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THE SCAPEGOAT STORY IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL

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THE SCAPEGOAT STORY IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL

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THE SCAPEGOAT STORY IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Henry Nash Smith begins his Virgin Land with a reference to Frederick Jackson Turner's delivering his paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, July 12, 1893. In his so-called frontier thesis, Turner was presenting as history what for some time had been the unrecognized myth of America.¹ Columbus had probably begun the myth four hundred years earlier when, after returning to Spain from his pioneering venture into the unknown western sea, he had testified vividly to the wealth of the Indies.² A push westward to reap the riches of the Indies of the East was the initial form of the American myth, a form which continued down into the twentieth century--for instance, in the search for the Northwest Passage, shortcut to the still-promising but ever-receding East. But that quest for the East occupied the attention and the efforts a comparatively small number of the westering explorers and speculators; the majority of them concentrated upon the corn-

ucopia of the newly discovered New World. The Spanish conquistadors found wealth in Mexico and Peru, but Eldorado, the Seven Cities of Cibola, and the Fountain of Youth proved to be as elusive as the Northwest Passage.

Nor were the Spanish the only pioneers engaging in this pursuit of the golden will-of-the-wisp. A good many of the English settlers of Jamestown harbored the thought of picking up golden nuggets along the swampish lowlands of the Virginia tidelands.³ The forty-niners digging in California hillsides and the sourdoughs panning in Klondike streams were spiritual descendants of these original prospectors--"bad natures," Captain John Smith called them.

The hunters and trappers who raced the prospectors across the American continent were another manifestation of this "get rich quick" myth, exploiting the teeming forests, plains, mountains, and waters of the New World, eventually clashing with the Far East in the seal rookeries of the Bering Sea. The cattlemen exploiting the grasslands moved westward and met the already established Mexican ranches in Texas and California. The farmers, believing that such forests and grasslands could best be utilized by turning them into plowland, pushed on the ranchers' heels.

The discovery and exploitation of the New World, the exploitation and conversion of its physical resources into the material comforts and satisfactions of civilization, are one-half of this American myth. The other half probably

began with the Spanish priest and missionary, Bartolomeo de las Casas, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to these Indies. This cleric heralded an invasion of the New World by a host of men who believed the opportunity these lands presented for the expression and development of the spirit to be a far greater blessing than the chance to mine rich ores, forests, fields, and waterways. Many Spanish padres, following de las Casas, sought to achieve temporal and eternal salvation for the native Indians by converting them to the newcomers' religion, politics, and economy.

When in 1620 the group known to every American school child as the Pilgrims undertook the adventure of a hazardous sea voyage and settlement in the new, raw land, it was a last and desperate attempt to achieve the environment necessary for the development of their spirits, that is, the expression of their religion in the way they believed to be imperative. They and the Puritans who followed in the next decade built a New England theocracy, a New Jerusalem in a new land of promise by a new chosen people.

Numerous other sects sought the increasingly hospitable shores of English America throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. But by the end of the first century in the new land, the theocratic ideal had been discredited or outgrown and discarded. By the time of the American Revolution the idea of religious freedom was expressed in the concept of total separation of church and state. The

spiritual largess was being transferred from concern with religious freedom to concern with other freedoms. And always the opportunity to pick up and go farther west where one could be free of the past served as a forced draft fanning the spirit of freedom.

These two halves of the myth of America are summed up in the words opportunity, dream, success--dream of success. In the popular imagination they were summed up in Horace Greeley's famous advice, "Go west, young man," an American and an individualistic version of Bishop Berkeley's "Westward the course of empire takes its way" uttered a little over a hundred years earlier. The dynamic expression of the mythic dream of success became indissolubly associated with the westward movement, with the frontier.

Whether or not the deepest waters of the stream of European fiction in the nineteenth century are what Lionel Trilling captioned, in a monumental aside, "the young man from the provinces,"⁴ they assuredly are not so in America. The American hero of the nineteenth century shuddered at the idea of journeying up to the capitol; he instead turned his back on it and resolutely plunged westward into the wilderness and away from the Atlantic community, just as his forebears had voyaged westward across the ocean and away from the European community. The European hero was drawn to the central nexus of his society; the American hero was driven to the periphery of his. The American sought his destiny

on the "hither edge" of settled life--the woods, the plains, the mountains, the sea. In the fastnesses of the Kaatskills Rip Van Winkle escaped from his termagant wife. In the leafy forest, on the glassy lake, finally on the expansive prairie Leatherstocking rescued his fair damsels. Each hero, of course, was fleeing from the family responsibilities of the mature male that the settled community regarded as normal. Arthur Gordon Pym, running away from the father figure and his imposition of these normal responsibilities, ventured farther south than any of his predecessors and there disappeared in the smothering embrace of the Mother. Floating down the Mississippi, Huck Finn continually ran away from his Pap and from those who wanted to "sivilize" him. Thus the American myth and ethic of opportunity for riches, the dream of success, became associated with the age-old myth-ethic of the revolt against parental authority through the imaginary voyage.

Herman Melville began his novelistic career in Typee by presenting another dreamer-runner-revolter as hero. Tommo at the book's beginning is already in mid-Pacific, the Atlantic community from which he had started six months earlier far, far behind him. But even so he has not escaped from parental authority. "The captain . . . was arbitrary and violent in the extreme."⁵ "Strange visions of outlandish things" in the Marquesas entice him to "'run away'" from the ship.⁶

All Melville's books through Moby Dick are versions of this American myth. Most of them conclude, however, differently from the Cooper, Poe, and Twain versions. Tommo, Omoo, Redburn, Whitejacket, and Ishmael all return at their stories' ends to the communities from which they had decamped. The single exception is Mardi's Taji. The final view of this hero is of his putting to sea, all alone, an "unreturning wanderer,"⁷ like Huck, like Pym, like Leatherstocking.

But the posthumous Billy Budd presents an altogether different sort of hero and story. Although again a sea story, as the first six all had been, Budd is not, as they all had been, the story of a voyage. Billy's ship, HMS Bellipotent, is not going to Nukuheva or to Tahiti or to Kamchatska or to Liverpool or rounding the Horn or steering through the Sunda Straits. Budd's landscape is interior. As far as any sense of exterior motion is concerned the Bellipotent might just as well be anchored. Stationed aboard a seemingly motionless ship, Billy obviously, despite his being presented as an extremely robust young man, lacks the attribute of mobility. The ability to move and the urge to be constantly on the move is one of the most prominent characteristics of Melville's earlier sea story heroes, including Taji, of the adolescent Huck, of the henpecked Rip, of the unlettered Leatherstocking, of, in short, the American westering hero, but not of Sailor Billy. He does not voyage across the ocean to snatch an Andromeda from a Minotaur or a Yillah

from an Aleema. He comes to no mythic journey's end with the slaying of a dragon or solving of a sphinx's riddle or outwitting of a Duke and Dauphin. The fairness of the erstwhile rescued damsel is his. His blue eyes, yellow curls, fresh complexion and dimpled cheeks are remarked repeatedly; his "personal beauty" is labelled "significant."⁸ The woe-ful situation of the erstwhile oppressed maiden is also accorded Billy; he is an impressed member of the British Navy. Billy is manifestly a different sort of hero.

The earlier books are given a linear (even though frequently circular) structure by the voyages they recount. Budd, lacking the organizing voyage, lacks also the linear structure. Rather than moving out like a clipper ship scudding before a favorable wind and tide, Budd maneuvers around and around a central situation like a worrisome tug shepherding an ocean liner safely into its harbor berth. But this central situation turns out to be the same central concern as that of his earlier books: whether a man shall wake, or go on dreaming, settle down, or go on running, accept, or go on revolting. This conflict is represented not only by Billy's banging into the immitigable regulations of the British Navy, but also by Captain Vere's simultaneous banging into them. It is represented also by the confrontation of Captain Vere, the father-figure, with Billy, the son-figure.

The conflict between youth and age, freedom and responsibility or authority, is the basic situation that, accord-

ing to Lord Raglan, organizes the life of a culture hero.⁹ The heroes upon whose life stories Raglan bases this conclusion range from the classical Oedipus, Theseus, and Romulus to the medieval Robin Hood and also include Hebrew, Javanese, Nilotic, Teutonic, and Celtic figures. These culture heroes signalize their coming of age by an open revolt against responsibility or authority. They demonstrate their mastery over variously a wicked, monstrous giant, ogre, king, animal or sometimes another kind of symbol of authority such as a royal sword embedded in a block of granite. Sometimes the contest is intellectual; that is, the hero may solve a riddle propounded by the opponent or interpret a dream, as in the instances of Oedipus and Joseph.

This young hero's triumph is that of youth over age, of chaos over order, of anarchy over law, of freedom over authority. But the ensuing reign of youth, chaos, anarchy, freedom is severely limited. The victorious youth soon marries the widowed queen or the royal princess and thereby becomes himself the representative of age, order, law, authority. ("The king is dead; long live the king.") In other words, he is transfigured from a son to a father figure. He is the father of his state, the lawgiver, the ruler, the source of all blessings. Frequently the ex-youth's new status is demonstrated by his literally becoming a father.

He no longer, of course, engages in contests, at least within his own realm, with wicked, monstrous giants, ogres,

kings, or animals. These are distorted figures of authority seen from the point of view of the youth. Since he now sees with different eyes, the configuration of what he sees is different. The wicked giant becomes a Little John, the ogre a Merlin, the king a Lancelot, the monster a faithful hound, all loyal friends who help him retain his authority.

But soon a generation passes. The grown son of the ex-youth is now the new hero who represents youth, chaos, anarchy, freedom. In such a story this new hero is frequently a son-figure, not the real son, partly because it is still the old hero's tale. The emphasis, the point of view, the tone all combine to keep it his. The old king engages in the same conflict as he did when he was the youthful culture hero, only now he has changed sides. Inevitably he is defeated; nevertheless, he retains the sympathy of the audience by meeting his defeat gracefully or grandiosely and by accepting his exile or death nobly.

The pattern of the kingship thus is one of more or less uneventful law and order punctuated, every twenty or so years, with a violent change in kings. It is safe to presume that the pattern for the whole society of the kingdom is likewise one of twenty-year stretches of law and order with interregnums of rioting, of chaos and anarchy. These are not just palace revolts which leave the rest of the kingdom undisturbed. The Thebes of Laius and Oedipus, the Egypt of Joseph indicate this.

The society's yearly pattern was similar to its twenty-year or generation pattern. After fifty or so weeks of comparative peaceableness and restraint, a one or two week period of general license concluded their year. The Roman Lupercalia, beginning on the fifteenth of February, the last month of the year in the old Roman calendar, is an instance of this year-end holiday surviving in a not so primitive society. It lasted in Rome until 494 AD. Indeed, the Lupercalian holiday can be recognized in the New Year's Eve and Mardi Gras celebrations still continuing in civilized and sophisticated societies.

The year-ending freedom from repression and restraint was, in primitive societies, almost universally associated with the ritual expulsion of the scapegoat.¹⁰ That this ritual is a version of the more ancient one of the murder or sacrifice of the king or a human substitute for the king is the subject of Frazer's ninth volume, The Scapegoat, of his The Golden Bough. Now, when an aging king who has ruled beneficently and uneventfully for a number of years undertakes the task of ridding his state of some kind of pestilence or disaster, such as the dragon which is laying waste Beowulf's kingdom or the plague which is destroying Oedipus' Thebes, and is consumed or killed or banished in the process of successfully so doing, the conclusion that he is, at least originally, one of the ancient, ritually murdered or sacrificed kings is difficult to deny. When, further, as in the

instances of Beowulf's dragon and Thebes' plague, the direct cause of the dire visitation is a sin or transgression, this conclusion is even more inescapable. The aged culture hero is a scapegoat. Both his original, youthful adventure and his final one are enactments of the scapegoat ritual, but in the final one he himself is the scapegoat.

That the milieu which produced these ancient culture heroes was similar to the American frontier has been stated more than once.

The kind of life Melville was raising to the fictive level . . . was . . . in some of its aspects reminiscent of that led by the Achaean peoples in the days of their folkwanderings or by the Germanic peoples in the days of theirs. . . . European migrants, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, had reverted in the Western world to a state of things that had much in common with an archaic, a "heroic" age. Here there had reappeared, as in the Bronze Age of Vikings, a population of brawlers, boasters, and bullies, as well as of proud, touchy, self-reliant, heroic individuals; and among them there had reappeared a habit of story-telling, of recitation and legendary reminiscence, shot through with a love of the grandiose and never wholly free from an undercurrent of superstitious fear--fear of the hostile and mysterious powers in savage nature, in forests and seas, in wild animals. The life of trappers, hunters, and frontiersmen was of that sort, and the life of whalers equally so.¹¹

The historian Turner had likewise, though more generally, compared the peoples and their situations in his 1893 address.

What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely.¹²

It would be surprising if this American "story-telling" did

not produce heroes similar to those of the earlier period. And, indeed, it did.

Most of the various individual fictive renderings of the American opportunity myth are similitudes, to use Bunyan's term, of the first half of this culture hero pattern. That is, they are stories in which the youthful hero, even though he runs bravely away from the authority of home and settlement, defeats the Indian, the outlaw, the foreigner, the monster, symbols of a worse evil than the father; and these heroes are legion. Occasionally, however, the latter half of the culture hero's story was told, but the hero's aging and being consumed, killed, or banished, are obstacles to the story's achieving popularity in a consciously youthful America. The people acclaim Rip Van Winkle and Tom Sawyer and the cowboy; they have not taken to their hearts Ahab or Lambert Strether. They prefer that their heroes just fade serenely away, if pass they must, like Leatherstocking in The Prairie, not like Beowulf or Ahab. They like their champions to retire undefeated. They prefer a classic grace to a Teutonic Gotterdammerung.

Billy Budd, in many ways the keystone of Melville's career, is clearly neither the youthful half nor the elderly half of this archetypal narrative. It is the coalescence of the two halves in a single story. The youthful sailor hero paradoxically both triumphs, as he must to fulfill the first half of the mythos, and is sacrificed, as he must be to ful-

fill the second half of the mythos. But instead of these two actions being separated by a number of years, they occur simultaneously. The union of the two halves is achieved by compressing the two separate actions and times into one.

Billy triumphs over the Navy or at least its official representative the Captain by cheerfully accepting the decree that his life is forfeit, that he must be sacrificed as an example to the crew. His death will quell the threat of mutiny, a terrible, intangible danger hanging over the ship and, by extension, because of the French Revolution and the international situation, over the fleet and over all England. Billy wins by capturing Captain Vere's heart; he loses by the captain's unswerving insistence that the heart must be ruled by the head. His heart forgives Billy; his mind condemns him. Billy hangs. Though Billy has lost his life, he has gained immortality. The story affirms the paradox that the greatest freedom lies in utter submission to authority. "Whoever would gain his life must first lose it."

Melville's Billy Budd is not a new invention. It is not the first instance of a fusion of the two halves of the culture-hero mythos into one story. Toward the end of Budd, while speculating upon the nature and substance of a final interview between the Captain and Billy, the author alludes to another story to which his is a similitude.

The austere devotee of military duty letting himself melt back into what remains primeval in our formalized humanity may in the end have caught Billy to his heart

even as Abraham may have caught young Isaac on the brink of resolutely offering him up in obedience to the exacting behest (p. 115).

Abraham drives his first son, Ishmael, into the wilderness, thus forestalling the fate of the aging culture hero for himself. He precipitates the climactic father-son contest with his second son, Isaac, when the latter is only a lad, believing thereby, probably, that he will be able again to forestall the father's usual fate. His own king had passed him as a youth through a "fiery furnace."¹³ Abraham takes Isaac up into the mountains and there prepares for the unequal contest. But it takes two to make a contest. Isaac never opposes his father by a word, a gesture, or even a look. He submits to being bound and placed on the altar. Abraham lifts the knife, preparing to cut his son's throat and thus rid himself of a threat. As he does so he glances into Isaac's eyes and sees there not defiance but love, filial love for the father in spite of what that father is doing. Abraham is overcome by this love; he drops the knife.¹⁴

Isaac wins this confrontation in that he captures his father's heart, but he loses in that he remains completely subservient to his father. He goes quietly home with Abraham, abides with him, lets him manage all his affairs, including the choosing of a wife. He remains subordinate to his father in every way until the latter's death. He reverently buries Abraham in the cave of Machpelah beside Sarah. Then, and only then, does he assume his inheritance as a man

and as the son of Abraham.

Another father-son story proceeds simultaneously with the Abraham-Isaac one. That is the Yahweh-Abraham story. Abraham's love for Yahweh is comparable to Isaac's for Abraham. His love and fidelity likewise conquers Yahweh. It is tested right up to the last possible moment of the sacrifice. But Abraham never falters, never swerves from the ideal of love and obedience. Yahweh, finally overcome, then reaffirms His covenant with Abraham that his posterity shall inherit the fruitful land between the Nile and the Euphrates. Thus the reward of both Abraham and Isaac, who both have faithfully and lovingly subordinated themselves to their father-rulers, is essentially the same: they continue to abide in the subordinate position, they continue to acknowledge the supreme authority of the father-ruler, but they eventually succeed to suzerainty. Abraham's seed, after a protracted period of bondage, shall be masters in the land. Isaac, after serving Abraham the remainder of his father's days, shall become master of the household, flocks, and goods. As the pattern of the year is repeated in that of the generation, so the pattern of a single life figures that of the Nation.

With the story of Isaac the pattern of the succession of kings changes. The new pattern of the son's awaiting the time of his father-ruler's natural death to succeed peacefully to the position of power replaces the prior one of the son's violently wresting at his own time the father's posi-

tion and life. "Honor thy father" becomes part of the Hebrew law. Subsequent infractions of this law, reversions to the former practice, such as Absalom's revolt against David, are occasions of much grief. Such young men are not regarded as youthful culture heroes but as criminals.

At first glance it may appear that the chief difference between the Isaac story and the earlier culture-hero stories is simply a shift from the aging king to the young prince as the proper figure to be sacrificed in the scapegoat ritual. But this identity of the victim is not really a difference. Such a casting for the king's son is not a new role for him. The sacrifice or attempted sacrifice of the son on the altar of the father's pride or self-interest is a usual episode in this hero's story. For instance, of all the heroes cited by Raglan, only four are not, as children, specifically in danger of such immolation.¹⁵ Many children, such as the half a hundred older brothers of Zeus, do not escape this danger, but the culture hero does. He escapes by fleeing, just as the American heroes Rip, Leatherstocking, Pym, Huck, Tommo--the list could go on and on--escape by fleeing. The difference between the Isaac story and the earlier ones is that the two roles of the hero, triumph over the old order and sacrifice to it, are both concentrated in Isaac.

The mythic culture hero as a young man invades the realm of a wicked authority and in active combat, usually physical but sometimes intellectual, overwhelms and utterly

defeats it. The growing lad Isaac seems to Abraham to be an invader. His resolve to destroy the lad nevertheless gives rise to guilt feelings, and he must seem to himself the personification of wickedness. This wickedness is overwhelmed in a rush of paternal love in response to the filial love he sees in his bound son's eyes. Isaac's love is first. Isaac's love transforms the wickedness. This is Isaac's triumph.

The culture hero as an old man, an aging king, sees his realm invaded by a ravaging wickedness. He again defeats it but this time by offering himself up as a sacrifice. Isaac is not an aging king, but as the only child coming late in life to a rich and worthy couple, he certainly has a realm. This realm is threatened by Abraham's growing resentment and paternalism, is defeated by Isaac's instant and continuous submission to it. Isaac's acquiescence in Abraham's new procedures is tantamount to offering himself as the sacrifice. The Isaac story, like Budd, coalesces the triumph and the sacrifice, the two halves of the culture hero's story, into one brief action.

Numerous exegetists of the Isaac story and explicators of Billy Budd have been quick to point out that these both are similitudes of the story of Christ. They are similitudes because all three are versions of the foreshortened, concentrated culture-hero story. The concept of Christ as both the conquering hero and the sacrificial lamb hardly needs

comment. It also represents a perfection in the father-son relationship beyond that of Abraham and Isaac or Captain Vere and Billy Budd. Even though the stories of the lad Isaac and the youth Billy become tales of mutual love and trust, their bond continues to rest upon a basis of authority and subservience. There is no concept of approaching equality between youth and age. As long as the patriarch and his son exist in the same time and place, Abraham will be the lord and master, Isaac his dependent and inferior. The same is true of Captain Vere and sailor Billy. Only in death do these fathers and sons become equal.

The stories and the relationships amount to a celebration of the maintenance of the status quo. But according to Christian dogma neither the Father nor the Son is exalted over the other; they are equal. During Jesus' minority as a man He is preparing for this equality. He is preparing to assume an equal share in His Father's business, not a junior partnership. The Beatitudes express this doctrine in terms of mankind and their Heavenly Father. Matthew 5: 44-8 expresses it in terms of man's relation to mankind.

But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?

And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so?

Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect.

The parable of the workers in the vineyard expresses this doctrine in terms of temporal unequals, lord and servant, father and son. Personal and social relationships maintain the outward form of stratification, but their inner reality, their perfection, is a fusion, is a duality that becomes a unity. The manifestation of this perfect fusion is a beatific posture, a loving of one's enemies, an acting as if temporal distinctions do not exist. It both maintains and transfigures the status quo.

This concentrated story of heroic triumph and sacrifice I shall call henceforward the scapegoat fable. It does not occur very frequently, particularly in American literature. The following list of nine novels is perhaps a complete, certainly a reasonably complete tally of the American novels, up to 1960, which tell the story of the scapegoat-hero.

1. The Bravo.....Cooper.....1831
2. Billy Budd.....Melville.....1889
3. A Hazard of New Fortunes.....Howells.....1889
4. The Copperhead.....Frederic.....1892
5. Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc..Twain.....1895
6. The Ox-Bow Incident.....Clark.....1940
7. The Caine Mutiny.....Wouk.....1951
8. Faithful Are the Wounds.....Sarton.....1955
9. Advise and Consent.....Drury.....1959¹⁶

The remainder of this thesis is a study of the scape-goat-hero story in the American novel--that is, of these nine novels, in order to determine what its conventions and meaning are. In doing so I shall place a heavy burden upon the reader by requiring him to shift rapidly with me from characters and action of one novel to those of another. We shall proceed through the list of novels again and again, but to ease the readers' burden, do so chronologically, whenever the clarity or significance of the examples does not seem to warrant the violation of chronology.

Although the nine novels span nearly the entire period of the American novel and thus may seem to invite a historical treatment, to render one is not the purpose of this study. The conception throughout is of a form which, like the birth of Athene, springs full-grown from its creator's brow in each of its appearances. Some of the authors show awareness of the archetypal source of their fable, but they do not seem to be influenced by their fables' novelistic congeners. Hence this study concentrates upon and emphasizes the constant elements in the fable which, to be sure, appear in various shapes, rather than traces its development. For these reasons I ask the reader to bear with me as I take him down a winding road which turns back upon itself innumerable times rather than proceeding straight past nine mileposts. He will not have to read a number of successive explication de textes that, like one of the American super highways,

carries one to his destination with remarkable dispatch but through a landscape which more and more seems to repeat itself and to become, perhaps, tedious. On the positive side, the reader will have received a fresh perspective and, I trust, insight into the stories from viewing mutually illuminating juxtapositions of multiple aspects of the relatively old and recent, of the critically acclaimed and the best seller, of the universally known and the obscure, of historical romance and realistic novel, of western and comedy of manners, of the navy story and the army, of political intrigue and family tension, of, in short, a number of quite different people drawn by nine different authors but placed by them in their versions of the scapegoat situation. Thus, despite the many turnings, I believe the reader will discover that the road does take him somewhere.

¹Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land (New York, 1950), p. 4.

²Samuel Eliot Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea (Boston, 1951), p. 380.

³John Smith, The True Travels and Observations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America and The General Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles, ed. E. A. Benions, Books I-III (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 149-150.

⁴Lionel Trilling, The Liberal Imagination (New York, 1950), pp. 61-62.

⁵Herman Melville, Billy Budd and Typee (New York, 1964), p. 123.

⁶Melville, Billy Budd and Typee, pp. 105, 122.

⁷Herman Melville, Mardi (Boston, 1923), p. 579.

⁸Herman Melville, Billy Budd, Sailor, ed. Harrison Hayford and Merton M. Sealts, Jr. (Chicago, 1962), p. 77.

⁹Lord Raglan, The Hero (New York, 1956), passim.

¹⁰Sir James G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, Vol. IX, The Scapegoat (London, 1920), p. 225.

¹¹Newton Arvin, Melville (New York, 1950), p. 156.

¹²Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1921), p. 38.

¹³Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 198-206.

¹⁴Erich Wellisch, Isaac and Oedipus (New York, 1954), pp. 94-95.

¹⁵Lord Raglan, pp. 174-184.

¹⁶Twain's Joan and Wouk's Caine Mutiny are a special case in this study in that the major part of both novels is not apropos to it. Both are predominantly long, detailed Bildungsromanen with considerable travel and consequent exposure of the hero to various societies and experiences as he acquires his education (or she acquires her education). This typical peripatetic quality is noticeably absent in each novel in one of its larger subdivisions, Book III of Joan and Book VI of Mutiny. These are the trials, Joan's titled "Trial and Martyrdom" and Mutiny's "The Court Martial." These "Books," but not the rest of the novels of which they are a part, I shall include in this investigation. Each of them, though just a part of a novel, is as long as or longer than Billy Budd or The Copperhead.

CHAPTER II

The Scapegoat Setting

Most of the classic American stories belonging to the first century or so of this country's literary independence, are, as I stated in Chapter One, similitudes of the ancient mythos of the revolt against parental authority. Although paternalistic figures such as Governor Bellingham and Judge Temple or fathers like Pap Finn are not infrequent in these stories, the contrarious hero's quarrel is with his society, not with an individual member of it. The author's use of setting in these stories serves to highlight the opposed nature of these two forces, the individual and his society, because they are associated with contrasting settings--temporal, spatial, and/or social. Thus the authors give us, for instance, the two times in "Rip Van Winkle," the village and the forest in The Pioneers and in The Scarlet Letter, the shore and the raft in Huck Finn, Europe and America in James's international theme novels. These stories are either sharply divided, or they shuttle back and forth between their two polar settings.

These typical classic American tales also tend to be

open-ended. By this term I mean that the protagonist at the end of the story moves forthrightly on into new temporal, spatial, and/or social vistas opening before him. Rip becomes a social lion, spinning his tale ad infinitum, Leatherstocking whistles up his dog and strides off over the western horizon, Hester becomes a source from which kindred but weaker spirits draw strength, Huck lights out for the territory, and so on.

The scapegoat fable is just the opposite. It does not have a dual setting, either explicit or implicit. Its hero does not move on in the story's last page to new conditions. It has a closed structure, being the story of one time, one place, and one society. This chapter is an exploration of the first two of these elements of the story.

Five of these scapegoat fables are set in the historical past. Twain's Joan ranges back to a time over four hundred sixty years before that of the story's composition, Bravo about two hundred, Billy Budd nearly one hundred, Ox-Bow about sixty, and Copperhead thirty. But only one of these historical novels, Twain's, is based on or makes extensive use of actual characters or actions. Three of the scapegoat fables are more or less contemporary with their time of composition. Each of these is intimately concerned with a public action or character of a few years in the past: Caine Mutiny with World War II, which had ended six years earlier, Faithful with the suicide of F. O. Matthiessen four years

earlier, and Hazard with the New York street car strike and riots of the previous year. The point is that the contemporary stories achieve their enclosed quality by presenting an action that, in terms of time, is over and done with. It is not something to be repeated, like Rip's narration or Leatherstocking's plunge into the forest or Huck's "lighting out." Even the one of these nine stories set in the future, Advise, is no exception to this quality of completeness in time. Whether set in the past or in the future, the distance provided by the intervening years enables the author to enclose his story. The contemporary books, lacking this distance, seem to need a completed historical event to help to enclose the story.

Six of the books are set mainly or entirely in the late winter or early spring. (I include Hazard among these six. Its eighteen or so months include two winters and two springs. A majority of the important scenes in the novel occur during these four seasons.) Only two of these six fables, Ox-Bow and Advise, contain more than merely passing references to the season of the year. Nevertheless, in Bravo and Joan, as well as Ox-Bow, Advise, and Hazard, the springtime is definitely established as the temporal setting. The sixth, Caine Mutiny, takes place sometime after December, probably late January or early February. As Willie Keith, the young Navy Lieutenant, flies into New York, he thinks it is "the Garden of Eden . . . the lost island of sweet golden spring-

time."¹⁷ But "he had forgotten what winter air was" (p. 363). His ten-day leave is a great disappointment. He flies back to sunny, spring-like California where all but this one chapter is enacted.

Caine Mutiny's "Court Martial" is centered on Yerba Buena Island in San Francisco Bay, an island named for a small evergreen shrub which bears white flowers and which is native to the West Coast. This island is the locale of the trial. Outside the courtroom "green-gray tops of eucalyptus trees stirred in the morning sunlight, and beyond them the blue bay danced with light" (p. 383). Spring is the season of the archetypal New Testament sacrifice; it is the time of the earth's rebirth and renewal. Herein lies the significance of the inclusion in the setting of "Court Martial's yerba buena and eucalyptus, of Advise's "fountain of forsythia,"¹⁸ and Ox-Bow's "big purple cones of [lilac] blossom."¹⁹

What of the stories set in summer and fall? Faithful's time is easy to understand. It is a college, a university story, and in this locale October is the year's beginning. Budd's time is "the summer of 1797" (p. 54). Melville's wanting to set the story a short time after the Nore Mutiny of April, 1797, is no doubt one of the chief reasons for this timing. Anyway, in the temperate zones far at sea, as HMS Bellipotent is in this story, the seasons are practically indistinguishable. The Copperhead, which covers three or

four years in the first dozen pages without reference to the seasons, states in the first sentence of the second chapter that it is now August. From here to the end of the book in November are many references to the season. Copperhead is just an exception to the springtime rule.

These stories vary in the amount of elapsed time they represent, from about fifteen hours to about four years. The following table shows these times.

<u>Ox-Bow</u>	about fifteen hours
<u>Bravo</u>	one week
<u>Faithful</u>	ten days
"Court Martial".....	about two weeks
<u>Advise</u>	seventeen days
<u>Budd</u>	at most a few weeks
"Trial".....	one year
<u>Hazard</u>	about eighteen months
<u>Copperhead</u>	about four years

Four of these books in their final few pages project extensively into the future, Twain's sixty years, Faithful five, Budd "some few years" (p. 131), and Hazard a half year or so. Three of these four extensions are in novels of the 1890's and are partly explained by the Victorian convention of concluding novels not by "they lived happily ever after," but by supplying the remaining vital statistics of the surviving major characters. But more significantly, all four extensions provide the effect that the mere passage of time

has upon the surviving witnesses of the ritualistic sacrifice.

This elapsed time is always presented as continuous and flowing straight forward from the beginning to the end with no meanwhiles or turnings aside to another part of the forest. One fable, Advise, does make extensive use of relatively short flashbacks, but these cover years of time in, always, a straight forward direction. These flashbacks are dams in the novel's flow of time rather than a change of direction.

The time is always presented as a unit. Ox-Bow begins with the two chief characters, cowboys, riding into town at three o'clock in the afternoon, looking for diversion. At sunset of the next day the story concludes. The cowboys have found a diversion which, in retrospect, they do not like. Every hour is presented except for a few when the cowboy narrator is sleeping during the second afternoon. No time is omitted, either, in Bravo. Some important action occurs in each one of the seven days and nights. It seems as if the Bravo never sleeps. The novel's last scene is a repetition of its first--St. Mark's Square in the moonlight. It is late and the square is deserted. Time goes on, but the novel's time is over.

In none of the other seven books is all the time presented. Even the ten days of Faithful are too much to present completely. Two of the days are omitted altogether and large portions of others. The ten days of October, 1949, the novel's time, are the week before and the three days after

the death of Professor Cavan. That the death is a shattering experience, that it splits everything into a before and after, is emphasized by the book's being formally divided into Parts I and II by this fact. Yet, though split in two, the ten days are an extraordinarily coherent unit, for in retrospect all the characters see Cavan's final week, his death, and his funeral as a continuum. The effects of his life and death will continue long afterward, but they belong and are recounted in an "Epilogue." His story and its time conclude on the day of his funeral.

And so it goes with the other six books. Just as Faithful is centered around an action, begins in time with the anticipation of the act, includes the act, and concludes with its immediate aftermath, so do they. In Budd it is Billy's impressment into the Royal Navy, his discharge from that service, and the reactions of the Navy and various individuals to the facts of his short career; in Hazard it is Fulkerson's hiring March to edit the new journal Every Other Week, the long struggle to get the magazine established, and the two men's purchase of it; in Copperhead it is the beginning of "ill-feeling"²⁰ between Farmer Beech and his neighbors, the gradual increase of this hostility leading to the eventual burning of his home over his head, and the next day's reconciliation of the erstwhile enemies, shamed by the violence of the previous night; in Joan it is the Maid's sale to the English, her trial, and death; in Wouk's fable

it is the trial for mutiny, the verdict, and the victory celebration that evening; and in Advise it is the nomination of Robert A. Leffingwell to be the Secretary of State of the United States, that nomination's defeat in the Senate, and then the nomination and quick confirmation of a different man.

The remainder of this chapter explores the one place of the scapegoat hero story. The one society, the most complex of the three elements, being composed of people, will be the subject of future chapters.

A story's place provides a certain kind of stage on which the characters can and do move about in a meaningful way. As the dual setting in Scarlet Letter, Huck Finn et al. produces a characteristic shuttling movement, so the single setting of the scapegoat fable produces a characteristic movement. It is a kind of corkscrewing from near the periphery of the setting, digging ever deeper and closer until the very heart is reached. Thus the opening early evening scenes of Bravo are played on the quays and waterways of the city of Venice, the story's locale. But before the night is over the author takes the reader into the rooms of Senator Grad-enigo, one of the dread and secret Council of Three who are the topmost pinnacle of real power in the government. Here some of the innermost and most secret workings of this puissant agent of the state are revealed. Before the week is over several meetings of the full council in their official

chambers have been recounted and all the state's secret workings revealed. During the story's second day the Doge, the state's nominal head, is on prominent display in a public, outdoor ceremony. The next day the outworks of his palace are penetrated and, by the story's end, his personal apartment becomes the setting of an important scene. Then from the private audience with the prince deep within his palace the story in its last scene shifts suddenly outdoors again to the public square, and the hero's beheading.

Frequently in these stories a complementary movement consisting of a short trip or a series of short trips from the secure heart to the exposed edge is presented. Thus at the same time that Jacopo Frontoni, the Bravo, is making these penetrating movements, the oppressed lovers, Don Camillo and Donna Violetta, are making complementary nervous excursions about the city in search of each other and of means of flight. Finally, because of Jacopo's guidance, they do manage to slip over the edge out of Venice and out of the story.

The initial scenes on HMS Bellipotent show Billy Budd aloft, on deck, and in the men's quarters in converse and action with the other men but not with the officers who command her. These scenes include the whispered, nighttime, cryptic appeal of the afterguardsman and the even more cryptic, repeated pronouncement of the old Dansker. These interviews leave Billy sorely troubled. He does not know what is going on. He is too far from the center.

But soon the scene shifts to the captain's customary quarter-deck post. Here the villain Claggart speaks his accusation against Billy. The captain then removes the scene to his cabin, the nerve center of the ship. Here occurs the fatal confrontation of Billy and Claggart. Here occurs the drumhead court martial. Next Billy is confined to an after stateroom. Here the captain visits him and "may," we are told, "have caught Billy to his heart" (p. 115). Now Billy knows. Next the scene becomes public and moves outward and upward to the deck, the yardarm, the rosy dawn, and the splash in the sea.

The movement of the ship itself presents the complementary thrust. She has been detached from the main fleet and sent on a lone errand. The tragic events of the death blow and the hanging occur when she "was almost at her furthest remove from the fleet" (p. 90). On the return voyage she encounters the French Atheiste. In the ensuing battle Captain Vere is mortally wounded. The separation from the center proves fatal to both captain and man.

It should not be assumed that the center or heart represents salvation in these stories. To do so the heart must be pure and sound. Jacopo Frontoni is apprehended in the Doge's palace, and his sweetheart, Gelsomina, who has spent her young life in it, and who obtains the private audience with the Doge, goes mad; but their friends, who probe in the opposite direction, escape, and live happily ever after.

Howell's Hazard presents the gravitation of Americans in the 1880's to New York City. Old Jacob Dryfoos, the nouveau riche from Indiana, comes to the city to enlarge his capitalistic field of enterprise and to "'get his daughters into the old Knickerbocker society.'"²¹ Alma Leighton comes to the city from upstate seeking self-fulfillment in an art career. Old Lindau comes from the Middle West and Colonel Woodford up from Virginia because they have dreams of effecting great changes in the country's economic system. Angus Beaton, originally from Syracuse and lately from Paris, settles down here because he is an artist. Fulkerson the business man locates here because it is the only place to publish a magazine. Basil March, the main character, relocates here because of a press of circumstances all related to these opportunities that New York offers. All these people press on here in New York by pushing toward the City's various ganglia.

The complementary centrifugal motion is supplied chiefly by the central character, March. He is the least career-centered or public-minded and the most family-centered of all these characters. Every time he leaves home, whether it is the house in Boston, a hotel room that is his and his wife's temporary abode, or the apartment in New York, he is moving away from his real center. As the months pass, his scouting trips in New York take him farther and farther afield--down into the immigrant slums to see Lindau, in the

opposite direction to Dryfoos' dinner table, into the old aristocracy to Mrs. Horn's musicale. Finally, driven immediately by a vague restlessness caused by his own ignorance and impotence in the community's grave dislocation that is dramatized and symbolized by the street-car strike, he goes far, far out on the West Side. Here, far from the center and in the open, he witnesses the sacrifice. Conrad Dryfoos, the old capitalist's son, rushing to the scene with love in his heart for all mankind, is felled, "pierced through the heart" (p. 470) by a stray bullet.

March's centrifugal movement is reinforced by the career of Margaret Vance, a young lady born to all the attainments the others struggle for so mightily. Beginning here in the center, she moves steadily away from her origins. She visits the uninitiate of the book--the Leightons, the Dryfooses, the Marches--and we are told she makes frequent trips to the East Side Missions. Her conception of Conrad's death as something that somehow she must atone for leads her to a final retirement from the affairs of this world and into the order of the Sisters of Charity.

Frederick's Copperhead begins and ends with the Beech family on their farm. Most of the action of the story is a series of forays by Abner Beech, by his hired hand, or by Jimmy, the orphan-boy narrator for whom Abner has made a home, through hostile territory on necessary errands to the cheese factory, the church, the store, the cooper's, the

post office, the voting booth. All these journeys are radii from the Beech farmstead, and the travellers always return straight home.

More distant excursions are the departure, against the will of Abner and his wife, of their son Jeff who goes off to help the North win the Civil War, and of Ni Hagadorn, the neighbor lad, who goes off in search of Jeff when he is reported missing in action. The story does not follow them. But it does record their return to the Beech family. These two movements, outward and a return inward to the starting point, are the recurrent pattern of this book.

The setting of Twain's "Book" is the city of Rouen. But the story commences in another city. The narrator, the Sieur Louis de Conte, is in Compiègne in Chapter One. In Chapter Two he travels to Rouen where, in Chapter Three, he is appointed the assistant to the chief recorder for the ensuing trial. The next chapter, Four, brings him and Joan together in the same room as the first trial begins. As far as he is concerned, Joan is the center of the world. For the next nineteen chapters the story concentrates upon this room as Joan endures and de Conte helps to record her six trials. Finally, it moves to her prison cell as she receives the news of her impending death, makes her last sacramental confession, and receives Communion. Then like the others, it moves outward and upward for the sacrifice. It moves to the public square and the stake.

The complementary perimeter thrust is absent in this book. Joan is so closely guarded a prisoner in a secure medieval fortress that such a movement is practically impossible. Besides, her Voices have told her that she will be delivered, and so she makes no overt attempt to escape.

Clark's Ox-Bow has, like Copperhead, a rural setting. But instead of the center being a lone farmstead, the family's home, it is the town to which the ranchers and their hands ride for recreation and supplies. The center in the town is Canby's saloon. Art, the narrator, and his friend, Gil, two cowboys, are riding toward this center as the story begins. They drink, converse, and play cards as the place fills up with other cowboys. They are in the center, but it is a beleaguered center. An unknown enemy is loose out in the valley. He has rustled six hundred head of cattle during the winter.

Suddenly news is brought that he has struck again, and this time he has murdered as well as rustled. The men all boil out into the street eager to ride out--and do something. But they do not know. Rash men call for action; cooler heads argue wait. Always at their backs is the center, Canby's saloon. Finally it prevails over the periphery, the uncertain. The men have dismounted and are about to re-enter the saloon when Major Tetley rides up and queries, "'Disbanding?'" (p. 117). He has certain knowledge of the number and the whereabouts of the enemy. Resolved by this knowledge, the

men ride out away from the center.

Far from town at the summit of the pass into the next valley they catch up with the men and hang them. Then they begin to return to the center. Suddenly their supposed knowledge is shattered. They discover the hanging was a mistake; the men were not the rustlers. Most of the band scatter to their homes. Only a few go to the center, the saloon. In Ox-Bow, as in the other scapegoat fables, the center represents safety, the outposts fatal error.

May Sarton's Faithful is formally divided into a Part One, a Part Two, a Prologue, and an Epilogue. Part One presents the outward thrust. It begins with George Hastings seated at his desk in Kirkland House at Harvard University. It depicts Hastings, the one student who is closest to Professor Cavan, the story's center, and all the Professor's other closest friends and associates turning their individual backs on him, not from enmity or even lack of sympathy but from an unwillingness to understand. Again and again Cavan feels "the rift, the ache, the sense that at some point now communication broke down."²² As he calls upon each one of them in their homes, offices, and various public places, he is thrusting outward from himself and from his bachelor rooms, his citadel, an extension of himself. He is attempting to know just how his erstwhile secure world has suddenly shattered. These people no longer face him; they have their backs turned to him. The author presents each one of these

successive interviews from the point of view of the friend, a stylistic way of demonstrating the isolation of the Professor. His world, of which he was the center, has dissolved completely, and when he has assimilated this knowledge, he dies.

The inward movement begins in the Prologue as Isabel Ferrier, the Professor's sister and one of the chief point-of-view characters, receives a disturbing midnight telephone call and flies across the nation to her dead brother in Cambridge. It continues in Part Two as the circle of friends who have been back to back facing the perimeter (and thereby protecting each other) are jerked violently about and forced to gaze steadily upon the center point, the Professor and their relationships with him. Now they all come together at the home of Damon Phillips to meet the Professor's family (the sister Isabel) and at the funeral. Cavan wounded them by his suicide, and now they wound each other. The second half of Part Two picks up this sister (she has been omitted entirely from Part One, the part of the outward thrust) as she arrives at the Boston airport and follows her as she visits in turn these friends in their homes, offices, and various public places. It is the same procedure that her brother followed in Part One. But she penetrates where he was rebuffed. The scenes are presented from her point of view, not theirs. She penetrates through them, finally, to the very center, her brother. At last she visits his rooms

and there, in his presence, comes to know, understand. Facing inward, unalienated, somehow achieving "'solidarity'" (p. 247), she is enabled to survive.

The concluding Epilogue extends the story forward in time--five years--as the beginning Prologue extends it outward in space. These divisions serve at the same time to emphasize the isolation in time and space of the story between them. The Epilogue is a public hearing of a Senatorial committee investigating Communism in the colleges. The Harvard friends of Edward Cavan are there; Damon Phillips is the chief witness. His defense of Cavan's name, when it is injected into the interrogation, clears the last remaining bit of constraint from among the friends concerning the man.

The opening scene of Drury's Advise is a private one of Senate Majority Leader Munson awaking in his hotel room, of his seeing the newspaper headline announcing the President's appointment of Bob Leffingwell to be Secretary of State, and of his telephoning the President. Soon after this the author takes the reader on a sweep around the country, pausing here and there and especially in New York to record the immediate reaction of various other characters to the news of this appointment. These people are all Washingtonians, most of them Senators, and they rapidly converge on their common base. Many of them attend the party given that evening by Dolly Harrison, Washington's leading hostess. The story does not again leave Washington, except for a number of

elaborate flashbacks for each of the major characters, until the final few paragraphs.

The American political system of checks and balances has maintained a plurality of centers of government power. The President, of course, is one of these centers. In the first scene and a good many thereafter he is a voice on the other end of the telephone. Not until two-thirds of the way through the book is he met in person. The setting for this presentation is the annual White House Correspondents Banquet for the President, a kind of no man's land between the two embattled centers of power, the President and the Senate. After the banquet the Vice-President and two important Senators meet with the President in his White House office. The story has penetrated to the heart of this center of power.

The Senate itself and the Vice-President, who as presiding officer in the Senate is half way between the Senate and the President, are not presented in a progression of centrality like the President's. The reader is consistently taken behind closed doors and permitted to witness important deliberations and decisions, into Senators' offices and homes, into executive meetings of Senate committees, into informal gatherings at formal parties, into the Vice-President's chambers. The reader is made to feel the tremendous pressure on, and exerted by, these men, to know--to know it all. In the maneuvering to get Leffingwell's appointment confirmed, two men do come to know it all, the President and

Brigham Anderson, Senior Senator from Utah. But by the time each achieves full knowledge, he has been shorn of his power and hence metaphorically is far from the center. Each dies, the Senator from a bullet in the brain, the President from a heart attack.

In nearly the final scene the two centers are brought together for the first time. Harley Hudson, the new President and former Vice-President, addresses the Senate in its own chamber. They are unified, the country is unified, all will survive.

The outward thrust is presented near the end of the story. First the imaginations of the characters (and of the reader) are sent into outer space by the news flash of expeditionary forces landing upon the moon. But finally the last paragraphs of the novel present a material outward and upward shift in scene, though less stellar than the moon thrust. The chief surviving characters, including the new President and the leaders of the Senate, are shown, still together, in an airplane aloft over the Atlantic. It is taking them to Geneva to a summit conference. Drury does not bother to bring them down, but the reader knows that they cannot remain airborne indefinitely and that they must come back from the summit--to Washington.

This kind of centrality and movement is not nearly as clear in Wouk's "Court Martial" as in the other fables. It is set in the city of San Francisco except for one chapter

which follows Willie Keith to New York City and recounts how he spends a ten-day leave. This furlough is really a part of the Bildungsroman, not of the scapegoat fable. At the conclusion of this chapter Willie completes a circular journey by flying back to San Francisco.

The setting of the initial scene of "Court Martial" is the office of Captain Theodore Breakstone. The remainder of the first chapter is a series of other scenes around San Francisco Bay--dry docks, the BOQ at Pier Six, and the Navy cafeteria at Pier Eight. Then, after the interlude of Willie's leave, the story moves to the courtroom and, for four and one-half chapters remains there. The final scene, the last one-half chapter, does not literally swing outward and upward into the open as Budd and Joan do. But I suppose the shift from the oppressive court-martial room on Yerba Buena Island across the Bay to a festive banquet room in the Fairmont Hotel is figuratively such a move.

These complementary movements allow the scapegoat to be condemned in the society's center and then driven to the outskirts to be sacrificed. Jacopo moves from the Doge's palace to the square, Budd from the captain's cabin to the yardarm, and Conrad Dryfoos from his office at the magazine, where his father strikes him, to the outlying regions of the city. Abner Beech is convicted by the Dearborn County society in various centers--the factory, the church, the store, the post office, the voting booth--from which these people

sally forth to his farmstead to carry out the sentence. Joan moves from the ecclesiastical court to the public square. Martin the cowboy is convicted at Canby's saloon the moment the news is brought in; he is hanged on the edge of the valley. Captain Queeg is adjudged guilty in the Navy Court's acquitting Maryk. This judgement is not rendered out in the Pacific, where the mutiny occurred, but back in San Francisco Bay, in the Court Martial Room of Headquarters Building. The condemned man is not executed; he is just politely started on the road to extinction. He is "put out to pasture" (p. 474) in a supply depot in Stuber Forks, Iowa. He is "passed over" for promotion, and "that is curtains, of course" (p. 475). Edward Cavan, who is the center, convicts himself and then dies by throwing himself under the wheels of a subway train. Advise's President is pronounced guilty by the Senate in its vote defeating the nomination, and the condemned man dies "only a very little while after" (p. 739) this official verdict is published, dies in his bed in the White House, alone, and far from the newly demonstrated center of power in Washington, the Senate wing of the Capitol.

This pattern of movement is a similitude of Jesus' condemnation before the high priests and elders and before Pontius Pilate and His then being led away out of the city to Golgotha and the crucifixion. It is a similitude of Abraham's determination, arrived at in his tent in his camp, to sacrifice Isaac and then leading him forth three days journey

to the land of Moriah to do so. It is a similitude of the high priest's ritual of casting lots over the two goats and then driving the scapegoat out into the desert to meet his fate.

Besides being a center providing the focus of both centrifugal and centripetal movement, the stories' place is always, one way or another, the capitol or center of a larger region. It is an eastern capitol. Eight out of the nine stories, too high a proportion to be a coincidence, are specifically located in the East or in the eastern part of their larger region. A characteristic eastward movement within the fable is the concomitant of the penetration of the center. (And both movements in the hands of a Freudian critic could be likened to the sperm seeking the egg, the life impulse.)

Three of the nine stories--Bravo, Budd, and Joan-- have European settings. This by itself, in American novels, is enough to give an eastern quality to the books. But more important is the eastern posture or attitude that accompanies the eastern place. Cooper takes care to inform his readers early--the first sentence of Bravo's second paragraph--that his place is eastern. "On the very confines of that line which separates western from eastern Europe, and in constant communication with the latter, Venice possessed a greater admixture of character and costume, than any other of the numerous ports of that region."²³ In other words, Venice is

the extreme eastern limit of the western world. It faces eastward, looking across and down the Adriatic to Constantinople, the Holy Land, and the trade-rich Indies. This eastern quality, a difference from the rest of Italy and the rest of Europe, is stressed throughout the book. It is the essential reason for the state's decline.

The city of Venice is the novel's one place. The city is the capitol of the Republic of Venice. It is Venetia's center in every way. The whole book is set here in the city. Though "the Republic," through frequent repetition, becomes a synonym for the place, the reader is in no way made aware that its borders extend beyond the city's limits. The story does not stray in locale or allusion to the state's outlying domains on the Dalmatian coast nor to the hinterlands of Venetia on the Italian mainland. When important characters escape to the South of Italy, the story does not follow them. It remains focussed on the title character, who is a government agent, and whose place is the capitol.

As Budd begins Billy is aboard the homeward, that is, westward bound Rights-of-Man. Met by the outward, that is, eastward bound Bellipotent, Billy is transferred from the one to the other, thereby reversing his and the tale's direction. The story is played out in the Mediterranean, once Roman and the central sea, now British and eastern. The eastern posture is most tellingly present in the final, hanging scene when "it chanced that the vapory fleece hanging

low in the East was shot through with a soft glory as of the fleece of the Lamb of God . . . and . . . Billy . . . ascending, took the full rose of the dawn" (p. 124). The Mediterranean locale of these first two scapegoat-hero novels is a link between them and their Biblical archetypes whose place is the eastern littoral of this same sea.

The center of England's war effort in 1797, the time of the tale, is its Navy, and the center of the Navy is a warship like HMS Bellipotent. The center of that war is the Mediterranean. The Battle of the Nile on the eastern end is in the immediate future, and the Battle of Trafalgar, on the western end, is a few years in the offing. After these battles England's war efforts shift to the army and to the Continent.

Twain's Joan, the third of these European books, like Budd presents a war between France and England. Rouen, the story's place, is the eastern outpost of English power at this time. The British forces are looking further East from here toward the rest of France. Of more import, however, is Joan's posture. She looks backward for comfort to her peaceful childhood in Domremy, extreme eastern France. She looks forward for help from Charles, the French king, and from La Hire, the French general, both situated east from Rouen. She looks also to the Pope in Rome for a different sort of help. She is figuratively extending supplicating arms to the East.

Rouen, the place, is the capitol of the French province of Normandy. In 1431 it was "the heart of the English power"²⁴ on the continent. Here in this British stronghold probably the most crucial battle of the Hundred Years War--the trial of Joan--takes place.

All of the remaining six novels are set in the United States, four of them in the portion of this country generally known as the East. Four of them present important characters as currently easterners who have transplanted themselves from the West or Middlewest. Basil March, Fulkerson, the Dryfoos family, New Yorkers now in Hazard, are all originally from Indiana. Jee Hagadorn, Copperhead's principal antagonist, "had been a well-to-do man some ten years before, in a city in the western part of the state" (p. 50). Edward Cavan, Faithful's Harvard Professor, was an Iowa boy and undergraduate. Four of the five Books that make up Advise are named for individual Senators, Washingtonians now, of course. Three of these four come from Utah, Michigan, and Illinois, respectively. Brigham Anderson, the Senator from Utah, the novel's pivotal character, begins as a young man by going west from his native Utah to attend college in California. Next comes service in the Pacific in World War II. Then his eastward movement begins with a sick-leave in Hawaii. It is followed by a post-war return to Stanford and law school, a post-graduation return to Utah and law practice in his father's firm, and finally election to Congress and settling

down in Washington. His eastward movement stops here, but the attitude remains constant, for both he and everyone else in Washington is continually looking in that direction, for there lies the great adversary.

Advise is a political novel. Washington, of course, is the political capitol of the United States. It is also, as implied in the roles of the British and French ambassadors, the center of the western opposition to the eastern monolith.

New York City in Hazard is not the country's political capitol, but it is its social, cultural, and economic center. It is a magnet that draws those seeking greater opportunities than their first homes give them. The migration to New York is, for most of them, eastward. It is, for all of them, the "hazard of new fortunes" of the title. The original venture that provides the title is described by Shakespeare as follows:

And all the unsettled humors of the land . . .
Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,
Bearing their birthrights proudly on their backs
To make a hazard of new fortunes here.

(King John, II i 66-71)

These Englishmen invading France for economic (and perhaps social) reasons move and look eastward in doing so. When Christine Dryfoos finally realizes the social success she has been seeking in New York will not materialize, she drags her family further east. She also invades France, and in France even she succeeds.

Sarton's Faithful is set, with the exception of the

Prologue, mostly at Harvard University and entirely in Cambridge. Harvard is the most renowned university in America. It is a center of higher learning, perhaps the center of higher learning in this country. Faithful is a novel about higher learning--not formal, university education, but spiritual learning. The learners are not university students but professors, doctors, and their wives and associates.

Edward Cavan, Faithful's central character, moves eastward after his boyhood and youth in Iowa. His family moves west. His sister Isabel explains "'finally Edward went East--he had his first job as an instructor at Columbia. We closed the house and never went back, my father and I. We went to California'" (p. 21). Cavan is as passionately concerned with the world's political situation as is Senator Anderson, and so he also gazes upon Europe. The Spanish Civil War, the Munich Pact, the Communist take-over in Czechoslovakia are terribly real tragedies to him. Three widely separated years in Europe--in the early twenties at Oxford, in 1937 in Paris, and in 1947 in Prague, each time further east--are the years he remembers as especially good, for "'in Europe the intellectual is still part of life itself'" (p. 121).

Frederick's Copperhead presents in its characters none but native New Yorkers. None have come from farther west than the western part of the state. Nor is there an eastward posture in this novel. Those characters who move, move south to the war--and out of the book. Everybody looks

south--to the war. It is an intensely regional book, and therein lies its eastern quality, for Dearborn County, New York, is in the East. This duality is intensified by the region's being considerably east of and detached from the midwest, the region that was historically the center of the two subjects Copperhead is most concerned with, farm life and the Copperhead sentiment.

Dearborn County is a typical rural community of scattered farmsteads, each one to a considerable degree self-sufficient. The center of the story and of this region is the farmstead of Abner Beech. He is "a tremendous worker, 'a good provider,' a citizen of weight and substance in the community. In all large matters the neighborhood looked to him to take the lead" (p. 4). But his personal posture is not eastward, as it is with Billy, Joan, Cavan, and so on.

The two remaining novels are set in the West, Nevada and California. "Court Martial" is set in San Francisco, about as far west as possible in the continental United States. And yet this is a comparatively eastern locale because the great bulk of the novel, the Bildungsroman, both before and after the trial, takes place in the western Pacific. The two chapters immediately preceding and succeeding the trial are set, without any transition whatsoever, in the Philippine Sea. The effect of this isolation is to establish "Court Martial" as an eastern island within the whole novel.

Furthermore, Willie Keith, the central character in the Bildungsroman, (but only an important witness in the trial) is an easterner, a New Yorker, temporarily shifted, but not transplanted, to the West. His roots are and remain in the East. Barney Greenwald, the defense attorney and probably the central character of this Book, is a native of New Mexico, but he has gone East to Georgetown Law School. He has established a practice in Washington, D. C., so as to be on hand to represent Western Indian tribes in suits against the government, a type of case he is specializing in. His posture is definitely a looking eastward--not with outstretched arms like Joan but with a courtroom lawyer's accusing finger. His banquet speech is about the Nazis and the war in Europe despite his and all his audience's personal war experience being in the Pacific against the Japanese.

The particular setting of this story is, in Navy parlance, "Com Twelve," Command Twelve. It is headquarters of Com Twelve. Here are made the decisions that will permanently alter the careers and the lives of the novel's principal characters. It is an "eastern capitol."

Ox-Bow is the one exception I mentioned at the beginning of this discussion of the scapegoat fable's eastern quality. It is a story of cowboys on horseback meting out rough frontier justice and is set in the West of the United States. The time is 1885. It patently belongs to the sub-genre called "the horse-opera or Western."²⁵ Yet in one of

the very few critical articles that takes this sub-genre seriously Robert Warshow identifies Ox-Bow "as a kind of 'anti-Western.'"²⁶ In many ways, he writes, it denies the values of the typical Western, espouses the opposite. So despite its locale and its superficial resemblance to the Western, it too is a kind of eastern.

The town of Bridger's Wells is the supply center of the cow-raising valley. Within Bridger's Wells Canby's saloon is the center for whiskey and for recreation. Thus it is the center for the cowboys. The story's locales are centers within centers.

