

SHOSCOMBE THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS

by SONIA FETHERSTON

A brother, his dead sister, and the fate of an estate. Some readers may make an association between “Shoscombe Old Place” and Edgar Allan Poe’s classic story “The Fall of the House of Usher.” They surely have comparable plots, and we know Poe to be an author in whom Arthur Conan Doyle found inspiration.¹ In the case of “Shoscombe Old Place,” however, it is just possible that Conan Doyle invoked a completely unexpected muse—Lewis Carroll.

Carroll, of course, was the pen name of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832–1898), the Euclidian mathematician and logician best remembered for two slim books of children’s literature. *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) is the story of a quest and a test, a girl’s struggle to reach the beautiful garden she glimpsed through a little doorway. *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There* (1871) continues her tale, as Alice completes her journey and grows into a young woman.

What has the solemn, earnest Alice to do with Sir Robert Norberton’s dire financial problems? “Shoscombe Old Place”—with looming economic hard times, mummified forebears, and crumbling buildings—is a metaphor for the fading glory of the British Empire. This theme finds an echo in the *Alice* books, whose pages are filled not with characters, but with caricatures, ritualized and trivialized to the point where they represent a society in decline. Both the *Alice* books and “Shoscombe Old Place” are pervaded by uneasiness; one insightful critic noted that *Wonderland* “has the claustrophobic atmosphere of a children’s Kafka.”²

Similarly, Conan Doyle’s story evokes dreary, hopeless feelings. Watson hits the bull’s-eye when he says that Sir Robert’s world is strange and shadowy. Published in 1927, “Shoscombe Old Place” concerns mortals and morals. Sir Robert Norberton must remain at the “old place” long enough to make some money and pay off his circling creditors. He pins all his hopes on a windfall in the upcoming Derby. When death pays a call, Sir Robert must devise a gruesome charade. Keeping up false appearances isn’t easy, as Sir Robert quickly discovers. In the end, “Shoscombe Old Place” counsels integrity: honesty in our financial dealings and honor in our conduct toward others, be they living or dead. It is a fitting final word from an author who himself was memorialized as a most principled man, “steel true, blade straight.”

Both authors show us cold worlds where visitors aren’t welcome. Neither work exactly satisfied the expectations of its readers: Young Alice was no Victo-

rian cherub-child, and Holmes did not solve any particular crime at Shoscombe. Similarities aside, there are several significant differences. The *Alice* books lack the conventional literary structure of “Shoscombe Old Place.” The Shoscombe plot progresses smoothly, while the *Alice* books move along as a series of stop-and-go episodes. The works belong to completely separate genres; “Shoscombe Old Place” is a detective story with some gothic elements, while the *Alice* books combine a dizzying array of fantasy, nonsense, parody, comedy, surrealism, and theatrical elements. The central characters differ as well. Sir Robert acts the defensive victim, while Alice is assertive and confident.

COMPARING IMAGERY

To make a most meaningful connection, it is essential to set aside themes and genres, plots and characters, and to consider the imagery Conan Doyle employed in his story. Objects, symbols, actions, moods—literal, perceptual and conceptual—together constitute literary imagery.³ Quite a few instances of imagery that appear in “Shoscombe Old Place” were found decades earlier in the two *Alice* books, and among them they make for a most uncommon ensemble. This collection of images is so striking that at least one Sherlockian scholar has declared that “Shoscombe Old Place” is “symbolically . . . one of the most significant stories in the entire canon.”⁴ It is easy to walk through the pages of “Shoscombe Old Place” and find those passages where the story shares imagery with young Alice’s adventures. Following are some representative examples.

“Shoscombe Old Place,” like *Alice in Wonderland*, is set in early May. The problem is introduced when Holmes asks Watson, who has a fondness for the turf, to tell him a little about Sir Robert Norborton. Holmes has had a mysterious communication from one of Sir Robert’s employees, the horse trainer Mason. When Mason arrives in Baker Street he details Sir Robert’s strange behavior with this preamble: “[W]hen a man does one queer thing, or two queer things, there may be a meaning to it, but when everything he does is queer, then you begin to wonder.”

