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# Guilford Review

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Number Nineteen

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Spring 1984



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## EDITOR'S NOTE

This issue of the Guilford Review, the last under my editorship, returns to the theme with which the magazine began--bridging the gap between the disciplines--and to a theme even closer to my own concerns: bridging the gap between mind and heart. For me, the uniqueness of Guilford College lies in the opportunities it offers faculty and students to live out these concerns in their life and work. This openness has kept me here for twenty-eight years. It must continue.

--Ann Deagon

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WILLIAM R. ROGERS

VALUES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Paper in the series on "Religion and the Social Crisis"  
Sponsored by the Luce Foundation and Wake Forest University

The Crisis

Numerous commentators on American higher education have recently pointed to the crisis in values. Although most American colleges and universities were established with a sense of purpose concerning the inculcation of religious values as well as the fostering of knowledge, various contemporary factors have vastly eroded the first of those emphases--the sensitivity to pluralism in the ethnic and religious configuration of a student body, broader cultural confusion and uncertainty about the basis of moral values, increased specialization, narrowness and vocationalism in curricular organization, and academic "disengagement" from individual matters of belief and commitment.

Harrison (1978), while pointing to the importance of serious attention to value issues, deals with the challenge that values education must face in the prevailing model of knowledge as objective, impersonal, instrumental, specialized, reductionistic, atomistic and even amoral. Doyle (1981) has analyzed the way in which value-centered education was all but lost in the 1960s and 1970s, a loss coupled interestingly enough with a severe decline in academic standards during the same period. Muller (1980), President of Johns Hopkins, went so far as to say that the universities are turning out highly skilled Barbarians: "The biggest failing in higher education today is that we fall short in exposing students to values. We don't really provide a value framework to young people who more and more are searching for it."

This crisis is perhaps a reflection of a broader dilemma in the culture at large. MacIntyre in After Virtue (1982) has made a passionate and persuasive analysis of the loss of a sense of ethics and the cornerstone of virtue, seeing this as a "moral

calamity" which could have severe consequences particularly for a democratic culture. Though MacIntyre has been criticized by his colleagues as being pessimistic about the state of contemporary society, he responds: "I am not a pessimist...pessimists are people who believe something dreadful is about to happen. I believe it's already happened" (Hook 1983). Similarly the business community and groups concerned about public policy not only in the United States but globally have been urgently calling our attention to this crisis. The Atlantic Council in its monograph on "The Teaching of Values and The Successor Generation" addresses the concern of leaders around the world that young people are approaching positions in society and business with inadequate knowledge of, or commitment to, the heritage of values in Western civilization, and without that base our global citizenship as well as national cohesiveness can be seriously jeopardized (1983). Furthermore a whole series of specific analyses of the professions like medicine and law have pointed to the increasing technical emphases and the loss of a value base of human sensitivity and compassion--a dilemma heightened by the university settings in which professional training occurs. These settings emphasize technology, individual autonomy, administrative efficiency, and theoretical analysis often isolated and thoughtful attention to the unique and ambiguous ideals and sufferings of individual people.

With regard to the individual student in higher education, the crisis in values education appears in a diffuse experience of bewilderment and self-centeredness. Three special psychological issues seem to be prevalent: (1) anxiety about one's economical viability with a resultant arcing across broader humanistic educational opportunities in favor of vocationally specific training; (2) narcissism and a resulting confinement of focus on limited personal and social issues; and (3) anomie, the loss of a believable center of experience and confusion about the basis on which judgments could be made with a view to more lasting values. The psychological and spiritual restlessness all too often is not addressed either in the curriculum or in the informal network of relationships within the university.

The crisis, in brief, is that one of the most fundamental factors in human and social existence--that of a disciplined and significant set of values which could serve as a guide to action and decision--is rarely being addressed within our education communities, to some extent by design and to a large extent by default.

## The Definition of Values

But while there is agreement that we are facing a social and education crisis, the scholarly community is far from agreement on a definition of values. There is a vast literature on value theory of which several bibliographies are available, including one of my own. An important summary of the current issues relevant to higher education has been formulated by Richard Morrill (1982). My own definition, like that of Morrill, considers values as those internally organized and relatively consistent operating principles which serve as a guide for choice and action in individual life.

Values are that part of the organizing center of human experience which enables us to have a frame of orientation and meaning as we arrange our time, make choices about relative goods, determine the pattern of our relationships, and appropriate the pain and the joy of the appreciable world. Many times values may be articulated explicitly, but in a more important sense they function implicitly as operating principles and often need to be identified even in one's self by attempts to understand what gives unity or coherence to a pattern of action. The implicit evaluation of some courses of action over others is often more significant in assessing where one's real values lie than the more facile overt statements of value--though hopefully we all move in maturity toward increasing congruence of the implicit and explicit.

Morrill's definition, as also used in the Atlantic Council policy paper, similarly deals with values as "standards in, of, and for action...patterns and standards of choice that guide persons toward satisfaction, fulfillment and meaning...they serve as foci for human aspirations as they orient, not determine, choices through which human beings are enabled to solve problems, to avoid impasses and impossible situations, and to create an open future" (1983, p. 13).

Such a definition needs to be distinguished on at least two sides from alternative positions. On the one hand some scholars have treated value and human values as derivative from some postulated first principles presumed to be part of the essential structure of reality. D. H. Parker in The Philosophy of Value (1957) and Everett Hall in What is Value? (1952) take such a position. Though making use of linguistic analysis, the writers in this so-called "objectivist position" in value theory remain obtuse and disconnected from value issues as they pertain both to higher education and to the realm of student experience in particular.

On the other hand a number of writers, especially social scientists, have defined values as attitudes or simple personal preferences. Considerable research on human values taking off from the seminal work of Allport (1960) and Bruner (1960), has asked relatively trivial questions about what people would choose in certain forced choice dilemmas, or even more simplistically what their attitude would be about a specific social problem, and then label the resulting answer a value.

Our definition of values insists, over against the objectivist position, that values be understood as relevant to the real life and decisions of individuals and societies, accessible in and to experience, particularly experiences where judgments are called for; they also must be open to change as we face new situations that call for contextual understanding. And over against those who would define values simply as attitudes, we would insist that one must probe deeper to find relatively enduring principles which guide choice over time, and which are understood as transcending simple self-interest or capricious private preference.

## The Value Debate in Higher Education

If we apply the definition suggested here to the higher education scene, I would argue that we discover not an absence of values among the "highly skilled Barbarians," but rather a set of subtle though pervasive value principles operative in both the curriculum and the structure of our institutions of higher learning. Stated somewhat differently, the critics of the value lacuna in higher education are sensitive to a loss of ethical inculcation of received cultural and religious values. But if we acknowledge that values function generically as the organizing center of choice and action, then it is at least possible, and I would argue urgent, that we examine what these values actually are both among students and faculty and within the curricular structures. There are in education, as in any realm of experience, values operative beneath the surface of our teaching and research. The question is, are those values significant enough, normative enough, intentional enough to be worthy of our enterprise with students?!

Indeed, the recognition that there are implicit values within the academic community has led to one of the most important debates about the teaching of values in higher education. On one side of this debate is a position articulated recently by Trow (1976) that follows earlier thinking of theorists like Bronowski and Merton in arguing that the very process of scholarly work instills its own values, and that these constitute sufficient responsibility on the part of the university in respect to the moral education of students. The scholar listens honestly and tolerantly to evidence from various sources, looks at alternative points of view and at negative evidence, engages in self-judgment and self-criticism, and is willing to abandon results that may be ego-gratifying but false. The values espoused implicitly in our educational process are honesty, tolerance, respect, truth, rigor and fairness (see the discussion of this viewpoint in Morrill, 1980, pp. 32 ff.) I think it must also be added that our implicit values also tend to include competitiveness, elevation of individual effort over community cooperation, shortcuts in the amassing of data, and the fostering of self-interest in personal and professional advancement over institutional loyalty or social involvement.

I already tipped my hand toward the other side of this debate, which argues that it is insufficient to assume that students will realize the implicit value structure of the scholarly enterprise, and that rather we must go considerably further in a disciplined, thoughtful, and serious evaluation of the value claims, whether explicit or implicit, both in the subject matter of our academic fields and in the values operative in the very institutional structures in which we work. It is a willingness to get involved in this more articulate and intensive investigation of value issues which has animated the work of Morrill, Meyer (1979) and others, as well as some creative studies undertaken by foundations such as Lilly, Ford, Johnson, and Kettering (see for instance the Kettering study "Knowledge, Education, and Human Values," 1980).

There is a parallel set of emerging research which is constructively supportive of this position that values can and should be examined explicitly during the course of higher education. That research has to do with cognitive development, moral development, and faith development, particularly during adolescence and early adulthood: Perry (1970), Kohlberg (1976) and Fowler (1981). As students become increasingly adept in "formal operations" cognitively, as they move through puzzling experiences in which authorities are questioned, as cultural relativism at first appeals and then is questioned, and, as awareness of social and moral dilemmas deepens, the need for ethical principles is clearly acknowledged. My point is that there is an inevitable intellectual and moral pilgrimage being undertaken by all students, particularly as they go between stages three and four in the developmental stage theory, and this reality gives us not only the opportunity but the imperative to address questions of meaning and value in an explicit way with them as part of the educational experience in the university. Furthermore these studies may give us some guidelines as to how to do that more effectively, recognizing that the analysis of value issues in say literature and political science is not simply an objective intellectual task but is ultimately linked very directly to the internal reassessment and formulation of value commitments on the part of individual students. Such reassessment is inevitably tied to the psychological, cognitive, and religious sensibilities which are taking on new characteristics precisely within the time frame of traditional college and graduate school experience.

#### Operational Suggestions in the Development of an Intentional Focus on Values in Higher Education

Assuming that there is substantial agreement with the importance of giving thoughtful and systematic attention to value issues in higher education, I would like to give several suggestions regarding the arenas in which this might take place. Briefly these will be (1) value inquiry within the curriculum, (2) a "values pedagogy," (3) advising and personal values clarification, (4) values in institutional relationships, (5) value analysis of the organizational structure in higher education, (6) values assessment in off-campus social involvement.

##### 1. Value Inquiry Within the Curriculum

In my judgment one of the most pertinent places within the university where serious study of both the content and function of value sensibility emerges is in the methods which we use to analyze the subject matter of our own academic discipline. Though each discipline has a somewhat independent way of analyzing texts, organizing conceptual material, building research structures, etc., there is in virtually every field a set of implicit valuations which I am arguing should be made explicit through some form of analysis in both classroom discussions and readings related to the field. Learning to recognize value-laden statements, describing the inferences of such statements, exploring the depth and pertinence of implied or overt value judgments made

in the selection of research topics, looking at claims regarding standards for human fulfillment or human maturation in varying cultures, looking at the values which make possible shared scientific exploration - all of this can be undertaken at various levels in the analysis of our procedures and subject matter in the disciplines.

Furthermore this sort of exploration can be an important unifying experience for students and faculty. Such value questions help to integrate matters of thought, feeling and action. An understanding of values and the way they function in human experience often gives us perspectives on education that overcome the artificial dichotomies between cognition and feeling, between knowledge and conduct, between form and content.

For example in psychology one can easily go beyond Freud's development of psychoanalytic theory to an assessment both of the values he criticized in the psychological and religious formulations of others, and of the values that he espouses in his way of thinking and in the content of his normative view of life (devotion to logos, tolerance of pain and ambiguity, relinquishment of the comfort of mythological answers--while incorporating other mythological figures as explanatory of basic principles--forthrightness in the face of denied experience, passion and intensity in the process of learning). Or in the analysis of Othello in a literature course, one can look not only at issues of literary criticism, stylistic and symbolic material, literary allusion, plot and motivation; but also at the moral dilemmas pertaining to trustworthiness and jealousy, to fidelity and betrayal, to greed and the denial of impotence, as factors in the amoral or immoral behavior of Iago. My point is that it is both possible and useful to be attentive to the value claims implicit in a variety of subject matter. And in studying the subject matter as well as the methodology of major figures in this way, we may help students in sorting through not just the more recognizable values of truth-telling, respect, esteem, fairness and compassion, but also in understanding the subtlety in values of self-interest, status-seeking, envious ambition, achievement orientations, financial success, etc. Which of these constitutes a good life, a worthy life, and why?

## 2. A Values Pedagogy

Not only can values be examined as part of the subject matter under inquiry in various parts of the curriculum, but also a style of teaching and learning may be evolved that deliberately invites engagement with value questions as they pertain to a student's own perspective. This teaching and learning style has been one of the important contributions of Richard Morrill, who identifies it as "Values Pedagogy" or teaching for values. Such a pedagogy suggest that students "be active in developing and defending their own positions; be challenged to probe deeply of the justifications for human choices, especially their own; confront standards and points of view that counter their personal perspectives; be encouraged and able to assume the role of someone with a contrasting point of view; wrestle with problems that have no simple solutions." (Morrill, 1982, p. 5). A context may be

developed in which a student's "equilibrium" can be tolerantly and supportively challenged through effort, discussion, openness to criticism, acceptance of and evaluation of varying perspectives. Active techniques beyond the transmission of information may include role playing, debates, simulation exercises, and games. The professor, in both active teaching techniques and lecture settings, must at appropriate points be willing to share his or her own values and commitments, perspectives and questions, with all the risk and vulnerability which that entails. At the same time, effective value education "requires not less but more rigor and discipline by asking that objective critical standards be sought precisely within the passion and conflict of human experience." (Ibid.)

### 3. Advising and Personal Values Clarification

A meaningful advisory system within higher education can insure that an especially potent dialogue is carried on through a variety of educational experiences, enabling students as individuals or in small groups to explore the value issues at stake in both the cognitive and personal dimensions of their lives. If such a dialogue moves beyond the specifics of course selection and vocational preparation, it often touches the deepest patterns of choosing, of prizing, of evaluating, and of acting with conviction. One technique that has been used in some educational settings to enhance such conversations has been that of "values clarification." This approach, first introduced by Raths, Harmon, and Simon (1966) and developed at a more theoretical level by Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (1972), involves a method to help individuals identify and clarify their own personal values and to link those values meaningfully. This approach is self-conscious in its attempt to move to the level of fundamental values in the sense of operating principles, as distinct from mere attitudes, feelings, or preferences. It does not, however, deal with normative criteria by which the broader social significance of personal values might be weighed.

### 4. Values in Institutional Relationships

Attention to the quality of relationships among students, faculty and administration can have an important bearing on the nature and seriousness of value considerations. Relationships which are predicated primarily on goal-achievement, efficiency in organizational operation, competition for resources (grades or grants), a bifurcation of work and private life, etc. can create quite a distinct climate of human value and expectations; over against relationships which are predicated on values of supportive cooperation, fidelity over time, honesty and trustworthiness in transactions, and the integration of work and personal existence. These qualities, while somewhat intangible, can be felt in the ethos of different campuses. They certainly can be observed in the conduct of committee meetings and in the morale of faculty. Just as Carol Gilligan has shown the importance of relationships in the stages of individual moral development, partly in critique of Kohlberg's attention to the more typically masculine emphasis on style of principled argument, so I would suggest on a broader scale

that relationships play an important, sometimes primary, function in transitions that students make as they explore value issues in higher education.

#### 5. Value Analysis of the Organizational Structure in Higher Education

Recalling our earlier discussion of values functioning at the level of implicit operating principles, I want to suggest that at least covert teaching of values goes beyond both curriculum and relationships within the university to the very assumptions made in the organizational structure. Some educators have treated these structural elements as a kind of "hidden curriculum." Administrative structures which emphasize tight authority pyramids in carefully protected reporting lines for budgetary and operational functions can communicate both to staff and to students values of deference, respect for power, control, and efficiency. Administrative structures which emphasize collegial relationships, broad consultation on important decisions, constant feedback loops of communication, and a prizing of new ideas from whatever their source, can demonstrate an emphasis on values of openness, mutuality of effort, community cohesiveness and interpersonal rapport. Of course if such a structure does not also include clear decisions and operational responsibility in the formulation and implementation of policy, it could also lead to fragmentation of effort and perhaps chaotic non-productivity.

#### 6. Values Assessment in Off-campus Social Involvement

The style in which a college or university relates to the community and world beyond itself also influences the values which are implicitly taught. There certainly are some campuses which are highly insular with intellectual and social functions revolving around an internal network of courses, athletics, arts events, fraternities and sororities, and even religious services. In such settings, self-satisfaction, privatistic and often privileged status influence the value structure. Over against that I would argue the importance of significant off-campus activity through internships, cooperative programs, and social and political involvement related to global issues such as peace and justice and world hunger. Of course work within the regular curriculum can analyze such issues, but it is more frequently the case that significant value commitment emerges from actual participation in projects and settings where such issues are being addressed. Such projects are important not only when they involve direct social issues, but also when they engage artistic sensibilities that convey the rich texture of the human struggle in value choices, or when they take students into the area of professional and pre-professional responsibility where ethical issues must be personally addressed.

Specific examples of a number of these suggestions can be found on various college campuses where faculties have deliberately set about designing opportunities for serious values inquiry. I will cite just three: the values curriculum at Alverno College in Wisconsin, the "Oxford Studies Program" at Emory University, and the freshman Inter-Disciplinary Studies program at Guilford College.

## The Spiritual Grounding of Values in Higher Education

I have been arguing for the importance of not only study about values, but also engagement in value-laden settings. But the question could still be asked, "Are these values, however encountered, simply matters of human designation, or does the whole matter of what is valuable rest ultimately on some higher order principles of a philosophical or theological nature?" My position would be that there are indeed theological issues at stake here. But rather than looking for some ontological basis for a deductive moral order, I would suggest that we look more carefully at the creative sources of value enhancement discussed by a theologian like Wieman in The Source of Human Good (1946), or at the factors contributing to an ethic of responsibility as discussed in H. Richard Niebuhr's essay in moral philosophy, The Responsible Self (1978). Neither argues for an absolutistic moral code, but each is sensitive to the way in which profound engagement in a community of commitment can yield fresh insight, appreciation and responsibility in the deepening of values.

Particularly at a time when we are upholding the values of tolerance, respect for the rights of others, and acknowledgement of pluralism in religious and social matters, it is imperative that we look not for the derivative and absolutistic authority of the few, but for the moral and benevolent meeting ground of the many whose pilgrimage may have brought them to a similar place, though through various spiritual paths. Attempts to do this on a global basis have resulted in statements like that prepared at the Conference on the Atlantic Community, developed at Bruges in 1957, emphasizing respect for the intrinsic values of the human person, inseparability of freedom from moral responsibility, inseparability of freedom from human solidarity, tolerance, etc. (Atlantic Council Policy Paper, 1983, p. 16). Whether or not such statements include specific religious values (the 1959 Atlantic Congress in London did do so), there is typically the sense that those values being identified go far beyond particular personal, regional, or even national boundaries of evaluation and moral discernment. There is a sense of transcendence in and beyond the human community itself.

In higher education we participate in a series of intentional communities for learning which have the potential to probe in depth those values which make not only learning but all human choices possible. A community for learning is also a spiritual community insofar as it comes to recognize all dimensions of creation in terms of a power (perhaps even a directionality) which unites and sustains individuals and historical communities. Celebration of both the possibilities and empowerment of life itself can bring an awareness that human compassion and human dignity, as well as human freedom and human responsibility, are based on more than our own efforts to name these as values. Rather, I believe, they are based on our sense of having been supported, challenged, sustained, and healed--even in the midst of ignorance and tragedy--by sources of strength beyond ourselves. Such experiences bring a humble sense of oneness with all that is, and

with that a sense of willingness to relinquish the impulse to dominate, to overpower, to control, to manipulate. In this sense, the spiritual reservoir of both faith and value sensitivity leads us not so much toward indoctrination as toward a calling to inquire, to nurture, to inspire, to enrich and challenge others toward a life sensitive to the highest possibilities of human fulfillment.

We are compelled within higher education to be attentive not only to that which can and should be known, but also to that which is ultimately worthy of both knowing and doing. We are called to be attentive to each individual pilgrimage in the exploration of values, and also to be in unity with our understanding of the most transcendent values: compassion, fidelity, forgiveness, truth-seeking, justice, the good of knowledge, and knowledge of the good.

\* \* \* \* \*

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**R. MELVIN KEISER**

**ON TIME AND CREATION:  
A BRACE OF POLANYIAN MEDITATIONS ON AUGUSTINE**

I have written a brace of articles on Augustine from a Polanyian perspective, taking time and creation as contexts in which to exhibit what Polanyi might have been intimating in seeing in Augustine the inauguration of postcritical philosophy. I start with Augustine's affirmation of belief as the foundation of all knowing and suggest there is an ambiguity here. While "belief" usually means doctrinal assent, it also means, on some occasions, a much deeper commitment ingredient in our very existing--a tacit commitment of trust in being. It is in this personal, existential meaning of belief underlying knowing that Polanyi sees the inauguration of postcritical philosophy. Even though Augustine is nowhere explicit about this tacit meaning of belief, it is evident in the Confessions, where he is exploring the foundations of his personal existence before and after conversion to Christianity. What in a word I try to show, through a close reading of the last three books of the Confessions, is that time and creation for Augustine are not objective but personal phenomena. Tacit commitment in our being in the world underlies both.

With regard to time: Augustine conceives time not as an objective succession, which makes the present infinitesimally small, but as a dimension of our existing upheld by action of the mind's tacit "attention," which provides a breadth in temporal being--a present of enduring attention, past remembered, and future anticipated. Succession is not denied, but Augustine recognizes that there is no "passing-by" without a perceiver passed whom things pass by. (You may note similarities here to the reflections on time of Merleau-Ponty and H. Richard Niebuhr.) Augustine uses an example of reciting a well-known psalm. As I recite, it is all present to my attention but passes from the present of words expected to the present of words being said to the present of words remembered. Obviously, but not explicitly, there is subsidiary awareness of past and future as I focus on speaking in the present. Time is, therefore, a dimension of personal

experience upheld by the tacit commitment Augustine calls the mind's act of attention.

With regard to creation: Augustine presents God's creative and redemptive activities as identical. Both involve a movement from formlessness to order by turning to the Light. The world was created in two stages, first as invisible formless matter, then as the world we know, formed out of this pre-existent matter. So also with his own individual genesis: out of the formlessness of his neonatality he enters the human order. Like creation, cosmic and individual, redemption is a movement from the formlessness of sin, a life distracted among the Many, to the unified life of Christian faith in the One Truth. In both creation and redemption the ordering principle is the Light or Logos, and the action is the gracious turning toward this principle. He even calls the cosmic turning conversion.

In Augustine's understanding of creation and conversion we can discern the implicit postcritical founding of knowing on belief (as tacit commitment and indwelling). 1) In being converted: Indwelling his pre-conversion achievements of human maturity (becoming conscious, learning to speak and think, appropriating a cultural heritage) and his sinful life (wayward commitments to self-will, the flesh, the Many), he comes by grace to understand and accept the Christian faith. 2) In understanding his pre-conversion life: Prior to conversion he had tacitly experienced the presence of the divine Light in his life. After his conversion, indwelling all the ingredients of his converted relation to God, he understands how God was present in his earlier life. 3) In understanding creation: Indwelling his experience of conversion he grasps the pattern at work in the formation of the world, and understands, at the same time more clearly, the pattern at work in his own and others' lives.

In working on the postcritical potential in Augustine, I have been driven to realize that postcritical thinking calls, not only for a different non-dualistic content, but for a different style. It calls for a personal approach which can emerge in many diverse forms, rather than the monolithic argumentative form of objectivism. Among various possibilities, such as confessional sharing or dialogue, myth, autobiography, a theopoetical weave of metaphors, I have felt drawn in these analytic papers to meditation as the fitting form.

I use this word for three reasons. Rather than moving by a tight step by step argument from unexamined, or generally assumed, premises to a single conclusion, demolishing all alternative views, I am seeking for a depth of insight in both the text and our lives, which requires a sensitizing to the presence of tacit commitments, and yet allows the validity of other perspectives focused on different levels. Secondly, I seek to grasp imaginative connections between my subject and other major themes as they emerge from their tacit interplay, rather than a compartmentalized conclusion of the objective mind. One example, is to see the same pattern at work in creation and redemption. Another is to see time connected with our image of God. Augustine employs human temporality, exemplified in reciting a well-known psalm, as an analogy for God's eternal knowing, which suggests a

process dynamic in God of real expectation and memory contrary to the traditional view of God's unchangeability.

I think, moreover, we can see in Augustine a much more radical understanding of incarnation than our orthodox tradition is wont to tolerate. By it he not only means that God was present in Jesus; he means as well (now explicitly following the Johannine Prologue) that the divine Light or Logos is present in every person. The connection between incarnation and time and creation becomes evident when you consider why Augustine is talking about such themes at all in an autobiography. The short, postcritical, answer is that, like his autobiography, they also are "personal" phenomena. A slightly longer answer is that he knows the Light, and his turning towards it, within his own experience, and wants to rethink the nature of time and creation to make room for it. What I am suggesting is that a postcritical view of divinity requires transcending the critical view of an objective God so that we come to understand God as the ultimate context of our tacit indwelling, and the incarnation as attempting to express this divine presence, not only in the flesh of Christianity's founder but in all humans.

A further imaginative connection is between the content of time and creation and the confessional form. Augustine's dialogue, narrative, and prayerful wrestle with God seeks to elicit an opening in us to the dimension of depth within, so that in our enduring present time we encounter the enduring presence of the divine, and in our spatial world we can feel at home, because the world, like ourselves, has been evoked into order by immanent Light. To discover such Light within is to be brought from formlessness to form. To make articulate such discovery is to make articulate the faith one holds. This after all is the "function of philosophic reflection: 'to bring to light, and to affirm as my own, the beliefs implied in such of my thoughts and practices as I believe to be valid.'" (PK, p. 267)

Another connection is between time and creation and the nature of religious language. If we as temporal and spatial creatures live, move, and have our being in such mysterious, tacit depths, then there is a multiplicity of meanings to be grasped, and our religious words should seek to evoke and embody such richness. Augustine is aware that "we know more than we can tell," (TD, p. 4) and expresses this postcritical insight clearly in saying: "I should prefer to write in such a way that my words could convey any truth that anyone could grasp on such matters, rather than to set down one true meaning so clearly as to exclude all other meanings." (CONF., XI, 31)

I write, then, in the form of meditation because I seek for insight and imaginative connections. My third reason I write in this form--with which I will conclude this summary paper--is that I seek to extend Polanyi's thought. He has little to say about time or creation. I am groping, therefore, not only to illumine Augustine but to make articulate what is intimated in his (and my) own commitments that may be fruitful for theological reflection. A postcritical perspective should not lead to a Polyanian Scholasticism, preserving and refining the doctrine, but to an ever deepening exploration of being--the being of ourselves and our world.

\* \* \* \* \*

This paper, delivered at a meeting of the Polanyi Society, AAR, in December of 1983, is a summary of two articles: "Lived Time: A Polanyian Meditation on the Temporality of Self and God in Augustine's Confessions" and "Inaugurating Postcritical Philosophy: A Polanyian Meditation on Creation and on Creation and Conversion in Augustine's Confessions."

**JERRY CARIS GODARD**

from

**MENTAL FORMS CREATING:  
William Blake's Anticipations  
of Freud, Jung, and Rank**

Epilogue

This is a beginning . . . without conclusion, too soon for summary. However, some thought for continuing this conversation is seemly. Juxtaposition of the ideas of Freud, Jung, and Rank, along with Blake's anticipation of them, should stay open-ended, and Blake's account of the perdurable discourses in Eden offers hope for such an extended venture.

Eden, in Blake's vision, is no state of easy assurances, nor does it promise pleasure and plenitude. Rather it is ever characterized by mental struggle and seeking. Here ideas and images contend under some prevailing paradox where tentativeness and commitment are fused. Beliefs, theories, and visionary creations are fashioned and furthered with a passionate persuasion and an absolute awareness of their ultimate uncertainty. There countering answers are heard well and enliven a mutual search for meaning.

Freud, Jung, and Rank each retained a freshness of perspective and a willingness to alter earlier opinions offered with intense conviction. Their most convincing insights came as each grappled with his own conclusions. Tragically, the personal pain experienced in their separations pushed each to a blindness about the formulations of the other two. Cruel, uninformed sanctimony marked their responses to one another, and has typified the arguments of their immediate followers. Much has been lost in that acrimony. Eden offers no comfort for uncritical eclecticism where difference is denied and tepid togetherness celebrated. The "clangor of the Arrows of Intellect" (E 257, K 745) is the sound of Eden; warfare and hunting are its metaphors for the eternal engagement. Yet the search and contest for meaning are ever

"sweet," never hateful, "for the Soldier who fights for Truth calls his enemy his brother: They fight and contend for life" (E 185, K 672).

Our wars are wars of life, and wounds of love,  
With intellectual spears, and long winged arrows of  
thought:

Mutual in one another's love and wrath all renewing  
We live as One Man (E 180, K664)

The stakes are large, with efforts to match; and the ideas are never paltry, however inadequate, or incomplete, their final appearances. Such making of meaning is the most telling of human activities:

In the great Wars of Eternity, in fury of Poetic  
Inspiration,  
To build the Universe stupendous: Mental forms Creating  
(E 129, K 519)

Rank would have seen such forms as Illusions of great worth, and noted, with approval, the lower case for "form." The particular Illusion will fade as mental energy is invested in new creations.<sup>1</sup>

In a brilliant illumination of Eternity, Bacon, Newton, and Locke--low rated for so long--are brought into a single line with Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton (E 257, K 745), an array of contraries engaged in mental struggle and "sweet science." This is the promise of Eden.

Such alignment of science and poetry - of metaphor and analytics - is rare to be sure, but wherever and whenever it happens, it is convincing of its ultimate worth. Jacob Bronowski, Loren Eiseley, Julian Jaynes, Arthur Koestler and, perhaps, Carl Sagan are modern English writing exemplars of that reality.<sup>2</sup> Each has given a bold interpretation of human nature which is thoroughly informed by scholarship, is graced by love of language, and never lies. Reaching beyond the certain and the demonstrable, they risk sure error and rejection with some strange combination of chutzpah, humility, and humor. Each of these widely varying remedies is a stimulant, not an anodyne, and provides a winsome portrayal of the tentativeness-commitment paradox. They fail to leave full fledged forms, as critics caution and correct them, but the sturdy skeletons do remain to remind. A recent work of similar moment is Melvin Konner's The Tangled Wing. The author, a behavioral biologist, marshals impressive evidence for biological determinism--meeting the challenges of radical behaviorism, and of existentialism, too, with convincing clarity--while never retreating to the insular confines of sociobiology.<sup>3</sup> In a late and chilling chapter--"a meditation at the close of a long, difficult exercise in the attempt to understand human nature"--he concludes that "its most ominous elements are a deep vein of violence, perhaps attendant on a too-great sense of fright, a weakly developed capacity for material satisfaction, perhaps also partly due to that same sense of fright; a tendency to misjudge the difficulties of life as difficulties arising from a specified cause; and a sort of affectional inertia that puts a drag on generosity outside of a small circle of friends and kin."<sup>4</sup>

From this pessimistic position, Konner (who is a poet, as well) advances a surprising proposition. He urges the development of the "human spirit" to transcend the "protracted, dissolute destruction" of the species.<sup>5</sup> Having biological origins, this human spirit is not a mystical entity, but it is no longer subject to the control of nature. The central feature of the human spirit is a "sense of wonder."

At the conclusion of all our studies, we must try once again to experience the human soul as soul, and not just a buzz of bio-electricity; the human will as will, and not just a surge of hormones; the human heart not as a fibrous, sticky pump, but as the metaphoric organ of understanding. We need not believe in them as metaphysical entities - they are as real as the flesh and blood they are made of. But we must believe in them as entities; not as analyzed fragments, but as wholes made real by our contemplation of them, by the words we use to talk of them, by the way we have transmuted them to speech. We must stand in awe of them as unassailable, even though they are dissected before our eyes.

As for the natural world, we must try to restore wonder there too. We could start with that photograph of the earth. It may be our last chance. Even now it is being used in geography lessons, taken for granted by small children. We are the first generation to have seen it, the last generation not to take it for granted. Will we remember what it meant to us? How fine the earth looked, dangled in space? How pretty against the endless black? How round? How very breakable? How small? It is up to us to experience a sense of wonder about it that will save it before it is too late. If we cannot, we may do the final damage in our lifetimes. If we can, we may change the course of history and, consequently, the course of evolution, setting the human lineage firmly on a path toward a new evolutionary plateau.

We must choose, and choose soon, either for or against the further evolution of the human spirit...<sup>6</sup>

Konner does not defend this distinguishing of a human reality from the natural one, but he does assert that denial of that distinction will allow a natural extinguishing of our species. Although this plea for acknowledgment of a transcendent humanness is a provocative, even puzzling, conclusion to an apparent vindication of biological determinism, somehow it seems exactly right.<sup>7</sup>

Detailed dimension for Konner's conclusion is given by Loren Eiseley, the poetic paleontologist, in Firmament of Time, a book devoted to consideration of the meaning of the "natural." It ends on a note that rings like Konner's:

Man, at last is face to face with himself in natural guise. "What we make natural, we destroy," said Pascal. He knew with superlative insight, man's complete necessity to transcend the worldly image this word connotes. It is not the outward powers of man the toolmaker that threaten us. It is a growing danger which

has already afflicted vast areas of the world--the danger that we have created an unbearable last idol for our worship. That idol, that uncreate and ruined visage which confronts us daily, is no less than man made natural. Beyond this replica of ourselves, this countenance already grown so distantly inhuman that terrifies us, still beckons the lonely figure of man's dreams. It is a nature, not of this age, but of the becoming--the light once glimpsed by a creature just over the threshold from a beast, a despairing cry from the dark shadow of a cross on Golgotha long ago.

Man is not totally compounded of the nature we profess to understand. Man is always partly of the future, and the future he possesses a power to shape. "Natural" is a magician's word - and like all such entities, it should be used sparingly lest there arise from it, as now some unglimped, unintended world, some monstrous caricature called into being by the indiscreet articulation of worn syllables. Perhaps, if we are wise, we will prefer to stand like those forgotten humble creatures who poured little gifts of flint into a (Neanderthal) grave. Perhaps there may come to us then, in such a moment, a ghostly sense that an invisible doorway has been opened--a doorway which, widening out, will take man beyond the nature he knows.<sup>8</sup>

In these works, two scientists have engaged the very nature of their disciplines to show the necessity of seeing through the natural world to envision, and to quicken, a human one. A materialist would disparage that as an illusion. A reader of this work could turn that term to one of ultimate significance.

William Blake, also, stresses the decisive distinction between Human and Natural. His anticipation of Freud, Jung, and Rank brings into relief several central features of human nature and experience: Consciousness; Rationality; Love; Individuality; and Terror. These constructs, recurrent in this manuscript, can signal a search for common ground to engage in further development of the ideas of Freud, Jung and Rank. This brief Epilogue presses the reader to remain mindful of these features.

"Conscious of the problem of consciousness almost since consciousness began,"<sup>9</sup> people have lived, often uneasily, with awareness of self and other, of attachment and estrangement, of a natural world to be understood, and of unknown dread. Closer study of The Four Zoas could allow a fresh appraisal of Consciousness in which the differing ideas of Freud, Jung, and Rank are brought together. Blake's perfectly amorphous depiction of the Zoas, and their division in an experience of consciousness, promotes the effort to conceptualize the psyche in a point-set topology, replacing inadequate hierarchical and topographical models. The relationship of elements of the mind is not some linear alignment in space, or time; and consciousness is neither entirely rational, nor discontinuous. Topological conception could encourage the spark of imaginative play around those points of least illumination where consciousness disappears and emerges: Freud's unplumbed navel; Jung's Collective Unconscious; and the irrational beyond psychology described by Rank.

Like Consciousness and related to it, Rationality is central in the theories of Freud, Jung, and Rank; and the odyssey of Urizen throughout Blake's prophecies may frame a comparison of the Ego's governance by the Reality Principle (Freud); the dialectic of the Functions of Feeling and Thinking (Jung); and the appearance of consciousness as both rational and intuitive (Rank). All three describe the dangers of blindered rationality, and Freud's reluctant recourse to that risk could be tempered in such a comparison. A rationality which can accept the appearance, even the potential reality, of meaninglessness without recoiling, or turning to superstition, is a hope of Blake's regeneration. It is a challenge to conceive that resolution in terms of Freud, Jung, and Rank.

Love, so often invoked as the panacea for human pain, can be a snare and a delusion in each of the three theories. Destructive passion and possessiveness are similar products of Eros, Anima(us) confusions, and the Average solution. So, too, in Blake's poetry where Orc rampages and is bound by jealousy, and when Satan merges with Rahab to enchain and mutilate. Yet Luvah is also the Zoan author of Jesus who embraces the beloved fully acknowledging the loss that act must entail. Love always involves loss--death, estrangement, and annihilation of the self and the beloved. That occurs in the unconditional acceptance of Counterwill, and in the creation of an Illusion (Rank); or in the full acceptance of the Shadow and the Animus(a) (Jung). It is also experienced in Sublimation, but Freud's renunciation of sexuality would be rejected by Blake. Sexuality is the cruelest binding of nature in Experience; it is the bond enabling human transcendence as well. In the sexual commingling of Milton and Ololon, loss and love become one, and an indescribable renaissance ensues (E 143, K 534).

Like sexuality, the expression of Individuality is absolutely necessary for regeneration and is a source of particular peril and pain. To be a self which is apart from everything, and yet a part of everything is the most basic human experience and source of constant confusion. Freud knew the pressures on the Ego to join and to fit society while serving the interests of self, as well as its lonely longing to become inanimate, submerging out of life. In Jung's process of Individuation, the individual and the collective collide and coincide in great tension. Rank's Will encounters Fear of Life and Fear of Death. That ambivalent structure of "self a/part" may be likened to Tharmas who provides sure connectedness in dimensionless Eternity, but when fallen in time and space, is rendered into obscene existential objection and chaotic consuming sea.

Individuality and sexuality are absolutely necessary for the regeneration of the Human Form Divine, whereupon they lose all salience. (Perhaps this is true also of logical analysis, if the parallel with the Zoas is apt.)

Unnameable Terror is the mood of Experience in Blake's myth, and an obvious human condition in the writings of Freud, Jung and Rank as well.<sup>15</sup> There is described the rational dread of meaninglessness; the lover's fear of loss; and the countering

horrors of being left out and of being contained. In Experience, violence, madness, death, and meaninglessness are met at every twist, defying denial, and undermining trust and hope.

Imagination is Blake's answer to Experience--an artistic will to create the Human Form Divine. Los provides the power for forming an organized Innocence that does not deny Experience. The Artist will create Illusions. Freud, Jung, and Rank are Artists, as is Blake. Their Illusions fade as they are picked at, like those of Bronowski, Eiseley, Jaynes, Koestler, and others. Yet they do remind again and again. Human Consciousness, Rationality, Love, Individuality, Terror, and Imagination--the stuff of Illusion... As is this manuscript.

\* \* \* \* \*

This a beginning ... and it is an Illusion. Further possible developments are indicated, like a topological consideration of the psyche. Also intriguing are the implications of holography in providing a metaphor, or model, for mind, particularly in light of Blake's penchant for optical allusions.<sup>11</sup>

Or one could choose to develop in detail these sketched suggestions about Consciousness, Rationality, Love, Individual Identity, Terror, or Imagination. Or one might enlarge the search for grounds common to the three theorists where their conceptions might be tested, and extended at those spots where they are discerned to be least clear, in greatest disagreement, or most challenging.

Such never ending venturing would have appealed to William James, no friend to indiscriminate eclecticism, but ever an embodiment of the tentativeness-commitment paradox. Longing to be certain about the reality of transpersonal psychic phenomena, he acknowledged that he would die with nothing more than a sort of Scottish verdict of "not proven." He closed his comments on the nature of mind this way:

Out of my experience, such as it is (and it is limited enough), one fixed conclusion emerges, and that is this, that we with our lives are like islands in the sea, or like trees in the forest. The maple and the pine may whisper to each other with their leaves, and Conanicut and Newport hear each other's foghorns. But the trees also commingle their roots in the darkness underground, and the islands also hang together through the ocean's bottom. Just so there is a continuum of cosmic consciousness, against which our individuality builds but accidental fences, and into which our several minds plunge as into a mother-sea or reservoir. Our 'normal' consciousness is circumscribed for adaptation to our external earthly environment, but the fence is weak in spots, and fitful influences from beyond leak in, showing the otherwise unverifiable common connection. Not only psychic research, but metaphysical philosophy, and speculative biology are led in their own ways to look with favor on some such 'panpsychic' view of the universe as this. Assuming this common reservoir... to exist..., the question is, what is its own structure?<sup>12</sup>

James learned that the Kantian distance between science and metaphysics could not be maintained, although that tough-minded distinction had long sustained him. He abandoned it without rejection, and with a good spirit.

It is meet to conclude Mental forms Creating where it first was--with the dying William James. His last word published while he lived is, quite appropriately, not his own, but the word of another person (Benjamin Paul Blood):<sup>13</sup>

Let my last word, then,...be his word:--'There is no conclusion. What has concluded, that we might conclude in regard to it? There are no fortunes to be told, and there is no advice to be given. -- Farewell!'

\* \* \* \* \*

Throughout the manuscript, references to Blake's poetry are included in brackets within the text, rather than in the end notes with other sources. This allows the reader to make concurrent use of one of the two standard editions of Blake's complete works. The letter "E" within the brackets identifies page numbers in Erdman, D. (editor), The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake (1982); "K" refers to Keynes, G. (editor), Complete Writings of William Blake (1966).

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Artist is Rank's ideal type, and the creative, healthful living of life is "artistic." An Illusion is neither false, nor deceitful, but rather the product of the most creative play of the imagination, the Artist's expression of meaning about life, death, and/or immortality that cannot be known empirically, but is conceived essentially. An Illusion never lies, but is always inadequate finally, and the Artist ever must fashion another Illusion.

Conversely, psychoanalysts use the word to mean "deceit" or "lie," and see their most basic challenge as releasing their patients, and themselves, from "illusions." A parallel disaccord in modern sensory physiology finds the tradition of illusion as "false" perception met by the position that the classic visual illusions are crucial for understanding perception, and no more false than any other perception. (Jackie Ludel suggested this last observation. See her Introduction to the Sensory Processes, pp. 188-189, and, also Conrad Mueller's Sensory Psychology, pp. 28-29.

<sup>2</sup>This list of "English writing exemplars" is not exhaustive, of course. The essays of Lewis Thomas and Stephen Jay Gould are beautiful pieces, and Robert Jastrow and Douglas Hofstadter have been proposed. The selection could be the basis of another Illusion.

Jacob Bronowski's crowning creation is the television series, The Ascent of Man, from which the book by the same title is taken. His other works include The Identity of Man, Science and

Human Values, The Poet's Defense, and William Blake and the Age of Revolution. The latter is a sound critical analysis of socio-historical influences on Blake.

Loren Eiseley's most lasting work is The Firmament of Time. His other masterworks of science and literature include The Immense Journey, The Invisible Pyramid, The Unexpected Universe, Night Country, and All the Strange Hours. In addition he has written several volumes of poetry.

Julian Jaynes' The Origins of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind, a work as provocative as its title is lengthy, sets for modern Psychology a standard for the merger of imaginative speculation and rigorous scholarship in the tradition of William James. It is wonderfully well written.

Janus: A Summing Up, Arthur Koestler's source book to his post war works, gives a convincing explication of a complex theory about the "evolution, creativity, and pathology of the human mind" (Author's Note). It offers a good lead into his extensive writings.

The promise of Carl Sagan's The Cosmic Connection is not fulfilled in The Dragons of Eden and Cosmos (also a television series). However he does write well, and will write again, presumably.

<sup>3</sup>The vast majority of behavioral biologists, then--ethologists, neuroethologists, physiological psychologists, neuropsychologists, behavioral neurologists, behavioral endocrinologists, biological psychiatrists, comparative psychologists, biological anthropologists, behavioral geneticists, psychopharmacologists, and others not even anchored yet in the sea of science subfield gobbledygook--are nonsociobiologists." Melvin Konner, The Tangled Wing, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p.426. <sup>5</sup>Ibid., p.427. <sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp.435-436.

<sup>7</sup>The book is not flawless. There are mistakes (including a misreading of Blake) and overgeneralizations, but these pale in the light of his full argument. The value of a composition like this is greater than its clarity and the size of the canvas on which it is depicted. Many efforts at multidisciplinary thinking about humanness remain grounded in the more secure data, unwilling to fly. One example of such a refusal is Andre Maurois' Illusions. Here beautiful language, poetic power, and appreciation of science are used, finally, to trivialize human experience and art. Konner, like those bold thinkers listed earlier, errs, but not in the diminishment of his subject.

<sup>8</sup>Loren Eiseley, Firmament of Time, pp. 180-181.

<sup>9</sup>Julian Jaynes, The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of Bicameral Mind, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup>Francisco Moreno, in Between Faith and Reason, offers a provocative argument that "basic fear" is the singular human characteristic. That it takes root in reason is noted with appreciation by the student of Blake's myth.

<sup>11</sup>Karl Pribram has a theory of human perception operating like a hologram, described in Chapter 8 of Languages of the Brain.

<sup>12</sup>William James, Memories and Studies, edited by Henry James, Jr. (William's son), and reprinted in William James on Psychological Research, edited by Gardner Murphy and Robert Ballou, p. 324.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., quoted in F. O. Matthiessen: The James Family, p. 242.

## JEFFREY MARTIN

### THE LAND OF THE ELK

Colorado was a vast, unpeopled land when my father and I moved there in the early summer of 1962. My father was an important man, the senior vice-president of a large insurance company. A great deal of my father's life was lived away so he tried to reserve Saturdays for me. And yet, the first few Saturdays in our new town he worked at the office and I was sent to an aging one-armed cowboy for horseback riding lessons. Smokey was a small, skinny man with a dark face, and he walked with a limp. Once I asked him what happened to his arm, secretly hoping Indians shot it off, and he told me he had been in a car wreck. His ranch was a ramshackle collection of stables, outbuildings, and a small cottage where he lived. Smokey taught me to ride on a black and white Indian pony named Sam. He also taught me some of the cowboy's craft: lassoing, knots, and branding. Incidentally, we branded old army blankets since Smokey had no livestock. Smokey's poor ranch was a great school in the art of rugged Western living.

In late June, unseasonable, torrential rains swelled the nearby Cheyenne and Platte Rivers, flooding the lower land to the east of town. My father wanted to see the flood first-hand and drove us due east on Highway 72 until the road disappeared under the water fourteen miles from town, like a boat ramp at a lake. From there east lay a glistening stretch of water, a pretty lake in the sun. We retraced our path and headed north, gaining ground steadily. We drove up the steep dirt backside of a solitary butte, a flat-top hill, and parked. The view from the edge was astonishing. Northern Colorado was spread before us in a vast, dizzy thousand-mile expanse. To the West the Rockies rose like a dark blue cloud on the horizon. To the North and East the view was limitless, so there was no way of knowing if we were looking at Colorado or Wyoming or Nebraska in the distance. And to the South, as far as we could see, the floodwaters shimmered in the sun, a

shoreless ocean. Genesis replayed before our eyes: water and land fighting for dominion.

On Saturdays when my father worked and I wasn't scheduled at Smokey's, I would play next door at Gerry Given's house. Gerry was also ten. One Saturday his father asked if Gerry and I wanted to go kill rattlesnakes. After Mr. Givens called my father at work and secured his permission, we climbed into their V.W. bug and headed east into the prairie. We drove for over an hour before Mr. Givens pulled the car off the road. I climbed out of the car and followed Mr. Givens and Gerry. Two scraggly dead coyotes were draped over the barbed wire fence, like two wayward dogs bent double. Two dry grey tongues hung from their mouths. Mr. Givens unfolded a long pocketknife, grabbed the bottom of each coyote's tongue, and cut them off. "Hold 'em by the tip," he instructed as he handed one to Gerry and one to me. Mine was hot and dry and rough as sandpaper. Goo oozed out the slashed end. Gerry swung his around and hit the bloody end on the car bumper. I tossed mine on the floor of the back seat. When I looked back at Mr. Givens he was pissing on the coyotes' heads, making their heads wet and drippy. When Mr. Givens turned toward us, I caught sight of his thing before he pushed it back in his zipper. It shocked me: pale and grey and long, it hung like a coyote's tongue. Gerry and I peed quickly in two small arcs into a ditch. The rest of the day Gerry drove the V.W. across the bumpy empty land pocked with prairie dog holes where the rattlesnakes hid. Mr. Givens held his shovel high as a guillotine blade, as he sat on the hood of the car with his boots on the front bumper. He signaled violently for Gerry to turn right or left until he found a rattlesnake and teased it into an angry coil. The rattlesnake would strike at the steel shovel and Mr. Givens slammed the shovel down between the snake's head and back. Each time Mr. Givens won the battle, he scooped the severed head onto the shovel and held it against the windshield inches from my face. The ancient, pitted rattlesnake head bit the air in a futile survival ritual. His fangs were like shiny ivory toothpicks. At the end of the day, I had a shoebox full of rattles, those papery, translucent tails of the beast.

The next Saturday my father put away his business suit and donned his Levis, boots, and cowboy hat, and we took a newly purchased shotgun to the country. At the corner of an old dry field we found a ten-foot stack of baled hay. My father fixed a target to the hay and we fired at it from a distance. We had been shooting about twenty minutes when an old Ford pickup pulled up. "Just what the hell are you doing?" an irate man in overalls asked my father.

"Shooting," my father answered. For an important man, he was acting very sheepish.

"You fool, that shot will break my cow's teeth!"

"I'm sorry. We didn't know," my father apologized.

Once in the car and headed home, my father joked about the cow's broken teeth, mimicking a toothless cow mooing for a dentist. I laughed and looked out the car window, searching for telephone poles, houses, cars, any signs of human life--there were none. Take away the road and our car and you could turn the clock back thousands of years.

Something caught my eye.

"Stop!" I shouted.

My father braked to a stop.

"Back there," I pointed.

We got out of the car. A dry wind blew across the hot ground. I pointed out the dry white cow skeleton fifty feet from the road.

"Could we take the head home?" I asked. "Gerry has a cow skull on his fort."

As I was speaking, a vulture landed on the skeleton and pulled a last sinewy piece of meat from its back.

"Let's not," my father said. And for a cautious insurance man, he said something quite extraordinary. "Want to drive the car instead?" What could a boy of ten say, but yes, yes, yes. I sat on his lap and steered the slow car down the road. When we got close to town I slid into the passenger seat. Looking carefully out the windshield, I pretended to glide us the rest of the way home and into the dark hole of our garage.

By the end of the summer it was time to move again. My father was named president of his company and called back to Pennsylvania, Graciously, he asked my permission, as if it were a promotion we must both approve. I said it was okay. By the end of the week, we were packed and ready to leave. On impulse, my father suggested we drive to the butte we discovered earlier in the summer. By the time we reached the top, the sun had slid far to the west and was lingering over the darkening Rockies, throwing a red glow east over the prairie. The Cheyenne and Platte Rivers glistened in two small lines that merged and flowed south, like two thin blue veins in a forearm. "Look!" my father shouted, grabbing my hand. From the river's edge a large heard of elk thundered across the empty land with a plume of dust rising behind them. We watched the majestic animals steer their wild course, until they vanished and only the cloud of their presence remained. Facing that beautiful, savage land of the elk, we were one thing--father and son. His hand in mine felt large and fleshy and warm. Suddenly, his hand was trembling and sought strength in my small growing fingers. And in the fading, silent light of that vast land, my father began to cry. And I harbored him in my arms and I cried until my cheeks were puffed wet.

The next day we left together; neither of us was sad.

## JACQUELINE LUDEL

### THE SYMMETRY OF DOUBT AND THE QUEST FOR MEANING

Gregory Bateson was rocked by the disorientation produced by doubt; a series of the now-classic Ames demonstrations of clues to depth perception undid him. Ingenious manipulations of relative size, brightness, overlap, parallax, and the like (augmented by a chair that refused to live up to its promise and gave way, as well as by an equally unreliable faucet that ran hot when it had promised cold<sup>1</sup>) had thoroughly undermined Bateson's confidence:

Ames and I then went down to find a restaurant. My faith in my own image formation was so shaken that I could scarcely cross the street. I was not sure that the oncoming cars were really where they seemed to be from moment to moment.<sup>2</sup>

Bateson's confusion was grounded in a dilemma that has been worrisome for centuries: if perception is fallible, if it can be markedly altered by relatively subtle changes in stimulus parameters, if it is not reliably veridical, how can perceptual information be trusted? The dilemma becomes palpably agonizing if we maintain that the only or the primary data base for knowing about the world is perceptual information. Thus, to accept fully both the fact of perceptual fallibility and the proposition that knowing is built upon perceiving, is to doubt profoundly and to stagger, as Bateson did, in the face of even a commonplace stimulus array.

There are several potential ways to circumnavigate the dilemma. Perhaps the most obvious would be to deny perceptual fallibility; however, an enormous body of evidence demonstrating perceptual fallibility makes this a notably unsatisfactory alternative. A second possible solution would be to deny that knowing is quintessentially based upon perceiving. This alternative requires the naming and acceptance of some kind of a-perceptual information. As we shall soon see, the embrace of a-perceptual information has occurred several times. Yet another

possible solution would be to discover lawful (even quantifiable) relationships between perception and the stimulus array, such that perceptual fallibilities could be "corrected." Again, we shall see that this alternative has indeed been chosen several times. Bateson himself seems to have opted for a weak version of the third possibility:

In sum, there is no free will against the immediate commands of the images that perception presents to the "mind's eye." But through arduous practice and self correction, it is partly possible to alter those images.<sup>3</sup>

There are clear and substantial epistemological problems associated with the attempt to "correct" perception. To name only the most obvious, how can we ever accurately determine the "errors" of perception if we ourselves are the perceivers and are therefore forever consigned to perceive "erroneously"? A rather mundane, but surprisingly complex, example may clarify the problem. If I am nearsighted/farsighted/astigmatic, I cannot be aware that anything is "wrong" with my vision until and unless either: (a) I can compare my perceptions to those of others who are not similarly afflicted or (b) my own perceptions become at least temporarily different. In daily life, both of these kinds of experiences are likely to occur. I may discover that others can read letters or decipher forms that I cannot; as a result, I may acquire "corrective" lenses that allow me to alter my own perceptions. Notice that these experiences have nothing to do with the veridicality of my perceptions of stimulus arrays. Rather, they have to do with normative evaluations of my perceptions (with prescription glasses, my perceptions correspond to the perceptions of others but my vision has been made no more or less "correct" with reference to the actual stimulus array). Thus, in creating and utilizing his eye chart, Snellen arrived at the familiar 20/20 assessment of "good vision" by adopting a quasi-statistical average, not by measuring anything akin to "truthful" perception.<sup>4</sup>

Beyond noting that often when we speak of "correcting" our perceptions we actually mean achieving consensus, this example should make clear that perceptual "errors" that are persistent and common are likely to remain undiscovered. Hence, even if lawful relationships truly exist between our fallible perceptions and stimulus arrays, it may be that we can never learn of such relationships because we can never "decontaminate" our perceptions.

Epistemological problems, strangely enough, can be severe and yet leave us unperturbed in daily life. Such may well be the case with our third possible solution; most of us seem to manage to cross streets rather gracefully and confidently much of the time. But Bateson reminds us that grace and confidence are terribly fragile. While he leans toward discovering and "correcting" (or in his terminology, "calibrating") perceptual fallibilities when they become troublesome, he finds the whole business quite messy. His concern is experiential rather than epistemological as he tells us:

...it is perhaps a very good thing that we do not know too much about the work of creating perceptual images. In our ignorance of that work, we are free to believe what our senses tell us. To doubt continually the evidence of sensory report might be awkward.<sup>5</sup>

With charming understatement, Bateson has brought us back full circle to the original dilemma: it seems unbearable for us to live with unremitting doubt. Rather than do so, we may be willing to adopt and take comfort in an absurdity: despite the evidence, both personal and public, that undeniably demonstrates the fallibility of our perceptions, we choose to pretend that they are veridical. Bateson, probably not unlike most of us, finally selects the most obvious and most unsatisfactory path around the dilemma.

To accept the dilemma and abide with it, to live with unremitting doubt, is no small matter. There are some who have done it, and always the cost has been treacherously high. The intimations are unmistakable when Loren Eiseley tells us about his disorientation, his even-handed acceptance of both the apparent and the real:

I find it is really in daylight that the sensation I am about to describe is apt to come most clearly upon me, and for some reason I associate it extensively with crowds. It is not, you understand, an hallucination. It is a reality. It is, I can only say with difficulty, a chink torn in a dimension life was never intended to look through. It connotes a sense beyond the eye, though the twenty years' impressions are visual. Man, it is said, is a time-binding animal, but he was never intended for this. Here is the way it comes.

I mount the lecturer's rostrum to address a class. Like any work-worn professor fond of his subject, I fumble among my skulls and papers, shuffle to the blackboard and back again, begin the patient translation of three billion years of time into chalk scrawls and uncertain words ventured timidly to a sea of young, impatient faces. Time does not frighten them, I think enviously. They have, most of them, never lain awake and grasped the sides of a cot, staring upward into the dark while the slow clock strokes begin.

"Doctor." A voice diverts me. I stare out nearsightedly over the class. A hand from the back row gesticulates. "Doctor, do you believe there is a direction to evolution? Do you believe, Doctor ... Doctor, do you believe? ..." Instead of the words, I hear a faint piping, and see an eager scholar's face squeezed and dissolving on the body of a chest-thumping ape. "Doctor, is there a direction?" I see it then--the trunk that stretches monstrously behind him. It winds out of the door, down dark and obscure corridors to the cellar, and vanishes into the floor. It writhes, it crawls, it barks and snuffles and roars, and the odor of the swamp exhales from it. That pale young scholar's face is the lastbloom on a curious animal extrusion through time. And who among us, under the cold persuasion of the archeological eye, can perceive which of his many shapes is real, or if, perhaps, the entire shape in time is not a greater and more curious animal than its single appearance?

I too am aware of the trunk that stretches loathsomely back of me along the floor. I too am a many-visaged thing that has climbed upward out of the dark of endless leaf falls, and has slunk, furred, through the glitter of blue glacial nights. I, the professor, trembling absurdly on the platform with my book and spectacles, am the single philosophical animal. I am the unfolding worm, and mud fish, the weird tree of Igdrasil shaping itself endlessly out of darkness toward the light. I have said this is not an illusion. It is when one sees in this manner, or a sense of strangeness halts one on a busy street to verify the appearance of one's fellows, that one knows a terrible new sense has opened a faint crack into the Absolute. It is in this way alone that one comes to grips with a great mystery, that life and time bear some curious relationship to each other that is not shared by inanimate things.

It is in the brain that this world opens. To our descendants it may become a commonplace, but me, and others like me, it has made a castaway. I have no refuge in time, as others do who troop homeward at nightfall. As a result, I am one of those who linger furtively over coffee in the kitchen at bedtime or haunt the all-night restaurants. Nevertheless, I shall say without regret: there are hazards in all professions.<sup>6</sup>

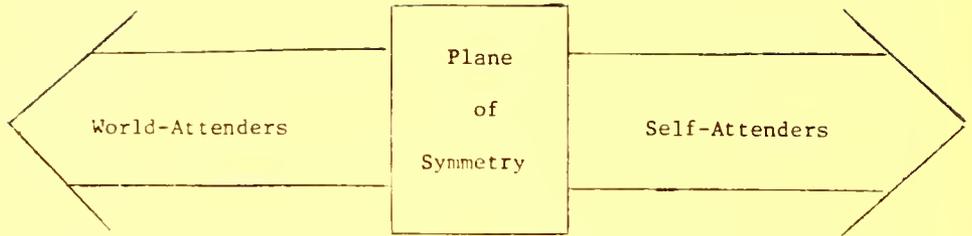
Why most find it necessary to resolve doubt but a few do not; and why some resolve the doubt by denying perceptual fallibility, others by embracing the a-perceptual, and still others by searching for "corrections" are unclear. But why there is seemingly such a need to grapple, in some fashion, with doubt is less bewildering: "Man's quest for certainty is, in the last analysis, a quest for meaning."<sup>7</sup>

What is fascinating about the quest is the symmetry that emerges when we consider the ways in which doubt has been wrestled with by those who focus on the relationships between our perceptions and the external world, and by those who focus on the relationships between our perceptions and the internal world.

## The Plane of Symmetry

Before developing the thesis that there is an unexpected symmetry to be found in the means of grappling with doubt between those who attend primarily to the perception of world and those who attend primarily to the perception of self, it's necessary to be clear about the common source of doubt from which they all begin. We can think of this common source as a medial region or plane with the various world-attenders placed along one axis (perhaps extending to its right, in keeping with the Weltanschauung created by the research on hemispheric differences in the brain<sup>8</sup>) and the various self-attenders placed along an opposite axis (perhaps extending to its left) [see Fig. 1]. The questions of interest will focus on the degree to which these axes form mirror images of each other. But, first, let's define the plane of symmetry from which the axes extend.

FIGURE 1



We could begin with Descartes and trace the philosophical tradition of doubting perceptions. However, it may be more to the point to turn initially to the period when philosophy, physics, and psychology overlapped--that is, to the years framing the turn of this century--and, in particular, to investigate the views of William James and Ernst Mach.

In a series of lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute and Columbia University in 1906 and 1907, James carefully developed his concepts of pragmatism. In that context, he referred often to the troublesome questions surrounding the relationship between reality and our perceptions of it. He portrayed the pragmatic position as one that mediates between what he termed tender-mindedness and tough-mindedness:<sup>9</sup> a position that simultaneously accepts the existence of reality per se and acknowledges that human beings do not simply gather in the data provided by reality but operate upon them. Indeed, such operations constitute, for James, the human element:

In many familiar objects every one will recognize the human element. We conceive a given reality in this way or in that, to suit our purpose, and the reality passively submits to the conception. You can take the number 27 as the cube of 3, or as the product of 3 and 9, or as 26 plus 1, or 100 minus 73, or in countless other ways, of which one will be just as true as another. You can take a chess-board as black squares on a white ground, or as white squares on a black ground, and neither conception is a false one.

You can treat the adjoined figure as a star, as two big triangles crossing each other, as a hexagon with legs set up on its angles, as six equal triangles hanging together by their



tips, etc. All these treatments are true treatments--the sensible that upon the paper resists no one of. You can say of a line that it runs east, or you can say that it runs west, and the line per se accepts both descriptions without rebelling at the inconsistency.

We carve out groups of stars in the heavens, and call them constellations, and the stars patiently suffer us to do so,--though if they knew what we were doing, some of them might feel much surprised at the partners we had given them. We name the same constellation diversely, as Charles's Wain, the Great Bear, or the Dipper. None of the names will be false, and one will be as true as another, for all are applicable.

In all these cases we humanly make an addition to some sensible reality, and that reality tolerates the addition. All the additions 'agree' with the reality; they fit it, while they build it out. No one of them is false. Which may be treated as the more true, depends altogether on the human use of it. If the 27 is a number of dollars which I find in a drawer where I had left 28, it is 28 minus 1. If it is the number of inches in a board which I wish to insert as a shelf into a cupboard 26 inches wide, it is 26 plus 1. If I wish to ennoble the heavens by the constellations I see there, 'Charles's Wain' would be more true than 'Dipper.' My friend Frederick Myers was humorously indignant that that prodigious star-group should remind us Americans of nothing but a culinary utensil.

What shall we call a thing anyhow? It seems quite arbitrary, for we carve out everything, just as we carve out constellations, to suit our human purposes.<sup>10</sup>

Note that wise James does not argue that truth resides in reality; for him, truth is a component of the human element.

'Reality' is in general what truths have to take account of; and the first part of reality from this point of view is the flux of our sensations. Sensations are forced upon us, coming we know not whence. Over their nature, order and quantity we have as good as no control. They are neither true nor false; they simply are. It is only what we say about them, only the names we give them, our theories of their source and nature and remote relations, that may be true or not.<sup>11</sup>

Bateson would have us employ "arduous practice and self-correction" in an attempt to make our perceptions more veridical. James, on the other hand, would have us resist the notion that the task before us is one of "correcting" our perceptions.

Now however fixed these elements of reality may be, we still have a certain freedom in our dealings with them. Take our sensations. That they are is undoubtedly beyond our control; but which we attend to, note, and make emphatic in our conclusions depends on our own interests; and, according as we lay the emphasis here or there, quite different formulations of truth result.... What we say about reality thus depends on the perspective into which we throw it. The that of it is its own; but the what depends on the which; and the which depends on us. Both the sensational and the relational parts of reality are dumb; they say absolutely nothing about themselves. We it is who have to speak for them.... Hence, even in

the field of sensation, our minds exert a certain arbitrary choice. By our inclusions and omissions we trace the field's extent; by our emphasis we mark its foreground and its background; by our order we read it in this direction or in that. We receive in short the block of marble, but we carve the statue ourselves.<sup>12</sup>

How intriguing it is that at the very juncture where Bateson believes us to be unfree, James emphasizes our freedom and the creativity which it affords. For Bateson, the issue is whether to alter, by dint of rigorous self-discipline, our "erroneous" perceptions or to "believe" those perceptions in spite of their non-veridicality. For James, the point is to note the lack of isomorphism between reality and our perceptions of it, and then to move on to examine, but not "correct," the perceptions themselves. And while Eiseley seems to have lost his way within the morass that lies between reality and our perceptions, James seems to have climbed above the muck, fully aware of its existence but not significantly disturbed by it. James simply refuses to become bogged down by doubt; the absence of isomorphism seems to call forth for him a subdued celebration because of the license it provides rather than a commandment to bring reality and our perceptions together, in one fashion or another.

More than anything else, the emphasis upon the topic of isomorphism (instead of upon veridicality or correctness) defines the plane of symmetry. When the topic is the absence of isomorphism, there are no necessary implications concerning correct/incorrect, good/bad, truthful/false. There is merely the lack of perfect correlation, with not even a covert enjoinder to discover or create a one-to-one correspondence. Put simply, to say that our perceptions of reality are not veridical is to demand, at least implicitly, that we find a way to "set things right"; but to say that there is a lack of isomorphism between our perceptions and reality is to ask nothing beyond a recognition of the way things are. The former phrasing is ripe with value judgments; the latter phrasing is value-free. This distinction is beautifully illustrated by Ernst Mach:

In the work of a celebrated German ethnographer I recently read the following sentence: "This tribe has become deeply degraded through the practice of cannibalism." By its side lay the book of an English inquirer who deals with the same subject. The latter simply puts the question why certain South-Sea Islanders are cannibals, finds out in the course of his inquiries that our own ancestors also were once cannibals, and comes to understand the position the Hindus take in the matter--a point of view that occurred once to my five-year-old boy who while eating a piece of meat stopped, suddenly shocked and cried out, "We are cannibals to the animals!" "Thou shalt not eat human beings" is a very praiseworthy maxim, but in the mouth of the ethnographer it destroys the mild and sublime glow of freedom from prepossession by which we delight to recognize the true inquirer.<sup>13</sup>

This definition of the plane of symmetry can perhaps

be clarified and underscored by some of Mach's comments. He states, for example, that:

The expression "sense-illusion" proves that we are not yet fully conscious, or at least have not deemed it necessary to incorporate the fact into our ordinary language, that the senses represent things neither wrongly nor correctly. All that can be truly said of the sense-organs is, that, under different circumstances they produce different sensations and perceptions. As these "circumstances," now, are extremely various in character, being partly external (inherent in the objects), partly internal (inherent in the sense organs), and partly interior (having their activity in the central organs), it can sometimes appear, when we only notice the external circumstances, as if the organ acted differently under the same conditions. And it is customary to call the unusual effects, deceptions or illusions.<sup>14</sup>

Nearly 100 years<sup>15</sup> after Mach's formulation we can find an echo and extension of his view:

An illusion is usually thought of as a "false" perception. This notion of a "false perception" is a deceptively simple conception; it seems satisfactory on first reading, but its meaning is unclear as we begin to look at the problem more carefully.... These figures [*i.e.*, Ponzo illusion, Mueller-Lyer figures, Jastrow illusion, and Hering illusion], in general, establish that under certain circumstances one sees a straight line as curved, or sees the longer of two lines as being shorter, and so on. Such observations are consistent with the usual definition of illusion, we are not seeing the world as it really is.... (But) it is quite clear that we rarely observe a direct linear correspondence between the environment as it is described by the physical sciences and the action of our sensory systems, whether studied behaviorally or physiologically. We have seen many examples of situations in which the visual system fails to render the characteristics that we know exist in the environment.... Most of the illusion figures are simply classical examples of this same kind of phenomenon.<sup>16</sup>

So-called illusions, whether visual or not, should not then be conceived of as "tricks" that can be played upon (or with) our perceptions; they are to be thought of as means of elucidating the processes of perception that are always employed when we confront stimulus arrays. In particular, our perceptions of so-called illusions are no more nor less isomorphic with reality than are our perceptions of non-illusions. And in no case should the expletives "error," "wrong," "incorrect," "false" and the like be called forth.

To appreciate fully the difference between thinking of illusions as isolated "tricks" and thinking of them as ways to reveal persistent characteristics of perception, consider the following three commentaries:

In the study of perceptions, the examination of illusions has proved helpful. Illusions, in contrast with other perceptions, furnish erroneous reports about the environment. It is through these errors that illusions provide insight into the mechanism of perception.<sup>17</sup>

Afterimages and aftereffects are illusions, reminding one that the senses are sometimes imperfect mediators between the external world and one's perception of it. The study of such illusions is valuable in psychology for the clues they provide to how the sense organs and the nervous system function in processing information.<sup>18</sup>

The eye is often compared to the camera, but there is one enormous difference between the two. On all ordinary cameras a shutter "freezes" the image; even in a television camera, which has no shutter, the scanning raster of an electron beam serves the same purpose. In all animals, however, the eye operates without a shutter. Why, then, is the world we see through our eyes not a complete blur?<sup>19</sup>

The authors of the first two articles chose to introduce their considerations of an aspect of visual perception by emphasizing the notion that the particular aspect is unlike most other aspects of visual perception. In particular, they view perceptions as predominantly "correct" or "perfect" reporters/mediators of reality, marred only by a few "mistaken" impressions. Clearly, these authors also subscribe to the notion that the best way to achieve an understanding of "normal" functioning is to examine "abnormalities."<sup>20</sup>

The author of the third article could, quite easily, have chosen the same course (viz., The world about us appears to be stable even though the retinal images that occur as we move through the world are blurred. Thus, we are in error when we perceive stability. The error or illusion is, in fact, a compound one: we fail to perceive both the actual movements of objects and the movements of the retinal images they produce. The value to be found in studying our imperfect perceptions of stability/instability consists in using them to understand how our usually correct perceptions occur. Etc.). There is nothing inherent in his topic that compelled him to do otherwise. However, he clearly adopted a different approach, one that suggests no sharp demarcation between "normal" and "abnormal" (i.e., "correct/incorrect," "non-illusion/illusion") perception.

To summarize what has been said about the plane of symmetry to this point, we can identify the plane as consisting of the view that the relationship between reality and our perceptions of reality is characterized by the lack of isomorphism. Such a view can be forcefully stated as follows:

And so one must conclude, as a firmly fixed scientific generalization, that the properties of the external world are rarely represented in a straightforward way in the human responses triggered by energies in that world.... The reason for the

apparent disjunction between external stimulus properties and those of the final percept is not hard to find. The physiological organism, standing between these two end-terms, has dimensions of its own to contribute, makes its transformations, and creates its own nonlinear functional relationships in the devious paths from peripheral receptor processes to final response mechanism.<sup>21</sup>

The absence of isomorphism is not to be understood as an absence of relationship; the wellspring of doubt is not to be found in a conception that unties any connection between reality and our perceptions of it. Doubt springs from the uncertain nature of the relationship. Mach attempted to define both the boundaries of the relationship and the meaning of its uncertain nature in his principle of the complete parallelism of the psychical and physical:

The principle of which I am here making use goes further than the widespread general belief that a physical entity corresponds to every psychical entity and vice versa; it is much more specialized.... At the same time the view here advocated is different from Fechner's conception of the physical and psychical as two different aspects of one and the same reality. In the first place, our view has no metaphysical background, but corresponds only to the generalized expression of experiences. Again, we refuse to distinguish two different aspects of an unknown tertium quid; the elements given in experience, whose connexion we are investigating, are always the same, and are of only one nature, though they appear, according to the nature of the connexion at one moment as physical and at another as psychical elements.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, with his parallelism, Mach, at one and the same time, affirmed the absence of isomorphism and rejected dualism. As a result, he agreed that:

...sensation may be analysed in itself, immediately, that is psychologically (which was the course adopted by Johannes Muller), or the physical (physiological) processes correlated with it may be investigated according to the methods of physics (the course usually preferred by the modern school of physiologists), or, finally, the connexion of psychologically observable data with the corresponding physical (physiological) processes may be followed up--a mode of procedure which will carry us farthest since in this method observation is directed to all sides, and one investigation serves to support the other. We shall endeavor to attain this last-named end whenever it appears practicable.<sup>23</sup>

Note that it is not sufficient to label Mach a psychophysicist and be done with it. While adopting what we might easily view as a prototypical position for a psychophysicist, Mach disowned any psychophysical view that finally rests on dualism (a la Fechner) or on a penchant for either the psychological (a la

Muller) or the physical (a la Helmholtz). At times, Mach divorced himself even from William James (despite the obvious esteem he held for James) because he either found James' thinking tinged with dualism<sup>24</sup> or discovered James "drift[ing] toward the doubtful waters of 'unconscious inferences'."<sup>25</sup>

The parallelism of Mach is not easy to capture. He himself seemed to have difficulties defining it and confining himself to it. Consider, for example, the following passage which is at once illuminating and enigmatic:

As we recognize no real gulf between the physical and the psychical, it is a matter of course that, in the study of the sense-organs, general physical as well as special biological observations may be employed. Much that appears to us difficult of comprehension when we draw a parallel between a sense-organ and a physical apparatus, is rendered quite obvious in the light of the theory of evolution, simply by assuming that we are concerned with a living organism with particular memories, particular habits and manners, which owe their origin to a long and eventful race-history. The sense-organs themselves are a fragment of soul; they themselves do part of the psychical work, and hand over the completed result to consciousness.<sup>26</sup>

It may be that we can best appreciate just how thin is the tightrope upon which Mach placed himself by considering some thoughts that, at first glance, appear to be compatible with Mach's views:

We could not possibly experience the world as it fully exists, from microscopic phenomena and infrared radiation to phenomena of the universe and high-frequency radiation--we would be overwhelmed.<sup>27</sup> We are restricted by our physical evolution to only a few sensory dimensions. If we do not possess sensory systems for a given energy form, or if an object is out of our range or too quick, it is not part of our personal world and consciousness. It is almost impossible for us even to imagine an energy form or an object outside our normal receptive range.<sup>28</sup>

And further:

By their physiological design, then, the sensory systems function to reduce the amount of "useless" and "irrelevant" information reaching us and to serve as selection systems.<sup>29</sup> The information input of the senses seems to be gathered for the primary purpose of biological survival....

All human beings are similarly evolved to select certain common aspects of the physical universe: we possess eyes that receive radiant electromagnetic energy, ears that receive mechanical vibrations, a nose, touch sensors, and taste. It is easy to assume that these exhaust the extent of the "real," "known" world. After all, there is "consensual validation" - friends agree that there is a tree "out there," a bird

singing, a dinner on the table. It is important to realize that this kind of validation is limited to the con-sensual--with the senses. Our human "agreement" on the nature of external reality is subject to common shared limitations that have presumably evolved to ensure the biological survival of the race. All humans may agree on certain events only because we are all similarly limited in our structure as well as in our culture. Like the double-seeing son, it is very easy for us to confuse our common agreement with an external reality. If everyone "saw" double, for instance, we would believe that two moons existed, or we would simply have a doubled system of numbering. Perhaps we do.<sup>30</sup>

Viewed as a whole, these comments would seem to please Mach. There is an appreciation for both the sense organs and the physical world; there is the acknowledgement of connection between reality and our perceptions but the connection is certainly not thought to be isomorphic; there is no implication that our perceptions are "wrong" or in need of correction; the entire passage is surprisingly value-free. Yet, closer examination does reveal two points that would probably trouble Mach deeply. First, there is the rather commonplace admission that our perceptions, while perhaps not "wrong," are restricted. If Mach wanted to reject any taint of an emphasis placed upon either the psychological or the physical, what would he do with this instance of non-parallelism? This issue melds with the second troublesome point: dualism has sneaked in. While it may not be the metaphysical dualism of a Fechner, there is no denying the theme that there exist dimensions of the physical world to which we do not have perceptual access.

It is not exceptionally difficult to appreciate that the plane of symmetry must include the concept of the absence of isomorphism. Beyond that, however, matters are sticky. Mach's principle of parallelism should undergird the entire construction of the plane of symmetry but it may be well-nigh impossible to prevent ourselves from slipping and sliding, as we become either world-attenders or self-attenders into some form of dualism. The degree of slippage (i.e., the salience of dualism) can, in fact, be taken as a measure of the distance we have moved, along one axis or the other, away from the plane of symmetry.

### Extreme Dualism: The Embrace of the A-Perceptual

Lucretius knew full well the dilemma created by the absence of isomorphism between reality and our perceptions of it. His instructions to us, in the face of this dilemma, contain the essence of empiricism:

What can be  
More credible than sense? Shall reasoning,  
Born of some error, some delusionment,  
Argue the senses down? Ridiculous!  
If sense is false, reason will have to be.  
Can ears refute the eyes, the sense of touch

Negate the sense of hearing? Do our noses  
 Appeal against our eyes, our sense of taste  
 File counterclaim against our ears' report?  
 I'd hardly think so. To each sense belongs  
 Its jurisdiction, so that soft, hot, cold,  
 Color, sound, shape, and odor are assigned  
 To different areas. Therefore, no sense  
 Can contradict another or itself,  
 Since their report must be dependable  
 The same way always. If at any time  
 A thing seems true to them, it must be so.  
 And if your reasoning faculties can find  
 No explanation why a thing looks square  
 When seen close up, and round when farther off,  
 Even so, it might be better for a man  
 Who lacks the power of reason, to give out  
 Some idiotic theory, than to drop  
 All hold of basic principles, break down  
 Every foundation, tear apart the frame  
 That holds our lives, our welfare. All is lost,  
 Not only reason, but our very life,  
 Unless we have the courage and the nerve  
 To trust the senses, to avoid those sheer  
 Downfalls into the pits and tarns of nonsense,  
 All that verbose harangue against the senses  
 Is utter absolute nothing.<sup>31</sup>

Note that Lucretius does not deny what we have termed the fallibility of perception. He does assert that if left unfettered by sensory data, our thoughts (reason) can make of us "the dupes of logic which derives giant conclusions out of pygmy clues."<sup>32</sup> His empiricism is, in turn, tempered by reason; the grand synthesis is, of course, Epicureanism, with its unrelenting rejection of the ephemeral, the illogical, and the ideal. As Humphries indicates, the verse of Lucretius "is poetry without illusions, seeking only the consolations that the discursive intellect can give."<sup>33</sup> It is as if Lucretius would have us climb a ladder whose rungs are composed of perceptual data and whose sideposts are composed of reason. He calls to Memmius (and through him, to all of us) to seek:

. . . . . the words, the song  
 whereby to bring your mind that splendid light  
 By which you can see darkly hidden things.  
 Our terrors and our darkneses of mind  
 Must be dispelled, not by the sunshine's rays,  
 Not by those shining arrows of the light,  
 But by insight into nature, and a scheme  
 Of systematic contemplation.<sup>34</sup>

It is precisely that which Lucretius rejects that forms extreme dualism and an embrace of the a-perceptual. While he is not as exact (or rigid) as Ernst Mach, Lucretius clearly permits us to distinguish between the plane of symmetry and the outer ends of the axes. As one example, let's consider Plato's Allegory of the Cave while reading the following lines of Lucretius:

Why do you hesitate, why doubt that reason  
 Alone has absolute power? Our life is spent

In shadows, and it suffers in the dark.  
As children tremble and fear everything  
In their dark shadows, we, in the full light,  
Fear things that really are not one bit more awful  
Than what poor babies shudder at in darkness,  
The horrors they imagine to be coming.  
Our terrors and our darkneses of mind  
Must be dispelled, then, not by sunshine's rays,  
Nor by those shining arrows of the light,  
But by insight into nature, and a scheme  
Of systematic contemplation.<sup>35</sup>

For Lucretius, doubt can be eliminated (the darkness dispelled) only by climbing the ladder of perception and reason. For Plato, doubt can be eliminated solely by facing the piercing rays of intellect:

This entire allegory, I said, you may now append, dear Glaucon, to the previous argument; the prison-house is the world of sight, the light of the fire is the sun, and you will not misapprehend me if you interpret the journey upward to be the ascent of the soul into the intellectual world....my opinion is that in the world of knowledge the idea of good appears last of all, and is only seen with an effort; and, when seen, is also inferred to be the universal author of all things beautiful and right, parent of light and of the lord of light in this visible world, and the immediate source of reason and truth in the intellectual; and that this is the power upon which he who would act rationally, either in public or private life must have his eye fixed.<sup>36</sup>

And so we find Plato arguing that education must, first of all, include the study of arithmetic because "arithmetic has a very great and elevating effect, compelling the soul to reason about abstract number, and rebelling against the introduction of visible or tangible objects into the argument."<sup>37</sup> The rejection of what is visible or tangible and the acceptance of the Ideal constitutes an embrace of the a-perceptual, an extreme dualism.

Before exploring Plato's dualism further, let's pause long enough to hear Mach's reaction to the allegory:

The popular notion of an antithesis between appearance and reality has exercised a very powerful influence on scientific and philosophical thought. We see this, for example, in Plato's pregnant and poetical fiction of the Cave, in which, with our backs turned towards the fire, we observe merely the shadows of what passes. But this conception was not thought out to its final consequences, with the result that it has had an unfortunate influence on our ideas about the universe. The universe, of which nevertheless we are a part, became completely separated from us, and was removed an infinite distance away.<sup>38</sup>

Indeed, Plato drives us farther and farther from the perceptual universe, first as he asks us to rely on intellect rather than on sense data, and then as he urges us to understand that the sphere of the intellect is itself to be subdivided:

There are two subdivisions, in the lower of which the soul uses the figures given by the former division as images; the inquiry can only be hypothetical, and instead of going upward to a principle descends to the other end; in the higher of the two, the soul passes out of hypotheses, making no use of images as in the former case, but proceeding only in and through the ideas themselves.<sup>39</sup>

It is, of course, the latter subdivision that, for Plato, holds the promise of ameliorating doubt: "When the soul uses any of its senses, it is dragged down into the world of change and becomes dizzy and confused. Only when thinking by itself can it escape into that other region of pure, eternal, and unchanging being."<sup>40</sup>

The nature of the Platonic Ideal is nearly as slippery as the nature of Mach's parallelism. Certainly we can comprehend Plato's description of the "students of geometry, arithmetic, and the kindred sciences" who:

. . . although they make use of visible forms and reason about them, they are thinking not of these, but of the ideals which they resemble; not of the figures which they draw, but of the absolute square and the absolute diameter, and so on--the forms which they draw or make, and which have shadows and reflections in water of their own, are converted by them into images, but they are really seeking to behold the things themselves, which can only be seen with the eye of the mind.<sup>41</sup>

But what is nearly impossible to understand is the source of the ideals. That they are, in some way, related to images seems obvious; that they are, in some sense, quite separate and apart from images seems equally obvious. The extreme dualism of Plato is to be found in his distaste for the former and his delight in the latter, his disdain for the world-as-perceived and his enrapture with the world-as-conceived. Whether we think of the ideals as arising from the images, as being located within the images, or as being obscured by the images, there is a marked transcendental quality about the whole affair. It is as if Plato wanted us to overcome perception, rise above the world-as-world-as-perceived, or kick the rubble of sense data aside as we move ahead, eyes fixed above the horizon. Unblinking, unfocused, blankly staring eyes would seem to serve us best lest our attention become fixed on a colorful bauble or odd trinket lying in the path.

And so, Glaucon, I said, we have at last arrived at the hymn of dialectic. This is that strain which is of the intellect only, but which the faculty of sight will nevertheless be found to imitate; for sight, as you remember, was imagined by us after a while to behold the real animals and stars, and last of all the sun himself. And so with dialectic; when a person starts on the discovery of the absolute by the light of reason only, and without any assistance of sense, and perseveres until by pure intelligence he arrives at the perception of the absolute good, he at last finds himself at the end of the intellectual world, as in the case of sight at the end of the visible.<sup>42</sup>

For Lucretius, a song; for Plato a hymn--whatever the choices of their original terms may have meant to them, for us the choices are quite telling. Songs are formulated within broad rules but they may be lilting or sorrowful, playful or somber, concerned with matters silly or profound, plain or contrapuntal. Hymns, by contrast, are more narrowly constrained, limited as they are to a single form of song--namely, the song of praise. Perhaps it is not inappropriate to consider the differences.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Whether the peculiarities of chair and faucet were created by Ames or were unplanned is open to (amused) speculation.

<sup>2</sup>Gregory Bateson, Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity (New York: Bantam Books, 1979), p. 40.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.40.

<sup>4</sup>"Snellen (1862) adopted the convention of a visual acuity equal to 1 for a letter of 5' with details of 1'. He simply mentioned that such letters are 'easily seen by most normal eyes.'" Yves le Grand, Form and Space Vision (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1967), p. 88.

<sup>5</sup>Bateson, p. 41, original emphases.

<sup>6</sup>Loren Eiseley, The Firmament of Time (New York: Atheneum, 1975), pp. 167-169.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>8</sup>There is an engaging irony in the recognition that a spatial metaphor seems especially well suited to a situation that relies, at its heart, on perceptual fallibility.

<sup>9</sup>William James, Pragmatism and Four Essays from the Meaning of Truth (New York: Meridian Books, 1955), See pp. 22-23 and pp. 170-174.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 164-165, original emphases.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 160, original emphases.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 160-161, original emphases.

<sup>13</sup>Ernst Mach, The Analysis of Sensations (New York: Dover, 1959), p. 40.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 10 (footnote), original emphases.

<sup>15</sup>The first edition of The Analysis of Sensations appeared in 1886. However, the particular material just quoted first appeared in an 1868 essay. See p. xxiv of Thomas Szasz's introduction to the Dover edition.

<sup>16</sup>Conrad G Mueller, Sensory Psychology (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 28-29. Note that, in this passage, elusive reality (the way things are) is transformed into "the environment as it is described by the physical sciences." Serious consideration can lead only to the conclusion that such a transformation is too facile.

<sup>17</sup>Paul A. Kolers, "The Illusion of Movement," Scientific American, Oct. 1964, p. 98.

<sup>18</sup>Olga Eizner Favreau and Michael C. Corballis, "Negative Aftereffects in Visual Perception," Scientific American, Dec. 1976, p. 42.

<sup>19</sup>Gunnar Johansson, "Visual Motion Perception," Scientific American, June 1975, p. 76.

<sup>20</sup>Countless numbers of psychotheoreticians, analysts, physicians, etc. have subscribed to the same notion. They have probably arrived at as many misunderstandings as understandings (perhaps not a bad ratio, all things considered) as a result, their critics notwithstanding ("Determining the parameters of health by examining pathology is rather like peering through the wrong end of a telescope." Kenneth R. Pelletier, Mind as Healer/Mind as Slayer. [New York: Dell, 1977], p. 320).

<sup>21</sup>Frank A. Geldard, Sensory Saltation: Metastability in the Perceptual World (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc., 1975), pp. 20-21.

<sup>22</sup>Mach, pp. 60-61.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>27</sup>We might view such a teleological statement with alarm, preferring to think about our perceptual limitations as the results of compromises between sensory systems that are broad-band but coarse-grained with those that are fine-grained but narrow-band. However, the portrayal of our perceptual limitations as fulfillments of certain needs would not upset Mach. See his Chapter V - Physics and Biology: Causality and Teleology.

<sup>28</sup>Robert E. Ornstein, The Psychology of Consciousness, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), p. 46.

<sup>29</sup>The emphasis on function would please Mach mightily. As part of his acceptance of teleological considerations, he stresses his preference for the conception of function rather than the conception of cause: "The principal advantage for me of the notion of function over that of cause lies in the fact that the former forces us to greater accuracy of expression, and that it is free from the incompleteness, indefiniteness and one-sidedness of the latter. The notion of cause is, in fact, a primitive and provisional way out of a difficulty." (p. 92).

<sup>30</sup>Ornstein, pp. 48-49, original emphasis.

<sup>31</sup>Lucretius, The Way Things Are: The De Rerum Natura of Titus Lucretius Carus translated by Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press, 1968, pp. 132-133).

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>36</sup>Plato, The Republic, translated by Benjamin Jowett (New York: Wiley, 1901), p. 212.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>38</sup>Mach, pp. 11-12.

<sup>39</sup>Plato, p. 206.

<sup>40</sup>Francis MacDonald Cornford, Plato's Theory of Knowledge (New York: The Humanities Press, 1951), p. 6.

<sup>41</sup>Plato, p. 207.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 229.

## HENRY HOOD

### LUTENISTS, COURT INTRIGUE AND ESPIONAGE IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

"Of all the musical instruments that have passed out of use during the last five hundred years or so, the lute is unquestionably the most important." So wrote Thurston Dart, the leading English musicologist of his age.<sup>1</sup>

The lute came to Europe from the Arabs in Spain; the word in Spain; the word "al-ud" means "wood" in Arabic. Not only the name of the instrument was Arabic; even lute-tablature, the mode of writing down the music, was of Moorish origin. The importance of the lute might well be illustrated by the fact that the first printed music of any kind--by Ottaviano dei Petrucci in Venice in 1507, was for solo lute. Much of surviving lute music is anonymous; sometimes we know only the name of a composer. In one instance, it is not even certain whether the Venetian lutenist at the court of King Sigismund II in Poland was named Diomedes Cato or Cato Diomedes.

The extreme difficulty of the lute made it absolutely necessary that courts provide patronage so as to enable a man to devote his entire life to becoming a virtuoso performer. Once he achieved that goal, the lutenist, who was also usually a composer, could command extraordinary fees and honors, else he might depart to a rival and more enticing court.

Variety, often of a bizarre sort, characterized the Baroque court; there were in addition to courtiers, priests, ambassadors and their hangers-on, court astrologers, court fools, court Jews, and always some musicians, among whom the lutenists were pre-eminent.

As Christopher Hogewood observes in his Music at Court For economy as well as camouflage, it was not unknown for musicians to combine their art with espionage abroad.

A ready payment from secret service funds of James I was waiting for John Dowland on his return from employment in the Court of Denmark.<sup>2</sup>

Some lutenists were suspected of being just what many of them were--spies. Even their instruments were occasionally treated as dangerous. The great English architect Inigo Jones brought the first arch-lute to England late in 1605. At Dover, some thought it a device brought from some hostile Catholic country to destroy the King--this was the year of the Gunpowder Plot to blow up the King and Parliament--and so the arch-lute was sent to be examined by the Privy Council in London.<sup>3</sup>

Could it be entirely a coincidence that as the court-lutenist assumed a greater importance than ever before, various types of codes and shorthand were being invented and passing into general use? Messages of such kinds were invariably short, obscure, and could be transmitted with relative safety.

Though little is known of William Kinloch, a lutenist for Mary Queen of Scots, it is known that he served as secret agent for her. David Rizzio, her Italian private secretary, was also a lutenist. His assassination by her jealous husband, Lord Darnley, set in motion the bloody chain of events which led to Darnley's assassination at the hands of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell--with Mary's undoubted complicity--the earl's subsequent kidnapping of Mary, their hasty marriage in Edinburgh, and finally her flight to England where she was imprisoned for 19 years and at last beheaded by Elizabeth. Mary's son James, born shortly after Rizzio's assassination, was sometimes styled, on account of his immense learning, "The British Solomon." Could it have been, asked the witty French King Henry IV, because he was the son of David?

Of all the lutenists and composers for the lute, John Dowland was the greatest. A good friend of Shakespeare, he was born in 1563, dying in 1626. During the 1580's he was in the service of Sir Henry Cobham, English ambassador in Paris. In a letter from Nuremberg in 1595 to Sir Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's chief minister, Dowland wrote that he had met some English recusants (Roman Catholics) who persuaded him to become a Roman Catholic. He was nevertheless retained by the next English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford.

On his return to England, he tried without success to become one of Queen Elizabeth's musicians because he was a Catholic. Fortunately for himself, he was shortly invited to the court of the Duke of Brunswick, and undertook a visit to Venice to study with Luca Marenzio, and then to Florence where he once again fell in with some important English recusants. They promised him that he could have service with Pope Gregory XIII in Rome, "and that his Holiness and all the Cardinals would make wonderful much of him." If he were being offered the post of papal court-lutenist, it could hardly have been solely or even chiefly for his playing. Papal policy in the 16th and 17th Centuries was seldom that uncomplicated. Dowland reported to Cecil that "God knoweth I never loved treason nor treachery, nor never knew of any, nor never heard any mass in England, which I find in great abuse of the people, for on my soul, I understand it not."

His letter was filled with news of the activities of English Jesuits and recusants, showing that he had not only parted company with Catholicism, but hoped to smooth his way for a return to England.

In November, 1598, he was appointed lutenist to Christian IV of Denmark at 500 dalers per annum, "a sum rivalling the salaries of high officers of state." The following year, he received an additional 600 dalers and was ennobled by Christian.

For unknown reasons, Dowland was abruptly dismissed from the royal service in February 1606, returning to England where he was variously employed by nobles and in 1612 by King James I. Apart from one year in the service of Philip Julius, Duke of Wolgast in Pomerania, in 1622 and 1623, he stayed in England.<sup>4</sup>

The career of Dowland has its counterparts among continental European lutenists, of whom Valentin Gref Bakfark is pre-eminent both as a performer and composer. Born in 1507 in what was then Hungary, though now part of Romania, he died in Padua in 1576.

He first gained service with János Zápolya, prince of Transylvania, later King of Hungary, who ennobled him. After János' death, he travelled to Italy and France, and in 1549, entered the service of the Polish King Sigismund with whom he remained until 1566. But in 1551, he visited the Margrave Albert, Elector of Brandenburg, with whom he corresponded regularly while travelling in France and Italy. Even after his return to Krakow, he was suspected of having become Albert's confidential agent. So in 1566, under a cloud, he fled, but paused for a while at the imperial court of Maximilian II in Vienna. In 1568, he was back in Transylvania, but in 1570 at the time of Sigismund's death, he asked for permission to leave Poland from the new King Stefan Batory. He never returned; his property was confiscated in 1563, and in 1576 he settled in Padua, where he and his entire family perished from bubonic plague. Before dying he threw all his manuscripts into the fire. Otto Gombosi, his biographer, describes this as "a characteristically impulsive and romantic gesture."<sup>5</sup>

There are other notable instances of espionage among lutenists. Wojciech Dlugoraj, (c. 1550-c.1619), a Pole, was drawn to the court of Stéfan Batóry in Krakow, granted an annual income of 195 zlotys and full board in 1583. He had hardly settled down before he was forced to flee in fear of terrible retribution from the relatives of the great magnate Samuel Zborowski, Dlugoraj having intercepted and delivered to Count Zamoyski, then the highest official in the Polish State, letters addressed to Zborowski's brother Christopher, containing plans of high treason.<sup>6</sup>

Of the extra-curricular activities of other lutenists, the surviving records give only succulent hints such as huge additional gifts over and above salary, sudden departures and unexpected arrivals..

Diomedes Cato, the Venetian lutenist, went to Poland in 1589 and served Stanislaus Kostka, who bequeathed him 1,000 zlotys. Subsequently Diomedes served the Polish King Sigismund III, at an annual salary of 300 zlotys. Why did Kostka make such an immense bequest?<sup>7</sup>

We may be quite certain that at least one Polish lutenist, Jacob the Pole, was not a spy. He spent his entire

career in Paris. It has been said of him, by Wanda Landowska, that he played best when drunk, a condition, one supposes, to have been endemic.

Even when the lute began to yield to the guitar, the grand tradition of espionage was carried on by such men as Francesco Corbetta (1615-1681) who was confidant, court lutenist and guitarist to Charles II of England and Louis XIV of France. Corbetta also served Leopold William, Archduke of Austria in Brussels, where he may well have served as a confidential agent.<sup>8</sup>

By the end of the 17th Century, modern states had come into being with regular, permanent diplomatic staffs; there was little room for the amateur part-time spy. And so precisely when the lute fell into disfavor, the court musician ceased to be a secret agent.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Lute and its Music, Program Notes for RCA Victor LP recording LE-2560 of Julian Bream, "The Golden Age of English Lute Music."

<sup>2</sup>London: Folio Society, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>Hogwood, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup>Edmund H. Fellowes, article on Dowland in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed.

<sup>5</sup>Der Lautenist Valentin Bakfark: Leben und Werke 1507-1576 (Budapest: Bärenreiter, 1967).

<sup>6</sup>Article on Dlugoraj in Grove's Dictionary; Wojciech Dlugoraj, Vol. XXIII in Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej ed. Maria Szczepanska (Krakow, 1953).

<sup>7</sup>Article on Cato in Grove's Dictionary.

<sup>8</sup>James Tyler, notes to SAGA LP-5438 "Music of Renaissance Virtuosi."

## DONALD W. MILLHOLLAND

from

### DUKE REVISITED

#### History

Since most of the buildings at Duke have been built since 1925 many people do not believe it has a history before that time or that it originated in Randolph County nearly one hundred and fifty years ago.

In 1839 when Quakers and Methodists of Randolph County, North Carolina, joined together to start a school they did not know this was the beginning of a historical tradition that would lead to the emergence of Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. In the community of Trinity in Randolph County, there was a great need for a school. At this time there were no public schools and what education there was was provided by private schools run by churches. Such a school was first run in Randolph County by a mother in her home, and then in 1832 by Allen Frazier in a small log house.<sup>1</sup> He was able to unite the community of Quakers and Methodists in support of the school.<sup>2</sup> The site of this school was located less than a mile west of the site that was chosen to be where the Union Institute would be built. It was called Brown's Schoolhouse and was near Trinity, North Carolina.

When Frazier left, a new teacher was found in the area. He was the Rev. Brantley York. An able and imposing man (he was said to be over six feet tall), York began to teach in 1838.

Early in the spring of 1838 I opened a school in a house known as Brown's schoolhouse....This house was too small... as soon as the farmers had laid by their crops the citizens met in order to select to build a better house. A committee was appointed, as well as I recollect, to select a suitable site; and after examining several places, the place where Trinity College now stands was finally chosen as the most convenient location, and in a few weeks a log building 30 x 20 feet was erected.<sup>3</sup>

York was a Methodist but was impressed with the Quakers whom he met. In August 1838 the school was moved to the chosen site and in the spring of 1839 an examination was held for two days.

Previous to this examination I had resolved to attempt to establish a permanent institution of learning in this place based upon an Educational Association and with a view of reaching the common walks of life with a more thorough education than had previously been afforded them.<sup>4</sup>

York reported that he was asked to give a lecture during the examination period. He spoke on the theme "The Importance of Establishing a Permanent Institution of Learning of High Grade at This Place."

A committee was formed of Quakers and Methodists who founded the Union Institute. The term Union referred to the joining of Quakers and Methodists in support of this school. On July 4, 1839, the cornerstone of this permanent building was laid and a great celebration was held as the new school was formally launched. In the early years the school had about fifty students. In the latter part of the year 40-41 Quakers began to leave, partly because Methodist Youths made fun of their use of "thee" and "thou" and partly because Quakers were turning their attention to New Garden Boarding School, which opened in 1837.

Nevertheless when York left the Union Institute in 1842, the Union Institute Society went to New Garden Boarding School to see if they could suggest someone to teach at the school, and they were sent a man named Braxton Craven. They had wanted to find a Quaker but although Craven was a Methodist, he had been raised by a Quaker family and been educated by Quakers. It was thought that he would be an ideal person to unite both these faiths in support of the school.<sup>5</sup>

Braxton Craven was born in 1829 in Randolph County. His father had abandoned his mother, who had to support her son and two daughters doing odd jobs. When she became too ill to care for them, neighbors helped out and one of them, a Quaker named Nathan Cox, took Braxton into his home when the boy was seven years old.

Although he was raised by Quakers, he was converted to Methodism at the age of fifteen. He saved his money and then attended New Garden Boarding School.<sup>6</sup> He came under the influence of a distinguished Quaker educator, Nereus Mendenhall, a graduate of Haverford College and the Jefferson Medical College, who inspired Craven to excel in his studies. He was well educated there according to Dorothy Thorne.<sup>7</sup> When the Union Institute asked Dr. Mendenhall to recommend someone to teach, he was happy to recommend Craven.

The kind of classical education students received at places like New Garden and Union Institute would make them college preparatory schools, at least, if not in some instances like junior colleges. The ages varied from 8-23 and since numbers were small, these schools could encourage each individual to go as far as he could go in his studies. Craven was well equipped for his job as teacher, and so, at age nineteen, he took up his job as a teacher. Later he was able to pass examinations for an A.B. degree from

Randolph-Macon College in 1850 and the following year a Master's degree from the University of North Carolina.

From 1842-1850 the Union Institute prospered and had an average enrollment of 105. In 1851 he persuaded the North Carolina legislature to re-charter the school as Normal College with the right to certify teachers, but they refused to give financial support. Craven tried to make a go of this school, but gradually it became apparent that in order to grow it needed outside support and finally, in 1859, he persuaded the Methodist conference to make it a conference-supported college. Craven had borrowed money from the state and later paid it off personally so the college in a sense belonged to him and thus, although it was Methodist-related, it could not be said to be owned by the Methodist Church. First it was Brown's Schoolhouse, then Union Institute, then Normal College, and now Trinity College was to be its name. There seemed to be a constant impulse from the start to make progress and to constantly improve its status. Craven became known widely as a distinguished educator and he guided the school until the Civil War. During the Civil War Craven resigned for a few years and then came back as President in 1866 and died in office in 1882. He had established Trinity College on a sound basis.

It was not an easy task. First of all, Craven struggled to keep up the financial side of the school. Since he was a prosperous farmer, he often had to put his own money into the school. He tried to get the state to support it but could not. It was very difficult for him to get the Methodists to make Trinity College a conference school. Many were jealous of his eminent status and at the time Randolph-Macon College in Virginia was the college designated as the North Carolina Conference School and many were loyal to it. Craven was finally able to persuade the Methodist Conference to change its mind, but even when he was successful, he made enemies in the Conference with those who did not agree and who envied the increased prestige Craven and his college now received.

Craven was a devout Methodist preacher and saw to it that the college lived up to its motto Eruditio et Religio, but this was not meant to indicate that this was a Bible college. It set out to be a general liberal arts college with a classical curriculum.

At first Craven was the sole teacher at the Union Institute, then he gradually added faculty through the years until his death in 1882, when there was a faculty of more than a dozen members and special programs in law as well as a Master of Arts degree program. Craven wanted to offer a university style education with various schools and graduate degrees. He tried to have not only a law school but also a medical college. What developed was a collection of schools with different degrees:

Bachelor of Arts -- English Literature, Latin, French  
Greek, or German, Mathematics  
Natural Science, Rhetoric and  
Logic, Metaphysics.

Bachelor of Philosophy -- English Literature, Natural  
Science, Mathematics, French, German  
or Latin

Bachelor of Science -- English Literature, Natural Science  
and Mathematics

Master of Arts -- The same as Bachelor of Arts with  
an extension in all schools and  
usually a thesis<sup>9</sup>

In 1875 a few years before his death Craven made a report to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South:

Colleges grow slowly at best and are best when their growth is slow, continuous, and well directed. They cannot have a history 'til they exist and measure some time in their calendar, and yet they can scarcely be said to exist in real collegiate vitality 'til they have a history.<sup>10</sup>

Craven had begun this history and now could be proud of distinguished alumni heavily represented in the North Carolina General Assembly as well as in all professions. Subsequent presidents added to this history. Today Trinity College of Duke University has a distinguished history behind it. This is often overlooked because of the dramatic way the University was built in the 1920's.

After Craven's death in 1882 many feared the college would collapse. It had held together because of him and often been on the brink of disaster. His vision of a university would be realized eventually but things looked bad for the school just following his death. In the year 1882-1883 Professor W. H. Pegram administered the college. Marcus Wood, a distinguished alumnus, was President in 1883-1884. A committee of three wealthy Methodist laymen, J. W. Alspaugh, Julian S. Carr and James A. Gray, ran the college from 1884-1886. During this period of time the college had about 125 students and seven faculty. Alspaugh was a leading figure in Democratic politics, a lawyer, and helped establish the First National Bank of Winston; Julian Carr, President of the Bull Durham Tobacco Company in Durham, gave needed funds to Trinity; and James A. Gray was instrumental in establishing the Wachovia National Bank.<sup>11</sup> Theirs was something of a holding operation until a new president could be found. Once a president was found they continued their support of Trinity and were always supportive of the liberal stands of Trinity.

When John Franklin Crowell was named President in 1887, Trinity did not realize that in making this choice they were about to see a dramatic change in the nature of the college. Crowell, who was born and raised in Pennsylvania, graduated from Yale in 1883 and returned to Yale for graduate work in 1885. In the interim he was principal of an Evangelical Church Seminary in Pennsylvania. While doing graduate work at Yale Crowell met Horace Williams, a former professor at Trinity. Williams was at Yale and a distinguished alumnus of the University of North Carolina. Williams later became a famous professor at Chapel Hill. He talked to Crowell about Trinity College and recommended Crowell to the search committee which eventually chose him to be President. Crowell was the first President from the North and brought a new point of view with him.

He was 28 years old when he arrived at Trinity and after all he had been told about Trinity's distinguished history, he was very disillusioned when he saw it.