The westward sweep across the continental land mass of America to ever new opportunities on the frontier, the emigrating across the Atlantic to the New World, the crusades to the Holy Land to free them from the oppression of the Infidel, the opposition of the free Greeks to the despotic Persians, the resistance of the Hebrews against their eastern neighbors, the Assyrians and the Babylonians, all have contributed historically to loading the East with a connotation of authority and the West with one of freedom. It has been so, I suspect, since man first worshipped the sun rising in the east and used the dark, after it had set in the west, to conduct activities he wanted to hide from the god (and possibly from men). And so Jacopo is beheaded and Billy Budd and Donald Martin are hanged at dawn. Joan's execution time is just a little later, nine o'clock in the morning. Two sui-

cides, those of Brigham Anderson and Edward Cavan, occur in the wee hours of the morning. The President's heart attack is around midnight. Abner Beech's house is burned at night.

But more significantly, the heroes' condemnation is in the capitol, and that capitol is eastern. These are stories of the submission to authority, whether it is despotic like Pilate's and Abraham's before the sacrifice, or loving like God the Father's and Abraham's after the sacrifice.

¹⁷Herman Wouk, The Caine Mutiny (Garden City, 1951), p. 362.

¹⁸Allen Drury, Advise and Consent (New York, 1959), p. 333.

¹⁹Walter Van Tilburg Clark, The Ox-Bow Incident (New York, 1942), p. 4.

²⁰Harold Frederic, In the Sixties (New York, 1897), p. 4.

²¹William Dean Howells, A Hazard of New Fortunes (New York, 1952), p. 93.

²²May Sarton, Faithful Are the Wounds (New York, 1955), p. 59.

²³James Fenimore Cooper, The Bravo (New York, 1886), p. 10.

²⁴Mark Twain, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc (New York, 1895), p. 322.

²⁵Clifton Fadiman, "Introduction," The Ox-Bow Incident, by Walter Van Tilburg Clark, p. vii.

²⁶Robert Warshow, "The Westerner," Partisan Review, March-April 1954, p. 196.

CHAPTER III

The Scapegoat Community

Each of these nine scapegoat fables is typically American in that it is not a social novel, in that it does not have and its characters do not have the densely packed, the deeply felt social consciousness that is the soul of, say, an Austen or Dickens novel or of a Dostoevski or Stendhal one, the consciousness that F. R. Leavis stresses as the core of the great tradition. Nevertheless, each of them presents a cohesive cast of characters that is representative of a society or of a segment of a society. But since the word society has snobbish, cultural, and behavioral connotations that would be digressive in this discussion; and since the primary basis of the characters' cohesiveness in two instances, Bravo and Advise, is political; in two, Budd and Caine Mutiny, is military; in another two, Hazard and Ox-Bow, is economic; in one, Joan, is religious; in one, Faithful, is educational or intellectual; and in another, Copperhead, is familial, I shall henceforth use the terms group or community to designate what I have hitherto called the stories' one society.

The most obvious common characteristic of these political, military, economic, religious, and familial groups is their masculinity. HMS Bellipotent has not even the captain's lady aboard. Indeed, the captain has no lady. And that other ship, USS Caine, is similarly manned. The journalists of Hazard, the farmers of Copperhead, the armies and judges of "Trial," the cowboys of Ox-Bow, the Harvard Professors of Faithful, the Senators of Advise, are all men. But the masculinity is not as simple or as pervasive as this catalogue may indicate. Joan of Arc, a girl, dominates her story more completely than any male character in the other eight books. Several of the stories have lesser but still important women characters. Let us return to HMS Bellipotent to explore this masculinity further.

This British Seventy-four contains a shipload of sailors. The story's climax, the divided scene of accusation and trial enacted in Captain Vere's cabin, is enacted by nine of these sailors. No woman ever appears either above or below decks, in either the general or the particular scene. And even in their talk these sailors evince a remarkable paucity of reference to women. Billy himself refers once, passing, to a "'Bristol Molly'" (p. 132), but this is in the apocryphal "Billy in the Darbies." At any rate, his is an innocent thought. This reticence about women is equally true in those parts of the story which are the author's omniscient presentations. He refers once to the "saddish mood" of some of the

impressed men who had left "wives and children" behind them (p. 50). This is exceedingly slight mention. Indication of the usual sailor "girl in every port" debauchery, which occurs, except for Moby Dick, in all Melville's earlier sea novels, is conspicuously absent here. Furthermore, all of the men in any way individualized seem to be bachelors. The three major characters, Budd, Vere, and Claggart, certainly are. From first to last the female is rigidly excluded from Budd. Its community is an absolutely masculine one, untroubled by the presence or absence of women.

Wouk's "Court Martial" is, like Budd, a sea story. The navy personnel involved in the trial, this story's community, are again all men. Because the scenes are all ashore, the exclusion of women seems even more remarkable than in Melville's story. The pre-trial scenes in Commander Breakstone's office, in the Bachelor Officer Quarters, in the Navy cafeteria are all of men talking with men about the mutiny and the trial, which is to say, about men. The one momentary exception is derogatory; it is Greenwald's projection of Keefer's war novel: "'Lots of sex scenes where the prose becomes rhythmic and beautiful while the girl gets her pants pulled down'" (p. 357). The court martial itself with a bank of seven judges, the defendant, the counsel, the parade of witnesses, is all navy, all men. The noisy, drunken celebration afterwards in the Hotel Fairmont banquet room, is also, with the single exception of the defendant Maryk's

mother, all male. She is uncomfortable, feels out of place, and the reader agrees with her. When Greenwald in his banquet speech posits his own mother and finally all mothers as the symbol of what this war is being fought about, he violates the group's spirit of masculinity. In telling this roistering group of navy officers that they are fighting for their mothers, he does not even so much as hint of wives or surrogate wives or future wives, if he must drag women into it. The speech is a sobering slap in the face. It is a disagreeable reminder that the group owes its very existence to what they have excluded--women. "'You guys all have mothers'" (p. 446), he tells them, an indubitable verity. But those mothers, with the one exception, are all absent. Furthermore, as in Budd, all the major characters here at the group's celebration are bachelors. "Court Martial," it seems, strains to be as completely masculine as Melville's story, and succeeds. Then mothers are introduced, a false, maudlin note.

Twain's "Trial" is also an extended account of a formal trial and also contains but one woman in its community. That one, however, is Joan, Joan of Arc, Saint Joan. But technically the group is overwhelmingly masculine because the men so largely outnumber her. The bank of judges, fluctuating downward from a top of sixty-two members, is naturally all male. The guards, the soldiers, the inquisitors, the lawyers, the recorders, the executioner, everyone connected with the trial, except the defendant, is male. The spectacle of the

one girl appearing before all these men serves to emphasize how little the femininity in the story is. And that little is muted by Joan's reputation of having undertaken the man's job of Commander-in-Chief of the French armies and of having performed it magnificently, by her tough-minded conduct of her own defense in the many trials, and by her continued wearing of a man's suit. Indeed, a good deal of the fear and suspicion of the girl in the English stronghold of Normandy can be laid to her extraordinary lack of femininity. And since in the ecclesiastical court in 1431 the judges and most of the officials are robed and wear their hair long like a girl's, their masculinity is as muted as Joan's femininity. None of the characters is married. The group is masculine but hardly virile. When one considers the lack of sexual activity and the even more extraordinary lack of sexual language or references in the two Navy books, the same conclusion about those two groups, a lack of virility, seems tenable.

Ox-Bow is a western of sorts, it has been said, and Westerns traditionally are stories of and for men. This one is no exception. Only two of the forty characters are women. The main action is a lynching so grim that it sickens a number of the men participants. It is hardly a story for women.

Rose Mapen, one of the story's two women, is a bride, young, beautiful, and seductively dressed. She is what Hollywood has taught us to call sexy. She is present for only a brief interlude after the stagecoach she and her bridegroom

are riding in is stopped by the posse. She is a natural charmer and is the center of the scene as the mounted men crowd eagerly around her, pushing their horses up close, but she cannot lure them back to town to join her wedding celebration. The men proceed west up the mountain after the supposed rustlers while Rose goes down the trail toward the warm lights and Canby's saloon. The story stays with the men.

The other woman, Jenny Grier, rides with the posse. Her femininity is non-existent. She is unattractive, insensitive, wisecracking, dressed like a man, "strong as a wrestler, probably stronger than any man in the valley" (p. 99), obviously a fine companion on a posse. Both women, the reader is told, are hated by all the other women in the valley.

Most of the story shows the men outdoors and on horseback. The chief exception is the interior of Canby's saloon. The men slowly fill it up and drink and play poker. This scene eventually explodes into a murderous fight that is the story's most social and joyous scene. Another, briefer interior (and considerably less joyful than the saloon) is Judge Tyler's house. The judge is a lawyer whose office is in his house. This house is dominated by Mrs. Larch, a large, unpleasant housekeeper. The judge is house-ridden and henpecked. He is a weak character whom the cowboys disdain. He never gets inside the saloon. The cowboys, though skillfully individualized, are all the stereotyped western figures, hardy, adventurous, but avoiding the normal conflict of the

sexes.

Advise is "dedicated to the distinguished and able gentlemen without whose existence, example, and eccentricities this book could have been neither conceived nor written: the Senate of the United States." As the court of Joan's trial, as the celebrants of Steve Maryk's acquittal, as the posse of Ox-Bow, so Advise's central group is composed of a number of men and a lone woman. Here the group is the Senate of the United States, ninety-nine men and one woman. Bessie Adams, the senior Senator from Kansas, is "that rarity, a woman in the United States Senate who comes as close to achieving parity with her male colleagues as woman in the Senate ever gets" (p. 166). In this story of the private and public politicking over the Senate's confirmation of a nominee for Secretary of State, she plays a very minor part. She engages once, briefly, in one of the many Senate-floor free-for-all debates, she eats in the Senate cafeteria, she votes. And that is all. These men, however, despite the almost exclusive masculinity of their club, a club that has been called the world's most exclusive, are not sexually reticent, as the sailors are.

The list of Major Characters before Advise's table of contents includes twenty-three persons who are not members of the Senate club. Of these only six are women. One of these is a Senator's daughter; the other five are wives or girl friends of prominent politicians, and are important but

junior partners in their mate's business. When, for instance, Senator Orrin Knox has to make the biggest decision in his life, a moral and political one, and asks his wife's advice, he gets not advice but only consent. She tells him primly, "'Much as I want to help you, and much as I am prepared to help you in whatever you decide, the decision has got to be yours'" (p. 702).

Advise is plentifully larded with social occasions that are also political. Wives and girl friends are frequently though not always present at such times. These consorts are always more social than political. The impression remains that, though Drury's politicians are more mated than the men in the previous groups discussed, politics is predominantly, and more so as it approaches the summit, the business of men.

The communities in the remaining four stories decline from the extreme masculine tenor of the other five. The city of Venice undoubtedly is populated with as many women as men, if not more--something which cannot be said of any of the groups heretofore presented. They all had a logical and realistic reason to be almost entirely male in their constituency. However, Bravo's particular group of representative Venetians consists of eleven men and four women, an apparent compromise between the reality and the natural tendency of the mythos to exclude or minimize women. The women are typical Cooper "females," which means, among other things, that they are rather frilly and feminine--not like Joan of

Arc or Jenny Grier. They play prominent roles in the plot. Their presence and weight in the story result from Cooper's idea of his form: "a novel, according to canons which he considered binding, was a love story. The hero of the novel was the man who played the male lead in the courtship."²⁷

The heroine of the love story, Donna Violetta Tiepolo, is the ward of the Venetian Senate. To her guardians she is merely an instrument of policy. "'The lady hath a lineage and riches, and an excellence of person, that might render her of great account in some of these knotty negotiations,'" declares one of the most influential Senators (pp. 191-192). But halfway through the novel the "love story" hero, Don Camillo, momentarily confounds the state and marries Donna Violetta. Minutes later her guardians seize her, and the wedded lovers are forced apart--until they are both transported beyond Venice and hence beyond the story. A secondary love plot, that of Jacopo and the amazingly innocent jailkeeper's daughter, Gelsomina, is ended by that hero's death before the girl knows that she has been in love. Thus the two male leads are, within the story, essentially womanless, though each is the male lead in a love, as well as in an adventure story. Not only these two leads but all the male characters in the Venetian group are presented as being, one way or another, men without women. For instance, three older men who are fathers with sons are also specifically widowers. Thus, even though the author believes his novel

must be a love story and even contrives to give the love story a happy ending, impossible to do without a lovely girl, Bravo's Venice is mostly of and altogether for and by its men only. It is hardly needful to add that Cooper's females in Bravo are as chaste and innocent as Eve Effingham or Alice Munro, or that the heroes are as naive in the war of the sexes as Leatherstocking or Major Heyward.

Copperhead, like Cooper's novel, contains a love story. As in Bravo, the lovers are parted for the bulk of the novel. Again the leaders of the group oppose the match. Again the group's men outnumber the women, though this time the ratio, six to three, is somewhat less extreme. This proportion is again a compromise between the reality of the society represented and the convention of the mythos. For, since the story concerns the home front in war time, the logical presumption is that the women exceed the men. But the men rule, and so more of them are major characters. M'rye Beech's habit of removing her farmer husband's boots and bathing his feet when he comes in from the fields is made symbolic of the whole relationship between her and Abner, her husband.

The men of this group, however, are not womanless. Abner Beech, its "'patriarch'" (p. 16), is from first to last a married man. He never thinks of or conducts himself otherwise. His son Jeff, the love story's hero, is womanless precisely during the period he absents himself from the group and from the story. His return is to the embrace of Esther,

his sweetheart, as well as that of the group. His return completes the love story and reunites and enlarges the Beech household. The Dearborn County society naturally includes women as wives and mothers, but just as naturally subjects them to complete male dominance. Copperhead is the only one of these novels in which the home is the community's center. It is the only one in which the men are bushy-bearded and uncomplexly virile.

In Hazard the men's dominance is not by numbers, for they are an eight to nine minority. The comparatively large number of women in Hazard is no doubt chiefly due to its being a "comedy of manners."²⁸ As such, a sizeable proportion of the novel is social activity. The basis of its particular group is not, however, a social enterprise but an economic one, a magazine. With one exception, the artist Alma Leighton, it is the men who are connected with the magazine and who therefore form the group. The women become members only because of their men. Even Alma's inclusion in the group is more due, though not exclusively, to her friendship with Beaton and Fulkerson than to her occasional work for the magazine. The women are mostly adjuncts to the group, pleasurable, decorative, and occasionally useful. In the novel's initial scene, a conversation between March and Fulkerson in the former's office, and in all the most dramatic scenes, such as the convivial dinner party at the Dryfooses, the pathetic quarrel old Dryfoos forces upon his son, the

turbulent riot of the strikers and police in which Conrad is killed and Lindau injured, no women are present. Hazard's is a community whose real center is the business office, the market place, the street, and whose women, it is taken for granted, are intruders here. They belong at home.

Faithful's group is, like Copperhead's, a family, but not a real family. It is composed of Isabel, Cavan's sister, his only blood relative; of Grace Kimlock, who might be his mother, of Fosca, who might be his father, of Damon, who might be his brother, of Julia, who might be his wife, of George, who might be his son, and of Pen, who would then be his daughter-in-law, but all of whom, of course, are not (pp. 31, 44, 64, 133). Nor is this pseudo-family's center the home; it has no home. Cavan is the only bond tying these people together. He is the group's creator, he is its center, he is its limits. He dominates the thoughts and actions of all these people for the whole term of the exactly synchronous duration of the group and the novel.

The male dominance is not just a matter of the centrality of Cavan. It is a pervasive theme running throughout the story. It is present in Isabel's being comforted and patched together after the initial shock of her brother's suicide first by her husband and then by a male stranger on the plane, and subsequently by her being taught by a series of men--by Damon, by Fosca, by Ivan Goldberg, Cavan's friend and department chairman, by Dr. Willoughby, his minister, by his lawyer,

and finally, in a ghostly kind of revelation, by the dead brother himself--the meaning of his life and death. It is present in the love story of the students, George and Pen. Though a tacit understanding exists between them, she dignifies whenever he begins to feel passion. "There was some wild natural force in her that made her leap away at a touch like a deer" (p. 259). Yet she is and remains "his girl" (p. 29). George prevails, however, for by the Epilogue, five years later, they are described as "safely married at last" (p. 263). The male dominance is present in the marriage of Julia and Damon, summed up in her somewhat weary and resentful thought that "when you marry someone you become a kind of Siamese twin--a woman does, anyway" (p. 226). It is present in every encounter between man and woman. As seen particularly in the careers of Edward Cavan and his sister, Isabel Cavan Ferrier, man prevails but perishes; woman yields but endures--and then at last has her will.

Cavan is a bachelor; his student, George Hastings, is one also, until the Epilogue. Old Fosca is a widower; Grace Kimlock (one might almost write warlock) is a mannish old maid. Damon Phillips is married, but he is deliberately presented as an absent-minded husband and father whose devotion, furthermore, to the memory of his father and his grandfather explicitly irritates his wife Julia. The closest these men come to a virile sexuality is a kind of innocent girl-watching, not even voyeurism.

A second salient characteristic of these masculine communities is their vitality, their ability to survive despite their lack of virility. Most of them have existed for a generation or longer; some of them for centuries. The ecclesiastics of Joan represent a Catholic society already then over ten centuries old, the Senators and other citizens of Venice a political entity nearly as old, Budd's British Navy a military outfit over two centuries old, and the American Navy and Senate organizations just under two centuries. The Beech household is one generation old, as is Ox-Bow's cowboy community. The other two novels are here quite uncharacteristic in that their groups each come into being within the pages of the novel. The Every Other Week business community of Hazard and the group of friends in Faithful do not, as they exist in the novel, antedate it, although the March-Fulkerson and Cavan-Phillips nucleus of each group does so by fifteen or twenty years.

For an organization or group to continue for centuries it must renew its membership periodically; otherwise, the mere attrition of years will have ended it before a century is out. The GAR is no more; the DAR, self-replenishing, flourishes. Even to last a generation almost certainly means some individual members will have been added, lost, and replaced. Such a process has obviously occurred over the years in the Catholic Church, the British and American Navies, the Venetian and American Senates, which are, respectively, groups

reflected in Joan, Budd, Caine Mutiny, Bravo, and Advise. These stories do not cover, as the groups do, centuries--they are, at most, a year. But whether only a few hours elapse, as in Ox-Bow, or a year, as in Joan, the vital group process of self-renewal, is, with one exception, evident.

This process is probably best seen in Joan, quite likely because this story's group has survived the longest and hence presumably is the fittest--to continue to survive. The renewal is most noticeable in the fluctuation of the bench of judges. On the first day of the first trial they number fifty (p. 335). The second day "the number of judges was increased to sixty-two" (p. 342). But their attendance is irregular. "Fifty-eight judges present--the others resting" (p. 361) the author comments about the March first session, the fifth. The next one, Saturday the third, is attended by "threescore" (p. 372) judges. Next the bench is drastically reduced; the presiding officer, Bishop Cauchon "let all the judges but a handful go" (p. 377). The exact number is not specified, but on March 27, two trials having failed, a third is begun "before a dozen carefully selected judges" (p. 391). On the second of May another trial commences with sixty-two judges again (p. 406). On the twenty-third of May Joan appears before "a court of fifty judges" (p. 420). On the twenty-ninth "forty-two pronounced her a relapsed heretic" (p. 447). This number is all that are present at the final meeting.

Other officials parade in and out as they are needed: priests, soldiers, guards, recorders, orators, torturers, executioners. The whole effect of a changing personnel in the trial group is enhanced by the author's practice of introducing one or two new proper names in each chapter from this body of men who are more or less constantly present.

Despite this aura of changeability in makeup, the group's purpose remains fixed. Before the first trial begins the narrator remarks that the assembly is "gathered here to find just one verdict and no other" (p. 335). At the end of the first trial, although this result has not been obtained, the purpose is not one whit altered. The "distinguished churchmen . . . had left important posts . . . to journey hither . . . and accomplish a most simple and easy matter--condemn and send to death a country lass of nineteen" (p. 372). It would be a task, they thought, of perhaps two hours. Here it was the eleventh day and no progress had yet been made. "The members could not hide their annoyance" (p. 372). And so they persist through numerous sessions, trials, and stratagems until finally after three months they do accomplish this purpose.

The Every Other Week group in Hazard begins as a partnership between Fulkerson and the Marches. In the next several months half a dozen or so more members are added to this little business community. As Isabel March had earlier, so also now the female dependents of these additions become

members ex-officio--another half a dozen. Then the reverse process sets in: Lindau resigns, Conrad is killed, and old Jacob Dryfoos sells out.

Through this up and down and final leveling out, the group's purpose, to make the magazine both a commercial and an artistic success, remains constant. This objective, the author assures the reader, is obtained. Then the success turns out, not surprisingly, to be the cause of the indefinite continuation of the group. Its purpose and continuation are mutually interdependent.

Copperhead's Beech household is the simplest as well as the smallest of all these groups. Its purpose is the continuity and prosperity of the group; that is, its purpose is survival, and, by analogy, the continuity and prosperity of the county and the national community. The story ends with the Beech family once more complete and augmented by the addition of Jeff's sweetheart, her brother, and her father, who is Abner's erstwhile enemy. The final group scene is "'a reg'lar family party. . . . a reg'lar old love feast'" (p. 139). Continuation is by the normal biological process in this virile group.

The nation's Civil War is over for the group; the soldier son has lost an arm but otherwise returns sound; he will now remain home. The family's civil war has concluded also in the general reunion and "'love feast.'" The family has doubled in size, and its continuity and prosperity are

thereby assured.

The one community of Ox-Bow is a fairly isolated ranching valley in Nevada. The story's major concern, however, is with a specially convoked sub-group within this community. This is the posse that is galvanized into being by the news of the murder of Larry Kinkaid. For several hours it mills around in the street and on the sidewalk as it forms. Men join, depart for guns or horses or other needed equipment, and return. It is in a state of constant flux. Names are introduced steadily. This technique and the effect are the same as in Joan. They both continue after the posse takes final form and number by having the narrator, as he and they ride on the trail of the murderers and rustlers, converse with a number of different members of the group, one by one.

The posse's constant purpose, unquestioned by anyone, is to secure justice. It doggedly persists toward this end through a lynching that most of them really do not desire. When it discovers that the hanging was a mistake, an irremediable injustice, the purpose evaporates. Without a purpose, the group immediately disintegrates. The members ride off in different directions. Two kill themselves. But the disaster to the sub-group has no apparent effect on the larger community. The ranches, the town, are unaltered. At the story's end Rose Mapen's wedding party is in full swing at Canby's saloon. Life goes on.

Caine Mutiny's bench of judges, unlike Joan's, remains

constant, but the parade of witnesses in and out of the room and the continual introduction of new proper names achieve the same effect of a group in constant flux. The group's purpose, as in Joan, is inflexible. It is not, however, to arrive at a predetermined verdict but to arrive at a fair one. One of defense-attorney Greenwald's first remarks to the defendant is that they can expect a "'fair shake'" (p. 387) despite the court's disliking them. That this fairness occurs is evidenced by his telling Maryk after the acquittal that he is really "'half guilty'" and that, despite the verdict, he has been only "'half acquitted'" (p. 447). The fairness is as inevitable as the guilty verdict in Joan's trial.

Faithful, like these others, makes use of a parade of people and names. The book begins with the introduction, one by one and in separate chapters, of the discrete components of Edward Cavan's group--a sister, a student, a figurative father and mother, a friend, the friend's wife, and a colleague. The effect is not, however, of a group in flux but rather of a steadily accreting group. Actually, the group does not really exist until midway in the book when it is created by Cavan's death. But the reader knows from the first page, because there he is told of this death, that the group will come into existence. Throughout Part One these people with whom the reader is acquainted one by one are a potential group.

These intimates of Cavan come together for one purpose: to try to understand his suicide. Through various frustrations--exasperations, rages, avoidances, fears--with one another, they do persist and do help one another to begin to understand. The sister, who is both the closest and the furthest from her brother, does, to her own surprise, fulfill this purpose during her three days in Cambridge. Having fulfilled the purpose, she can resign her membership in the group, which she does by returning to San Francisco.

The Epilogue shows the Cambridge members of the group still functioning as such five years later, though they are further depleted by the death of the father figure. On the day depicted in the Epilogue the remaining members do arrive at a final understanding--and the group is dissolved. This story presents the entire life cycle of a group. It has no means of renewing itself, or no need to, and so endures only five years.

The continuity and steadfastness of purpose of the group in the remaining stories is a matter of stability rather than of flux. In Budd the Bellipotent carries out its assigned missions and maintains its readiness to engage the enemy despite the internal crisis gripping its senior officers. Even when the story's three major characters, including the ship's captain, are all dead (or dying) the group's potency is unimpaired: the senior lieutenant takes over and carries on the war purpose successfully. No parade

of names or characters occurs in this story.

Advise, on the other hand, does outpour a steady flow of names of Senators (which is to say, of group members) until on page 738 the eighty-fifth is presented. But the impression this concatenation gives is stability, not flux. The total number throughout is constant, one hundred. The emphasis consistently is continuance by avoiding change. When change in membership does become necessary, its smoothness of operation emphasizes the vitality of the principle. The ultimate realization of this is given to Majority Leader Munson as he looks about at the assembled members just minutes before the "'historic'" (p. 732) vote on the nominee.

And finally he saw, sitting uneasily in his seat far at the back, the symbol of the steady inexorable continuance of the American Government, the new Senator from Utah, a doctor from Logan hastily appointed by the Governor yesterday immediately after Brig's interment in Salt Lake City and rushed to Washington to be sworn (p. 731).

The purpose of this group could not be more inflexible. It is indicated in the novel's title, in the title of the fifth and final book, in the official announcement by the Vice-President of the result of the vote whether to confirm or not the nomination of Robert A. Leffingwell to be Secretary of State. It is the answer to the question in the novel's epigraph: "'Will the Senate advise and consent to this nomination?'"

The group's purpose is to advise the President and his administration, both by the expression of opinion and by

fait accompli, and to render judgement upon them by giving or withholding its consent, not only in the single instance of this one nomination but upon the whole policy, procedure, and philosophy of the executive branch of the government. Harley Hudson, who for 740 pages has been the Vice-President and as such the presiding officer of the Senate--an ex officio member of the group--confirms its suspicion of the executive branch of the government by announcing as just about his first act as President,

"I have decided . . . to create a special commission, somewhat similar to the Hoover Commission, to study and overhaul the administrative side of government, something which has not been done for some years and which I think badly needs doing" (pp. 754-755).

Bravo presents this vital group process of self-renewal negatively. Don Camillo has a rightful claim to a seat in the Senate, yet it is denied him. Donna Violetta is the sole heiress of a Senatorial family, yet when one of the Senators aspires to make her his daughter-in-law, he is removed from office. The Senate has decided to bestow her outside its own ranks, indeed, outside Venice.

Hired assassins, secret police, a universal system of informing, the midnight knock on the door followed by the mysterious disappearance, the public execution are all means within this story of effecting the removal of a group member. Of the fourteen citizens of Venice who are prominent characters in this story, five, by its end, have escaped to other parts of Italy, one has been publicly beheaded, one has been

assassinated, one has been forcibly retired, two have been banished, another has died in prison, and another has gone mad. Signor Sorranzo, an erstwhile youthful and benevolent Senator, has "taken the first step in that tortuous and corrupting path," the acceptance of a position of power in this evil state (p. 424).

It is consistent that all these group characteristics, accretion, stability, vitality, and self-renewal, be reversed in Bravo, for it is Cooper's thesis that Venice is a sick, declining body. He makes foreign visitors, Venetian Senators, commoners, everyone seem to accept this verdict. "'Our increasing weakness'" (p. 188) is common talk. The state seems bent on hastening this process of decay by its policy of eliminating its own members without replacing them.

Another salient characteristic of these communities is the high degree of self-consciousness they attain. The members tend strongly to identify with the group. This bias is indicated and promoted in a number of ways. They give themselves names and titles, for instance, that affirm their membership in the group. Frequently, such titles proclaim their owners' status within the group. The profusion of titles also, as with fraternal lodges, promotes both the individual and group sense of well-being. Their titles advertise them.

Thus Senators abound in the political novels, Bravo and

Advise. The chief of state, an important character in each of these novels, is never identified by name. The two men are simply the Doge and the President, with no name attached. The multiplicity of Senators requires differentiating names, but the single Doge and President do not, so their names are not included. Other prominent titles used instead of names in Advise are Majority Leader, Senior Senator from _____, Junior Senator from _____, Secretary of State, Vice-President, Director, Judge, Ambassador, Speaker, Chaplain, and so on. This technique is not as extended in Bravo as it is in Advise, but is more intense in that the book's title is the chief character's title also, but not his name.

The Navy men in Budd and in "Court Martial" are all carefully accorded their titles, sometimes descriptive, always denoting rank. Billy is Handsome Sailor and Foretopman. Vere is the Captain, and Claggart the Master-at-Arms. The drumhead court is composed of the First Lieutenant, the Sailing Master, and the Captain of Marines, all specifically nameless. All references to them are by these titles of rank. This tendency is carried to its logical extreme in Chapter 26 wherein the ship's purser is identified as Mr. Purser. The ship's doctor, who also figures in this chapter, as well as earlier, is likewise known only by his vocational cognomen, the surgeon.

Names abound, however, in the other Navy book. But a heavy parade of titles accompanies them, not only Navy ranks

but court martial titles. Captain Theodore Breakstone, USNR, is "district legal officer of Com Twelve." Lieutenant Commander Challee is "judge advocate." Lieutenant Barney Greenwald is "defense counsel." Captain Blakeley is "president of the board." Lieutenant Steve Maryk is "the accused." These titles, repeated again and again, impressively present the group solidarity even--no, especially--during the trial.

Each of the witnesses is introduced by the recitation of his rank and name--Lieutenant Commander Phillip Francis Queeg, Lieutenant Thomas Keefer, Lieutenant Junior Grade Willis Seward Keith, Captain Randolph P. Southard, and so on. The intonation of the full names tends to make them seem to be a part of the title rather than the title being an appendage to the name. In the questioning the lawyers frequently address the witnesses by these titles or, when it is a lieutenant on the stand, by the special title of address for this rank only, Mister.

In Hazard's journalistic world, the chief characters are the Editor, March, the Publisher, Conrad Dryfoos, the Manager, Fulkerson, and the Proprietor, old Dryfoos (pp. 311-312). Angus Beaton is the art editor. When a distinction is made between Beaton and March, both editors, the latter becomes the "'literary editor'" (p. 405). The novel's characters, especially Fulkerson, use surnames like titles. Given names are slighted. The reader is informed once, in his first appearance in the story, that Lindau's name is Bert-

hold, that old Dryfoos's is Jacob, and that Beaton's is Angus. Thereafter these given names disappear from the story so that the effect, except for Basil March and Conrad Dryfoos, is of a collection of men without first names. So unobtrusively are these given names mentioned that one commentator has erroneously referred consistently to the art editor as Cecil Beaton.²⁹ Fulkerson, one of the three leading characters, and Colonel Woodburn, the only character with a title not derived from the business, are never christened. At the novel's conclusion the significance of the business titles is emphasized by the new Mrs. Fulkerson's attaching the words owner and editor to her husband and March, respectively. By this time the two men are co-proprietors of the magazine. Her method of referral is "a convenient method of recognizing the predominant quality in each" (p. 550). It is not intended as a ranking of one over the other; it does, however, establish the two as the overlords in their little group.

Ox-Bow's is also essentially an economic group. A large number of cowboys and assorted riders are otherwise untitled. They are given names, both first and last, usually to help in differentiation. The men themselves, like Fulkerson, rely upon the surnames only in referring or calling to one another. Here also a number of other characters are identified by tags, mostly occupational, as in the other novels. Such a list includes the saloon-keeper, Canby, Drew's

foreman, Moore, the minister, Osgood, the lawyer, Judge Tyler, the Negro, Sparks, the ex-Confederate officer, Major Tetley, and the sheriff, Risley. It is a variety of titles, religious, racial, military, and political, as well as occupational. This diversity may seem to indicate a heterogeneous community, but when they all, except the Reverend and the saloon-keeper, mount horses and ride out of town after the rustlers, it is seen that they form a homogeneous group after all.

Rancher, sheriff, foreman all indicate a high group status. Major is ambivalent. The campaigning experience it indicates is favorably regarded, but the military discipline it also indicates is looked upon with distaste. Judge and Reverend are low, for they indicate a sissy, just about the worst category.

Copperhead's group is a family one. The normal expectation is that the group members would refer to one another by such family titles as husband, wife, mother, father, son, daughter, and so on. They do not ordinarily do so. Jeff Beech, who is given only one speech in the story, in it does use the family terms. The speech, however, is an act of defiance. Young Jimmy, the twelve-year-old narrator, was sent by Abner to bid Jeff, whom the father knows to be dallying with the "abolitionist" girl Esther Hagadorn, to come home. Jeff's reply is

"Tell Pa I ain't a-comin'! . . . Tell him," he went on,

the tone falling now strong and true, "tell him and ma that I'm goin' to Tecumseh to-night to enlist. If they're willin' to say good-by, they can let me know there, and I'll manage to slip back for the day. If they ain't willin'--why, they--they needn't send word; that's all" (pp. 26-27).

Even here, where the familial terms are used, they are neutralized by the impersonal they's which succeed them.

Mr. and Mrs. Beech, who are given many speeches, do not use familial terms. They refer to each other as Abner and M'rye and to their son as Jeff. This same difference in usage between generations characterizes the only other family group in the story, the next-door Hagadorns. Esther and Ni, daughter and son, Jeff's friends, call their father "Dad." Old Jee Hagadorn, in his only recorded direct address to his son, calls him by his full name of Benaiah, not even shortening it to Ni as every one else does.

Names are reckoned more important than titles. The Hagadorn family is proud that the Biblical appellations Jehoiada and Benaiah have alternated in the family for generations. Abner Beech, exceptionally fond of reading American history and politics, gave his son the name of the figure he admired the most, Thomas Jefferson. This name becomes a sore point after the outbreak of the Civil War.

"'Mustn't call him Jeff any more,' Ni remarked with a grin. 'He was telling us down at the house that he was going to have people call him Tom after this. He can't stand answerin' to the same name as Jeff Davis'" (p. 22).

The characters think of others as individuals and refer to them by name. But they also tend to think of others as group members. Thus Abner contemptuously dismisses all who disagree with his political opinions as "abolitionists" and "'nigger worshippers'" (p. 67). They return the feeling with the generic term for him, "Copperhead." Thus terms which indicate group membership are used, in this novel, by an enemy to blacken one's character while the mere Christian names and surnames betoken approval and respect. This attitude toward group identity reflects the subject of the story, the Civil War, that is, the attempt to dismember the largest and most basic group, the nation itself.

The closing chapters of Copperhead, however, happily reverse this general tendency. After the fire Abner suddenly begins calling his wife Mother, which becomes prophetic when the prodigal returns the next morning. M'rye calls her returned son "'my boy.'" Abner proudly introduces him to his first caller as "'my son Jeff'" (p. 145). Before the morning is over, Abner and his erstwhile enemy have made up and are calling each other "'Brother Hagadorn'" and "'Brother Beech'" (pp. 148-149). As Ni says, it is "'a reg'lar family party'" (p. 139).

The countryside are no longer "abolitionists" nor are the Beeches "Copperheads." They are all "neighbors." Squire Avery suggests to Abner that in his rebuilding after the fire "'the neighbors will be glad to come up and extend

their assistance to you in what is commonly known as a raising-bee'" (p. 147). All this, replies Abner, "'makes me prouder than ever I was before in all my born days to be an American'" (pp. 147-148). The Union is safe.

At Joan's trial a bishop presides and numerous priests, doctors of theology, and "distinguished ecclesiastics" (p. 335) make up the remainder of the court. But not much is made of or depends from the titles. This reversal, however, is consistent with the general practice in the novels, for these men in Joan, rather than identifying with their group, the Church, are presented as predominantly self-seeking and timeserving. They strive to advance themselves, not by serving the group generally, but by obsequiously seeking to further the aim of their superior in the group--an individual. Hence names are emphasized and titles neglected.

On the other hand, the girl here being tried for heresy, that is, treason to the group, is known by a number of names and titles. Most notably she is Joan of Arc, but she is also Joan of Lorraine, St. Joan, Deliverer of France, the Maid of Orleans, and, simply, the Maid. Joan is repeated so often in the story in a tone best described as awe that it soon becomes a kind of exalted epithet rather than a name.

The Maid is good; Cauchon is evil. Titles generally in the scapegoat fable are better than names. While Joan is in prison, that is, while the cause is waning, the narrator, the Sieur Louis de Conte, abandons his title. Later when

again carrying on successfully Joan's work of expelling the English from France, he resumes it. "When Constable [title] Richemont superseded La Tremouille [name only] as the King's chief adviser . . . the completion of Joan's great work" began (p. 458). The chief general of the victorious French armies and also one of the chief witnesses at the Rehabilitation is the Bastard [title] of Orleans, a good friend of Joan's. Charles VII of France is the King. He is infrequently referred to by his name. When he is, it is usually a sarcastic utterance by Twain. "It was high time to stir, now, and the King did it. That is how Charles VII came to be smitten with anxiety to have justice done the memory of his benefactress" (p. 460).

The book's villain, Cauchon, is mocked by a punning use of his name.

The difference between Cauchon and cochon [which Twain's note explains means hog, pig] was not noticeable in speech, and so there was plenty of opportunity for puns: the opportunities were not thrown away.

Some of the jokes got well worn in the course of two or three months, from repeated use; for every time Cauchon started a new trial the folk said "the sow has littered [Twain's note explains 'cochonner, to litter, to farrow; also to make a mess of!'] again"; and every time the trial failed they said it over again, with its other meaning, "The hog has made a mess of it" (p. 409).

In the process of Twain's belaboring his crude joke it becomes clearer and clearer that names have a way of becoming opprobrious in this book.

In Faithful all the male characters are doctors of philosophy, except two who are a doctor of medicine and a doctor

of theology instead. These latter two are consistently referred to by the title doctor; the former are either doctor or professor. But names, both first and last are also emphasized. Individuality as well as community is valued here.

In the Epilogue an Inquisitor who is in this book as excoriated as Cauchon in Joan is just "the Senator"--a title, no name. He is the chairman of "a Washington Committee sent down to look into communism at Harvard University" (p. 262). He stands for a shapeless abstraction, a community devoid of individuality, obsessed. In Faithful titles indicate community; names indicate individuality, and both are paradoxically needed.

The doctors are all professional men; their titles not only indicate their professions but a high rank in them. Their professions are all concerned with improving--healing or instructing--a portion of the human being, the professors the mind, the surgeon the body, the minister the spirit. To profess, to doctor, to minister--these callings are exalted over other professions, over, specifically, law, banking, journalism, and politics.

Of these three exalted vocations, the professor is first. After all, among the professions, what should rank higher than a professor? Cavan is presented as the ideal professor. The title is more often accorded to him than to the other doctors of philosophy. Goldberg may be a better scholar, but in the classroom he is a "'cold fish'" (pp. 107,

156). Cavan is the hero; he is the Professor. The Professor's job is to profess, both in and out of the classroom, not just to dispense information. To profess is to bear witness. Professor Cavan does so with his words, his actions, his life.

When the inquisitorial Senator rhetorically asks Cavan's friend, Professor Phillips, "'Are you professors just dumb or what?'" (p. 272). Phillips tells the politician about Cavan, he tells him about professing. He repeats in words and actions before the anonymous committee, who think that such professing as Cavan's is un-American, just what belief that Professor had borne witness to.

"That belief was that the intellectual must stand on the frontier of freedom of thought. . . . He feared-- and we know how rightly . . . the increasing apathy and retreat of the American people before such encroachments of fundamental civil rights as are represented by this committee" (p. 279).

Professors by definition are not dumb; they must speak, speak out. It was not any one civil right, such as freedom of speech, that Cavan was professing, it was the more basic and general right and duty to refuse to remain silent, to profess. This is the meaning of the title Professor to Cavan and to his friend, Grace Kimlock. It is the meaning that his friend Professor Phillips and his protege Professor Hastings come finally to understand.

Besides their distinctive titles, many of these groups have adopted a mode of dress which sets them off from the

rest of the populace and serves as a badge of membership. These, like the titles, may indicate rank within the group as well as membership. The Senators of Venice wear silken robes which bespeak their office. They never appear unattended by crowds of liveried servants. Gondoliers wear short jackets of silk or velvet and breeches. The Doge is marked by a unique headdress, the horned bonnet. The fishermen are known by their scanty and mean dress. An especial feature of Venetian attire is the universal habit of all, except the fishermen, the lowest class, of disguising themselves by donning a mask whenever they venture abroad, particularly if it is after sundown. The squares and public quays are crowded with gay throngs, night after night, all masked, for, as Gino the gondolier says, "'We are always in the Carnival at Venice'" (p. 43).

The uniform of the British "bluejackets" (p. 54) is obviously another such mode of dress. So also is that of the officers: "Captain the Honorable Edward Fairfax Vere . . . a sailor of distinction even in a time prolific of renowned seamen . . . [yet] ashore, in the garb of a civilian, scarce anyone would have taken him for a sailor" (p. 60).

The bishop and his tribunal in Joan always appear in their ecclesiastical robes. The guards and soldiers are always in armor. Again and again at dramatic moments the uniforms of the one "swish" and of the other "clank." The executioner and his aids wear "crimson hose and doublets, meet color for

their bloody trade" (pp. 410-411). The court's consciousness of dress is indicated by its continual harping upon Joan's male attire as wrong and as a symbol of her guilt. When she abjures, she is induced to don women's clothing. Her subsequent resumption of man's clothing the court construes as tantamount to recantation.

Ox-Bow's cowboy group is distinctly garbed in jeans, chaps, boots, shirt and vest, bandanna, wide-brimmed sombrero, and six-shooter. The others are conspicuously different. Major Tetley continues to wear his Confederate cavalry uniform twenty years after the war is over. The Reverend Osgood has a gold watch chain draped ostentatiously across the vest of his baggy suit. Judge Tyler wears "a black frock coat, a white, big-collared shirt and a black string tie" (p. 79). Sparks wears dungarees and a blue shirt. Davies wears a plaid blanket coat and is hatless. None of these individuals, except Tetley, wear guns. They are all the familiar uniforms of a thousand Hollywood and television westerns.

When Captain Queeg takes the stand at Maryk's court martial, he is wearing "a new blue uniform, the sleeves bright gold" (p. 384). It makes him look "like a poster picture of a commanding officer of the Navy" (p. 426). This is the man whose self-identity as a naval officer, it is testified, is the essential element in his successful adjustment to a latent paranoid condition. Quite evidently the uniform is an important part of this identification. It is therefore not

surprising that one of the captain's fanaticisms, as is brought out in the questioning, is a punctilious enforcing of uniform regulations, even during the most adverse conditions.

Although Drury's Senators generally wear a variety of clothes, at least one of them wears a unique outfit that is the popular though inaccurate image of a Senate uniform. The author describes it in his usual fulsome manner.

Courtney Robinson . . . stands before the mirror in the downstairs hall knotting his string tie around his high, old-fashioned collar. "Courtney isn't much," Blair Sykes of Texas is fond of pointing out about the senior Senator from New Hampshire, "but by God, he sure does look like a Senator!" This fact, Courtney's major contribution to his times, is the result of care, not accident; and now as he knots the tie just so, settles the collar just so, puts on the long gray swallow-tailed coat, shrugs into the sealskin overcoat with the velvet lapels, takes the big outsize hat and cane from the table, gives a pat to the dirty-yellow-gray locks at the nape of his neck, and carefully puts a hothouse rose in his buttonhole, there is no doubt that the day is going to see one more smashing production of Courtney Robinson (p. 23).

The three remaining groups do not dress distinctly. Basil March does not seem to own an editorial green eyeshade, the Harvard Professors of Faithful do not wear baggy tweeds and smoke pipes, nor does Farmer Beech wear blue overalls and chew on a wisp of hay. These groups, of comparatively recent origin, have not been in existence long enough to have developed or adopted a uniform, apparently. Titles can be born in a moment and then formalized. Uniforms evolve slowly.

The uniforms in each case have become a tradition. They seem to the reader to be old-fashioned. They are picturesque as well as distinct. The wearers are proud of them. A moment's reflection certifies these generalities about the robes of the clergy and of the Venetian Senators, the gondoliers' flowered jackets, the bell-bottomed trousers and navy jackets of the sailors, and hat, boots, six-shooters, and so on of the cowboy. The uniform worn by Courtney Robinson, U. S. Senator, is one that all the others have abandoned: it is too old-fashioned and picturesque for them. But they are glad that one of their members retains it.

A common enemy is usually one of the most effective forces welding a group together. Shakespeare has Henry IV tell Prince Hal this as just about his last piece of advice. Four of these scapegoat stories present nations at war, two of these dealing specifically with the military in wartime. Here obviously is an enemy. Yet the French who oppose the British in Budd remain nebulous. In the only mention of them in direct discourse, Captain Vere seems to think that they are not much different from the British (p. 112). The Japanese who are the enemy that the U. S. Navy ostensibly is battling in Caine Mutiny never appears in action, word, or exposition. The Confederates and Negroes of the revolted South are remote and vague in Copperhead. Besides, since the novel's group, the Beech family are Copperheads, they

never think of the South as the enemy. Joan in her book abominates the English, her nation's enemy, but because Twain rather admires them, particularly in comparison to the French, the result is at least ambiguous. Anyway, the group is the Church, and it is supranational. England is not its enemy at this time. The English king is Henry VI, not VIII.

The two most recent novels, stories of the nineteen-fifties in America, deal with the Cold War. The enemy is a more real presence in both of these than it is in any of the stories of a hot war. The inquisitorial Senator reads the following indictment of Edward Cavan:

He was a member of the Socialist Party as early as nineteen twenty-nine; he was active on a committee for the defense of the Communist, Harry Bridges; he campaigned for the Communists in Spain; he spent the winter of nineteen forty-seven in Prague and came back to write several articles analyzing the situation there and praising the Socialist government for its tolerance of Communists; he supported Wallace and campaigned for him in nineteen forty-eight; he did not leave the Progressive Party after it had been exposed as a Communist Front (p. 274).

It is all admittedly true. But again, as in Copperhead, the so-called enemy and the group are sympathetic rather than antagonistic.

The group in Advise, the U. S. Senate, consciously believes Russia, the cold-war opponent, to be its deadly enemy. He is present in Washington in the person of the Ambassador, Vasily Tashikov, and he concurs in this belief. At Dolly Harrison's party on the first evening of the story he flatly states that the two countries are "'opposed'" (p. 133).

Overt hostility toward the Russians in general and Tashikov in particular is expressed throughout the book by most of the Americans. It is because the Secretary of State is the President's chief of staff in heading this opposition that, as a News editorial states succinctly the first morning of the story, "'we and the whole free world have so much at stake in this nomination'" (p. 55). But the enmity serves more to disunite the free world, the United States and the Senate, than to unify them, for as it becomes more brutal and unmistakable, the disagreements within these groups about how to meet it become more pointed and bitter.

The Republic of Venice is not in a shooting war, but its rivalry, economic, political, and ideological, with its European neighbors is of such intensity and bitterness that it amounts to a cold war. They hate, they feel beleaguered, and they draw together. The cowboys of Bridger's Wells are a civilian community that is on a war footing, mobilized, armed, ready to exterminate the enemy in its midst as soon as he can be identified and located.

Of all the nine stories, only Hazard's community is not at war.

Another potent pressure tending toward group identity is the suspicion it directs at the outsider or the new arrival. Thus in Bravo, even though Don Camillo Monforte has been a resident of Venice for five years and has expressed from

the first the wish to acquire Venetian citizenship, even though he has a legitimate claim to such acceptance, according to their laws, being the descendant of a collateral branch of a noble and famous Venetian family, his birth and rearing in the South of Italy are too much of a handicap for him to overcome. He remains fixed in the minds of the Senators as the "Neapolitan," someone hopelessly different from themselves. When their and his desires for Donna Violetta break into direct conflict, they see their antagonism to this outlander to have been justified.

As the stage of Bravo is Venice with the players having their entrances and their exits, so the stage of Budd is the British warship HMS Bellipotent. Here it is the title character, Billy Budd, who arrives from elsewhere. He is impressed, in the novel's first chapter, from the British merchant ship The Rights-of-Man, into the Royal Navy. While in the cutter making the transfer from the one ship to the other, Billy jumps up and bids good-bye to the "'old Rights-of-Man'" (p. 49). The lieutenant in charge, "honest" (p. 105) though he be, is immediately suspicious of the new man. He takes the parting sally as a "sly slur at impressment" (p. 49). This suspicion of Billy is unwarranted, Melville tells us. This conclusion the lieutenant and the other officers of the warship reach upon longer acquaintance with the new man. But their confidence in Billy does not slacken their distrust of the other impressed men. Their continued suspicion is a

chief cause of their verdict in Billy's trial. At this critical time when "'the people'" are all too ready to show their disaffection, the slightest mitigation of strict discipline cannot be afforded. The crew would interpret it as weakness.

One of the reasons Basil March in Hazard can bear to leave Boston, where he has lived for twenty years, is that despite this protracted residence and his marriage to a local girl, he has never become a proper Bostonian. He tells Dryfoos "'I had got used to it; but it was hardly my city, except by marriage'" (p. 235). New York is different. It holds out for awhile, but it is prepared to accept anyone, eventually, who is a success.

But the newcomers themselves are, in turn, suspicious of later arrivals. March, the first editor Fulkerson talks into joining the new enterprise, is never comfortable with the second, Beaton. Colonel Woodford, a transplanted F. F. V., abhors the radicalism of the German immigrant, Lindau. Old Dryfoos, the nouveau riche, believes Beaton's intentions toward his daughter are not what they ought to be. Beaton, a boy from Syracuse who has established himself as a fashionable artist in the metropolis, tries to dissuade Alma Leighton, who arrives from upstate St. Barnaby, from pushing her similar ambitions. And so it goes.

Jee Hagadorn had moved into the Copperhead neighborhood some ten years before the story begins. For years he had been "the rejected stone" (p. 52). His ways were different,

and the people did not like them--or him. But when times changed so that Jee's abolitionism became the popular faith, all suspicions vanished. They were replaced by a positive faith, and the Hagadorn family replaced the Beech family as the leading one in the neighborhood.

Clark's Ox-Bow begins with Croft and Carter, two cowboys from the other side of the range, riding into town. They immediately discover that the community is "'touchy'" (p. 18) about all outsiders, even cowboys like themselves. Throughout all the subsequent action of organizing the posse, trailing the rustlers, taking and then trying them, Croft and Carter are partially guided by their awareness that the others are suspicious of them. Major Tetley pointedly reminds Carter, "'This is only very slightly any of your business, my friend. Remember that'" (p. 208).

When the three supposed rustlers and murderers are captured, their being complete strangers is one of the most damaging facts against them. Martin, the young leader of this group, is from Ohio, Hardwick, the old man, is so simple-minded that he cannot remember where he is from, and the third is a literal alien, a Mexican. This makes the hanging easier. Finally, the cowboy posse wants to lynch the men it has caught because it is suspicious of the men who speak out against the hanging. These, the lawyer, Judge Tyler, the storekeeper, Davies, the Negro handyman, Sparks, the Preacher, Reverend Osgood, are not cowboys, are not really riders,

are redolent of the East.

The outsider in these five stories is so primarily for the most obvious of reasons: he is a comparatively new arrival from another geographical place. But the group's suspicion of the outsider is not based simply on his different geographic origin; it is based on the notion that this different origin betokens a real and important difference of beliefs, attitudes, values, and so on, between the outsider and the group, particularly within or toward the latter's especial realm. This suspicion tends to be even more intense if the new arrival is not from a different geographical area but rather is from a different ideological one. This is the situation in the religious realm of Joan, in the military realm of Caine Mutiny, in the intellectual realm of Faithful, and in the political realm of Advise.

The organized church in Twain's Joan is convinced something is wrong about the simple, unlettered girl and her claimed communication with unworldly Voices. Her oft-repeated claim that her activities are carrying on God's work here on earth constitutes an invasion of the ecclesiastic's realm. She has had no training, no ordination. She is a woman. Her methods could not be more unorthodox. She is totally different from them. Furthermore, the Voices she claims to hear are not the established and traditional line of communication between heaven and earth. This innovation particularly arouses the deep suspicion of the clergy. This situation

just cannot be right. If Joan truly hears Voices, then she is duped, they believe. The Voices just cannot be those of angels or saints because heaven does not operate that way. They must be devils speaking to her.

The world of Caine Mutiny is much like that of the other Navy story, Budd. Mutiny's military men are acutely aware of the other American world, the civilian one. During this wartime they have been disconcerted by the tremendous influx of erstwhile civilians into their ranks. A mutual aversion for each other characterizes the two groups, but a tradition of "fair play," particularly among the regulars, counteracts this bias, at least on the practical level.

The "Book" opens with the delivery of Captain Breakstone's considered opinion that the undesirable stink of "'regulars versus reserves'" (p. 350) taints the case. Lt. Barney Greenwald, the appointed defense counsel, thinks all the regulars, pointedly including Queeg, are ipso facto heroes who stand "'guard on this fat dumb and happy country of ours'" (p. 416). Those he is defending, reserves, are "'fools [who] gang up on a skipper . . . made jackasses of themselves, and put a ship out of action'" (p. 352). "'They deserve to get slugge'" (p. 351). In the civilian world it had been a mixed blessing to be a "'red-hot Jewish lawyer'" (p. 350), but, he says, "'I've always had a fair shake in the Navy'" (p. 387).

The Regular psychiatrist, Doctor Lundeen, calls Comman-

der Queeg's "identity as a naval officer . . . the essential balancing factor. . . . [in his] paranoid personality" (pp. 411-412). The Reserve psychiatrist, Dr. Bird, testifies that "'most military careers are'" compensations for a "'disturbance'" (p. 416). The old veteran, Captain Blakeley, presiding on the bench, squints "at the Freudian doctor as though he were some unbelievable freak" (p. 417). From the beginning to the end of the trial, the regulars versus reserves dichotomy characterizes the Caine case.

Professor Ivan Goldberg, Edward Cavan's great rival in Faithful's Harvard University English Department, believes "'that in American democracy as it is, the intellectual is isolated, suspected and never part of political life, at best an amateur, at worst a dupe as Wallace proved to be'" (p. 197). Here the categories are intellectual and non-intellectual. Because the latter dominate American life, the former are outsiders. Here we have the expression by the outsider rather than the insider of the felt suspicion.

Cavan and his circle, Harvard intellectuals, do not believe the separation is unbridgeable. They resist being shut in the ivory tower prison the non-intellectuals wish to lock them in. They form the Harvard Teachers Union, lead the American Civil Liberties Union, lend their names to various activist, liberal committees. They accuse their fellow intellectuals, like Goldberg, who do not do likewise, of behaving like ostriches. They despise the conventional, mate-

realistic success like Edward's sister Isabel and her surgeon-husband--"the perfect picture of middle-class indifference and selfishness, both of them" (p. 168). Coming to know Isabel, they find her, indeed, a non-intellectual, but nevertheless perceptive and attractive, certainly not despicable. Her fear and suspicion of them, and theirs of her, are temporarily allayed. But the Epilogue indicates that the Harvard group's fear and suspicion of the great unwashed is, indeed, correct.

The sympathetic focus in Advise is again on the inside group rather than on some outsiders. The Senate is an exclusive, fashionable, prestigious, puissant club. Those Americans inside have arrived. They are national figures. Advise concentrates upon an inner core of Senators who are the most powerful and influential. They might be called the Senate Establishment. They are not so secure, however, that they do not see rivals threatening them. It is not newly elected members of the club who raise their hackles. It is rather individuals outside their ranks who seem to them to be invading their premises that they suspect, people like corporation chairmen and union presidents (pp. 45-46, 55-57), or publicity-conscious pundits like Bernard Baruch and Cardinal Spellman (p. 74). But these are comparatively minor irritants. A major irritant is the Press. Every few pages in Advise a section occurs in which the gathered reporters make their conjectures about what is going on. Because their

ideas get published, because they have a large national following, and because they can slant the news, they have power and influence on the legislative process, and the Senators resent this. Another major irritant is the Administration. The Senators feel that the President, his cabinet officers, and his bureau chairmen have a tendency to intrude upon their legislative domain by devising programs without the Senate's help or advice being sought and then submitting them, expecting them to be consented to. It seems to the Senators that the administration and Press use each other and assist each other in this creeping encroachment upon legislative prerogative.

These traditional names, rivals, uniforms, and so on undoubtedly begin as unconscious habits. Prescriptions of one kind or another follow, and they become custom. As time hallows them and ceremonial activities accrete around them, they become rituals. A naval captain's title and uniform in themselves are customs, but when he and it receive a salute, a small ritual has been performed. The insider's suspicion of the newcomer is customary, and, when these feelings crystallize into the bringing of formal charges, a ritual is begun, a trial. Courtney Robinson's wearing his costume in the halls of the U. S. Senate is maintaining a tradition, but his standing before his mirror, his knotting his tie, settling his collar, patting his locks into place, and putting his rose into his buttonhole, every morning, just so, is the

performance of a ritual, albeit small, private, and personal.

The word ritual suggests the word rites and two particular rites that are most important rituals in our present American society and in most societies--weddings and funerals. These are equally prominent literary conventions, being the typical conclusion of comedies and tragedies, notably Shakespearean ones. Weddings are generally satisfying rituals. The ceremony itself is rigidly stylized and consists of a series of prescribed sayings and actions on the part of the principals. Everyone present has a part to play. The paranympths march in and out and serve as bearers of paraphernalia. Fathers give away, and mothers cry. The audience gossips about the whole affair and congratulates the members of the wedding. Everyone wears his best, brightest clothes and looks. Emotions, usually happy, are generated and usually displayed publicly. And it is all approved by society.

Bravo includes the wedding scene of Don Camillo and Donna Violetta, leading characters. They are the familiar, to Cooper readers, Major Heyward, Alice Munro duo. The scene is presented in entirety, beginning with the bride's receiving the sacrament of confession, then proceeding through the lighting of candles and saying of the nuptial mass, to the concluding benediction. Cooper assures us that "a deeper feeling than that which usually pervades a marriage ceremony" (p. 249) obtains here. The author tries to show us and does assert, several times in the course of describing the cere-

mony, that the rite is an effective one. It is hardly a successful effort.