And wonder we do, because the Wonderland in which young Alice finds herself is also chronically queer, a fact noted time and again by various characters. Recall Alice’s famous complaint, for example, following her tumble into Wonderland: “How queer everything is to-day!” This is followed by “That *will* be a queer thing, to be sure! However, everything is queer to-day!”

One thing is not queer at all: the ability of Sir Robert Norborton’s remarkable horse, Shoscombe Prince. Prince will race in the Derby, Mason predicts. He’s been bred for the winners’ circle, and a good thing, too, for there’s a great deal more than just a jockey riding on him. At the Derby, the race is to the swift, and only one horse will be the victor. It is the usual way in which races are

run and won, somewhat different from the breathless race held in *Alice in Wonderland*. There, the heroine and her creature-companions hold a “Caucus-race,” intended as a political pun. Carroll has his animals mark out a circular race-course, though “the exact shape doesn’t matter.” They start and stop when they like, and everybody is declared the winner. While Shoscombe Prince is destined to realize a generous purse and secure the financial independence of his owner, Alice’s own prize after the race is “[o]nly a thimble,” that feminine symbol which marks her for a life of cozy but “sad” domesticity.⁵

Mason discloses that Shoscombe Prince has an equine half-brother who is so like him that when Sir Robert exercises them, the touts can’t tell the brothers apart. In *Through the Looking-Glass* Alice encounters another set of identical brothers, Tweedledum and Tweedledee. They’re spirited competitors, too, entertaining Alice with gladiator-style combat until they are frightened off by the specter of a crow: “‘It’s the crow!’ Tweedledum cried out in a shrill voice of alarm; and the two brothers took to their heels and were out of sight in a moment.” That is a little reminiscent of Holmes referring to Sir Robert as a “carrion crow.” Sir Robert is, in fact, a harsh man, “the sort that strikes first and speaks afterwards.” This provides a clear parallel to the Queen of Hearts’ notion of justice, “Sentence first—verdict afterwards.”

Following his interview with Mason, Sherlock Holmes reaches for a favorite accessory: “He had lit the oldest and foulest of his pipes.” Does this not recall the image of the Caterpillar, who sits atop a mushroom puffing on a hookah as he interviews Alice? The Caterpillar is Holmes-like in other ways. He can be rude and intimidating. He seems to read Alice’s mind, and once his reading of her is over he quickly grows bored. He is one of several characters who demand of Alice, “Who are *you*?” It actually is the same question Sir Robert will later roar at Holmes: “Who are you?” and, just before, “Who the devil are you?” Sir Robert is threatened by the intrusive Holmes, who has the power to upset his carefully stage-managed world. Similarly, Alice has the power to upset the strange Wonderland in which she finds herself. The residents of the fantasy realm are just as suspicious of her presence there as Sir Robert is of Holmes’s presence at Shoscombe.

Sir Robert Norberton is “up to the neck,” while Alice’s neck stretches up so high that she can’t touch her head with her hands, and “her shoulders were nowhere to be found.” Sir Robert and his sister appear to have a terrible falling-out, a “bitter, savage, spiteful quarrel,” as Mason describes it. This calls to mind Alice’s observation of the quarrelsome atmosphere in Wonderland. “[T]hey all quarrel so dreadfully, one ca’n’t hear oneself speak,” she grumbles at one point. When not quarreling, there’s drinking to be done. Lady Beatrice is accused of drinking to excess, “often a whole bottle of an evening,” as Mason puts it. Bot-

tles also appear and are finished off in the *Alice* books, notably the bottle labeled “DRINK ME,” plus an unlabeled bottle in the White Rabbit’s house. “I know *something* interesting is sure to happen . . . whenever I eat or drink anything,” Alice considers.