On the eve of my inauguration I seriously considered the temptation to throw up the job there, and then so great was the collapse of expectations at first contact with the actual objective situation. The first night in Old Trinity was a soul-struggle, alone with the tempter in the wilderness. What is there here, he argued, except a cheap, crude building without a single outbuilding without even respectable sanitary facilities.<sup>13</sup>

He saw the need of adequate library facilities and laboratories. In 1887 there were seven professors and a graduating class of eight.

However, his sense of Trinity's past and the promise contained in that past prevailed and he stayed. He found the little town of Trinity quiet and peaceful and very remote. He was well received at Trinity and began making plans for the new academic year. The summer of 1887 before he began he went back to Pennsylvania and that summer another very important event occurred. A committee of the college set about to raise some money and a donation of a thousand dollars came from W. Duke and Sons of Durham.<sup>14</sup> Thus began one of the most unusual relationships between a family and a college in American history.

Washington Duke had returned from the Civil War with nothing and began selling bags of tobacco from his farm and gradually built what was by 1887 one of the most prosperous companies in North Carolina.

After his initial success in the marketing of tobacco products, Washington Duke moved to Durham in 1874 from his farm north of Durham. He became active in the Methodist Church and Republican politics.<sup>15</sup>

Washington Duke sold some of his interest in wholesale tobacco and W. Duke and Sons then went into the business of making cigarettes with the active interest of his younger son James Buchanan Duke. His son, Ben, and daughter, Mary, as well as James, had all attended New Garden Boarding School (later Guilford College) although James went to business college in New York State. The cigarette business was an instant success and by 1885 the Dukes gave the cigarette machine developed by James Bonsack a try. Thus began the mass production of cigarettes that would make the Dukes' vast fortune.<sup>16</sup> By 1887 they were just beginning to reap the profits.

James B. Duke was the great entrepreneur and established a factory in New York. Ben Duke managed the business in Durham and in particular managed the family's philanthropic gifts. In spite of their phenomenal success and vast accumulation of wealth, the Duke family members were devout Methodists and also Republicans--which was a rather strange thing to be in the late Nineteenth Century South. Angered by their defeat by a Republican President and the carpet-baggers from the North, most Southerners were Southern Democrats and held views which could be termed racist in character. Republicans on the other hand worked with Blacks in the South, who were their greatest supporters. Crowell's appointment and the beginning of a relationship to the Dukes made 1887 a crucial year for Trinity, but no one knew the importance of

this at the time. President Crowell immediately set out to raise the academic standing at Trinity. He started bringing in guest speakers. He reported that the lecture method along with references to sources of information was replacing the textbook recitation. "This led to a freer discussion in the classroom and generally vitalized the intellectual quality of the instructor hour."<sup>17</sup>

He defined the qualifications of a teacher as "(1) Fitness to raise up disciples and (2) productiveness in scholarship. The new methods enabled the college to relate to the present. The older recitation method was outdated. It said: this test shows what the world has done and been in the past, but we live in today; let us see what it is doing now.... We as students and teachers are a new force in the world."<sup>18</sup> Along with new teaching methods went an emphasis upon the library. Crowell revised degrees. Now there would be a Bachelor of Arts and a Bachelor of Science.<sup>19</sup> And of course he doubled the size of the faculty.<sup>20</sup>

He gave a larger place for the undergraduate thesis that meant the last year would comprise largely original research. Crowell abolished the preparatory school and raised entrance requirements. Long before 1925 Trinity attempted to become a university. Crowell tried to get an Engineering School, Divinity School, Law School and Medical School. He did not quite succeed but did succeed in graduate degrees in English and a Law program.<sup>21</sup> He envisaged a greater Trinity with all these schools as a result of the removal to Durham and presented this plan at a Methodist conference as one of the reasons for the move. In 1891 the trustees gave their endorsement to this plan but postponed the naming of the University.<sup>22</sup> He was busy in Randolph County and later in Durham raising the quality of education to justify reaching for the status of a university. This began in 1887. Indeed he seems to have carried through the desires of President Craven in this regard.

Of particular interest to this study was President Crowell's concern to relate the college to the new technology. "The rising importance of applied sciences to industry, engineering trade and business enterprise led to the organization of the school of technology in the first year in Durham."<sup>23</sup> Crowell Hall was given in memory of his recently deceased wife. "This was the beginning of an attempt to house the natural sciences, to develop them in their application to the problems of business, and ultimately to expand the scope of technological research and service of science to Southern enterprises generally."<sup>24</sup> He was disappointed that he could not develop this right away into what he wanted but nearly thirty-five years later his dreams would be realized. In the latter part of the 19th century America looked to its institutions of higher education for leadership helping the country in its development.<sup>25</sup> Crowell believed it was his duty to take an active role in North Carolina. Crowell began by taking an active interest not only in the college, but in the state of North Carolina, emphasizing the need for public schools, the improvement of highways and many other needs the state had. He stimulated members of the General Assembly to take action on some of these

needs.<sup>26</sup> He felt it was the duty of a college president to provide moral leadership. This caused controversy. When one of Trinity's professors ran for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, criticism increased because the college had begun to be involved politically. He spoke out clearly to defend freedom of thought. "It was," he said, "the purpose of Trinity College to influence public thought." He added that it was unreasonable "to suppose that when a man becomes a member of its faculty, he thereby surrenders a whit of his freedom to act or think in matters political."<sup>27</sup> Crowell was eager to point out that a denominational college was not sectarian, a point also made by Craven. He wanted to refute a notion that it could not be just as liberal as a state institution.

In point of fact nearly the whole history of colleges in America proves that liberal colleges and universities of our land are not only denominational but are governed by denominational boards, have denominational presidents at their head and receive hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, much of it coming from extra-denominational sources simply because public men have a confidence in a denominational college for they know what chart it is sailing by.<sup>28</sup>

Indeed Trinity's Methodist relationship never held it back and indeed because of it, the college ultimately prospered beyond belief.

Even if the Methodist Conference never produced much wealth for Trinity the Duke family who were so active in the Methodist church would not have been interested in it had it not been a Methodist college. Moreover, its liberal stance in the community was not impeded by its Methodist relationship. Crowell may have meant that a church-related college has greater freedom to provide moral leadership than state institutions, provided its church-relatedness is supportive of its position.

This is not to say that factions within the church had not tried to repress the college's development. Many resented Craven's success in getting the N. C. Conference to change its conference designation from Randolph-Macon to Trinity. Elements in the conference disagreed with Crowell's success in moving to Durham and his advocacy of free expression and speaking out on current events. Crowell reflected once on John Wesley's statement, "The world is my parish." To my vision of things, North Carolina Methodism collectively rather than individually seemed at times to reverse that inspiring watchword into the deadening substitute "The parish is my world."<sup>29</sup>

When Crowell was principal of the seminary in Pennsylvania it had moved from a city to a rural setting. "In that rural community, my friends said to me, you are hiding yourself from the world."<sup>30</sup> After he and Trinity had moved, Crowell reflected on the move. "It is true that from Randolph to Durham is only about a hundred miles; psychologically it was ten thousand miles away."<sup>31</sup> However, at first Crowell had admired old Trinity.

During the first year I had often felt that this quiet retreat was an ideal atmosphere for the contemplative life.<sup>32</sup>

However, Crowell went on to point out that people of means found it so remote from everywhere "so as to cast doubt on the advisability of putting down any considerable amount of cash for needed improvement."<sup>33</sup> He also pointed out that there was no local constabulary to control the sale of liquor to the boys, and merchants refused to close their shops early on Saturday night. In explaining his reasons for leaving Randolph County he said the main reason was to find a more lively place.

In conclusion, as a sort of climax I appealed to the [Methodist] conference to decide whether or not they should deliver Trinity College, this child of Providence from the bondage of its birthplace and thus lead it out into the open world of greater opportunity in the service of conference and Commonwealth.<sup>34</sup> The Conference supported Crowell.

Raleigh made an offer of some land and money but in Durham, a strong Methodist Center as well as a booming industrial center, two distinguished Methodist clergymen went to Washington Duke and suggested it would be a fine thing for Durham and Methodism if Trinity would be removed to Durham. The Duke family agreed, sent for Dr. Crowell, and as a result the college went to Durham to occupy the site now occupied by Duke's East Campus.<sup>35</sup> In 1892 Duke could easily outbid any offer from Raleigh.

Once settled in Durham Craven encountered some difficulties because the Methodists did not match Washington Duke's gifts. This angered the Dukes, who threatened to withdraw their support. The faculty found Craven to be too visionary and not a practical administrator. They found him not to be responsive to their needs, and stormy meetings were held complaining of his methods of administration. The church complained about his introduction of intercollegiate athletics and Craven eventually resigned. He had achieved a great deal and his decision to move the college was of course his major achievement, for had he not made this possible, Duke University would probably not exist today.

It is important to point out the involvement of the Duke family began in 1887 and not suddenly in 1925. They helped to build up Trinity gradually until it was ready to become a University in 1925.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Earle Drake, Higher Education in North Carolina Before 1860, p.141.

<sup>2</sup>Mora Campbell Chaffin, Trinity College 1839-1892, p. 35

<sup>3</sup>Brantley York, Autobiography, Historical Papers of the Historical Society of Trinity College Series VIII (New York: AM Press, 1970), p.70. (This site is now in Trinity, North Carolina just south of High Point.)

- <sup>4</sup> Brantley York, Autobiography, p. 30.
- <sup>5</sup> Chaffin, p. 59.
- <sup>6</sup> Jerome Dowd, The Life of Braxton Craven, (Duke University Press, 1939), p. 52.
- <sup>7</sup> Dorothy Thorne, Guilford, A Quaker College, p. 64.
- <sup>8</sup> Drake, p. 142.
- <sup>9</sup> Chaffin, p. 303.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 328.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 351-353.
- <sup>12</sup> Charles L. Roper, Personal Recollections of Trinity College, Preface, p. v.
- <sup>13</sup> J.F. Crowell, Personal Recollections of Trinity College (Duke University Press), p. 36.
- <sup>14</sup> Chaffin, p. 396.
- <sup>15</sup> Robert Durden, The Dukes of Durham (Duke University Press, 1975), p. 19.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 26.
- <sup>17</sup> Chaffin, p. 459.
- <sup>18</sup> Crowell, p. 50.
- <sup>19</sup> Chaffin, p. 17.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 461.
- <sup>21</sup> Crowell, p. 141.
- <sup>22</sup> Chaffin, p. 415.
- <sup>23</sup> Crowell, p. 175.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>25</sup> Crowell, p. 4.
- <sup>26</sup> Chaffin, pp. 400-401.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 405.
- <sup>28</sup> Chaffin, p. 412.
- <sup>29</sup> Crowell, p. 241.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 15.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 242.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.147.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 154.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 163-165.

## DANNY HOBACK

### AFTERNOON OFF

He came into the squat house from mid-afternoon brightness, felt a wash of relief almost cool. It was dark except for the television advertising "spring time refreshment."

"Alright, I done caught you woman, sittin' on yo butt." He spoke to Lib who sat folding clothes in the dim light.

He could see his grandmother in the other room in the straight-backed chair she always sat in looking toward the woods. Light stood on her ebony cheekbones, accentuating the carved look of her features. She turned slowly toward the banging screen.

"Hey, Clayton, what you doin' in here early? Looka there Fatbaby, there's yo daddy."

"Looka here," said Clayton as Lib curled against him, their bodies pressed, trying to touch head-to-toe, Clayton, Jr. trying to press between chanting, "Clay, Clay, Clay." Their lips parted. Lib rubbed her hand along his back, shifted her body into the curl of his thick right arm while he scooped his son to his chest. Fatbaby laughed and fastened his arms about his father's neck then reached to brush the ceiling with his fingertips.

"You're sweatin'," said Lib.

"Sweatin'! Whoeee, Baby, you don't know no sweatin'. I been with Fred Hall all day. First thing this mornin' he say, 'OK Clay, I need you to cut the grass up at Meadows today.' And I say, 'Sure Fred,' and I load the mower, all my shit, you know, and we head out to George's Truck Stop."

"Well, I'd eat here and it was still cool so I decided to catch a wink while they took their break. Next time I opened my eyes it was hot in that car; the sun was high. I went in George's and they was all there, bitchin', sounded like a union meetin'." Clayton and Lib laughed and he jostled Fatbaby, who sat in his left hand examining the ball point pen from Clay's breast pocket.

"Anyhow, they's all there but John and Metler--course them two ain't ever there. I say, 'Looka here, Hall, if you want that grass cut today we better git on; it's gittin' hot out there and they's a lot of grass around that tower.'"

"'Come on Clay, you soundin' awful comp'ny minded all of a sudden,' and I say, 'Comp'ny hell, Hall, I'm thinkin' 'bout myself out in that sun all day.' They all cracked up, then Sam say, 'I wish I would be outside. I got to routine that so-called module down at Silk Hope today. Can you imagine, a steel building full of radio transmitters? It was 112 degrees down there yesterday.' and I say, 'Hall ain't been in one a them stations to feel the heat,' and they all laughed again."

"Horne say, 'It's going to be hot in here if Howard comes by on the way to town.' So everyone got up and left. That was at ten o'clock. It was after eleven when we got to Meadows after topping in Greensboro."

"Greensboro?" his grandmother said. "Why'd you go through Greensboro?"

"Hall like to shop," said Clay.

This time his grandmother laughed too. "I swear," she said, "that Fred Hall, he wear that phone comp'ny out."

"He somethin' alright," said Clay. "He left me in the parkin' lot and he went to check in. I got the mower runnin', then pretty soon I see him wavin' from the door. He waves a white handkerchief when he want somethin'."

Lib handed Clay a glass of iced tea; Fatbaby ran outside banging the screen door. He sat on the couch. His eyes had adjusted to the dark and he saw his brother asleep in the corner. "Did Avery catch any fish?"

"Caught a good mess of brim, and a channel cat that'll feed us all tonight."

"Alright!" said Clay, "Fresh fish. ...Anyhow, I see Hall wavin' from the door, so I go up and see what's happenin', and he say, 'Clay, you want to get off early today?' and I say, 'Sure, Fred, I want to get off early today,' so he say, 'Load up that junk and let's haul ass.'"

"On the way to Greensboro he say, 'That was perfect timing, man. Sharon called and said her kid was gone for the day and she wants me to come by. So, if you'll watch the radio in case Howard calls, I'm going to fix that young lady up. Then I'll drop you at home.'"

"Now you talk about hot, Honey, I'm sittin' in that asphalt parkin' lot with Mr. sun beatin' down, and Hall in that air-conditioned bedroom..."

"Now how you know what they doin'?" Lib asked, smiling teasingly.

"Cause Hall loves to tell what he does in detail when he finally comes out, and Honey, he makes them dirty books Knobs carries in his trunk look like Sunday School books."

"Don't bring in the church in white folks' transgressions," said Grandmother.

"So out he comes, and me about burnt, pullin' at hisitches," Clay dropped his voice to a whisper saying, "Hall says, 'put her on a trip, Clay. She tried to climb the headboard. When she come she was on a trip! She'd a beat her head agin' the wall if I'd atold her to.'" They both howled. Lib slapped his

shoulder and said, "Sounds like you been readin' them dirty books yoself, Clayton Wilson." He pulled her close and they kissed deeply.

"Look like a storm rollin' up outta the east," said Grandmother.

Looking toward the door Clay saw it had darkened outside. Lightning flashed, and moments later thunder rolled across the tobacco fields. "Hope there's no hail in it. If it is it'll finish the garden."

"If Hall brought you home, how come it is we didn't hear a car?" asked Lib.

"He won't come no further than the paved road. Horne's the only one'll bring me to the door. Hall says Howard'll see dust on the comp'ny car and know he ain't been where he's supposed to be. Say he's the one responsible for that car."

"Well how's he so high and mighty as to give you time off? Horne say he don't have no authority, and Horne, he the union man. What's he called?" asked Lib.

"Steward," said Clay, "Horne's the steward. But Hall say you can't always listen to Horne. Sometimes he is full of it, I swear, like the time he tell me he wants to work with me on black history. Say he can help my readin'. Say he can give me assignments and then we can work on them at the stations. (Cut off that TV Lib, fore lightnin' git in it!) Come tellin' me what pride they is in black history, and how stupid white folks is that go on about self help, and say, just like I ain't never thought of it, how black folk been helpin' themselves all along against the odds created by white folks' so-called help."

"Why don't you tell that fool you done lived black history! How he think his help any better than any other honkey's? Tell that boy to try to learn somethin' about white folks. If its somethin' can't the good lord hisself understand it's some white folks," said Lib.

A softly spoken "Ahmen" from the other room.

Outside thunder rolled, lightning stitched the sky. Clay stepped to the door to watch and to catch the breeze. "What the hell? That's a comp'ny car comin'," he said half to himself as he crossed the threshold.

The man who stepped from the car wore a blue suit with white shirt and tie. His shoes were deep cordovan wingtips and his hat had a narrow brim. A gust carried it from his head higher than the house, dropping it somewhere in the tobacco field.

"It's Howard," said Clay. He stepped onto the porch, closing the door and screen. "Hey Howard."

"Clayton, do you know what time it is?" Howard demanded, face red and angry.

Clayton let his smile dissolve, his face set into a passive mask. Behind him he heard the door open. "Git in that house, Fatbaby, this don't concern you none."

"If that boy can find my hat I'll give him fifty cents," said Howard.

"Clayton, Jr. ain't comin' out in this storm," said Clay. "I'll bring the hat in if I find it."

"Hall told me you had to take your kid to the doctor's. He said you had an appointment at three-thirty," said Howard accusingly. "Now Hall's gone home, since you had to come in early

the grass ain't mowed at Meadows, and I find you layin' on your ass. What's goin' on, Clayton? I want to know. It's just after four o'clock and you work til five."

Again he heard the door scrape open. He turned and saw it was his grandmother. She stood straight, her iron-grey hair in a braid to her waist.

"Clay come to take me," she said, "but I can't get out in this weather. Besides, his uncle with the car ain't come."

"If his uncle's comin', why can't he take you to the doctor's?" asked Howard.

"I don't ride nowhere with Clay's uncle," she said.

"When you have to work you have to do things you don't like," said Howard. "Ya'll have to learn that Clayton can't miss work if the company is going to keep him on the payroll." The wind had stopped, the sky grown heavy seemed to touch the tobacco. Day was dark and the road disappeared behind Howard in grey.

He turned and climbed into the station wagon, his hair blown about, dust over his shoes, backed out of the yard and headed down the road before a yellow cloud that hung in the heavy atmosphere. A bolt of lightning split the red oak that stood a hundred feet away along the road. The rain came in sheets beating the dust in the yard. Clayton watched as rivulets ran from the yard to fill ruts in the road; down the rows of tobacco. Soon muddy water stood all around the porch; the broken tree steamed in gathering darkness. He shivered once, then turned inside to the smell of frying fish.

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*Donald Millholland*

I recently spent a semester at Duke University studying the undergraduate teaching of philosophy I discussed various courses with members of the department and students. I learned many things which have helped me in my own teaching. After a number of years at Guilford it was good to study the teaching of philosophy at another institution.

Philosophy is a subject that is rarely taught prior to college. Few students know very much about it although they have had courses in most of their other subjects before beginning their undergraduate education. This is both an advantage and a liability. It is helpful for the philosophy teacher to know that all his students tend to be equally ignorant of the subject. They will not come with pre-conceptions or prejudices about the subject, nor will they have learned any wrong notions. However, some students avoid taking philosophy because they know so little about it. Few people know what does go on in a philosophy class.

The classic method of teaching philosophy is the Socratic method. The teacher asks many questions of the students in order to challenge them to think for themselves. Socrates in the market place of Athens would gather a small group around him to discuss questions such as "what is justice?", "what is virtue?". Socrates would profess ignorance and ask those around him for their opinions and, in the discussions which followed, he would try to get them to arrive at the right answers without telling them himself. This provides us with a model for the teaching of philosophy. It requires small classes but when the Socratic method is used, it can stimulate thinking.

This method is the preference of many who teach philosophy. It forces the students to come up with the right answers for themselves rather than have it given them in a lecture. Asking good questions and being patient with the students until they find answers helps them to think and this is one of the objectives in a class in philosophy. Having challenging reading assignments and paper topics also helps. It is important to keep the introductory class under twenty to enable the professor to get to know each student in and out of class. One of the drawbacks is that students are not always happy with this method because they find it difficult to take notes and it is sometimes threatening to them to have to think their own thoughts about important issues and have to defend them. In the current era of a preprofessional and business-oriented student body it is much harder to make this approach. Students want answers--not questions. Also, in an era of acute grade consciousness this method is not so popular since it makes it difficult for students to know where they stand. It is, therefore, essential to have small classes so that the professor can get to know and help each student.

Teaching this way is difficult and challenging. It may seem to the students they learn nothing--that is, they are not learning information. They are learning how to think. The professor is not an authority figure. He must also be prepared to learn.

Writing in a critical or philosophic style is always difficult. One thing that many students want is a method of making a sound argument. By explaining how to write a paper in philosophy and having consultations

after each paper is returned, students develop their ability to argue and defend a point and/or solve a problem for themselves. This clearly demands time spent with each student. This can be done in a class of fifteen. With more students it can only be done with those students who care.

Some teachers tend to allow discussions to be too superficial and do not challenge or really control the situation. The class can be too informal and nothing may be accomplished. A class of forty or more may involve only a few students. More lecturing is practiced as the size of the class increases and although there are stimulating lecturers who may challenge students to think, there is always the risk that some students will not receive the guidance they need.

In many colleges and universities the standard approach is a combination of lectures and discussions, but if the goal of a philosophy class is to develop the student's ability to think philosophically and critically and write clearly and make a sound argument, then the smaller the class the better the teachers can accomplish this goal.

This would seem to be an important skill that would help a person better cope with present day problems. Many might think it important for the educated person to become acquainted with the thoughts of great thinkers. This has led to the survey course and survey lectures. Maybe students in large classes will remember who Plato was and what he said, but surely the best way to understand the great ideas of the philosophers is to discover them for yourself by reading their writings. Discussions of important works of Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Hume, etc. can be conducted by the Socratic method. The teacher can ask the students questions which will assist them to understand the insight for themselves.

In the end, quite a lot depends on the personality of the professor. Teaching a generation brought up on television creates for teachers some of the same problems found in television news where the appearance of the newscaster is as important as his or her message.

For many students the one course students will take is ethics. Once again, class size will determine the choice of method. Ethics courses are popular choices for many reasons. Social and Political Ethics attract the general student, and Legal, Business or Medical Ethics attract students headed in those directions. It is difficult for teachers not to have well developed ethical commitments and this will influence their courses.

The professor's choice of books may reveal his own view; his comments may reflect it, but if he pushes his own opinion too obviously, students may not appreciate it. However, students often say they would like the teacher to respond to their questions about his feelings on this or that moral issue. As in other classes the goal of an ethics course is to get the students to think critically and philosophically about ethics--making their own commitments and defending them.

A philosophy department's service to the general curriculum justifies its existence, for no other discipline focuses its attention in quite the same way upon sound methods of thinking about the foundations of knowledge and great moral issues.

Upper level courses offered should cover the history of philosophy and in-depth studies of a problem such as philosophy of mind or of a thinker such as Hegel, Russell or Heidegger. Many students take more than one course in philosophy. These upper level courses tend to be small and provide a great opportunity for the Socratic approach.

Students who major in philosophy find it a good liberal arts major because philosophy helps students unify their knowledge and develop critical and analytic skills that enable them to understand and evaluate insights from different disciplines. From this point of view the question "why major in philosophy?" is the same as "why major in an all-round liberal arts education?" instead of being concentrated in a pre-professional program. A philosophy major is often a good preparation for law or divinity schools. It is a good graduate school preparation. Obviously those

who plan to pursue philosophy in graduate school need a good background in philosophy but an undergraduate major in philosophy is helpful for other aspects of graduate study.

There are many reasons why a well rounded liberal arts education is preferable to narrow pre-professional training. First of all, a lawyer, doctor, or business man is still a person and personal growth, the development of character, having a concern for culture and community social problems are all enhanced by such an education. It is also true that pre-professional programs might prepare students for a profession that is overcrowded. This may already be the case in the legal profession. Obviously, a student can err in the other direction and be prepared for nothing at all. A good degree with some specialized training afterwards would be the best solution. However, given the cost, many students need to work upon graduation so that some specialized training is necessary during undergraduate years to prepare students for their future. This is one of the changes that has taken place over the years, but it need not keep students from the advantages of a well rounded education.

Philosophy is one of the most inter-disciplinary of all disciplines. A professor of mine once remarked that philosophy has no subject matter of its own--it is always philosophy of something. That underlines the nature of philosophy. It seeks to criticize and understand the foundation of all disciplines and raise questions about them they might not raise for themselves. At times philosophers can point out similarities among the various disciplines and provide a unified view of them. Because of the philosophy's interest in the inter-disciplinary aspects of knowledge, the philosophers often are very much involved in inter-disciplinary programs. These programs are increasingly important owing to the growing awareness that present-day problems invite a multi-disciplinary approach.

### Teaching Philosophy at Duke

The Philosophy Department at Duke is situated in one of the oldest buildings on East Campus. It has a modern suite of offices grouped around a reception area with two secretaries, a lounge and a seminar room. This peaceful setting on the spacious Georgian style campus provides a congenial atmosphere for philosophy. As you enter the old building you are struck by the wide corridor and very high ceilings that suggest its age. The stairs to the second floor also reveal their age, and at the top are the glass doors which lead into the suite.

Classrooms in this building, as well as in other buildings nearby, are used by members of the department for their classes. These rooms have remained largely unchanged through the years and have fixed, bench-like chairs almost like church pews, high ceilings and large windows. Although these buildings are not really ancient, the fact that they have not been modernized gives a feeling of tradition.

The philosophy department offers the usual introductory courses in philosophical problems and ethics which satisfy some area requirements. These courses are offered on a seminar basis for fifteen students which helps to satisfy a Duke requirement to take some seminars. The department stipulates that only one introductory course may be taken for credit and only freshmen and sophomores can take them. These requirements mean that those who take more than one course will choose upper level courses and upperclassmen also take courses beyond introductory level. This avoids a problem sometimes encountered in other colleges and universities where seniors take freshman courses to satisfy distribution requirements because it is easier, and this badly affects a class. The nature of the department's stipulation guarantees more students for upper level courses.

The offerings of the department include courses in the history of philosophy, logic and ethics. There are courses in philosophy of film,

literature, law and medical ethics. There are courses on specific problems such as knowledge and certainty or a particular thinker such as Plato or Kant. The courses cover a broad range of problems and thinkers, giving any student plenty of choice and also giving any major a solid background. The offering reflects the inter-disciplinary aspect of philosophy relating it to law, medicine, etc.

Since Duke has a good student-teacher ratio (9:1), even classes other than the seminars are of manageable size. Duke students all have to be very bright in order to be admitted. It is highly selective and admits only a small percentage of those who apply (around 20%). This has an effect on the classes in a variety of ways. Many of the students respond in an interesting way and ask questions and make comments although some are uneasy in philosophy classes because they find thinking to be threatening.

In the fall of 1983 there were fifty-one philosophy majors. Twelve students were seniors and eleven were non-seniors with philosophy as a traditional major. Since Duke allows students to combine majors, thirteen seniors and fifteen non-seniors were in this category. Philosophy majors tend to go on to professional schools such as law or medicine. They are well prepared to undertake graduate work in philosophy should they choose to pursue a career as a teacher of philosophy but the department realizes that few students will do this. The philosophy department does not see its role as primarily preparing students to teach philosophy although senior philosophy majors do take one graduate course.

A philosophy professor normally teaches three courses one semester of the academic year and two the other. A professor will also usually teach one graduate course a year. In addition to this he might direct an independent study at the request of a student on a topic proposed by the student. Often he conducts an independent study each semester of the year. The department is working toward a goal requiring professors to teach two, rather than three, courses each semester.

There are many more undergraduates taking philosophy courses than graduates and the department tries to hire faculty whom they believe will be excellent teachers of undergraduates as well as gifted scholars. One eminent scholar who was a candidate for a position in the department recently was turned down because it was believed he would not be a good teacher of undergraduates. No member of the department would be nominated for promotion or tenure who was known to be a poor teacher, although it also appears to be true that promotion and tenure are granted by the university primarily on the basis of research and publication. Graduates who have completed all their coursework for their degree are eligible to teach, but the department will only permit those whom they think will make good teachers to do so. Last year one such student who had completed his courses was not permitted to teach because of doubts about his teaching competence. The ability to teach well is of paramount importance to the department.

The philosophy department is not large and each department member needs to be flexible in his teaching. It is necessary for him to be able to teach a variety of courses in addition to his special field of interest. He needs to be able to offer introductory courses as well as an upper level course in another area of philosophy than his primary one. The offerings of the department cover most areas of philosophy with only a few gaps. There is, therefore, great breadth in the program, but since there is only one professor in each specific area there is no depth. This is an advantage to the undergraduate student because it allows a wide variety of choices and gives a philosophy major a solid background, but it is a disadvantage for graduate students who need to specialize in one area of study.

There are nine full time members of the department, all of whom are reputed to be fine scholars and only one who is believed to lack some of the qualities the department expects in undergraduate teaching. Duke

appears to be fortunate in this regard. During my own tenure as Chairman of a philosophy department I had occasion to visit a number of universities during a search for a replacement in my department. Not all departments expressed a concern for quality in teaching of undergraduates and at one major northeastern university it appeared that only one person in the department (about the size of the one at Duke) cared about trying to be a responsible teacher of undergraduates; the rest were concerned with their research and graduate teaching.

In the fall semester of 1983, there were ten sections of introductory philosophy taught as seminars limited to fifteen students. About half of these were taught by graduate students. The limit on other courses is thirty-five although classes are rarely that large except for logic where the instructor has assistants.

Introductory classes in philosophy deal with a variety of problems. One concerns the limits of reason and this includes a question about the best method anyone can use to acquire knowledge. Another problem is the body mind problem. There has been a great amount written on this subject. The main questions involved in this problem have to do with the relationships of the body to the mind and the claim by some that the mind is immaterial. Philosophy of religion deals with rational and empirical proofs of God's existence. Other issues center around freedom, responsibility and ethical standards. All of this suggests that students are challenged to think about important questions and they may not have the opportunity to address them in this way in any other classes.

Students write several short papers and, in some classes, a term paper. The short paper might be about a problem such as "are other people's experiences of color and sound the same as yours." A longer paper might explore a problem discussed in the text at greater depth or an aspect of a philosopher's thought. In some introductory classes there are also essay exams.

In addition to the ten seminars there is one lecture class which is always taught by a full time member of the department.

I would like to describe some of the classes I attended.

In one introductory class the senior professor taught in an informal style. He assigned reading in a book of different philosophical problems. He would present a brief introduction in class to some of the reading but mostly he responded to questions asked by the students. Occasionally he would speak for most of the class period. He encouraged the students to ask questions, assigned several short papers and gave a final examination. Before the final examination he circulated a list of questions from which he would pick the examination questions he would ask them to write about. By doing this he hoped students might prepare to write on all the questions which would give a good overall review of the course as well as provide a learning experience.

Another such introductory class was taught by a junior member of the department, and in describing this class I would like to evoke the setting and atmosphere of the class which was held in West Duke Building on the ground floor. The department of philosophy is on the second floor. The room was long and rather narrow with high ceilings and large windows. The benches were solid and arranged in fixed rows. They have many carvings on them as they did in my undergraduate days, and I believe they may be the same benches I sat in. The professor entered to greet his class of about thirty students. He was friendly but somewhat formal and had a good speaking voice that filled the room. He spoke directly to the students and began the class by delivering some remarks of his own on a subject he appeared to know very well. He was concerned to communicate with the students as well as he could. Something as simple as having a good speaking voice which fills the room helps to keep the students' attention. Questions and comments came from every row--even the back row--although not every student spoke out in the class. The fact

that comments came from the back as well as the front gave the feeling that this was an actively interested group. The professor responded well to the students who spoke and gave the impression that he took them seriously.

The class had a variety of interests. Some were engineering students; others were heading for graduate schools of differing kinds. They were assigned readings in a textbook which contained selections from various works on topics in metaphysics and the foundation of knowledge.

I discussed my experience with the lecturer. He was an assistant professor and, like many professors, he felt the need to publish and thought he must if he were to receive tenure, yet he cared about teaching and believed he had an obligation to his undergraduate students. A major part of the philosophy department is involved in undergraduate education. He, like many others, would have to use his summers for research so that during the semesters he could concentrate on his teaching. He was pleased with the performance of his students. He assigned them three short papers and one long paper and gave them a written account of how to write a good paper. Later in the course he copied several A papers to show the students how an excellent paper should look. This showed care and concern for the progress of his students. He tried to have meetings with students outside class and occasionally used class time to meet students in his office who could not come at any other time for individual conferences.

Some of the students interviewed at random after class believed the professor made them think. Some of the engineering students who mostly had tedious work to do for their classes liked that better since at least they always knew where they stood in such courses. However, most seemed to enjoy the class in philosophy and thought the professor did a good job. Some students wondered why there were so many questions and so few answers, while others felt it helped them answer some important questions for themselves. On the whole, the class was fairly formal but the professor appeared to give students a clear sense that he was interested in them, put his ideas across very well and made them enjoy the subject matter.

One, more advanced class, was located in one of the Georgian buildings a short walk from the philosophy department. This was a course on the history of philosophy. The subject on one particular class day was the ontological proof of the existence of God. The professor made a brief presentation of the argument and then led a discussion of it. He tried with some success to direct the students so that they would understand the issues involved for themselves and let their thoughts coalesce in the students' discussion. This way they were forced to think. The professor was patient with the students who made comments, gently leading them with questions to see the point he wanted them to see without having to tell them what it was. This was a small class of more advanced students and the professor was skillfully using the Socratic method. The professor appeared to have great concern for his students and, in particular, wanted them to use their minds. His manner was friendly, professional, witty and kind.

This associate professor was relatively new to Duke. He was a specialist in Kant and the foundations of mathematics and had recently organized a colloquium on this subject at Duke where, over a three-day period, scholars from all over the academic world had come to Duke to present papers. It attracted many graduate students as well as undergraduates. In addition, the colloquium was attended by members of other institutions of higher education which provided good exposure of the Duke philosophy department to the academic world.

The students responded very well to the professor, and most in the class of sixteen made comments. It appeared that they were really learning something. Interviewed after class, one student said he quite enjoyed knowing how different philosophers thought. Another said that by studying philosophy he believed he could isolate the key concepts in political thinking. A third student believed it could help them think more

quickly. Out of discussions with other students it became clear they liked the course because it helped to provide answers to questions they have had, such as the existence of God. Others believed it challenged their beliefs and raised questions. All in all, they seemed to approve of the class. These students included philosophy majors and students who had taken several philosophy courses. Discussing the department with them led to the conclusion that on the whole the department was doing a good job of teaching undergraduates.

I also visited a course on philosophy of law. This was a course which dealt with theories and problems in the nature of law and included a definition of law, the validity of law, the relation of law to society and the limits of law among the various topics. There was also discussion on the justification of punishment and the death penalty.

This class was taught by a senior member of the department. After making a presentation to the students, he opened the class to discussion and had a very relaxed manner which made the students feel comfortable about speaking out about their ideas. This was an advanced class and the students had a mature and informed manner about them.

In talking to students afterwards it became apparent that ethics courses, particularly those on topics such as philosophy of law, medical ethics and social and political philosophy are courses they thought had general appeal. They also thought that while they did not want the teacher to preach or live to be followed, they did not want him to hesitate when asked for his opinion. They confirmed the opinions of other students that the teaching in the department was very much appreciated. Although there are teacher evaluations done by students, most students did not have much confidence in them. As one student said, "I trust the opinion of my brother who took the class." Others relied on friends or roommates when they wanted advice about courses to take. It was somewhat surprising to hear this when they knew there was a book published with ratings based on students' evaluations. When asked about this, they claimed that students found this amusing; but when it came to making a choice of courses to take and professors with which to study they relied on other sources.

This made it clear that the only way to really know what is going on in a class is to be in there oneself. The next best thing is to discuss what went on with someone whose opinion you trust. One method of evaluation is to have the class observed by another teacher. This is becoming a more professional way to evaluate classes. Obviously, it largely depends upon motives behind evaluations. If administrators want to be sure that good teaching takes place, then in-class professional evaluation is necessary. If you are a student who wants to find an easy--or a challenging--course, you will seek the opinion of someone in your own peer group.

Other interviews with philosophy professors and philosophy students showed more confirmation of the points already made. One professor was very popular with students not only because he was able to make them laugh, but because he was very challenging. His students urged other students to take his courses as one philosophy major told me. He was not easy but still students filled his classes. He made it clear that class participation was important and this encouraged good discussions in his class. Another professor placed students in different rows whose job it was to spark discussion and this method worked to involve a substantial number of the students.

The philosophy department is involved in several inter-disciplinary programs. One of them is the Program in Science Technology and Human Values which I will discuss later on. This is one of the ways the department contributes to Duke's attempt to prepare students for the high tech era.

The department states in the bulletin of undergraduate instruction that "discussion is encouraged so that students can engage actively in

the philosophical examination of problems." Because of the program in philosophy and the conduct of classes, the department achieves its goal of involving the student and getting him to think philosophically, i.e. critically and analytically.

The classes in the philosophy department are necessarily small. As one professor put it, "since the printing press has been invented the role of the professor is not to disseminate information but to stimulate thinking." I cannot help but conclude that small classes are necessary to this kind of teaching and the Duke philosophy department is impressive in its attempt to maintain this kind of emphasis.

There is an emphasis upon quantifiable knowledge in this hi-tech age and there is a danger that people will forget how to think for themselves. Modern technology must be contained within a framework of human values. The teaching method of the philosophy department encourages thinking and the content of the courses offered helps the student develop a thoughtfully considered set of values.

THE DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT CURRICULUM;  
GUILFORD COLLEGE'S COMMITMENT  
TO VALUES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

*Rachel A. Willis*

Guilford College has taken a significant step by initiating the first undergraduate program in the nation in democratic management. A description of the democratic management program and why the College has made such a substantial commitment to the curriculum are the foci of this article. The origin of the term "democratic management" and description of the important dimensions which define it are presented in Parts I and II respectively. Part III discusses the distinction between positive and normative economics as it relates to the field of management and makes explicit the nature of the underlying values in democratic management. The final section examines Guilford College's dedication to values in higher education, the Quaker heritage of consensual decision-making and the potential role of the curriculum as Guilford fulfills its educational mission.

I

Before formally examining democratic management it is useful to define the component words. "Management" refers to the organization and coordination of the factors of production so that goods and services are produced in the most efficient way possible. The skills typically taught in business programs are designed to enable students to manage resources as diverse as people, machines, land, technology, financial capital and information. Managers are ultimately responsible for the direction of the enterprise, whether the enterprise be in the private or public sector, and whether the enterprise be for profit or non-profit.

"Democracy" is characterized by a formal equality of rights and privileges. The right to rule is exercised by a free electoral system in which each person has only one vote. Therefore power ultimately resides with the people. The combined definition results in a description of democratic management which, in its purest form, would read as follows: a democratically-managed enterprise is one in which there is equal access and equal right to direct the enterprise for all those who work in the enterprise and only those who work in the enterprise. Thus, a curriculum in democratic management will be distinct from standard management programs which simply focus on resource organization with efficiency as the focal point. Explaining the source of the differences will be taken up in Part III, but first an overview of the forms democratic management might take in a typical firm.

II

The work environment can be characterized with respect to a number of dimensions. Four areas are of primary interest here. The degree and nature of worker participation in the firm is the first. Use of a suggestion box is worker involvement, as is participation in worker forums to improve quality. As participation grows to involve all workers, and workers participate in all areas which concern them, the firm moves closer to the pure form of democratic management defined above.

The spectrum of worker participation is broad, but control or power to make decisions is a second dimension of worklife which can be considered. Authority to make changes may be limited to a subset of the workers. The scope of the issues over which changes can be made may be defined narrowly. Continuing along the spectrum towards a democratically-managed workplace, all workers have some decision-making power and it is up to workers to democratically designate the appropriate areas of control for various workers.

The third dimension of worklife which is critical in describing the degree of democratic management is who owns the firm. Ownership may or may not convey control in the short run, depending on the legal structure of the enterprise, but will set in place the mechanism for the evolution of control to workers over time. In many firms, employees own relatively large quantities of stock through pension funds or employee stock ownership plans (ESOP's), but nevertheless, may exercise little control because pension fund stock purchases must be controlled by blind trusts and ESOP requirements need not result in the purchase of voting stock. As the employees come to own larger and larger proportions of the firm, however, the degree and nature of participation and control in the firm by workers will clearly become a choice variable for the employee-owners.

The fourth and final dimension of the workplace of importance in attaining democratic management involves reward. When employees only decide what happens to the rewards of doing business, profits or losses, the firm has again moved along the spectrum towards a democratically-managed enterprise. Note that this does not imply that the rewards will only go to worker-owners, but simply that worker-owners alone will participate, have the control to implement and own the right to allocate the rewards of productive activity. When the firm has moved along the spectrum towards full involvement of workers with respect to these four dimensions then the firm has achieved in practice the fundamental idea behind democratic management: Management is the right of all workers, and the right to manage is based on their ownership of labor in the productive process. Who actually manages and what they manage will be decided according to the axiom "One person, one vote."

### III

Management based on the ownership of labor is not a value-free concept. In economics, the positive and normative aspects of the discipline are carefully distinguished. Undergraduates are taught that questions of efficiency can be answered through positive economic analysis; questions of equity are answered relative to our norms or values.

Neoclassical economics offers a positive theory of the way in which firms allocate resources. Factors of production receive a share of the output in accordance with their importance or marginal contribution in producing the good or service. This produces an efficient economic result. Efficiency is simply the point at which no other allocation can make someone better off without making someone worse off. Neoclassical economists can agree on the necessary factor shares or rewards because the underlying analysis is agreed upon.

The factors of production are each entitled to their factor reward. Labor receives wages; land produces rent; capital is due interest; entrepreneurs deserve profits. The notion of entrepreneurs is similar to that of managers: entrepreneurs direct the enterprise, they bring together resources for productive activity. They are clearly, however, another input into the production process. They have no greater right to participation, control, ownership or the allocation of the rewards of production than any other input to production. This positive analysis of production which boasts maximum efficiency is one in which entrepreneurs/managers have no different rights with respect to the four dimensions that

characterize the workplace than the owners of labor or land or capital.

In practice, the rights of various input owners are unequal, however. Questions of fairness, answers based on individual values or norms, have evolved in the business world to a point that the underlying values are unrecognized in everyday use. Normative economics is argued when corporations are found to be "unaccountable to shareholders." Value judgements are displayed when we find that students of business assume capital employs labor and that the owners of capital or the owners of managerial labor own the right to direct the enterprise in their self-interest.

Democratic management employs normative economics as well. The norm is clearly different. The fundamental value in democratic management is that labor employs capital. Those who offer for use their own labor have the right to direct the enterprise. In other words, the workers have the right to democratically manage the firm.

Neither norm has priority; it is entirely a question of individual values. The new curriculum recognizes the alternative norm and attempts to teach management skills consistent with the implied values. The notion that labor rents capital rather than capital renting labor is not a political one. People from all ranges of the political spectrum endorse the concept for reasons as varied as increasing the profitability of firms to reducing workplace alienation. Given the rapidly growing and widespread interest in the new management techniques, Guilford has much to offer and even more to gain from its commitment to educating students in democratic management.

#### IV

Guilford College has a heritage with Quaker concerns for tolerance, integrity, simplicity, candor, social justice and world peace. Fundamental to these concerns is a recognition of both the equality and worth of individuals and the spirit of community and cooperation. The Spring 1984 volume of Guilford Review begins with an article by Guilford President William R. Rogers entitled "Values in Higher Education." The thesis is a fundamental renewal of the commitment to study values and engaging in this study "in a value-laden setting."

Rogers argues that "there is an inevitable intellectual and moral pilgrimage being undertaken by all students, . . . and this reality gives us not only the opportunity but the imperative to address questions of meaning and value in an explicit way with them as part of the educational experience in the university." He concludes with the recognition that this calls for the community to "be attentive to each individual pilgrimage in the exploration of values, and also to be in unity with our understanding of the most transcendent values: compassion, fidelity, forgiveness, truth-seeking, justice, the good of knowledge, and the knowledge of the good." President Rogers affirms the college's commitment to exploring values in higher education while holding and enhancing personal values. These ideals are significant in explaining why Guilford is home to this unique program.

In practical terms, the Quaker heritage of Guilford is significant for yet another reason. Consensual methods to achieve voteless decisions in the Religious Society of Friends serve as an important model for democratic firms in the practical problem of management. Michael J. Sheeran in Beyond Majority Rule does caution against the error of equating consensual decisions with secular use of unanimous consent or in believing that the consensus method can be easily applied in the secular case without a shared set of values. Optimism about unique Quaker contributions to democratic decision-making may, however, be justified given the shared normative basis for democratic management.

Theorists, practioners and advocates of democratic management are fortunate to have Guilford College as home to this unique program. The college's commitment to values and its Quaker heritage shall surely be significant in the development and dissemination of democratic management techniques and values. The Guilford College community will benefit as well. As the college seeks to fulfill its educational mission, the alternative values central to democratic management affirm and expand the college's commitment to concern for the individual and respect for community and cooperation.

## SOME LESSONS FROM ECONOMIC THEORY ON NUCLEAR WAR

*Robert Scott Gassler*

Hiroshima Day is tomorrow, and Nagasaki Day is Thursday. Actually, I am here because of a cancellation. I had volunteered last week to serve as an emergency replacement, and this is what I got for it. However, it is appropriate that the topic I had in reserve turned out to be this one.

Introduction

Nuclear war has again become a topic of current interest with the appearance in the last two years of two books by Jonathan Schell, two by the Ground Zero project, the television movie The Day After, the article by Carl Sagan and others on the "Nuclear Winter," and the nuclear freeze campaign. It is no wonder that the arms race is an issue in the presidential election, though as yet it does not seem to have overshadowed the question of John Zaccaro's finances (a little shaky but ok) or whether Jesse Helms was really a gentleman in his debate with Jim Hunt (he wasn't). On an issue of this importance, economists have something to say that I think can put some of the issues in perspective.

When most people hear the word "economics" they either fall asleep or think of the people who make the nightly news with statistics and bad forecasts about inflation and unemployment. That is macroeconomics. However, that is not the branch of economics that I will be talking about here. There is a whole different branch of economics, called microeconomics, that is currently being applied to social problems as diverse as crime, marriage, childbearing, childrearing, charity, voting, and war. Economists have in the last forty years devised theories and approaches which I think can help us think more clearly about the complexities and paradoxes of our present international situation.

The insights derived by this branch of economic theory can be stated in terms of some simple lessons. These lessons are based on models developed by and familiar to economists from the Pentagon to the peace movement, though they will not all agree to the emphasis I give. Unfortunately the lessons are as usual more often negative than positive, but at least one economist has come up with a plan for getting the world out of the mess gradually.

The significance of these lessons for us as Unitarian Universalists is, I think, that it affects our notions of right and wrong. We cannot be satisfied with personal ethics unless we add something to it.

Lesson One: What Is True for Each Is Not Always True for All.

This is the oldest lesson: in a different form it goes back to Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations in 1776. It goes by different names: the fallacy-of-composition problem in economics, the level-of-analysis problem in political science, and the problem of "emergent properties" in sociology.

Its best formulation is in terms of a branch of mathematical economics developed right after WWII called the theory of games. A game is a model of a situation with aspect of both cooperation and conflict. The movie Wargames is about games in the sense we are talking about here.

Example: It is true that if I stand up at a football game I get a better view. However it is not true that if everyone stands up at a football game everyone gets a better view. Especially if they were standing behind me.

Example: The prisoner's dilemma story I read earlier (see Gulford Review, Spring 1981, p. 49) is the most famous and dramatic example from game theory. It is true that if each prisoner follows his own self-interest he will be better off by confessing. However, it is also true that if both confess they will both be the worst off they can possibly be. They can't afford to play the game, and they can't leave.

The only way out is to change the rules. One possibility is to knock a hole in the wall between their interrogation rooms, allowing each prisoner to hear what the other one is saying. Another is for the gang to hire a hit person to threaten the prisoners with death if they so much as look like they are about to confess. A third is to make sure that both prisoners are Unitarians; that way they know to trust each other implicitly because they will both be impeccably honest. A fourth is to play the prisoner's dilemma over and over. As we shall see later, the two will eventually learn to cooperate.

Examples abound in economics, which is why we study game theory so much: if the price of corn goes up each farmer will gain by growing more corn, but if all grow more corn the price will fall and all farmers will lose. Each of us who drives a car will gain if we are not induced by government to reduce its air pollution in some way, but if air pollution from automobiles is not reduced, we all lose clean air. In an economy at less than full employment, if each of us saves money this year we will be wealthier next year, but if all of us save more money this year we will all spend less and the economy will go into a recession. This is known as the paradox of thrift.

The reason for the divergence between the individual and group levels is that individual actions have side effects that we do not notice unless we take a broader view. For example, in the prisoner's dilemma the incentives to the individuals lead them away from the best solution, not toward it.

The arms race is clearly a prisoner's dilemma game. If the U.S. arms, it pays the U.S.S.R. to arm, and if the U.S.S.R. arms, it pays the U.S. to arm. If both arm, however, the world is made less and less safe for democracy or anything else. The best solution is for no one to arm, but the incentives to both Reagan and Chernenko in some ways are to move in exactly the opposite direction.

Again the only way out is to change the rules, and the methods are as in the Prisoner's Dilemma game. First, increase communication between the superpowers. One hopes that the fact that the hot line has been upgraded would be a good indication, though I am not sure I see much else. Second, we could park the Enterprise in standard orbit around the planet and tell Scottie to zap any missiles as soon as they are launched. I call this the Star Trek scenario. It differs significantly from the Star Wars scenario in that it will be done by the Earth Federation, not the U.S. or U.S.S.R. alone. (That way the other superpower does not have the incentive to create an anti-Star Wars weapon, and so on.) I am not holding my breath on that one. The third possibility is to convert the entire population of both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to Baptists on grounds that they then would trust each other implicitly. (Or for that matter we could convert everybody to Communists: that seems to be about equally successful in preventing international rivalries.) The fourth possibility, again to be discussed later, is to play the game over and over.

When I talk about this people always say it is too simple and they are right. However I find that if we complicate the model of the arms race, it gets worse, not better. (1) Proliferation of nuclear weapons, for example, simply adds more players and means that each player has less reason to care about the effect on the whole world's arms race if it adds another bomb or two to its arsenal. (2) If we remember that people are not always as rational as game theory assumes, that allows us to remember just how paranoid the Russians really are. One is not made safer by goading a paranoid opponent into acquiring more deadly weapons.

### Lesson Two: What Is Highly Unlikely in the Short Run Is a Virtual Dead Certainty in the Long Run.

This lesson is closely related to the first one, and it is often confused with it. It comes from the theory of probability, which is the same branch of mathematics used by business people in insurance, banking, etc.

Example: In meteorology there is something called the hundred-year flood; that means a flood that has a one percent chance of happening in any given year. A five-hundred-year flood is one that has a one-fifth of one percent chance of happening in any given year. In the case of a one-hundred year flood, what are the chances that it will happen at least once in a hundred years? This is something of great interest of course to corporations that provide flood insurance. To get the answer you have to start with one hundred percent and subtract the probability that a flood will never happen. It turns out that the chance that a hundred-year flood will never happen is about one-third. Therefore there is about a two-to-one chance that a hundred-year flood will happen at least once in a hundred years. The chance that it will happen at least once in 1000 years is over 99%. When I first started talking about this I was at the University of Colorado at Boulder. The year I arrived, 1976, we had a hundred-year flood in the Big Thompson Canyon, about two canyons up from Boulder. People paid very close attention to this example.

The lesson for nuclear war is clear, even if we have a little more trouble computing the probabilities. If the probability that a nuclear war will occur is one in a hundred in any given year, the chances are two to one that there will be at least one in the next hundred years. And of course as one of my students once said, "If you've seen one nuclear war, you've seen them all." Put another way, if nuclear war is a hundred-year flood, then the odds are two to one that our grandchildren will be washed away. Put still another way, if Napoleon had had nuclear weapons at Waterloo, we would probably not exist ourselves, and if Charlemagne had had nuclear weapons, we would almost certainly not be here.

Moreover, if the laws of probability hold at all, the fact that we have gone for forty years without a war is little comfort. The Big Thompson could have flooded the very next year. The reason has to do with the fact that we have to start the calculations over every year for the next hundred years, not the last hundred. Besides, forty years is a very short time historically.

### Lesson Three (Derived from Lessons One and Two): Deterrence Does Not Prevent War. It Virtually Guarantees It.

Deterrence is designed to threaten war to prevent something else. The U.S. creates a probability greater than zero that a nuclear war will occur if the Soviets build a missile base in Cuba or attack Saudi Arabian oil fields or do something else it doesn't want them to do. Lesson one tells us that each of the superpowers has the incentive to deter the other.

Lesson two tells us that deterrence will thus lead to the very thing we would like to prevent.

Why? The side effects again. How did we respond to the so-called Soviet military build-up in the 1970s? Were we cowed into submission? No, we started a build-up of our own under President Carter that has accelerated under Ronald Reagan. Why should we think the Soviets will react any differently?

Moreover, most of our experience with deterrence strategies concerns the threat of events that can be repeated, like spanking and jail-- or showing the flag in a non-nuclear age. If the kid messes up, the parent makes good on his threat, and the kid never does that again. Small comfort to us if one superpower messes up, the other makes good on its threat, and the first one never does that again.

Again we could complicate our story without changing the results: Kissinger's balance of power, first strike threats, counterforce strategies, Star Wars, etc.

#### Lesson Four: People Can Cooperate without Caring about Each Other.

As a matter of fact, economists nearly all assume exactly that in developing any theory. Especially the conservative ones like Milton Friedman. As a matter of fact the conservative economist Thomas Sowell went so far as to make a bet with his history of economic thought class: he promised an A to any student who could find anything nice Adam Smith said about business people. No one ever got an A that way. Yet Adam Smith in what we now half seriously call his famous Invisible Hand Theorem claimed that these very people, playing the game called "free market," frequently led society toward the common good. Notice he did say "frequently."

In experimental games conducted by sociologists, the best strategy turns out to be always to lead with a cooperative move, then match the other side. If they cooperate, you cooperate. If they make a noncooperative move, you punish them by noncooperation. Eventually as the game is played over and over, the other side will cooperate too.

The lesson for nuclear war is again a straightforward one. I for one don't trust the Soviets any more than I can throw a troika. The more I learn about their government the less I like it; that seems to be the case with most American Kremlinologists. It did not even help when I found out what Khrushchev really meant by his comment "we will bury you." It meant "we will outlive you," which is roughly what Reagan said back to them twenty years later. Yet all that is irrelevant. All the U.S. needs to do, in a sense, is predict what their motives are, which is not too difficult, and match the incentives to them: always lead cooperatively and punish uncooperative behavior. The trouble with this lesson is to figure out how to punish uncooperative behavior short of a nuclear war, e.g., Carter's boycott of Olympics. Not to mention the fact that it is always difficult to define just exactly what game we are actually playing.

#### Conclusion

The first nuclear war was fought nearly forty years ago. Every nuclear power threw every nuclear weapon they had at the enemy in order to protect their way of life and save the lives of their soldiers and sailors. That's one way of looking at the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima, of Nagasaki. That is what wars are designed for--if we can think of elements of the international system as being designed. The trouble is, we can't do that any more. Neither the U.S. nor the U.S.S.R. can throw everything at the

enemy with the confidence that if they win they protect their people and their way of life.

Economists and other social scientists have discovered that things often look different when you remember that there is more than one person in the world. Unfortunately, as I understand it, the theologians and the philosophers have only begun to explore the ethical implications of that fact. We can no longer rely solely on a personal ethics; there needs to be an ethics of the person in the group. The lessons discussed here are important to anyone who believes, as I do, that actions are to be judged at least partly in terms of their consequences.

Thank you very much.

\* \* \* \* \*

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*Jacqueline Ludel*

For months now, my left eyelid has been twitching. It's one of those stupid perturbations that gives rise to ugly imaginings simply because it is stochastic. Why those few neurons, those few muscle fibers should have established their own rhythm is finally inexplicable. That little group of cells has become errant while billions of others have never seceded, even for a day. If the union dissolves, if more and still more of the obedient ones become wayward, what will I do? (Nay, what will I be?)

Better to find some plausible causation than to entertain such unsettling thoughts. All right. The eyes are windows of the soul, no? The shutter on the left one is vibrating, like slats in the wind; and I am biased to the left--left-handed, left-eared, left-eyed, leftist. No doubt there's enough turbulence about these days to make a leftward soul skit-tish. So the shutter trembles.

Or maybe the hemisphericity advocates are onto something and in that crossed universe of the nervous system, it's my right brain--my artistic, non-verbal, intuitive self--that's creating the disturbance. Not bad, I've been putting considerable emphasis on logic and fact of late (a hazard of my profession: you can beguile students or charm them or bore them or try to share information with them. I lean notably toward the latter.) I haven't listened to a note of Bach for an indecently long time nor have I savored the taste of anything recently. Perhaps the twitch is restless annoyance from the unexercised and yearning aesthete.

But then I need to consider that my left eye is generally the more reliable, less worrisome one. That's the eye less affected by the strange retinal problem that suddenly, startlingly became apparent 15 years ago. That eye has required less treatment, less cold-soldering of the degenerating periphery. As a result, I can see more with that eye. And I see better with it; its lens is not hardening as rapidly as the right eye's. The world is in better focus when viewed through my left. But now, ah, the lid suffers from tiny convulsions. Maybe a clear, wide view of what there is cannot be tolerated. After all, the vistas these days are cluttered with fear and sorrow, hunger and need. Best not to notice every agony in all its details.

Perhaps that lid is in training. With all the work, it should grow hugely, becoming massively muscular, capable of powerful movements, able to slam shut, able to open monstrously. Perhaps soon that lid will be ready to perform amazing feats: closing down even when shock or terror or morbid fascination calls forth close inspection, and remaining open when there is apparently not a thing to be seen--only a mote wafting on a miniscule thermal.

Those few neurons and fibers have their reasons. They must. Chance is too improbable and imponderable.

*Sheridan Simon*

Mike got the letter from the government in his mailbox when he went there after his ten o'clock class. It was registered, stamped as to exact time of delivery, and signed by the post office employee who'd put it in his box at 9:58 am, 12 March, Year of Our Lord 1998. The envelope was almost covered by the huge embossed seal: The Eagle-and-Cross and the legend, "One Nation Under God."

His hand shook as he tore it open. The bustle and happy conversation of the anonymous students around him competed with the pulse hammering in his temples. Like everyone, he'd never thought it would happen to him. Conscriptio notices were things that happened to other people--somebody's cousin, or someone you'd known distantly in high school.

Someone bumped into him as he unfolded the letter, and he felt like screaming at the guy. It didn't seem right that some idiot could just plow into him and walk off when he was holding his death sentence in his hands.

It was a death sentence, too, no exaggeration, unless he got ten signatures on his reprieve card ("Verified by designated officials of the United States or their legal deputies") by 9:58 the next morning. He could be shot on sight by any Fed who recognized him, though they usually just arrested a loser and took him in to be burned, from what he'd heard.

He saw an empty chair across the hall, between the other bank of mailboxes and the campus barber shop, walked over to it and plopped down heavily. He let his notebooks fall to the floor beside him. The possibility of screwing up the test in thermo on Friday seemed suddenly rather unimportant.

I've got to plan this out, he thought. I can deal with this rationally. I mean, the law is aimed at losers, drunks and old guys and blasphemers and drug addicts and idolators, people who don't have any friends or family or anything. If they get zapped by some government computer's random numbers, nobody signs their card and they die. They aren't any use to God or society if they don't have any contacts with anyone. Just a burden, useless mouths, criminals, troublemakers, atheists. He wasn't one of THEM, he comforted himself. He was a student, an engineer, and he was a worthwhile person. He gave to the Church and watched a Service every chance he got, pretty much, except when he was really pressed for time or sick or had a date. He had lots of friends, and even if they let him down, he had his family, and he only needed ten signatures.

"Ten righteous and God-fearing citizens, to bring the Secular Rebirth to those chosen by the Lord as we are commanded in the Book." That was how the law read, when he'd memorized it in high school along with everybody else. It made sense, he knew, since the only way the random numbers in the computer could choose a particular individual was by divine guidance.

He glanced around, holding the thin paper of the government letter negligently in his right hand. He was slowly calming himself, though the throb of pulse still shook him and his knees felt funny, sort of numb and shaky. He started counting up people who would sign for him. His roommate, a couple of girls he'd been going out with, people from his

classes, people he ate lunch and dinner with. He got to twenty with no problem at all. He snorted. This was going to be simple. Heck, he remembered, I can even sign for myself! He recalled the Supreme Court Ruling a year or so earlier that made that legal. Any citizen at all over eighteen could sign, so long as they hadn't signed one within the last year, or had committed a felony.

He thought about it. Some of the people he was counting on might have signed a card in the last year, though he didn't know of any. If they had, they couldn't help him. But hell, how many would that leave? He snorted again, reaching down for his notebooks. I'll get this taken care of this morning, then get back to studying for thermo. There were a couple of Federal Constables in the Ad Building who could call in his reprieve. He smiled slightly. He was going to pull one horrorshow of a drunk on Friday night, that was for sure.

He stood, put one foot up on the chair and balanced his notebooks on his knee, the reprieve card on top of them. He poised his ballpoint over the first of the numbered, blank signature lines and carefully signed his name, adding his social security number. He glanced at his watch. Nine to go, and nearly twenty-three hours left. He glanced around to see if he could spot any of his friends. This was going to be easy.

#

Richie held the reprieve card loosely in his left hand, ignoring the pen Mike was extending in his direction. "So this is what they look like, heh?"

Mike grimaced. "It's no big deal. Come on, Richie. I want to get back to work. That thermo test Friday is going to be a rough mother." He thrust the pen forward.

Mike's roommate was dressed in jockeyshorts and towel, having just come back from the shower. He was tall, thin, and spattered liberally with pimples about the head and shoulders. Mike didn't think he was very smart, either, but he was only a psych major and didn't need to be. Richie sat warily on the edge of his bed, still not reaching for the pen. He scratched his damp head.

"Wow, this is really serious stuff, you know." He shook his head. Water ran down his hairless chest.

Mike frowned slightly. "Come ON, Richie." He dropped the pen meaningfully on top of the card. "Sign it, will you?"

Richie shook his head. "You can only sign one a year, right?"

Mike nodded. "Right. You haven't though, have you?"

"No."

"Then sign mine and let me get busy on the rest, will you?"

Richie paused, staring down at the card with its paragraph of Federalese, one signature, and nine blank lines. "What if I get one, and I've already signed yours?"

Mike snorted. "What are the chances of YOU getting blessed? One in a hundred?"

"YOU got one."

Mike nodded, beginning to get angry. "Damn straight, man." He felt his voice rising. "And there it is, and you can help me by signing it."

Carson looked up, now, shaking his head, water still oozing out of his hair. "No way, man. Next thing you know I'll get one, and I won't be able to sign my own."

Mike reached down and grabbed the card and pen out of Carson's lap. "You really think you'll get nine signatures and get burned because you can't be number ten. You really flame, Carson." He stood up, staring down at his roommate.

"Why's that, man? Heh? I'm just looking out for myself, the same as you. YOU signed YOURS, man." He was looking at Mike now, his face flushed.

Furious, Mike stalked to the door and yanked it open. As he was walking out he suddenly whirled around. Carson's head was hidden by the towel; he was rubbing vigorously. "I'll remember this, Carson."

Carson's pimples emerged from the towel. "Maybe you will. Maybe not." He hid his face in the towel again as Mike slammed the door with a crash that echoed over the whole floor of the dorm.

#

Bromberg wasn't in his room. No one knew when he'd be back.

#

"It isn't that I don't like you as a person, Mike."

"Then why won't you just sign my card, Lynn? It's my LIFE."

She nodded unhappily, her long hair swaying gently. "I know, and that's why."

"I don't understand."

She pushed the hair back with one hand, stroking it gently. She wore earrings, big gold circles that twisted and turned as she moved her head. The reflections from them kept catching his eyes. "It's too much of a commitment. I'm not ready for it."

"Christ, Lynn, I'm not asking you to get married to me, just to sign the reprieve card. Please?"

"I don't want to get into that kind of relationship with you, Mike. Can't you understand? I'm being sincere about this." She pushed her other hand through her hair, on the other side of her face. The earrings swung again.

"You mean you don't think you know me well enough to put a signature on a card to save my life?"

She nodded.

#

Lazari was Canadian. His signature wouldn't count, but he was sure Mike wouldn't have any trouble getting ten. He wasn't worried at all.

#

If I signed, Mike, it would be giving tacit approval to an unjust system."

A muscle under Mike's right eye kept jumping. It was a quarter after two. He'd dropped his thermo notes off at the library after lunch. It looked like he wasn't going to get any studying done today and, he thought a bit wildly, by tomorrow it might not matter anyway.

"Clark, if you don't sign I'm going to die. Me. I didn't do anything wrong. I'm innocent. Will you please sign this damned thing?"

Clark's shaven head and thin goatee bordered features locked in a permanently sober expression. "That's exactly the point, Mike. As an individual, you are being made to suffer because of laws imposed on you by the system. As your friend, I can't be party to the further repression of your rights by becoming an accomplice of the power structure. It is unrighteous, and I can prove it by Scriptural reference."

Mike had argued about politics with Clark since they'd been freshmen. It had always seemed so abstract, though; Mike had never felt that Clark would end up using him as a martyr to the cause of the

righteous struggle. "You mean that by letting them burn me you're delivering a protest against injustice?" He couldn't keep the note of sarcasm out of his voice.

Clark nodded.

#

Tom didn't want to get involved.

#

"When you broke up with me, you said it would be better if we didn't see each other any more, Mike."

Cindy had very big blue eyes surrounded by green eye makeup and long black lashes. The eyes were often marred by redness from crying, and today was no exception. It was half past three. Mike was frantically planning to get all the signatures before nine the next morning when the Constables would get into their offices. That would still give him nearly an hour for one of them to check his signatures and call in the reprieve.

"I know I did, Cindy. I know I did. But I thought you told me that you'd always love me, no matter what. This is important to me, Cindy, and I thought a person as sensitive as you would understand that and want to be a part of helping me."

A tear appeared at the corner of her left eye, dissolving a tiny bit of makeup. "Our relationship was a beautiful thing, Mike. We were really growing together, before you started seeing Susan. That hurt me a great deal." The tear carved a path through whatever it was she put on her cheeks and dripped on the reprieve card in her lap. The card that still lacked nine signatures.

"I didn't do it to hurt you, Cindy. I LIKED you. I still do.

A matched pair of tears slid down her cheeks together. "You just aren't sensitive to my needs, Mike. You really hurt me when you say you 'like' me. I told you that. You must do it on purpose."

Mike felt like crying himself. He could remember every word of this same argument. "I can't tell you I love you if I don't love you, Cindy. It isn't honest."

She stared sadly into his eyes. He thought about the nine blank lines.

"I love you," he said hoarsely.

She blinked. "I don't believe you," she said.

She shook her head and sighed deeply. "You don't really know what love is, Mike. Oh, I feel so sorry for you. You're going to die without ever knowing love." A steady stream of tears now carried black, green, and pinkish substances down both of her cheeks.

Mike felt something squeeze in his guts. "I won't die if I can find nine people who love me enough to sign this card. Won't you help me, Cindy? Please?"

She handed the card back to him, looking into his eyes with her own watery ones. "I'll always remember you, Mike."

#

Professor Lafferty was writing on a legal pad as Mike entered his office. He was very sincere. He explained that he couldn't sign the card or he'd have to do it for all of his students. He was sure Mike would understand. He offered to give Mike an extension on the homework set due Monday.

#

"Hello, Mom?"

Mike was going to have to be careful how he phrased the situation so that his mother wouldn't panic, but he knew he had everything under control now. His family lived in a city eighty miles away. He could catch the seven o'clock bus and get there by nine. He had exactly eleven relatives in the city he thought could be counted on, though Cousin Eddie was marginal. If his mother had the relatives at their house when he got there, he could get the nine signatures and have plenty of time to catch the last bus back. He'd be back in his room by one in the morning, get the card into the Constables in the morning as soon as they got to work, and be safe. It would mean only a few hours to study for the thermo test, but what the hell.

"Michael, what a nice surprise. Do you need money?"

"No, Mom. How are you?"

"You never call during the week unless something is wrong. Are you in trouble, Michael?"

"No, Mom. How's Dad?" He could hear voices in the background, including Uncle George's braying laugh. Good. That would simplify things, if some of the relatives were already there.

"Your father is fine. Did you flunk a course, Michael? Are you going to have to drop out?"

"Mom, it's only middle of term. Nobody flunks out in the middle of the term."

There was the distant sound of an open hand striking an ample bosom. "I knew it. I knew it. You should have stayed right here at home and gone to State. What course is it?"

"None, Mom. My grades are fine. I--"

"Michael, did you get some girl in trouble? Michael, tell me you didn't! My baby! You aren't ready to get married. Who is she? Do I know her?" Background voices mumbled questions.

"Mom, take it easy. It's nothing like that. Can't I call to say hello?"

"You never just call to say hello. Do you have mono?"

"No, Mom. I'm fine." He thought rapidly. "There's something wrong at home, is that it?"

"Well, nothing serious. Nothing you need to worry about, with all your own troubles to concern you."

"Mom, what's wrong? Is Dad OK?"

"Of course he is, thank God! He feels fine, he just was a little upset by what happened and had to go lie down."

"Why did he have to lie down, Mom?" Mike realized he was sweating. His watch showed that he had twenty minutes to make the bus.

"Because of Cousin Eddie. Mildred and Al brought him over, no warning, not a call, nothing, and Daddy was watching the news in his bathrobe and he got a headache afterward and had to lie down."

Christ, Cousin Eddie. Mildred was his father's sister. She and Uncle Al were equally fat, equally stupid, and equally ineffectual. They had one son, Eddie, who had distinguished himself at an early age by shoplifting and had since gone on to a career of stealing from a succession of employers. As much as he was worried about himself, Mike was happy to find Eddie in trouble. Christ, there was somebody who ought to get a conscript notice. That worthless tub of lard couldn't find nine signers in a year, let alone a day.

"What did that idiot do now?"

"Don't use language like that about your own cousin, Michael, when he almost died, God forbid."

"Mom--"

"He got one of those notices from the government. They were

going to send him away to one of those places unless he got ten people to sign for him."

Mike's pulse began to roar in his temples. "Mom. Mom, that's why I'm calling. I got one of those notices this morning. I've got to have nine more signatures."

"What? Michael, don't be silly. You're a good boy. Don't fool around about such things. God forbid you should get one of those things."

The muscle over his right eye twitched. "Mom, it's true. I'm coming home on the bus. I need you to sign for me. I need nine people."

"Michael, your cousin has nobody. He's your own flesh and blood. You know he's been in trouble. You've got friends, girlfriends--maybe not ones you should be serious about, but girlfriends--"

"Mom, for God's sake--"

"You know we need ten others. They won't even let him sign for himself, because of that little trouble with hitting the sheriff's deputy in the bar last year. Isn't that a shame, Michael? He can't even sign his own reprieve card."

"A shame, Mom," he whispered. "A shame."

"He started crying when they brought him over and we started calling people. He thought he was going to have to go over to the shopping center and stop perfect strangers."

#

This is the way the official parable ends:

The shopping mall was open until nine. Mike took a cab to get there, and made it at eight-thirty. The crowds of strangers intimidated him, but not as much as dying did. They were faceless, nameless, bodies without souls, pushing, mumbling, buying, smoking, hurting each other and lying and some of them stealing from the shops and from each other, but he got his nine signatures in as many minutes, and lived.

#

This is what really happened:

He had tried several hundred possibilities for the password into the Federal computing system when he stumbled upon the right one, quite by chance, just after five am. It was "Divine Intervention," spelled backwards. He changed the record to show that he had turned in his signatures, complete, at two in the afternoon. He collapsed into bed a half hour later, certain he'd be caught, but he wasn't. He awoke at noon, and lived.

*Laura Donaldson*

What then is truth? A mobile army of metaphors . . . in short, a sum of human relations, which have been enhanced, transposed, and embellished poetically and rhetorically, and which after long use seem firm, canonical, and obligatory to a people: truths are illusions about which one has forgotten that this is what they are; metaphors which are worn out and without sensuous power: coins which have lost their pictures and now matter only as metal, no longer as coins.<sup>1</sup>

(Friedrich Nietzsche, On Truth and Lie in an  
Extra-moral Sense)

The Man without Qualities has populated the nightmares of many a literary critic. As Frank Kermode lamented in an early review of the novel's translation into English: "If ever, to change the figure, if ever we supposed that there was no limit to looseness and bagginess in the novel, this protean and apparently boundless monster, Musil proves the contrary."<sup>2</sup> One might, perhaps, be justified in changing the title of Musil's crowning achievement to the novel without qualities--no plot, no story, no form, no ending. Its immensity (1600 pages unfinished), complexity, and highly abstract content all threaten to produce perpetual insomnia in those daring readers who attempt to grasp and interpret its significance.

Much of the frustration with Musil's novel stems not only from the strenuous demands it places upon its readers, but also from a lack of understanding about the artistic efforts of its author. In a 1910 essay, "Form Und Inhalt," Musil declares that "one cannot distinguish between form and content," for each exists as an inseparable function of the other.<sup>3</sup> Both the form and the content of The Man without Qualities become essential aspects of Musil's Utopian imagination, for they work toward establishing der andere Zustand, "the other condition," and its concomitant transformation of human consciousness. According to Musil, the dissolution of European culture finds its counterpart in the crisis of the novel, and the synthesis of "the other condition" in a redefinition of the function and scope of the novel.

In their basic relation to themselves most people are narrators . . . What they like is the orderly sequence of facts, because it has the look of a necessity, and they manage to feel somehow sheltered in the midst of chaos. And now Ulrich observed that he seemed to have lost this elementary narrative element to which private life still holds fast, although in public life everything has now become non-narrative, no longer following a 'thread,' but spreading out as an infinitely interwoven surface.<sup>4</sup>

Ulrich, the main character of Musil's novel, exhibits the symptoms of modernity's cultural disease, an infection resulting from the geometric complications of knowledge, and society's inability to assimilate this data: "Ulrich was reminded of the almost hourly growing body of facts and discoveries out of which the mind has to peer forth today if it wants to scrutinize any question closely. This body grows away from

the inner being. Although there are countless views, opinions, and classificatory ideas from latitudes and ages . . . there is no central point where they all unite."<sup>5</sup> This historical situation has profound implications for the novel as a literary form. As Frederic Jameson notes in Marxism and Form, the crisis of the novel is rooted in the development of a context whose complexity defies presentation in a traditional narrative model.<sup>6</sup> Musil would agree with Jameson's assessment, for it is precisely this narrative order, i.e., being able to say "when that happened, then this happened," which he rejects as a formal principle of The Man without Qualities.

The relationship between Musil and his novel mirrors the plight of Ulrich and a society of deceived narrators: both Ulrich and Musil acknowledge the profound human need to make sense of one's world, yet both view this yearning for "undimensional" order, this stringing of life's events upon a linear thread, as an obstruction which prevents the possibilities of man's potential from realizing themselves. Suffused with a false security and an intellectually foreshortened perspective, the traditional model of narrative dulls rather than sharpens humanity's participation in "the fiery and soaring qualities" of Musil's transformation of values. "This is the thing that the novel has artificially turned to account: the traveller may go riding along the high road in pouring rain, or be walking through crackling snow, the temperature thirty degrees below freezing point, and still the reader will feel a cosy glow."<sup>7</sup> In order for the novel to accurately portray the cultural predicament of western society, and to realize its potential as a means of expressing Musil's utopian vision, the novel must overcome this perspectival distortion. His experiment in creating a novelistic form which corresponds to the "both-and" equilibrium--both science and faith, both detachment and love, both reason and feeling--forges a new concept of the novel as a generic mode, and moves beyond the traditional elements of nineteenth-century realistic fiction.

The one feature which critics have objected to most stridently is the absence of even the most rudimentary plot in The Man without Qualities. Ulrich's quest for meaning does not progress forward to a resolution like the action of a conventional plot. Rather, its story, i.e., its recounting of the celebration of the Emperor Franz Josef's seventieth Jubilee year and the conception of the Collateral Campaign, becomes subsumed in Ulrich's efforts to articulate the metamorphic consciousness of "the other condition." Thus, Musil's utopianism demands that he leave the machinations of plot behind, for it no longer reflects the actual condition of humanity. This dynamic becomes much clearer in the narrator's description of Rachel's [Diotima's maid] reading habits: "This expectation was however by no means the main point, but only the proper entanglement, the complication of plot, the amorous intrigue never missing from any of the novels on which she was educating herself. For Rachel was allowed to read the novels that Diotima had finished with, just as she was also allowed to cut down and alter for herself the underclothes that Diotima no longer wore."<sup>8</sup> Diotima, of course, represents that attitude which wants to unify European culture through the idea of the Collateral Campaign--an effort largely consisting of movement "back to" Nature, Baroque, Gothic, old Germanic law, ad infinitum. "Like all people of bourgeois outlook, Diotima clings to these regressive means of ordering the world" in the depths of the heart that are quite independent of conviction.

In his Studies in European Realism, George Lukacs characterizes plot as a poetic form of reflecting reality which transcends its function as merely a technical vehicle: its evolution within the narrative reveals the essential patterns defining both the particular and general relationships of the human community.<sup>9</sup> Generally speaking, a novel which depends on a complex and highly developed plot depicts man as fundamentally grounded in a societal context, and interrelates its characters in a way

that corroborates this presupposition.<sup>10</sup> The novel invests its own formal qualities with the aura of social organization. "Each plot creates a closed society, consisting of the characters in the novel, which then presumably comments on the larger societal order."<sup>11</sup> It is precisely this "closed" society represented by plot which, according to Musil, falsely describes man's existential situation, and impedes the metamorphosis of consciousness demanded by "the other condition." If life is a utopian experiment where one tries and discovers the best ways of living, then the narrative model most appropriate to this goal is an "open" one which allows Musil the freedom to move from one attempt to another. The similarity between plotted novels and Diotima's hand-me-down underwear grows more vivid in light of these observations: no amount of altering can conceal their civilized shabbiness, and they remain ill-fitted to clothe the most intimate parts of the human psyche.

Many interpreters have equated this lack of structure with both literary and intellectual chaos. Musil, on the other hand, would reply that he is engaged in "a tremendous flight of ideas, at the end of which the whole of human life is arranged round new centres and axes. The ultimate cause of all great revolutions, which lies deeper than the effective cause, is not in the accumulation of unwholesome conditions, but in the exhaustion of the cohesive factor that has enabled the souls to enjoy an artificial contentment."<sup>12</sup> In narrative terms, exhaustion of such traditional methods of cohesiveness as plot enables Musil to attempt a revolution in the novel by rearranging its axes around the dialectic of essayism and metaphor. This dialectic unravels the thread marking a passageway within the apparently directionless maze of The Man without Qualities. However, unlike the narrative thread which resolves its story by a linear beginning, middle, and end, Musil's leads one to a journey rather than an exit. It is in this conception of the novel as process that his great "revolution" lies. Musil replaces plot with the movement of dialectic, and adopts the transformation of perspectives as the propelling force of his novel.

Of all the elements constituting The Man without Qualities, its use of "essayism" has captured most of the critical attention. Sharon Spencer, in Space, Time, and Structure in the Modern Novel, observes that essayism connotes the explicit presence in architectonic novels of patently intellectual materials.<sup>13</sup> For Musil,

The translation of the word 'essay' as 'attempt,' which is the generally accepted one, only approximately gives the most illusion to the literary model. For an essay is not the provisional or incidental expression of a conviction that might on a more favorable occasion be elevated to the status of truth or might just as easily be recognised as error (of that kind are only the articles and treatises, referred to as 'chips' from their 'workshop,' with which learned persons favour us); an essay is the unique and unalterable form that a man's inner life assumes in a decisive thought. Nothing is more alien to it than that irresponsibility and semi-finishedness of mental images known as subjectivity; but neither are 'true' and 'false,' 'wise' and 'unwise,' terms that can be applied to such thoughts, which are nevertheless subject to laws that are no less strict than they appear to be delicate and ineffable.<sup>14</sup>

The direct allusion in the opening line to Montaigne's famous naming of the essay indicates a clear kinship with the French writer's original intent: unlike the formal treatise or dissertation, the essay is an unsystematic effort to discuss a subject, and addresses itself to a general rather than specialized audience.<sup>15</sup> This quality especially appeals to Musil, for those who would perceive life in absolute terms as "violent and aggressive persons, who, having no army at their disposal, bring the world into subjection to themselves by means of locking it up into a system."<sup>16</sup> Because the essay views a subject from many angles

without ever totally comprehending it, the essay offers a "breath of revocability" to life. One gains conviction and truth from essayistic arguments only when one gives them up, "just as the lover has to leave his love in order to describe it." Because it demands both intellectual rigor and artistic creativity, the essay microcosmically mirrors Musil's larger concerns. Or, as David Luft notes, the essay is the form of the thinking poet mediating between science and art.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of the attention it has garnered, however, few critical discussions of Musil's use of essayism deal with how it works concretely in the narrative of The Man without Qualities. A concrete example which yields perhaps the most important insights of how its dynamic works in the novel occurs in Book One, chapters fifty-nine through sixty-three. The first and last chapters of this group, "Moosbrugger Does Some Thinking," and "Bonadea's Vision," enclose the heart of Musil's utopian essayism. Moosbrugger--sexual miscreant and murderer of women--functions as the novel's anarchic and amoral extreme. Convicted and imprisoned for the brutal stabbing of a prostitute, he is incapable of feeling remorse, for remorse implies an acceptance of a morality which declares "Thou shalt not kill." For Moosbrugger, "his rights were his law," and the ethical discriminations of civilized society exert no influence on his confused and idiosyncratic world. Bonadea, on the other hand, represents the essence of bourgeois morality: "her good intentions and her firm will to decency were something that she did not for an instance lose."<sup>18</sup> Her need for a "true and tidy world" and her acceptance of society's moral codes mark her as the antithesis of Moosbrugger.

The ethic of essayism, or "living hypothetically," lies in the midst of these two poles, a fact which the novel's form as well as its content so brilliantly reveals. Somewhere between Moosbrugger's thinking, i.e., anarchism, and Bonadea's vision, i.e., conformism, exists the point "where we no longer see the moral norm as the immobility of rigid commandments, but as a mobile equilibrium continually demanding exertions towards its renewal."<sup>19</sup> Although it rejects the conception of morality as an assent to propositions, Musil's essayistic ethic still aspires to a moral norm--albeit transformed and much less defined than its predecessor. The sequential depiction of Moosbrugger's amorality, and the narrator's subsequent explanation of a new morality expressed by the concept of "essayism" prepares the reader to view Bonadea's entrenched bourgeois perspective much more critically. Without the narrative and intellectual bridge of the essay, it would be difficult to effect such a fundamental, yet condensed, augmentation of the reader's vision.

This vision of essayism as "living hypothetically" and as a "mobile equilibrium" has profound consequences for Musil's construction of the novel. In particular, it draws one into the heart of his literary problem, for "anyone living on that pattern would have to live without ends or decision, in fact without any reality at all . . . The truth is that we have no proper method dealing with this perpetually moving series."<sup>20</sup> The truth is that Musil had no proper narrative method of dealing with essayism's perpetually moving dialectic, and was thus unable to complete The Man without Qualities. Its absence of an ending is but a symptom of this inability. The novel offers no resolution or hints about how the lives of the characters finally "turn out," and Musil's subsequent outlines of possible endings for the work add little insight to this problem. Although many reasons have been offered for this failure--Musil's exile and poverty, his frail health, bitterness, and creative exhaustion--none really explains why a writer of such genius should be unable to complete even the roughest of endings for his novel. I agree that all these factors certainly affected Musil's capacity to write, but would also argue that the crux of the problem stems from his use of essayism as one of the novel's narrative principles. Given its construction "as if," the task of ending becomes a

conceptual and literary impossibility, a violation of the most elemental qualities of Musil's utopianism.

One of the characters in Musil's novella, The Perfecting of a Love, remarks: "What I value in art is the subtlety of the right ending, which consoles us for the humdrum of everyday life."<sup>21</sup> What Musil rejects is the fact that "right endings" insulate the human spirit from the risks, dangers, and ultimately, the holistic integration of "the other condition." Strong, harmonious endings emphasize the fact that both author and reader have participated in artifice, and the obvious fiction of the ending only corroborates the fiction of the story.<sup>22</sup> It is this sense or artifice which Musil hopes to transcend through the mobile equilibrium of essayism: rather than artifice, Musil offers us a new model for appropriating reality which liberates humanity from the confinement of a limited perspective into the infinite *Möglichkeit*, or possibility, of "the other condition."

The second term of the dialectic, metaphor, conjures the "both-and" synthesis which Musil attempted to suggest through The Man without Qualities. His assertion that "forms have an influence that works inward, and the emotions of which they are made up can also be aroused by them" demonstrates Musil's conflation of form and content more than any other aspect of his work, and metaphor represents both the spiritual and narrative component of this integration. In the recesses of his primordial past, man once experiences himself and his world as unfragmented and unalienated: "In the same way that certain species of bacteria split an organic substance into two parts, the human species by its way of living split the original state of metaphor into the solid matter of reality and truth, on the one hand, and on the other, the glassy atmosphere of premonition, faith, and artifacts. It seems that between these two there is no third possibility. And yet how often something uncertain does come to a desired end if one only sets about it without taking too much thought."<sup>23</sup> As Frederick Peters notes in Robert Musil: Master of the Hovering Life, humanity's "fall" into its present divided condition necessitates his present search for meaning and wholeness.<sup>24</sup> Peters also asserts that the "meaningful" life, which Ulrich searches for and once possessed, is ultimately grounded upon the possibility that all opposites can be reconciled.<sup>25</sup> While I affirm Peters' characterization of Musil's utopian premises, I would also argue that the "reconciliation of opposites" represents a yearning for one-dimensional order which the man without qualities so categorically rejects.

Those who would collapse the "both-and" tension of "the other condition" into the unification of opposites disturb its profound spiritual equilibrium. Like General Stumm and the workers of the Collateral Campaign they spend many futile efforts "trying to get the whole thing reduced to unity. But d'you know what it's like? Just like travelling second-class in Galicia and picking up crabs! It's the lousiest feeling of helplessness I ever knew."<sup>26</sup> Musil rejects such facile answers as attempts to escape the uncomfortable ambiguity of living without ends, and to imprison the essence of his utopianism in a reductionist interpretive cage.

At the other extreme, however, are those who connect reality by the opposite means: instead of trying to merge humanity's split way of living into a monolithic vision, they indiscriminately link all persons, events, and ideas by simply inserting "and." The narrator in The Man without Qualities contemptuously dismisses such persons as morons of "a certain degree of idiocy" who relate social manifestations to each other by use of the "simple, unadorned conjunction." This idiocy is "a mental condition . . . of the crudest pattern, most clearly characterised by its way of limiting itself to the use of that simplest of co-ordinating conjunctions, the helplessly additive 'and,' which for those of little mental capacity replaces all more intricate relationships."<sup>27</sup> By substituting equivalence for equilibrium, this additive idiocy disrupts the tension of "the other condition" as severely as the imposition of a false unity. Both

attitudes are in fact textually and intellectually connected with each other by the adjective "helpless": each perpetuates a form of psychic impotence which blocks man's artistic and ethical fertility,

Musil finds the most accurate model for the integration of our split personality in the existential state of Metaphor, and the narrative activity of metaphors. "Metaphor . . . is a combining of concepts such as takes place in dream; it is the sliding logic of the soul, and what corresponds to it is the kinship of things that exist in the twilight imaginings of art and religion."<sup>28</sup> Or, as Donald Davidson so articulately states, metaphor is the dreamwork of language whose interpretation reflects as much on the interpreter as the originator: "Understanding a metaphor is as much a creative endeavor as making a metaphor, and as little guided by rules."<sup>29</sup> For Musil, metaphor is the dreamwork of his utopianism, and its presence as one of the main narrative devices of The Man without Qualities ensures that the reader will begin to make the integrative connection so essential to "the other condition." We can better understand the creative dimension of metaphor, however, if we understand its potential dangers--an element which surfaces in the moral and linguistic anarchism of Moosbrugger.

Moosbrugger, I believe, represents the pathology constantly threatened when one abuses a metaphorical freedom so "little guided by rules." Like a poem whose metaphors are completely idiosyncratic to the private world of the poet, Moosbrugger's thought processes represent a degeneration of metaphor into a chaotic, non-referential state. Parodying "the other condition's" integrated unity, he relates inner and outer reality through an inappropriate identification of terms:

The table was Moosbrugger.

The chair was Moosbrugger.

The barred window and the bolted door were himself.

He did not mean that in a way that was at all crazy or unusual. It was simply that the elastic had gone. Behind everything or creature that tries to come quite close up to one there is an elastic band, stretching. Otherwise, of course, in the end the things might go right through each other. And in every movement there is an elastic band that never quite lets one do what one would like to. These pieces of elastic now all at once were gone.<sup>30</sup>

In Moosbrugger's metaphors, the semantic elasticity which preserves the integrity of each particular term and allows their combination to create a new dimension of meaning has snapped. On one level, Moosbrugger dramatizes the recurring temptation to self-indulgence which the freedom of metaphorical thinking elicits.<sup>31</sup> One cannot merely juxtapose at will for metaphors must possess a communicable logic of significance. On another, more profound level, this disturbed identification of metaphoric terms suggests an amorality which is antithetical to the development of "the other condition." The associative anarchism of Moosbrugger's metaphors is an expression of his moral anarchism: both involve a total disregard for either narrative or social conventions, and their only law is the whim of a solitary mind. Gazing in the face of Moosbrugger, one glimpses the darker, more sinister possibilities of "the other condition"--possibilities which the pathological use of metaphor prophetically augurs.

Even in Moosbrugger, however, "sometimes a word burst open in his mouth--and what revolution and what dreams of things welled up then out of a cold, burnt-out cinder of a word like oak-pussey or rose-lips!"<sup>32</sup> If the creation of meaning through "double words" sometimes spawns a revolutionary dream of things, then the methodological question becomes central. I would argue that form and content form an inseparable whole in Musil's novel, for the utopia which Agathe embodies, the utopia of the twin sister, possesses its rhetorical analogue in the utopia of the narrative twin--the twin vision of metaphor.

In The Barbarian Within, Walter Ong observes that metaphor accrues much of its significance through a kind of doubling, or bifocal quality.<sup>33</sup> This "twinning" aspect of metaphor does not abandon one meaning for another but rather stands related to the two meanings simultaneously:

The doubling or twinning of two concepts which metaphor thus demands is a clue to the psychological and linguistic importance of metaphor. At the heart of the linguistic situation, there is another kind of twinning which human intellection must constantly seek to circumvent but which it can never succeed in escaping. This twinning is at the heart of all human operations of understanding. It is the judgement or enunciation or statement, the operation by which a subject is joined to a predicate to make a unit of discourse which has, as we say, complete sense . . . By manipulating two items so that one thus for a brief instant controls the other we 'know' in the full sense, we possess--for a brief moment--truth.<sup>34</sup>

According to Ong, this doubled focus brings one to the center of the human quest for unity. Man, "ultimate discontent with his grasp of truth in statements, which are poor divided things like man himself," turns to metaphor for that complex simplicity so lacking in his own consciousness. In fact, the meaning generated by the narrative metaphor parallels Ulrich's search for wholeness through his relationship to his sister, Agathe: like Ulrich and Agathe, the terms of a metaphor also become siamese twins, indissolubly joined together in the gestalt of meaning created by the perceiver. For Musil, metaphor enables us to microcosmically intuit the "both-and" equilibrium of "the other condition," and to participate momentarily in its suggestion of a synthesis.

Perhaps the best way to grasp this metaphorical dynamic is by using one of Musil's own metaphors--one which offers us a revealing glimpse of the interaction between spiritual condition and literary vehicle. Although this passage actually concerns the morality of sports, it also characterizes the ethnic of metaphor: "But fundamentally it only proved that brutality and love were no further away from each other than were the two wings of a big, bright, voiceless bird. He had put the emphasis on the wings, and the bright, voiceless bird--a notion that did not quite make sense, but yet was filled with a little of that vast sensuality with which life simultaneously satisfies all rival contradictions in its boundless and exorbitant body."<sup>34</sup> In the "twinning" of this metaphor, brutality and love are yoked together through the vividly concrete image of the bird, an image which connotes sport, life, and the dynamic of metaphor. The gestalt, or special quality of meaning which its semantic power momentarily releases, inculcates within the perceiver an experience of the relatedness of good and evil by requiring her to join them in the connecting powers of her own imagination. Such an insight is a crucial element of Musil's utopianism, and metaphor is the only narrative vehicle which attempts to balance these "rival contradictions." No effort to translate its terms into discursive language would capture this equilibrium, for it would "transform the living wisdom, even as it is, into a theory of life, and so to extract some 'content' from the motion of those who were moved: what is left over is about as much as remains of a jelly-fish's delicately opalescent body after it has been lifted out of the water and laid on the sand."<sup>35</sup>

Further, brutality and love as the wings of a "big, bright, voiceless bird" conjures a soaring quality, a journey into the freedom of "the other condition." Ulrich's emphasis on the "wings" of the metaphor suggests that the bond of brutality and love is also the instrument of escaping the moral degradation of European culture. His emphasis on the "voiceless" bird implies that this condition of freedom lacks a simply defined significance. Since one can physically speak only one word at a

time, the voicing of one meaning necessarily excludes all others. Thus, the bird, as the content of the metaphor, remains silent. In its brightness, one does not listen to a preconceived idea of morality, one rather creatively intuits the myriad possibilities in its "twinned" vision. For Musil, "morality is imagination . . . And the second thing was that there is nothing arbitrary about the imagination."<sup>36</sup> Metaphor, the narrative twin of Musil's utopia of Die Zwillingsschwester, the twin sister, involves a peripatetic equilibrium demanding constant renewal of its meaning. Through the appropriation of metaphor by the reader "right and wrong were no longer general terms, a compromise arranged for the benefit of millions of human beings, but a magical encounter of I and Thou, the madness of a primal, still incomparable, and incommensurable creation."<sup>37</sup>

It is in this use of both the content and narrative possibilities of the novel that Musil departs from his predecessors. Or, one might say that he conceives the novel as a heuristic device, an instrument of discovery, which will lead its readers into a new stance toward life. We can more clearly appreciate this quality if we differentiate "heuristic" from its distant relation, "didactic." While both terms share an ethical focus, and a desire to "make life better," they implement their concern in different ways. Didacticism, or the ability of the novel to instruct the reader in particular moral principles, exists as a prominent characteristic of the nineteenth-century novel. Such writers as Dickens, Eliot, and Tolstoy all view the novel as a teacher which refines and develops humanity's capacity to discern "right" from "wrong"--with both right and wrong clearly identified and accepted by the community of author and reader. Perceiving the novel as man's educator of course implies that one has a vision of the larger whole, for it is difficult to teach a subject which has not already been mastered.

"Heuristic," on the other hand, connotes a process in which the novelist encourages the reader to discover for herself the knowledge which the novel only points to indirectly. As the adjective which most accurately describes The Man without Qualities, "heuristic" points to the fact that Musil constructed his novel as an ethical activity rather than a static body of moral codes. He envisions the novel as a means of reintegrating those aspects of man which have become separated from each other, and refuses to manipulate its language in the interest of making his readers feel "good," or insulating them from the ambiguities and risks of human life. His fiction provides a stopping place where one can receive nourishment for the long journey toward wholeness which lies ahead. As Musil so poignantly writes:

There are . . . a great many problems that become buried under the edifice of the shared life before they can be fully worked out; and later the sheer weight of things as they have actually turned out leaves one no strength even to imagine it all differently. Then somewhere along the way there will stand some queer sign-post, there will be some fact, a hovering fragrance, an untrodden path petering out amid grass and stones, and the traveller knows he should turn and take the other road, but everything urges him forward; and all that impedes his steps is something like cobwebs, dreams, a rustling branch--and his is quietly paralysed by some thought that had never quite taken shape.<sup>38</sup>

To us, the travellers, The Man without Qualities is the fragile web of narrative which impedes our complacent existence, and imbues us with the dream allowing us to "imagine it all differently." Its artistic and ethical magnificence will, perhaps, inspire us to explore the promise of the untrodden path.

- <sup>1</sup>Friedrich Nietzsche, On Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense, in The Portable Nietzsche, ed. & trans. Walter Kaufmann (Middlesex, Eng. & New York: Penguin Books; The Viking Press, 1968), pp. 46-47.
- <sup>2</sup>Frank Kermode, "A Short View of Musil," Encounter 15 (1960), p. 75.
- <sup>3</sup>Robert Musil, "Form Und Inhalt," Prosa Und Stücke, Kleine Prosa, Aphorismen, Autobiographisches Essays Und Reden Krtik, ed. Adolk Frise (Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 1978), p. 1299.
- <sup>4</sup>Robert Musil, The Man without Qualities Vol. I-III, Trans. Eithne Wilkins & Ernst Kaiser (London: Picador, Pan Books Ltd., 1979), II, 436.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid., I, 179.
- <sup>6</sup>Frederic Jameson, Marxism and Form (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 350.
- <sup>7</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, II, 436.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., I, 192.
- <sup>9</sup>George Lukacs, Studies in European Realism, trans. Edith Bone (London: Hillway Pub. Co., 1950), p. 168.
- <sup>10</sup>David Goldknopf, The Life of the Novel (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 103.
- <sup>11</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, II, 276-277.
- <sup>13</sup>Sharon Spencer, Space, Time and Structure in the Modern Novel (Chicago: The Swallow Press, 1971), p. 138.
- <sup>14</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, I, 301.
- <sup>15</sup>M.H. Abrams, A Glossary of Literary Terms, 3rd edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1957, 1971), p. 55.
- <sup>16</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, I, 300.
- <sup>17</sup>David Luft, Robert Musil and the Crisis of European Culture 1880-1942 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: Univ. of California Press, 1980), p. 101.
- <sup>18</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, I, 307.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid., I, 299.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., III, 80.
- <sup>21</sup>Robert Musil, Five Women, trans Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (New York: Delacorte Press, 1966), p. 164.
- <sup>22</sup>Brian Wicker, The Story-Shaped World; Fiction and Metaphysics: Some Variations on a Theme (Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 136.
- <sup>23</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, II, 347.
- <sup>24</sup>Frederick G. Peters, Robert Musil: Master of the Hovering Life, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1978), p. 191.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 192.
- <sup>26</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, II, 86.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., III, 414.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., II, 362.
- <sup>29</sup>Donald Davidson, "What Metaphors Mean," Critical Inquiry (1978), 31-47.
- <sup>30</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, II, 111.
- <sup>31</sup>Wicker, p. 12.
- <sup>32</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, I, 286.
- <sup>33</sup>Walter Ong, "Metaphor and the Twinned Vision," The Barbarian Within and Other Fugitive Essays (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 41.
- <sup>34</sup>Musil, The Man without Qualities, I, 28.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid., I, 301.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., III, 430.
- <sup>37</sup>Ibid., III, 155.

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In discussing Blake's relationship to the eighteenth century, most commentators emphasize the unquestionably important and considerable differences: his rejection of the mimetic theory of art, of the constraints imposed on the artist by neo-classical rules, of that epitome of neo-classical poetic form, the heroic couplet; his rebellion against Lockean epistemology and Newtonian physics, Rousseau's natural religion and Voltaire's deism; his contempt for the concepts of universal laws and general nature. Because there is so much emphasis on Blake's running quarrel with his age, it is necessary for a balanced view to identify ways in which Blake belongs to that age. No matter how often we are told that Blake's poetry exists in isolation from the Augustan Age, it is just not true, as it is not true that any poet writes in a vacuum. Whatever Eliot may have meant by his terms, I prefer his description of the poet as both traditional and new. While I am certainly not attempting to do a revisionist job on Blake criticism, I do not think it is quite on the mark to view Blake as a so-called pre-romantic. Although his philosophy--his subjectivism, his belief in innate ideas and intuitive truth, his Platonic conception of nature--is wholly antithetical to neo-classicism and shares the basic tenets of Romanticism, his poetic intent, diction, and technique are, in important ways, closer to the intent, diction, and technique of the Augustans than to those of either his fellow "pre-romantics" or the poets of the nineteenth-century Romantic Movement. The first point of comparison (poetic intent) has received a far briefer treatment from me than it deserves. I think it is important enough to warrant further study. For the second point (diction) I have relied on published studies of Blake's diction and on information contained in the Blake concordance. The third point (technique) takes up the level of generality in Blake's poetry. This is a particularly problematical issue for me; consequently, the suggestions I have made for resolving the difficulty are tentative.

Like Dryden, Pope, and Swift, Blake writes poetry with a moral purpose. Especially in the later prophetic books, though also in the Songs of Innocence and Experience and the minor prophecies, Blake intends to effect a change in the religious and ethical climate of his society, to substitute his system for the prevailing one which he believes is corrupt and corrupting. He is, like the great Augustan poets, didactic, writing to espouse his ideas and beliefs in order to bring about change, not to express a personal emotion recollected in tranquility or to evoke a similar emotion in his readers, nor to capture in words the beauties of nature or to describe the progress of his own soul. We do not look to Blake for lines in the manner of Wordsworth's "And then my heart with pleasure fills/ And dances with the daffodils," or Shelley's "I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!" or (after the early derivative Poetical Sketches) Thomson's "The dripping rock, the mountain's misty top/Swell on the sight and brighten with the dawn," or even anything from Blake's poetic mentor, Milton, like "When I consider how my light is spent." Blake comes closest to this mode only in a few of the poems from the Rossetti manuscript, for example the lyrics beginning "Never pain to tell thy love" and "Why should I care for the men of Thames." Neither is Blake a poet of self-expression

in the sense of a Lovelace, a Herbert, or a Keats. He is as he calls himself in the preface to Jerusalem, an orator. The eighteenth century experienced a reuniting of rhetoric and poetic, disciplines which had become progressively more discrete during the preceding two centuries. Blake participates in this reunion. Even in the Songs, where we might least expect to find didactic poetry, Blake's avowed purpose is demonstrative, rather than expressive, evocative, or descriptive: it is to show the two contrary states of the human soul, according to his vision. Moreover, his implicit purpose is to persuade us that the state of innocence is spiritually preferable to the opposing, though necessary, state of experience. Somewhere I have read (I have not been able to locate the source again) the interesting suggestion that Blake's use of the nursery-rhyme style and child-like vocabulary in the Songs makes what is difficult content seem simple, and thereby more accessible, to his readers. The point made is a rhetorical one, even though not expressed that way. Blake adopts a form and a manner intended to present his argument in a way calculated to induce acceptance and belief in his audience. Blake's didactic purpose closely allies him with Pope and the other Augustans.

The most objective way of ascertaining a poet's relationship to other poets is through a study of his language. The characteristics and qualities of his special vocabulary, his diction, reveal as much of what is traditional and what is unique in a poet as do his characteristic themes. Thomas Quayle, in his early contribution to the analysis of eighteenth-century poetic diction, points out the significant differences between Blake's practice and the stock diction of the period. For example, few of the stock epithets and expressions in passages of natural description find a place in Blake's poetry: adorn, deck, gaudy, gilded, enamelled, painted; blushing light, pendant hills, verdant vales. Quayle cites "the starry floor," "the watery shore," "happy, silent, moony beams," and most strikingly "the painted birds" as traces in Blake of eighteenth-century stock diction.

Quayle is of the opinion, however, that these expressions are "redeemed and revitalized by the pure and joyous singing note of the lyrics of which they form a part."<sup>1</sup> All of Quayle's examples come from the Songs, but the use of stock epithets was apparently not an early tendency which Blake later abandoned because such a phrase as "winged thought" appears in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell ("A Song of Liberty," 12). Blake, Quayle says, also avoids the latinisms, periphrases, compound epithets, and inversions of normal word order that are hallmarks of eighteenth-century verse. Interestingly enough, however, Blake was not averse to the use of the archaisms and obsolete words which had come into the period's poetry as a result of the antiquarian revival. Blake often used archaic forms or spellings, especially in the Poetical Sketches and the Songs: tyger, antient, desert wild, "So I piped with merry cheer."<sup>2</sup> David Erdman, in his 1967 concordance, says that, unlike earlier concordances, he did not omit such frequent verbs as doth, dost, canst, couldst, didst, hadst, hast, hath, shalt, shant, tis, twas, twill, wert, and wilt on the grounds that they illustrate a stylistic interest of Blake's.<sup>3</sup> More importantly, they illustrate Blake's enormous debt to the languages of ballads and the Bible. Erdman makes the general observation about the broadly chronological distribution of vocabulary that archaisms occur frequently in Poetical Sketches and in time the Spenserian archaisms progressively drop out while the biblical archaisms are retained. Erdman notes a curious return in Jerusalem to the language of the earlier poems, for example "damps of death" and "couch of death," which had not been used since Poetical Sketches, and suggests that "Blake's last epic is an intentional culmination and amalgamation of all his styles."<sup>4</sup>

Quayle identifies only a half-dozen or so compound epithets, all of which are taken from either Poetical Sketches or the Songs: "Winter's deep-founded habitation," "softly-breathing song," "angel-guarded bed,"

"mind-forg'd manacles." The concordance shows, however, that the compounds constitute what is perhaps the largest single category of words used only once in Blake's work. Most of these compounds appear in the later poems: America's "work-bruised," Europe's "oak-surrounded," the Four Zoas' "iron-hearted," Urizen's "all-repelling," Milton's "dark-frowning," and Jerusalem's "new-created," for example. The list is so long that Quayle must be wrong to claim an unusually sparse use of compounds in Blake--for an eighteenth-century poet; but he is surely right to say that, when used, their impact is great.

