

## Which and That

SIR: May I say how much I have been enlightened and entertained by the numerous letters that your readers felt impelled to write to you and to me about my article on copy-editing ["The Greater Garble," *SR* Apr. 12]? Quite a few professional writers exclaimed: "You must have had dealings with *my* publisher!"—which shows how nearly universal are the practices I assailed.

But I am not writing now to reiterate my point or rebut any advanced against it. I am concerned solely with a matter of fact which has to do with "which" and "that," and which I consider important as a sign of what happens in a culture that thinks and acts a good deal at second-hand.

In his letter to you, Mr. Rudolph Flesch pretends to correct my assertion that Fowler suggested the observance of a distinction in the use of "which" and "that." My critic maintains that Fowler is not suggesting anything but codifying the immemorial law of English usage. I reply by quoting Fowler, omitting only passages that explain or amplify without changing the tenor of the text:

THAT. What grammarians say should be has perhaps less influence on what shall be than even the more modest realize; . . . And yet the temptation to show how better use might have been made of the material to hand is sometimes irresistible. The English relatives . . . have come to us from our forefathers as an odd jumble. . . . Perhaps the line of improvement lies in clearer differentiation between *that* and *which*, and restoration of *that* to the place from which, in print, it tends to be ousted. . . . Some there are who follow this principle now; but it would be idle to pretend that it is the practice either of most or of the best writers.

This, surely, is Fowler modestly hinting a change, not pointing out an error. When he discusses WHICH, he recurs to the tentative character of his remarks:

Let it be stated broadly . . . : *which* is appropriate to non-defining and *that* to defining clauses. . . . To substitute [the one for the other], if the principles maintained in this book are correct, would be a change for the worse; and roughly speaking the erroneous uses (if they are so) . . . are traceable, etc.

No lexicographer can be clearer or more scrupulous about marking the difference between his proposal and the accepted practice. But Fowler goes even farther and makes room for exceptions to his own scheme whenever required by "custom, euphony, or convenience." Fowler's suggestion, then, is admirable and deserves to be followed in the same intelligent way as it was offered.

By the same token it gives no war-



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"I'm too old to do any more helter-skelter stuff. I've settled down as Trotsky's assistant."

rant for establishing a rule mechanically enforceable by office boys or girls—much less for the primitive zeal which misreads Fowler and rectifies *that which* does not need it.

JACQUES BARZUN.

New York, N. Y.

## "Zapata" Again

SIR: Hollis Alpert's keen review of "Viva Zapata" [*SR* Feb. 9], though critical, was more than generous to the Steinbeck-Kazan slicked-up interpretation of the great agrarian leader and his times.

It seems unworthy of the talented Mr. Kazan [*LETTERS*, *SR* Apr. 5] to resort to the McCarthy technique of branding critics as dupes of the Communist Party line. Because the Communists have created a false picture of Zapata for propaganda purposes, we are not thereby required to accept this romanticized propaganda version, which so grossly distorts historical facts, the realities of the Mexican upheaval, and the texture of Mexican life.

According to Kazan, the authors "created" Fernando, the intellectual, to typify Communist duplicity and treachery in order to get power and keep it. Why introduce this absurd stereotype utterly devoid of Mexican savor? I have known nearly all the Mexican intellectuals, honest or dishonest, who attached themselves to this or that armed leader, and Fernando corresponds to none of them. Furthermore, the intellectual advisers of Zapata are well-known, and I have met all of them. The phony papier-mâché Fernando seems unwarranted even by box-office considerations.

The posterlike portraits of Madero, Huerta, and Villa are little better

than caricatures. The meetings between them and Zapata as portrayed in the film scarcely correspond to the numerous eye-witness accounts or to any recognizable Mexican pattern of behavior. Imagine, if you can, those blood-and-iron generals, Villa and Zapata, engulfed in a violent, treacherous, revolutionary situation, acting like schoolboys at a Nebraska church picnic. One need not have attended such reunions, as I have done, and observed the vanity, patterned formality, and intricate psychological interplay of friendliness and antipathy, to know that what the film shows is faked nonsense. It would take too long to enumerate the situations and conversations which, except for landscape and costumes (frequently far from authentic), could have taken place in Shanghai but scarcely in Mexico.