The next wedding is in the third book, Hazard. It is that of Fulkerson, the manager, and the practical-minded Virginia belle, Madison Woodburn. But the scene is not presented. Several scenes of Fulkerson's courtship are presented at some length, particularly the final one in which he proposes marriage. The responses of a number of the other characters to the announcement of the forthcoming marriage are given. The coming wedding is referred to by the groom repeatedly, for the chief significance of all the occurrences now, to him, is their effect upon this happy event. The scene itself and all its emotion and satisfaction, after this buildup, is omitted. It occurs; that is all the reader is told. "Fulkerson took a little time to get married, and went on his wedding journey out to Niagara, and down the St. Lawrence to Quebec over the line of travel that the Marches had taken on their wedding journey" (p. 550). We are not told where they were married, who married them, whether their friends attended, what they wore, or what the weather was.

The next wedding is in the next to last book. It is the wedding of George Hastings and Pen Wallace in Faithful. It again is omitted. He is a Ph. D. candidate; she is a senior in the October, 1949, setting of the story. They have an understanding, but not a formal engagement. In the

course of the story they have several casual dates. He is very much in love with her and cannot imagine a future without her. He automatically turns to her for all his emotional needs, for understanding. In the Epilogue, five years later, they are not the same individuals, but rather "Pen and George, safely married at last when George got his assistant professorship" (pp. 263-264). The wedding has occurred sometime in the interim.

The marriage of Hal Knox and Crystal Danta in Advise is not omitted. These two are minor characters, the young children of Senators, one of whom, Orrin Knox, is a major character. That they are engaged and the wedding is only a few days off is narrated in the novel's first few pages. It is a minor theme that is counterpointed among the others by the youngsters appearance in brief, interspersed scenes, until they are finally married on page 662, the thirteenth day of the story. They do not reappear in the novel's remaining four days and hundred pages.

The wedding is not, however, described in any kind of objective detail. It is presented only from the viewpoint of the groom's mother. For her it is a highly emotional and satisfying experience. She chuckles happily throughout the ceremony. But to the reader, unless she is one who is or is about to become a mother-in-law and can thus identify with this point of view, the scene is flat. The expected emotion or even interest is not generated.

Four marriages in nine novels is a rather meager average, about as meager as the treatment of them. Two near misses, marriages clearly intended but not yet performed by the novel's end, continue this general tendency of slighting this ritual. Everyone in Advise knows that Bob Munson and Dolly Harrison are going to be married. Everyone approves. As Krishna Khaleel, the Indian ambassador observes, it is "'a consummation devoutly to be wished'" (p. 48). The couple are not, however, exactly waiting for the ceremony; Bob is already sharing the bed of Washington's leading hostess. One of the immediate aftermaths of Brigham Anderson's death and Bob's resignation as Majority Leader is that they decide to regularize their situation by marriage. The date remains indefinite, although the general feeling is that it will be soon.

Likewise, the intended marriage of Jeff Beech and Esther Hagadorn is known and approved by everyone in Copperhead; the youngsters are joked about it at the story's end. The date is not set, but even though it is now November, the marriage will not be long postponed.

It is obvious that the wedding ceremony does not serve as a suitable ritual in these communities. The two that are presented show this even better than the four that are not. The wedding of Don Camillo and Donna Violetta is conducted hastily and furtively in the lady's chambers late at night. The groom holds his hand on the hilt of his sword throughout

the ceremony as a warning to Annina, the state's secret agent, who has intruded upon them, to hold her tongue. The minute the wedding is over the couple precipitiously flee their enemies, but they are not precipitate enough. They are intercepted, and the bride is abducted. It is altogether an ill-fated rite.

Hal Knox and Crystal Danta are included in Advise for the sole purpose, it seems, of having a marriage. After all, it is spring, "the winds are warm, the trees are abruptly green, the golden fountains of forsythia rise in every street" (p. 333). It is the traditional season of love. It gives the author the occasion to put in the bride's mouth the banal observation, the Monday after Brig's suicide and the day before her wedding, "'People always have to keep going'" (p. 616). The author juxtaposes the Senator's funeral and the young people's wedding in order to embody this flabby sentiment in an action. Forgetting that he has scheduled the marriage for Wednesday, without a word of explanation he marries them suddenly on Tuesday evening, just hours after the funeral. He wants, it must be inferred, to make his comment pointedly. Since all of the principals and guests at the wedding were also mourners at the funeral, the marriage is a subdued rite.

Funerals are better fare. More of them appear, and they serve better, both as inherently satisfying rites and in providing the group with a renewed sense of unity and

common identity, than do the weddings. Bravo contains one such funeral, that of the old fisherman, Antonio Vecchio. It begins with a mob of at least a thousand, probably more, fishermen wildly rowing their boats to the shore. In the lead boat is the body of Antonio. He was a favorite among them, he has been murdered, and they want justice. Proceeding up the Grand Canal, "the boats began to loosen, and to take something of the form of a funeral procession" (p. 326). Now they happen upon a gondola holding a Carmelite monk and press him aboard the catafalque vessel.

The spectacle was now striking. In front rowed the gondola which contained the remains of the dead. The widening of the canal, as it approached the port, permitted the rays of the moon to fall upon the rigid features of old Antonio, which were set in such a look as might be supposed to characterize the dying thoughts of a man so suddenly and so fearfully destroyed. The Carmelite, bareheaded, with clasped hands, and a devout heart, bowed his head at the feet of the body, with his white robes flowing in the light of the moon. A single gondolier guided the boat, and no other noise was audible but the splash of the water, as the oars slowly fell and rose together. This silent procession lasted a few minutes, and then the tremulous voice of the monk was heard chanting the prayers for the dead. The practised fishermen, for few in that disciplined church, and that obedient age, were ignorant of those solemn rites, took up the responses in a manner that must be familiar to every ear that has ever listened to the sounds of Italy, the gentle washing of the element, on which they glided, forming a soft accompaniment. Casement after casement opened while they passed, and a thousand curious and anxious faces crowded the balconies as the funeral cortege swept slowly on (p. 329).

This is an impressive beginning. Cooper has a predilection for describing such scenes in great detail. And it is only the beginning. The funeral goes on and on, for about

twenty pages, two nights and a day. It is continuous, but the narration of it is not. After the initial processional up the Canal, late in the evening, four additional funeral scenes are interspersed among other episodes. Although the phrase, "meanwhile, back at the church" does not occur, this is the general effect. These recurrences emphasize the quiet continuity of the obsequies amid the erratic progress of the still living characters toward their destinations.

When the day dawned on the following morning. . . . the priests still chanted their prayers for the dead near the body of old Antonio (p. 383). . . . But the day passed away. . . . The prayers for the dead were continued with little intermission, and masses were said before the altars of half the churches for the repose of the fisherman's soul (p. 395). . . . The following morning brought the funeral. . . . Masses were still chanted for the soul of old Antonio before the altar of St. Mark (p. 425).

The body lies in state in the great Cathedral of St. Mark while all these prayers and masses are being said. It is open to the public and thousands come and go to see this man who is receiving such a signal attention. Antonio's funeral, together with the arrest of Jacopo for his murder, are the talk of all Venice.

"All the men of the Lagunes" (p. 425) attend the funeral. They wear their best clothes. So does the corpse. A gilded and carved bier has also been provided together with official bearers. Another procession takes place, this time with marchers instead of rowers. The chief mourner is the solitary member of the dead man's family, a fifteen-year-old

grandson. He is very brave, but when it is all over, he weeps.

The wild mob of fishermen which makes up the first processional had at that time decided (and correctly, the reader knows, for he was present at the assassination) that Antonio was a victim of the state, another in a long series of political murders. They are so outraged that they violently seize an official state gondola which happens at this inauspicious moment to enter the Canal. Such violence is extremely unusual among these "disciplined" men and in that "obedient age." They proceed to the Square of St. Mark's and set up a clamor in front of the Doge's palace. The armed halberdiers are tolerated, for the crowd knows it can brush them aside if to do so becomes desirable.

The officials deem the situation extremely grave. The secret Council of Three is convoked for an emergency session. It hesitates to use force to quell this riot because it fears that the troops may join the fishermen rather than disperse them. The Doge and others of the most respected patricians are finally sent to speak to the mob. The prince's reasonable appearance and shrewd questioning upset the mob's confidence in their view of the true nature of the murder. The Doge offers them the use of the great Cathedral for the funeral rites. He commands that no expense be spared. The body is ceremoniously brought across the square and into the Cathedral. The squads of clergy permanently stationed there

begin "all the imposing ceremonials of the Catholic ritual" (p. 338). Lulled by this sudden turn of events and the swiftly commencing ritual, the fishermen forget their animosity against "the agents of the police" (p. 338).

- The city had been about to split wide open. Class was arrayed against class. The fishermen confronted their rulers; they demanded action. They had right on their side, and might. But the oppressor turned aside their wrath with a soft answer and the proffered religious rite. During the remainder of the night, all the next day and night, and finally concluding in the burial the next morning, this ritual serves to reunite the divided city. The offended fishermen remember that they are all Catholics together; they remember that they are all Venetians together. It is not religion, exactly, that is the opium of these people, nor is it bread. It is the combination of the two in the Communion wafer. It is ritual that is the opium.

Budd also presents a funeral. It is that of Billy himself. Melville in his presentation of it is as characteristically constrained as Cooper is verbose. He presents it in three consecutive paragraphs. It takes only a few minutes, not two nights and a day. The body does not lie in state. Immediately after the hanging it is prepared for burial. Beginning with an unusual circumlocution, Melville writes:

Now each proceeding that follows a mortal sentence pronounced at sea by a drumhead court is characterized by promptitude not perceptibly merging into hurry,

though bordering that. The hammock, the one which had been Billy's bed when alive, having already been ballasted with shot and otherwise prepared to serve for his canvas coffin, the last offices of the sea undertakers, the sailmaker's mates, were now speedily completed (p. 126).

The author next dismisses any possibility of a description of the scene, such as Cooper's, for "the details of this closing formality it needs not to give" (p. 126). It is intimated, however, that the burial at sea is a rigidly prescribed procedure allowing no deviation. All hands must be present and are stationed just so, according to the watches they belong to. The officers are in another group and arranged according to rank. The funeral service is read, the plank on which the hammock-shroud is resting is tilted, and the body slides into the sea.

One effect of the hurried funeral and of its like telling is to make it all seem just the opposite from that in *Bravo*. There it is a protracted and quiet, peaceful accompaniment to the usual fervent activity of the city. Here it is a brief, passional interlude in a long, placid voyage. The funeral in each case, then, is a contrast from the usual tone and pace of the proceedings. The difference helps, undoubtedly, to explain the effectiveness of the ritual.

What then does Melville do in his three funerary paragraphs if he does not transcribe the "details of this . . . formality"? Chiefly, he treats it as a psychological phenomenon, telling us of the responses of the spectators.

About these he is not at all specific. He declares that the whole proceeding, when concluded by the noisy attendance of the circling seagulls, is, to the men "big with no prosaic significance" (p. 127). They give vent to the emotion all this concentrated spectacle causes by beginning "an uncertain movement . . . in which some encroachment was made" (p. 127). To the officers it is ominous. Their solution to the situation is to start immediately another ritual, quite different, not in the least religious, but extremely common on the warship, the call to quarters. In all the formal ceremony involved in this ritual--the military assemblage about the guns and at other appointed stations, the mustering, the reporting, the stylized questions and responses--the men's aroused emotion is channeled and dissipated.

The men are potentially mutinous. They know this; the officers know it. Billy was a favorite among them as Antonio Vecchio had been among the fishermen. The two classes, officers and men, during the funeral are arrayed against each other on the decks of the ship. The ritual of the funeral has hurried the emotional response of the men to Billy's death into a dubious swell. But then it is harmlessly purged in the disciplined activity of the military ritual.

After this the men can and do talk about the execution and funeral and their own emotional participation. The visual and emotional experiences, when recollected, augment each other. They become increasingly big, superstitious,

semi-religious. And their response is now safe; it is not directed against anyone or anything.

It is apropos this quick succession of actions that Captain Vere's well-known statement, the one which reads "With mankind . . . forms, measured forms, are everything" (p. 128), is quoted by the author. I think that for "measured forms" one can read ritual, and for "everything" one can read opium--opium in the same figurative sense that it has in Marx's statement--without doing any violence to the meaning here.

The third of these stories, Howell's Hazard, contains two funerals. They both occur close to the end of the story, just as do those of Antonio and Billy. The first is that of young Conrad Dryfoos. Again, as in Budd, the author foregoes a description of the scene. Unlike Billy but like Antonio, the body does lie in state before the funeral. And this scene is presented in considerable detail.

The scene is not a church but rather the Dryfoos home, pretentious, "vainly rich and foolishly unfit" (p. 474). This setting characterizes the ceremony. The body lies in the drawing-room, which is "full of the awful sweetness of the flowers" (p. 475). Conrad had been a fellow executive, with March and Fulkerson, of the Every Other Week magazine. They, along with Mrs. March, have been at the Dryfoos home all evening. They have taken charge and have made all the necessary arrangements. "Fulkerson was not without that

satisfaction in the business-like despatch of all the details which attends each step in such an affair and helps to make death tolerable even to the most sorely stricken" (p. 472). As they walk home about midnight, it is apparent that their activities have comforted them. They are aware, however, that the Dryfoos family is not comforted. They particularly remark upon how badly the father, old Jacob, is taking his son's death.

"'That poor boy's father!' sighed Mrs. March. 'I can't get his face out of my sight. He looked so much worse than death'" (p. 473).

The novel leaves the friends as they board the elevated train and returns to "the bereaved family" (p. 474). Their "misery" (p. 474) is unabated. Of course, it has just been a few hours since the blow has struck them. Enough time has not yet passed to be in itself healing. But in their misery they are still vaguely dissatisfied with the way the ritual is proceeding. Yes, these friends have been there, hovering about them. But how few they are. None of the neighbors call. Nobody else calls. Nobody seems to care. To them "'it appears like folks hain't got any feelin's in New York'" (p. 474).

Finally it is midnight. It has been a long and wearying evening. It seems best to the Dryfooses that they get some rest. As they go upstairs to bed Mrs. Dryfoos, the mother, complains that they somehow are abandoning Conrad.

One of the details Fulkerson has taken care of is to hire a professional watcher. He is sitting in the candle-lit drawing-room in attendance upon the body. But Mrs. Dryfoos "'can't feel right to have it left to hirelin's so'" (p. 474). Perhaps her reference here is not only to the watcher but to Fulkerson and March, for they are employees of her husband. And so the dissatisfaction is because there have not been enough people, friends, neighbors, acquaintances bustling about, showing their sympathy, caring for the family, and paradoxically also because the family have not been self-sufficient in their time of crisis.

The chief mourner is the father. The others go to bed, but he sits up, alone, in the dark in the dining room. Finally, toward morning, after the watcher has gone to sleep and he can be alone with his son, he tiptoes up to the bier. Here he is joined by his wife. Her innocent chatter together with the sight of the wound he had given Conrad now precipitates his tears. This outburst is the conclusion of the direct presentation of Conrad's death rites, for the next sentence carries the story forward to "the evening after the funeral" (p. 477).

We learn subsequently that not all the important characters attend the funeral. Margaret Vance, the socialite whom the Dryfoos girls envy and who has been Conrad's closest friend, does not attend, though she sends flowers. Angus Beaton, who has personal connections with three of the Dry-

fooses, does not attend. The funeral is undoubtedly as disappointing to Conrad's family as the watching. But it is not so to their friends, particularly the Marches. "Their affliction brought the Dryfooses into humaner relations with the Marches, who had hitherto regarded them as a necessary evil, as the odious means of their own prosperity" (p. 483). The subsequent paragraphs make it clear that it is not just the "affliction" which has brought about the changed feeling. It could easily have been a kind of abstract sympathy, such as that they felt for the traction strikers or the downtrodden East siders. It is the Marches' active participation in the ceremony that causes their changed attitude. Since the Lindau business Mrs. March had ceased to call on the Dryfoos ladies. March and his employer had not been speaking to each other. They communicated through Fulkerson. They are capitalist and labor arrayed against each other. But after the funeral Mrs. March resumes calling. Dryfoos and March commence speaking. Their former differences are not ironed out; they have just disappeared.

Lindau's funeral, a few days and a few pages later, is held in the Dryfoos house also. It is in every way a direct contrast to the earlier one. The watching is not presented; the funeral is. It is well attended. "All the more intimate contributors of Every Other Week . . . came" (p. 506). All the novel's important characters are there, with the single exception of the contrary Beaton. Margaret Vance is specif-

ically present this time. Her attendance is a particular satisfaction to Mela Dryfoos. All the arrangements before and during the service are handled by the Dryfooses, not by their friends. For all these reasons the rite is in itself effective for them. Everyone, but especially the Dryfooses, draw a measure of content from it. It also serves to heal the split that had opened among the Every Other Week group. As the priest reads the Anglican burial service, March reflects upon the effort of atonement that the funeral is-- Jacob Dryfoos' gesture toward both his son and Lindau. It "had its magnanimity, its pathos, and there was poetry that appealed to him in the reconciliation through death of men, of ideas, of conditions, that could only have gone warring on in life" (p. 506).

Joan contains no funeral. There could be none for the martyred girl. Because she died a condemned heretic, the church's funeral rites were denied her. Because of both the religious and political situation, attendance at a funeral by anyone sympathetically interested in her would have been fraught with danger. And funerals, at least their form and ceremony, are primarily for the comfort of the mourners, not the dead. Inclusion of a funeral ritual would have to be ironic, and Twain's tone is bitter, not ironic.

Joan's body was consumed by the fire. After the auto-da-fé was over and the crowd had departed, the executioner gathered her ashes. Accompanied by only a few official wit-

nesses, he took them to the middle of the bridge over the Seine in Rouen and threw them into the river. None of this action is included in Twain's story. Not even in the "Conclusion," which picks up the story after her death and in four pages carries it forward sixty-odd years, does the author in any way indicate or hint at any kind of disposition of her earthly remains.

Ox-Bow includes the brief statement that a burial takes place. The entire posse is eager to quit the little valley where the three bodies dangle from the tree limb. Three of them, however, stay behind. "The Bartlett boys and Amigo remained to drive the cattle, and to do the burying before they started" (pp. 247-248). That is all. Evidently they are buried on the spot with despatch and no ceremony. As in Joan, a funeral would only have been a mockery.

The funeral of Edward Cavan is one of Faithful's most important events. It is the most intensively presented of all these novels' funerals. It is one complete chapter. It is not something going on quietly at church while the main lines of action in the story continue in another part of the city, as in Bravo. No shifting back and forth between funeral and other places or actions occurs. The scene begins with fierce old Grace Kimlock walking hurriedly to the church, it remains continuously in the church for the duration of the service, and then follows Grace out of the church and into the taxi she is going to take home.

The ritual is presented chronologically. It begins with Grace's hearing "the tolling bell" (p. 213). Inside the church she is met with a solemn "hush" (p. 214). An usher, her old friend Fosca, comes forward and escorts her to her seat. She is "irritated" by the soft music oozing from the organ" (p. 214). She looks about to see who else is there and is pleased by the numbers but more pleased by their excellent quality. The "great men of Harvard" (p. 214) and of the New York literary world are attending. Then she sees the draped coffin and the burning candles. They are meaningless to her. She turns back to scanning the congregation. She sees Isabel, the chief mourner, enter and be escorted to her pew, down front, which causes a stir. Then the service begins. She follows it with a part of her mind. Suddenly it is over, the candles are snuffed, and Grace is crying, "tears streaming down her face" (p. 221). She stumbles out and into the taxi. The funeral is over without any cemetery ceremony, for the body is to be shipped back to Iowa for burial. She is surprised at how emotional an experience it turns out to be. But she feels better. Riding in the taxi, "she discovered that she was smiling" (p. 222).

All the previous authors used the common, eighteenth and nineteenth century point of view usually called authorial or editorial omniscience to present their funerals. Miss Sarton employs the more recent technique that Friedman denominates "multiple selective omniscience."³⁰ This is a tech-

nique she employs consistently throughout the novel. With the exception of one chapter that is divided between Julia and Isabel, each chapter takes the point of view of just one character. Six different characters alternate as such point-of-view characters. But in this funeral chapter this pace of shifting from character to character is greatly speeded. Seven shifts among the six people occur during the one chapter. In this way a contrast between the funeral and the rest of the story's actions is achieved. A like contrast obtains, I have already pointed out, in Bravo and Budd, though it is achieved by different means. As the sailors in Budd, the teachers here are in the midst of a routine-marked round of daily activities, classes, committee work, conferring with colleagues, and home for dinner. Students attend classes, study, and date. Old friends gossip to each other on the telephone and over shared cups of tea. All this daily round is interrupted by the unique interlude of Cavan's funeral. And though the hurrying footsteps approaching the church, "under the spell of the tolling bell, automatically slowed down" (p. 213), though the soft music inside the church, the flowers, the drapery, the words of the service are designed to quiet and soothe the restless spirit, the comparatively rapid pace of their telling, particularly the greatly increased frequency of shifts in points of view, gives the impression of a frenetic scene, of a carefully controlled and hidden frenzy. In the novel's other, more lei-

surely developed scenes, the characters' emotions, especially grief and despair, are dramatized rather than shown in an expository scene.

The various point-of-view characters are scattered throughout the church. One is an usher. Another is a pallbearer. Four of them, all women, are mourners. Grace Kimlock sits in "a pew near the middle of the church" (p. 218). Julia is "sitting two rows behind Grace" (p. 218). Isabel is "in the front pew" (p. 220). Pen Wallace is "sitting at the back" (p. 220). They are located for us because their isolated positions are emblematic of their being totally discrete. During the service Grace suddenly "knew . . . her own intolerable loneliness" (p. 216). Ivan Goldberg, the usher, "the only Jew among them, held himself forcibly apart" (p. 217). George Hastings, the pallbearer, is "self-conscious" about his unfamiliar and conspicuous role. "Responsibility kept him apart" (p. 218). Julia's consciousness, not of herself, but of the others present keeps her "from identifying herself somewhere, somehow, with something" (p. 218). Isabel is a "lonely figure" (p. 216) sitting all by herself in the front pew center. Pen's response to the sight of the grieving George, who loves her, is the thought, "What is it that separates us?" (p. 221).

All of them yearn to be communicants, not in a religious sense but in a social, human one. For each of them the funeral becomes an intense emotional experience. For some of

them it is also a beginning toward "'solidarity'" (p. 247) with the others, a movement away from their discreteness. Julia, for instance "began almost in spite of herself, to pray, as if the vertical appeal of prayer might somehow make it possible for the horizontal communion, which she craved, to take place at last" (p. 219). At the conclusion of the service, in the pause before the Lord's Prayer was begun, "in that second of deeply shared emotion, the thing they had all been waiting for came to pass" (p. 220). They all feel it, a momentary sense of communion, sweep over them like a "wave" (p. 220).

We do not, then, have two hostile or potentially hostile groups confronting each other here as in the funerals of Antonio, Billy, and Conrad. We have a number of lonely individuals who are transformed by the shared emotion generated by the ritual into a group of communicants. The ritual has successfully performed its function. The group has survived its depletion; its vigor is renewed.

The last of these stories, Advise, includes the death of two important characters and so, of course, includes two funerals, for Drury passes nothing by. The first is that of Senator Brigham Anderson. It begins with his two best friends, Senators Knox and Smith, riding in a taxi to the Washington Cathedral for the service. On the way Smith makes a

puerile jest . . . and their talk did not touch upon

what was uppermost in their minds, the sadness of the event in which they were about to participate. It was by just such deliberate concentration on other things that people got through such moments, and politicians, who must attend many farewells for many people, usually had the technique highly developed (p. 643).

Once they arrive they see a number of close friends standing outside the door and talking. They join the group. It is composed entirely of Senators, Representatives, and the Vice-President, in other words, of prominent politicians. They prove indeed to have the ability that the author in his editorial opinion blandly asserts is what enables people to survive such ordeals as funerals, the ability to shut their minds to the whole proceedings. They honor it with their bodily presence, assuming that such attendance is adequate.

They talk politics. The dead man was a Senator; the only significance to his death that they see is the political consequences it is already having and will continue to have. Not only that, but it soon becomes clear that to them the chief significance of the funeral itself, as well as of the death, is political. Their talk centers around the fact that both the President and the nominee, Leffingwell, who they know have a very direct responsibility for Anderson's death, having applied the pressures that broke him, are nevertheless attending. Their presence is a political event. Anderson's friends, after expressing shock, are grimly satisfied, for it is a political "'error in judgment'" by which "'they lose votes'" (p. 644).

Smith in the midst of this political talk wonders bitterly,

"Isn't anybody interested in just honoring Brig?"
 "We are," Stanley Danta said quietly. And he repeated slowly, as if to himself. "We are."
 "Bob," Orrin said, drawing him to one side, "when are we having the meeting?" (p. 644).

Neither the eminent politicians nor the author seems to be aware of the irony in this conversation. Here are these men fatuously assured that they are honoring their friend Brig and that their political opponents are dishonoring him, each by their mere physical presence. In the midst of the anomalous political discussion Smith asks his question without realizing it is a barbed comment on the whole conduct and attitude of Brig's friends here gathered. One Senator asserts, in reply, and the others take the truth of his assertion to be self-evident, that they are honoring him. But the simple statement will not do. The plain truth is that these men are essentially political creatures and as such are incapable of honoring a dead man. After all, he has no vote. But they can use him for furthering their own political ends; they can even use the funeral.

Orrin Knox, represented as the dead man's closest friend, as having a kind of fatherly regard for his much younger colleague, is so insensitive to the human, as opposed to the political, aspects of the funeral, that his remark, which is the next one after the slight interruption of the question and rejoinder about honoring Brig, is a resumption of the

practical political considerations that they all had been talking about.

Finally it is time and they reluctantly go in.

And now, Orrin thought, bracing himself with a sudden intake of breath that hit his lungs like a knife, all I have to do is think about something else for forty-five minutes and maybe I can get through without making a spectacle of myself (p. 645).

Here is another ludicrous failure of self-knowledge on the part of the character and of intelligence on the part of the author. Yes, granted the character is going to think about something other than what is going on in front of his eyes, but as far as thinking is concerned, he is going to go right on thinking about the same thing, practical politics, that he has been thinking about all along, not "something else."

He found gratefully that this was not so difficult to do, for he made himself look forward with deliberate impatience to the committee meeting, and planning for it kept his mind pretty well occupied. . . . He gradually became so intent upon his plans . . . that the service passed, mercifully, as in a dream (pp. 645-646).

At this funeral the two parties are arrayed against each other just as in Bravo and Budd. On one side of the front door is "the congressional group" (p. 645). On the other side is the President's "people" (p. 645). The center of the one group is Orrin Knox, the Senator from Illinois, and the center of the other is the President. As the President approaches the door to enter, "for a long second he and the senior Senator from Illinois looked one another straight in the eye" (p. 645). They are sizing each other

up. There is no disposition on either side to do any giving in, any compromising. No reconciliation of opposites, of parties results here, as it does in Bravo, Budd, Hazard, and Faithful. The healing of the breach is a direct result in these other instances of a real participation in the funeral ritual. Since Drury believes that funerals are ordeals that one resolutely refuses to respond to, a mending here is, of course, impossible. It is not impossible from plot exigencies. Just a few pages, a few hours later, the two leaders, Knox and the President, meet in the latter's office for a long and reasonable discussion of their differences and of the whole situation. It ends with their feeling "a grudging admiration" (p. 684) for each other. The intransigence at the funeral is not plot-dictated.

The next and final funeral is that of this same President whose attendance at Senator Anderson's rites is a political event. The episode begins with a description of the official viewing of the body by the public. "For a day and a night, as tradition dictated, the dead President lay in state in the White House" (p. 743). As with the other lying in state, that of the old fisherman Antonio, the emphasis is on the number of people who come to view. No one keeps any count in Bravo, but a large percentage of the city's populace comes to the Cathedral. Here in Advise the press counts and reliably reports "that more than 200,000 people passed through 1600 Pennsylvania on this last farewell" (p. 743).

In neither Bravo nor Advise, however, do any of the major characters come to view.

Here the viewing goes on all day and all night, shorter by only half a night than the similar ceremony in Bravo. But the narration of this lengthy scene is continuous and, indeed, the whole funeral episode is presented in one uninterrupted descriptive unit, so that the impression is of a kind of marking time until this body is disposed of and the movement of the story can resume. This handling and its consequent impression are quite different from that in Bravo where the story continues in the foreground, indeed, increases its momentum, while the funeral serves as a contrasting still background.

The second act in the President's funeral is the procession. The number of viewers of this part is again an impressive total, "more than a million" (p. 743). So is the size of the cortege. "One hundred and seven limousines were in the procession, and according to the AP, which clocked it at Treasury Corner, it took half an hour to pass a given point" (p. 744). But more than the number of limousines, what is emphasized is who are in them and what they are thinking. All the important members of the government are there, including the new President and his wife. Most of the major characters of the story are there. The chief mourners, the dead man's widow, children, and grandchildren, are there. Since they fit neither category of important members of gov-

ernment or of the story, they get scant attention--half a sentence saying that they ride in the car between the catastrophe and the new President.

The thoughts of the characters are personal, are concerned with their personal political relationship with the dead man. Two of these are tinged with religious overtones. Seab Cooley had said "'He was an evil man, and the Lord has rendered judgement upon him'" (p. 745). Orrin Knox "felt a certain Old Testament judgment by Jehovah. . . . An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth--and a death for a death'" (p. 746). But nobody is thinking about the funeral per se. Everybody is thinking about other times, other places, other circumstances.

The procession concludes, not at a cemetery, but at a railroad station. The body is to be shipped back to California for burial. But this final disposition of the body does not necessarily prohibit a funeral with ritualistic impact. Cavan's body had also been shipped away for burial. At the President's rites we are told there will be "brief trainside ceremonies" (p. 746), but they are not presented. The episode concludes with the official mourners entering the station.

Here again the funeral as a ritual with significant meaning, just as with the earlier one in this novel, does not materialize. The plot calls for someone to die, and that means he will have to have a funeral, and so, unfortu-

nately, the funeral has to be described. In itself it is meaningless. It serves as an occasion to give the response of some of the major characters to the man's death, but these do not need a funeral in order to be included. No response to the ceremony of the funeral anywhere occurs. No thought even remotely akin to Captain Vere's about "measured forms" ever occurs to any of the characters. And so no reconciliation or renewal occurs. The characters continue in their hard thoughts and severe judgements of the dead man whom, though the leader of their country, elected by overwhelming majorities, and "greatly loved" (p. 743), they thought a bad man.

Copperhead and "Court Martial" contain no funerals, for no one dies.

If the sacrifice of the scapegoat is to be an effectively satisfying ritual, it cannot be concluded with the victim's death. The death must be followed by another act. That act must be, like the earlier ones, some sort of measured form. The funeral of the victim, performed in a stylized manner and participated in by the witnesses, seems to be particularly well suited for serving this need. The surviving group member can in this way overcome his erstwhile feeling of diminishment. He can rededicate himself to the group and its purpose with a new vigor and vitality so that it shall not perish from this earth.

²⁷Henry Nash Smith, p. 71.

²⁸George Arms, "Introduction," A Hazard of New Fortunes, by William Dean Howells, p. xviii.

²⁹Everett Carter, Howells and the Age of Realism (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 205, 209, 214.

³⁰Norman Friedman, "Point of View in Fiction: The Development of a Critical Concept," PMLA, LXX (December 1955), pp. 1176-1177.

CHAPTER IV

Analysis of the Scapegoat Community

The scapegoat community is usually organized into a structured hierarchy. The principle of division of labor is generally followed on the various levels of the hierarchy. Thus specialization is promoted. Experts tend to develop and the community utilizes them. Thus there comes to be a diversity within the homogeneous group. This tendency is aggravated by the practice of delegating specific tasks and authorities to ad hoc committees or specially appointed individuals. All of these practices are calculated to increase the efficiency of the community. They get the job done, they get the right job done, and they get it done right. But these practices also tend to be divisive, to rend the community asunder. The one group of these scapegoat-hero stories is already dichotomous. This condition seems, more often than not, a dangerous decomposition that needs to be combatted by the responsible members of the community. They generally do this by reiterating, clarifying the group's character and purpose. Its limitations are stressed. The group is finally seen as both a means and an end. Let us now

see how these abstract generalities become concrete and particular in the stories. I shall begin with the oldest of the groups and proceed to the youngest because a general correspondence obtains between the group's age and the degree and rigidity of its organization.

The oldest of the nine groups is the medieval church of Joan. It is well-known to be thoroughly structured and also hierarchical. The highest officials of the church, popes and archbishops, are not characters in the story. They are, however, prominently in the consciousness of the other characters. Both the examiners, the accusers, the party of the plaintiff, all of them high churchmen but lower than these top ranks, and Joan, the accused, allude to the Pope. The author provides ambition to climb the hierarchical ladder as the motive for Bishop Cauchon's villainous behavior. "He had the half-promise of an enormous prize--the Archbishopric of Rouen--if he should succeed in burning the body and damning to hell the soul of this young girl" (p. 391).

One of the organizations within the Church at this time was one whose exact purpose was to examine and, if necessary, to condemn anyone accused, like Joan, of hereticism. This was the Inquisition. "A great officer of the Inquisition was . . . sent from Paris, for the accused must be tried by the forms of the Inquisition" (pp. 328-329). But the English were afraid of the verdict this tribunal might return. They did not control it as they did individual churchmen

like Cauchon. Therefore, "force was applied to the Inquisitor, and he was obliged to submit" (p. 329). It was found that Joan need not, after all, be tried by the Inquisition. Instead, a special tribunal is gathered for this purpose.

Ever since the purchase of Joan, Cauchon had been busy packing his jury for the destruction of the Maid--weeks and weeks he had spent in this bad industry. The University of Paris had sent him a number of learned and able and trusty ecclesiastics of the stripe he wanted; and he had scraped together a clergyman of like stripe and great fame here and there and yonder, until he was able to construct a formidable court numbering half a hundred distinguished names (p. 328).

This is a group Cauchon and the English feel can get Joan convicted expeditiously. The convoking of this tribunal is in the interest of efficiency, not justice.

Cauchon, unable to use the specialists of the Inquisition, utilizes men from his group according to their skills and reputations. Nicholas Loyseleur, "of smooth speech and courteous and winning manners" (p. 332) insinuates himself into Joan's confidence so that she "opened her whole innocent heart to this creature" (p. 332). By prior arrangement between Cauchon and this duplicitous agent of his--who is also one of the judges--the bishop eavesdrops upon the rite of confession.

Examiners are men like Beaupere, "an old hand at tricks and traps and deceptive plausibilities" (p. 343). Between sessions of questioning, speeches are made to her, "Persuasion-- . . . argument, eloquence poured out upon the incorrigible captive from the mouth of a trained expert" (p. 405).

She is harangued by an everlasting "preacher" (p. 430). Her responses and answers to all these experts are sifted and weighed by the "great theologians" (p. 415) at the University of Paris. Finally, all these experts are able to wear down the one defendant, an amateur, and are able to render the desired verdict. Through their perseverance, their organization, their numbers, they get the job done.

A great historical dichotomy in the Church of this period which is reflected in the story is the Great Schism. When Joan in one of her answers refers to the Pope, the narrator remarks that

we had two or three Popes, then; only one of them could be the true Pope, of course. Everybody judiciously shirked the question of which was the true Pope and refrained from naming him, it being clearly dangerous to go into particulars in this matter (p. 361).

In 1431 the Great Schism was really over; the various anti-Popes had very little following. This dichotomy was already history, despite the words Twain puts in the mouth of the narrator. But another dichotomy was just beginning. The Council of Basel is also referred to in the questioning. This Council in 1431 was examining the Hussite heresy. Eventually a great contest of power developed between the Council and the Pope. The Council, of course, was a specially convoked body, like, in this particular, Cauchon's tribunal. Although many of the Council's proposed reforms were eventually accepted by the Church, the Council itself was repudiated as heretical. But it did get the job done. So also

with Cauchon's court. Twenty-five years later another special body was convoked by the Pope. It was called a Commission. After a thorough re-examination of the evidence and the records of the trial, the earlier verdict was set aside. "Joan's character and history came spotless and perfect" (p. 460). One way, then, of combatting the process of decomposition that this story presents is to repudiate the work of the sub-group, after the work has been accomplished.

I cannot leave this story without remarking that a division into two bodies called the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant lies behind all these temporal dichotomies, and undoubtedly helps to explain the tendency toward division and delegation. When it becomes clear that the unlettered Joan thinks there is but one Church, she is enlightened by the court.

There were two--the Church Triumphant, which is God, the saints, the angels, and the redeemed, and has its seat in heaven; and the Church Militant, which is our Holy Father the Pope, Vicar of God, the prelates, the clergy and all good christians and catholics, the which Church has its seat in the earth, is governed by the Holy Spirit, and cannot err (p. 387).

The first, it seems to me, is an end, and the second is supposed to be the means of attaining this end. But here, as usual, a tendency for the means to become also an end is apparent. It occurs in the final words, "cannot err," which imply no appeal to higher authority. The questioning must end with whatever answer is given by this body. I do not wish to pursue this line any further, for lapsing into re-

ligious questions is, because of the nature of this study, an ever-present danger to be guarded against. Furthermore, I am unqualified for such a lapse.

The final point I wish to make is that the two tendencies here, to unity and to a single authority within the group, on the one hand, and to diversity and individual expertise, on the other hand, function in the one community in the same complementary way that the two forces, centripetal and centrifugal, function in the one place.

Cooper in his usual diffuse way tells the reader of the structured hierarchy that Bravo's Venice is.

Distinctions in rank, as separated entirely from the will of the nation, formed the basis of Venetian policy. Authority, though divided, was not less a birthright than in those governments in which it was openly avowed to be a dispensation of Providence. The patrician order had its high and exclusive privileges, which were guarded and maintained with a most selfish and engrossing spirit. He who was not born to govern, had little hope of ever entering into the possession of his natural rights: while he who was, by the intervention of chance, might wield a power of the most fearful and despotic character. At a certain age all of senatorial rank (for by a specious fallacy, nobility did not take its usual appellations) were admitted into the councils of the nation. The names of the leading families were inscribed in a register, which was well entitled the "Golden Book," and he who enjoyed the envied distinction of having an ancestor thus enrolled could, with a few exceptions . . . present himself in the senate. . . .

As the senate became too numerous to conduct with sufficient secrecy and dispatch the affairs of a state that pursued a policy alike tortuous and complicated, the most general of its important interests were intrusted to a council composed of three hundred of its members. In order to avoid the publicity and delay of a body large even as this, a second selection was made, which was known as the Council of Ten, and to which

much of the executive power that aristocratical jealousy withheld from the titular chief of the state, was confided. To this point the political economy of the Venetian Republic, however faulty, had at least some merit for simplicity and frankness. The ostensible agents of the administration were known, and though all real responsibility to the nation was lost in the superior influence and narrow policy of the patricians, the rulers could not entirely escape from the odium that public opinion might attach to their unjust or illegal proceedings. But a state whose prosperity was chiefly founded on the contribution and support of dependants, and whose existence was equally menaced by its own false principles and by the growth of other and neighboring powers, had need of a still more efficient body in the absence of that executive which its own Republican pretensions denied to Venice. A political inquisition, which came in time to be one of the most fearful engines of police ever known, was the consequence. An authority as irresponsible as it was absolute, was periodically confided to another and still smaller body, which met and exercised its despotic and secret functions under the name of the Council of Three. . . .

The Council of Three met in secret, ordinarily issued its decrees without communicating with any other body, and had them enforced with a fearfulness of mystery, and a suddenness of execution, that resembled the blows of fate. The Doge himself was not superior to its authority, nor protected from its decisions, while it has been known that one of the privileged three has been denounced by his companions. There is still in existence a long list of the state maxims which this secret tribunal recognized as its rule of conduct, and it is not saying too much to affirm, that they set at defiance every other consideration but expediency,--all the recognised laws of God, and every principle of justice, which is esteemed among men (pp. 167-170).

Here in this description are seen most of the general conditions of the scapegoat community. Venice is an aristocracy, that is, a hierarchical state. Most particularly and prominently, here is the tendency to subdivide and delegate. First, the state is divided into patricians and, it is implied, plebeians. Most of the patricians become Senators.

A special part of the Senate are chosen to be the Council of Three Hundred. From this sub-group another is formed, the Council of Ten. Finally, on top of the power-pyramid, is a Council of Three. The smaller these groups, the more authority is delegated to them. And it is all done for the purpose, explicitly, of efficiency.

The highest officials of the state--the Doge and all the members of the Council of Three--are all characters acting and talking at length in Bravo. Deep obeisances are always made by everyone else to these figures. Senators appear at public ceremonies but keep apart from the populace. Lower in the scale and showing their awareness of their condition are a ship captain, a Jewish merchant, a gondolier, and numerous servants. Everyone is anxious that he be approached with the right amount of deference by anyone who is his inferior in the scale. Venice is an extremely class-conscious state.

Cooper's description of the Venetian state does not indicate the presence of specialization. Nevertheless, this characteristic marks the community to an extraordinary degree. It can best be illustrated by Jacopo Frontoni, the bravo of the title.

A bravo is a hired assassin. The state employs a number of such desperadoes. Jacopo is one of the state's secret agents. No one, not even the Doge, knows this identity except the Council of Three. Everyone thinks that he is a

free lance artist of the stilletto, ready to turn his hand for whomever has the price of his hire. But Jacopo does not kill for the state--or for anyone. Although he wears the assassin's stilletto, he never draws it. What does he do as an agent? He answers this himself.

"Assassinations were frequent, and called for the care of the police; in short . . . I consented to let them circulate such tales as might draw the eye of the public on me. . . . When rumor grew too strong for appearances, the three took measures to direct it to other things; and when it grew too faint for their wishes it was fanned" (p. 435).

Jacopo's explicit duties, very specialized, are to act as a sort of moral lightning rod, drawing the public's indignation. He stalks the quays and lounges in the porticoes and takes the public's opprobrium. In short, he has been hired to be a scapegoat, to take the blame for crimes that are not his. He does not realize, until too late, that he cannot go on taking the blame indefinitely without eventually suffering the punishment for them. This refinement of specialization works for the Venetian rulers; the populace is diverted.

The city is homogeneous. Citizenship is by birth only, and hence she has retained a purity that other commercial centers have not. The Jewish merchant in her midst is tolerated because he performs certain beneficial tasks. But no matter how successful he is, he can never become a citizen; he will never be a Venetian. An ancestor of Don Camillo Monforte was a Venetian Senator who fell heir to lands in Calabria. These he settled upon a younger son. Now the

elder line, which had remained in Venice with its Venetian possessions, has died out, and Don Camillo, by the laws of genealogy the rightful heir, claims and petitions both for the possessions and the other inherited right, a seat in the Senate. But these are not granted and will not be granted, even though legally his. Although his ancestors were Venetian, he is not, and the Senate will not forgive him this. He has been living in the city for five years, but the Senators still refer to him, rather contemptuously, as "the Neapolitan."

All Venetians, high and low, have a fierce pride in what their city has been. All feel a sense of identity with her. Her destiny is theirs. Even the Bravo, the only Venetian who denounces her, who disavows his allegiance, feels this oneness. He escorts Don Camillo and Donna Violetta safely outside her environs, then parts with them on the open sea to return to the city. He returns despite the nobleman's urging him to accompany them and despite "serious forebodings for himself" (p. 382). He alludes mysteriously to a reason that he cannot yet quit Venice. It cannot be that his sweetheart is behind in the city. She is, but he could have spirited her away as easily and at the same time that he spirited away the other three females. It cannot be that his father is in the Senate's dungeons and will be held accountable for his son's defalcation. He knows that his father, old and worn out, has at most only a day or two more

of life left in his body. No, what calls Jacopo back can only be, besides the exigencies of plot, the weary fatalism that Venice's decline is also his. Wherever he might fly, Venice would be with him. He cannot escape.

This specialization of the Bravo is exactly what has led to his disillusion with the state. The other people all regard him as one apart from themselves. The word they use most frequently to describe him is monster. This cannot be meant in the derived sense of something extremely large but in its pristine sense of a terrible sport. In time this lack of fellow-feeling results in his rejection--but not abandonment--of Venice.

But more particularly, his employment has made him privy to many of the worst secrets of the Council of Three. Rather than corrupting him, as they do the others with the same knowledge, they lead him to a loathing of the state. He does not blame the people who come to witness his public execution, to watch his suffering without a trace of sympathy. "'What is a Prince and his justice, where the selfishness of a few rules!'" he exclaims (p. 456).

Not only is the protagonist tragically divided from the group, but the group itself is divided in two. A gulf separates the aristocrats, the few who rule, from the great mass of people. All are Venetians, but they are terribly distinct classes. No possibility of passing from the one class to the other exists. One's class forever is the one into

which he is born. Another, less formal but more demoralizing fissure threatens the unity of the state. It is one which cuts across both the patricians and the plebeians. Of the fifteen named characters, nine are government employees. Six of these nine are secret agents of one kind or another. Besides these named characters, two of the Council of Three, the most dread and powerful of all secret agents, are anonymous, impersonal, but important characters in the story. And the Doge, although relatively powerless, is the official head of the state and is also a major character. Gelsomina, an open employee working in the jails, is astonished to discover that her cousin Annina is an informer on the Senate's payroll. Don Camillo is surprised to learn that "'there is not a servitor in your palace, Gino alone excepted, who is not a hireling of the Senate, or of its agents. . . . They are not only paid to watch you, but to watch each other'" (p. 265). To this declaration the Don replies, with Cooper succinctness, "'This undermining of the security of families is to destroy society at its core!'" (p. 267).

The community of Venice is not only one officially divided into aristocracy and commoners but also, and much more insidiously, into informers and bearers of guilty secrets, on the one hand, and the innocent but eternally suspicious on the other. It is a division that can spring up anywhere, separating even father from son, husband from wife. It has destroyed the soul of the community and is in the process of

destroying its fabric.

In this story neither of these disintegrative forces is combatted. It is official policy to exploit them instead. Jacopo's individual expertise serves to enable the young lovers to escape this group. It is a small victory. That even it will not happen again is indicated by the immediate execution of this man who has dared to take even small matters which have concerned the Council of Three into his own hands. One of the Council's decisions has been reversed by his actions, the same counter thrust as in the reversal of Cauchon's decision in Joan, but the final impression here is that such an act will not again happen in this community. The Venice here presented is a dying community.

The next oldest group is Budd's British Navy. The three main characters are drawn from the three rigidly ranked classes of the Navy--Captain Vere, an officer, Claggart, a petty officer, and Billy Budd, a man. All the characters, major and minor, are carefully ranked and we are given a full spectrum from the Captain to Albert, his cabin boy. Hierarchy is an essential part of Melville's man-of-war world. That it is a microcosm of the great world is made clear by the allusions to the admiral of the fleet, who is above Vere, to the King, who is above the admiral, and to angels and God above, allusions which carry the structure up and up. Likewise, the allusions to sailors' dives ashore,

to jails and prisons, and to devils and Satan carry it downward.

Not only does each rank have its specific duties, but each man has. None would think of performing the duties of another unless the man were incapacitated, as Vere is in the duel with the Atheiste. The senior lieutenant then takes over command of the ship. The ship itself, we are told, both because of its peculiar qualities and those of its captain, is also somewhat of a specialist. The Navy in fighting the war against France is a specialist. The nation utilizes its best qualities; the admiral utilizes the ship and its captain. They are sent on a special mission because

the character of her commander, it was thought, specially adapted him for any duty where under unforeseen difficulties a prompt initiative might have to be taken in some matter demanding knowledge and ability in addition to those qualities implied in good seamanship (p. 90).

Vere is different from the other captains in that he has greater initiative. The admiral encourages and develops this difference by his habit of choosing Vere for detached duty. When Billy's mutiny occurs, the Captain acts with initiative. He prepares to dispose of the case immediately, himself, aboard the Bellipotent. The other officers all think it should be postponed and transferred to the admiral. But Vere does not.

His first act is to name and summon a court martial. In doing so, he is, of course, forming a sub-group and

assigning to it the special task of settling the case. He is proceeding well within the bounds of allowed action, although somewhat precipitously. He proceeds as he does because he believes it to be the most expedient course. He keeps in mind the group's main purpose, to be a weapon in the war against France. The ship and the men will be a more effective weapon if the case is disposed of rather than being held over for the admiral. Procrastination will cause the men's morale to decline. They will become more insubordinate. Indeed, to delay, he feels, is to invite disaster. The calling of a summary court provides an efficient way out of a terrible situation.

The captain customarily thinks of the Navy--and lectures the court--in terms of the two divisions, the men or "'people'" (p. 112), as he likes to call them, and the officers. Bulking largely in his mind is the mutiny of "the people" against the officers several months earlier, the mutinies at Nore and at Spithead. Nor is this habit of thinking of the Navy as made up of two sorts unique with Vere. It is present in every thought and every utterance of all the characters, both officers and people, in the story. Here is a great, yawning, official chasm dividing the group in two. It is a numerically small minority of aristocrats and a majority of commoners, as in Bravo.

But the officers are also divided.

As to the first lieutenant and the sailing master,

Captain Vere could not but be aware that though honest natures, of approved gallantry upon occasion, their intelligence was mostly confined to the matter of active seamanship and the fighting demands of their profession (p. 105).

The Captain, we have been told "had a marked leaning toward everything intellectual" (p. 62). This is a difference of personality and of propensities. Another, more formal division among the officers aboard the Bellipotent exists, one directly embodied in their specialties. Besides the Captain and the two lieutenants, a Captain of Marines is aboard and also a Surgeon and a Purser. All this makes three quite separate kinds of officers, though all are under the command of the Captain. Captain Mordant of the Marines is a soldier, the Purser a businessman or accountant, and the Surgeon a scientist. The Surgeon sees the central incident as a phenomenon he cannot explain, the purser is lost in the details, the marine is emotional and a man of the senses. None see it as a problem of command, until Vere explains it as such.

The people are also divided. The foretop crew thinks of itself as something special and looks with disdain on the others. The below-decks men are looked at askance when they come topside. For the afterguardsman to come forward is thought a crime. And then there is the division into enlisted and impressed men. The latter are a group of men with a common grievance which presumably cuts across all the other groups among the people. That it is enough to justify thinking of themselves as a group within the group is indi-

cated by the afterguardsman who whispers to Billy in the lee forechains, confidently assuming that it is.

All this is to say that Captain Vere convenes the summary court because he feels prompt and strict action is necessary to combat these divisive forces. The Articles of War provide for such action so that discipline and order may be maintained. Factionalism must be controlled or it will degenerate into lawless disorder and violence. The court are the responsible members of the community who have been formed into a committee and charged to act. When it appears by their troubled miens that they are having difficulty getting their job done, that they are confusing their job of judging a mutinous act by including the moral considerations of the whole situation rather than excluding everything but the act and its immediate consequence, and that they might even go so far as to render the wrong verdict, Vere intervenes. In a crucial speech he points out to them that they are military men, a military tribunal, and the case they are handling must be considered and judged as a military one. He reminds them that they must particularly abjure "'moral scruple,'" "'compassion,'" "'natural justice,'" "'warm hearts,'" and "'the private conscience'" (pp. 110-111). Over against these human and individual tendencies he sets their "'military duty,'" their "'paramount obligations,'" "'martial law,'" "'heads that should be cool,'" and "'the imperial . . . code'" (pp. 110-111). They are not to act as human beings. They

must constrict themselves to naval officers. They are not to think of this as a special case with extenuating circumstances, but to generalize it as a mutinous act resulting in homicide. They are not to judge according to their individual beliefs but according to the book. This is their character as a group, inflexible and something less than human. Humans can err; they are not supposed to.

Having defined their character, Vere reminds them of their purpose. "'While thus strangely we prolong proceedings that should be summary--the enemy may be sighted and an engagement result'" (p. 112). He then proceeds to spell out the necessity, in the light of their purposes as a fighting unit in wartime, of the verdict of guilty and also of the promptness in carrying out the sentence. They quickly return the desired verdict, less persuaded, the author tells us, by Vere's earlier philosophic remarks than by

his closing appeal to their instinct as sea officers: in the forethought he threw out as to the practical consequences to discipline, considering the unconfirmed tone of the fleet at the time, should a man-of-war's man's violent killing at sea of a superior in grade be allowed to pass for aught else than a capital crime demanding prompt infliction of the penalty (p. 113).

The verdict is not later reversed, as is Cauchon's. The court's decision is carried out without a hitch, unlike the Council of Three's decision that Donna Violetta shall be, for a space, retired to a convent. But Vere's intervention does reverse the drift of the court's thinking. He has in effect set aside its intended decision before it is too

late to do so, before that decision was handed down. He has interposed his single authority and expertise between them and their inclinations.

But the ending provides a double reversal. Vere suffers more, we are told, from the condemnation and hanging than does Billy. Why? Because to act as he has done, denying the human in himself, is an intolerable "expense of spirit"? Because he is now in an agony of doubt? Whatever one's answer, (I do not propose that these two suggestions are the only possibilities.) it has to entail a questioning, at least a partial questioning, of the "certain principles that were axioms to himself" (p. 109), the principles upon which Vere based his acts and words. That he has won through to some kind of understanding seems to be indicated by the author's terse statement that his dying accents were not those of remorse. But what they were he does not tell us.

Finally, critics disagree as to whether the novel repudiates Vere and the verdict, some hundred years after the fact, or whether it is a "testament of faith." If the former, it follows the pattern of protest--social, humanitarian, moral, political--that the two previously discussed books, Twain's and Cooper's, follow. I do not believe this. I shall not comment further on this point at this time, because to do so would be to anticipate the discussion of the sacrifice and its significance. What I do wish to be lucid about here is that in Vere's intrusion into the court's deliberation

and in his reaction to the hanging are swingings of the pendulum back and forth between unity and diversity, between martial law and human experience and understanding, between the single authority and individual expertise, the same pulling in two directions as in Joan and in Bravo. In Joan it is expressed chiefly in terms of time, of subsequent reversals of group opinion and decision. In Bravo it is rendered chiefly in the author's expository disapprobation of the state's acts and policies, and his applauding the unavailing (in so far as they do not affect the group) efforts of their opposition. In Budd it is presented chiefly as an internal struggle within Captain Vere.

The American Navy of the 1940's is no less a formally structured hierarchy than the British Navy of the 1790's. Caine Mutiny's chief characters, however, are all of the officer class. One minor character, Urban, a witness in the trial, is an enlisted man. Another enlisted man, Stilwell, though not present, is referred to rather often. One petty officer, Chief Bellison, makes one very brief appearance. The officers range from Lieutenants Junior Grade to a number of Captains. There are no admirals, though references are made to them. In one of Willie Keith's aggrieved fantasies, "he had seen himself . . . summoned to Washington by President Roosevelt for a private chat in his office" (p. 360). Thus the human world reaches to the highest rank, the civil-

ian Commander-in-Chief. It starts from the lowest rank, which is both the lowly signalman Urban and, in another sense, the three men, two of them officers, accused of the Navy's most heinous crime, making a mutiny. But it does not extend above the human world to the heavenly one, nor below to the world of nature and further below to the hellish world, as Budd does. The world of Caine Mutiny is not a microcosm of the vast, great world, it is the human world--in wartime.

All of the characters, from highest to lowest, are specialists. Commander Breakstone is the chief legal officer of Com Twelve. Greenwald is a hotshot pilot and a lawyer who, as a civilian before the war, "'specialized in Indian cases'" (p. 350). The two psychiatrists called upon to testify are specialists. Dr. Lundeen says of himself, "'I have specialized in psychiatry in the Navy for fifteen years'" (p. 409). Dr. Bird is from a different "school," a Freudian specialist. And, of course, each Navy man aboard ship at sea knows where he is supposed to be and what he is supposed to be doing, even during off-duty hours. This Navy is even more specialized than the British Navy of one hundred fifty years earlier.

The Navy makes use of expertise whenever it finds it. "Captain Breakstone longed to go to sea . . . but he was trapped by his excellent civilian record as a lawyer" (p. 348). When none of the legal officers assigned to Com

Twelve will handle Maryk's case, Greenwald is found. He is not a lawyer in the Navy; he is a pilot. But the Navy has need for his civilian specialty now and so he is tapped. And so it goes--the Navy has medical doctors, trial lawyers, psychiatrists, court reporters, whatever it needs.

The court martial board, like Cauchon's court and Budd's summary court, is a specially convoked group or committee formed to deal with one particular problem, the so-called mutiny aboard the USS Caine on December 18, 1944. As soon as a verdict is returned, this particular, formally organized sub-group will be disbanded, will cease to exist as a group. Though the record of its actions may be thoroughly examined and praised or criticized, though its verdict may be appealed and confirmed or set aside, it will never be re-convened. The individuals who comprise it will have their actions and words as participants in the group become embedded as a permanent part of their official Navy records, but the group will be non-existent.

The theory behind criminal law is that an individual's anti-social behavior must be curbed by society in order to preserve itself and to confirm its values. To do this society has delegated certain powers of arrest, detention, prosecution, and punishment to individuals--policemen, lawyers, judges, wardens, guards. In many societies, particularly those thought to be "advanced," a group act or decision as well as those of the various individuals has been deemed

advisable before imposing the final step in this series, punishment. This group that acts or decides is the jury or, in some cases, a bench of several judges. This reliance upon a group or committee is supposed to help insure that the job gets done right. Twain's Joan and Cooper's Bravo indicate that the opposite result sometimes happens. Melville's Budd indicates that what is right is sometimes moot.

When trying to assemble the personnel of the group, Captain Breakstone meets some opposition. His assistant, Challee, reports to him about his search for a defense attorney.

"I talked to eight guys, sir, on the list you gave me. It's a hot potato. They're afraid of it. . . . Hogan begged off practically with tears in his eyes. He says it's a lost case and all the defense counsel can do is get himself permanently fouled up with the Navy--" (p. 350).

Breakstone agrees that such a result is possible. As Greenwald develops his case and it becomes apparent that it is an attack on Queeg, Captain Blakeley, the presiding officer, warns him that "'the honor and career of an officer with an unblemished military record of fourteen years standing, including long combatant duty, is involved'" (p. 388). Later Blakely again warns him that he is

"on the most dangerous possible ground. In charging an officer of the United States Navy with an offense punishable by death, and that the most odious offense in military life, equal to murder, they take on themselves the heaviest responsibility, and face consequences the seriousness of which cannot be overstated" (p. 405).

The procedure of the lawyer, the trail down which he is

leading the court, is divisive. It pits Navy man against the tradition of the Navy in a destructive way. This point is the gist of the prosecutor's summing up. If these tactics succeed, he charges, the Navy as an organization will have received a mortal blow. "'Can this court possibly endorse the precedent that a captain who seems to be making mistakes can be deposed by underlings? . . . Such a precedent is nothing but a blank check for mutiny. It is the absolute destruction of the chain of command'" (p. 440). In other words, the organized hierarchy that is one of the most essential bases of the group as a group, is being undermined.