Quayle also mentions that Blake adapted the neo-classical conventions of personification and abstraction to his own unique symbolism. Quayle quotes from a letter Blake wrote in 1803: "Abstractions formed by the deliberate reason are . . . rhetorical embellishments . . . . The inspired personification, which embodies or brings with it a real vision, is the truly poetical figure."<sup>5</sup> (Blake uses the term rhetorical here in the sense of figurative language, which had degenerated during the Renaissance into ornamentation.) It is difficult to know what Blake considered inspired personification, and Quayle does not elaborate. But since Blake in the same letter describes his symbolism as "Allegory addressed to the intellectual powers," I think we must look for it not so much in the personified abstractions of "The Divine Image," but in the colossal figures of the prophetic books. And, if it is fair to make "inspired personification" synonymous with Blake's symbolism, I think we must also include the symbols which are the warp and woof of the Songs. This point of comparison between Blake and his age especially interests me; so I have discussed it at some length after the sections on Blake's diction.

Frederick Bateson contends, in English Poetry and the English Language, that, because the Augustans used word-associations to reinforce primary meanings, they tended to avoid familiar, common words, whose range of associations was difficult to control, and unfamiliar words, which lacked associations.<sup>6</sup> The most striking aspect of what Quayle calls Blake's "pure and unaffected diction"<sup>7</sup> is the near total rejection of this particular convention. The resonance of his poetry derives largely from his reliance on the vocabulary of the common and familiar. Quayle, in fact, singles Blake out among eighteenth-century poets as having a special "skill or inspiration in . . . the choice of epithet," which, by discordantly coupling two commonplace words ("a rural pen"), "endows the phrase with infinite suggestiveness."<sup>8</sup> It is also true that Blake occasionally makes bold use of the unfamiliar. We may find settled in a context of typical poetic language a shockingly technical term, for example paralytic in this passage from The First Book of Urizen: "A shriek ran through Eternity,/and a paralytic stroke,/At the birth of the Human shadow" (lines 41-43); or a strange latinism like conglobing in a line also from Urizen: "Panting, Conglobing, Trembling" (line 5).

Because the kind of study undertaken by Quayle and most analysts of diction bases its distinctions on the differences "between the rare and unusual terms or between Saxon, Norman, and Latin terms," Josephine Miles contends that it tends to assume unanalyzed and unexplained norms, "and thus to emphasize oddity apart from patterns of usage."<sup>9</sup> Miles' own work, consequently, emphasizes the regular patterns of usage and the normal linguistic practices of a poet and a period. Miles has published the results of her analysis of five centuries of English poetry in The Continuity of Poetic Language. By examining one thousand lines of verse (usually the first one hundred lines of a poet's ten major works) written by twenty poets who were publishing at the mid-century of the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries (a total of one hundred poets), Miles established each poet's major and minor vocabulary based on the frequencies of nouns, adjectives, and verbs distributed throughout the one thousand lines. From these vocabularies, she derived major and minor vocabularies for each period. She also analyzed the proportional use of nouns to adjectives to verbs. Blake,

writing at the end of the eighteenth century, was not studied for The Continuity of Poetic Language\*, but a similar analysis of his vocabulary appears in Miles' Eras & Modes in English Poetry and Style and Proportion.

Miles identifies the following words as major in Blake:

Adjectives

beautiful	eternal**	human	silent
black	gentle	little**	soft
bright	golden	old	starry
dark	great	pale	sweet
divine	happy	red	terrible
			wild

Nouns

air	eye	heavens**	mountain
bosom	fire	joy**	night**
child	flower	lamb	son
cloud***	foot	land	sun
daughter	furnace	life	time
day***	god	love**	valley**
death***	hand	man**	voice
earth	head	morning	wheel
			worm

Verbs

awake	go	love	sleep
bring	know	make	smile
come	hear	pass	stand
fall	hide	rise	take
find	live	see	turn
give	look	sing	walk
		sit	weep

Miles's list inevitably varies somewhat from the frequency index in the Blake concordance. Miles examined a representative sample of the verse, not the entire canon. In addition, the concordance index includes the prose writings and also lists word variants separately (man--men, Albion--Albion's); whereas, Miles treats all variants as a single basic word. Nevertheless, it is odd that her method failed to include the highest frequency word in the concordance list--all, and the almost equally important every, one, no, form, tears, deep, blood, iron, spectre, let, more, war, and satan.\*\*\* A comparison of Blake's major vocabulary to that of the eighteenth century reveals, in Miles' estimation, that about half of the word-list belongs to the traditional, established vocabulary of the period; the other half is used either by poets, such as Collins, Gray, Young, and Thomson, in the new wave or by Blake alone.<sup>10</sup> That half which comprises part of the traditional poetic word stock contains many of the words we associate particularly with Blake: air, day, divine, eye, god, hand, happy, joy, man, night, soft and sweet, for example. Perhaps they seem as uniquely Blakean as they do because they occur over and over again. No reader

\*The eighteenth century is represented by Thomas Cooke, Thomas Gray, Mark Akenside, Edward Young, Samuel Johnson, Robert Blair, Thomas Blacklock, Lady Mary Montagu, Horace Walpole, Alexander Pope, William Collins, William Mason, George Lyttelton, William Shenstone, Joseph Warton, John Dyer, John Armstrong, James Thomson, Thomas Warton, William Somerville.

\*\*high frequency  
\*\*\*very high frequency

\*\*\*\*These additional high frequency words appear in the concordance index's top fifty words, excluding connectives and proper names, such as Albion, Los, and Jerusalem, which Miles' method rules out. Erdman is surprised to find death so near the top of the list, and night so far ahead of day.

could fail to notice Blake's favorite rhetorical device--repetition. Indeed, although all poets use repetition, Miles has discovered that, unlike most poets, "in a thousand lines of his verse not merely the normal thirty or forty but more like seventy or eighty nouns, adjectives, and verbs are repeated more than ten times apiece."<sup>11</sup> Another student of Blake's poetic technique, Alicia Ostriker, believes that, since some of the major words in the Songs of Innocence and Experience appear rarely in the prophetic books and the frequent terrific, for example, never appears in the Songs, the impression of repetition is even more intense than Miles' information suggests.<sup>12</sup> In this practice, Blake markedly differs not only from his contemporaries and near-contemporaries, but from English poets of all eras. Equally important, I think, is the fact that in Blake's poetry the traditional words, instead of being buried in a dense verbal texture, stand out pure and clear, unadorned with elaborate imagery.

Among the words found in the vocabulary which is just beginning to establish itself are the often-used deep, eternal\* (which Miles considers Blake's most important word), bright, dark, gentle, golden, little, old, and wild; the key nouns blood, cloud, death, mountain, son, sun, voice and war; and the common English verbs fall, go, live, sing, and sit. But there is no mistaking Blake's special individualistic vocabulary; again and again in his poems we meet his black, pale, red, silent, starry, and terrible; his concrete nouns bosom, child, daughter, fire, foot, furnace, iron, lamb, morning, satan, spectre, tears, valley, wheel, and worm; and the verbs of perception, states of consciousness, and personal action awake, bring, hide, look, pass, sleep, smile, turn, walk, and weep. Miles points out that most of these terms, which are used individualistically in the eighteenth century, are shared by one or two poets of past centuries, bring, for example, with Coverdale at the end of the fifteenth century, fire with Wyatt at the beginning of the sixteenth, foot with Marvel, sleep and weep with Vaughan in the seventeenth; the appearance of Blake's special colors red and black in the early ballads; and, of course, the affinity of his language with that of the Bible. But Miles credits Blake with introducing into the major vocabulary of English poetry pale, bosom, morning, worm, pass, turn, and walk,<sup>13</sup> and finally with using the connective that was to remain exclusively his--toward.<sup>14</sup>

A poet's diction is, in addition to his characteristic idiom, colored by words that are used infrequently. In fact, many singly or infrequently used words often strike us with particular force. The concordance lists over four thousand words used only once in Blake's poetry. Even allowing for the many proper names, the variations on the same root (for example, adulterate, adulteries, adulterous), variant spellings (alehouse and alehouse), and the variants of words used more frequently in other forms (to night), the list is still quite long. Since the concordance does not give a total word count, it is impossible to determine, without doing the difficult calculation oneself, the percentage represented by the single uses. Some of these words are perfectly ordinary, everyday terms: afternoon, grace, hit, ladder, neighborhood, noisy, plenty, yourself, younger. Others are unusual, and therefore memorable: consanguinities, combustions, annihilable, parallelograms, polygonic, amalgamating, gormandize, antientest (a Blake nonce word), the curious abstract plurals of which Blake seems to have been fond kindnesses, goodnesses, forgivenesses, happinnesses, self-righteousnesses, and the terms we might expect to find in the twentieth century, advertising, newspapers, analyzing. Many of these one-time words derive from Latin or Greek and occur usually in works which followed the Songs of Innocence and Experience and the poems from the Rossetti and Pickering manuscripts. Consequently, on the basis

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\*Miles claims that it is very unusual to find a three-syllable word in a poet's major vocabulary.

of his statements about the scarcity of latinisms and compound epithets in Blake, I think it is fair to conclude that Quayle based his study of Blake's diction on the early poems and omitted the prophecies. It is not that Blake did not use latinisms and compound epithets, because he often did, but that he did not lift them directly out of the stock diction of the eighteenth century, and he used them in unique contexts.

Blake's proportional use of nouns, adjectives, and verbs closely allies him with eighteenth-century practice. The so-called "golden line" of classical poetry had been based, Miles says, on the relationship of two nouns and two adjectives to one verb.<sup>15</sup> The poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is generally consistent with this classical ideal, but beginning in the seventeenth century, there appears a growing tendency to increase the relative importance of nouns and adjectives and concomitantly to decrease that of verbs.<sup>16</sup> This shift of emphasis tends to weaken the sense of predication on which depend logical discourse, proposition, and assertion. By the eighteenth century the verse line is, in Miles' opinion, strongly adjectival, though I think a case can be made that it is even more strongly substantive. The proportional norm for the period is five nouns and three adjectives to two verbs; for Blake it is six-three-two; for the nineteenth century it is a balanced five-two-two. Blake's practice has most in common with that of Collins, Gray, Cowper, and Thomson in the eighteenth century and Keats in the nineteenth. Pope, Johnson, Wordsworth, and Shelley write balanced lines; Coleridge and Byron write lines that are heavily predicative.<sup>17</sup> Miles says that the "most loaded form [of statement] is the adjectival: having cut away the predicates of attribution, it assumes and by such assumption can build a multiplicity of qualified nouns upon a single verb."<sup>18</sup> In order to illustrate her point, she uses a well-known example of Noam Chomsky's: God is invisible, The world is visible, God has created the world is a series of separate and equal assertions; God who is invisible has created the world which is visible retains, but subordinates, the attributive assertions concerning God and the world; Invisible God has created the visible world, by making invisible and visible adjectives, assumes rather than asserts their attributes. The extent to which Blake uses adjectives in this way is another aspect of his style that needs further exploration. Apparently the function of the earlier finite verbs is, at least in part, taken over by participials; Miles identifies all adjectival writers as "large users of participial adjectives."<sup>19</sup> Blake certainly makes his many present participials carry the sense of immediacy and on-going process that we find in his poems: the echoing green, the dimpling stream, the howling storm, the trembling, sleeping, pitying characters in the Songs, for example; and the dividing, revolving, tormenting, brooding, howling, moaning, and lamenting of the giants in the prophetic books.

Miles concludes that, although Blake may seem to us "too active, rebellious, and eccentric" to use the established, traditional material of the eighteenth century, it is basic to him. "What additions he made," she says, were

not so much changes as extensions of the basic material. He increased the characteristic references to color, scope, and feeling; he increased human anatomizing, scenic atmosphere, and passive and expressive verbs. He used a fuller load of substantives and descriptive declaration, and a freer play of interior sound . . . . The one great addition which carried him toward the nineteenth century was the diminutive, his lambs and worms, the children, sons and daughters in family relation. Otherwise, his reference, sound, and statement were all far closer to eighteenth-century than to nineteenth-century modes.<sup>20</sup>

Miles' point about Blake's diminutives relates to Quayle's contention that Blake adapted neo-classical personification and abstraction to his symbolism. The diminutives are also specific and concrete.

Standing as he does with one foot in the eighteenth century and the other in the nineteenth, Blake illustrates the gradual movement away from neo-classical abstraction and generality toward concreteness and particularity. The proportion of concrete, and often very specific terms, in his major vocabulary, for example bosom, eye, foot, furnace, wheel, and worm, to abstractions, such as joy, love, and time, and generalizations, such as man and human, illustrates its transitional nature. We expect Blake to be more concrete and specific than Pope or Johnson. His famous disdainful comment on the Royal Academy theory of painting with which he glossed a passage in Reynolds' Discourses most often does duty as an example of Blake's rebellion against his Augustan predecessors and contemporaries, Blake had written:

What is General Nature? is there Such a Thing? What is General Knowledge? is there such a thing? Strictly Speaking All Knowledge is Particular.

To Generalize is to be an Idiot. To Particularize is the Alone Distinction of Merit. General Knowledges are those Knowledges that Idiots possess.

There is no doubt that Blake was reacting in theory against the neoclassical belief that truths are absolute and universal and that the artist's problem is to discover the commonalities among disparate phenomena and to depict the resulting "type." Nevertheless, although Blake argued strenuously that the individual is sacred, the particular is primary, and truth is subjective, his philosophy was virtually never rendered into poetic practice. As Ostriker writes in Vision and Verse in William Blake:

Although modern liberals may praise his devotion to "the individual," individuality to Blake meant the principle of truth to type, not uniqueness. He never defended idiosyncrasy; he cared no more than Johnson for the number of streaks on the tulip.<sup>21</sup>

When compared to the landscape of Pope's "Windsor Forest," a passage from Thomson's "Seasons," or one from Keats' "To Autumn," Blake's poetry seems very thin in specific sensory detail. Here is a typical description from "Windsor Forest":

There, interspers'd in Lawns and Opening Glades,  
Thin trees arise that shun each other's Shades.  
Here in full Light the russet Plains extend;  
There wrapt in Clouds the blueish Hills ascend:  
Ev'n the wild Heath displays her Purple Dies,  
And 'midst the Desert fruitful Fields arise,  
That crown'd with tufted Trees and springing Corn,  
Like verdant Isles the sable Waste adorn (lines 21-28).

Many of the nouns in this passage are very Blakean (glades, trees, shades, light, plains, clouds, hills, desert, fields), but only a few adjectives might appear in Blake (opening, wild, fruitful). The most important difference lies in the use of color. Pope's nuances of color in russet, blueish, purple, and sable are completely foreign to Blake's characteristic idiom, in which glades, trees, hills, meadows, and woods are always, in the Songs, just plain green. The concluding lines of "To Autumn" illustrate another kind of difference:

Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn  
Among the river shallows, borne aloft  
Or sinking as the light wind lives or dies;  
And full-grown lambs loud bleat from hilly bourn;  
Hedge-cricketts sing: and now with treble soft  
The red-breast whistles from a garden-croft;  
And gathering swallows twitter in the skies.

In addition to the obvious differences in diction (wailful, shallows, ourn, treble, twitter, for example) between Keats and Blake, there is also in Keats the piling up of small, independent details to make a fully delineated scene. Neither Pope, Keats, nor Blake describes an actual scene in

nature. They all create idealized landscapes. Nevertheless, the scene-painting of Pope and Keats has a texture of sensory detail entirely missing from the Songs and from most of the descriptive passages in the prophetic books. Thomson's scenic descriptions are more naturalistic; for example, the following passage from "The Seasons" attempts to create the impression of a specific sky:

Late, in the louring Sky, red, fiery, Streaks  
Begin to flush about; the reeling Clouds  
Stagger with dizzy Aim, as doubting yet  
Which Master to obey: while rising, slow,  
Sad, in the Leaden-colour'd East, the Moon  
Wears a bleak Circle round her sully'd Orb (lines 155-160):

and a specific natural occurrence:

Then issues forth the Storm, with loud Control,  
And the thin Fabrick of the pillar's Air  
Oe'rturns, at once. Prone, on th' uncertain Main,  
Descends th' Etherial Force, and plows its Waves,  
With dreadful Rift; from the mid-Deep, appears,  
Surge after Surge, the rising, wat'ry, War.  
Whitening, the angry Billows rowl immense,  
And roar their Terrors, thro' the shuddering Soul  
Of feeble Man, amidst their Fury caught,  
And, dash'd upon his Fate: Then, o'er the Cliff,  
Where dwells the Sea-Mew, unconfin'd, they fly,  
And, hurrying, swallow up the sterile Shore (lines 161-172).

Blake never applied this kind of descriptive language to the natural world, but he did employ a language similar to it in his descriptions of the conflicts between his Immortals and of his visionary history of the world. Blake's settings are drawn in a few deft strokes--a shady grove, a chartered street, a myrtle tree here, a merry sparrow there, cataracts of blood, an unfathomable void.

It is an egregious critical error to fault an artist for not doing what he never set out to do; yet how to account for Blake's attack on generalization? Part of the answer lies in the fact that Blake's generalities do not stem from the same philosophical and aesthetic theories as those of the Augustans. He is not a descriptive poet because he did not believe, as they did, in the ultimate reality of what he so often called vegetable nature. And he certainly did not believe that the purpose of art is to copy that nature. Pope, Thomson, and Keats look out upon the natural world. Pope abstracts generic properties from the infinite variety of nature in order to capture the typicality, the universality, of the thing he perceives. Thomson tries to capture in language the thing he perceives itself. Keats captures the thing perceived as illuminated by his subjectively experienced feelings or states of mind. Blake never describes a scene with an eye to its particular details as perceived either objectively (which Blake would not consider possible) or subjectively. Instead he looks inward upon the eternal forms in the perceiving mind and captures the essence of the thing as it is perceived, and thus created, by the human imagination.

This aesthetic raises a difficulty. If Blake believed, as Northrup Frye claims in Fearful Symmetry, that there are as many realities as there are perceivers (the same physical phenomenon exists for every one, but its reality derives from how it is perceived),<sup>22</sup> then there is no such thing as the human imagination, only an imagination for this person and another for that. The universal poetic problem is to find or develop a language that will render a personal reality into a form that will communicate itself to others. This essential artistic task increases in difficulty for the visionary poet, the mystic, the romantic, who do not believe in shared perceptions and experiences. A symbolic language can make a private vision accessible to others. Blake's symbols come quite naturally

out of the vegetable and physical world because it was symbolic, and not real, to him. George Harper, discussing in The Neoplatonism of William Blake Blake's conception of nature as the shadow of ideal forms, says: The phenomena of the earth revealed symbolic truths to Blake. He was never willing, his repeated assertions tell us, to trust his "senses five." He sought perfection in the imperfect, the unchangeable Form in the variable earth; and symbols and myths came to be his primary means of expressing to clogged human minds an "unanalyzable imaginative essence." Since he agreed with the Neoplatonists that nature was far removed from reality, words and natural objects at the literal level are meaningless. They are, he tells us in Milton, a "delusion."<sup>23</sup>

Harper goes on to claim that "this conception of the phenomenal earth as a symbolic language" does not appear in Blake's early work,<sup>24</sup> but there I think he is wrong. This conception informs the Songs throughout and explains much about the sense of generalized nature and humanity that pervades them. Ostriker makes an interesting observation in this connection. She says that there is in The Four Zoas a sudden interest in natural description which Blake had abandoned after Poetical Sketches. "After a few tentative sorties in the early books," she writes,

Blake seems now to be observing the vegetative world for its sensory as well as its symbolic qualities . . . . He also indulges in genuine imagery, of the sort which is every other poets staple, but which he had hardly trifled with since Poetical Sketches.<sup>25</sup>

The fact that is so little imagery in the early works (and not very much more in the later) helps to account for their generality.

All symbols are concrete, but they are not always specific. In fact, perhaps the more particularized the concrete object or image is the less it can function as a symbol. In order to use natural phenomena symbolically, Blake stripped them down into their clearest and purest forms. Each tree, child, flower, lamb, rock, or cave, even when modified, stands out as though flooded in a uniformly bright and intense light. These deftly and succinctly drawn scenes are peopled by equally symbolic, or in the prophetic books allegorical, characters. We no more believe in the arch-rebel Orc, who, like all Blake's supra-human figures, functions as a mouthpiece for his author's philosophical, theological and social views, as Shaw's characters speak for him. Chaucer's Wife of Bath, Shakespeare's Lear, Pope's Eloisa, and Browning's Andrea del Sarto are, while wholly unique as individuals, representatives of certain universal human characteristics, but they are not symbols. Human beings rarely appear in literature as symbols. But in Blake the children sporting on the green, Mary, Susan, and Emily laughing in the meadow, the nurse calling the children home do function symbolically. Here, as well as in the allegorical figures of his system, are Blake's inspired personifications. Even though coming from completely opposite philosophical positions, Blake's sought-for perfections in imperfection and permanence in variability seem to arrive at basically the same place as the abstractions and universals of the Augustans.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Quayle, Poetic Diction: A Study of Eighteenth Century Verse (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1924; rpt. Folcroft Library Editions, 1970), p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>3</sup>David V. Erdman, A Concordance to the Writings of William Blake, 2 vols. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. xv.

- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>5</sup> Quayle, p. 164.
- <sup>6</sup> Frederick W. Bateson, English Poetry and the English Language, 3rd ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 53.
- <sup>7</sup> Quayle, p. 46.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 203.
- <sup>9</sup> Josephine Miles, Style and Proportion: The Language of Prose and Poetry (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), p. 12.
- <sup>10</sup> Josephine Miles, Eras & Modes in English Poetry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1964) p. 81.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 79.
- <sup>12</sup> Alicia Ostriker, Vision and Verse in William Blake (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), p. 56.
- <sup>13</sup> Miles, Style and Proportion, Table 2, p. 86.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., Table 3, p. 90.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 12.
- <sup>16</sup> Josephine Miles, The Continuity of Poetic Language: The Primary Language of Poetry, 1540's-1940's (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972), p. 172.
- <sup>17</sup> Miles, Style and Proportion, Table 1a, p. 16.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 4.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 15.
- <sup>20</sup> Miles, Eras & Modes in English Poetry, p. 87.
- <sup>21</sup> Ostriker, p. 161.
- <sup>22</sup> Northrup Frye, Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), p. 19.
- <sup>23</sup> George Harper, The Neoplatonism of William Blake (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. 117.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 118.
- <sup>25</sup> Ostriker, p. 177.

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PROGRESSIVES AND CONSERVATIVES SEARCH  
FOR ORDER:  
THE DIVISION OF NORTH CAROLINA QUAKERS

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The Quaker settlement of colonial North Carolina took place in two waves, separated by more than half a century. The first, from tidewater Maryland and Virginia, began in the 1670s and was encouraged by the missionary visits of William Edmundson and George Fox in 1672. This concentration of Quakers in the Albemarle (the Carolina tidewater) gave the Friends brief control of the northern province's infant government. The second wave of migration, from southeastern Pennsylvania and New England, began in the 1740s. Following a route shared by many others, these Friends settled along the southern piedmont (the region bounded on the east by the fall line of the coastal rivers and on the west by the Appalachian Mountains) in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. The following century saw their continued movement west along with many of their non-Quaker neighbors, into the rich farmlands of Ohio and Indiana.

Quaker opposition to slavery in the southern states strained relations both within North Carolina Yearly Meeting and between Friends and others. Initial resistance of Albemarle Friends to manumission within the Society, combined with sectional rivalry, almost produced a division, which was avoided by an agreement to alternate yearly meeting sites between east and west. Nevertheless sectional feeling and disparate patterns of communication had become clearly established.<sup>1</sup>

The early nineteenth century was a dynamic period for North Carolina Friends, particularly in the piedmont. New Garden Boarding School was opened in 1837 for the guarded education of the yearly meeting's offspring. Quaker refusal to own slaves led to extensive efforts by the yearly meeting to transport former bondsmen to free territory without arousing the ire of other whites. The Underground Railroad was begun with clandestine sympathy and support among some Carolina Friends. Disownments for a variety of causes, particularly marrying non-Friends, steadily increased. A division in North Carolina Yearly Meeting along the lines of the Wilbur-Gurney controversy was narrowly averted. And emigration into the Midwest accelerated. The Civil War brought a temporary halt to movement out of the state, but greatly increased the suffering of many Friends who refused military service and were harrassed as abolitionists and Unionist traitors. With the end of war, emigration resumed, threatening to destroy southern Quakerism altogether.<sup>2</sup>

The dilemma faced by Carolina Quakers for the balance of the century was how to survive and even to grow, while preserving their cultural distinctiveness. The Friends testimonies in regard to social issues such as slavery and war, for example, were maintained only by great suffering and rigid communal discipline, even exclusiveness. Plain speech and dress, "silent" worship, and restriction of marriage partners to coreligionists were enforced by disownment. As economic conditions worsened, education lapsed, and numbers dwindled due to emigration, southern Friends became particularly susceptible to strong, external cultural influences.

One of the most powerful was the revival movement. When the first Great Awakening had swept Philadelphia in the 1740s,

Only a handful of Quakers were swept from their moorings. The majority were by this time so thoroughly insulated from contact with other religious bodies that the waves of religious

enthusiasm that boiled all about them scarcely touched the hems of their garments.<sup>3</sup>

By the 1870s, however, much of the similar insulation of Carolina Friends had crumbled away, many of their children were eager to tear down the remainder, there were too few workers left to replace it, and the tide was rapidly rising.

What appeared as a rescue ship on the northern horizon was in fact borne south by this very cultural floodtide. The Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States was organized in 1865 to channel northern and British Quaker funds into North Carolina to rebuild schools and meetings and to improve agriculture. With the association's encouragement, leadership, and financial support North Carolina Friends began to seek ways of inspiring and enlarging their own membership.<sup>4</sup> In 1870 the yearly meeting appointed its first Committee on General Meetings, the purpose of which was apparently to raise the spirits of Quakers, and enliven their regular worship. Eastern Quarterly Meeting (Perquimans and Northampton Counties) held such a general meeting in 1871, and rejoiced in its success.<sup>5</sup>

These general meetings were something of a Quaker parallel to the revival meetings being held in other denominations. Allen Jay, a Friends minister from Ohio who was one of the agents of the Baltimore Association in North Carolina, attributed the separation that took place in Western Yearly Meeting at this time to the general meetings held there.<sup>6</sup> Jay included among the features of this movement that were novel to Friends night meetings, prayer meetings, and hymn-singing.<sup>7</sup> Jay, himself a leader in evangelistic work, told of this participation in the leadership of two series of Methodist revival meetings near High Point, North Carolina, which were being attended by several young Friends. "My object," he stated, "was to save our young people to our own church."<sup>8</sup>

There can be little question that reviving was needed. Even Eastern Quarterly meeting, which became the center of opposition of revivalism among North Carolina Friends, admitted in 1883 that there was "a low degree of life in our Religious Meetings, and that many of our Members are seldom seen at Meeting."<sup>9</sup> The evangelistic sentiment stirred up by the activities of other denominations and by the general meetings themselves gave rise to the appointment by the yearly meeting in 1882 of an Evangelistic Committee.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting that, at the same yearly meeting session, the first formal contact of North Carolina Friends with other denominations (Methodists and Baptists) was also announced.

Initially the Evangelistic Committee financed its efforts through voluntary subscription, including a collection taken at yearly meeting session itself.<sup>11</sup> But in 1888 the committee requested an appropriation from the yearly meeting's budget,<sup>12</sup> and \$150 was paid it the following year.<sup>13</sup> Eastern Quarterly Meeting, which had found the labors of the General Meeting Committee so helpful in 1871, now refused cooperation to its successor, the Evangelistic Committee.<sup>14</sup> Apparently even more serious in the minds of some was North Carolina's participation in 1887 in the Richmond, Indiana conference of yearly meetings in official correspondence with London Yearly Meeting (which did not include any of the Hicksite or Wilburite/Conservative yearly meetings). Ironically, the conference was called to compile the "common elements of the statements of faith already in existence in the books of Faith and Practice of the various yearly meetings" and to halt "the trend towards disintegration" among American Friends as their settlements spread westward, increasing their mutual isolation and encouraging them to adopt the ways of their non-Quaker neighbors.<sup>15</sup> The resulting Richmond Declaration of Faith and the yearly meeting's commitment to quinquennial gatherings of the yearly meetings may have alarmed the more Conservative elements in North Carolina, although the minutes of Eastern Quarter do not reflect formal, overt opposition to the yearly meeting's participation.

Instead the quarterly meeting considered a far more drastic proposal to withdraw from North Carolina Yearly Meeting and attach itself to

Baltimore Yearly Meeting. The prospect elicited considerable discussion but was rejected because "the Meeting was united in believing that the time had not fully come to make the change, and the Subject was dismissed for the present."<sup>16</sup> Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) included a quarterly meeting in southeastern Virginia, with which eastern North Carolina Friends were in frequent communication. With the center of North Carolina Yearly Meeting activity in the piedmont, Eastern Quarter may have felt a stronger kinship with the other tidewater meetings, from which it had developed. The fact that Baltimore Yearly Meeting was also a participant in the Richmond, Indiana, conference of 1887 supports the conclusion that regionalism was a stronger force than theology in this instance.

There is little doubt, however, that opposition to evangelism was a point of departure for Eastern Quarter Friends, especially those in Rich Square Monthly Meeting. Beginning in 1874 Rich Square Friends were consistently delinquent in collecting their portion of the yearly meeting's annual assessment, although their sister meeting Piney Woods was consistently prompt and complete. Although no reason appears in the minutes it was apparently well known, for in 1890 the yearly meeting hedged its appropriation for evangelistic work with the statement, "That in case any member has conscientious scruples against the payment of his portion of said appropriation, he may be excused therefrom."<sup>17</sup>

The Conservative opposition to evangelism was focused on the issue of leadership. Friends had traditionally opposed "hireling" ministers in favor of a "free, waiting worship" in which individual members spoke only when strongly moved to do so. Those who possessed a special gift for vocal ministry were recognized and recorded as ministers by the monthly, quarterly, and finally yearly meetings. They not only spoke in their home meetings, but traveled as they felt a divine leading to visit other meetings where they spoke in worship and visited in Friends' homes, frequently leading the host family in worship. The minutes of Friends business meetings are filled with the names of those visiting in the ministry from near and far, and with the requests of local members to be "released" to visit other meetings. These constant comings and goings of Friends bound the church together, and kept any portion from becoming completely isolated or provincial. Yet it was wholly local in origin, and depended almost entirely on the initiative of individual meetings and members.

Just as the general meetings had led to outright evangelism, so also evangelism led to a settled, pastoral ministry. The report of the yearly meeting's Evangelism Committee in 1890 (the year that conscientious objection to evangelistic contributions was recognized) decried the loss of potential converts to other denominations and painted a bleak picture of the spiritual state of the older meetings. New converts were described as "of a teachable spirit," but "generally illiterate." Friends were challenged to develop a program of home missions, with teachers centrally deployed to live in new Friends communities, teach families, advance temperance work, and assist in public worship. "Mistaken scruples" were blamed for previous failures to take advantage of such opportunities.<sup>18</sup>

Such a strong statement on a potentially divisive issue was unusual for a Quaker body, and its impact was heightened by the Evangelistic Committee's review of the situation in each quarterly meeting. In every quarter other than Eastern, praise was voiced for the number of meetings held and conversions obtained, and for the cooperation found among local Friends. But in Eastern Quarter, which had refused cooperation and withheld funds for evangelism, "a lack of the ministry" was "very apparent" in the absence of new converts and the departure of "many of our best members to other localities."<sup>19</sup> This statement leaves little doubt as to the identity of those in the yearly meeting whose "misplaced scruples" were standing in the way of the Lord's work among Friends.

It seems likely that the committee was correct in its concern that scruples within the yearly meeting had blunted that body's commitment

evangelistic expansion. But the frontal assault on the scrupulous, although it may have been agreed with by others, did not win increased support. The committee's plan for a settled, teaching, pastoral ministry was not approved; its appropriation was not increased; and the yearly meeting attempted conscientious objectors from contributing to its support. Friends in the Eastern Quarter should have felt reassured by this corporate response, but the committee's report showed clearly the danger most feared: that evangelism would lead to a centrally controlled pastoral leadership of the local meetings, resulting in the abandonment of the distinctive mode of Quaker worship, and the collapse of the Quaker culture's witness to the truth.

The committee's report also made clear that pastoral leadership was being sought, at least at this point, not to revive dying, older meetings, but rather to sustain newer meetings composed of recent converts who were generally ignorant, and ignorant especially of Quaker ways. Older Friends had spent generations fostering their church's uniqueness and isolation by educating their own children and disowning anyone who adopted worldly ways or married a non-Friend. These illiterate converts must have seemed to them a very mixed blessing for their church.

By 1879 Friends in the Eastern Quarter had begun to travel in the ministry to other yearly meetings that were sympathetic to the Conservative position. Benjamin P. Brown of Rich Square was released to visit in Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings in 1879, Canada Yearly Meeting (Conservative) in 1890, and Ohio and Western Yearly Meetings (Conservative) in 1891.<sup>20</sup> He then immediately set out to visit Friends in his own state.<sup>21</sup> In later years fellow Rich Square minister Henry T. Outland also visited these same groups of Friends, undoubtedly finding and fostering strong sympathy for their home meeting's strong dislike of the evangelistic movement.

Opposition continued to be expressed through the withholding of funds. In an approach as old as the Quaker movement, Rich Square not only withheld its token share of the evangelism budget, but also requested that its objection be noted by the yearly meeting, and that its assessment be reduced by the amount withheld.<sup>22</sup> The yearly meeting once again deferred to the consciences of these Friends.<sup>23</sup>

The Richmond Declaration of Faith, drawn up in 1888, was finally given formal approval by the yearly meeting in 1894.<sup>24</sup> A committee appointed by Rich Square Monthly Meeting to examine the statement had reported its work complete, but did not present its report to the meeting for approval. The report was instead submitted directly to the quarterly meeting, which found itself in turmoil over this irregular action.<sup>25</sup> The abrupt tabling of the report which had recommended rejecting the Richmond Declaration "as a whole," certainly indicated a lack of unity with its conclusions; and the manner of its presentation, without monthly meeting approval, clearly did not help its case.

Tension was building. The 1896 Yearly Meeting for Ministry and Oversight, which convened immediately prior to the regular yearly meeting session and often set its tone, lamented the dearth of applicants for the ministry, and "the fear was expressed that the dearth in the ministry is due to the fact that some who should be far in the van are halting, and thus hindering others."<sup>26</sup> Unkind words, spoken especially in meeting for worship, were condemned: "If what we consider erroneous doctrine has been reached it is much better to let it alone than to attack it."<sup>27</sup>

The sense of frustration and anger evident in these statements may have led to the request by the 1896 yearly meeting that Eastern Quarter pay its entire assessment. The quarterly meeting responded by appointing a committee to write a letter "showing conscientious reason for the deficiencies from this Quarterly Meeting during the years 1894 and 1895."<sup>28</sup> A year later the matter was still unsettled, and another letter was dispatched stating that the quarterly meeting's objection was based on conscientious opposition to the "hiring ministry."<sup>29</sup> This time, however, the yearly meeting was somewhat less willing to be tolerant, and insisted

that Eastern Quarter should pay its entire assessment. The committee appointed to respond denied hotly that evangelistic work fostered "the spirit of a hireling ministry."<sup>30</sup> The yearly meeting "united with" the committee's judgement, but sought to soften it with an expression of "sympathy for any individual members" with conscientious scruples concerning evangelism.<sup>31</sup>

A crisis was clearly in the making. North Carolina Yearly Meeting as a corporate body appears to have been asserting authority over its constituent quarterly meetings in a way that had not been attempted previously, while ostensibly recognizing individual differences. Up to this point however the yearly meeting had acted as the combined voice of its individual members, and had acted only when unity was clearly present. The special committee's response and the yearly meeting's qualified endorsement of it may have increased the sense of Conservative Friends that they were being excluded by an increasingly centralized church authority. The actions certainly indicate a growing impatience with Conservative reservations about evangelism. By attempting to distinguish between the "hireling ministry" and the "hireling spirit," the committee also sought to place itself on solid Quaker footing even while it promoted a system that departed sharply from two centuries of Quaker practice.<sup>32</sup>

Undeterred, Rich Square Meeting petitioned Eastern Quarter again the following year.<sup>33</sup> To the monthly meeting's plea the quarterly meeting added its own, more defiant statement decrying the yearly meeting's drift away from "silent waiting worship," toward "hired ministry, congregational singing, instrumental music, pre-arranged 'prayer meetings,' testimony meetings, &c." The statement also opposed the forthcoming gathering of American Friends at Richmond, Indiana, in which it was feared Friends of an evangelistic spirit would predominate.<sup>34</sup>

This statement was surprising in its neglect of theological issues. John Wilbur's original attack upon Joseph John Gurney had been almost entirely theological, but this declaration focused exclusively upon the threat to the mode of Quaker worship. The underlying quietistic assumption was that true religion was inward: the worshiper waited in silence for the divine leading. Utter stillness was necessary in order for the divine movements to be sensed. All "creaturely activity" distracted from the "centering" necessary for true worship:

Let sense be dumb, let flesh retire;

Speak through the earthquake, wind, and fire,

O still, small voice of calm!<sup>35</sup>

Evangelistic meeting, on the other hand, relied upon a skilled human agent, the evangelist, and a charged emotional climate, including hymn singing and instrumental music, to bring people to a sense of guilt, repentance, and conversion. To Conservative Friends what was needed was a strong return to the Quaker emphasis on inward stillness and waiting, not on outward activity to promote heightened emotional states and large numbers of converts. They viewed the quinquennial gatherings of Friends in Richmond, Indiana, as vehicles for promoting evangelism, rather than for strengthening Quaker ways.

A number of Friends from other parts of the yearly meeting were present at this meeting of Eastern Quarter, including Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, president of Guilford College and husband of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, whose committee had brought in the report so unsympathetic to Eastern Quarter at the last session of yearly meeting. Also present was Albert Peele, who was appointed by the next yearly meeting to respond to Eastern Quarterly Meeting's action.

The 1898 yearly meeting proved to be more conciliatory than its predecessor. Possibly in order to resolve the issue of withholding funds, it appropriated nothing for evangelism, leaving the Evangelistic committee to raise its funds as it had originally, from voluntary subscriptions.<sup>36</sup> Albert Peele's committee was, therefore, able to recommend that Eastern Quarter's evangelism "debt" be forgiven, and to appeal for "forbearance and

ove."<sup>37</sup> The Evangelistic Committee had already reported successful evangelistic work in Piney Woods Monthly Meeting of Eastern Quarter. That meeting had contributed funds and appointed a committee to work with the early meeting's committee. It was stated that there was "no report of the work accomplished in the other monthly meeting," Rich Square.<sup>38</sup>

The customary minute of advice by the Yearly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight was not issued in 1899, but instead a report was delivered at the full yearly meeting session lamenting the erosion of discipline, ignorance of Friends practices, decline in family worship, lack of Bible study for children, and neglect of pastoral responsibility by local elders. The proposed remedy was a reorganization of the meetings on ministry and oversight at the quarterly and monthly meeting levels, primarily to instruct members of local meetings, particularly newer meetings, about the doctrine and practices of Friends.<sup>39</sup> The report also advocated the use of rote memorization of Bible passages, and introduction of a simple catechism for teaching children. Catechetical instruction had been abandoned by Friends after the time of Fox, but it was common in other denominations. In order to halt the erosion of Quaker ways and Quaker discipline, the ministers and elders were advocating teaching methods borrowed from other denominations.

The committee, which included Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, Levi Cox, and Josiah Nicholson, visited Eastern Quarter later in the year. A local committee was appointed and conferences were scheduled, somewhat in the manner of the old general meetings for both Piney Woods and Rich Square.<sup>40</sup> The monthly and quarterly meeting minutes do not record a response to this visit, and so it is not clear whether it produced any greater understanding, or only further strain. The yearly meeting committee itself declared that the Eastern Quarter conferences "were large and well attended; at Rich Square 50 per cent were present," apparently a large percentage compared to any but less than the 75 per cent at Piney Woods.<sup>41</sup>

The following year the old issue of yearly meeting assessments for evangelistic work resurfaced, with a new name. The Evangelistic Committee was reorganized as the Home Missions Committee, and each quarterly meeting was assessed twenty-five dollars for its support.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile a far more serious issue arose, "consideration of the proposed 'Constitution and Discipline for the American Yearly Meeting of Friends,'" commonly called the Uniform Discipline, which was deferred until the next year, pending further study.

Eastern Quarterly Meeting also presented to this yearly meeting a further expression of its concern for the state of the church, deploring the practice in some meeting or meetings of administering sacraments, a further departure from classical Quakerism.<sup>43</sup> Given the chaotic state of discipline described the previous year, especially among newer meetings, this development is not surprising. It had already surfaced elsewhere, and was one reason for the Richmond Declaration of 1887, which had upheld the traditional Friends position. It may also have been one reason for the appointment of the Committee on Doctrine and Discipline to visit the local meetings. The administration of the sacraments undoubtedly alarmed even those Friends who favored evangelism and a settled pastoral ministry. It is significant that Albert Peele, superintendent of evangelistic work, reported to the same yearly meeting that the people in the new meetings he had visited "have a desire to leave the ordinances that are outward and live upon Him who declared Himself to be the Bread of Life."<sup>44</sup> The cryptic response of the yearly meeting's committee appointed to consider Eastern Quarter's minute was that it united "in reaffirming our position on the ordinances, as heretofore set forth," presumably in the Richmond Declaration.<sup>45</sup>

Trouble continued to brew the following year. Rich Square was once again withholding the portion of its assessment for evangelism, now called Home Missions. The proposal to adopt the Uniform Discipline was again

discussed, but unity was clearly not present, and action was deferred for still another year.<sup>46</sup> Departures from traditional Quakerism had begun to concern more than the Conservative element, but the yearly meeting leadership may have wondered if it could hold on to the new converts if it took too firm a stand. "Education" and "indoctrination" were the solutions it hoped would resolve the dilemma. Meanwhile the Conservatives were accusing it of having caused the problem.

The matter of Uniform Discipline now loomed before the church. Approved by the quinquennial gathering of Friends in Richmond, Indiana, it had been sent to the respective yearly meetings for approval. Among other elements, it provided for the establishment of this gathering as an actual Friends meeting, the Five-Years Meeting, with power to transact church business for the majority of American Friends. Approval would mark the virtual establishment of an American Quaker denomination, which did not, however, include Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) or any of the Conservative or Hicksite yearly meetings. The year 1902 had been designated for the organization of the new body, and it was, therefore, important to its North Carolina supporters that approval not be delayed for another year. Approval of a new discipline, on the other hand, was no small matter, and the yearly meeting could hardly give a united Quakerly consent if there were substantial opposition from within.

The test faced now was unique to North Carolina. It was the only American yearly meeting that had not already suffered at least one major division. It retained within its membership, therefore, those most likely to oppose the Uniform Discipline. The other participating yearly meetings may have been more nearly unified in their approval, since they had already lost or expelled their Conservative members. North Carolina Friends who favored the new discipline could try to persuade the Conservatives not to stand in the way of approval. Failing that, they would have to decide whether to risk division in order to gain approval. And if approval were given, they would have to decide what accommodation, if any, to make with the Conservative element.

Eastern Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee to study the matter of the Uniform Discipline, all but one of whom was a member of Rich Square. After three months' study it recommended guardedly that the new discipline not be adopted "at this time."<sup>47</sup> The surprisingly mild phrasing, stating that some members did not support the minute, indicates an awareness of the seriousness of the situation, and an extreme reluctance to take an action that would lead to division. A more vigorous statement might have deterred the yearly meeting, but neither this statement nor any opposition from those present was recorded at the next yearly meeting when the Uniform Discipline "was adopted, and goes into immediate effect."<sup>48</sup>

The next move was the Conservatives'. Eastern Quarter met and adjourned without protest. Rich Square met and, with a degree of hesitation similar to that in the earlier minute of Eastern Quarter stated, "We are mostly united in the belief that it is best to keep to the old Discipline."<sup>49</sup> Eastern Quarterly meeting received the minute and asked the yearly meeting's Permanent Board to resolve the issue.<sup>50</sup> Since Rich Square Meeting had also declined once again to pay for the support of Yearly Meeting evangelism, the quarterly meeting divided the 1902 assessment between the two monthly meetings, "subject to the exemptions granted by the Yearly Meetings," presumably those of 1890, 1892, and 1898.<sup>51</sup>

The Permanent Board met in Fourth Month of the following year, but was unable to locate the quarterly meeting's minute, and appointed a committee to report on it. Two members of the committee, Lewis Lyndon Hobbs and Albert Peele, had dealt with earlier matters involving the Conservatives.<sup>52</sup> A special meeting of the board was called the following month to deal with the matter. The committee apparently considered the possibility of taking no action, which would have postponed or possibly even avoided a confrontation and decided to ask for a "united judgment" as

to "whether any action on our part is required, and if so what it should be." The committee also presented a draft of a letter to the two monthly meetings, which the board adopted. After expressing hope for love and unity, the letter came to the point: Monthly and quarterly meetings were to conform to the new discipline. In language familiar to Conservatives, Eastern Quarter Friends were urged, "even though it be a cross," to exercise the grace of submission."<sup>53</sup> This letter, which attempted to blend tenderness with firmness, clearly based its stand on the administrative authority of the yearly meeting, an authority that had been made official for the first time by the Uniform Discipline itself, which the Conservatives did not accept. Objections to the new discipline were regarded as matters of opinion, not of principle, and the Conservative Friends were addressed as willful children who would "find peace of mind" if they but obeyed the corporate parent.

The description of "the grace of submission" to the Uniform Discipline as a "cross" to be borne by Friends was a particularly unfortunate choice of words. The image of the cross was especially meaningful for Conservative Friends, for whom the elements of traditional Quaker practice, notably plainness of speech and dress, were frequently described as the cross that was borne in obedience to Christ. The Permanent Board's letter, from the Conservative point of view, impiously called for outward obedience to men, to a rule that opened the way for wholesale disobedience to the will of God known individually and inwardly, and then dared to call it a cross.

Eastern Quarterly Meeting received its next reports from the two monthly meetings, based upon two different books of discipline, at the same time it considered the response of the Permanent Board. Since Rich Square continued to refuse to follow the new discipline, the quarterly meeting concluded that, "as we can not make any report jointly, we have thought it right to make none at all," and forwarded this statement to the board.<sup>54</sup> Piney Woods Monthly Meeting sent the board a separate letter noting its compliance with the Uniform Discipline.<sup>55</sup> The board then appointed another committee to formulate a response.<sup>56</sup> Two days later the committee recommended that a small committee be named to visit Eastern Quarter" to extend such counsel and helpfulness as under Divine guidance way may open for."<sup>57</sup>

The report tried to hold out a hand of friendship to the Conservatives, but the yearly meeting placed a club in the other hand of the visiting committee it appointed by instructing it

To visit the meetings constituting Eastern Quarter as early as practicable, attend the Quarterly Meeting next ensuing and subsequently, if necessary, and to convey to the Quarter, in behalf of the Yearly Meeting, a message of love, and also the instruction of the Yearly Meeting that all subordinate meetings conduct their business transactions in accordance with the Discipline now in force in the Yearly Meeting. The committee thus appointed is invested with the authority of the Yearly Meeting to proceed in the matter laid upon them in whatsoever manner it may seem to them wise, to appoint meetings, if necessary, and to take part in any meetings in said Quarter as if, for the time being, they were members thereof, and in any other capacity to labor in love for the adjustment of the present difficulties, and report. The committee is authorized to draw on the treasurer for expenses incurred.<sup>58</sup>

The committee was given, both literally and figuratively, a blank check to act, and therefore became in effect an administrative commission rather than visiting committee originally proposed. Its task was to settle the difficulties, rather than to counsel and help the Eastern Quarter Friends settle them. The presence on all of the committees appointed thus far of Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, yearly meeting clerk and Guilford College president, added still more weight to this committee's authority.

If Conservative Friends were not already alienated from the yearly meeting and its new Uniform Discipline, this action, regardless of what the committee actually did, drove the final wedge. The Discipline of 1893 had contained no mention of the yearly meeting's authority, and the action of the 1903 session would have been difficult if not impossible to justify under its provisions. Ironically the new discipline was used almost immediately to enforce conformity with its provisions, since under it, "The Yearly Meeting has the power to decide all questions of administration; to counsel, admonish or discipline its subordinate meetings."<sup>59</sup>

With the approval of the 1903 minute, therefore, the yearly meeting effectively assured division. The Conservatives did not recognize the authority under which the committee was constituted and empowered to act, and the committee was given no room to negotiate a compromise, since it was required by the yearly meeting to enforce conformity with the new discipline. Any mediating role it might have had was destroyed by these instructions. It is not surprising therefore that the Conservatives simply ignored the committee when it came to Eastern Quarter and withdrew when it tried to exercise its authority, claiming that the yearly meeting had acted illegally in appointing it. The Conservatives thereby designated themselves the "true" Eastern Quarterly Meeting, and continued to conduct business as usual. In fact, the minutes of Eastern Quarter contain no mention of the committee's visit, although another Friend appended a note stating that it had come, and hoping it would do some good.<sup>60</sup>

The detailed, official account of what transpired appeared in the minutes of the Permanent Board and was reported in full to the next session of yearly meeting. It is a dismal story of non-communication resulting in the division of Rich Square Monthly Meeting, Eastern Quarterly Meeting, and eventually North Carolina Yearly Meeting.<sup>61</sup> The only positive note was the apparently peaceful division of property. The two subordinate meetings of Rich Square Monthly Meeting were called Cedar Grove and Rich Square Preparative Meetings; each had a meeting house where it held worship. The Conservative Friends received possession of the larger building at Cedar Grove, while the few who remained loyal to the yearly meeting retained the Rich Square building. Both continued to call themselves Rich Square Monthly Meeting, and the Conservative group also designated itself as Eastern Quarterly Meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting, officially adding the qualifier "Conservative" only in 1973.

Assuming the accuracy of the committee's account of its conduct, it seems unfortunate that its instructions from the yearly meeting left it so little room for negotiation and compromise, for it seems at every point to have endeavored to avoid divisiveness. The Conservative group, as the "reassembled" Eastern Quarterly Meeting, also reported the events without apparent rancor in an epistle to Piney Woods and Rich Square Monthly Meetings, tendering love toward those who chose to follow the Uniform Discipline, but stating the need for a division.<sup>62</sup>

It was not long before Conservatives in other parts of the state were seeking membership in the new body. Thirty-three members of Nahunta and Neuse Monthly Meetings in Wayne County became members before the end of the year.<sup>63</sup> A Conservative Piney Woods Monthly Meeting was established in Chowan County in 1904,<sup>64</sup> Oak Grove in Wayne County in 1905 (comprising the former members of the Nahunta and Neuse Meetings who joined the Conservatives in 1903),<sup>65</sup> Marlboro in Randolph County in 1906,<sup>66</sup> Holly Spring in Randolph County in 1910,<sup>67</sup> and West Grove in Alamance County in 1915.<sup>68</sup> Much of this growth resulted from the visits made by Conservative ministers throughout the state.<sup>69</sup>

At home, efforts continued to effect a final resolution of issues with the group of Rich Square Friends who had remained in the larger yearly meeting. A committee of the Conservatives attempted to draw up a deed of compromise that would formally surrender the Rich Square property, but the other meeting refused, stating that they already bore title.<sup>70</sup> The

Following month the Conservative monthly meeting disowned their neighbors and relatives in the other Rich Square meeting "for insubordination," and stated that

Our Meeting is dipped into deep suffering on account of this matter and desires to convey the message of sorrowing love to each of those who have thus forfeited their right of membership. They will at all times upon their good behavior be welcomed visitors to our meeting.<sup>71</sup>

As noted earlier, both Benjamin P. Brown and Henry T. Outland had regularly visited Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and various Conservative yearly meetings, beginning as early as 1879. These visits now bore fruit as the other Conservative bodies opened official correspondence with the new yearly meeting in 1904. Philadelphia (Orthodox), which had no official correspondence with anyone, was nevertheless sympathetic with the North Carolina Conservatives. It now chose to express its sympathy in a way that was particularly irritating to the larger North Carolina Quaker body.

In 1682, Charleston Monthly Meeting had been established in South Carolina as a part of London and later of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In 1779, long after the meeting had ceased to be active, Philadelphia Friends created a fund into which rental income from the Charleston Meeting property was placed. This Charleston fund was then used to assist Friends outside Philadelphia to construct meeting houses. On four occasions, from 1817 to 1885, North Carolina Yearly Meeting had sought to gain control of the fund, arguing that the Charleston Meeting was rightfully its responsibility. The Philadelphia Friends had refused, however, to surrender the funds. Furthermore, in 1884, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) restricted the use of the fund to meetings in which "the primitive principles and views of the Society (of Friends) are maintained in regard to the modes of worship."<sup>72</sup>

Shortly before the division of 1903, Rich Square Monthly Meeting had considered applying to the Charleston Fund for additions to the meeting house at Rich Square, but deferred its request until later.<sup>73</sup> Almost immediately after the separation, in 1904, the Conservative meeting appointed a committee "to ask the trustees of the Charleston funds for appropriations as may be needed to aid in building mtg-houses in different parts of N.C."<sup>74</sup> The following month the committee recommended requesting \$1000 from the fund: \$400 for a meeting house at Rich Square and \$600 "for two a Contentnea Quarter," presumably for the use of the former members of the house and Nahunta Meetings in Wayne County. A year later the Charleston fund granted \$800. Half was put into the Rich Square building fund, and the other half used to build a meeting house in Randolph County for the Marlboro Conservative Friends.<sup>75</sup> This action brought a howl of protest from Eli Reece, editor of the larger yearly meeting's new monthly, THE FRIENDS MESSENGER. Accusing the Conservative ministers of being in the pay of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and thereby enjoying a standard of living far higher than that of their self-denying brethren, he asserted that Philadelphia Friends were behind the separation in North Carolina, and that they were stealing what he said rightfully belonged to North Carolina Yearly Meeting (the Charleston Fund) to reward schismatics.<sup>76</sup>

Stephen B. Weeks, writing in 1895, had also intimated a Philadelphia connection with the eastern North Carolina meetings, particularly Rich Square, suggesting that there was "a desire apparent to separate these meetings from the North Carolina Yearly Meeting and to join them to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting."<sup>77</sup> Except for Eastern Quarter's consideration of transferring to Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1888, the formal records contain no hint that a transfer to another body was contemplated, although Conservative Friends on religious visits to the City of Brotherly Love may have longed for it and perhaps even discussed it.

In fact Philadelphia Friends had given substantial assistance for the reconstruction of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Allen Jay stated that

Philadelphia Friends had channeled more than \$30,000 through the Baltimore Association to North Carolina Friends between 1865 and 1891, more than from any other American yearly meeting.<sup>78</sup> Philadelphia and other northern Quakers also undertook directly several projects for the relief, education and assistance of freedmen in North Carolina, although it is difficult to judge the extent to which these projects were welcomed by the southern Friends.<sup>79</sup> The overriding source of irritation to North Carolina Yearly Meeting was probably a combination of Philadelphia's non-participation in the new Five-Years Meeting and a feeling of disapproval by the Philadelphians toward the Carolinians.

When the Conservative North Carolina Yearly Meeting convened its first session in 1904, it hastened to state its principles: (1) individual faithfulness to "waiting, spiritual worship"; (2) the priesthood of believers and the freedom "from all forms and ceremonies"; (3) the exclusive practice of "a free gospel ministry"; and (4) liberty of individual conscience.<sup>80</sup> In 1907 the Conservative yearly meeting spelled out its objections to the Uniform Discipline: (1) central control over the ministry, and (2) acceptance (and hence encouragement) of the pastoral system.<sup>81</sup>

In the ensuing years recriminations continued on both sides, along with efforts at reconciliation. As the pastoral system continued to grow in the larger body however it became clear that North Carolina Friends had turned a corner when the century turned, and that paths which had been sundered would not soon converge again.

Looking back on the division it seems clear that a number of factors were at work. Sectional rivalries between eastern and western North Carolina persisted, with piedmont Friends viewing their coreligionists in the northeastern part of the state as rich county cousins, untouched by the Civil War or Reconstruction. The easterners likewise saw the piedmont as a hotbed of subversive doctrine and unsound practice. Behind the caricatures lay some truth: the northeast was a more prosperous, more conservative, less dynamic region, while the piedmont was a region of new industrialization, dynamic religious activity, and revitalized agriculture built on modern farming principles. Patterns of communication were different: The northeast retained closer ties with the more traditional eastern seaboard Quakers, while the piedmont increasingly faced northwest toward Ohio and Indiana, particularly Richmond.

Yet sectional rivalry and economic differences alone do not account for the division. The most conservative of the Conservatives in North Carolina were to be found in the piedmont, and the Conservatives' Southern Quarterly meeting in the piedmont proved to be strongly critical of Eastern Quarter's later attempts at limited accommodation with other types of Friends. Furthermore Friends in the Nahunta and Neuse Meetings (the Goldsboro area in eastern North Carolina) who formed the Oak Grove Conservative Meeting came from the region that had been most devastated by General Sherman's army, and had required the greatest assistance after the war. Not all eastern Friends were well-to-do, therefore. Whatever social, economic, and geographic factors may have contributed (and they contributed much), other issues were clearly at stake as well.

Quakerism was historically a religious culture, a mutually reinforcing blend of theology and rigorous discipline that affected nearly every area of life and set Quakers apart as "a peculiar people." The outward signs of difference were borne by Friends as "a cross," a burdensome testimony to the world of their beliefs and commitments. The plainness and simplicity of Quaker worship, without music, set preaching, formal prayers, or religious symbols, were an expression of Quaker inwardness, the effort to maintain an inner stillness and receptiveness to divine leading. The evangelistic movement threatened simultaneously to eliminate the signs of distinctiveness, to disrupt the inward stillness, to replace waiting upon the divine with reliance upon human agency, and to substitute concern with numbers for concern with faithfulness. So strong was the

perception of a link between culture and witness that many Friends blamed the antebellum "hireling ministry" for the evils of slavery and war. Conversely the faithful witness by southern Friends against these evils was seen as vindication of the traditional Quaker way of life and as imperative for its continuation. Quaker culture therefore took on the aspect of both subculture and counterculture. It was subculture in the sense that it sought to preserve distinctive folkways as a means of defining the separations of the religious community from the larger society. It was the counterculture in the sense that it sought, from Quakerism's beginning, to overcome the ways of the world and to witness to a system of values that was potentially revolutionary. Quakers for example not only eliminated slavery from their own religious society, but they sought to eliminate it from the larger society as well. The continuity of witness, and especially of suffering witness, by southern Friends with the early Friends meant for some a special obligation to defend and even to advance that witness in all its traditional distinctiveness, and not to submit to the elements of the dominant culture, however religious its pretensions.<sup>82</sup>

North Carolina Friends were also responding in various ways to what Robert Wiebe has called "The Search for Order."<sup>83</sup> Following the lead of the Baltimore Association after the war, Quakers in North Carolina adopted a new set of values. Centralization, efficiency, clear definition and division of authority, statistical accountability, reform mentality, and professionalism were among the characteristics of this new mindset. It was admirably suited to the world of business and therefore to leadership in a more urban, industrialized New South. It also provided Friends with a tool for managing change. Evangelism, which threatened to burst the old Quaker wineskin with its heady, new, fermenting vintage, could be contained safely, it was hoped, in the new wineskin of corporate church organization. Professional teachers and professional preachers, trained, organized, and centrally deployed, would harvest the crop of converts for the Friends. A national Quaker church, the Five-Years Meetings, with a Declaration of Faith, a Uniform Discipline, and clearly defined authority would increase the yield, while preserving the faith.<sup>84</sup>

Conservative Friends were not so optimistic. Rightly perceiving the changes taking place throughout the country, they feared the loss of local autonomy and authority and the freedom of individual conscientious expression that corporate organization threatened. It was not that they disliked order; they deplored the chaos that resulted when the world (in the guise of evangelism) invaded their church. But more than disorder they feared the order imposed from without by human agency, especially within the church. Their descriptive adjective for themselves, Conservative, was apt. They simply saw no good reason to change, and many excellent reasons to resist change. The larger body of Friends chose an equally appropriate adjective, Progressive, to describe themselves, linking them as it did with a significant, national, political, and social movement. It also clearly expressed the movement's optimism that the right spirit, combined with national organization and professional management would move humankind forward into a new age. Both Conservatives and Progressives searched for order, but in doing so discovered that they could no longer live together in the same household.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Kenneth L. Carroll, "East-West Relations in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1750-1785," The Southern Friend: Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society 4 (Autumn, 1982): 17-25.

<sup>2</sup>Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in

Institutional History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896), is still the best published source of information on North Carolina Friends through the Civil War. On the near separation in North Carolina Yearly Meeting see D.W. Hunt, "Reminiscences of Nathan Hunt--VIII," Christian Worker, 4th Month 26, 1883, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup>Frederick B. Tolles, Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Pennsylvania, 1682-1763 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), pp. 233-234.

<sup>4</sup>Weeks, pp. 308-321 passim.

<sup>5</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of V-27-1871.

<sup>6</sup>Allen Jay, Autobiography (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1910), p.110.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 206-207.

<sup>9</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of IX-24-1883.

<sup>10</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of 1882.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., Meeting of 1888.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Meeting of 1889.

<sup>14</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of V-25-1889.

<sup>15</sup>Francis B. Hall, "Friends United Meeting," in Friends in the Americas (Philadelphia: Friends World Committee, Section of the Americas 1976), pp. 22-23.

<sup>16</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of II-25-1883.

<sup>17</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1890.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meetings of XI-29-1879, V-31-1890, and VII-29-1891.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Meeting of VII-29-1891.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., Meeting of V-28-1892.

<sup>23</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1892.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., Meeting of 1894.

<sup>25</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of V-26-1894.

<sup>26</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends for Ministry and Oversight, Minutes, Meeting of 1896.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of VIII-29-1896.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., Meeting of V-29-1897.

<sup>30</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1897.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting for Ministry and Oversight, Meeting of 1897.

<sup>33</sup>Rich Square Monthly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meeting of II-19-1888

<sup>34</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting of V-28-1898.

<sup>35</sup>John G. Whittier, "The Brewing of Soma," in The Complete Poetical Works of Whittier (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), p. 450.

<sup>36</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1898.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., Meeting 1899.

<sup>40</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of XI-25-1899.

<sup>41</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1900.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., Meeting of 1901.

<sup>47</sup>Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of V-31-1902.

<sup>48</sup>North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1902.

<sup>49</sup>Rich Square Monthly Meeting, Meeting of 1902. One of the ironies in this situation is that the name of the clerk of Rich Square Meeting was

- . Gurney Parker. Apparently he had been named for Joseph John Gurney, the theological nemesis of the original Conservatives.
- <sup>50</sup> Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of XI-29-1902.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>52</sup> North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Permanent Board, Minutes, Meeting of IV-14-1903.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid., Meeting of V-14-1903.
- <sup>54</sup> Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of II-28-1903.
- <sup>55</sup> Permanent Board, Meeting of VIII-4-1903.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid., Meeting of VIII-6-1903.
- <sup>58</sup> North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Meeting of 1903. Emphasis added.
- <sup>59</sup> North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, Constitution and Discipline for the American Yearly Meetings, Adopted by North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1902, with some Additions Made in 1906 (Ararat, Va.: J.M. Murdie, Blue Ridge Academy, 1906), p. 38. The Uniform Discipline, although adopted in 1902, was not actually printed and distributed in its final form as North Carolina's discipline until 1906.
- <sup>60</sup> Eastern Quarterly Meeting, Meeting of VII-29-1903.
- <sup>61</sup> North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Minutes, Meeting of 1904.
- <sup>62</sup> Rich Square Monthly Meetings of Friends (Conservative), Minutes, Meeting of IX-19-1903.
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid., Meeting of XI-21-1903.
- <sup>64</sup> Eastern Quarterly Meeting of Friends (Conservative), Minutes, Meeting of II-27-1904.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., Meeting of XI-25-1905.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., Meeting of II-24-1906.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid., Meeting of V-28-1910.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., Meeting of V-15-1915.
- <sup>69</sup> Rich Square Monthly Meeting (Conservative). Meeting of I-26-1904.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid., Meetings of II-20-1904 and III-19-1904.
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid., Meeting of IV-16-1904.
- <sup>72</sup> Walter L. Moore, "Digest of the History of the 'Quakers' Lot," Charleston, S.C., (Typewritten.); and Charles Rhoads, "Friends' Meeting House and Lot in Charleston, South Carolina," The Friend (Philadelphia), 5th Month 1, 1880, p. 300.
- <sup>73</sup> Rich Square Monthly Meeting, Meetings of V-17-1902 and VIII-16-1902.
- <sup>74</sup> Rich Square Monthly Meeting (Conservative), Meeting of I-26-1904.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid., Meeting of V-20-1905.
- <sup>76</sup> Eli Reece, "The Situation in Eastern Quarter," Friends Messenger, 5th Month 1905. I am indebted to an unpublished paper, "Carolina Friends in the Stream of Separations," by Algie I. Newlin, for calling my attention to this article. Dr. Newlin's paper also draws upon many of the same sources as this article.
- <sup>77</sup> Weeks, p. 297.
- <sup>78</sup> Jay, p. 224.
- <sup>79</sup> Weeks, p. 316.
- <sup>80</sup> North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative), Minutes, Meeting of 1904.
- <sup>81</sup> Ibid., Meeting of 1907.
- <sup>82</sup> Damon D. Hickey, "Bearing the Cross of Plainness: Conservative Quaker Culture in North Carolina" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1982), pp. 60-86.
- <sup>83</sup> Robert H. Wiebe, The Search of Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).
- <sup>84</sup> Damon D. Hickey, "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Quakers in Reconstruction." (Typewritten.)

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The theme of the LDS 101 course last fall was "2000 A.D.: Our Planet, Our Nations, Our Selves." In this course, we examined ways in which human lives will be affected as we approach the end of this millenium, and tried to use lessons from the past to help us deal effectively with our present and our future. Readings in the course addressed such topics as the effects of nuclear war, the world food crisis, and the impact of computers on governments, businesses, and individuals. For the final presentation of the Wednesday morning series, faculty from different disciplines prepared a statement describing his or her vision of the future, identified the values which this vision was based, and suggested ways to encourage students to become more involved in deciding the directions their own future will take. During the discussion panel members were asked to engage in "crystal ball gazing" to some extent, and to forecast developments in or offer solutions for certain critical aspects of individual, national, or global concern. Some panelists also commented on suggestions they had found helpful in coping with life in "the nuclear age." The presentation included with an opportunity for the audience to ask questions of the panelists. For this issue of the Guilford Review we are presenting three of these visions.

\* \* \* \* \*

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND GLOBAL ISSUES

*Kathrynn Adams*

Like most people, I feel both optimistic and pessimistic when I envision the future. My view of the future, although multifaceted, is divided into a personal and community/societal perspective.

Personally, my vision is influenced by my early recognition that people were very important to me. I am committed to developing and maintaining healthy relationships. My relationships have helped me to recognize my relatedness to other people and have supported my exploration of my own uniqueness. As relationships sensitize us to our similarity with others and reinforce our value as individuals, we become more accepting of differences in others and less defensive about their skills and property. My healthy relationships are based within what I call my family by which I do not mean biological family. Instead it is those people to whom I relate intimately. I believe that our families, however we define them, whoever they contain, provide our hope for the future. On a personal level then, I am an optimist. I expect to continue to give and receive support within my relationships. My career choice reflects my focus on relationships--I teach courses such as Developmental Psychology, Psychology of Family, and Women and Relationships. I work in a setting which is congruent with the personal values I've just described. My optimism allowed me to decide to have a child and to share this joyful experience and awesome responsibility with my partner. This responsibility though pushes me to look at the future in broader terms as I wish for this child to have the opportunity to develop in an open, supportive environment since one's family cannot define all of one's experiences.

My view of our community/social/global future is much less optimistic. For example:

- 1 I am scared about the arms race and the potential destruction of humankind that it implies.
- 1 I am distressed that 1000's of people are starving in Ethiopia and that death squads are still operating in Central America.
- 1 I am concerned about the poor in the U.S. getting poorer, that social programs are being cut while the tax

structure continues to favor those with \$ and the deficit we are increasing is due to military buildup.

I am angry that beautiful lands throughout the world are being destroyed in the name of progress and profit.

However, my optimism about my personal space helps me to balance my societal pessimism. Instead of being overwhelmed by despair, I find many reasons for optimism all involving people working for the benefit of life and thus for our future. These people reflect my personal commitment to relationships on a more global level: Food First, Amnesty International, Union of Concerned Scientists, Psychologists for Social Responsibility, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Mobilization for Survival, SANE, American Friends Service Committee, Oxfam, Nature Conservancy, Jacques Cousteau, and Fund for Southern Communities. I believe that these groups and others too numerous to name will continue to work for peace, social justice, and respect for nature. Thus, I see stormclouds along with bursts of sunshine. I don't believe life is painfree. All of us must cope with and learn from the personal and societal pain we experience. I think my commitment to people and relationships has helped me to do this and to approach the future with guarded optimism.

\* \* \* \* \*

## SPACE THE FINAL FRONTIER

*Samuel Schuman*

When asked to speak for five minutes on my vision of the future of the world, I was immediately reminded of a story from the folklore of my upbringing, wherein the famous Rabbi, Akiba, was asked to explain the meaning of the first five books of the Bible--while standing on one foot. The Rabbi succeeded; the dean won't.

I want to leave with you today one axiom, which you may question, one corollary, and a major proposition.

The axiom: unlike most of the students in my IDS 101 section, I do NOT believe in the possibility of a limited nuclear war. I think that may be a difference between my generation and yours, by the way. I am generally optimistic about the chances of mankind to avoid the use of thermonuclear weaponry in international anger, but I am convinced that if such use ever occurs, there will be no way to control it: it will be curtains for our species, and most everything else on earth with it. Might I point out that my initial "optimism"--that I view such an occurrence as "unlikely" is actually quite horrifying. To say that the absolute end of mankind is "unlikely" is not exactly like making the same statement about cutting your finger: if some enterprise resulted in a 90/10% chance ratio of such digital danger, I would say, "fine, give it a try." Those same odds on the future of the world are unacceptable.

The corollary of this belief--and I suspect the difference between my attitude and that of many others--is that I really do not think of there being a thousand, or 5,000 or 50,000 nuclear weapons, but one--with thousands of parts, most of which will work, if ever given the chance.

The earth, and those who inhabit therein, will "probably" be OK, then, but "PROBABLY" isn't good enough. My solution is a simplistic one, and it is going to draw some hoots from the more sophisticated analytic minds amongst us, but it is this: mankind must get off the earth. We must get our eggs out of one planetary basket. We must launch ourselves off towards the frontier of space. The fate of mankind is too important to be left utterly dependent upon the fate of the earth. Our world is a spaceship, not a universe. The noble vision of our future suggests using this platform to explore, understand, colonize, the stars. I suspect--with Carl Sagan--that the odds are very strong we will find life out there, probably, ultimately, life with something like intelligence. But, really, I have no idea what we will discover in the vastness of the universe, nor does anyone else. That mystery is part of the allure of the stars, I believe.

Two objections will surface: 1. How can we spend the money to conquer space, while millions suffer here on earth? 2. Aren't we turning outer space into a battleground already, so won't it be just another military venue? I respond: 1. Show me a case where the United States, or any other nation, has actually taken money designated for a space program and rechanneled it towards social service projects: that is not, and will not become, the way national budgets work. 2. Sure, the military is interested in the cosmos. But I am reminded of the international situation in Europe some 350 years ago when England and Spain also saw the "new world" as a potential strategic outpost of their cultures. I believe our military planners see space with even less imagination than European statesmen of the 16th and 17th centuries saw America. To just the extent that our republic today is a minor pawn in Spain's sea war against Britain, to just that degree I believe outer space will become a battleground between the U.S. and Russia!

I realize that what I have said might strike some as unquakerly--it is outer-directed, it is aggressive, it is colonialist, it is not particularly in tune with some of the traditional social sensibilities of the Society of Friends. On the other hand I am reminded of William Penn and his rather bold, Quaker exploits in the new world in the 1770's and 1780's. Perhaps one title for my remarks today might be,

SPACE: THE FINAL FRONTIER...OR THE NEW PENNSYLVANIA!

\* \* \* \* \*

### THE FUTURE AND POLITICS

*William Schmickle*

If a consideration of the future is to be other than idle speculation, it must inform us about what we should be doing now to make things better for the future. I would like to consider two different approaches.

The first may be called a model-building approach. The literature I get in the mail about world order model building typically talks about "imaging" (sic) a better future. It also speaks of "values," which seem to be things desired but for now out of reach, such as "peace." One bit I used to use in class asked me to "image" world peace, to think about its components, and then ask what we would have to do to build each component. Apparently, when we would have each component in place we would have "peace," even though peace was not defined. Peace was the normative goal. In defining it we would derive an imaginative construction of what the world would look like if the goal were realized fully in practice. This would be the model, and the model would become the basis for action to attain its component parts. Peace, defined one way, might be understood as the absence of war and war-threatening instruments of destruction. A component would be nuclear disarmament, and so the course of policy action would be set. Of course peace might be defined as the absence of war by way of deterrence, and the policy action might be support for the MX. The list of possible "peaces" could go on. What strikes me is that in listening to people argue these different lines, it seems their visions of the future are informed more by their preferred courses of action now than the other way around. For instance, if I believe in deterrence, I'm unlikely to "image" a future peace built on disarmament. Such a perversion of modelling can be terribly narcissistic.

Another problem with this approach is that while the preferred model which is to guide and inform action may be morally and rationally "correct" according to the individuals who embrace it, it may not be practicable as a guide to action, either in the short or long run. That is, it may not by itself lead to political success, which is necessary if one is to translate one's values into public policy, which is the name of the game. As 1968 peace candidate Eugene McCarthy once put it, "The worse thing in politics is to be right and to lose." Nixon won that one.

Yet a third problem has to do with whether the models advanced actually accord with the values pursued. Will the "Star Wars" strategic defense initiative promote or instead jeopardize peace?

The final problem I want to identify is most insidious. It has to do with the nature of consequences. Hans Morgenthau defined the dilemma of politics as the necessity of having to act without any certainty that what you do ought to be done. In other words, you may think you are doing the right thing, given available evidence, but the consequences may not be what you intend. Robert Kennedy understood this when he wrote in his memoir of the Cuban missile crisis that it was not a particular decision that troubled the White House but its cumulative effects in later moves. We all have personal experiences at least of meaning to help someone with the result being hurt. I think this is the deeper meaning of Paul's confession in Romans 7:19, "For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do." If a study of the future is to guide us in policy actions intended to get us from here to the projected future, then it has to be clear about the consequences of those well-intended actions. Action A must lead to B, B to C, C to D, D to E, and so forth until the goal is reached. If instead, and as experience indicates will happen, A leads to B, B to F, F to 4, 4 to 5, 5 to d, and so forth, then the future as such provides slim policy guidance, and is a matter of rather pointless speculation.

The problem is one understood by Paul--Paul Simon: "the closer your destination the more you're slip-sliding away." But that is not all. If right-intended actions go awry and bring uptoward, even evil consequences, one might simply cynically give up and yield the field to those not rightly inclined. Or worse: If good intentions bring evil results, then might not bad deeds work toward good ends? One gets the "revolutionary ethic" (that which promotes the revolution is good, that which impedes it is evil) when you lodge values in the future and define action in light of what it takes to attain that future.

This brings me to the other approach that I will call the value-based action approach. It seems to me we can gain a corrective to the uncertain model-building approach from the history of Quaker peace testimony. When they have been successful, the actions of Friends in promoting the principles of their faith have been suffused with a bracing worldly practicality, that is, with a view toward transforming the world within and through the context of present realities which have confronted them at any given time. Rather than seeking to promote moral values through advancing models of the world as it ought to be (models which by their very nature reject the world as it is), the actions of these Friends seem to me to have been based upon the assumption that by promoting their values through the context of concrete and immediate policy options, the better future of the world would be advanced as a matter of course. It is a preference for practical action keyed to principles directly rather than indirectly through idealized models. The goal is to attain the best possible today in today's world, rather than the best imaginable world for the future. The difference is that this second approach is more likely to meet with political success, and it is more concerned and tough-minded about "getting the job done." It helps us understand how we go from here into a better future with hope, rather than telling us simply where idealistically we ought to be going with a blueprint. And it is both means directed and goal directed.

Now it might be argued that we have to have a vision of the future in order to have proper direction in choosing our present course. I agree. But, I should ask, what should we understand as the "vision of the future?" The model-builders offer one sort of answer. Yet it seems to me that those Friends of whom I have spoken favorably have a different one. Their vision has not been of an ideal secular order, strictly speaking, but rather one of the inherent potential of people for more ethically inclined human (and thus humane) interaction. Their vision of the future is grandly theological/philosophical in nature. It is derived not from posing the question, "What ought reality look like?" Instead it is derived within the process of answering the questions, "Of what are people capable?" This sort of vision, more properly termed insight into human nature, affords better guidance in practical action than does the other sort.

*Robert Scott Gassler*

An election campaign is a good time to assess the record of the last four years. It is also a good time to explode a few myths about the economy by stating some important points.

1. Stagflation was not the fault of the Carter Administration or the result of fifty years of spendthrift government. There is a clear consensus among economists of all persuasions on what the causes were. The increases in unemployment and inflation in 1979-1980 were due to the new OPEC price hike and the sharp increases in food prices of the late 1970's. Nothing that the Carter Administration did with tax or budget policy could have increased unemployment and inflation at the same time, which is what happened in those years.

2. Reaganomics did not cure stagflation. Reaganomics was based on "supply-side" policies, which are supposed to reduce inflation and unemployment at the same time. That is not what happened.

What did happen? From 1979 to 1982 the Federal Reserve Board created a recession and thus increased unemployment. They did it by raising interest rates, which reduced demand for investment goods like machinery and houses. That is old-fashioned "demand-side economics." The recession cracked inflationary expectations and caused the rate of inflation to go down and stay down.

Then the Federal Reserve Board reversed itself and interest rates fell, which increased demand. Unemployment went back down to the level it was under Carter. Inflation did not rise to the level it had been before, because people were not building expectations about inflation into their price and wage increases.

The reason that interest rates are still high by historical standards is that under the Reagan Administration the Federal deficit has tripled. That means the Federal Government has to borrow more money than before, which keeps the interest rates up. Contrary to what Reagan said in the debate, deficits are indeed related to the interest rate, as a broad consensus of economists will testify.

The Federal Reserve Board is an independent agency, whose Chairman is appointed by the President for a four-year term that does not overlap the President's. The present Chairman was appointed by Carter and reappointed by Reagan. Thus just about all the Reagan Administration has done to cure stagflation is reappoint Carter's Federal Reserve Board Chairman.

3. The Carter Administration would have done better in the last four years than Reagan has done. A recent study by the Urban Institute was summarized in an article in the latest issue of Challenge magazine, a publication written by economists for the general public. The Institute ran a computer simulation to determine what difference a more moderate tax and spending policy would have made over the last four years. They assumed that another administration would have made lower tax cuts, lower increases in government purchases, and lower cuts in social programs. Under those conditions the Federal Reserve Board would have been inclined to pursue a less drastic policy. The result would have been a much less severe recession in 1981-1983. Inflation today would be about five and half percent rather than four percent. Unemployment, however, would be under six percent, instead of nearly 7½ percent.

The Carter Administration would have followed policies roughly similar to the ones simulated by the Urban Institute. Thus if Carter had been reelected we would not have suffered the pain of the severe recession, inflation would be only a little higher, and unemployment would be lower. In other words, if Carter were still President, the economy would be better off than it is now.

4. The Mondale-Ferraro Administration would do better in the next four years than would the Reagan-Bush Administration. One problem in the last four years has been the clash in the Reagan-Bush Administration between the supply-siders, including David Stockman, and the "monetarists" (who support the Federal Reserve Board), including Treasury Secretary Donald Regan. The result was that the Administration was working at cross purposes with the Federal Reserve Board in 1981 and 1982, when the Reagan deficit policies were enacted. Mondale has promised that he will strike an "accord" with the Federal Reserve, which would prevent the sort of conflict that we saw under Reagan.

Mondale has promised to cut the deficit, which will reduce interest rates. If that is done in isolation, it would tend to reduce demand and thereby cause another recession. However, this is where the accord comes in. If the Federal Reserve Board would agree to reduce interest rates further, that would more than offset the recession. The deficit would fall, demand would go up, and the economy would grow. How likely is the Board to make such an accord? Its Chairman has already called for a reduction of the deficit in order to reduce interest rates.

To summarize, the Carter-Mondale economic policies of the past would have been better for the country in the long run than the voodoo we got, and the Mondale-Ferraro policies of the future would be better for the country than denying the importance of a deficit that is now so large that it scares even the Democrats.

*Sheridan A. Simon*

The young man wore a droopy mustache, long hair, rimless glasses, and nothing else. He shook the bare branch in Erdmann's face and shouted at him:

"How do you spell 'releaf'?"

Erdmann, tied to a tree growing out of the floor of the little hut, tried to cower but hadn't sufficient mobility. He licked dry lips and croaked out an answer. "R-E-L-I-E-F?"

The young man snarled in disgust. "That's two, sucker. One more and you're recyclable." He turned and strode proudly through the open door. There was a tattoo of a bear wearing a hat on his left buttock.

Through the door, Erdmann could see that the shadows were rapidly lengthening. In the distance he heard the tribe's women chanting in unison ("Let's go DEE-fense!"). As soon as the sun disappeared over the horizon--at "twilight's last gleaming," by the natives' customs--the young man would return for the third and final repetition of this question. There were only so many ways to spell 'relief,' and Erdmann knew it was a trick question. It was the food processor for sure, he thought, yanking futilely at his bonds.

It had looked like such a good idea for a senior thesis--the first anthropological study of the natives of Middle America. A UFO had descended on a high school senior class picnic in 1965 and kidnapped everyone but the valedictorian, who had stayed at home to read "Untergang des Abendlandes." The aliens had transported the astonished young people to an earthlike planet two hundred parsecs from Kansas, leaving them nothing but a 21-inch color TV that mysteriously maintained uninterrupted broadcasts from a CBS affiliate in Greensboro, North Carolina. When TV gave way to Omnivision, the live broadcasts gave way to reruns that had now endured for six centuries.

He had landed his used Datsun Monospace Explorer in the hills near a large tribal settlement, planning on making contact with the locals and gradually gaining familiarity with their customs. Unfortunately, the first native he had encountered had smiled at him and held up one index finger while silently mouthing "We're Number One." Erdmann had failed to give the accepted response, and she had knocked him unconscious with a beer bottle and dragged him back to her village imprisoned inside her queen-sized panty hose. She wore a tattoo that said "ERA is for Sissies."

Erdmann was sadly considering that even if he got out of this he'd have to get an extension of the due date on his thesis when a bearded face peeked around the door of the hut. He watched while the face regarded him, then winked. A short, elderly man wearing a white coat entered.

"Hey, wow, what a downer," the old man said, shaking his head. "Like, I can feel that you're very negative about this experience." He stood two paces in front of Erdmann, regarding him sadly.

"Who are you?"

The man smiled broadly and sat down on the floor, pulling his feet over his knees in what looked like an excruciatingly painful position. "Hey, you know, that's really a heavy question. I don't feel ready to answer it, yet. Karma, you know?"

Erdmann didn't. "Would you please untie me? I don't know who you are, but if I don't get my thesis turned in on time it's a letter grade off for every day it's late."

The old man nodded. "I hear you, I hear you. I know where you're coming from."

That was a relief. "Look, if you can't untie me at least tell me how to answer that freak's question."

The old man looked quizzical. Outside, deep blue shadows extended across the clearing in front of the hut. Erdmann wished there was a bathroom available. "What freak?"

"He's got a tattoo of a bear wearing a hat--"

"Oh, the smokey!"

"The what?"

The old man opened his mouth in a parody of amazement. "The smokey, man. Where have you been? He puts out fires and chases speeders. Every tribe's got a smokey."

"That's fascinating." Erdmann wished they hadn't taken his notebook; they hadn't even left him the battery. "Who--"

"Everybody in the tribe's got a calling, man. What they groove on, you know? I'm into meditation, magic, and mellowing, myself."

"Yeah? Look, can you--"

"I'm really into it, man. Headaches, irregularity, colds, that ache-all-over feeling. I can cure inflation," he said modestly.

Erdmann thought he heard the slap of bare feet approaching the hut. "Listen, I--"

The old man heard the footsteps too. He stood quickly, and Erdmann winced. "Hey, like it's been great talking to you, you know. Really." He approached Erdmann closely, and Erdmann flinched as the old man's lips approached his ear. "R-E-L-E-A-F." He said, just as the smokey entered.

A few minutes later Erdmann was walking out of the hut, rubbing his wrists to help restore circulation. The smokey was striding off morosely to extinguish the fire in the barbecue pit. He cast a backward glance or two at Erdmann, obviously alert for any additional violations of tribal customs.

Erdmann found his notebook and lavatory lying on the ground near the hut, batteries still charged. He was strapping the notebook on his back when he caught sight of the old man regarding him from the shadows a few feet away. He grinned and walked confidently over.

"I wanted to thank you, friend. Your buddies wanted to--"

The old man waved a negligent hand. "Hey, no hassle, you know. I do magic all the time. Nothing to spelling."

"I don't know how to repay you."

"Got any bread?"

"Next trip. Fresh bagels, I promise." Consumed with emotion, knowing he would now get the thesis in on time, Erdmann stepped forward and enveloped the short man in a bear hug. The old man grunted slightly, and Erdmann heard an evil chuckle behind him. He whirled.

It was the smokey. "You've had it now, sucker."

Erdmann looked wildly for an escape route, but tribesmen ringed him on all sides. "What did I do? What did I do?"

The smokey spat on the ground in disgust. "Squeezed the shaman." He gestured. "Take him away, boys. Be kind to his hands."

"Stay the course," yelled the old man. The tribesmen dragged Erdmann into the darkness.

*Sheridan A. Simon*

Two of her friends brought her in, trying simultaneously to hold her up and drag her through the doorway of the emergency room. I glanced at Valdez, the night guard on weekends, but he stood against the far wall with his arms folded and his lip curled. He'd recognized her type immediately. He didn't mind blood on his uniform, but he didn't want to touch an addict.

She was crying, of course, and pleading incoherently with her two friends. They sat her down on one of the benches between an old woman with a thermometer in her mouth and a well-dressed man who clenched his teeth and held his right wrist, waiting for x-rays to come back. It was Saturday night, past midnight, cold and snowy. It would be a long time until morning.

One of the friends was a tall black woman in her early twenties. She looked around uncertainly while the other one, a fat redhead, spoke soothingly to the junkie and helped her off with her coat. I whistled at the friend.

"Over here. We need her name, address, phone, and Med-Insure number or we can't treat her."

The friend moved toward me between the rows of outpatients self-consciously. The room was stiflingly hot, the lights glared, there was a smell of many nervous people, and they were all staring at her. Tough. Teach her to have addicts for friends.

She smiled at me tentatively. I stared back and tapped my pencil against a blank admit-form, first point-first, then eraser-first. "She started acting funny a couple of weeks ago--"

"What's her name, dammit!"

She gulped, startled. "Laura, Laura Garstein." She said it quickly, then went back to her explanation. "She was O.K. until a couple of weeks ago--"

I slapped the pencil down angrily. "I couldn't care less about her symptoms, sweetheart. You think I'm a goddamned M.D. or something? I need address, phone, and her Med-Insure number. That's all. Save the sad story for the doctor, all right?"

She nodded, looking hurt, and told me what I needed to know. I still felt angry. Maybe the junkie reminded me of Barbara. No, that was bull. She didn't look anything like Barbara. I glanced at Valdez. The silver cross he always wore glittered against the thick black hair on his chest. He was watching me out of the corner of his eye while he stared down a teenager who was making motions to light up a joint.

A bell sounded and the P.A. asked for Dr. Singh. I slumped back in my chair, watching the junkie. Her two friends alternated between standing in front of her and crouching uncomfortably. There were barely enough benches for the cases, let alone their friends.

She seemed to be quieting down, but since it wasn't a real emergency I knew she had a while to wait. She'd blow her top eventually, I figured, screaming and crying. I remembered Barbara again, for no damned reason, but was distracted as a squad of cops burst in with some guy who'd been shot up pretty bad. Valdez and I exchanged glances while we talked to the cops. He shrugged. The guy would be dead in a couple of hours no matter what we did. I told the orderly to push his cart into Number Four, which was an empty room reserved for such cases. I hoped he wouldn't have any visitors, wife or kids or anything.

The cops had tracked snow in through the front door. All I needed was some sick monkey to slip and sue me for a million bucks. I hauled out a broom and was pushing the melting stuff under an ash tray when the junkie blew up.

Her voice rose above the nervous babbling background like a mushroom cloud. She

cried and screamed for someone named Robert, and I shivered, because that's my name.

I threw the broom angrily over the counter into my cubical and strode over to the three of them. The fat redhead had given up straining her legs and had seated herself on the floor. She was holding one of the junkie's hands and looking helpless.

"Robert! Oh, God, Robert! No--I don't want--please, let's goooo! Rah-ber!"

"Shut up!" I grabbed her shoulder and shook her roughly. "There's sick people here. Keep your stupid mouth shut, Barbara." I switched my glare to the tall black woman, who looked a bit more responsible than the fat one. "You keep her still or out she goes."

She looked at me stubbornly. "You can't throw her out. Addicts get free treatment. She's no criminal."

Despite myself, I glanced at the junkie's pale, tear-reddened face. She looked up at me, her breath catching in her throat as she tried to stop crying. "Wh-why did you c-call me Barbara?"

My heart thudded suddenly, powerfully. "Like hell I did. Keep your damned mouth shut, will you?" But my heart wasn't in it. I looked uncertainly at the black woman, who wore a frown. Stifling my temper, I stalked back to my cubical behind the admissions counter. The junkie's shoulders were heaving as she sobbed silently into her own palms. I remembered the statistics; they said that ten million Americans were secretly addicted, and twenty million more had been cured. Most of them were high school and college kids.

Valdez strolled over a couple of minutes later, a toothpick rolling around in his mouth. Even in street clothes he looked mean; the uniform and weapons at his belt added enough to make him downright frightening.

"You uptight tonight." It was a statement, not a question.

I shrugged. "I hate junkies, that's all."

He pulled the toothpick out of his mouth with one hand and smiled, showing the big gap in his upper teeth. "You don't remember REAL junkies, man." He pointed to the inside of his left arm. "Needle holes, all over. Took years to cure, sometime

I snorted, "That was just heroin. Artificial. Nobody's got any problems with heroin. They figured out what made people take it, and that was it. Anti-heroin in the water, right?"

He shook his head. "You don't know, man. You never saw babes hustling on street corners to pay the pusher."

I twisted my lips. "Bull, Valdez. You always tell me how tough it was in the old days."

His eyes narrowed and he pushed his face closer to mine. I saw a small bit of wood from the toothpick stuck between two lower teeth. "You been to college, man, but you not so streetwise."

"Sure, Valdez, tell me about getting an education in the gutter, O.K.?" I tried to turn away, but he grabbed my arm.

His breath was hot in my face. "You were junkie, little Roberto."

My mouth dropped open. "What in hell are you--"

"I am right, heh? I see it the first day you work here. Some dude come in with glass all through his face, or burned, you O.K. But ugly chick with The Habit you get mean." He paused. "You call her Barbara." He jerked his head at the addict, now with her face buried in the redhead's shoulder.

He was interrupted by a set of accident victims coming in, including a windshield case. We were pretty busy for a few minutes, and by the time the doctors and nurses had carted them all off the addict was gone, too. Her two friends sat side by side, looking exhausted, the redhead smoking. She must have been taken off to a treatment room for her shot.

I remembered mine. I remembered the whole thing, beginning to end. How great it had felt at first, a completely new high. Better than alcohol, better than marijuana. Some people tried to have long, serious talks with me, giving out stern warnings about what had happened to a friend of a cousin. It was all bull, like that dippy required course in high school that taught you that pot turned you into a raving animal. It got a more and more powerful hold on me, though, as time went on. I was affected all the time--in classes, while studying, watching a ballgame--it was always there. I was happy, but it was kind of a crazy happy, if you know what I mean.

It got really bad after a while. I walked around with a spaced-out look on my face all the time. I couldn't think about anything else. That was when I had to drop out of school. When Barbara got cured, I came close to suicide. Finally, I confessed to my mother that I was an addict. She was surprisingly gentle with me, I remembered, all the way to the hospital to get my shot. It was the law, after all, federal law, the Fallwell-Helms Act. It even got read to us every Sunday at the First C.-of-U.S. two blocks from our house by Rev. Taylor, right at the end of the government-approved sermon. It was clearly against the law of both God and man to voluntarily remain addicted. Clearly.

The shot was quick. It didn't even hurt. Within an hour I was no longer a junkie, free of The Habit, at least until next time I got a whiff of the wrong pheromones.

Valdez leaned against the counter, eyeing a teenage girl who had come in with a chest-pains case. "You know what they used to call it, The Habit? Before they knew it was addiction?"

I gulped. "Like you said, amigo, I've been to college."

He smirked. "Being in love, they called it. Love, heh? You remember that, heh?"

"None of your damned business, Valdez."

"I remember. I remember, Roberto. Even if you don't, I remember enough for both of us." He turned and looked into my eyes. "I can't touch the stuff, now, man. One sniff--"

The junkie walked slowly through the door that led from the treatment rooms. There was a red spot on the upper part of her left arm where the injection had gone on. I watched her walk over to her friends. One of them helped her on with her coat.

I pushed quickly through the waist-high gate beside me and into the waiting room proper, striding past Valdez to her side. She looked up as I approached. Her eyes were dry, and a warm brown.

"I wanted to apologize to you for losing my cool back there, Miss. It's been a long night for us here--"

She smiled, a bit tired but genuine. "I understand. My name is Laura."

I stumbled for a moment. "Mine is Robert."

She smiled again. "That's funny. I have a friend named Robert." She pawed through her purse briefly, then spoke to the redhead. "Claire, you got any cigarettes?"

The doors swung open as she left, snow blowing into the hot room. She was cured, all right.

*Ann Deagon*

Like the new journalism and the new science--in which reporter and experimenter confess that their participation alters the event which they report--whatever scholarship I practice is the new scholarship. I was educated in a tradition in which scholars supported each new insight by the claim that any rational person with the evidence at hand would be compelled to reach the same conclusion. My claim is that likely no one else reading Sappho would come to my particular conclusions--which is precisely what compels me to share my idiosyncratic perceptions. If I thought any one else could see what I see or say what I say, I'd keep my mouth shut.

In a more general way, the great Wilamowitz-Moellendorff felt the same, and I'd like to open with his words:

The tradition yields us only ruins. The more closely we test and examine them, the more clearly we see how ruinous they are; and out of ruins no whole can be built. The tradition is dead; our task is to revivify life that has passed away. We know that ghosts cannot speak until they have drunk blood; and the spirits which we evoke demand the blood of our hearts. We give it to them gladly; but if they then abide our question, something from us has entered into them.

In the new scholarship, the point at which the question poses itself and the process through which the inquiry passes are recognized as vital shapers of the results, and instead of being discarded with the rough draft become the natural preface to the argument. Clearly my whole life and thought lead me to this question--a woman, a classicist, a poet, how could I avoid wondering how these strands are woven in Sappho that I find rewoven in myself? But questions have their own life story, and the questions about Sappho have shifted almost as wildly as the answers, across the centuries. One of the prime ones, of course, has been: Was she Lesbian? The early church was clear enough in its conclusion, as it burned her books--being unable to locate the lady herself.

As recently as 1963, however, in a supposedly scholarly book on Sappho and her Influence, David Robinson asserts her "moral purity"--by which he means her heterosexuality, or rather simply her lack of homosexuality. This passage is also worth citing, for what it reveals about the dangers of the critic who projects his own values onto a writer from another era:

It would be practically impossible for a bad woman to subject her expressions to the marvellous niceties of rhythm, accent, and meaning which Sappho everywhere exhibits....A bad woman as well as a pure woman might love roses, but a bad woman does not love the small and hidden wild flowers of the field, the dainty anthrisc and the clover, as Sappho did. (p. 44)

One of the things that drew me toward a study of Sappho, then, was the astounding illogic of commentators who concluded either that she was clearly Lesbian and therefore her poetry could not be worth cherishing--or that because her poetry was clearly worth cherishing, she could not have been Lesbian. She was, after all, the most famous native of Lesbos, and it was from her that the term Lesbian took on its conventional meaning--she was "The Lesbian" par excellence. And in several famous epigrams she is referred to as the Tenth member of the Muses. A Poet and a Lesbian both, for sure.

But was Sappho a Lesbian as I had felt myself to be in my teens--a solitary doomed masculine spirit in a woman's body, enthralled by the beauty of young women and

unting them down--at least in imagination--like any Don Juan, to devour for my pleasure? Sappho's poems were nothing like that. And my own poems, once I began to write them, had little in common with hers--were in fact much more like my Latin Catullus, who did from time to time imitate her, but usually with a harsh and brutal twist. It was, in short, my differences with Sappho that I found alluring.

When I began teaching classical literature in translation with a special focus, calling it "The Image and Experience of Women in the Classical World," I matched the poems of Sappho with the poems of her earlier contemporary the mercenary fighter/poet Archilochus, in the attempt to discover whether we could define a "feminine consciousness" in her work. Creating such categories may well remove us from the individuality of a poet, but it may also reveal to us unrealized facets of the work. I was startled by both the differences and the similarities in the two poets. At the same time I had been studying the Fifth Century in terms of its conflicts, especially as they are embodied in the structure of Aeschylus' Eumenides and Euripides' Bacchae. The conflict between male and female, the masculine and feminine modes, was another trail that led me back to Sappho.

The Eumenides is the last play of Aeschylus' Oresteia trilogy. In the first play a woman, Clytemnestra, kills her husband, Agamemnon, and his concubine, Cassandra. In the second play the son, Orestes, kills his mother and her concubine, Aegisthus. In the third, Orestes, pursued by the Furies, flees to Athens, where he is tried before the newly instituted Court of the Areopagus, with the Furies as prosecutors, Apollo as defense attorney, Athena as presiding judge, and citizens of Athens as the jury. The whole trilogy has the structure of strophe, antistrophe, and ode: the final play brings all opposing forces into confrontation, out of which harmony finally is constructed. Apollo and the Furies provide a paradigm of the masculine-feminine polarities of the play--and of Greek culture. As I go down the list of specific oppositions embodied in the play, let us think of Sappho: what aspects of the feminine does her work embody?

Apollo represents light, the Furies darkness (yet Sappho's poetry is brilliant-ly lighted, though focused on loss); he is reason, they are passion (here Sappho fits the feminine side clearly); he represents the city, the state, they the country, the family (Sappho seems to be located in the suburbs, and the group gathered around her is linked not by blood but by passion); Apollo stands for law, the Furies for custom. Sappho's poems reflect a delight in ritual and in the graceful repetition of daily acts; he is the modern, they the ancient (we notice how many of her poems enshrine the past).

These aspects of the masculine and feminine are well enough defined. There are three others that I would like to look at in more detail, though, since they seem to me to be even more crucial to Sappho's life as seen in her poems.

One is the opposition between the single male and the group of women. The Furies are of course only one of a great number of female groups found in Greek mythology. We are familiar with the nine Muses, the three Graces, the three Fates, the Gorgons, the Harpies, the Sirens (among the more dangerous of these groups), the seven Pleiades and Niobids, the fifty Danaids, and the larger beavies of Dryads, Naiads, Oreads, Nereids, and Oceanids which haunt the lands and waters of Greece. And we would be hard put to name any comparable number of male groups, though the Seven against Thebes come to mind, as well as the Satyrs, Centaurs, and sometimes Tritons. Sappho refers often in the surviving fragments to the Muses (3 times), the Graces (4 times), and the Nereids (3 times). More significant are the groups of loving women she shows us from her own life.

The other opposition between masculine and feminine which I find significant in regard to Sappho's world-view is less easy to specify, and I arrived at it as a result of not knowing what to do about the seeming opposites birth-and-death and past-and-future. It seemed to me that both birth and death belong with the female, with life as the masculine opposite. In the same way, as the present is masculine, both past and future are in the female column. It is the cycle of birth-death and the cycle of past-future that the female presides over.

At this point, I'd like to bring several of the poems themselves into our consciousness. I want to read four or five of the longer poems that survive--though some of these are probably not complete--and then draw from them their common

characteristics. For the most part I will use Willis Barnstone's translations, as they stay rather close to the actual Greek wording.

I'll begin with one in which the male-female opposition is clearly a part of the poem's concept and structure:

Some say cavalry and others claim  
infantry or a fleet of long oars  
is the supreme sight on the black earth.

I say it is  
the one you love, and easily proved.  
Did not Helen, who was queen of mortal  
beauty, choose as first among mankind  
the very scourge  
of Trojan honor? Haunted by love  
she forgot kinsmen, her own dear child,  
and wandered off to a remote country.

Weak and fitful  
woman bending before any man!  
So Anaktoria, although you are  
far, do not forget your loving friends.

And I for one  
would rather listen to your soft step  
and see your radiant face--than watch  
all the dazzling chariots and armored  
hoplites of Lydia.

The opposition between war and love is very clear here, but notice that it is not an opposition between activity and passivity--Helen, in the myth at the center of the poem, although described as bending before any man, pursues her love into a far country. More about that later.

The next poem is the clearest example, I think, of Sappho's method of presenting her material and emotional world. As I read it, try to make yourself into a camera, try to see what is being described, and be aware how the camera angle shifts from moment to moment, both spatially and geographically, and in time through flash-backs.

My Atthis, although our dear Anaktoria  
lives in distant Sardis,  
she thinks of us constantly, and  
of the life we shared in days when for her  
you were a splendid goddess,  
and your singing gave her deep joy.  
Now she shines among Lydian women as  
when the red-fingered moon  
rises after sunset, erasing  
stars around her, and pouring  
light equally across the salt sea  
and over densely flowered fields;  
and lucent dew spreads on the earth to quicken  
roses and fragile thyme  
and the sweet-blooming honey-lotus.  
Now while our darling wanders  
she remembers lovely Atthis' love,  
and longing sinks deep in her breast.  
She cries loudly for us to come! We hear  
for the night's many tongues  
carry her cry across the sea.

The poem begins on Lesbos in the present, shifts to the mind of Anaktoria in Sardis, who is remembering the past on Lesbos, returns to the present in Sardis, rises to the moon and falls with its light, flowing across the water back to Lesbos, and focuses down on specific drops of dew on flowers there, then shifts back to Anaktoria in the fields outside Sardis, enters briefly her thoughts of the past on Lesbos, and follows her cry back across the sea to Lesbos. This rapid intertwining of past and

resent, far and near, vast scene and close-up is typical of Sappho's poetic method--and think of her consciousness. It strikes me as cyclic and feminine here--but we need to remember that Homer is certainly capable of such shifts--from the battlefield back to Olympus, with homey similes thrown in. Perhaps what we have here is simply the poetic consciousness, not necessarily the feminine consciousness. There is also the possibility that the poetic consciousness is feminine--or at least androgynous.

But let's hear another poem, again involving Atthis.

So I shall never see Atthis again,  
and really I long to be dead,  
although she too cried bitterly  
when she left, and she said to me,  
"Ah, what a nightmare we've suffered.  
Sappho, I swear I go unwillingly."  
And I answered, "Go, and be happy.  
But remember me, for surely you  
know how I worshipped you. If not,  
then I want to remind you of all  
the exquisite days we two shared;  
how when near me you would adorn  
your hanging locks with violets and  
tiny roses and your sapling throat  
with necklets of a hundred blossoms;  
how your young flesh was rich with kingly  
myrrh as you leaned near my breast on  
the soft couch where delicate girls  
served us all an Ionian could desire;  
how we went to every hill, brook,  
and holy place, and when early spring  
filled the woods with noises of birds  
and a choir of nightengales--we two  
in solitude were wandering there."

Again we notice how time encircles the speakers: Sappho begins musing to herself, goes back to the parting interview with Atthis, in which Sappho had urged her to remember the earlier past. I feel sure that if we had the final lines of the poem, it would return to the present. The richness of sensory impressions in this poem is outstanding--not just sights and sounds but odors and textures and tastes. This too is typical of Sappho's work.

Now let's hear one more poem in which we see Atthis and Sappho herself through Atthis's eyes.

In your own words, Atthis, you said  
"Sappho, if you do not come out,  
I swear, I will love you no more.  
O rise and free your lovely strength  
from the bed and shine upon us.  
Lift off your Chian nightgown, and  
like a pure lily by a spring,  
bathe in the water. Our Kleis  
will bring a saffron blouse and violet  
tunic from your chest. We will place  
a clean mantle on you, and crown  
your hair with flowers. So come, darling,  
with your beauty that maddens us,  
and you, Praxinoa, roast the nuts  
for our breakfast. One of the gods  
is good to us, for on this day  
Sappho, most beautiful of women,  
will come with us to the white city  
of Mitilene, like a mother  
among her daughters." Dearest Atthis,  
can you now forget all those days?

In this poem too the idyllic past is framed in the present loss, and the scene at the heart of the poem shows us Sappho herself surrounded by her younger lovers, herself the embodiment of beauty. Kleis, Praxinoa, and Atthis are named, as in other poems Atthis, Anactoria, and "delicate serving girls." If there is a feminine image of love, it seems to involve not a single wooer and beloved, but a group of intimates, all of them partaking of the ideal.

