly and skate together — the Elysium members at Thornton Ice Rink, the Arena alumni at Greenbriar Rink.

Hayes and David Jenkins, who dominated the world of men's figure skating for eight years in the fifties, skated at the Cleveland Skating Club in the 1940s. Both of them were United States, World, and Olympic Gold Champions. Hayes married Carol Heiss, also a National, World, and Olympic Champion. The Jenkinsons now live in Akron, and Carol coaches at the Lakewood Municipal Rink, Winterhurst. Peggy Fleming and Tim Wood, champions in the sixties, both lived for a time in Cleveland, skating at the Arena and Northfield Plaza. Dorothy Hamill and Linda Fratianne, skating celebrities of the seventies, have family background in the area. Stacey Smith, Olympic ice dancer in 1980, grew up in



Above: Young Hayes Alan Jenkins displays the figure skating form which won him an Olympic gold medal in the Winter Games at Cortina, Italy, in 1956 and four consecutive world championships from 1953 through 1956. *Below:* As an Olympic figure skater, Carol Heiss won the gold medal at the 1960 Winter Games in Squaw Valley after taking a silver medal at Cortina in 1956. She won world championships for five straight years, 1956-1960. (Photo courtesy of Carol Heiss Jenkins.)

Cleveland Heights and skated at Northfield Plaza until she went to Wilmington to train with the guru of ice-dancing, Ron Ludington. She taught at the Cleveland Heights Recreation Pavilion after leaving the amateur ranks. Currently there are seven native Clevelanders competing on the national scene: Bill Fauver, Kelly Webster, Eva Hunyadi, Chip Rossbach, Tom Zakrajsek, Jeannine and Tony Jones, and Jeff Freedman.

Sixteen-year-old Kelly Webster is typical of the young skaters who aspire to national and Olympic laurels. Her performance has been described as "both graceful and dynamic. Very animated on the ice." In action the blue-eyed blonde tends to look larger than her 105 pounds, five feet four inches, and she exhibits impressive physical strength and skill. Having started skating at the age of four on a lake behind her house, Kelly took group lessons at Northfield Plaza Ice Rink, and soon moved to private lessons.





Kelly Webster at fifteen, skating in National Competition. (Photo courtesy of the Webster family.)

When Kelly was six her coach Harriet Lapisch predicted for her "a terrific future."¹⁰ That year she placed second at the fourteenth annual Cleveland Invitational Championship, though she was by far the youngest in her category. The next year, 1974, at Northfield Plaza, Kelly placed first in the same event, and also placed first at the Lake Erie Invitational. At nine, although again the youngest competitor in the Novice Ladies' class, she skated to a third place in her division in the National Championships.

Kelly trained for four years with Bernie Youlton of the Cleveland Skating Club, who early saw that she was "Olympic material."¹¹ In 1980 Youlton and the Webster family decided that for continued improvement Kelly needed the stimulation of skating with national competitors. Kelly and her mother moved to Colorado Springs, where Kelly began training with Barbara Roles, a national and world competitor of the fifties and sixties. Kelly attends school three hours a day, taking only major subjects; the rest of her time is spent in practice and competition. In 1981 she

Free Skating

If the compulsory figures represent the basic discipline of the sport, free skating is the showcase for artistry and athletic ability. There are six free-skating tests, each consisting of a set number of specific jumps, spins and step sequences, with a definite time allotment for each test level. A number of the jumps in freestyle skating are named after the skaters who originally created them. Here are a few of the jumps and spins that are required at various levels:

Axel jump: A one-and-one half revolution jump performed from a forward outside edge and landed on a backward outside edge. A double Axel has two and one-half revolutions.

Lay-back spin: A skater spins on the foot while holding the free leg in an arched position. The skater's back should be as arched as possible, and hands and arms held in a graceful position.

Lutz jump: The skater starts from a long glide on a backward outside edge, uses the toe pick of the other skate to jump, rotates once, and lands on a backward outside edge. A double Lutz has two rotations.