The procedure of this sub-group is divisive on the personal level also. During the trial Lieutenant Tom Keefer testifies that Maryk was his close friend. The fact, among others, that Maryk showed him and nobody else the medical log he kept on Queeg testifies that the feeling was mutual, that, indeed, Maryk considered Keefer his best friend. Yet under the tensions of the trial the two become permanently estranged.

The prosecuting attorney, Challee, and the defending one, Greenwald, had been friends also. Challee states they "'got friendly'" (p. 349) while they were law school students together. Yet during the trial they carry on in such a way that Captain Blakeley has to gavel them to silence. He then tells them, "'Defense counsel and the judge advocate are admonished for unseemly personal exchanges'" (p. 404).

Immediately after the trial Greenwald excuses himself from the crowd of jubilant Caine officers, saying "'Got to clean up the debris with Challee'" (p. 444). At the celebration that evening we find out what cleaning up the debris constitutes. Barney announces, "'I've been out drinking with the judge advocate--trying to get him to take back some of the dirty names he called me'" (p. 445).

Finally, simply, and tellingly making the same point is the name of the ship and the name of the central incident--USS Caine and the Caine mutiny. It is an allusion to the fratricidal Cain mutiny recounted in the fourth chapter of Genesis. This name is the author's way of calling attention to this fundamental issue in his story.

Greenwald's speech at the banquet in which he does his best not only to exculpate but "'to make a hero out of Old Yellowstain'" (p. 446) is his attempt to reverse this tendency toward dissolution that has marked the whole process of this court martial. In so doing he defines the particular role of the Navy in the whole life of the United States.

"While I was studying law 'n' old Keefer was writing his play for the Theatre Guild, and Willie here was on the playing fields of Prinshton, all that time these birds we call regulars--these stuffy, stupid Prussians, in the Navy and the Army--were manning guns. . . . Old Yellowstain . . . was standing guard on this fat dumb and happy country of ours" (p. 446).

The Navy mans guns and stands guard. That is its purpose. It thereby is preventing the dissolution of the United States as a group. What is the character of the Navy? They are

good guys, he says, "'best men I've ever seen" (p. 447).

The Navy is a means in that it preserves the nation, the larger group of which it is a part. It is an end in that it is a career, it is a way of life for a good many men. We meet a number of these men during the trial. But more of the book's Navy men do not so regard the Navy. To them it is something temporary, an interruption in their lives. This is the main official dichotomy in the group, again. Another way of putting it is the way it is put in the book--that a number of these men are regulars, the rest are reserves. This distinction is a force pulling the group apart because the two are prejudiced against each other. When Breakstone is trying to get a defense lawyer lined up and Challee first suggests Greenwald, the Captain exclaims, "'Christ, can't we get a regular? If there's one kind of smell we don't want to have hung on this case, it's regulars versus reserves'" (p. 350). As a matter of fact, all three accused mutineers are reserves; Captain Queeg, the accuser, is a regular. The smell is already there.

Greenwald, also a reserve, nevertheless continues to work against the divisive tendency. In his summation of the case he states, "'The entire case of the defense rests on the . . . assumption: that no man who rises to command of a United States naval ship can possibly be a coward. And that therefore if he commits questionable acts under fire the explanation must lie elsewhere'" (p. 442). Instead of

trying to exploit the division by arguing that these poor men must be pitied because they are reserves, that as reserves they should not be expected to measure up to the rigid standards of the regulars, that as reserves there was a natural lack of understanding between them and the captain, a regular, he tries to heal the breach by ignoring it and by stressing, not the defendant's understandable and therefore pardonable deficiencies, but rather Captain Queeg's incomprehensible "'unhappy mess of bad judgment and poor administration'" (p. 440) and cowardice. These, he says, cannot be explained, except by the diagnosis that the Captain is sick, a mentally sick person. What could be an explosive situation, lining the regulars, the career men, against the reserves, those in for the duration and six months, is by this procedure muted.

That such a tactic was not just a trial expedient but a reflection of deep-seated beliefs is indicated by his speech at the victory banquet. Here, as I have already quoted, he proclaims that the regulars are all heroes, "'even Queeg, poor sad guy'" (p. 447).

The breach is further healed in that none of the accused particularly feel that the issue is regular versus reserve. It is personal between them and Queeg. The supreme ambition of the defendant, Maryk, is to be transferred from the Reserve to the Regular Navy. Willie Keith, another defendant, has had no thoughts of becoming a Regular and had

had some thoughts of the case's being blown up into a glorious cause célèbre. But

the magic had begun to dim in Pearl Harbor with the arrival of Captain White, a good-looking, bright lieutenant of the regular Navy, obviously a trouble-shooter. Maryk had shrunk in a day to a subservient dull exec. . . . White was arid, cool, and efficient. He acted as though the relief of Queeg had never occurred. He handled the ship as well as Maryk from the first, and he attracted the immediate loyalty of the crew. Willie's vision of the mutiny as a triumph of Reserve heroism over neurotic Academy stupidity languished; the Academy was back in charge, and master of the situation (p. 361).

Another natural dichotomy, the same as in the British Navy, is into officers and men. This division is a fact. Everyone knows it is there. But again it is largely ignored in Caine Mutiny. All of the major characters are officers. Their few encounters with men are kindly and friendly. This natural division is also being constantly combatted.

Finally, the verdict of acquittal that the court returns and that the judge advocate, Challee, warns beforehand will annihilate the hierarchical "'chain of command,'" is, to some extent, reversed. Greenwald tells Maryk that, despite the official verdict, he has only been half-acquitted. Stepping outside the strict confines of "Court Martial" for a moment and into the larger area of Caine Mutiny, we see the Navy unofficially confirming the lawyer's judgement of the disposition of the case. We are told that "Maryk had been detached from the ship a week after his acquittal, and sent to command an LCI, a humiliation which spelled the end

of his naval hopes" (p. 450). Later this opinion is again confirmed when Willie Keith receives a notification from the Chief of Naval Personnel that he is officially reprimanded for his role in the so-called mutiny. A letter, signed by the admiral, disapproves the verdict of acquittal, but lets the case go with the reprimand. And so, just as in Joan, the court's verdict, in time, is reversed.

The United States is a great democracy in which theoretically everyone is created equal. But it is a true observation that regardless of how the people may have been created in theory, in practice they are not equal. Hierarchies of power and reputation obtain everywhere within this democracy. In the United States Navy "the captain is a god" (p. 441), Lt. Commander Challee states bluntly. That such a hierarchy obtains within the supreme legislative body of the nation, the United States Senate, as well as within its military organizations, is both a fundamental premise and abundantly demonstrated in Drury's Advise.

When the Senate is sitting in formal session it is usually presided over by the Vice-President. In Advise this is Harley Hudson. The novel demonstrates that his right and duty, as chairman of the group, to recognize whomever he wishes from among the members desiring the floor is a considerable power. Again and again he exercises this power. It is of more real consequence than the very occasional tie

vote in the Senate he is called upon to break with his vote.

The real business of the Senate is not making speeches but enacting legislation. Senate Majority Leader Munson is the leader in this business. He is aided by the majority whip, Senator Danta. The minority leader, Senator Strickland, also wields power and influence because of his position. These men have been elected to their important offices by the members of the group.

Another Senator who is atop the power heap is Seabright Cooley of South Carolina. He is there by virtue of his seniority in the Senate. This seniority makes him the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, the presiding officer in the Vice-President's absence. But it is his accumulated experience and knowledge, adding up to ability, together with a kind of ferocious old lion personality, that is the source of his power. "Seab the Irascible, Seab the Invincible, Seab the Holy Terror, the Scourge of the Senate. . . . Seab who had 'run the government'" he is called (p. 187).

The basis of the Senate's legislations is "the committee work which forms so large a part of its activity" (p. 165). These committees are, of course, a manifestation of the principle of the division of labor. And just as with individuals, the committees also are not, in practice, of equal importance. Senators are appointed, not elected, to these committees on the basis of seniority, ability, and interest. When once established on an important committee, a Senator

tends to remain there. All these conditions develop and intensify individual predilections among the membership. They all perforce become specialists. Some Senators are broader than others, some are more successful than others, but they all are specialists.

The Foreign Relations Committee is one of the most important (p. 580). Its sessions bulk largely in Advise, taking up roughly one-fifth of the novel. The action of the novel begins on its first page with the announcement of the President's nomination of Leffingwell for the Cabinet post of Secretary of State. This is the headline on the Friday morning newspapers. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman, Tom August, calls a meeting for the next morning, Saturday, to start the consideration of this appointment. The operational wheels of the Senate are turning. This meeting concludes with the chairman's appointment of a special sub-committee for the specific purpose of holding hearings on this bit of business and making a report of its findings, together with its recommendations, to the full committee.

The full membership of the Senate, one hundred, must pass, sooner or later, on the Leffingwell appointment. But first the well-greased machinery of the organization whirs into motion. The Foreign Relations Committee, consisting of fifteen members, meets to begin the process of examining. This group in turn, the wheels of the machine grinding ever

finer, after one hearing submits the job to five of its members, the sub-committee. Before the story is over, the most important considering and ultimate recommending are done by just one man, the chairman of the sub-committee, Brigham Anderson.

This decline in numbers is the same procedure as the reduction in the number of judges in Joan. In Advise the reduction is an example of the usual procedure, rather than a particular instance, as in Joan, of handling a unique case. The regularity of the process of sub-division and delegating is similar to that in the Venetian Senate. But there all the committees are standing and permanent, albeit some are secret, whereas here one is specially formed to handle an individual case. One of the purposes of forming committees is to divide responsibility, but in these stories, this purpose is usually subverted. Twain makes Bishop Cauchon entirely answerable for his court's decision. The other judges are creatures of his. Captain Vere speaks to the drum-head court in such a way that only one verdict is possible. Wouk indicates that Captain Blakeley's personality and reputation over-awe the other judges on that bench. Both lawyers patently address their remarks to him, he reprimands with a look another member of the court who once "chuckled out loud" (p. 396), he does all the questioning from the bench. Wouk introduces him at the first session of the trial with this description:

It was an alarming face; a sharp nose, a mouth like a black line, and small, far-seeing eyes under heavy eyebrows, with a defiant, distrustful glare. Blakeley was quite gray, and he had a sagging dry pouch under his jaw, bloodless lips, and shadowy wrinkles around the eyes. Maryk knew his reputation: a submariner, up from the ranks, beached by a heart condition, the toughest disciplinarian of Com Twelve. . . . One regular lieutenant commander and five lieutenants made up the rest of the board. They had the look of any six naval officers passing at random in a BOQ lobby (pp. 383-384).

And so it is with Brigham Anderson in Advise. "He had decided entirely on his own initiative to reopen the Leffingwell hearings" (p. 357). This is a reversal of his own earlier declaration that the "'hearings on the nomination of Robert A. Leffingwell to be Secretary of State are now concluded'" (p. 304). He has made up his mind that to confirm the appointment is impossible, that it must be either withdrawn or he will fight against it. By his action he is giving the President a chance to proceed on the first of these alternatives. But he has made the decision first; he does not doubt that the sub-committee, the full committee, and the Senate will concur with it when he makes the facts known. The subsequent course of events bears out this surmise. His one error is in assuming that the President will concur.

The author obviously believes that this committee set-up leads to efficiency. An appointment such as Leffingwell's needs to be thoroughly reviewed. Obviously the full Senate cannot afford to do so. It has too many other bits of busi-

ness to tend to. Obviously the committee setup gets the job done. On the twelfth day, which includes two week-ends, after the President announced the appointment via the Press, the full committee has reached its decision, and releases this statement to the Press:

"The Foreign Relations Committee . . . has voted seven to seven on a motion by Senator Richardson to report the nomination favorably to the Senate. Under the rules of the Senate a motion receiving a tie vote fails of passage, and accordingly the nomination will be reported to the Senate unfavorably" (p. 356).

Two days later, fourteen days after its announcement, the nomination is brought up in the Senate for action. On this occasion the Senate Majority Leader,

could not find it in his heart to be so concerned about his country, when all was said and done. The system had its problems, and it wasn't exactly perfect, and there was at times much to be desired, and yet--on balance, admitting all its bad points and assessing all the good, there was a vigor and a vitality and a strength that nothing, he suspected, could ever quite overcome, however evil and crafty it might be. There was in this system the enormous vitality of free men, running their own government in their own way (p. 731).

The suicide of Senator Anderson was the direct result of tinkering with the free working of the system. The President had tried to pressure it in ways, the story makes clear, that he should not have. The system survives the contest. The President does not. The system gets the job done.

After the Senate's final and complete disposition of the nomination on the same day that it is brought up for action by defeating it overwhelmingly, 74 to 24, in a roll call vote, Senator Munson again reflects (and in so doing,

it is obvious, reflects the author's thinking) "how simple and yet how marvelous the free deciding of free men was" (p. 739). The group has done the job right.

The United States democracy is a two-party one. The fictional Senate in Advise is a two-party one. It is split down the middle, when in session, by a central aisle. But in practice this split is not as complete as in theory. For instance, one of the first things Senator Munson does, after his initial call from the President, is to call the Minority Leader, Senator Strickland. This leader cheerfully informs Munson that on his side of the aisle there will be seventeen or twenty or perhaps as many as twenty-five votes against Leffingwell (p. 6). Just how many Senators sit on this side is never stated or even intimated, but seventeen or twenty would be in the neighborhood of half of them. So at least half of this party may very well go with the opposition party on this issue. The split into two parties is more apparent than real. It is a formal force working toward a real fission, but the frequent shifts, on both sides of the aisle, in adherence on particular votes militates against it. Indeed, intra-party strife seems more militant than inter-party. Senator Munson answers the President's query about the minority party's position on the nomination, "'they're split ten ways from Sunday, just like us'" (p. 5).

The real split seen here is into those Senators for Leffingwell and those against him. It divides friend from

friend. It leads to harsh words. Senator Orrin Knox and Senator Stanley Danta have been close friends within this group for at least a dozen years. They are becoming closer in that their children are getting married on the next day. Each is supremely satisfied in this fact, for each believes that his child could not have chosen better. But at the committee meeting considering the nomination, these two friends find themselves in opposite camps.

"How can you defend him?" asked Orrin passionately. "How can you possibly defend him?"

"I'm not trying to defend him," Senator Danta said. "I'm just trying to understand him and judge him objectively without letting it get all cluttered up with Brig's death."

"All cluttered up with Brig's death!" Senator Knox echoed bitterly. "Do you have any realization of what Brig's death means? There was a human life involved here, you know."

"That's completely unfair," Stanley Danta said quietly, "and you know it. I've been in your house for most of the past two days. I know what Brig's death means, I will thank you to recognize."

"I apologize," Senator Knox said more quietly. "I do apologize, Stanley, and you know I do. But I just don't see how you can take Leffingwell's side" (p. 653).

And so the flare-up subsides, because Senator Knox is fair. He is represented as the most completely objective of all the Senators in that he views every question absolutely in terms of right and wrong and ignores the political implications.

A few moments later, this fair, objective man is at odds with Senator Arly Richardson, not a close friend but nevertheless a man he respects and a member of the same

party.

"If you're indecent enough to kick a corpse," Senator Knox shot back furiously, "go ahead and be damned to you."

Arly Richardson flushed and half started from his chair. The Senator from Michigan spoke in a tone that took no back talk (p. 654).

And so this flare-up is smoothed over by the eminent politician, the Majority Leader. But the ordinary matter of taking sides on issues, the most fundamental of the Senate's chores, tends to divide the group personally as well as ideologically. What counteracts this division is the same force that counteracts the more formal party division--the fact that the personnel on the two sides shifts from time to time and issue to issue.

Leffingwell is early identified by the President as "'the best administrator we've got in government'" (p. 4). He has been a government administrator in various important, appointive posts for thirteen years (p. 11). As a University of Michigan undergraduate he had majored in public administration. He had "taught public administration for four years at the University of Chicago" (p. 151). The general impression he has made upon the nation at large is that he has made a great career of government service, first theoretically and then practically. He has never, since early in his Michigan days, deviated from this ideal. He has become, in the words of the Press, "'America's ablest public servant'" (p. 11). Now at the height of his powers,

he is being asked to serve again, and is confidently looking forward to capping his career in probably the highest appointive office in the land, certainly the highest in the administrative branch of the government, that of Secretary of State. He is the one man the President, the nation's chief administrator, wants in the office. Thus in various ways he symbolizes the administrative branch of government.

Supporting him most strongly in the Senate are the men, appropriately, who by their office and by their sympathies and abilities are most responsible for pushing through the Administration's program, the Majority Leader and the Whip. The greatest force opposing him is not their opposite numbers in the Minority party, but is rather a member of the same party, the man whose desk in the Senate adjoins Senator Munson's. This is Senator Seab Cooley.

The Senator from South Carolina symbolizes the legislative branch of the government in the same ways Leffingwell symbolizes the administrative. That "'Seab Cooley runs the country [was] a favorite saying in Washington. . . . he worked his will with many government departments and agencies and with many of his colleagues'" (p. 180). He is in his seventh term in the Senate. Before that he served four terms in the House. In the eyes of the public he is "Seab the Irascible, Seab the Invincible, Seab the Holy Terror, the Scourge of the Senate" (p. 187). He too has graduated from a State University, South Carolina. He too had taught

school. He had been the superintendent for two years of the local, three-room, three teacher school. When, toward the end of this period the district powers suggested that he enter politics, "he said simply that this was his greatest dream and ambition" (p. 177). Though he goes back to school, to law school, from this moment on he is officially dedicated to politics as he had unofficially been dedicated to them since his sophomore or junior year at the State University.

He is an actor who has played successfully on the Washington stage a role calculated to charm the folks back home and to bend the Senate to his will. And now he is set to cap his nearly fifty years in Congress with his final and greatest service, blocking the Leffingwell appointment.

Bob Leffingwell, to Seab's mind, was one of the most dangerous men in America, and he felt with all the angry passion of all his angry years, that he had never engaged upon any project more vital to his country (pp. 188-189).

Leffingwell also has been playing a role, and playing it successfully upon the Washington stage. It is one calculated to capture the press corps and to win the folks throughout the nation to his side. It is the role of the efficient administrator who keeps himself above politics both because they are a dirty game and because they would interfere with the honest, impartial performance of his duties. "'He lists his political affiliation as non-partisan'" (p. 151). The Senate does not like these tactics or him. Even Senator Munson sees him as "supercilious, arrogant, holier-than-thou

Righteous Rollo" (p. 10).

The contest is between two of the three forces in the U. S. government, the legislative and the administrative. The former of these is the novel's group. But a considerable number of this group are what in the press are called pro-Administration Senators. So this division in the government is reflected and divisive in the group.

The third official division of the United States government, the judiciary, is also represented in the novel. Supreme Court Justice Tommy Davis is "one of a long line of political Justices running from Jay to Frankfurter" (p. 53). He is a Leffingwell backer and hence an Administration man. He argues for the man with individual Senators. He calls the director of the Washington Post and does his best--and is remarkably successful--to influence this paper's policy on the nomination (pp. 53-55). Finally, he is the nefarious agent who begins the pressure on Anderson which results ultimately in the Senator's death. Accidentally coming into possession of a compromising bit of evidence, he turns it over to Senator Munson with the suggestion that it be used in whatever way necessary to secure the nomination. He then informs the President that Munson possesses this weapon. The Supreme Court Justice, the Majority Leader of the Senate, and the President, representing the three branches, unite to crush this one obstreperous member of the group who will not bow to the President's wish.

The group is torn between the ideal of following the strong leadership of the President, at least in the realm of foreign affairs, and determining its own policy. Arly Richardson, speaking for those who will follow, rhetorically asks

"Is it the purpose, is it the duty, is it even, really, the right, of the Senate to set itself up to pass judgment upon the President's choice of this principal assistant? . . . Of course, we have a constitutional right. . . . But I mean, do we have a personal right, so to speak, to interpose ourselves between the President and a man he wants to sit beside him and work with him in these matters of such fearful import to our country?" (p. 736).

Seab Cooley is never torn. From the first he considers the President an "evil man." Orrin Knox, at first undecided but later the leader in the defeat of the nomination, calls him a "'two-bit liar'" (p. 479). Senator Munson, who also ultimately decides the nomination needs defeating, says bitterly to the President, "'God damn. . . . you for a treacherous and deceitful man'" (p. 474). The one Senator who is most sold on Leffingwell is Fred Van Ackerman, the novel's most unprincipled villain. As the novel progresses the division between the President and the Senate, reflected within the Senate, becomes clearer and clearer. It becomes, finally, the question of whether the Senate's role is merely to consent, or is also to advise. Is it an end, merely to confirm decisions reached elsewhere, or is it both a means for arriving at decisions as well as an end? The novel affirms the Senate's dual role. An acrimonious split is healed and the novel ends on a rare spirit of harmony, for everyone is

agreed, including most particularly the new President, that the Senate has acted heroically and that new safeguards need devising to prevent such temporary erosions as the Senator Anderson and Senator Van Ackerman defeats.

Copperhead's group is a family, the Abner Beech family. This constituency does not mean it is not a structured group. It is. It is as much a hierarchy, though a much more limited one, than the other groups. The first-person narrator, Jimmy, says

by instinct the whole household deferred in tone and manner to our big, bearded chief, as if he were an Arab sheik ruling over us in a tent. The word "patriarch" . . . seems best to describe him, and his attitude toward us and the world in general, as I recall him sitting there in the half-darkened living-room, with his wife bending over his feet in true Oriental submission (pp. 16-17).

This deferent wife, however, is second in command. She governs the house "with a cold impassive exactitude; there were never any hitches or even high words" (p. 16). The house includes the hired girls, always at least two. She shared, with her husband, the rule of their only child, Jeff, and Jimmy, the orphan boy whom they have taken in. The hired men and girls are employees, and hence definitely subordinate, although they and the Beeches do eat together, worship together, and share some confidences. The parents command; the others obey.

Each of these commanders is a specialist on the farm. M'rye Beech generally is responsible indoors, Abner outdoors.

Neither interferes in the other's domain. Jimmy's specialty is running errands and carrying news. Jeff is twenty-one; too old to run errands, too independent to continue to obey unquestioningly, too mature to continue in the group without some suitable specialty. The one he picks out for himself is young lover, which, of course, is a necessary one if the family group is to continue. But the parents object to the girl he picks out, and so he mutinies. He runs away to the army, to the war. Having been denied the role within the group he feels is rightfully his, he embraces the antithesis. He defects from the group.

This family organization is not formal. It is nevertheless rigid. Just as the group organization is informal, so is the assignment of special tasks. The family are outcasts in the neighborhood because of their political views. They used to be leaders, the center of the neighborhood. This altered condition causes a number of new jobs. They no longer take their milk to the community cheese factory. It is churned at home into butter. M'rye and the girls take on this chore. The threshing rig does not come to their farm. Abner and Hurley, the new hired man, and twelve-year-old Jimmy flail the grain by hand. The trip for supplies is not to the local store, within walking distance, but twelve miles by horse and wagon into the city of Octavius. Hurley and Jimmy are given this job. Here also they must go for butter firkins instead of to the farm next door whose pro-

prietor is also a cooper, for he, Jee Hagadorn, is also the leading Abolitionist of the neighborhood. The courts in Joan, Caine Mutiny, and Billy Budd, or the sub-committee in Advise, are designed to be a more efficient way of getting a job done than letting the whole group or a standing authority do it when it finds the time. These new methods of the Beech family are less efficient than their former ones. However, they all are expeditious and expedient in the circumstances. Here the motive is not efficiency but survival as a group. The farm must be kept going as an economic necessity. The household must be kept going as a necessary adjunct to the farm.

This system of making do does increase their self-sufficiency as a group. It also, however, causes another defection. Instead of exchanging work in the very gala husking bees as formerly, they shuck their own corn (p. 39). It is another expedient forced upon them. But this deprivation is the final straw for one of the hired girls, "Till" Babcock. The contemplated loss of these social opportunities so upsets her that she abruptly leaves early in September, before the season begins. But the system does enable the group to survive through a lean autumn.

Difference of political opinion seems to be the most serious force splitting this group. In 1860 and 1861 Abner Beech believes in accommodating the South. His wife never agrees nor disagrees with him. This is one of the areas of

their life together that is his domain. But their son Jeff does disagree and so do also the two original hired men. So does "Till" Babcock--after she has left. Four members of a group that originally only numbered eight hold the political opinion of a majority of the neighborhood but which is diametrically opposed to that of the group leader, Abner. These four members, half the group, all withdraw. Only one of them is replaced.

But political difference is only the surface reason for the split. When Jeff comes home, he is welcomed back into the group without either the father or son making any stipulations or concessions about politics or indeed even mentioning them. They are forgotten. For the real split is between youth and age. The four deserters are all young. Abner and M'rye are middle-aged. The replacement, Hurley, is middle-aged. But everything is going to be all right because meanwhile Abner has become reconciled to his son's marrying Esther Hagadorn.

Jeff has returned home on trust, having received no inkling that conditions would be any different from those when he left. But the cohesive forces of the group have caught up with him and brought him back. They have caught up with him in the form of young Ni Hagadorn, his sweetheart's brother, who has travelled South looking for him and who rescues him out of a hospital and red tape. Meanwhile a group of young hellions has burned the Beech's home down

over their heads. The more responsible members of the community, represented by Squire Avery, assume that their turning the Beeches into pariahs is largely responsible for this outrage and move to make amends. The Squire tells Abner it is time to let bygones be bygones, that Abner's milk will again be received at the cheese factory and that,

"when you have reached that stage of preparation for your new house, if you will communicate with me, the neighbors will be glad to come up and extend their assistance to you in what is commonly known as a raising-bee. They will desire, I believe, to bring with them their own provisions" (pp. 146-147).

He concludes his speech with an offer of funds if Abner is any way "'cramped.'" Beech is affected by these statements and tells the Squire so. He adds,

"Sometimes, I tell you, sir, I've despaired o' the republic. . . . I've said to myself that when American citizens, born an' raised right on the same hill-side, got to behavin' to each other in such an all-fired mean an' cantankerous way, why, the hull blamed thing wasn't worth tryin' to save. But you see I was wrong--I admit I was wrong. It was just a passin' flurry--a kind o' snow squall in hayin' time. All the while, right down 't the bottom, their hearts was sound an' sweet as a butternut. It fetches me--that does--it makes me prouder than ever I was before in all my born days to be an American" (pp. 147-148).

And so Jeff's mutiny, the neighbors' ostracism, and the South's rebellion are all "passing flurries." Jeff has returned to his family, the neighbors are reconciled, and the nation will be. The group's purpose is to survive. The individuals' purpose is to survive. They coincide. Forming groups is a way of insuring individual survival, at least initially. Hence the force that holds the group together,

that brings it back together when internal pressures begin to rend it, is the instinct for self-preservation. The group is both a means of helping to fulfill this instinct, and the end itself, for the group can outlive the individual.

Ox-Bow's community is the people living in a nameless Nevada valley of which the small town of Bridger's Wells is the center. It is not much more than a stage stop. But the valley contains a number of ranches, each with a complement of cowboys. Everything centers around the one industry of cattle raising, and so the ranch owners are the top rung of this hierarchy. Drew has the biggest, most prosperous ranch, and so he is the foremost man in the valley. Next are foremen like Moore, who is Drew's. Then businessmen who supply the ranchers and their men, like Davies, who has a general store, and Canby, who has a saloon, and Winder, who has a stage line. Next are the cowboys, the ranchers' employees. Following them are the businessmen's employees, like Joyce, Davies' clerk, and Gabe Hart, Winder's flunkee. On the bottom are Monty Smith, town bum, and Sparks, a Negro and the town's handy man. It is an order imposed by the valley's economy.

Standing outside this order are two men who represent alien systems and are merely tolerated: Judge Tyler the lawyer and Mr. Osgood the Baptist minister. But another sort of order, particularly below the top two levels, is

also operative, and that is a pecking order depending on the man himself. This order is not at all set and so there are constant contests ranging from poker games to fist fights to threats of gun play. Like stiff-legged dogs circling each other, they continually have to show that they are not afraid. Cowardice or timidity is the worst vice; it automatically places one on the bottom of this pecking order. Even Croft, the narrator, much more intelligent and sensitive than the other cowboys, feels this. During the dark, late night, the posse pulls off to the side of the road because they think they hear horses coming. After awhile Croft, turning his back to shield the flare, lights a cigarette.

I could hear somebody leading his horse, and stopping close on my right.

"You damn fool," he said in a low, hostile voice, "want to give us away?" I thought it was Winder. I knew I was in the wrong, which made me even sorer.

"Who to?" I asked him out loud.

"You guys have been hearing things," I told him, the same way. "Let's get moving before we freeze stiff and can't. Or are we giving this up?"

I heard his hammer click; the sound brought me awake, quick and clear. I kept the cigarette in my mouth, but didn't draw on it, and got hold of my own gun.

"You chuck that butt," he ordered, "or I'll plug you. You've been a lily since this started, Croft." He must have seen my face when I lit up.

"Start something," I told him. "For every hole you make, I'll make two. Anybody who'd ride a mule couldn't hit a barn in the daylight, let alone a man in the dark."

I was scared though. I knew Winder's temper, and he wasn't more than five steps off. When I'd talked the cigarette had bobbed in my mouth too, in spite of my trying to talk stiff-lipped; he'd know where it was. I made a swell target; he could judge every inch of me.

When he didn't say anything, my back began to crawl. I wouldn't have thought I could feel any colder, but I did, all under the back of my shirt. Still, after the way he'd put it, I couldn't let that cigarette go either. I drew my gun slowly, and kept staring hard to see what he was doing, but couldn't. I wanted to squat, but it was no use with that cigarette. The best was to hold still and let the ash form (pp. 159-160).

The opening scene in Canby's saloon of continuous drinking, conversing, poker playing, and finally, brawling, is interrupted by the arrival of a rider, a cowboy with the awful news of a daring, daylight rustling. Worse, a cowboy has been killed in the process, Kinkaid, a gentle man that everyone liked. After a couple of hours of milling about uncertainly, feeling that they must do something but not knowing just what, the crowd is galvanized by the arrival of a leader, Major Tetley, and is sworn in as a posse by the only law man present, Butch Mapes, who has been a deputy sheriff less than twenty-four hours. It is pointed out that Mapes does not have the legal authority to deputize, but this makes no difference to Tetley or to the men (p. 123). The posse immediately rides out of town after the criminals. There are twenty-eight in this sub-group specially formed to handle the emergency situation. They have the specific information that the rustlers number only three, which emboldens them. They have the further inflaming information that the rustlers are hampered by their driving a band of cattle. They know the direction the band is traveling. It is away from the logical direction of the south draw out of

the valley; it is over the eight thousand foot high west pass. This means that the sheriff, out in the valley, if he has set out, will be "off the track" (p. 118). They know that the band will soon be out of the valley. Haste seems necessary. The posse, illegal though it is, seems to them to be the only way of catching the rustlers. They cannot wait for the sheriff; they cannot wait for the ordinary processes of law and order. The opportunity for justice will be gone if they do.

So the posse rides out, it does catch the band, camped on the ox-bow, a little draw off to the side of the trail high in the pass, and hangs them. They have finished the job, but they did not get it done right. The hanging was botched, and one of the victims had to be shot. And in a matter of minutes they discover that the job they have done is not the right one; the dead men are neither rustlers nor murderers. The forming of the posse and its actions had been divisive all along; a vocal minority had contested them. Now, not the action of a later committee, as in Joan and Caine Mutiny, but the known facts reverse the sub-group's decision.

Most of the valley community earn their living directly from the cattle they raise and tend. But a substantial minority do not. These are the storekeepers and so on already mentioned. The cattlemen all feel a kind of fraternity for each other. There is a gulf between them and the

others. Monty Smith, the bum: "nobody liked him" (p. 5). Canby, the saloon-keeper: "he always kept that quiet, who-the-hell-are-you look" (p. 8). Winder, the stagecoach driver: "he had pale blue eyes with a constant hostile stare, as if he was trying to pick a fight even when he laughed" (p. 53). Butch Mapes, the bully: "like Winder, he always looked angry, even when he laughed, but in a more irritated way, as if his blood was up but he wasn't clear what was wrong" (pp. 82-83). And so it goes. ---

But a stronger dichotomy than the economic one in this cattle community is the division into men and weaklings or cowards. The men are aficionados in much the way Hemingway heroes are. They have a code. The code demands action, direct action. When thirsty, they drink. When hungry, they eat. When angry, they strike. When none of these, they lounge, they talk, they play. They ride horses; they wear guns. They distrust reason; they distrust sentiment. But above all they are careful of their honor. The first rule of the code is never in any way to indicate any physical timidity.

Two of the story's characters are teetotalers. One is Gabe Hart, Winder's hostler. He is "a big, ape-built man, stronger than was natural, but weak-minded; not crazy, but childish, like his mind had never grown up" (p. 52). He is a child, not a man. The other non-drinker is Sparks. He is a Negro, not a man.

The Reverend Osgood comes into the saloon but does not drink, lounge, or play cards. He does not converse. He is obviously worried about the state of the men's souls and is preparing to tackle them on this subject (pp. 20-21). When the posse begins to form, Osgood goes out into the street and tries to stop it. To Croft "he looked helpless and timid. . . . He was trying to do what he thought was right, but he had no heart in his effort" (p. 41). At direct action he is unpracticed and incompetent. His failure completely unnerves him. "'They won't listen to me, Mr. Davies,' he babbled. 'They won't listen. The never would. Perhaps I'm weak'" (p. 47). The Reverend brands himself a weakling and hence, not a man.

Judge Tyler does not wear a gun. He does not ride on the posse. He does not lounge in the saloon but instead keeps office hours. When decisive action is needed, he gives windy speeches that just bore. He urges reason. When it is apparent that he is failing, he begins to shout. His general appearance is indicative of the men's attitude toward him. Croft sums it up:

The judge looked the same as I'd always seen him . . . wide and round, in a black frock coat, a white, big-collared shirt and a black string tie, his large face pasty, with folds of fat over the collar, bulging brown eyes, and a mouth with a shape like a woman's mouth, but with a big, pendulous lower lip, like men get who talk a lot without thinking first (p. 79).

The judge has no style; he is not a man.

Gerald Tetley carries a gun and rides on the posse, but

only because his father compels him to do so. He despises the code. He sees it as animalistic, herd behavior. When the others on the posse eat and drink, he refuses. When one of the captured men, the Mex, asks somebody to take the bullet out of his leg, he volunteers. It seems to him the humane thing to do. But his hand is shaking so that he cannot even cut away the pants leg. The Mex takes the knife and operates on himself. Young Tetley later fails when ordered to whip the horse out from under the hanging Martin. At this point such an action would have been humane, for not doing so leaves the man dangling and slowly choking. Gerald, like Osgood, condemns himself. He tells Croft that "'I'm here because I'm weak'" (p. 140).

Art Davies the storekeeper drinks and mingles with the men in the saloon. He rides on the posse but he does not take a gun. He reasons and reasons. He never stops. He never makes a direct act. He relies on words. He continues to speak out calmly, reasonably in a very unpopular cause. This is a kind of moral courage. The men realize it and are not as contemptuous of him as they are of the others. But afterwards he also condemns himself. He decides that he should have acted. He decides that his calmness and reasonableness had been "'all a great, cowardly lie. . . . A pose; empty, gutless pretense. All the time the truth was I didn't take a gun because I didn't want it to come to a showdown. The weakness. . . . was in me all the time'" (p. 279).

Davies is not a man because he is too honest (and too weak) to keep on acting.

And so there are two kinds of men, or rather, male humans, in the valley. They have not much use for each other. But the force of this split is blunted as soon as it is known that the lynching was a mistake. For all these lesser beings have been opposed to the whole proceeding. Even feeble-minded Gabe Hart, so much Winder's creature, had refused to be a horse-whipper at the hanging. And now these lesser creatures are proved right, and all the men, the drinkers, the swearers, players, men of action, of courage, of high style, are wrong.

The valley community is organized to provide a basis for living together. It depends altogether upon the single industry of raising cattle. Hence the rustling is a serious threat to everyone's continued existence. Its regularly constituted officers and procedures for dealing with such threats, a sheriff and duly sworn and commanded posses, are its means toward the desired end of obtaining justice, a virtue the book makes much of. But Ox-Bow's posse is illegal from the start and falls under the command of a man who sees it not as a means to an end but an end in itself. Tetley is a sadist who loves the whole procedure and protracts it, savoring the physical torment of the wounded Mexican, the mental torment of the condemned Martin, the spiritual agony of his own son. It is all one to him. But sub-groups should

serve the whole group. Davies early makes exactly this point: "that it took a bigger 'we' than the valley to justify a hanging, and that the only way to get it was to let the law decide" (p. 60). Abstractions like law and justice are both means whereby men live and ends that they live for.

The essential community in Hazard is the business world of the Every Other Week enterprise. It is, in other words, an economic community. Since it is American and capitalistic, not communistic, it is, of course, not equalitarian even in theory. Among the characters are owners, bosses, and employees. The organization is much like the ranchers, foremen, and cowboys hierarchy of Ox-Bow. Everett Carter identifies the three principal characters as Dryfoos, the owner or capitol, Fulkerson, the management or boss, and March, the employee or labor (p. 207).

This division and specialization is shown as pervasive, as not only obtaining in the common enterprise that brings them all together but as coloring all their attitudes and assumptions, influencing their whole lives. Jacob Dryfoos had begun as a farmer, but when gas was discovered on his land and he had acquired a sizeable amount of capitol, his whole life was changed. He put his money and his brains to work. First it was in real estate in his native Moffitt, Indiana, developing new additions. In the booming heart of

the natural gas industry this was a profitable investment. Now he is in New York and speculating in railroads and mines and other things (p. 95). He is the financial angel, the silent partner of the magazine. He wants it for his son, Conrad, whom he has established as publisher. Conrad wants to be a preacher, but his father insists on a business career. This is the only suitable specialty, he feels, for his son.

Jacob Dryfoos believes in the doctrine of laissez-faire. He is against labor unions. He believes that the capitalist who puts up the money and takes the risks, in other words, he himself, should have complete and unhampered authority, not just in business affairs but everywhere. He tells Conrad "'As long as you eat my bread, you have got to do as I say'" (p. 464). He believes in the complete efficacy of money. During the Civil War, he explains,

"I helped to fill up the quota at every call, and when the volunteering stopped I went round with the subscription paper myself; and we offered as good bounties as any in the state. My substitute was killed in one of the last skirmishes . . . and I've took care of his family, more or less, ever since" (p. 372).

He believes that he has the right to interfere in the management of the magazine. He demands that March dismiss old Lindau. Even after his wife's complete unhappiness in New York confounds him, Christine's obstreperousness demoralizes him, and Conrad's death overwhelms him, he continues his pathetic belief in the power of money. Rich funerals for

Conrad and Lindau, an offer of a large commission to Beaton, a trip to Europe "'on one of them French boats'" (p. 536) are his responses to these troubles. They have not changed him (p. 540).

Fulkerson had managed a newspaper syndicate business before beginning the magazine. Dealing with the newspapers on the one hand and with the contributors on the other had peculiarly suited his talents. He talks March and Beaton into joining the new enterprise. He finds and places Mrs. Mandel with the Dryfooses to provide a sort of short course in refinement for the girls. He persuades the Marches that the Mrs. Grosvenor Green flat is not as impossible as they had thought. They move in and discover that he is right. He mediates between Dryfoos and March in the impasse over Lindau's employment. His one failure is Dryfoos' dinner party. Here he tries valiantly to be the life of the party, to make it a gala affair. He pours the wine liberally, he wisecracks, he tells entertaining anecdotes. It all backfires. But in the next days and weeks he manages to salvage himself, the magazine, and everybody pretty much intact.

He believes in the doctrine of expediency. He is a pragmatist. He is against what will not work, in favor of what will. He admires Dryfoos' success at business, deplores his lack of success with his family. He praises Beaton's art but not his person or personality. He respects Lindau's courage and war record but twits him on his radical, unpop-

ular social and economic views. He likes March because

"what I want is an editor who has taste, and you've got it; and conscience, and you've got it; and horse sense, and you've got that. And I like you because you're a Western man, I'm another. I do cotton to a Western man when I find him off East here, holding his own with the best of 'em. . . . What I like about you is that you're broad in your sympathies" (pp. 5-6).

March has been an employee since he first began supporting himself. At the novel's outset he has worked for the Reciprocity Insurance Company in Boston for eighteen years. Fulkerson engages March to edit the magazine, not as a contributor taking a chance on a glowing enterprise, but as an employee with a salary of four thousand dollars a year, plus a share in the profits, if any. March does not fully decide to accept Fulkerson's offer until the insurance company announces its decision to transfer him--to a lesser position. Labor is more cautious than either management or capitol when a risk is involved. It is also more sensitive about its rights and its honor than the other two. When Dryfoos demands of March, his chief employee on the magazine, his editor, that he fire Lindau, March becomes angry. Fulkerson, the manager, coaxes "'But Dryfoos owns the magazine--' 'He doesn't own me,' said March. . . . 'He has made the little mistake of speaking to me as if he did'" (p. 390). But at the same time March acknowledges in his heart, as "every hireling must, no matter how skilfully or gracefully the tie is contrived for his wearing, that he belongs to another, whose will is his law" (p. 392). This realization makes him

a little sick. Nevertheless, he sticks to his point, his principle, that even though a real inequity does lie, like an abyss, between owner and employee, both must pretend it does not exist. Basic human dignity and fellow feeling, a means of bridging the gap, are impossible if one feels himself to be superior to the other and shows by his demeanor that he does. Fulkerson, the manager, is willing to truckle, is almost pathetic in his desire to find some kind of middle ground in the abyss. March points out the impossibility of this, saying, "'You must stand by him, or you must stand by me'" (p. 401). It is significant that, when finally forced to it, management, the middle man in the struggle between the established single authority of law and custom and the upstart principle of special circumstances deserving consideration, sides with the latter, which is to say with labor against capitol. Melville, writing at the same time and presenting the same equation, though pushing it back to another century and into another realm, not business but military, came up with a different answer. The junior officers of the drumhead court are intermediate between the foretopman and the captain. They urge extenuating circumstances and that the penalty be "'mitigated'" (pp. 111-112), but Vere, the captain, permits no compromise. They then find for his side. Custom, law, authority prevail. In both instances the side that presents the case and declares that you must be either for me or against me gets the decision.

The New York street car strike elicits attitudes from the three men consistent with their station. Dryfoos exclaims

"The strike--yes! It's a pretty piece of business to have everything thrown out because a parcel of lazy hounds want a chance to lay off and get drunk. . . . If I had my way I'd have a lot of those vagabonds hung. They're waiting to get the city into a snarl, and then rob the houses--pack of dirty, worthless whelps. They ought to call out the militia, and fire into 'em. Clubbing is too good for them" (p. 464).

To him they are absolute villains, entirely in the wrong. Fulkerson sees both sides and cheerfully vacillates without in the least being bothered by the hobgoblin of inconsistency. His real hero is the State Board of Arbitration. When it arrives on the scene, he says "that now we should see the working of the greatest piece of social machinery in modern times" (p. 453). When the Board fails absolutely, and retires, washing its hands of the strike, he begins to be bothered; he is for the first time at a loss for words.

March sympathizes, not with the strikers, as might be expected, but with the public that is inconvenienced by the work stoppage. He tends to find the strikers the less culpable, however, of the two sides.

Lindau, the old German immigrant, a radical socialist, and Jacob Dryfoos, the Pennsylvania Dutchman become robber baron, are extreme versions of the divisively antipathetic forces in the American business world at this time, labor and capitol. Fulkerson is a full portrait of the developing

American expedient to combat this dispersive force, the professional manager. He mediates not only between owner and work force, but between the various specialties that make up the magazine--March's literary department, Beaton's art department, and Conrad's business department. They, especially March and Beaton, cannot work directly together but they can mesh, like cogwheels, with Fulkerson, and thus the enterprise runs like a watch in which Fulkerson is the driving wheel. Without him these divergent specialists and personalities would fly apart. One of Bob Munson's responsibilities as Advise's Senate Majority Leader, is to function in pretty much the same way, not only to mediate between the President and the Senate but among members of the Majority Party as well and thus make the whole legislative process work.

Fulkerson himself, then, is the chief representation in Hazard of the process of delegation of authority. There are no special courts or committees formed and operating as in most of the other stories. Probably the reasons for this deviation from the pattern are that the community is relatively small, as in Copperhead, which also lacks official committees, and is relatively young. Instead of specially appointed sub-groups, Fulkerson himself acts as a kind of one-man standing committee ready to grapple with all problems as they arise, ready to undertake all promotions as they occur to him. As a being with such functions, his

attitude toward the strike and toward the Arbitration Board is quite consistent. His appointment of Colonel Woodburn as his second to approach Dryfoos about the owner's falling-out with March is a beginning of the tendency to delegate authority to accomplish specific tasks to sub-groups or lesser individuals within the group.

But as well as being an "economic novel," Hazard is a "comedy of manners." The social organization and hierarchy of this aspect of the community are not identical with the economic ones. A great many of the various conflicts within the novel are occasioned by the discrepancy in characters' ranks and status in the economic and social worlds. At the top of the social world is "'the old Knickerbocker society'" (p. 93). It is represented by Mrs. Horn and her niece, Margaret Vance, who belong by birth. Young Kendricks, a dilettantish writer on the magazine, also belongs. Beaton, the art editor, a boorish young man who divides his attentions among Margaret Vance, Christine Dryfoos, and Alma Leighton and who is disapproved of as a suitor by both Mrs. Horn and Jacob Dryfoos, is nevertheless received regularly by this society because it does approve of him as an artist. The Marches are received after making Margaret's acquaintance at a literary soiree. The Dryfoos girls are received once, but only at Margaret's insistence. Their invitation, which Mrs. Mandel tries to explain to them is "a precious chance" (p. 285), is an example of Margaret's "'uncommon charity'"

(p. 268). But the girls, who are extremely anxious to become a part of this society and who rely on Papa's money to make their way in it, are failures (p. 301). They are not invited again. Conrad, their brother, who is quite indifferent to this world and to his father's money, makes a favorable impression.

It is the Dryfooses who are disruptive forces in the novel. Old Jacob puts a strain on most of the personal relationships. He is the cause of the sudden diminishment in the old friendship between Lindau and March. His demand that March dismiss the fire-eating old radical results, when Basil reports it to Isabel and she fails to react as he expects her to, in a bleak period between husband and wife. This same demand puts such a severe strain upon the Fulkerson-March partnership that for a time it appears to be in danger of dissolving. Such a happening would fold the magazine and thus end the group. Mrs. Horn objects to Dryfoos because she objects to all nouveau riche on principle.

Within his own family Dryfoos is just as upsetting as elsewhere. His wife is wedded to the past. She wants to go back, back to the Indiana farm, the family cemetery on the farm. He tells her harshly that they cannot go back; the farm is a gas field now. She spends most of her time mooning alone in her room and sinking in a gentle decline. He breaks off the relationship between his daughter Christine and Beaton. A violent quarrel results. She storms out and to

her room, sulks, and refuses to come out even to attend her brother's funeral. He thwarts his son Conrad's ambitions. The saintly son will not quarrel, but his father forces one. Later, after his son's death, he feels, because of this violent parting, quite forlorn.

Dryfoos wants to be the single authority within the family group, the social group, and the economic group because he feels his money gives him this right. The other members of the groups, even Mrs. Horn, concede that this attitude is pragmatically correct, but resist it anyway. They do not prevail, but they do win, for after Conrad's death he just gives up and goes away. The groups are somewhat shrunken, but they are intact and more wholesome after his departure. The connection between the Knickerbocker society world and the Every Other Week economic world is quite severed, both by his departure and by Margaret Vance's withdrawal, and this is to the benefit of the latter group, for a constant irritant has been removed. The social and economic worlds of the Marches and Fulkersons--the manager is married now--become coextensive. They do not have the social ambitions the Dryfooses had. Subordinating their social aspirations to the economic helps to make the magazine world more secure.

The formation of the central group in Faithful does not take place until halfway through the novel. Consequently,

it is the least structured of all nine groups. It is also the most informal of all these groups, which is not a consequence of its youth or its comparative lack of structure but is a result of its basis. It is not a religious group, not a political one, not a military one, not a family nor economic one, although it reaches out toward several of these grounds. The basis is that for each of the group's members Edward Cavan has been a rather special person.

His minister, Dr. Willoughby, tells his sister, Isabel, "'Your brother found comfort in the ritual. . . . There was also very strong in him the practicing Christian, the Christian who wants to follow Christ as literally as possible'" (p. 181). But Grace Kimlock, a prominent member of the group, is not an Episcopalian as is Edward and the others. She is a Unitarian. Her church not only denies the divinity of Christ but is also probably the one with the least emphasis on ritual. Entering his church for his funeral, "Grace felt herself an absolute outsider" (p. 213).

Cavan is just as committed to the role of political activist as to that of religious activist. Many of the other group members are likewise committed. But not all. For instance, when Cavan asks his friend and colleague, Ivan Goldberg, to sign a petition, he gets refused. When Grace, who does share his political passion, tries to dismiss Goldberg's action as unimportant, Edward retorts "'Goldberg is the nearest thing to a great scholar we have in the depart-

ment. You can't shrug him off'" (p. 120).

One member of the group is his sister. Others, as I have already stated, are pseudo-parents, brother, wife, son, and so on. In their cases, the relationship is an emotional one, basically, a special kind of friendship. Cavan is dedicated to the idea of communion--communion with his God, with himself, with his friends, with his students, with the world at large. These friends, his "family," tend to be somewhat jealous of each other, to bicker, to contend. Not only is there a lack of communion but even of communication between them, though there is no lack of talk.

Most of them are members of the Harvard Community, with one notable exception. Isabel, his sister, has never been in Cambridge before. She exclaims that it is not her world, that she doesn't belong here, that she is a stranger (p. 191). The one thing that they all have in common is the necessity to know the meaning of their friend's suicide. This is a very nebulous thing, and hence this group is not like the others. It is not formally organized and has no hierarchy. None of the friends is exalted over the others as closer or better. Each in his own way is as close to Edward as their two human envelopes will permit them to be. As friends there is, however, a considerable degree of specialization best explained or symbolized by the familial terms.

No special sub-groups or particular individual assignments of responsibility are made. In accomplishing their

particular task they do not rely upon the expertise or experience or training of any one person or of several. They depend mostly upon time, the passage of time, for this achievement. Fosca states it: "'I do not think we shall understand the entire meaning of his suicide for some years to come'" (p. 210). And so they wait. And so there is an Epilogue in which Damon Phillips is given the opportunity to explain the meaning. The job is done, and nobody can say it was not done right.

But the forces of time are also divisive. Isabel has gone back to California. Fosca has died. The others, though, are in the courtroom to hear Damon's words. They have resisted the disintegrative force of time. They have also resisted Edward's attempt, both before and after his death, to dominate their lives. But at the same time, they have come to acknowledge that his authoritative pronouncements were correct. The group rejected the idea of a single authority, of a single way of looking at things, and in so doing killed the authority. After it is safely dead, it can wound and hurt, but it cannot kill the group. And so they apotheosize it.

CHAPTER V

Characters

Whether the community in the scapegoat fable be political or religious, military or familial, economic or whatever; whether it be a thousand or just a few years old, the individual members tend very strongly to be characterized as four stock types. These are the similitudes of the four elements of the ancient Hebrew scapegoat ritual, the tabernacle and the ark or the presence of God before whom the ritual was performed, the goat, the officiating high priest, and the gathered tribesmen. The four types are the novelistic representations of what Tillyard calls "the necessary parties in a sacrifice . . . a god, a victim, a killer, and an audience."³¹ They are versions of what Professor Roy R. Male calls the "pattern" the characters "fall into" in "the story of The Scapegoat," that is, "a crowd. . . . the innocent victim, the judge or mediator, and the informer."³² They are examples of what Northrop Frye announces as the four stock character types of tragedy, the alazon, the eiron, the suppliant, and the plain dealer.³³ The character who essays the god-like role of judge is the alazon. He who plays the killer-like role of informing against or accusing

the victim is the eiron. The crowd or audience figure, a kind of choragus who seeks to understand and interpret the victim, is the plain dealer. The scapegoat, the victim, the suppliant correspond similarly.

The Victim

The victim is defined by the calamity that befalls him. The other three characters are defined by their treatment of him. He is the bearing upon which they revolve. Regardless of his origin, he becomes, by virtue of his victim's role in the ritual, the very center of the community. The others form a circle around him which defines the community's perimeter. Regardless of their individual situation or that of the community, all their attention is for the moment focussed upon him. His centrality is reflected by four of the novels, Bravo, Budd, Copperhead, and Joan, being named for him, for his title, or for both. Not one of the scapegoat fables is named for a character other than the victim. Those not named for the victim take their titles from the story's situation or place.

The victim is normally an extraordinary person who exhibits a number of exceptional characteristics. He may show, like the Bravo, a "physical perfection of . . . frame" (p. 146) or, like Drury's President, be hampered and finally killed by a weak heart. He may be able, like Twain's magnificent girl, to endure six successive trials that fatigued

her judges but not her, or he may collapse, like Captain Queeg, during a single morning's testimony. He may, like Senator Anderson, juggle successfully an incredible load of personal, professional, and social duties, or he may, like Tetley, withdraw from the community in whose midst he dwells. He may, like Handsome Billy, be an "'angel of God'" (p. 101), or, like Queeg, be "'that most horrible of dragons'" (p. 445). He may, like Billy (p. 47) and Conrad Dryfoos be a "'peace-maker'" (p. 480), or he may be so contentious that, like the President, he finally draws from his best friend a "'God damn. . . . you for a treacherous and deceitful man.'" He may, like Cavan, be "'unmatched,'" or he may, like Tetley, be "'the worst of all'" (p. 267). He may, like Cavan, have been a Rhodes Scholar, or, like Alva Hardwick, be feeble-minded. He is a paragon of mental, moral, or physical excellence, or the extreme opposite.

The victim's self-confidence is always extreme and seems paradoxically to grow with his adversities. The imprisoned Joan's insistence on the authenticity of her Voices, the isolated Abner Beech's persistence in his Copperhead views, the overthrown Queeg's testimony that he "'did not make a single mistake in fifteen months aboard the Caine'" (p. 436) are typical. The several suicides indicate that the victim can be brought low by his afflictions, but his final "'despair'" (Faithful, p. 183) is a paradoxical manifestation of his continuing self-confidence. He has faith

that he can by his desperate act right a situation that has gone terribly awry.

The victim's confidence carries him down the path of heterodoxy. The devout Joan is found guilty of heresy; the church-attending Beech hears "himself denounced with hopeless regularity on every recurring Sabbath" (p. 11). The victim's confidence does not insure a bright, happy life. Jacopo's spying for the government brings him "'bitter penitence, and an agony of soul'" (p. 267) and a continual "gloomy . . . air" (p. 17). "'Life was an awful thing to Conrad Dryfoos'" (p. 480). Cavan "'was just a living wound at the end'" (p. 209). The victim is lonely, taciturn, unhappy, and he does not become reconciled to this condition. Jacopo rows far out into the bay, late at night, carrying imported delicacies to try to share a meal with an old friend. Joan repeatedly asks to "'have a woman about her'" (p. 443) in her cell. The President in an "impulsive move" asks Munson, over the phone, "'Sometime when you're free, come down and we'll talk'" (p. 72). Such tentative bids for companionship are not returned.

Perhaps it is a result of this tendency toward contradictory impulses, or perhaps it is a concomitant of them, but whatever the reason, the victim as a rule is mentally unbalanced. Ox-Bow's two most astute observers agree that Tetley is "'cold crazy'" (p. 269). Cavan "'seemed crazy'" (p. 190) to his sister. Queeg is adjudged a "'paranoid'"

(p. 412). A strange light of fanaticism occasionally fills Conrad's "wide blue eyes" (p. 338). But insanity, as the very wise Professor Goldberg knows when he offers "'something snapped'" (p. 193) as an explanation for Cavan's suicide, is not the key to the victim. It is just another symptom of his condition of being at once the group's absolute center and yet somehow separated from it.

Although Billy Budd is an exception to some of these personality traits found in a majority of the victims, such as the desperate unhappiness, he does illustrate very well the victim's most essential characteristic, which is to be and remain an enigma. For years after Budd's 1924 publication, critics regarded Billy as a sharply outlined figure of unalloyed good. But in the last two decades, notably by Joseph Schiffman in 1950,³⁴ Billy has been reassessed, his stature reduced, and his previous identity denied. An unresolved debate continues between the "conservative"³⁵ and the radical critics. This wide divergence of opinion among the critics is not indicative of authorial failure in drawing his character. It is rather an indication of the victim's seeming transparency but real opacity, of his congeries of unresolved contradictions.

Joan, the one historical victim, has occasioned down the centuries a debate similar to that over Billy, although Twain has ignored the "tensions"³⁶ and tried to render her as a simple "noble child" (p. ix). Some victims, like Cavan

and Anderson, are shown to be a puzzle whom their friends cannot solve. More often, the victim's enigmatical quality is a sum of the discrepant views expressed by the other characters. Thus Jacopo is to the Senatorial class merely an agent, to the populace a "'monster'" (p. 283), to Don Camillo an able servitor, to the pious Father Anselmo a revelation, and to the sentimental Gelsomina a chaste lover. Drury's President, although a simple man who knows what he wants and who moves inexorably toward achieving his goals, chooses to do so in "mysterious ways" (p. 4). As a result, opinions about him are varied. He is "greatly loved and greatly hated" (p. 743). To Captain Vere Billy Budd is a "'fated boy. . . . an angel of God.' . . . a young Isaac" (pp. 99, 101, 115) who must be sacrificed. To the Dansker he is "Baby Budd" (p. 70) whose innocence will be of no avail. To Donald and other bluejackets, he is "'Beauty'" (p. 72, 83) the Handsome Sailor. To Claggart he is "an object of envy" (p. 77) whom he denounces as "'a mantrap'" (p. 94). The officialdom dismisses him as an "assassin" who assuredly "was no Englishman" (p. 130). Edward Cavan is companion, teacher, quixotic crusader, estranged brother, courtly lover and figurative father, brother, and son. He is a saint and all too human. This victim is a different person to each of the people who figure in his story.