References to fish occur repeatedly in “Shoscombe Old Place” and in the *Alice* books. Holmes and Watson head to Shoscombe in the guise of two fishermen, with their rods, reels, and creels. “Watson and I are famous fishermen,” Holmes mugs. They converse upon the merits of eels and dace, and even end up dangling their lines in the Shoscombe mill stream. Likewise, in *Through the Looking-Glass*, Alice is confounded by the delightful mealtime puzzle: “Which is easiest to do, Un-dish-cover the fish, or dishcover the riddle?” During her fantasy sojourns, Alice encounters fishy footmen, fishy poems, and fishy jurors, plus numerous representatives of the shellfish kingdom. At one point even Tweedledee looks “more like a fish than anything else,” with his bulging eyes and gaping mouth. “Do you know why they’re so fond of fishes, all about here?” Alice asks, but no answer is forthcoming. Fish are used by both Conan Doyle and Carroll for their classic symbolic meaning: pandemonium. Fish “may be regarded as sharing the ‘chaotic’ character of their element,” which is water.⁶ Alice and Sherlock Holmes must impose their rationalism on the confusion, catch the fish, so to speak, and carry on.

Holmes and Watson journey to Berkshire via first-class railway carriage to “the halt-on-demand station of Shoscombe.” Their placid, uneventful trip is a complete turnabout of Alice’s oddball train ride in *Through the Looking-Glass*. “Show your ticket, child!” a guard angrily demands. “I’m afraid I haven’t got one,” Alice responds. She shares a compartment with a goat, horse, beetle, gnat, and a man in a paper suit. Before Alice is allowed to travel, the guard examines her under his microscope for evidence of the truant ticket—not so different from Holmes using a microscope to locate evidence at the outset of “Shoscombe Old Place.” Trains impart real-world technology in these fictional locations. They drive away the medieval moodiness, obliging characters to confront the present.

It’s not railway tickets but cards that concern Holmes at Shoscombe. He uses the word to describe the clues he’s collecting. “We are getting some cards in our hand,” he tells Watson, and a little further along he computes, “We have added one card to our hand, Watson, but it needs careful playing.” In arranging the pack, Holmes brings order to the disordered world of the Shoscombe estate. Alice imposes order by reversing the process. She literally puts cards into orbit and thereby disrupts the balance of Wonderland. “‘You’re nothing but a pack of cards!’” she cries. “At this, the whole pack rose up into the air, and came flying down upon her; she gave a little scream, half of fright and half of anger, and tried to beat them off. . . .”⁷

As we've seen, fighting between Tweedledee and Tweedledum ceases when they become frightened by a giant crow and "they quite forgot their quarrel." This crow turns out to be nothing more than the flyaway shawl of the White Queen, which brings us to a curious scene with regard to "Shoscombe Old Place." Alice retrieves the shawl and straightens it around the shoulders of the White Queen so skillfully that the queen immediately offers Alice a position as her lady's maid. "'[Y]ou should have a lady's-maid!' 'I'm sure I'll take *you* with pleasure!' the Queen said. 'Twopence a week and jam every other day.'" The original accompanying illustration, inked by Sir John Tenniel, depicts Alice standing at the queen's left shoulder. The image of a young blonde female in attendance upon the older, befuddled, shawl-wearing woman is striking in its similarity to the maid and "lady" out for a carriage ride in "Shoscombe Old Place": "A highly-coloured young woman with flaxen hair and impudent eyes sat on the left. At her right was an elderly person with rounded back and a huddle of shawls about her face and shoulders which proclaimed the invalid."

Interestingly, this is immediately followed by the barking spaniel incident. Holmes hides behind the barb-leafed holly tree and releases Lady Beatrice's dog, which dashes away from him. The spaniel jeopardizes the illusion that Lady Beatrice lives. This forms a fascinating contrast to a similar scene in *Alice in Wonderland*. In it, Alice hides behind a prickly thistle bush as an eager, yapping puppy runs toward her. Compare the two scenes, which are nearly mirror images of each other:

"Shoscombe Old Place"

"'I shall stand behind this holly-bush'. . . At the same moment Holmes stepped out and released the spaniel. With a joyous cry it dashed forward."

Alice in Wonderland

"[T]he puppy jumped into the air off all its feet at once, with a yelp of delight, and rushed . . . Alice dodged behind a great thistle."