It still might be asked whether this ideal involves physical passion, or whether it is limited to the aesthetic. Some papyrus fragments found in Egypt a few years ago are said to contain certain words that refer to sexual instruments used by women to supply the lack of men. I can't judge the accuracy of this account. The sensuousness of descriptions in some of the poems already read seems clear enough evidence to me, but one other poem--Sappho's most famous, as a result of translations of it by Cattullus and many other writers--reveals Sappho's physiological awareness to an extent I find convincing. (I will translate this one myself so as to stay as close as possible to the actual words in Greek.)

He appears to me equal to the gods,  
that man who sits opposite you  
and listens close to you  
speaking sweetness  
and laughing charm--which makes  
my heart in my chest flutter;  
for when I look at you, nothing  
of my voice comes any longer,  
but my tongue is broken, and instantly  
a delicate fire has run under my skin,  
my eyes have no more vision,  
my ears are roaring,  
the sweat pours down me, trembling  
seizes my whole body, I am paler than  
grass. I appear almost to die...

Longinus in his treatise On the Sublime comments appropriately on this passage: "Sappho always expresses the emotions proper to love-madness (erotic mania, in Greek) by means of its actual and visible concomitants." (10) I would go a little further and suggest that the particular combination of physiological changes in this poem, while perhaps typical of any situation of stress, is very close to a clinical description of female orgasm. The thin fire that runs under the skin is perhaps the most telling detail.

The imagery of orgasm, swooning, and death is to be found in love poetry of all ages, and male writers use it as well as female. Yet I believe a good case can be made that Sappho's eroticism (I prefer this to erotic mania) is specifically feminine--even specifically Lesbian--in most of its imagery. Since the objects of her passion are women, it goes without saying that the images of beauty--the rose, the violet, the apple, the honey-lotus, the moon--are those appropriate to female anatomy. If we all knew Greek, I would be able to show you how pervasive in her poems are images of fluttering, quivering, rather than images of entering or penetrating. For example, these fragments:

And by the cool waterside  
the breeze rustles amid the apple branches  
and the quivering leaves shed lethargy....(4)

My desire flutters about the beautiful girl;  
her gown itself makes me shiver seeing it,  
and I am glad....(45)

There are two particular groups of words that show up over and over in the fragments, which seem to me to give them a particularly delicate and feminine texture. One is those words of fluttering, showing combinations of p and t: ptooeo (flutter, excite, scare); petomai (fly); pterux (feather); potaomai (flutter, hover); pipto (fall); and pothos (desire). The other is a similar group--some related by derivation, others not--based on the letters m and n, words that invite an association with mama: maia (a term of address, "good mother"); maieumai (midwife); mainas (maenad, madwoman); mainomai (to be mad); maiomai (to desire); maimao (to quiver with eagerness);

arious words with the stem mnamo- meaning to remember.

Let me stop here and summarize the qualities of Sappho's poetry which seem to me particularly feminine or specifically Lesbian (apart from the frankly stated subject matter of women loving women): the presence--or the regretted loss--of a group of women living together intimately, all characterized by beauty and artistic skills; highly sensuous settings, outdoors involving flowers and fruits and murmuring streams, indoors involving cushions and perfumes and garlands and delicate foods; a diction which in word associations that group together madness, memory, longing, mothering, quivering and fluttering.

Earlier I referred to my study of Euripides' Bacchae, in which the conflict between masculine and feminine modes of being underlies the whole dramatic action. The play pits the typical Greek male leader, Pentheus, king of Thebes, against his cousin, the young god Dionysus, who has invaded Thebes with his band of ecstatic Asian women worshippers, and being rejected has driven the women of Thebes in madness out onto the mountainside. The typical contrasts are again embodied in the play's structure: Greece against Asia, city against the wild, the female band against the male king, ecstasy against law and order. Is Sappho's band of women Bacchic in inspiration?

I think not. The Bacchic group is a group of the whole--all the women of the city caught up in a Dionysiac frenzy; Sappho's group is a group of choice, and though both experience ecstatic union, Sappho's union is with the chosen individuals--this, Anactoria--not the random female crowd. Both groups dance, especially in religious rituals, but the music of the Bacchantes is flutes and drums (tweeters and oofers), the wild barbaric music of the mountainside; Sappho's music is the regular cadence of the lyre--Apollo's instrument. Both groups partake of natural foods--milk and honey--and wine; but while the Bacchae are clothed in fawn skins and belted with snakes, Sappho and her friends wear the finest imported fabrics. In place of the ivy garlands and the Maenad's staff, the thyrsus, Sappho's troupe weave garlands of delicate flowers. The culmination of the Bacchic rite is the omophagia or eating raw of the prey dismembered in the name of Dionysus. What is the culmination of Sappho's rite? She does not in the surviving fragments give it a name or describe it, but it takes place on a soft couch, not on the rocky mountainside.

I have a theory that the Bacchae represent a return to the primitive undifferentiated state of the hunter-gatherer society (I suspect the thyrsus is a digging-stick, not just a phallic symbol). Sappho, however, represents the height of the cultivated, sophisticated life-style of Ionia, of Lesbos in particular. There are parallels, but they exhibit strong contrasts. Sappho is not a throwback to the primitive.

For a long time I thought her unique, outside all tradition, but then I noticed a translation of a passage in Homer which sounded so much like Sappho I rushed to find the Greek. The wording was entirely different, but the substance was the same. Penelope has just been informed by her herald that the suitors plan to kill Odysseus on his way back to Ithaca after seeking news of his father:

So he spoke, and her knees were loosened where she sat, and her heart melted. Long time she was speechless, and both her eyes were filled with tears, and the flow of her voice was checked.... And down upon the threshold of her fair-wrought chamber she sank, moaning piteously, and round about her wailed her handmaids, even all that were in the house, both young and old.

(Od. IV.703-5, 718-20)

Penelope's swoon is the result of anxiety, not passion, but it's noticeable that she too is surrounded by her own group of women, inferiors though they are. What might can Penelope throw on Sappho? Much has been said about the Homeric ideal, aretē, usually translated as "excellence." In the male, it tends to be twofold: prowess on the battlefield, and skill in council; physical and mental prowess, both aimed at the acquisition of honor, measured in terms of power, possessions, and reputation. The swift-footed Achilles excelled in the body, many-minded Odysseus in the mind--but the

ideal was the combination of the two. Does this concept of arete apply to women in Homer?

In Book One of the Iliad Agamemnon refuses to part with the daughter of a Trojan priest awarded to him by the army. He states to her father:

The girl I will not give back; sooner will old age  
come upon her/ in my own house, in Argos, far from  
her own land, going/up and down by the loom and  
being in my bed as my companion. (Il. I.29-31)

Later, when he realizes he must give her back, he says:  
Indeed I wish greatly to have her/ in my own  
house; since I like her better than Klytaimnestra/  
my own wife, for in truth she is in no way  
inferior,/ neither in build nor stature nor wit,  
nor in accomplishment. (Il.I.112-115)

This is a pretty clear statement of the arete of woman, which expresses itself, like the male's, in two areas: one is beauty, which makes a woman useful for men's sexual pleasure; the other is wit and accomplishment, which are conventionally referred to women's daily task of weaving. Penelope is the highest example of the combination of these two aspects of female arete. She is beautiful and desirable, as Odysseus' unflagging love and the suitor's pursuit of her testify. Her household skills are a notable part of the plot, as she has put off the suitors for ten years by weaving a shroud for her father-in-law and then unweaving it secretly at night. Her intelligence and wit appear throughout the book.

Does this double ideal illuminate the life of Sappho? Beauty is everywhere in her work, and we should remember the poem I read earlier, where Helen is enshrined in the poem's center, as in other poems we find those other lost beauties Atthis and Anactoria. The ideal of female beauty is certainly one Sappho shares with Homer. But what of the household ideal? Although we have charming pictures of Praxinoa roasting nuts for breakfast and various scenes of eating or drinking, the delicate cloths in which Sappho and her friends are clad do not seem to have been woven by their hands. Yet they are weaving--two things: garlands of flowers to adorn their beloveds, and songs. The poems themselves are Sappho's handiwork: her craft is not weaving or stitchery but poetic composition. The lyre is her loom.

What Sappho did, I believe, was to transform the Homeric arete of women--what men wanted women to be, for the benefit of a highly masculine society--into a new vision of what women wanted to be for themselves, among themselves, for each other. Beauty remains, but it is the prize women may win from each other or share with each other--at least until that day when the bridegroom carries the bride away from her girlhood companions. And craft becomes not the numbing household task but the creation of lyrics in which that free companionship of women is lifted into the realm of art.

*Donald Millholland*

"Quietism" is a term that has often been applied to the beliefs and practices of Eighteenth Century Friends. This was the term used by Rufus Jones to describe this period in The Later Periods of Quakerism and Howard Brinton in Friends for Three Hundred Years. Jones believed that "nowhere else was Quietism so completely absorbed and carried on in all its essential features as in English and American Quakerism from 1725-1825."<sup>1</sup> Brinton stated that "This second period is referred to by all modern historians of Quakerism as the period of Quietism."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless Jones is careful to point out that the Quietism of Quakers was "not an exact copy of the Quietism of the continental experts."<sup>3</sup> Brinton believed the Quietism of Friends "is not always correctly interpreted."<sup>4</sup>

It is important to clear up the meaning of Quietism to see if it accurately describes Eighteenth Century Friends. Since Quietism is a form of mysticism it is important to see the differences between Quietism and Christian Mysticism.

According to Evelyn Underhill Quietism is a "state of vacant placidity." It is "passivity in a literal sense."<sup>5</sup> This involves "the absence of initiative on the soul's part in any and every state." The Quietist holds the doctrine of the One Act. It taught that the turning of the Soul towards Reality, the merging of the will in God, which is the very heart of the mystic life, was One Act never to be repeated. This done one had nothing more to do but to rest in the Divine Life, be its resisting instrument."<sup>6</sup> How does this differ from mysticism? Mysticism has negation as a part of its way.

Rufus Jones defined Mysticism as that "type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of a relation with God on direct and intimate consciousness of the Divine Presence."<sup>7</sup> In order for a mystic to have this consciousness he must travel along "the mystic way." Evelyn Underhill described five basic steps in the Mystic Way: 1. Awakening the Self to consciousness of Divine Reality. 2. Purgation of the Self's attachment to worldly things. 3. Illumination brings a sense of the Divine Presence. 4. The death of the ego or the surrender of the Self. 5. Spiritual Union.<sup>8</sup> Rufus Jones' fifth Chapter in his book The Inner Life spoke of "The Way of Experience." He recognized these characteristics of the mystic way. He spoke of "purity of heart as a pre-condition of the mystical experience. This meant cleansing away of moral impurities, prejudices and harsh judgments. It meant sincerity of soul and an intense desire for God."<sup>9</sup> Jones emphasized silent meditation as a part of the mystic way. But Jones particularly emphasizes the group mysticism of Quakers which makes Quakers somewhat different from the mystics who practiced their mysticism in isolation.<sup>10</sup> Underhill particularly emphasizes that union with God results in greater activity in the world. She cites the lines of St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross, St. Catherine of Sienna as examples of those who after having achieved their mystic goal entered more fully into the work of the world helping the poor, the sick, or in reforming or reorganizing the church.<sup>11</sup>

The language of mystics is very personal. Union with God is described with analogies drawn from human marriages where egos are overcome to live in mutual commitment and mutual love.

There are many differences between Mysticism and Quietism. Quietists tend to stress the impersonal nature of God, the annihilation of the self and its will, and the failure to recognize the difference between God and man. Mystics speak of God in personal terms and of the transformation of the self, and of the difference between man and God. These are important differences.

Quietism first emerged as a problem in the time of John Ruysbroeck (1273-1381) a Flemish mystic, who was critical of a religious movement called the Brethren of the Free Spirit. According to Rufus Jones, this group practiced a negative form of mysticism. God, the Divine Reality, is reached by a process of negation. He is everything that finite things are not. He is absolute--but without any qualities or characteristics by which we can know him. He is an indeterminate absolute.<sup>12</sup>

Jones also stated that these people believed they had no will of their own. It was swallowed up in the Divine Will.

Ruysbroeck called them perverted men. First of all, he criticized their Quietism:

But now mark the way in which this natural rest is practiced. It is a sitting still without either outward or inward acts, in vacancy in order that rest may be found and remain untroubled.<sup>13</sup>

Ruysbroeck emphasized the need for self-purification and good works as a prelude to mystical contemplation. Like all mystics he emphasized the need to quiet down and turn away from the world. Catholic mystics call this the Prayer of Quiet.

...when a man is bare and imageless in his senses, and empty and idle in his higher powers he enters into rest through mere nature.<sup>14</sup>

But Ruysbroeck pointed out that one cannot long remain at rest because "the inward touch of God's grace will not be still." For him and others in the mystical tradition this quieting down is a prelude to being touched by the love of God which he calls "a loving self'mergence." It is this Divine love which preserves the mystical experience from being an impersonal one.

The Brethren of the Free Spirit claimed to have become one with God: And therefore they say that they are God-passive men, and that they do nothing of themselves, but that God works all their works and they say they can do no sin: for it is God who does all their works and in themselves they are empty of all things.<sup>15</sup>

These Brethren have a "resigned and humble appearance" and they "suffer with equanimity all that befalls them, for they hold themselves to be instruments with which God works according to his will." Now in many ways they often do good works but they do all things which they are inwardly urged to do, whether these be virtuous or not. They believe these urgings "proceed from the Holy Ghost." Ruysbroeck believed them perverted because he believed no mystic should behave this way, "for the Spirit of God neither wills, counsels nor works in any man things which are contrary to the teaching of Christ and Holy Christianity."<sup>16</sup>

Miguel de Molinos influenced the development of Quietism in Seventeenth Century Europe. He was born in Sargossa, Spain, in 1627. He became a priest and went to Rome in 1669. There he became popular as a confessor and leader of souls. He began to turn away from the formal aspects of religion to cultivate the inward spiritual meditation. In particular he was against confessionals and the sacrament of penance. Soon monks and nuns began giving up their rosaries and crucifixes for inner silent prayer. Molinos published his Spiritual Guide in 1685. This Guide was a mild form of Quietism. "By not speaking, not desiring, not thinking one arrives at the true and perfect Mystical Silence." One was not meant to love or desire God and achieve disinterestedness and annihilation of the Self. Then one knew the true love of God.<sup>17</sup>

It is believed that in his letters he went further. He was summoned before the Inquisition in 1685. Rumors were spread about immorality among his followers who, it was alleged, believed they were no longer responsible for their actions and thus they could commit no sins. If indeed actions that others considered sinful were ascribed to their behavior they would disavow any responsibility. No one knows how much responsibility Molinos had for this. His letters were confiscated. There is certainly no suggestion of excusing immorality in the Spiritual Guide. Condemned by the Inquisition in 1685 he recanted. It is believed that Mme. Guyon had read the Spiritual Guide. She was born in 1648. At the death of her husband she began an

odyssey through France with Father La Combe spreading the Quietism gospel. They were arrested in 1687. The following year she began a correspondence with Abbe Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambrai. He defended her to Bishop Bossuet. However, in 1695 he signed the thirty-four articles of Issy which condemned her teaching. He wrote his own explanation of the articles in order to show his compliance while at the same time reserving the most important aspects of mysticism. The articles condemned Quietism. They demanded that in any state of mystic contemplation there should be faith, hope and love, knowledge of God as Creator, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Holy indifference was condemned. One should desire one's salvation as something God wants for us. In response Fenelon agreed with the articles in principle but reserved the right to say that at the highest unitive state one did not think of all these things as one did going into this state or as one did going out of this state. Indeed he thought that that one experienced in the unitive state would make one a fervent believer in Catholic orthodoxy. He was particularly careful to show his moral concern and to assure everyone he did not countenance any immorality.<sup>18</sup> Madame Guyon's Short and Easy Method of Prayer was a simple description of the mystic way to union with God. In many ways it is no different from many writings of the Great Catholic Saints. She counsels prayer and meditation upon the Lord's Prayer. This helps those who meditate realize "God is within them."<sup>19</sup> She speaks of abandonment and putting ourselves at the divine disposal and "by attributing nothing that befalls us as a creature."<sup>20</sup> By this she meant that we must renounce all human desires. She said that to be truly converted a person must "avert wholly from the creature and turn wholly unto God."<sup>21</sup> She believed the true believer must "cease from self-action, that God himself may act alone."<sup>22</sup> In a "Prayer of Self-Annihilation" she said, "Thus doth the Soul ascend unto God, by giving up the Self to the destroying and annihilating power of Divine Love."<sup>23</sup> Repeatedly she speaks of God as "all" and we are "nothing."

The translator writes in his preface the following:

It must be confessed that there are some expressions which if not interpreted with caution may lead the reader astray from the true end of devotion to wander in the delusive paths of abstract contemplation and religious Quietism.<sup>24</sup>

He also cites a letter of Madame Guyon where she warned against misinterpreting her works in the direction of escapism and not discharging one's duties in life.<sup>25</sup> In various notes he warns of interpreting her as saying man is a mere machine and not a free agent God intended him to be.

It seems clear that Madame Guyon's language was sometimes extreme and invited misunderstanding. She appeared at times to claim no distinction between man and God in mystic devotion; she seemed to preach indifference not only to this world but the next one as well. God came close to becoming an undifferentiated nothing to her.

Madame Guyon and her friends were imprisoned and persecuted. It appears that this was primarily a result of the fear that her emphasis upon inwardness might lead people away from the outward observances of Catholic Christianity. Perhaps, as in Quysbroeck's time, there was a suspicion that there would be no outward control of religion and immorality could be justified. Then there was a hint of blasphemy in identifying oneself with the Divine. Many of these same charges were made of George Fox and early Friends.

Mystics are usually very different from one another in many respects; however, they all share in the general characteristics of mysticism. These include a withdrawal from the outward to the inward, purity and simplicity of life, contemplation, and return to work in the world.

George Fox and early Friends shared many of these characteristics. He called people away from the church, to a simple and silent worship, to purity and simplicity of life, and to work for the good in the world. Friends practiced a selective withdrawal from the world in order to find peace, and purity in their lives together but they also showed their concern for the poor, the imprisoned, the insane, and the enslaved. Fox fits the general characteristics of mysticism. His emphasis on group mysticism made him different from the classic mystics of the past, although there were groups which practiced many of these mystical characteristics which Rufus Jones described in his Studies in Mysticism.

Early Friends believed they were Spirit-led and did what they were moved to do so long as it was in keeping with basic Christian morality and in agreement with the faith and practice of the group. This gave the checks and balances which Quietism lacked.

George Fox was born in July of 1624 at Drayton-in-the-Clay in the Midlands of England. He was the son of Christopher and Mary Fox. His father was a weaver and a warden of the church. Mary Fox's ancestors had been persecuted for their protestant faith during the reign of Queen Mary. George Fox was, therefore, brought up knowing that he was of the stock of martyrs. His parents were known for their devoted support of the church of England. All people of England were required to attend church and pay for its support. There were many non-conformist sects who began to oppose these laws, but George Fox's parents remained loyal to their church. George was a serious young man and his relatives thought he might study for the ministry. He did not go to university but he was well enough educated at the village school. He read the Bible in English. He had a basic education in Christianity in the midst of a devout Christian family. Throughout his life he demonstrated his knowledge and familiarity with the Bible and basic Christian teaching.

The young George Fox was disturbed by the revelry and the extravagance of his time. He began to seek a deeper religious experience than he found in the church. He consulted many Christian ministers seeking a clearer definition of his faith. No one could help him. He returned home after receiving no comfort for this troubled spirit. He would not accompany his family to church. He took his Bible and sat alone under the trees. After the service George would discuss religion with the curate who would often use his ideas in sermons, a practice which did not please Fox. He must have shown signs of discontent with the church and the curate and other members of the church began to suspect him of non-conformist tendencies. They sensed his troubled spirit and tried in every way to cure him. Some tried to get him to let blood or take to tobacco or hymn singing, but George continued to wander about seeking true religious faith.

He found his faith not in the church with its priests and rituals, but alone in the fields with his Bible. There he discovered Christ within. After he had consulted so many people and finding none to help him, he knew that nothing outward could help him.

"Oh then, I heard a voice which said 'there is one even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition,' and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy."<sup>26</sup> What followed was a spiritual struggle to overcome sin and temptation. He saw how the seed of Cod was "oppressed in man and in me."<sup>27</sup>

Now he knows the meaning of the Christ within.

Therefore ye, who know the love of Cod, and the law of his spirit, and the freedom that is in Jesus Christ, stand fast in him in that divine faith which he is the author of in you, and be not entangled with the yoke of bondage. For the ministry of Christ Jesus and his teaching bringeth into liberty and freedom, but the ministry which is of man and by man and which stands in the will of man bringeth into bondage and under the shadow of death and darkness. And therefore none can be a minister of Christ Jesus but in the Eternal Spirit which was before the Scripture was given forth, for if they have not his spirit they are none of his. <sup>28</sup>

George Fox found the Spirit active within him and believed he had recovered the primitive Christian Faith of the earliest Christians before the formal church began. Here was his "good news" and he reports "I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to inward light, spirit and grace by which all might know their salvation."<sup>29</sup>

It was common practice for people to question the curate after a church service and Fox began by using these occasions to call people to leave the churches to find the inward light that would enable them to see their sinful lives and be sanctified. This message led him to get into trouble with the authorities. The law required citizens to attend the established church. He was quickly arrested.

When he appeared before magistrates he was asked if he was sanctified, i.e. without sin.

"I said, 'sanctified.' yes for I was in the paradise of Cod.

They said, 'Had I no sin?'

'Sin?' said I, 'Christ my saviour hath taken away my sin and in him is no sin.'"30

Fox was committed to prison and people came to see the wonder of this man who claimed he was without sin. Some thought he was mad, others called him a blasphemer. It only did he call people away from the churches but he claimed that the Spirit would lead them into a state of perfection. This appeared to mean that Fox claimed to be equal to Christ. He rejected all authorities--the law, the Scriptures, the sacraments, and respected only the light, the Spirit within. He was led by the Spirit.

Melvin Endy believes that a spiritualist movement can be identified in the period preceding Fox and this spiritualist atmosphere influenced the early Quakers. It is not readily apparent for instance that the apocalyptic spiritualists who gathered around George Fox, James Naylor, Richard Farnesworth and others in Interregnum England were in any way dependent for beliefs or inspiration on the Elizabethan Presbyterian movement of Thomas Cartwright."<sup>31</sup> There had been seekers before but those who withdrew from the churches to wait in silence in this period were different. In addition to their prominence, the waiting seekers seem also to have differed from their predecessors in their openness to spiritual religion."<sup>32</sup>

The first meetings of Friends were small silent meetings for worship in private homes, but there were also the great meetings where a thousand would come to listen to the preacher. From these meetings would come convinced Friends who would meet in silence. According to William Britten in 1660 the worship must first learn "to come into a pure silence in which activity both bodily and mental are stilled." Silent meetings were less common than those devoted to preaching. By 1678 Bristol Quakers recorded a minute that is a proposal to hold silent meetings after a lapse of twenty years.<sup>33</sup> It was the "common" or public preaching-meeting rather than the silent meeting which was typical of Quaker ministry. (1669-1738) Recorded ministers traveled from meeting to meeting and preached to them. From an informal meeting of equals, a gradually meeting for worship divided women from men and created a special bench for ministers to face the gathered.

Of course all Quaker meetings for worship had no sacraments, music or any of the outward forms of worship. Seventeenth century Friends were concerned to spread their message to the world and so favored the large public meetings. It was only after they lost their evangelistic fervor that all Quakers began to worship in silence.

While early Friends called people away from the ceremonies, sacraments, and people houses of the established church, they did not establish a definite ritual of their own until the eighteenth century. Theirs was a volatile growing movement characterized by its lack of doctrines and formality, and its emphasis on the spiritual not the letter. Group worship was essential, however, because it gave guidance to the worshiper and kept those moved in the Spirit in a kind of balance which was important.

It was clear that a silent meeting whose silence was broken only when one was truly moved by the Spirit to speak was the important meeting for those who were truly convinced, and this became as it developed, a kind of group mysticism. This is an important feature of Quaker worship which was established in the seventeenth century even if it was not always followed in light of the need for evangelistic "gatherings."

Many meetings were under immediate threat and when meeting houses were built they might be torn down. This made group meeting risky and no doubt made those who attended deeply aware of the crisis of their situation. It also meant that those who attended risked imprisonment and undoubtedly all those in attendance were devout. Their very attendance was a test of their deep faith.

During the Interregnum period when the Quaker movement began there was a tendency to go in for wild prophetic utterances and actions; later the meeting contained this wild spirit and channeled its enthusiasm into positive actions. The Meeting watched over the conduct of its members and formed committees to visit those who fell short of moral standards.

"In the early years of the eighteenth century, the visiting committees were gradually replaced by overseers to exercise pastoral care, especially in matters involving morals."<sup>34</sup> Queries, which were questions addressed to the members about their moral conduct, were used to find out the moral state of the meeting and the members who needed help were given it. Great care was taken to support the spiritual

and moral life of the members of the meeting. They ministered to one another constantly. The new person had a new community, a new identity and a new life surrounded by those who cared about his welfare.

Inspired by the spirit of Christ early Quakers had "openings" and "leadings" which were like intuitions as to ethical action. Some were led to parade naked through the streets as a sign. What checks did early Quakers have upon their behavior? First of all there was the influence of the group as a whole. There was also the need to be consistent with scripture, and in particular the spirit of God revealed in Jesus. George Fox had a fear of some who had too much imagination and when James Naylor marched into Bristol to the adulation of his followers who suggested he was the Second Coming, Fox condemned this as extreme behavior.

The early Quakers were persecuted for their supposed blasphemy, their threat to the primacy of the church, its sacraments, priests, and scriptures, and their refusal to swear oaths, to speak correctly to superiors or even to take off their hats as a sign of respect.

Another aspect of their thought which is significant is their emphasis upon the radical transformation of life, i.e. the struggle for sanctification. It is clear that the power to overcome sin is a gift from God, i.e. the activity of the Spirit. It is a work of the Lord and it leads to purity of heart and action, the victory over sin and total possession by the Spirit.

A victory over sin also implied a victory over physical suffering and surely George Fox is a testimony to the healing power of the Spirit. He endured prisons, beatings by mobs, many physical injuries and recovered from all to live a long and productive life. When others in the Quaker movement tried to heal, or in some cases to raise the dead, they were not successful. Yet as in all such reports it is obvious that in some cases faith can produce miracles, even if miracles as such are not proof of faith.

There were a number of groups waiting for leaders like the early Quakers. Their religion was a form of spirituality. They stressed the hope that God or Christ was within them and could become the subject of their lives. The early Quakers were concentrated upon the spirit and wanted to do away with anything that was not pure Spirit. All Quaker practices stress the downplaying of anything which is of the letter--plain livery, plain dress, plain speech, plain and simple meetings for worship, avoiding doctrines and all outward forms of religion. All of these practices were motivated by a concern for pure spirituality in all relationships and all worship. Nothing should detract from a life of the Spirit.

Rufus Jones stressed the spiritualism of the early Quaker movement. Subsequent Puritan scholars have seen the influence of Puritans upon Quakers but while the Quaker movement owes much to both, it is fair to say that it was itself a unique phenomenon and owes much to George Fox and his followers who had a unique vision and worked it out in an organized and distinctive way.

Quakers in the eighteenth century exhibited many peculiarities which led to their being called Quietists. They practiced selective withdrawal from the world. While they remained and even prospered in the world of trade and commerce they withdrew from many worldly activities and in particular refused to participate in war. Their simplicity of speech, dress and personal habits set them apart from others. In these ways they followed the first stages of the mystic way. Next, their silent worship was another stage, that of meditation. Some went even further in the negation of the ego. Especially gifted speakers broke the silence only when moved by the Spirit. Although there was no formal paid ministry, these designated ministers often traveled to many different meetings to share their gifts. At times, however, they remained silent in the silence of the meetings. They were said to possess great psychical powers which helped them discern the concerns of those they visited. The goal of this activity was to cultivate the interior life.

They followed the teaching of Madame Guyon about stillness and waiting to be used as an instrument of God. They often would not take any action unless the Spirit moved them to travel, to choose a room to sleep in, or to do any of life's daily tasks.<sup>35</sup>

The relation of the Society of Friends with French Quietism has been pointed out by an article by Dorothy G. Thorne and Russell Pope.<sup>36</sup> They discuss the writings

Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux who attacked protestants in a 1689 tract entitled Avertissements aux Protestants by charging that they base their faith on direct revelation instead of Scripture, and they fall into error if they do this--and this was particularly true of Quakers. He appeared to base his judgment on a reading of Barclay's Apology. While there is no evidence that Bossuet compared Quakers to Quietists, his translator did it for him in a tract published in London in 1698 entitled Quakerism la Mode or a History of Quietism particularly that of the Lord Archbishop of Cambray and Madame Guyon. English Quakers may well have learned of Madame Guyon at this time. In the eighteenth century they certainly knew of her, and accounts of her life appeared several times during that century.<sup>37</sup>

It is well documented that Eighteenth Century Friends found a kindred spirit in the works of Madame Guyon and this led J. Rendel Harris to claim in a lecture at Mowbray College in 1900 that she was the Society's "Mother in Grace."<sup>38</sup>

Barclay's Apology contains some evidence that might have been used by Bossuet and his translator to compare Quietists and Quakers. Barclay emphasized that one must withdraw from all of the active speculation and imagination of man's own mind.<sup>39</sup> Barclay further states that once he crucifies himself a new birth takes place as the little seed of righteousness which God has planted in his soul has a place to rise.<sup>40</sup> Barclay was not as extreme about self-annihilation as Madame Guyon although he did believe the purified man was ruled by God to whom he was wholly obedient. His beliefs state that while there was no natural light of conscience in all men, God had implanted in all men the divine seed through Christ even to the non-Christians who responded to the prompting of the Spirit.

This indicates that however it may have come to be, all men possess within themselves that of God which they must answer to. This gives all--even the non-Christians--dignity they would not have if they were viewed a totally devoid of redeeming grace. Barclay was closer to the mystics than to the Quietists.

John Woolman's Journal reflects his anti-slavery stand but it also reflects his religious experiences. He was well read in the Quaker literature as well as in the works of Jacob Boehme, Thomas A. Kempis, and William Law. There are passages in his Journal that are characteristic of the Mystic Way. One such passage touches upon the theme of mystic Death.

In a time of sickness, a little more than two years and a half ago, I was brought so near the gates of death that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy color between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be, and live, and that I was mixed with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard with my ears before; I believed it was the voice of an angel who spake to the other angels; the words were, 'John Woolman is dead.' I soon remembered that I was once John Woolman, and being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean. I believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy angel, but as yet it was a mystery to me.<sup>41</sup>

Mystic Death is the last step before the unitive state. Woolman finds unity with the mass of suffering humanity.

This is somewhat different from unity with God. Nevertheless, he feels led by God to do this.

My tongue was often so dry I could not speak til I had moved it about and gathered some moisture, and as I lay still for a time, at length I felt divine power prepare my mouth that I could speak, and then I said: 'I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live: yet not I but Christ that liveth within me, and the life I now live in the flesh is by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me'(Ga. 2.20). Then the mystery was opened and I perceived there was great joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented and that language John Woolman is dead meant no more than the death of my own will.<sup>42</sup>

The death of the will is a pre-condition of the life of Union with God but the crucial difference between it and Quietism is the literalness of the "Death of the Will." According to Evelyn Underhill "a new life is entered upon, new powers, new responsibilities are conferred. But this is not all. The three prime activities of the normal self--feeling, intellect, and will are really carried up to a higher term. They are unified it is true, but still present in their integrity."<sup>43</sup> In the basic mystic experience it is not that the will and the self is annihilated as in Quietism but transformed. The new self is not a machine which God uses but a renewed life service. Certainly this experience of Woolman's made him sensitive to moral concerns. His use of the Bible and the religious language he uses come from evangelical language. It is certainly Biblical. It is plain Woolman was not a Quietist but a mystic.

Rufus Jones considered himself a mystic and devoted much of his life to see the cause of mysticism triumph. He stresses the fact that his interest was in affirmative mysticism and not in negative mysticism.

The highways of the saint toward the ultimate goal are very various.

Sometimes in fact very often, it is a *via negativa*, but it may be, and sometimes unmistakably is, a way of affirmation.<sup>44</sup>

Jones understood negative mysticism as what I have already described as Quietism. Its aim is union with an undifferentiated impersonal Being and the elimination of the person.

But pushed to its limit this aim at self-naughting, at the elimination of the "I" and "me" and "my" at the elimination of being a separate self means, if it is taken seriously, that you cease to be a person at all and I assume that the major business we are here for in this world is to be a rightly fashioned person as an organ of the divine purpose.<sup>45</sup>

Jones found in Bible the source of affirmative mysticism. In particular he refers to St. Paul and St. John who preached "the divine yes."

The Divine Yes has at last sounded for in Christ is the yes of God.

II Cor. 1:26 Moffatt.<sup>46</sup>

Jones took the positive elements of Christian mysticism and fashioned a Quaker mysticism which he identified with early Friends as well as with other groups and individuals who preceded the emergence of Friends and foreshadowed their beliefs. At the end of the nineteenth century evangelical Christianity had nearly taken hold of the main structure of the Society of Friends and Jones and his English Friends notably John Wilhelm Rowntree saw the need for spiritual renewal. Emphasis had been too much on the external and not enough on the inner light. By advancing the cause of Christian mysticism Jones believed he could reintroduce Friends to what he considered was truly distinct about the Quaker Faith and also develop a spiritual religion which was more compatible with the modern world.

The latter half of the twentieth century has seen the rise of evangelical Christianity and once again there seems to be a need for renewed emphasis upon an inward personal spirituality which can relate to the problems of the modern world and which is not escapist as in Quietism or anti-modernist as in Evangelicalism.

Jones reminds us in all his writing about mystical experience that his images are drawn from the Bible and his experience is personal. He felt affirmed and transformed as a person and he affirms God as a person who is revealed in Christ and who loves mankind as parents love children.

What characterizes some forms of modern meditation is an absence of this imagery and therefore there is a tendency to fall into Quietism or "negative mysticism."

The images Christians have used to describe their relationship to God are based upon analogies drawn from human relationships. It is fundamentally a loving relationship and in any human relationship that is called a loving relationship there are many important aspects. There is care for one another, affirmation, forgiveness, a willingness to go as far as self-sacrifice if need be, honesty, and the ability to listen and understand one another and communicate this to one another. As a result analogies are drawn from husband and wife relationships and Father-Son relationships which suggest the intimate personal relationship which is characteristic of the Mystic's experience of the Love of God. In today's world where family structures have changed from what they were in Biblical times we should remember that the important thing is to emphasize the qualities present in all types of loving relationships.

Certainly most Christian mystics would admit that the relationship with God is only analogous to human relationships and certainly not exhausted in these analogies, however important these analogies are in helping them communicate the nature of their experience.

As I have pointed out it is love and the transformation of the self which characterizes Mysticism and not the annihilation of the self and the impersonal relationship with God that characterizes Quietism. Eighteenth century Friends came close to being Quietists but were saved from total surrender to it by their traditions and the nature of their organization and corporate experience. That Quaker experience in the Eighteenth century did have elements of Quietism in it, invited the Evangelical revival of men like Joseph John Gurney who felt that a return to Biblical Imagery was needed to correct the excesses of Quietist tendencies.

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SPORTS AT GUILFORD

Issue Editor: Richard L. Zweigenhaft

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## INTRODUCTION: SPORTS AT GUILFORD

Richard L. Zweigenhaft

In November, 1973, when I came to Guilford to interview for a position in the psychology department, a member of the history department asked me what "unusual" courses I'd like to teach in addition to the bread and butter courses that would be needed by the psychology department for its major. I told him that one of the courses I wanted to teach was on the "psychology of sports," and that I'd love to find a job at a school where faculty were encouraged to offer such non-traditional courses. Happily for me, Guilford was that school.

I have now taught changing versions of such a course a number of times (as the content and focus of the course has changed, so has the title; it has ranged from "The Psychology of Sports" to "The Social Psychology of Sports" to "Sport and Society" to "Sports in America"). Each time I have taught the course, I have invited Algie Newlin to come and talk to the class about the role of sports and exercise in his life. He always accepted graciously, and he always gave a detailed and thoughtful presentation that captivated my students. He would start by making some opening comments off the cuff, and then he would read from a written manuscript he had prepared (over the years, he kept revising it slightly). When he completed his presentation, he would field questions -- and there were always a lot of questions. Algie was 81 years old when he first visited my class in the fall of 1976. He was 89 at his last visit, in the spring of 1984.

On the assumption that Algie might not live forever, I made two requests of him (he agreed to both). The first was that he let me videotape one of his presentations. The second was that he provide me with the written draft of his talk, so I could arrange for it to be shared with others.

Algie Newlin's paper, which is the lead article in this issue, was the inspiration for this special issue of the Guilford Review. His paper reveals his love of sports and exercise, his commitment to maintaining a healthy body throughout his life, and his willingness to adapt to new circumstances.

The broad view of sports and exercise that Algie Newlin endorses in his article reminds us that athletic involvement on the Guilford College campus includes many athletes and a wide range of activities. It includes the hundreds of students who take courses in sports management and sports medicine, and the hundreds who participate in intramurals. It includes those who engage now and then in pick-up football games outside Milner, those who play hacky-sack outside Founders, and those who play ultimate frisbee outside New Garden. It includes the faculty who, at different times during the day, seem drawn to the field house as if they were magnetized and it were a giant magnet, to swim, to play tennis or racquetball, to run, to do aerobics, or to attend the noontime "committee meeting" in the old gym (still affectionately referred to by some as the "Cracker Box"). And, of course, it includes the varsity athletes, the most visible and publicized of those who

participate in sports at Guilford.

This special issue of the Guilford Review attempts to look at sports at Guilford in this broader sense. It is a sampling of sports at Guilford, past and present, drawing on a variety of perspectives, methods and styles. Some of the contributors to this volume have been involved in the college's intercollegiate athletic programs, some in intramurals, some in pick-up games, and some in solitary exercise. Some write about observing rather than participating in sports at Guilford, and one (Noboru Yoshimura, an exchange student in 1983-1984) is probably best described as a "participant observer."

As Algie Newlin, Wilt Browning and Herb Appenzeller all demonstrate in their articles in this volume, sports at Guilford have been thriving for many decades. Their articles also suggest that some things have changed dramatically, while others have not changed all that much. For many on campus, the completion of the new Ragan-Brown Field House in October, 1980, brought about a dramatic change in their experiences of sports at Guilford. Among other things, the field house, which includes a swimming pool, four racquetball courts, and space that is alternatively used for basketball, volleyball, tennis and aerobics has opened up new athletic possibilities for many people.

For those of us who have been walking over to the gym at about 11:55 a.m., three days a week for more than five years, the change seems to have been more profound -- indeed, there seems to have been a notable shift in the entire balance of the campus. Prior to the completion of the new field house, there was no center to the campus, though various clusters of faculty and students seemed to gravitate to such spots as the grill room, the steps of King Hall, the front porch of Mary Hobbs, and the reading room of the library. Now it seems that all paths lead to the field house (though some take those paths early in the morning, others around noon, and yet others in the afternoon and evening). The field house is not in the geographical center of the campus, but it has become central to the lives of many on the campus. Many members of the faculty see one another in only two locations: at the monthly faculty meetings in the Moon Room, and at the field house (as Claire Morse indicates in her article, much faculty business is discussed, and perhaps determined, on the way to, or in, the field house). Some of the articles in this issue suggest the changes brought about by the new field house.

I'd like to express appreciation to the following people who have helped enhance my experience of sports at Guilford: Dave Swens, who greets all visitors to the field house with graciousness, kindness, and a friendly smile; Joyce Clark, who oversees an ambitious intramural program despite limited resources, yet does so with consistent good spirits and good sense; Guilford's coaches, who, like coaches at many fine schools, are caught in the bind of equal commitments -- to fielding competitive teams and to placing academics above athletics; the plumber who stopped the leaking of the showers in the men's locker room after about 18 months (and who knows how many gallons) of continuous, dripping, sometimes gushing, wasted water; all of those who have participated in the Committee Meeting over the years; and those enduring spouses of

the regular participants in the Committee Meeting, who for years have found themselves listening to their husbands (and, in one case, wife) go on and on about the details of the games that noon, the previous Wednesday, or -- in the more encompassing analyses -- the previous few months or years.

I would also like to thank Cynthia Daniello for her help preparing the final manuscript.

This issue is dedicated to Algie Newlin  
Scholar and Athlete



## Algie Newlin

Travelling the road of life from childhood to old age is a continuous process of successive changes in physical structure and habits of life. Many, if not all, of these changes necessitate changes in life style and attitudes. In these transitions one may slip from one stage of life to another, almost oblivious of the changes being experienced, and the adjustments necessitated by the changes may come naturally and easily. Revolving against change and adjustment could be disastrous. It seems evident to me that one cannot completely isolate the changes resulting from physical development, or deterioration, as the case may be, from the changes taking place in the intellectual and spiritual components of one's being. But this discourse is directed mainly at physical history.

Changes force themselves upon us when we are compelled to give up some of our favorite activities. In college I was on the football, basketball and baseball teams. Since graduation I have lost what proficiency I had in these sports, and it is quite obvious to me that now or in the recent past I could not have participated in these if I had wanted to. Circumstances have caused me to eliminate these activities from my life style.

In my childhood and teenage years I rode horseback. Since my graduation from Guilford College, in different areas and circumstances, I have taken part in some sports which were new to me. I have engaged, sometimes briefly, in tennis, handball, ricket, swimming, canoeing, ice skating and skiing. I might have developed some proficiency in tennis and cricket if I had given them more time and effort. The cricket coach at Haverford College told me that I was developing into a good bowler, but some of the players thought that I violated some of the rules in delivery. I dropped cricket practice when the baseball season opened. I assisted the squad in batting and fielding practice. The only compliment I ever received for skating came from a five-year-old girl who was on the skating pond every day. She watched me gliding from foot to foot while struggling to stay aloft. She skated up beside me, looked up at me and said, "You skate well." He was giving me needed encouragement. All of these are in the past, my past, at least. I cannot participate in any of them except in a memory; but I have never allowed that to worry me. Time moves on and I must move with it.

I have always liked physical activities -- physical labor as well as team sports. I do not believe this is an innate quality.

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\*Algie Newlin wrote this article, at my request, from a written draft that he used when he spoke to a class that I have taught periodically on the psychology of sports. He had informed me, a few months before his death, that it was nearly complete. I would like to thank his son, Jim Newlin, for finding the manuscript in Algie's files, and giving it to me for use in this issue. (RZ)

I think it could have come from the life style of the family in which I spent my childhood and teenage years.

I was a member of a large family of children, reared on a farm in the southern part of Alamance County, North Carolina. All of us, boys and girls, our father and sometimes our mother, who liked to do "outside work," worked in the fields of corn, cotton and small grain, and we worked with the horses, mules, cattle, sheep and hogs which we had on the farm. There was something of a mystic nobility attached to our work. Or was it a sort of family work ethic? I remember the razzing which we gave to anyone who leaned upon his or her hoe handle, or rested in the shade at the end of the row.

I cannot say that the longevity which I am experiencing is due entirely to the physical exercises I have strung out along the course of my life, but I believe it is one of the important factors contributing to it. Recently I listened to a television program in which various practices affecting the length of life were discussed. One poll showed that people who take exercise moderately and regularly live longer than those who do not. This seems to corroborate the conjecture which I have made about the exercises I have practiced through my whole life.

Since I believe that my love for physical exercise, labor, and participation in sports grew out of the work-life I experienced in my childhood and teenage years, I wish to spend a little time describing the work experience of the members of our family. I was born on August 28, 1895. My birth was closer to the Civil War than we are to World War II. The economy of the South in the period from the Civil War through my childhood was the worst in its history. I was born the son of a tenant farmer. To some people that may attach a stigma to me and my family, and it may be for this reason that I wish to give a bit of the history of my family; to explain why my father and mother were tenant farmers at the time of my birth. When my father was five years old, he was subjected to a strange and traumatic experience. His slow-witted father agreed that the boy should go to his grandfather's to live with his grandparents until he reached the age of 21, or until he should get married. The agreement was made without consulting the boy or his mother. The grandfather agreed to give the boy a good-sized family farm when he reached the age of 21.

After giving 15 years of his life to his grandparents and to some of his uncles and aunts, my parents were married. The grandfather told them where to build their house, barn and other buildings, and that he would deed them a large tract of land in his will. Four years later the old man died; nothing was in his will about any division of his large land estate. In the division of the land by the heirs the tract of land that had been promised my father went to one of his uncles who refused to pay my father and my mother one dime for the buildings they had erected and for the land they had cleared for cultivation. My mother who at that time was 20 years old and with two children is said to have stamped her foot and said, "Jim, we will own a farm of our own some day." My parents had to start anew, this time in tenant farming, in their effort to earn enough money for a down payment on a farm. What they did not know is that it

uld take 17 years to accumulate enough for the down payment.

When I was four years old they acquired a farm of a little more than 200 acres. During the time the family was paying off the mortgage and building a new house suitable for the family needs and buying needed farm machinery, all of us were subjected to the discipline of a family work regime and a family economy which today would be considered severe. To us it was normal living. I always had plenty of wholesome food, nearly all produced on our farm, and we were as well dressed as any of the neighboring families. Nothing could be wasted, and every dime that could be saved was put aside for the payments on the mortgage. It was at this stage of the family history that I was given an introduction to the family labor system. I was the ninth in the family of 11 children. All of us who were old enough worked in the family labor team. The family objective was to pay off the debt and to maintain a good living for all the family.

My father was born four years before the outbreak of the Civil War and my mother was born during the first year of that conflict. Their school experience was in the immediate aftermath of that war, when public schools in their part of the South were practically non-existent. The school term in the subscription schools which they attended was seldom more than two or three months in the year. They were drilled in reading, writing and arithmetic, and they became proficient in these fields of learning. The rather rigid work experience which both of them had experienced through their teenage years had prepared them for the life they would live together.

Ours was never a one-crop farm. We raised on the farm as early as possible everything which the family would consume or use. Our work program would show that every member of the family would be employed the year round. Everyone was assigned tasks which fit his or her age, strength and skill. Girls worked in the fields along with the boys, with our father, and sometimes our mother. The chores around the house and barn, mornings, noon, and evenings were allotted to the members of the family as field work was.

This is enough to show that we felt that we were a team working for a common purpose. None of us ever received any monetary compensation for any of the work we performed. We felt that we were helping the family earn a living, and everyone seemed to want to play his or her role in the family objective. If ever there was any compulsion, any degree of regimentation, it was provided by the children, never by our parents. If one of us was seen leaning on the hoe handle or lingering in the shade at the end of the row, he or she was sure to be challenged with "Oldazy Lawrence will get you." I didn't know what it meant and don't know now, but it was effective as a stimulator to labor. A boy's work was from sunup to sundown, with an hour off for lunch. None of us ever revolted against this regime. Child labor laws were never heard of. This family effort paid off the mortgage on our plantation, built a new house, bought farm machinery, made some local investments and earned us a good living; we were proud of it.

From this family experience there must have been effects

which were good and lasting. Two of the children of our family died before my memory began. For the other nine children, a long life span seems to have been the norm. One sister died of cancer when she was 62. Of the remaining eight, seven of us have lived to be more than 80 years of age. One sister lived to be 95, one 92, one 88, and one 82. One brother lived to be 82, one 81. My youngest brother is now 78, and I am 89. Longevity is not a noticeable characteristic of the whole Newlin tribe. Something in our early life must have set the stage for the long life of so many of us. I think the physical regimen practiced by our family must have been an important part of it.

Teamwork seemed to come rather naturally to me in school and in college athletics. I believe the teamwork I experienced on our family farm prepared me for some of the experiences I had on athletic teams.

I began baseball as soon as I was able to throw a ball or swing a stick for a bat. My interest in baseball was evident in my eagerness to see my father play baseball. He was a member of the team of "outsiders," as we called them. The outsiders were playing the school team. The whole community was there to make a crowd of people along the baselines to first and third base. I climbed upon an upended block of wood to enable me to see over the heads of the grown-ups so I could watch my father at bat. I remember that he hit the ball over the center fielder's head -- what a thrill. Then some brat knocked the block from under me and I fell and broke my arm to end my first term in school.

In elementary school I played baseball, cat-paddle, town ball, ante-over, base, prison base, and basketball (played on a dirt court). All of these were running games. In high school, baseball was the only sport that I engaged in. It was played throughout the school year (we played even when snow was falling). During my three years in high school I played third base. Our little country high school (Sylvan, in the southern part of Alamance County, North Carolina), with barely enough boys enrolled in the school for a practice baseball game, won the state high school baseball championship two years in succession. At that time secondary schools had not been set off into classes; all high schools, large and small, competed for the same championship. The championship games were played on the baseball field of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. In one championship game we beat Rocky Mount High School and in the other, Raleigh High School. In the third year, Greensboro High School beat us in the game for the championship of the western part of North Carolina.

At Guilford College I played football, basketball and baseball. Football was begun at Guilford College in 1892 and was discontinued in 1905. I asked Dr. Wilson Hobbs, who had been one of the star football players in that first era of the game at Guilford, why football was dropped. His answer surprised me: "Why, Louis killed it." I told him I thought his brother Louis's main interest in college was athletics. He said that Louis loved baseball but he never liked football, so he talked it to death. It is hard for me to believe that was the sole cause of the game being dropped. Wilson and Louis were sons of Dr. Lyndon Hobbs,

resident of the college at that time.

At the beginning of my freshman year, in the fall of 1916, Bob Doak began his first year as the first full-time coach at Guilford College. "Coach Bob" coached football, basketball and baseball without any assistant. When there was a track team he coached it too. When football practice began, I did not go out for the squad. A day or two later Coach Doak came by my room to ask why I had not gone out for football practice. I told him that before coming to Guilford I had never even seen a football, to say nothing of having seen a game. He informed me that most of the men on the squad had never seen a football game before coming to Guilford. At that time only two or possibly three urban high schools in North Carolina had football teams. No rural high school in the state had one. I took to the game rather readily and began playing with the "scrubs" as we called the second team. The first game on the campus that year was the "scrubs" playing Winston-Salem High School. I was in the backfield and made the first touchdown in the game. Some 25 years later a sportswriter for the Greensboro Daily News reported that I made the first touchdown I ever saw. It was true, but no big deal.

In my four years of football at Guilford, we would often have less than enough players out for practice for a scrimmage game. We took very few men on the squad for games away from home. Few substitutions were made during games. Injuries or exhaustion were the main reasons for substitution. Separate teams for defense and offense had not been thought of. It was not unusual for a man to play the full 60 minutes of a game. This meant that players had to be in top physical condition.

About 15 years ago I was inducted into the NAIA Hall of Fame for my work in athletics, mainly my experience in football.

Perhaps basketball has changed more than any other sport since my undergraduate days. In that day play was resumed after each foul and each out-of-bounds. This is the main reason for the low scores in the basketball games of that day. In addition to the change in the tempo of the game, the height of players has stretched tremendously. We considered a six footer a very tall man; today he is almost a midget.

A flyer publicizing Homecoming Day for September 24, 1982, has as a picture of a practice basketball game in my freshman year, in the fall of 1916. I can identify six of the players on the floor. In addition to the players, the picture shows the interior of the college gymnasium, which we called "The Barn." It was a frame building with tongue and grooved siding for weatherboarding, with no ceiling. At each end of the gymnasium there was a balcony for spectators. The picture shows the balcony at the west end of the building, the entrance to the gymnasium, and the stairway leading to the balcony. The backboard for the goal was nailed to the low front wall of the balcony at each end of the gymnasium. This gymnasium was one of the first two at a college in North Carolina. It was built in the year 1895, and basketball was begun at Guilford in 1896. Smith Barrier's history of basketball in North Carolina indicates that the first intercollegiate basketball game played in North Carolina was played in this

gymnasium between Guilford and Wake Forest College.

I played three seasons. In my junior year I had a broken bone from the last football game of the previous football season and was unable to play basketball. In that year I was the manager of the basketball team.

In baseball I played four seasons at third base. In that day we were allowed to be away from campus for baseball games only one week during the season. During my freshman year, in the spring of 1917, we had the best pitching staff I ever saw on a college team, at least in that day: Clyde Finch, Tom Murchison and Tom Zachary. To me they seemed of about equal pitching ability. We claimed the state championship that year. In my sophomore year our week-long trip was to South Carolina. Finch and Murchison were not in college that year, and we made the trip to South Carolina with one good pitcher, Zachary; one moderately reliable pitcher, Dewey Kendall; and Elbert Fort, a second-team pitcher, who had never been in an intercollegiate game. We played six games in as many days: two with the University of South Carolina on Monday and Tuesday, one with Newberry College on Wednesday, two with Clemson College on Thursday and Friday, and one with Belmont College (in North Carolina) on Saturday. We won all these games. More startling than that, Tom Zachary pitched in five of the six games. He pitched two full games against the University of South Carolina, the last inning in the game with Newberry on Wednesday, all of the second game with Clemson on Friday, and the last four innings against Belmont on Saturday. One sports writer dubbed him the "Iron Man."

Between my graduation from Guilford in 1921 and the present day my participation in athletics seems rather strange and unplanned. After receiving my masters degree at Haverford College (near Philadelphia), I returned to North Carolina to teach at Burlington High School. There I coached football -- the first football team Burlington ever had -- and I coached baseball. The following summer I was at Columbia University. There, walking was my primary source of physical exercise. In the following year, 1923-1924, I was Professor of History and Political Science at Pacific College (now George Fox College) in Newberg, Oregon. I coached the basketball team, assisted with baseball, and played tennis from time to time. During the following summer I studied at the University of California at Berkeley, where walking was my primary exercise, but in the month of August I made a solitary trip from Berkeley to Guilford College in a 1919 model Ford roadster. This month of travel gave me all the exercise I could take.

That fall I began teaching at Guilford College. When I arrived on the campus, I was given the sad news that I was to be Dean of Men in addition to a full load of teaching in the Department of History and Political Science. A few weeks after the beginning of my first year at Guilford, the professor who was chairman of the athletic committee died, and I fell heir to his position as chairman of that committee. We had no athletic director, and I found the chairman's responsibilities rather heavy. I still had time for tennis for exercise. In the summer of 1925 I was at the University of Wisconsin. There I spent a considerable amount of

time on Lake Mendota, swimming and canoeing. In the summers of 1927 and 1928 I was a counselor in Camp Idlewild (for boys) on Lake Winnepesaukee in New Hampshire. There I had charge of 11 senior and middler baseball teams. For diversion I assisted the hiking counselor in keeping 15 or 20 boys together on eight-day hikes in the White Mountain region. On weekends I spent a good deal of time canoeing on the lake.

In the school year 1926-1927 I was in graduate school at Johns Hopkins University. Walking was my primary source of exercise. In 1929 I went to the University of Geneva, Switzerland, for a two-year stretch in graduate study. This was the first of my three sojourns in Geneva. The second was for 13 months to complete my work for my degree. The third was in early 1947 to late 1949 with our two children. My wife and I were co-directors of the Friends International Center in Geneva. During these sojourns in Switzerland my main source of exercise was my bicycle. During my first stay there I made an eight-day bicycle tour of a large area of that mountainous country. To most people, Switzerland is the last country to be chosen for cycling. I tried skiing, but with only limited success. More often I swam in Lake Geneva, in spite of the cold water. The greatest event of my life in Switzerland was when Eva Miles and I were married on July 23, 1930.

When Eva and I came back to Guilford College in 1931, keeping up our house and the grounds around it provided another source of exercise. It was a continuous job. In addition, I had a garden every year. The houses we lived in on the campus had fireplaces, and I cut all the wood that we burned. In 1951 we began building a house on a tract of land we had acquired adjacent to the east side of the college campus. Members of the family did as much of the work in the building process as we could. We did not contract the construction. This work filled my summers and vacations during several years.

I retired from teaching 19 years ago. In these retirement years I have tried to continue physical and mental exercises. I am fully convinced that a retired person should try to keep up these exercises as much as possible to avoid deterioration. Cutting wood, gardening, walking and yoga exercises were my means of physical exercise. Nearly five years ago Eva Newlin and I moved from the home we had built and lived in for 25 years to Friends Homes, a retirement center just across New Garden Road from King Hall on the college campus. One reason for the move is that it was becoming rather difficult for us to keep up the rather large house and the extensive grounds around it. During our first two years at Friends Homes I had a study on the second floor of the college library. I walked to and from my study, mornings, afternoons, and sometimes in the evenings after dinner. On each round trip I used the stairway to our seventh floor apartment, avoiding the elevator. This gave me sufficient exercise. After two years we moved to a three-room apartment on the fifth floor of Woolman Hall where I could have my study in the apartment. This reduced my physical exercise. I kept up my gardening and resorted to a modified version of yoga in our apartment. Now Eva and I are members of a class of Friends Homes residents for water

exercises in the Guilford College swimming pool. I find this a valuable experience.

I am also fully convinced that intellectual exercise by elderly people delays intellectual deterioration. I have kept active in my study, in research and writing. Since I retired from teaching I have had four little books published on biography and local history, and in that period I have written approximately 40 poems. Many projects (such as the writing of this article) have provided me with work which I cherish.

Henry Cadbury, one of the ablest Quakers I have known, was at Guilford College about the time of his ninetieth birthday. I knew that he had kept up his writing so I asked him what his main project was at that time. His reply, "My main project is working to stay alive." I suppose that has been my main project though I have not kept it consciously in mind. I am not sure I have always participated in sports primarily for the physical benefits. I have participated in them because I have loved sports. I tried cricket, handball, skiing and canoeing because they challenged me -- the novelty of some of them appealed to me and I wanted to show myself that I could do them. The reason for the efforts made no difference, for the physical benefits came to me just the same.

This may be enough to show that I have loved sports and physical labor and that physical exercise has been an essential part of my life.

Claire Morse

"Let's go, it's time for the Committee Meeting." The meeting is indicated on the Correspondence Center schedule forms for some of us, and the admonition might be heard Monday, Wednesday or Friday in several faculty offices. This committee meets more often than others -- and it is much more enjoyable, too. On our way over to the gym, Richie and I are as likely to be discussing teaching or Guilford business as anything else. We stop only on entering our separate locker rooms. As basketballs bounce on the wooden Alumni Gym floor, the noises of warming up are mixed with greetings, heckling and business. Not just any business, more Guilford College business. After all, lots of the players are Guilford faculty or staff. Others are current Guilford students, some are graduates. Yet others are members of the Y. This committee has met faithfully at noontime on Monday, Wednesday and Friday for the last eight years. Members may serve repeated terms, and several leaves of absence have been granted. Membership is open, requiring only that one enjoy playing basketball. Skills are desirable, but not mandatory. Student eligibility also is unlimited by years or academic standing. Attendance is not officially recorded, although infrequent attendance will almost certainly be noted, and heckling may result. Tardiness is often costly -- if there is not an odd number of players, or the game has already begun, the late player will probably have to wait to play. The character of this game might be captured by noting the number of players who do not know the score at any time, and by the perhaps even larger number who do not remember who won the previous meeting day (or perhaps even later that afternoon).

The scheduled meeting time is 12:00. Actually, we usually begin playing after 12:15. It is difficult to break up the business meetings going on during the warm-up period. It is far more arduous to make up teams. Although only a few players are willing to suggest teams, all have an interest in establishing the team membership. We play competitively, and evenly matched teams make the games more interesting. Moreover, there are some match-ups to be avoided as too likely to produce dispute. Friction between players diminishes the enjoyment -- and the playing time -- for everyone. Even though people are reluctant to suggest teams, if someone doesn't do so, most will urge that we get started. Someone, or several people, will eventually designate the "skins" and "shirts." In spite of numerous jokes and offers, I have always been a "shirt." There may be some joking remarks about unfair teams, but they never last long.

The unwritten rules of this game commit us to seeing that everyone who comes gets a chance to play. We will divide into two games rather than requiring that a group of players wait for winners of the first game. Our game has grown over the years so that having two games is not unusual now, and having available both the Alumni Gym court and a court in the new field house is a

wonderful luxury. This year we have frequently had enough for two full-court, four-on-four games, and even two five-on-five games -- 20 players -- a few times. These crowds represent steady growth from the days when three-on-three was the typical committee meeting.

I am fairly sure that my presence has raised a few (male) eyebrows. I am the only woman who has played regularly. Sometimes a woman student or a couple of women from the basketball team have joined our game, but this has been rare. And one noon we played against the Guilford women's team. Apparently Coach Currie wanted the women to see how aggressively the game can be played. Being the only woman has always been interesting. Initially I was quite nervous, both about how well I could play and whether the men would include me in the game when I was on the court. That feeling diminished as I had a few successful games, and I acquired a certain measure of longevity, not to mention seniority. (By now, at 42, I am one of the oldest players). I think that the men make some adjustments to the presence of a woman. For example, I think there is hesitation on the part of new players about what sort of language is acceptable in this game. Some players never seem to express emotional responses in "four letter words," and some men have apologized to me for their word choice; however, since I use some foul words myself, I think that at least frees most of the men from the injunction prohibiting cursing around women and permits a release of frustration with a loud expletive on the part of other players. I am also not the only one who groans or chides myself for a missed shot or poor play. I do shout in unhappiness more than most, and was warned before going to U Mass on a study leave three years ago not to do that there. I did, and again found that there were a few others who also did. But few.

Physical contact and fouling can lead to conflict in any pick-up game, and they sometimes do at the Committee Meeting. We each call fouls committed against us, and frequently we call those we commit on another player. I sometimes sense that my male opponents will call fouls against themselves when those infractions are committed on me which they would not call if their opponent were another male. And sometimes men apologize to me for incidental contact. But then, I apologize to them for the same sort of thing. Perhaps the reciprocity which I value -- I'll try to call my fouls fairly and I will expect you to do likewise -- is best established that way. It seems a generally shared attitude during our meetings. I do despise losing the ball to superior male upper body muscle strength, but it happens and seems inevitable. I do not mind being sent flying by some simple collision with a heavier player since I view that as part of playing the game, and have never sensed that any of the other players were malicious or intent on causing injury. Unaware of other players, perhaps, but not mean.

I'd like to know more about what the game has meant to other players. For me it has provided wonderful exercise with a group of people including some whom I would otherwise not know or spend time with. These men are comrades of a special sort, and our shared play can certainly lead me to respect and enjoy them from

the perspective of a woman who has been allowed to participate simply as another player in a game we all enjoy. The game has provided me the basis for further appreciation of several members of the Guilford College community who are fun to play ball with, and who bring basketball talents one might not have expected from seeing at other committee meetings together. The contact with students has also been of a special sort. Student players have been numerous over the years, if not quite as regular as others. The chance to play with or against a student who is or has been in one of my classes is a special opportunity to see him (rarely her) moving fast, shooting well, and beating a professor to a rebound. There is humbling, there is winning, there is joking. I've not sensed gloating or belittling. I know that students know about the noontime game, and they must therefore realize that a group of men and women, from high school to "middle age," can play decent basketball and take great delight in it. After all the faculty members of the Committee Meeting have always played better than 1500 ball in the intramural league.

The Committee Meeting continues, we welcome new players, and anticipate steady growth in numbers. Perhaps a new field house?

SIXTY-FOUR CAPRICES FOR A LONG-DISTANCE SWIMMER:  
NOTES ON SWIMMING IN THE COLLEGE POOL OVER FIVE YEARS  
AND HUNDREDS OF MILES

Janice Lynch

1. A friend asks why I swim. Why not a movie? A drink? Dinner? I answer that I swim for strength, for a rippling tricep and a dimple in my thigh. I hide the lie with a stroke: I swim for the silence of water.
2. An older woman stopped swimming and watched me. What a graceful stroke! What she loved, of course, was the mirrored beauty of her youth -- the forgotten pleasure of her toughened skin.
3. The water undulates like a womb I do not remember. My fingers poke through for life. The air is unfamiliar.
4. I tell a friend that life is water. With a pretended fluidity his heart mimics the ocean -- but he cannot swim. He answers that a cell full of water explodes.
5. Seventy-year old women stand naked in the locker room. Some use walkers, others have artificial hips, scarred legs and missing breasts; still, they love this morning swim with the distant sun rising.
6. In these women, I witness how I too will age. I avert my eyes, move to far lanes and other shadows.
7. I swim past men to prove my strength -- after years of "throwing like a girl" -- I lap them twice.
8. To gauge myself, I watch other women. Old women, pregnant women, girls without breasts who marvel at mine. The younger ones point at me, not believing that this is what their bodies will become.
9. The older women reflect the course my body must follow. My eyes wrinkle already in certain patterns. Breasts pull through water to escape the yank of gravity.
10. I tap slower swimmers' feet to pass them. Their skin startles me, as though I've come upon schools of spot running south for the winter.
11. Swimming is one of the rare things I do alone. Of necessity, lap after lap, I build faith in solitude.

12. Here there is no hand to hold, no ball to return, no score to keep.
13. Swimming gives me patience to write.
14. Cells transport oxygen in a precise biochemical reaction, evolved through an expanse of time, imagined only by God, while he dreamed. I test the reliability of flesh -- all but breathing water.
15. I dream of water. I thrash pillows. Mistaking my struggle for a nightmare, a man grabs me to his side.
16. I dream of fire. I dream of fire and combustion. The things water does not heal.
17. How do we breathe underwater? A moment without air is magic. Through goggles, I watch the bubbles insist on my life.
18. Fifty others swim in the pool. Water molecules vibrate with our personalities. I swallow each person's breath, yet remain alone.
19. My men have gone for water. Their faces reflect the sorrow of departure. They have gone for deeper water and places where I drown.
20. I once swam competitively, pushing constantly against the limits of my body: one second faster, five-tenths for the blue ribbon, one one-hundredth for the record.
21. This -- is -- the -- point -- where I always -- want to stop. Turn -- legs -- ache -- lungs heave -- arms weary -- the distance is forever -- force the push -- break water.
22. Every morning, two crows perch near the pool's glass doors and peck madly at their reflections. When no one watches, I jump out of the pool and run, arms raised and mouth squawking, to chase them away.
23. Then all three of us jump -- the crows with fright to the sky -- and me, chilled, to the diving well.
24. Every other breath my face sculpts a mask of water.
25. Today the pool is too hot to even sweat. Heat curls from skin like summer humidity over asphalt.
26. Blood throbs, echoing the physics of water and sound. It sets up a rhythm between myself and other swimmers.
27. The echo of someone swimming butterfly is like a song that stays in your head all day.

28. All of it is the dull pound of a heart, blood returning to its origin is exciting as water tumbling in spring.
29. At a certain angle, the hand slices sheets of water. This requires a force the body is unaware of, even as pounds of water move away like the curtain rising over the first act.
30. What does it mean to drown in a dream? Is there the hope of bellying-up like a fish? Are we forced to forget breathing?
31. Some days there is no difference between sleep and dreams, between swimming and drowning, water and air.
32. What is unnatural is untrue.
33. My father tried to teach me to play chess. A reluctant student, one night I sleepwalked to the living room, arranged the chess board, and fell -- hands first -- on the queen.
34. There are 64 squares on a chess board! Swimming sixty-four laps assumes the logic of a mile.
35. There is a theory that women who try desperately to lose weight also try to diminish their presence on earth.
36. After a winter of depression, inches of sadness float across the pool.
37. Sometimes, breathing, the heaviness of my own life amazes me. Sucking on air, I consume the world.
38. My best friend moves haphazardly at my side, misunderstanding when I don't pause to answer his smile.
39. He is my friend and I tell him everything -- or everything I know -- or everything I learn when I swim.
40. Breaststroke beads the surface like mercury on skin. I'm a skeet barely touching water, needing it only to serve my own motion.
41. I try to describe my father, but he eludes me, fast as a rock skipping the ocean. I try to describe my mother, but she is too much myself -- familiar as oxygen gurgling about my waist.
42. I learned to walk because my sister was born and I knew that I would never be carried again.
43. I learned to swim because my father threw me in the deep end and shouted "SWIM!"
44. I sweat in the water and my face is cooled, ice cooled on ice.

45. As children, my sisters and I linked arms with my father and ran into the Atlantic, afraid only of letting go and coming up in some other ocean.
46. I swam with my boyfriend in the clear tropical surf. Forever, I see him diving gracefully through the waves.
47. At dawn the moon fits the socket of the sky like a great white bulb.
48. I am the cog of a wheel. I turn and separate men; they never meet and nothing is ever really whole.
49. I love him as though all the time in the world was contained in the four walls of our room or the four chambers of my heart.
50. An old woman wears pantyhose under her bathing suit, keeping warm beneath a layer of material thinner than flesh.
51. I walked into fifteen-foot waves, tropics, mid-March. The crystalline waves shattered over my head.
52. The lover who became a lover when the old lover was not a lover has taken a lover.
53. The word has no meaning.
54. A scar defines a woman's abdomen -- a red mark of all that has been and all that must follow.
55. I kick through water because it is good to defy gravity.
56. I watch my sisters and brother closely. How is it that my blood is their blood, my face is their face, but my touch is not theirs?
57. Today I am red and the bullish world tramples me.
58. In one dream, my first boyfriend drowns in the Chesapeake Bay and I retrieve his body with a crab trap. The stench of that first lost -- how it permeated so many years!
59. All of it slips off, like silk in passion.
60. My goggles are amber. The grass is lime green ice cream. The sky is deep gray. The water is a crystal chandelier.
61. When I swim I am the totality of water. I am hydrogen and oxygen. I am pure strength and energy.
62. An old girlfriend marries and dreams of babies red as geraniums in summer. I swim from commitment and dream of hope, golden as fall.

63. I've been here before and am anxious to leave. I am young enough to have learned that all things are composed of change.
64. I stand new as the world, naked as the sky, dry as the sun, strong as the wind.

## WRESTLING RETURNS TO GUILFORD

Jay Van Tassell

Why start a wrestling team at Guilford? It has been twelve years since I wrestled in college and I miss it. I miss battling through snowstorms to get to matches and I miss the sound of the crowd yelling and stamping their feet. Most of all I miss my teammates and the camaraderie and fun we had together. In some ways, trying to coach Guilford's new wrestling club is my way of capturing those memories and feelings. I learned a lot about other people and myself by wrestling. I want our students to have the same opportunity to grow and mature.

One of my students introduced me to the wrestling room in the basement of the old gym when I arrived at Guilford seven years ago. We had fun wrestling there despite the mold in the showers and the floods of water in the hallway whenever it rained. One day while we were wrestling our lockers disappeared, clothes and equipment. They had been moved to make way for renovation of the old gym.

After the old wrestling room had been converted into locker space, we wrestled upstairs at the edge of the basketball court where the bleachers had once been. Within two years, interest in wrestling had grown to the point that The Guilfordian featured a cartoon showing two professional "wrestlers" and a short article titled "Wrestling Returns To Guilford." It advised wrestlers to grab their gear and come roll around on the mats. We had strong support from the Athletic Department and former President Grimsley Hobbs (a college wrestler himself at Carolina in the early 1940s), and were sure it would soon be possible to compete in scrimmages and tournaments. A week later we had twelve wrestlers practicing. The biggest worry was that someone would hit the wall and get hurt. Two weeks later, no one showed up for practice.

What happened? Fall semester exams were coming soon and wrestling had low priority when the end of the semester crunch hit. Later on I heard that one of our wrestlers was so tired after practice that he had put his head down on his tray at suppertime and had fallen sleep. We had pushed too hard too early. With no scheduled matches to look forward to, the outlook just had seemed dim. We needed better planning and coaching.

That was five years ago. Since then I have attended coaching clinics and subscribed to wrestling publications to learn about coaching techniques. I have been most impressed with the enthusiasm of the people involved. Permeating the wrestling community is an overall philosophy that winning is not the most important thing. It is how much your wrestlers grow and mature as they learn to set their own goals and strive to exceed them. I find myself carefully watching Guilford's own coaches in action. Our athletes have that special quality of always giving their best effort, something which I think reflects Guilford's philosophy in general. I want our wrestlers to maintain the tradition.

Wrestling started rolling again this past year thanks to a

group of very enthusiastic freshmen. Their excitement spread and attracted other wrestlers. We were ready to form a club.

In the meantime, it had become clear that there was no stated procedure for forming a club sport at Guilford. One had to be devised and this was done with the aid of the Athletic Director, the Administrative Council and the Dean of Students. When we finally submitted our proposal for club status in December, we knew it would take a long time to be approved by the Athletic Director, the Athletic Committee, the Student Senate, the Student Affairs Committee and the Administrative Council. What I did not expect was the enthusiastic support we received from everyone. Several people told me they thought we needed more one-on-one sports like wrestling at Guilford. It was clear that the enthusiasm of the students involved in the club was catching! The Student Senate generously gave us funds for equipment and travel expenses for the following year and the Admissions Office began spreading news about the club to prospective incoming freshmen. Beverley Rogers pitched in by designing the club's symbol, a well-muscled Quaker wrestler with a mean grin on his face. We were set to wrestle!

All we had to do was arrange practice space, schedule matches and make sure the wrestlers had physicals and insurance coverage in order to start the 1985-1986 season. When it became clear that adequate practice space would not be available in the gym, the Drama Department suggested that we move the mats to the study room adjacent to their offices, solving the problem. The Pembroke State wrestling coach invited us to several tournaments and spread the word to other teams that we were starting a club. Thanks to the enthusiastic support of the Guilford Sports Medicine Department, physicals and body fat tests were arranged. We even received funds from the Physical Education Center for patching our tattered mat, the one used by Guilford's original wrestling team many years ago. All we had to do was arrange insurance coverage.

Insurance is our biggest problem. No company will offer a club team the \$100,000 medical and liability coverage which the College requires. I was hopeful when I called the Vice President of the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA), but he informed me that their policy covers only varsity teams. Another call to USA Wrestling, the Olympic team organizing body, confirmed that we could not obtain insurance through them for intercollegiate matches, but they offered coverage for practices and participation in Olympic-style tournaments sponsored by USA Wrestling. It was our only option, so we took it. Sadly, we were forced to cancel the dual meets with other colleges which we had scheduled for the 1985-1986 season.

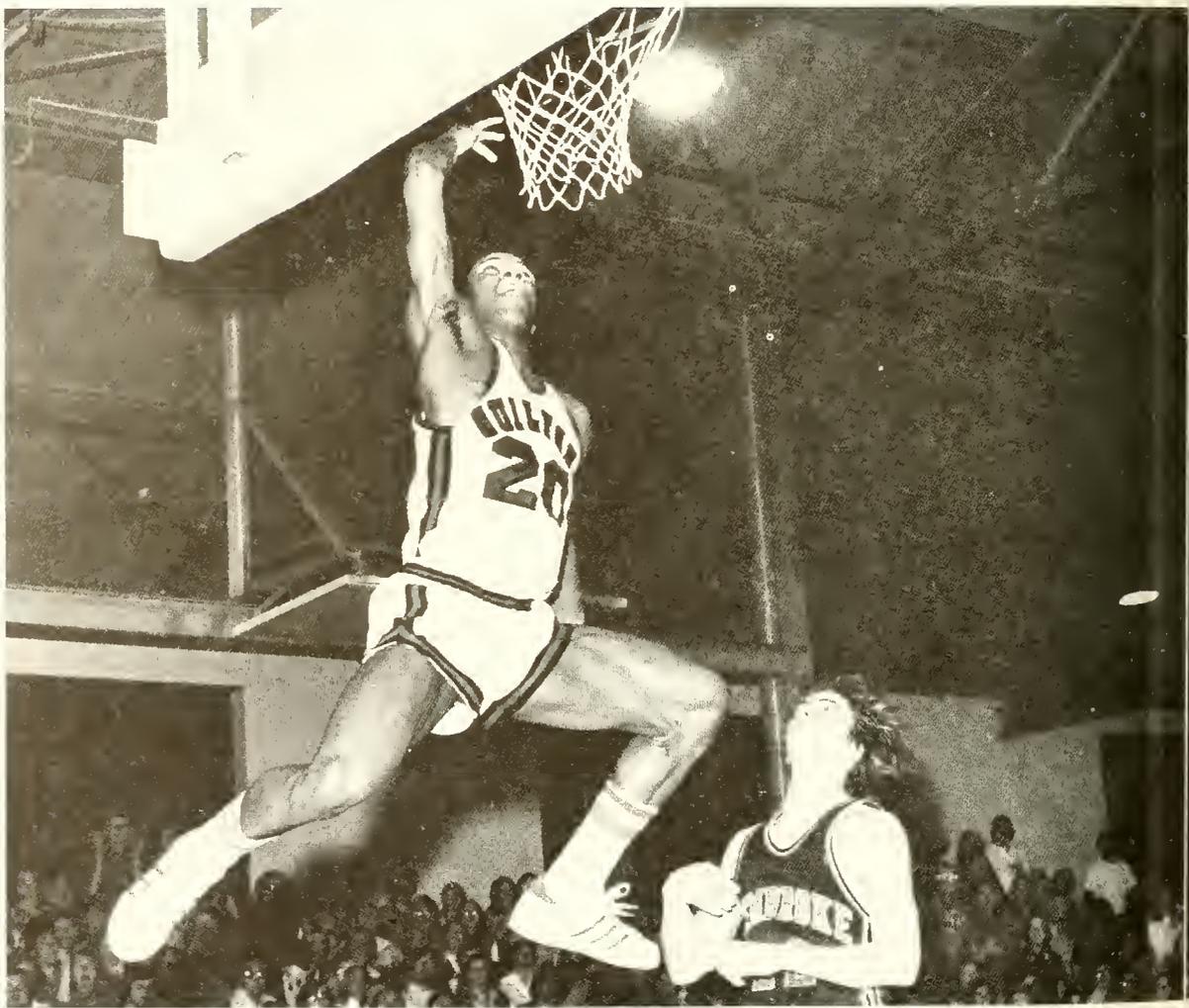
That is the situation at present. We practice three times a week at night in the basement of Founders Hall. I will never forget the way the entire team stopped practice one night and ran in formation to the gym to cheer the volleyball team to victory. I took one of our wrestlers to the hospital recently after he dislocated his shoulder. He is back at practice, doing one-armed pushups and taking over the coaching duties. We recently competed in an open tournament, winning our first matches ever, and I am proud of the effort, enthusiasm, sportsmanship and team spirit our

restlers showed. They performed in the best Guilford tradition! We are looking forward to competing in a few more tournaments this season. Not everything we had hoped for, but enough.

We still have a lot of work to do. We need to raise \$7000 to replace our old mat before we can have home matches. There is still a long struggle ahead to obtain varsity status in order to compete in dual matches against other college teams. And there are probably many more unforeseen hurdles.

I think we are going to make it though. At the end of each practice, when everyone is tired, we do four-count pushups. At each count, we yell "We love it."

We really do!



## GLORY DAYS: GUILFORD BASKETBALL IN THE 1970S

David Scott

Being a student at Guilford in the 1970s meant different things to different people. But there might have been a constant: almost everybody got behind Quaker basketball.

In those days, Guilford's basketball program was one of the nation's best. Folks around campus knew it and were proud of it. A Quaker basketball game in Alumni Gym -- hereafter referred to as the Cracker Box -- wasn't just a game. It was an event, often an adventure. The basketball program galvanized the campus. It was a source of pride.

Think back to those days, beginning in the early 1970s. The college basketball climate in North Carolina was essentially the same as it is today, meaning the world began and ended with the ACC. Guilford was no different than other North Carolina communities in that respect: there was plenty of interest in what the Tar Heels were doing and in how many points David Thompson scored the previous night.

But there was a difference. We had Lloyd Free and M. L. Carr and Mike Cherry. We had Sam Kennedy and Ray Branch and Billy Highsmith. We had Teddy East and Steve Hankins and Gary Devlin. And we had a national championship.

In short, as strong as the outside forces were from the "big time" world of college basketball, Guilford had its own excitement and its own feeling. Its own aura.

The stage was the Cracker Box. Front and center was Lloyd (known throughout the basketball world now as World B.) Free.

The Quakers' 1973 NAIA championship gave Guilford's already respected program a final touch of luster. And it was Free who supplied the team's flash.

At that time, N.C. State's Thompson was the country's top player, his skywalking style the talk of college basketball. But we knew about Free. Thompson had a vertical leap of 36 inches; but we knew Air Lloyd could go at least that high. And we knew, of course, that Free was every bit as exciting a player as Thompson. The rest of the world just hadn't been paying close enough attention.

And we knew about his shooting. Free wasn't exactly shy in his shot selection. He'd go up, with the ball set to launch from far behind his head, and -- bombs away. Oddly enough, he scored more than 40 points only once in his career.

Free and his mates played to frenzied Cracker Box crowds. The Cracker Box wasn't much to look at from the outside. Its brick and wood front was in keeping with the rest of the campus's architectural style. Once inside, it looked even less formidable. A little court with a low ceiling and bleachers perhaps 12 rows up. A balcony above one end of the court was "press row."

But get a game going and things changed. The Cracker Box became a hot, uncomfortable prison for the opposition, which not only had to cope with one of the country's top teams, but also with

a hostile crowd perched right on top of the action.

Games were eagerly anticipated. You actually had to get to a Guilford home basketball game early in order to assure yourself a decent seat. If you didn't, you risked sitting behind a pillar that would block your view of a portion of the court.

A lot of Guilford's wildest and most special moments, though, did not take place in the Cracker Box. For instance, how many people remember that the Quakers used to play Elon as a preliminary to Carolina Cougar games in the Greensboro Coliseum? One time, the Quakers trailed the Christians with less than five seconds left and Elon had the ball under Guilford's basket. As Elon put the ball into play, Free calmly stepped into an Elon player's path, drew a charge, and made two free throws to win it. It was an amazing play, rescuing what had appeared to be a lost cause.

Then there was a game in Winston-Salem against Winston-Salem State. Led by Free, Guilford took a huge lead in the first half. The Quakers were lighting it up; lighting it up, that is, until Ram coach Bighouse Gaines had had enough. Gaines called a timeout and complained to the referees that the ball was under-inflated. He demanded a new ball, and argued for a long, long time. Long enough for Free and the rest to cool down. When play resumed, Winston-Salem State gradually took control of the game from the out-of-synch Quaker and, eventually, won it. My roommate never forgave Gaines.

Guilford's trip through the NAIA District 26 tournament in 1976 was particularly memorable. The Quakers won an overtime game at Winston-Salem State in the semifinals, 108-107, with Kennedy scoring 31 and Branch scoring the decisive points in the late going.

Then Guilford and Gardner-Webb met for the district championship at Lenoir-Rhyne. What a game. Both teams played brilliantly. Guilford survived a 50-plus point performance by a Gardner-Webb player named Dave Bormann. But the Guilford team, led by Branch (35 points), Devlin (30 points) and Highsmith (22 points) -- Free had left a year earlier -- overcame Bormann's efforts.

It was one of those games that for every aparent knockout punch, there was a game-saving counter punch. It went back and forth all night and both sides of Lenoir-Rhyne's mammoth gym were rocking. The Quakers did prevail, though, and took their high-wire act to Kansas City and the national tournament where they promptly lost 101-95 in the first round to Tennessee's Lincoln Memorial.

That was as close as the Quakers would get to another national championship, and the last time they made the trip to Kansas City. Guilford's basketball fortunes haven't been as good since, but the memories will always be there.

Chris Benfey

I. Quakers Slide Into Wet Victory Over Concord

The man sitting beside your reporter had taken a bus from Asheville in order to see the Guilford-Concord football game. "Guilford always plays good ball," he said. I wondered what he meant. Before Dennis Haglan became head coach last year Guilford teams had won seven games in six years. Guilford was famous for its 32-game losing streak. "Always" could only refer to last year's 6-3-2 record which, according to one cynical observer, might keep football at Guilford for another forty years.

"Pin their ears back, Guilford!" shouted my friend, as the Concord Lions of West Virginia ran to the far bench. The game began slowly. Meanwhile my neighbor gave me a rundown on college football across the nation. We were discussing the Southwestern Conference, about which I know nothing, when Mike Williams intercepted a pass to break a Concord drive. "Great game," my friend commented, "Do you like Wagner?" Wagner? "Yeah, Wagner, the composer; I love those operas," he said. This large man, slumped and genial in his baggy grey clothes, was beginning to distract your reporter. Football and Wagner. As my eyes scanned the field -- people screaming, players throwing their magnificent bodies at one another, the grand spectacle of a football game -- I told myself that the juxtaposition was just. Yes, football and Wagner.

The performance was improving. Late in the first quarter, Guilford's Butch Foley broke away from a gaggle of Concord tacklers and carried the ball inside the Concord 20-yard line. Foley then arched a neat pass over Billy Whitely's left shoulder for a touchdown. The crowd seemed to expect it. The reaction was subdued.

A long Concord drive late in the second quarter culminated in two fine passes by quarterback Boyles, and a touchdown, tying the score. Boyles had all the time he needed to throw; either his front line was strong or the Guilford rushers were sluggish. The critical Guilford fans thought it was the latter. The Quakers were looking lazy.

The teams then traded interceptions and the first half ended, seven-up.

There being no scheduled halftime entertainment, I crossed over to enemy lines. The family of one of the Concord players was eager to talk. "Them Guilford boys are big." "Good game, they're neck and neck." They had good words for the Guilford punter. Several other Concord fans joined our discussion, and soon we were talking about Guilford. The visitors were eager to learn about the school their team was playing, and I wanted to hear about Concord. Unfortunately the traditional segregation of home and visiting fans does not encourage this sort of interchange.

\*This article consists of two articles which originally appeared in The Guilfordian on September 9 and 16, 1975.

Concord made a field goal less than two minutes into the second half. Guilford took the ball back down the field, aided by a couple of penalties that had the Concord fans cursing the officials. "May a bolt of lightning strike you down!" screamed the lady next to me. Her curse was partly effective: the Guilford drive ran into a solid wall, and Concord took over on their own one-yard line.

Wind, black clouds, and thunder filled the air during the third quarter. Fans began to leave the stands, anticipating rain. The Guilford team woke up. Cliff Hunsucker intercepted a pass and took it to the Concord 16. Reggie Kenan charged to the 3-yard line, then straight through the middle for the score. 14-10.

In the fourth quarter rain cleared the stands. It also stopped up my pen, so I wrote from memory. Guilford scored again on a bizarre fumble by Kenan that Chris Paphites picked up on the run and carried into the endzone. The game was won. A few fans, huddled together under umbrellas, saw the last wet Concord touchdown, making the final score respectable: 21-17 for Guilford.

## II. The Martian Conquest

As the stands filled slowly for the game with Mars Hill, your reporter made a quick analysis of the crowd. The majority of football fans fit into one of two categories. There are fans who, like theatregoers, hope to see one of the teams get clobbered. One group of fans goes for art, the other for flesh and blood. Of course some fans seem to go to football games for no reason at all. Saturday afternoon is a void, suspended between last week's classes and tomorrow's studying. Nature abhors a vacuum.

Among the theatregoers one finds the analytical fan. He (or she) ignores the brutal sensuality of the sport, and watches football as a mathematician listens to music, reducing each piece to numerical relations. The most complex play sends the analytical fan into transport of frigid ecstasy. A solid handoff up the middle bores her (or him) to tears.

Administrators and alumni turn up at each game and try to appear indispensable, but football would be the same without them. Or would it?

Finally there are those who, like your reporter, go to games out of curiosity, wondering whether bullfighting is really the only vestige of Roman gladiator fights.

Saturday's game was meant for the theatergoers. The weather was exquisite. A light wind was blowing. The seats were all taken. The playbill promised an epic performance. Guilford versus Mars Hill. The men of peace against the men of war. The Mars Hill team, however, was composed neither of warriors nor of Martians. For the second week in succession, the Quakers found themselves "pitted against" the Lions.

The game was, for the Quakers, a tragedy of errors. The day belonged to the officials. There were fifteen penalties in the game, accounting for 70 yards against Guilford and 55 against Mars Hill. At one point, two successive Guilford plays appeared to be touchdowns, a lovely pass from Butch Foley to Chris Paphites, and a run by Reggie Kenan. Penalties against Guilford nullified both

lays; and a last ditch try for a field goal was blocked.

The game was sloppy from the beginning. On the second play of the game a Mars Hill back took a pitchout, then tried a long pass. Guilford intercepted. The Quakers promptly fumbled and Mars Hill took over at midfield. A pass to the 14, an offside penalty against Guilford, and a quick run through the middle brought Mars Hill the first touchdown, less than four minutes into the game.

The Guilford response was immediate. Two minutes later they had a touchdown of their own, after a 37-yard pass to Paphites, and a 20-yard run by Kenan. The first five minutes seemed to promise a high scoring game, but there was no more scoring until the fourth quarter.

The rest of the first half was frustrating. The Quakers seemed to have scored twice, only to have penalties nullify both plays. The Lions tried the same fancy lateral and pass with which they had opened the game, and for the second time the Quakers intercepted. The Guilford defense was impressive, throwing the Martian quarterback for big losses. The Quaker offense continued to use the same plays - the option pitchout to Kenan and the pass to the sidelines to Paphites - both of which worked often enough to keep trying them. Kenan gained 108 yards in the game on 34 attempts. Paphites covered 120 yards on only four passes.

The half ended with the score still 7-7, the same halftime score of the week before, against Concord. Your reporter, according to custom tried to make friends with the visitors. He discovered that Mars Hill students are not Martians, they're Baptists. I explained that Guilford is a Quaker School. The face of one of the Mars Hill fans lit up. "So that's why they're called the 'Quakers,'" he said. This particular cluster of fans knew Guilford for its concert choir. What about football; were they enjoying the game? "It could be better." I had to agree. "Are they impressed with the Guilford team? "It's better than it is two years ago".....Again I agreed.

Less than two minutes into the second half, Cliff Hunsucker threw the Mars Hill quarterback for a big loss; then miraculously turned up with the football in his hands. He seemed as surprised and delighted as the Guilford fans. The Quakers took over but quickly fumbled. The fans shook their heads in disbelief.

In the fourth quarter the Lions seemed to realize that if they wanted to score they had to do it soon. They proceeded to march almost the length of the field, getting the necessary yardage on two important third downs. Then Hunsucker and Bunky James passed the quarterback for a big loss. The Quaker rush was relentless. Another loss stalled the Mars Hill machine. A field goal attempt failed and the Quakers took over; but Mars Hill had controlled the ball for almost half the fourth quarter.

Then the Quakers stumbled. Kenan fumbled on the first Guilford play and the Lions recovered, within scoring range. Twice the greedy Guilford defense threw the Lions for a loss. A pass failed. The field goal unit came on for a second time in two minutes. Curry, the star kicker for Mars Hill, squeezed the ball through the goal posts, 47 yards and into the wind. The Martian cheerleaders stood on each others' shoulders. With six minutes to go the score was 10-7.

A week earlier Guilford was behind by the same score. Then they scored two touchdowns before "time expired," as the sportscasters so poetically express it. This time the Quakers weren't so lucky. They simply never had the ball.

With less than two minutes left in the game, Guilford had a last chance. Joe Osborne hefted a pass to Paphites for 34 yards, to the Mars Hill 27. Then the Quakers stalled. A surprise run on third down didn't surprise anyone, except perhaps the angry Guilford fans. Foley missed the field goal to tie. Mars Hill "ran out the clock" and won, 10-7.

## Samuel Schuman

The sight of a deserted track  
Is haunting and saddening to me  
Liniment scented translucent wraiths

Dart around  
The tidy and fresh lane markers  
I superimpose in my mind  
On the gone-to-grass cinders and sand.

Those faint, bright, sprites  
Are more me  
Than I am now;  
The finish line

Towards which they dash  
More real  
More important  
Than that which now chases me

Around the turns.



## Herb Appenzeller

Football at Guilford College might be characterized by these words from the Roman poet Martial to a friend: "Nec sine te possum vivere nec sine te" ("I can't live with you and I can't live without you"). For 92 years it seems that Guilford College and football have experienced a relationship that has caused it to be a controversial topic on campus.

For the past twelve years, Guilford football has enjoyed the most success in its long history with an overall record of 63-50-5. Present coach Charles Forbes has won more games than any coach in Guilford's history; he and former coach Dennis Haglan are the only two coaches with overall winning records. Haglan, an assistant athletic director at Wake Forest University, ended his two year stint as head coach in 1974 with a record of 14-6-2.

Guilford's former athletes are known throughout the state and even nationally for their coaching abilities. Wilt Browning, sports writer for the Greensboro News and Record, calls Guilford College "the cradle of football coaches in North Carolina" (Greensboro News and Record, January 6, 1986). Quaker alumni have achieved notable success in coaching and rank year in and year out among the top coaches in the state.

Guilford's athletes have had a loyalty that is admirable and after graduation many have attempted to repay the college for the education and values received. Consider the fact that former athletes have been responsible for many buildings and facilities at the College. The list includes: Armfield Athletic Center, English Dormitory, Frazier Apartments, Haworth Fields, Hege-Cox Art Center, McBane Field, Ragan-Brown Field House, and Shore Dormitory. At least five of these were donated by participants in football.

Many former football players have served on the Board of Trustees, including current chairman Seth Macon '40, Nereus English '26, Herb Ragan '37, and Howard Haworth '57. These men have helped shape Guilford's future.

In spite of the past accomplishments and the recent winning record, Guilford's football program faces a dilemma of crisis proportions. It stands once again at the crossroads because of the problems that have characterized it since 1893.

To understand the current status of football at Guilford College, it is helpful to review the events that have shaped its course over more than nine decades. It is interesting to compare

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The writer wants to recognize the work of the following who furnished the material for this article: Stephen Rundio III, "The History of the First One Hundred Years of Physical Education at Guilford College, 1837-1937;" F. C. Shepard Papers; Guilford College Faculty Minutes; Guilford College Trustees Minutes; William Topping, "A History of Football at Guilford College;" Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, Guilford: A Quaker College; and H. Thomas Appenzeller, "A Comparison of College Football, 1925-1980."

past conditions with those that exist today.

The scheduling of opponents with equal resources and, more important, with similar athletic philosophies has been a constant source of frustration through the years. As early as 1899, an article in the Collegian deplored the fact that athletes at many of its sister colleges received athletic scholarships of board, tuition, and money and were there just to "play ball." The article complained that the paid athlete, as compared to the student athlete, overemphasized winning and distorted the purpose of the game. The writer, who claimed that it was impossible to find a team to play composed of student athletes, and questioned the practice of schools using "hirelings" to represent them when the game was for students, concluded:

"Who misses or who wins the prize,  
Go lose or conquer if you can,  
But if you fall, or if you rise,  
Be each, pray God, a gentleman."

Throughout the years Guilford has attempted to find a conference compatible with its philosophy of athletics. In 1936 the differences of the various athletic programs in the state caused the demise of the North Carolina Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (NCIAC) which split into two conferences. Guilford became a member of the Little Six Conference along with Atlantic Christian, Catawba, Elon, High Point, and Lenoir-Rhyne while the larger institutions such as Davidson, the University of North Carolina, North Carolina State, Wake Forest, and Western Carolina formed the old Southern Conference.

In 1940, Jack Horner, a well-known sports writer, wrote in his column in the Durham Herald that a new amateur college conference was in the making. Horner referred to Guilford's situation when he wrote:

Take Guilford for instance, a school that awards no scholarships for athletics or helps its athletes financially. Is it right for Guilford to play schools that go out and scour the woods for grid talent? Their teams are too strong. It isn't right for a strictly amateur squad to play a team of paid athletes. I don't have to tell you readers. You agree, I'm sure.

Horner continued to use Guilford as a prime example of the inequities that existed in the North State Conference, of which Guilford was a charter member:

It isn't fair to have Guilford boys, if you want to use them as examples. They are beaten before they play. It isn't fair to send them against bigger, stronger and more powerful teams that could probably win with one hand tied behind them....These amateur college teams can't hope to continue to play scholarship-awarding schools. They can't compete on

anyway near an equal basis. Since nobody likes to get whipped over and over again, there's got to be some jumping off point.

Horner concluded that a new conference was the only answer. He also noted that if Guilford would pull out to form a strictly amateur league, the opening would enable a strong Newberry College program to join the North State League and make that league one of the nation's strongest "little athletic conferences in the country."

The amateur league never developed, and Guilford remained in the North State Conference and continued to play against tremendous odds.

In 1942, John Derr wrote in the Greensboro Daily News that:

These are crucial days in the athletic lives of Guilford College. Once a power in its own circle when that circle included the best teams in the state, the Quakers have been thoroughly cuffed about for six or seven years. Now and then they have sneaked through for important victories but mostly the results have been unpleasant for the Guilfordians.

Derr commented that football was still the sport most favored by Guilford alumni, but noted that Quaker football had the disparaging record of scoring only one touchdown for an entire season and that came on an interception, not on an offensive play. (The story is still told that Coach Smith had to go on the field to show the team how to line up for the extra point since it had not previously scored).

Derr put to rest any blame on the coaches, C. D. "Block" Smith and Jim McDonald. He commented that when a team loses, coaches are fired, but in this instance: "All know that these gentlemen are hardworking, sincere, and able coaches but they would like to build something in addition to character."

Derr then commented on Guilford's current policy in 1942, when he wrote:

Guilford hesitates entering the field of open subsidy. And their idea is entirely in keeping with the fine standards on which the school was founded and has operated so many years. But times have changed in the athletic world, just as they have in all other worlds, and if a school is to have a successful athletic program now it is almost compelled to offer the student-athletes some means of assistance.

Derr concluded that Guilford was at a crossroads with several options: 1) continue the present policy; 2) discontinue all intercollegiate sports; or 3) withdraw from the North State Conference and schedule games with smaller schools.

Once again Guilford decided to continue its policy of scheduling conference schools with subsidized football programs

and the results were discouraging for Quaker supporters.

In 1956, a group of students quietly marched to the Administrative offices located in Duke Memorial Hall to ask for a change in athletic policy. In the same year, the Trustees, over the objection of many faculty members, instituted a program of need-based grants for football, basketball, and baseball. Three of the trustees, E.P. Brown, N.C. English, and Elton Warrick, helped subsidize the grants and assumed leadership in the next ten years of the athletic program.

Need-based grants were a help but they still did not match the average number of grants in the conference (for football they reportedly exceeded 40). Quaker football continued to experience losing seasons.

Graig Chapman reported (in the Salisbury Post in 1971) that Guilford College was planning to leave the Carolinas Conference. (The North State Conference became the Carolinas Conference when Newberry and Presbyterian joined in the 1960s). President Grimsley Hobbs was quoted in the following way:

Currently, we are considering reduction of cost through action of the Carolinas Conference and we are exploring alternative conference arrangements. Most importantly, we are examining our expenditures to insure that our athletic program serves the educational mission of the college.

Academic Dean William C. Burris commented that the proposed conference "would be more along the lines of what intercollegiate athletics used to be rather than a professional sports program."

As a result of the move by the presidents of the member colleges of the Carolinas Conference to reduce football grants from 25 to 17, Mars Hill, Lenoir-Rhyne, Presbyterian, and Newberry withdrew from the Carolinas Conference and were joined several months later by Catawba and Elon. Only Guilford refused to join the newly formed South Atlantic Eight (SAC-8) which added Gardner-Webb and Carson Newman. True to Jack Horner's prediction in 1940, the SAC-8 did become the best small college football league in the United States. Elon College won the national championship twice and Carson-Newman twice since 1980. Guilford became an independent and had difficulty scheduling opponents on an equitable basis.

Since 1980 President Rogers has taken an active leadership role in an attempt to attract institutions with similar philosophies of athletics: strong academic standards and minimum football grants-in-aid. At this time, it appears that such a conference will go the way of past attempts to form a new conference as most schools do not want to change their football programs to meet the proposed standards this new conference would require.

Guilford's problem has come about by its recent success. Although the College began to reduce the number of football grants from 25 to 13 during Forbes' tenure, Guilford has been forced to play 50% of its schedule against teams with more resources, larger coaching staffs, more scholarships, and different athletic

philosophies. The reduction in grants came about when new sports merged and football grants were withdrawn to finance sports such as golf, soccer, softball, tennis, and volleyball. In 1984 the Quakers accomplished a mini-miracle when it won its first six games and was ranked third nationally. Its final record was 7-3 with a ranking of 18th in the NAIA poll. Guilford's six consecutive non-losing years have resulted in the loss of four opponents, with a fifth leaving the Quaker's schedule in 1987. Many non-scholarship schools have dropped Guilford from their schedule, and the dilemma is real. Guilford must once again face the reality of scheduling teams that subsidize their programs so that competition is inequitable.

Scheduling caused discontent in the early days of Quaker football as Guilford was forced to play high schools or prep schools to complete its schedule. Guilford's record from 1893 to 1905 was 18-27-3, but 15 of the 18 wins were gained against high school and prep schools such as Oak Ridge, Bingham and Danville Military Academies. This was a constant source of embarrassment to all associated with Quaker football. In March, 1905 the Collegian expressed its concern for Guilford sports in the following way: "Should a college of our size try to put out a team in every class of athletics? Would it not be better for the present, at least, to let intercollegiate football drop and devote efforts more to sending forth a winning baseball team?"

As a result of the scheduling problems, Guilford dropped football and did not resume it until 1916.

Another serious problem for Quaker football has been a lack of finances that has plagued the program from its beginning. In the early days student fees supported the program in addition to a \$50 contingency fee instituted by the trustees. In 1899, the Collegian recognized that Guilford could not develop a "sale-like" spirit of athletics, but believed it could generate school spirit for students and alumni alike. It suggested that the College provide a room to house trophies, pictures of teams and other athletic memorabilia to promote school spirit and help attendance at games. Evidently little was done since no evidence has been found of such a room.

In the late 1950s a Monogram Room was provided in Alumni Gymnasium and named for Charles "Chick" Doak and Robert Doak, two of Guilford's former coaches. An area is provided in the lobby of the Ragan-Brown Field House and a room named in memory of former athlete-trustee Elton Warrick is located in the same building to house athletic memorabilia.

In an attempt to raise school spirit and attendance at athletic events, Guilford promoted pep rallies in 1897. In 1898 a familiar theme was espoused by the Collegian when it deplored a lack of support on campus. It remarked that, "athletics here do not receive the support of the College, the student body and the alumni." It advocated support of the football program which it felt helped improve the health of the individual.

It is obvious that the theme of non-support struck by the 1898 Collegian has been repeated throughout the years.

At the start of the 1920s, Guilford permitted the Athletic Association to open a campus store in Archdale Hall to help

finance the athletic program. "The store," according to Stephen Rundio in his history of Guilford athletics, "sold candy, cokes, ice cream and fruit." The faculty cooperated by allowing women to visit the store on Mondays and Fridays during the appointed hours. (Women heretofore were barred from entering the men's dormitories for any purpose.)

Guilford moved its athletic contests to Greensboro on many occasions to attract larger crowds and increase gate receipts. On one such occasion in 1904, the faculty gave the students a half day off to attend a baseball game between the Quakers and Trinity College (Duke). Guilford teams from the 1940s until the present have continued to move various contests to Greensboro and other nearby cities in an attempt to attract larger crowds.

In the 1960s, Guilford played several games in Greensboro and Thomasville so the games could be played at night to increase attendance. Gate receipts at games in Greensboro do exceed those played on campus. In 1970, Guilford's games against Elon College and Appalachian University netted \$10,000 while gate receipts on campus averaged \$500 per game. Guilford officials prefer playing on campus but plan to continue playing an occasional game in Greensboro.

Football, during its 92 years of existence, has received support from many constituencies: students, faculty, trustees, administrators and alumni. In some years those who supported football in one decade often became its bitter opponent in another. It is helpful to look at these groups that affected football.

Students. In 1893 Guilford's first intercollegiate football team had strong student support. A student, writing in the Collegian, mentioned football for the first time in 1890 when he said: "The football season is now here, and Guilford should not be left behind in this popular game." The students initiated a sports column in the Collegian in 1890 called "Locals" and kept the campus informed of Quaker football. When critics throughout the United States suddenly criticized football for its brutality and urged the elimination of the flying wedge because it reportedly led to rough play and many injuries, the 1895 Collegian deplored a slugging incident during a game on the Quaker campus, but vehemently defended football because of the spirit in which the Quakers played the game.

Professionalism at many colleges began to affect morale on campus. Tom Appenzeller, in a paper comparing collegiate football in 1925 and 1980, commented that "this increased professionalism resulted in a student conference in New England in the fall of 1925. The students were determined to propose solutions to the problems and end many of the existing abuses. The students representing Harvard, Princeton, Dartmouth, Brown, Williams, Wesleyan and Bowdoin vigorously opposed the practice of scouting opponents, recruiting athletes and hiring coaches who were not alumni. Wesleyan College even passed a resolution that required its coaches to sit in the stands during games so that the students could play and direct the games themselves. The student conference recommended the elimination of pre-season and spring practice. (In 1974 the NCAA eliminated spring practice at all

ivision III schools.)"

Guilford students had already addressed professionalism 26 years before the student conference. In the December, 1899, issue of the Collegian, it observed that an athletic scholarship construed professionalism on the part of the recipient and that recruited athletes were often poor students who were a bad influence on the student body. The article strongly suggested that Guilford employ teachers for their academic ability rather than coaching talent. It supported the position that Guilford athletes pay their own way as other students were expected to do and commented that while some financial aid for athletes had been given in the past, none was presently available at this time and none was expected in the future. It concluded with the wish that if Guilford's image was dependent upon "hireling" athletes, it could prefer anonymity in athletics.

Guilford, unlike many institutions in the 1900s, refused to court its opponents or recruit students for their athletic ability. In 1906 Thomas Snipes, writing in the Collegian advocated that "sneak payments to athletes be abolished and a method of subsidization be instituted. The needy student should be subsidized for a combination of athletic and intellectual ability."

The NCAA created a non-scholarship division 65 years after Guilford's Snipes issued his proclamation.