The victim's situation as a potential sacrifice is usually recognized and stated by one or more of the other

characters. Such a statement may be as brief as Captain Vere's "'the angel must hang!'" (p. 101). It may be as extensive as the various observations made of Professor Cavan: Grace notices "something . . . made him look vulnerable" (p. 45); Pen Wallace feels that he is "too exposed" (p. 103); Ivan Goldberg sees the victim role overwhelming the man's other parts and is jarred into an uncharacteristic exclamation, "'You're killing yourself'" (p. 109). The statement may be as explicit as Art Croft's that the leader of the mob will be the "'scapegoat'" (p. 74). It may be as unthinking as Mrs. March's dismissal of Conrad; "'he's awful, too, because you feel he's a martyr'" (p. 304). The victim is marked as such early in his story.

The same condition of contradictory impulses that is a prominent part of the victim's personality is also true of his situation in the group. He is not a true communicant. Billy Budd, newly impressed into the Royal Navy must, despite his evident talents and friendly disposition, undergo a probationary period. A "novice magnanimity," Melville tells us, kept him from doing completely "his duty as a loyal blue-jacket" (p. 85). Yet finally, Melville speculates, Billy enters so intimate a communion with the god-figure aboard that the proper term for it is "sacrament" (p. 115). Other victims' forced entries are not as happy as Billy's "arbitrary enlistment" (p. 54). Jacopo considers his becoming the state's secret agent a "'fatal error'" (p. 434). Conrad's

entry into the business world blights his life. Two communicant crises are the result of forcible exclusions instead of impressments. Beech is ostracized in his New York neighborhood. The South's losing the Civil War forces a new life upon Major Tetley. Two more of these crises are caused by the victim's attempt to dwell in two groups. Joan insists upon operating like a man in a man's group, the army. But when imprisoned, she wants to be treated like a woman. Cavan wants the best of what his friend Goldberg calls the "'intellectual'" and the "'political life'" (p. 197). The result, as with Joan, is that he is not really a communicant in either.

The victim's family background varies from Billy's foundling condition to Anderson's having been in the midst of a large family all his life. What is common about the victims' family situations is that none of those for whom a childhood background is at all provided, except lone Billy, was an only child. But the victim's siblings, with one exception, are entirely of the other sex. Joan had one sister, the baby, besides three brothers. But this sister never figures in Joan's story. Thus in the first group to which the young child belongs, the family, the victim is, as in the later group, both a member ostensibly on equal footing with the others and at the same time alone and different.

Probably the most important element of the victim's situation is the relationship between him and his father, as

with Conrad Dryfoos, or with his father-figure, as with Billy, Anderson, and Jacopo. Cavan relates to both a mother and a father figure. The victim is as often a father or father-figure himself as he is the son. Beech's and Tetley's conflicts with their sons presage their victimization. The President, like any ruler, and Queeg, like any ship's captain, are father figures. Professor Cavan, Harvard student George Hastings imagines, is "all that his father could not be" (p. 31). The metaphorically asexual Joan as "Deliverer of France" achieves a kind of father status. Both King and country are her creations. These figures' troubles with their "offspring," like those of the literal fathers, presage their victimization.

A significant part of the situation of most of the son or son-figure victims is that they are in love. But their love is a virginal sort. The middle-aged Cavan has fallen in love with the wife of his best friend, a logical choice for a man who probably wishes his love for a desirable, "Junoesque" (p. 79) woman to remain a spiritual one. She tells her husband, Damon, that Edward "'can't give love or take it'" (p. 134). Conrad Dryfoos, who has likewise fallen in love with the remote Margaret Vance, has "ideals of a virginal vagueness" (p. 306) concerning her. The love of Jacopo for Gelsomina is as pure and spiritual as that of "'angels,'" and "'it has lasted for years'" (p. 436). Senator Anderson, who is married and is a father, "had begun to

realize . . . that the happiness he wanted would never come with Mabel" (p. 354). Some kind of inhibiting psychological factor prevents the victim's love from attaining the normal human sexual completeness.

The two young victims who are not in love, Billy and Joan, are among fiction's most virginal adults. These two, as well as Conrad, Cavan, and Jacopo are specifically chaste. Tetley, a middle-aged widower, is uninterested in women. The President sleeps alone in the huge Lincoln bed. Only Abner Beech fails to depart significantly from the norm in his relationship with the opposite sex. The victim usually yearns for but fails to achieve true communicant status with a love partner as well as in the larger groups he functions in.

The manner of the victim's death tends to make him seem to be an extremely passive character. But he is not entirely passive; he does perform a number of significant acts, and, if deeds are indeed more important than words, his acts are at least as meaningful as his personality and situation.

To work for the benefit of his community is one of the victim's more obvious acts. Jacopo for three years is one of the state's best agents. Conrad accomplishes "'a heap o' good amongst the poor folks'" (p. 252). Joan leads the French armies to triumph again and again. "In all large matters the neighborhood looked to [Beech] to take the lead" (p. 4). Cavan gives himself unsparingly to liberal and

educational causes throughout America and Europe. Queeg, according to Greenwald, was heroically "'standing guard'" (p. 446) while the country girded herself. The President's huge electoral total presumably reflects his beneficence to the country.

But the victim's success with the larger group is offset by his failure with a smaller, nearer group. Jacopo's extended efforts to befriend old Antonio, the representative member of Venice's downtrodden fishermen, fails utterly. Conrad accomplishes nothing for Hazard's immediate group except a journeyman keeping of the magazine's books. Joan cannot convince the ecclesiastical court that she is not a witch. Beech's family shrinks and becomes poor in spirit. Cavan feels himself "'cut off'" (p. 132), "an outsider" (p. 33) in the offices and homes of his immediate friends. Maryk's trial is a testament to the positive harm Queeg has visited upon the Caine's complement of officers. The disesteem the Senate holds for the President shows the failure of his politician's tactics with this near group. In Budd this characteristic is modified to become Billy's prior success on the smaller Rights followed by a considerably less spectacular performance on the larger Bellipotent.

The victim's striving to benefit the community frequently turns him into a crusading reformer whose activities range from Billy's informal and unconscious peacemaking to Joan's formal and conscious re-forming of the French nation.

Jacopo, Conrad, and Cavan all strive mightily against what seem to them terrible oppressions. But the victim just as often turns into a caustic reactionary, such as the repressive Captain Queeg, the authoritarian Major Tetley, and the President, who meets the increasing problems of running the country with the slogans and strategies of yesteryear. Abner Beech leans both ways. He accompanies his stout labors to establish economic reforms--"co-operation as the answer to all American farm problems"--(p. 12) with an even stronger resistance to the great Reform movement of the era, Abolitionism.

In implementing his contradictory impulses, the victim sooner or later transgresses one of the group's most sacred rules. In the political groups of Bravo and Advise, the victim is guilty of disloyalty. In the military group of Budd and Caine Mutiny, he is charged with making or fomenting a mutiny. In Hazard's economic group, Conrad "wouldn't be a businessman."³⁷ The eminent scholar Cavan becomes so engrossed in political activities that he ceases publishing. Joan is tried by an ecclesiastical court and found guilty of heresy.

Perhaps because he is an official transgressor himself, the victim is remarkably ready to forgive the trespass against him. Billy Budd's famous last benedictory words, "'God bless Captain Vere!'" (p. 123) bespeak this forgiveness. In the tumbril on the way to the pyre, Joan is approached by

the priest, Loyseleur, who falls upon his knees to her, begging her forgiveness. "And Joan forgave him" (p. 453). The soldier who has sold out Anderson, Judas-like, for "'an awful lot of money,'" calls to say that he is sorry. "'I forgive you, and it's all right'" (p. 535), the Senator tells him. Abner Beech tells the emissary of his neighbors, the morning after they have burned down his house, "'I don't bear no ill will'" (p. 146) and takes the Squire's proffered hand. When Conrad is struck by his father, the culmination of many offenses, the young man "looked at him with a kind of grieving wonder, and said, 'Father!'" (p. 466). "He was only sorry for his father. 'Poor father!' he said" (p. 469).

Closely allied to the act of forgiving his betrayer or his judge is the act of refusing to be an informer. "An innate repugnancy to playing a part at all approaching that of an informer against one's own shipmates" (p. 106) leads Billy to tell Red Pepper, the Dansker, and the questioning officers, on three separate occasions, less than the truth about his knowledge of brewing mutiny. Donald Martin under similar direct questioning and after a similar pause, fails to mention the pistol his man Martinez has acquired. Maryk's lawyer tells him that Keefer is the real villain, but Tom is a "shipmate," and Maryk replies, "'I want him left out of it'" (p. 358). This same sense of fairness leads Anderson to refuse to divulge to the badgering Press the damaging information he has about the nominee's past.

But Melville terms Billy's "magnanimity" (p. 83) an "erring sense of uninstructed honor" (p. 106). If error it is, it is one the victim is as apt to avoid as to make. Under direct questioning similar to Billy's, Jacopo tells a full tale in which "nothing was concealed" (p. 421). Beech, in response to Esther Hagadorn's questions about the setting of the fire, volunteers several tales about Roselle Upman's rascalities. Cavan tells Fosca all the details of how Damon "'backed down, ratted'" (p. 68).

Perhaps his own magnanimity leads him to expect it in others. At any rate, one of his more prominent acts is to beseech a great favor of the group's highest official. Antonio Vecchio makes appeals to both the Doge and the state's real authority, the Council of Three. Donald Martin, about to be hanged, begs for a reprieve. Senator Anderson asks the President to withdraw the nomination. The President in turn, when events sheer him of his power, pleads with Senator Knox, the leader of the Senate, to support the nomination.

The victim's mute look of appeal is often as eloquent an entreaty as his words. Billy Budd's "wistful interrogative look" (p. 107) toward Vere is such an appeal. So also is Conrad's "beseeching look at his father" (p. 465) at the time Jacob is beginning to force the quarrel on him. After Greenwald has broken Queeg down in the witness chair, "the witness looked toward the judge advocate appealingly"

(p. 439). George Hastings, sitting in a coffee shop with his Professor sees in Cavan's eyes "a look of naked appeal" (p. 39). These looks are all understood by their recipients as supplications for help.

Despite the outgoing tendency of seeking to benefit the community and also begging a personal boon, the victim submits to an even stronger counter impulse. He regularly imposes a confinement or exile upon himself. Jacopo refuses Don Camillo's offer of escape and succor beyond the confines of Venice. Beech "left off going to church" (p. 11) and renounced the cheese factory, husking bees, and other community activities. "Tetley was like his house, quiet and fenced away" (p. 104). Cavan chooses to remain "'in prison'" where his friends cannot reach him. "'You're closing the door. . . . I can't believe it'" (p. 110), his incredulous chairman expostulates. The President exclaims that his office is "so severe, so lonely, and so terrible, so utterly removed from the normal morality that holds society together" (p. 475), yet he seeks re-election and even learns to enjoy and exploit the separation. The usually gregarious Senator Anderson imposes a similar isolation upon himself when he holds himself incommunicado from the Press and non-committal with his friends.

The victim generally admits his guilt. Billy Budd affirms Captain Vere's opening statement to the court and thereby acknowledges his guilt. Jacopo confesses to Father

Anselmo that, as an agent of the state, he has been an accessory before the fact to a good many heinous crimes.

Maryk tells his lawyer, "'I'm guilty'" (p. 355). The President admits, at least to himself, "that what he has done to the senior Senator from Utah has been deeply and fundamentally wrong" (p. 552). The three suicides are tacit admissions of guilt. So also is Beech's insisting that the cooper come in under his roof and drawing off Jee's boots in a revealing performance of the Beech family ritual. One notable exception to this round of guilty pleas is Joan, who abjures her confession.

One of the victim's final acts is to express an acquiescence in his punishment, extreme though it be. Billy's whole attitude from the time Captain Vere leaves him is expressive of a positive acceptance of his fate. Jacopo's last moments are prayerful concern for his soul and for Gelsomina's welfare. Abner takes the burning of his house so mildly that Squire Avery is moved to exclaim, "'Your sentiments, Mr. Beech . . . do credit alike to your heart and your head'" (p. 146). Joan, in the last moment before mounting the pyre, knelt and prayed for the King, who had abandoned her. Senator Anderson's final word is a handwritten note intended for everyone and containing the brief apology, "'I'm sorry'" (p. 547). This acceptance is often an implied one, couched in his prayerful attitude and in his lack of resentment or opposition. Donald Martin reverses

this procedure somewhat. The concern for others, his family, is there, but the acquiescence is not. Croft relates, "I have never seen another face so bitter as his was then, or one that showed its hatred more clearly" (p. 245). But even Martin shows some melioration. At the final moment, "the bitterness was gone from his face. He had a melancholy expression, such as goes with thinking of an old sorrow" (p. 246).

Three of the primary victims commit suicide, as does also one secondary one, Gerald Tetley. This ratio of incidence is large enough to suggest that killing himself is a typical and, of course, final act of the victim. Furthermore, three others, Jacopo, Joan, and the President, so expose or conduct themselves that they may be called suicidal personalities. At the final parting between the Bravo and Don Camillo, the Duke exclaims, as Jacopo prepares to return to Venice,

"Thou speakest as if we were to meet no more,
worthy Jacopo."

The Bravo turned. . . . a melancholy smile . . .
mingled with serious forebodings for himself.

"We are certain only of the past," he said (p. 382).

Joan's habit of exposing herself in battle can be called inspirational, but it is also suicidal. Her warders are warned to watch her carefully, for she is "'capable of killing herself'" (p. 401). The President has been warned by his doctor that his heart is dangerously impaired. But this ambitious man

does not mind the thought of dying in office. . . . He rather welcomes the idea of a dramatic demise with his hand on the helm, a great man sacrificing his life in the cause of peace, a gallant soldier giving his all for his country (p. 556).

The victim plays his sacrificial role knowingly and by deliberate choice. It is a choice he renews again and again. Managing the manner of his death is his final act. Each suicide is spectacular, is arranged with forethought for the impact on those who will find the body and for the meaning it will have to those he leaves behind. The public executions are even more of a spectacle.

The term victim implies the reception of an action rather than its performance, and hence what happens to this character is probably of more import than what he causes to happen. With the victim the distinction between being an actor and a receptor is often blurred, for most of his actions have a tendency to rebound upon himself. He gets caught up in some kind of a war and becomes one of its casualties. But in only one instance, the labor "'war'" (p. 465) of Hazard, is he a battlefield casualty. Billy does not see action. Beech is a victim of war hysteria on the home front. Joan survives her many battlefields only to be condemned and executed by a tool of her enemy. Major Tetley is apparently so psychologically scarred by the Civil War that his suicide twenty years later, significantly with his old cavalry saber, is a delayed result of the war.

The victim becomes the subject of more or less abusive

gossip. The attitude of Budd's "armorer and captain of the hold. . . . messmates of the master-at-arms" (pp. 88-89) has been "tampered with" (p. 89) by such talk. Jacopo's name is a universal bugbear in Venice. The Dryfoos fortune insures the family's being talked about, and sooner or later the gossip comes around to the "'singular'" (p. 522) Conrad. Beech is berated whenever two of his neighbors congregate. All Rouen talks of the witch, Joan. Captain Queeg and his foibles become the one topic in the Caine officers' wardroom, displacing even girls and the progress of the war as subjects.

Desertions by his erstwhile friends and associates is a crucial event in the long series of privations and calamities that is the pattern of the victim's life. Such desertions are the chief burden of the first half of Faithful, as Cavan's sister, his students, his friends, his colleagues all break with him, formally or informally. In one of his last scenes he laments to the mother figure, "'I don't belong in this community, Grace. I've become a real outsider'" (p. 120). Jacopo is hurt by the refusal of "'the only man who has shown interest in me, for three long and dreadful years'" (p. 269), to share a simple repast with him. Not only does the entire neighborhood abandon Beech, but defections occur among his household as two hired men, one hired girl, and his son all go over to the enemy. After the lynching, "all except Mapes and Smith shied clear of Tetley"

(p. 248). The President is deserted in the issue of the Leffingwell nomination by many people, including his two chief political lieutenants, the Vice-President and the Majority Leader. All these defections are hurtful injuries to the victim.

Besides being wilfully deserted, the victim occasionally finds himself inadvertently abandoned. The French generals and King find it militarily and politically inexpedient to attempt to rescue Joan. The two friends whom Senator Anderson tries to telephone in his emergency are out of town on speaking engagements. Donald Martin would have been saved if the sheriff and Drew had arrived just a few minutes earlier. One way or another, the victim finds himself to be alone at his final moment.

Beech's abandonment by the rural community is also a loss of a position of comparative eminence. He had been the community's leader and the family's "patriarch." Such a loss is usually visited upon the victim. Sometimes this loss will have occurred as much as twenty or so years before the opening of the story. Billy Budd's loss of his noble birthright when abandoned as a baby is such an early one. Major Tetley duplicates the spaciousness of ante-bellum living in Bridger's Wells, but he cannot recapture its graciousness. But more often, as with Beech, the victim's loss is a current one. Joan of Arc, shut up in prison, brought into court in chains, is in an extraordinarily lesser position

than the Commander of the French armies she had been. As late as just the year before, Cavan had experienced an exceptional "conviction . . . warmth . . . at the Salzburg Seminar" (p. 121). But now he has "'become an outsider'" (pp. 33, 120). The President's loss is the cumulative realization that he will not live to attain his great ambition, the nation securely on the road to peace and prosperity as a result of his wise and dedicated administration. Indeed, he suffers growing fears that the road points in the opposite direction.

The victim is abused by the group in one or more of the ways that have come to be called police-state methods. The most extreme example is Jacopo's persecution. The state suborned him into becoming its agent and accomplice in criminal deceptions by playing upon his fears and hopes for his father. It alternately threatened him with the torture and promised the release of his imprisoned father. Joan is questioned continually, day after day, month after month, by shifts of examiners. She is threatened with other tortures, the rack and the fire. Budd is tried without benefit of counsel, and the right of appeal does not seem to exist. The whole kangaroo court proceedings against Martin, from the initial midnight arousal and seizure and the refusal to tell him the charges against him to the final shooting when his hanging is botched, are a travesty upon the legal body of due processes designed to protect the accused. Cavan is

subjected, after his death, to a kind of newspaper debate in which one extreme is characterized by "a sports writer [who] devoted a whole column to a kind of jeering and rejoicing, as if an enemy had fallen" (p. 177). Intolerable pressures are brought to bear upon Anderson, including an organized whispering campaign, anonymous obscene telephone calls, and a series of sly innuendoes and half truths in the Press and on television.

The victim is further harassed by being prevented from practicing the vocation he prefers. Jacopo had started out to be Venice's best gondolier. Conrad's desire to be a preacher had been "balked" (p. 238). Joan's capture ends her soldier's career. If an initial permission has been granted, the victim is not allowed to practice in the way he sees fit. Joan's group prevents her from really becoming the Deliverer of France by not consenting to advance on Paris when she urges this action. An ex-Confederate officer like Tetley has no chance to pursue his military career. The Navy ambitions of Lieutenant Commander Queeg and of Lieutenant Maryk are "'finished'" (p. 447).

The impersonal strictures by the group are augmented by personal harassments. The victim is not only deserted by his former friends, but one of them, as a rule, betrays him to the persecuting group. This Judas kiss is given by Justice Tommy Davis to Anderson when he turns the fateful picture over to Munson and tells the President of its exist-

ence. Keefer plants the kiss on his "'close friend'" (p. 391), Maryk, by his weaseling testimony during the trial. Cavan feels that "'Damon has betrayed'" (p. 69) him by successfully leading a movement against Edward's crucial proposal at the American Civil Liberties Union meeting. If the afterguardsman who approaches Billy with his seditious proposal is indeed "'a cat's-paw'" (p. 85), as seems likely, Billy also has met a Judas. The betrayal may also be inadvertent, such as Jacopo's being led into the trap and Conrad's being sent to his death, each by the girl who reverences him.

Not only is the victim betrayed by one member of the group, but he encounters an implacable foe in another, apparently upright member. The master-at-arms is "down on" (p. 73) Billy. The Doge would pardon Jacopo, but the Councillors will not permit him. Angus Beaton sneers at Conrad to their business associates and also to Margaret Vance, the young socialite they are both interested in. Jee Hagadorn has "'been a layin' for years behind every stump and every bush, waitin' for the chance to stab me in the back, an' ruin my business, an' set my neighbors agin' me'" (p. 19), Abner Beech exclaims. Lieutenant Greenwald undertakes "'to sink Queeg'" (p. 448), and "Lieutenant Commander Challee. . . honestly regarded the conviction of Maryk . . . as his personal war aim" (p. 380). Fred Van Ackerman cannot stand "'somebody who thinks he's as damned good as Brig does'"

(p. 369). Orrin Knox feels for the President "a hatred so deep and so cold that it lies upon his heart like a stone" (p. 559). Except with Beaton, who is too indolent to be virulent, these foes work deadly harm for the victim.

Besides the betrayer and the foe, a third member of the group will deny the victim's appeal. This usually is the group's chief. The Doge turns down Antonio and in effect denies Jacopo. Tetley is a sadist who enjoys provoking Martin, his son, and any potential victim into making requests so that he can smilingly refuse them. All Cavan's appeals, spoken and mute, are ignored or rejected. The appeals of the President and of Anderson fall on deaf ears. Vere forces himself to dismiss Billy. Conrad's look just infuriates his father.

The victim's appeal usually is denied, but at least twice it is granted. Don Camillo accedes to Jacopo's "'strange behest'" (p. 269) that the Duke hear his confession. Joan's request for the Sacrament of Eucharist just before she is led out to the death cart is granted even though she has been excommunicated. The act of begging a boon of great consequence concentrates the tragic emotions of fear and pity. To have the request denied heightens these emotions. But when the situation of the victim is already as pathetic as Joan's, just a few moments away from the pyre, or the Bravo's, on the verge of suicide because of "'bitterness of soul'" (p. 265), the granting of the

appeal can be a means of further heightening the pathos. The contrast between that which is granted and that which is denied the victim is so overwhelming as to be itself pathetic.

The victim continues as the recipient of calamities by being charged with the worst crime in the group's lexicon. The charge against Billy is the "violent killing at sea of a superior in grade" (p. 113). Jacopo is charged with the murder of the popular Antonio. Conrad's crime in the economic and social worlds is that he would not compete. "In some parts of the world the theft of a horse is the most heinous of conceivable crimes; other sections exalt to the pinnacle of sacredness in property a sheep or a pheasant or a woman" (Copperhead, p. 13). In Beech's community the sacrosanct commodity is milk, and he is accused of watering it. Martin and his companions are charged with cattle stealing and murder, but "'rustling is enough'" (p. 43). In the era of the Cold War Edward Cavan is accused of being "'an avowed supporter of communism'" (p. 274). Queeg is charged with cowardice, "'the most odious offense in military life'" (p. 405).

Between the time of his being charged and his punishment, the victim is constantly under guard. No bond or parole is ever instituted for him. He is usually brought speedily to trial, although Joan had to wait over a year. The trial proves to be another harassment for the victim.

It may be, as with Martin, a sadistic psychological torturing. It may be, as with Joan, a cruel exhibiting to a callous populace. It may be, as with the Senate's exposition of the President's "'cold-blooded, calculated, unprincipled campaign'" (p. 737), in itself the victim's chief punishment. The trial may be completely hypocritical, as is Jacopo's, or it may be a simple according with the rules, as Billy Budd's. The verdict of guilty in all cases seems inevitable.

Although the trial is itself a punishing ordeal, the victim is sentenced, usually to death, and the sentence quickly carried out. "In brief, Billy Budd was formally convicted and sentenced to be hung [sic] at the yard arm in the early morning watch, it being now night" (p. 114). The executions of Jacopo, Joan, and Martin follow their convictions as expeditiously as Billy's. Cavan's and Anderson's suicides promptly follow agonizing examinations in which they have pronounced themselves guilty. The arrest, charge, trial and execution present a crescendo of charged emotions that are most effectively purged by a swift current of events. Haste also precludes an upsetting reprieve.

After the execution the body has to be disposed of. This can be a final indignity, such as the callous efficiency of the Venetians. "The water of the bay was dashed upon the flags; the clotted sawdust was gathered; the head and trunk, block, basket, axe, and executioner disappeared"

(p. 459). The disposal may be a perfunctory burial without ceremony, performed only as a necessary task by delegated workers, as happens to Martin. The body may be shipped away for burial. This is Drury's way of getting rid of the earthly remains of both of his victims. Here the bodies are granted a small degree of dignity, but the chief effect is a squeamish repugnance for the whole funerary business. Finally, the disposition may be a tactful gesture by the group of grief over the victimization. Billy Budd's burial at sea with the ranked crew in attendance is such a rite. So also are the Episcopal rites for Cavan attended by the wounded, immediate group and also by distinguished representatives from the worlds of international poetry and scholarship.

With the body taken care of, the community has still one more final disposition of the victim to make. He may continue to be harassed by a process of vilification, or the pendulum may swing toward veneration. The official account of Billy's death in which he is an "'assassin'" who "'vindicatively stabbed'" Claggart is the former; the apotheosizing of Billy by his shipmates who turn chips of the gallows spar into "venerated" (p. 131) relics and immortalize him in the ballad "Billy in the Darbies" is the latter. Cavan also is vilified by some newspapers at the time of his death and also five years later by the investigating Senator's charges. But the new sense of community among the chief mourners, and

their affirmation of the man five years later in response to the Senator's charges are a kind of veneration. Jacob Dryfoos attempts "some atonement to his son" (p. 505). Joan is officially Rehabilitated and Venerated by the Church.

Jacopo, on the other hand, is further punished by being completely forgotten. Everyone seeks to forget Martin by drinking himself sodden, by contributing to the pot for his widow, and by blaming everything on Tetley. The Major's death provides a fitting close to the episode, immensely aiding the process of forgetting. The immediate succession of one Senator for another and of one President for another underscores the unimportance of the individual, even such prominent individuals as these. Remembering is only a sentimental trick.

The Judge

Because the role of judge or god is not as obvious in some instances as that of the victim, a preliminary identification of these characters seems advisable. First, although none of the characters are literally gods, several are literal judges. Captain Blakeley and Bishop Cauchon preside on special courts, and Judge Tyler regularly sits. Second, some characters assume the judge role by rendering a decisive judgment or by effecting a settlement of a disturbing issue by acting as a mediator. Hazard's Fulkerson manages to settle every difficulty in that community, and,

particularly, mediates between March and Dryfoos in the controversy over Lindau's employment. Art Davies' whole effort is an attempt to mediate between the lawless lynch spirit and the "'code of justice'" (p. 63) he venerates. Grace Kimlock is given the final word in Faithful, and it is a judgment upon both Cavan and Damon Phillips. She has earlier briefly attempted to mediate between Cavan and his estranged friends. The three Senators, Cooley, Knox, and Munson, are both the most prominent ones in the story and the most instrumental in passing the judgment on the nominee. Senator Munson, in addition, is by long custom a mediator between the President and the Senate. The Doge is appealed to as judge of a superior court. As another such judge Captain Breakstone modifies the findings of the Caine court martial board. Judge Advocate Challee, who is Breakstone's chief assistant, is thereby also a judge.

Judges include also characters who significantly perform the god-like act of changing or giving identity. Captain Vere names Billy an angel and then, with an assist from another creator, the author, turns him into an Isaac. Vere's cousin, Lord Denton, acts as informal godfather in christening the Captain "Starry." Lieutenant Ratcliffe drops out of the blue, points his finger at Billy, and thereby transforms him. Paolo Soranzo changes Jacopo from a government agent into a murderer by simply naming him. Jacob Dryfoos turns his son, much against the young man's

inclination, into a "'business man'" (p. 237). Jeff Beech renames himself Tom. Jess Bartlett creates a lynch mob out of a confused, muttering group. Faithful's investigating Senator names Cavan a "'Communist'" (pp. 273, 274), the equivalent in that time of Cauchon's naming Joan a witch five hundred twenty years earlier.

The judge is an extremely self-assured person. Vere can "adjudge to summary and shameful death a fellow creature innocent before God'" (p. 110). Bishop Cauchon impudently determines "to re-try and re-decide a cause which had already been decided by . . . a court of higher authority" (p. 329). Judge Tyler proposes to hang the entire lynch mob, which contains some of the valley's most prominent men. The investigating Senator is "very dignified and sure of himself" (p. 268), Miss Sarton writes, and his actions confirm this description. Senator Knox wants desperately to be President "'because there are things I want to accomplish for the country that I can't accomplish in any other office'" (p. 563), he tells a UPI interviewer.

A result, perhaps, and certainly a symptom of the judge's self-assurance is his habit of jumping to instant conclusions. Vere's "prompt initiative" (p. 90) has been noticed by his superiors. Signor Soranzo jumps to the conclusion that Jacopo is guilty of Antonio's murder in the few moments between being apprised of the identity of the corpse and his beginning to speak. That he might be wrong, that

evidence is non-existent, that his reasoning from a supposed motive is based on one shaky premise never seems to cross his mind. He speaks "in perfect good faith" (p. 337). "'A little box of iron that they call a Go-devil . . . they . . . drop . . . down on the business end of a torpedo'" (p. 376) to set off an explosion symbolizes Jacob Dryfoos because he also drops down suddenly upon charged people and sparks an explosion. Jess Bartlett asks rhetorically, "'What is justice?'" (p. 43) and assures the crowd that Judge Lynch's immediate brand of justice is the kind they need. The Washington Press has learned that, whatever the issue, "there was always some tart comment to be had from Orrin" (p. 72) Knox. Instant opinions are ordinarily a rare commodity in the political community.

The judge firmly believes in a double set of laws guiding mankind. The Doge and Soranzo, born into Venice's ruling class, adhere to a double standard of conduct, one for the aristocrats and another for the plebeians. "The real subject of The Bravo is the way a financial aristocracy . . . keeps itself in power."³⁸ Captain Vere recognizes and professes allegiance to a double set of laws in his contrast of "'the last Assizes'" with the present "'martial court'" (p. 111). Bishop Cauchon expresses the same duality of faith in professing "'the Church Triumphant . . . and the Church Militant'" (p. 387). Jacob Dryfoos' "What does a preacher know about the world he preaches against when he's

been brought up a preacher?' (p. 237) postulates separate preachers' and laymen's worlds. Art Davies' cry that what was needed to stop the lynching was not a "Christ anyway; all it had needed was a man" (p. 280), postulates the same division. A like belief in the eternal and the exigent law is embodied in Challee's contention that the Navy Regulations, predicated upon the theory that "'the captain is a god'" (p. 441), must be inviolable, and in Captain Blakeley's countervailing belief in exceptions to the rule.

Captain Vere's faith in "'measured forms'" (p. 128) is general among the judges. Captain Blakeley's being "the toughest disciplinarian of Com Twelve" (p. 383) reflects this faith. Bishop Cauchon's belief in the forms as leading inexorably to the proper conclusion explains his emphasis upon the proces, upon Joan's being sworn, upon the customary methods of obtaining evidence, including torture to obtain a confession. The investigating Senator is upset by his witness's refusal to answer "'on the grounds of conscience'" (p. 277) just as Cauchon is by Joan's "passez outre.'" Each presiding judge finds a departure from the prescribed forms in itself criminal. The Doge presides at the Wedding of the Adriatic, Vere at the hanging and burials, Fulkerson and Dryfoos at the dinner party. Jeff Beech is the honored guest at the family reunion. Senate and Senate committee sessions are compendiums of measured forms dominated by the judge figures. All these forms are intended means toward

achieving communal felicity.

Melville writes that "the honest sense of duty" is the highest "virtue in a military man" (p. 58). It is this sense which prompts Vere to be "intrepid to the point of temerity" (p. 60) when engaging the enemy. He writes likewise of Lieutenant Ratcliffe, that "his duty he always faithfully did" (p. 46). This high sense of duty is normal in the judge. It is what obliges Soranzo to enter upon the onerous duties of Councillor. It is what prompts Fulkerson to assume more and more responsibilities for others, such as providing Mrs. Mandel for the Dryfooses and making all the arrangements when Conrad's body is discovered. It is what will not permit Jeff Beech to shirk the war and what drives Davies to try continually to save the three victims. Each judge proceeds despite the opprobrium he encounters. He does not wait for someone else to assume the duty. Blakeley is unhappy about the duty assigned him, but he does not try the old military dodge of passing the buck. The sense of duty fulfilled makes Munson content in a job he describes as "withstanding sledge hammers" (p. 37). When asked an abstract question like "What is truth?" the judge will refer it to another court, but any duty that is practicable he will perform.

The judge's sense of duty is not entirely selfless. He wishes recognition for the accomplishments it leads him to. Cauchon is motivated by "the half promise of an enormous

prize--the Archbishopric of Rouen" (p. 321). Tyler is an elected official anxious to prevent a "black mark against his jurisdiction" (p. 251). The investigating Senator is happy about the television coverage he is getting. Whether or not their Navy careers will be advanced is an automatic consideration with Breakstone, Blakeley, and Challee in their every undertaking. Senator Knox likes headlines. The septuagenarian Cooley wants to pass from the Senate in a blaze of glory. Dryfoos goes on piling up his fortune even though "'the money don't seem to buy anything but more and more care and trouble'" (p. 225). Melville writes that "the most secret of all passions, ambition" (p. 129) may well have been one of the stronger wellsprings of Vere's character.

Despite this worldliness, the judge does not neglect the retreat of the library. Captain Vere "loved books, never going to sea without a newly replenished library" (p. 62). Senators Cooley and Knox are Phi Beta Kappas who continue to do their homework. Ma Grier expresses the general conviction when she chides Davies, "'Art, you read too many books'" (p. 101). Fulkerson is the only one March ever meets who has read his poetry. The Doge often reads in "the classics of his country" (p. 440). Lord Denton discovers the nickname for his cousin in "a copy of Andrew Marvell's poems" (p. 61). While not always "dry and bookish" (Budd, p. 63) the judges tend to be more so than their peers. A

few, however, are notable exceptions to this tendency. Jeff Beech "never . . . read anything at all" (p. 77). Grace Kimlock, the only female judge, is extraordinarily well-versed, but is exceeded in bookishness by the Professors. Two characters in Caine, Keith and Keefer, are presented as great readers. Neither is a judge.

As is not altogether inconsistent with a character known for his self-assurance and worldly ambition, the judge is accustomed to getting his own way. But despite his comparative bookishness, he is more apt to rely on the power of his personality to carry his point than on reasoned arguments. Fulkerson dominates through the art of continual and obvious flattery, convincing the others they owe it to themselves to move to New York, become editors, give dinner parties, marry him, and so on. Cooley had won many Senate battles "without a struggle simply because certain of his colleagues were actually afraid of him both politically and physically" (p. 181). The investigating Senator relies on insult, sarcasm, and snide comments, and Grace upon her irascibility, upon "quite unconsciously . . . being cruel" (p. 43). Judge Tyler tries to charm with his hand-shaking warmth and to browbeat with "his platform voice" (p. 107). Cauchon blusters, shouts, and threatens noisily. Captain Vere overawes his men with "his supreme position aboard his ship" (p. 116).

The chief item of the judge's situation is that he

holds the group's highest office. He is captain, judge, Senator, Bishop, Doge, and so on. As such he is almost necessarily a father figure. The authors generally make this position specific. Vere speaks in a "fatherly . . . tone" (p. 99) to Billy, and "the father in him" (p. 100) yearns toward Billy. The Doge habitually manifests a "paternal expression" (p. 441), and when in his palace he is likened to a "queen-bee in the hive" (p. 439). The cowboys are "'son'" (p. 40 ff.) to Davies. Knox feels Anderson "was almost a son" (p. 563), and Munson, who sponsored him in the Senate, feels like his godfather. Grace is not, of course, a father-figure, but she is the other parent. Jess Bartlett, Jacob Dryfoos, Soranzo, and Knox are all literal fathers for whom fatherhood is symptomatic of their group position. Richard Chase maintains a dual figurative and real fatherhood is a part of Billy Budd's complexity, arguing "that Vere may in fact be Billy Budd's father."³⁹

In all except a few cases the judge is officially an administrator rather than a judge. The Navy legal officers, Breakstone and Challee, regularly administer justice, as does also Judge Tyler. But the others are Solomon figures who undertake, because of their positions or reputations, to decide to whom the baby belongs. Vere as primarily a ship captain, Cauchon as Bishop, the Doge as figurehead Prince, Bartlett as rancher, Davies as storekeeper, Fulkerson as a managing editor, the Senators as legislators are such admin-

istrators whom occasion turns into a judge.

Perhaps because of his isolated position atop the group's hierarchy, the judge is ultimately drawn to what seems to his group to be strange gods. Vere's fellow captains find "a queer streak of the pedantic running through him" (p. 63). Perhaps it is the Doge's reading that renders him susceptible. At any rate, his "eyes moistening with tears" (p. 452) shows him to be the only sentimentalist among the oligarchy. Davies "could feel strongly about law, like some men do about religion" (p. 65). Blakeley is misled, the false prophet Greenwald avers, by "'the pride of the Navy'" (p. 447). "Jeff Beech. . . . is drawn off after strange gods" (p. 5), the cause of the North, Unionism.

The strangeness of the judge's gods is sometimes an inconsistency with his former beliefs rather than a nonconformity with his peers. Grace Kimlock is the fiercest of "'radicals'" (p. 264), but in the story's last scene she becomes a "'liberal'" (p. 281). Dryfoos shifts "'his fancy'" (p. 539), to, according to Fulkerson, Basil March. Cooley offers to drop his opposition to Leffingwell, which means he is abandoning his firmest convictions for personal loyalty.

Although the judge is not, like the victim, afflicted with a series of troubles, he does not escape unscathed. His hurts are psychic. They range from the complete shattering suffered by Davies to the vague uneasiness felt by Soranzo. "The agony of the strong" (p. 115) in Vere's face,

and his "emotional shock" (p. 124) at the hanging are hardly less than Davies'. Cady believes "the tragic core of A Hazard of New Fortunes . . . is the story of the fall of Jacob Dryfoos."⁴⁰ After the death of his son he is a thoroughly chastened, but not otherwise fallen, robber baron. Challee has been hurt enough by Greenwald's unchivalrous conduct that he calls the defense lawyer "'dirty names'" (p. 445). Two of the judges receive a physical hurt correspondent to their psychic one. Vere is fatally wounded. Jeff Beech is partially dismembered in a Civil War battle.

The scapegoat ritual is supposed to be a cleansing experience for the participants. The sacrificial victim carries with him the sins of the others. But the judge's immediate feeling is his psychic hurt. He feels contaminated rather than cleansed. At the very least, he feels somewhat ashamed of his part. Knox is "sorry" (p. 746) that his actions have contributed to the President's death. Grace feels "anger" (pp. 159, 162), speaking "gruffly. . . . irritably. . . . sharply. . . . fiercely" (pp. 158, 159, 160, 161). Bartlett is too ashamed to come to Canby's. Davies announces to the narrator, "'I killed those three men'" (p. 163). He feels a guilt so terrible that he has to be guarded against himself. Dryfoos is overwhelmed by grief. Vere's response is the "agony" and "shock" from which he never apparently recovers. The atonement the ritual provides does not extend to the judge.

To judge or mediate is to perform an act. Hence the judge's acts tend to be of more significance than what he is or what happens to him. One of his characteristic acts, one that is conspicuous because it is rare in the generality of mankind, is swaying a crowd. Such an act is Jess Bartlett's biggest moment. He begins by waving his hat above his head to attract the crowd's attention. Then he begins haranguing them. He ridicules the previous speaker "by his tone" (p. 43). The author tells us, in order, that Bartlett

cried. . . . ridiculed. . . . called, raising his voice
still higher. . . . bellowed. . . . exhorted. . . .
with hoarse determination. . . . begged. . . . yelped.
. . . his voice went up so high it cracked. . . .
crying, piping. . . . shouted (pp. 43-45).

Both the crowd of independent cowboys and the "weak and shaky" (p. 46) old man are extremely unlikely candidates for a spellbinding. Yet one occurs. It occurs because Bartlett is able to concentrate and focus the crowd's emotion. What he says is irrational and, to a large extent, irrelevant. But his manner is irresistible.

The manner of address varies from judge to judge, but he always captures and swings the crowd emotionally. Vere uses "the silver whistles of the boatswain" (p. 126) and "the drum beat to quarters" (p. 127). With the Navy men, inured to and expecting discipline, such symbolic measures are sufficient. The Doge, speaking to the wild mob of fishermen and wishing to sway it in exactly the opposite direction from that Bartlett takes, is advised to "'speak them

fair'" (p. 333), and so he does. Instead of haranguing, he "mildly" (p. 333) reproves and questions. The mob cannot supply the answers, and their anger gradually changes to puzzlement. Then another judge, Signor Soranzo, speaks up. He suggests some answers. The lack of logic in his suggestions is overlooked because they do imply a practicable course. The mob's anger had been directed toward the impersonal state; Soranzo directs it at the person of the Bravo. Punishing the state is inconceivable; punishing Jacopo they understand.

Faithful's investigating Senator is adept at playing to the crowd. His sarcastic, rhetorical questions, such as "'Are you professors just dumb or what?'" (p. 272) draw appreciative laughter from the packed court room who have "come to see 'the Reds' baited" (p. 266). Senator Cooley knows how to win favorable leads from hostile reporters. Senator Knox likewise knows how to achieve "a very self-consciously fair break in the news columns however bitterly he might be attacked on the editorial page" (p. 643).

Davies addresses the mob of cowboys after Bartlett, and succeeds in swaying them away from their murderous mood. His manner is the opposite of Bartlett's. "Under the edge of the arcade Davies climbed up onto the tie rail and stood there, holding onto a post to steady himself. He didn't call out but just waited until it was quiet" (p. 110). He is cursed and heckled by a few of the more obstreperous

mobsters. Davies "didn't talk back to them, but just waited, as you would until a door was closed that was letting in too much noise, and then went on in the same reasonable way, just loudly enough to be heard" (p. 111). He proceeds in great, slow detail, recounting everything, calming the crowd by boring them. Davies' manner of sweet reasonableness successfully counteracts Bartlett's hoarse emotionalism.

Bartlett's exhorting the crowd, "'I say, stretch the bastards . . . stretch them'" (p. 44), is a god-like demanding of a sacrifice. Most of the judges join him in making such a demand. Vere's directives to the court demand the sacrifice of "'this unfortunate boy'" (p. 113). Cauchon's careful preparations of the charges, of the evidence, and of the judges are a series of such demands. Challee assures the court that it is their duty to find Maryk guilty. All three of Drury's Senator judges demand Van Ackerman's censure and Leffingwell's defeat as propitiatory sacrifices. The judge demands the sacrifice in the name of some abstract virtue. Vere insists it is necessary to maintain "'discipline'" (p. 113). Cauchon must eradicate heresy. Ox-Bow's rustlers must be hanged, or "'there won't be anything safe'" (p. 45). The judge is a conservative.

The ambitious judge wishes his involvement to be known. He maneuvers openly to achieve his desired end. Lord Denton, one of several commentators that Melville brings into his story, expresses his opinions publicly and "vehemently,"

which is in direct contrast to "the confidential talk" (p. 103) of Vere's fellow officers. Soranzo is so direct as a councillor that his two fellows undertake "a design to manage his feelings" (p. 401). Fulkerson's manipulations are always wheedling and cajoling toward ends he has clearly stated. Jeff Beech makes no attempt to hide his having taken a "'shine'" (p. 18) to Esther Hagadorn. Davies's arguing his opposition to the lynching is without concealment, and not without danger to himself. Grace Kimlock, not liking Cavan's depression, calls Fosca to ask, "'Isn't there something we can do?'" (p. 76).

The judge reaches for responsibility with eager, outstretched hand. Usually, his judging of the victim is the direct result of such a grasping. Vere's subordinate officers aboard the Bellipotent think that the Budd affair "should be referred to the admiral" (p. 102). The spontaneous orators, Bartlett and Soranzo, inject themselves unasked into the forefront of the situation. Davies states that "'I took it on myself to stand up against Tetley'" (p. 275). Cauchon fought for "the right to preside over Joan's ecclesiastical trial" (p. 321). The investigating Senator's injecting Cavan into the hearing comes as a complete surprise to the witnesses and audience. Cooley demands, as a matter of Senatorial courtesy, to be allowed to "'sit as a member of the subcommittee'" (p. 161) hearing testimony on the Leffingwell nomination.

Other judges who do not specifically appoint themselves to try the victim's case nevertheless do show this tendency to grasp responsibility. Seeing this tendency in her husband constrains Mrs. Dryfoos to warn him, "'You'll kill yourself, Jacob . . . tryin' to do so many things'" (p. 254). However, it is not himself that he kills. Jeff Beech cannot wait patiently for his father to offer him a responsible place within the family circle. Grace has been a battler for various causes for fifty years. Challee "had requested . . . legal duty" (p. 380). Drury's Senators feel that the executive has been encroaching upon their prerogatives, and they maneuver politically to regain them.

The judge's sense of duty and habit of authority frequently prompt him to intrude his advice. Thus Vere abandons the role of "'witness'" to assume one he calls "'coadjutor'" of the drumhead court (pp. 109, 110). The voluble Fulkerson dominates every scene he walks into. Bartlett is the one who brings Tetley to the posse. Grace feels the urgency of expressing her views so strongly that "even the death of her best friend" (p. 149) cannot keep her away from one of her meetings. Both Presidents and numerous Senators are recipients of Orrin Knox's persistent, "'If I were you, I think I'd--'" (p. 665).

The judge not only presides at the victim's trial but also gets down from the bench and prosecutes him. When Vere abandons the role of "'witness'" (p. 109) and addresses the

court's "'scruples'" (p. 110), he becomes the prosecutor. Cauchon personally directs all the proceedings against Joan. Davies' "'confession'" (p. 263) is a lengthy casuistry in which he argues his own guilt. Tyler's greeting of the returning posse, "'It's murder, murder'" (p. 250), is a prosecutor's welcome. The Senate hearing at Harvard is not a disinterested winnowing of evidence but rather an attempt to gain a conviction. Challee is specifically the prosecutor in Maryk's trial. Blakeley, the presiding officer, is by temperament a prosecutor, and by the nature of the Navy court becomes one. Greenwald's strategy is to take advantage of these facts by turning the court martial into a trial of Queeg instead of Maryk. Seab Cooley prosecutes Leffingwell before the committee, making charges, cross-examining, introducing evidence and witnesses. The judge is a good prosecutor. He generally gains his conviction, and those three who do not, Challee, Tyler, and Davies, salvage moral victories even though technically defeated.

The judge begins his handling of the victim's case by interrogating him. Vere commands Billy, after Claggart has delivered his charge, to "'speak, man! . . . Speak!'" (p. 98). A halting beginning like this with the judge's losing patience typifies the scene. Soranzo and the Council call Jacopo's answers "'equivocating'" (pp. 418, 419) and charge him to "'reveal all thou knowest of this affair of the Neapolitan'" (p. 419). Conrad expostulates when his father

begins to question him, and Jacob angrily demands "'speak up'" and again, "'Speak!'" (pp. 464, 465). Senator Munson tries in various subtle ways to induce Anderson to "'tell . . . what it is'" (p. 372) that he knows about Leffingwell. Cauchon commands Joan "'we require you to. . . . answer true to the questions'" (p. 339). The investigating Senator tells Phillips, "'I shall have to order you to answer the question'" (p. 277). Generally the judge's wiles do not succeed in this instance, as only Dryfoos and Soranzo get the answers they require.

The judge's characteristic response to what seems to be the victim's defiant lack of candor is to become threatening. The Council threatens Jacopo with torture for the hostage they hold. Dryfoos hammers at his son, "'I'm goin' to make you talk this time! . . . As long as you eat my bread, you have got to do as I say'" (p. 464). Cauchon blusters one threat after another, ranging from the torture of the rack to the withholding of all the church's rites. Judge Tyler threatens, "'Tetley, you bring those men in alive, or, by God, as I'm justice of this county, you'll pay for it'" (p. 124). The investigating Senator warns Damon, in his customary menacing understatement, "'There is, as you perhaps remember, such a thing as contempt of Congress'" (p. 277). Munson tells Anderson, "'Some day . . . you're going to go it alone just once too often, Brigham, and its going to trip you up'" (p. 373). The threats are no more

successful than the demand for speech.

As soon as it becomes apparent to Vere that Claggart is indeed dead, he stifles his paternal feeling toward Billy, replacing it with "the military disciplinarian" (p. 100). After the closeted interview, he again becomes the military figure, standing "erectly rigid as a musket" (p. 124) at the hanging. This kind of denial of the victim is one of the judge's most significant acts. Grace Kimlock rejects Cavan's bid for mothering, like Vere, willfully but sorrowfully. Jacob Dryfoos denies Conrad's right to any individuality, trying to turn his son into a copy of himself. Senator Anderson denies the President's assumption of a fatherly interest in him, demanding to be treated as a Senator, not as a son. Jeff Beech abrogates Abner's fatherhood by leaving home. The investigating Senator denies any relationship between himself and Cavan when he implies that the Professor's being a long-time "'member of the Socialist Party'" (p. 273) removes him beyond the pale--of Americanism. The Venetian councillors deny any but an impersonal prisoner-prosecutor relation between themselves and Jacopo when they refuse his request to "'unmask'" (p. 412).

The stern judge usually comes to regret his denial of the victim. Dryfoos, who customarily talks of Conrad in his presence as "'that fellow'" and "'that boy'" (p. 237), after his death cries for "'my son! my son!'" (p. 499). Vere's cryptic, deathbed "'Billy Budd, Billy Budd'" (p. 129) indi-

cates a similar feeling. The judges who do not express a regret for their specific denial of the victim nevertheless bemoan their having failed him in some way. Art Davies sees his failure to prevent Gerald Tetley's suicide as one of his "sins of omission" (p. 271). Bartlett's contribution to the fund for Martin's widow is a tacit note of regret. Grace acknowledges a regrettable failure when she tells Cavan's sister that neither she nor all his friends, could "'keep him from being desperately lonely'" (p. 200). Munson wonders, the morning after Anderson's suicide, how he can "'stand'" (p. 621) himself. The judge, with the single exception of Vere, goes on living, but he is, most of the time, a sadder person.

The judge shows no mercy in his conduct of the case against the victim. He states the facts in the severest language. He asks for the harshest penalty the law allows. Thus Vere tells the court that they must not be moved by "'moral scruple. . . . compassion. . . . palliating circumstance. . . . warm hearts. . . . the private conscience. . . . clemency'" (pp. 110-112). They must judge according "'to the facts.--In wartime at sea a man-of-war's man strikes his superior in grade, and the blow kills'" (p. 111). He reminds them that the offence is doubly "'a capitol crime'" (p. 111). The other councillors want to give Jacopo a public trial, but Soranzo cries, "'To the block with him without delay. . . . to the block with the villain'"

(pp. 401, 402). Dryfoos' harsh attitude toward victims is exemplified by his words to Conrad about the strikers, "'fire into 'em. Clubbing is too good for them'" (p. 464). Cauchon's bill of particulars against Joan charges her, among other offenses, with being "a sorceress, a false prophet, an invoker and companion of evil spirits . . . a schismatic; she is sacrilegious, an idolater, an apostate, a blasphemer of God" (p. 393). He asks that her body be burned alive and her soul condemned to eternal damnation. Davies is merciless in his pronouncement on Tetley--"'a depraved, murderous beast'" (p. 267)--but even more merciless in exposing himself as a killer. Tyler calls the lynching "'murder'" and wants to exact the law's penalty for murder--he calls it "'justice'" (p. 250)--of all the men. When Keith charges Queeg with cowardice, judge Blakeley stops the proceedings to remind this witness and his lawyer that this is "'an offense punishable by death'" (p. 405). Cooley cannot quite get at the President, and so he subjects his surrogate, the nominee, to continual "'harassment'" (p. 250). He charges the nominee "'will betray the United States'" (p. 224). It is the worst possible charge, equal to a "'morals conviction or a murder rap'" (p. 372). He never lets up, going on "'rounding up votes'" (p. 69) till the last minute. The result is a merciless defeat by an overwhelming margin.

Having finished his self-appointed task of prosecuting

the victim, the judge re-ascends the bench to hear the jury's verdict and to pronounce sentence. Sometimes he personally participates in or oversees the punishment. Captain Vere carries the court's verdict to the victim himself, and then presides at the hanging. The signal that activates Bravo's headsman comes from the Doge's palace. Jacob Dryfoos himself strikes his son. Jeff Beech deprives his father, the family patriarch, of his only child. Bishop Cauchon comes to Joan's cell to gloat, acts as master of ceremonies at her burning, and speaks the last words of all to her, words not of mercy or consolation but of warning. Orrin Knox speculates that his acts have "in all probability helped to bring about" (p. 745) the President's death. But he refuses "to worry himself" (p. 746) by this thought. He had merely been God's agent, His scourge, and the responsibility must be His. Seab Cooley was the "author of the severest and perhaps the only truly honest expression of opinion the press had received . . . 'he was an evil man, and the Lord has rendered judgment upon him'" (p. 745). These Senators associate their vengeance with the Lord's.

The judge's final act is to try to make amends for what he has done to the victim. After the sacrifice he suddenly remembers the quality of mercy. Vere offers up his own life. In a kind of poetic justice it is a musket-ball from the ship of godlessness--"the Atheiste" (p. 129)--that kills him. Dryfoos now wants to "'wait on'" Lindau because "'it's what

Coonrod'd do, if he was here'" (p. 499). He is "groping . . . for some atonement to his son" (p. 505). Jeff Beech returns home even more suddenly than he had departed. Captain Breakstone partially reverses the verdict of acquittal that was the coup de grâce for Queeg. Jess Bartlett and other lynchers acquiesce in Tetley's death. Davies' agonizing "'confession'" is his attempt at atonement. Drury's Senators atone for their judgment of the President by acceding to the new President's gesture of mercy to Leffingwell.

This tendency of the judge's to offer to atone is apparently a modern one. The two stories which hark back to pre-Revolutionary Europe, Bravo and Joan, present judges immune to this impulse. No such thought crosses the mind of Bishop Cauchon, and Cooper specifically blames the earlier time for his Senator's judicial repressiveness. "Had he lived in a later time . . . it is probable that the Signor Soranzo would have been a noble in opposition. . . . the fault . . . was . . . that of circumstance" (p. 405).

The judge, in summary, is usually a self-righteous, self-confident character. He believes his interpretation of the community's laws, traditions, and customs, and his understanding of circumstances to be superior. He is positive in advancing his recommendations. He would see nothing ludicrous in Polonius' "'To thine own self be true.'" He is inclined to strut a little, to strike pompous poses, to take bombastic attitudes. He is related to the classical phil-

osophus gloriosus. He prefers not to employ agents but to perform his duties himself, directly and openly. He is inclined to impose his views on others by overriding or overawing them with his powerful personality. As a prosecutor he pushes the case against the victim with skill and vigor. He states the charge, presents the case against the accused, and demands a conviction. His philosophy does not admit the doctrine of special circumstances or exceptions to the law. He is a conservative who believes in a world governed by a received set of laws. He believes that his office devolves a responsibility upon him to act in a way that in an individual would be opprobrious. He believes that the sometimes onerous, sometimes glorious duties of his office are needful to maintain the stability of the community. He acts upon his beliefs. He comes to believe, too late, in blunting his drive with the soft metal of mercy.

The Informer

The informer-accuser is identified as such by literally informing against the victim or accusing him of a heinous transgression. His act is the immediate cause of the train of events that constitute the scapegoat ritual. John Claggart with the "'foggy tale'" (p. 95) he brings to Vere is probably the clearest example of such an "informer" (p. 96) and his act. Others include Allesandro Gradenigo, who brings the matter of his foster-brother, old Antonio, before his fellow

councillors and thereby starts the fisherman to his violent death. Jee Hagadorn starts the campaign that results in the ostracism of the Copperhead, and Roselle Upmann with his cry of "'smoke the damned Copperhead out'" (p. 101) brings it to its logical, fiery conclusion. Nicholas Loyseleur entices Joan into a confession that is overheard by Cauchon and is the basis for much of this prosecutor's case. The young cowboy Greene does not know whom he is informing against, but his garbled account of the rustling and murder trigger the deaths. Monty Smith spreads the word all over town that Tetley is the real criminal. Barney Greenwald manages "'to twist the proceedings around so that the accused would become . . . Commander Queeg'" (p. 440). Tommy Davis passes to the President the information that eventually proves fatal to Brigham Anderson. Fred Van Ackerman accuses Anderson, to a nation-wide television audience, of being "'not morally fit'" (p. 533). Leffingwell's testimony to the Anderson committee brings out information that destroys Herbert Gelman. Senator Anderson's letter to Orrin Knox in turn contains the information that results in the nominee's defeat.

Instead of making an overt declaration, the informer may provide the Judas kiss whereby the victim is delivered up. Such a betrayal is usually by the woman he loves and is inadvertent. Thus Gelsomina innocently leads Jacopo onto the Bridge of Sighs where the fugitive is easily captured.

Margaret Vance's "'words sent [Conrad] to his death'" (p. 480). Julia Phillips kisses Cavan and sends him out into the night just hours before his death. That such a dismissal is usual with him, that his sister Isabel and his mother have sent him away with such wall-building kisses is revealed at the story's outset.

The informer is a Socratic figure who pretends that he is something less than he really is. "The intellectual look of the pallid" (p. 77) Claggart and his "pleasant word" (p. 89) mask a nature capable of far greater actions and passions than he permits his outward aspect to indicate. Loyseleur "pretended" (p. 332) to be a partisan of Joan's while revealing her secrets to Cauchon, and yet he is the only one of the sixty-two clerics who has the greatness to beg Joan's forgiveness. One of Greenwald's courtroom tactics is the deliberate assumption of a country bumpkin appearance and manner. Leffingwell poses as a dedicated public servant above the brawl of politics, keeping secret his Communist and other political activities. Gradenigo pretends, even to his son, that he is not one of the dread secret Councillors.

The informer may be sincere in his Socratic pose, that is, he may really believe in it himself. Thus, although Margaret Vance is born into the secure world that Hazard's climbers aspire to, she believes their activism ennobles them and cannot regard herself as fortunate. Gelsomina professes herself "'simple and uninstructed'" (p. 349), and

yet she intrepidly manages errands to Don Camillo and to the Doge. Julia Phillips sees herself as merely "a kind of Siamese twin" (p. 226) of her husband with no real identity of her own. Yet she relates to their children, to Cavan, and, indeed, to all the people of the story in her own personal way quite distinct from her husband's.