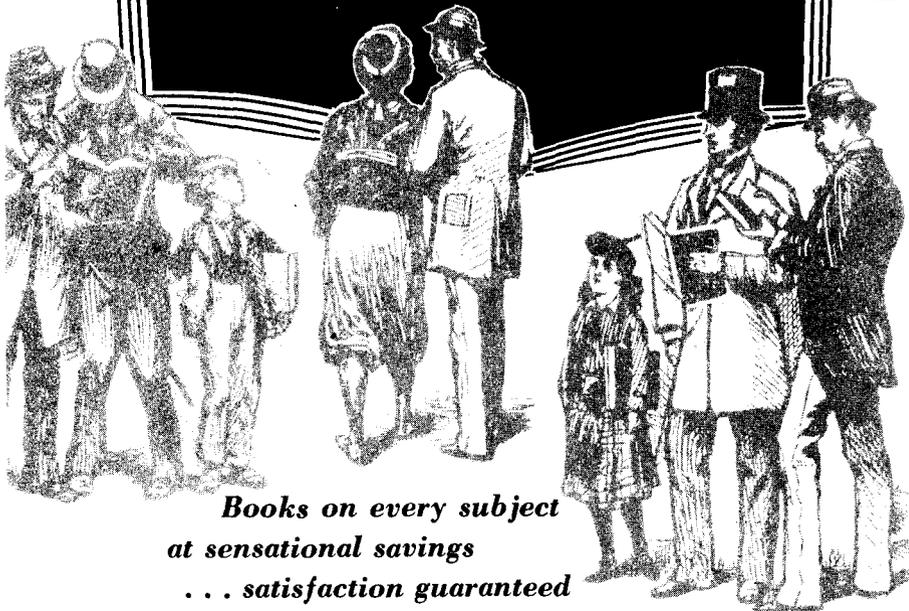
The crux of the Steinbeck Zapata, according to Kazan, is Zapata's "renunciation of power" rather than his basic drive for land reform. Even the virile Zapata slogans are twisted into stuffed-shirt banalities in line with this absurd concept. However, Zapata committed no such gross betrayal of his followers.

But Kazan writes: "In the moment of victory he turned his back on power. In that moment in the capital . . . he could have made himself president, dictator, caudillo. Instead, abruptly and without explanation he rode back to his village." This simply is not true. He was in a trap with powerful armies closing in on him. To the east was the army of Carranza. West and south was the army of Gonzalez. Coming down from the north was the superbly equipped, disciplined army of Obregón. Zapata was outnumbered ten to one, and when he rode out of the National Palace that last time, rifle fire and artillery were already shaking

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Mexico City. He was caught in a bloody last-ditch battle on the edge of the Pedregal and lost two thousand men. For three years he tried his darndest to recapture Mexico City, and, until a few months before his betrayal and death, the Zapatista watchfires blazed every night within sight of the National Palace of Mexico City. But Mr. Kazan writes, "Power corrodes. And so Zapata refused power." What sort of eye-wash is this?

I have ridden with the men of Morelos for months on end, slept on their straw mats, eaten their tortillas and chile and know the stuff of which they are made. The epic story of Zapata—good and evil, wisdom and cruelty and ignorant superstition, wives and concubines, and his steadfast fight for land reform—cannot be told as a propaganda piece either for or against Communism, or by making his stark, primitive career into a cream-puff of Gandhi hocus-pocus for school-boy platitudes about democracy and teenage symbolism of a white horse. "Viva Zapata" does not match up with the magnificent material available and shows little comprehension of the psychology, *dignidad*, etiquette, or emotions of life-and-blood Mexicans. Behind this facade of arty technical perfection and this plaster-saint treatment is a refined corrosion that I imagine Zapata himself would be the first to reject.

CARLETON BEALS.

Guilford, Conn.

SIR: I was very interested to read Mr. Beals's letter. I've always had a high regard for him and read what he had to say with great respect. Actually, John Steinbeck and not I should answer it, but John is in Europe. John wrote the script, and the research, which was extensive, was done under his direction.

I did read most of the research, however, and made two visits to Morelos, talking there with eye-witnesses. I found enormous variance between accounts—those, for example, of the circumstances under which Zapata left the capital. I never did hear the version Mr. Beals tells. It was always that Zapata left suddenly and mysteriously, completely under his own steam and for reasons of his own.

Last week I had a letter from a lady who lived for some time in Cuernavaca. I hope she won't mind my quoting:

And I was told by those I do not doubt to have been eye-witnesses, why he retreated after capturing the Capitol. It was the typewriters. I believe this to be absolutely true. He conquered the city, vanquished rivals, contenders, occupied the government offices, and there faced modern equipment for the manipulation of law and order. He did not know how to go on. The rows and rows of typewriters decided his retreat.

Still another version! And just human enough to have truth in it.