Guilford had an Athletic Association for the students as early as 1896 to "allocate funds, purchase supplies and arrange schedules." Seventy-five percent of the male students paid a fee of \$1.00 to belong to the Athletic Association and the faculty gave the students permission to solicit funds for athletics. The students were expected to pay to attend the home games and were later asked to support the football team by coming out for practice so that the varsity would have someone to scrimmage against. In 1982 Texas A & M's football coach, Jackie Sherrill, asked any member of the student body to try out for the varsity football team. Over 200 non-scholarship students applied (including several women). Sherrill selected a group to play on pickoffs. The use of the non-scholarship students has given the student body a special pride in what is known as the 12th man.

Guilford's students who "sacrificed their bodies" in 1896 to provide someone for the team to practice against may have been the earliest example of the much publicized 12th man.

It seems that throughout the history of the College the students have been most supportive of the football program. However, during various decades, students opposed the awarding of football grants. For example, Valerie Johnson, President of the Guilford College Union, said in 1971 that she did not like the idea of "all that money going toward athletic grants-in-aid when we so desperately need academic scholarships." This attitude has been expressed throughout the years of subsidization to the athlete program at various times.

Faculty. One of Guilford's strengths regarding athletics has been the involvement of its faculty in the supervision of the program. In the 1890s students supervised the athletic programs under the watchful eye of the faculty. In the early

1900s the faculty assumed much control until 1910 when the administration began to handle administrative problems relating to scheduling, eligibility, scholarships, finances and relations with other institutions.

Faculty involvement was apparent in 1898 when the faculty passed a resolution requiring the coach to: consult with them before scheduling games with outside teams; schedule only schools, colleges or bona fide YMCA teams; submit a test of all students to them before a team left campus; and prohibit any student with less than a B average from participation in intercollegiate competition. The faculty also prohibited Quaker teams from traveling on Sunday or traveling without a faculty member on every trip.

The Faculty Athletic Committee supported the student's Athletic Association by instituting a Vigilance Committee to keep those who failed to pay an athletic fee from using the gymnasium, soccer and baseball fields, tennis courts and sports equipment. According to minutes of a faculty meeting, the trustees in 1915 attempted to meet the financial crisis in athletics by assessing each student \$5.00 and giving them free admission to all home athletic contests and use of all facilities and equipment. The trustees subsequently established the first athletic budget that year and because of student interest and pressure reinstated football.

From 1905 until 1915 when Guilford did not field a football team, the faculty addressed other Quaker sports by opposing any form of athletic scholarships. In 1909 the faculty insisted that no funds be used to pay the regular expenses of "professional athletes." In the same year the faculty created a separate advisory board to consider athletic matters and report to the faculty. This board was comprised of the college president, a student, a trustee and one member of the alumni association. When the trustees reinstated football in 1915, the faculty requested the elimination of scholarships. The trustees tabled the request at that time. It has been said that while the faculty did not prevail, it kept Guilford from entering the world of "major college" athletics.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Guilford coaches submitted lists of participants who would miss classes for travel because class cuts were monitored in those days. Today's coaches have the option to provide such lists but it is not required.

The Faculty Athletic Committee, in the early 1970s, concerned with the attrition rate of football, instituted a 2.0 rule designed to screen entering student-athletes. At a time when the NCAA had a 1.6 rule for its institutions, Guilford's 2.0 rule was a very high standard. Several exceptions were made for football, basketball, and baseball that permitted a few grants for students with a 1.6 grade average. The 2.0 rule applied only to scholarship athletes and, while strongly opposed by the athletic department, changed the condition of football. Guilford football, under the 2.0 rule, experienced the most successful ever, as Coach Dennis Haglan's two season records of 6-3-2 (1974) and 8-2 (1975) with post-season bowl game against William Penn of Iowa were the best in Quaker history. The improvement in academic progress

was so dramatic that the 2.0 rule was abolished and replaced by a yearly study of the academic progress of each of the 13 sports to insure the Committee that academic progress is made by the athletes.

Guilford's Faculty Athletic Committee is most active today and the faculty influence from 1896 until today continues to have substantial effect on Quaker athletics.

Trustees. The involvement of the members of the Board of Trustees has been an interesting one. In 1899, the trustees provided the land east of the YMCA for an athletic field. The land became Hobbs Field, now the site of Dana Auditorium.

In February, 1898, the trustees considered the question of Guilford sponsoring intercollegiate athletics and the board unanimously voted that such games should be discouraged. W. C. English and A. J. Tomlinson were given the task of expressing these sentiments in the catalogue for 1898-99. (Trustee Minutes 1898.) The faculty approved sports the same year which led to speculation that the trustees did not meet often and the faculty was the force behind intercollegiate athletics.

The trustees met again in May 1898 and concluded:

The Committee appointed to draft a resolution in regard to intercollegiate games made the following report. While the management of the College will continually provide for and encourage every kind of physical training, inter-collegiate contests will be discouraged, and when permitted will be subject to rules and regulations as the Board of Trustees and Faculty may provide.

In April, 1902, the trustees approved a request by the faculty for a contingency fund for athletics and provided the sum of \$50.00. This money was to come from the residue of the money paid to the College by students who defaced or damaged College property.

In 1907 the faculty recommended that scholarship aid to athletes be discontinued. The trustees tabled this item.

In 1915 the trustees assessed each male student a \$5.00 fee and the women \$2.50 to support the athletic program. It also agreed to underwrite the \$200 salary of Bob Doak if the Athletic Association could not raise the money.

In 1922 a group of alumni petitioned the trustees to set aside some land that could be used for athletics. The alumni agreed to work on the fields if the college would remove the dairy barns on the site. The trustees approved the plan in principle but did not act on it.

The question of financial aid to all students was raised during a trustee meeting in 1934. The trustees also considered the matter of aid to athletes and concluded that "Members of varsity athletic teams should be neither preferred nor hindered in receiving aid, and a check should be made to see that they get approximately the same average as nonathletes."

Three years later the trustees were concerned over the matter of replacing John Anderson and Elizabeth Anderson as directors of

mens' and womens' athletics. The minutes record that the Chairman of the Board suggested that they discuss the abolition of intercollegiate athletics. The matter never got beyond the discussion stage.

The trustees decided to change directions in 1956 and appointed three trustees to oversee the athletic department; Edward P. Brown of Murfreesboro, Nereus C. English of Thomasville, and Elton Warrick of Goldsboro helped finance a need-based athletic program and personally financed much of the cost. These three men made a significant contribution to the success of Quaker teams in the 1960s and 1970s. The advent of athletic scholarships came about in 1965 by the efforts of these men.

The trustees of the present, in the opinion of the writer, approve of intercollegiate athletics. The present board advocates a well-rounded program that meets the needs of all students and endorses Guilford's philosophy of participation and sportsmanship rather than winning at all costs.

Coaches. At Guilford, coaches in the late 1890s and early 1900s were usually faculty members who played on the team. Walter Hairland and Caswell Graves sought and were granted permission by the faculty to play in the first Guilford football game against the Charlotte YMCA in Charlotte. Hairland played tackle and Graves fullback on a team that featured W. J. Armfield, whose family donated the present athletic facility in his memory, and J. O'Neil Ragsdale, whose family played a prominent role in the campus life at Guilford. The Quakers lost their inaugural game 12-10 and quickly challenged the victors to a return game at Guilford. The Charlotte team promptly refused the challenge, deciding not to gamble on Quaker revenge.

The 1893 team had strong student support and the backing of President Lewis Lyndon Hobbs and the faculty. Mrs. Hackney, the College matron, made the uniforms from a piece of canvas purchased in Greensboro. Haviland described the uniforms, which featured tight pants and high-necked jackets, as "pretty much the pioneer type and altogether homemade." Mrs. Hackney obviously started the practice of making and repairing uniforms which has continued for years by friends of the athletic program. In the late 1960s, Margaret Boyd, the wife of J. R. Boyd (at the time chairman of the athletic committee), constantly altered and repaired Quaker basketball uniforms to save money for the program, and Marsha Jensen, wife of present basketball and golf coach Jack Jensen, is renowned for her work on basketball uniforms and golf outfits.

Haviland noted that "there was no padding of any kind, no shin guards and nothing much to wear on our heads, except heavy growths of football hair which was very much in vogue at the time and eased the force of the blow a good deal when a fellow hit the earth with his head."

The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) did not require helmets for football until 1938 and the National Football League (NFL) did not mandate their use until 1943, but Guilford players used helmets at a much earlier date. In his history of Guilford athletics, Stephen Rudio explains the purpose of the paper-thin helmets when he writes: "These helmets were not designed to protect the athlete; rather, they were supposed to

revent an opponent from grabbing a player's hair while making a tackle."

A frequent problem in the 1900s was the status of the coach and this problem was discussed at the student conference in New England. The general consensus opposed hired coaches, who the students felt were attempting to further their particular careers rather than providing students with an opportunity to enjoy the game. Successful coaches were earning high salaries that exceeded those paid college and university presidents. Dr. Carl Daney, in the October 10, 1925, issue of the Literary Digest, insisted that every college coach should be a member of the faculty with a salary no greater than that paid to professors. High salaries, Daney contended, caused coaches to try to produce winning teams through unethical practices. In November, 1925, a writer in The Independent responded to Daney by concluding that, in reality, a coach had a greater cash value than any college president. In the 1900s, as is true today, unsuccessful coaches were fired and winning coaches rewarded with high salaries. The Chronicle of Higher Education, December 18, 1985, reported that "so far this fall, 21 coaches at colleges in NCAA Division I who lost too many games have also lost their jobs." Frank Broyles, the athletic director at the University of Arkansas, estimates that the average Division I football coach now earns a salary in excess of \$250,000.

Guilford did not have the problem of high salaried coaches throughout its history and today does not boast of salaries that exceed that of the regular faculty. Guilford sought volunteer help from its alumni to coach its various teams in the early 1900s. Some alumni did volunteer their services, as is the current practice today. In the 1970s and 1980s, Guilford teams have been staffed by numerous volunteer coaches. In 1985 eight volunteer coaches assisted in football, baseball, women's basketball, lacrosse and volleyball.

In 1911 Guilford hired Charles "Chick" Doak to coach baseball, basketball and track. Doak was paid \$200 from the Athletic Association with the guarantee that the trustees would pay the balance if the Association lacked funds. The college also hired A. W. Hobbs and A. A. Dixon to coach for \$100 the same year.

The practice of faculty members playing on the varsity teams was within the rules until 1900 when Guilford and her sister institutions formed the North Carolina Athletic Association to regulate some of the practices of the day. One regulation that was adopted banned the participation of faculty on varsity teams. Guilford immediately cancelled its game with UNC the following year because the Tar Heels had professors participating on its team. UNC was a member of the Association of Southern Colleges which permitted instructors to play on varsity intercollegiate athletic teams.

From 1893 to 1942, Guilford coaches had combined records of 5-177-12. From 1945 to 1985 the record was 131-240-9. The most success has come from 1974-1985 (Dennis Haglan was coach in 1974 and 1975, and Charles Forbes has been coach since then) during which time the record has been 63-50-4.

Alumni. An alumni athletic organization, the forerunner of

the Guilford Foundation and Quaker Club, was organized in 1920. In post World War II years, the Guilford Foundation was organized to raise funds for athletic scholarships. Dr. Harry Johnson, an Elkin physician, Thomas Cheek, a member of the Little Six Champions of 1928 and 1929, and Elton Warrick, a 1926 graduate, assumed the leadership in this organization. In 1956 the name of the organization was changed to the Quaker Club. The Quaker Club attempted to raise the equivalent of ten grants per year but usually found the task too difficult. When the college decided to provide all funds for the 38 1/2 grants (for the entire sports program), the Quaker Club agreed to raise money to supplement the athletic department's budget, particularly in the area of capital outlay which is not provided in the budget. The Quaker Club is active in supporting Quaker teams that advance to national post-season play.

Guilford's Football Program. Certain things are obvious when the history of Guilford football is reviewed. Nothing much has changed from 1893 to the present except that Quaker football from 1974 until 1985 is the strongest in the history of the program. Scheduling difficulties still plague the program as they did in each decade. Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, in Guilford: A Quaker College, graphically described football in the early period from 1893 until 1905 when she wrote: "We have met the enemy and we are their's." No doubt Thorne was referring to the 1901 team which, in an attempt to save travel expenses, played two days in a row losing on Saturday to Davidson 24-0 and on Sunday to Clemson 116-0. The 1901 team completed its four game schedule by losing to the University of North Carolina 42-0 and North Carolina State 21-6. The team scored only one touchdown while its opponents averaged 50 points a game.

Thorne could have been referring to Quaker teams in the Bob Doak era that won 12 games in 11 years from 1916 to 1926, or the Block Smith era of 3 wins in six years from 1937 until 1942 in which the teams did not win a game in the 1940, 1941, or 1942 seasons. In 1940 and 1941, the teams scored only one touchdown in the season. The record of losing teams continued through the years including 1970 through 1973 when Guilford's team lost 32 consecutive games. (It is interesting to note that while the football team was involved in a losing streak of 32 games, the basketball team won the national championship in 1973.)

Although the Quakers struggled through the years many positive things happened, even in the 1893 to 1905 era. In 1896 Guilford became the first team in the state to score on UNC in four years. The 1897 and 1900 teams defeated N. C. State and the 1899 team tied them. In 1897 the team requested a trainer and the faculty approved with the stipulation that the team pay the trainer's expenses and require him to live in Archdale Hall under all Guilford rules. (It is interesting to note that Mary Broos will become Guilford's second full-time trainer in 1986, 89 years later. Her husband, however, has ruled out her living under Guilford rules in a dormitory on campus!) In 1897 the college hired Joel Whitaker as its first football coach and he immediately installed a numbering system for the team that finished the year with a 2-1-1 record.

Guilford's Athletic Philosophy. Guilford has changed many of its rules and policies to meet the demands of the various decades. The social code has changed dramatically during the years from 1888 to 1985. According to Rundio:

Parlor rules prohibited boys and girls from meeting in the parlor except on business. Girls were granted permission to attend baseball games on the ball ground but this was limited to once a week...On December 12, 1892, the girls were first allowed to go to the store. They were allowed to do so only at noon and the boys were not permitted to visit the store at that time. Girls were not permitted to frequent the gymnasium when the boys were there and they were not to visit the boys' tennis courts. Needless to say, the YMCA gym was "off limits."

With a co-educational dormitory it is obvious that Guilford's stringent rules have been relaxed.

In the very early days students were required to go to bed immediately after supper and all were required to work in addition to their studies.

Although Guilford made important and necessary changes, its athletic philosophy through the years has remained constant. Many people continue to ask why Guilford does not make a commitment to football so the program can compete on even terms with its opponents. It is fair to say that five of Guilford's presidents have indicated that they support a sports program but insist that it be a part of the total educational program. Dr. Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, Guilford's first president (1888-1915), has been credited with introducing baseball to the area. He wrote in the 1896

collegian: "Students need to be impressed with the necessity of physical training as a means of accomplishing most in College and best in life. All needs to be done that can contribute to the joyousness of youth. Play is a necessity of our nature."

President Hobbs was aware of the needs of our women and in the president's report of 1885-89 he declared: "That girls should have advantages equal in every respect to those offered to the boys in no way admits to contradiction."

Dr. Raymond Binford (1918-1939) evidently had a strong influence on sports. In his history of Guilford athletics, Rundio mentions Binford frequently. For example, Rundio notes that: "The year 1902 saw the first track meet ever to take place on Guilford athletic grounds. Largely through the efforts of Professor Binford an intramural meet was conducted." Binford was appointed by President L. Hobbs to serve on the athletic committee and when he was scheduled to be away in 1906 and unavailable to coach football the sport was dropped.

This writer can add from personal experience that President Clyde A. Milner (1934-1965), Grimsley T. Hobbs (1965-1980), and William R. Rogers (1980-present) have all given tremendous support to Guilford's athletic program and to football in particular. All

three believe in sports for its value to the individual but agree in principle that it cannot be the "tail that wags the dog." All three were supportive of the efforts of the coaches who were first teachers and then coaches.

F. C. Shepard, a football coach in 1928, summed up Guilford's philosophy in a letter to officials at Hampden-Sydney College in 1936 when he wrote: "We do not, however, wish to undertake any athletic program which involves greater financial responsibilities, a broader schedule or increase [sic] emphasis on athletics. Our chief aim is to have all schools with athletic directors on the same basis as other members of the faculty, both as to salary and tenure of office, with less emphasis on winning and more emphasis on sportsmanship."

Many things are predictable regarding Guilford's football program; there will be adversity, Guilford teams will in all probability continue to be the underdog against the majority of its opponents and coaches and student-athletes will continue to believe that they can overcome the impossible.

Guilford's athletic philosophy will continue to emphasize sportsmanship rather than winning and football will hopefully remain a vital force in the life of the college and the individuals who play the sport.

Wilt Browning

Much of the legacy now reposes as fading memory for a handful of aging men.

It is there as an ancient photograph of a turn-of-the-century baseball team and in the yellowing pages of campus publications of long ago.

It is there as entries in a collection of histories -- or as entire treatises on the theme -- penned by inspired scholars out of love or out of pursuit of academic credit, or both.

It is there in rich tales told and retold, embellished and enhanced as they are passed from one generation to the next.

It is the memory of an old building called "The Barn" and of a baseball field called "Hobbs Hollow."

It also is as modern as today, as well-known as former makers such as M.L. Carr of the Boston Celtics and World B. Free of the Cleveland Cavaliers.

Yet it is the people of antiquity, the nameless denizens who made history as the participants in what may well have been the first baseball game and the first basketball game ever played in North Carolina.

It is Guilford College's special athletic history which received lofty confirmation August 13, 1985, when Rick Ferrell, a former Quaker baseball star for three seasons, was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, N. Y.

Rick Ferrell, who grew up on a farm off U.S. 421 just west of Greensboro, became the second born-and-bred Tar Heel enshrined at Cooperstown, and the first to arrive there via the conventional route -- through major league baseball performance.

Buck Leonard of Rocky Mount, star first baseman of the old Negro leagues, was the first. Luke Appling, who played for 20 seasons with the Chicago White Sox and became a member of the Hall of Fame in 1964, was born in High Point but grew up in Georgia.

That Ferrell would ascend to the Hall of Fame from the picturesque Quaker campus at the intersection of Friendly Avenue and New Garden Road is stunning only in the harsh light by which the best modern college athletic programs are judged.

Guilford College's sports heritage is one which grew out of a religion-based philosophy in which athletes aren't measured on the basis of wins and losses. By that standard, Guilford's is not the classic success story. Its student body, faculty and administration have endured long losing streaks in football and mediocrity in most seasons in baseball and basketball.

Yet, such is the view of athletics as only a part of campus life that no coach in any sport has ever been fired, although several have resigned out of frustration.

"I could understand that frustration," said Guilford College athletic director Dr. Herb Appenzeller.

This article first appeared in The Greensboro News and Record May 20, 1984.

Then a highly successful coach at Chowan Junior College who had taken his team to five straight junior college bowl games, Appenzeller had been hired as the new head football coach at Guilford College. But he hadn't yet reported to the Greensboro campus in the summer of 1956 when he placed a long distance call requesting that the dean of men reserve 30 dormitory beds for incoming freshmen football players Appenzeller hoped to recruit.

Within minutes, he received a return call from the dean.

"Appenzeller, what are you trying to do? Don't worry about winning. Just come on up here and get settled in. You can do your recruiting next year."

Indeed Guilford College's is a history which traces faculty unrest in post-World War II seasons to a fear that this small Quaker institution was, at any one of several junctures, about to cross over into the era of big time college athletics.

Through it all, Guilford athletics has remained manageable. Today it is so low-profile that even football records of seasons as recent as 1976 and 1977 are incomplete. Yet, Guilford's may be one of the richest sports histories in the state.

Ferrell's is merely one of the brightest of the bright lights of athletics which dot the college's first 147 years.

Three of the school's former baseball players -- Ferrell, Tom Zachary and Ernie Shore -- had impressive major league careers and no less than six other former Quakers played at least briefly in the major leagues.

There is an unsubstantiated claim that Lucien Smith, who became one of Guilford's early baseball coaches and the school's first physical education director, ascended to the major leagues. But it is likely that Bill Lindsay of Madison, who appeared in 19 games in 1911 for the Cleveland Indians, was the first.

The list also includes Thomas (Tim) Murchison of Liberty, who appeared in one game as a pitcher for the 1917 St. Louis Cardinals and in two games for the 1921 Cleveland Indians.

Luke Stuart of Alamance County appeared in three games as a second baseman for the 1921 St. Louis Browns. Rufus Frazier (Shirt) Smith, whose home was near the Guilford campus, pitched in one game -- as a starter, going eight innings without giving up a run -- for the 1927 Detroit Tigers. And infielder Glenn Perry of Snow Camp participated in 36 games with the 1941 Detroit Tigers.

Though their major league tenures were brief, they were not without some acclaim.

Stuart, for example, went to bat only three times in the major leagues and collected one hit, a two-run home run off Washington Senator Hall of Fame pitcher Walter Johnson, according to baseball historian Dr. Stanley Grosshandler of Raleigh.

More colorful was the eight-year major league record of former Quaker Stuart Martin of Rich Square. He is the man who replaced Hall of Famer Frankie Frisch as the second baseman for the St. Louis Cardinals' Gas House Gang, a legendary team which included Johnny Mize, Leo Durocher, Pepper Martin, Ducky Medwick and the Dean brothers, Dizzy and Daffy. North Carolinian Enos (Country) Slaughter, Marty Marion and Mickey Owen would later join that group. Martin also hit .305 for the 1941 Pittsburgh Pirates.

But the grandest of the names of former Quakers are those of

Ferrell, Zachary and Shore.

"Coach Bob Doak used to tell me about Rick Ferrell," said longtime faculty athletic chairman Dr. E. G. Purdom, retired physics professor at Guilford. "I understand that Ferrell's father didn't especially want any of his boys playing baseball. The Ferrells' father apparently felt that his sons could better spend their time at home working on their dairy farm. So, in order to have Rick accompany the team when it went out of town, Coach Doak had to recruit other students to work in Rick's place on the family farm."

Rick's younger brother Wes also enjoyed a long major league career and so athletically talented was the family that a team of Ferrells once won the Guilford County baseball championship.

Ferrell left his mark in the major leagues in several areas. He still owns the American League record for longevity for catchers. In 18 seasons, Ferrell caught 1,806 games including 100 or more in each of 10 seasons. He may be the only catcher in major league history assigned to work with four different knuckleball pitchers.

He remained in baseball, became the general manager of the Detroit Tigers and at the age of 78 still maintains an office in Tiger Stadium where he serves as executive consultant.

Shore, who later became sheriff of Forsyth County and for whom the Winston-Salem ballpark is named, also holds a special major league distinction, as does Zachary. Shore is the only relief pitcher ever to record a perfect game. It was one of baseball's most unusual moments.

Shore's Boston Red Sox roommate Babe Ruth had been the starting pitcher against Washington on June 23, 1917. Ruth walked Ray Morgan, the first batter he faced, before plate umpire Clarence (Brick) Owens ejected Ruth for disputing a call.

Shore, a starting pitcher for most of his career, was rushed into the game without benefit of a warmup. Morgan was tossed out attempting to steal second and Shore retired the next 26 batters.

The accomplishment is now listed as an official perfect game by Shore though baseball record-keepers demurred to sanction it in that manner for decades.

Zachary, meanwhile, is one of a small number of major league baseball players who never served time in the minor leagues.

A Graham native and the son of a Quaker minister, Zachary became one of the first conscientious objectors to military service during World War I and volunteered for relief work in France through the church-sponsored American Friends Service Committee headquartered in Philadelphia.

"But it was difficult to get passage and the committee asked Tom and the rest of the volunteers there to try to find jobs to support themselves while they awaited shipment to France," said Dr. Algie Newlin, a relative and retired head of Guilford College's history department.

"The only thing Tom wanted to do was play baseball and he went to talk to Connie Mack with the Philadelphia Athletics," the 9-year-old Dr. Newlin said. "Mr. Mack asked a coach to take a look at Tom and he apparently was impressed. They gave Tom a try."

Under the pseudonym of Zach Walton (his given name was Jonathan Thompson Walton Zachary), he pitched two games for Mack, starting both. He won one and was not the pitcher of record in the other.

"He thought he might like to return to Guilford to pitch after his service in France," Dr. Newlin said. "But he was found out quickly. The first time he walked to the mound, a voice called out from the stands, 'Hey, Zack, what are you doing here?' It was someone who had recognized him from Guilford College."

"I believe Mr. Mack agreed to pay Tom \$100 a game and that was a lot of money," Dr. Newlin said. "I remember that he kept sending money home to his parents and they wondered if he had robbed a bank or something. Of course, they knew better than that, but it was a lot of money."

A year later, Zachary, using his given name, joined the Washington Senators. For 19 seasons and for five different teams Zachary performed in the major leagues and in 1929 recorded a rare undefeated season with a 12-0 record for the New York Yankees. He finished with 185 lifetime victories.

Zachary as a Washington Senator also would know dubious fame as the pitcher who yielded home run No. 60 to Babe Ruth in 1927.

Long before his surreptitious major league debut as Zach Walton, Zachary already had been dubbed "The Iron Man" by a Greensboro sports writer for pitching in five games -- three as a starter and two in relief -- in one six-day period during his college days. In all three of his starts he went the distance and won the game.

\* \* \*

Newlin, an important name in the school's sports heritage, contemplated the question a minute or two. Why was the growth of athletics at the Quaker institution restricted?

"I suppose," he finally said with a wry smile, "that Guilford College has succumbed to the pursuit of scholastic excellence in which all small colleges indulge from time to time."

In recent seasons, though, the school's department of athletics also has produced excellence in sports. Since John Meroney, a halfback on the Guilford football team, became the school's first All-American in 1959, the Quakers have regularly collected individual all-star citations in various sports.

And in 1973, its basketball team on which M.L. Carr, Lloyd Free and Greg Jackson were stars won the NAIA national championship.

A year ago, golfer Bill Brooks won the NAIA national championship on a co-medalist basis.

The 1981 Quaker women's tennis team gave Guilford its second national championship. And a year later, Tarja Koho swept to the national singles title with a 32-0 record through regular season matches and the NAIA tournament and became an All-American in both singles and doubles.

But it is a college which walks a scholastic and scheduling tightrope in football.

"Some of the teams we schedule are Salisbury State, Bridgewater, Emory & Henry and Hampden-Sydney," said Appenzeller.

If we do too well, they can't play us."

"But we've also got to play Elon, Catawba, Davidson,enoir-Rhyne and Fayetteville State. If we don't have enough to ave competitive athletes, they'll wipe us off the field."

It is a tightrope act which is reflected in recent records of he football team under present coach Charles Forbes. Modest by ost collegiate standards, the football record over the last four easons is the best in the school's history. For the first time ver, Guilford has survived with records of .500 or better for our straight years. The Quakers were 6-3 in 1980, 5-5 in 1981 nd 1982, and 5-4-1 in 1983.

The Quakers have recorded only 15 winning seasons out of 78. las, in 15 other seasons the football team has failed to win.

Guilford's football high-water mark is a 7-1-1 record in 1929 hich produced a state small college championship.

The opposite end of that spectrum came in the 1970s. From he fifth game of the 1970 season until the eighth game of the 973 campaign, the Quakers lost 33 straight football games, one hort of the NAIA record.

But at Guilford, there was no movement to fire the coach, no arching on the office of the president, no hangings in effigy. ndeed, the streak became a cause celebre in its own right on mpus.

"I was hoping so much that we would lose one more game ecause that was the record," said Dr. Pete Moore, retired head f the religion department and the school's unofficial sports istorian.

But Moore, in a sense, epitomizes the unique love of football n the Quaker campus.

"Whether the team wins or loses," he said in a recent nterview, "there's something about just being there that seems so merican."

Indeed, if it is true that America loves the underdog, Quaker ootball teams of the past were especially lovable.

In 1940, 1941 and 1942, the Quakers scored a total of two ouchdowns.

"One came near the end of the game against Elon in 1941," ppenzeller said, "and coach (C.D.) 'Block' Smith had to call time ut to huddle with his team and tell them how to line up for the xtra point attempt."

\* \* \*

Only two times in more than three-quarters of a century did he Guilford program threaten to grow into major college roportions.

Former North Carolina State coach William (Doc) Newton rived in 1945 with the dream of building a post-war program on a ar with Duke, Wake Forest, Carolina, State and Davidson.

Stocking his team for two seasons with returning veterans ashing in on the G.I. Bill in education, Newton saw his program eak in its second season, 1946, with a 6-2-1 record. But it is emembered as the team which somehow managed to score a touchdown gainst a powerful Maryland team in 1945. The final score was 0-6 in Maryland's favor and it was the first college coaching ictory for Paul (Bear) Bryant.

With the loss of veterans and the evaporation of the boon brought about by the G.I. Bill, Newton's program dropped back to 4-6 with traditional Guilford College athletic funding a year later and Newton resigned, his dream never realized.

Appenzeller's arrival became the second hint that football would be emphasized on the small, quiet campus. Three faculty members offered to resign in protest when Appenzeller, awarded status as a full professor, was named in the summer of 1956 to head up the football program.

To some degree, school president Dr. Clyde A. Milner shared that concern, according to Appenzeller.

"We were scheduled to play Bridgewater in my first game in 1956," said Appenzeller, who had been accompanied to Guilford by eight players who had played for him on junior college bowl teams at Chowan. "Dr. Milner and the president of Bridgewater were good friends and they wanted the rivalry to continue on a friendly basis.

"Dr. Milner called me into his office before that game and talked to me at length about good sportsmanship and lofty ideals. He talked all around the subject and finally he was finished.

"I sat there for a couple of minutes and thought about what he had said. Then I said, 'Dr. Milner, I want to understand you correctly. Are you telling me that if we can beat the devil out of them, don't do it?'

"He said to me, 'Why, yes, my dear man, that's exactly what I am saying.'

"I think he thought we were going to be good," said Appenzeller with a smile. Late Saturday afternoon on that opening day, Appenzeller's football team mounted a frantic goal line stand in the closing minutes to preserve a 12-7 victory. It was the Quakers' only win of the season.

\* \* \*

The possibility that Guilford football would ascend to the level of the Southern Conference or higher apparently lingered.

For example, in 1959 the Green Bay Packers, on a pre-season exhibition tour, drove onto the picturesque campus for a workout. The legendary Vince Lombardi was coach of a Packer team that included Bart Starr, Paul Hornung and one of the best defensive units in professional football.

Appenzeller strolled the sidelines enthralled. He had come from a Quaker practice session and was still dressed for his own coaching duties.

"Dr. Milner walked up behind me and stood quietly watching what was going on for a few minutes," said Appenzeller. "Then, just before he turned to walk away, he said, 'Oh, my good man, I believe we're going to have a pretty good ball club this year.'"

\* \* \*

Appenzeller said that the prevailing philosophy that all students should earn their educations in large part, and that there would be no free rides, has established the course of Guilford College sports.

That is why, said Appenzeller, coaches have not been critiqued on the basis of wins and losses.

And it has been a philosophy which seems to have been

praced by alumni.

"I have never received a letter or any other kind of complaint from an alumnus," said just-retired baseball coach Hart Maynard, who coached football from 1951 through 1955 and compiled a 6-33-1 record.

"In my 28 years here," said Appenzeller, "I have received only one alumni complaint. When I hired Jerry Steele to coach basketball and then hired (present head coach) Jack Jensen as his assistant, I got a letter complaining that we had hired two Wake Forest products.

"And a couple of months later, the guy who wrote the letter then called me to apologize for writing that one."

Under the direction of Steele and Jensen, Guilford's basketball program developed powerhouses in NAIA circles with the arrival of Bob Kauffman in 1966 and later with the matriculation of Carr, Free and Jackson on the team which won the national championship in 1973.

"The biggest thing we have had to do," said Appenzeller, "is try not to get into that syndrome of trying to be another Notre Dame or Carolina or Wake Forest."

## ATHLETES: WHAT DO THE DATA SAY?

Richard L. Zweigenhaft

I. Introduction

In the spring of 1982, I was teaching an interdisciplinary seminar titled "Sport and Society." Early in that semester, I received a letter from Alan Sack, a sociologist at the University of New Haven (and a former defensive end on Notre Dame's 1966 championship football team), asking if Guilford would participate in a national study of college basketball players. Sack, working with the Center for Athletes' Rights and Education (CARE), had developed a survey that he hoped to administer to basketball players at colleges and universities around the country. It included questions about what it was like to be a student-athlete, about scholarship and financial aid, about their health and their reasons for participating in varsity sports, and about their attitudes toward a variety of sports-related issues.

The class decided to participate in the study, and my students and I administered the survey to members of the men's and women's basketball teams. In addition, we decided to administer the survey to members of the men's and women's tennis teams, and to members of the men's baseball team and the women's softball team.\*

This article is based on the responses of the 67 Guilford athletes who completed the survey. Since Sack has provided me with a computer tape that includes the responses of all of those who participated in the study, the experiences and perceptions of the Guilford basketball players can be compared with 626 male and female basketball players at 47 other colleges and universities. The data, of course, allow for additional analyses. Because we administered the survey to tennis, baseball and softball players, it is possible to perform internal analyses in which we compare the responses of the participants in these different sports on the various questions they were asked (for example, are tennis players more or less likely than basketball players to say that participating in their sport has forced them to "take gut or easy courses"? to cut classes? to choose an easy major?). And, finally and perhaps most importantly, these findings can be compared to the way we think things should be at a small liberal arts college (and more specifically, at Guilford College, a particular small liberal arts college with a commitment to certain values). I will attempt to examine these data from all three of these perspectives.

A word of caution: this is but a snapshot, and an incomplete one at that. This article is not based on all the intercollegiate athletes who have played at Guilford, and it isn't even based on

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\*I'd like to thank the following members of that class, who helped gather the data used in this article: John Crane, Randy Doss, Peter Fraunholtz, Stan Givens, Kenny Goetze, Elsbeth McDonald, Will Robinson, Ed Smith and Mark Solomon.

all who were enrolled at Guilford in the spring of 1982. It doesn't include those who played baseball at Guilford in the Algie Newlin era, some of whom went on to play in the major leagues (one of whom served up the pitch that Babe Ruth walloped for his 60th home run in 1927); it doesn't include those who played during the "glory days" when fans stood in line to see M. L. Carr, Lloyd (Pre-World) Free and company dominate their opponents in the Cracker Box; and it doesn't include any football players, the largest team on campus in terms of numbers and in terms of bulk. But the article is based on the responses of 67 Guilford intercollegiate athletes who were probably not too different than a lot of other Guilford intercollegiate athletes in the early 1980s.

We were able to administer the survey to 18 of the students who were playing on the men's and women's varsity basketball teams, and to 15 tennis players, 22 baseball players, and 12 women on the softball team. Respondents did not sign their names on the surveys, and the surveys were collected in a way that insured anonymity. What, then, do the data say?

#### I. Guilford basketball players versus those at other schools

The Guilford respondents certainly had different experiences to report than those athletes at larger universities who have made headlines by revealing that they have received illegal payoffs while in college. The scandals that have led to major investigations of the athletic programs at such schools as Tulane, Texas A & M and Clemson make intercollegiate sports at Guilford seem angelic. None of the 64 basketball players, for example, indicated that they knew "a lot" of athletes who receive money under the table," and none indicated that because they were athletes other people had written papers for them. This, however, is also the pattern for the basketball players in this survey who were at other schools: Sack did not find an abundance of academic abuse. He explains this in the following way:

These findings might in part result from the nonrandom nature of the sample. Most of the schools surveyed are in the Northeastern United States, which may have a greater proportion of schools with a commitment to educating athletes. The fact that getting access to players was often dependent on the good graces of coaches may also have biased the sample in favor of schools with good academic records. Some coaches did in fact refuse. It is also possible that academic abuses are far greater in a sport such as football. Then again, it may be that the vast majority of athletes, with the exception of those from extremely poor academic backgrounds, are able to handle the athletic and academic rigors of high performance in college sport.\*

Allen L. Sack and Robert Thiel, "College Basketball and Role Conflict: A National Survey," Sociology of Sports Journal, 1985, 2, p. 207.

The 18 Guilford basketball players were similar in a number of ways to the national sample of 626 basketball players. About half of the respondents in each sample were male (and -- no surprise here -- about half were female), about three-fourths of the respondents in each sample were white (almost all of the others were black), and about 60% of the respondents in each group came from families whose income was under \$40,000.

And although about half of the national sample were at NCAA Division I schools, which had led me to assume they would report very different experiences and perceptions than the Guilford sample, this was not the case. The responses of the Guilford College athletes to most of the items on the survey were very similar to the responses of the basketball players around the country. In some cases, this was reassuring; in others it raised some troubling questions.

For example, when asked why they play college basketball, the most frequent response for the national sample and for the Guilford sample was that they played for "the sheer fun of it." I was glad to see this. But, when asked if being an athlete has forced them to "take a less demanding major," about one-fifth of the respondents in each group indicated that it had. When asked if being an athlete had forced them to take "gut or easy courses," about one-fourth of each group responded affirmatively. And when asked if they had "ever used pain killing drugs" to help them "play while injured," about one-fifth of the national sample and one fourth of the Guilford sample indicated that they had. Although there were slight differences between the responses of the Guilford students and those at other schools on each of these items, they were trivial in magnitude (and statistically insignificant). I had expected Guilford athletes to be less likely than athletes at other schools to respond affirmatively to these items, but this was not the case.

There were, however, some items that Guilford basketball players responded to differently than basketball players elsewhere (throughout the article, any such claims of "differences" indicates that the differences were statistically significant to the .05 level of probability -- that is, based on chance alone, these differences would have occurred less than one in twenty times). Most of these were not surprising. The Guilford students were less likely than those in the national sample to indicate that they had gone to see a tutor because of academic difficulties. They were less likely to indicate that they felt pressured to take fewer courses per semester because of participating in athletics. They were less likely to agree with the item that read "It is accurate to say that athletes on scholarship are getting their education for free," and they were less likely to agree with an item that read, "College athletes have a right to the same kinds of benefits as other employees in the American workforce."

Two of the differences, however, were somewhat surprising. The first was that the Guilford respondents indicated that they were expected to spend more, not less, time per week on their sport than were the basketball players elsewhere. When asked, "During the season, how many hours per week does your coach expect you to give to basketball? (Include time practicing, lifting weights, playing game,

attending meetings, traveling, etc.)," the average estimate for the national sample was slightly under 23 hours per week, but for the Guilford basketball players it was slightly over 28 hours per week (put another way, only 29% of the national sample but 50% of the Guilford students gave estimates of 25 hours or more). Given the wording of the item, it is impossible to tell if this difference is based on longer hours of practice or longer hours of travel. Because of difficulties scheduling games with schools of comparable size and with approximately equal numbers of grants-in-aid, Guilford may have to travel further to games than do most schools in Sack's sample. Furthermore, since most of the schools Sack sampled are in the northeast, they may not have to travel as far because there are so many other schools close by.

The second surprising difference was that a higher percentage of the Guilford athletes than of the national sample reported being injured while participating in college sports. In response to the question "Have you ever been injured so seriously in college sport that you had to receive treatment?", "only" 57% of the national sample but 82% of the Guilford sample responded affirmatively.

The final two items on the survey were open-ended questions which asked (1) "What is the greatest advantage of being a varsity athlete at your school?" and (2) "What things do you dislike about being a varsity athlete?" The responses to the first question included comments about "personal satisfaction," "meeting people," helping to pay for "the high cost of a college education," "recognition" and "having an identity." In addition, a few respondents referred specifically to their love of the game. One woman wrote that the greatest advantage was "Getting to participate in a sport you truly love."

Predictably, given the findings reported so far, the most frequent response to the second question, which asked what they disliked, had to do with how much time it took. For example, among the responses were "The long hours of practice," "Consumes a great deal of time," and "Takes away free time." Some of the other "dislikes" listed were also related to the issue of time, such as one student's complaint about "having to miss classes for games," and another who wrote, "Sometimes I don't like the traveling; especially when I have tests the next day."

Another "dislike," which was not reflected in the responses to the other items on the survey, was mentioned by two students. One wrote that what she disliked was "the way some professors down-grade you because you're an athlete." The other wrote: "Some of the other students and professors on our campus think that an athlete is a 'dumb jock,' which is not necessarily true." It is not clear if the first student meant by the term "down-grade" that faculty think less of athletes, or give them lower grades because they are athletes (though both charges are troubling, the latter is more so). The tendency to stereotype athletes is certainly not unique to Guilford. Such stereotyping, or, at least, the perception of such stereotypes by some athletes, is not unimportant in trying to understand the perceptions and experiences of athletes at this school.

The picture that emerges of Guilford basketball players, then, is that of a group of men and women who put in long hours (and

risk injury) but who play because they love the game. Most do not report that playing basketball has a negative effect on their education. A minority, however, do indicate that they, like athletes in bigger, more publicized programs, feel pressured because of their athletic involvement to take easy courses, to select a less demanding major, and to use pain-killing drugs in order to play hurt. Some believe that faculty think of athletes as "dumb jocks."

### III. Differences among Guilford basketball, tennis, baseball and softball players

For the most part, the responses of the Guilford tennis players and baseball players were similar to those of the Guilford basketball players. The majority of the participants in those sports indicated that they, too, play for the "sheer fun of it," and a small but consistent minority indicated that their participation in sports forced them to miss important exams, to miss taking courses they wanted to take, and to select a less demanding major. It is noteworthy that a majority of the respondents in all three sports acknowledged that being an athlete forced them to "cut classes" -- 56% of the basketball players, 79% of the baseball players and 87% of the tennis players.

There were, however, some differences in the ways the basketball, baseball and tennis players responded to certain of the items on the survey. The tennis players, like the basketball players, reported that they are expected to give long hours to their sport -- 53% estimated that they put in more than 25 hours per week during the season. In contrast, only 18% of the baseball and softball players estimated that they put in more than 25 hours per week. As might be expected, the tennis players and the baseball and softball players were less likely than the basketball players to report that they had been injured seriously enough to receive treatment. And, when asked if they enjoyed playing their sport in college as much as they enjoyed playing it in high school, only 50% of the basketball players said yes, as compared to 60% of the baseball players and 86% of the tennis players. It should be noted that in 1981-82 the men's basketball team was 6-20, and the women's basketball team was 1-18; the baseball team's record was 17-15, and the softball team's was 3-19; the men's tennis team was 11-12, and the women's tennis team was 11-6 (and came in second in the NAIA national tournament).

### IV. Differences between Guilford men and women athletes

Surprisingly, the 30 female athletes responded differently than the 37 male athletes on only three of the items on the survey. The women were less likely than the men to agree to an item that read "Athletes in my sport generally make greater sacrifices than regular students to get their education" (79% of the men agreed, compared to only 37% of the women). The women were also less likely to agree with an item that asserted: "Women's sports at my school get their fair share of financial support" (56% of the men agreed, but only 23% of the women agreed). Finally, the women were less likely to respond affirmatively to an item that asked: "Do you think you are

adequately rewarded for the time and energy you devote to college sport?" (69% of the men said yes, compared to only 43% of the women).

#### V. Conclusions

These data are, for the most part, reassuring. The Guilford athletes we surveyed do not report the kinds of scandalous behavior that has led William Friday, the President of the University of North Carolina, to assert that "Anybody who knows anything about intercollegiate athletics knows that it's in trouble." These findings do not indicate that intercollegiate athletics at Guilford is "in trouble." The students that we surveyed seem to enjoy their participation in their sport (most play for the sheer fun of it) and they do not indicate that their college education has taken a back seat to their athletic involvement.

A sizeable and consistent, minority, however, do claim that, because of their athletic participation in a varsity sport, they have cut corners on their education. Like athletes at other schools, about 20-25% of the Guilford athletes report that they have felt it necessary to select gut courses and a less demanding major than they otherwise would have chosen. And, as was true elsewhere, about 20% of the Guilford athletes responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you feel pressure to be an athlete first and a student second?"

In his analysis of the national data, Sack found that "the more hours per week athletes report that their coaches expect them to give to basketball, the more likely they are to experience role conflict." That is, the more hours they are expected to put in, the more they "feel pressured to be an athlete first and a student second," and the more likely they are to take a less demanding major, cheat in exams, take easy courses, cut classes, miss exams, have others write their papers, take fewer courses per semester, miss important courses, and feel cut off from the student body. The data we have analyzed in this article suggest that the demands on time, especially in basketball and tennis, are related to such role conflict -- this is revealed in the responses to specific items (such as the high percentage of athletes who reported that they felt pressured to cut classes), and in the open-ended responses to the question asking what they disliked about being varsity athletes.

These findings, as I indicated at the outset, are based on a mere snapshot of the larger picture. Still, these findings are provocative, and warn us of the conflicts experienced by some of our students who are also athletes. These data serve to remind us that for some people, it is a delicate balance between being a student and an athlete.

AT THE GUILFORD COLLEGE BASEBALL TEAM

Noboru Yoshimura

1. Introduction

In 1873, baseball was introduced to Japan from the U.S. Though the Japanese have been playing by the same basic rules and regulations as Americans since then, baseball in Japan has come to diverge in its playing methods and in its functions as a social institution from American baseball. There is no doubt that cultural differences have affected the transformation of Japanese baseball.

As a result, a Japanese baseball player today finds American baseball different from his own; he notices the cultural dimensions of baseball. In other words, he sees the influence of American culture in baseball.

I played baseball for the varsity team at International Christian University (ICU) in Tokyo, Japan, for two years. Then, I came to Guilford College as an exchange student in 1983-1984 and fortunately had a chance to play for the college baseball team. Though the size and academic level of both schools were similar, I found a lot of differences between the two teams. In this paper, I am going to discuss how I perceive American baseball from a Japanese point of view, based on my personal experience and analysis.

2. Grounds

The first time I saw the baseball field at Guilford College, I thought it was huge, but beautiful. The figures on the fence surrounding the outfield -- 320, 360, and 380 -- didn't make any sense to me, because I was used to the metric system. Later I found out that the foul lines of this field were about 30 feet longer than those of most Japanese fields, including those used by professional players. However, I didn't realize that the field at Guilford College was not particularly big until I played on several other baseball fields.

It was also surprising to me that some grounds had a straight fence around the outfield, and that sometimes the fence in left field was deeper than in right field; in Japan I had never seen a field in which the shape was not symmetrical. The infield grass looked beautiful; seeing it made me feel that I was really in the U.S. In Japan, almost no baseball fields have grass in the infield except ones made of artificial turf. However, many Japanese know that American grounds have beautiful infields covered with grass.

3. Players

The quality of the players at Guilford College is far superior to those at ICU. In Japan, only a large university with an enrollment of five or ten thousand students would have as good a ball club as Guilford has. Players here are physically far

superior to those with whom I used to play. They hit with incredible power and throw an unbelievably hard ball. I could hardly keep up with their play until I gained ten pounds by lifting weights.

Spontaneity and independence of players are also new to a Japanese. They often practice as much as they think necessary without being told to by the coach. During practice, from my point of view, they seem to do what they want. In Japan, practice is more organized.

During this year, many players came, played on the team for a while, and quit. That was another thing that was surprising to me. Usually, a Japanese college baseball team is so cohesive that it is difficult for anyone to withdraw from the team without good reasons. In the U.S, players and coaches don't seem to care even when players disappear suddenly.

American players don't seem to make an effort to have good relationships with their teammates, either. When they don't like something, they complain, no matter what the result. In fact, I observed a lot of conflicts within the team. In general, I found players on the Guilford baseball team to be independent; at times, I found some to be selfish and arrogant.

#### • Baseball and college

Last fall I was not eligible to play in a game, because I was considered to be a transfer student (transfer students can't play in their first semester). It really sounded stupid to me, a Japanese, for several reasons. First of all, almost no students transfer in Japanese colleges; it is certainly unimaginable that students would transfer in order to play a sport. Second, in general, college sports neither make money nor enhance the reputation of a school. Japanese colleges have very small budgets for their sports programs; ICU's baseball team gets \$400 a year while the Guilford team is given \$10,000 besides grants. Consequently, at ICU no college athlete is awarded a scholarship for playing a sport.

These divergences result from the different educational system. One thing peculiar to Japanese colleges (especially competitive ones) is that they can have very few students who are qualified academically as well as athletically, because entrance examinations are extremely competitive. Since high school baseball is also highly competitive, a high school student can't pursue both study and a sport. In fact, not many Japanese professional baseball players are college graduates.

Moreover, Japanese colleges are scarcely related to local communities; few people are interested in college sports (as a matter of fact, most of the colleges are concentrated in several big cities). There is not much TV coverage of intercollegiate games, either. In a commercial sense, only a few rugby matches are successful. College sports are by no means big business in Japan.

#### • Strategy

In my opinion, American baseball players have good arms and hit with power but lack quickness and are not fast. Perhaps in

part because of these factors, American baseball is less strategic. For example, American baseball has many fewer steals, sacrifice bunts, squeeze plays, and hit-and-run plays than Japanese baseball.

The batting of American players is also erratic. They seem to hit for all or nothing. It is astonishing to me that some players hit home runs on the third pitch after swinging and missing twice.

Most pitchers have only two kinds of pitches: straight and curve. They put much emphasis on throwing hard rather than working on control. If I were to describe American baseball in one sentence, I would say, "Pitchers throw as hard as they can and batters hit the ball as hard as possible."

## 6. Blacks

I had expected the Guilford College baseball team to have several blacks, but, in fact, it had only one black player. I am very interested in this topic (blacks on a baseball team), because Japan is such a homogeneous country that Japanese players can hardly experience racial problems on their teams.

During the season, I kept records about the number and positions of black players on opposing teams. In general, the baseball teams we played had very few black players. If we exclude North Carolina A. & T., which is predominantly a black college, blacks made up only 4% of all the players we faced (each team had about 22 players). It is also worth pointing out that more than one third of the teams we faced had no black players. Since the sample was so small, I could not see any evidence of the "stacking phenomenon" (blacks being relegated to certain positions). However in fact, there were no black second basemen, third basemen, shortstops, or centerfielders.

## 7. Cultural dimensions of baseball

American baseball seems an individual sport rather than a team sport to me. Players are confident and proud of what they are doing. Of course, Japanese players also have confidence in themselves, but they try to conceal their emotion on behalf of their teams. They think that if they are proud of themselves openly, they will destroy the harmony on the team; they are playing for the team. On the other hand, American players play for themselves on the team. They may think if they do their best, and every other player does the same thing, the team will naturally win games.

From my point of view, this kind of attitude means less commitment to the team. American players quit whenever they want; they leave their team during the off-season and play other sports. Japanese can't behave like this because they commit themselves to the team, only one team; that is socially important.

I also observed several conflicts on the team. Once a player said to another one, with anger, "If you don't like what I am doing, play with other guys!" I'm really playing with American ball players, I thought. They produce tremendous power as individuals, but they don't make much more than the aggregate of pieces as a team. This is what the American society is.

# GUILFORD

## GIRLS' ATHLETICS



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EULA HOCKETT .....	Secretary
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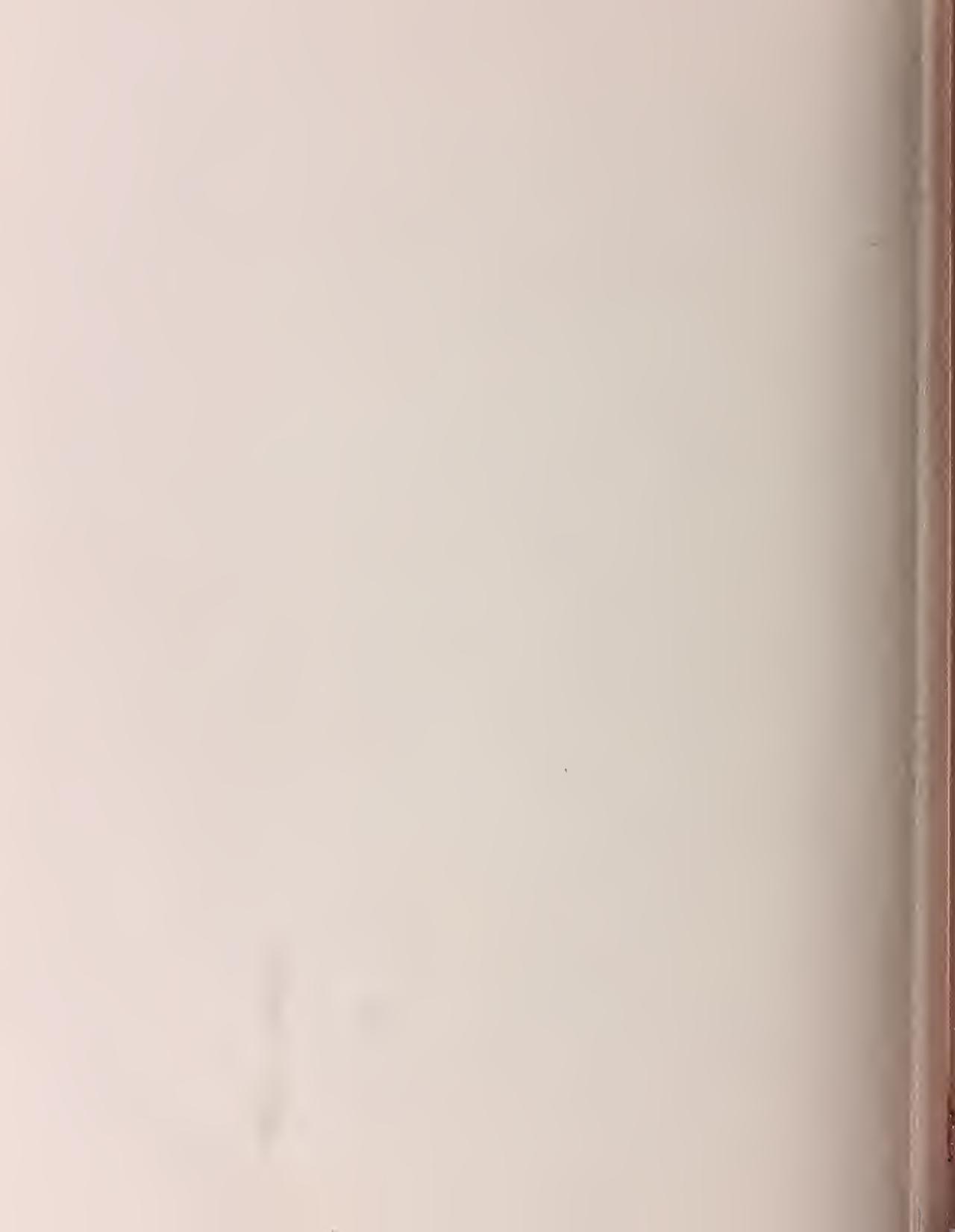
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# Guilford Review

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Number Twenty-Three

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Spring 1986

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The Guilford Review is published in November and April by Guilford College. It is limited primarily to the writing of faculty, staff, alumni, guest speakers and others associated with the College. Material for publication should be submitted to: The Editor, Guilford Review, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, 27410.

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PERSPECTIVES ON THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WORLD  
OF VISCOUNTESS ANNE CONWAY

This issue of The Guilford Review is based on a Symposium, "The Seventeenth Century World of Anne Conway," which was held at Guilford College, November 7, 1984. That symposium was part of a larger series, CONCEPTION/RECONCEPTION: EXPLORING MEANINGS OF HUMAN SEXUALITY which was sponsored by Women's Studies and Faculty Development and was partially funded by a grant from the North Carolina Humanities Committee.

All of the papers in this issue were presented, in part, at the symposium. They have been edited so that repetitive information has been deleted. Thus, a reader interested in the biographical sketch of Anne Conway's life, needs to read the first two papers. The other papers suggest different influences either directly on Anne Conway or significant movements or pockets of intellectual and spiritual fervor which indirectly influenced Anne Conway as part of the turmoil of the 17th Century in England.

Permission to reprint "Anne Conway: Quaker and Philosopher" by Carolyn Merchant has been granted by the Journal of the History of Philosophy where most of it appeared as "The Vitalism of Anne Conway: Its Impact on Leibniz's Concept of the Monad" in the July 1979 issue and by The Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry which published this article in the November 1979 issue of Ambix.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WORLD  
OF VISCOUNTESS ANNE CONWAY

Issue Editors: Carol Stoneburner, O. Theodor Benfey, Robert Kraus

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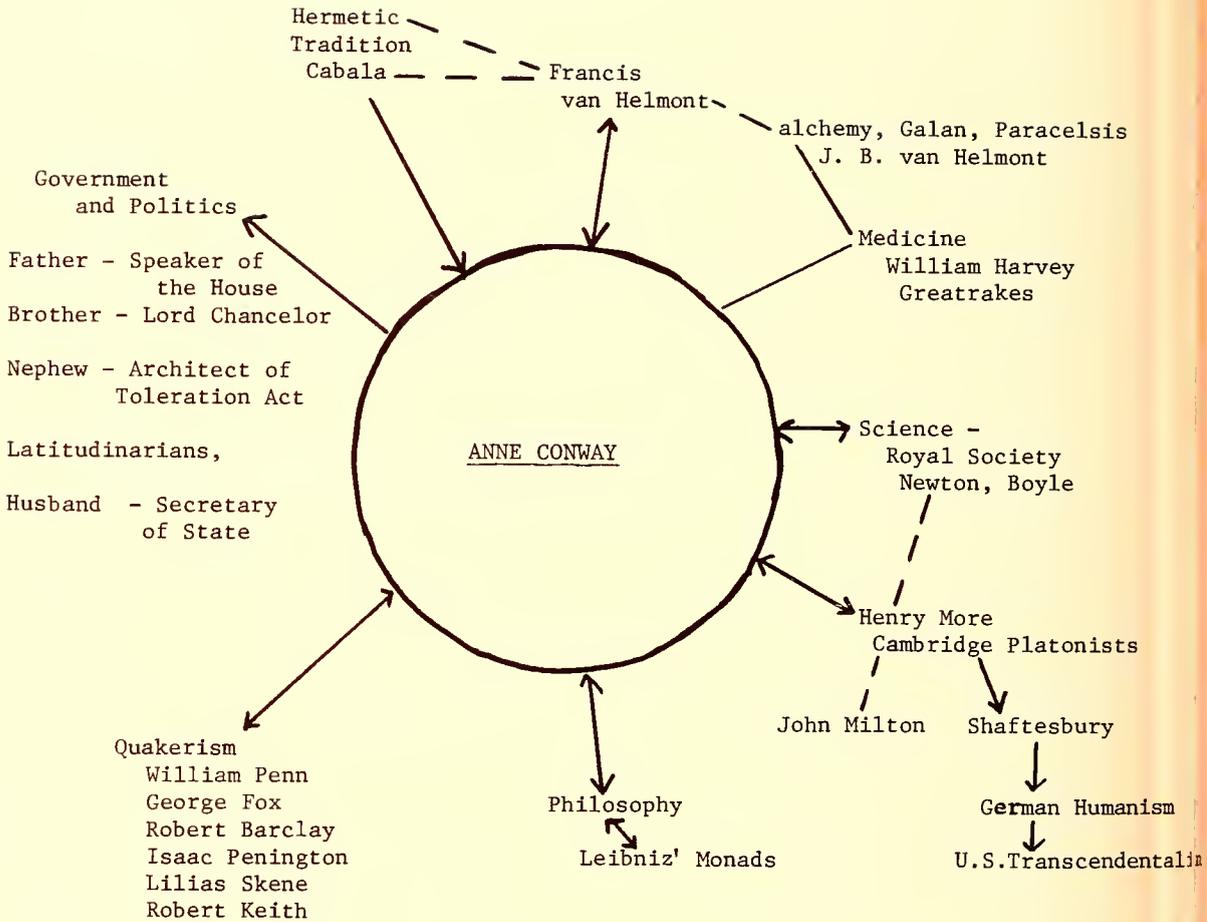


Chart drawn by O. Theodor Benfey

Anne Conway: Quaker and Philosopher  
by Carolyn Merchant

For those with no prior introduction to Anne Finch Conway, a few words concerning her background are in order before exploring her philosophy and its influence. Anne Conway was a seventeenth century philosopher whose ideas were praised and respected in her own day and who through scholarly error, has only recently begun to receive proper recognition for her important contributions to the philosophy of her period.

The youngest child of Heneage Finch, she was a member of the English nobility and upon her marriage to Edward Conway, she became a Viscountess. As a young girl, Anne was an avid reader of philosophy, literature, the classics, mathematics and astronomy. Her interest in philosophy was greatly inspired by her introduction to Henry More, who was the teacher of her brother, John Finch and a respected professor at Christ College in Cambridge. Through this continued contact, Anne Conway became one of More's most brilliant and devoted pupils. Anne was an intelligent, vital conversationalist and had a charming personality. Her home at Ragley Hall in Warwickshire became an intellectual center which entertained some of the most exciting minds of her century including Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, Joseph Glanvill, Benjamin Whichcote and Francis Mercury Van Helmont, son of the renowned Jean Baptiste Van Helmont.<sup>1</sup>

The younger Van Helmont made her acquaintance due to her being afflicted by a life long bane. This bane came in the form of severe headaches which began at age 14 and increased in frequency and severity throughout her life. Her headaches became a famous medical case. She was tormented by them and even journeyed to France at one point to have her skull opened up to relieve the pressure. Fortunately, circumstances prevented the operation from ever taking place. Anne Conway was treated by many of Europe's most noted physicians including William Harvey, the noted healer Vanlentine Greatrakes and Van Helmont. All failed.

It was quite fortuitous that Francis Mercury Van Helmont, the wandering "scholar gypsy," was introduced to Anne Conway in 1670. He had come to England in order to deliver to Henry More several letters from Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia and to discuss with him their mutual interest in the Cabala, an esoteric occult and mystical tradition stemming from the Middle Ages. He had only planned to remain in England one month, but through the joint efforts of More and Viscount Edward Conway he was finally persuaded to travel to Ragley to visit the learned Lady Anne Conway, in order to attempt a cure of her migraine headaches.<sup>2</sup>

Van Helmont's intended month in England turned into eight years during which he remained with Lady Conway, unsuccessful in treating her terrible headaches, but introducing stimulating new intellectual avenues for her mind. Henry More likewise spent much time there, experimenting with Van Helmont in the laboratory which the wandering alchemist had set up, and discussing Hebrew and cabalistic texts. Whenever Lady Conway was too ill to do so herself, Van

Helmont read to her from a variety of books and pamphlets and reported on the activities of a group of Quakers meeting near Ragley. Under his influence, she began studying the texts of Quakers, Behmenists, Seekers, and Familists--religious sects that had flourished during the period of the Civil War.

In spite of her illness, Anne Conway carried on an active intellectual life. Her only book, The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy, continued the Cambridge school's interest in spiritualism, Platonism, and cabalism. Truer to the Platonic tradition than the writings of either of her colleagues, More or Cudworth, it was far more sweeping in its rejection of Cartesianism and embracement of vitalism.

Anne Conway developed a vitalistic philosophy which in many ways anticipated the philosophy of Leibniz. Her treatise was thought by Marjorie Nicolson to have been written early in the 1670's, perhaps in 1672 or 1673. But, in a new edition recently published by Peter Loftson, its writing is placed somewhat later in her life, closer to her death, around 1677 and during her association with Van Helmont.<sup>3</sup> Both Nicolson and Loftson agree that her work bears the strong influence of Van Helmont and the Cabala. Her original edition, written in English, seems to have been lost very early on. The earliest edition we have is a Latin translation, edited and published in Holland in 1690 by Van Helmont in a volume containing several other works by him. It was republished and retranslated back to English in 1692. This edition, mentioned that it had been written by a certain English Countess, "a woman learned beyond her sex, being very well skilled in the Latin and Greek tongues and exceedingly well-versed in all kinds of philosophy."<sup>4</sup>

Because her name was withheld from the original Latin title page--the custom regarding female authors in that period--the book was attributed by modern scholars to its editor, Van Helmont. In 1853, the German historian of philosophy, Heinrich Ritter, erroneously based his analysis of the younger Van Helmont's philosophy almost entirely on Conway's book. His discussion became the basis for historian Ludwig Stein's theory (1890) that Van Helmont had transmitted to Leibniz the most fundamental term in his whole philosophy--the monad, Leibniz's infinitesimal vital active force.<sup>5</sup> Actually, Van Helmont did use the term, but the book containing his discussion of it was apparently unknown to Ritter. Thus the major textual evidence for attributing Leibniz's appropriation of the term monad to Van Helmont, rather than including Anne Conway, was due to inaccurate scholarship. The withholding of Conway's name, as a woman writer, from the Latin edition of her book excluded from recognition her important role in the development of Leibniz's thought. Later scholarship has rightfully honored Anne Conway as author.

More than any other contemporary philosopher, Loftson has taken Anne Conway seriously as a philosopher in the essentialist tradition. In his recent edition which contains both the first published Latin treatise and the English re-translation, Loftson has included an introduction to her life and work. He has also spent much time analyzing the philosophical content of her work chapter by chapter providing an explication and summary of each section.

For me, the importance of Conway's ideas and work lies in the fact that she was a vitalist in direct contrast to the mechanistic philosophies which treat matter as dead and asserts that change comes from external forces acting upon matter. She was a critic of Hobbes, Descartes, Spinoza and others espousing mechanical philosophies. She saw herself as a vitalist and held that spirit and matter are one and the same substance. Body is essentially spiritual and change and motion come from within.

The vitalists affirmed the life of all things through a reduction of Cartesian dualism to the monistic unity of matter and spirit. Among the

proponents of a vitalist philosophy were Francis Glisson, Jean Baptiste Van Helmont and his son, Francis Mercury Van Helmont, Lady Anne Conway, and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz.

As a philosophy of nature, vitalism in its monistic form was inherently antiexploitative. Its emphasis on the life of all things as gradations of soul, its lack of separate distinction between matter and spirit, its principle of an immanent activity permeating nature, and its reverence for the nurturing power of the earth endowed it with an ethic of the inherent worth of everything alive. Contained within the conceptual structure of vitalism was a normative constraint. Perhaps it is not an accident to find among its advocates a woman philosopher, Anne Conway, and a wandering scholar-healer, France Mercury Van Helmont both of whom turned to Quakerism as a moral and religious alternative.

More and Conway discussed the philosophy of Jacob Boehme and the Familists in their letters during the years 1667-1670. More was skeptical of the neglect of the power of reason by the Behmenists and Familists, and deplored their tendency toward enthusiasm, but Anne Conway was sympathetic. Because the Quakers were "quiet people," she employed them as servants and also lent her home for their meetings. She made the acquaintance of Quaker leaders--George Fox, George Keith, Isaac Pennington, and Charles Lloyd--and corresponded with William Penn. To the despair of More, who identified the Quakers with Ranters, Seekers, Familists, and other enthusiasts of the Civil War years, both she and Van Helmont became Quakers--Van Helmont in the spring of 1676 and Conway at least by 1677.

The Quakers, far more than the other Protestant sects, gave both women and men full equality. Quakerism, growing out of discontent with Puritanism, began to spread in southern and eastern England around 1655, carried not only by men but also women preachers, such as Anne Blaykling, Mary Fisher, Dorothy Waugh, Jane Waugh, and Mary Pennington. Women, some of whom left their families behind, became traveling preachers, bearing the Quaker message not only all over England but as far as the Ottoman Empire. Under the leadership of George Fox, separate meeting for business were established, and administered and attended solely by women throughout England.<sup>6</sup>

The Quakers emphasized the inward presence of God, the living Christ within each individual, and the vitality of the living word, as opposed to the deadness of tradition and inertness of the written word. They distinguished between the historical figure of Christ, who had died, and the voice of the living, vital Christ within.

Van Helmont, George Keith, and Anne Conway saw much in common between the Cabala and the Quaker doctrines of the "inner light," "Christ within," and the Christian trinity. The three collaborated over a four-year period on a treatise entitled the "Two Hundred Queries...Concerning the Doctrine of the Revolution of Humane Souls" (1684). In subsequent years, this book became the bone of contention between the Quakers and Keith and Van Helmont, because the latter two emphasized the transmigration of human souls and disputed the reality of the historical figure of Christ.<sup>7</sup>

Interest in cabalistic literature was keen among the members of the Cambridge school, and both More and Cudworth had at times viewed Descartes as the restorer of the true philosophy of Moses. One of More's works least appreciated by modern scholars, his Conjectura Cabbalistica (1653), written before he had read the Zohar and admitted to be the product of his own imagination, was nevertheless an important influence on John Milton. More subsequently repudiated the Cabala in a treatise in the Kabbalah Denudata, entitled "The Fundamentals of Philosophy." But the Cabala was an important source of validation to those philosophers who wished to restore life and spirit to the dead world

of the mechanists. Cudworth, More, and Conway all used it to argue that the ancient wisdom that perceived a total unity and vitality in the universe was the true knowledge, whereas the dead mechanical world of the moderns was a distortion emphasizing only the atomistic aspect of old gnosis.

Anne Conway dies in 1679 while her husband was away on business to the north. In order to preserve the body till her husband could return and see his wife one last time, Van Helmont used the rather bizarre method of keeping her body in a bath of wine. Her husband arrived back home some two months later. Her tombstone was simple and inscribed merely with "Quaker Lady." After her death, Van Helmont left for the continent where he continued to carry her writings and ideas with him for years to come.

In March 1696, Van Helmont arrived in Hanover, where he remained for several months, meeting with Leibniz each morning at nine for philosophical discussion. According to Leibniz, Van Helmont took the desk, while Leibniz became the pupil, interrupting frequently to ask for greater clarification. Van Helmont recounted to Leibniz the history of the "extraordinary woman," the Countess of "Kennaway," and his own relationship with Henry More and John Locke. From him, Leibniz learned of Anne Conway's metaphysics and her studies of the works of Plato, Plotinus, and the Cabala.<sup>9</sup> In a 1697 letter to English divine Thomas Burnet (1635-1715), Leibniz, having read her book, went so far as to state:

My philosophical views approach somewhat closely those of the late Countess of Conway, and hold a middle position between Plato and Democritus, because I hold that all things take place mechanically as Democritus and Descartes contend against the views of Henry More and his followers, and hold too, nevertheless, that everything takes place according to a living principle and according to final causes--all things are full of life and consciousness, contrary to the views of the Atomists.<sup>10</sup>

Leibniz spoke subsequently with praise and approval of both Lady Anne Conway and Van Helmont, although the latter he often found puzzling and quixotic. In the New Essays Concerning Human Understanding, begun in 1697 and published posthumously in 1765, Leibniz referred to both as explicating the doctrine of vitalism better than their Renaissance predecessors, writing that he saw:

. . . how it is necessary to explain rationally those who have lodged life and perception in all things, as Cardan, Campanella, and better than they, the late Countess of Connaway, a Platonist, and our friend, with late M. Francois Mercure Van Helmont (although elsewhere bristling with unintelligible paradoxes), with his friend the late Mr. Henry More.<sup>11</sup>

The elements of Conway's system were a significant influence in the important period of Leibniz's thought, leading up to the writing of his "Monadology" (1714).

A concern which dominated much of seventeenth century philosophy was the concept of substance. Different philosophers defined the term "substance" in

very different ways. For instance, Descartes held that there were two fundamentally distinct substances underlying all reality: mind and matter. To him, these two substances were separate and unrelated to each other in a most absolute way. Hobbes, on the other hand, took a more purely materialist position and declared there to be only one substance, namely matter. But for Conway and Leibniz substance was better understood as spiritual in nature, something living and capable of movement.

Anne Conway's vitalism was based on the idea of the unity of spirit and matter and was an influential reaction against the ideas of the mechanists. She was well versed in and sharply critical of the ideas of her adversaries, Descartes, Hobbes, and the Dutch philosopher Benedictus Spinoza (1632-1677), as well as her teachers and friends, More and Cudworth. Ritter, mistaking the work of Conway for that of Van Helmont, saw the author of the Principles as carrying out a wide-ranging battle against the Cartesian philosophy of dualism and against the basis of mechanical physics in general.<sup>12</sup> Whereas the Cartesians and the Cambridge Platonists, More and Cudworth, were dualists, Anne Conway was a monist. In her philosophy, there was no essential difference between spirit and body and, moreover, the two were interconvertible. She distinguished her views sharply from those of Descartes and also from More and Cudworth on these points. Body was condensed spirit and spirit was subtle, volatile body. Body and spirit were not contrary entities, the first impenetrable and divisible, the other penetrable and indivisible, as More had held. Matter was not dead, "stupid," and devoid of life, as Descartes and the Cambridge Platonists had thought. For Lady Conway, an intimate bond and organic unity existed between the two. Body and soul were of the same substance and nature, but soul was more excellent in such respects as swiftness, penetrability, and life.<sup>13</sup>

Matter and spirit were united as two different aspects of the same substance. Division into parts, ordinarily attributed to bodies, was equally an attribute of spirit. Just as bodies were composed of lesser bodies, the human spirit was composed of several spirits under one governing spirit. Conversely, motion and figure, which were supposed to be attributes of extended matter, applied equally to spirit, for spirit was even more movable and figurable than body.<sup>14</sup>

Her break from Descartes and the other Cambridge Platonists was sharpest on the issue of dualism. She insisted that her philosophy was not Cartesianism in a new form, as she perceived that of her friends to have been, but fundamentally anti-Cartesian:

For first, as touching the Cartesian Philosophy, this says that everybody is a mere dead mass, not only void of all kind of life and sense, but utterly incapable thereof to all eternity; this grand error also is to be imputed to all those who affirm body and spirit to be contrary things, and inconvertible one into another, so as to deny a body all life and sense.<sup>15</sup>

Body and spirit were interconvertible because they were of the same substance and differed only as to mode. The distinctions were made between the attributes of matter as impenetrable and extended, and spirit as penetrable and unextended, could not be assigned respectively to two separate substances. Body was simply the grosser part of a thing and spirit the subtler. The penetration of spirits within a body caused it to swell and puff up, an

alteration that might or might not be visible to the senses. Just as spirit and body could interpenetrate, so a less gross body or spirit could penetrate a more gross one. Penetrability like other properties of objects (heat, weight, and solidity), was relative. The dualists had "not yet proved that body and spirit are distinct substances."<sup>16</sup>

Like other organicists of the period, Conway based her system of creation not on the machine but on the great, hierarchical chain of being, modified to incorporate an evolution or transmutation to higher forms, based on the acquisition of goodness and perfection. Conway denied that any created essences could reach God's essence, which was infinitely perfect, but within the creation there was an ascension up the scale of being. Dust and sand were capable of successive transmutation to stones, earth, grass, sheep, horses, humans, and the noblest spirits, so that after a long period of time they could achieve the perfections common to the highest creatures; that is, "feeling, sense, and knowledge, love, joy, and fruition, and all kind of power and virtue."<sup>17</sup>

Creation was like a ladder whose steps were species placed in finite, rather than infinite, distances from one another. Hence,

. . . stones are changed into metals, and one metal into another, but lest some should say these are only naked bodies and have no spirit, we shall observe the same not only in vegetables, but also in animals, like as barley and wheat are convertible the one into the other, and are in very deed often so changed. . . . And in animals worms are changed into flies and beasts, and fishes that feed on beasts, and fishes of a different kind do change them into their own nature, and species.<sup>18</sup>

This, she believed, was consistent with the biblical account that the waters brought forth birds and fishes and the earth, beasts and creeping things at the command of the Creator.

The transmutation of spirits into new bodies after death was effected by the soul's plastic nature, a concept obtained from More and Cudworth, hypothesizing a force capable of forming matter into new shapes:

And when the said brutish spirit returns again into some body, and has now dominion over that body, so that its plastic faculty has the liberty of forming a body, after its own idea and inclination (which before in the humane body, it had not); it necessarily follows, that the body, which this vital spirit forms, will be brutal, and not humane. . . . Because its plastic faculty is governed of its imagination, which it doth most strongly imagine to itself, or conceive its own proper image; which therefore the external body is necessarily forced to assume.<sup>19</sup>

Leibniz, differing from Conway and Van Helmont on this point, not only argued against transmigration or metempsychosis in animals, but also against the idea of plastic natures. Plastic natures could not move, alter, or change

the direction of a body, all motion being consonant with the system of pre-established harmony. In a letter of 1710, he called plastic natures an outmoded theory.<sup>20</sup>

Anne Conway radically opposed Hobbes and Spinoza, both of whom had reduced nature to a monistic materialism that denied any distinction between God and his creation. Like Conway, they accepted the interconvertibility of all things, but their materialism admitted no distinction between lower and higher forms and saw God as interconvertible with corporeal species.<sup>21</sup>

In much of her discussion of the essential spiritual vitality of the whole world, Anne Conway's thought converged with that of Leibniz, and she was for this reason held in high esteem by him. Like Leibniz, who believed that in each portion of matter here was a whole world of creatures each one containing within it also an entire world, Anne Conway wrote that "in every creature, whether the same be a spirit or a body, there is an infinity of creatures, each whereof contains an infinity, and again each of these, and so ad infinitum."<sup>22</sup>

Like Leibniz, who wrote that there was nothing dead or fallow in the universe, Conway asked, "How can it be, that any dead thing should proceed from him or be created by him, such as is mere body or matter. . . It is truly said on one that God made not death, and it is true, that he made no dead thing: For how can a dead thing depend of him who is life and charity?" Death was not annihilation, but "a change from one kind of and degree of life to another." Dead body could not receive goodness nor perfect itself in any way; changes in motion or shape would not help it to attain life or improve itself intrinsically. This idea was echoed in Leibniz's statement that "Every possible thing has the right to aspire to existence in proportion to the amount of perfection it contains in germ."<sup>23</sup>

Like Leibniz, who stressed the interconnectedness of all spirits (or minds) in a "kind of fellowship with God," so that the totality composed the City of God, Lady Conway based her system on the interdependence of all creatures under God in a "certain society or fellowship. . . whereby they mutually subsist one by another, so that one cannot live without another." Each creature had a "central or governing spirit" having dominion over the other spirits which composed it. "The unity of spirits that compose or make up this center or governing spirit, is more firm and tenacious than that of all the other spirits; which are, as it were, the angels or ministering spirits of their prince or captain." Akin to this was Leibniz's dominant monad unifying the simple monads.<sup>24</sup>

But unlike Leibniz, who held to a system of preestablished harmony to solve the problem of the dualism between the body and the spirit, and unlike More and Cudworth, who used plastic natures to unify the two worlds, Conway followed the Kabbalah Denudata and the ancient system of the Hebrews. She argued that the soul was of one nature and substance with the body, "although it is many degrees more excellent in regard of life and spirituality, as also in swiftness of motion, and penetrability, and divers other perfections." Between the two extremes of gross and subtle bodies were "middle spirits," which either joined body and soul or, if absent, dissolved its unity. Similarly, Jesus Christ functioned as a middle nature or medium uniting the soul of man to God.<sup>25</sup>

Yet Anne Conway's philosophy ultimately did not go beyond the limits of the categories of substance philosophy within which she worked. Her monistic resolution of the mind-body problem, although more parsimonious than the dualism of Descartes, was simply a reduction of all of reality to the idealist category of spirit. By denying the validity of body as an explanatory category, her philosophical framework was unable to provide a satisfactory descrip-

tion of empirical phenomena. Unlike Leibniz, whose system of preestablished harmony and "well-founded Phenomena" obeying mechanical laws also fell short of a solution, she did not even address herself to the issue of bodies and their interactions.

Furthermore her assumption of the transmigration of souls, and the concepts of "middle natures," plastic natures, and vital virtues that composed the core of her vitalism were based neither on rigid logical consistency nor on firm empirical evidence, a problem that continued to weaken the case for vitalists and holists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as German biologist Hans Driesch, French philosopher Henri Bergson, and South African statesman Jan Christiaan Smutts. Like other protagonists in the mechanist-vitalist debates that have continued ever since the rise of mechanism, her embracement of vitalism was based on metatheoretical commitments. Her philosophy falls within a post-Cartesian scientific tradition that operates on the assumption that the living and nonliving constitute two fundamental categories of reality. Her commitment to spirit as the solution to the dualistic dilemma derived not only from the logic of philosophical alternatives, but from psychological needs connected to her physical health and her adoption of Quakerism as a spiritual refuge friendly to women.<sup>26</sup>

Despite its philosophical weaknesses, vitalism represented an important reaction to Cartesian mechanism and dualism. At a time when mechanism was turning all of nature into something dead, inanimate and void of sensation thereby creating a subtle justification for the domination and control of nature, the vitalists along with the Cambridge Platonists raised voices of protest. They perceived the dangers in the reduction of matter to dead, inert atoms the motion of which stemmed from externally imposed forces rather than from the immanent spontaneity of vital principles. The older organic view of nature, however, was dying along with an inherent value system that paid recognition to the life and worth of all things, the concept of cyclical renewal, and the binding of nature into a close-knit holistic unity. In the light of our current ecological crisis, which stems in part from the loss of this organic value system, we might regret that the mechanists did not take their vitalistic critics more seriously.

The almost total neglect by historians of philosophy of the work of Anne Conway raises a question about a cluster of women who studied and contributed to the philosophy, science, and educational literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Do they not also deserve more detailed study and evaluation than has been accorded them? Besides Anne Conway, other women with great intellectual gifts whom Leibniz took seriously as students of philosophy included Sophie, the Electress of Hanover; her daughter Sophia Charlotte, queen of Prussia after 1701; the latter's ward, Princess Caroline (1683-1737, later queen of Great Britain, in answer to whose questions the entire Leibniz-Clarke correspondence of 1716 was directed; and Lady Damaris Masham (1658-1708), daughter of Ralph Cudworth, who educated her, a friend and student of John Locke, and a theological writer with whom Leibniz carried on an extensive correspondence. One of the most brilliant women of the eighteenth century, Madame Gabrielle Emelie du Chatelet (1706-1749), was a principal expounder of Leibniz's system. An expanding group of educated women began to participate in the philosophical and intellectual life of the period.<sup>27</sup>

By the late seventeenth century, upper-class English women were noticing and reacting to the economic and educational advances men had made, while their own opportunities had been by comparison significantly constricted. They argued that differences in male and female achievement stemmed not from female intellectual inferiority, but from differences in childrearing prac-

tices, educational opportunities, and social position. Hannah Wooley, writing in 1655, Bathsua Makin, writing in 1673, and Mary Astell, writing in 1694, deplored women's lack of education and advocated the study of philosophy, foreign languages, medical care, household accounts, and writing. Their ideal went far beyond the emphasis on morals, Christian virtue, chastity, and the reading of the scriptures that had characterized women's education in the Renaissance.<sup>28</sup>

## NOTES

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The following discussion of Anne Conway is reprinted with modifications from Carolyn Merchant. "The Vitalism of Anne Conway: Its Impact on Leibniz's Concept of the Monad." The Journal of the History of Philosophy (July, 1979) by permission of the editor. Portions also appeared in C. Merchant, "The Vitalism of Francis Mercury Van Helmont," Ambix (November, 1979) and C. Merchant, The death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and The Scientific Revolution (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 254-69.

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ANN CONWAY'S INTERACTION WITH SCIENCE  
POLITICS, MEDICINE AND QUAKERISM

by O. Theodor Benfey

In the previous article, Carolyn Merchant has given an overview of the life and significance of Anne Conway. It was Carolyn Merchant who first drew my attention to Anne Conway and her significance for science and Quakerism. She had written an article in Isis, "Isis' Consciousness Raised," arguing that not only scientists but also historians of science have helped foster the widespread idea that the character traits needed to make scientific progress are those of men.<sup>1</sup> Her additional theme was that the exploitation of nature has been running parallel with the domination of women. In a letter to her, I suggested that there must have been major groups of exceptions--that many scientists sought not for domination but for a deeper understanding of the nature of God and his creation. I also pointed to the Quakers as being steeped in science and at the same time showing little if any discrimination against women. In answer, Carolyn Merchant drew my attention to her book The Death of Nature and its chapter "Women on Nature" which devotes most of its space to the role of Anne Conway<sup>2</sup>. From there I discovered Marjorie Nicolson's "Conway Letters,"<sup>3</sup> the Loptson translation of Anne Conway's "Principles"<sup>4</sup> and most recently Antonia Fraser's "The Weaker Vessel,"<sup>5</sup> a survey of almost five hundred women of the seventeenth century, in which again Anne Conway is given a disproportionately large amount of attention. It became clear that she was a person about whom much more should be known and that this knowledge should be shared widely among scientists, historians, Quakers and the general public.

With a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities for attendance at a Harvard seminar on the Social History of Modern Science, I was able to devote most of the summer of 1984 doing research on Anne Conway's life. The present paper presents some of my findings, showing her connections through family and friendships to the mushrooming scientific movement, through her own health to the diverse medical practices of her time, through her nephew to the Newton-Leibniz debates, through her own intellectual and spiritual evolution to the emerging Quaker movement. The paper will end by exploring the possible grounds for Joseph Needham's claim that Anne Conway's circle had something of a Taoist flavor.

The theme of the Harvard seminar the "Social History of Modern Science" was guided by Everett Mendelsohn, a Quaker, of Harvard University's Department of the History of Science. Modern science was defined as beginning in the Renaissance so that our early discussions focussed on origins--whether science as we know it found its inspiration in the craft traditions, in new emerging classes, in the bankruptcy of Aristotelian scholarship, in Francis Bacon, in the Hermetic tradition of the mysterious Hermes Trismegistus, or in the Jewish Cabala (see the article by R. Kraus below). Now, Francis Bacon, during his trial was defended among others by his close friend Heneage Finch, whose youngest daughter, born a week after his death, was Anne, later Viscountess Conway. Cabalistic writings were of enormous interest to her, and partly through her, of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More also.

During that period of the mid 1600's the Royal Society was founded, an early though by no means the first of the new organizations of scientists. If we look at the classic History of the Royal Society by Thomas Sprat,<sup>6</sup> we see him thanking Heneage Finch, the younger, Anne's half-brother and Charles II's Solicitor General, for having drafted the Royal Charter for the Royal Society.

An Italian scientists' group, the Academia Del Cimento, had been formed earlier and the person who communicated the news of the Royal Society's creation to the Italian Academy was John Finch, Anne's closest brother and confidant. We learn that the Italian Academy's sponsor, Prince Leopold of Tuscany, hearing through John, of Anne's persistent and severe migraine headaches, shipped to her two mechanical devices--how suitable for the sponsor of a scientific academy--an adjustable bed table and a bedpan that could be taken apart.

Anne Conway was probably particularly close to John Finch because she never knew her father. Anne and John carried on a life-long correspondence, his letters to her beginning "My dearest dear." John spent some years in Italy, was trained as a physician at Padua (the school of Vesalius where Copernicus too had received his medical training) and then was appointed the British crown's representative to the court in Florence. There he became the official link between the Royal Society and the Academia del Cimento, before being sent even further South to become the Ambassador to Constantinople, probably the only English embassy to a non-Christian court. His life has been recounted in "Finch and Baines" the story of a friendship of two students of Henry More's at Cambridge.<sup>7</sup> It was through John that Henry More learned of Anne Conway as a person who sought to understand the new philosophy of Rene Descartes. Henry More was one of Descartes' earliest English followers and interpreters. More took her on as a correspondence student, so to speak, and he later suggested that hers was an abler mind than that of many a man of stature in the intellectual world.

Henry More became Anne Conway's life-long friend, spending almost all his free time at her estate in Ragley, Warwickshire, not far from Birmingham. He, as well as John, the younger Heneage, and Edward Conway, her husband, were all early members of the Royal Society. However, Henry More engaged in no experimental scientific work until at Ragley he collaborated with Francis Mercury van Helmont on alchemical and other experiments. He even came to challenge Robert Boyle in print, leading the latter to do what he seldom if ever had done before, reply to a critic publicly. It is quite clear that through his friendship with Anne Conway, Henry More was introduced to experimental science.

Anne Conway's direct influence on science through her philosophical treatise, "The Principles of the most Ancient and Modern Philosophy," has been discussed by Carolyn Merchant. Her views were not More's, they were very close to those of Leibniz. How different would have been the last three centuries, if Leibniz' rather than Newton's worldview had dominated "Modern Science." Joseph Needham has christened Anne Conway's circle as having something of a Taoist character, the antithesis of an atomistic worldview, a subject to which we will return.

Newton. Thanks to E.A. Burtt,<sup>8</sup> historians of science have for long been aware of Henry More's direct influence on Isaac Newton. It was More who supplied the theological base for Newton's physics. How shall we know that a body is really moving, not just moving relative to a particular observer? We think we are still, but we are on a spinning spaceship earth moving close to a thousand miles an hour around our polar axis and also being carried around the sun once a year. Henry More proposed that God knows whether objects move or are at rest. Newton's careful distinctions between relative and absolute motion only make sense if there is some fixed reference frame of space and time. God supplies that reference frame, space and time are God's sensorium, God constitutes space and time. Newton's less philosophical followers thought that they could dispense with his philosophic superstructure until Ernst Mach in the last century pointed to the hopelessness of establishing absolute

motion experimentally, helping to pave the way for Einstein's relativity theory.

Two recent major biographies of Newton, Richard Westfall's Never at Rest<sup>9</sup> and the psychological study by Frank Manuel, A Portrait of Isaac Newton,<sup>10</sup> refer to Marjorie Nicolson's "Conway Letters" and both for the same purpose. She includes a letter from Henry More to Dr. John Sharp, chaplain to Anne Conway's brother Heneage, tutor to his sons and later Archbishop of York. That letter gives a rare description of Newton, visiting More to discuss More's exposition of the apocalypse: "by the manner of his countenance which is ordinarily melancholy and thoughtful, but then mighty lightsome and cheerful,...to be in a manner transposed." Westfall writes that "More drew one of the most revealing sketches of Newton. Only More fully caught him in a state of ecstasy." And Manuel says of the letter that it is one "which really has a third dimension." At the end of the letter More speaks of him and Newton as "having a free converse and friendship which differences will not disturb."

Anne Conway's link with Newton, however, was not merely through Henry More and whatever of her thought was passed on through him. Betty Jo Dobbs, noted Newton scholar, who spoke on Newton's alchemy at Guilford some years ago has since published her studies Foundations of Newton's Alchemy: The Hunting of the Green Lion.<sup>11</sup> Newton believed he had found a key for deciphering the ancient wisdom that would lay bare the design and construction of the world. His "Principia" was a very small segment of what he hoped he could unveil. For that purpose he needed the wisdom manuscripts of the alchemical, hermetic and Cabala traditions, and he sought the most abstruse ones as probably harboring the profoundest secrets. Many of these, it seems, he obtained through the Conway circle and network. Dobbs identifies four members of that circle as participants of the conduit: Henry More who with Boyle, Newton and Isaac Barrow were almost in continuous contact in Cambridge; Francis Mercury van Helmont, son of perhaps the most famous chemist of the 17th century, J.B. van Helmont and himself an alchemist, chemist, physician and Cabalist scholar, who was Anne Conway's resident physician and companion during the fifth and last decade of her life; thirdly Ezekiel Foxcroft, identified by Dobbs as Newton's mysterious Mr. F, who communicates with Newton on alchemical matters and brings him new manuscripts. Foxcroft's mother was the sister of the Cambridge Platonist, Benjamin Whichcote, and for many years was Anne Conway's companion. When the younger van Helmont comes to England to bring Knorr von Rosenroth's Kabbala Denudata to Henry More, the latter invites Foxcroft to their meeting, knowing of their mutual interest in alchemy. Finally there is Clodius, (son-in-law of Samuel Hartlib, influential reformer and educator), a known alchemist, who twice appears in Conway Letters. He prescribes some medicine, nobody seems to know what, for Anne Conway's headaches, to the consternation of Henry More. He also carries a miniature portrait of Anne Conway to her brother on the continent, which the Dutch painter, Samuel van Hoogstraaten used in order to paint the portrait of Anne in her mansion, now hanging in the Royal Gallery in the Hague. It is a companion piece of the one he painted of John in the possession of the Finch family.

Medicine. Anne Conway's headaches seem almost to have had as great an influence on her era as her thought and personality. Antonia Fraser in The Weaker Vessel in fact suggests that without her headaches, Anne could not have created the circle and network and lived the life centered in Ragley Hall that she did. She would have accompanied her husband to London and Ireland where he spent most of his life, not in the Ragley retreat. A soldier and statesman, governor of some Irish provinces, he finally attained the rank of

Secretary of State. The headaches may have been creatively used; they were clearly no fun. Because they were never cured, we see in the Conway Letters a stream of the most eminent physicians, alchemists, quacks and healers streaming through the Conway portals. Peter W.G. Wright in "A Study in the Legitimization of Knowledge: The 'success' of medicine and the 'failure' of astrology"<sup>12</sup> complains that most studies of 17th century medicine have focussed on the small group of "professionals," members of the Royal College of Physicians. Anne Conway's life shows the range of medical help sought and located by a family of means. The list begins with William Harvey, of the circulation of the blood, related to Anne by marriage, but whose medical help did not impress her. There was Thomas Willis who has left us a detailed account of her sickness and its symptoms, used most recently in a discussion of her case in the King's College (London) Hospital Gazette of 1937.<sup>13</sup> Sir Theodore Mayherne appears, the man who was introducing the method of clinical observation into English medical practice. Boyle prescribed and personally prepared "ens veneris" a vitriol product for her, and Clodius as we have seen contributed also. Francis van Helmont though failing to cure her, opened up for her new vistas of the intellectual and spiritual life. He became a Quaker while serving as her resident physician and led the way to her own espousal of Quakerism. And in between, Valentine Greatrakes, the faith healer and "stroker," was brought over from Ireland expressly to cure Anne Conway. This he did not achieve but he was prevailed on to stay for a while, cured numerous local people, his cures being observed by Cambridge Platonists, Royal Society leaders and others who carried his fame to London. Charles II summoned him to the capital during one of the years of the great plague, where he was besieged by hopeful, desperate and suspicious crowds. There ensued a major debate about Greatrakes' gift--whether it was natural or supernatural, and about who was backing him for what purpose, a debate which still rages today. Two articles in the June 1982 issue of Isis discuss the Greatrakes phenomenon,<sup>14</sup> all the furor originating in Anne Conway's headaches.

James and Margaret Jacob in their study of the scientific revolution, the former focussing on Boyle, the latter on the "Newtonians," have sought to replace the classic Merton claim that modern science originated with the Puritans, with a more refined proposal that credit should go to Anglicans and moderate Puritans, as contrasted with Puritan extremists.<sup>15</sup> That moderate faction, Anglican and others, is grouped together as the Latitudinarians, because they sought for reason, restraint, tolerance, rather than emotional enthusiasm, as the proper scientific temper as also for the healing of England's wounds politically. The Jacobs take the Greatrakes affair as a crucial example of the political currents underlying scientific debates. This is one of the general theses of the currently popular "Social History of Science," that much of the history of science has a political and social rather than an internally scientific basis. They make the Boyle-Henry Stubbe controversy as to the source of Greatrakes' power into a latitudinarian vs. radical confrontation. This the Isis article by Steneck seeks to refute.

Poor Anne Conway's headaches were given no rest. She was subjected to mercury compounds, she went to France for the "trepan," the opening of the skull to relieve the pressure, although this was fortunately not done, the physician contenting himself with opening her jugular artery. Tobacco was suggested, as were opium, coffee (still at the time considered a drug), and of course diet and meditation.

Quakerism. The topic of Anne Conway's role in the Society of Friends is dealt with by others in this symposium. It is of interest that some of the source material is right here in the Guilford library. In 1850-51 a long

series of anonymous articles appeared almost simultaneously in the British Friend<sup>16</sup> and the Friend<sup>17</sup> of Philadelphia outlining Anne Conway's life. Harvard's libraries do not have the complete series from the British Friend whereas Guilford does. Guilford also owns the fictionalized account of Anne Conway in J. Henry Shorthouse's John Inglesant,<sup>18</sup> having acquired it very early in the college's history, the book's accession number being 6434. We owe to Henry Cadbury the location of an article by F.J. Powicke in the Friends Quarterly Examiner<sup>19</sup> on the friendship of Anne Conway and Henry More. Powicke had written a book on the Cambridge Platonists and his writings suggest that he himself is a Quaker. Cadbury took note of Marjorie Nicolson's work in his revision of Braithwaite's "Second Period of Quakerism"<sup>20</sup> and thereby drew the attention of Friends to Anne Conway--at least those that read footnotes and addends. In general, however, she has been ignored by Friends although we even learn from the 1850 serialized biography that she made a major donation to Robert Barclay for the building of Aberdeen Meeting House.

Henry Cadbury's reference to Anne Conway was in connection with a Braithwaite comment to the effect that Henry More was the spiritual adviser to "Lady Conway who became a Friend." But her name should have appeared 250 pages earlier in the lengthy discussion of the Toleration Act. That Act, which in large measure ended the massive persecution of Friends, was shepherded through Parliament by Daniel Finch, for nine years in the House of Commons, and then, succeeding his father Heneage as the second Earl of Nottingham, to final passage in the House of Lords in 1698, the tenth year of that process. No Quaker seems to be aware that this statesman was the nephew of Anne Conway, although much emphasis is given to the special doctrinal sections inserted in the Act to allow Quakers to be included, and to the provision to permit the replacement of the required oath by a simple affirmation. The genius of the Toleration Act which made possible its eventual passage, was that it changed none of the restrictive laws under which the dissenters had been persecuted. It merely exempted dissenters under certain conditions (such as agreeing to a mere 5 of the 39 articles) from the penalties legally prescribed.

But is the fact that Daniel was Anne's nephew sufficient reason to suggest Quaker influence? Not unless there were some special ties. These, however, there were. Daniel spent two years in Italy with Anne's brother John. During that time John was looking for doctors for her and was discussing Anne's sickness with Prince Leopold. His mother writes to him during his stay in Florence telling him of the London plague (this was the same year as Greatrakes' visit), and of her plans to visit Anne Conway. She includes a motherly plea that he watch the way he walks and not to stoop! In a letter of 1671 he offers his "greatest devotion and dutiful respects to Anne and her husband." When she dies it falls to Daniel to transmit the news to John, now ambassador to Constantinople. He writes to John's friend Baines, asking him to break the news, knowing of John's devotion to her. But Baines is sick so John opens the letter. We have his reply, expressing his appreciation for Daniel's concern.

The severe simplicity of Anne's ritual-less Quaker funeral, contrasting sharply with the form expected by that wide Anglican circle of eminent and devoted acquaintances, would have left its mark on Daniel when he was dealing with the Quakers as a statesman a quarter of a century later. One aspect of Anne's death made it widely memorable. Since Anne's husband was abroad when she died, F.M. Van Helmont, alchemist that he was, laid her body, preserved in spirit of wine, in a coffin with glass over her face, for his return.

But Daniel Finch's contact was even closer. Anne used her network where she could to alleviate the suffering of the Quakers. Thus she wrote to her

husband on their behalf and also to her brother Heneage, now the Lord Chancellor. He did what he could, for according to Marjorie Nicolson he never refused any of her requests. She wrote him unsuccessfully for George Fox's release, but Fox realized later it was through some other meddling that interfered with Heneage's plans. While Daniel was in the Commons, his father was in the Lords and, according to Daniel's biographer,<sup>21</sup> father and son worked closely together. Nine years with the Toleration Act must have made him very much aware of the Quaker travails. The general establishment view was that Quakers were radicals, if not subversives. Daniel and his father knew better.

I want to go back to a cause celebre of the social historians of science. It is an interpretation of which I knew nothing and which initially appalled me. There seems to be general agreement now--helped no doubt by an incisive article by Carolyn Merchant<sup>22</sup> that the famous controversy between Newton and Leibniz was not carried out on a purely scientific level. There was of course the question as to who had first invented the calculus. But what was dramatically different was their view of nature. Newton believed in particles, stupid, brute, acted on by external forces. He supplied a theological superstructure which never fitted too well, of the space-time framework which was God's sensorium. His followers built, out of that model, a scheme for the governing of England--citizens were the particles which needed to be guided by wise benevolent forces in touch with God. Leibniz could not accept that kind of atomism and hence developed his monadology, the monads at the mechanical level obeying the laws of physics, yet aware of all the other monads and acting in a preestablished harmony. In Needham's simile the monads act like dancers, each moving independently yet in harmony with the dance as a whole.<sup>23</sup> Here was a very different, much more egalitarian democratic social model where guidance came from within, from an inner light, not needing an elite to guide you. That way for many implied anarchy. And Anne Conway may have helped Leibniz come to that view and her writings may have encouraged him to use the term monad for the entities he wanted to describe.

All this might have been quite academic had not Leibniz resided at the court of Hanover as its court philosopher, and had not the house of Hanover been one of the direct lines of descent for future heirs to the British throne. Hence comes the suggestion for the vehemence of the debate between the Newtonians and Leibniz which the latter sensed as being something more than scientific rivalry. It turned out that the Newtonians--or at least some very influential ones--were also running the Church and the government. They were defending the Newtonian thesis in order to save their jobs and the only form of government they felt would safeguard England's peace and prosperity.<sup>24</sup> As Carolyn Merchant rightly points out, some of the Newtonians became extremely narrow and partisan, refusing to recognize the intrinsic scientific merit of some of Leibniz's insights.

Margaret Jacob in her book on the Newtonians, classes the Finch brothers, Daniel and Heneage (the third in our line) as Latitudinarians, belonging to the influential church party, and hence with the Newtonians. But in a footnote on p. 48 she admits that the Finches sometimes changed sides, and that such shifting alliances deserved a separate study. Later, however, that cautionary note seems to be forgotten.

Yet the facts are that Daniel was an early and rather consistent advocate of the claims of Hanover and became George I's President of the Council when George of the House of Hanover assumed the British throne.

Why did not Daniel espouse the worldview of the Newtonians or at least why did he not carry the Newtonian interpretation of nature into the realm of

politics? Could it be that he was close enough to the views of Henry More and Anne Conway to be aware that there was no simple answer as to the nature of the physical world or even that his own views were closer to those of Anne Conway and Leibniz? Perhaps he was a good enough statesman not to be guided by abstract theory when it conflicted with what he saw was good for his country? A final possible sign of influence from his aunt: he fell from power by pleading for the commutation of the death penalty for some peers who had plotted against the throne although their guilt he had publicly recognized.

Anne Conway in Fiction. I spoke earlier of the fictionalized version of Anne Conway's life. It appeared in 1881 in a philosophical novel John Inglesant by J. Henry Shorthouse<sup>25</sup> which Marjorie Nicolson characterizes as "based upon only the scantiest knowledge of Lady Conway and her group." Yet, in the entry on Henry More in the 1947 Encyclopedia Britannica, the reader is told to read this novel to understand the Conway circle! I had thought that Shorthouse was an insignificant minor novelist although the more than dozen copies of different editions in the Widener library gave me pause. Then pursuing Henry Cadbury's lead, I read Powicke's account of More and Anne in which a footnote tells of someone reminding him of the novel when he lectured at Woodbrooke, the Quaker study center near Birmingham. He refers to the "Birmingham novelist" which suggested checking the "Dictionary of National Biography." Shorthouse appears in one of the supplements since he only died in 1903.<sup>26</sup> He was a Quaker, at least by birth as well as marriage and early conviction until he and his wife became attracted to the 17th century and to the Anglican church which they joined. What a fascinating reversal from the path taken by the woman he fictionalized. He worked on the novel for ten years (his life and letters were located close to Guilford in the Wake Forest Library),<sup>27</sup> in the evenings on coming home from his business. For he was a Quaker businessman, in the family vitriol company--presumably making sulfuric acid--another of the Midland Quaker industrial circle which Cyril Harvey of Guilford suggests deserves the attention of Friends paralleling their interest in the Lake District, along with the Cadburys, Frys, Rowntrees and Palmer biscuits, and of course the Darbys of Colebrookdale who found a way of using coal to make iron, and thus had a major part in launching the industrial revolution. The Shorthouse marriage took place in Warwick Meeting House, an hour's carriage ride at most from Ragley Hall. Legends of the famous Quaker woman must have abounded there particularly after the 1850 series in the British Friend. Although his biography gives no further clue as to the sources for his Conway material, he does speak of using primary material including original manuscripts if available. Powicke mentions that he uses sentences verbatim from Richard Ward's life of Henry More, from More himself (Shorthouse too was a Platonist and quotes Henry More in his correspondence) and most interesting of all, he quotes from Anne's husband's letters to his brother-in-law Sir George Rawdon. Where could he have seen those letters? They had been published as part of the Rawdon Papers. But John Inglesant is dedicated to Rawdon Levett. It would seem almost certain that Rawdon Levett was part of the same Rawdon family and introduced Shorthouse to privately circulated material.

The theme of the novel, according to the Shorthouse biography, was taken from the story of a knight returning from a crusade who meets with and forgives the man who murdered his brother. In the novel the brother is the husband of Anne Conway alias Lady Cardiff. She has her headaches and is looked after by Van Helmont and visited by Henry More, both undisguised. Anne's husband gets into an argument with someone in Italy who seeks to murder him. This he accomplishes by passing himself off as a physician able to cure Anne Conway and as a person familiar with mystical groups on the continent. The husband

earlier is disgusted with Anne's turning to Quakerism which he claims has taken all the joy out of the Ragley atmosphere.

Shorthouse published the book privately and presented copies to his friends. One was sent to Oxford where the novelist Mrs. Humphry Ward saw it and recommended it to the publisher (and Platonist) Alexander Macmillan. Macmillan published it and it became an almost instant success, partly due to its espousal by Gladstone the Prime Minister. There was a vogue in Italian descriptions which the book contains though the author had never been there. Huxley liked it, Gosse liked it, the Shorthouses were invited to Cambridge, to Oxford, to breakfast with the Prime Minister in Downing Street; they had become literary celebrities although the author had never taken formal education beyond high school. However, from an early age he had belonged to a Friends Essay Society for which he wrote shorter pieces which were read and discussed.