The informer is a casuist who quibbles at peccadilloes and ascribes false motives to actions or appearances, such as Claggart's "'Handsomely done, my lad'" (p. 72) and his "'mantrap . . . under the . . . daisies'" (p. 94). Jee Hagadorn had been a prosperous cooper until "he got the notion in his head that it was wrong to make barrels for beer" (p. 50). Monty Smith assumes that anyone not eager for the rustler's trail is guilty either of cowardice or the rustling. Tommy Davis claims his "'blackmail'" (p. 441) of Anderson is really a great service to the country. Gradenigo believes that old Antonio's concern for his young grandson, whom the officials have just impressed for the galleys, is a dangerous sedition.

The informer maintains that concern for the welfare of the group is the motive for his act of informing. In other words, he is the scoundrel who takes refuge in patriotism. Melville hints that Claggart sought Navy service as a refuge from earlier criminal acts or attitudes, but nevertheless manifests a conspicuous "austere patriotism" (p. 67). Gradenigo masks his machinations against Don Camillo, really

intended to remove his son's rival, as honest concern for Venetian interests. Roselle Upman, who is "'a nuisance to the whole neighborhood'" (p. 115) with his drinking, loafing, fighting, and corrupting of youth, makes patriotism an excuse for inciting the riots and arson against Abner Beech. Patriotism is Davis' excuse for his "'blackmail'"; it is also Leffingwell's excuse for "'lying like a trooper under oath'" (p. 652).

Despite his customary Socratic pose, the informer frequently can exhibit a false confidence. Claggart indicates, by his "calm collected air" (p. 98) while charging Billy to his face, a confidence he can hardly really feel, since he knows that he is, as the captain has suggested, "'a false witness'" (p. 95) and must realize that the confrontation the captain has arranged is to "test the accuser" (p. 96) as much as the accused. "Beset" with the "suspicions" of the other councillors, Gradenigo still smiles and replies to their sallies "with seeming gratitude" (p. 198). "Monty Smith . . . the town bum . . . kept balanced between begging and a conceited, nagging humor that made people afraid of him" (p. 5). Isabel Ferrier comes to Cambridge and Harvard fighting an inward panic, but she impresses Cavan's friends as "extremely elegant" (p. 168) and "'intact'" (p. 229). Julia has maintained this pose over the years in order to buoy up her husband. Leffingwell, suddenly confronted in the person of Gelman with his secret Communist past, maintains

his composure so well that it is the soothsayer who is discredited.

The duplicitous informer frequently masks a consummate villainy behind his fair-seeming exterior. "Such . . . was Claggart . . . an evil nature . . . 'a depravity according to nature'" (p. 76). Senator Gradenigo, on the other hand, had been "born with all the sympathies and natural kindness of other men" (p. 98), but long practice in the state's secret evils has so conditioned him that he can condemn his foster-brother to death in a passing phrase between reminiscences of his youthful pleasures. The genesis of Loyseleur's evil does not concern Twain, just its presence behind his "winning manners. There was no seeming of treachery or hypocrisy about him, yet he was full of both" (p. 332). Fred Van Ackerman has managed to be elected a United States Senator, although the other Senators and the Press Corps recognize in him a "caged unbalance" (p. 229) that is "'psychopathic'" (p. 369). The tavern bullies, Roselle Upman and Monty Smith, do not attempt to hide their villainy but instead publicize it, delighting in their notoriety.

The informer frequently is a fanatic of one sort or another. He may be a madman partaking of the "'mystery of iniquity'" (p. 76), like Claggart, or a more conventional maniac like Van Ackerman. He may be a "devout disciple" (p. 52) of the telephone, like Tommy Davis, or have the "'potentiality of several kinds of fanatic'" (p. 482), like

Margaret Vance. He may be "'nuts'" on one subject, like Greenwald on "'Indians'" (p. 350), or a "tiresome fanatic" (p. 52) on several, like Jee Hagadorn on Abolition, Temperance, and his own brand of "Shouting Methodist" (p. 51). He may be lost in a world of dreams, like the innocent girl, Gelsomina, or the cowboy combination of parasite and miles gloriosus, Smith. Whatever he is, the informer's contact with sane reasonableness is at times or in certain areas at best tenuous.

His delusion is self-induced. Claggart's petty troubling of Billy is begun "probably . . . to try the temper of the man" (p. 80). But as with Iago, the conspiracy, once begun, seems to have a life of its own. It is a cancerous growth producing monstrous interpretations of events, demanding greater and greater feedings from its creator's preternatural energy, and eventually destroying him. Grad-enigo illustrates the truth of Lord Acton's dictum, "Absolute power corrupts absolutely." Wielding power equips this Councillor with destructive illusions about himself, his family, and his Republic. United States Chief Justice Davis uses his finely honed mind to rationalize his immoral and illegal destruction of Anderson. Leffingwell's rationalization for similar acts of destruction is not given but presumably it is the same doctrine of the end justifying the means. The end thus to be served and thus serving the informer is the welfare of the group. Patriotism again rears

a shielding head that appears, upon examination, to be rather remarkably ugly.

And so it goes. Loyseleur has obviously convinced himself that his treacherous acts, because serving a righteous end, carry their own absolution. Greene has convinced himself that his garbled tale of rustling and murder is a true account. Isabel has convinced herself that the price she has paid "'for staying safely outside'" (p. 198) is a bargain. Julia has convinced herself that the opposite, committed life is worth the price. Hagadorn's blathering rhetoric convinces no one quite so much as himself. Such delusions are perhaps the informer's greatest accordance with the generality of humanity, for they are the faces people prepare to meet the faces that they meet.

Just as the informer can exhibit a false confidence, just as he frequently wears a face the reverse of his true nature, so he often shows a false modesty. Claggart, we are told, is the intellectual superior of everyone aboard the ship except the captain, and yet he regularly "evinced . . . an ingratiating deference to superiors" (p. 67) so extraordinary as to be especially remarked by the officers. Arrogant Signor Gradenigo assumes an unwonted "'diffidence'" (p. 191) whenever dealing with the Councillors in his own behalf. Gelsomina's habit of meek submission and trembling masks an inner resolution that enables her, for instance, to oppose the mob. When pressed, she announces "'I may be

apter than my appearance'" (p. 354). Isabel refers to her surgeon husband, her banker father, her "'wonderfully responsive'" (p. 201) mother, her scholar brother in superlatives that hint her own ineptitude. Yet she catches a glimpse of the utter partiality of all these brilliant, organized, useful people, a view denied each of them. Greenwald begins his cross examination by "shuffling toward the witness platform, rubbing his nose with the back of his hand, looking down at his feet, and presenting a general picture of flustered embarrassment" (p. 410). Yet he confidently assures his client, "'I am a red-hot lawyer'" (p. 356).

The informer is just as likely, however, to let his assurance blaze forth as to cloak it. Hagadorn's loud, untactful pushing of his novel opinions earns him epithets and even threats, yet "he . . . was neither frightened nor ashamed'" (p. 52). Smith boasts of his appetite for a hanging and of his handiness with a hangman's noose. Justice Davis is forever "injecting" himself into "every conceivable issue under the sun" (p. 52), sure that his opinions are better than anyone else's. Leffingwell has projected an image of himself as too good for the conflicts of politics, yet the Senate considers him "supercilious, arrogant. . . . One of the shrewdest politicians who ever hit Washington" (p. 10). Since the immodesty generally puts others on their guard, whereas the false modesty disarms them, the latter is by far the more successful tack.

In terms of the Hebrew and pagan rituals of which the scapegoat fable is a similitude, the informer is a figure representative of the period of license that customarily accompanied it. Jee Hagadorn is the "inspired prophet" (p. 52) of the lawless spirit that erupts in the voting riots and arson after years of peaceful politicking. Upman, who leads both outbreaks, springs into a leadership that the earlier times would not have tolerated. When the fishermen of Venice riot, Gradenigo is sardonically amused not only by this spectacle of confusion but by the near state of panic he observes in his fellow councillors. Claggart, the Serpent in Eden, "in heart . . . would seem to riot in complete exemption from . . . law" (p. 76). As in the Roman Saturnalia, Margaret Vance wants to turn society upside down, "'honoring the poor'" (p. 467). To Smith the lynching is a picnic--a ride out into the country, whiskey, steak cooked over an open fire, a woman, all capped by a fine bit of excitement, the hanging--that enlivens an otherwise tediously lawful, orderly existence. His attitude is in direct contrast to the other cowboys, for whom "'it ain't any of our picnic'" (p. 115). Van Ackerman's rousing leading of the COMFORT rallies is a lawless rioting calling for or celebrating the end of the status quo. Each of these revelers is repudiated and his disorder discredited.

The informer is occasionally a born member of the community, such as the aristocratic Gradenigo and the privileged

Miss Vance, but more often he has been a member relatively briefly. The potential informer usually arrives trailing tarnished clouds of past reprehensibilities. Claggart is a recent transfer to the Bellipotent whose probable criminal past is the subject of sailor "rumor" and "gossip" (p. 65). Although Hagadorn had located in the Dearborn County neighborhood ten years earlier, he is among the latest arrivals in this settled community. It was known he had thrown up a large and prosperous business in the city because of his "contrariness" and "perversity" (p. 50). One of the last arrivals for Joan's trial is the "ecclesiastic named Nicholas Loyseleur," who is known as a "great personage" from "the University of Paris" (p. 332). Such a name is, from the viewpoint of Joan's adherents, a bad one. A reputation of "'middle-class indifference and selfishness'" (p. 168) precedes Isabel's flight into the Harvard community. Greenwald is suspect in the Navy community because he is a "'reserve,'" "'fighter pilot,'" "'a Jew'" (p. 349). He is only brought in because no "'regular'" will handle the case.

Fred Van Ackerman . . . had arrived in the Senate a year ago. . . . There had been . . . rumors and hints of double-dealings and dark underhandedness, verging on the criminal, in his surprise election (pp. 229-230).

Besides an aura of suspicion clinging to him because of his past, the informer's present situation in the group tends to be one that is suspect. No master-at-arms, a kind of chief of police, "can ever hope to be popular with the

crew" (p. 67). Gelsomina is the daughter of the chief jailer, and even the lot of the policeman's daughter is attainted. Monty Smith, "the town bum" (p. 5), is the antithesis of the policeman, for he symbolizes the lack of respect for law and property. His position, however, is even more discreditable than the official guardian's. Isabel is regarded as an interloper by Cavan's group, present only because she is the Professor's sister. As defense lawyer, a kind of devil's disciple, Greenwald is automatically suspect. Challee and Breakstone, the judges, agree that "'all the defense counsel can do is get himself permanently fouled up with the Navy'" (p. 350).

Despite all these past and present suspicions, the informer usually is a person of great influence in the group. Claggart's "place put various converging wires of underground influence under [his] control" (p. 67). Gelsomina has access to the keys to the prison. An invitation from the socialite Margaret Vance is "a precious chance" (p. 285). Because Abolitionism becomes popular, its long-time prophet, Hagedorn, becomes a community leader. Smith's nasty tongue makes him the town bully as well as bum. Leffingwell has captured "seventy-five per cent of the Washington press corps" (p. 10), and so his pronouncements are extraordinarily influential upon public opinion. Exerting political influence is the "favorite pastime" (p. 53) of Justice Davis.

The informer's greatest power or influence is usually

secret or somewhat mysterious. No one suspects Miss Vance's power over Conrad, least of all herself, until it had been exerted with fatal consequences. Claggart's "mesmeristic glance" (p. 98) fascinates and paralyzes Billy. Loyseleur, posing as Joan's friendly confessor, is really one of Cauchon's chief lieutenants. Julia Phillips provides essential support to both her husband and Cavan, and subtly directs both Professors. Gradenigo is one of the Council of Three, the secret chief power in the state. Van Ackerman for a time had the secret backing of the President as well as the public support of the COMFORT organization. When the informer's wielding of power is conscious, as it is except with the loved women, it is iniquitous. But here the evil seems to precede rather than result from the power.

The informer's position in the group's hierarchy tends to be somewhere between the judge's and the victim's. Claggart as a petty officer obviously divides the distance between Captain and foretopman. Gradenigo as Senator and Councillor is the real pinnacle but still beneath the figure-head Doge. Margaret Vance is a born member of New York's elite, but is dependent upon her aunt. Loyseleur, a priest, is much above Joan's accused status but beneath the Bishop's. Isabel as a sister and Julia as a wife are both inferior in the group to the mother figure Grace. Greenwald as a lieutenant is as much in the middle as the petty officer Claggart. The victim's place seems to fluctuate wildly from top

to bottom in the group, either symbolically as in Billy's descent from the foretop to the guarded stateroom, or literally as in Joan's descent from Commander-in-Chief to witch. But the informer is permanently fixed in the group's center.

"Envy," Melville writes, (p. 77 ff.) is the basis of the enmity Claggart feels for Billy. Envy of the victim is a typical feeling among the informers. Although Gradenigo is one of Venice's wealthy ruling class and his foster brother a fisherman so poor he occasionally goes hungry, the Senator cannot help bitterly contrasting his wastrel of a son with Antonio's sturdy grandson. Antonio's sons, the fisherman reminds Gradenigo, "'never caused me grief'" (p. 79). Margaret Vance sighs in innocent envy of Conrad's peculiar abilities. Isabel is jealous of her brother. She "'minded terribly'" (p. 13) the special relationship he and their mother had which seemed to shut her out. Greenwald's banquet speech in which he praises Queeg as a hero of sorts and blames "'sensitive intellectuals'" (p. 447) for their lack of preparedness implies an envy. Senator Munson believes Van Ackerman's "'feud'" with Anderson is based on envy. "'There's some kind of jealousy there, I think; maybe Brig's got the respect and position in the Senate that Fred would like to have'" (p. 363). Occasionally this envy turns into a hate for the victim because he's just too good. Thus at times Claggart's "passion" becomes "disdain . . . to be

nothing more than innocent!" (p. 78). Van Ackerman exclaims that nobody can stand in his way, "'particularly somebody who thinks he's as damned good as Brig does'" (p. 369). Margaret thinks Conrad is exceptionally "good" (p. 301), but does not hate him for it. Her aunt, however, thinks it a quality worthy of "'censure'" (p. 301).

Although the informer's group position is more or less fixed, his career has not been static. Indeed, generally he has shown a remarkable degree of ability and has prospered as a result. Greenwald "'was making twenty thousand a year when . . . only out of school four years'" (p. 356). Van Ackerman was elected to the Senate at the surprisingly youthful age of thirty-three. The standard newspaper descriptive phrase for Leffingwell is "America's ablest public servant" (p. 11). Isabel and Julia have aided their husband's careers and have guided their children from diapers to college without any major disasters. Hagadorn advances from "the rejected stone" to "the head of the corner" (p. 52). Gradenigo's political and economic position has improved steadily. Claggart's "superior capacity . . . abruptly advanced him" (p. 67) to his present position.

But despite this superior ability and consequent advancement, the informer is characteristically frustrated in a major ambition. In looking at Billy, Claggart's eyes would sometimes express a "soft yearning . . . but . . . fate and ban" (p. 88) balk him. Gradenigo connives to win

the wealthy heiress, Donna Violetta, for his son, and is dismissed from the Council for his pains. Isabel and Julia wish very much they could have saved Cavan as they have their husbands and children. Greenwald is unable to convict the real "'author of the Caine mutiny'" (p. 447). Davis and Leffingwell fail in their efforts to achieve the latter's confirmation. Like Claggart, Van Ackerman is fated never to have "'the respect and position . . . [he] would like to have'" (p. 363). A rather exact ratio between the degree of the informer's remarkable ability and of his frustration seems to obtain.

The informer's envy and frustration lead him to embark on the risky course of accusing the potential victim. One of the first results is that he is warned of the dangers in his course. Captain Vere plainly tells Claggart that bearing "'false witness'" (p. 95) is a hanging offense. When Smith suggests publicly that maybe the foreman, Moore, is a rustler, he is grimly told that his charge will be remembered. The vague threat silences him, at least temporarily. Other warnings are less explicit. Munson's denunciation of Davis in a voice "filled with a genuine menace" (p. 443), after the justice accuses Anderson, implies, but does not state, dire consequences. Van Ackerman is similarly dismissed after he suggests to the President that he knows "'certain things'" (p. 612). Isabel feels threatened by Grace's "hawk's eyes" (p. 202) as she maintains that the

difficulty between her brother and her father was partly, at least, the younger's fault. But despite this warning, the informer persists in his actions.

Once the actual scapegoat ritual has been begun, that is, once the informer has made his accusation or delivered up the victim, he tends to be removed. These removals range from Claggart's dramatic death to Gradenigo's dismissal from the Council, an action that is reported to the reader in the roundabout fashion of being introduced to his replacement. Hagadorn does not even know of the mob's intended action against Abner Beech. Young Greene disappears from the story once the posse is sworn. Van Ackerman leaves town for an extended vacation right after his censure, four days before the President's death. Tommy Davis also leaves, one day later than Fred. Margaret Vance drives away in her coupé after sending Conrad to his death. She does reappear in the story, but to confirm her removal not only from the group but from this world into the cloistered and habited Sisters of Charity. Isabel Ferrier flies back to golden California after Cavan's funeral, leaving the Harvard group to work out the "'meaning of his suicide'" (p. 210) without her. After starting the ritual, the informer becomes superfluous. The atonement the ritual provides is no more for him than it is for the judge.

Because of his fairly early departure from the scene, the list of the informer's significant acts is not as exten-

sive as the judge's or even the victim's. Consistent with his tendency to mask his nature and situation, he likes to keep these few acts hidden from view. Thus Claggart conducts his intrigues against Billy along several "wires of underground influence" (p. 67). Venice's Secret Council, including Gradenigo, officially function behind masks. But Councillor Gradenigo also intrigues secretly as an individual, trying to achieve various personal ends, chief of which is the union of his son and his ward. Loyseleur's scheming with Cauchon is known only to the two of them. Julia Phillips has continually to employ little subterfuges in sustaining the men in her life. Greenwald's courtroom strategy comes as a surprise to his longtime friend but present adversary, Challee. The politicians, Davis, Leffingwell, and Van Ackerman, all bring secret pressures to bear upon Anderson, and this is not the first such backstage maneuvering for any of them.

Among the first acts of the informer's intrigue is a pretended friendship for the victim. Although Claggart does not deceive the Dansker, his oft-repeated "'pleasant word'" (p. 86) and smile convinces Billy of his friendliness. Gradenigo's first scene with Jacopo is masked by the Senator's expressions of "admiration" (p. 82) and promises of reward for the Bravo. Loyseleur, admitted to Joan's cell on the eve of her first trial, "pretended to be from her own country; he professed to be secretly a patriot" (p. 332);

he convinced her entirely of his friendship. Smith is one of the two riders who tries to be friendly with Tetley after the hanging. Even as he passes the fatal picture to Munson, Davis protests his friendship for Anderson. Leffingwell and Van Ackerman claim a loyal fellowship with the President.

This friendliness proves to be false. The reader is informed at the time of its expression that Claggart is "secretly down on" (p. 73) Billy and that Loyseleur's friendly interest is only "pretended" (p. 332). Subsequent events demonstrate that Gradenigo has no intention whatsoever of keeping faith with Jacopo. Smith is the first and the loudest in calling for Tetley's lynching. Davis's action belies his accompanying words. Leffingwell and Van Ackerman are much more concerned with their personal ambitions than in furthering the President's.

Even when the friendship is genuine, it leads directly to the victim's downfall. Thus the Venetian state takes advantage of the known association of Jacopo and Gelsomina to entrap him. If Margaret Vance had not known Conrad would feel as she did, she would not have spoken the missive, ultimately fatal words. Cavan's look which Julia recognizes as one of unexpressed love is the very last of his series of failures at breaching the enclosing walls. Sometimes intentionally and out of hate and envy; sometimes unintentionally and out of friendliness or love, the informer betrays the victim.

The acts the informer directs at the community are as doubtful as those aimed at the victim. He has a tendency to form or join malignant groups within the body politic. It is the activities of Venice's Secret Council that lead finally to the disappearance of the Republic. The Sisters of Charity that Margaret Vance joins are tolerable in the comedy of manners society only because their organization remains small. Upman forms or leads a mob that is only destructive. The Abolitionism that Hagadorn leads swells into the Civil War which bleeds the community of vital young men. Isabel Ferrier and Julia Phillips give themselves to their families in a way that eventually kills the Cavan group. Van Ackerman is taken over by the COMFORT organization whose real purpose, Drury implies, is the subjection of the United States to Soviet domination. Leffingwell joined the Communist Party. Claggart is building a party among his faithful "understrappers" (p. 67) and "minor officers" (p. 88) whose practice of evil undoubtedly would have progressed from the persecution of a Foretopman to larger matters, had not their leader been summarily removed.

The informer is usually a dangerous demagogue who promises the crowd bread or circuses or both. Van Ackerman's impassioned addresses to his rallies hold out promises of world peace and tasty scandal. It is Bob Leffingwell's consummate mastery at "'speaking the English language'" (p. 20) that has captured the Press. Greenwald wins the

hard-bitten Navy court to one opinion through forensic tricks, then half-way reverses the process through similar tricks in his banquet speech. In each case he offers the crowd a villain to hiss and a hero to cheer. Hagadorn's exhortations attract crowds who find them entertaining. Smith is a nasty clown who only needs an audience to perform, and who always aims his sallies at the more vicious or salacious elements of the crowd.

The informer in summary is the character who starts the scapegoat action but who then takes no further part in it. His malignancy can approach Iago's in that it savors of the "'mystery of iniquity'" (Budd, p. 76), in that he is silent or at least speaks in ironic understatements concerning his motives, and in that his perfidy begins in a simple and mischievous act or attitude which then seems to acquire an independent life of its own, becoming more and more complex and iniquitous, and finally encolling him as well as the victim in its trammels. The informer tries to maintain a facade of righteousness by employing agents or by acting himself as the agent of a powerful leader and pretending that following his orders or hints, no matter how outrageous they may be, provides him a basis of legality and morality. He is true to an abstract principle, such as revenge or patriotism, and in its name perpetrates and justifies his abuses of the victim.

The informer may be less a villain than just a creature

of circumstances who obeys the letter but not the spirit of the law, who takes care to cloak his villainy in apparent legality, and who can glibly quote precedent for his irregular acts. The informer may not be villainous or self-seeking at all, but instead a modestly self-effacing character whose typical withdrawal funicularly advances the victim to the sacrificial place. Whether the informer is iniquitous or innocent or a paltry timeserver, he tends to depart from the community's accepted methods and beliefs. He is a dangerous innovator whom the community regards suspiciously. After his one necessary act of informing, he is not only superfluous but now a positively dangerous influence in the group because of his new prominence. He either is expelled from the group, is neutralized by being given a new and safe position, or resigns. Though the informer is usually present only for the first few steps of the scapegoat action, it transforms him and his situation.

The Recorder

The crowd figure, like the classic chorus, is essentially an observer of and commentator upon the action. He may be primarily a man of action, such as the Bellipotent's Captain of Marines and its Senior Lieutenant, La Bella Sorrentina's captain Stephano Milano, and Gil Carter, the rolistering cowboy, who are constrained by the situation to become men of words instead, or he may be primarily a pur-

voyeur of words, such as the editor Basil March and his wife, Isabel, the newspapermen known collectively in Advise as the Press, the narrators Jimmy, de Conte, and Art Croft, the novelists Kendricks and Keefer, the student of literature George Hastings, the Professors Fosca, Goldberg, and Damon Phillips, and the schoolteacher Esther Hagadorn. He may be a wise oldster whose experience has taught him to limit himself to cynical observance, like the Dansker, the Surgeon, and the saloon-keeper Canby, or he may be an ingenuous, middle-aged novice like Father Anselmo and the Reverend Osgood. He may be the official recorder of the whole proceedings, like Manchon, or a nonce character, like the Purser, who impressionably speculates upon one of the sacrifice's lesser parts. He may be someone voluntarily present from a lonely sense of duty, as the devoutly pious Sparks at the lynching, or a witness testifying reluctantly, like Willie Keith, only because he has no alternative. This recorder is as various as the crowds he represents and the sacrifices he witnesses, and yet his situation, personality, actions, and responses show a remarkable coherence amidst the diversities.

The recorder is happy or at least content with his chosen work. He would agree with old Fosca, who says "'Work is my rest. . . . It's what keeps me alive'" (p. 62). Writing his novel is Keefer's solace during the arduous months aboard the Caine. The many duties of running his

saloon occupy the long, tedious hours for Canby, who never leaves his place of business. It is the way up in the world for the ambitious ones, which includes Budd's Navy men, Hazard's Marches, and Bravo's Stephano. It is a way of achieving the desired end for priests like Father Anselmo and Manchon. For the Washington Press it is a way of exercising power, of subtly influencing the course of world events. Not one of the recorders is endeavoring to change his vocation.

The recorder is willing, however, to change his place. In most instances he has already conspicuously done so. The Dansker is not English, neither Anselmo nor Stephano are Venetians, nor is old Fosca a native American. The Marches leave Boston. Esther Hagadorn has an "urban polish" (p. 50) that sets her apart from her rural companions. Croft and Carter come from the other side of the range.

The recorder's foreignness is not necessarily a matter of geography. The Surgeon and the Purser, even though Englishmen, are to some degree outlanders on the Bellipotent because their training is in neither military nor naval matters. Kendricks, a wealthy dilettante, is different from the other Every Other Week journalists. Little Jimmy, an orphan, although well and affectionately treated by the Beeches, is never really a member of the family. Manchon's and de Conte's sympathies for Joan and the French cause in the English stronghold, Rouen, set them apart. Canby,

Osgood, and Sparks are all excluded by their natures from the fraternity of cowboys. Goldberg chooses to stay, as he puts it, "'safely outside'" (p. 198). Keith and Keefer are reserves, wartime sailors only. The Washington Press are regarded askance and kept at a safe distance by the Washington politicians.

Every recorder is, one way or another, an outlander. Probably his lack of fellowship is at least a partial cause of his tendency to observe rather than to participate, to be cynical or ironic in his outlook, and to be doomed to fail when he finally does interfere in the action. Certainly the central intelligences who record their observations so finely in Henry James' novels usually do so in a foreign milieu.

A remarkable number of the recorders, as has been indicated, are professional wordsmiths. Their foreignness undoubtedly is an aid in their attaining in this work a proper distance from their subject. Both in their relative content with their outsider status and their propensity for writing, the recorders are the opposite of the victim. As is stated explicitly about Cavan, the victim generally longs for "'the communion of saints on earth'" (p. 181). Such a communion is hardly via the printed page. As if written communication precludes such communion, three of the main victims, one third, are presented as illiterates. The author stresses their illiteracy as an important part of

their character. Furthermore, not one of the major characters who is not a victim is identified as an illiterate. One victim, Cavan, had written a number of very impressive works, but at precisely the time he becomes a victim, he ceases writing. From the Gospels onward, the victim, although frequently highly articulate, has relied upon faithful recorders to tell his story.

Although the recorder does maintain a certain distance between himself and the victim, he is usually the victim's good friend. Generally a recluse, "the Dansker . . . rather took to Billy" (p. 70). Father Anselmo's "sympathies were enlisted" (p. 436) by Jacopo's tale of wrongs. Abner Beech finds in Jimmy the only audience who approaches his own intellectual level, until the other recorder, Esther, becomes a member of the family. Sieur de Conte has been a devotee of Joan's for nearly eighty years. Professor Damon Phillip's first name is undoubtedly intended to remind the reader of the classic paragon of friendship, although his and Cavan's relationship is an ironic reversal of the earlier one. Steve Maryk regards Keefer as his closest friend. The President has striven successfully to get what he calls "'a hell of a good press'" (p. 464). The recorder's dance of attendance serves to focus attention upon the victim as well as providing an authenticity for the record he leaves.

The recorders, like Bartleby, "'prefer not to'" act. The Bellipotent's drumhead court agrees with the Surgeon

that Billy's case should really be referred to the admiral. Basil March's indecisiveness about making the shift to New York and in locating an apartment there is characteristic. Isabel's activity is limited to accompanying her husband and talking. The Sieur de Conte wrings his hands, wishing somebody would do something for Joan. He makes not even the slightest effort himself. Keefer stirs up mischief but keeps carefully out of it himself. Art Croft consciously tries to avoid involvement in all the contentions, from the poker game to the lynching. Goldberg refuses "'to be involved in political matters'" (p. 106). George Hastings is "'not a political person either'" (p. 253). But the recorder does not withdraw. It is the informer who withdraws. The recorder's penchant for observing keeps him on the scene.

The recorder, in consistence with his preference for an inactive role and singularly unlike the judge and the informer, usually lacks worldly ambitions. He prefers to remain obscure, particularly when he does happen to get involved in the action. Thus Croft rides with the posse so unobtrusively that the other recorder, Sparks, tells him, "'Ah wasn't quite cleah you was with us, Mistah Croft'" (p. 154). Little Jimmy is naturally inconspicuous in the adult world he inhabits exclusively, and his content in such an existence is the recorder's, not a child's. The Dansker is a genuine Melville "isolatoe," alone in the midst of the crowded deck. Canby gives Croft the impression of having

"been somebody" (p. 7) once, but he is resolutely silent about his past. Drury establishes this quality among his Press by keeping all the dozens of them in their scores of appearances and hundreds of lines anonymous. Occasionally, as when Willie Keith finds himself testifying about Queeg's cowardice and March finds Conrad's body, the recorder stumbles into the spotlight. He is quite uncomfortable there.

Though unambitious, the recorder is not altogether selfless. He has a definite tendency, for instance, to bear a grudge or at least to be unforgiving. Isabel March refuses to excuse either Dryfoos or Lindau for the trouble they have caused her husband. Little Jimmy feels only scorn for Hagadorn's poverty, and is astonished at Abner's pity. The recorder's intransigence is more often, however, on the victim's behalf than on his own. Sixty years after Joan's trial, Sieur de Conte writes that "age has taught me charity of speech; but it fails me when I think of those three" (p. 414). Goldberg, Phillips, and Hastings cannot really forgive themselves for having failed Cavan. In none of its news stories and editorials does the Press try to exculpate Van Ackerman. The recorder in being true to his friend is far less free to pardon than the friend had been.

The "guarded cynicism that was [the Dansker's] leading characteristic" (p. 71) is typical of the unforgiving recorder, despite his admiration for the selfless victim. Basil March's "cynicism" (p. 542) is partly pose to shock

his wife, but only partly. The Press maintains a note of skeptical cynicism about politics and politicians. The Surgeon's "saturnine" appearance, the "discreet causticity" (p. 124) of his speech, together with his immediate suspicion of the Captain's reason, show him to be a confirmed cynic. Canby's sardonic humor, always with "a little edge" (p. 8), and his continual readiness for the worst eventuality establish him as another cynic. Among the recorders, who are by nature close observers of the human situation, optimism is an exception.

The recorder's actions are essentially verbal ones, such as giving advice, offering consolation, counseling actions (or inaction), telling the victim's story, and so on. He frequently acts, for instance, as the victim's unofficial defense lawyer. Thus the Bellipotent's drumhead court, ostensibly the jury, are also collectively Billy's lawyer, for they cross-examine the witness, make an objection to Vere's testimony, which is promptly overruled, and finally ask for mercy. Father Anselmo presents a brief for Jacopo before a higher court, the Doge. Esther pleads Abner Beech's case to her father. Croft and de Conte as narrators are appealing to a higher court, the reading public, to clear the victim's name, even though he is already dead. Damon Phillips likewise comes to Cavan's defense, in effect entering a plea of not guilty for him, after this victim has been charged in the Senate hearing.

One of the recorder's most significant verbal actions is warning the victim of his danger. Warning Billy that Claggart is "'down'" on him is the gist of both of the Dansker's appearances in the story. Basil March warns that including Lindau at Dryfoos' dinner party guarantees an "'explosion'" (p. 358); Isabel warns her husband that Lindau "'will get you into trouble somehow, Basil'" (p. 325). Each of these remonstrances is, as is usual with the recorder, tentative and ineffective. Esther Hagadorn warns Abner Beech of the mob's coming. Her words do not prevent the disaster, but at least they do enable him to prepare himself to meet it. Fosca warns Cavan not to continue on his present course, for "'the price is too high'" (p. 74). Goldberg specifically tells him, "'You're killing yourself'" (p. 109). Keefer warns Maryk that he will "'smash'" (p. 315) himself if he really acts upon the supposition that the Captain is crazy. The Director of the Washington Post drives out to Brigham Anderson's house because he thought that the Senator "'should be forewarned'" (p. 537) of the nature of the campaign unleashed against him.

The recorder's interference is not always limited to a mere warning. Father Anselmo, for instance, "intuitively" (p. 229) conspires with Antonio to delay the pursuit of Jacopo. Later he invades the Doge's palace in a considered effort to save Jacopo's life, an act more like that of the swashbuckling hero of costume romances than of a quiet

recorder. But his act is in the end typical of the recorder in that it fails to achieve its objective. Other such actions include the Reverend Osgood's venturing to address the mob, Sparks offering himself as a good-natured butt for their jokes, and Croft's errand to Judge Tyler, all efforts to prevent mob action. Gil Carter attempts to substitute another action for the impending sacrifice by forcing a battle between himself and Tetley. If successful, he would have forestalled both the lynching and the suicides. All of these interferences, although they involve some preliminary maneuvering to get into position, are verbal, are nothing but talk. Two more typical interferences are the recorder Manchon's interpolations in his record of Joan's questioning and Willie Keith's testimony in Maryk's trial. Neither of these is in any way preconcerted, but are spontaneous efforts to avert the calamity obviously awaiting the defendant. Of all these interferences, only Keith's is successful. The recorder is typically ineffective when he departs from the role of observing to become an actor in the drama.

The recorder not only warns the victim of his danger, but also warns the judge, or in effect warns the reader, of this official's looming fate. Cooper begins Bravo with the age-old technique borrowed from the drama of bringing two servants onstage whose conversation then provides necessary background information. In this initial scene Stephano Milano plainly tells and retells his old friend Gino the

gondolier that the days of the Venetian state are numbered, that the grand posturings of the winged lion are empty mockeries. The Surgeon's surmise that Captain Vere has been suddenly deranged likewise is a clear statement of significances for the reader. Art Croft tells Canby and also the reader that Davies' bad conscience may kill him if he is not closely watched. The Sieur de Conte confidently predicts hellfire for Bishop Cauchon. Basil March asserts that Dryfoos "'hasn't been changed by his son's death'" (p. 540), that the old man is really incapable of being changed. Esther Hagadorn warns Jeff Beech that leaving home as he contemplates is "'wrong'" (p. 27). The recorder scores considerably higher as an interpreter of events than he does as an interferer in them.

Besides warning the victim, the recorder often speaks some plain, perhaps uncomfortable truths to him. Esther Hagadorn tells Abner that she and his neighbors have "'down-right hated'" (p. 117) him because he seems to be advocating the destruction of their sons and brothers who are off fighting the war. Fosca tells Cavan that he is showing "'the mark of . . . the fanatic'" (p. 69). Damon Phillips likewise tells him his behavior is "'too much like fanaticism'" (p. 130). Brigham Anderson hears "one of the nation's most famous and colorful commentators" tell the country that his actions in opposing the nomination have not caused real questioning of it but rather have caused the speculation,

"'What is wrong with Brigham Anderson?'" (p. 446). Stephano tells Jacopo that the common opinion of him is that he is a "'miscreant. . . . that should not go at large in an honest city'" (p. 108). Although in each instance the victim realizes the justice of these plain statements, he seldom permits them to influence him. The recorder finds that this kind of interference is no more effective than his warnings of dire consequences.

The recorder tells the victim's story. To relate one more facet of Billy's story is the purpose of the Purser's introduction into the story. Anselmo tells the whole of Jacopo's tale to the Doge. Manchon is the official recorder at Joan's trial, and de Conte is his assistant. Fosca and Goldberg tell Cavan's story to his sister, Isabel, who comes inquiring about it. Willie Keith's testimony reveals to the court the hitherto hidden tale of Captain Queeg. The Press reports to the public the continuing drama of the Senator and the President. In another way, the three first person narrators also tell the story. Each of them, but particularly Jimmy and Croft, is a fine example of the Jamesian central observer through whose eyes and consciousness the story is told and refracted. In all the stories the recorder is the best suited for telling the story, for not only is he sensitive to its significances, but he is privy to more of it than the other characters. Like his ancestor, the classic chorus, he is an artistic device for conveying

meaning.

Finally, the recorder is given the story's last word. The "tarry hand" (p. 131) that composed the concluding "Billy in the Darbies" belongs to a figure in the crowd. Basil March's pronouncement that Conrad dies "for God's sake, for man's sake" (p. 552) concludes Hazard. Esther tells Beech, signifying his and his son's Abraham-Isaac reconciliation, "'if Jeff ever turns out to be half the man his father is, I'll just be prouder than my skin can hold'" (p. 149). Sieur de Conte pens a "Conclusion" after his story proper is ended. Croft and Carter conclude Ox-Bow by expressing their new distaste for Bridger's Wells because of the lynchings and suicides. The last words of the Fairmont Banquet scene are Keefer's dismissal of Greenwald's accusation, and his and Willie's ordering the food to be brought on, as if nothing had really happened. The last recorded session of the Senate concludes with:

Into the pandemonium that followed UPI looked dazedly at AP.

"But-but-but-" he said.

"God damn it, man," AP shouted, clapping him on the back, "don't stand there and gibber. Get up there and write!" (p. 756).

But Drury wants the last word himself, and so he follows this conclusion with several pages of sentimental banality. Anselmo's speechlessness after the Bravo's beheading is the appropriate comment. Faithful is the proverbial exception to the rule, because an undoubtedly stronger rule prevails:

the last word is given to the mother figure.

In the few lines of characterization of the Dansker, Melville establishes him as a detached and skillful observer of life. His "small ferret eyes" (p. 71) are sharp and busy. They see beneath the surface of people and events. "The first time that his small weasel eyes happened to light on Billy Budd, a certain grim internal merriment set all his ancient wrinkles into antic play" (p. 70). His pithy, correct conclusion, after hearing Billy's recital of the mysterious troubles plaguing him and his possessions, signifies the same deep reading of events as of men. His observance is continual. People and events are not puzzles to be solved and then dismissed. After his initial sighting and quick surmise about Billy, Dansker continued "slyly studying him at intervals" (p. 70). Nor is Billy the only target of his eyes. Billy, searching for him to tell him his tale of small troubles, "found him off duty in a dogwatch ruminating by himself . . . surveying with a somewhat cynical regard certain of the more swaggering promenaders" (pp. 70-71). This kind of posting himself advantageously for the purpose of conducting his observations is characteristic of the recorder and is the chief explanation for what sometimes seems remarkable coincidences of his just happening to be on the spot. And his habit of observation insures that, being there, he does not miss anything. Thus Father Anselmo witnesses the murder of Antonio, is caught up in the fisherman's

wild funeral cortege, and is selected to shrive the condemned Jacopo. The "curious" (p. 457) Basil March rides a street-car far to the West Side, arriving just in time to see Conrad shot and Lindau clubbed. Little Jimmy stirs restlessly in his feverish sleep, then wakes to overhear the rapprochement between Abner and Esther Hagadorn, and to see Jee Hagadorn's arrival. The others sleep through these scenes. Sieur de Conte is able to obtain the post of assistant recorder so that he can be present at the trial sessions. The Press is ubiquitous. The Bellipotent's senior lieutenant notices that Vere's face, as the Captain departs from his interview with the condemned Billy, expresses "the agony of the strong" (p. 115). The Captain of Marines does not miss the significance of Vere's final words. The Purser and the Surgeon notice the "'phenomenal'" (p. 125) absence of the death spasms in the hanged Billy. Young Kendricks never forgets that he is "a student of human nature" (p. 295) and is forever storing up impressions for his novel. Croft continually intuits the particular way others are feeling at the moment. The three professor friends of Cavan and his student, Hastings, read looks and sense approaches and withdrawals during their conversations with others. Of all the officers on the bridge of the *Caine*, it is only Keefer who discerns the pattern in the captain's back and forth shuttlings. Through his observations and insights the recorder accumulates a deeper understanding than anyone else, but is

reluctant to use this knowledge as a basis of action.

The recorder's understanding of the developing situation induces a compassionate concern for the potential victim. It is this feeling which leads him to warn the victim of his danger. But just as with the victim, the recorder's acts have a way of redounding upon himself. His concern gets him more involved than he really wants to be. Anselmo's evident interest in Jacopo's case makes his departure from Venice expedient. March finds himself in embarrassing, even humiliating interviews with old Dryfoos and Margaret Vance as a result of his involvement. Manchon's sympathy for Joan gets him and de Conte replaced by other recorders. Croft bitterly wonders "why in hell . . . did everybody have to take me for his father confessor!" (p. 263). Goldberg cannot "keep the warmth . . . out of his voice" (p. 109). The Director of the Post deplores the situation, but claims the press is "'trapped in [its] own operation'" (p. 538).

As well as this temporary loss of his cherished detachment, the recorder receives also a more permanent or influential hurt. His content in his whole way of life may be shaken. Father Anselmo's former serene, untroubled faith is replaced by "bewildered uncertainty" (p. 454). Basil March, half-owner now of a business and consequently a leader of a business community, agrees with his wife that "'Business is . . . disgusting'" (p. 541). The patriotic Frenchman de

Conte, who, after Joan's death, returns to his soldiering to continue the fight for the King against the English, nevertheless speaks bitterly of that King the rest of his life. After having come to town just the day before, eager for some excitement to sluice away the restlessness of a winter on the range, Croft and Carter can hardly wait to get away. Violence as a release has gone sour for them. Cavan's friends recognize his suicide as "'an act of violent rejection--of all of us. An attack'" (p. 144). It is an attack that wounds, for it demonstrates that their detachment can have fatal consequences. Keefer's detachment is publicly branded as cowardice, and he cannot find a satisfactory rebuttal. Either in their own or their group's opinion, the recorder's role becomes suspect.

The judge, of course, suffers a similar disillusion in his own conduct or in the laws whereby he regulates his conduct. It is the recorder who witnesses this disillusion, who is the vehicle that transmits this consequence to the reader. This witnessing may be as immediate as the Senior Lieutenant's seeing the look of "agony" (p. 115) on Vere's face or as distant as the Marine officer's hearing of the Captain's final words. It may be as public as Blakeley's "audible sigh" (p. 405) during Keith's testifying or as private as Dryfoos's "sobs" (p. 499) in his closed carriage as he tells March of his regrets. It includes scenes as diverse as de Conte's noticing that "Cauchon winced" (p. 450)

when Joan lays the responsibility for her death directly upon him, Father Anselmo's looking behind as he leaves the Prince's apartment and seeing the Doge's "eyes moistening with tears" (p. 452), Croft's being subjected to Davis' long confession, and George Hastings hearing Grace's "handsome apology" (p. 281) that only she comprehends.

But despite his embarrassment, his hurt, and his witnessing of the judge's discomfiture, the recorder also responds positively to the ritual sacrifice. He feels, usually, a strange, perhaps unearthly kind of excitement. The Bellipotent's Purser, stirred by the scene, wants the Surgeon, the man of science, to acknowledge something "'phenomenal'" (p. 125) in Billy's death. Father Anselmo is "so full of holy thoughts" (p. 456) inspired by his prayers and by Jacopo's ideal submission that the monstrously inhuman act seems almost divine. March tells Isabel that he sees in Conrad's death something of the mystery of "'Calvary. If we love mankind, pity them, we even wish to suffer for them'" (p. 503). Sieur de Conte sees Joan as transformed into the greatest symbol of "Patriotism" (p. 461) the world will ever know. Fosca announces to Cavan's assembled, mourning friends, that they have had "'an intimation'" of "'the communion of saints on earth'" (pp. 211, 210). At the verdict in Maryk's trial, all is "noise and congratulation and joy" (p. 443), jubilation and celebration. Carter announces Tetley's suicide "cheerfully" (p. 283). The Press

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reports "the awesome solemnity" (p. 743) of the President's rites. Although he has difficulty expressing it, the recorder has had a glimpse of the eternal fitness of things, including death, that lifts him and the event out of the confines of morality. He feels neither guilt nor innocence, but awe.

Finally, the recorder's position within the group improves as a direct result of the ritual sacrifice. The Bellipotent's Senior Lieutenant assumes command when Vere falls, and "by rare good fortune" (p. 129) captures the enemy. It is an auspicious beginning as ship's captain. Basil March purchases the Every Other Week enterprise on creditable terms when old Dryfoos decides he has no "'more use for the concern'" (p. 538), now that his son is dead. Esther Hagadorn becomes a full-fledged member of the Beech family. George Hastings comes under the protective wings of Grace Kimlock and Ivan Goldberg, and his career flourishes. Keefer becomes the Caine's new captain. Father Anselmo and Stephano better themselves by shifting to a new group, the Calabrian Duchy of Sant' Agata. The recorder's situation at the story's end is that the value of his being an observer upon life has been confirmed, and hence his position is easier.

The recorder in summary is the non-committed person in the community. He is an alien who, despite having taken on a good deal of protective coloration, retains enough of his

origin to be marked as an individual in the crowd. He is a spectator on life who endeavors to make interpretive commentary a function satisfactory to the group. His sympathies are easily aroused. The potential victim's naivete and good nature attract him as a fellow human; the victim's obsession intrigues him as an inveterate observer. His interest and sympathy extend in the same way to the wielder of power in the community, that is, to the judge, for he is quite aware that power tends to corrupt. His concern for these individuals leads him to his inevitable act, which is to try to forestall the impending sacrifice by speaking out. He warns the victim of his danger; he speaks reprovngly of the judge's foolhardiness. Since the judge tends to be unapproachable, the recorder may speak about him to a third character, or only to himself--and the reader--in a kind of soliloquy. The recorder is a reluctant participator and seldom does more than speak. His effort is relatively feeble; it almost invariably fails.

He avoids prominence and responsibility. He likes not only to duck important decisions himself, but prefers that the group pass them upward to a King, a Pope, a National Committee, or even God. He is not averse, however, to delivering his opinions. He speaks society's final opinion of the participators, which tends to be extravagant. He witnesses the whole ritual from its diverse and mild beginnings to its cataclysmic finale. He becomes more involved than

he would ordinarily want to be, and is fundamentally disturbed. But he more than recovers his equanimity in the stirring emotionalism of the ritual and also because of the intimation it provides him of an inscrutable power beyond normal human ken. Finally, this new awareness as an observer is signaled by an improved position in the group.

³¹E. M. W. Tillyard, Shakespeare's Problem Plays (Toronto, 1950), p. 13.

³²Roy R. Male, Types of Short Fiction (Belmont, California, 1962), p. 308.

³³Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, 1957), pp. 216-218.

³⁴Joseph Schiffman, "Melville's Final Stage, Irony: A Re-examination of Billy Budd Criticism," AL, XXII (May 1950), 128-136.

³⁵Edward H. Rosenberry, "The Problem of Billy Budd," PMLA, LXXX (December 1965), 489.

³⁶Frank Baldanza, Mark Twain: An Introduction and Interpretation (New York, 1961), p. 80.

³⁷Edwin Cady, The Realist at War (Syracuse, 1958), p. 108.

³⁸Marius Bewley, "Fenimore Cooper and the Economic Age," AL, XXVI (May 1954), 180.

³⁹Richard Chase, Herman Melville: A Critical Study (New York, 1949), p. 262.

⁴⁰Cady, p. 102.

CHAPTER VI

The Ritual as Meaning

It is obvious that the meanings of the nine scapegoat fables are not identical. Nor, to isolate a part from the whole, are the meanings of the nine rituals identical. For time and circumstance contain each of them, and these inescapable conditions give their own unique impress to the events and characters and hence to the scapegoat ritual. The two stories, for instance, worked on by experienced novelists during the same months while residing a few blocks apart from each other within New York City, Howells' Hazard and Melville's Budd, invest Conrad's and Billy's deaths with quite dissimilar moral and social significances. Herman Wouk's scapegoat ritual, which like Budd, concerns the Navy men and officers of a warship who become involved, as participants and spectators, in a mutinous act and in a subsequent court martial and its aftermath, and all this in wartime, is considerably more dissimilar in meaning from Herman Melville's than the latter from its contemporary, Hazard. The meaning of the ancient scapegoat ritual, of which these nine scapegoat fables are latter-day similitudes, was singular and constant through centuries of practice in various

locales: it meant the group's achievement of purification, of returning to the blessed condition it had declined from during the preceding year. It meant a new vitality with which the group could face the coming year's recurring problems.

The scapegoat ritual is stylized action. In the scapegoat fable the ritual is the basis of the plot. In each instance, however large or small a part of the story it is, it is an organic part. Its excision would be fatal to the story. It is not just an interesting ritual included because of its actual presence in the depicted scene, such as the Wedding of the Adriatic in Bravo or the Chaplain's prayer that begins the sessions of the United States Senate in Advise. Even when it is a subplot, it is much too extensive to be extraneous. It is always pertinent to the theme. One of its general relevancies to the theme is that it vibrates with the same internal tension that the characters do. The counter impulses that lead the victim to triumph, the judge into prosecuting, the informer into becoming silent, and the recorder into participance pushes the ritual also in contradictory directions. The sacrifices tend, like the original ritual, to converge upon the single meaning, but since each is made to serve the theme of its story, and since these themes are diverse, the rituals tend as much toward divergences in their meanings as they do toward conformities.

Bravo's theme is the perfidious machinations of Venice's plutocracy. Hardly an action occurs anywhere in the city without its connivance or at least knowledge. It intercepts the diplomatic dispatches of other states in its hunger for information. One's closest associates, every acquaintance, friend, servant, and relative, may be a paid informer for the state. The government has set up an official depository in the public square and encouraged the public to offer every kind of information or charge it cares to. One of this source's divulgements is the petty charge of slowness in a court case. But then it turns out the court's delay is deliberate; the state has an interest in the case.

All the information the state collects and sifts is for the purpose of controlling the destinies of individual Venetians. It has kept Don Camillo dancing in attendance, hoping to have his suit settled affirmatively, for five years. It has absolutely determined that the suit never will be granted, but it temporizes, instead of outright refusing, and encourages just enough to keep him from giving up altogether. Because his uncle is the most influential cardinal in the college, the Council much prefers the family as friends. It has appointed the members of the orphaned Donna Violetta's household, has supervised her education, and is casting about to arrange a marriage advantageous to the state. It has refused for years to release the exonerated Francis Frontoni from prison because to do so would be

to admit its fallibility, and this is an admission it chooses not to make. It discovers Councillor Gradenigo's intrigue to win the wealthy heiress for his son, and circumvents this. It arranges the kidnapping of the heiress when she marries against its wishes, and the murder of Antonio when he makes what it considers to be seditious remarks.

Though Venice's political and commercial empire is shrinking, so well do the Councillors manage that one anonymous Senator is induced to remark, "'Venice is to the last degree prosperous. Our ships are thriving; the bank flourishes with goodly dividends . . . I have not known so ample revenues for most of our interests, as at this hour'" (p. 331). Such prosperity is the aim of all their efforts. Their direction of Jacopo's life, changing him from a gondolier delighting in his trade into a gloomy bravo and finally into a moody scapegoat is the most extensive example of their control of the individual. The scapegoat ritual with which the story ends is the completely managed culmination of several strands of action begun and firmly controlled by the Councillors.

Probably because Jacopo has proved himself the best oarsman in all watery Venice, the state deliberately sets out to suborn him. It is not an easy process, but "'they worked upon'" (p. 434) him until they had made him one of theirs. He becomes a secret agent with several duties, chief of which is to be a scapegoat. He agrees to connive

with the state to foster a reputation that he is a public bravo, an assassin for hire. The state has several purposes in this design. First, he is to serve as a lightning rod harmlessly drawing away the people's agitation over the frequent assassinations. This involves lounging in the public areas, wearing dark clothes, a black scowl, looking about with a "glittering" (p. 18) eye, and holding friendly converse with no one. He draws many whispered maledictions and angry looks in this way, which leave the whisperer and gazer feeling better about the situation. The Council manages this continuing scapegoat assignment adroitly. "'When rumor grew too strong for appearances, the Three took measures to direct it to other things; and when it grew too faint for their wishes it was fanned'" (p. 435). The wages of this pose besides those usual to the ordinary secret agent, are those of the scapegoat isolation and obloquy which he calls "'the life of the damned'" (p. 435).

The state's second purpose in this proceeding is to establish another channel of gathering information. As Jacopo tells his confessor, "'Father, I was applied to as a public Bravo, and my reports, in more ways than one, answered their designs'" (p. 435). It has a third purpose also, which does not become known to Jacopo until he is arrested. This is simply the forethought of having a scapegoat ready in the wings so that the full ritual, complete with the execution, can be mounted at a moment's notice. It expected,

with reason, periodic factious disturbances, and had various expedients ready to still them. One such was the scapegoat ritual. When its murder of the popular fisherman, Antonio Vecchio, provoked a challenge, it gave Jacopo to the mob in much the way Pilate surrendered Jesus to the clamoring Hebrews. It had already conditioned the populace into believing him guilty. The gathered "multitude" (p. 453) returns peacefully to its wonted activities as soon as Jacopo is executed. The state's artificial ritual succeeds perfectly.

Jacopo serves as the state's secret agent for three years, but he is not a bravo. He does no killing. Other agents do the killing. The state hides rather than publicizes the identity of the real bravos. Such a character is a dangerous candidate for the scapegoat role. He takes life rather than gives it. He would be unlikely to submit tamely, as the scapegoat does in the most satisfactory rituals, to the sacrifice. Meanwhile the whole process has been subtly pre-preparing the "bold" (p. 18) Jacopo for this victim's role. As a secret agent he has become used to playing a passive, rather than an active, part in life. As a reputed bravo he has come to expect the public's opprobrium. In submitting to abuse he is suffering in the place of another, for the state has offered him the choice of serving them in this way or of having his imprisoned father tortured. Thus he has been gradually, under their inducements, assuming various caparisons of the scapegoat so that, when the time

comes for the ritual's enactment, he suddenly feels the costume fits.

The theme of Budd has been argued to be the "acceptance" of Captain Vere's view of life, "resistance" to it, or "a dry mock protesting God and the whole created scheme of things."⁴¹ The action, that is, is romantic heroism, a sinister compromise, or an empty, futile drama enacted under the sardonic direction of the Cosmic Joker. Edward Rosenberry argues persuasively against all three, charging them as the result of too much critical ingenuity and of depending upon the false assumption that Budd is a parable or narrative of polemic positions which calls for responsible critics to hurry up and choose sides. He concludes his argument by invoking William York Tindall's statement that Budd is "'not a conclusion, like a sermon, [but] a vision of confronting what confronts us, of man thinking things out with all the attendant confusions and uncertainties.'"⁴² It seems to me that the meaning of the ritual bears out Rosenberry's contention that Budd's theme is no one single attitude toward man's situation but rather that his condition is finally indeterminate. In other words, Budd is a manifold story whose meanings are not levels, as in the medieval theory of literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogic meanings. Budd's themes extend horizontally as well as vertically. But if this contention is valid, all the meanings have to be, finally, inconclusive, for any one's being conclusive

would invalidate the others. To put this contention yet another way, whatever conflicts are presented in Budd remain unresolved. To state this is not to downgrade Budd. Quite the contrary. Problems, conflicts, sometimes quite intricate ones, that always eventually become resolved is one of the chief characteristics of the deservedly denigrated soap operas.

However indeterminate the scapegoat ritual in Budd may be, it is definitely not managed like Bravo's. Billy has not been prepared through a long period of subtle indoctrination to assume the scapegoat role. Neither the Captain nor the admirals, stimulated by the recent Nore and Spithead mutinies, have conceived of the ritual as a remedy for renewed trouble. On the other hand, after Billy has struck the fatal blow, the Captain directs the proceedings firmly and knowingly so that they do form the scapegoat pattern. The scapegoat ritual is not, as in Bravo, a measured form ready to be imposed as a remedy on this or that emergency, but instead one whose necessity becomes apparent to the Captain as soon as a particular emergency with unusual features is sprung upon him. He then, to a considerable degree, does indeed impose the ritual.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Billy the victim is deliberately drawn as the choicest lamb of the flock. He is the Handsome Sailor, the epitome of "strength and beauty" (p. 44). His boundless natural grace, his shapely features,

his Herculean frame are all remarked. His merry disposition and nightingale singing stand out among the crowd of blue-jackets. The purity of his expression and reflection is emphasized. Having claimed so much for him that is superlative, Melville next renders him well-nigh perfect by avowing that there is only "one thing amiss in him" (p. 53), the well-known stutter. To fall short of perfection by only a slip of the tongue is to have so little wrong that Billy is more of an angel than a human. Billy's perfection is given a particular cast, however, by his being likened not only to an angel but to a "superior savage" (p. 121), such as those Melville had known years earlier in South Pacific Edens, and to the prelapsarian Adam in his Eden, and by his being given the "Baby Budd" nickname. His perfection is that of the primitive, of the uninstructed, of the cherub. But Billy is not in Eden: he is on the man-of-war. Here his innocence becomes destructive. He is, as Claggart charges, "'a man-trap'" (p. 94) whose innocence catches both the master-at-arms and the Captain. It is not a matter, as in Pierre, of the best of intentions going astray. Billy has no intentions. His presence creates an insoluble dilemma for both Captain and petty officer. They founder trying to solve it.

John Claggart is as clearly the epitome of evil as Billy is of innocence. Melville tells us he is a type of Biblical "depravity," "'iniquity,'" and "elemental evil" (pp. 76, 78). His gelid eyes can flash a strange "red light"

(p. 88) and can cast a "mesmeristic glance . . . of serpent fascination" (p. 98). Again and again in various ways he is likened to a snake. He is obviously the serpent who wriggles into Eden, intent upon destroying Billy's innocence. And yet in unguarded moments he can "look like the man of sorrows" (p. 88). "With no power to annul the elemental evil in him, though readily enough he could hide it; apprehending the good, but powerless to be it" (p. 78), Claggart bears his own cross. As the best of men carries seeds of destruction on the man-of-war, so the worst is not without redeeming factors. Claggart is at least conscious. He would love "but for fate and ban" (p. 88). The latter of these exclusions refers to homosexual love, but the former can mean more approved sorts of love.

Howells' most pervasive theme in Hazard is the notion that "in every respect money makes the conditions of life."⁴³ The story recounts the uprooting of the unemployed Marches, the impecunious Leightons, and the millionaire Dryfooses and their coming to New York to enlarge their economic opportunities. It shows the artist Beaton kowtowing to money in the form of Fulkerson, the Dryfooses, and the Horns. The world of society, says Mrs. Horn, one of its leaders, "with no more sense of wrong in the fact than the political economist has in the fact that wages are the measure of necessity and not of merit," is based on money. "'You get what you pay for. It's a matter of business'" (p. 277). The misery of

vast sections of New York because of lack of money is suggested in the references to Conrad's and Margaret's work in the East Side Missions, in the plight of the traction workers, and in the glimpses of life the Marches catch in their numerous sight-seeing peregrinations about the city. The militant Lindau wants to change all this by instituting socialism; the other theorist, Woodburn, wants to institutionalize it in a feudalistic system.