As an aside, we may note the different feelings each author harbored toward dogs. Conan Doyle enjoyed canine company, while Lewis Carroll (ironically an ardent animal rights supporter) was frightened of dogs.⁸

Dogs are important in each story, and so are rabbits, or rabbit-like people. Mason and Stephens are described by Conan Doyle as being "like two bunny-rabbits." There are, of course, two rabbits in the *Alice* books, the White Rabbit and the March Hare. Unlike the quaking butler and trainer in "Shoscombe," these Wonderland rabbits are stimulating company. The White Rabbit, in particular, intrigues readers. He is the creature Alice follows across a field and

down a rabbit hole; Sherlock Holmes, remember, follows the self-described bunny, Mason, across a field and down into the crypt. Descent is the beginning of Alice's adventure, and it marks the beginning of the end at Shoscombe. When Alice touches down at the bottom of the rabbit hole, she finds herself "in a long, low hall, which was lit up by a row of lamps. . . . There were doors all round the hall, but they were all locked." With eerie similarity, Holmes and Watson now find themselves in an underground vault, with its "arched and groined roof." Light comes from the lamps brought in by Holmes and Sir Robert. Here, the doors become the hinged lids of coffins, locked with clamps. The parallel imagery—descent, an underground place, rows of locked doors—is unmistakable. Holmes and Watson see Falder griffins displayed on the coffin plates. "Shoscombe Old Place" is the sole canonical account where the word "griffin" appears. In English heraldry, the griffin is "the monster of most frequent occurrence," as well as serving as the emblem of Wales.⁹ By this point it should not surprise you to know that this creature also appears in *Alice in Wonderland* as the Gryphon, companion to the Mock Turtle. Alice's Gryphon has evolved from the horrible, flesh-eating beast of yore into a sleepy old punster. As Watson might say of him, "He is one of those . . . who have overshot their true generation."

Down in the crypt, Watson notes the "long line of Norman Hugos and Odos" among the Falder forebears. Hugo and Odo were common given names from those long-ago days. The peculiarity here, however, is the fact that Conan Doyle deliberately placed a Norman named Odo in his tale. Lewis Carroll's life-long nickname was "Dodo," an affectionate appellation acquired because he spoke with a bad stammer (some sources call it a stutter) resulting in the author pronouncing his own surname "Do-Do-Dodgson."¹⁰ He used his nickname in *Alice in Wonderland*, where a Dodo leads an inquiry of small animals into the true nature of William the Conqueror's Norman invasion of England. "'William's conduct at first was moderate. But the insolence of his Normans—'" peeps a mouse. On that note, the Dodo rises to its feet and breaks off debate. The juxtaposition of a Norman Odo and a Dodo who admires Normans is curious.

And it becomes curiouiser. Mason had shared his concerns about some things that he saw during an earlier visit to the crypt. "It was just the head and a few bones of a mummy," he had recounted. "It may have been a thousand years old. But it wasn't there before. That I'll swear, and so will Stephens." The head and bones are now missing. One of these bones is thought to be the charred leg found in the furnace at the Falder mansion. This calls to mind the scene in a Wonderland house, where Alice grew so big that she bulged through every door

and window. Her foot shoved up the chimney, while her leg seemingly sizzled in the fireplace.

Holmes links the femur fragment to the bones in the crypt, but he doesn't seem to have located another missing body part: the head Mason had seen. Presumably, it was destroyed in the furnace. Detached heads are a thread woven through both *Alice* books. "Off with her head!" or "Off with his head" is heard with distressing frequency. Alice frets that Humpty Dumpty's head will come off, and Tweedledee wears a bolster about his neck so that his head won't be severed in battle. The Duchess worries about losing her head, and, indeed, she is sentenced to die on the executioner's block. "They're dreadfully fond of beheading people here," Alice worries. The greatest disembodied head of all (and perhaps the most interesting visual image) is that of the Cheshire Cat floating over the croquet tournament in *Alice in Wonderland*. Though the mummified head is missing from the Shoscombe crypt, Holmes unexpectedly finds the somewhat fresher corpse of Lady Beatrice there. Compounding the horror of her remains is the fact that Lady Beatrice's face is starting to decay, "all nose and chin, projecting at one end." It's difficult to read that without thinking of the "very ugly" Duchess, who rested her "uncomfortably sharp chin" on Alice's shoulder in rather a menacing way.¹¹

COINCIDENCE, OR DELIBERATE?