Taoism. Finally what of Joseph Needhams' Taoist label for the Conway circle?<sup>28</sup> He seeks for viewpoints in the West close to those that he sees as the major stimulus to China's scientific contributions. He finds them in the Pythagoreans and Gnostics, in Roger Bacon and Nicolas of Cusa, in Giordano Bruno, the Conway circle and Blake. He recognizes the Cabala tradition as strangely akin to some Chinese lines of thought and wonders if there was an early transmission of Chinese thought forms to Europe long before the Renaissance Jesuit contacts through which Leibniz kept in touch with things Chinese. But I am becoming convinced that what we tend to label as Chinese viewpoints were once very largely shared throughout the world--the view that all was interconnected. The atomism of the Greeks seems to have been a very restricted phenomenon enormously productive because so different from the rest, yet false if considered the ultimate reality. That is the view of Okakura, famous for his "Book of Tea" in a less well-known work "The Ideals of the East".<sup>29</sup>

However, there are other respects in which the Conway circle mirrors some major emphases of the Taoist tradition. Henry More steadfastly refuses all offers of preferment, from becoming a bishop to even accepting the mastership of his college. He wants only to stay at Christ College and be known through his writing and through what he is. And at Ragley, Anne Conway, Van Helmont and others suggest topics to each other for writing (Henry More's Conjectura Cabbalistica and his book on Jacob Boehme--the Philosophiae Teutonicae Censura--were written expressly in answer to Anne Conway's request). Some writings are collaborative--such as the 400 queries to Friends signed by George Keith, Van Helmont and Anne Conway. Some are collaborative without being so stated as Van Helmont's "Cabbalistical Dialogue in Answer to the Opinion of a Learned Doctor of Philosophy and Theology that the World was made of Nothing"--where the learned doctor is Henry More. Some are even written pseudonymously, such as Henry More's intended preface to Anne Conway's writings which was signed as if written by Van Helmont. Above all the Taoist character comes out in the self-effacement with regard to intellectual power, to some extent by More but particularly by Anne Conway who according to More never flaunted her learning, in fact did her best to hide it.

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## HENRY MORE AND ANNE CONWAY

by John H. Stoneburner

In exploring the life, thought, and times of Anne Finch Conway (1631-79), one must almost inevitably deal with the poet, philosopher, and theologian Henry More (1614-87). This essay is a partial introduction to his thought so that some important features of Conway's rich and complex religious and intellectual context can be brought more clearly into view.

More was the tutor of Anne Conway's step-brother, John Finch, at Christ's College, Cambridge, and it was through this relationship that Conway became one of More's major disciples and, as time passed, close friend, and independent colleague. This was made possible through frequent and extended visits by More to the estate of her husband, Viscount Edward Conway, and through correspondence written over a period of almost thirty years.<sup>1</sup>

More was the youngest child of an established and well-to-do family from Grantham, Lincolnshire. After showing proficiency in Latin and Greek at the local Grantham School, an uncle decided to send him to Eton. More's family background was strongly Puritan, but while at Eton he began to be unable to "swallow down the hard Doctrine" of predestination. He then went to Christ's College, Cambridge (1631), and he basically remained there the remainder of his life. One of the teachers that he studied with was Joseph Mede, a great biblical scholar who was a pivotal figure in developing through a new interpretation of the millenium a more optimistic view of history and human accomplishments than had traditionally been the case in mainline Christianity.

After gaining a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1635-36, More went through a spiritual crisis which lasted for three or four years. Having immersed himself in the study of philosophy, he found himself in a state of deep personal dissatisfaction and spiritual dryness. He began to read various thinkers from the long Platonic tradition who placed a heavy emphasis on the purification of the soul as a way to be illuminated by God. More became convinced "that true personal holiness was the only way to achieve sound knowledge of God."

When this inordinate Desire after the knowledge of things was thus allay'd in me, and I aspir'd after nothing but this sole Purity and Simplicity of Mind, there shone in upon me daily a greater Assurance than ever I could have expected, even of these things which before I had the greatest desire to know.<sup>2</sup>

As his spiritual struggle came to an end (1639), More received the degree of Master of Arts, and was ordained in the Church of England, deacon in 1639 and priest in 1641. He was appointed fellow and tutor at Christ's College, settling into a lifetime of studying, writing, and teaching. Although he inevitably became involved in various religious and philosophical disputes and controversies, More basically lived a quiet and intellectually productive life. Even the Puritan Revolution and its aftermath did not seem to shake him in a strong manner. More was a prolific writer--poems, dialogues, treatises on philosophy and theology, excursions into Cabalistic literature, apocalyptic exegesis writings, and investigations of spiritualistic and occult phenomena.

Although he later came to have important disagreement with Descartes, More was among the very first proponents of Cartensianism in England. He was also the first English poet to express in a positive manner the religious implications of modern astronomy of accepting the reality of an infinite universe.<sup>3</sup> More was active on a number of philosophical and theological fronts, but in this brief essay only three aspects of his thought will be considered: firstly, his participation in the reinterpretation of the basic doctrines of Christianity that was carried out by the Cambridge Platonists in the Seventeenth Century; secondly, his critique of the materialistic philosophy of Thomas Hobbes; thirdly, his relationship to and evaluation of Quakerism.

The relationship of faith to reason had again become a pressing issue in the Seventeenth Century, because of the rise of modern science and philosophy. Philosophers such as Bacon and Hobbes were arguing that philosophy and religion should be kept separate. For opposite reasons, Puritan groups made the same claim. The former wanted to free philosophy. The latter wanted to protect true religion. More and the Cambridge Platonists were determined not to allow them to be put into separate compartments. Reason, for More, should not be identified with the severely limited analytical, mathematical and logical reason of much of modern thought. Reason also has intuitive, personal mystical, contemplative, aesthetic, and moral qualities. He sometimes terms it the "Divine Sagacity." And one of his definitions of reason is:

a Power of Faculties of the Soul; whereby either from her Innate Ideas or Common Notions, or else from the assurance of her own sens, or upon the Relation or Tradition of another, she unravels a further clew of knowledge, enlarging her sphere of Intellectual light, by laying open to herself the close connexion and cohesion of the Conceptions she has of things, whereby inferring multifarious Conclusions as well as pleasure of Speculation as the necessity of Practice.<sup>4</sup>

Faith, in turn, is more than belief; it is also trust and obedience. In addition, faith is concomitant with regeneration. It is a vital inner power that transforms the soul in its entirety. In an analogous way to the manner in which the soul activates and guides the body, the Spirit of God penetrates and possesses the soul.<sup>5</sup> In this process of regeneration the self and reason are not in any way destroyed, but perfected. Faith and reason accordingly are in constant interplay with each other. Because the will guides the self, including reason, it is necessary to be obedient to the Truth to understand it. Disobedience obscures and darkens the mind.<sup>6</sup>

If the eye of the understanding be shut through Pride, Prejudice or Sensuality, the mysteries of Philosophy are thereby veiled from it; but if by true virtue and unfeigned sanctity of mind the eye be opened, the Mysteries of Philosophy are thereby the more clearly discovered to it.<sup>7</sup>

The reverse of this is that no claim that conflicts with the findings of "natural truth" should be adopted.

To take away Reason therefore, under what fanatik pretense soever, is to disrobe the Priest and despoil him of his Breast-plate, and which is worst of all, to rob

Christianity of that special Perogative it has above all other religions of the World, namely that it dares appeal to reason. For take away Reason, all religions are alike true; as the Light being removed, all things are of one colour.<sup>8</sup>

There is no conflict between faith and reason because the truths of morality, science, natural religion, and scripture are all grasped by reason. For More this meant that theology could and should be kept current and integrated with all authentic, intellectual developments.

With regard to God, More consistently stresses the rational goodness of God, in contrast to what he saw to be the Puritan and traditional Christian emphasis upon "the dark and unintelligible Exercise of an irresistible Power." In his long poem "Psychathanasia," after expressing the Calvinist-Puritan view of God, he responds from his own angle of vision:

O belch of hell! O horrid blasphemy!  
That Heavens unblemish'd beauty thus doth stain  
And brand Gods nature with such infamy:  
Can Wise, Juste, Good, do ought that's harsh or vain?  
And what he doth is for the creatures gain,  
Not seeking ought for us for his content:  
What is a drop unto the Ocean main?  
All he intends is our accomplishment.  
His being is self-full, self joy'd, self-excellent.<sup>9</sup>

God is also described as "that Love of whom the whole Universe was begotten, and that rock'd the cradle of the Infant World..."<sup>10</sup> And it is this same divine love that created human souls in such a manner that they are not subservient to the compulsion of necessity but are free to respond to this creative and redemptive love with love.

More's fundamentally positive interpretation of human nature reflects the same basic theological orientation. He speaks, for example, of the soul as "a compendious stature of the Deity."<sup>11</sup> More is not oblivious to the reality of sin, but the greatness, rather than the misery, of the human soul predominates.<sup>12</sup> Just as revelation and reason fit comfortably together so grace does not overpower but works with the human will. Another example of More's optimism about humankind is that he, like the early Christian Platonist Origen, affirmed the fortunate fall of Adam and Eve. "The great Good therefore that does arise out of this Revolt of Men and Angels, is a setting of the Activity of the Creation at a higher pitch..."<sup>13</sup> More also stresses what he sometimes terms deformity. Sometimes he speaks of this in terms of human reason resembling the divine reason, or the human will being obedient to the divine will. At other points he uses a metaphor, "seed," that was prominent in early Quakerism. He affirms that the Word of God is implanted in the souls like a "seed," and that when it develops it becomes godlike. "For what is this Seed but the Son of God, by union with whom we also become Sons of God, petty Deities."<sup>14</sup>

To move explicitly to the subject of salvation, More uses such terms as "worth" and merit which readily fit with the traditional satisfaction theory of the atonement. The dominant thrust, however, of his interpretation of how Christ is involved in the reconciliation of humans to God is to see him as a teacher and moral example.

And what do we think could work more kindly upon the Nature of Man to disenslave him from the Bondage of Satan, and to make close with the Divine Life, then to exhibit a very visible Example thereof in some venerable Person, who should earnestly exhort Mankind to follow his Steps and Practices, and whose Doctrine should be confirmed with sensible Testimonies from Heaven, in Approbation and exaltation of his person...?<sup>15</sup>

As a rational, good, and loving reality, God does not need to be appeased. God, who has bestowed his "Seed" within the human self, sends the God-man to nurture and empower this Seed in its earthly journey. But the same Word that is revealed in the historical Jesus and present in scripture and preaching is most immediately and vitally present within the depths of the self.

Preaching and hearing, and reading and discoursing; they may be a kind of plowing and harrowing, or some such piece of husbandry: But it is a hand out of the Clouds that sets his Seed of everlasting Life in our hearts. Those are but some hungry talk of the best dishes, or spreading the table: This is the real food.<sup>16</sup>

Given this optimism about human nature and divine grace, it is not surprising that More moved in heterodox directions in terms of his interpretations of history and final salvation. More holds that history and salvation are progressive. "The gradual conversion and perfecting of human nature is God's Plan."<sup>17</sup> He accepted as a hypothesis the belief in the pre-existence of souls-Conway fully accepts this position the central part of her response to evil--because it may help to vindicate God's providence in the face of human suffering by holding that the latter can be explained as a purification process caused by former sins. More also articulates this optimism in his support of the notion that God shall eventually forgive even Satan, a notion that most Christians would have found to be extremely objectionable.<sup>18</sup>

To turn to the second focus of this essay, a fruitful way to enter More's philosophy--which always still includes religious concerns--is to examine his response to the thought of Thomas Hobbes. More was convinced that Hobbes had expressed in a clear and forceful way a serious intellectual alternative to Christianity. More wanted to show that it was possible to embrace the findings of modern science without moving into what he saw to be the atheistic consequences of Hobbes' position.

Hobbes' philosophy is in essence a mechanistic materialism. In a famous passage from the Leviathan (which More quotes), he wrote:

The universe, that is, the whole mass of all things that are, is corporeal, that is to say, bodily, and hath the dimensions of magnitude, namely length, breadth, and depth; also every part of body is likewise body, and hath the like dimensions, and consequently every part of the body, and that which is not body is no part of the universe; and because the universe is all, that which is no part of it is nothing, and consequently nowhere.<sup>19</sup>

The consequences of this totalistic materialism were many. Although Hobbes frequently quoted scripture and occasionally professed belief in God, it is

difficult to know what he intended by these affirmations. If he actually believed in God, it was clearly a type of Deism in which God is conceived as the first mover and designer of the world-machine.<sup>20</sup> More likely Hobbes, who was well aware that he was writing in an age in which almost everyone believed that the universe had a divine meaning, was practicing a "calculated hypocrisy." One of the clues that supports this interpretation is that Hobbes reduced any statements about the possible attributes of God to the situation of the person making the claim.

For in the attributes which we give to God, we are not to consider the signification of philosophical truth, but the signification of pious intention, to do him the greatest honour we are able.<sup>21</sup>

Another clue is that the origin of religion was not the apprehension of truth but primitive people's fear of an unknown and threatening aspects of the universe. Most tellingly, Hobbes' supposed belief in God would seem as More himself saw, to contradict directly the basic materialistic basis of his philosophical stance.

Turning to Hobbes' analysis of the human self, cognition is to be understood in an entirely mechanistic manner--another example of matter in motion. Not surprisingly, there is no immortal soul, freedom of the will, or absolute moral values. In a society composed of competing, power hungry, and egotistic individuals who live in a universe without absolute truth and goodness, the only solution for order is an authoritarian sovereign.<sup>22</sup>

More set out to refute Hobbes on all of these points. By arguing for the existence of spiritual substances as well as matter he aimed to affirm the reality of the freedom and immortality of the human soul, a living and purposive natural world, and atheistic God. With regard to the human soul, More held that the self has the immediate experience of volition.

I demand therefore to what in the body will you attribute spontaneous motion? I understand thereby a power in ourselves of moving or holding still most of the parts of our body, as your hand, suppose, or little finger. If you will say that it is nothing but the omission (insertion) of the spirits in such and such muscles, I would gladly know what does limit these spirits and direct them so curiously. Is it themselves, or the brain, or that particular piece of brain they call the conarion or pine kernel? Whatever it be, that which does thus limit them and direct them, must have animadversion, and the same that has animadversion has memory also and reason.<sup>23</sup>

A materialist interpretation simply does not give an adequate account of the whole self. More humorously portrays such a position in his poem "The Pre-existency of the Soul."

For them our soul can nothing be but blood or nerves or  
brains, or body modified. Whence it will follow that cold  
stopping crud, Hard moldy cheese, dry nuts, when they have rid  
Due circuits through the heart, at last shall speed  
Of life and sense, look through our thin eyes  
And view the Close wherein the Cow did feed

Whence they were milk'd goose Pie-crust will grow wise,  
And pickled Cucumbers sans doubt Philosophize.<sup>24</sup>

More's fundamental argument for the immortality of the soul was that it is only by making this claim that one can make sense out of the moral character of the universe that has been established by God. Given the pain, injustices, and imperfections that are such a frequent part of human existence, the sole way that the various moral values can be ultimately meaningful is that the soul continues to exist after death.<sup>25</sup>

It needs to be noted that More held that spiritual realities must be extended in space. To argue otherwise would be to claim that they are unreal. Matter is extended, impenetrable and divisible; spirit is also extended but it is penetrable and indivisible. He refers spiritual extension as a "fourth dimension" or "essential spisitude" (density, thickness, compactness).<sup>26</sup> This quality allows it to occupy more or less space, and it is this power which allows spirit or soul to penetrate and impart motion to matter.

More extended this view of soul/spirit and matter to the way in which he conceived of nature as a whole, for he was convinced that it could no more be a machine than the human self. This "spirit of nature" does not have consciousness or free will, but it does have a vital and directive function. More defined it as "a substance incorporeal...pervading the whole matter of the universe, and exercising a plastic power therein...raising such phenomena in the world, by directing the parts of the matter, and their motion, as cannot be resolved into mere mechanical powers."<sup>27</sup> Although it is a genuine cause of nature and is the way in which God controls matter, it functions in a law-abiding way, which means that scientific inquiry of nature is valid (within limits). Rather than the blind mechanistic universe of Hobbes, More was convinced the "spirit of nature" was how God could continue to work in a providential way in the world that He had created.<sup>28</sup>

More also affirmed a still higher order of spiritual substance, namely God. Formulating a theory of innate ideas, More revised the ontological argument for the existence of God. And more directly connected with the themes that we have just been exploring, he also presented various technological arguments for God's existence. For example: "Suppose Matter could move itself, would mere Matter and Self-motion, amount to that admirable wise contrivance of things which we see in the world."<sup>29</sup> Given from what has already been said about the nature of lesser spiritual realities, it is not surprising that God has a type of extension. If the soul is somewhere then God is somewhere (comment upon More's influence upon Newton). Although he went through some changes of mind on this subject, More seems to have concluded that God cannot be completely identified with space because this would lead to pantheism, which he always found objectionable. Yet he gave space those kinds of attributes that theologians and philosophers usually only apply to God; space is one, simple eternal, uncreated, infinite, etc. E.A. Burt summarizes More's final view in this manner:

... Space is God so far as he is omnipresent merely, abstracting from the other characteristics which concern his life and power. But its spiritual character is something essential. Space is divine. A mechanical world alone would inevitably fly into pieces, by the unhampered operation of the laws of motion. All continuity in the universe-- this immobile, incorporeal space as well as those invisible forces such as gravity and cohesion, which hold together in

one system the different parts of the cosmic frame--is fundamentally spiritual.<sup>30</sup>

Through space God can embrace and affect in a direct manner the existence of all things. As Carolyn Merchant has clearly shown there are some significant differences between the philosophies--theology of More and Conway, especially in terms of the latter affirming that all reality is spiritual (matter or body is a grosser form of spirit). More seems to have concluded that a spiritual monism,<sup>31</sup> in which there is no clear demarcation between God and the world--between spirit and matter--will necessarily lead to pantheism. These contrasts cannot be pursued here, but Conway became philosophically quite independent of her long-term mentor. They did share, however, a strong and important antipathy toward the spiritless and purposeless world of Hobbes.

Lastly, in turning to More's relationship to Quakerism two questions need to be considered. First of all, what was More's attitude toward Quakerism before and after Conway's developing interest in and eventual conversion to Quakerism? Secondly, and closely related, was More himself a type of implicit Quaker, as a number of scholars have argued?

There is no question that More's evaluation of Quakerism changed over time. In his earlier writings he consistently attacked two religious enemies, Roman Catholicism and Enthusiasm, the latter of which he primarily identified with the counter-cultural groups at the left fringe of the Puritan revolution in England--Familists, Seekers, Ranters, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Quakers. In works such as Enthusiasm Triumphatus: or a Brief Discourse on the Natures, Causes, Kind, and Cure of Enthusiasm (published in 1656), More's primary objection to these radical groups is that they depreciate the exercise of reason and the witness of scripture and give themselves up to the guidance of a purely subjective "inner light." More explained in physiologists' terms how these religious delusions were the result of melancholy, caused by a body whose humors have gotten out of balance.

And for Quaking, which deluded souls take to be an infallible sign they are inactivated by the Spirit of God, that it may be only an effect of their melancholy is apparent. Wherefore it is no wonder, the enthusiast fancying these natural paroxysms with which he is surprised to be extraordinary visits of the Deity, and illapses of the Holy Ghost into his soul, which he cannot but then receive with the highest veneration imaginable, it is no wonder, I say, that fear and joy and love should make such a confusion in his spirits, as to put him into a fit of trembling and quaking. In which case the fervor of his spirits and heat of imagination may be wrought up to that pitch that it may amount to a perfect epilepsie, as it often happens in that sect they call Quakers, who undoubtedly are the most melancholy sect ever was yet in the world.<sup>32</sup>

More's initial estimation of the Society of Friends could hardly have been more negative.

In the late 1660's More and Conway read writings by Jacob Boehme and Henry Nicholas (Henry Niklaes), the founder of the Family of Love which in More's interpretation was the source of Quakerism. In a letter to Conway More largely praises Boehme, but he describes Nicholas as a "mere mock-prophet, so mad and phrantik are his allusions to and interpretations of Scripture."

During this period More also saw a Quaker, probably John Pennyman whose eccentricities embarrassed Fox and Penn, burn a group of books, including the Bible, which supported More's suspicion that Quakerism subverted the authority of scripture.<sup>33</sup>

But it is obvious from the More-Conway correspondence that as the latter became more seriously drawn to Quakerism that the former's attitude towards it also began to shift. Because he performed the role not only of intellectual colleague but as spiritual counselor to Conway, More was led to read Quaker works in an open-minded manner and hold personal discussions with leading members of the Society of Friends. In 1674, for example, he meets for some nine to twelve hours with George Keith. He criticizes Keith's religion for what he terms its "schismaticalness" and "ridiculous rusticity" but also says "I found him a man very considerably learned, of a good wit and quick apprehension, and which is best of all, heartily breathing after the attainment of the new life of a Christian."<sup>34</sup>

Then in 1675 he wrote a long letter of essay length to William Penn. Having read some of George Keith, Robert Barclay, and Penn, including No Cross, No Crown, More states that these writers are largely keeping Quakerism within the boundaries of Christianity, and he expressed the hope that Quaker faith and practice would "grow more ample and articulate, (till) they reach at last the full stature of Christ in the primitive and apostolic times."<sup>35</sup> He then goes on in considerable detail to attack the absence of the sacraments of baptism and holy communion in Quakerism. The lack of these physical sacraments reflects an insufficient emphasis upon the physical humanity of Christ, which he states should not be overlooked by "pretending that every man is enlightened immediately by the divine Logos."<sup>36</sup> In addition, Quakerism has established a number of practices that are unbiblical and which show that at least in some important instances it finds "the impartial sense of Scripture repugnant."<sup>37</sup> For instance, the Quaker practice of refusing to use titles has no scriptural basis, is unnecessarily offensive to one's non-Quaker neighbors, and goes against the God-given hierarchical order of society.

During this period of time, More continued in his letters to encourage Conway not to become a Quaker. He also repeated his earlier claim that Quakerism was an outgrowth of Familism. He mentioned James Naylor as an example of fanaticism in Quakerism, saying that in the early days of the Society of Friends, Naylor had been as important a leader in Quakerism as George Fox. In a powerful and assertive response, Conway counters that Fox had never belonged to the Family of Love. She then goes on to explain why Quakerism was not only of intellectual interest to her but of deep personal significance.

They have been and are a suffering people and are taught from the consolation (that) has been experimentally felt by them under their great tryals to administer comfort upon occasion to others in great distresse, and as Solomon sayes, a word in due season is like apples of gold in pictures of silver. The weight of my affliction lies so very heavy upon me, that it is incredible how very seldom I can endure anyone in my chamber, but I find them so still, and very serious, that the company of such of them as I have hitherto seene, will be acceptable to me, as long as I am capable of enjoying any; the particular acquaintance with such living examples of great patience under sundry heavy exercises, both of bodily sicknesse and other calamitys

(as some of them have related to me) I find begetts a more lively fayth and uninterrupted desire of approaching to such a behaviour in like exigencies, then the most learned and Rhetorical discourses of resignation can doe, though such also are good and profitable in their season...<sup>38</sup>

Although she acknowledged that the Quaker leaders might well benefit theologically from further contact with More, Conway obviously has not only been persuaded by the writings of and discussions with such persons as George Keith, Isaac Pennington, and William Penn, but she has been moved in the depths of her heart by the living examples of the Quaker women she has hired to care for her in the constant severity of her suffering. The suffering that Quakers had gone through as a result of government persecution had given them the sensitivity and insight to minister to Conway in such a manner that she became convinced of the authenticity of their religious convictions.

Thus through the years, largely as a result of the direct and indirect influence of Conway, More became more tolerant towards Quakerism. But he apparently never moved explicitly closer to it than the position that he articulated in the letter to Penn that was discussed above. He was hopeful that Quakerism would make the necessary steps to move completely into Christianity. In the meantime he was sufficiently tolerant--a virtue that was usually not shared by his contemporaries--to hope that all sincere Christians, including Quakers, would meet in heaven.<sup>39</sup>

Was More, however, an implicit Quaker? Was he a Quaker without quite realizing it? Several important scholars have expressed this view, and there are similarities between More and Quakerism.<sup>40</sup> For example, both use the metaphors of Light and Seed, believe in an immediate "contact" between God and humans, held that true Christianity is inextricably tied to a rigorous ethical life, and frown upon a rationalistic or doctrinal Christianity. But there are important differences as well. More sees no dichotomy between grace and nature or revelation and reason, while early Quaker writers saw a separation between them. More had relatively little to say about the darkness that one finds within the human self, while the founders of the Society of Friends consistently affirmed that when one becomes sensitive to the Light within, that one also becomes aware of the depths of human sin. And More had none of the social radicalism of early Quakers--its social leveling, sexual equalitarianism, and pacifism. Hugh Barbour has shown that by the time you get to William Penn in the early development of the Society of Friends that at least that part of Quakerism that is reflected in Penn's thought has gone through some major transformations.<sup>41</sup> Penn begins to equate reason and conscience with the Inner Light and consequently becomes closer to the Cambridge Platonists than to Fox and the earliest Quakers. The answer to whether or not More was an implicit Quaker depends upon what period and "wing" of Quakerism with which you are comparing him.

## NOTES

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CABALA AND ITS INFLUENCE  
ON THE RENAISSANCE PHILOSOPHY OF ANNE CONWAY

by  
Robert Kraus

I wish to explore the question of how the Cabala, an ancient Jewish mystical tradition, came to occupy such an honored place in the Christian Renaissance. The literature of Renaissance theology, philosophy, science, and even art abounds with references made to the Cabala. Such notable persons as Isaac Newton, Henry More, John Milton, and Anne Conway all sought out the Cabala and held its doctrines in profound regard.

The single most exciting characteristic of the Renaissance for me is the spirit of curiosity, openness, and enthusiasm which prevailed in the individual's pursuit of knowledge and truth. This feature certainly was responsible to a large degree for the discovery and acceptance of the Cabala. During this period, no text, no matter how remote, abstruse or disreputable, was considered unworthy of attention and study. In fact, the more remote or obscure the text was the greater the possibility that it contained important knowledge. The men and women of this era, struggling with the immense possibilities of the present and trying to forge a responsible future, looked to the past for their guidance and for wisdom. The greater ancient Greek and Hebrew heritages were regarded as the repositories of vast intellectual and spiritual wealth concerning man and his relationship with God and the cosmos. The Cabala made an excellent subject of study for it was conceived as very ancient, reaching back to Abraham or Moses, and it was full of the necessary obscurity.

No doubt, this spirit of open-mindedness was largely a reaction against the Aristotelian dogmatism which had pervaded virtually all the intellectual life of Europe for many centuries. The breakdown of Aristotelianism and the re-emergence of neoplatonism greatly enhanced the applicability of the Cabala's teachings to contemporary intellectual, spiritual and scientific trends. Though fundamentally Jewish in origin, the Cabala had absorbed many elements of earlier neoplatonic systems.

The precise origins of the Cabala are unsure. Until its first written literature appeared in the late 12th century, the Cabalistic tradition had remained a series of diverse and unsystematic oral teachings. The emergence of the Cabala seems to have been largely a response to the growing rationalistic tendency within the rabbinical-talmudic tradition of Judaism. It is probably no accident that the appearance, in 1180, of the first Cabalistic literature, the Bahir, coincided with the powerful presence of Maimonides who was the culmination of this rationalist tradition within Judaism.

Gershom Scholem, a noted scholar of Jewish Cabalism, has defined the original impulse of Judaism as being an insistence upon the complete separation of God, man and the cosmos.<sup>1</sup> Mythology and symbolism were repudiated because they tended to confuse or intermix these three levels of reality and thus undermined the literal, historical authority of the scriptures. The Bahir, in direct contrast to this original impulse, was unabashedly mythical in its content and form. It was full of organic symbols and images of God and his activities in the world.

Only a century later the Zohar (also known as "The Book of Splendor") surfaced in Spain. This work had moved away from the gnostical flavor of the

Bahir and had united itself more fully with neoplatonism. Originally intended to be a commentary on the Torah, the Zohar soon came to be acknowledged as a spiritual authority equal to the Torah. It is a huge work filling more than 2000 pages. However, in spite of its massive size it is a book of surprising uniformity in its message. It is also worthy of note that it was full of medieval chivalric figures and had a remarkable similarity with many earlier Christian writings.

Up to this point the Cabala had remained entirely Jewish. Soon the unrelenting Renaissance curiosity concerning ancient manuscripts discovered its presence in southern Europe. Christian speculation about the Cabala first developed around the Platonic Academy in Florence. The founder of this school and the first person to present the Cabala to Christianity as a worthy source of spiritual knowledge was the Italian Renaissance philosopher, Pico della Mirandola, in the late 15th century. When Pico was led to the study of the Cabala by his Hebrew teachers and friends, he found its adaptation to Christian doctrine easy. (I should mention that many Jews had remained somewhat suspicious of the Cabala because they too recognized the ease with which it could be Christianized.) Like many of the contemporaries, Pico's primary philosophical interest was to create a universal, synthetic system of thought which could reconcile various strands of Aristotelian, Platonic, Hermetic, and Arabic systems with the doctrines of the Church. In 1486 he presented his 900 theses to the public, of which most were drawn from Hebrew and Cabalistic sources (but included some of his own conclusions as a Christian). He was hoping to defend the Cabala as an original and divine source for Christianity, and he invited rebuttal. The Church considered his defense inadequate and found him guilty of heresy. (He was later cleared of this charge by the quiet appeal of a sympathetic bishop.) One thesis particularly disturbing to some of the authorities in the Church was his statement, "There is no science which makes us more certain of the divinity of Christ than magic and the Cabala."<sup>2</sup>

Pico influenced many fellow humanists and was regarded by many of them as the master of the Christian Cabala, but very few of his younger contemporaries took his direction as their own. For one follower the Cabala was valued as a repository of lost Pythagorean doctrines, to another it became the prop for occultism of all sorts. And for yet another, who was a Jew recently converted to Catholicism, the Cabala was the perfect instrument by which the Jews could be brought to accept Christianity, since it was thoroughly Jewish in its origins and yet expressed truths fundamental to Christianity as well.

If I may return for a moment to the Jewish scene, a new development had taken place with regard to the interpretation of the Cabala within Jewish circles. Isaac Luria, a contemporary of Pico, had transformed the predominant message of the Cabala from one of explaining the creation to one explaining and guiding the process of redemption. Luria saw the Cabala's teachings as portraying a grand myth of exile, restoration and redemption. The fall of Adam represented a fragmentation of the various elements of the human spirit. A reunion, a restoration was needed and the Cabala was the revelation most suited to this task. The reality of the messiah and his role in this restoration was a purely symbolic one. In this view there was no need to honor or deny the reality of a historical or physical messiah. The true messiah was something revealed within one's personal spiritual search, a "Christ within."

By the mid 16th century, the Cabala had spread throughout the four corners of Europe. No longer a pastime for a few esoterics, it was now part of the equipment of every scholar. However, its Hebrew origins also began to arouse the suspicion within certain groups of the Church, most notably the Dominicans who at this time were fiercely persecuting the Jews and attempting

to eradicate all parts of their culture including their writings. To make matters worse, the Cabala was being used by many, sometimes heretical, thinkers to support or justify their own systems of thought. Those who still saw great value in the Cabala grew increasingly concerned about the reputation of such distinguished and revered materials and began to give more attention to distinguishing good and bad Cabala, the good being that which was purely spiritual in its use or interpretation and the bad being that which was based on superstitious or magical use.

The 17th century found the hope for a universal system reconciling Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish thought still very much alive. Henry More, Anne Conway, Francis von Helmont and Leibniz were amongst those seeking for such a philosophical system. To these people the Cabala still held great promise for this task because of its ability to bridge the three cultures. Many scholars of this age felt they could demonstrate that the true hidden meanings of the Cabala's symbolism pointed in a distinctly Christian direction and as such could prove the universality of the Christian revelation. The Christian Cabala of the 17th century was in many ways far removed from the original designs and intentions of the early Jewish Cabalists. By now the Cabala was not so much a specific doctrine as it was an attitude towards certain religious and scientific questions.

Looking at Anne Conway's philosophy in a little more detail will reveal how much influence these teachings had on her and her circle of friends. I wish now to turn to a brief explanation of the basic group of ideas or the "tree" of symbols which is at the heart of the Cabala's philosophy, and further show how they provided Anne Conway with the necessary features to unify and heal the deep divisions occurring within the religions of the Western world. Figure 1 is a symbolic representation of the fundamental structure of the inner human or spiritual reality. This reality is composed of four worlds, each world being further comprised of ten elements, attributes or symbols arranged in a particular pattern, repeated in each successive world. Other illustrations give more detailed idea of the complex interrelationships between these ten symbols. The diagrams are only of the first world, the World of Emanation. The importance of this world is that it is a purely spiritual world, the highest, and as such is the model for each of the three succeeding worlds, each of which is increasingly materialistic in its nature.

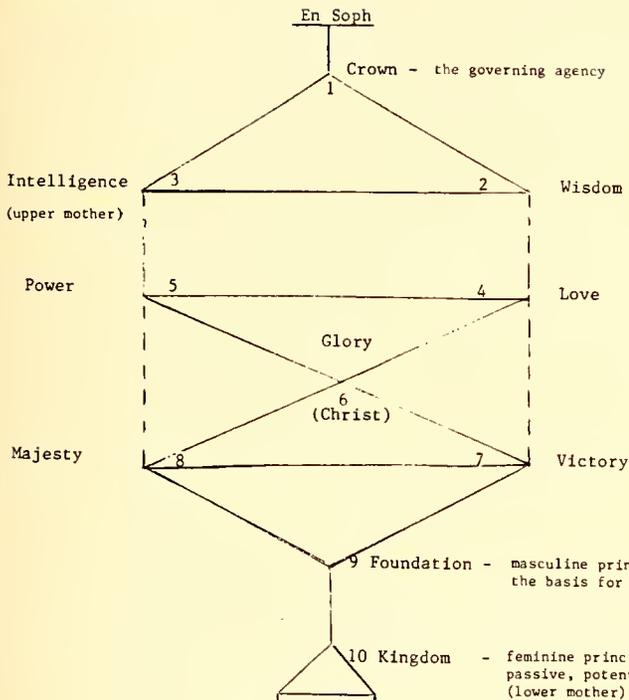
Originally the ten divine attributes or agencies, usually known as the ten sefiroth, were understood not so much as emanations out from God in the Neoplatonic sense as they were thought to be those aspects of God that man was capable of perceiving and comprehending directly. They were the real face of God and yet, God was paradoxically also conceived of as hidden from man. En Soph represents this highest and most hidden dimension of God which is totally transcendent. The following attributes of God man could perceive because he, being created in God's image or likeness, shared in these qualities. The ten sefiroth comprised the body of the primordial man known in this form as Adam Kadman. Referring back to Luria's philosophy, it was these ten aspects of man's (divine) being that were presently fragmented or separated from each other and were in need of reunification. (Of interest perhaps, centuries later William Blake was to express his feeling that the poverty of Christianity was due to its denial of the multiplicity of the human spirit and its intense focus on the singular spirit represented by Christ. All the many other spirits remained unconscious but not quiet. Without any attention, they ran wild and uncontrolled in man's being, causing deep psychological and social problems.)

It should be understood the ten sefiroth were not conceived as existing independent of each other as parts but were considered to be ten aspects of one whole, each one sharing some qualities of all the others. In fact, many Jewish philosophers postulated that a serious analysis of any one sefiroth would bring to light the reality of the other nine. The center pivotal symbol was, for Luria and later Christian thinkers such as Anne Conway, the representation of the messiah (sefiroth number six) which could achieve this spiritual feat of unification both on an individual basis as well as on a social level.

Figure 1 further includes some brief notes on the structure and meaning of various symbols particularly important to Anne Conway's philosophy. For instance, the notion of a Jewish trinity intrigued Christian philosophers for it seemed to indicate that central Christian doctrines were indeed anticipated in early Jewish thought thus providing a unifying theme capable of binding the two religions together. It was hoped that Jews would not be able to deny the validity of Christianity once this similarity was recognized. Further it was hoped that Christians would be able to acknowledge their kinship with and independence on Judaism as the foundation upon which Christianity was built. I present these ideas here in a simple geometric diagram primarily because diagrams of this nature were very important to philosophers of the Renaissance for expressing relationships between ideas and concepts. And secondly, I feel it enhances one's ability to grasp the interrelationships of these ideas to see them in a visual form.

Figure 1

WORLD of EMANATION  
Pure Spirit



Upper Face - Transcendent Trinity  
Conway's Trinity - Wisdom, Idea, Word  
Word (or Intelligence) gives birth to the rest of Creation, thus its subtle feminine quality

Lower Face  
Sefirot 4 - 10 represent the seven days of creation

Number 6, Glory or Compassion, becomes Conway's Christ - mediator between upper and lower and left and right powers. It maintains the balance and allows for the integration or unity of the entire World of Emanation.

WORLD of CREATION

WORLD of FORMATION

WORLD of MATERIAL ACTION  
Pure Physical Realm

The idea of an independent feminine aspect of God devoid of masculine qualities is utterly incongruous with traditional Jewish theology. This female aspect contains an element of terrible judgement or punishment as well as mercy and loyalty. (Not unlike the Hindu Kali.) It is a most significant ingredient of the Cabala in terms of the Cabala's amazing popularity amongst the Jewish people. Scholem comments that this feminine element must be considered to be "one of the primordial religious impulses still latent in Judaism."<sup>3</sup>

En participates on all four levels and has the capability to move back towards his original purity of pure spirit.

## NOTES

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FROM DARK CHRISTIAN TO FULLNESS OF LIFE:  
ISAAC PENINGTON'S JOURNEY FROM PURITANISM TO QUAKERISM

by R. Melvin Keiser

Anne Conway and Isaac Penington: A Prefatory Note

There are two reasons for a paper on Isaac Penington's conversion from Puritanism to Quakerism to be included in a symposium devoted to Anne Conway. He knew her, visited her at Ragley, spending long hours in conversation with her, probably contributed to her conviction, and corresponded warmly with her in their last years. In addition to his personal friendship there were intellectual connections: an interest in Jacob Boehme and a rejection of Cartesian dualism.

Anne Conway read Boehme and succeeded in interesting her mentor and friend, Henry More, in him. It is not clear when he felt her influence in this, for More seems to have known about Boehme as early as 1646 through Charles Hotham. His interest in Boehme may go back to his own Conjectura Cabbalistica (1653). He criticizes Boehme heavily in Enthusiasmus Triumphatus (1656), but by his Divine Dialogues (2nd ed. 1667) he has begun to soften his views, for he now indicates that he does not think Boehme is dangerous. Finally in Philosophiae Teutonicae Censura (1670) he favors Boehme, though rejects his claim to inspiration. It may be that Conway was the mollifying agent that changed his attitude in 1667 and 1670, indeed she may have first interested him in 1653, since she already was the recipient of More's great admiration, evident in his dedication to her of his Antidote Against Atheism (1652). My paper on Penington argues that prior to his conviction he was acquainted with Boehme and drew upon his conception of God to express his view of absolute transcendence.

To claim that Penington and Conway held Boehme in common is a curious matter, for he left Boehme behind when he became a Friend. While there were extensive discussions of Boehme at Ragley in the later 1660's, it is not clear what importance Boehme held for Conway in the 1670's, as she moved toward her conviction as a Friend. This was the decade in which Francis Mercury Van Helmont lived at Ragley, who was much interested in Boehme, and much else besides, but who moved with her to Quakerism. In any case, their interest in Boehme would seem to be for different reasons. Penington used Boehme to articulate his left-wing Puritan conception of God's absolute transcendence, whereas she was interested in him for his expression of the inward mystical life and his implicit anti-Cartesianism. Both of these elements are important to Penington after he becomes a Friend but he does not draw upon Boehme for them but finds them in his own Quaker experience.

There is an opposition to Cartesian dualism in both. Conway in her Principles explicitly attacks Descartes' mind/body dualism from the perspective of vitalism. Nature is not dead mechanism but is alive. Spirit and body are two aspects of the same reality: body is condensed spirit and spirit subtle body. Penington does not take up such philosophical issues nor attack Cartesianism explicitly but his turn toward "fullness of life" in his conviction to Quakerism is an implicit rejection of all such dualistic thinking. There is a depth in our existing in bodies in the world within which the divine life or seed grows and the light shines. He would not agree with Conway that inanimate nature is literally alive, but would accept the latent point of vitalism that matter is spiritually significant. Matter is significant not because it is alive but because it has depth. The depth of the material world is evident in the way in which Penington articulates his new religious perspective in terms

of the fullness of life developed through the physical senses and feeling.

In what follows I do not draw out any direct connections between Penington and Conway but only attempt to portray the nature of his Puritanism and of his turn to Quakerism. There is an important study yet to be made of Conway in relation not only to Penington (and to Van Helmont as convinced Friend) but to other leading Quaker thinkers who were woven into the fabric of her last years, such as George Fox, George Keith, John and George Whitehead, Robert Barclay, and William Penn.

## FROM DARK CHRISTIAN TO FULLNESS OF LIFE:

### ISAAC PENINGTON'S JOURNEY FROM PURITANISM TO QUAKERISM

The pre-Quaker writings (1648-1656) of Isaac Penington are a remarkable testimony of the dark night of a soul. Extraordinary for their expression of the depth of despair, spiritual impoverishment, and bitterness, they are even more remarkable as manifestation of an experience of the inbreaking of the divine into a Christian life leaving it shattered. Not as sinner in need of conversion, as with St. Augustine and so many other accounts of the shaking effect of divine revelation, but as one seemingly at the height of Christian purity and new life, he underwent this divine incursion.

As a left-wing Puritan Penington was committed to theological reflection grounded in experience. Thinking from this disintegrating experience of God's presence, he conceives of God as absolutely transcendent and the self in its knowing and doing as absolutely relativized. Authority is external and objective: the outer Christ is the measure; sin is transgression of an outward law; and atonement is the objective event of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice to satisfy God's justice. He knows there is a depth within himself where things are at work but cannot discern what is going on; and he knows there is a fullness of the Holy Spirit promised in this life which he has not received.

His turn to Quakerism, during the two year period 1656-58 ending conclusively with his conviction in 1658, was the discovery in his experience of that which he so longed for, the fullness of life through the divine presence incarnate in his existence. Thinking from experience of the divine seed or life dwelling within him, his theology underwent transformation. From an arbitrary will God became an incarnate presence. From thoroughly relativized the self became centered in this perspective of inward fullness. Where authority and doctrinal truth had been objective, they now became incarnate within. Where the body in its senses and feelings had been peripheral, subject to the external, it now takes on importance as "life" becomes the foundation for action and thought. Theology remains experiential but no longer focused on the beyondness but the withinness, not on the inscrutable and absolute power of the divine will but the divine presence in the trustworthy inner depths; it becomes a theology of depth.

Tracing the inner travail of Isaac Penington from "dark Christian" to the "fullness of life," to use his own words for it, may offer insight not only into a pattern of transformation and new life that could be fruitful for our own living and thinking, but into the emergence of Quakerism out of left-wing Puritanism in mid-seventeenth century England. Unlike all the other great inaugurating leaders of Quakerism, Penington was an established Puritan theologian before becoming a Quaker. Between 1648 and 1656 he published eleven books, ten theological and one political. Since these eight years of Puritan writings span the beginnings of Quakerism, they can provide an interesting perspective on the ferment of ideas at the time in the left wing of Puritanism. Secondly, what he carried with him from Puritanism into Quakerism and what he rejected can shed light on similarities and differences between

them. Finally, tracing this journey may contribute something to the debate about the influence of Jacob Boehme on early Quakerism since the pre-Quaker Penington seems to be drawing heavily upon Boehme, even though nowhere explicitly, while the convinced Friend has left him behind.

In his enormous (778 pp.) final pre-Quaker book, Expositions with Observations Sometimes on Several Scriptures (1656), Penington gives an account of the experience of God's revelation that left him broken. He explains that while I have "been followed with sorrows from my tender years," there have also been many times of "refreshing Dews and Sun-shines" so that "I was almost at the top, filling my heart and soul to the very brim with knowledge, faith, love, obedience, humility, and the fatness and riches of the dispensations of Gods grace." Nevertheless, in the midst of this abundance, he writes:

then was I shaken, smitten, and thrown down into the depth of so great misery, darkness, and anguish, as my soul yet trembles at the remembrance of. The thing which I could not fear, overtook me: He, whom I looked upon as my indissoluble friend, became my greatest enemy, bringing that upon me, which I thought it utterly impossible for him to suffer to befall me, much more for him to lay it upon me with his own hand. These breakings were very sudden, they came upon me in one hour: very violent, they rushed in by main force against all the oppositions of my heart and soul: very unexpected, for indeed I then looked for somewhat of another nature, and not for that: very piercing, for they entered deep, seizing upon the very life of my spirit. (If it had been my corruption that had been smitten, then I might have born it: but it was the purity, the integrity, the ingenuity of my Spirit. It was not the excellency of mine old nature, but my new life in the dispensation of the Gospel, which was rent from me: and this was death indeed.) They were also universal, for there was nothing spared, no knowledge that was not overclouded, no Holy inclination that was not born down, and made visibly sin and darkness to me (for in this fire and great darkness there was a kind of light.) And these breakings were not only in the lump, but particularly (for though I received the great blow at once, in one day, in one hour, in one moment: yet it was perfected gradually afterward.)<sup>1</sup>

When this occurred it is impossible to determine but it had obviously happened prior to the publication of his first book, A Touchstone or Tryall of Faith (1648), when he would have been thirty-two years old, for he speaks in a veiled autobiographical way of a "dark Christian" who "conclude[s] all [is] against himselfe." He knows about the promises, faith, love, and obedience, but does not own them. Nevertheless, he reasons "the promises many times belong to such a soul, though hee cannot apply them; and hee may have true faith ...love...[and] obedience, though hee cannot see it: The seed may be sown in him, and grow up in him, though hee know not how, and so cannot acknowledge it."<sup>2</sup> In subsequent books over the next two years he acknowledges with increasing intensity that this is his own darkness. In his second book, The Great and Sole Troubler of the Times (1649), he says the self is not capable of knowing its own heart; it is "too vast, too deep for his shallow

brains." And then in a fit of self-loathing, expressed through a metaphor of the senses, he says that it is "polluted, unclean, filthy, noisom, offensive to every pure eye, to every pure taste, to every pure nostril."<sup>3</sup>

In one of the four books he published in 1650, A Voyce Out of the Thick Darkness, he insists there must be more to the religious life than he has experienced:

There seemeth to me to be a larger pouring out of the Spirit promised, and to be expected in the latter days, then hath as yet been dispenced; larger both for extent and vertue....Now there is a gasping after more Light, more discoveries of God; but then every vessel shall be filled, and filled from the Fountain.<sup>4</sup>

He knows that "our very Foundation is shaken" and that "we must come to a deeper bottom, or sink for ever."<sup>5</sup> Then he acknowledges autobiographically in perhaps his expression of deepest despair and self-loathing how wretched he is:

Not one branch of knowledge, not one sweet motion of my spirit, but hath been confounded, condemned, taken from me, and made odious to me....I can neither receive anything that is new, nor return to any thing that is old: but every thing is darkness, death, emptiness, vanity, a lye....I am rent from all things...I am perfectly weary of my self and all things...have quite lost the remembrance of what I desire, or could love....I am weary of all things, of Religion, Reason, Sense, and all the objects that these have to converse about.

I have had, he says, "my Religion violently rent from me, peece by peece, and had long mourned over the dead carcass; Having at length forgot the sweetness of it, I was drawn to a willingness to part with it....I must be stripped of the Man, as well as of the Christian." He is not, however, entirely bereft of hope: "yet there is somewhat in stead of these that I would fain finde within, and...meet with without...[to] finde some rest."<sup>6</sup> We begin to see why the collected works of his Quaker writings are called The Works of the Long-Mournful and Sorely-Distressed Isaac Penington (1681).

From this shaking of his Christian foundations he comes to conceive of God as absolutely transcendent. This means that he understands God, first, as principally faithful, not to humans, but to his own nature: "Ye think to secure your selves by his Faithfulness, his Word, his Promises, to which he must be faithful: and will ye not have him faithful to his Sovereignty?" His nature is to manifest itself: "his Sovereignty delights to shew it self." And it shows itself by revealing different aspects of his being in different times: "All the Excellencies of God have their seasons of putting themselves forth."<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, God does what he pleases: "He has the dispose of all." It is his good pleasure to have "made all things to shadow out himself, the excellencies of the creature in every kind, to shadow out his excellencies in their several kinds." But he can make things appear any way he wants: "The Painter shall be justified for putting several colours on one and the same substance, and for making several eyes and lights to see each of them by." He not only creates all things but also destroys them, the good as well as the bad:

He that bringeth both the perfect and the wicked upon the stage, may turn either of them off from the stage, when he will. There is no more to hinder him from destroying the perfect, then there is to hinder him from destroying the wicked. They are both equally his, They are both at his dispose, They are one and the same under several Representations, and he has appointed them both to one and the same end, which is destruction.

Penington takes sadistic relish in God's destructive pleasure, not only dwelling on it, but saying he likes it better. Using the image of Icarus he says: "I like it much better to see the wax melted by the heat of the Sun, and the poor foolish forward creature tumbling down into the Sea."<sup>8</sup>

Thirdly, God's sovereignty involves his pervasive presence throughout creation: he "leaves nothing empty of his own Life and Being." In fact, he is everything, yet at the same time paradoxically not everything:

You say, that God is not all things. You speak as true as those that affirm him to be all things....There is everything besides the Lord, and yet nothing but the Lord; Every thing so filled with creatureship, as if it were quite empty of the Creator, and yet the Creator every where so every thing in every thing, as quite to drown the whole creatureship in all its being and motions.<sup>9</sup>

Fourthly, then, God transcends rationality's law of non-contradiction.

The pattern, although not the cynicism and bitterness, by which Penington expresses this absolute transcendence is, I believe, drawn from Jacob Boehme (1575-1624). While there is no explicit connection of Penington with Boehme, the works of this German Lutheran mystic shoemaker, who died in the year in which Fox was born, were being translated into English from 1645 onwards. Between 1645 and 1649, and thus before Penington's major articulation of absolute transcendence in his four books of 1650, nine of his works, including some of his most important, were published in English.<sup>10</sup> Where Penington would likely have encountered Boehme is through the radical printer, Giles Calvert. While Matthew Simmons printed eight, and probably all nine, of Boehme's English pre-1650 books, Calvert published another copy of one of the nine before 1650, Epistles of Jacob Bohmen (London: M. Simmons for Gyles Calvert, 1649). While he later went on to print more important writings of Boehme,<sup>11</sup> he obviously was aware of Boehme before 1650. He could, therefore, have easily acquainted Penington with Boehme since Calvert published most of Penington's pre-Quaker writings, beginning with his first in 1648.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to Penington's connection in the later 1640's with a Boehme publisher, he uses words central to Boehme, such as "abyss," but especially the strange word "tincture,"<sup>13</sup> idiosyncratically characteristic of Boehme but not of English Puritans. There is also an unusual identification of God as mother by Penington which could have come from Boehme's much more emphatic affirmation of God as mother as well as father.<sup>14</sup> What however, is of real significance is the striking similarity of the underlying pattern of divine sovereignty

For Boehme the Godhead is eternally in process moving from undifferentiated whole of the divine Abyss (Father) to divine particularization of the divine Word (Son) which is reconciled (the part with the whole) through Life (Holy

Spirit). The same process occurs in creation and redemption: from undifferentiated identity to particulars in opposition reconciled in a unity that harmonizes opposites in relation to the original whole. In THE CLAVIS he speaks of the trinity: "The Wisdom is the outflown word of the Divine Power ...a Subject and Resemblance of the infinite and unsearchable Unity

...wherein the Holy Ghost works, forms, and models...the Divine Understanding in the Wisdom"; of creation of nature: "The Eternal unity brings itself by its Effluence and Separation into Nature, that it may have an object, in which it may manifest itself"; and of creation of the knowledgable world:

The word is nothing else but the out-breathing will, from the Power and Virtue; a various dividing of the Power into a multitude of Powers; a distribution and outflowing of the unity, whence knowledge arises. For in one only Substance, wherein there is no variation of division, but is only one, there can be no knowledge; and if there were knowledge, it could know but one thing, viz. itself: but if it parts itself, then the dividing will goes into multiplicity and variety.<sup>15</sup>

In The Way to Christ he speaks of the outflowing of the Logos and reuniting:

The valuable ground of divine manifestation lies in these words--the eternal IN and OUT. For they speak of how the hidden, divine, eternal Logos--the divine Life-force in unity--proceeded to its ownness OUT into the manifested, natural, creaturely imagined Logos, i.e., into human nature....But to that will which has changed about, so that it has been newly-born in the divine out-going He has given power to become a child of God. For the natural, ego-centric will cannot inherit divine childhood, but only that which, joined to the Unity, is like all things and in which God Himself is active and wills.<sup>16</sup>

While Penington never engages in speculation about the nature of God in itself, he does speak of creation as a movement from oneness to variety or distinction and back again to unity. In Severall Fresh Inward Openings he writes: "There was but one at first: yet in this one was all manner of variety and distinction...[which] will soon wither, and they will all shrink back into unity and harmony again."<sup>17</sup> His use of certain organic metaphors for this process suggest a bitter delight (not characteristic of Boehme) in divine lordship and destructive power. In Light or Darknesse he says: "as I live, saith the Lord, I will feed on thee, and devour thee, and thou shalt never be any thing any more but what thou art in me, but what I by the power of my life, by the warmth of my stomach, convert thee into within my self." Even more astringent than this metaphor of eating and digesting is that of divine creating by defecation and consummating by reabsorption: "These are the Bowels out of which all things came, which are still rolling, and will never be at rest, till they receive them in again; and nothing can truly rest, till it returns thither again."<sup>18</sup>

Between creation and consummation life is a state of war between God and creatures: "There is Nothing but offence and war (both in the cause, and in

the effect) between God and the Creature."<sup>19</sup> In redemption Christ in dying offers up to God the principle of life which is the principle of particularity and opposition through which he and all creatures have lived:

If he had not been the Propitiatory Sacrifice to reconcile God first, there should never have been any motion to the Creature to be reconciled. But now he hath offered up that Principle of life whereby he lived, and whereby the Creature lives, freely giving it back into his hands from whom he received it, that now he himself can live no longer, nor the Creature neither (the root of its life being slain) there is no foundation of offence or controversie left between God and him.

Reconciliation occurs when the creatures' opposition to God is overcome by the creature being returned to the divine unity, out of which it originally came, through Christ who in dying returns the principle of opposition itself to God thereby dissolving the world of conflicting parts:

But this diversity, this distinction, this contrariety must not always last. When Christ comes forth to give up that principle of life in himself, and to slay it in them, whereby they have thus lived, the leaves and fruit of variety and distinction will soon wither, and they will all shrink back into unity and harmony again.<sup>20</sup>

The note of conflict and opposition within God and existence sounds like Boehme for whom there are "two Eternal Principles...darkness, harshness, sharpness, and pain dwelling in itself, and the feeling power and virtue of the unity in the light."<sup>21</sup> Penington is, however, using "life" differently, not as the state of reconciliation, but the middle state of particularity. The final state of unity would appear, unlike Boehme, to be a return to the original undifferentiated identity rather than an advance to a unity that integrates particulars. He says "the circle will end where it began."<sup>22</sup> Yet he does suggest the creature is not dissolved in its return to God at death when he has God say "thou art in me," in God's stomach, and you will be whatever I "convert thee into within my self." Moreover, the self would appear to be enriched through its life of particularity. Once every thing has run its course through "the toilsom compasses and circuits that are now a fetching" and is "thoroughly tired out," it will "come to rest in this Center," and then, he adds: "yet this irksom and wearisom circumference will make it more lovely, both in its beginning and in its end"<sup>23</sup>--presumably in anticipation as well as actualization of the enriching of God's unity through creatures existing as particular entities. If not entirely clear in 1650, several years later he makes it clear that the final unity, like Boehme, embraces rather than dissolves distinctions: "true unity doth not confound, but comprehend distinction."<sup>24</sup>

Penington's experience of the divine darkness leads reflectively not only to a conception of absolute transcendence but to a correlative absolute relativization of himself as knower and doer. In Light or Darknesse Penington makes it clear God transcends what we can know: "There is no true knowing of God by the understanding of the creature": "This Light, This Darkness (be it what it will) is of a deeper kinde then thine is,...and thine eye cannot discern it." Moreover, God hides true reality and can make it appear to us in

whatever way he wishes and bestow upon us whatever capacity of knowing he wants: "While he hides from us the true and original colour of things, and that skill whereby he colours things, he may cosen us as often as he pleases; He may put what colour he will upon things, and what eye he will into us."<sup>25</sup>

The self, on the other hand, always knows things from a perspective, never in themselves: "ye will be measuring all things by your own measure. And all shall lye under condemnation in this respect, for judging things so to be in themselves, as they appear to them." So also with the self's knowing of God who "can onely be seen by the Creature in some shape and appearance, but not at all as he is in his own Nature." Such perspectival knowing means the self is creatively involved in selecting certain aspects to attend to and therefore disregarding others: "And this is the whole work of man, to be picking out the colour that suits with his eye, and to be exalting it, and laying all others flat." Because of our unavoidable selectivity all our knowing is inadequate: "all shall be condemned who justifie any sort of these colours in opposition to the rest, and so pass sentence both upon all the rest, and upon the substance it self." Even changing our way of knowing, perspective, and aspect known will not avoid our inadequacy: "And as often as he changes his eye, his light, his colour, still he takes the same course, and therefore still in all his changes deserves to come under the same condemnation."<sup>26</sup>

Our knowing is limited by our finitude but also our sin. The self is "pleasing himself with his own condition, magnifying it beyond others...not truly knowing, either whence he came, what he is, or whither he goes." Penington thus convicts humanity: "Thine eye is dark, The light whereby thou seest is darkness," resulting in "calling Darkness Light, Error Truth." The God we love and worship is therefore a fabrication of our own mind: "Man hughely likes the God that he frames in his own imagination...in his own understanding." However, "it is not God, but the Creatures creature," whether devised with "the help of Nature or Scriptures." We imagine God as lovely and desirable but he abhors our painting him this way:

O God, How art thou miscoloured! Man thinks he hughely  
pleaseth thee by putting the finest kind of paint upon  
thee, not understanding how it difigures thee, and how  
loathsom it is unto thee, because it makes thee lovely in  
his eye. But know, O Man, O refined'st Man, God loaths to  
be lovely in thine eye.

In his true substance he is rather "a dreadful God, and in no wise desireable."<sup>27</sup>

While the bitter dreadfulness and arbitrariness of God is not characteristic of Boehme, he does speak of God as a fire terrifying when not experienced in his unity: "fire, in God, is only a burning Love; and where God is not manifested in a thing, according to the unity, there is an anguishing, painful, burning fire." And he speaks of God as light and darkness: "The Mysterium Magnum is that Chaos, out of which Light and Darkness...is flown from Eternity, and made manifest."<sup>28</sup> The epistemological relativism--the insistence that all knowing is from one or another perspective--does not sound like Boehme, however, but anticipates historical relativism of the 19th and 20th centuries. Boehme speaks rather with a metaphysical or cosmic objectivity: he describes the nature of God and the cosmos without recognizing our knowing is always by persons from particular perspectives. Nevertheless, he is one of the first in the modern world to see the indispensably creative potentiality of the imagination. He identifies God with imagination, in fact with divine Wisdom, the

feminine expression of the divine Word: "The Wisdom is the outflown word of the Divine Power...The Wisdom is the Great Mystery of the Divine Nature; for in her, the Powers, Colours, and Virtues are made manifest...She is...Divine Imagination."<sup>29</sup> Penington too sees that our knowledge of God is an act of imagination, but feels negative about it, and certainly does not deal with it as feminine nor speculatively as part of the nature of God in himself. Knowledge is imaginative and therefore not true, even though it appears as true knowledge: "Though by the light in them at present it is knowledg, and true knowledg, unto that eye that is in them; yet to me (or, if you will, to somewhat in me, which searches, judges and condemns both that eye, and that light) it is but imagination."<sup>30</sup> Like Boehme and his followers--such as Coleridge, Blake, I.A. Richards, and Ricoeur--Penington believes all knowing unavoidably depends upon imagination, but unlike them he regrets it, denigrating it for not being true knowledge but mere imagination.

There is an ethical side of Penington's relativism that even more than the epistemological sounds like Boehme. Good and evil are but appearances, momentary differentiations from the original undifferentiated unity. Penington writes: "the Tincture of good and evil...might be...reduced into...their Originality, which comprehends both good and evil." "Perfect and wicked are both of the same lump, only differently clothed to act their several parts, which when they have done, their clothes must be taken off, and they turned back into the lump again."<sup>31</sup> There is no ultimate difference between good and evil, or any other opposites: light and darkness, holiness and unholiness, believer and unbeliever, male and female, and even "God and the Creature."<sup>32</sup> He says:

There is not such an Original and real difference between them, as we fools imagine, it is but a made difference, a difference which becomes so by the setting up of a wall, which is very vast and irreconcilable to that eye which seeth onely the difference, and cannot pierce into that Original Union and Oneness that was between them, and could alone be discerned before this wall was set up.<sup>33</sup>

Indeed, what we call God and Satan are but two expressions of one common divine root. In Divine Essays or Considerations About Several Things in Religion (1654) he writes:

The Root, Spring, or Original of all things is perfect unity, and being perfect unity is also perfect variety, comprehending all things in it self in intire oneness...In this root there are too [i.e. two] other roots...two principles, two seeds, two fountains of things, perfectly one there...and yet perfectly different, nay contrary in their springing forth, and in their whole course from thence. The one is of life, the other of death...good...evil...darkness...light...sweetness...bitterness...so that from one spring come these two Fountains...called God...[and] Satan.

Confusingly he calls God one of the expressions of this Root along with Satan as the other, and then as well identifies God with the Root itself:

God is a distinct root from Satan, so there is in him life, and no death; light, and no darkness.... But now understand under this word God the immost, the utmost, the universal Root, the root of all roots, natures and principles, not as distinct from any thing, but as comprehending every thing; and then it includes death as much as life, darkness as much as light, etc. and excludes light as much as darkness, life as much as death: Indeed there is neither here (but both as much as one) No light, No darkness; No life, no death; No good, no evil; No love, no hatred, but only one thing which cannot be named, which comprehendeth all these perfectly, and where they all are in such a way as is sutable to the root, but not at all as they appear here.<sup>34</sup>

The inclusion of good and evil in God, and identification of God and Satan, sounds unequivocally like Boehme. He writes:

The *Mysterium Magnum* is that Chaos, out of which Light and Darkness, that is the foundation of Heaven and Hell, is flown from Eternity, and made manifest; for that foundation which we now call Hell, being a Principle of itself, is the ground and cause of the Fire in the Eternal Nature...This ground is called *Mysterium Magnum*, or Chaos, because good and evil rise out of it,...the ground of Heaven and Hell, also of the visible world,...all things in one only ground, as an Image lies hid in a piece of wood before the Artificer carves it out and fashions it.<sup>35</sup>

While a position such as this could lead to the licentiousness and anarchism of the Ranters, it did not for Boehme, and Penington explicitly rejects them. He says this "Mad Folk" believe that

The Creature is passed away, and whatsoever now appears in you or to you, is God. Sin is now gone, ye are not under any Law, and therefore cannot sin. The Creature is swallowed up, there is nothing left but the Lord in Being, the Lord in motion and operation, in whom can be no evil, from whom can come no evil. All things, all actions are alike, there is no difference; God is all and in all, who is every way full, every way like himself, in all he is, in all he does.<sup>36</sup>

He admits, however, that he loves them: "Your life I love, though it be deeply hid and covered; your covering I love likewise, because it is so fit to hide that life, which must not yet be seen." While the actualization of the sense of God's presence he likes, he, nevertheless, rejects them because it is a mistake that the "dark covering should exalt it self, as if it were the life." Insisting on the difference between God and creature, he says: "To look upon my self as God by viture of a Notion (how ever conveyed or received) and finde my self but a Creature in life, in motion, in power, is very irksom to a Noble Spirit." His own experience does not warrant such an identification with God but rather simply the confession of begin battered by God: referring obliquely to himself as a "Noble Spirit," he says it "loves not to make a

sound above what it is or feels. This I have felt, Power enough to batter to confound me in every thing; but no power to build any thing, or so much as to fix me in a state of confusion." He goes on to say: "all that ye have received...must pass away and prove a lye," yet there will come a day in which God will be all in all, but not now: "That it will be so one day, as ye say; God will be all, all good, all alike, yet not so as you or I speak, or can understand it."<sup>37</sup>

In the interim, even though good and evil are comprehended within God, it is right to embrace the good and to eschew evil in this life. Penington writes:

That Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, are all one...may be truth, yet the manner of their speaking and practicing of it, doth manifest that they do not understand this truth; but as it is...made use of by them, it is a lye. For if they saw the true unity of light and darkness in the root, they would also see its difference: for true unity doth not confound, but comprehend distinction...If they had the true light in them, they would know that it were proper and good for them in this present state, to chuse the good, and refuse the evil.<sup>38</sup>

Contrary to the Ranters, the Christian life is not without its ethical rules: "God hath his rules for every action"; "He will put his Laws into their mind to be a Light there" so that we will "know clearly what the will of God is."<sup>39</sup> Rather than living spontaneously, we are to be a "copy" of that will.<sup>40</sup>

While this view of absolute transcendence and relativism is characteristic of his pre-Quaker theological writings, in his last book before conviction, growing weary of the lack of fullness and of his despair over the incomprehensibility and powerlessness of a God he believed to be at work in the world in the present, he begins to speak in other-worldly eschatological terms: while "God's earth [is] fitted by himself for his Seed, filled with his own fullness,...this is not...this earth as it is now." Rather "Here in this world every thing is in bondage...but in the other world...otherwise." For the "Kingdom is not to be found in this world, but in heaven."<sup>41</sup>

While the shift toward an eschatological perspective, he no doubt hoped, would mitigate the anguish, it is no less despairful in its admission of what is absent in the here and now. It is only finally in his encounter with Quakers, however distasteful that was initially to his erudite intellect and sense of social standing, that he discovers in the midst of his life what he thought lacking. Just as he is willing in this eschatological leaning to let go of his demand that there be a richness in his spiritual life, he finds the fullness of the divine presence incarnate in his life--in "this earth as it is now."

Looking back at his conviction in his Account of His Spiritual Travel, he describes his previous condition as lacking such fullness:

But my soul was not satisfied with what I met with, nor indeed could be, there being further quickenings and pressings in my spirit, after a more full, certain and satisfactory knowledge; even after the sense, sight and enjoyment of God, as was testified in the scriptures to have been felt and enjoyed in the former times. For I saw plainly, that there was a stop of the streams, and a great

falling short of the power, life and glory which they partook of. We had not so the spirit, nor were so in the faith, nor did so walk and live in God, as they did.<sup>42</sup>

And then in ecstatic utterance, using the metaphor of the seed, a synonym for fullness of life, he speaks of what he has found:

This is he, this is he, there is no other; this is he whom I have waited for and sought after from my childhood, who was always near me, and had often begotten life in my heart, but I knew him not distinctly, now how to receive him or dwell with him....But some may desire to know, what I have at last met with. I answer, I have met with the Seed.<sup>43</sup>

In his first Quaker book, The Way of Life and Death (1658), Penington uses for the first time the metaphor of fullness of life in defining the rule of Christianity. "Christ had the fulness of life" and "we all receive a measure of the same life." Our rule is the same that was Jesus--the fullness of life: "Now what was his rule? Was it not the fulness of life which he received? And what is their rule [i.e. of the sanctified]? Is it not the measure of life which they receive?" The rule is "the light of the spirit of life" in "the new creature" of "the substance it self, in which he lives, and which lives in him"; and "Christ is the substance."<sup>44</sup>

Under the impact of experience of the fullness of life Penington's religious reflections undergo radical transformation from a theology of absolute transcendence and relativism to an incarnational theology of depth, from a focus of an inscrutable and arbitrary divine will to an indwelling divine presence as the foundational dimension of the self. Within this context many of the elements of his earlier experiential theology are retained, such as metaphors of light, life, seed, fountain, root, heart, measure, substance/image, fullness, center, the bowels and good pleasure of God, waiting, and silence. He continues to avoid altogether the extremes of Calvinistic speculation, such as predestination,<sup>45</sup> focusing rather on the new nature and purity of the self as individual and in community, and drawing on the language of the five senses and feeling to express the spiritual dimension of inwardness in the depths of the outward. All of these elements are obviously in the culture of mid-seventeenth century England. But all of these have an altered meaning within the new context, even as other elements are rejected.

While seed and light metaphors are used in his pre-Quaker writings, they were seen as given to the believer and not resident in every person regardless of belief. His first pre-Quaker book begins with one of Friends' favorite biblical texts, John 1:9, but he says: "The true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world: It is he gives the light of reason to every man that comes into this outward world; it is he gives the light of the spirit to every man that enters by faith into the inner world."<sup>46</sup> From his Quaker perspective the light is not only given to those possessing faith but to all persons: "God who is light is nigh to every man who is darkness, though man's sense is very thick, and can hardly see or feel him."<sup>47</sup> Moreover, he no longer thinks of this Johannine light as reason in any sense: "The discoveries of sin that are made in the heart, are by the Light of Christ, and not by any light of mans nature."<sup>48</sup> It is, however, often confused with the light of nature because it is resident in every person. The light in the heathen "springs up after an hidden manner, even as it were naturally, from whence it

had the name of the light of nature (though it be the mystery of Life and Salvation hid in them...)"<sup>49</sup> The same is true for the seed. Before his convincement the seed is neither the indwelling Christ nor a universal presence. In An Echo from the Great Deep he says: "He who hath this seed in him (which seed hath Faith and Hope, and every spiritual thing in it) purifieth himself."<sup>50</sup> But from his later perspective, "The one Seed of life lies in the invisible, in the hidden man of the heart, among multitudes of Seeds of death."<sup>51</sup>

Philosophically this new context is an implicit attack upon Cartesian dualism. If dualism means the hermetic separation of two things so that each does not interact with the other, then Penington rejects a divine-human dualism. If God is present in a dimension within every self, then the boundaries between God and self are indiscernible, for the self is founded upon the bottomless mystery of divine depth. And the divine depth can manifest itself throughout every other dimension of the self in its existence in the world. Similarly, mind and body are not separate. Divine leadings from the depths of the fullness of life, or the Christ within, emerge within and through the body. This is evident in Penington's frequent discussion or use of: waiting, life in contrast to form, the five physical senses, and feeling.

Conceiving of his own life now as lived out of a measure of the fullness of life, the presence of God within, the method of living and the basis for thinking is waiting. God will lead us from within if we will but wait upon him, wait for the divine direction to emerge from our depths in a given situation. He writes in a letter "To Friends of Both the Chalfonts":

Oh be faithful, be faithful! travel on, travel on!  
let nothing stop you, but wait for, and daily follow, the  
sensible leadings of that measure of life which God hath  
placed in you, which is one with the fulness, and into  
which the fulness runs daily and fills it, that it may run  
into you and fill you.<sup>52</sup>

Life is a central category for Penington to express the divine presence in our depths. Over and over again he speaks of the life rising within the self. It is set over against form. The form kills life because when we attend unduly to form we get fixed in it and come to defend it and thus lose the life:

The form kills the life, which stirred underneath, and  
made it appear with some freshness; and when the life, from  
which it had its seeming beauty and lustre, dies, then it  
soon withers and dies also: so that the living principle  
being once slain, there remains nothing but the dead spirit  
feeding on the dead form.<sup>53</sup>

We must, therefore, be endlessly open to the inward depths and not closed off by grasping the outward form. Yet the form is made through the stirrings of the life underneath. The freshness, beauty, and lustre of a form is from the life. The seed grows up into its own form, its own body:

That this Seed being received, groweth up into its own  
form, or is formed in that Creature, into which it is  
received. It there groweth up into the body, in which it  
is to serve the Lord, and which body is to be glorified,  
when it hath finished its service. As a seed cast into

fitted earth, or the Seed of Man or Beast sowed in a fitting Womb, receiveth form and groweth into a plant, or living creature: so it is with this Seed in its earth. Open the true eye, O ye Christians, and begin to read the mystery of godliness.<sup>54</sup>

When form is made the basis, objectified as the rule to follow, the tacit depths of life are no longer the basis. We no longer live creatively from the inchoate core of our being, but try to live in conformity to that which is explicit. We no longer live out of our rootage in the divine mystery but are circumscribed by a creaturely construction. Hence both the forms of outward knowledge and outward conformity in actions deny the life, yet life is always emergent within some form. This is "the mystery of godliness," that "this Seed in its earth" "groweth up into its own form." But no Neo-orthodox theologian of our day is more chary of objectifying God's actions than is Penington as he insists that every past form must be let go as we wait for the rise of life in the present moment.

The life not only rises in various outward forms but it emerges through our physical senses. He makes frequent mention of the senses: "having tasted, having seen, having felt, having handled. I cannot but commend the life"; enter the "hidden Womb of Wisdom, where the light of life is sown, he shall be new formed and come forth a Child out of the Womb of Wisdom with the new eye,...ear,...heart,...understanding and senses."<sup>55</sup> While he is speaking of the senses metaphorically, it is significant, given the stress on the life within, that he includes the senses of greater immediacy, touch and taste (and implicitly smell), rather than stressing sight as Catholicism does or hearing as mainline Protestantism does. While metaphoric, the physical basis of these spiritual capacities is indispensable to describing the nature of the life within. The spiritual life for Penington is a sensuous life. The life within creates through and interms of the physical senses these five spiritual sensitivities which are able to discern the life in distinction to the forms of earthly perception, and are able to grow in the life:

Life gives it a feeling, a sight, a tasting, a hearing, a smelling, of the heavenly things, by which senses it is able to discern and distinguish them from the earthly things. And from this measure of life, the capacity increaseth, the senses grow stronger; it sees more, feels more, tastes more, hears more, smells more. Now when the senses are grown up to strength, then come settlement and stability, assurance and satisfaction.

Indeed, "where the senses are grown strong...the soul is enlarged."<sup>56</sup>

Penington certainly uses St. Paul's opposition between spirit and flesh, or spirit and the world. But for him as for Paul, flesh and world mean a sinful disposition or context, not the evil of matter as such. Sensuousness and the body are not evil in themselves. For Penington there is both a sinful and spiritual sensuousness; the former denies the inner depths and the latter is open to them. Life is sensuous, somatic. When we are open to the life within, we are open to formation of our physical senses in a metaphoric way, that is to their maturing into spiritual capacities. When we wait daily in silence upon the rising of the life within, we are trusting our sensuousness not to obstruct but to facilitate the exercise of those spiritual capacities. The fullness of life that he has discovered within is not the denial but the

fullness of the sensuous life.

The knowing of God is a somatic knowing. Why else does he use "feeling" as the chief way of talking about our awareness of God within and of his "sensible leadings?" Throughout his writings he speaks of feeling the life:

But he that begins with the Spirit of God, giving himself up to that Light which comes from him, comes to true union with God, and to the feeling of his life, and so to a true growth, and knowledge of the Spirit of God, whereby he comes to know and understand the Scriptures, which came from the same Spirit; and hereby also, he comes to be able to measure the deceit of his own Spirit, which formerly led him aside, and also to see and measure the Spirits of deceivers.<sup>57</sup>

It is by feeling that we can discern the presence of God and our spiritual condition, and come to understand the Bible. Religious knowledge is affectional; not beginning with an abstract idea or doctrine, or external word or authoritative command, Penington begins with the presence of God within the depths of the self. We become aware of that directing presence, beneath reason and will, as it emerges into consciousness as feeling through the five senses. The evocative sensuous language bespeaks an immediacy of contact and intimacy of indwelling between God and self, and an implicit rejection of the Cartesian disembodied mind and demented body.

While he draws heavily upon the language of the senses and feeling in his pre-Quaker writings, he has not yet experienced the fullness of sensuous life and therefore does not entirely approve of or trust feeling, and so makes the outward the foundation. There is, he says, a "hidden Power which I know not, yet feel working in me." It is an unfortuate thing, however, that we cannot believe unless we feel it: "O what a brutish thing is man, that can never beleeve or be made sensible of any thing, until he come to feel it!"<sup>58</sup> While the person who only believes in external knowing does not realize how important feeling is, yet the person who depends on feeling does not realize that the external is the basis for the internal: "He who looks on Christ without... little thinks he must feel the same within...He who sees and feels that death within...slight the other...as more shadow...undervaluing that which is the foundation of this [death within]." He goes on in this objectifying fashion: "Christ speaks within, but he speaks from without. He doth not openly draw forth that life within, but from without he adds more life. ...The Word of Christ upon which the new-man feeds is without, is distinct from him...until it be eaten... made one with him." Christ, the measure, is not present within and therefore we cannot finally trust our feeling: "Cease measuring God and spiritual things, till he give thee a measure,...Christ the Wisdom of God,...[unless] measuring by what thou feelest in thy self, thou...miss,...be-fooled... as...others...held forth in an outward sight and knowledge."<sup>59</sup> Authority is external; while waiting is often mentioned by pre-Quaker Penington, it does not, therefore, become identified with faith nor become the method of religious living and thinking.

From such an external point of view it is clear why his pre-Quaker theology is objectivistic. In typical Puritan fashion he defines sin as the transgression of law, deviation from a rule, and atonement as propiatory sacrifice to reconcile God and satisfy his law and justice.<sup>60</sup> In his Quaker conviction of the presence of the Life and Light within, these doctrinal ways of articulating the God-self relationship are left behind. His experience of God as

the fullness of life dissolves the bitterness of his long and mournful dark night of the soul. He has found what he lacked, and long sought, within. His depth theology replaces his earlier conception of absolute transcendence with a different kind of sovereignty--immanent fullness. No longer does he use the Boehmean pattern of differentiation issuing from identity and returning into unity. Nor does he employ such caustic images of this process as digestion or defecation. He leaves behind such speculative conceptions of God's creating and consummating in order to attend to the divine reality he is experiencing immediately.

Such immediate knowledge does not mean the rejection of epistemological relativism. We never know God as he is in himself, but only as we are related to him. We always know God from a perspective, and now from that of this indwelling fullness. Ethically we find still that "man in the darkness... calls the light darkness."<sup>61</sup> Yet there is no longer any darkness in God: "there is no darkness in God, nothing but light."<sup>62</sup> Good and evil are no longer spoken of as merely different appearances of a common lump. Nor are there objective rules that should guide us, to which we should conform. Rather the good is to be open to the measure of light within and evil to be closed off from it. There is a relativism here of differing degrees of light, both between people, and given to oneself at different times. Historically this is expressed by the belief in different dispensations throughout world history. And there is a relativism of being led from day to day by the emergent fullness within. God's leadings are always relative to the given moment and situation, since they emerge then and there. Moreover, the ethical act is not striving to conform but waiting for what will emerge. We live not in conformity to an external rule but from a presence.

While the Boehmean pattern of cosmic creativity and metaphysical conjoining of good and evil within God are left behind, there may yet be a basic commonality. As mystics of the inward life, they both stress the process of emergence. Where this pattern is speculative for Boehme, it is personal for Penington. Transposed from the cosmic to the quotidian, each day, indeed each moment, as we wait upon the Lord, can be a movement from inchoate unity to the differentiation of a particular leading, which after faithfully following, we turn again to humble waiting upon the emergent fullness. In a letter he writes:

Thou must join in with the beginnings of life, and be exercised with the day of small things, before thou meet with the great things, wherein is the clearness and satisfaction of the soul. The rest is at noon-day; but the travels begin at the breakings of day, wherein are but glimmerings or little light, wherein the discovery of good and evil are not so manifest and certain; yet there must the traveller begin and travel; and in his faithful travels the light will break it upon him more and more.<sup>63</sup>

It is as if waiting in the silent fullness is a descent into the beginnings of the world, participation in the cosmogonic event, but the cosmogony of my day. Before the world of my day takes shape, there are but inchoate glimmerings, where good and evil must be discovered, become manifest. While God is light, he may choose darkness for us. We have a great desire to know, "But what if it be better for thee at present to be darkened about these things, than as yet to know?" We best "lie still, feel thy stay, till His light, which makes manifest, arise in thee and clear up things to thee."<sup>64</sup>

Penington moves in his conviction from absolute transcendence to an incarnational theology of depth, in fact to a kenotic Christology--but not so much an emptying of God into Christ as a pouring of his overflowing fullness into everyone of us, freeing us from the strictures of external rules or forms: "For, Friends, there is no straitness in the Fountain. God is fullness; and it is his delight to empty himself into the hearts of his children: and he doth empty himself, according as he makes way in them, and as they are able to drink in of his living virtue."<sup>65</sup>

In his own use of the words "friend" and "enemy" for God, Penington anticipates Alfred North Whitehead's famous phrase: "Religion is...the transition from God the void to God the enemy, and from God the enemy to God the companion."<sup>66</sup> Yet Penington's experience has reversed the order, for he passes from God "my indissoluble friend" to God "my greatest enemy"<sup>67</sup> to God as indwelling fullness. In a remarkable essay, "'Le Cri de Merlin!' or Interpretation and the Metalogical," Stanley R. Hopper provides a more fitting pattern than Whitehead's by which to understand the movement in Penington's experience. He speaks of three steps: a step back from our theological framework or system of symbols; a step down into the abyss or mystery of being beneath our understanding and control; and a step through into the presencing of the divine mystery of inwardness in which all is new.<sup>68</sup>

Here there is more fitting resonance with Whitehead, for the movement from second to third step, says Hopper, is like Whitehead's affirmation of "creative advance"--"the advance from disjunction to conjunction, creating a novel entity other than the entities given in disjunction."<sup>69</sup> What Hopper means by this is that new forms of life and speech emerge from letting go of old forms that shatter into disjointed fragments. Standing back from the old patterns and entering the abyss that renders them no longer habitable we experience as "anguish," as anguish of the time "between," of the time between the earlier forms now dissolved and the emergent forms which have not yet arrived. But at this depth, recognition can come that only out of such emptiness issues such fullness--which is joy. In Hopper's words: "The cry is one of anguish when the 'between' appears as an Abyss; but when one discovers that it is precisely out of the Abyss that Being comes into presence, the cry becomes one of emergent joy."<sup>70</sup>

This is what has been Penington's experience. Through divine incursion he has found his theological framework shattered, casting him to the abyss of anguish and intellectual fragments. Yet he struggles to extricate himself through his caustic conception of God as absolute transcendence. Only when he finally really lets go, in his turn toward other-worldly thinking, of his desire to find greater meaning in his present life does he discover that fullness emergent from the abyss which is "emergent joy." What arises is not, however, another objective system of theological thought like his first one but a method of daily entering and waiting upon those depths to issue forth in new life and reflection. While the new forms that emerge are important, the daily, indeed moment to moment, return to the living source which is the Seed is more important. We must be willing to have the new patterns dissolve to be open ongoingly to the divine depths within. Isaac Penington's journey has taken him from experience as dark Christian of the abyss to recognition as Quaker of the abyss as divine depth within, which, as we wait upon it in our everyday living, emerges as the fullness of life.

## NOTES

1. Isaac Penington, Expositions with Observations Sometimes on Several Scriptures (London: John Maccock, 1656), pp. 592-593.
2. Isaac Penington, A Touchstone or Tryall of Faith (London: Giles Calvert, 1648), pp. 22-23.
3. Isaac Penington, The Great and Sole Troubler of the Times (London: Giles Calvert, 1649), pp. 10 & 25-26.
4. Isaac Penington, A Voyce Out of the Thick Darkness (London: John Maccock, 1650), pp. 12-13.
5. Ibid., p. 17.
6. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
7. Isaac Penington, Light or Darknesse (London: John Maccock, 1650), p. 8.
8. Ibid., pp. 8, 26-27, 16, 7, & 13, respectively.
9. Ibid., pp. 30 & 15.
10. Boehme's works translated into English before 1650 are: Two Theosophicall Epistles (1645), A Dialogue Between an Enlightened Soul and Another Soul (1645), The Clavis, or Key (1647), XL Questions Concerning the Soule (1647), The Second Booke: Concerning the Three Principles of the Divine Essence of the Eternall, Dark, Light, and Temporary World (1648), Treatises...of the Mixed World...Dialogue...A Compendium of Repentance...of the True Resignation (1648), The Way to Christ (1648), Epistiles of Jacob Bohmen (1649), & Mercurius Teutonicus (1649). All were published by Matthew Simmons, with the possible exception of Treatise. This information is from the Catalogue of the British Museum Library.
11. After publishing his own edition of Epistles of Jacob Bohmen in 1649, Giles Calvert published Boehme's Signature Rerum (1651), Concerning the Election of Grace (1655), & Aurora (1656).
12. It is interesting to note that Giles Calvert's sister was Martha Simmonds, wife to the Quaker printer Thomas Simmons, who was probably the successor to Matthew Simmons (d. 1654). Martha Simmonds was the leader of the group that led James Nayler into Bristol on a donkey, for which he was condemned for blasphemy. Giles Calvert "never considered himself a Quaker although he attended Friends meetings from time to time and maintained quite cordial relations with certain of the Quaker leaders" (Herbert C. Standing, The Publishing of Books by the Early Friends (1968), p. 7; courtesy of Swarthmore College Friends Library).

13. Isaac Penington, Divine Essays or Considerations about Several Things in Religion (London: John Maccock for Giles Calvert, 1654), p. 109.
14. Cf. Penington's "God stands like a mother that holds a potion of physick" (in A Voyce Out of the Thick Darkness, p. 29) and Boehme's "O eternal God! Thou dost present to us in our corporeal parents an image of our eternal Father of our eternal mother. For Thou art our Father from whom we have received our life; and Thy Logos is our mother which bore us of Thy Creation and (which) formed us after the image of Thy Revelation. Our soul and mind is, O God the Father, Thy image, and our body is an image of Thy emanated Logos--which Logos is our eternal mother in whose body we are begotten and nourished" (The Way to Christ, transl. by John Joseph Stoult (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1947), p. 239).
15. Boehme, The Clavis, pp. 8, 11, & 6, respectively.
16. Boehme, The Way to Christ, pp. 193-4.
17. Isaac Penington, Severall Fresh Inward Openings (London: Giles Calvert, 1650), pp. 2-3.
18. Light or Darknesse, p. 31.
19. Severall Fresh Inward Openings, p. 1.
20. Ibid., pp. 2 & 3.
21. Boehme, The Clavis, p. 13.
22. Light or Darknesse, p. 30.
23. Ibid., pp. 23 & 30.
24. Penington, Divine Essays, p. 19.
25. Ibid., pp. [18], A5, & 14; bracket indicates page in proper sequence, although misnumbered by printer.
26. Ibid., pp. 16 & 24.
27. Ibid., pp. 2 & [19]-20.
28. Boehme, The Clavis, p. 9.
29. Ibid., p. 8.
30. Light or Darknesse, p. 14.
31. Ibid., pp. 3 & 8-9.
32. Severall Fresh Inward Openings, pp. 3-4.
33. Ibid.

34. Divine Essays, pp. 9-11.
35. Boehme, The Clavis, p. 9.
36. Severall Fresh Inward Openings, p. 25.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; see p. 24.
38. Divine Essays, p. 19.
39. Isaac Penington, An Echo from the Great Deep (London: John Maccock for Giles Calvert, 1650), p. 69.
40. Isaac Penington, The Life of a Christian (London: John Maccock for Giles Calvert, 1653), p. 45.
41. Expositions, pp. 18 & 50-51.
42. Hugh Barbour & Arthur O. Roberts, eds., Early Quaker Writings 1650-1700 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1973), p. 231.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 233
44. Isaac Penington, The Way of Life and Death (1658), in The Works of the Long-Mournful and Sorely-Distressed Isaac Penington (London: Benjamin Clark, 1681), pp. 5-6; hereafter cited as Works (1681).
45. While he avoids predestination, he does indicate in a post-conversion writing that he had been "exceedingly entangled about election and reprobation," but this was evidently before he began to publish in 1648. See Isaac Penington, "A Brief Account of My Soul's Travel towards the Hold Land," The Works of the Long-Mournful and Sorely-Distressed Isaac Penington (London: James Phillips, 1784; 3rd edition), v. III, p. 98; hereafter cited as Works (1784).
46. A Touchstone or Tryall of Faith, p. 2.
47. The Way of Life and Death, p. 29; cf. p. 25.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
49. Isaac Penington, The Scattered Sheep Sought After (1659), in Works (1681), p. 50.
50. An Echo from the Great Deep, p. 39.
51. The Way of Life and Death, p. 34.
52. Isaac Penington, "To Friends of Both the Chalfonts," in The Works of the Long-Mournful and Sorely-Distressed Isaac Penington (Sherwoods, New York: David Heston, 1862), v. I, pp. 537-538; hereafter cited as Works (1862).
53. Isaac Penington, The Axe Laid to the Root of the Old Corrupt Tree (1659),

in Works (1681), P. 111.

54. Isaac Penington, Some Questions Concerning Faith, in Works (1681), p. 120; cf. Some Questions and Answers, Concerning Spiritual Unity, in Works (1784), v. II, p. 470.
55. Isaac Penington, Babylon the Great Described (1659), in Works (1681), pp. 69 & 89.
56. "To Friends of Both the Chalfonts," in Works (1862), v. I, pp. 536 & 537.
57. The Way of Life and Death, p. 30.
58. Light or Darknesse, pp. A4 & 2.
59. An Echo from the Great Deep, pp. 34, 45, & 34, respectively.
60. See Severall Fresh Inward Openings, pp. 2, 15, & 16; and An Echo from the Great Deep, p. 10.
61. The Way of Life and Death, p. 29.
62. The Scattered Sheep Sought After, p. 53.
63. Beatrice Saxon Snell, A Month with Isaac Penington (London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1966), Day Fourteen.
64. Ibid., Days Eight & Nine.
65. "To Friends of Both the Chalfonts," p. 537.
66. Alfred North Whitehead, Religion in the Making, Meridian Books (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1965), p. 16.
67. See above n. 1, from Penington, Expositions, pp. 592-3.
68. Stanley Romaine Hopper, "'Le Cri de Merlin' or Interpretation and the Metalogical," in Anagogic Qualities of Literature, ed. Joseph Strelka, Yearbook of Comparative Literature, Volume IV, (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), especially pp. 20-33.
69. Ibid., p. 32; quoted from Alfred North Whitehead, Process and Reality (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929), p. 32.
70. Ibid., p. 24.

COMPARISON OF MARGARET FELL FOX AND ANNE CONWAY

by  
Carol Stoneburner

Basic to all Friends' experience in the 17th century was the two-pronged experience of the Lamb's War.<sup>1</sup> There was first the personal soul searching examination of one's own life as it was illustrated by the Light of Christ Within, and second was the transformation of the outer world--attempting to see the way that the world of God's creation could find ways to be true to the Light and to regain the possibilities which had been lost in the fall. Both aspects of this very intense personal struggle were the lot of male and female Friends. For those friends who were called especially to focus on the shaping and altering of the human society, called Public Friends,<sup>2</sup> there was often extensive personal struggle to face the ridicule and distaste their lives caused the larger society.

I would like to share with you something of what I have seen as the characteristics of this life as Public Friend as women experienced and acted out this leading. I will be looking at the 17th Century, but I am convinced that the same patterns which are found in that historic period acted upon and were influential in the lives of women Quakers who were Public Friends in the intervening three centuries.

In order to outline the patterns of behavior characteristics of these public Quakers, I would like to pose two paradigms. The first is the description of the kinds of activities in the public world which one finds repeated over and over again in the history of these women and which are here exemplified in the life of Margaret Fell Fox. The second paradigm is of the importance of the home (the so-called private sphere) in the lives of these Quaker women. For a long time the emphasis in the historical discussion of Quaker women has been on Quaker women's public character.<sup>3</sup> It has been seen as the crucial difference to be found and documented by and about Quaker women. In so doing, the traditional sphere of women's activities has been much too overlooked. It is my assertion that it is only when these two paradigms are explored separately and then in relation to each other that the really unique leadership features of Quaker women, such as Margaret Fell Fox and Anne Conway, will be understood.

Drawing on the biography of Margaret Fell Fox by Isabel Ross<sup>4</sup> and the Pendle Hill Pamphlet by Hugh Barbour ("Margaret Fell Speaks"),<sup>5</sup> let us look at the paradigmatic quality of Margaret Fell Fox. Margaret Fell Fox (1714-1702) was born of the landed aristocracy of northwestern England. She was raised to fulfill the expectations of a gentlewoman--that is born to oversee a household. When she married Judge Thomas Fell and moved into Swarthmore Hall, the manor house of Ulverston, she was seventeen years old. Judge Fell was fifteen years her senior and already engaged in both his estate and his traveling to far-flung work in the courts of law and as a member of the Long Parliament.

They had a family of eight children (seven daughters). Because Judge Fell was often away and because it was expected of women of the manor, Margaret Fell was involved in administering the farms, and the tenants of the estates, buying and selling livestock and grain, overseeing an iron forge and much of the loans and trading of Ulverston. She was also involved in carrying out religious duties fitting her role in Ulverston. These included seeing that there were daily prayers and Bible study at the Manor House, supporting the parish church and the permanent clergy. She was also used to entertaining

visiting clergy (conformist and non-conformist) as well as persons on state business.

She saw that her seven daughters were tutored in reading and writing. She also saw that they were trained as managers. She urged them to be able to be financially independent and to carry on their own business both at home and when traveling. All of the Fell women traveled alone when called upon.

Margaret Fell, in fulfilling her responsibility to entertain traveling ministers, met George Fox and became convinced of the "Truth." Judge Fell had already shown considerable tolerance to non-conformist clergy. He was probably initially dismayed at the almost complete conversion of the members of his household (family and servants) to Quakerism, but when he became acquainted with George Fox, and other early Friends, he soon opened his home for Quaker worship. Although he maintained his own responsibility for the local parish, he often sat outside the hall (at his home) where members of the Society of Friends gathered in silence for worship.

Margaret Fell became an active Friend. She spoke (preached) in meeting for worship as the Spirit moved her. She entertained traveling Friends. As Quakers were persecuted she wrote them in prison; sent funds to care for their needs; oversaw the care of their families; and protested to the authorities (church and state) about the persecution of Quakers. With George Fox, she promoted Women's Meetings for Business (parallel structure to Men's Meetings for Business). She trained her daughters in the skills of running Women's Meetings for Business. She was counselor in person and by letter to Friends as they moved throughout the world. She wrote public epistles articulating the faith and she published tracts. One such tract, "Women's Speaking: Justified, Proved and Allowed of by the Scriptures: All Such as Speak by the Spirit and Power of the Lord Jesus," was published in 1666, while she was in prison. This tract gives evidence of a woman well versed in Biblical and theological thinking and discourse. It is one of the first written and published statements agruing for a public speaking role of women, by a woman.

Thomas and Margaret Fell had a long and mutually supportive marriage. After his death the protection of his estate from the State was withdrawn and Margaret Fell was herself persecuted for her Quakerism. Before this period, she had used her influence with the king and state leaders to soften the persecution of Friends. She had documented the conditions in the prisons. In 1660 she published a "Declaration on and Information from Us the People of God Called Quakers to the Present Generations, the King and both Houses of Parlia-sible for the release of George Fox from prison. A number of years after Judge Fell's death, Margaret Fell married George Fox.

With the assisted instigation of her son (who had not become a Quaker), Margaret herself suffered three long imprisonments for her beliefs, and the distraintment of all her livestock and funds. She lost protection of the King. Still she wrote letters protesting to the government. Still she wrote letters of encouragement to friends traveling for the faith. She also developed contact with and wrote to and wrote about the Jews in Holland.

It becomes clear why Margaret Fell is called the "Nursing Mother of Quakerism." Swarthmore Hall was clearly the organizational hub of the newly developing Society of Friends. There she administered the Kendall Funds used to support traveling missionaries. She thus kept in touch with all the Friends' far-flung work--such as William Penn's Holy Experiment in Philadelphia.

Let us now catalogue the characteristics of this woman's life of activity for the faith. As a believer she (1) spoke--articulated and interpreted the faith herself, (2) formed a network with others in the faith providing financial, material and psychological support for them, (3) organized activities of others in both the temporal and spiritual arenas, (4) traveled independently, (5) wrote theological arguments and published an alternative religious and social vision, (6) developed contacts with Jews and others to share her alternative perspective to honor theirs, and to work together when possible, (7) confronted directly and sought to shape the thoughts and actions of state leaders at every level by her own personal meetings, her writing of private and public epistles, her influence through associations and her descriptive analysis of conditions; (8) educated and trained her own daughters and many other women for spiritual and social independence and equality of personhood; (9) administered aid (social, medical, financial and psychological) to people far and near; (10) created a rich family life and helped build a home for her own family, the community and others from afar; (11) entered into and enjoyed two marriages--acting as an independent and yet mutual partner with her husbands; and (12) generally formed a center of the developing organization/Society of Friends.

Let us look at the second paradigm--the home as sacred and public space. Basic to the concept is an exploration of the concept of the New Creation. The sense that one feels when one is reading George Fox,<sup>6</sup> Margaret Fell,<sup>7</sup> Sarah Fell,<sup>8</sup> that "the new creation" is more than metaphorical. There is a conscious acknowledgment of the sinfulness of man and the effects of "The Fall" on the whole society. But there is also a very powerful sense of the washing away of this pervasive sinfulness and shame within the life of the Light--the new creation. George Fox speaks of the natural world as looking and smelling better. The natural gains a new potential. And implicitly, one aspect of the natural, that is sexuality, seems to me to be enhanced by the frequent use of the metaphor of The Seed. Quite often this metaphor, The Seed, intentionally carries both spiritual and sensual overtones and meanings. And I sense that this metaphorical use underlined the already prevailing Puritan and Protestant emphasis on the family as an important aspect of religious life. It is clear that this concept of the new creation had a profound influence on Friends in their explorations about science and naturalism. This has often been noted about male Quakers but it is also true for women Quakers. I think this subtle shift in seeing nature and the natural has already occurred metaphorically at the very beginning of Quakerism. Historian of early Quakerism, Hugh Barbour, suggests that it does not significantly affect the nature of family life right at the beginning. I would acknowledge that there has always been a wide variation of family patterns within Quakerism, with husband's/father's authoritarian pattern being one possibility. But certainly the openness of this early metaphor of "The Seed," the examples of women such as Margaret Fell, Mary Penington and Anne Conway, and the almost unconscious elevation of the natural world, allows for a potential integration of spiritual and natural experience, the possibility for a significantly altered pattern within Quaker marriages and a redefinition of the home.

We have seen that Margaret Fell Fox's home, while she was wife of Judge Fell, while she was a widow, and then while she was wife to George Fox, was not merely a private space, it was an organizational center. There was always hospitality being offered. Both members of the Society of Friends and others found a place of welcome and refreshment. In other words, the public world was regularly invited into the private home. All of the "natural" functions of family life were carried on within the home, and it was a place of rest and

to some degree a haven. But the home was also the world. Children learned about the society they lived in by being at home. There were visiting preachers, there were people who were escaping persecution or recovering from prison. There was always news of the Society. There was also business transacted for those in need and for those actively involved in God's world. The separation of family life from life of the world is simply not found within the Society of Friends at its inception.

What are the consequences of this altered perspective and different behaviors associated with the home? I would like to suggest six which I think are very important. First, it meant that Quaker women were able to behave as "natural" women and as public women in the same space. Secondly, as we have noted they learned the important skills of caring for people and nurturing growth. These were enormous assets to the Society of Friends and to the larger world as well. Third, the home became something more than the base or place of a marriage. It became the place where all women--like men, could invite the world in on her own terms. Fourthly, the home and the family are places, along with the Meeting and the Quaker schools, where children were taught about the world and they were shown the equality between the sexes in ways more advanced than in the larger society. They were places of education. Fifthly, homes were necessary organizational spaces. In any new movement, or in any developing social organization there must be a place for meetings, for planning, for strategy sessions, for articulating alternatives and testing ideas. Sixthly, the home was so connected to the Meeting and The Meeting House within Quakerism that there is transference of meaning and even of activity between the two. When there is no Meeting House, meetings for worship and meetings for business are carried on within homes.<sup>9</sup> The consequence of this was that not only was the role of women altered and extended but the role of the home was also altered and enlarged. The home became almost as important a space in Quakerism as the Meeting House, and the family was a crucial extension of the Meeting.

How does the Anne Conway profile compare to the profile of behavior exemplified by Margaret Fell Fox? And how does her home, Ragley Hall compare to Swarthmore Hall?<sup>10</sup> We have no evidence that these two women were personally acquainted. It is very likely that Anne Conway learned of Margaret Fell Fox from George Fox and the other Quaker leaders who visited Ragley Hall and who corresponded with Anne Conway. She probably also heard about other Quaker women, in particular Mary Penington and Christian Barclay<sup>11</sup>--through their husbands. All of these women shared the privileges and responsibility of aristocratic women. And all of their homes combined some degree of private and public by virtue of their social rank. And yet, the intensity of articulating ideas, creating dialogue and sustaining intellectual and spiritual discussion, was unusual for Anne Conway, Margaret Fell Fox, and other Quaker women.

Anne Conway, in many conversations, debates, and discourses articulated her beliefs, the leading intellectuals of England being her colleagues. She also articulated her thoughts in the philosophical treatise, The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy published after her death. She created an intellectual circle providing hospitality and companionship at Ragley Hall. She explored a diversity of religious and philosophical traditions, also being influenced by the Jewish Cabala. She entertained persons of the state, the university, scientific laboratories and eventually leaders in the Society of Friends. She had a very extensive correspondence, yet another place for articulating her convictions. She was engaged in a rich family life. Although her husband and brother traveled extensively, Anne Conway did not. She did, however, serve as a magnet and people traveled to be with her at Ragley Hall. Her generous hospitality allowed for the travel of many. It should also be

clear that Ragley became the kind of home as public space we have discussed. It was a center, a haven where alternative views were discussed and intellectual and religious movements sustained. It was also private, domestic space which housed a marriage of mutuality. So one sees considerable similarity of behavior between these two women.

In conclusion I want to make a brief point drawing on the recent work of popular historian, Antonia Frazer's The Weaker Vessel.<sup>12</sup> In this study of 17th Century English women, Frazer has extensive discussion of both Anne Conway and Margaret Fell Fox--as well as other women intellectuals and activist women. Her thesis is that both men and women in the 17th Century perceived women as the weaker of the two sexes. Although there is considerable evidence documented in Frazer's study to challenge this "mind-set" about the comparative worth and actions of women, I am eager to suggest two ways in which Margaret Fell and Anne Conway both discredit this notion but also use it as a form of real empowerment.

In her famous tract on "Women Speaking," Margaret Fell discusses four kinds of weakness. Her early thrust is the weakness of men and women before the power of God. She claims this weakness as her own and gives it to men as well. The weakness of their humanness is the basis of the spiritual authority men and women share.<sup>13</sup>

Secondly, weakness is for her a sign of spiritual authority in the Bible. It was precisely the feminine weakness of Mary and the other women gathered at the tomb--the weakness of staying, watching and weeping (not practiced by the male followers) which gave the women the opportunity of knowing first the risen Christ. They were empowered by this feminine weakness.<sup>14</sup>

The third weakness was that demonstrated by Mary, the Mother of Christ, and Elizabeth, the Mother of John. Their maternal willingness and sensibilities made them powerful enough to be able to preach: the "Magnificat" and the recognition of the coming Messiah, and no one could challenge their authority to be heard.

The fourth weakness is the willingness to be moved by the Spirit--as the Hebrew prophetesses (and prophets) had or as the Bride of Christ (male and female)--to speak--to act--to help in the new creation. By focusing on these four kinds of weakness (transformed), Margaret Fell has clearly strengthened and empowered the weakness of women and extended it as an equalizing principle to men.<sup>16</sup>

The lives of Margaret Fell Fox and Anne Conway show us two women who are intellectually astute, socially aware, spiritually informed. They both are particularly able to articulate their beliefs and to enter into serious insightful dialogue. But of crucial importance for both of them, the physical dimensions of their lives--their pregnancies, labors, deliveries, the illnesses and deaths of children, and the pain of prison or the pain of the migraine headache, were natural sufferings. These sufferings were built into the very core of their beliefs and actions. Anne Conway was intellectually "fit" (compatible) to be a Quaker. She was also moved by the integrity and quietness of her Quaker servants in contrast to the usual fawning attitude of servants in that period. But it was the knowledge of physical suffering and her philosophical and spiritual understanding of the oneness of the natural and the spiritual which seems to have brought her to and kept her in the Quaker fold.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the understanding of faith which accepted the validity of physical/natural experiences and redefined them as part of the new creation was fundamental to Quakerism's "Nursing Mother," Margaret Fell Fox.

## NOTES

1. This discussion of the Lamb's War is based on Chapters 2, 4 & 7 of Hugh Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964).
2. "Publick Friend" was the early 17th Century terminology for Quakers who traveled in Ministry and preached to non-Quakers.
3. See: Clarkson, Thomas, A Portraiture of Quakerism, 3 vols. (New York: Samuel Stansbury, 1806) for early reference to Quaker women's public and private character. Some of the more contemporary sociologists and social historians who develop this theme are: Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, eds., Women of America (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1979); Elise Boulding, The Underside of History (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1976); William Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970 (New York, Oxford U. Press, 1972); Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959--revised and published by Atheneum, 1972); Antonia Fraser: The Weaker Vessel (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1984); Miriam Gurko, The Ladies of Seneca Falls (New York, Macmillan, 1974); Blanche Glassman Hersh, The Slavery of Sex: Feminist-Abolitionists in America (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1978); Janet Wilson James, ed., Women in American Religion (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980); Linda K. Kerber and Jane DeHart Mathews, eds., Women's America: Refocusing the Past (New York, Oxford U. Press, 1982); Gerda Lerner, The Female Experience: An American Documentary (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1977); Judith Loeber, Women Physicians: Careers, Status and Power (New York, Tavistock, 1984); Rosemary Radford Reuther and Rosemary Skinner Keller, eds., Women and Religion in America, Vol. 1 and Vol. 2 (New York, Harper & Row, 1981 and 1983); Rosemary Reuther and Eleanor McLaughlin, Women of Spirit (New York, Touchstone Books, 1979); Alice Rossi, ed., The Feminist Papers: From Adams to deBeauvoir (New York, Bantam, 1973); Page Smith, Daughters of the Promised Land: Women in American History (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1970); Anne Firor Scott, Making the Invisible Woman Visible (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1984).
4. Isabel Ross, Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism (London, Longmans Green, 1949).
5. Hugh Barbour, "Margaret Fell Speaking," Pendle Hill Pamphlet 206, 1976.
6. John L. Nickalls, The Journal of George Fox, rev. ed. (London: Religious Society of Friends, 1975), p. 127.
7. Margaret Fell, "Women's Speaking, Justified, Proved and Allowed of by the Scriptures; All Such as Speak by the Spirit and Power of the Lord Jesus; and How Women Were the First That Preached the Tidings of the Resurrection of Jesus, and Were Sent by Christ's Own Command before He Ascended to the Father, John 20:17," published in 1666 in London. Republished Amherst, Mass.: Mosher Book and Tract Committee, New England Yearly Meeting in 1980, pp. 4 & 5.