Hazard's ritual is completely unmanaged. Although Conrad's martyr's air is generally remarked, no one suspects the ritual until he is suddenly killed and it is nearly over. That it is Conrad instead of some other bystander who catches the bullet is the purest accident. Nor is it an ambiguous ritual like Budd's. It does not invoke the Garden of Eden story despite the victim's extraordinary innocence. Basil explains it succinctly as "'that old doctrine of the Atonement'" (p. 503). All the grievances he atones for are, like the novel's theme, business affairs. It is in a skirmish in a labor war that he is killed. Although the strike disappears from the story and we thus cannot be sure of its outcome, this very disappearance implies that the shock of his death causes the end of the violence.

The immediate effect of the death is to restore friendly relations between March and his boss, old Dryfoos. Long range effects include the old robber baron's abandonment of Wall Street in order to devote himself to his family. He

takes them all on an extended tour of Europe. March and Fulkerson are enabled to buy the magazine because Dryfoos hasn't "'any more use for the concern'" (p. 538). Margaret Vance also renounces the world of society and retreats into the Sisters of Charity. With the rest, it is business as usual. The ritual is of less relative importance in Hazard than in any of the other stories, but it still advances the book's theme.

Copperhead's subject is indicated by its title. It is the story of a Northern Democrat antagonistic to the Union and its aims in the Civil War. It is a sympathetic portrait whose theme is the oppression and destruction that war hysteria can kindle on the home front. Abner Beech and his family are assailed by intemperate language both to their faces and behind their backs. Slandorous rumors are circulated, so that they become "pariahs in good earnest" (p. 14). From choice they become virtual prisoners on their own farm. Venturing out from their donjon keep to cast their dissenting votes in the November, 1862, election, they are set upon by an angry mob, but manage to escape. The following Saturday night the mob descends upon them and burns their home down over their heads.

Copperhead's ritual begins with Jee Hagadorn's evangelistic orating in which Abner Beech, as an anti-abolitionist, is denounced as "Antichrist and the Beast with Ten Horns and Seven Heads" (p. 11). It continues with various indications

of Abner's neighbors' suspicion and hate. Its climactic moment is the firing of his home. The ritual is the oppression. It is three or four months of trudging through the streets of Jerusalem and up Calvary Hill, three or four months of trekking toward Mount Moriah. But then they are suddenly over, ritual and oppression both. The Civil War goes on, but the fire the mob sets burns out the hysteria.

And so it goes. Twain's Joan is primarily an extensive character portrait of the martyred girl. The ritual, which presents her as the star performer constantly in the spotlight, sweetly confounding her prosecutors with her concentrated, superbly acted responses of co-ordinated word, gesture, and bearing, holds her up and shows her off like a lapidary turning and polishing the facets of a lustrous, perfectly shaped diamond. Clark's Ox-Bow argues that two of man's strongest impulses are toward violence and toward justice. Usually these conflict, tempering each other toward moderation. The ritual, however, shows that they can be made to seem to coincide, and that, when men become convinced in a particular instance that they do, normal restraint is overcome by an excess that proves to be tragic. Faithful, like Copperhead, depicts the home front and its casualties in wartime. Here the war is the so-called Cold War dividing the present world. The novel presents man's sense of loyalty as one of his strongest emotions. Usually his public and private loyalties to both people and ideas

are reasonably consistent with one another. Even when they do clash, they usually can be confined within tolerable limits. The ritual demonstrates that occasionally, within a man of extraordinary intensity, the conflict of loyalties can result in a terrible, fatal explosion. The ritual in Caine Mutiny, which is the trial of Steve Maryk, its verdict, and its aftermath, is essentially one of the most important episodes in the series of experiences that provide the education of Willie Keith. It is a kind of tepid peep show in which the reader can watch the writhings of an ignominious victim and from which Willie, on the way to becoming the Caine's last Captain, learns well certain lessons. And Advise asks the question, can a middle-aged America, having stumbled and fallen far behind in the Cold War contest, "'catch up'" and "'get ahead'" (p. 33) again? The ritual answers that leaders so devoted to America that they will assume the victim's role for her sake can so invigorate the country that she has an excellent chance of winning.

What meaning the rituals share is probably more significant than their common support of their stories' themes. They all impinge, one way or another, upon the problem of the group's maintaining its sway. The absolute necessity of doing so is occasionally questioned in some of the younger and smaller subgroups but never in the parent ones. The really moot point is the pragmatic question of how to support the group most successfully. Sooner or later, a course

of action that turns out to be the scapegoat ritual is decided upon. The decision is handed down by an arbitrary leader or comes from a group consensus or a combination of these, that is, a consensus induced by an imperious leader. Whether the ritual is indeed the most successful method of handling the difficulty is impossible to determine. The effectiveness of alternate methods, including those of postponement or ignoring the situation, are academic. As Melville comments in Budd, "night-have-been is but boggy ground to build on" (p. 57). The most successful method would be the one that most invigorates or least harms the community. But the community has not devised a really reliable method of measuring the degree of such renewal or harm. It does not seem to be particularly interested in such measurement. After the ritual it is too busy licking its wounds and feeling guilty or looking about enjoying its renewed vigor to be introspective. But the reader is interested. The informed commentary of intelligent observers, that is, of the recorder and the author, are usually provided him. The recorder, however, is cautious and, having been involved, not unbiased. Nor is the author free from prejudice.

Concerning himself with the morality of the action or ritual in Budd, Wendell Glick has written that Melville obviously

agreed with the Captain that justice to the individual is not the ultimate loyalty in a complex culture; the stability of the culture has the higher claim, and when

the two conflict, justice to the individual must be abrogated to keep the order of society intact.⁴⁴

Phil Withim has singled out this statement and objected to it, saying that in Glick's article it is an "unsupported statement. . . . It seems facile to present it as axiomatic."⁴⁵ But this concept of "social expediency," as Glick calls it, is axiomatic in all the scapegoat fables, including the archetypal ones of Abraham and Christ. These stories import further that the culture need not be "complex," that it can be as primitive as the nomadic Abraham's and as small as the family unit composed of Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac. Indeed, the rituals indicate that the concept is equally relevant in a range of groups, from the relatively small and simple family to the large and complex community composed of all mankind.

Something is rotten in Bravo's Venetian Republic, and it is precisely this concept of "social expediency" operating as a justification for the plutocracy's employment of police-state methods to perpetuate the state in its present form that stinks. Concerning Venice's rulers, Cooper writes

It is not saying too much to affirm, that they set at defiance every other consideration but expediency.--all the recognized laws of God, and every principle of justice, which is esteemed among men (pp. 169-170).

They prepare the ritual, hold it in readiness, and then stage it to sweeten the circumambient air when the stench begins to be noticeable. It is another state murder, but it is cloaked with the showy and convincing trappings of justice

rather than the more usual concealment in darkness and secrecy. But its purpose is the same as all the state's crimes against humanity, to nullify a specific threat to the established order in the Republic.

Nor does the plutocracy move only against the lower class Venetians like Jacopo the gondolier and Antonio the fisherman.

Instances had not been wanting in which the aristocracy of Venice sacrificed one of its body to the seemliness of justice; for when such cases were managed with discretion, they rather strengthened than weakened their ascendancy (p. 423).

Such an instance is the ten-year exile imposed on young Giacomo Gradenigo. Everybody is expected to conform. Fewer defections occur among the senatorial class than among the lower ones because its members have more to lose. But even the Doge is coerced.

The administrators of these noxious policies are not completely hypocritical timeservers. Signor Gradenigo, for instance, who is among the most powerful and callous of the Senators,

was born with all the sympathies and natural kindness of other men, but. . . . no man had more industriously or more successfully persuaded himself into the belief of all the dogmas that were favorable to his caste (pp. 98-99).

This persuading is typical of his class. It begins early. They are all born into families with centuries-old histories and traditions. Thus from the first moment they have a good deal to live up to. Their vocations as combination business

and government officials are inherited. Their marriages are arranged political or business deals. They raise their children to be completely comfortable with this long, obligatory tradition of serving the family and the state. By the time they begin their public duties, they have been well prepared to follow the lead of their elders. They become timeservers by imperceptible degrees. Signor Soranzo is seen at the beginning of this conditioning process. After his first session on the governing Council, this young Senator, "without being conscious of the reason . . . felt sad, for he had taken the first step in that tortuous and corrupting path, which eventually leads to the destruction of all . . . generous and noble sentiments" (p. 424).

The situation in the unpropertied families is comparable. Antonio, among the most disaffected and intelligent of the lower class, relates that he had early learned from his mother "'that next to my own kin, it was my duty to love the noble race she had helped to support'" (p. 78). He has raised "'five manly and honest sons'" (pp. 78-79) who all have been killed, one by one, in the state's wars. Not one of them, he says, "'ever caused me grief, but the hour in which he died'" (p. 79). Jacopo agrees to the hateful service of the state and postpones his marriage to the girl he loves because he feels an overriding duty to care for his imprisoned father. "'The ignorant and the low are, to the state, as children, whose duty it is to obey'" (pp. 77-78).

They are taught to think of the Doge as their symbolic father. The concept Venetian provides them their most important temporal identity. But since family quarrels are probably the most bitter of any, the concept is not without disadvantage to the state's continued stability. Nevertheless, the state continues to insist upon its fatherly solicitude and its right to expect instant and unquestioning obedience. That all the Venetians, high and low, are devout Catholics is also a material point, for the Church's traditions and fatherly attitude toward its members is even stronger than the state's. The family that worships together stays together. In their patriarchal organization and the consequent attitudes, beliefs, and sense of values, the family, the state, and the Church repeat and reinforce each other. Sinking one's self-identity in that of the group is a pervasive, life-long process in this Venice. In likening the Doge to "the queen bee in the hive" (p. 439), Cooper has chosen an apt image.

As the concentric family and state groups and the parallel Church organization in Bravo prepare their members for participating, even if only as witnesses, in the scapegoat ritual, and as all three groups are strengthened by its removal of the dissident or the doubtful and by its giving the remaining an increased sense of commonalty, so also function and are benefitted the various authoritarian groups in Budd. This story's immediate focus is concentrated upon

the group comprised by the complement of officers and men aboard HMS Bellipotent. There are no families here, but regional and occupational concentrations, such as the foretop and the afterguard, provide a similar identity and attract a similar loyalty. The Captain is not quite as specifically the parental figure as is the Doge, but he is even more the father surrogate, that is, the figure of authority if not of paternity, than is the Doge. His power, aboard the ship is nearly absolute. He is no figurehead like the Doge. His demeanor sets the whole tone of the ship. And that is to subordinate the self, to be always in complete command of his ego. "While other members of that aristocracy to which by birth he belonged were incensed at the innovators mainly because their theories were inimical to the privileged classes, Captain Vere disinterestedly opposed them" (pp. 62-63). He expends on any situation just as much, and no more, physical and emotional energy as it requires.

Thus the tendency toward selflessness among the members of the Bellipotent community, a tendency indicated by their placing their identity in their group status rather than in their individuality, stems directly from a Captain who has put his stamp on the ship, a Captain who puts off his identity when he puts off his uniform. So also the ingrained habit of unquestioning obedience of orders and rules is first set by the Captain, who believes "the Articles of

War'" (p. 111) supersede "'moral scruple'" and "'private conscience'" (pp. 110, 111). So much does he believe in them that he is absolutely convinced a departure from their prescriptions, even in the exceptional circumstances of Billy's case, would cause disastrous "consequences to discipline" (p. 113). Not only does "'mankind'" rely upon "'measured forms'" (p. 128), but the Bellipotent's bluejackets rely upon the undeviating administration of rules.

Organized religion does not influence the community's attitudes or actions. Melville explicitly states that it and its chaplain representative are, on the Bellipotent, "as incongruous as a musket would be on the altar at Christmas" (p. 122). But other organizations and communities, not alongside and parallel as in Bravo but in widening concentricity, encircle the Bellipotent. The reader is made very much aware that, though the Bellipotent is all alone on a wide, wide sea, it is a part of the Mediterranean fleet, and beyond that, of the British Navy. Presumably much the same influences and conditions obtain throughout the Navy, although there may be some slight variation from ship to ship. Certainly the larger organization, commanded by the Admiral to whom the junior officers believe Billy's case should be referred, is at least as authoritarian as the Bellipotent.

And beyond the fleet is the British nation. It is brought into the story in the same way the fleet is, by reference. The Commander-in-Chief is the King whose bread

the Navy men eat, whose buttons they wear, to whom they have sworn allegiance. Now, this King is George III, who is not as complete an autocrat in the kingdom as the Captain on the ship or the admiral in the Navy, but who is as complete a symbol of it as they, to say the least. The popular American image of him is of a power-mad tyrant. And beyond the British Kingdom is all mankind. This commonalty is brought into the story by Vere's stated belief that the enemy was not just at war with England "but at war with the peace of the world and the true welfare of mankind" (p. 63), and by his habit of enlarging his "settled convictions" (p. 62) into generalizations true of all "mankind" (p. 128).

This kind of thinking by the Captain extends the scape-goat ritual he stages on his ship out into these concentric rings, out to the uttermost of them. Just as earlier "that year had occurred the commotion at Spithead [that was] followed in May by a second and yet more serious outbreak in the fleet at the Nore" (p. 54), so the Captain fears a mutinous commotion in the Bellipotent will infect the fleet. The Navy stands between the British Nation and the disaster of invasion by the French armies. And England, fighting against the forces of disorder, is fighting for all mankind. Thus Billy by his sacrifice, at least in the Captain's thought, is the savior of all, as, in another narrative, all was lost for the want of a horseshoe nail. The Captain is determined that mankind shall not be lost for want of this

sacrifice.

Bravo's family and church groups serve the state, helping to make its excesses possible. They differ from it only in degree, not in kind. Yet Cooper approves of the two former while protesting the latter. He has the villainous Gradenigo's, father and son, who represent what he detests, the corruption of the plutocracy, mock the Doge and other Venetian institutions, display a cynical awareness of the Republic's declining condition, and think of the Church primarily in its political capacity, the Papal States--a rival Italian state to be combatted and thwarted. The son's only regard for his father is as the keeper of the purse. Young Gradenigo has undermined the family prestige by heavily mortgaging his expected inheritance. The piety of the heroic victims, Jacopo and Antonio, toward family, church, and the principle of authority, contrasts sharply with the villains' cynicism. Cooper seems to be unaware of the contradiction in his selective acceptance and rejection of authorities in the Venetian state, just as he is in representing his notable American heroes, Harvey Birch, Leatherstocking, et al., as fiercely independent, as scornful of political authority, yet extraordinarily filial in their care of infirm old fathers and grandfathers like Birch pere and old Major Effingham. Melville, on the other hand, is free from such a contradiction. Whatever his attitude toward the Captain, the Foretopman, and the enactment of the sacrifice, whether he

is satirizing the principle of social expediency, whether he is mocking man's God-inspired tendency toward sacrifice, or whether he is viewing in detached wonder the ambiguity of the human condition, his attitude toward all his concentric communities, from the foretop to all mankind, and even beyond to "'the Last Assizes'" (p. 111), is consistent.

The groups in Howells' Hazard are not as distinctly outlined as those in Bravo and Budd, nor do they exist in a clearly defined order. However, a number of definable worlds do exist within the confines of metropolitan New York and Hazard, an economic or financial world, whose center is Jacob Dryfoos, a cultural world, whose center is the artist, Beaton, and a social world, whose center is the debutante, Margaret Vance. Dryfoos's faith in the laissez-faire doctrine, Beaton's impressionistic moodiness, and Miss Vance's developing social conscience place responsibility on the individual rather than the group, and reward intelligent innovation rather than slavish adherence to rules and tradition. In other words, the tendencies of Hazard's group representatives are the opposite of the selflessness and subservience of those in Bravo and Budd. This difference is undoubtedly a most important reason for the group's relative indistinctness. It is also the reason for everyone being astounded by the ritual when it occurs in their midst. They have not been prepared for it as the Venetians and British bluejackets have.

Actually, a significant undertow flowing in the usual scapegoat direction tugs at the business and cultural worlds. As a family man and as the "angel" backing the Every Other Week magazine, Jacob Dryfoos tends to be the usual scapegoat community father figure, wanting to impose his will on all the others. Beaton finds he must accept employment from the business world and patronage from the social world. Margaret Vance's movement is the social world's undertow; the main wave of her aunt and the other four hundred of the social capitol is to continue unchanged their balls, calls, receptions, and so on, with their rigid and satisfying protocol. The uneasy tension between the two tendencies is resolved, in so far as it ever will be resolved, by the ritual. Conrad's death leads to the family man's eclipsing the businessman in his father, to the total abandonment of the social world by Margaret Vance, and to the removal from Beaton's life of the two distracting girls who represent affluence and social position, respectively.

These three worlds overlap to a considerable extent. The artist functions also, though secondarily, in the business and social worlds, the businessman in the social and art worlds, and the socialite in the art and business worlds. These worlds become intertwined in Hazard's most distinctive community, the Every Other Week group. The magazine is the commercialization of art, of both literary and pictorial art. This enterprise attracts the attention of some dilet-

tantish socialites and provides the journalists an entree into society that would not otherwise be theirs. But it is primarily a business enterprise. As such it is divided into the three parts of the American corporation, capital, labor, and management, represented by the novel's three most prominent characters, Dryfoos, March, and Fulkerson. The capitalist cannot help feeling proprietary toward the other two. He has, after all, put up the money. Labor cannot help feeling, to some extent, bought and paid for, owned, and hence resentful of the capitalist. Management is in the middle, trying to conciliate both sides. These general feelings are typical of the three characters generally, but are forcefully dramatized in the contretemps over Lindau. Here the characteristic tension of the Hazard communities, of being simultaneously pushed to "'truckle and trick'" (p. 397) and pulled toward a "free lance" (p. 398) position, becomes for Basil March a poignant experience.

Just as Melville extends the significance of Budd's ritual outward to the fleet, the nation, and mankind by Captain Vere's language and habits of thought, so Howells extends the significance of Conrad's death from his immediate circles of family and friends to the entire American business community by making that death an incident in New York's traction strike. The immediate business community that is the story's focal point thus is established as an epitome of American business generally. The restive symbiosis of

capitol, labor, and management that characterizes Every Other Week also characterizes the larger establishment. Conrad's death resolves the tension between his father and March. Capitol and labor make up their differences when it is forcefully brought home to them that their combat is more damaging to an innocent third party than to their opponent. The killing of someone from either of the embattled parties would only intensify the strife, but the shock of killing someone not really involved stifles the outburst. Conrad's sympathies extend to both sides. "'Poor father'" (p. 469) he says, and of the strikers, "'I pity them; my whole heart is with those poor men'" (p. 465). But he is not a capitalist; he has successfully resisted all of his father's efforts to make him one. And despite his heart, he is not a laboring man, either. He is a missionary among them, coming down to them from his own world. As Jacopo was suborned and Billy impressed, Conrad was sent. The group each of these victims dies for and among possesses his heart, but not his identity. Billy's innocence, Conrad's beatific meekness, and Jacopo's reputed guilt effectively set them apart, even in the midst of the crowd. Nevertheless, by their deaths one strengthens, one preserves, and the third resolves the community as no real member, because of his very membership, could have done.

Copperhead was written in two busy spring and summer months just three years after Hazard. It was written by

another New Yorker, Harold Frederic, but is about a different New York, one more akin to the St. Barnaby Hazard's Leightons emigrate from than to the cosmopolitan city. Frederic, like Cooper during the composition of his scapegoat novel sixty-one years earlier, was an American residing in Europe. But unlike the earlier expatriate, he looked back to America for all the materials of his story. For the first time those materials are rural and the people simple. The crowded life of city and ship, the mystery of a Claggart and sophistication of a Vere are all missing. Nevertheless, the conditions which prepare the way for the ritual and extend its significance do obtain. A populous setting is seen to be as unnecessary for the ritual in nineteenth century America as it was in Abraham's time.

The Beech family group that is the focus in Copperhead is decidedly authoritarian.

By instinct the whole household deferred in tone and manner to our big, bearded chief, as if he were an Arab sheik ruling over us in a tent on the desert. The word "patriarch" still seems best to describe him, and his attitude toward us and the world in general, as I recall him sitting there in the half-darkened living-room, with his wife bending over his feet in true Oriental submission (pp. 16-17).

As the patriarchal leader he expects the others not only to follow his directions in the practical affairs of running the farm and household, but also to follow compliantly all his attitudes and opinions, especially those on current affairs. He derived his opinions, as had Vere, from his

reading. They share a taste for the same kind of books, those "treating of actual men and events" (Budd, p. 62). The farmer's books are heavy tomes of doctrinaire history and politics that expound a somewhat chauvinistic faith in the United States as the world's newest best hope, and the Democratic Party as the United States' salvation. Thus, the farmer is ready to lead his family and neighborhood forward into a brave new time as his mentors have proclaimed his party and country do in larger spheres. The authoritarianism extends upward as well as downward from the central Beech.

Abner is far-famed as "a tremendous worker [and] a 'good provider'" (p. 4). His working is not an end in itself but is for the purpose of providing. The snug housing, bountiful food, and good, warm clothing he provides is distributed impartially among his dependents. The orphan Jimmy's "rights in the house and about the place were neither less nor more than those of Jeff Beech, the farmer's only son" (p. 5). As the leader, Abner is not working toward creating a dynasty or a hegemony to perpetuate his name and fame, but instead to building wealth for a better life for himself and his posterity. He works for the increased welfare of the neighborhood in the same way and spirit as for his household. "Big sanguine notions of cooperation as the answer to all American farm problems--as the gateway through which we were to march into the rural

millenium" (p. 12) were stirring the neighborhood. "Abner Beech had literally been the founder of our cheese factory. . . . His voice . . . outweighed all others in its co-operative councils" (p. 12). Following Abner's lead, the family and the neighborhood are learning a faith in progress through mutual effort that is more like the traction strikers' unionism than like Jacob Dryfoos' laissez faire.

Beech's authoritarian and altruistic proclivities provide the usual conditioning for the scapegoat ritual. But the form the ritual takes, the sacrifice of the leader, is a departure from the first three fables. However, Abner finds it easier to submit, with grumbling and a certain amount of resistance, it is true, but also with humor and humility, to his banishment and to his home's being burned, than Vere does, for instance, to impose the sacrifice on Billy. Abner's attitude, as the Squire tells him, does "'credit alike to [his] heart and . . . head'" (p. 146). The ritual advances the spiritual well-being of these groups whose conscious efforts are directed toward increasing their material wealth. It involves financial loss both in the necessary curtailment of the farming activities and in the fire. It is the same belt-tightening and material loss that the neighborhood and the nation is undergoing in the Civil War. The completion of the ritual releases a surge of pent-up fellow feeling that enables Beech to welcome his "enemy" under his roof and at his table, that presages the

new rapport between the Beeches and their Union neighbors and also the fraternization between the soldiers of the North and South as soon as the final surrender was begun. It presages a burst of reconstruction on the farm, in the neighborhood, and in the South.

By the time Copperhead was published in 1893, Mark Twain was seriously at work upon his Joan. He was to continue to work at it intermittently for over two years before it finally reached the publisher in 1895. Twain also was living in Europe at the time of his composition of his scapegoat novel. Like Cooper, his imagination seized upon an earlier era in European history whose official despotism contrasted sharply with the freedom of America. For Twain the tyranny of the fifteenth-century Church is as villainous as that of seventeenth-century Venice for Cooper. The motive of each establishment was to maintain its empire. Officially, the Church was supposed to be entirely selfless, working only for the glory of God. Practically, according to Twain, it is saturated with corrupt individuals extremely tainted by ambition for worldly position. Cauchon's eager grasping for jurisdiction over Joan and Loyseleur's obsequiousness are examples of pure expediency, the convenient forgetting of eternal verities in favor of temporal advantage. From the Pope, God's Vicar, on down, the Church's organization is absolutely autocratic. Twain portrays a Bishop and a church so insidiously conditioned by centuries of absolutism

and expediency that they do not recognize the greatest Saint in their canon.

It is an imperious age in which the King's obviously egregious faults cause some grumbling but no real opposition. The fashionable thing is to blame his shortcomings upon his advisers. Joan is absolutely subservient in the political realm, even obeying, against her better judgment, the King's military commands. She will neither see, hear, nor speak anything ill about him. She gives an equal reverence and obedience to her Voices. This imperious girl submits to no one except the highest, but then she bends her knee freely and proudly, offering her complete devotion, her life. She embodies the selflessness, as well as the submission, that the Church ideally was supposed to. Twain writes that she has never had an equal in "purity from all alloy of self-seeking, self-interest, personal ambition" (p. 461).

In Joan we have the English military government and the Catholic Church collaborating to put on the ritual. The French nation co-operates by, contrary to the accepted practice of the time, making no effort to ransom or rescue her. As in Cooper's Bravo, these organizations are parallel rather than hierarchial. Each one has its own reasons for the sacrifice. To the English she is an almost unconquerable foe who must be put to death in precisely this way, for it is the only way to prevent her from becoming a great rallying force for the French. To the Church she is a

genuine heretic; she is, as George Bernard Shaw writes, "in fact one of the first Protestant martyrs,"⁴⁶ and hence must be branded guilty and shamefully done to death. Twain attributes the French King's strange co-operation to simple ingratitude, but it was surely more than that. He could hardly fail to be jealous of her accomplishments and popularity. She had become a dangerous rival. To each organization she represented a problem for which the ideal solution was condemnation and execution as a criminal.

Joan was extraordinarily active and successful in the three realms of politics, warfare, and religion. She crowned the King and became known as Deliverer of France, she won victories in the field and became Commander-in-Chief, and she communicated directly with heavenly spirits and became a martyred saint. Despite these successes, she does not become identified with any of the groups operative in these realms. She is impatient of their red tape and devises short cuts. But these efficiencies eliminate a considerable number of the little ceremonies that are the cement binding the groups together. The army she leads, for instance, becomes her army instead of a French army. She remakes it in her own image. She rids it of "roaring and drinking . . . rude and riotous horse-play . . . loud and lewd women" (p. 142). Profanity and prostitution she replaces with "divine service twice a day" (p. 145), constant inspections, and drilling. And the reformed army "worshipped" (p. 145)

her. "It was another instance of the same old thing; whoever listened to the voice and looked into the eyes of Joan of Arc fell under a spell, and was not his own man any more" (p. 145). Joan is guilty of the crime the Communists in the 1960's call "the cult of personality."

Fifty-five years elapsed between the publication of Joan and the appearance of the next scapegoat novel, Ox-Bow, in 1940. It, like Copperhead, presents the ritual in rural America. Like Copperhead again, it presents the authoritarian leader as the sacrificial victim. For the first time, however, the scapegoat victim is a repulsive rather than a sympathetic character. Major Tetley forfeits the sympathy of both his colleagues and the reader. Ox-Bow shows that the ritual's victim can be abnormally evil as well as abnormally good.

The dialectic between "social expediency and absolute morality" is as central in Ox-Bow as it is in Budd. Melville's story demonstrates that part of the human condition is the priority of social expediency to absolute morality whenever the two conflict. "The ultimate allegiance of the individual, in other words, is not to an absolute moral code, interpreted by his conscience and enlivened by his human sympathies, but to the utilitarian principle of social expediency."⁴⁷ But whereas Melville presents in Budd a positive example of heroic adherence to this principle under conditions as trying as he can make them, Clark presents a

negative example of its easy abandonment and the disastrous consequences. Art Davies states that "'true law, the code of justice, the essence of our sensations of right and wrong, is the conscience of society'" (p. 63). Law, justice, the "'conscience of society'" are practical, expedient considerations, he argues, that have evolved as man has become civilized, rather than eternally true moral absolutes that man has come more and more to approach and understand as he has become more civilized. The lynch law that he argues against makes its appeal to man's natural feelings of revenge, of the protection of property, of loyalty to a friend, of "ferocity" (p. 46) that calls for an answering violence. All these natural feelings are as much inhibited by the due process of law as are those of "'compassion. . . . warm hearts. . . . private conscience'" (Budd, pp. 110-111) abraded by the necessity to hang Billy. Thus Ox-Bow's argument against absolute morality is that it too easily goes astray, that "'private conscience'" is a more fallible guide than is "'the conscience of society.'"

The Ox-Bow cowboys have no tradition of tame submission to authority. Just the opposite. They wear six-shooters and are constantly imposing their will on dumb animals. Nor have they banded into a church, a co-operative, a union, or a military organization that gives them a collective identity. But they have come together in a crowd for one reason: they are looking for excitement. A demagogic promise of

giving them plenty of excitement in exchange for a brief service under the Major and a temporary merging of their identities in a nameless mob wins their allegiance. Off they go, and see the thing through, even though the promised excitement becomes grimmer and grimmer. The ritual is a failure. It imposes a group identity, lyncher, upon the participants that they do not, upon reflection, want. When the rigid disciplinarian, Tetley, and his thoroughly cowed son, the more typical authoritarian and submissive personalities, commit suicide to complete the ritual, the lynchers' sense of guilt is somewhat relieved, but the scapegoat ritual is still a failure. This community has not been conditioned for the scapegoat ritual.

The next scapegoat story also sacrifices the authoritarian leader. This is Caine Mutiny, whose Captain Queeg is the chief scapegoat victim. Like Ox-Bow's Tetley, this victim is a repugnant madman. For each a military career seems a necessary prop to a collapsing identity. These two men desperately need the security of a collective, group identity. But here their similarity ceases. Queeg is a paranoiac weakling for whom the stress of command proves to be too much. Tetley is a strong sadist for whom the loss of command proves fatal. Captain Queeg is an unfortunate combination, a man who needs the anonymity of the crowd, but whose ambition forces him forward. Keefer, another man who feels better lost in the crowd than in the exposed

position of command, explains the feeling. "'You can't understand command till you've had it. It's the loneliest, most oppressive job in the whole world. It's a nightmare'" (p. 463). Captain Vere is a lonely man aboard his ship, but he does not find his captaincy oppressive. Command is a nightmare for the ordinary man who must draw upon his group membership for a sense of identity.

The group concerned in the scapegoat activity is again a duly organized military outfit, and hence has a firm tradition of obedience to authority. Most of them have joined the organization on a temporary basis, although the term is considerably longer than for Ox-Bow's posse. Everyone, regulars and reserves, has joined together to accomplish the mutually desired purpose of winning the war. There is not the slightest hint that any of them may not be in complete sympathy with this aim, as there is in Budd. Their distance from the enemy tends to make the whole enterprise rather impersonal. They are cogs in a vast machine grinding away in an effort so huge that none of them can really comprehend it. Most of them have long since ceased trying to. Cooped up together on the ship for months, their most personal feeling a mutual hatred of the captain, the men become more and more homogeneous. Their former personal lives recede further and further from their immediate consciousness and seem finally to be almost illusory. These men, formerly as wilfull and individualistic as the Ox-Bow cowboys, are

prepared by their wartime service aboard the Caine for a scapegoat ritual.

Any war effort involves, of course, the temporary adoption of measures that positively contravene the normal moral codes of the nation, the churches, and most of its citizens. These abrogations range from the very serious act of killing to the equally serious, from another view, act of swearing. This is expediency. Sincerely held religious scruples have been held in the twentieth century in some of the more enlightened warring nations to be a valid denial of this doctrine of expediency. Moral scruples have not. The differentiation seems to be that the community of a church removes the religious scruples from merely private conscience and translates them into public conscience. But moral scruples remain private. Whatever is public conscience is custom, and, as soon as formalized by some legislative body, is law. But in 1797 conscientious objection to war had not yet been recognized as legal, nor had it been at the time Melville was writing Budd ninety years later. By World War II and Caine Mutiny it had become a fairly well established moral absolute. And so the very marching off to war, especially since the establishing of the legality of the moral absolute of conscientious objection, asserts the ethical superiority of expediency. Only in chivalric romances can the war hero also be a moral absolutist.

Caine Mutiny's ritual, like Copperhead's, does not

include the death of the victim. In the Civil War story, the months of oppressing the victim, climaxed by burning his home and followed by the neighborhood's revulsion at its excess and its consequent reversal of attitude toward him, is an easily recognizable similitude of the typical scapegoat action despite the absence of the usual death. The death is not a necessity; the Old Testament archetype is deathless. In Caine Mutiny this pattern is much less obvious. Steve Maryk's year as the Caine's executive officer is an oppressive experience, his court martial is a harrowing near approach to the sacrificial altar, and his acquittal is a last minute reprieve not unlike Isaac's. But no Abraham arrives to clutch him to his heart, no Squire Avery to clasp his hand. Instead, Barney Greenwald arrives to inform him that he has really been only half acquitted. What is in effect his banishment ensues immediately. The unoppressed, confident Captain is suddenly attainted and also, in effect, banished. This sudden resolution of an absolute confrontation in which the two opponents flatly contradict each other under oath, by declaring them both to be wrong and both banished for their rousing of the community's quiet confines recalls the similar halting of the action in the lists at Coventry and banishment of Bolingbroke and Mowbray by the King in Richard II. Such an inconclusive measure Shakespeare makes the first act of his drama which then concludes with the sacrificial death of

the King himself, a death called for on the grounds of expediency, and immediately mourned by the new King as a violation of morality. In the novel this half-way measure is offered as a conclusion rather than an introduction. That it is not satisfactory even to the participants is indicated by Greenwald's speech at the Fairmont banquet and by the after-thoughts of the recorders, Keith and Keefer. In his speech the lawyer repeats, in a shortened fashion, his procedure during the trial. There he had averted the scheduled sacrifice by convincing the court the lot had fallen upon the wrong goat. Now he trots forward still a third goat, Keefer. Later, this goat, the new Captain of the Caine, after experiencing the stresses of command and panicking under them, agrees that sacrificing Queeg served no purpose. After receiving Keefer's confession, Keith writes a long letter to May Wynn in which he confesses that he now agrees entirely with Greenwald's opinion. The joy at Queeg's downfall is short-lived. The ritual has been unsatisfactory precisely because it is influenced by the moral absolutes of "palliating circumstances" and "'private conscience.'"

Miss Sarton's Faithful, the next scapegoat novel, is the only one of the four twentieth-century fables whose scapegoat victim is a sympathetic one. Without her novel it might be concluded that the unsympathetic victim is a consistent twentieth-century irony. In Faithful, the social expediency-moral absolute dialectic is again a central

concern. This time it is the victim, Cavan, who insists upon applying absolute morality to politics, to religion, and to economics. His friend Damon's politics dismay him. "'On a matter of absolute principle, Damon backed down'" (p. 68). Damon calls it being a "'liberal,'" showing "'generosity'" (p. 57). Cavan's rector tells his sister that "'There was also very strong in him the practicing Christian who wants to follow Christ as literally as possible'" (p. 181). He also gave away most of his inherited fortune because "'it troubled him to be responsible for more money than he needed'" (p. 181). Faithful demonstrates that the attempt to live according to moral absolutes is trying to do something that is more than humanly possible. Miss Sarton presents a character who mentally and ethically is as outstanding as Billy Budd is physically and morally, and yet the effort breaks him. The individual cannot survive without a portion of social expediency leavening his moral absolutism.

Faithful's Harvard community is a place where the rector can say of Orlando Fosca, "'He's an atheist of course. . . . I have a good deal more respect for Orlando Fosca than for some members of my congregation'" (p. 185), where Cavan and Goldberg, opponents in the University and all it stands for, can yet respond to "the love buried . . . deep under their antagonism" (p. 152), where the American Civil Liberties Union is especially strong, where the Harvard Teachers Union

was formed in 1935 so that, among other things, the faculty could take public stands on public issues opposed to those of the President of Harvard, and where the Senatorial committee naturally comes when it is hunting subversives. It is a community whose tradition is of scholarly inquiry and dissent. On the other hand, the scholarly inquirers and dissenters attain a quite impersonal devotion, "'great intellectual control'" (p. 69), "humility and persistence" (p. 83) in their detached pursuit of knowledge and truth in subjects in which they are "passionately interested" (p. 75). As Fosca, for instance, settles down to his desk after a hard day of grappling with his personal and professional duties, "he felt as if his mind were a great sea bird, a seagull perhaps, circling and circling round in the dark and the silence, waiting to dive down to seize an idea like a fish" (p. 75). Thus, although this intellectual community has a strong tendency toward the kind of independent thought and action that inhibits the scapegoat ritual, it has an even stronger tradition of the kind of selfless abstraction and of the use of collective thought and action that subtly prepares the way for the ritual.

As in Budd and Copperhead, the focus in Faithful is upon a relatively small and intimate community whose concerns make it an epitome of larger and less homogeneous communities surrounding it in wider and wider circles. In Faithful the immediate group is the close circle of friends

surrounding Professor Cavan. It is the least formally organized of any of the foci in the nine stories. It is dependent upon a community of intellectual interests and a contiguity of Cambridge residence. Since the unfettered intellect is a notorious breacher of walls such as those a group builds when it does not find them ready built, and one's residence, especially in nomadic America, is subject to powerful pressures of various kinds to be changed, this Harvard-Cambridge group is exceptionally vulnerable. The danger is immeasurably increased by both intellect and Harvard, the group's two bases, being under attack in the McCarthy era. Cavan sees in his prize student's political apathy, in his best friends' liberalism, and in his pseudo-parents' temperate, business-as-usual attitude, the almost irreversible beginning of the group's diffusion. He sees the refusal of Ivan Goldberg, who, he says, "'is the nearest thing to a great scholar we have in the department'" (p. 120), to come out of his "'ivory tower'" (p. 107) as a sign that the Harvard community is also in danger. And finally, beyond Harvard, is the tenuous community of intellectuals. "In small, the University was the world. The same splits broke it into pieces, the same tensions were working inside it, like fine fissures which might suddenly gape" (p. 120). The ritual is Cavan's successful attempt to reverse all these processes. It gives the small Cambridge group a memory, a tradition, a purpose--to understand

his suicide--and thereby an identity. Five years later, at the time of the Senate Committee's descent upon Harvard, this group is stronger than ever. Harvard and the intellectual world honor him, unite behind him in their tributes in print and in attending his funeral. Cavan's suicide was "'an attack'" (p. 144) on all of them. It causes them to be newly conscious of themselves as communities and to re-group. It has not been in vain.

Advise, the next scapegoat story, presents what its author believes is a cosmopolite, sophisticated setting. The immediate group is the United States Senate, sometimes called the most exclusive club in the world. It is by definition a democratic body. Although influential Senators and powerful Presidents have attained a great deal of control over the Senate's decisions, it remains a willful body quite ready to kick over the traces should they become galling. Its sense of purpose and identity compel it to be ever on guard against usurpers of its collective prerogatives. It is particularly jealous of interference coming from the President, because such an action smacks too much of the autocracy that is anathema to it. The Senator who truckles too blatantly to the President arouses "the ancient mores of the lodge" and risks "penalties carried for years in the collective memory of the Senate" (p. 393).

Drury's Senate never forgets that it is one of the most important Constitutional and historical checks against too

much executive power, which is to say, against unwarranted exercise of authority. This disposition, as among Ox-Bow's equally colorful cowboys, tends to establish a climate antipathetic to the scapegoat ritual. And so those few who, like Bob Munson, are forced to become to some extent involved in the sacrifice of Senator Anderson are sickened by their complicity. The majority of them, who awake one Monday morning and find that the ritual of sacrifice has been secretly, shamefully enacted in their midst, are properly incensed. The community that is composed of willful, individualistic members whose instinct is to resist authority and who lack a tradition of impersonal, devotional service to an ideology or ideal find the sacrifice of a vigorous, youthful victim offensive, but are ready to draw sustenance from the sacrifice of the leader. Thus the Caine complement of officers, who are this kind of restive group, are troubled by the prospective guilty verdict for Steve Maryk, but are elated by the tacit indictment of the Captain. Ox-Bow's cowboys are similarly glum about hanging Donald Martin and then are uplifted by Tetley's suicide. The Senate likewise resents Anderson's death but accepts the President's with equanimity. Furthermore, Maryk, Martin, and Anderson are uncharacteristically unhappy about their appointed doom. "Maryk . . . despaired" (p. 384), Martin "showed hatred" (p. 245), and Anderson felt "a sick horror" (p. 536).

As in most of these scapegoat stories, Advise's focal group is a kind of microcosm. The Senate's most vital concern during the two hectic weeks of the novel is the threat international communism poses. That this is likewise the nation's pre-emptive concern is shown by the attitudes of the politicians who represent or act for it instead of for a region of it, as the Senators do. The President, the Vice-President, and the Secretary of State all feel this threat to be the nation's over-riding problem. The whole free world, a further dimension specifically included in Advise by the characterization of the French and British Ambassadors, is likewise concerned. The death of the President is the sacrifice of the real leader in the fight against the common enemy, communism, of all three of these "free" communities. His death strengthens, reunites, and re-invigorates all three after they have been feeling divided within and tired. Both the Senators and the representatives of the wider communities are politicians. Politics, it has often been said, is the art of compromise, of the possible, of, in other words, expediency. Moral absolutism is the philosophy of not compromising. These consummate politicians can accommodate their morality to the expedient every time, as Drury indicates time and again. The honorable Arly Richardson, for instance, Senator from Arkansas, dismisses Leffingwell's "lying like a trooper under oath," with an "Oh, hell. . . . Anybody will lie to protect himself" (p. 652).

Bob Leffingwell, to Senator Cooley's mind, was one of the most dangerous men in America, and he felt with all the angry passion of all his angry years, that he had never engaged upon any project more vital to his country than his campaign to keep him out of the office of Secretary of State (p. 189).

And yet he can offer to give up this campaign "'if it is really goin' to mean harm'" (p. 542) to Senator Anderson. Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Tommy Davis, a liberal Justice known for his civil rights crusading, justifies his "'blackmail'" of Anderson by saying "'Men do what they have to do'" (p. 441). The Justice feels he has to put the nation's expedient need of Leffingwell ahead of the immorality of blackmail. The President fittingly raises this concept of expediency to an absolutism of its own. Talking to Senator Munson, he says

"For seven years. . . . I have had just one aim and one purpose--to serve my country. I have allowed nothing--nothing--to stand in the way of my concept of how best to do it. . . . I have just one loyalty, in this office, and it so far transcends anything you could conceive of . . . that it just isn't even in the same universe, let alone the same world" (p. 475).

The one politician who will not compromise his personal moral code in the name of political expediency is Senator Anderson.

He would not have been Brigham Anderson if he had. Some people had the hard road to follow . . . and high and hard and lonely his had been, to bring to so tragic an ending a character of such great promise and such great worth, cast away like chaff on the wind (p. 545).

He becomes "the ideal sacrifice to ease the conscience of them all" (p. 546). Advise shows that he who will not compromise his principles to the political expedients of time

and circumstance will not himself be accommodated by society. As Bernard Shaw eloquently put it, absolute moral superiority will "elicit a shriek of Crucify Him from all who cannot divine its benevolence."⁴⁸

The dialectic of social expediency versus moral absolutism is worked out in a number of different kinds of communities in these scapegoat stories, but always in favor of the former principle. Absolutism tends toward the community's destruction; expediency is its preservative. Whether or not the community ought to be preserved is a question seldom asked by its members. The value of continuation is an unexamined assumption, as natural as breathing, as life itself. The community is a living organism, and like all such has developed means of preserving itself, ranging from propagation to proselyting, with the art of accommodation probably being its chief means of survival. This natural process sounds much like Suzanne Langer's well-known argument that the biological "impulse to survive" is the ultimate action that comedy imitates. The dialectic suggests Brooks and Heilman's definition of comedy in their drama handbook:

that form of drama which has its orientation in 'the way of the world' rather than in ultimate moral problems; which is concerned with man's relation to society rather than to immutable truths; which deals with experience at a level where expediency and compromise are suitable rather than questionable; and where the best judgement of society rather than one's own conscience provides the criterion of conduct.⁴⁹

Looked at from the point of view of the community, these stories are indeed comedies, though not dramatic ones. But the reader and the critic have a very natural tendency not to look at the story from this viewpoint. They are individuals, and hence tend to identify with an individual, or at least, look at individuals, rather than at the community. Since the strongest or most appealing characters are usually the victim and the judge characters, who are both caught up in the process and made to suffer and whose choices do have more or less moral relevances, the stories at first glance seem to be tragedies. But thematically they are comedies, albeit dark ones.

Bravo affirms social values in a negative way by its portrayal of family life in Venice. In that water-logged city sweethearts die or go mad, brides are kidnapped, and young husbands beguiled. Mothers are nonexistent and fathers all failures, either being completely emasculated, like Jacopo's father, or emasculating, like Allessandro Gradenigo. The only family that is normally loving and comfortable with one another is that of young Senator Soranzo, and it is being disrupted by the husband's following the "way of the world" in Venice's corrupted society. On the other hand, it is implied that Don Camillo and Donna Violetta, escaping from this vicious milieu to sunny southern Italy, will establish a healthy family circle. In doing so they forego the political and financial ambitions the Don has been following

for five years in Venice. The city is a dying organism because it has encouraged economic values to supersede social ones.

Howells likewise shows the decay of the Dryfoos family after the accumulation of money becomes a value in itself to the family's head, old Jacob. The greatest strains placed on the March family are those caused by the intrusion of Lindau's absolutist ideology as he tutors son Tom and lectures Basil and by the moral issue raised when Dryfoos demands that March dismiss Lindau from the magazine. Abner Beech's family disintegrates because of his immersion in the political problems of the day and in the moral issue of slavery. The Beeches are successfully reunited when Abner submerges these concerns in the social joy of presiding at his table where his most vehement opponent in these other areas is his honored guest, in welcoming back the prodigal son, and in contemplating the future, happily sprinkled with a "'raising-bee'" (p. 147), a family Christmas, his son's wedding, the melting snow, and the recurrence of spring. The pseudo-family with which Cavan has surrounded himself in Cambridge breaks up under the pressure of his insistence upon turning the talk to political considerations and to the immorality of compromise and retreat by the intellectual, who should, of all people, know better. This insistence spoils a friendly cup of coffee with his prize student, a session of relaxing to Mozart with Fosca, a familiar ramble

bird watching with Grace, a talk about their mutual passion, American literature, with Ivan, and dinner with his oldest and best friends, the Phillips. "'Edward Cavan has moral stature'" (p. 83), but it comes at the cost of social existence. The characters of Advise turn all social occasions--large formal parties, small informal lunches, banquets, gossip sessions, midnight cocktails, breakfast orange juice, even funerals--into political occasions. But they also turn political sessions, such as committee hearings, Senate meetings, Press interviews, caucuses, conferences, and so on, into social sessions. This amalgamation works very well for the political community, the Senate, but it is hard on the social institution, the family. Most of the Senators are widowers, like Munson and Danta, bachelors like Cooley and Smith, or husbands whose marriages are "a few islands of ease in a sea of tension" (p. 352). To the degree that a community seasons its main concern, whether it is economic, ideological, or whatever, with sociality, its life expectancy increases. To the degree that it adulterates its main concern with absolute morality, its life expectancy decreases. Absolute morality kills absolutely.

Although not all the stories portray family life, the family situation of father and son confrontation epitomizes the community's dilemma and the ritual's meaning. This confrontation might be called the Abraham complex. In simple terms, it is the question of what to do with the son who has

become or is about to become a man. To keep him within the family community is to harbor a rival for the father's position. To try to hem him round with safeguarding restrictions is to risk provoking a dangerous revolt. To get rid of him is to run absolutely counter to the community's impulse to survive, for numbers in themselves make survival more likely. In any but a technical society they represent wealth and power and bring a disproportionate increase, for they make possible a greater degree of aggrandizement. Numbers beget wealth. The one horn of the Abraham dilemma is that retaining the maturing or mature young man in the family is to endanger the father personally, to weaken his position; the other horn is that to solve this problem by getting rid of the young man is to endanger, to weaken the communal group that is the extension of the father's identity. To transform the young man into a scapegoat solves the dilemma, for by this means the father is simultaneously rid of him and strengthens the community despite its decrease in numbers. But such an account leaves out the human element, makes the dilemma and its solution sound too much like a mathematical equation. The integers, father and son, are human, and human frailties and strengths, irrationalities and insights, mistakes and inspirations all complicate the solution.

In the paternal state of Venice in which the elders endeavor to manage everything, Allessandro Gradenigo picks

a bride for his indolent son and coaches him on how to win her. She is the city's wealthiest heiress, as well as young and beautiful, and the father has in mind increasing the family fortunes. The young man is a constant worry because he is daily dissipating that fortune, and will clearly be a poor steward of it after the father is gone. The state solves the problem for the father by banishing the young man for his part in the conspiracy, and publicizing its act.

"'We must not conceal this judgment, nor its motive,' observed the Inquisitor of the Ten, when the affair was concluded. 'The state is never a loser for letting its justice be known'" (p. 424). The state is more ruthless in sacrificing one of its spendthrift scions and in thus protecting the wealth which is its other self than the actual father can bring himself to be.

Jacob Dryfoos, the victim's father in Hazard, systematically refuses, until it is too late, to understand his son. He does everything he can to turn Conrad into a copy of himself, another sharp businessman. He refuses to recognize Conrad as an individual, but rather thinks of him as Dryfoos and son. He had "contempt of the ambition he had balked in his son" (p. 238). He ridicules Conrad's ideals. He denies his son's right to any individuality. The final and most cutting denial is the last scene between Jacob and Conrad. The colloquy presents the angry old man getting more and more angry while the meek young man maintains his independent

views. It concludes with the father naming Conrad an "'impudent puppy!'" (p. 466) and striking him in the face. A ring Jacob is wearing cuts Conrad, and the blood trickles down from the wound in his temple. Here in the magazine office one form of the Abraham complex is symbolically enacted. It is an episode of a stern, wrathful father not catching his mild, doomed son to his breast but instead deliberately forcing the son to take a stance that will be anathema to the elder and hence will justify the father's sacrificing him. It explicitly presents what has been rather general in Hazard heretofore: the father's demand of complete subservience and consequential disallowance of any individual, personal opinions or identity. The boy must be my son the businessman, not Conrad. Jacob wants a puppy for a son, but not an impudent one. Circumstances step in, as the impersonal state did in Bravo, and grant the unrealized wish. Within the hour and before they see each other again, Conrad is dead.

Copperhead presents another version of the Abraham complex. The father, Abner Beech, watches in growing disappointment as his son, while continuing to be an obedient extension of his father's muscles in working the farm, becomes more and more his own man in other ways. Finally, a month before he is twenty-one and legally a man, the farmer summons Jeff to the living-room for what they both know will be the climactic confrontation. But instead of complying

like a dutiful Isaac, son Jeff mutinies. When it is demonstrated that, though free, white, and within a month of being twenty-one, he is still dependent upon his father, is still expected to account for his whereabouts, is, above all, expected to regulate his choice of a girl according to his father's notions, he runs away. He is determined to show his independence. One result of this bid is that he is maimed. Wounded in a Civil War battle, he loses his left arm. Rebellion seems more permanently damaging than submission. Older and wiser from his experiences, he returns to the family circle, ready now to take whatever place his father will accord him. Here again circumstances perform the sacrifice that the father threatens. But it proves only partial and temporary. Jeff does not come when summoned; the confrontation that leads in Hazard to sharp, hurtful words and blows is avoided, and so a reunion is possible. Both complete submission, like Isaac's, so that the father's sense of being threatened can be allayed, and running away, like Jeff, so that, though the threat is eliminated, the community is diminished without a compensating ritual, lead to a reunion. Continuing one's heedless way, disregarding the father, like Giacomo Gradenigo, or confronting him with a declaration of independence and thereby provoking an attack, like Conrad, lead to a permanent separation.

Ox-Bow's Tetley's, father and son, are the next such pair caught in the Abraham complex. The posse episode, from

formation to disbanding, is the climactic confrontation between them. Major Tetley forces the boy, who despises and fears his father's whole way of life, to come along on the posse and to take an active part in the proceedings. Gerald is the one who must frisk the suspected rustlers. The boy fumbles through this chore distastefully. Croft, the recorder, observes that "it made me ashamed the way Tetley was bossing the kid's every move, like a mother making a three-year-old do something over that he's messed up the first try" (p. 193). Tetley appoints Gerald to whip Martin's horse out from under him at the hanging. When Gerald just stands, "shaking all over" (p. 247), unable either to cut the horse or to defy his father, "Tetley struck the boy with the butt of his pistol, a back-handed blow that dropped him where he stood" (p. 247). Croft is surprised the blow did not kill him. Tetley is steadily furious with his son because the boy is not becoming the kind of man he himself is. In forcing Gerald into the posse and into the hanging, the Major is punishing him for being what he is. It is a punishment that kills the boy, for he commits suicide a few hours later, as he had earlier promised and attempted to do. Gerald is a constant threat to Tetley's most precious possession, his pride. "Tetley said to Gerald, 'I'll have no female boys bearing my name'" (p. 242). Gerald will either behave in such a way that his father can be proud of him, or he will cease to be, is the Major's uncompromising

attitude.

Confrontation between father and son figures like Captain Vere and Billy occurs as frequently as those between actual fathers and sons. The first of these is in Bravo, and it is more significant than that between the Gradenigo's, because it involves more prominent characters. This is the meeting between Jacopo and Venice's ruler, the Doge, at which the doomed victim is present by proxy. He is represented by Father Anselmo, who is well qualified for this post by his experience in pleading and by his special knowledge of the case. The state's security is threatened by an internal dissension that Jacopo has become the symbol of. His sacrifice in a gaudy, gory spectacle has been determined. Anselmo presents not love but truth, asks not mercy but justice. The Doge, like Abraham, is sore-stricken by the unseemly sacrifice, and raises his arms in supplication. No ram appears to be offered in Jacopo's stead. The supplicated Councillor remains stony hearted. The innocent Jacopo is sacrificed and carries away, for the time, the sins of the plutocracy which were threatening to fall upon their heads.

Billy Budd's angel qualities capture Vere's heart, and his plight arouses the Captain's pity much more impressively than Anselmo's testimony and Jacopo's plight capture the superficial Doge. But the Captain is also convinced that Billy represents an extreme danger to the "'measured forms'"

that he believes "'are everything'" to "'mankind'" (p. 128). And so he insists upon Billy's sacrifice in spite of its acknowledged injustice. It is not just any sacrifice that is needed, as in Bravo, to expiate sins, but Billy's sacrifice, to pay for his striking Claggart. The elderly Doge, who enjoys bestowing blessings, being called father and playing the role, is a general father figure for all his subjects. The relationship between him and Jacopo becomes no more particular than this. The martial Captain Vere's fatherly feelings are elicited only by Billy, although as ship's captain he is automatically a father figure. The orphaned Billy responds to the Captain's feeling so that their conjectured embrace becomes a "sacrament" (p. 115). Not only do they achieve a specific rather than general relationship, but their pre-eminent positions as the Captain and the Handsome Sailor, their "sharing in the rarer qualities of our nature" (p. 115), elevate their confrontation metaphorically to that of the King sacrificing the royal son so that the kingdom can remain intact. Billy has such trust in the Captain that he accepts Vere's decision with equanimity. He apparently never doubts Vere, not even for a moment.

The Captain of the USS Caine is likewise, by virtue of his captaincy, a father figure. It is Navy doctrine that he is directly responsible for whatever mistakes his underlings make, like the father of wayward children. The ship and crew, its and their performances, are status symbols.

He is therefore determined, like some reputed exurbanite fathers whose houses and children are also status symbols, that nothing short of excellence will be tolerated. Thus this father is caught in the middle like Abraham and the others. He has to impress his superiors by "'running the best goddam . . . ship in the Navy'" (p. 153), and this means his sons have to produce. He feels a few sacrifices, sailors made examples of from time to time, will be an effective way of achieving this excellence. These begin at once, and become more and more numerous and serious as the year advances. The significant difference between them and the true scapegoat ritual is that they are moral acts, punitive and exemplary, rather than religio-social acts, expiatory and spectacular. The climax of this series is the Caine Court Martial in which the executive officer, the foremost of the children, is offered up. The significant confrontation between Queeg and Maryk is not, however, in the courtroom in San Francisco Bay, but in the Captain's cabin in the Philippine Sea the morning after the typhoon and Maryk's relief of his Captain. Queeg does not want to have to sacrifice Maryk because the whole episode will be "'a black mark on his record'" (p. 421). After all, he is responsible. He wants to hide the episode from his superiors, hush it up. He has been proceeding all along on the Navy's theory that "'the captain is a god'" (p. 441), but the collateral notion that fleet commanders must also be gods, and that therefore

it would not only be sinful but useless to try to hide the episode from them never occurs to him. But suddenly he no longer has god-like power aboard the Caine. He "'began to plead and beg'" and after while "'cried'" (p. 421). It is the son figure who is loyal to the group rules, who remains firm, insisting that the sacrifice must go on. It is a curious reversal of roles proleptic of the turn of events in the trial.

Advise's President is also, like the ship captains, a father figure because of his position. An astute politician, he makes his figurative fatherhood work for him by acting the part. Whenever he speaks to the nation or the Press, his eyes and voice become "fatherly" (p. 457). With young Senator Anderson he has not progressed beyond a "'formalized'" (p. 358) relationship, but when the Senator takes publicly an apparently unfriendly attitude, he calls the Senator and talks to him "in a fatherly voice" (p. 431), asking him to come down to the White House for a friendly, informal father-son chat to straighten out the situation. The situation is not unlike that when Vere first hears the charge against Billy and summons him to his cabin. But the President's fatherliness is only a political stratagem; when his cajolery fails, he stiffens into his official rather than his informal fatherhood.

"I am asking you as President of the United States and the leader of your party to come down here alone and discuss this matter with me," the President said

coldly.

"And I," Brigham Anderson said in a voice as cold as his, "am telling you as United States Senator from the state of Utah that I will not come down there unless I am accompanied by the Majority Leader and the Vice President of the United States" (p. 432).

The son figure is determined from the outset that their relation remain upon the formal, political basis. The President, although he does not "'plead and beg,'" is the one who departs from the community rules. As with Captain Queeg, this wilful departure presages the leader's assuming the victim's role.