Is the shared ensemble of imagery in "Shoscombe Old Place" and the *Alice* books merely a weird coincidence, or is it deliberate? It's likely a little of both. Conan Doyle certainly knew of Carroll, and he couldn't help but know of the popular *Alice* stories. It was the rare middle- or upper-class British nursery that did not have copies of the best-selling *Alice* books upon the shelf. Though written for children, the books quickly became favorites of adult readers, who took delight in the sophisticated puzzles, math problems, and riddles Carroll embedded in his work. It is therefore a reasonable certainty that Conan Doyle was at least familiar with the *Alice* books and the general episodes they contained. Whether he actually sat down and read the two *Alice* books himself, cover to cover, is a matter of conjecture. That he was consciously, or subconsciously, influenced by them seems probable based on a thorough reading of "Shoscombe Old Place." Conan Doyle's eldest daughter, Mary, retained a childhood memory of her father dressing up as Carroll's fantastical "Jabberwock" for a holiday costume party. Carroll invented the creature, all jaws and claws, with flaming eyes, whiffling and burbling as it progressed through the wood, as part of a poetical episode in *Through the Looking-Glass*. The dress-up incident took place when Mary was just a little girl (mid-1890s), but she remembered being terrified by her father's enthusiastic impersonation, or interpretation, of the Carrollian mon-

ster.¹² This event would seem to indicate that Conan Doyle had a genuine appreciation for Carroll's creations—those that were playful as well as those that were frightening. Mary shivered violently when a Jabberwock visited that long-ago party; we shiver today when we read “Shoscombe Old Place” with its many nods to the dark side of the *Alice* stories.

Growing up, as he did, in a family that boasted a couple of professional artists, Conan Doyle would likely have been well acquainted with the work of *Alice* illustrator Sir John Tenniel. Tenniel was highly regarded for his work with *Punch*, as was his colleague Richard Doyle, Conan Doyle's uncle. Carroll had, in fact, called on Richard Doyle at his home in January 1867 to sound him out about illustrating *Through the Looking-Glass*. Tenniel, however, was ultimately the artist for both *Alice* books.¹³ Conan Doyle and Carroll were also familiar with one another thanks to a mutual interest in spiritualism. Carroll “was a charter member of the Society for Psychical Research, in company with Conan Doyle,” and both men maintained an active interest in spirit photography and fairies.¹⁴

Carrollians seem to have a better instinctive feel than do Doyleans (or Sherlockians) for making comparisons between these authors and their creations. Carroll biographer Derek Hudson, for example, notes that the two *Alice* books “have aroused enormous curiosity and stimulated a minute examination of the text, an occupation harmless enough so long as it was treated humorously and taken not too seriously—as in the parallel case of Sherlock Holmes.”¹⁵ Carrollians rival Sherlockians for their inventiveness, scholarship, and playfulness. As we have our Baker Street Irregulars, Sherlock Holmes Society, and scion organizations, so they have the Lewis Carroll Societies, the Dodo Club, the Alice Club, and other groups. The works of both authors have been translated into more than 100 languages. Hudson declares that Alice, “like Sherlock Holmes,” is nothing short of a global phenomenon.¹⁶ Educated people analyze the work of both authors to try and learn what they *actually* meant. The similarities are apparent even to the most casual observer; again quoting Hudson, “since the death of Lewis Carroll his characters have consolidated their hold on the imaginations of men, women and children throughout the world, to a degree unattained by the characters of any other author with the exception of Shakespeare, Dickens, and, perhaps, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.”¹⁷ In a like-minded vein, Richard Kelly affirmed that Carroll's characters are very much alive for his readers “to an extent unattained by any other writer save Shakespeare, Dickens, and Conan Doyle.”¹⁸

The first great illustrators of Alice and Sherlock Holmes, Tenniel and Sidney Paget respectively, are also a popular subject of Carrollian speculation. One commentator, bemoaning the meager physical descriptions Carroll penned for his characters, noted that “we can easily conjure up the image of Mr. Pickwick,

even if we never saw the delightful illustrations of Hablot Knight Browne. Similarly, Sherlock Holmes is recognizable without the fine drawings of Sidney Edward Paget. These characters, like so many other nineteenth-century figures, are so richly described by their creators that the illustrations serve the reader more as pleasant visual reminders than as definitive portraits.” This same Carrollian commentator goes on to praise Paget’s faithfulness to Conan Doyle’s text.¹⁹