Sit spin: The skater spins on one foot in a sitting position, with the free leg extended forward.

Free skating, both in testing and competition, is judged for (a) technical merit, which includes difficulty, variety, and cleanness and sureness; and (b) composition and style, including harmonious composition, utilization of the area, easy movement and sureness in time to the music, carriage, originality, and expression of the character of the music. Pair skating and dance are judged in a manner similar to figures and free style. Anyone who passes the senior level test becomes a Gold Medalist in that category.



Kelly Webster at age twelve performing a spiral (Photo courtesy of the Webster family.)

captured second place in the National Junior Competition; in 1982, on a senior ladies level, she placed ninth, and in June, 1983, she skated to a championship at the U.S. National Sports Festival V — for many aspiring athletes, a stepping-stone to the Olympics.

In the summer of 1983 Kelly faced a problem not uncommon in the skating world, when her coach Barbara Roles moved from Colorado Springs to California. Finally Kelly decided to remain at the Broadmoor, where she now trains with Carlo Fassi. Her mother, Dr. June Webster, has given up her medical practice in Cleveland to stay in Colorado with Kelly. Her father, Dr. Kenneth Webster, would also like to be with his family, but he can hardly give up his position as gynecologist at the Cleveland Clinic. Basic expenses for Kelly's training are now about \$20,000 a year; she receives a small scholarship from the USFSA.

In view of the sacrifices her skating career demands, how important is it for Kelly or any serious ice skater to be on the ice? Sonja Henie gave this answer in her autobiography:

Not many people can spend their lives doing what they like to do best. I happen to be one of those few who can . . . When I was a little girl, some of my friends used to say, "You're crazy. You'd rather skate than eat." It only made me think they were queer. Since then I have learned to respect eating as having its uses, but still I would rather skate . . . If you are not a skater, you probably can't imagine what I mean. I could try to tell you by saying it's a feeling of ice miles running under your blades, the wind splitting open to let you through, the earth whirling around you at the touch of your toe, and speed lifting you off the ice far from all things that can hold you down. It's a sense of power, of command over distance and gravity, and illusion of no longer having to move because movement is carrying you.¹²

And John Curry, the 1976 Olympic Gold Medalist from Great Britain, expressed the attitude of many skaters in this way: "There are only certain times in my life when I feel any kind of real unity or completeness or peace: these times are when I am skating. The ice, then, is home."¹³

NOTES

- ¹ Quoted by Elva Oglanby, *Toller* (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1975), p. 111.
- ² Conversation with Stacey Smith, March 18, 1980.
- ³ Arthur Goodfellow, *Wonderful World of Skates* (Mountainburg, Arkansas: A.&T. Goodfellow, 1972), pp. 10-11.
- ⁴ The "Descriptio Nobilissimae Civitatis Londoniae" is printed as an appendix in John Stow, *A Survey of London* (1603), rpt. ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908, rpt. 1971), II, 218-29. Information and translation provided by Professor Earl R. Anderson of Cleveland State University.
- ⁵ Rudolph Brasch, *How Did Sports Begin?* (New York: David McKay 1970), pp. 227-28.
- ⁶ Pilati, *Lettres sur la Hollande* (The Hague, 1780), quoted by Charles Russell, *Wonders of Bodily Strength and Skill* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1871), p. 231.
- ⁷ Lennox, *Sport at Home and Abroad*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1872), I, 251-52.
- ⁸ Paul Armitage, "The International Style — Irving Brokaw," *Skating*, 26 (January, 1949), 8.
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- ¹⁰ Chuck Day, "Kelly Webster Already Skates Like a Star — at Age 6," *The Cleveland Press*, April 11, 1973, p. G-8.
- ¹¹ Bernard Youlton, *Herald Sun* (Chagrin Valley, Ohio), January 13, 1977, p. 84.
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- ¹³ Keith Money, *John Curry* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), p. 222.

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