When the Senator and his friends do come to the White House office for a midnight conference, the President conducts it in a "fatherly way" (p. 466). When it is over, he dismisses the Senator with renewed "fatherliness" (p. 473). But it is still just a political trick, as the Majority Leader recognizes. It is an assumed friendliness whose real purpose is to cloak his decision that the Senator must be sacrificed. He is "'treacherous and deceitful'" (p. 474) as the father-leader, deliberately fooling the son. This tactic is probably because in the democratic society both President and Senator represent, the son's power and influence is unprecedentedly high. The President needs to gain time to set the ritual in motion. Senator Anderson, as he leaves the President that night, is an unsuspecting Isaac beginning the three-day journey to Mount Moriah. His faith in the President is complete; "he was proud to have him in

the White House and leader of his party" (p. 477).

Faithful's comparable confrontation scene is different from all these others in that all the overtures come from the son figure, and that they are made to a mother rather than a father figure. In his despair and after all other appeals have failed, Cavan turns to Grace Kimlock, the mother figure, in an attempt to make everything all right again. It is a bid, perhaps, to escape his torment by returning to the idyll of childhood, a bid, certainly, for understanding and comforting. He goes for an autumn afternoon walk with Grace to Mount Auburn cemetery, a usual resort with them. Although she tries consciously to cheer him up, their talk remains desultory. Finally, however, he rouses himself.

"Darling Grace"--Edward came up to stand beside her--"I haven't done much to cheer you up, have I?"

"That's all right," she flashed back at him. "I'm a tough old bird." She would not yield any further to destructive emotion. . . .

"I never felt closer to anyone except my mother," Edward said, "than I do to you."

Had she heard? She turned and went quickly down the hill toward the broad road which would lead them out again. And he followed, his head bent, his hands in his pockets, as perhaps he had walked behind his mother when he was a child, dawdling a little, waiting for her to notice his absence (p. 118).

The next scene is back at Grace's house where the two of them are having tea. "His eyes wandered to the Sargent portrait of Grace with her mother." She sees the direction of his eyes, and begins to talk, not of the subject of the picture, motherhood, but of the portrait as a work of art.

"'It's a beautiful Sargent, you know, one of the best'" (p. 118). Thus she resolutely rejects his bids for mothering.

The most important common characteristic of all the different confrontations is their failure to be real communications between the parent and child. The Gradenigo's are so busy hiding from each other, the father his identity as a Secret Councillor, the son his identity as the greatest wastrel among all the young Venetian aristocrats, that they see only the outer cloak each has thrown on for public inspection. Jacopo, who has lost his parents to the state, and old Antonio, who has lost all five of his sons to it, fail to communicate because the younger's attempts at plain speech just are not heard. The old fisherman is too bemused by Jacopo's false reputation to hear him. The Doge hears and comprehends from the "'plain speech'" (p. 450) of the Bravo's intercessors much more than they are aware. But he has no message for them to convey back to Jacopo, for he is an empty vessel. Because these Venetians periodically achieve complete communication with their father confessors, they may feel such an experience to be properly a religious one and be consequently inhibited from it in a secular setting. The conjectured embrace and "'sacrament'" of Captain Vere and Billy does not occur during their cabin scene but later, and is caused by the imminence of the sacrifice. The Captain's reliance upon "'forms'" leaves

him, in effect, as tongue-tied during this scene as poor stammering Billy. The serpent's tongue meanwhile is fluent. His meaning is perfectly realized by both Captain and man.

The Americans do no better at communicating than the Europeans. The Beeches have spent their nearly twenty-one years together growing apart. They do not exchange a word until Jeff returns from the War. Gerald Tetley so fears his father, and the Major is so ashamed of his son that the one only barks orders contemptuously and the other chokes on his replies. They too have been growing apart for years. Jacob Dryfoos is so beset with ignorant prejudices that he also just does not hear his son. Because he thinks Conrad has not spoken, he commands again and again that the boy

"Speak!" Captain Queeg is so preoccupied with his paranoid inner dialogue that he never really hears anyone else, let alone Maryk. To Grace the emotion of real communication is "destructive," and she flees it as actively as Cavan seeks it. The President's eternal duplicity fatally inhibits communication, though he meanwhile manufactures an almost indistinguishable--for a time--facsimile of it.

Major Tetley pistol whips his son. Jacob Dryfoos strikes his son with his hand, cutting the young man's temple with his ring. The violence of the other fathers is less direct because it is not immediate and personal. The sons feel it, however, perhaps more than they would a direct blow. When Brigham Anderson realizes the full extent of the

campaign the President has mounted against him, he feels that he is being murdered. "Maryk's nerves were jolted" (p. 384) by Captain Queeg's court room appearance. The Captain's performance at the trial, backed by the strength of Navy officialdom, is a grossly unfair, entirely legal, dispassionate assault upon the defendant. Jeff Beech recognizes his father's command that he "'come right straight home'" (p. 25) for what it is, an attack. These attacks seem on the surface to be a logical outgrowth of the father's autocratic personality. Each, however, is significantly different from the father's usual autocratic practice. Although Major Tetley inspires fear in everyone, he touches no one but his son. The same is true of Dryfoos. The President is continually applying political and personal pressure, but blackmails just once. Captain Queeg continually harasses his officers throughout his tour of duty aboard the Caine, but only against Maryk does he perjure himself. Abner Beech vigorously defends himself on the several occasions that he is attacked, but just once is he the aggressor. The real motive for the attacks seems to be a desperate desire to make some kind of tangible impression on the son. The leaders want their identity as Commander, Captain, President, father to be felt by the son. The evident absence of faith drives them to this extreme.

The scapegoat ritual does more than save the community at the expense of the victim's life and the judge's agony.

It also provides social fulfillment for these two. Their collaboration or interaction, whether witting or otherwise, in preserving or restoring the community gives them the highest of social roles. The ritual also provides the victim with personal fulfillment. It enables him to establish far more personal relationships than he had, within the confines of the story, hitherto experienced. Imprisoned and doomed to die within a few hours, the Bravo confesses his sins to Father Anselmo and his love to Gelsomina in such a way that the priest feels the convicted assassin "'is such as angels might indulge'" (p. 436). Vere and Billy would have remained Captain and Sailor, never experiencing their rare "sacrament" (p. 115) had not the hurrying ritual pushed them together. Poor, vague Conrad Dryfoos feels a love for Margaret Vance and a grieving charity toward his father as he walks toward the West Side and his martyr's death that give a new personal dimension to his altruistic giving of himself to the dispossessed. The proud Abner Beech learns a redeeming humility from the rebellions of his son and wife and his other troubles so that he reaches a greater rapport with them and his neighbors than he knew before his troubles. Standing in his doorway, looking out over the muddy November landscape, he looks into the future, and his face shines "as if from an inner radiance" (p. 148). Joan's martyrdom makes her a figure that countless millions through the centuries, including Mark Twain, can relate to in variegated

personal ways. Edward Cavan, who dies despairing of "'the communion of saints on earth'" provides his beloved circle of friends "'an intimation of it'" (p. 211) in their talk about him the evening before his funeral, and a real moment of it at the funeral itself.

The three unsympathetic victims do not achieve or provide the experience of communion. Nevertheless, for them too the scapegoat ritual is a means to achieving or advancing a powerful ambition and hence a personal fulfillment. The President "welcomes" the idea of dying in office, for he feels such a conclusion to his term will guarantee his place "in the history books" as one of the great presidents (p. 556). Captain Queeg seizes eagerly upon the projected sacrifice of Steve Maryk as a means of salvaging his somewhat damaged career. Major Tetley comes out of a self-imposed seclusion begun by the South's loss of the Civil War and aggravated by his son's effete ways to attempt to redeem himself in his own eyes by conducting a successful paramilitary campaign. The victims' experience of communion is intensely personal in nature yet a transcendental social gesture; the strainings toward the fulfillment of ambition remain lonely and selfish. Horizontal communion between individuals, within a community, and throughout a world is the ideal accomplishment of the scapegoat ritual. The flow of the self out and into another self is an overflow of feeling that carries away impurities so that when the indi-

vidual recedes into himself he feels cleansed. To the degree that the individual or community experiences communion, to that degree will he feel purified. The spectators who have been afforded such a feeling will naturally be somewhat awestruck and will reverence the actors whose drama produced it. Hence they will minimize the scapegoat's criminality and maximize his saintliness.

Sexual fulfillment is also, of course, ideally a kind of communion. Richard Chase has argued that

the real theme of Billy Budd is castration and cannibalism. . . . In symbolic language, Billy Budd is seeking his own castration--seeking to yield up his vitality to an authoritative but kindly father, whom he finds in Captain Vere.⁵⁰

Billy's attributes of feminine beauty and grace are physical concomitants of the spiritual submissiveness that Chase calls an unconscious attempt to placate the father for the son's incestuous desire of the mother. In other than Freudian words, Billy's latent homosexuality, whatever its cause, potentially inhibits a normal sexual fulfillment. His social orientation inhibits a homosexual fulfillment, for society violently disapproves of it. The drive for social approval is stronger with Billy than his sexual drive. Hence he can sublimate the latter successfully. This sublimation takes the form of a "punctiliousness in duty" (p. 68) that reaches a climax in Billy's cheerful acquiescence in the identity of murderer and the role of martyr, all in the name of duty. The scapegoat ritual provides not only social and personal

but sexual fulfillment as well.

I am thus suggesting that the real theme of Billy Budd is not exactly what Chase argues it is, but is rather communion. The social rite of eating together is the best-known symbol of communion, and the rite of sexual intercourse is well understood to be a version of it. It may well be that Budd is a similitude of the primitivistic rites of priestly castration and ceremonious cannibalism, but if so, it is these rites both being acts of communion rather than their being an explanation in themselves of the bottom-most level of the story that I find relevant. At any rate, Chase's contention that one of the levels of Budd's thematic import is sexual seems to me sound, not only because of the internal evidence but also because of the external, that is, because it is true generally of the scapegoat fable. Brigham Anderson for one brief interlude in his life was more than latently homosexual. Although married and a father, he has never been able to really satisfy his wife. The trouble is specifically that the sense of communion is missing from their marriage. She complains to him, "'You've always seemed so--so closed-off from me, somehow, and I haven't been able to get through. I just haven't been able to get through'" (p. 530). As Anderson points the pistol at his head and squeezes the trigger, his last thoughts are of the symbolically sexual Waikiki beach and the pounding surf. The homosexual interlude had happened in Honolulu.

The victim's sexual fulfillment in the scapegoat ritual is presented in various degrees of explicitness, none quite so specific as in Advise. Edward Cavan, we are told by the woman who might have been his wife if he had been differently constituted, "'can't give love or take it'" (p. 134). The trouble is Oedipal, we are further told by a reflection of Cavan's sister. "Must one hate one's father if one loves one's mother? Edward's answer, given without hesitation, had proved to be 'yes'" (p. 245). It is not the elemental feminine surf that roars in his ears at the final moment but the masculine, pushing, throbbing train that he throws himself under. That the other scapegoat victims have sublimated their sexual urge is briefly hinted. Donald Martin is described as having the kind of mouth that "was beautiful on some women, Rose Mapen, for instance, the fiery or promising kind. And his eyes were big and dark in his thin face, like a girl's too" (p. 194). Gerald Tetley is described as being altogether "passionate and womanish" (p. 249). Conrad Dryfoos is, of course, also extremely girlish. Joan of Arc, on the other hand, seems as masculine in feature and certainly in personality as the clothes she wears. The ritual provides a figurative sexual fulfillment for the victim, or perhaps for the watching crowd.

Several of the victims experience or express love for the first time under the urging of the already begun ritual. Jacopo declares himself to Gelsomina only after his sentence

has been pronounced, Conrad is "filled . . . with love" (p. 469) for Margaret Vance as he walks toward the fatal bullet, Julia Phillips saw "for the first time" a look of "love" in Cavan's eyes when he bids her good-bye for the last time (pp. 132-133), and Donald Martin is able to write an unusually poignant love letter in the hour before his hanging. The manner of the death is equally suggestive. The President's heart attacks, including the fatal one, seem to come only when he is in bed. Joan speaks sadly of the death by burning at the stake as the consuming of her "'body, that has never been defiled'" (p. 449). Jacopo's beheading is certainly a symbolic castration. The bullet fired by the policeman from inside the streetcar represents the rage and hostility of the threatened father. Major Tetley's huge cavalry sword has obvious Freudian implications, especially when he embraces it fatally. The hanging of Martin and Gerald Tetley in Ox-Bow suggests the sexual spasm pointedly digressed upon in Budd. Death has traditionally been personified as a lover. The grim reaper is a lover who whispers seductively, who makes advances. The man who courts death is likely to be seeking sexual satisfaction on some level of his being. The scapegoat victim is no exception.

The term communion suggests a religious context even more, probably, than it does social or sexual. The milieu of one of the scapegoat fables and rituals is religious, but only one. This is Joan. All of the fables but Wouk's,

however, make organized religion a definite part of the general social scene and also of the immediate group. The good people of Bravo's Venice are all simply, devoutly pious, and the plutocrats make skillful use of this trait. The burial rites of old Antonio and the rites of confession and absolution are all turning points in the plot. The priest, Father Anselmo, is one of the story's most important characters. One of Melville's significant digressions concerns the presence of the chaplain aboard the man-of-war and his visit to Billy. The chief point of the digression is one that is made in most of the stories, that religion, as far as the theme of communion is concerned, is an anomaly. Just as the church and its minions serve the unholy plutocracy in Bravo, so the Bellipotent's

chaplain is . . . serving in the host of the God of War--Mars. As such, he is as incongruous as a musket would be on the altar at Christmas. . . . He indirectly subverses the purpose attested by the cannon (p. 122).

Conrad Dryfoos is much influenced by his mother's pietism. He dutifully puts in full hours at his father's business, but his real life is his mission work, so much so that he even spends his vacation at it. Despite great success in this devotional work, "'life'" remains "'an awful thing'" (p. 480) to him. The farmers of Abner Beech's neighborhood take their religion so seriously that it is the occasion of momentous quarrels. The churches and minister of Ox-Bow's Bridger's Wells come in a poor second to Canby and his

saloon in providing the cowboys with spiritual sustenance and a community, if not communion, feeling. The Reverend Carney Birch, Senate Chaplain, is a joke the good Senators laugh at and the bad one, Van Ackerman, attacks. Joan, whose crime is religious and whose trial is ecclesiastic, attacks the Church and its Bishop as hypocritical monsters. Faithful is an exception to this portrayal of organized religion, for at the Episcopal services for Edward Cavan, a wave of "deeply shared emotion" that was "like a release from bondage" (p. 220) sweeps over the whole congregation. Religion can, even in the secular twentieth century, provide a large group, most of whom are spectators, with a genuine communion experience. The Caine carries no chaplain, and these wartime sailors do not remember or need their civilian religion. Perhaps this is because there are no foxholes on the Caine.

Organized politics enter the milieu of the scapegoat fable in much the same way that organized religion does. Since practically all the fables radiate outward to include, if only by implication, a political division ranging from a city to a nation, it is fitting that politics do enter. As with religion, Caine Mutiny is the single exception. Neither Wouk's concern nor his characters' awareness extends beyond the military questions involved in the case. Two of the stories, Bravo and Advise, are primarily concerned with politics. Their immediate groups are the Venetian Senate

and its Secret Council and the United States Senate and its Foreign Relations Committee. Cooper attacks the European political state that is his subject perhaps not quite as vitriolically as Twain attacks the European Church, but more effectively, for his exposition is a comprehensive survey of the whole system and a penetration beneath the surface to its secret springs, whereas Twain's is an extended, one-sided account of a particular, isolated case. Drury, of course, extols the American political system as Americans' greatest inheritance: "so great and wonderful a gift and so strong and invincible an armor" (p. 732). The point about the political organizations is not that one kind--autocratic, European, old, and dying, is bad, and another kind--democratic, American, young, and vigorous, is good. It is rather that the political organization does provide, as the religious does not, a sense of communion. Even the dispossessed of Venice thrill to the name Venetian; the religious generic terms Christian and Catholic do not even occur. The two realms of politics and religion are fused in the patriotic symbol of Saint Mark, but its political aspect is dominant. As the priests and church serve the state, so does the spiritual realm of religion serve the practical realm of politics. So likewise in twentieth-century America, do its citizens thrill to the name American, and never utter as invocations the religious terms. Since the political organization does provide a sense of communion for its constitu-

ents, a common identity in which they can fuse satisfyingly, its preservation becomes an overriding consideration. The Venetian Councillors justify their murders as being in the interests of the state; Justice Davis and the President justify their blackmail as doing "'what they have to do. . . . to be true to . . . the country'" (p. 441). Not only does social expediency abrogate the usual moral code, but political expediency does also.

Each of the other fables addresses itself to a particular political problem. Budd raises the question of whether revolution is ever justifiable. Hazard is concerned with the role of government when "'a private war'" is being fought "'in our midst . . . and . . . at our pains and expense'" (p. 454). Copperhead takes up the timely problem of the dissenter in wartime. Joan, though Twain does not seem to be aware of it, puzzles over the government of a conquered area by a foreign power. Ox-Bow presents some of the problems of a developing government in a new area. Faithful is directly focussed on the issue of political expediency versus moral absolutism. Each of these stories presents personal loyalties as being necessarily subservient to public.

The authors' attitude toward their subject, in other words, their tone, is inseparable from their meaning. Because the scapegoat fable is a similitude, however far removed and secularized, of the central Christian myth-ethic,

the Passion of Christ, and because the essence of this archetype is a mystical transcendence, the attitude of the fables' authors toward the element of mystery is crucial to their meaning. A considerable variation in the amount and the kind of mystery and the tone toward it distinguishes the fables from one another.

Drury, for instance, introduces a note of mystery into his story for the first time when, three-fourths of the book behind him, he introduces ghosts. It is a critical moment, an important turning point in the story. "Now it is 4 A. M. and ghosts walk" (p. 551), Drury writes, in describing the scapegoat President's immediate reaction to the news of Senator Anderson's suicide. It is a "haunted hour" (p. 551) for the President. It is his most emotionally intense hour in the novel. His conscience is torturing him for "what he has done" (p. 552) to Anderson. He knows now that what he has done is not only very wrong morally but also an enormous political mistake. Prior to this moment he has been uniformly successful in his political endeavors. But Anderson's death is a setback, his first, and it presages a series of political defeats. He has a presentiment of the future and wonders whether the culminating event, "his martyrdom, is going to come rather sooner than he had expected" (p. 558).

It is in his attempt to render this sleepless hour that Drury invokes the ghosts.

Now it is 4 A. M. and ghosts walk. See them as they march across the counterpane of the man who allows himself, as a small egotistical prerogative of his office, the privilege of sleeping in the Lincoln Bed: proud George and two tart Adamses, thoughtful Tom and angry Andy, careful Van the Used-up Man, Tippecanoe and Tyler too, patient Abe and steady Grover, bouncing Teddy and farseeing Woodrow, prickly-pickly Calvin, stolid-solid Herbert, dashing Franklin, headstrong Harry, General Don't-Tell-Me-Your-Troubles, and the rest. See them pass, calm, imperious, frozen into history, all passion spent, all battles over, defeats forgotten, victories recorded, everything neat and orderly and ruffled no more by the bitter passions and emotions that swirled about them in their time. Impassive and imperious, they stare back at him in the night, unable or unwilling to respond when he asks them, as he always does, the constantly recurring question for which there will never be an answer: "What would you have done? Just how would you have handled it?" (p. 551).

This paragraph is replete with tonal anomalies. Any sense of mystery invoked by the initial walking ghosts is destroyed by the prompt, irrelevant statement of the President's general personality rather than a pointed, pertinent indication of his emotional state at the moment, seeing ghosts walk; that is, the reader gets egoism rather than eeriness. Any lingering ghostliness is further destroyed by the author's shift in grammatical mood to the imperative. Drury directly addresses the reader, bringing him into the room by this maneuver and thereby effectively destroying the dramatic illusion. Any lingering sense of mystery is destroyed by the author's choosing, with his series of irrelevant adjectives for the historical Presidents, to attempt to be clever rather than to build ghostly atmosphere; it is destroyed by the very general and somewhat contradictory

description of the ghosts as both ambulant and "frozen"; it is destroyed by the conception of the ghosts as being as "impervious" as their wax effigies would be rather than being the troubled spirits that everyone knows risen ghosts are; it is completely destroyed by the President's apparent calm, equal to theirs, instead of the terror or awe that such apparitions manifestly call for. It is destroyed by Drury's being vague and discursive in a highly emotional scene that calls for precision and a pictorial quality. It is destroyed, in short, because Drury has invoked ghosts without suspending his own disbelief in them.

This paragraph, in which Drury is disdainful of his own literary technique of introducing ghosts, is followed by a second ghostly one in which he recounts the President's endorsement of his predecessors' momentous decisions and actions, and rather petulantly wonders why their ghosts withhold a like "comfort" (p. 551) from him. This paragraph is ludicrous--unfortunately, without the author's intending it to be so--in the great discrepancy in the implied comparison of the President's behind-the-scene machinations in support of the Leffingwell nomination and theirs in buying Louisiana, breaking the Bank of the United States, preserving the Union, taking Panama, offering the Fourteen Points, maneuvering the Japanese into beginning the conflict, and going into Korea and Lebanon. An ability to equate the President's extortion of the picture from Munson and his

blackmail of Anderson with these impressive acts of the earlier Presidents is stupefying, not marvelous. It is as powerful a deterrent to any real sense of mystery as anything in the opening paragraph. The author summarily forgets the ghosts after these two paragraphs, although he stays with the President in his bedroom for another fifteen long paragraphs. In these he explains and explores every facet of the President's current situation. Nothing is adumbrated; nothing is omitted. This thoroughly fatuous exposition would destroy any sense of mystery created in the ghostly paragraphs if, by some miracle, any had survived the author's antagonistic tone. Drury seems to believe that even the condition of the President, one of the most extraordinary of humans, can be entirely, absolutely explained and understood. It just takes words--ordinary, every-day words, words, words. Nothing is beyond his philosophy.

Twain in working with the story of Joan of Arc was working with a large body of received historical information. He himself reported that in writing the "Trial and Martyrdom" portion of this novel "he had constantly drawn from five French and five English sources."⁵¹ This procedure was a particular hardship on him because his usual practice, the one that he had followed in both his historical fiction, like The Prince and The Pauper, and in his autobiographical travel sketches, like A Tramp Abroad, was to build "elaboration" upon a solid "ten percent. of fact."⁵² Now his strat-

egy had to be just the opposite, to reduce rather than to elaborate. This historical basis need not in itself have obviated mystery. Part of it was the mysterious Voices that spoke to Joan. They could not be excluded from the story. And Twain finds another basis for mystery. Speaking in the person of his narrator, de Conte, and of the translator, he compares Joan to Christ. The concluding clause of de Conte's introduction to his story is "I came to comprehend and recognize her at last for what she was--the most noble life that was ever born into this world save only One" (p. 2). Here is a specific reference to Christ couched in terms and in a tone that could easily be the beginning of mystery and awe. In the "Translator's Preface," Twain is not this specific; he contents himself with buried references. Here he concludes,

She laid her hand upon this nation, this corpse, and it rose and followed her. She . . . died with the earned title of DELIVERER OF FRANCE, which she bears to this day.

And for all reward, the French King . . . took the noble child, the most innocent, the most lovely, the most adorable the ages have produced, and burned her alive at the stake (p. ix).

The final chapter of the story, the one which narrates the girl's burning, picks up again this distantly allusive practice. The procession to the place of execution takes place in midmorning. She is mocked by having a cap in the shape of a bishop's miter pressed upon her head. Her titles, "HERETIC, RELAPSED, APOSTATE, IDOLATER" are inscribed upon

it. A multitude gathered, "many of the women weeping . . . solacing and blessing her, all the sorrowful way to the place of death" (p. 452). ("And there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him." Luke 23: 27) When Joan arrives at the place, she prays, not for herself but for others, for the King and the people of Rouen who have permitted the sacrifice, asking that they not be blamed. After the fire is lit and the smoke is billowing about her, she asks for water. She also suffers "one moment [of] terror" and cries out for succor (pp. 452-457). Lest this small moment be missed, the author foretells it in the previous chapter. Here the scene is Joan's cell; the time is earlier the same morning. This chapter concludes,

the fear of the fiery death was gone from Joan of Arc now, to come again no more, except for one fleeting instant--then it would pass, and serenity and courage would take its place and abide till the end (p. 451).

A few moments earlier in this scene she had assured her sorrowing friends that "'this night. . . . by His grace I shall be in Paradise'" (p. 450).

Here Twain has considerably more than sufficient fact upon which a little elaboration or just a little difference in emphasis and tone could result in a mysterious mimesis of an extramundane experience. But instead Twain, always extremely reverential toward the girl (Shaw says that he was "converted to downright worship of Joan,"⁵³) nevertheless

treats all these historical occurrences that are similitudes of Christ's Passion as mere historical fact. He reduces the mystery right out of them. The same is true of her Voices. He neither affirms his belief in their supernatural origin nor regards them as a problem that needs explaining away. He is more irritated with them than in awe. His attitude is that of de Conte, minus the terror. The Sieur writes,

I was frequently in terror to find my mind (which I could not control) criticizing the Voices and saying, "They counsel her to speak boldly--a thing which she would do without any suggestion from them or anybody else--but when it comes to telling her any useful thing . . . they are always off attending to some other business (pp. 367-368).

The Voices, like everything else, were of less interest and significance to Twain than Joan's character. The one explicit allusion to Christ, the one in de Conte's introduction, is the conclusion of a description of her character. She is Christ-like in her person, in her nobility, in her radiance, her purity. From beginning to end Twain emphasizes that

the character of Joan of Arc is unique. . . . It is still flawless, it is still ideally perfect; it still occupies the loftiest place possible to human attainment, a loftier one than has been reached by any other mere mortal (p. viii).

At the Rehabilitation, he reports, it is her "character and history" that come "spotless and perfect" (p. 460). Twain concludes his story, "I have finished my story of Joan of Arc, that wonderful child, that sublime personality, that spirit which in one regard has had no peer and will have

none--this: its purity" (p. 461). Whenever Twain sums up the career of this mortal, it is her accomplishments as a soldier that he emphasizes. She is greater than Napoleon, greater than Caesar (pp. viii-ix). As a person he renders her Christ-like; as an achiever he renders her like Caesar, and sees no contradiction. And because of this emphasis on her person instead of upon the pattern of events that ends her life, she becomes what Shaw characterizes as "a credible human goodygoody."⁵⁴ The saint becomes too much of a good thing. We cannot gaze upon her as steadily as Twain asks us to without her saintliness indeed becoming human goodness. She stands too statue-like to be a mystery.

Ox-Bow, like Joan, contains one specific and several distant allusions to Christ. When Davies, near the end of the story, comes upstairs at Canby's to make his confession to Art Croft, he bitterly accedes to the narrator's recrimination that "he was trying to play the Christ" (p. 280). Earlier in the same scene, building up to the Christ-comparison, Croft is sarcastic and Davies matter-of-fact about a saint comparison. "I was mean then, but I wanted to shut him up. . . . 'Meaning you're a saint?' I asked him. . . . 'Something like that,' he said without a smile" (p. 264). Two pages later Davies recurs to the saint allusion, this time skeptically, apparently in the hope that Croft will reassure him about its relevance. The buried references are considerably fewer and also more nebulous than those in

Joan. They consist of the whole adventure taking place some time in the early spring. The purple, elegiac lilac is fragrant with "cones of blossom" (p. 4). Martin, the innocent young rancher, is hanged between two thieves. True, they are innocent of the crime for which they are hanged, but they are thievish enough otherwise. Martin, on the other hand, is saintly when he refuses to purchase his own life by simply revealing the incriminating and, as far as he knows, true evidence against the Mex. And later, when Davies describes the letter Martin wrote, he emphasizes the young victim's comparative innocence, his love and thought of others in his final moments.

"He talked about me in the letter," Davies mooned. "He told his wife how kind I was to him, what I risked trying to defend him. And he trusted me, you saw that. He worked so hard to ease it for his wife, too . . . to keep her from breaking herself on grief or hating us. And he reminded her of things they had done together. . . . It was a beautiful letter" (p. 273).

One trouble with these various faint invocations is that they pull in two directions. The set of buried allusions points to Martin as the Christ-like victim; the specific references are to Davies. The result is not an enriching tension but simply confusion. This confusion is pretty much cleared up, however, by a further statement by Davies. The situation, he declares, "hadn't needed a Christ anyway; all it had needed was a man" (p. 280). This suggested solution cuts both ways. If Martin had been less of the Christ-like and more of the man, willing to bargain for his

life, able to meet Tetley on the lyncher's own level, he could have saved his life and gone home to his wife and babies. If Davies had been less of a saint relying entirely upon sweet reasonableness, and been more of a man, meeting Tetley on the level of force, of gun play, he could have stopped the hanging.

Clark's attitude is clearly that in the conduct of human affairs, mystery is a mistake. It is a mistake, at least, in a community like Bridger's Wells where "physical courage" is the highest desideratum and "moral courage" (p. 74) is not even recognized. Clark's cowboys are blood brothers of that war hero of Hemingway's, Lieutenant Frederick Henry. His well-known negative credo: "I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice and the expression in vain," is theirs also, though they do not express it. It is the denial of mystery. These cowboys foregather at Canby's with a desire for excitement that always explodes into physical violence. Gil Carter's need for a "'decent fight'" (p. 287) is even greater than his need for whiskey. Reverend Osgood, a walking, breathing, clothes-wearing symbol of the embarrassing, other-world values, is as out-of-place in their hangout, the saloon, as they are in his, the church. Davies' passion for the law, his phrase "'sin against society'" (pp. 62 ff.), seems to them the height of the ridiculous. Judge Tyler's "'law and order crap'" (p. 58) makes them sick.

When cowboys like these get caught up in an unfolding scapegoat ritual, they are powerless to direct it or to withdraw from it. To do so requires the moral courage that is outside their ken. They are also incapable of drawing any kind of sustenance or exaltation from the ritual, for the word sacrifice merely embarrasses them. They are a frontier community for whom the westering tale is a meaningful expression but for whom the scapegoat ritual, with its implicit subordination of individual rights to those of the group, is a disturbing performance. It all seems unreal, dreamlike. In the gray light of early dawn, after the vote has been taken, Croft, the cowboy most susceptible to the foreign values and notions, expresses this idea. "We knew it was going to happen now, and yet, I believe, most of us still had a feeling it couldn't" (p. 239). Things that happen, that are seen with one's own eyes, are real. Conversely, since their proceedings did not seem real, they could not really believe their own eyes and ears, could not believe that the hanging was really occurring. Whatever else effect it may have, as ritual the lynching was doomed from the start, because all lynchers have a "sense of guilt afterwards.

'Did you ever know a lyncher who wasn't afraid to talk about it afterward?' Davies asked us" (p. 62).

Drury in Advise is contemptuous of any sense of mystery inherent in the scapegoat ritual; Twain in Joan condemns it

because it may to some extent condone the sacrifice that so outrages him; Clark in Ox-Bow shows that in a community of extreme individuals, "westerners," it is a misleading ignis fatuus, but he at least indicates, by the presence and sympathetic treatment of Davies, an awareness that the one time and place of Bridger's Wells, Nevada, Spring, 1885, is not a microcosm of the whole world. Clark knows that there are other places and times in this world. It is a knowledge that Twain and Drury do not evince in their books. Drury represents and extols the West, embodied in the corporate United States, and excoriates the East, embodied in communistic Russia. The same stance is indicated by Twain's well-known partiality for the English and antipathy toward the French, though this attitude is perhaps not quite as clearly stated as his similar love of the freedom of untrammelled boyhood and the American West together with his dislike of the restrictions of "sivilization." Clark presents a story that "has all the ingredients" of the standard "Western."⁵⁵

Advise, Joan, and Ox-Bow are all Westerns in that they preach, one way or another, the doctrine of revolt, the doctrine of protestantism, the doctrine "that the world has progressed enormously, both morally and mechanically"⁵⁶ through the ages. Cooper's Bravo, though set in Venice and looking eastward, is a Western in these same ways. Cooper therefore also combats the effect of mystery usually attendant upon the public ritual of the expulsion of the scape-

goat. And he combats it in much the same ways the other authors do.

The invocation of the Christian archetype is even more nebulous in Bravo than in Ox-Bow, but it is present, even if extremely faint. The story, like Ox-Bow, takes place in the spring. It lasts exactly a suggestive seven days--the last seven days of the victim's life. It includes as a very prominent part the uniquely Venetian spectacle and ritual, celebrated annually, of the marriage of the city and the Adriatic Sea, which is a kind of latter day Lupercal, like the Mardi Gras. The most particular invocation comes during the victim's very final moments. He is bound and standing before the block, waiting. He is being allowed a few last words with his spiritual adviser, Father Anselmo. Almost the last thing the Carmelite says to him is, "'Remember thy Redeemer, son. He suffered ignominy and death for a race that denied his Godhead, and derided his sorrows'" (p. 455). These words in themselves are hardly more than formulary. But in the context of Bravo they may very well bring the reader up short. For what is here said of Christ is true of Jacopo also. He has suffered ignominy and is about to suffer death for a city-state, if not a race, that has denied his manhood, and derided his very real sorrows.

Three principal characters, including the Bravo himself, know that he is innocent of the crime for which he is to be executed. The waiting crowd knows that he is guilty. The

scene includes the sudden entrance of the girl, Gelsomina, and her address to the assembled crowd, so wild that it is convinced she is a raving maniac. The scene is intensely emotional, and Cooper heightens it by managing some suspense on the part of Father Anselmo, who cannot, like Ox-Bow's cowboys, believe that the execution is really going to happen. But the axe falls, and now the monk knows that the world perpetrates far more horrible evil than he had dreamed possible. The reader has a final view of a state that has anticipated the evils of the twentieth-century police state. Only a few more paragraphs remain in the story. Cooper includes just enough more to bring the scene back to a duplicate of the same general scene that had begun the story just seven nights earlier. The beheading scene thus becomes the final arc in the circle the story transcribes, a circle of hell. In no way is the excitement heightened into a religious experience. In no way is the knowledge transcendent. Indeed, it tends in the other direction. Father Anselmo's faith is shaken. The reader is left with a vision of an empty sacrifice. It has redeemed nobody, nothing. It has helped to maintain a worthless status quo.

The five remaining authors do not manifest such a negative attitude toward the element of mystery. Wouk and Frederick, while not combatting it, nevertheless, ignore it completely. They seem utterly oblivious of the possibility of its having a place in their stories. The scene in

Caine Mutiny, for instance, that is comparable in knowledge and emotion to the President's sleepless hour is that when Willie Keith begins to testify about what he calls Captain Queeg's "'cowardice'" (p. 404).

Words formed in Willie's mind which, he knew, would change the course of several lives and land him in trouble from which he might never extricate himself. He spoke; it was like punching his fist through a glass door (p. 404).

The two lawyers flare into a shouting match. Captain Blakeley is furious. It is at this point that he admonishes them for their "'unseemly personal exchanges'" (p. 404). His fury is caused much more, however, by the unseemly turn the trial has taken than by the lawyers' exchanges. He declares to the court,

"Defense counsel and the witness are warned that they are on the most dangerous possible ground. In charging an officer of the United States Navy with an offense punishable by death, and that the most odious offense in military life, equal to murder, they take on themselves the heaviest responsibility, and face consequences the seriousness of which cannot be overstated" (p. 405).

Willie, although his teeth chatter, continues testifying. Wouk has managed the emotion well.

Wouk indicates the moment of recognition with great clarity. It comes just a few moments prior to the emotional peak of the charge of cowardice. The setting is identical, the court room with Willie Keith in the witness chair. All along Willie has been certain in his own mind that the so-called Caine Mutiny was justified by the peculiar circum-

stances under which it happened. He has been considerably worried about the case's outcome, but that is because he does not trust Navy justice. But now, the culminating effect of his examination by Challee is the sudden knowledge that he and Maryk had been wrong, that they are guilty.

He knew, deep down, that he never had believed the captain was crazy. Stupid, mean, vicious, cowardly, incompetent, yes--but sane. The insanity of Queeg was Maryk's only possible plea (and Willie's too); and it was a false plea; and Challee knew it, and the court knew it; and now Willie knew it (p. 404).

Wouk indicates the turning point in the trial with even greater clarity. It comes a few moments later, during and as a result of Willie's testimony about Queeg's cowardice. The change in direction from being against the defendant to being in his favor is registered in the faces and attitudes of the bench of judges and the judge advocate, Challee.

Willie

saw for the first time a change in the expressions of the court as he spoke. The frigid solemnity with which they had peered at him gave way slowly, and instead there were seven faces of men listening with interest to an amazing tale. Challee, frowning bitterly, scribbled pages of notes (p. 405).

These few moments, from Keith's bitter realization of the truth to Challee's bitter frowning at Keith's testimony, are obviously the trial's climax. The author obviously believes clarity is a virtue much to be admired, and holds no brief for mystery. No ghosts of Fletcher Christian or other mutineers haunt the courtroom. The ways of men are sometimes terribly complex, but with enough diligence and

intelligence, they can be completely explained and understood. Even when the springs of these ways are almost entirely emotional, they are as knowable as Queeg's sanity. No mystery need apply. Although Wouk's individual paragraphs are seldom as muddled as Drury's, a fundamental contradiction contributes to making his story as a similitude of the ritual (and hence art and story) a worse muddle than Drury's. This is Keith's new-found knowledge of the actuality of the case and the changed direction the trial takes being at variance with each other. Not even Drury pulls in opposite directions like this in his climactic moment. Wouk's presentation is at best bad art, however excellent it is as reporting.

Wouk's habit of dealing in certainties and in characters who resolve all questions to certainties can best be seen in the disposition of the question of Queeg's sanity. "Captain Weyland in Ulithi, who had interviewed the captain of the Caine right after the mutiny" (p. 380) deposed that Queeg was sane.

Three Navy psychiatrists of the San Francisco hospital, who had examined Queeg for weeks, were ready to testify in court that he was a sane, normal, intelligent man. At the investigation twenty chiefs and enlisted men of the Caine had averred that they had never seen Queeg do anything crazy or questionable (pp. 380-381).

We have seen how Willie Keith comes suddenly to the same conclusion. Yet Barney Greenwald's strategy is to convince the court otherwise. He never uses the word crazy, but he

refers again and again in his questioning of the psychiatrists and in his summing up to the Captain's "'sickness, mental illness, paranoia.'" He succeeds in convincing the court that the captain has a mild case, well-enough compensated so that he would be safe in ordinary circumstances, but dangerous in a naval captain in combat. Queeg is very clearly both sane and insane. As usual, Wouk wants it both ways and ingeniously contrives to get what he wants.

This question of Captain Queeg's mental competence and Wouk's manner of handling it is especially interesting because of Melville's raising and handling the same question about Captain Vere. About the first thing Melville's Captain does, after Billy has struck the death blow, is to send for the surgeon. These two are alone together in the cabin for some time. The surgeon, at Vere's direction, examines Claggart's body. He then listens as the Captain relates the circumstances culminating in Billy's blow. The man of science is, perforce, also observing the Captain all the while. The surgeon is "disturbed" (p. 100), he is "profoundly discomposed" (p. 101), he is "anew disturbed" (p. 101) by the Captain's behavior during this juncture. The surgeon is then dismissed. The next chapter, an extremely brief one, only a few words more than two leafs of Melville's manuscript, relates some of the surgeon's thoughts and also some authorial speculation on them and their implications.

Full of disquietude and misgiving, the surgeon left the cabin. Was Captain Vere suddenly affected in his mind, or was it but a transient excitement, brought about by so strange and extraordinary a tragedy? . . . He recalled the unwonted agitation of Captain Vere and his excited exclamations, so at variance with his normal manner. Was he unhinged?

But assuming that he is, it is not so susceptible of proof. What then can the surgeon do? No more trying situation is conceivable than that of an officer subordinate under a captain whom he suspects to be not mad, indeed, but yet not quite unaffected in his intellects. To argue his order to him would be insolence. To resist him would be mutiny (pp. 101-102).

The second of these paragraphs seems to be the germ of The Caine Mutiny. The same condition of intermediate sanity-insanity is meant, it is clear, by Melville's "not mad, indeed, but yet not quite unaffected in his intellects" and Wouk's psychiatrists' description of Queeg's condition as "'paranoiac'" but "'mild, adjusted, compensated.'" How inviting to an inspiring author to body forth what Herman Melville has asserted to be the most "trying situation . . . conceivable." Fools rush in, it has been said, where angels fear to tread. Wouk makes the exact situation postulated by Melville, ship's officers serving under a captain they suspect may be crazy, the central concern of most of his book. In Melville's story it is just an infernal vista which he invites his audience to glance into but which he does not explore. The two authors' respective characters behave correspondingly. Melville's surgeon only "suspects." Wouk's psychiatrists unhesitatingly testify, under oath, their positive convictions. Indeed, everyone connected with

the Caine or with the trial decides definitely, sooner or later, whether Queeg in his delicate condition is incapacitated for command decisions. Only Melville and his one character, the surgeon, entertain the possibility about Vere, and they both determinedly keep the question open.

Melville goes on in the opening paragraph of his next chapter to state explicitly his opinion about the impossibility of resolving the question, and about the invidiousness of those who will, "for pay" (p. 102), solve the unsolvable.

Who in the rainbow can draw the line where the violet tint ends and the orange tint begins? Distinctly we see the difference of the colors, but where exactly does the one first blendingly enter into the other? So with sanity and insanity. In pronounced cases there is no question about them. But in some supposed cases, in various degrees supposedly less pronounced, to draw the exact line of demarcation few will undertake, though for a fee becoming considerate some professional experts will. There is nothing namable but that some men will, or undertake to, do it for pay (p. 102).

Wouk's testifying psychiatrists are precisely such "professional experts." Melville's surgeon is not. He is a chorus figure who comments on the action but does not attempt to define it. Neither does he participate, or undertake to participate in it, as do Wouk's testifiers. He points the way for the reader, as Melville indicates in his next, brief, one-sentence paragraph.

Whether Captain Vere, as the surgeon professionally and privately surmised, was really the sudden victim of any degree of aberration, every one must determine for himself by such light as this narrative may afford (p. 102).

"Every one" should remember that the surgeon draws back from his wild surmise, venturing no further upon it than did stout Cortez upon the Pacific. Melville, after introducing the possibility of Vere's being somewhat deranged, hedges it round with statements of the imponderability of the topic, and then remains silent. The topic is a mystery in that it has, like the moon, been named, bombarded, even photographed, but has not been really explored. As with the moon, we are perhaps surer of Vere's specific gravity, his inner core, than we are of his surface. But this, surely, is the nature of a ritual that once was a mystery and which still may have mysterious effects upon the participant, even the vicarious one. Its surface is plastic, protean; its soul is everlasting. Wouk recognizes a good thing but in trying to put it to use he only used it up; Melville merely polished it and placed it on the mantel for all to see, and it endures.

The other author who completely extrudes any sense of mystery from his story is Frederic. His story's climactic moments, such as the voting and its attendant violence, the mob's descent upon the farmstead and its burning of the home, and the breakfast in the barn the next morning, are presented as completely human and understandable crises. The Democrats, Abner Beech's party, win the election, so that now he knows his local condition of being a tiny minority is not typical of the district, of the state, or of the

nation, and he confidently expects a turnabout in government policies as a result of this mandate. The household's feverish activity of saving themselves and whatever else they can that is of real or sentimental value and use from the fire brings them all the knowledge that their intangible family association is their greatest possession. When they gather in the barn among their smoke-blackened treasures,

Esther's hand stole into M'rye's and the two women stood together before Abner, erect and with beaming countenances, and he smiled upon them both.

It seemed that we were all much happier in our minds, now that our house had been burned down over our heads (p. 110).

M'rye had been the implacable foe of her son's sweetheart, but the fire resolved their differences. And when the neighbors, those who had been behaving so "'all-fired mean and cantankerous,'" rally around the next morning to offer their assistance, Abner allows that "'it's pooty nigh wuth bein' burnt out. . . . I was wrong. . . . It makes me prouder than ever I was before in all my born days to be an American'" (pp. 147-148).

In just a few days the Beeches have come from being despised outcasts, a family divided and sorrowing in its hearts, alienated within and without, to being again the neighborhood's patriarchal family blessed exceptionally. But not the slightest suggestion of a miraculously substituted ram, or of any kind of miracle occurs to account for this inversion. The agencies are all normal humans of more,

because of their educational deficiencies, than usual limitations. The Beeches' good fortune delights but in no way mystifies them. They rejoice and are content with their happy lot. They see no cause for asking questions or for wonder.

In the three novels Faithful, Budd, and Hazard, the authors proclaim the human need of the element of mystery. They do not regard it askance or wish it away, as Drury and Twain do, or ignore it, as Wouk and Frederick do, but court it actively and embrace it fondly, even lovingly. The least ardent of these three authors is William Dean Howells. Perhaps his relative coolness is a concomitant of his often proclaimed devotion to realism. At any rate, he attests to the place of mystery just once, really, in the book, and with a slightly embarrassed air. This is the often quoted summation of the meaning of Conrad Dryfoos's life and death. It is spoken privately by the story's chief recorder, Basil March, to his alter ego, his wife.

"Conrad--yes, he had some business there; it was his business to suffer there for the sins of others. Isabel, we can't throw aside that old doctrine of the Atonement yet. The life of Christ, it wasn't only in healing the sick and going about to do good; it was suffering for the sins of others. That's as great a mystery as the mystery of death. Why should there be such a principle in the world? But it's been felt, and more or less dumbly, blindly recognized ever since Calvary. If we love mankind, pity them, we even wish to suffer for them" (p. 503).

Sixty years earlier Cooper had only somewhat vaguely implied the comparison between his victim, the Bravo, and

the archetypal victim, Christ. Undoubtedly one of the reasons the realist was frank about such a comparison, whereas the earlier romancer had employed an uncharacteristic reticence, is that Howells could expect a greater degree of sophistication about religious matters from his audience. The popular writings of Theodore Parker and Emerson suggesting, urging the example of Christ as a model for humans in this life are a part of the interval between Cooper and Howells. The Higher Criticism was two generations old in Europe, and was destined to be popularized in America in Washington Gladden's Who Wrote the Bible? published the year after Hazard. Howells had also become much influenced by "Tolstoy's Christian socialism."⁵⁷

The explicitness of March's comparison, together with its air of finality, tends to limit the meaning or at least the application of Howells' scapegoat fable. The sins of others that Conrad suffered for seem to be specific, finite ones, those committed against him by his father, and perhaps those committed by the strikers and the police. His "Atonement" does not extend outward in widening circles to include the city and the nation; it does not even extend to the realms of art, business, and high society that Hazard does include. It just affects a few individuals within these realms. Its chief effect upon these individuals is to cause them to withdraw from those realms. Thus it indicates that the substance of these realms is, as the preacher

saith, vanity. But the main thrust of Hazard is not the scapegoat fable. It is rather the social and economic enterprises for which the book is titled, and which contain -- and overshadow Conrad Dryfoos's story. The "'world'" has long "'felt'" and "'dumbly . . . recognized'" the element of mystery embodied in the scapegoat fable, but tends to wall such experience away from its chief concerns. It is a Sunday, not an every-day concern. As the humans, though affirming, have compartmentalized and thus limited the sense of mystery, so Howells depicts the re-enactment of the sacrifice of the scapegoat as compartmentalized.

Melville, on the other hand, universalizes the sense of mystery. I have already discussed his elevation of the question of Vere's sanity into such a matter. So it is generally in Budd that normally sharp distinctions, such as that between sanity and insanity, are blurred. Only by tendentious oversimplifying can a character (and, perhaps, a critic) deny the presence of mystery in the normal human affairs that Melville presents. Budd's first few paragraphs, an apparent digression, a technique typical of Melville in this story, introduce the concept of the "Handsome Sailor" into the story. It is the sailors' adoration of "'strength and beauty'" (p. 44), which the author likens to the "pride . . . the Assyrian priests doubtless showed for their grand sculptured Bull" (p. 44). The sailors' natural tendency toward hero worship is tinged with the mystery of ancient

bloody rites. After this digression comes the first scene of the story proper, Billy's impressment. Captain Graveling attempts to convey to the boarding officer his sense of Billy's mystery. "'But Billy came; and it was like a Catholic priest striking peace in an Irish shindy'" (p. 47). Again, the comparison, this time a simile, is to a religious concept, and invokes not ancient but contemporary rites. Although the Lieutenant turns aside with bluff pleasantries this attempt to endow Billy with an ineffable spiritual quality, Melville has struck the note of mystery in the character of the seemingly most simple and open of Handsome Sailors at his story's outset.

Melville maintains this theme throughout his short novel in a combination of seemingly voluble digressions and reticent dramatic scenes. Whatever else the disputed Lord Nelson digression means, for instance, it also continues the theme of mystery begun in the opening paragraphs. Here Melville wonders whether in

the presentiment of the most magnificent of all victories to be crowned by his own glorious death, a sort of priestly motive led him to dress his person in the jewelled vouchers of his own shining deeds

and continues this evocative language in describing the admiral as having, in this instance, "adorned himself for the altar and the sacrifice" (p. 58). Hayford and Sealts note that "Melville's conjectures regarding the 'priestly motive' for Nelson's choice of battledress go beyond his

sources" (p. 149). The two "pithy" (p. 71) scenes with the old Dansker in which the old sailor "seemed to divine more than he was told" (p. 85) show his divination of meaning from action. The references to the Dansker as "the old Merlin" (pp. 70, 85) and "the old sea Chiron" (p. 71) suggest a kind of non-rational magic at work in the divination. The subject of the first of these scenes, Billy's petty troubles with his bag and hammock, is described as "the mystery for which he had sought explanation" (p. 71). Like all true mysteries, it is not explained for him. In the lengthy expository passage which follows this scene, Melville tells us that the old sailor's "oracular" (p. 71) statement presages a matter "as much charged with that prime element of Radcliffean romance, the mysterious, as any that the ingenuity of the author of The Mysteries of Udolpho could devise" (p. 74). The afterguardsman who tempts young Billy is described as a "mysterious emissary" (p. 82).

Melville never drops the matter of mystery after introducing it in his initial paragraphs. The "'mystery of iniquity'" (p. 76) proceeds steadily to its fulfillment, a "recoil upon itself . . . like the scorpion" (p. 78), in the cabin scene of the accusation and death blow; and its opposite, the mystery of innocence, proceeds to its fulfillment in the hanging scene. Here the transference of emotion, symbolized by the congregated bluejackets' "sympathetic echo" (p. 123) of Billy's blessing upon Captain Vere, can

take place because of the maintenance of this theme. For such an occurrence is a mystery also, a spontaneous sense of communion. Only this feeling could cause the mass of sailors to repeat, unrehearsed, unordered, "with one voice" (p. 123) Billy's benediction. "There is no telling the sacrament" (p. 115) Melville had declared a few pages earlier in commenting upon the Abraham-Isaac communion between the Captain and Billy. Just so there is no telling the communion of the hanging scene. But the instigator and the instigating circumstances can be told, and Melville has done so in Billy Budd. As the inspiration of the experience of communion, Billy is a Christ-like figure. In a set of circumstances that remain human, although they reach vertically toward both heaven and hell, and in a world that remains political, military, and social, although it reaches toward moral and even theological realms, Billy is the human and his circumstances the political, military, and social, and hence limited, approximations of the God-man figure and His ethical and theological significances. As certain Christian zealots have been unwilling to face the theological necessity of the sacrifice of Christ and have blamed the Jews unmercifully for His death, so certain zealous critics have been unwilling to face the social necessity of Billy's sacrifice and have blamed Captain Vere.

May Sarton is the most ardent of the mystery courtiers. Perhaps this is at least partly because she is also the only

woman among the nine subject novelists. One of Faithful's chief themes, present from beginning to end, is its contention that one of a person's chief needs is a sense of communion with other humans. This theme begins in the novel's first scene as Isabel Ferrier seeks it in her husband's arms right after she receives the shattering news of her brother's suicide. In his cradling arms she seeks the communion that is her "'safety'" (p. 3) against the "black despair" (p. 1) struggling "to invade her like the cold fogs which swept over the harbor" (p. 2). Her husband responds with his "surgeon's clear look that could meet emergency with reason" (p. 3), with his "kind, careful voice, his doctor's voice" (p. 4), with, in short, his superior bedside manner. He obviously does not feel the same non-rational need that she does. He skillfully leads her into statements that seem to explain the tensions among herself, her dead parents, and her dead brother by the usual Freudian complexes. His faith is a rational one, and it is in science. It is Isabel's present Ferrier family as well as her childhood Cavan family that leads her to exclaim to the stranger on the plane, "'Families . . . are cruel. They murder each other'" (p. 18).

Isabel returns to San Francisco from the ordeal of burying her brother feeling securely "'intact'" (p. 229), the emotional crisis behind her. Her wounds have been healed by a crescent series of mysterious communions that

begins with the stranger in the plane.

It seemed extraordinary, like a miracle, that here in the plane she had talked to a perfect stranger, that a perfect stranger had held her hand, that she had trusted him, that in some way he had spoken for Edward, forced her to accept him--but could she? Perfect strangers can let the love through, she thought (p. 24).

The series continues with the talks in Cambridge with her brother's intimate friends, rising to a peak when they are gathered together at the Phillips' home where they all experience "'an intimation'" (p. 211) of the communion experience. After a temporary subsidence of feeling, a genuine experience, not just "'an intimation of it,'" and one which includes the whole congregation, distinguishes the funeral the next day. And then, finally, Isabel goes alone to her brother's room and gradually feels a sense of oneness with him stealing over her so that suddenly she felt and saw as he had--"she felt suddenly dizzy with what she saw, what opened out, the whole world like a cry, like a need--" (p. 247). The whole world, in other words, instinctively knowing what it needs for its salvation, cries out for the sense of communion, of "'solidarity'" (p. 247). From the roomful of friends to the churchful of mourners to the world full of needy humans, each stage more intense and more healing, Isabel progresses, and the final vision leaves her fulfilled, intact, and secure against the chaos without.

From the initial scene of communion between Isabel and the "perfect stranger" onward, Miss Sarton makes it clear

that she equates this experience with that of love. Each of Edward Cavan's friends experiences with varying degrees of fulfillment the same pattern of communion that Isabel does. Each suffers an initial failure with Cavan himself, then after the Professor's death wins through to some kind of communion with a loved one. George Hastings does "not know what he was being asked" when he meets the "look of naked appeal" in Cavan's eyes (p. 39). His sweetheart, Pen, is "always resisting him, so he felt" (p. 91). It is an emotional, not a physical resistance, with which she keeps him at both an emotional and a physical arm's length. But George is one of the pall bearers and shares in the mutual wave of "love" (p. 220) at the funeral. During his and Pen's next date she becomes, for a few moments, "the girl he loved and not the antagonist . . . the unyielding girl, the girl locked up against feeling" (p. 253). After taking her home,

he felt that his one responsibility now, and it was Cavan who laid it upon him and whose death demanded it, was to get through, was not to be stopped, was to arrive at communion with other people somehow and at communion with a whole self in himself (p. 260).

So is it likewise with Grace, Fosca, Goldberg, and the Phillips. Each of them is called upon by the despairing Cavan, each feels the wordless communication emanating from him, and each chooses, for his own reason, not to respond. All, except Ivan, are at the Phillips and feel the same "'intimation'" of communion that Isabel does. All are at the funeral and share in that experience. When Ivan first

hears the news of Cavan's death, the pain builds up inside until, sobbing, he finds relief in his wife's arms.

Very gently she stroked his springy black hair and waited. The tense racking sobs finally came at less regular intervals, and his hold on her, which had been painfully hard, relaxed. But still he said nothing. They were not people who communicated by words, but by the invisible waves of feeling and breathing and touch and silence (p. 153).

With Ivan Goldberg and his wife Angela the moment of selfless communion is the intensification of the normal; with Damon and Julia Phillips, who also, but not until after the funeral, achieve such an experience, it is a renewal of love.

Julia

felt released, freed from some prison, the prison of her narrow resentment of Damon. Two days ago she would have been incapable of the real inner gesture of respect and love from which her words had come. If things were right at the center, mightn't one from there reach out into the world in concentric circles? Did it all in the end come back to personal relationships after all? (p. 229).

So here, as with George, the personal communion between two human beings "at the center" is the key to salvation for the vast "world" of people outside. Julia and Damon "drank their coffee in silence, for there was no longer the driving need to batter down barriers with words" (p. 229).

The equation between communion and love is most particularly true of Cavan himself. What he wanted more than anything else was communion. "'That, in the long run, was . . . at the root of his socialism'" (p. 181). He seeks it in "suspect organizations where . . . he . . . felt some

communion, some temporary fugitive sense of common identity" (p. 244). He seeks it in all his friendships, but his seeking comes to naught. For "he can't give love or take it" (p. 134), and so he cannot establish more than fleeting intimations of communion. That this "love" and "communion" are a version of Christian love is indicated by the Reverend Willoughby's especial concern for Cavan as a communicant within his church. It is dramatized by the nebulous invoking of the archetypal victim, Christ. Miss Sarton does not hang her victim between two thieves, give him the initials J. C., give him thirty-three years of age, or mark him in any other such external fashion as an actual or approximate Christ figure. She marks him as such by presenting dramatically the manner in which his death is healing to all those who love him, how it causes love and the sense of communion among them. And beyond this, the sense of communion with him that they have had "an intimation of" the evening before his funeral and which they really sense during and after the funeral, exactly three days after his death, is a real and a mysterious resurrection. The mystery of communion, of love, is the mystery of life.

⁴¹E. L. Grant Watson, "Melville's Testament of Acceptance," New England Quarterly, VI (June 1933), 319-327; Phil Withim, "Billy Budd: Testament of Resistance," Modern Language Quarterly, XX (June 1959), 110-127; Rosenberry, 489.

⁴²Quoted in Rosenberry, 498.

⁴³Arms, p. x.

⁴⁴Wendell Glick, "Expediency and Absolute Morality in Billy Budd," PMLA, LXVIII (March 1953), 104.

⁴⁵Withim, 117.

⁴⁶The Collected Works, Ayot St. Lawrence Edition (New York, 1930), XVII, 3.

⁴⁷Glick, 104.

⁴⁸Shaw, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁹Cleanth Brooks and Robert B. Heilman, Understanding Drama (New York, 1945), "Glossary," p. 48.

⁵⁰Chase, p. 269.

⁵¹Albert Bigelow Paine, Mark Twain (New York, 1912), II, 959.

⁵²Paine, p. 926.

⁵³Shaw, p. 26.

⁵⁴Shaw, p. 26.

⁵⁵Fadiman, p. viii.

⁵⁶Shaw, p. 27.

⁵⁷Van Wyck Brooks, New England Indian Summer (New York, 1950), p. 390.

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