It is a pleasure, when researching the two authors and their writings, to recall that the father and son Lancelyn Greens, Roger and Richard, remain masters of the respective fields: Roger Lancelyn Green for his distinguished biographical and critical consideration of Lewis Carroll and Alice, and Richard Lancelyn Green for superb contributions furthering the study of Conan Doyle and Holmes. They, and other serious scholars, delve deep into the works of Conan Doyle and Carroll, yet it was Michael Harrison who lightheartedly made what must be the most alert observation on the entire subject. Harrison wrote that Arthur Conan Doyle’s energetic spirit found a perfect match in one of Lewis Carroll’s fictional characters, the irrepressible Red Queen. Both of them, Harrison judged, always seemed to be “running twice as fast” as the rest of us!²⁰

NOTES

1. Arthur Conan Doyle, *Through the Magic Door*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1907, p. 114. “Poe is, to my mind, the supreme original short-story writer of all time.”
2. Peter Coveney, “Escape,” in *Alice in Wonderland*, Donald J. Gray, ed., New York: Norton, 1992, p. 331.
3. J. A. Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 3rd ed., New York: Penguin, 1992, pp. 442–443.
4. Thomas Dandrew, “Echoes of Mary Foley Doyle in ‘Shoscombe Old Place,’” *Naval Signals*, No. 40 (21 Oct. 1995), p. 3.
5. John Fisher, *The Magic of Lewis Carroll*, New York: Simon and Schuster, New York, 1973, pp. 35–36. The author reveals that when one of Dodgson’s childhood homes was renovated in 1950 “a small horde of childhood ephemera was found beneath a loose board in the floor of what had been the Dodgson nursery.” Included in the cache were several items specifically mentioned in the *Alice* tales, including a small white glove, a child’s left shoe, and a thimble. “Carroll’s fascination with thimbles,” he reminds us, “extended far beyond Alice” to other published endeavors, including *The Hunting of the Snark*.
6. Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *Dictionary of Symbols*, trans. by John Buchanan-Brown, London: Penguin, 1994, p. 383.

7. Some critics believe the Wonderland cards are used by Carroll to distinguish between various social classes. Hearts are the royals; Diamonds are for nobles; Spades represent workers; and Clubs are the military, or the empire.
8. Stephen Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1979, pp. 130, 147.
9. John Woodward and George Burnett, *A Treatise on Heraldry: British and Foreign*, Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1971, p. 286.
10. Christina Bjork, *The Other Side of Alice: The Story of Alice Liddell and Alice in Wonderland*, trans. by Joan Sandin, Stockholm: R&S Books, 1993, p. 20. Coincidentally, Arthur Conan Doyle's youngest sister, Bryan Mary Doyle, was also nicknamed "Dodo."
11. While there is no moldering sister named Beatrice in the *Alice* books, we should remember that Lewis Carroll did pen a well-known poem called "Beatrice." It was written in December 1862, the same time that *Alice in Wonderland* was first taking shape on paper. "Beatrice" celebrates the heroine's power over death.
12. Georgina Doyle, *Out of the Shadows: The Untold Story of Arthur Conan Doyle's First Family*, Ashcroft, BC: Calabash Press, 2004, p. 78.
13. Derek Hudson, *Lewis Carroll: An Illustrated Biography*, New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1977, p. 148.
14. Morton Cohen, *Lewis Carroll: A Biography*, New York: Vintage Books, 1995, pp. 368–369. Carroll's interest in spiritualism was indicative of an open mind. His curiosity with regard to the psychic world never turned him from traditional Church of England teachings.
15. Hudson, p. 156.
16. Hudson, pp. 28–29.
17. Hudson, pp. 28–29.
18. Richard Kelly, *Lewis Carroll*, Boston: Twayne, 1977, p. 138.
19. Richard Kelly, "'If You Don't Know What a Gryphon Is': Text and Illustration in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*," in *Lewis Carroll: A Celebration: Essays on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson*, Edward Guiliano, ed., New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1982, p. 62.
20. Michael Harrison, *Immortal Sleuth: Sherlockian Musings and Memories*, Dubuque: IA, Gasogene Press, 1983, p. 69.