8. Sarah Fell, "Epistle to Women Everywhere" from Mary Maples Dunn "Women of Light," in Women of America, Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, eds. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979).
9. These categories come from study of activities at Swarthmore Hall but also from looking at the homes of Quaker women for three centuries in a study "Drawing a Profile of American Public Friends As Shapers of Human Space" by Carol Stoneburner ("Introduction" to an unpublished collection of essays on American Quaker women.)
10. Information on Anne Conway primarily dependent upon "Biographical Account" by Marjorie Hope Nicholson, Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and Their Friends, 1642-1684. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930).
11. William C. Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, 2nd ed. (Cambridge England, University Press, 1961) p. 446.
12. Antonia Fraser, The Weaker Vessel (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1984).
13. Margaret Fell, op. cit., p. 3.
14. Ibid, pp. 6 & 7.
15. Ibid, p. 13.
16. Ibid, pp. 12-15.
17. Marjorie Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 410-414.

## JANE LEAD AND THE PHILADELPHIAN SOCIETY:

### CONNECTIONS WITH ANNE CONWAY AND QUAKERS

This communal academic inquiry at Guilford College into the seventeenth century world of Anne Conway arose from an urge to celebrate a significant Quaker woman who is generally overlooked in surveys of writings of early Friends. Jane Lead's life and writings invite comparison with Anne Conway's because both women were committed to discovering the deepest truth about the universe and their place in it, not simply as a resolution to questions posed by their restless minds, but as an act of devotion to the living Source which they both believed informed all of reality and could be directly known within the human soul.

Moreover, although Conway, who died in 1679, could not have been influenced by Lead's writings which only began to be published in 1681, and although we have no evidence that Lead knew of Conway or her work, they shared an attraction to Jacob Boehme's revisioning of Christian cosmology and to related esoteric texts in the cabbalistic and alchemical tradition. While a thorough comparative study of all of Lead's difficult to obtain out-of-print works with Anne Conway's thought in the context of these esoteric writings is a valuable investigation yet to be made, this essay focuses on Lead's public life and thought, and her and her group's connections with early Friends, especially Anne Conway and her circle. It will first consider Jane Lead's achievement of a public identity as an author and the function of her publications in attracting support for the religious group she led after the death of its founder, Dr. John Pordage, in 1681 until her death in 1704. Secondly, it will introduce readers to her theopoetic mode of thought and some of her central ideas. Thirdly, it will explore Lead's connections with Quakers in terms of: striking similarities of the Philadelphia Society (as her group came to be called in its most public phase in the last decade of the 17th century) to Quakers, such as creating women's roles of intellectual and spiritual authority equal to those traditionally reserved for men; her own ties to Quaker printers, the Sowles family and possibly John Bradford; and her possible link to Anne Conway through Thomas Bromley, an early member of Pordage's congregation and brother to Henry Bromley, a Quaker credited by Marjorie Nicholson with introducing Conway to the Society of Friends.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.

When Jane Lead died at eighty years of age in 1704, she had published fifteen books or tracts in twenty-three years.<sup>2</sup> By contrast, Anne Conway's Principles was her single publication, and it was published only after her death, and then not in her native country or language but on the continent in a Latin translation; even when it was translated back into English, her name did not appear, for aristocratic ladies were not expected to be authors.<sup>3</sup> Through her publications, Jane Lead illustrates a different attitude toward authorship --and public roles of authority--opened to women of the seventeenth century who became conscious of themselves as spiritually empowered in a apocalyptic age. She writes in her second book, Revelation of Revelations, that "in this last and new erected priesthood,...as to the outward sex, there shall be no distinction. Male and female are alike here, therefore the Holy Ghost doth include

both in one swallowing up all in the newness, strength, power and glory of his own springing new birth."<sup>4</sup> While she denies taking any pleasure in her vocation as a writer, her confidence that she is divinely commanded to publish the visions and insights given to her infuses her works with an exuberant sense of control both of her subject matter and the metaphoric mode in which she primarily learns and teaches.

Although Jane Lead repeatedly asserts the equality of sexes in the priesthood of the last dispensation, it is interesting that her first vision came to her just after her husband's death in 1670, and that her first book, The Heavenly Cloud, was not published until after the death of her mentor, Dr. John Pordage. Two years later in 1683, she published his own work, an exposition of Boehme's thought titled Theologica Mystica, and in the introduction she described her involvement with his group as beginning in 1663, seven years before she was widowed and moved into his household.<sup>5</sup> While it is not clear what kind of relationship Jane Lead had at various points with Pordage or what degree of authority she exerted in his congregation before his death, it is likely that she was a significant public figure among his followers at least from the time she had her initial vision in 1670 of the transcendent Wisdom of God as a Woman clothed with the Sun. He had mystical revelations himself as early as the 1640s, but was even more notorious for his endorsement of his wife's visionary leadership for which he had been censured and removed from his Church of England living in Bradfield in the 1650s.<sup>6</sup> In 1668, Mary Pordage died, and Jane Lead's sense of herself in 1670 as receiving the promise of a transfigured self from the Virgin Wisdom of God would seem to have filled a void in the female prophetic priesthood which Pordage revered and on which his own leadership depended.

Jane Lead was not ashamed to be identified as an author, for she publicized her name and also her address (and her daughter's as well), offering not only to sell her books but to converse personally with any interested in her revelation and experiences. She advertised all eight of her works (with the number of pages and date each was published) at the end of the first of her three volume journal, A Fountain of Gardens, and at the end of The State of the Philadelphian Society, also published in 1697, a similar catalog appears with yet a third title published in that same year.<sup>7</sup> Even if spurred on by Francis Lee, her secretary, editor, and son-in-law, this advertising is very different from the polite collaboration of Anne Conway with Francis Van Helmont and George Keith on the treatise, Two Hundred Queries... Concerning the Doctrine of the Revolution of Humane Souls, published in 1684 after her death, or from her work on her own Principles also carried forward to posthumous and anonymous publication by Van Helmont. Perhaps the most telling contrast lies in the ongoing "patronage" of Lord Conway whose position and means made it possible for his wife and her frequent (and in some cases, lingering) guests to carry on a communal intellectual life unhindered by menial concerns. One senses repeatedly Jane Lead's hope that such support will come to her from her followers, making it possible to "cease from all thronging cares and secular services" where her attention is drawn away from "weighty spiritual matters" to "puddle about earthly things,... where the cry and plea of mortal necessities are continually heard."<sup>8</sup>

A very significant contrast, then, between the two writers is their economic situations, for Anne Conway's secure circumstances differ sharply from the widow's necessity to find practical basis for her own life as well as for the religious group she led after Pordage's death. Although Lead was from a respectable family background, at the death of the husband in 1670 she lost financial standing, and upon moving in with Dr. Pordage's household in 1674,

she was disowned and cut off from financial support by her brother.<sup>9</sup> In Revelation of Revelations (1683), she explicitly pleads her own right, as the "head of the separated congregation" of those who are "the ruling and governing priesthood" to the voluntary offering of those who are "proprietors of ...worldly goods," and after noting that even "among our own tribe,...much remissness and shortness hath been found," she expresses the hope that "another power and spirit...shall make the fast-clasped Proprietors to become all free and openhanded."<sup>10</sup> That hope was soon realized in the help extended by a wealthy widow who, reading this book, put her whole house at the disposal of Lead's little group. Upon this sponsor's death, they had to move but continued to live together another three years, at the end of which Lead appears to have retired to private life until patronage again enabled her to assume a role of public leadership.<sup>11</sup>

From the time she began to publish, it is clear that Jane Lead's writing played an important role in gaining the support crucial to the growth of her religious group and the development of its communal life forms. In 1694, it was the impact of her publication on a German reader which made her public life again possible in a practical sense; Baron Knyphusen began sending her a regular allowance, and arranged as well for the publication in German of six of her tracts.<sup>12</sup> The reputation she acquired among the readers of these translations continued through subsequent publications up through the end of her life; not only did she build a group of continental followers, but through one of them, a third major source of support was brought into contact with her.

This was Francis Lee, who after the onset of Lead's blindness in 1695 played an indispensable role in her work both as a writer and as a leader bringing a growing religious group to a new stage of institutional self-consciousness. Lee, because he was unwilling to sign the oath of succession, had left England and his former calling as a student of Oriental (Hebrew) scripture to take up the study of medicine in Padua. Returning home in 1694 from practicing medicine in Venice, he heard of Jane Lead's reputation and teachings from an enthusiastic Rotterdam merchant who urged him to look her up in London. Francis Lee became not only her secretary, but also her son-in-law, marrying her widowed daughter Barbara.<sup>13</sup>

Besides these valuable contacts her writings gained for her, they probably also were important in attracting the support of another patroness of high rank and means, Lady Anne Bathurst, who made her house, Baldwin Gardens, available for public meetings. Her old age and illness necessitated a move for Lead, whose group by this time had taken on a more public stance and had attracted enough new followers to need a meeting place larger than the chamber of a private home. The Philadelphian Society, as it was called by then, established a meeting place in Hungerford Market and then a second meeting in 1696 in Westmoreland House. Both of these meetings, however, were sufficiently molested that by 1703, the Philadelphians withdrew to greater privacy, explaining in a tract distributed at their last public meeting that they were finishing "their first Testimony." Their leader was finishing her life; her failing health had contributed to the decision to form the second meeting nearer to Hoxton, and eventually to meet (it seems likely) in the home she shared with Francis Lee and her daughter.<sup>14</sup>

The fate of Lead's writings in what seems to be the decline of the Philadelphian Society in London in her last years and just after her death is difficult to assess without further research. Two early works were published in a second edition in 1701 and 1702, and she went on writing new works, publishing six from 1697 to 1701, but these latter titles seemed to Lee to have met with less welcome in England than on the continent.<sup>15</sup> In a poem prefacing

the initial volume of her journal (which was published through "the generous offer" of "an highly Worthy Person, truly enabled in the Spirit of his Mind," who "had a favour and Relish of some foregoing books that had been printed"), a contrast between English and German piety is drawn to the disadvantage of the former:

The Morning Star despis'd must Glide away  
And to a better Land its chearing Beams display.  
Then at thy Loss and Folly for a While  
Shall the Fair Sprouting German Lilly Smile...<sup>16</sup>

Although her influence faded in her native land, she retained followers on the continent, and her works were even translated (though never published) in Swedish. Moreover, her books have been reprinted in English over the last two centuries (1804, 1816, 1885, 1891, 1903, 1904, 1906,) and in 1981 Revelations of Revelations was reissued in Britain; currently, selections of her work are included in The Norton Anthology of Women's Literature published in the United States in 1983, and introductions to her thought are accessible in Catherine Smith's substantial essays in two recent scholarly collections, Women of Spirit focusing on female leadership in religious traditions and Shakespeare's Sisters surveying representative women poets from Anne Bradstreet to the present. In short, like Anne Conway's life and writing, Jane Lead's example of female leadership and her copious publications promise to take on new significance as modern readers, moved to reclaim the contribution such influential women thinkers made to their times, examine as well their suggestiveness for later generations.

## II.

The two writers' modes of thought are even more different than the economic basis of their patterns of publication and the resulting contrast in their influence on readers during their lifetimes. Anne Conway was thoroughly at home in the realm of traditional rational discourse; her work is a learned argument, exhibiting precision, theoretical breadth, unity and coherence--logical virtues appealing to the intellectually sophisticated who were her contemporary and later admirers. Jane Lead's mental passion, however, found primary expression in the mode of visionary experience and theopoetic imagery; her corpus, covering many aspects of Christian growth, tells the story of her interior struggles to bring "vision to fruition"<sup>17</sup> not only in her own life but in the lives of these readers who are ready to be transfigured by her witness to the works of the Virgin Wisdom who can "create and generate spirits in her own likeness."<sup>18</sup> While it is clear that the paradigm for believers is Wisdom or Christ, and that each Christian can know directly the teaching of these divine figures, she writes of her experiences and revelations with the confidence that she personally embodies truth in a contagious form.

She neither argues philosophically nor acknowledges her own authority and artistry, but her essays, nevertheless, exhibit a logical order, for they are typically structured to include clearly labeled classifications of various stages of transformation or various effects of the working of divine power. More often than not, these distinctions are worked out in close connection with a reading of a series of features in a visionary landscape or an object, as in the twelve gates to the New Jerusalem or the seven seals on the book in the

Apocalypse. She frequently mixes a narrative and descriptive ordering, where the visions themselves are unfolded to provide the basic material of the discourse, with a logical sequence of questions analyzing the significance of the images revealed to her. These may be her own queries posed in dialogue with the teacher, whom she most frequently addresses as "Lord," or they may be an anticipation and answering of questions she assumes her readers might pose.

Nevertheless, her intellectual mode is essentially poetic, not just in the sense that she writes imagistically and even sometimes in verse, but in the deeper sense of a visionary imagination that opens up new realms of feeling and understanding through radically original acts of language. Drawing on scripture and on Boehme, and perhaps on other cabbalistic and alchemical texts as well, Lead shows us strikingly new vistas of the self infused by divine energy and life. Her metaphoric energy is less contagious when encountered in formal stanzas of verse or isolated excerpts from her visions than in the cumulative effect of a whole work, such as Revelation of Revelations, or in her even more monumental three-volume journal, A Fountain of Gardens. One can, however, see Lead's remarkable illuminating potential in the quotations from her work assembled by Catherine Smith who argues persuasively for this 17th century woman's relevance to modern feminist theory and poetic practice. In both of her introductory studies, Smith shows how Lead's empowerment came through the mystical revelation of a transcendent feminine source active within herself. In her visions and in her reading of scripture (and for her, the two seem inseparable), Jane Lead was repeatedly struck by feminine images for the transforming energy and light of God. Though influenced by Boehme in her apprehension of the potency of Biblical figures such as Eve, Wisdom, and the Woman in the Sun from the Apocalypse, Lead presents them in a narrative framework and with a metaphoric energy issuing from a direct visionary experience. Smith claims that twentieth-century women poets are recovering a similar sense of the potential unity of their own depths, and that the language in which they discover this sacred interiority and authority of the self strikingly resembles Jane Lead's.<sup>19</sup>

In her essentially autobiographical accounts of her spiritual discoveries, Jane Lead is nonetheless a metaphysical thinker, pursuing the foundations of her experience as well as the origins and end of the life she led in a material world. Like Anne Conway, then, she is interested in the intersection of matter and spirit, but for her this focuses on the religious issue of overcoming the distance between fallen mortal existence and the world of divine reality intended for redeemed humanity and newly opened to her and other mature Christians by "the Woman cloathed with the Sun." Hers was a theological rather than a philosophical quest, yet she is not drawn into doctrinal discussions around conventional Protestant topics of sin and salvation. She is concerned instead with the perfection of earthly existence through a transmutation of both body and spirit. For her, such perfection was not achievable by pursuits using the natural intellect or imagination; she repeatedly disclaims both natural reason and the stream of images arising from sense experience. Yet her own idioms and concepts reveal how much she must have valued devotional reading not only of scripture but other texts which confirmed and fed her own apocalyptic and visionary insights. She brought Dr. Pordage's study of Boehme into print, and she probably had read as well his other six manuscripts on Boehme advertised in the first volume of her own journal.<sup>20</sup> Possibly she even had read a translation of some of the great German visionary's difficult works, although she speaks in her journal of having heard read to her "some passages...of a Fore-Runner who had wonderful things by Vision revealed unto him, with which I was much affected, they being so weighty, much answering to

what I did believe might be brought to pass, according to the Spirit of Prophecy who did see into the same mystery of Christ coming."<sup>21</sup>

She was certainly an avid reader of scripture, and doubtless learned much about the Old Testament texts from Francis Lee who was a scholar in this field. Her hermeneutic subordinates the text to personal visionary experience, as she interprets scripture by reference to the visualization of images, and dialogue about them, provided to her directly by her divine teachers. Her personal sense of progress already made, or else about to be given to her, becomes paradigmatic for the series of holy transformations she sees revealed both in scripture and in visions given to her as well as others. She is passionately assured of God's activity both within the individual and, through "one or two perfect in their generation," within history and nature as a whole.<sup>22</sup> The capacity for this transformation was present at the outset of human history as a "new Birth Seed" placed in the race just after Adam's fall when "the Eternal Word...did incorporate with Eve, whereby power and ability were given to bring forth wholly after the spirit." Every child of Eve, then, has had a spiritual "seed of life...infused...throughout the line of Terrestrial Propagation."<sup>23</sup> The effects of the fall do not therefore necessarily determine the spiritual fate of the human race; however, Cain's behavior shows that additional divine power was still necessary. This power was of course given when the Word became flesh; yet even Christ's incarnation and resurrection were inadequate to effect the necessary transformation of mankind and the return of the created world to its pre-fallen perfection.<sup>24</sup> Jane Lead is close not only to Quakers but to all apocalyptic Christians in envisioning a post-scriptural dispensation of God's truth and power, but strikingly original in her stress on feminine images of the divine as the source of this new outpouring. She blends Behmenistic figures with her own discovery of a spring of Wisdom and Understanding opened in her depths by the luminous figure of the Virgin who said to her, "Behold me as thy mother."<sup>25</sup>

The birth associated with this Virgin mother is unlike the birth of Jesus to Mary, for no one will see it, but its effects will be felt and understood within those who experience it. Sometimes Lead's imagery suggests that the new birth is a transformation whereby the pure and perfect in Heart "come to be" the flame covered Virgin Woman;<sup>26</sup> sometimes she sees the Woman clothed with the Sun more as the vehicle rather than the goal of this rebirth, with the purified and refined Christian "again conceived in Virgin Wisdom's Womb and brought forth between her Everlasting Knees, at whose Birth the Eternal Daystar breaketh out."<sup>27</sup> However she conceives it, though, the spiritual birth not only affects the soul but transmutes physical existence into a perfection higher than that manifest in unfallen Paradise, or in the birth of Christ, or even in his resurrected flesh.

...there belongs a Pure sublime, organical Body, having highly irradiated Senses with uncorrupted and divine Rationality, ...Here also may be added the Perfect Animal and Vegetable Life, with the Sensitive and Rational, they all making up the New Creature or Paradisical Man.<sup>28</sup>

Yet between the vision and the reality, there are periods of waiting and sometimes of doubt and disappointment; some of the most vivid images in the diary arise as Jane Lead, mainly in her dreams, faces the imperfection in herself and in Pordage. At the end of her first volume of journals, she records herself "complaining and owning our impotencies, and unmeetness here-

unto," to which "this word came: My grace can make strong, where sense of the greatest weakness is; therefore hope and believe down all discouragements." There follows a dream of a young elephant to be bred up, presented to be hers to care for and feed, and upon waking, she was told (presumably by her visionary teacher, but perhaps by Pordage or someone else to whom she had related the dream): "That as this elephant for strength, so should we grow to be. And no burden or weight what ever cast upon us should cause any shrinking...under it. For such a strong elephant Power should by degrees grow upon us, if careful we would be, here to feed up this young elephant."<sup>29</sup> The sense of a process which moves from conception, gestation, and birth into another process of nurturing and slow growth is variously imaged. Instead of the elephant which can carry any burden, in a later vision she sees herself and Pordage as fellow eagles, hidden away in a nest safe from the Dragon's eye, where they are being nurtured for a heavenly ascent; in this vision they are linked to a revelation of the soul as Eve, who (mating with Virgin Wisdom) is restored to her Virgin Eagle body, and in a wisely built nest, is enabled to raise up eagle brood until they are full fledged in wing and can fly to heavenly heights.<sup>30</sup> Not many months after, in March 1676, she dreamed she saw herself holding a child which was naked, slippery, and peculiarly heavy; it slipped through her arms to the ground, and shrieking, she picked it up in fear and concern, relieved to discover that it was not badly damaged. Her interpretation, apparently made some time later (and perhaps not until 1690s when editing the journal for publication), is that the child falling was the failure of "this person noted so often by me" to achieve perfection before he died.<sup>31</sup>

An inward descent is repeatedly counselled by Jane Lead as the prerequisite, and the followup, to an ascent to spiritual transcendence, and it is frequently associated with a recognition of the original unity of the Soul and God. Sometimes the return to the source seems to be a journey to the interior fountain from which all action overflows:

Find but out thine own eternal self as sink  
down in the pure Virtual Root, and thou wilt see  
the Gulf of the Godhead from whence this River  
doth proceed. From which all thy Powers shall be  
renewed and fed, to maintain a Golden Spring with-  
in thy self. Then Co-operation and Co-deification  
shall be known, from which thou mayest Act and Do  
whatever thou wilt, as being returned into Pure and  
Eternal Nature.<sup>32</sup>

A change in the outer world seems to be the consequence of the change within. Sometimes this seems more a matter of a changing power of perception so that one can discriminate and even separate the curse of the fall from the truer apprehension of the order of creation.<sup>33</sup> At other times, she uses the language of alchemy, speaking of an outward transformation of elements that will manifest in physical reality the renewal of "nature's center" in the soul's inward essence. The result seems to be both a metaphorical and literal refinement of the exterior world's essence, so that all gross metals will be transmuted into transparent gold, and there will appear "crystalline dwelling places, visible and invisible," for the perfected souls who "personate the mighty King Jesus." Until such transformation takes place, the second coming of Christ, "in his own particular, glorified person" cannot happen, for the present constituency of things must first be "sublimed," and the New Jerusalem which was before time "in the substantiality of spiritual essence" must come

down into the "visible Birth of time."<sup>34</sup> The descent of the City, or the Kingdom, of God from a spiritual realm into nature and history takes place through supernatural forces, but men and women are called to purify themselves, achieving a perfect balance in order to prepare for this coming; this degree of perfection manifests itself in "an equal temperature," resulting from "sweet and well ordered composure of mind."<sup>35</sup>

The process for achieving such perfection includes going into the refining fire of the pure spirit of burning which takes away the gross impurities of the senses. In her second book, Lead describes convincingly the physical impact of this experience on her, as in her statement about the flaming cloud, the bright garment of the sun, which she felt sensibly "rising and spreading over all my heart, head, and body, as if all were covered with a cloud of sun-heat, giving out light by which I could see what was inwardly done, as well as feel it." This virtual enclosure both within and without by divine energy came to Lead as part of her vision of the Lord in a fiery furnace asking her to join him; he had just explained when she asked, "How shall I get rid of this body?" that "co-deification" can happen even in the "binding mortality," as a cloud of baptizing fire takes away the gross impurity of the senses. Thus the life of the senses is purged by a vividly sensual impression; not only does she feel the heat and see the light of "the bright garment of the sun," but she drinks in this "pure spirit of burning," and learns; "Such is the nature of this secret flaming matter that it feeds, strengthens, and clarifies a naked spirit all at once."<sup>36</sup>

Asking within the scope of the vision precisely what is the Substance or Ground of such an experience, she was told:

Meddle not with that, only receive it passively,  
and co-operate with it when it ariseth, and then  
walk with, and draw in the feeding Fire and Air, and  
when it resteth in its own place, rest there with it,  
and be assured it will not leave thee, till it have  
concentred thee in the Deity.<sup>37</sup>

As analytic as she is of the images which come to her both in visions and in the scripture, Lead here and elsewhere explicitly disowns rationality as the means or the criteria for interpreting divine truth. In one of her more compelling revisions of traditional figures for the death and rebirth required "for the hope of a Resurrection in a God-head Body and Spirit" as taking the form of beheading for the "Head-Life, where the rational understanding is seated" must be "cut off and separated from them."<sup>38</sup> Even vision itself is suspect, for the natural imagination which is too closely controlled by the sensations threatens the integrity of revelation. Upon being told "Thy mind must be cast into a new mold of Imagination that so thy thoughts may come to answer mine," she cries out in her journal:

Oh my Lord, who can nullify and put a stop to  
his own thoughts, which is a connexion to his life.  
For every sight of the Eye, and hearing of the Ear,  
doth stir up and awaken these Essences; therefore  
there is no possibility of stopping the current of  
them...<sup>39</sup>

To this, Jesus speaks again, urging her to "prevent all occasions which administer such hard matter for such a muddy spring to generate itself into

such Multiplicities as generally fill the whole House of the Mind."<sup>40</sup> The tension between petty matters of life and the sublime reality she believes to be awaiting the mind once opened to invisible truth recurs in fantasy and dream. In the entry for August 20, 1677, she and a friend move from a thicket of wild and thorny briars past houses on a shore which are "overflown when the sea breaks in" onto a pleasant fenced space, safely located on higher ground, and from here she moves into another region, of globes and sparks and ethereal imagery. The conclusion she draws dichotomizes the bodily senses and spiritual vision:

Whereby it may be positively concluded, that the activity of the corporeal faculties are a great impediment to Divine Vision. Therefore taught I am whenever I would attain any thing of this kind that I must be slain to the exterior imaginarieness, and that an absolute death is very meet in this case. For thereby the Spirit of the Mind is made free to slide down into its own Abyss, from whence it was, before it came into Nature.<sup>41</sup>

In spite of her wariness of both her imaginative and rational faculties, Lead exhibits total trust in the authority divinely granted by her revelations and actively works out their metaphysical and theological implications by integrating them with what she finds in the Bible and other texts. She shows an interpretive freedom equal to that of the most radical modern feminist Christian theologians, prayerfully adoring as Goddess and Queen the co-essential creating power in the Deity which formed all things out of nothing and hath given a dignified existence to all. In the margin, she (or an editor) equates the power with Wisdom who is God's espoused Virgin. While Wisdom is clearly associated even in Hebrew scripture with the feminine principle, and envisioned in a female form in the most powerful moments of Jane Lead's encounters with the divine, it is also important to note that she sees the restoration of the lost Paradise as effected androgynously by the Virgin "who is not limited to male or female, for she may assume either according to her good pleasure, for she is both Male and Female, for Angelical Generation."<sup>42</sup>

The traditional masculine terms in which Lead talks about and with her Lord offset somewhat her Behmenistic emphasis upon the Goddess as prior to the Logos. Much of her journal records erotic devotion to Christ the bridegroom in imagery more characteristic of Catholic than Protestant spirituality, but even more shocking to most Christians would have been--and may still be--her mystical insistence on the immanence of divine wisdom and power within the human soul.

In the third volume of her journal, she records this clarifying answer to her complaint about her impotency to realize the co-operation and co-deification to which she has been called:

It is not looking or calling to God, as distinct from thy own Eternal Essence in God, that is to open his power through the regenerated Nature's properties so as the fulness of God may through Christ dwell in thee Bodily. Then shalt thou know what thy Power is and thy ability to go out withal, to act and do that which is the Perogative Royal of God in Nature

to perform. Only this now find thou out: So  
out of scruple and fear of Disappointment that  
thou delivered be...<sup>43</sup>

She notes that she knew "little of this...before," and now sees how she could find her "self to be a Particle of God, as Light in His Light, and to receive Power, Act, and Operation from that Invincible and Eternal Matter."<sup>44</sup> Two years earlier, in Revelation of Revelations, she had spoken in very similar terms of the necessity of an absolute trust in Christ as "contacting and coagulating with our soulish essence;" only through such a grasp of the intimacy of Christ in us can we recover our "unipotency," or our oneness with God's power. She then goes on to stress that we must understand the depth of Christ's earthly saying when he invited and called upon all to believe in him "as Co-essential with the Father, and thereby entrusted to all that power and sufficiency which can be called God's:"

...The Lord did not limit or shut up the Faith to his particular personality and appearance upon the Earth; for that was not to abide, but directed to the exerting forth our Faith to the `Lo I am` in whom there is no change to the end of all Worlds. He is now therefore to be believed in as introduced into our soulish Essence; for there he brings in the Globe-Eye, as the sure Groundwork for all the various operations of the Holy Ghost to act out the great magical powers from. Thus our Faith is directed to a God like Almightyness within ourselves. If we can but find the Incarnation of Christ, the Lord in us, we can have a sure and steady anchor for our Faith to hold by, and work out our freedom Magically, having somewhat of subtle pure Matter to work upon, we may go on forward to Projection.<sup>45</sup>

Some of her imagery of the unity of God and the soul seems far removed from mainstream Quaker thought, but these and other similar passages would doubtless have been of interest to those drawn into the George Keith controversy over the role of the historical Jesus in the life of faith. Much of Lead's imagery echoes characteristic passages from Quaker discourse, as when she speaks of Christians as called to be "planters of a new paradisaical earth," though she adds "through the magical operation of the Holy Ghost."<sup>46</sup> Her recurrent strain of magic and alchemy is less familiar, at least to a modern Quaker ear, than the naturalism of her imagery of the seed, both in the context of conception and birth and, as in the following examples, in the context of botanical growth:

In all men, an holy seed remains whereby they are in a possibility of recovery...yet because all have not an heart to improve this talent, it continues an unprofitable, dead seed to many. ...The seed through many deaths doth renew its never fading flower of life for a higher degree of glory.<sup>47</sup>

Like Quakers, Lead believed in perfectability whereby the "eternal root" which remained intact in man's soul after the fall could "put forth and spring afresh in more glorious beauty."<sup>48</sup> The famous passage about the ocean of darkness and the ocean of light from Fox's journal, as well as the characteristic Quaker use of Lamb's War and the peaceable Kingdom, are echoed almost uncannily in her exhortation to notice how two seas are at strife one with the others. "Turn your eyes inward, you who are the Lamb's warriors, and witness bear to these two seas meeting within the ground of Nature. "The Sea of the beast, containing great abundance of riches according to the perishable kind" is contrasted with the "mild and sweet temperature" of the glassy Sea from which the Lamb of God fills his vials. She writes experientially of this Ocean of Light: "And immediately I was all filled with Light from the opened Centre of the peaceable Kingdom that flows in as a Virtual Life, felt in the Quality of the pure glassy Sea,...as if all of the old Earth were now drowned in this bright Ocean, and followed by a Bright Star..."<sup>49</sup>

### III.

Although as we shall see, Lead was aware of Quakerism at least by the last decade of the century, and possibly much earlier, she did not open her heart to the exemplary lives many Friends led who suffered for the expression of their beliefs. In fact, the social testimonies for which Friends they were persecuted evoked the Philadelphian Society's disdain although their own form of worship stressed a similar reliance on silence and a trust in the divine empowerment of every heart to render acceptable ministry. This final section of our essay explores this resemblance between the two groups, and concludes with a sketch of the Sowles, a family of Quaker printers who published some of Lead's work, and of two Bromley brothers who provide a definite link between Friends, the Conway circle, and the Philadelphians.

Under Jane Lead's direction, but also under the co-leadership provided by Francis Lee after he became her secretary, the Philadelphian Society took on a public identity with statements about the reasons for their existence as a group and the procedures to be followed when they met together with all who cared to join them. Their Constitutions, published in 1697, exhort that "every one who Prays or Prophesies first wait in Silence to be filled with the sweet internal Breathing of the Divine Spirit upon their Soul, before they presume to break out into Words." Moreover, they maintained that the Spirit was not to be confined to any, and strangers were to be granted liberty, "if touched in their hearts by the Holy Ghost," to take up some portion of Scripture and read some Portion of them. They emphasize the reading of Scripture, with which the "Assembly should be opened," but they stress that the text should be expounded "Experimentally" and they also invite worshippers to "any otherwise declare the Movings and Teachings of God upon their souls." The sense of equality in the leadership roles assigned to worshippers under the leading of the Spirit was further specified to preclude sexual discrimination; none should "erect to themselves hereby such a Superiority as we esteem inconsistent with the Philadelphian Parity of Brethren and Sisters." Women are singled out as they are urged to "pray or prophesy...with all Sobriety and Modesty, to speak forth her own Experience, Sensation, or Manifestation in the Divine Matters" but the emphasis falls finally on the importance of nurturing all, regardless of gender or of stage of spiritual development, to move by degrees to a divinely inspired ministry:

Let not the Manifestation of the Spirit, which is given to everyone, whether Male or Female, to Profit and edify both themselves or others, be hindered in its Exercise though attended with Weakness; but rather let it be encouraged in the Inferior Degrees, that so by Patient Waiting upon the Inspirations of the Supreme Good,...the Weak may be at least made Strong in the Power and Might of the Holy Spirit: and all may advance forward, ...til (if possible) they shall come to speak as the very Oracles of God, without the Alloy of their own Natural and Creaturely Imperfections.<sup>50</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that the Philadelphia Society represented itself as subject to being confused by outsiders with the Society of Friends. In their 1697 tract, The State of the Philadelphian Society, one Philalethes reports that upon being asked how they differed from Quakers, he told the inquirer that "they were not so silly as to place religion in Thouing or Theeing, in keeping on their Hats, or in a sad countenance." The inquirer notwithstanding pursues the basic similarity, "Do they not agree with the Quakers as to the internal Principle of a Light within, and a private Spirit of Revelation or Inspiration?" To answer such persistent questioners, Philalethes asks for help, and in his response, the editor (probably Francis Lee) states that they do indeed agree with the Quakers regarding the inward light, but stresses that:

Though they are deeply sensible of great Corruptions and Deviations in most, or all, of the Christian Bodies, or Communities, from the Apostolical Rule, yet do not formally Dissent, or separate from such a particular Body, Community or Church in which they have before liv'd according to the best of their Light and Understanding: much less do they persuade others to Dissent from that Communion..., or advise them to Separate themselves upon this Account, or upon any other.<sup>51</sup>

It is possible, from the Philadelphian point of view expressed here, for one to be both a Philadelphian and a member of the Society of Friends, but it seems improbable that a Quaker could have felt free to affiliate formally with a group so conciliatory towards the Church of England and other churches. The Philadelphians apparently had no sympathy with the Quakers' calling to resist the social and religious customs sanctioned by the government, and Friends willing to wage the Lambs War even if it meant going to prison were probably unwelcome in their midst.

Yet if Friends were not likely to have directly participated in the meetings for worship of the Philadelphia Society, a prominent Friends printing firm gave significant assistance to its growth by publishing several of Jane Lead's

books. In 1683, she turned to Andrew Sowle to print her second book, and in 1695, to his successors in the family business to print two of her later works.<sup>52</sup> Andrew Sowle was a printer whose courage had been praised by the London Yearly Meeting in 1691; since 1673, when he had been appointed one of two official printers to the Quakers, he had been persecuted for his printing of Friends books. Despite his good standing with the Society, however, he had been more than once criticized by them as well for some of the works he had put into circulation.<sup>53</sup> Whether or not Jane Lead's Revelation of Revelations was one of those would be interesting to know. When he became ill in 1691, his wife Jane, and mainly his daughter Tace, took over the shop; in 1695 Jane Lead published two works under the daughter's imprint, T. Sowle. Tace was also criticized by the Friends for what she printed, but like her father, she (and eventually her husband Thomas Raylton) were generally recognized as leaders in the Society.<sup>54</sup>

It is worth noting that not only were the Sowles themselves evidently willing to stand firm, under pressure from the officials of the Society of Friends, for their right to choose the works to be published and circulated under their imprint, but they were linked by marriage to one of the most important trials in the American colonies concerning freedom of the press. Elizabeth Sowle, Tace's sister, married her father's apprentice, William Bradford, in 1685, who in that year went to Philadelphia to become the first Quaker printer in the colonies. By 1693, William Bradford had been forced to move because he had printed controversial writings of George Keith; the trial had led to a divided jury, but it was obvious he had no future among Friends in Philadelphia, and after moving to New York he eventually became an Anglican, as did most of the followers of Keith.<sup>55</sup> This part of the extended Sowles family's story is indirectly linked to the Conway circle, for before he went to America, George Keith was a visitor at Ragley, and Anne Conway's and Henry More's association with him strengthened some of the controversial views for which the Society of Friends later rejected him.<sup>56</sup>

The connection of William Bradford and George Keith with Jane Lead is tenuous but worth further exploration. Many of her works were printed by a J. Bradford, including a number of second editions; if this is the John Bradford who was brother to William the printer, and if he is also the J. Bradford who issued works by George Keith and others of his party (an identity that is problematic but others have noted as possible), then Jane Lead was published not only by the Quaker family firm of Sowles, but also by a relative of theirs through marriage.<sup>57</sup> It would still not be clear that John, William's brother, was himself a Quaker, since William Bradford was convinced as a Friend while serving as apprentice to Andrew Sowle. Conceivably, though, Jane Lead was referred to J. Bradford, a non-Quaker printer, by his Quaker brother's sister-in-law Tace Sowle, after she encountered disapproval by officials of the Society of Friends attempting at the outset of her career to exercise more control than they had managed over her father or, ultimately, would have over her.

As noted earlier, Conway could not have read Lead's published writings, and nothing proves she had even heard of her. We do know, however, that Conway probably would have heard of Dr. Pordage, an Anglican priest given to preaching Boehme's ideas from the pulpit; his forced departure from his Bradfield parish did not prevent his attracting followers such as Thomas Bromley whose affiliation with the Dr.'s household was described in a letter written 1667 from Henry Bromley, his brother, to Conway's companion, Mrs. Foxcroft, who might well have read the letter to her. The occasion of mentioning Thomas Bromley and Dr. Pordage is the Great Fire in London, and Henry notes that his brother had "with

the Dr. and the family with whom he most resideth" left the city before the disaster ("possibly warned by visionary phantasms," which Henry took a dim view of, noting they are "either delusory or uncertain in their meaning and interpretations"). Henry Bromley's reservations about this aspect of the group's religious life, did not discredit Thomas' spiritual standing. He credits Thomas with "a zealous and good intention in his associating himself with that family," and promises Conway's household companion that "when he comes into this country I will send him to wait upon you."<sup>58</sup>

From Nils Thune's study of the Philadelphian Society, we discover that Pordage did indeed in 1665 flee the plague, moving back to Bradfield, and in 1668 he returned, with Thomas Bromley, to London. Although it was not until 1674 that Jane Lead moved into the religious household of Pordage and his followers, we recall she stated that she had first met him in 1663 in London where he had a small congregation, and so she would almost certainly have personally known Thomas Bromley, who had first joined him in the early 1650s and lived with him since leaving Oxford in the early 60s.<sup>59</sup> At the end of the first volume of her journals, published in 1697, two "Testimonies" appear concerning the new dispensation, one by J.P. (who is clearly Dr. John Pordage, dead some sixteen years) and one by T.B., who was identified as Thomas Bromley by one early reader annotating his copy.<sup>60</sup> The basis for inferring Thomas Bromley's linking of Jane Lead to the Conway household is not firm, however, since even if this identification of T.B. turns out to be accurate, we still do not know when Thomas Bromley (who died in 1691) wrote this testimony on behalf of Jane Lead, nor whether he was in touch with the Conway household when he thus advocated her mystical teachings. The questions may be worthy of further research, since this connection of Pordage and his followers to the Conway household, through the Bromleys, is dramatically strengthened by a letter Thomas Bromley himself wrote to the Countess in 1672. Writing after a visit to Ragley, where Ann Conway appears to have made the same deep impression on him as she did on so many religiously and intellectually questing souls, he expresses his warmest admiration for her. He goes on to share his spiritual struggles and progress in words that echo Jane Lead's own idiom but may simply reflect Pordage's Behmenistic teachings rather than direct familiarity with her. Thomas notes he is content to be learning to "doe and be nothing, ...that through the death and divine stillness, the Beams of the morning starr might illustrate my heart." The occasion of this lesson seems to be a physical ailment, but it is also connected with a confession of slowed progress on the second part of a book he says he has "yet neither finished nor begun."<sup>61</sup>

From Henry Bromley's earlier (1667) letter describing his brother's university education, his scriptural learning, and his extensive theological library, we can infer that Thomas Bromley was invited by Conway to visit her at Ragley because of his interests in matters important to that circle. It is likely he would have known of Jane Lead's visionary encounter in 1670 with the Woman clothed with the sun, and thus he might well have spoken of this mystic's teachings while at Ragley as well as carried news of Anne Conway and her knowledge of Boehme to his spiritual household back in London.

It is not clear when Thomas Bromley first visited at Ragley, or how often he returned. In 1674, after a visit, Henry More commented in a letter that he had found "the Discourse of Mr. Bromley...handsome and useful."<sup>62</sup> Whether More referred here to Mr. Thomas Bromley who spoke in a Behmenist idiom is not clear, since not one, nor two, but three Bromley brothers were visitors at Ragley, although Henry Bromley had died in 1667. Further research in the sources from which M. Nicholson selected the letters she published as well as in Thomas Bromley's biography and writings might give the evidence necessary

to draw firmer conclusions about his connection to Jane Lead during the period of his friendship with Anne Conway.<sup>63</sup> Henry Bromley is credited by Nicholson with introducing Anne Conway to the Quakers;<sup>64</sup> the records of the Friends Meeting to which he belonged would also be worthy of research, for they might disclose that Thomas Bromley was involved with Quakers before he became a follower of Pordage. Scholars familiar with the publications of the early Friends, as well as their letters and journals, will have additional evidence to strengthen, and clarify, the connections between Quakers and the Philadelphian Society. In short, only further dialogue and research can clarify the range of responses made by early Friends to the visionary teachings of Jane Lead. Meanwhile, the modern renewal of interest in her writings allows her to be juxtaposed suggestively with Anne Conway, as an influential 17th century religious thinker whose work attests to women's achievements in that period and stimulates its readers to reflect afresh on the place and possibilities human beings have in the cosmos.

Notes

1. I owe my interest in Jane Lead to Catherine F. Smith's compelling introduction, "Jane Lead: The Feminist Mind and Art of a Seventeenth-Century Protestant Mystic," in Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions, eds. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1979), pp. 184-203. I am grateful, too, for her advice about access to primary sources in London. I owe thanks also to the librarians at Guilford College, Swarthmore College (Friends Historical Library), Duke University, Yale University (Beinecke Library), Harvard University (Houghton Library), and in London, the Friends Library, the Dr. Williams Library, and the British Library. Without the publication of the papers given at the Anne Conway Colloquium, I probably would not have pursued this study beyond the scope of one day's research at Harvard in the summer of 1984. Special thanks go to the Coordinator of Faculty Development and Women Studies at Guilford College who organized both the event and this edition of The Guilford Review, as well as to the Dean for financial assistance in buying microfilms, and to the secretarial staff for their patience in preparing the manuscript. I owe most to Mel Keiser, both for his encouragement and for his collaborative research and editing.
2. Smith, p. 196.
3. Carolyn Merchant, "Anne Conway: Quaker and Philosopher," The Guilford Review, No. 23, Spring 1986, p. 4.
4. Jane Lead, The Revelation of Revelations, Particularly as an Essay Towards the Unsealing, Opening, and Discovering the Seven Seals, the Seven Thunders, and the Jerusalem State... (London, 1683), pp. 105 & 106.
5. Catherine F. Smith, "Jane Lead: Mysticism and the Woman Cloathed with the Sun," Shakespeare's Sisters: Feminist Essays on Women Poets, eds. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1979), pp. 3-18. Smith gives the dates of Lead's husband's death (February 1670) and her first vision of the Woman (April 1670), and of her first book and Pordage's death (both in 1681).
6. Désirée Hurst, "The Riddle of John Pordage," The Jacob Boehme Society Quarterly, 1, no. 6, Winter 1953-54, pp. 5-15, and Nils Thune, The Behmenists and the Philadelphians (Uppsala, 1948), pp. 55-61.
7. Jane Lead, A Fountain of Gardens Watered by the River of Divine Pleasure and Springing Up in all Variety of Spiritual Plants... (London, 1697-1701) I. The advertisement begins: "Whereas some Things have been Scandalously set forth, and Printed under the Name of this Author to the Reproach of Truth..., it is thought fit for putting a Stop to such Impostures..., to give a Catalogue of the Books which the Author hath hitherto Published."
8. Lead, The Revelation, p. 102.
9. Smith, "Jane Lead: Mysticism...", pp. 4 & 8.
10. Lead, The Revelation, p. 104.

11. Thune, pp. 80 & 81.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 83.
14. Ibid., pp. 86, 90, & 97.
15. Ibid., p. 98.
16. Lead, A Fountain, I, p. 3.
17. Ibid., p. 333.
18. Ibid., pp. 470 & 477.
19. Smith, "Jane Lead: Mysticism," p. 18.
20. Lead, A Fountain, I.
21. Ibid., p. 333.
22. Ibid.
23. Lead, II., p. 172.
24. Ibid., I., p. 486.
25. Lead, II. p. 18.
26. Ibid., pp. 468 & 467.
27. Jane Lead, The Laws of Paradise, Given Forth by Wisdom to a Translated Spirit (London: 1695).
28. Ibid., and Lead, A Fountain, II., p. 179, and I., p. 484.
29. Lead, A Fountain, I., p. 492.
30. Ibid., II., pp. 119 & 121.
31. Ibid., pp. 133 & 134.
32. Ibid., III-2, p. 363.
33. Lead, The Revelation, p. 54.
34. Ibid., pp. 25 & 26.
35. Ibid., p. 5.
36. Ibid., pp. 9 & 10.
37. Ibid., p. 10.

38. Ibid., p. 21.
39. Lead, A Fountain, I., p. 334.
40. Ibid., pp. 335.
41. Lead, A Fountain, II., pp. 361-363.
42. Lead, The Revelation, p. 39. (Cf. p. 42 where the Virgin is "the eternal Goddess" and p. 45, where she is "the Pattern," "the Mirror," and addressed in prayer as "Great Goddess Queen of all Worlds.")
43. Lead, A Fountain, III-2, p. 367.
44. Ibid.
45. Lead, The Revelation, III-2, p. 367.
46. Ibid., p. 61.
47. Ibid., p. 9.
48. Ibid., p. 8.
49. Ibid., pp. 18-19. (Cf. Fox's "I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness. And in that also I saw the infinite love of God; and I had great openings," in George Fox, The Journal of George Fox, ed. John L. Nickalls (Religious Society of Friends: London, 1975), p. 19.)
50. Quote in Thune, pp. 91 & 92.
51. Quoted in Thune, p. 94.
52. Andrew Sowle's imprint (A. Sowle) appears on The Revelation in 1683. Tace Sowle's imprint (T. Sowle) appears on both The Laws of Paradise and The Wonders of God's Creation Manifested in 1695.
53. Herbert C. Standing, "The publishing of books by the early Friends" (typescript, 1968, in Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College), pp. 18 & 19.
54. Ibid., p. 20.
55. Ibid., pp. 25-27.
56. Marjorie Nicholson, Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends, 1642-1684 (Yale University Press: New Haven, Conn., 1930), pp. 407-409, 413-415, 417, 420, 424, & 431.
57. R. S. Mortimer, "Biographical Notices of Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books Up to 1750," p. 109, in Journal of Documentation, Vol. 3, No. 2, Sept. 1947, pp. 107-125.

58. Nicholson, pp. 278 & 279.
59. Thune, pp. 61 & 53-55.
60. Lead, A Fountain, I. p. 509, annotated: "probably Thomas Bromley."  
Yale University, Beinecke Library copy.
61. Nicholson, pp. 365-6.
62. Ibid., p. 388.
63. Thune, pp. 53 & 54, refers to "a relatively extensive biography" of  
Thomas Bromley appended to the 1692 edition of his "The Way to the Sabbath of  
Rest," his first book which was probably first published in 1678.
64. Nicholson, p. 278.

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# Guilford Review

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### **Editorial Board**

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This is a Sesquicentennial edition of the *Guilford Review*. While much of our celebration concentrates on Guilford's past we are looking toward the future. The contributors to this issue believe Guilford's past gives it strength to be open to its future. Its future beckons from its past. The contributors to this issue know Guilford well from many years of experience with it. I hope this edition will contribute to a discussion about Guilford's future.

Donald Millholland  
Editor



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## Traditions in Guilford's Future

by Alexander R. Stoesen

One must think about the future in terms of Guilford's past, and the search for traditions within the past.

The principal point of reference for me is the campus itself—the buildings and grounds which we see and use every day. Guilford has successfully maintained the integrity of its appearance over the past century better than most other colleges. Old grads coming back have seldom been jolted by new construction or misplaced buildings. Many of the buildings of the past were low cost and were subjected to much abuse but they have survived and, with improvements, have been put to new uses. Lewis Lyndon Hobbs said that at Guilford “there is no effort at display, everything is arranged for use and health.” This was the real campus tradition and it remains in the present as we have sought to preserve the best of the past and to improve on it. A good example is Cox Hall which Lewis Lyndon Hobbs said in 1914 “doesn't belong on this campus” and which his grandson Grimsley Hobbs called an “ugly duckling.” It has been transformed into an art building with the past preserved and the symmetry of the central quadrangle maintained. As for the future we will continue to look about the same except for the much needed addition to the library. I also believe we will continue to see the campus in terms of “use and health” and that the metal and glass structures which can be found at other places will never be present at Guilford.

Russell Pope expressed an opinion about the campus in 1937 in a poem titled “Centennial” which included these lines:

*For here no Gothic tower looms  
Upon the distant view,  
No gleaming belfry,  
White against the blue  
Of cloudless southern sky*

*No massive gates of bronze,  
No marbled colonnade;  
Only the simple word of “Friends”  
Catches the eye. Staid  
And serene you stand.*

While he might have overdone it a bit, Pope's point is well made and one anyone who has come to love Guilford can appreciate.

Another tradition is Quakerism, which I think of in terms of the belief in simplicity. Guilford has always been a place which cherished this ideal, although, as in all things, it has deviated from it or misunderstood it from time to time. There remains a basic simplicity in nearly every aspect of the College's life, although in some areas it seems more pronounced than in

others. Faculty meetings are one place where this occurs with their strict adherence to Quaker procedure, a time consuming process which can and has been abused, but in general has worked to assure that the decisions which are made are the right ones for Guilford. Here there is no elaborate parliamentary procedure or efforts to gather votes for some bitterly contested issue, only "friendly persuasion." Another aspect of simplicity is the general absence of the use of titles, and a fairly common practice of using first names. Guilford has never given an honorary degree, a fact that gives it an almost unique position among colleges. While this might hamper fundraising and bruise a few egos, to someone who has been on a faculty where such degrees are given, it is a welcome relief to be able to stick to the important issues in faculty meetings rather than the trivia of who should get an honorary degree. It is unlikely that these ways will change; they will remain one of the reasons for the College's strength.

Connected with the ideal of Quaker simplicity is the very Quakerly nature of the College itself. I believe that Quakerism pervades every aspect of the College, and that it is in the nature of Quakerism not to shout about itself or be a clanging cymbal, but rather to be quietly there making itself known through its spiritual and special qualities. In line with this I believe the times of hard feelings with the North Carolina Yearly Meeting are over, and that the future will be one with even stronger ties which will equal and possibly go beyond the past. The effort of the Yearly Meeting to control the College have long since been laid to rest. There is no reason to believe that Guilford will go the way of some other Quaker-related colleges which have in effect severed the connection. I don't mean to say that we would want to answer the question "Mirror, mirror on the wall which is the purest Quaker college of all?" in the first person singular, but it does seem to me that we have done a good job of retaining our heritage and now in seeking to create new ties through the development of greater understanding with the Yearly Meeting and Quakers in general.

Another part of the Guilford tradition is to be found in its curriculum. The effort here, for the past 100 years, has been to combine vocational and preprofessional courses with a sound liberal arts program. Any attempt to deviate from this pattern, and it has been tried, has been doomed to failure. The key has been to change with the times. Thus, in the 1890s the College sought to train people in surveying, bookkeeping, typing and even telegraphy. Later home economics would appear and music once had the largest number of faculty members of any department, but none of these exist as majors any more. Instead the College moved to develop strength in management, accounting and administration of justice all originally aimed at community service as well as helping to keep the College solvent. These programs continue to evolve as "administration of justice" has become "justice and policy studies" and the recently developed major in sports studies attracts many students. The key always has been to develop them within the context of the liberal arts, and so long as the College continues to find administrators and faculty who understand this it will remain

within the tradition of Guilford. As far as the future may be concerned, there would seem to be little doubt that the College will have to offer more opportunities for students to develop computer skills. By the year 2000 we may have "computers across the curriculum" as we now seek to have "writing across the curriculum."

Another aspect of simplicity at Guilford is the fact that we never have condoned the presence of fraternities or sororities. What takes their place at Guilford if this is the tradition elsewhere? In the past it was the five sections of Cox Hall which gave cohesiveness to small groups of men. Women experienced this in Founders and continue to enjoy it in Mary Hobbs Hall. But with the construction of larger and larger dorms, much of the old camaraderie is lost. Bringing sororities and fraternities to Guilford is about as unthinkable as an ROTC unit, and yet there is clearly a need to recreate this tradition. There are a number of new organizations which have formed in recent years to give students a sense of belonging, such as the North Carolina Student Legislature and the Websterian Prelaw Society, but these tend to be limited in membership to those with specific interests or ambitions. The future here, also, is constrained by the physical aspect of the dormitories. Obviously, this is an area in which a serious lapse in the memory of those who were charged with upholding the Guilford tradition has fallen short.

There is also a special tradition in the athletic program here at Guilford, which I see as remaining with us in the future. True, we have produced championship teams, All-Americans and professional players in the past, but our tradition in athletics rests squarely on a belief that athletics is only another part of the educational program of the College. It probably stems from the Quaker belief that one group or person should not be raised above another. Thus winning has never been as important as playing at Guilford. One can find many examples of the trustees' efforts to determine an athletic policy along these lines, and it always has boiled down to the idea that the players on Guilford's teams should be the students "who come to us in the natural course of events." Probably, if one studied the players on all of Guilford's teams right now, this would be overwhelmingly the case. Other aspects of the current program which fit the Guilford athletic tradition include the strength of the program for women, which is befitting to the College which hired one of the first women to teach physical education in the South, and the growth of the so-called "small ball" sports which enables many more students to make athletics a part of their educational experience. By the year 2000 I can see a further strengthening, but not necessarily an expansion of the athletic programs, which now have the advantage of the Ragan-Brown Field House to make them even more attractive.

Another tradition at Guilford has always been that students got "individual attention." There is absolutely nothing unique about this claim. It is made at places smaller and places much larger than Guilford. Nevertheless it is one of the points we have made since the origins of New

Garden Boarding School based on the Quaker ideal of individual worth. There were times in the past when it was impossible to carry this out because teachers had too many students and no offices in which to meet with them. Today the tradition has become a reality with the lower student faculty ratio and the fact that most professors have private offices. Even though the student body was small in the past, professors such as Algie Newlin could not recall much success in making good the claim to individual attention. Other aspects of this are being worked on, and I see the concept of individual attention in an even stronger position by the year 2000 than it is today, and certainly than it ever was in the past.

Another of the traditions is in the area of finance where the policies of the College have made it one of the soundest institutions in existence. The last year in which the College ran a deficit was 1944 in the midst of World War II when enrollments were so low as to cause some to wonder whether the College would survive. The Quaker term for all of this is "aversion to debt," a belief which can be good as well as bad. It could be that more debt in the past would have served the College well, but in the long run it seems to have made for the financial stability and strength of the present. Thus the Quaker attitude has made for a strong tradition of careful financial planning which has not failed in its intent in recent times. Given the difficulty of the managers of the current fund-raising effort to find truly large donors, I do not see any more large drives, but an effort to continue to strengthen the endowment and ongoing programs of the College with the annual giving campaigns. The tradition of financial solvency will continue and, barring some catastrophe of cataclysmic proportions, I can see no major financial problems facing the College.

Throughout most of the history of the College the student body came from North Carolina, with the majority of these from Guilford County. In the last 20 years this has changed to the point where about 60 percent of the student body is from out-of-state. While this has given the College a claim to a more "national" status, it has also created some tensions with those who have considered it a North Carolina institution—particularly the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The likelihood is that the current ratio will remain in the future with very little change, since the College must rely on recruitment from North Carolina, where it is well-known, and must also seek to demonstrate its service to its constituencies. Also to be considered is the fact that North Carolina residents receive a state tuition grant aimed at helping North Carolina students attend college and helping the colleges themselves. The main concern of the future, however, is not so much where the students come from as who they are. The most acute concern of the future will center on obtaining and keeping black students. At the present time many of the black students are closely connected with the athletic program, while only a few are here specifically for academics. It is the latter type that the College must seek in its recruiting programs. Obviously there are many problems connected with this which must be dealt with in the future, and one can only conclude that a major effort will have to be made

to provide scholarships to bring these students to Guilford.

Recruitment of faculty in the future will not center so much on percentage of Ph.D.'s or sex ratios, but rather on computer skills and the application of the traditional liberal arts disciplines to the practical. For instance, in history the future might well move in the direction of "public history" with courses which incorporate archival and museum training. With the Friends Historical Collection right on the campus this should be imminent. Also is the inevitable use of computers in courses. It is clearly a trend which cannot be ignored, since it would place us at a considerable disadvantage and Guilford has a tradition of remaining current. This does not mean learning programs or tests taken by computer so much as it does using prepared programs into which data may be inserted as the students seek to determine trends and reasons for change over time.

Obviously many faculty will wonder about the future of the salary scale at Guilford, but unless some unusual windfall should arrive, it will probably remain about where it is in the present—closely similar to national norms. The College simply has not been able to increase its endowment sufficiently to develop anything else. Also there probably will be little change in the way of additional fringe benefits. The current three-course load (don't let this secret out) will remain and committee service will be about the same. The interest of faculty in serving as advisors to student organizations may rise as the organizations become more directly focused on the vocational interests of students and hence have increased student attendance.

In spite of some of the problems of the present in the area of student involvement, especially in publications, there is a tradition here which we would do well to build upon. The *Guilford Collegian*, the principal publication of the College from 1889 to 1914, was a well-edited bimonthly. It was followed by the *Guilfordian* which reached its peak in the 1920s and 1930s and had some good moments in the late 1960s. Other publications such as *The Biophile Bulletin*, *Womensprouts*, and the like have come and gone. The future of student publications must necessarily rest with the students. The faculty and staff cannot produce them, but only can offer encouragement and advice. Until there is sufficient student interest there is only hope.

I believe that an understanding of our future is closely related to all that has occurred in Guilford's past. Our physical appearance will change little and this is a strength. Our curriculum will continue to remain abreast of trends such as the integration of high tech while its center will always be the liberal arts. Our financial integrity will continue as the bedrock of our strength. The size and nature of the student body will remain about the same, although we may compete harder for minority students. We will continue to be concerned about the individual student and do a better job of providing the attention we promise. The students will probably solve the problems related to publications as they have in the past. Finally, there will be a continued strengthening of the relationship between the North Carolina Yearly Meeting and Guilford College to the mutual benefit of all.

## Guilford College in Postmodern Times

by Donald Millholland

Postmodernism is a term that is used to describe the time in which we now live. Evidence of this is seen everywhere. It can be seen most visibly in architecture. Everyone knows what modern architecture looks like. We can see the tall sterile steel and glass skyscrapers devoid of ornamentation in our large cities. Now a change has taken place. Architectural postmodernism rejects the sterility of modernism and introduces references to pre-modern styles which alters the look of buildings. The trend is to soften lines and humanize them. This is true of the new AT&T building in New York City. More such buildings are planned. We have had modern art, modern dance movements and now postmodern art which is more representational and more accessible to a larger public, and postmodern dance which merges the high art of dance with popular traditions. A recent book *The Postmodern Moment* (1985) discusses the extent of postmodern influence on present day art, architecture, dance, film, literature, music, photography and theater.

In another recent book *Has Modernism Failed?* (1984) Suzi Gablic answers in the affirmative. Modernism can be characterized by individualism, secularism and scepticism. Gablic argues against art for art's sake which was the view of the modern artist who was not concerned to relate to a public that did not understand him. She argues for artists who have social awareness and social responsibility and hopes in the post-modern era we will develop an ethics all can respect.

This individualism, scepticism and secularism came from the modernist identification of thinking with mathematical logic and reality with materialism. Truth was defined as the correspondence of the idea with the material thing. Martin Heidegger maintained in his later period that mathematical logical thinking (calculating thinking) had come to an end (fulfillment) in the computer. Reality as it is in itself is unknowable in any explicit sense, it is mediated through our various interpretations of it, but since it is mediated through words it remains hidden in part.

We cannot compare our interpretations of it with it as it is in itself. Heidegger defines truth as in Pre-Socratic Greece as *aletheia* or unveiledness. We might call this revelation. How is nature revealed? It is revealed in poetry, physics, philosophy, etc., but no one of them is more definitive than another, although he gave more weight to the poetic to indicate the mystery and to keep us from reducing nature to the mere material, physical or objective.

In *The Tao of Modern Physics* (1978, 1982), Fritjof Capra shows that modern physics has abandoned positivism and materialism and is coming closer to Eastern Mysticism. Theodore Roszak's book *The Cult of Information* (1986) also makes the point that calculative thinking has come to an end in the computer revolution and we must develop a new way of thinking if we are to come up with great and creative ideas to meet the moral

crisis of modern technology. In the past great thoughts did not come from calculative thinking. The computer will not solve our moral problems.

These thoughts are echoed in another new book *Descartes Dream* (1986). This dream was the mathematization of all knowledge. Davis and Hersh argue that *Descartes Dream* has been realized and the danger is that in the areas of life that matter most to us, human relations, culture, etc., mathematics has no answers. The authors suggest a return to Vico who lived about the time of Descartes but rejected his attempt to mathematize everything and stressed the historical and cultural dimensions of humanity. In *The New Story of Science* (1984) Augros and Stancu argue that the old story based upon Newton's Universe has been shattered by the New Story which rejects the materialism of the old account of the Universe for a more spiritual intellectual story in which mind is a part of the reality to be studied and even affects the reality it tries to study.

These major works from important publishing houses suggest that postmodern thought is a major movement. The Modern Era will soon appear to be an aberration in the history of thought and perhaps a new renaissance is at hand.

Postmodern thought deconstructs the past, Heidegger finds past thinkers neglected the Mystery of Being and Jacques Derrida believes past thinkers were logocentric, that is they were looking for an explicit absolute, the presence of which would explain all. Postmodernists like Derrida believe we must give up the quest for an absolute. Heidegger, for example, believed that Being could never be made explicit. Our interpretations both reveal and hide, even contradict and so for Derrida the reality of a literary text or even nature is undecidable.

Oddly enough this formal deconstruction comes up with some basic values. Toleration because no one interpretation will explain it all, democracy because no one is absolute and no sex is dominant. Deconstructionists are anti-Hierarchical as well as anti-realistic and pluralistic. Postmodern physics shows the interrelatedness of all persons and things and postmodern art, and psychology avoids concentration on the individual and is concerned with the relationships of human beings with one another. Postmodernism is holistic in terms of health and environmental studies. There is also a keen social concern. All of these are solidly based values in Postmodern thought.

Is any interpretation of reality or of a text as good as any other? Some postmoderns tend toward a pragmatic test. Some interpretations are more revealing than others and suggest further development. Experimentation is important. Others depend upon a consensus of agreement by the culturally committed.

This is still a rapidly developing movement. How well will Guilford College prepare its students for this postmodern era? Its Quaker heritage helps the values of consensus, moral and social concern, toleration, democratic, anti-hierarchy and group mysticism. All contribute to helping students be aware of pre-modern values which are also postmodern. In the various

academic disciplines, and in our curriculum we may need to make changes if we are to get in line with postmodern thinking.

Many academics have spent years studying in the modern era and are not yet ready to change and many are not aware of what is happening. However at Guilford this is less true than it would be in other academic institutions. This is not however the latest fad or radical chic movement. It is the beginning of a new era and it may be the beginning of the 21st century.

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Selected Postmodern Books

- Robert Augros and George N. Stancu, *The New Story of Science*, Bantam Books, 1986.  
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Philip Davis & Reuben Hersh, *Descartes Dream*, Harcourt Brace, 1986.  
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Stanley Tractenberg, *The Postmodern Moment*, Greenwood Press, 1985

## Guilford as a Quaker College in the Year 2000

by Damon D. Hickey

When I volunteered to lead a faculty colloquium on Guilford as a Quaker college in the year 2000, it was because of a concern about the relationship of the College to the Quaker community, specifically in North Carolina. That relationship is steadily improving. Guilford, like many church-related colleges, went through a difficult period of church-college relations in the 1960s, as politics and lifestyles diverged. Now, however, thanks in large measure to the work of William Rogers, Binford Farlow, Judith Harvey and others, North Carolina Quakers view Guilford with greater trust and pride. Still we have a long way to go.

Two statements from the past highlight my concern. One comes from 150 years ago, when a committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends was seeking funds to start this institution:

*We believe that the Christian and literary education of our children consistent with the simplicity of our religious profession (is) of very deep interest if not of paramount importance in supporting the various testimonies that we profess to bear to the world, and even to the very existence and continuance of our Society.*

The clear purpose of New Garden Boarding School was to build up the Religious Society of Friends in North Carolina.

The second quotation is from roughly 100 years ago, from Francis King of Baltimore, who did more than anyone else after the Civil War to save North Carolina Quakerism and this school from extinction, by channeling funds and expertise into a school system, modern agriculture and evangelism among North Carolina Friends. King wrote,

*We are building up a Church in the South and now that freedom is there we want our Friends to be pioneers in the new order of things temporally as well as spiritually.*

At the time, New Garden Boarding School was almost ready to close its doors. Virtually all the Quakers had left the immediate community. New Garden Meeting was nearly defunct. And what was really needed to cap off the new Quaker school system was a high school and college. King's "Friendly persuasion" finally resulted in the yearly meeting's taking the step of upgrading the boarding school, first to a high school, and then to a college (which would have been named Francis King College if King had not objected). The point was to equip Quakers for leadership roles in the larger society, "temporally as well as spiritually."

Today fewer than 10 percent of our students are Friends, and even fewer are North Carolina Friends. The majority of Friends pastors in the state are

not Guilford graduates, or graduates of any other Friends school. And if the in-state Quaker community views us with a mixture of admiration, cautious trust, and a little suspicion, we are largely unaware of it—and, I suspect, more than a little suspicious of it. To me the most significant difference from the 1830s or the 1880s is that the Friends Center of the 1980s has had to convince the faculty that Quaker programming is a valid enterprise for the College, and has had to persuade the faculty to support it. Even at that, the director of the center must raise one-half of her salary and program budget from sources outside the College. Clearly it is no longer our primary purpose as a college to build up the Religious Society of Friends in North Carolina. I hope that it is at least our secondary purpose.

But what about our own Quaker identity? Will Guilford be a Quaker college in the year 2000? How will we know? Does it make any difference? When I convened some potential panelists to present this colloquium, they suggested these as the focus questions. And they suggested, wisely I believe, that this should be a community discussion, not the opinions of one person or even of four or five people. What follows is therefore a distillation of the opinions of those who participated in an open discussion on February 26, 1986.

We began with the second question, "How will we know?" In other words, "What do we mean by a Quaker college?" Unless we could answer that question, we could not even know whether we are a Quaker college now. Participants in the colloquium discussion felt that Guilford's Quaker identity does have a *distinct impact on curriculum*, including the issues chosen for the Interdisciplinary Studies course, the College's international and intercultural emphasis, the administration of justice program, and the choice of concentrations offered to students, including democratic management, peace and justice, intercultural studies and women's studies.

Clearly distinctive throughout the College is the *use of Quaker business procedure* to make decisions.

Guilford's Quakerliness affects the *quality of relationships* and the *sense of community*. Particularly striking is the degree of networking, in which a large number of students and faculty know one another personally, in several courses, throughout the entire college experience and beyond graduation. There is also a strong sense of the equality of persons reflected in how teachers teach, as fellow searchers with students. There is an effort to help students and everyone to find their own voices and to speak out of their own experiences.

The history of *interrelationships of Quakers with the College*, referred to above, is seen still as shaping the College today, both in its management style and in many subtle ways.

Guilford is seen as a Quaker college in its *avoidance of proselytizing*, in our *continuing to ask who we are*, in the College's *diversity*, in the *distinctive quality of the faculty*, in *respect for the individual and support for academic freedom*, and in an *unspoken commitment to parenting the soul*.

*Silence* is seen as a critical factor—in faculty meetings, in some classes and student activities, and in a willingness by faculty to wait and see movement in their students.

The College's Quaker identity is seen in the high degree of *collaboration* among faculty. Guilford's identity as a Quaker college is also shaped by the *expectation by those outside the College that Guilford is distinctive*. Part of the way Guilford fulfills this expectation is through its *dynamic of being in the mainstream and also an alternative*. It also displays a *dynamic quality of re-knowing, without being wedded to a form*. Similarly it is marked by a tendency toward *conservation, with the ability to change*.

Not all the Quakerly qualities of the College were seen as wholly positive. *The Quaker-dominated governing board* was seen as possibly a fiscal minus. *The slowness of the Quaker process* was cited for its contribution to administrative frustration and faculty overwork. *Models are sometimes seen as something to exercise oneself against*, rather than as useful tools. "Straight talk" can be both a virtue and a problem. *Quaker perfectionism related to all of life* can be exhausting. *The limits of equality are not always seen*. There is a distinct *bias toward unprogrammed remarks* and against prepared speeches. Sometimes there is a *high tolerance of ambiguity*, for better or worse. Guilford makes it *hard to fail*, a mixed blessing. *The Quaker process can be manipulated and misused*.

Those present were then asked in what ways they would like to see Guilford be more of a Quaker college. It was strongly felt that there should be an even greater *diversity of student population*, particularly ethnically, economically and socially. More stress should be placed on the *leadership of women*. A better *orientation to the Quaker tradition* is needed. *Community life* should be strengthened. A greater degree of *sobriety* is needed among the students. Institutional attention is needed to *maintain a body of interpreters of the Quaker tradition*. There should be *less reticence to bring conflict into the open*. Some desire was felt for a *Quaker meetinghouse on campus*, and possibly for *college-wide meetings for worship*. *All staff should have the opportunity to be part of the community and to attend community events*. *Improved listening skills* are needed, along with the *recognition of unspoken consensus* when it exists.

Had we had more time, we could have asked which of the elements that make Guilford a Quaker college are being strengthened and which were being weakened. Then, had we ordered these elements in terms of their relative importance, we might have been able to approach an answer to the question, "Will Guilford be a Quaker college in the year 2000?" Assuming that it does make a difference, we could have concluded by outlining ways in which we might strengthen the factors that make us most Quakerly.

In my own view, a Quaker anything is constantly in the process of seeking Truth. A Quaker college, then, is a *community of seekers of Truth*. (That is also what a Quaker meeting is. When one "joins" a Quaker college one makes a commitment to this community definition whether or not one is a Quaker in a formal, religious sense.) Another way to put it is that a Quaker

college is a *community seeking Truth*, emphasizing the community in its corporate seeking, not just that of its individual members. Part of this Truth is the Truth of the community itself. A community that is seeking Truth must, therefore, seek its own Truth, the Truth that it is about. We seek this Truth in many ways: through trustee and faculty and community senate and administrative council meetings, where we say who we are by making decisions about institutional policy. We seek it in our Self-Study process every decade. We sought it throughout the academic year 1985-86 in the faculty colloquium that addressed what Guilford will be in the year 2000. As we asked ourselves "What is a Quaker college? Are we one? Do we care?" we were being a Quaker college and showing that we did indeed care.

But those who discussed these issues were only a small percentage of the College community, and what we did was not an institutional process. I wish there were more corporate seeking. For centuries Quakers have used as a guide, individually and corporately, a unique device known as the Queries. Each Friends meeting, traditionally, responded to a set of Queries that asked searching questions about its life. The Queries also implied a standard of conduct by which the meeting could measure itself. Could Guilford develop such a set of Queries to answer from time to time, Queries for trustees, community senate, administration, faculty, alumni board and all of us together? It is a time whose idea, I hope, has finally come.

## Symposium Talk — Guilford 2000

by Samuel Schuman

### I.

I have been delighted and stimulated by the thoughtfulness and insight of the symposium talks thus far this semester, and am looking forward to the continuation of this series next term. It has struck me that this sort of long-range thinking is often in many ways more productive than the conventional program of drafting rather narrow departmental plans. The conversations thus far in the symposium have ranged from quite abstract perspectives to highly particularized ones. My remarks will fall towards the more concrete pole of that spectrum, although I will allow myself a few excursions into the more ethereal realms of speculation as well. My text today is this fairly complex and rather important question: Will private colleges like Guilford—and Guilford College particularly—survive into the 21st century; if so, how, why, and in what form? I am going to try to say a few things which are deliberately provocative or controversial, and in so doing will probably overstate my own case occasionally. I may also approach—or, indeed, cross over—the boundary which separates the permissible from the offensive, the skeptical from the sacrilegious. I want to stress that I am not just preaching to the converted, but as one of the converts myself. What I say about small private colleges is offered in affection and respect, even if it seems at times a bit harsh! I think that our collective survival will be based upon a mixture of idealism and—occasionally—uncompromising realism, and today strikes me as a good occasion for the realism. Finally, let me be very, very clear that I am not attacking Guilford College particularly, nor expressing any disillusionment with this institution. Indeed, I think it is only the strong colleges, like Guilford, which we will see in the next decade having the nerve and foresight to raise questions about themselves. The weaker institutions will remain self-congratulatory until there is nothing left to be congratulatory about.

### II.

One of the themes of several of our symposium talks has been that of the increasingly competitive marketplace in which Guilford College (and similar institutions) finds itself. Perhaps I should digress a moment to be explicit about what I mean when I keep saying “similar institutions” or “schools like Guilford College.” I mean this: private, small (less than 2,500 students?), coeducational traditional liberal arts colleges of moderate endowment (between five and 25 million dollars—remember that one only spends some five percent income from those impressive funds) and moderate selectivity. By “moderate selectivity” I mean being in a situation in which a significant number of applicants for admission may be rejected

with the institution remaining full, but where that margin is sufficiently thin so that the institution is not turning away significantly higher numbers of students than it is admitting. (If I may be blunt, if the average liberal arts college gets a grade of "C," and the nation's top half-dozen merit "A's," I'm talking about the "B" institutions.)

To return to the competitive marketplace in which we and other such institutions find ourselves, then: It is crystal clear that American higher education finds itself in a situation in which the supply—schools—is increasing dramatically, while demand—students—is not (to use the jargon of the gray science). My talk today is going to focus upon that competition, because I firmly believe that unless we win it, or at least emerge with a "tie," we won't be here much after the year 2000, and any further discussion is pointless.

The clientel for higher education—postsecondary, beyond high school instruction—is not growing very rapidly. The population of Americans reaching the age of 18 is declining, and will continue to do so for each year for the next half-dozen years or so, at which point it will begin to climb, but very slowly. There is some increase in interest in college/university level educational opportunities from nontraditional age groups, and these individuals are very modestly offsetting part of the demographic decline in the 18- to 22-year-old population. However, strategic planners considering the higher education scene are remarking that this trend will be leveling off, as the backlog of such individuals has just about disappeared. Basically, then we are in what could be realistically called a "steady state" in the real numbers of consumers of college educations—students.

But simultaneously, the past two decades have seen a growth in the vendors of higher education which can only be called "explosive." I honestly believe we have not yet taken a realistic look at the full dimensions of that growth. Here are some of the factors which have contributed to it:

1. Public baccalaureate and comprehensive graduate institutions are springing up like mushrooms. In many states, new public institutions are still in the process of formation. In many more, institutions which have traditionally been small and/or unidimensional have developed into viable alternatives for the student seeking a liberal arts degree. Little teachers colleges are becoming branches of state universities with student populations of 15,000. I did a consulting job at the College of Charleston recently. A decade ago that institution was a struggling private school of less than 500 students. In a period of a half-dozen years it became part of a state-supported system and grew to 5,000 pupils; in my 1981 edition of Cass and Birnbaum's *Comparative Guide to American Colleges*—a guide which was not yet published when I first came to Guilford College—the full-time student population of the University of North Carolina at Asheville was 1,010. By the fall of 1984 it was 2,700: UNC-A grew by about a Guilford College and a half. The cost of attending such institutions tends to run about 10 percent of the cost of attending Guilford College. The current

comparison between UNCG and Guilford is (1985 single semester tuition for 12 + credits): UNCG: \$240; Guilford: \$2,740.

2. Growing even faster than public four-year institutions are public two-year schools—technical colleges, community colleges, junior colleges, vocational/technical institutes—the terminology varies from state to state; but the unvarying fact nationally is that institutions which did not exist 10 or 15 years ago are now 10 times the size of Guilford College! There are currently 24 community colleges and 34 technical institutes funded by the State of North Carolina. Compared to some states like Florida, California and Michigan, our system is a modest one! It is sobering to note that, given a steady student population, every GTCC or Davidson County Community College with an enrollment of, say 5,000 students (about the current FTE student body size of GTCC, by the way) is displacing the equivalent of five Lenoir-Rhynes! The current single semester tuition at GTCC is \$51—about 1/54th of ours!

An amusing way to think about the price differentials which I read on the airplane last night: It costs a student roughly \$16 to attend my lecture on Elizabethan theaters at Guilford; that same lecture runs about \$1.50 at UNCG; it is being peddled for about a quarter—\$.25 at GTCC. Of course, a truly enterprising student could find out about the Globe and the King's Men for nothing at the public library!

3. We tend to forget that proprietary postsecondary schools exist, but students (and some heavy profit-makers) don't. Companies like Bell and Howell are getting into the proprietary business school market. (Does my continued talk of "markets," "marketing," and "marketplace" bother you as much as it does me? These are, unfortunately, the right words!) Here in Greensboro, we have such a school (Rutledge College) which is one of a chain of George Shinn-owned institutions, awarding state-certified two-year degrees in about five areas, at about half the cost of Guilford's continuing education credits. Mr. Shinn owns a network of colleges throughout North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and the Southeast. He's the chap you may have heard of who wants to bring professional football to Charlotte. Students who might otherwise have considered Guilford College are financing that dream! Most such schools claim (in my opinion, not very accurately) that they place all their graduates in appropriate professional positions—a rather powerful recruiting incentive these days.

4. Let me call to your attention the fastest-growing, but probably least visible, segment of the after high school education biz: corporate post-secondary instruction. More and more companies are reducing or eliminating their traditional reliance upon formal, independent, colleges or universities, for all or part of their employees education, and taking on the job themselves. I have read that today more individuals are involved in post high school formal instruction within a corporate setting than in traditional colleges and universities. I expect this segment of the education industry to continue its dynamic expansion for a considerable time to come.

5. Although this is not the focus of my talk, I can't forget to mention our

competition from other schools like us. Every so often it seems to me that we are a touch complacent about our relative position in comparison to small, North Carolina, coed, private liberal arts colleges. As an antidote to any such germs of complacency, let me note that two of our local sister institutions had this past fall the largest freshman classes in their histories, and managed simultaneously to raise the average entering cumulative SAT scores of those classes dramatically. Those two institutions are St. Andrew's College in Laurinburg (which has a combined tuition and fee cost of \$85 more than Guilford this year and where the entering class cumulative SAT scores are statistically indistinguishable from ours) and Elon College (which charges \$2,200 less for tuition and fees than we do). It should not come as a surprise to observe that both those schools are rather aggressively recruiting the same students we are.

In sum, to describe the environment in which we find ourselves as "competitive" strikes me as akin to describing the atmosphere of the Olympic games as "sporty."

### III.

What will it take to thrive—or *survive*—in such a marketplace. I believe that common sense suggests two things. First, we must distinguish what it is we are and what we are doing—the product we are selling—from that of our competitors (by which I mean both other sorts of institutions competing with our sort of institution, and competing institutions of our type). Second, we must make a convincing case that our product—our service—our *education*—is worth the cost differential from that of our competition.

Let me ask, then, a very simple question, one we have all answered countless times, and heard answered even more often. The question: How is a Guilford College education different from one offered in the public sector? What can and do we do different from Chapel Hill, UNCG or GTCC? Perhaps this is the time to remind all of you of my initial pledge of loyalty. I am not about to suggest that large universities are better learning places than small colleges. I don't want to work in a large university; I like what we do better. But, of course, that doesn't mean that everything we do is automatically better than everything they do.

Playing today the role of "Devil's advocate," I want to raise some questions about the total veracity of our traditional answers to questions about the differences between public and private colleges. I think that most of what we say is mostly true. But I also confess that I am not always convinced we are telling the whole truth—either about ourselves, or the other colleges and schools, or both. Is it possible that we are sometimes responding almost ritualistically to these issues, that our replies to questioning students, parents, legislators are a bit too slick?

For example, one truism, dear to the hearts of admissions counselors, is: At Guilford (or similar schools), you'll be taught by "real" teachers—no

graduate assistants or TA's here. Two fallacies: first, I am not at all sure that graduate assistants and TA's don't provide a rather high quality of instruction, given half a chance to do so. Second, and more embarrassing, if by "real teachers" we mean full-time, continuing instructional personnel, I am afraid Guilford isn't exactly pure: Lee Johnson recently told me that the English Department here, for example, had courses being taught by 21 individuals—eight of whom are full-time continuing members of the English Department. We have an entire program—English 110—into which about a third of our freshmen are consigned for developmental composition work—staffed entirely by part-time teachers. A few other departments are faced with similar situations, most are a bit less dependent upon part-timers, almost none are totally self-reliant in this regard. I would guess that it is a rare Guilford student—freshman to senior—who does not take at least one class per year from a part-time instructor (most of whom are, in fact, graduate students or at least without the appropriate terminal credential in their area). Even more radically, I would suspect that every semester there are a very few students who have *all* their classes from non-full-time continuing faculty members. In sum, while a greater proportion of our undergraduate classes are taught by "real" teachers than at, say Chapel Hill, I suspect that this truism is felt considerably more keenly by those of us selling Guilford than by our consuming public. The difference between, say, having two courses taught by part-time grad students per year and three has statistical significance, but it doesn't really feel very different to a student. By the way, I also suspect we supervise, evaluate and mentor those part-time teachers much less systematically than the better large schools. I'll be quite surprised if this issue doesn't interest our self-study evaluation team, by the way.

Secondly, I would like to suggest that the well-nigh universal truism, that classes at a small college are smaller than at a large university, may be becoming (to quote Hamlet) a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance. True, a Guilford freshman will never have a class of 300 students (except IDS 101, which probably feels to a student very much like a large lecture course with smaller discussion sections—a very common university pattern). Certainly a student here will not, as was the case at the University of Maine, have a freshman biology course of 1,500 students! But we underestimate the universities. For the past two decades, the good, large universities have made a substantial effort to deal with the problem of classroom impersonality. That 1,500 person freshman biology class at JMO had a very highly personalized series of labs and discussion sections, with better student/teacher ratios than our freshman biology courses. I don't mean to denigrate our record in this area, nor to praise unduly that of the universities. Our average class size has been shrinking significantly since the last self-study. Conversely, I suspect that there are still many undergraduate students at reputable large universities who would not be known personally by any professor, in any given semester. Nonetheless, we might do well to spend a week going to classes, labs, and the like with

representative students at Wake Forest, Duke, Vanderbilt, U. VA or Chapel Hill before we assume we are peddling the only small classes in town!

Finally, and most radically, I want to suggest with the utmost timidity that I have some suspicions about our most revered self-description as an institution devoted to excellence in teaching. This is a claim I make all the time, and most of the time, I believe it. Our review process certainly focuses upon classroom performance to an unheard-of degree, for example. Still, to be brutally blunt, I'll bet every person in this room could name a half dozen or so individuals currently teaching full time, in continuing positions, at Guilford College who are, by any standard whatsoever, bad teachers. I would not be prepared to say with any confidence at all that I would be ready to match the pedagogical effectiveness of every single Guilford teacher with each and every instructor from Chapel Hill—or from GTCC, either. I am persuaded that the best teachers from those institutions are much better than our worst. I'm sure our proportion of excellence is higher. But in the experiential world of the student body so much depends upon luck, upon departmental interests, choice of major and minor, and the like, that I am absolutely sure there are individuals who graduate from public institutions having been taught as well or better than students who graduate from here.

Let me repeat very clearly one more time that I am not really suggesting that the three truisms I have commented upon are false—just that they are questionable, subject to question. I don't believe it is uncategorically true that Guilford classes are taught by regular, full-time teachers as opposed to part-time and graduate instructors, I don't believe it is in every case true that our classes are smaller than at larger schools, and I don't believe it is always true that the quality of our teaching is higher than that of all competing institutions, even those much much cheaper.

Some of these things we can work to change—and we should. We can strive to improve the quality of our teaching, reduce our dependence upon irregular instruction, keep class sizes small. Other things, though, are absolutely beyond our control: I don't see that we are in any position to stop a university from personalizing and humanizing some of its class sizes, some of the time. Finally, some of these issues present us with very tricky options. When we go from three to eight annual study leaves between 1980 and 1985, for example, we may be developing many more members of our faculty to do a better job in the classroom, but by adding five leaves per year we are creating from 15 to 30 classes which need to be staffed—mostly by part-time teachers!

#### IV.

I think I've used up my heresy quota for the day! So far, I've adhered to my subtitle by talking about the "myth of small is better" employing the word "myth" to mean "fiction" or "lie," as in "the owner of this weapon

claims it to be Daniel Boone's flintlock, but careful research demonstrates that's a myth." But just as "fiction" can, if artfully manipulated, use a peculiar kind of "lie" to tell important truths, "myth" need not mean "prevarication." Indeed, to a student of literature, a "myth" is a story which points with a unique directness to the deepest values, fears and preoccupations of a culture. The "mythos" of a people is its pattern of values, figured forth in art. I want to devote the remainder of this talk not to questionable myths of our superficial image, but the deeper mythos of our community. What is our "story?" Our true story, the one which tells us who we are and what we do.

Let's now look at a slightly different list of somewhat less commonly cited factors which differentiate small, selective liberal arts colleges from other types of postsecondary educational institutions. What are some of the strengths we have, but fail sometimes to see and articulate as important competitive factors within the Darwinian world of higher education?

1. At Guilford (and similar colleges) faculty members and students (although the difference is less striking among students) talk, all the time, across disciplines. When I taught at Northwestern University my "faculty colleagues" were teachers of Renaissance literature within the English Department. My department had over 75 full-time professors, over 100 teaching graduate students—it was about twice the size of Guilford's entire faculty. In contrast, there is an inevitable level of intellectual cross-fertilization which goes on at a place like this which is invaluable in the teaching and learning enterprise. This is a characteristic to be treasured, preserved and cultivated. This very occasion is an example of just that sort of conversation, by the way.

2. Here, virtually all students will have some of the same faculty members for multiple classes. I think it is remarkably important that teachers come to know students in a developmental context—that we see them as entering freshmen, graduating seniors, and at several stops in between. Such an exposure gives a whole added dimension to the learning process which is generally totally lacking in larger institutions.

3. At Guilford's type of college, students and faculty members have a much much better chance of getting to know each other in different, less stereotyped roles, than at other kinds of colleges and universities. We see each other as basketball players, as fellow members of the choir, acting together in college plays, joining to work for important social causes, and the like. Again, I contend this is an important and wholly different level which can add significantly to the teaching and learning process.

4. For better or worse, there is a kind of cohesiveness, if not community, when, in many real ways, we all know each other. At Guilford College, the chief academic officer (and the chief executive, too) knows every single faculty member. Most every faculty member knows most every faculty member; most students know a healthy proportion of the student body. Most students can identify a majority of the faculty, many of the faculty can probably identify a very sizeable proportion of the student population.

I believe this makes a real qualitative difference in what we can do for each other. For example, the network of potential cross-references here is actually much larger than at a place where there may be literally a dozen times as many people. If a student goes to any member of the faculty and asks who could suggest some good running routes around campus, that student will get an answer. A biologist can recommend an English professor to help with a literary question; an accountant could direct a student to a math tutor, etc.

5. Smallness is access, I recently heard the president of Centre College of Kentucky affirm, correctly, I believe. It is access to facilities like libraries, computers and gyms; it is access to people like teachers and counselors and college presidents; it is access to institutional *time*. It would be interesting to compare the proportionate amounts of time spent by, say, a Guilford student and one at N.C. State in a) waiting in line to do something (register, talk with a professor, check a book out of the library, sit down at a computer) and b) actually doing it. I would be willing to wager that at Guilford there would be far less time waiting, far more time doing.

6. Finally, and a bit less concretely, I would like to suggest that there seems to me to be some way in which small colleges, Guilford very much among them, serve to preserve, nurture and cultivate the tradition of teaching. By our explicit focus upon classroom work as the very core of our institutional mission, we elevate what happens between teacher and student to the central place in our collective consciousness. In an odd way I only partially understand, I believe that most university teachers who care about teaching—even those who have never been near the environs of a small college—are strongly influenced by the model of the small colleges. In *The Right Stuff*, Tom Wolff suggests that all commercial airline pilots, even if they have never met nor heard, nor even heard of Chuck Yeager imitate that archetypical test pilot's West Virginia drawl. I would suggest that our classrooms are a similar archetype at GTCC or N.C. State or Rutledge College or General Motors.

If I could sum up the previous six points, I would suggest that they describe a kind of "connectedness" which is unique and valuable, inherent at Guilford and schools like it. We build connections between students and other students, between faculty and other faculty, between students and faculty and administrators. We can focus upon the connections between academic disciplines, and upon a style of teaching that illuminates those links. We are, at least in this one sense, "integrated." E. M. Forester concludes a major novel with the injunction "Only connect." I believe that Forester's call is our first commandment. I truly believe that that intricate web of connections is our mythos—that's the story I want us to tell about ourselves. To the extent that my little talk today has a "point," you have just heard it!

## V.

We are, then, DIFFERENT. Is our difference worth the price? I believe that there are two groups of students for which the answer is an unequivocal "yes," and a third, rather more important bunch, for which the answer is still an affirmative, but more equivocation sets in. First the guaranteed clientele:

Obviously, Guilford stands a good chance of attracting the students to whom—to the families of whom—the difference between \$51 and \$2,700 is insignificant; that is to say, people who are quite rich. There are a good many such people in the United States, and a healthy number in Greensboro and the Southeast. Their children are entitled to an education.

A second client group, a bit more important in my biased view than the wealthy, consists of those students who demonstrably need the sort of personalized instruction provided by a smaller school. People with special learning situations, who lack self-confidence, with spotty high school preparation, without a strong sense of motivation or direction, etc. I am convinced that there is a surprisingly large group of college students and potential college students who will flourish at a Guilford and who would fail dismally at UNCG. I believe I was such a student a quarter-century ago when I went from a terrible high school experience at a school of 5,000 pupils to Grinnell College, with about 1,000 students. Within a month at Grinnell, both a world of external and a world of internal intellectual possibilities were opened up for me. I still occupy those worlds today: They are my home. If I had gone instead to the University of Illinois, I expect I would not have lasted a semester. My son is a similar case, and is experiencing a similar awakening at St. Andrew's College. My daughter, on the other hand, could, I suspect, sail off to Ohio State or the University of Minnesota, or Berkeley, or Harvard, and flourish: She knows what she wants, she knows how to get it, she knows how to change her own mind, she can create her own supportive environment of teachers and friends, etc. Bill Stevens noted in his earlier presentation in the Symposium series that a large number of our freshmen students have not picked a major. I would argue that we are exactly the sort of school which *should* attract students who have not decided upon entering college (or their sophomore or junior years of college!) on a major. The \$5,000 per year price difference between Guilford and UNCG is, at least in part, the difference between a school which can help someone get what he or she wants, and a school which can help someone find out what he or she wants!

I hope that my earlier discussion suggested a third audience for our kind of educational experience. When we consider the cross-departmental ties between faculty members, and between students, and the web of instructional and extracurricular ties at smaller colleges, and the multi-class contact between students and teachers, it becomes clear that a school like Guilford is the right place for students who seek an education in which *connections* are important. It is possible to find a history class at UNCG

which would be as good as one taught here; and it would be easy to find an English course there as good as mine here, but a big difference would be that I know all the history teachers here, and we talk together and think things through together, and such conversations and thoughts build a complex linked educational matrix here which is *radically*, radically different than the sequential, unitized instructional experience at different kinds of schools. I would even go so far as to say—quietly—that such a radical difference is importantly distinguishing of a genuine “liberating” education. The arts that we profess are “liberal” in that they promote a freedom of thought which is at its core comparative. In many ways, the lack of comparison is the lack of liberty. An education composed of segmented, isolated pieces certainly does not consciously foster such comparison-making, whereas one which seeks and illuminates the connections between things, does. We really are, friends, a “liberal arts college.” I don’t think there is such a thing as a liberal arts university, not a liberal arts technical institute, etc. Many of those institutions, I suggest, reveal their essential lack of understanding of the nature of a liberating education when they speak of a “liberal arts *course*.” In the sense of this discussion, there is no such animal, because one course needs to be connected to another, then to a third, then to some extracurricular enterprise, and always to network of personal relationships between fellow learners and teachers.

I will leave to another speech or speaker the difficult question of looking at these issues within the world of the small colleges, the microcosm, as it were. Certainly, this is a topic equally interesting and important as the macrocosmic issues—Guilford and similar schools in the universe of all postsecondary education—upon which I have been concentrating today.

## VI.

Let me conclude with a somewhat pastoral, perhaps even prophetic, peroration: Public universities and colleges, including community, technical and comprehensive institutions, and small private colleges *can't* continue to compete head-on for undergraduates. We try to pretend (and I'm fairly sure they do too) that we are marketing a Ford, they a Chevy; or, more accurately, we're a Mercedes, they a Pinto. Even with cars, though, very few folks are willing to pay 10 or 20 times—much less 54 times—more for a slightly fancier version of essentially the same thing. Can we claim to be the Rolls-Royce, and describe Chapel Hill and U. VA as the Ford Escort? I doubt it. I don't think our case is good enough, and I doubt if most consumers would see what we do as a sufficiently better version of what they do to justify the price differential. I think that if we insist on that sort of competition, we will lose. I also think that *they* will lose, although their loss will be intangible and ours will be the very loss of existence.

The reason we will all lose, public and private, large and small, two-year, four-year, and comprehensive schools alike, is because the differences be-

tween us are not those between cheap and expensive cars, but more like the differences between cars and bikes, and trains, and planes. All can transport things from one place to another, but they are different things, not different versions of the same thing. A rational transportation scheme depends upon the survival not of the single most effective mode of transporting everything from place to place, but a sensible, coordinated, integrated system utilizing several forms of transport, in job-specific ways. I have tried to suggest in as non-romantic and clear-eyed a fashion as I can muster what our particular nature and strengths are. Schools like Guilford, with our personalized, connected styles of teaching and learning cannot be excluded from a rational postsecondary education system, any more than cars can simply be dropped from a contemporary transportation network. To survive and thrive into the 21st century, Guilford College must articulate and celebrate the ways in which it is different from competing institutions, and we must focus our efforts into doing the very best job we can in precisely those areas of uniqueness. We must discard our MYTHS or modify ourselves and/or them so that they cease to be artifice, and become reality. On the other hand, we must together find our MYTHOS—the story of our deepest, shaping values—and tell that story to ourselves and to those we want to know about Guilford (current students, prospective students, financial supporters, potential faculty members, etc.). If we can explore and articulate our character we will certainly flourish; if we cannot, we will deteriorate. We must, heaven help us, become our own bards, creating and recreating the narrative of our true nature.

That's my job; that's the job for all of us.

## Guilford in the Year 2000: Image and Reality

by Jeanene Williams

In the past several decades, Guilford has been blessed in a way few other colleges and universities have experienced.

While other colleges increased their faculties and physical plants as if there were no demographic trends that might ever change their enrollment picture, Guilford looked at its size, liked what it saw, and decided to buck the trend. While other colleges were somewhat nonchalant about the quality of their faculties, Guilford made a conscious effort to seek quality faculty members with outstanding credentials from a national pool, avoiding the parochial approach many colleges adopted.

While other faculties put their time and energy in "cutesy" subjects and trendy majors, Guilford gave careful thought to its curriculum and determined to emphasize the interdisciplinary nature and the interrelatedness of all things. While other colleges built new residence halls and classrooms for their increased student population with borrowed money, Guilford put its money in improving the quality of its physical facilities, restoring and renovating the old and avoiding the trauma of "the crumbling halls of academe" that dot campuses all over the country today.

While other colleges were rushing to fill out forms for what seemed the unlimited resources of federal grant and loan funds for buildings and a variety of other items, Guilford took stock and agreed to avoid any debt service in its fiscal management.

While other colleges jumped to meet the demand that the computer age seemed to bring with it for a proliferation of technical and computer science courses and majors, Guilford's faculty deliberated and worked through a rational and careful integration of the computer into its liberal arts frame.

And the list could go on. Against the odds, against public opinion, Guilford has found itself taking the right course time and again. Some would believe it is through divine guidance, others through blind luck, others through genuine Quaker astuteness, still others through stubbornness or a combination of all four.

Whatever the reason, it is true that Guilford has, in the past few years, come into the spotlight on the national level that makes it one of the top 10 percent of the shining stars in higher education today. National polls are consistently ranking Guilford in the top two or three hundred colleges and universities—Ted Fiske of the *New York Times* has earmarked us as one of the 200 *Best Buys in College Education*—an academic and a financial accolade; *Changing Times* considered Guilford as one of the 50 outstanding colleges recently; we've been in recent issues of Peterson's *Competitive Colleges*, Lovejoy's *Concise College Guide*, and Barron's *Compact Guide to Colleges*. Fiske, editor of the *Selective Guide to Colleges*, and published by Times Books—one of the bestsellers among college guides in recent years—has just requested information for the new edition.

Time after time in the past few years, we have been applauded and, as our fund-raising counsel discovered in his survey analysis prior to the kick off of the QUEST capital campaign, people out there are impressed with Guilford because “we are what we say we are.”

But are we? And if we are, how do we assure that we stay that way into the next century? Will it be as easy to maintain our current perceived status in the next several decades as it has been in the past?

My answer is an unequivocal no. It isn't likely. It will be harder than ever in the coming years, and we must understand that now and take the steps that are vital to continue to hold our place.

What are those steps and what will make them possible?

Many of them come directly under the broad umbrella called public relations—not as the term is casually—and often wrongly—used by many people, but under its original intention—relations with the public.

First of all, it should be understood that public relations is an umbrella as wide as the universe—there are many different publics out there, and each of them may require a different set of relationships to foster the proper climate.

Our external publics include prospective students and their parents, prospective faculty and staff, alumni, high school guidance counselors, prospective donors, corporations and foundations, and the media, both print and electronic, as well as the general public, from the local community to the region, to the nation and to the world.

Our quasi-external publics—boards of trustees, visitors, alumni—are equally important, as are our internal publics—current students, faculty, staff and administration.

How we are perceived makes all the difference, not just in the two commodities we require—students and money—but in the refinements that are possible in every program and effort.

Every constituency is not without its problems: the population in the 18- to 22-year-old bracket is dwindling; there is increased competition within the traditional age bracket and for older adults; there is also competition from educational enterprises that are set up for employees through their employers—large businesses and industries and other agencies.

Disenchantment within the teaching profession has led many qualified individuals to seek other jobs, and higher salaries in industry or in larger universities and colleges have robbed academia of some of the best and brightest new faculty members.

Guilford alumni are an enormously diverse group—more than half of them have graduated since 1972 and more than half of the 10,000 total live in North Carolina, but their backgrounds, their careers, their interests, what they expect out of Guilford are very different.

Everywhere, in all parts of the public, competition is evident. Other colleges and universities are vying for the same students, for the same faculty. Both private colleges and universities as well as nonprofit organizations are looking for the same gifts and grants from donors, foundations and cor-

porations. Guilford is sited in an area that is unique for colleges its size in seeking for attention from the media: Greensboro, unlike any other similar size city, is also home to two other private colleges and two branches of the state university system; regionally, the total is even more absurd, meaning that competition for lines of print or TV coverage is intense. The same statistics make the enrollment of commuting or day students equally tough.

The picture that is painted has some real shadows in the background. Not to be a doomsayer, however, I don't see that picture as turning into a black and barren landscape. I see the beautiful Georgian tranquillity of Guilford College beneath its great and spreading oaks and maples standing strong into the 21st century. But I don't think it can do that by standing still now, by allowing the shade of its trees to shadow its shortcomings and hide its problems.

Problems must be met head on, and they must be planned for and planned around and planned with.

How can we do that? Where do we start?

I believe the answers lie most strongly in three words that are often neither very well liked nor understood: planning, public relations and marketing.

The words bring fuzzy images in many people's minds; the lines between public relations and marketing are so blurred that even people who are practitioners of one or the other have trouble with them. It has been said that marketing uses established techniques to produce countable transactions and that public relations provides the climate so that marketing can expect positive results. Quantitative measurement versus qualitative measurement.

Guilford prides itself—and rightly—on its personal attention to the individual; it comes through in our student recruitment efforts; in our classroom teaching and advising; in our fund-raising initiatives; in our extracurricular activities; in our alumni and parents programs; in every aspect of the College's operation because it is based on the Quaker belief and respect for the individual. It is one of our strong points, but it cannot and will not simply occur without some design.

We must be cognizant of the fact that none of this will be as easy in the future as it has been in the past; all of it will come with higher price tags, more options, more competition, greater need for statistical prediction and precision. We can no longer rely on the happenstance, and the good fortune that have often come to us in the past. We must be prepared. And we will be prepared only through proper planning.

Through all that planning that we must do in the very near future, I believe there run several marketing and public relations implications that we cannot ignore. But they should not be met by default.

We must make sure the College continues to say what it really is, and that it not try to compete on the same levels with dissimilar institutions. George Keller, formerly a top campus administrator at several major institutions and currently vice president of Barton Gillette, wrote recently in

*Marketing Higher Education*, that colleges and universities “are now close to neglecting their obligation to lead and educate the public in their eagerness to keep enrollment up and faculty positions secure. The ethics of educational marketing is a green field, newly pockmarked with black and gray improprieties.” He’s right. I do not believe Guilford will be found guilty of those improprieties in the future—of selling what we can’t deliver, of pretense in areas of expertise we don’t have, of cheapening our image in an effort to be cute or slick or trivial—but we must be ever vigilant.

There must be greater faculty involvement in all areas of the College’s external operation. Our faculty is our grandest resource; the teaching they provide for our students goes out and tells us we are doing a quality job, but it should not stop there. More faculty need to be visible with our alumni, in alumni programming off campus and in the newly forming area alumni councils and in community and civic programming. Guilford has been too dependent upon the wonderful charisma and personal appeal of its president in the past several years; faculty can—and should—be a part of that external impression of Guilford. The reality and the possibility of Guilford under some future leader will be ill-served if we depend too heavily on Bill Rogers to be the sole purveyor of positive public relations for the College.

We must improve or at least maintain the quality of our communications with our external publics. This means that we must set a higher priority than has been set in the past for our alumni, parent and donor constituencies. And that must be done in the face of higher costs in such mundane areas as postage and printing.

We must increase the quantity of our external publicity. We have been lucky, in many ways, in the past, but we cannot leave our publicity efforts to luck.

We must determine the level of marketing we need or can feel comfortable with, both in terms of student recruitment and fund-raising. We must understand the marketing targets and the parameters and what they imply. We must understand clearly how one priority impacts another, not in some general way, but in very specific ways. We must, for instance, see that, if our student recruiting efforts in North Carolina decrease or become less successful, we will have to work harder in our development and fund-raising efforts because every North Carolina student brings a legislative tuition grant that saves the student or the College the burden of finding an extra \$1,000 or more in tuition or financial aid.

We must clearly understand the changing demographics. Every college and university in the nation will soon be looking more and more to the South for students. The assumption is only reasonable: the population is moving there in droves. How will that change the costs of recruiting?

We must determine who the marketers really are. It is unrealistic to believe that the job rests solely in the hands of our admissions staff. The value and the importance of some of our recent volunteer admissions recruiters—alumni, parents, Board of Visitors, current students—cannot be overlooked nor underfunded.

We must weigh carefully the value of advertising. Guilford's personal touch is truly an important trademark, but to what extent will the marketplace and the competition force us into some level of advertising? Not by default, but by careful analysis, should such a decision be made.

We must consider every change carefully, and we must be less selfish individually in doing so. Faculty must determine to what extent their own personal preferences for courses they teach meet all the criteria both in maintaining Guilford as a genuine liberal arts institution and of meeting the needs of students and preparing them for the realities of the world and the marketplace. Administrators and faculty must make the hard decisions about what is a necessity and what is a nicety—and when to accept reality when priorities must be set.

The greatest strength of Guilford College has, since its founding 150 years ago, been the commitment of those involved in it. Commitment is the word that runs throughout nearly every historical anecdote of the College and throughout the biography of every one of its outstanding teachers, administrators, distinguished alumni and friends. It is not a word used lightly, because the term is genuinely distinguishing and the image is ever strong.

As Guilford goes into the next decade and toward the next century, commitment is the word that will serve best to position it for the reality of that new century. Those who will guide the College, those who will serve it are in the footsteps of 150 years of history. They must carry the image with them and commit themselves to looking full in the face of reality—and of courageously making the decisions to take Guilford forward, proudly and with traditions intact, toward its next 150 years.

## Will Guilford Have a Gender-Balanced Curriculum by 2000 A.D.?

by Carol Stoneburner

If we take this question and answer it simply and directly, I suspect that the answer will be "No." Guilford will not have a truly gender-balanced curriculum 14 years from now. If that is the case, why should we proceed? Why should I try to explain what a gendered-balanced curriculum is or would be, and what is necessary in order to achieve such a reality. And why should I discuss whether we should even try. If the answer is "No" why is that my assessment, and why am I asking the question if I am not sure of a positive answer.