After I finished the picture last August I came back to New York and one of the first people I talked to was another authority. This man had not eaten their tortillas and chile (although I talked to an amazing number who had), but he had been brought up in the state of Morelos during Zapata's years. His comment to me was:



"I can tell you plenty about him. Come on inside where we can have a little quiet and immunity."

"I'm just waiting to see how you will whitewash that no good bandit son of a ———!"

As I say, John Steinbeck did the research, but I remember he commented again and again that there were as many versions of each incident as there were eye-witnesses and cousins of eye-witnesses. And beyond the problem of which version to choose, he had the job of compressing a portrait of this man into a two-hour dramatization. The problem, that is, was finally a technical one as well as historical.

John had to make choices and he made them with an eye to implementing his interpretation. He has as much right to do this as any man. He knows Mexico intimately and did a really thorough study of Zapata. Another man might have made other choices and emphases with an eye to his interpretation. I thought John's angle had great value for our thinking today, and I was proud to direct it.

We both thought the final picture had faults. Mr. Beals points some out. Neither John Steinbeck nor I were satisfied with Fernando. Not the actor's fault either. But for Mr. Beals to suggest, as he does, that there is no basis for such a character is just not accurate. The politico who switched sides and helped hunt down the man he had until recently followed is a most familiar and even characteristic figure in Mexican history.

I thought our portraits of Madero and Huerta brief but quite good. As for the texture of Mexican life, that is my department. I know we could have done better if we had been permitted to photograph the picture in Mexico. But under the circumstances I must say I thought we did exceptionally well. Mr. Beals certainly can't accuse our film of looking like a travel folder. I must except, without having seen it, "Los Olvidados," but all other films of that country, and especially the native ones, look like "Visit Sunny Mexico." Did Mr. Beals really think our job romanticized? My, he's a stern critic! I thought we caught something pretty real: the stoniness, the harshness, the

poverty! And no Madonnas, no filter clouds, no horizon silhouettes!

Finally, I had no intention of equating Hollis Alpert's review with that of the *Worker*. I respect Mr. Alpert's review. The purpose of my other letter was to describe the curious and interesting political pressures under which the picture was made.

ELIA KAZAN.

Sandy Hook, Conn.

#### Rediscovered Nietzsche

SIR: May I, as the daughter of the late Dr. Oscar Levy, editor of the authorized English translation of Nietzsche's works, be allowed to comment on the correspondence printed in your columns on the subject of the recently published book "My Sister and I," by Friedrich Nietzsche" (Seven Sirens Press), and thereby answer the doubts raised in the minds of a great number of readers in the United States and in other countries—indeed "the whole world" according to Margaret Meehan of the Seven Sirens Press (cf. her letter, SR Apr. 5).

The whole evidence concerning the authenticity of the text is based on the introduction "by Oscar Levy" containing the extraordinary history of the manuscript, and "Oscar Levy's" claim that it is a genuine work, that he translated and annotated it.

None of this is true. My father never wrote the introduction, he never translated, annotated, or knew this fantastic and clumsy concoction of nonsense here published as a text of Nietzsche's. He never knew or communicated with the publishers, nor did he "deliver the work" to them as Margaret Meehan alleges in her letter to you. The book, it will be found, contains only four lines of interest and consequence, namely the following "Publisher's Postscript" (p. 17): "As the date on the title-page of 'My Sister and I' shows, the publishers had to wait many years before it was safe to offer it to the world—a whole four years after Dr. Levy's death."

Safe? Not as safe as they thought. For not only are there numerous intelligent and faithful friends capable enough to expose this shameless fraud, but both my mother, Mrs. Frieda Levy, who typed all my father's correspondence and manuscripts since 1908 and I, who lived and worked in closest collaboration with him for over twenty years until his death, are still able to defend his name against defamation and forgery of this sort.

The introduction bristles with quite elementary mistakes and inaccuracies which would alone suffice to rule out my father's authorship (for instance those concerning the chronology of Nietzsche's works). The style, too, is, thank heaven! entirely unlike his. I shall not abuse the hospitality of your columns by quoting these mistakes in detail, though I am looking forward to doing so at the appropriate moment and place.

As to "Nietzsche's" text itself, those sentences not stolen from the philosopher's known texts and from other authors are as authentic as the introduction. . . . Anyone familiar with the numerous exact and reliable accounts of Nietzsche's existence after his breakdown (I need only mention the letters of his mother to Overbeck) knows that he was quite incapable of writing coherently between 1889 and his death in 1900. It is, indeed, a measure of the real author's nature that he should besmirch this great tragedy in the history of human thought with this ludicrous and obscene travesty of Nietzsche's mind and style, and that he should attempt to cover his traces by the fraudulent use of the revered name of my father.

I sincerely trust that through your columns this letter will reach as many readers of the book as possible and that it will clear the minds and allay the doubts of those who were taken in or confused by this fraud.

"My Sister and I is Nietzsche or nothing," according to Margaret Meehan. "Nothing" is a somewhat modest appraisal of such an enormity.

MAUD ROSENTHAL [née Levy].  
Oxford, England.

### "On Reading Reviews"

SIR: My hearty thanks to John Mason Brown for his unbiased and emphatic commentary [SR May 3] on review-writing from the points of view of author, critic, and playgoer.

Too often, the overcautious playgoer, in his concern to spare himself the ordeal of what is promised to be a complete waste of time and money on "mediocre" theatre, will accept without question the critic's comment as the word of God, and will allow the critic to determine his tastes for him. Doubtless, many a pleasurable moment and the memorable author's message have been lost on the conceited, hard-to-please critic who fails, or refuses, to see beyond his nose. However, I maintain that the fault lies largely with the playgoer who willingly accepts the critic's favorable or unfavorable comment, rather than discovers for himself, even for the sake of sheer curiosity, the values of the play in question.

ELEANOR FILOMIA.  
Woodside, N. Y.



THE first two volumes of the revised, enlarged edition of Salo Wittmayer Baron's "A Social and Religious History of the Jews" (Columbia, \$12.50) cover its subject from its beginnings to about 500 A. D. The history will probably run to five more volumes. One should note its title well: the objects of study are society and religion, the development of Jewish social and religious ideas, aspirations, and practices, in the Mosaic period, under kings and early prophets, in the first exile, during the Second Jewish Commonwealth, and throughout the later Diaspora. Dr. Baron takes the frame of his history and its chronology—as far as they are known—largely for granted; he alludes to great events without recounting them, to great characters without describing them. Primarily his work is for readers who are already at home in his subject, but it may be read with profit and enjoyment by anyone who has the patience to remedy lack of knowledge by reference to other books.

The extraordinary tale that unfolds is—to put it as simply as possible—that of a people who enter history with the belief that they have been chosen by God to accomplish a definite historic mission, and who continue to live, against all odds, by virtue of that belief. But there have to be adjustments of the ideal to meet reality, there have to be practical compromises, under Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Romans, and the Christian hierarchy. It is with these plastic developments of thought and action that Dr. Baron is chiefly concerned. During the first exile, for example, the Jews evolved "a whole new system of law and theology. While fully maintaining continuity with the previous intellectual revolution, they found new theoretical and practical implications for a nation without state and territory." During the later, seemingly interminable Diaspora the Jewish people, closing ranks "under its single-minded rabbinic leadership," drew powers of survival from the Talmud.

Dr. Baron's 200-odd pages of notes are a guide to the latest and best scholarship in his field; but, as he makes clear, the best of scholars are still in the dark regarding many minor and some major facts of Jewish history.

A reprint of the third edition (1930) of "A History of Persia," by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, has been imported from England by Macmillan (2 vols., \$13). This is the work of an intelligent, studious, learned British soldier, who spent some twenty years in Persia prior to 1914. His narrative method is direct, his style laconic. He has a soldier's eye for battles and campaigns; and to warfare, of necessity, a large portion of his work is given. Necessarily, too, much of it is only an enumeration of rulers, royal crimes, and names unknown to all but specialists. For this, however, the historian can hardly be blamed. But one can wish that he had more often risen from the surface of his narrative to take a broad view of his subject, instead of being content to walk at an even military pace among its multitudinous facts.

W. F. REDDAWAY, on the other hand, does take a broad view in "A History of Europe 1715-1814." This is the fourth volume of "Methuen's History of Medieval and Modern Europe" to be reissued here by Barnes & Noble (\$6). Its period is one of history's "greats." It is also exceedingly crowded and complex. Mr. Reddaway surveys it regally, with comprehension and insight, often clinching his points with memorable phrases. I have spoken before [SR Nov. 24, 1951] of his occasionally eccentric syntax. It is present again in this volume, sometimes resulting in ambiguity, but it does not affect the worth, vigor, or readability of his history.

The third, revised, rewritten edition of Theodosius Dobzhansky's "Genetics and the Origin of Species" (Columbia, \$5) is an authoritative explanation of evolution by a famous geneticist and professor of zoology, who holds that "Mendelian populations, rather than individuals, are the units of natural selection and adaptation"; that the genotype is the vital factor in an evolutionary process that is always opportunistic; and "that evolutionary history, like human history, is essentially unrepeatable and irreversible."

—BEN RAY REDMAN.