Before I try to answer the subsidiary questions, let me suggest a prefatory frame which will explain to you the original negative assertion. In the first discussion I had with President Grimsley Hobbs and Assistant to the President, Bruce Stewart, about the part-time job I was assuming as Coordinator of Women's Studies about 14 years ago, they agreed with the committee of faculty, Beth Keiser, Martha Cooley, Jerry Godard, Josephine Moore and Kathy Sebo that the focus of my work should be the incorporation of the study of women throughout all of the curriculum. In all fairness they asked a straightforward administrative question, "How long will that take?" What flashed through my mind was the thought that we were in fact taking on an issue which went counter to a major tenet of Western civilization—that is the implied and overt assumption that maleness was superior to femaleness and that male experience was seen as normative for definitions of humanness. There was also close to 1000 years of history of higher education which grew out of the monastic, celibate life of males in the Middle Ages carrying it with presumptions, assumptions and structures which had not just ignored the study of female experience, but clearly decided that the nature of that study was not worthy of serious intellectual effort. My response to them was very vague, as I think they assumed it would be. I said, it will take "a while."

So here we are half-way between when we first posed the question and the end of the century, and I will be a bit more articulate and straightforward. We can still not accomplish, even with 14 more years of hard work, the complete reworking and reconceptualization of such pervasive tenets and structures of western civilization. And Guilford is not alone in facing this reality. But the last 14 years have convinced me that we are and can be much closer to this goal.

As I move toward a definition of what a gender-balanced curriculum is or will be, let me share with you some of what we here at Guilford, and others in academia around the world, have learned about incorporating women throughout the curriculum.<sup>1</sup> First, we did what we could. We "added" women. We added a few women here and there in our courses. We also added some special course on women's experience scattered throughout the

curriculum, and thus achieved what is thought of as a second step, "incorporating women" into the curriculum. The third step was to realize more and more that "women do not fit" into our norms for "humans." The first impulse is to say, "What is wrong with women?" Are women, like some have assumed all along, inferior to males and not worthy of study? Why does the history of women suggest that standard definitions of historical periods don't work anymore? Why do people suggest that we need a new psychology for and about women? This stage is trying to "integrate women into the curriculum." This is a third stage and it entails acknowledging that there is not something wrong with women, there is something wrong with our conceptualization about humans. The next process is to realize that major transformation of ways of thinking is involved—real reconceptualization. This stage is called "transformation of the curriculum." Only when an institution has worked through this whole process, will the necessary scholarship, rethinking, use of new sources, reinterpretation of old sources have been accomplished. Then we will be close to a gender-balanced curriculum—a curriculum which acknowledges that gender is a crucial concept; that teaches about the experience of women and men in a balanced and fair way—showing that women are and have always been half of the human race and their experience also adds meaning and definition to discussion of the human.<sup>2</sup>

Individual faculty members go through many of these same steps as they start to be more involved in teaching about women's experience. First, you add women—sort of as flavoring or spice. Then you more fully stir female experiences into the course. This is very likely to demonstrate that something is wrong with the intellectual recipe. The finished process—the course doesn't work the way it used to. Then faculty members try to stretch the theoretical concepts—trying to make them fit women's experience or get women to fit the theory. Next, comes the hard, painful work of trying to reconceptualize male, female and human experience. When you are working here you find yourself teaching a very much more complex course. The content has changed considerably and you as a person see the whole course and process in a new way.

For those faculty who have been involved in these different stages at Guilford in the last period of years, they will also attest to another list of changes and reactions that are reported here and in other colleges and universities. The first steps produce a feeling of magnanimous delight as you try to correct what you believe is an unfair situation. But an element of disillusionment soon accompanies this pleasure. The questions often raised are, "Why didn't I learn about women?" "How could our educational structures have so seriously omitted the study of women for so long?" "What else are we ignoring?" This may lead to feelings of both anger and a sense of guilt for failing to have paid attention to the matter sooner. When you, as a faculty member, encounter students who have learned the unconscious bias of the society (that this study is trivial and that there is really no need to change what we study or how we study it), a real irritation at the

students and at yourself is often the result. But most faculty who have come this far proceed to move into the hard dedicated work of trying to acknowledge the intellectual dilemmas, to face the issue, to do the "catch up" research and study to start reconceptualizing. Feminist philosopher, Mary Daly, early caught the feelings of unsureness and confusion, even of fear, which can be experienced at this junction when she describes the feeling of being intellectually "nowhere." You have passed the comfortable conceptual basis of your training and you feel pretty alone and confused. But she asserts that when you really start to focus on the issue and use your imagination, serious thought, new and old knowledge bases, you become more exhilarated and discover yourself "How Here."<sup>3</sup> If you also experience some real grief at the loss of some security of position and some powerful nostalgia for meaning systems which used to explain and interpret more than they can now seem to provide, you are often more clear about your focus. Soon the richness of a fuller set of images, and much more extensive knowledge, a seriousness but also a playfulness of trying to see ahead and trying to assist in the reshaping of knowledge, brings a new sense of confidence and excitement. I have seen faculty and students all along this continuum and process. And it is clear that here at Guilford people have worked very hard to personally take these steps but also to support each other in a mutual agenda.

Not everyone at Guilford has been engaged in this kind of reconceptualization. Those who have, come to these activities and enterprises from a variety or mixture of motivations. For some feminism, the premise of the equality of the sexes, has been the most crucial motive and criteria. For others the changes in their own personal lives as they reflect the cultural upheaval of gender roles in this century have encouraged study and reflection. Yet others have become engaged because of a traditional intellectual integrity. Academia should explore all facets of all issues in the pursuit of Truth. And for others the Quaker assertion of "that of God" in everyone has supported a broader intellectual exploration about gender roles.

Many faculty and students attend to these issues articulating and practicing equality of persons. For them, women's studies—the special focus on women's experience—is seen as a process which negates equality by giving unequal attention. They prefer to "treat everyone as a person" and not explore gender as an important category. This is often referred to in the literature of women's studies as being gender blind. This approach is commendable and the similar ends are sought by those who want a gender balanced approach. But being gender blind is still being blind. In this case blind to the fact that our culture has been and still is gender biased towards masculine experience and privilege. Blindness to this fact allows this status quo to go unexamined and unchallenged. If all acts of discrimination against women (or in other cases, against minorities) were merely personal, a gender blind strategy would be more effective. But the gender bias is pervasive in our intellectual, religious, economic, political and social institutions. The only way to address this is careful analysis, understanding and a

clear alternative posture. Those advocating a gender-balanced curriculum hold out such a theoretical alternative. We need to study femaleness and maleness. We need to understand the biological realities. We also need to explore the powerful cultural overlay of gender roles and the accompanying gender privileges. And we are engaged in trying to define "persons," "humans" and "humankind" in categories which encompass the whole range of experiences of men and women. Such is the goal of gender-balanced exploration and a gender-balanced curriculum is one which uses these criteria to judge itself.

The leaders in the work towards gender-balanced curriculum are found in the women's colleges. In recent years the cultural impulse towards equality of women has encouraged the growth of coeducation and the decline of single sex colleges. Clearly we, at Guilford, want to encourage this movement. But we also need to take seriously the contemporary rationale for women's colleges. Research continues to show that graduates of women's colleges statistically out-distance their coed sisters in all forms of demonstrated excellence (graduate schools, degrees achieved, economic advancement, etc.). There seem to be three major reasons why this is the case. First, and most important, is the number of women on the faculty and in the administration in women's colleges. Daily encounter by working with accomplished females is essential. Second, female role models, as subject matter, and throughout the curriculum are also crucial. And third, significant opportunities for women students to practice leadership themselves are the other variables. If we, in a coeducational setting are striving to provide the best education for our female, as well as our male students, attention to these three issues is essential.

Guilford's representation of female faculty has improved over time and is fairly comparable to women's colleges. There is work to be done here, but we seem on the right path. Significant strides to add/incorporate/integrate/transform the curriculum are in process. But, we still have considerable distance to reach a gender-balanced curriculum. And there are those at Guilford who believe that a significant emphasis on the development of leadership of female students must be an important agenda between now and the end of the century.

Up to this point, the hard work of the study of women has been supported by the College by funding staff time to provide resources. The major work of the faculty and staff to take these resources and work through the processes of reconceptualization has been voluntary. And I for one am very impressed with the dedication of both male and female faculty to this end.

An infusion of significant money to help analyze all appropriate courses would help move this process much more quickly. We in the Women's Studies program shall be working towards finding such funds. We shall also continue to try to find the way that this work connects, overlaps, intersects and builds on a number of other intellectual reforms claiming Guilford faculty attention—concern for integration of Afro-American Studies, Intercultural Studies, Peace and Justice Studies, Environmental Studies and

international awareness. All of the above is both discipline based and interdisciplinary in its scope. Guilford is rich in being engaged in preserving its past and creating a future more inclusive of many diverse perspectives.

Earlier in this colloquium series Claire Helgeson evoked our response to the future of the College based on symbols of our past. She called our attention to Mary Hobbs Hall, a place which symbolizes a new definition of women in a mixture of private and public living. This symbol frees both women and men to new potential. She also reminded us of the rich resonations in the name of the founding boarding school—New Garden. I would extend those resonations to remind us that early Quakers really did believe that we can live in the world in a transformed way. In the process of being transformed, we can transform the world around us into a new garden—a new place—free to know each other as human equals in the pursuit of Truth. Our heritage urges us to keep moving forward towards a much fuller, more honest curricular integrity.

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Notes:

1. These categories are being discussed by numerous writers. A particularly clear exploration can be found in "The Study of Women: Processes of Personal and Curricular Re-vision" by Peggy McIntosh, *The Forum for Liberal Education*, Vol. 6, No. 5.
2. See such writers as Catherine Stimpson, Elizabeth Minnich, Peggy McIntosh.
3. Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973).

## Of Purple Prose and Quaker Principle: The "Statement of Purpose" as Guide

by James P. Mc Nab

While I admire the confidence of those who make predictions about the future, I do not share it. Much of my research and teaching has concentrated less upon continuities from past to present or present to future than upon breaking points, fractures, crises, cleavages and discontinuities. For example my fascination with Surrealism is fueled by the movement's paroxysmatic attempt to break with the past. And in studying the Baroque, I am constantly struck by the building of immense moral, intellectual and artistic constructs upon foundations cracked with doubt, uncertainty and even panic.

Certainly the prevalent discourse at Guilford does imply harmony, continuity and a persisting tradition, rather than their opposites. It is gratifying to most of us who work here, for example, that there is no central, separate, towering, brooding "administration building" revealing architecturally a basic split between "them" and "us." Indeed the word that is commonly used for those who do work or study here is "community," as in "Guilford College community," rather than the divisive terms "faculty," "administration," "staff" and "students." Decisions, as we so often hear, are reached by "consensus." In truth, usually they are, sometimes they are not. But the dominant Guilford ethos—or mythos—places emphasis upon consensus. Even in disagreement, disappointment, or frank distaste, a "member of the community" is more likely to express a "concern" than outright disapproval. This "integrative" vocabulary extends to the curricular offerings also. In descriptions of courses and of departmental programs, there are recurring references to "interaction," "interpersonal," "interlink," "integrate," "intercultural," "interrelatedness," "crosscultural," "international," "global," and so on. Guilford College consorts with other local colleges, and, needless to say, two unusual components of the Guilford "experience" (a rather mystical, integrative term itself) are the *Interdisciplinary Studies* and *Intercultural Studies* requirements. As the sesquicentennial—O hideous term!—approaches, there appears to be, in the collective puff of pride, an unquakerly level of linguistic puffery, an omnipresent emphasis upon the continuity from distant past to vibrant present, with ever increasing use of terms like "Quaker heritage," "Friends' tradition," "immutably" and so on, and the expressed conviction that the College is headed, teleologically, on a pre-plotted trajectory, for a bright future shaped by a bright past.

Weighing everything in the balance, we are surely better off caught in a web of words that emphasize cohesiveness and continuity rather than discord. In fact it may well be that the sense of relative well-being enjoyed by many constituents of Guilford College, that sense of "community" or of "belonging" is derived from the *linguistic* conventions that prevail here. The words choose us as much as we choose them.

On the other hand, within a "community of seekers," it is appropriate, as an intellectual exercise, to submit to some scrutiny the words that are supposed to guide us towards the year 2000. Do they stand up to scrutiny? What words should we examine? Here, a good opportunity is provided by the recent adoption of an official "Statement of Purpose" that is in effect a current position paper for the College, both an *état présent*, summarizing the present standing of the College, and a kind of Constitution, leading the way to the future. The text, presented boldly at the beginning of the 1986-1988 *Catalog*, is as follows:

### Statement of Purpose

Guilford College is an educational community which strives to integrate personal, intellectual, physical and spiritual growth through participation in several rich traditions.

These traditions include liberal arts education which values academic excellence and stresses the need in a free society for mature, broadly educated men and women; career development and community service which provide students, whatever their age or place in life, with knowledge and skills applicable to their chosen vocations; and Quakerism which places special emphasis on helping individuals to examine and strengthen their values. We believe that the wise and humane use of knowledge requires commitment to society as well as to self.

The Quaker heritage stresses spiritual receptivity, candor, integrity, compassion, tolerance, simplicity, equality and strong concern for social justice and world peace. Growing out of this heritage the College emphasizes educational values which are embodied in a strong and lasting tradition of coeducation, a curriculum with intercultural and international dimensions, close individual relationships between students and faculty in the pursuit of knowledge, governance by consensus and a commitment to lifelong learning.

Guilford College expects each student to develop a broad understanding of our intellectual and social heritage, and at the same time to develop a special competence in one or more disciplines. Flexibility in the curriculum encourages each student to pursue a program of studies suited to personal needs, skills and aspirations.

While accepting many traditional educational goals and methods, the College also promotes innovative approaches to teaching and learning. Both students and faculty are encouraged to pursue high levels of scholarly research and creativity in all academic disciplines. Guilford particularly seeks to explore interdisciplinary and intercultural perspectives and to develop a capacity to reason effectively, to look beneath the surface of issues, to understand the presuppositions and implications of ideas, and to draw conclusions incisively, critically and with fairness to other points of view.

The College desires to have a "community of seekers," individuals dedicated to shared and corporate search as an important part of their lives.

Such a community can come about only when there is diversity throughout the institution—a diversity of older and younger perspectives, a diversity of racial and cultural backgrounds, a diversity of beliefs and value orientations. Through experiencing such differing points of view, we seek to free ourselves from bias.

As a community, Guilford strives to address questions of moral responsibility, to explore issues which are deeply felt but difficult to articulate, and to support modes of personal fulfillment. The College seeks to cultivate respect for all individuals in an environment where considered convictions, purposes and aspirations can be carried forward.

*(Statement of Purpose adopted by the Guilford College Board of Trustees January 25, 1985)*

What I would like to practice on this text is a rather rudimentary act of deconstruction. Deconstruction, not reconstruction. Not the Knights of the White Camellia, but a form of textual analysis of the sort proposed by the French critic Jacques Derrida and others.

The word “deconstruction” is quite simple, meaning nothing more than the undoing of a construction, or a taking to pieces. To the extent that it is the opposite of “construction,” it is very close to the word “destruction.” But it is also a Latin-derived equivalent of the Greek-derived “analysis,” meaning an unloosing or undoing. In graphic form, this was practiced by H. Stubbe in the 17th century when he wrote: “I tried some analysis of bodies by letting ants eat them.” Let us set the ants loose.

The first impression given by the text is of splendid self-confidence. The noun- and pronoun subjects certainly seem to gather many strands together into a unified woof or...warp. Effectively speaking, Guilford College = an educational community = the Quaker heritage = the College = we = Guilford. The repetition of these terms and of others, closely related (“heritage” three times, “tradition” four, “community” four) gives a strong sense of presence and indeed of manifest destiny.

The opening sentence appears to confirm this monumental presence. It begins “Guilford College is an educational community...” The model is of course utopian, quite similar to Rabelais’ *abbaye de Theleme* of the 16th century. But the self-assurance is implicitly questioned throughout the rest of the “Statement of Purpose.” After first asserting that Guilford is an educational community, the “Statement of Purpose” then documents a rather frantic attempt to *become* one: “strives to integrate...growth”; “stresses the need”; “requires commitment”; “stresses spiritual receptivity”; “expects each student”; “desires to have a ‘community of seekers’”; “such a community can come about only when”; “strives to address questions”; “seeks to cultivate” (my italics). Without laboring the point, I do not find these expressions to be particularly serene or expressive of fellowship or commonality. Guilford College is a community that “strives to integrate...growth” and “strives to address questions.” The verb “to strive” has its origins in notions of conflict and struggle and is very close to the noun “strife.” Its primary meaning indicates a state of mutual hostility, and mutiny and

wrangling come not far behind! Similarly, Guilford's stresses ("stresses the need," "stresses spiritual receptivity") suggest some striking strains! The word is closely connected to "distress," and the verb has as its primary meaning the idea of subjecting a person to force or compulsion: constraining, or restraining somebody.

What one has here are self-cancelling statements, a text and a contradictory subtext, worms in the woodwork, ants in the body politic. Even the most cursory examination of the claims that Guilford (or its equivalents, "we," this "educational community") is the embodiment of an augustly unfolding "Quaker heritage," of a wholly unified "community," or a serene, elevated, unchanging tradition shows up anomalies and contradictions. In 1986, the College may indeed believe in "lifelong learning" and a "diversity of older and younger perspectives." But, in truth, it was not always so. The initiative for an urban campus, the predecessor of our Center for Continuing Education, came not from a "Quaker heritage," but from a group of downtown merchants, including especially Arnold Schiffman. The downtown campus long remained the poor stepson of the main campus, and it was only thanks to the recommendation of a visiting accreditation committee that integration of the adult education unit began. Attempts to implement evening programs for adults leading to a Master's in Law Enforcement, an M.B.A. or a law program were all resisted and indeed rejected by the College in spite of very considerable support from the outside community. Similarly, the College may well, at present, believe strongly in intercultural programs: "growing out of this Quaker heritage the College emphasizes educational values...embodied in...a curriculum with intercultural and international dimensions." The fact remains that Intercultural Studies are a very recent addition, essentially pushed through by one individual, Ed Burrows, at the height of the Viet Nam war, in 1967, because federal money was available for the teaching of nontraditional geographic areas. Far from fostering intercultural or international perspectives, the College consistently sought to protect its charges from other, different, immoral points of view, so as to ensure that the "children's" perspective would not differ from that of the parents. This is a recurring theme of the College catalogs from 90 or so years ago:

*Care was taken by the Founders to select a neighborhood as free as possible from immoral influences, and their further direction was, that "it be a well watered, cleanly and healthy situation." A farm was consequently chosen...and time has abundantly proved the wisdom of their choice, the freedom of the place from allurements to idleness and vice being proverbial, and the entire surroundings being such as parents naturally seek for their children.*

Care was exercised to protect the "children" from the contaminating influence of the city—Greensboro!—six miles to the east.

Today, as the "Statement of Purpose" states, the College may well seek a community that "can come about only when there is diversity throughout the institution—a diversity of older and younger perspectives, a diversity of racial and cultural backgrounds, a diversity of beliefs and value orientations." One can legitimately question whether a community can "only" come about when there is extreme diversity in its constituent elements. Traditionally, communities have been formed out of like-minded, similar, and similarly disposed members, while the ultimate effect of extreme inner disparity and divergence has been civil war! Setting aside this quibble however, one still has to ask whether a high level of diversity has always been an outstanding characteristic of Guilford. In its commitment to education for both sexes, Guilford can hold its collective community head high and answer, without equivocation, "yes!" But in other domains, the answer must needs be a hesitant, but honest: "hardly." Sadly, but truly, Guilford was *not* a pioneer institution in those critical areas to which faculty, staff, administration and students would so gladly subscribe today: international study programs, intercultural programs, the hiring of professors from ethnic minorities (especially blacks), the active recruiting of black students, and so on.

The obvious lesson to be learned from some scrutiny of the "Statement of Purpose" is that it is not free of contradiction and doubtful affirmation. The high-flown Latinate grandiloquence of terms like "tradition" or "heritage" do perhaps need to be taken a little more relatively, and even *cum grano salis*. Many good features of Guilford today are in fact recent features, and not eternal effulgence in some Quaker empyrean. But another lesson that needs to be learned, as the College prepares for the future, is that not only are these features relative, not absolute, they are also very vulnerable.

Vulnerable are the "international dimensions" of the curriculum, that are said to grow out of a "Quaker heritage." For example, there is no long-range budgetary (or other) commitment to foreign study, no identification of foreign study as a budgetary priority, no durable, Guilford infrastructure in the countries to which we send students, and no combining of efforts ("networking") with other colleges equally interested in foreign study. We are very much at the mercy of the slings and arrows of the outrageous international money market. What we do have is a unique ability to generate interest in foreign study, and to prepare students linguistically and culturally for it. In the absence of a binding assurance that foreign study is sufficiently important to merit some long-range commitment on the part of the College, our programs remain dreadfully vulnerable, subject to drastic modification or elimination in a "bad" (or even a "good!") budget year. Needless to say, other colleges would be happy to enroll *our* students in *their* programs.

Vulnerable is the "diversity of racial and cultural backgrounds." For example, the College has enjoyed less than exemplary success in bringing black students or faculty to the campus since that day in 1962 when the

College finally allowed Melrose A. Nimmo—a young black—to receive the benefits of a Guilford education. It seems clear that there is now some commitment to ensuring a “diversity of racial and cultural backgrounds.” But our persisting lack of success in this area derives not from an authentic, ongoing tradition of diversity, but rather its opposite: our roots as a conservative, rather homogeneous, Southern institution.

Vulnerable, too, is the “commitment to lifelong learning.” To be sure, the Center for Continuing Education is no longer that Evening College established in 1948 to cater to the needs of returning World War II veterans. But, although the changes of name from Evening College to Greensboro Division of Guilford College to Urban Center to the current Center for Continuing Education are markers for a relatively increasing level of acceptance and integration, a real, widely accepted sense of CCE’s purpose or mission is still missing, while there are still tensions that color the perception of the place of evening courses, local off-campus offerings, and the so-called “professional” departments.

While this is hard to prove, it seems likely that a faculty member, asked to comment upon what makes Guilford distinctive, would make some reference to Quaker background, international programs, adult education, interdisciplinary offerings and a willingness to innovate. But these features, along with other “good” ones that we could cite are not, alas! part of an enduring, noble, exemplary tradition, heritage, continuity, or lineage, in spite of what the “Statement of Purpose” says. They are recent and vulnerable.

If indeed these major emphases represent the core or the “heart” of the College’s current identity, and if they will serve us well as we move toward the year 2000, they need to be singled out, preserved, protected, and maintained as part of a critical long-range plan. And serve us well they should, along with other emphases, including numerical literacy and improved communication skills. There appears to be consensus (!) on the part of John Naisbitt and of the others who write about the future that an education for the future must include a recognition of global interdependence (including proficiency in a foreign language), and real flexibility; the ability to adapt to ever-changing circumstances. For the latter, Inter Disciplinary Studies could be an ideal preparation. Finally, there is universal acknowledgement that students will continue to “age up,” and the future student body, nationwide, will indeed be culturally and ethnically very diverse: far more so than it is now. So our current “tradition,” though of fairly recent mintage, appears to be good currency for the future.

## Guilford 2000 — An Intentional, Supportive Community

by Cyrus Johnson

Here we are in the year 2000, and one of those oral history folk wants some of us to share our reflections on how the College became what it is today. Well, I'm barely alive, my memory short-circuits periodically, and I know less about Guilford now than in the days when I was active. Nevertheless while sitting and rocking I can talk into this gadget. Perhaps a little of what I say will relate to reality.

The way I see it, Guilford is now a center of learning where people with a wide diversity of backgrounds and values have developed an intentional, supportive community. It is a community in which people openly share ideas and interests, and have little fear of being labeled pejoratively for what they say. In spite of strongly held differences, people like each other and most are eager to learn the bases of different points of view in order to better understand how others think. There is not very much of that tendency, prominent among some academicians, to get satisfactions by putting one's own way of thinking in some exalted position. There is just a lot of curiosity and there are enough commonly held values for there to be a certain unity and supportiveness in the search for knowledge and truth.

The College was not always this way. As I knew Guilford through friends, in the '40s and '50s, a rather homogenous faculty and student body shared a fairly strong sense of agreement on basic values and on the kinds of things that students should be taught. No strong tolerance of diversity existed and the atmosphere was rather parochial. The characteristics of the institution served it well and gave it the strength to survive and make a significant contribution to North Carolina Quakerism.

From some source, however, arose a sense that Guilford should make a broader and deeper contribution. New administrators and new faculty, educated in a variety of institutions and having a stronger concern for comparing the academic excellence of Guilford with a wider range of colleges, were employed. The student body was enlarged and a greater variety of academic majors offered resulting in a broader spectrum of interests. The moves were generally applauded.

As might be expected, an intense discussion occurred over how the various collected parts should fit together or even if they should fit together. I came to Guilford in the '60s in the middle of a heated discussion about the downtown campus and what majors really belonged in a truly liberal arts college. Some saw accounting, management and the training of public school teachers to be inappropriate studies, yet it seemed that there were no clear criteria for drawing boundaries. We had only history. Early Quaker education had a strong utilitarian orientation and wasn't bothered over the defining of "liberal arts." Liberal arts traditionalists on the other hand saw natural sciences, social sciences and the humanities as

appropriate and so called preprofessional programs as inappropriate at Guilford.

Some wanted to understand what it was about the contributions of the sciences and humanities that earned them the favored position. The question raised was, "If one could not identify the contribution being made by a discipline that determined its designation as 'liberal arts,' how could you exclude disciplines for not fitting?" Some saw the teaching of values as indoctrination, an activity in which the liberal arts did not engage. Others however saw all people teaching values with the key question being what values one was teaching. Clearly the personal values such as honesty, integrity, clear thinking, etc., were values that most would identify as an important part of an institutional emphasis, but controversy abounded over social values as equal opportunity regardless of race, sex, religion, other aspects of cultural diversity, protecting our planet from pollution, feeding the hungry and protecting the weak?

In one period some faculty and administrators felt that their perspectives were not being heard, their contributions were not adequately recognized, their positions were denigrated and even as people they were being given little respect. It seemed that while the College developed an ability to respond to a wider variety of needs, and working conditions and salaries improved, bickering increased over schedules, organization, budgets, the value content of courses, etc. Discrediting each other wasn't uncommon for awhile. Yet, at some point people seemed to sense that progress was not being made by being so negative and began to think about positive moves.

It is just fantasizing to try to explain the causes of change to greater civility. At best I can suggest some happenings that accompanied and perhaps assisted the change. I think that identification of the College as Quaker had over time attracted many individuals who believed in the possibility of building a better world, starting at some smaller unit as the College. Some at times modeled the way people might live. The interdisciplinary course, under a variety of names, was taught by 20 or so faculty, and the efforts of the varying groups to develop a course resulted in interaction that pressed toward congeniality and recognition of differing points of view. Faculty who worked together to accomplish the goal of an acceptable syllabus and those faculty who declined the opportunity to engage in the struggle, both can be seen as giving positive movement toward the present community.

In the early '70s, as I remember it, some committee held a weekend workshop for faculty using a specialist in communicating for understanding and good will as a leader. The guy was good, very good, but at least for some of us his laid back style and manner of dress appropriate for the "drop-out" culture of the day, prevented us from getting the most out of the sessions. Later the Faculty Development program offered a workshop on listening skills for faculty and staff. Since our president of that period had produced materials on developing listening skills, it seems likely that he initiated that project. The workshop was offered several times, I believe, and could have been a strong, substantial contributor. It is possible that courses

in the area of conflict resolution offered in the early 1980s had some influence, but I have no evidence that such is the case, except for me. Because of my part in those courses, I began to give more attention to how one communicated effectively for the most positive results.

One year the Student Services Committee held a workshop on conflict resolution for dorm interns but it had little impact as far as I was aware. In the mid-1980s, under the leadership of the Faculty Development Committee and supported by the academic dean, a series of luncheon meetings were held. People representing the "preprofessional" majors and people who questioned the relevance of the majors to liberal arts, interacted with each other. In sharing points of view perhaps they developed a more understanding perspective. As I remember it, there was general good will and good lunches.

At some point the faculty began to wrestle seriously with the question of what a liberal arts education was all about. We reached general agreement that at least it included acquiring habits of thought, speech and action essential for a "free" people. An extrapolation from that development was that people must learn to disagree agreeably, and attention began to focus on how to bring that about.

By the 1980s in the larger society, changes were occurring. There were a number of people skilled in helping groups develop patterns of interaction in which all were heard and decisions were made which gave optimum solutions. Harvard University Law School developed a "Program on Negotiation" that worked with groups from the international level down to interaction in a dyad. Fisher and Ury, of the Harvard Program, wrote a book, *Getting to Yes*, that attracted worldwide attention for its assistance in helping develop "win-win" instead of "win-lose" solutions to problems. The American Bar Association had a very active Special Committee on Dispute Resolution assisting in the development of Community Mediation Centers for helping people resolve disputes with maximum good will on both sides. The Mennonite Central Committee developed a Conciliation Service to work for harmony within its churches and to offer assistance to other groups in need of these services. Public schools were instituting conflict resolution programs giving students skills helpful in reducing violence and hostility. The National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution, working from a broad base of interest, exploded in attendance over a few years so that it became necessary to separate into specific areas of interest.

The time was right, and plans were made for a workshop to assist faculty and administrators in understanding the process and developing the skills that related communicating and the resolving of injurious conflict. The workshop started with a focus on the necessity for the affirmation of others—seeing the marvel of life in every person. This means behaving toward each person as a creature of worth, including young and old, rich and poor, weak and strong, humanistically oriented and scientifically

oriented, male and female, folk who agree with you, and folk who don't agree with you, people of all races, religions and nationalities. When we can embrace this as a principle we can begin the hard part of putting it into practice. The core is simply stopping those judgments we have in our heads about certain people not being worth much, and beginning to affirm all.

An accompanying necessity is to learn to express our positions and interests, clearly and nonthreateningly. When disagreeing we must indicate the specific behavior or position in contention and be clear that we are not attacking the whole person. Listening skills are a necessary part of that pattern of interaction. Someone has said that it is impossible to do two things at one time if one of them is creative listening. Without learning what the other says, it is impossible to respond empathetically or intelligently. It was pointed out, however, that good will and good listening do not go far enough. We must develop creative conflict resolving skills also. A search for common goals and values on which to base win-win solutions is a part but must be accompanied by the expanding of our ability to innovate in ideas and actions to reach such a solution. If you are challenged to connect the nine dots, as placed below, with four straight lines, without lifting your pen from the paper, it can only be done if you are able to free yourself from a past which determines the framework in which you think about the problem. It is surprising, and at times quite dangerous, that many • • • very intelligent people box themselves into limited choices • • • because their mental patterns block them from envisioning • • • commonalities of interests and creative choices that exist for dealing positively with issues.

The ultimate step is the building of a supportive network for sustaining the activities and for giving feedback on successes and failures. Without a community of support, our efforts to change old patterns fall by the wayside. I did not grow up in an environment where I experienced the kinds of interactions that I have been talking about, on a regular basis. My present friends and family can testify to the fact that no miracle occurred in my conflict solving even though I became very dedicated to the idea.

Well, I did make some changes, and as I understand, Guilford continued to make changes. There must have been a supportive network, developed for interest seems to have continued and real progress has been made. I get those feelings from people who drop by now and then and in the publications I read. It seems like a good move.

Of course if I were there these days and young again, I would surely miss some of those good old arguments that we used to have, that never went anywhere. I would miss the energy I received from righteous indignation at the lack of concern for issues that I saw as disastrous for the world. On the other hand I accept the possibility that if Guilford and the international community had not moved in the direction I have portrayed, I would not be able to sit here and contemplate the good old days.

## Preparing for Peace by Reducing Fear and Increasing Love

by Freeman T. (Tom) Clark

When the Guilford 2000 colloquium was announced the North Carolina National Guard was carrying out the largest military exercises since World War II. Since our society devotes considerable time and resources preparing for war, I wondered whether it might be useful to ask whether Guilford College can help develop the idea of preparing for peace?

Instead of proposing answers to this question, I will try to adapt the Quaker tradition of formulating queries to sharpen our thinking about what we hope Guilford will be like in 13 years. I hope these questions can help us as we reflect upon Guilford's future.

I would like to make clear that I think Guilford already does much to prepare for peace. Two sentences in the "Statement of Purpose" speak clearly to this.

"The Quaker heritage stresses spiritual receptivity, candor, integrity, compassion, tolerance, simplicity, equality and strong concern for social justice and world peace...Guilford particularly seeks to explore interdisciplinary and intercultural perspectives and to develop a capacity to look beneath the surface of issues, to understand the presuppositions and implications of ideas, and to draw conclusions incisively, critically and with fairness to other points of view."

Consistent with these purposes, students are invited to learn how to think, to develop research skills, to formulate hypotheses and to test these in the laboratory, the world and in discussion with others. These skills are necessary for analyzing and understanding complex situations. Students have opportunities to learn about other nations and cultures. For four years they can experience life in a community of people who share common aims but have diverse personal interests.

As I began pondering the idea of preparing for peace I found it useful to reflect on a very general conception of peace: "Peace is love overcoming fear."

This leads me to ask: Would a more conscious use of this formulation enable Guilford to more effectively and efficiently help prepare for peace?

The formulation suggests that reducing fear and increasing love of others will increase the prospects for peace. I think we already do this to some extent, but may not conceive of it in these terms. For example, one source of fear is the unknown. To the extent that we help students learn about other nations and other people we help reduce a potential source of fear. If we are helping students learn to respect and value others we are helping to increase love.

A brief aside about love is in order. There are three kinds of love: romantic, fraternal and agape. It is the latter, denoting respect and admiration for others, which fits the formulation for peace.

### **Would anything be different at Guilford College if we were more consciously striving to reduce fear/increase love of others?**

I want to stress again that much of what already is done here at Guilford contributes to the search for peace. The questions I pose are offered as a means of inviting you to join me in consciously using the idea of reducing fear/increasing love as an aid to thinking about Guilford's structure and activities.

- What would the organization look like if we were more consciously trying to reduce fear/increase love?

- a) Would we have more faculty from different countries and cultures?

- b) Would we have more U.S. faculty from more diverse socioeconomic backgrounds?

- c) Would we have a more diverse student population? Would we have students from the Soviet Union who could be conversation partners for students learning Russian? We already have a somewhat diverse student population. Are we using this diversity as effectively as we might?

- Would the curriculum be any different if we were more consciously trying to reduce fear/increase love?

- a) Would the value of cultural differences be emphasized?

- b) Would we have courses related to life in pluralistic societies?

- c) Would we have more opportunities to learn how the world is perceived by other people? For example, daily life in the U.S. is influenced substantially by the current tension between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Would we require students to learn something about the history and cultures of the U.S.S.R.? Would we offer a course taught by an intercultural team including Russians?

With regard to the curriculum: since we have never lived in a peaceful world we cannot know completely what knowledge, skills and attitudes would be needed to bring about or to preserve peace. Our experience in trying to find peace, though, suggests that a world at peace will be served by a number of cognitive skills, interpersonal abilities and attitudes of respect and consideration for others. I do not presume that I am capable of identifying all the knowledge, skills and attitudes that might be helpful in preparing for peace. I will simply share some preliminary thoughts about a few areas which I think merit our careful attention. These include:

### **A commitment to the search for truth**

Being primarily an academic community, it is appropriate that Guilford places high value on the search for truth. This is not an easy undertaking. It implies that the seeker has a number of skills with which to search for the truth. It also presumes that the seeker holds certain attitudes and values regarding the search. I see these as including but not being limited to:

- a) Knowing how to obtain information. This includes knowing where to seek information; recognizing the need to actively seek the information (as

opposed to waiting for it to be delivered on one's doorstep with the morning paper); and taking responsibility to keep oneself informed as a responsible world citizen.

b) Being able to assess the validity of information, including how to sort opinion from fact and how to distinguish attempts to inform from attempts to influence.

c) Being able to gain access to information in other languages and presented from different perspectives.

Brief mention of some experiences I have had with sources of information may serve to clarify what I am suggesting here about information overall.

Nearly every time I leave the U.S., I find that the foreign media describes a world different than the one I know from U.S. media. Often the world news comes from perspectives different from those represented in much of the U.S. media. From our understanding of cognitive processes we know that if people do not receive information, that information cannot become part of their reality and their conception of the world. Since much of the information used by U.S. people comes through the English language media there may be gaps in our understanding. If information from one perspective is not tested against information available from other perspectives how can its validity or possible biases be assessed? A specific example may be useful.

In late 1985 the organization Planetary Citizen rated Mexico in first place for world cooperation in its 1984 United Nations voting record. This was widely reported in Mexico. During the same period some major U.S. newspapers ran stories about how a U.S. Representative to the U.N. believed that third world countries, including Mexico, were voting against the U.S. in the United Nations. How does one make sense of these two somewhat divergent pieces of "information"? One perspective conveys the impression that Mexico is cooperative. The other implies that they are uncooperative. What is the real situation? The point here is not to answer this question. Rather I hope it helps illustrate that it is important for people to have access to various points of view so they can decide what to believe. Without regular access to varying perspectives it can be difficult to ascertain whether we are being informed or influenced by the information being given to us. I do not mean to suggest that differing opinions can be found only in foreign language media. There certainly is a wide range of opinion available when one uses the full range of sources available in the U.S. My experience leads me to believe that the international media is useful not only as a source of different perspectives but also can provide insights into different modes of thinking.

From this example I conclude that if one is consciously striving to reduce fear and increase love of others, careful attention should be paid to the basic question: What is information and where it is obtained? With regard to Guilford's educational efforts:

- Do we help students recognize and understand the extent to which

their world view depends on the information they use in developing their conception of reality?

- Do we help students learn about the full range of alternative sources of information available in the English language media? Do we encourage them to develop habits of using the full spectrum available?
- Do we also encourage students to develop usable language skills so they can use the foreign language media as windows into the thinking of others around the world?

### **Can we do more to reduce fear/increase love of others by helping students develop an understanding of how others see the world?**

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn posed the question: "How can a man who is warm understand a man who is cold?"

I find it useful to reflect upon this as I try to imagine what life is like for another person. It helps me try to be a little more humble when I think I can understand how another person views the world. Again an example might be helpful.

It is estimated that more than one half of all the world's people will never turn on an electric light switch or draw water from a faucet. Does looking at the statistic help us in any way understand how these people view the world? What is their reality? How can we even begin to know it? I do not know the answer to these questions. For our purposes, though, I think it is appropriate to ask:

- Can we consider students to be liberally educated if they do not at least know that this other reality exists for most of the world's people?
- Should we expect them to try to grasp some of the meaning this reality has for the people who live it?
- Should off-campus educational experience include exposure to both more developed and less developed situations?

It seems clear to me that the water and energy situation also has some direct implications about the search for peace since it reflects the world's severe disparities in access to resources. As some have stated: "If you want peace, work for justice."

- Should the curriculum include options so that students can gain experience in working for justice? Should students be required to do some community service work with people in disadvantaged situations?
- Should students be required to participate in a semester program in a developing country?
- Should we expect faculty to have some experience involving firsthand contact with people from less advantaged areas or nations?

I'm starting to feel a little long-winded. Since I think there are many areas where Guilford College can help reduce fear and increase love, I will share very quickly a few closing questions that might be useful for us to consider as we move to the future.

Living effectively in a peaceful world probably requires several interpersonal skills.

- Do we teach cooperation and provide opportunities for students to develop cooperative skills?
- Are opportunities to cooperate as readily available to students as opportunities to compete?
- Does the housing on campus foster learning about how to live in community?
- Do we effectively use the presence of international students on campus to help us understand how others view the world?
- Do we help students expand their sense of the community of which they are a part by providing educational opportunities in the larger community?

As I warned you at the beginning I came to raise questions. In closing I don't want to depart from my intent. I mentioned the Quaker tradition using queries as aids to help us concentrate our thinking. The paradigm of some queries also makes clear that often we are choosing how to use our time. To close, then, I want to share a two-part query that I find useful.

For the faculty the query is: If the world were at peace what would I teach today, next week, next month?

Since the world is not at peace, what should I teach today, next week, next month?

For students the query is: If the world were at peace what would I learn today, next week, next month?

Since the world is not at peace, what should I learn today, next week, next month?

## From Adolescence to Young Adulthood: Talking to Oneself About Fund-raising in 2000 A.D.

by Elwood Parker

Be prophetic, you say. Tell us what the status of development at Guilford College will be at the turn of the century. Why ask me? I only work here, and temporarily at that. I'm not really in a position to know. I haven't seen any long-range fund-raising plan that states goals. Wouldn't I be unilaterally suggesting objectives? And what is happening right now in the sesqui-centennial QUEST campaign may largely determine what is happening 13 years from now. That's not over. QUEST results, successes or failures, could alter even the possibilities for 2000. How can I predict? I will be a prognosticator only if you accept my disclaimers. Here goes.

I'll start safely. In the year 2000, the major focus of development (read "fund-raising" since development has several contexts at Guilford) will be on increasing endowment. That is really not a prediction but a logical consequence of our current situation. The primary motivation for the QUEST campaign was to increase endowment, but even if the almost \$3,000,000 QUEST goal for endowment is reached (I'll be bold—it will be), the College's endowment needs will be far from satisfied. Furthermore, Guilford's projected physical plant needs for the early 21st century are being fulfilled, with project completions likely before the year 2000. Thus, what will be left in terms of large capital needs will be endowment. Q.E.D. That was easy.

I suppose I should pick a 2000 A.D. figure for endowment. Here I can be a mathematician. Let's see. Start with \$13,500,000. Figure, conservatively, four and a half percent growth from investment over 13 years, with no additional funds raised. That gives almost \$25,000,000. What if average additional endowment gifts totalled \$500,000 per year over that time? That would push the total to about \$35,000,000, again counting growth from earnings. Is half a million a year realistic? Probably, since QUEST is getting about a million a year and there are known bequests of larger amounts that will be coming in. And the intensity of the QUEST campaign should be maintained after it's over. (Wait, that's a recommendation, not a prediction.) With work, \$35,000,000 is possible. What else? There have been intimations that Guilford will be conducting another capital campaign not long after QUEST is over. Certainly, 40 years won't pass again between campaigns. Aha, another prediction. In 2000, Guilford will be either beginning, in the middle of, or completing a capital campaign (call it reQUEST). It will be an endowment campaign. Can't guess the goal; that will depend on QUEST results and what happens in the interim, but not less than the QUEST goal. So \$10,000,000 minimum, probably 15 or 20. So I end up with: "2000 A.D., Guilford endowment reaches \$40,000,000." Make that 50,000,000. That sounds good.

All of that is on the capital fund-raising side. Let's not forget annual giving. It's the lifeline for development and what leads to capital gifts. More

mathematics could use exponential regression analysis on this. No, keep it simple. At least \$600,000 in Loyalty Fund gifts this year. Gee, that's seven times what it was 10 years ago. Growth has been exponential. That won't continue. Try 10 percent a year in increases. That projects to over \$1,500,000. Probably too much, so hedge by including annual giving to the Quaker Club, Friends of the Library and Friends Center; all of those programs are even newer than the Loyalty Fund and have much room to grow. Got it: "2000 A.D., Annual Giving to Guilford passes the million and half mark."

But what is even more important is the number of donors that contribute annually. That figure has to go up significantly for the dollars to go up. Guilford is now stuck around the 30 percent of alumni level. And the alumni body is getting younger since graduating classes are much larger now. This one is crucial, but also the most difficult, not only to predict but to make work. It's going to depend on the attitude our graduates have about Guilford and how well they are kept involved with the College. Alumni programming plays a role in that. But that is part of development, so I can prognosticate. But what can be said. There's no consistent profile to consider. There are clear notions about what to do. But resources to do it are too limited. Will they be allocated? Oh well, I can be optimistic: "2000 A.D., 60 percent of Guilford alumni contribute to the Loyalty Fund." That's too optimistic. Make it 50 percent.

Actually, there is another factor that is even more crucial to alumni involvement in Guilford development activities. That is the strength of alumni feelings about the College. That happens while they are students. The faculty and staff are the key there. It has always been the case that graduates are as much alumni of certain individual faculty or staff as they are of Guilford. I wonder which ones alumni will talk about in 2000. I hope the friendships with teachers and administrators are still there. But that is Guilford's strength. No worry about that; it won't be lost. After all, that is the essence of Guilford.

Come to think of it, what faculty and staff do plays a major role in development, even beyond their relationships with students. They provide the major means of visibility for the College. Sure, there is a Public Relations Office, but it can only market what has and is happening. Are faculty producing sufficient quality research for high visibility in academic circles? Is there positive community involvement by Guilford people? There has been much good publicity recently—recognitions of the right kind. Will they continue? How firmly fixed is Guilford's image locally? nationally? That makes so much difference in fund-raising, not to mention admissions. Better plead the fifth amendment on this; after all, it's somebody else's prediction.

There is one piece of this topic on which I do have strong feelings. Dare I share them. What the heck? Go ahead. The key staff person in fund-raising is the president. For many prospects for gifts, particularly major ones, there is no substitute. A lot of that image stuff mentioned previously falls on his

or her shoulders, particularly the community involvement. But Guilford demands so much of its president, both in external and internal affairs. What is the proper balance of presidential internal administration and external activity? For the sake of my fund-raising prognosis, I'd better predict that, in 2000 A.D., Guilford's president will be...No, not my bailiwick. I pass.

What else? Oh, yes. Development Office staffing. Current staff with specific responsibilities are of a recent genre. The position of Director of Corporate and Foundation Relations is less than four years old and has been filled less than two of those years. Planned giving programs are scarcely a decade old. Public relations, a development adjunct, also has less than a 10-year history as an operational entity. Only for three years has the Loyalty Fund had full-time staff attention. Computerized development files essentially date from only 1979. And the staff that have filled these positions, including overall direction of development activities and the capital campaign, have, for the most part, been "amateurs," highly committed to Guilford but lacking development experience and expertise. What will this cast of characters be like in 2000? I hope still "amateur" in the sense that the way in which they conduct fund-raising programs fits the Guilford "style" and avoids the maneuvers and "games" that sometimes characterize fund-raising efforts but are not characteristic of the College ethos. But the staff must also be "professional" in the sense that it has experience and expertise and in that it treats colleagues, volunteer help and prospects in a professional manner. Faith in the sensitivity and sensibility of the Guilford community turns that hope into a prediction.

How can I end this? What can be said that is general in oversight rather than particular in nature, yet remains prophetic? I have looked ahead but mainly projecting from the present. Is there something from the past that might help? One thing is clear. Guilford College fund-raising, as a deliberate, organized entity, is of recent vintage. The first comprehensive capital campaign in over 40 years, annual giving programs experiencing growth spurts, recently instituted staff positions, newly acquired national exposure—all within 10 years. Sure, I remember. It was only in a frantic effort during the Field House campaign in the late '70s that the College began to see what was needed to be successful in fund-raising and, more importantly, began to believe that it could be successful. The aborted Challenge for the '70s capital campaign produced scepticism even though many of its goals were met outside a campaign structure. That scepticism is only now being removed by the success of the QUEST campaign. Guilford development is growing up.

That's the metaphor. Guilford may be 150 years old, but fund-raising is just now leaving infancy. The period between now and 2000 will be its adolescence. Teenagers are so confused; no wonder I couldn't figure out what to predict. That sounds negative, but it shouldn't be. The signs are predominantly positive. A final prediction: "2000 A.D., Guilford development reaches young adulthood."

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# Guilford Review

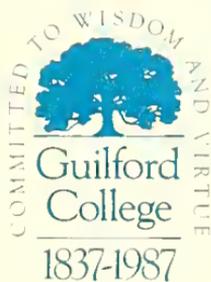
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#### **Editorial Board**

Donald Millholland, Philosophy, Editor  
Ann Deagon, Classics  
William Schmickle, Political Science  
Sheridan Simon, Physics

The idea for this issue of the *Guilford Review* grew out of my appreciation for women pioneers, those who have gone before us and helped to make us what we are. The word, foremothers, refers to those in past generations. Few of the women described in this volume fit the exact definition of the word, but the spirit of the word is captured by all of the lives herein described. Those who have come before us and who continue to exert influence on us, whether they are living or dead, the women who had a song to sing or a story to tell or a look that said it all, these are the subjects of these pages.

Adrienne Israel  
Editor



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# Shaping Influences

by Carter Delafield

Last spring when school was out, I had such a burst of energy that I cleaned out my attic for the first time since we moved into this house over 30 years ago. I am not a pack rat but I do save a lot of things, and my children save things. Each of them was represented in the crowded attic not only by big boxes of old yearbooks and photo albums, but also by cartons of miscellany from their early days of housekeeping, usually as graduate students. None of this “really good stuff, Mom” ever caught their attention again as they went on to more serious housekeeping when they married and established their homes. What I had, I found during those days of sifting and sorting, was the making of a spectacular yard sale. But my domestic impulse was fading; I didn’t want to have a yard sale and the decision as to what to do with these increasing, intriguing piles was weighing heavily on me when Adrienne Israel told me that her church was planning just such a sale. Joyously I loaded boxes and boxes in the old station wagon and delivered myself of everything.

When fall semester started, I was astonished to find one day several old family snapshots and a picture of an old friend in WWII uniform in my mailbox, amongst telephone slips from the Correspondence Center and announcements from the dean. But then I realized that Adrienne must still be sorting the sale items and that these odds and ends must have slipped into one of the cartons by mistake. But the next day Adrienne accosted me, “What have you got against your family? Why are you disposing of all those pictures of your relatives? And if you don’t want the pictures don’t you at least want some of those frames?” I was startled; of course I hadn’t meant to give away family pictures. I didn’t even know I’d had a box of them in the attic. I had no idea what to expect when Adrienne said she’d bring them in the next day.

## MY FAMILY

And here they are, my family: my father’s younger brother killed at Verdun in World War I, my grandfather when he was still a colonel, a cousin as a lt. (j.g.), my brother as a captain, my great grandfather “Major William Henry Rossell at the age of 4,” as a note on the back of the picture informs, my great, great grandmother, about whom I know nothing except her name and that her husband fought in the War of 1812. My father’s mother, age three, in full skirted plaid taffeta, looking solemn, another picture of her as a young woman with a 20-inch waist holding a closed fan. I never knew her, my father never knew her. She died at thirty-six having her tenth child while her husband was off on some inspection of troops or military installations somewhere. To me, this box is full of my family’s military past — I know what all these men did in the wars of this country, but of the women, so little. Why did Adrienne say that it was this haphazard collection of pictures that gave her the idea of a *Guilford Review* issue about our foremothers? Were the few pictures of the women on top? All these men have influenced my life, but not these women — though fortunately for me, other women have: my other grand-

mother and my mother's older sister.

My mother's mother was 39 when her seventh child, my mother, was born. She, herself, was born in 1855 and so remembered the Civil War vividly and life before that when she lived on a large and prosperous tobacco farm — and, yes, it was called a plantation. She made her childhood vivid for us with stories of the simple pleasures of life in a world where time was measured by the changes and the fruits of the seasons. In the summer there was fishing in the river Dan which flowed past the deep front yard, wading for the girls and swimming for their brothers. In September when the tobacco was being cured, the children were allowed to take supper to the hands watching over the process and in the dusk to listen to the bright music of the banjo and the tales of Br'er Rabbit and Br'er Fox. There were harvest suppers for field hands and family while the wheat was being harvested and she could make me feel the excitement of finding a nest of partridge eggs in the field exposed by the reapers. She told of trips to visit a grandfather who lived 60 miles away which meant a night spent at the old tavern at Salem and, to me, most exciting of all the events of the second day of the journey, crossing the bridgeless Yadkin River on a frail flat boat — I was breathless as she described the scene: horse and carriage being driven down a steep bank onto the rough little craft, and the tension of fear lest the horses become frightened, not released until the carriage was again on the rutted road on the other side.

## WAR TALES

There were tales of the war too, though for the most part they were tales of increasing privation as central North Carolina was never the scene of battles. A cousin wounded in the fighting around Richmond recuperated in the household and his three sisters, refugees from Mobile, stayed nearly two years between 1863 and 1865 bringing with them in that period of acute food shortage, three maids to take care of their personal needs. There was the story of the terror when, with stories of the devastation of the countryside when Sherman's troops swept through Georgia, fresh in everyone's minds, the houseful of women and children waited through the night for Yankee General Stoneman's troops who were reported on the road leading past the old house. Only late the next day did news reach them that just a few miles from the house, the soldiers had chosen another road and were already miles beyond them. I listened to these stories with fascination and as a child I shared my grandmother's fierce hostility to Abraham Lincoln, whom she held personally responsible for "everything." Even then, though, I was troubled by one thing: my grandmother had been promised that when she was ten she could have a maid of her own and she was resentful to the end of her life that, because of Abraham Lincoln and the rest of the Yankees, the promise had to be broken. Even though I shared her outrage at the Yankees, I was glad she never got her maid, because even as a child I realized that there was something very wrong. I want to use the word *evil* though I can't think of my own grandmother in those terms, but she had expected, at age ten, to be given another human being, and that never seemed to her wrong. She taught me to see slavery as a benevolent institution, and it was many

years before I realized why I was so bothered by that story about the maid and before I came to terms with the tragic reality of the old South where so many decent people as well as wicked ones were blind to overt evil that has led so directly to the racism that plagues our country today and will continue to do so into the unforeseeable future.

My grandmother was much more to me than a storyteller. She was a major figure in my childhood, as my brother and sister and I were, as the children of her “baby,” singled out as special among her fourteen grandchildren, and we spent a lot of time with her. She was unlike anybody else’s grandmother in my experience, to begin with, in appearance: she was very tall for a woman of her generation, 5 feet six inches, thin and ramrod straight. She wore, winter and summer, black dresses of no known style which just cleared the ground—cotton or silk in summer, in winter silk or soft wool. As I remember those dresses they all seemed identical—with elaborate vertical tucking as the only decoration on the fitted bodice. The tight standing collar was covered with crisp white organdy pinned in place with a brooch jet and the white organdy was repeated at the cuffs of long tight sleeves. The skirt was flowing, whether from the dictates of art or practicality I have no way of knowing, but it was necessity, because Mamonie, as we called her (a baby’s corruption of Grandmother), was a woman of physical vigor, in motion from early morning certainly until my bedtime. When she went out, she pinned a tiny black silk cap edged with white ruching on top of her head with long silver hat pins and as she walked, the black silk veil that hung from this widow’s bonnet and reached down to her shoulder blades lifted in the breeze of her brisk movement. She was around seventy when I first remember her and she had worn this heavy mourning since the death of her husband when she was forty-two. It was particularly startling in the 1920s, the year of my childhood, when my mother and her friends wore dresses above their knees.

## THE RESCUE

When she was seventy-six and spending the summer at Beaufort, she saved someone from drowning. She saw the woman floundering in deep water and, without taking time to think that she herself was unable to swim, she sailed into the water — widow’s bonnet and all — and held the young woman up, yelling so loudly before she lost consciousness, that she was heard by people on the main street more than a block away. When she came to, stretched on the sand in her dripping black, she heard a bystander say, “This old lady’s too old to be in this water!” and, regaining her dignity with her consciousness, she drew herself up on her elbow and replied tartly, “I was *not* in it for pleasure.”

Other people’s grandmothers didn’t look like her either. Even if they were in mourning, they wore a lot of lavender and white with black polka dots and nobody else wore those long dresses. And other people’s grandmothers would merely have called for help if they’d seen somebody drowning. She was certainly different but, as I think about it now, I cannot imagine that Mamonie ever gave even a passing thought to what other people thought of her. I can imagine the scorn she would have shed

on anyone who as much as asked her to consider such a triviality. She knew what was right and wrong (black & white), she knew who she was. What could there possibly be to question? When she kept chickens in her small backyard in a modern suburb, would any neighbor have *dared* to object? I know no one did and I think I know why.

Mamonie was a stern Presbyterian and I have expended energy past assessment in my efforts to escape from that grim creed. I cannot have been much more than two when she initiated my theological education with a children's version of the Shorter Catechism. I remember only the first questions, "Who made you?" and the answer, "God," which she accompanied with a dramatic gesture, pointing upward. Like most small children, I took things very literally and looked up to see at whom she was pointing. The answer for me was the portrait over the mantelpiece. I thought Mamonie was pointing to that, the only visible image in sight: a dour old Scotswoman with a humorless mouth and colorless eyes wearing a ruffled bonnet. Mary Spraggins, so aptly named, was my image of God and to this day, over sixty years later, any mention of God immediately brings her face into my mind.

Mamonie was not like other people's grandmothers in other ways. She was never ill; she was never idle; she was not a listener. She ran her own small house until the very last years of her life, cooked well, gardened extensively. When I was invited to spend the night I knew that I would be the center of attention. There would be the stories, of course, but also my very favorite foods probably fried chicken, rice and gravy. Sally Lunn bread, hot from the oven for supper with coconut cake for dessert, and for breakfast: broiled tomatoes with bacon and grits, and of course a tea party in the afternoon with real tea and Mamonie's special tea cakes flavored incredibly with the Viennese specialty 4711 cologne. In the afternoon we'd be outdoors, vigorously involved with the chickens, the garden, the neighbors, my grandmother's spectacularly beautiful police dog, Jean Valjean, and when it grew dark there would be stories beside the fire before supper and, after supper, games: backgammon, perhaps, or 20 questions and, at bedtime, reading aloud: Louisa May Alcott, Mark Twain, Dickens. Mamonie didn't worry about what was suitable for children. She read what intuitively appealed to her and I am grateful.

## EDUCATION

She valued education though she herself had had little — only that curriculum of trivia that was considered appropriate for girls of her generation who had only to concern themselves with marriage and motherhood. She was intelligent but her mind was never trained in any pattern of analytical thinking. Her response to any intellectual question was entirely intuitive and emotional. But intuitively she knew the world was changing. And although she never analyzed the question, she was vigorous in her concern for the education of her grandchildren. She taught most of us to read herself — and in the case of my sister, her youngest grandchild and intellectually gifted, she intervened when Peg was being bored into inertia by first grade reading instruction in little books that started out, "Bow wow wow. My name is Wag. I have no

home. I want a home. I want to live with a little boy." She took over the job herself. She taught Peg to read out of a beautifully written history of England intended for children in the upper elementary grades which my sister remembers and loves to this day.

She was not like other people's grandmothers in personality. She was not gentle or fragile; she was formidable and strong. She knew more about duty than she did about love, but her vigor was exciting, and perhaps her most important quality was that she was not afraid of life. Part of the Southern Gothic tradition, she didn't expect life to be easy. Indeed she expected terrible things to happen, and they did, although not as often as she expected them to. But when the hard things came, she did more than endure. With the financial panics of the 1890s which left her recently widowed with very little money and with six of her seven children not yet grown, she didn't falter. She sold the much loved country place and moved to Greensboro, rented a big house and took in boarders. Everybody except the littlest got some kind of job and life went on; the children felt secure. I remember her strength when her youngest son, a man much loved and much respected, died in his early forties; she was the comforter. I've often wondered if her indomitable personality was not shaped by her childhood years during the Civil War when she lived in a world of women, independent because they had to be, facing mounting difficulty with courage and dignity because they didn't have anything else.

## MY AUNT

This grandmother's older daughter is the other major influence among my foremothers. Of course, I am using that term loosely: Forebears are people you've descended from, usually of generations earlier than your grandparents—but what do I know of the influence of those earlier women? In my family history, as in history in general, they simply don't exist. I can only write of those I knew personally and my aunt was nearly a generation older than my mother, nineteen when Mother was born. In the years when she was a child, the family lived in that big rambling house in the country, near Wentworth. There weren't any schools, so my grandfather taught the older children himself and my aunt studied the same subjects as her brothers: literature, mathematics, history, Greek and Latin. Modern languages and music had to wait for the University and, as women weren't accepted there in those days, she never had them and enjoyed music only as an amateur.

When the move to Greensboro came, she soon found employment as teacher of Latin in the high school. She taught with all the intensity of her personality and of her passion for her subject, and I remember being fascinated by the letters she continued to receive all her life long from people she'd taught thirty or forty years earlier to whom she was still important.

She was unlike her mother in many ways. First she was physically tiny, not quite five feet and, although she could have her dresses made, getting shoes in size 2AAAAA was an impossibility. Her health was fragile and after seven or eight years she had to retire from teaching, but her interest in people was too strong to allow her to remain idle for very long, even to

rest. Her next job, I think under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, didn't have any name but was much like what women in the settlement houses in New York and Chicago were doing. Her work was in the Cone Mill village where she attempted to bring some kind of enrichment to families where parents worked 12-hour shifts and children didn't finish elementary school before they too joined the work force in the mills. As I have heard the story, she came home after having completed a year of activity far beyond her physical strength, came home from having put on a Christmas pageant and Christmas party for all the mill families, saying she was so tired she felt that she wanted to go to bed and never get up—and she didn't get up for seven years, following that old Southern pattern that Faulkner uses in *Absolom Absolom*. But one of the things about my aunt that I particularly admire is that she broke the pattern—she didn't disintegrate and finally waste away. Instead she got up, started a new life, and a third career. She trained in the New York Public Library and ultimately came back to North Carolina to help establish the system of public libraries in the state. As a child, I loved helping her in her little storefront library in Thomasville. Her love of books was infectious and I enjoyed her pleasure in mounting circulation figures. I saw her helping individual library patrons develop their tastes and broaden their interests. She spent a lot of time talking to people and I can remember her delight when she found just the right book for somebody. And she did it often, because she knew so much about the people who came to her. Whatever her profession of the moment, she was always a teacher.

## THE CRASH

My mother, my brother and sister, and I lived with her for a semester when I was nine. The market crash had come and our family wanderings had begun. We'd sold our house; my father had gone to Connecticut to work and to find a place for us to live. All this was confusing and besides, with this changing of schools, I was in an arithmetic class too advanced for me. I remember one night when I was tired and frustrated and upset because I couldn't do my math homework. I couldn't understand her patient explanations. When I was becoming panicky and moving toward hysteria, she calmed me completely. She promised me, *promised me* that, if I would go to bed now and go to sleep, that there would be plenty of time in the morning to do the lesson and that I would understand it. I knew that if she said it, it was so. So solid was my belief in her integrity that all anxiety vanished and in the morning, just as she said, the problems suddenly became perfectly clear. And she could promise because she knew me and knew my mind. That security that comes from being able to trust people because you know they always tell the truth is something that was part of my life because it was part of my family's value system, so I had the luxury, not just with her but, always, of an important kind of stability in a world at sixes and sevens.

In all probability—no, *without doubt*—it is because of this aunt that both my sister and I became teachers. Although when I was college age and didn't know what I wanted to do, I felt safe in checking off one thing I knew I *didn't* want to do: teach. It took me a while, but looking back, I

I can see that the pattern was established for me certainly by the time I was three. When my aunt came to visit she established certain exotic rules: we could come and get in bed with her as soon as we waked up, behavior more than frowned on by our parents. I can remember still those early morning visits in a house still cold, furnace still banked. I can remember the warmth of the greeting and then warmth of the bed as we snuggled together under the blankets. Then came the stories.

## STORIES

They were nothing like my grandmother's stories about her own experiences. These were full of excitement and action and they ranged all through history. What I know especially is that they were continued stories. Every morning when we got to a particularly exciting point, there was always the same refrain, "That's all for this morning! Come back tomorrow." And it did no good to beg—that was all for this morning.

What I couldn't know then but learned by degrees over the years was that my aunt was not an originator of stories; she was a superb adapter. She could take any tale out of the depth and breadth of her reading of literature and history and adapt it for an audience of any age. This led to some odd perceptions. The first time I ever saw a thumbtack, for example, I thought it was a miniature Greek shield. It was one of those large, shiny metal tacks they used to use in schools and maybe still do. I don't know how old I was, but it was long before I went to school myself. I remember my wonderment and fascination with it. I also remember what I chose to do with it, though *nothing* of my rationale for doing it: I put it up my nose. There was considerable confusion later in the day when first my mother and then the doctor tried to discover the source of my obvious discomfort. "Did you put something up our nose?" "Yes." "What?" "A little Greek shield." Just as the doctor was dismissing it all as fantasy, he made one final, deeper probe and out it popped, neither he nor my mother having the faintest idea why that utilitarian thumbtack seemed to me a miniature of the weapon of a soldier in the Peloponnesian War.

The visits and the stories went on for years and, ultimately, I began to discover them in books: Greek history, Greek mythology, Icelandic sagas, the *Nibelungenlied*, the story of Charlemagne, *El Cid*, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, on and on. And looking back, I realize that as I continued to find in books those stories that had enchanted me literally from babyhood, I received firmer and firmer protection against bad teaching. Yes, teachers could make learning dull and they did, often. But it didn't matter. Because I knew absolutely and, from my own experience, repeated over and over, that there was wonder and excitement in stories and that stories came from books. It was a priceless lesson and I don't know why it took me so long to realize that I wanted to be a teacher, to pass along some of that richness that had been given to me so generously. Perhaps because I don't have my aunt's extraordinary gifts. But I've never forgotten what she gave me, and I've tried as best I can with my lesser skills to pass some of it along to others.

# Remembrances of Strong Women

by Damon D. Hickey

The deaths during this academic year (1986-87) of both my mother and my sister have led me to want to try to express what these women have meant for me. Perhaps it is too early yet to come to terms with their lives, but it is therapeutic for me to make the attempt.

Mother was born Ethel Elizabeth Place, October 5, 1904, in Buffalo, New York, the only child of Claude Damon and Fanny Elizabeth Frank Place of Seneca Falls. When Mother finished high school, she and her parents moved to Houston, Texas, where she enrolled at Rice Institute (now University) as a mathematics major.

While Mother was at Rice she kept hearing the name "Hickey." My father and his six brothers and sisters, sharecropper's children from the Deep South, were all enrolled there. Mother disliked her last name (Place), since it seemed every one of her teachers took delight in calling her "Miss Placed." But she told her mother that she was glad at least she hadn't been born with the name "Hickey." Then she acquired it through marriage ("a judgment on me," she always said). Daddy was a World War I navy veteran, trying to finish his degree. They met in the Rice Chemistry Library where Mother worked, and where she helped Daddy with his course work. They were married on the evening of June 4, 1928. That morning Mother got her B.A. as a Place; she said she owed it to her parents, who had put her through school, to graduate with their name. But it's at least possible that, having grown up in the town where the Woman's Rights Movement was born, she may have made that gesture for herself, as well as for her parents.

My sister, Doralyn Joanne Hickey, was born on Mother's twenty-fifth birthday, October 5, 1929. Later that month the stock market crashed. Daddy never finished his degree at Rice; he lacked just one course, but the Depression and a wife and baby meant he had to work wherever and whenever he could. It was layoff and move, layoff and move for many years, leaving its mark on Mother as an anxious Depression bride, constantly worried about money, security, and practicality. Daddy, a slow, easygoing person who was thoroughly honest, sober, and hardworking, but had no money management skills, both complemented and aggravated Mother's compulsiveness.

Sister was named for both Mother's cousin Dora and her friend Dora. Mother added the "lyn," so that her daughter wouldn't be labelled "Dumb Dora" as she'd been "Miss Placed." When Mother's father died in the 1930s, Grandmother came to live with Mother, Daddy, and Sister. Unfortunately she disliked Daddy, and rarely even spoke to him. Because of her grief and isolation after Granddaddy's death, both my parents deferred to her, and she became the dominant member of the family. But her being in the home enabled Mother to go back to work outside. She returned to Rice, as physics librarian, until 1942. Mother had been told that she would be unable to have a second child, and for thirteen years that had been true. But on October 30, 1942, I was born. Mother was thirty-eight and Daddy was forty-three.

Two days later Daddy, who was working for the railroad, fell off a locomotive, suffered a head injury, and nearly died. He recovered, but was never as alert as before. (The railroad, to avoid a lawsuit, gave him lifetime employment.) Mother never returned to work outside the home. Grandmother found in my birth a miraculous gift from heaven and the reason she had been "kept on this earth" after Granddaddy's death. My sister, who was thirteen, looked on me as her special charge, particularly as the years passed and she never married or had a family of her own.

So I grew up with three "mothers" and a slow, quiet father. Grandmother was crippled with arthritis, and frequently voiced her wish that she could die and "be with Granddaddy." But she refused to give up, and was determined to earn her keep. She rose at four-thirty every morning, bathed and exercised, did her devotional reading, and made breakfast for the family. She did most of the cooking, washed everything by hand and hung it out to dry, and did most of the housecleaning. Mother did the grocery shopping and helped with the laundry and cleaning. Both were apprehensive about the outside world, were annoyed by Daddy and his family, and doted on the children, especially me. I had the only family in the neighborhood that would literally gather on the front porch to wave goodbye whenever one of us went to the corner grocery (even after we were grown). Both were intensely religious. Grandmother no longer attended church: her religiosity was primarily sentimental. For years after I grew up, her letters to me were extended quotations from cloying religious poems and the Bible. But Mother was a church person, and our standard conversation over Sunday dinner was an intellectual and theological critique of the sermon. I always knew that I would become a minister.

If Grandmother ruled through her grief, and Mother controlled through her organizational skills, Sister dominated by the force of her personality and intellect. (It was her choice to have me call her "Sister," since she felt that "Doralyn" was too hard a name for a child to pronounce. Years later I tried to call her by her given name, but never felt right about it.) A brilliant student (Phi Beta Kappa at Rice, graduating with honors in mathematics), she could usually win any argument at home. She could also be great fun, and loved to take me on trips, particularly as I outgrew childhood and became a more interesting traveling companion. She was always generous. But our personality clashes were monumental, and lasted until a couple of years before her death. When she was in graduate school at Duke, I visited her (my first time away from home), and cried on the return to Houston because I missed her so much. But years later, when she invited my wife, small daughter, and me to live with her for several months, it turned out to be a time of tension for all of us.

Daddy died of Alzheimer's in 1984. By that time he and Mother had been living with Sister in Denton, Texas, for several years, following Grandmother's death. The disease exaggerated the aspects of his personality that most aggravated Mother and Sister. After his death, they seemed to be constantly on each other's nerves. Mother's compulsiveness, especially about finances, irritated her daughter who had established her own independent lifestyle. Mother entered a nursing home and died there in her sleep, of bone marrow cancer, on August 7, 1986 (on her grand-

daughter Doralyn's sixteenth birthday). Sister, who had been fighting cancer for years, was struck with a viral infection that her body could not fight off, and died quickly on March 18, 1987.

I think it's only since their deaths that I've really appreciated Mother and Sister. Mother was a strong and independent woman, an only child who was reared to think for herself and to be her own person. But her culture, her times, her marriage, my birth so late in her life, and Daddy's accident frustrated any hope she may have had for creative work beyond the home, other than volunteer church work. Her people skills and her organizing skills made her an ideal librarian, even though she had little chance to practice her profession. Those skills were also needed in our household. As an adult I sometimes wished she were there to organize my finances; she knew how to make ends meet. She was also a rock for many in the church. She could always be depended on to play the piano, lead a Bible study, or listen to someone's problems. She never forgot a birthday. Everyone in the church was on her list and got a card. Even after Mother's death, Sister was able to send several people cards she had bought, signed, addressed, dated, and stamped a month before.

Her pastor told me with obvious surprise how Mother had grown on him. She seemed to be a sweet older person, but as he got to know her, he discovered a lively intelligence and sense of humor he had not expected. People loved to go to the house to visit her and often stayed longer than they had planned. It was partly her loving spirit, but it was also her competence that drew them. She was a survivor who had brought herself and her family through, with a remarkable degree of grace, and whose passion for excellence was undiminished.

Sister and I were both educated for religious vocations, and both of us changed careers to become librarians. She became a teacher of library science, and one of the leaders in our profession. She earned master's degrees in library science and religion, and held a Ph.D. in religion. She taught in two graduate schools of library and information science and was dean of a third, for a total of 25 years. She authored or coauthored several books, wrote numerous professional articles, edited a professional journal, held high offices in her profession, participated in international library affairs, chaired numerous major committees, and received the American Library Association's highest award in her field. At her death she was professor of library and information science at North Texas State University. She was also a leader in the Presbyterian Church as superintendent of her Sunday school, chairperson of major committees, ruling elder, and commissioner to the church's general assembly. She combined her academic fields by teaching courses in theological librarianship, educating many of the nation's seminary and divinity school librarians.

When I became a librarian in 1975, nearly every other librarian in North Carolina had been her student at Chapel Hill or her colleague. Three of the present staff at Guilford studied under her. I have yet to meet anyone who did not admire and respect her. "The strength of her intellect" is the phrase I hear most often. She did not "suffer fools gladly," as the minister said in her memorial service. One of her frequent phrases, particularly when she was driving, was "those stupid idiots." Few people

were aware of her cancer, and indeed she taught her full course load until a couple of weeks before her death. She referred to her cancer as "this nonsense." She did not like disorder, chaos, sloppiness, nonsense, or stupidity.

Yet she could procrastinate as well as anyone; her office was awash in stacks of paper; and the majority of her replies to letters about professional matters seemed to begin with some form of the statement, "Please forgive the lateness of this response." Of her cancer she once said to me, "How can I be angry with something that's part of me?" Her impatience with stupidity, inconsistency, disorder, irrational behavior, and above all lack of consideration for others was also her impatience with herself. Yet when she tried to reject all the "nonsense," she could not, because it was also her own nonsense.

Sister was a feminist, but not in the commonly understood sense. She simply never doubted that she was at least the equal of any man, and once said that she had never been blocked from doing what she wanted because of her gender. She got her confidence from both Mother and Daddy, and from her own accomplishments. Whenever a strong and competent chairperson was needed for curriculum revision, a church matter, or a professional committee, she was the logical choice. Behind that lay years in which Mother had taken leadership roles in church and work, and had provided a model as a homemaker who organized her husband, her household, and herself to get by during hard times.

Whenever something needed fixing, Sister's colleagues turned to her again, and she usually succeeded. Behind that lay years in which Daddy had encouraged her to help with his many workshop projects, demystifying things mechanical and electrical, and assuming that she could work with them as well as anyone. Daddy had no reason to see women as frail or lacking in ability. His sisters had picked cotton in the fields beside him. All had finished Rice with better grades than he. One became the first woman to earn a Rice doctorate. His mother had been better educated than his father. His wife had tutored him in college, and was a better organizer than he. He was proud of them all, and never seemed to feel threatened by their strength.

Growing up with three strong women (and a rather quiet, retiring man) was not easy. Theirs was a hard act to follow, and it has taken me years to become comfortable with my own competence as an adult, my own ways of dealing with the chaos within and without, and my relationships with both males and females. But when our daughter was born in 1970, we named her Doralyn, for my sister. I wanted her to grow up knowing that a woman need not be limited in any way, and to see and appreciate her aunt's strengths, as well as her mother's. Sister was devoted to her namesake, who became the young traveling companion I once had been. Not surprisingly they also had their own monumental personality conflicts.

The strength that was visible to me as a child in Grandmother, Mother, and Sister was not their greatest strength, but was what they projected for themselves and for others to see. Beneath that for Grandmother was the incredible physical and emotional courage to get up before dawn and

live through every day. For Mother it was the determination not to be crushed by financial hardship. And it was the ability to retain her concern for others, her sense of humor, and her commitment to excellence in the face of lost opportunities and the infirmities of old age. For Sister it was facing the prospect of loneliness and an insidious disease with undiminished energy and generosity.

In accepting at face value the image of strength they projected, I missed both the underlying strength and the vulnerability it masked. In the midst of an argument with Sister, I would be shocked when something I said (in self-defense against her "unfair attack") would hurt her. She seemed too strong to be hurt. But when she was in the hospital for cancer two years ago, and thought she was dying, our relationship changed. She stopped trying to be in charge of everything. Her impatience disappeared. She let me take care of her and Mother. She let herself be vulnerable. At one point she even exclaimed, "I'm so glad you're my brother!" She never stopped being strong, but she stopped hiding behind a facade of strength. After she recovered, many of her old controlling behaviors returned, and she seemed to forget the more vulnerable self I had glimpsed. But I remembered, and it made it easier for me to see her whole, and to lay aside my childhood pattern of relating to her.

Something similar happened with Mother. In the spring of 1986 she went into the hospital, and it became clear that she would have to go to a nursing home. I flew out and found her very confused and unable even to feed herself. The doctor warned us that the move to the nursing home would probably be disorienting for her. Instead, she became clearer and stronger, and was able in little over a week to eat with other residents in the dining hall. She seemed able to let go of her need to manage all the details of her life. Her chronic anxiety gave way to a deeper serenity and dignity. Later on, the anxiety returned, and she tried to do without the oxygen she needed because she was worried about how much it would cost. But, as with Sister's changes the year before, the return of her familiar pattern did not negate the strong, quiet acceptance revealed in those more peaceful moments.

My Grandmother, Mother, and Sister were strong women, but their strength took different forms at different stages of their lives. In time, I'll probably become aware of stages that I was too involved with my own growth and development to notice. I was aware of the "public" strength which they projected, but which I failed to recognize as a mask to hide their vulnerability and anxiety. Later, I came to recognize the inner strength with which they managed their fears and shaped their environment. And near the end of their lives, I glimpsed a still deeper inner strength that permitted them to put aside their fears, to stop trying to control their environment, to accept their vulnerability, and to receive active love and support from those to whom they had always given. Theirs were strengths "made perfect in weakness," as their religious faith would have expressed it. I am grateful to have been able at last to begin to see, celebrate, and appropriate those strengths.

# Death of a Quaker Wise Woman

by R. Melvin Keiser

Turning, turning slowly  
Her arms rising reaching toward the ceiling  
Lifting the diaphanous veil of her mortality,  
Sheets and nightgown, tugging to be free.

We arrived at dusk  
Drawn by word and love.  
Coma deep in an ample room  
Wired, tubed, spitted  
Amidst the medical mechanisms,  
She lay breathing waiting beyond reach  
Her heart flexing like worn-out-rubber—  
Old self worn into wisdom  
Heart hours from the end.

("I want to be myself to the last.")

"We have one more drug we can try.  
It may have some effect.  
But of course we understand  
You don't want her life prolonged  
If she is no longer herself;  
Her wish, we understand."

Night watch and sleeping  
Service to the living and dying.

New day without change  
Remove modern medicine  
Life-line to consciousness  
Needles no longer  
"The oxygen too please, it rubs raw"—  
Waist long brown hair head nurse stirs  
Warm brown eyes widen in wonder.

"You must understand," the doctor said,  
Now that my colleague has unhooked her,  
She is still in critical condition."

No, we thought, the word is "dying."  
Death is her destiny today  
To come calmly at its call  
No recall from coma.

Her doctor son:

"She is growing grayer  
As kidneys spread and heart will stop."

But literary daughter thinks:

"Warm flesh rising with reddening life."

Ready for the end  
We watch intently;  
With no change  
We stray to our own ends.

If only she would  
Return to say "farewell"  
Send us on our way  
But she sinks beneath the medical mind  
For whom another "hello" is a  
Miracle beyond imagining.

"Hello" she simply said  
Rising from unreachable depths

Beyond word and deed  
At the fatal fringe of life  
Lying long in shadow  
Waiting to outwit medical wisdom  
Once released from equipmental entanglements  
Trusting her children to remember.

Her countenance radiant shone upon us  
A lodestone drawing our love  
Back from the jagged edges of our day.  
Dying has its own rhythms  
Incarnateness its own destiny to fulfill;  
She was with us again  
Miracle of presence as present witness.

And then begins our final walk  
Together we journey as she is there  
With smile, touch, word;  
When she rests we sit and wait.

Others join the journey  
Violin tape of grandchild's play,  
Granddaughters' talk from San Francisco,  
Phone call from western wilderness,  
Life-long friends share sustaining silence  
Ingathering  
Sacramental celebration of a sacred self.

As ever the occasion outstrips us  
There's more in the milieu than the mind can measure  
More in the meeting than meets the "I"  
Much we must figure later.

To the talk and play she says "That's delightful";  
To the call she listens intently;  
In the silence she lies low  
Rousing to return "Farewell" —

Beatific bearing bringing joy  
From the primordial pool of dream.

"She cannot stay here  
There's nothing more to do  
You have refused our further aid  
We are not hospitable to homecoming  
But only health bringing success  
No failing here for us."

"The doctors say to leave;  
Do you want to go home?"  
"I would like that," she whispers.

Greeting every nurse by name  
At home she settles in to die.

Sent to dinner  
Solicitous to us all  
Until the end  
We eat the bread of life  
At the edge of death.

Watch waiting with her in turns  
Through the dark of night  
Wake now for the end is near.

No terror in that dying  
But sadness and wit.  
The body has its work to do  
Alembic of the soul  
Heart of life  
We must labor to die.  
Work like birth it was:  
What final shaping of soulscape  
In flesh's forging of the lapis of self  
We do not know  
For they're not for us the living, yet  
Her face a dance  
Of comic and tragic halves.

Breathing in the world  
Exhaling self  
Rhythm of inner and outer  
Working to take the last.  
Silent cessation then setting to again.

Punctual always to a point  
At the end she is through on time  
For son's breakfast with in-laws.  
As we withdraw sustaining hands  
Tear-studded we laugh

And now stigmata-like  
Fullfaced we bear the dance.

# My Foremother's Garden

by Beth Keiser

"My master hath a garden . . ." began the Alma Mater of Green Hedges, the neighborhood school I attended from nursery through fifth grade. This line is for me a powerful and telling connection to the school's founder, Frances Kilmer, a woman whose vision and professional accomplishments as educator I want to celebrate in this essay.

It seems to me now that I have associated that garden I sang about every morning at Green Hedges with every significant experience of order that I have encountered since then, whether imaginary or real. It opened the door to a mazy and monumental landscape of my mind, constructed from pictures and words, from places I've been in the external world and from places others have created from their visions of what this world partly reveals, partly conceals. My first world, the mental place from which I set forth and to which I return to find it both familiar and ongoingly strange, was a kindergarten classroom that opened out onto the winedark sea of the Homeric past, and into the uncharted space of our planet's future. It was created because for Frances and Kenton Kilmer, there was no more desirable aim for their own children than that they should be educated, along with others, "to hold onto a lifeline of greatness and beauty extending from the first cave fires with their tenuous memories of God to the quiet Frostian hand-on-the shoulder 'You come too,' and to have them wish to extend this line to the future."

These are Frances Kilmer's words from an essay she wrote in 1965 about Green Hedges. Since her vision has a bearing on many questions we wrestle with at Guilford, including how our education program might change schooling for the better in our state, I want to quote from it more amply. She begins in her storytelling voice:

*Once upon a time there was a school built at the top of a hill. Twisty paths led to the school hidden among clumps of trees where there were occasional rope swings that one could use if one were a child wishing to look at the world or observe a squirrel, or a bird, or a butterfly, or a caterpillar.*

*The trees were great old trees, and Robin Hood, King Arthur, the dryads, Apollo, Diana, Thor, the Seven Dwarfs, and Mrs. Tigglywinkle lived among them at the beck and call of the children who knew all about them.*

*Yet in spite of this fascinating approach, the children were never late, for the teachers awaiting them had always more wonders to give; more secrets to help one discover; more people to tell about who knew the way to think out problems, answer disturbing puzzles, and open more and more doors to horizons whose limits were set only by curiosity and understanding.*

*The teachers would show the way to the building of all beautiful things — out of words and sounds, motions*

*and colors; out of stones and bricks and steel — and they would wait patiently for thoughts to grow in one and shake one and finally take shape.*

*They would help one understand ugliness, pity, cruelty, love God and know the devil.*

*The children graduating from this school would meet adulthood with the excitement of well-armed challenge, fully enlightened idealism, the innocence of childhood, and the courage of real wisdom.*

*The obvious conclusion is that the principal must have been Don Quixote at some unrecorded time of his errant life.*

She goes on to describe as part of the rudimentary equipment with which the school began “a big old house (not on a hill).” What she doesn’t say is that it was a frame house in need of paint set behind scraggly hedges, with trees and bushes that were not particularly memorable and a lawn that was muddy in many spots, the grass sparse or worn entirely away by the feet of children at their games. This was not an impressive dwelling by real estate standards, not at least when compared to the houses in the fashionable new development where I was, even at the age of three, proud to live. (— proud perhaps because my realtor father had advertised it using a picture of me clad only in a ribbon tied in a huge and tactfully placed bow, beneath which was the title: “Tara — Two Years Old and Growing Fast.”) One year after we moved there, I was ready for school, or at least, my mother was ready to send me. She must have heard from neighbors about the family starting up a school in their house at the bottom of the hill, and one day she walked me through the gate in the hedge, across the scruffy lawn, up onto the porch and we knocked at the French doors.

That first visit I don’t remember as such, nor what I thought of Mrs. Kilmer during the interview. What remains instead is a composite image of many mornings when I would walk into her library, through those French doors, and feel both the awe of stepping across a threshold into a world utterly different from the one I had just left and the deep familiarity of coming home.

But before I go further in paying homage to this foremother and her garden, I must celebrate my mother, who had her own ways of cultivating the master’s garden. Since I was a child born quite late in her life, she included me in her various endeavors. As I watched her working with prospective homebuyers, I understood that she was as interested in helping them make a good choice for their family’s needs as she was in bringing in another sale for the real estate firm she and my father ran from our home. In her off-hours, she was a caregiver for not only her aging parents and an aunt, but for many, many others of a clan that numbered over seventy in the Washington area. And she was a great patroness of the evangelical arts, forever entertaining the itinerant preachers, bringing neighbors and friends and even clients to tent meetings, and helping the Pentecostal church grow and attain higher

levels of social respectability through better locations and more attractive buildings. Another enthusiasm she shared with me was flowers, and I remember poring over pictures in catalogs and on seed packages, mesmerized by the sound and imagery of their names: baby's breath, bleeding hearts, forget-me-not, pinks, sweet williams, alyssum, and lilies of the valley. So when I first heard "My master hath a garden" at Green Hedges, it might well have been the image of the flowerbeds my mother and I had planned together that made it feel so good — as if what we dreamed of, and sometimes even managed to get planted, already existed in their perfection in some transcendental gardener's mind.

The setting for the school was completely domestic, but with a literary and artistic ambiance that I knew had something to do with the headmistress having come from France; years later, visiting a friend whose great grandfather had been close friends with Frances Kilmer's father, I discovered he had been a famous American impressionist painter. At the time, it was just clear that she was from somewhere else, and that wherever that was, there I wanted to be. Through the small panes of the doors, and through the large panes of the several windows, the sun seems to stream forever brilliant in my memory, falling into large oblong and small checkerboard square patterns on the bare unpolished floor and shabby oriental rug. Spacious, with high ceilings to which bookcases reached on most of the walls, the room was arranged to make three-year-olds comfortable without feeling condescended to. Paintings, one of them perhaps a portrait by her father, of Mrs. Kilmer as a child, a worn but elegant damask striped sofa, wing chair, a coffee table are what I think I remember, but there must have been some children-sized chairs as well, and perhaps — yes, I can see it — a row of pegs childhigh on which we could place our wraps. Mrs. Kilmer would greet me with such genuine pleasure that I felt each morning I was her special guest. Sometimes I could get there early enough to be first, and before anyone else I would be with her, alone together, feeling quite shy and tongue tied, but very happy indeed as we put things in order for the day, pulling the large collection of blocks off the shelf to start the building that seemed to be an endless project, like Penelope's weaving, preserved from ever finishing by the need to put the blocks away before we went outside.

The comparison with Penelope might have occurred to me even then, for best of all the attractions of Green Hedges were the stories Mrs. Kilmer told us as we built our block kingdom, stories that also were endless. They didn't unravel or get taken apart though; from day to day and week to week, they just kept growing and connecting. Odysseus and the Cyclops is the first one I think I recall, but there was Circe, and Telemachus, and of course Athena and Penelope, and there was the long war that made Hector so sad and later there was another person's experience of that same terrible time, Aeneas, and then it was Roland and Arthur and Robin Hood. . . but I am ahead of myself, for the medieval stories didn't come until later, maybe not before third or fourth grade, and it was in those early preschool years that I was bonding so closely to Mrs. Kilmer.

The school day began at Green Hedges with songs and prayers and

poems. I recall standing by the piano as she played and led us in singing, encouraging us along through verses of the "master's garden" song, and then perhaps through "Alouette" or another French song. I remember the rest of the opening ritual was sometimes in French, sometimes in Latin: "Notre pere, qui est in . . ." or "Pater noster qui es in coelis . . ." Whatever followed, I cannot recall. Was it because I would become preoccupied with wondering why the Lord's Prayer as we said it daily at school did not end in the way I was used to saying it nightly beside my bed: — "for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever and forever, amen." As not only a Protestant but a Pentecostal child, why was I attending a school run by a Catholic family, for that is what my mother said the Kilmers were? (Did my mother know that each morning we said our prayers in other languages? I knew foreign sounds had a place in prayer, but this confusion I felt was more like the tower of Babel than speaking in tongues. And what about the priest? Should I tell my mother that sometimes one had come, and that when he did, the Catholic children left the room to go learn their catechism from him? Cat-e-chism — the very sound of the word struck me as ominous, the cate-cornered bending of the gospel truth. What would happen if Jesus should come while the priest was visiting the school; would he stretch his neck over his white collar, watching me being swooped up into the sky; would he know then he was wrong and it was his fault that the Kilmers were left behind?) Were Catholics really not saved like I was?

The stories Mrs. Kilmer told us each morning weren't like the Bible stories I was used to savoring at home and at my church. Nothing about Odysseus, or for that matter, nothing about Athena seemed to point to any saving truth, and yet their adventures, as those of the many other gods and heroes, were part of a vastly complicated whole, a unity which somehow included the God I knew both she and I worshipped. Somehow we must be singing about the same Master. How was it that in his garden, heaven and earth no longer seemed to me to be distinct places, and hell — well, it just nearly dropped out of mind. This Master we sang about at Green Hedges — his garden was huge, and so varied, full of characters, many of them utterly different from the ones I knew from the Bible. I loved the possibilities they offered of the heroic, complexly moral life, or looking back, that's what I think I loved in the classics to which Mrs. Kilmer began to introduce me. Yes, perhaps he was master and maker, not only of all people but of all my worlds — the different worlds brought into being in the stories I heard from Mrs. Kilmer and from travelling preachers and teachers, and even the new worlds I could feel waiting to be born in the stories I knew I would go on hearing the rest of my life.

But it was more than the world of myth that the founder and headmistress and, in those years, chief teacher of Green Hedges gave to me. Part of the "more" was a sense of wonder about the natural world in the front yard and the woods behind her house. I remember a series of mornings in late March and early April, standing with her beneath the tulip poplar as it came into bloom, carefully examining its stages, noticing that even the writer of the *Washington Post* who celebrated spring's coming had missed the sequence. Mrs. Kilmer must have read that

description aloud to us, and asked us if we had any corrections to offer its author; I think I can still hear her spelling p-h-e-n-o-m-e-n-o-n, sounding it out syllable by syllable, when I asked her if I could use the same word she had. What was she intent on teaching me, besides the accurate botanical observation and scrutiny of journalistic prose for its correspondence to its subject? I would later learn that she was convinced that graduates of Green Hedges would be able to read and write plain English only if they learned phonetically, so introducing us to words like "phenom-e-non" was part of the lesson plan of teaching us to decode language. But this skill was part of the whole experience of watching spring's progress and claiming authority at an early age for writing letters to the editor when we saw something contrary to fact in the newspaper.

Another series of explorations in the Kilmer yard which I recall with special excitement was recorded in a spiral notebook I kept for many years; each day in Advent, we looked for things in nature which reminded us of the nativity. There was milkweed fluff, to line the manger for baby Jesus, and there were hickory nuts, which cracked open, could reveal the meatiness of what the Incarnation was accomplishing. This kind of imaginative association, drawing on literal uses of some objects and figurative meanings of others, made it easy for us to appreciate the carols we were learning: "The Cherry Tree" where Mary craves the real fruit, and one about the stork which was clearly symbolic. And the carols had been hand-printed somehow on beautifully colored handmade heavy paper, so that just holding them was happiness; when we stood in rows in our red surplices with black bows, singing for our gathered families, I became so giddy with joy that I nearly passed out. Celebrating the Christchild was of course part of what happened at the Pentecostal church as well, but at school my imagination was involved in ways it had not been there, even when I played the role of Mary. What was the difference? The beauty of language and sound, of paper and image, of a room truly transformed by candlelight and greenery, but most of all, I think, it was the completion of the series of daily explorations where I had searched for small treasures out of doors and used them to muse about the connections between nature and grace, the meaning of Incarnation, without worrying about the precariousness of human fate in the world divided between the saved and the lost.

Undergirding all of the day's activities at Green Hedges was the Kilmers' belief in the coordinated curriculum, their vision of an intellectual and affective wholeness in learning where each subject and each virtue could be taught in the midst of any other—or many others. The connection between close observation of trees and of texts and of one's own language is just one example of the Frances Kilmer's method and philosophy. The drawings and paintings we did often brought art and literature together; there was the illuminated manuscript, with real gold leaf, of a Psalm, the illustrations of "Le Reynard et Le Corbeau," the tapestry of *The Song of Roland*. The latter I remember as occupying me for many months, sustaining my endurance while I slogged through the first exposure to math too difficult for me to grasp without practice. When I would finish my long division problems, then I could pick up the art

work, and I can still see Roland standing on the mountain I drew and stitched on unbleached muslin, blowing his horn, giving me something like his own courage to keep at the disagreeable task I needed to complete before I could enter his realm.

By that time I was of course no longer in kindergarten, and Mrs. Kilmer, though she led the morning opening ritual, was no longer teaching me except through others who embodied the philosophy of the school. Even in the earliest years, she had not been my only teacher. Yet I knew she was in charge, and the warmth and loving attention I received from her companion, Miss Charlotte Mathias, felt like it was coming from her somehow as well. Perhaps because I had been familiar with nursemaids who represented my mother's care for me, these two first teachers of mine seemed like complementary manifestations of one function, guiding me into facing the complexity of the world, the power and sometimes even the terror of my own mind, yet keeping me safe and whole. Mrs. Kilmer represented something like truth in the inward parts; when she looked at me, I felt known—judged and accepted all at once, recognized as a worthy challenge, delighted in as another manifestation of the endless potential of the species.

It was only much later that I knew what that look was all about. I learned it anew at eighteen when I became a part of Church of the Savior, an ecumenical church which had much in common with my old school, and from there I went to Earlham College, where I found myself recognizing more fully what education had at first been for me. I had left Green Hedges to sojourn in an intellectual desert in public junior high and high school and a large university, before coming once again to the place where learning was a matter of taking whatever time was required to articulate the depths. "The Prophets" (a poem by W.H. Auden about his own "early messengers") captures for me the meaning of my experience at Green Hedges as I rediscovered it in these two later communities where learning was whole and holy:

*It was true.  
For now I have the answer from the face  
That never will go back into a book  
But asks for all my life, and is the Place  
Where all I touch is moved to an embrace  
And there is no such things as a vain look.*

This poem came to me upon my graduation from Earlham inscribed in C.S. Lewis's *Till We Have Faces*, a gift from Helen Hole (a professor who became the most important of all my foremothers) and her husband, Allen. It helped me remember how even as a child, I felt something formidable and redemptive in Mrs. Kilmer's glance: intense interest, patience, and a gentle amusement. I could feel the pleasure she took in waiting to see me become who I was. When I heard the phrase "gimlet eye" applied to the art of teaching, or when in graduate school we would talk about someone who could fix their "beady blues" on us, I recalled Mrs. Kilmer, who challenged me to do far more than I could or would at

the time but who also was alert and responsive to what I was in fact discovering. And when, still later, I read what she wrote about the kind of teachers who had made the school a success for twenty-five years, (this was in 1965), it was no surprise to hear that she admired most of those on her staff who showed an empathy with the process by which ideas are born:

The men and women who have helped us successfully teach the hundreds of little children who have passed under our temporary shade have all been people who could smile lovingly at a remark coming from an amazed child encountering an exploding idea. The most successful teachers knew how to wait for the expressing of an idea so great that it could only be imparted by stuttering, and eyes that saw — way beyond expression in words. This might be occasioned by a sudden conception of the immensity of the universe (usually resolved by tears) or the realization that there is a whole new language that can be used to tell a story: Cicada-Cicada cantat — Cicada cantat in herba — how do you say...? How do you say...?

Again, Auden's poem captures this quality of anyone or anything that truly teaches us:

*Their lack of shyness was a way of praising  
Just what I didn't know, why I was gazing.  
While all their lack of answer whispered "Wait,"  
And taught me gradually without coercion...*

The moment that first epitomized this waiting for me was one Miss Mathias rather than Mrs. Kilmer presided over as midwife. I was curled up on the sofa next to her ample form; I still feel the firm curves of her body close to me as I struggled with a pair of children's blunt tipped scissors to cut a shape from a piece of brown construction paper. The "camel" I had drawn was not what I wanted to free from the paper; the real "animal" was the camel-shaped emptiness I could imagine might appear if I could just cut around the lines I had drawn without making any incision from the edge into the space I wanted to create in the middle of the paper. Now looking back, I see a concept of positive and negative space had entered my mind, analogous to positive and negative numbers, and instead of trying to persuade me to cut into the paper from the edge, Miss Mathias helped me succeed in my attempt by offering me her pointed, sharper, adult-sized pair of scissors.

Along with this first colleague, Frances Kilmer lists as part of the rudimentary equipment of the school at its beginning: "a piano, books, pictures, two little children overflowing with love, tears, curiosity, a grandmother who felt the greatest crime on earth was the killing of an idea. . . ." The grandmother was Frances Kilmer's mother, Meme Frieseke, whose portrait by Frances's father hangs in the NC state gallery in Raleigh as one of the major examples of American Impressionism. When I first saw Frederick Frieseke's "The Garden Parasol," I thought the young woman in

white, shaded by a huge orange parasol in a sun-drenched garden, must be his daughter; perhaps it was because she was reading with such evident pleasure. Yet I was struck by the contrast of an ambiance of aristocratic elegance and leisure in a French garden with Mrs. Kilmer's later regimen of plain living, almost perpetual pregnancy, and hard professional duties. In the picture the young woman's beauty reminded me of an exotic lily; at Green Hedges, she had become . . . not less beautiful, but sturdier and more roughly textured . . . a sunflower, perhaps? Yes, a sunflower: oversized, towering and yet bent by its own blooming, planted against a backdrop of an unpainted wall. Something in the posture of the woman in the picture suggests "American," a kind of insouciance, though when I remarked upon the crossed legs as possibly improper for a lady of that period, Frances Kilmer pointed out that the chaise lounge made that relaxed position inevitable, and commented, "I can't imagine Mama doing anything unconventional." Of course, the date of the painting, c.1909, made it clear the young woman on the chaise lounge was indeed not her but her mother. Again, the contrasting images overwhelmed me, for I remember Grandmother Frieseke as a looming, quite terrifying presence, a head taller than any other woman I knew, so thin and angular she was like a scarecrow dressed in black, peering down at me through wire-rimmed glasses, her penetrating gaze fixing me as she waited for my response *en français* to a question I had imperfectly comprehended or was too shy to answer. Yet she too had captured my heart, inspiring admiration for the way she was obviously in charge of the person in charge, and by her obvious affection for each of her grandchildren and for each of their fellow students. I find myself more and more curious about the Friesekes; where was Meme from, and where was Frances born, and did she have brothers and sisters, and where did they live in France, and what sense — if any — did she have of herself as an American? Did she live in or even visit the United States before she came here as a bride in the late 1930s after the death of her father?

There is a story to be written about this talented woman, and it must include her husband Kenton Kilmer. When I asked how they met, she said only "By correspondence." I knew that he was the son of Joyce Kilmer (the American poet honored by a national forest in the west of North Carolina), and that he worked at the Library of Congress. But of their courtship, marriage, coming to the States, and their early years in Arlington I know very little. During the phone conversation we recently had as I prepared to write this essay, I asked if she or her husband were going to write their memoirs. Her laughter pealed out as warmly and brightly as I remembered it from childhood: "Indeed not! We have thirty-one grandchildren, one great grandchild." (This apparent non sequitur made some sense as I listened to her interrupt our chat to intervene with a toddler: "Don't play with the dog, Peggy dear." ". . . No don't ride on the dog, that's just the problem." Perhaps Peggy or another of the grandchildren will have to write their foremother's story in the larger family context.)

The frame of reference in which I have chosen to celebrate Frances Kilmer is decidedly personal, a memoir of my own growing up rather than

a study of the school and of her history as its founder and head. The editor of this issue of the *Guilford Review* devoted to foremothers encouraged me to write from personal experience; still, I intend the essay as more than memoir, for as I describe what mattered most in my early education, I am sharing a vision of what I was taught — and still think — is worthwhile to give to children. The primary message is the sacramentality of waiting: “It is as necessary to wait with unhurried confidence for these children’s achievements as it is for a gardener to wait for a seed to sprout.” Not that the philosophy I learned from Mrs. Kilmer is one of permissiveness; rather, it is one of expectation, and the good gardening manners to respect the mystery of germination and growth. At the heart of Green Hedges was a respect for creative potential of each child, including respect for the child who cannot articulate depth,

who cannot grasp, who can only momentarily see a gleam of greatness way off and no path leading to it, whose every moment of learning seems disconnected from every unlabeled yearning he gropes through — for that child we want especially to exist. ...We love him but he baffles us; and we can only wait and surround him with more seemingly unproductive knowledge and patient proddings and careful uncovering, hoping that from this child will come — who knows? Someone like the man who will discover — what? At the very least this child might be one of the grandfathers or grandmothers of the world who has time to tell and read stories and listen to halting remarks, and point out the wonder of words. Who pointed out the dawn to blind Homer? And who led the limping Aesop to the stream?

The obstacles to realizing such a schooling for our children are surely no more real for us than they were for the Kilmers; the primary requirement is the willingness to live the Quixotic quest, and to believe it is possible to solve the educational problems we face. Listen to her description of the “bleak world of ugliness, ignorance and narrowmindedness” they founded Green Hedges in order to change (and remember she is naming the atmosphere in suburban Washington in 1941):

Children knew nothing of poetry, art, music, or philosophy. Their worlds were bounded by war and hate to the very hedge-to-hedge pettiness of “I won’t play with you because you’re a Catholic, or a Jew or a Negro. . .” Naturally we had to do something: give our own children the beauty which was their rightful inheritance and let them add their own contribution, which at its very minimum would be kindness to others.

Their belief in the existence and discovery of beauty was central to the decision of this husband and wife to build a school where not only their own ten children but many others could learn how to experience the modern world not as a wasteland but as a garden.

Crucial to the Kilmer's vision was the belief that small was beautiful, and that instead of the forty to sixty pupils in local kindergarten and first grade classes, the classes must allow for individual attention. I recall maybe half a dozen or so in the first class at Green Hedges; it grew slowly, adding a grade each year to keep up with the needs of those of us who had entered at four and five years old, and adding to our group a few students each year. Even when I was in fourth grade, I think there were not more than ten or so in my class. Eventually, of course, the numbers of grades and students outgrew the family library; a classroom was built onto the house. In 1975, they had moved out of their Arlington house to Vienna, which was still countryside at that time. The school is again surrounded by suburban sprawl; with 160 pupils and 30 teachers in its K-12 program, it has outgrown its facilities and seeks to build, not to increase its numbers, but to make room for its common life.

After her narrative of the dream of a school on a hill, following her comment about the Quixotic nature of such idealism, Frances Kilmer states in her essay the essential ingredient she and Kenton Kilmer brought to their enterprise:

*My husband and I began to build this impossible school, having in common (among many other things) the philosophy that given a problem, there must be a satisfactory answer somewhere.*

I see the splendor of such simplicity now, and realize that even then, I felt the pull of the standards by which their lives were ordered. They were living in a world of their own, created out of their own values and their reading both of contemporary issues and of past history. The heroic was the fundamental note struck over and over again at Green Hedges, reminding us of our companions through the ages and what had survived, preparing us to face challenges with dignity. I sensed an air of gaiety and optimism in the well-ordered, but probably pinch-penny, life, the school required the Kilmer family to lead. Birthday dinners at their table were simpler in fare than at ours, and I would notice their well-worn and sometimes outgrown clothes, or the down-at-the-heels shoes, and wonder how they could possibly bear the ignominy of having no car, walking out to the bus stop for every adventure, even on Sundays when they headed for church. Yet we were richly instructed at Green Hedges in the things that even at other private schools would be considered "frills" — a weekly dance lesson in both tap and ballet; a visiting artist who performed Elizabethan music and led us on wild romps in the backwoods that became Sherwood Forest, or Runnymede or Arden, depending on the week's story, a vacation independent study program that provided hard backed journals in which Mrs. Kilmer had written in shaded letters poems and stories we were to copy to practice our handwriting, and pages of empty transparent envelopes labeled below, awaiting the pressed leaves and flowers from a summer's collecting.

The goals toward which they directed their efforts as educators became in the long run more formative in my own values than those I chose when just before adolescence I left Green Hedges. At that time, it seemed

impossible to "grow up" and remain a student there. I craved the social drama of junior high, and I wanted the freedom from having to defend to my older brothers (and the older brother in myself) the childlike lives of makebelieve I still led at school, and the love I felt for — and from — the Kilmers. It was important to me to have teachers who could be ignored, authority figures who were, if not the enemy, at least adversaries; I wanted to disconnect my emotional life from my schoolwork, and disinfect my learning from my imaginative depths. And most of all, I wanted not to be different any more from my family and friends at church. It was too difficult to hold the worlds together which seemed, as I grew older, to diverge more and more sharply. So I left, and because I was embarrassed that I chose to do so, I returned only furtively. On Christmas Eve in high school, I would route the carollers from my sorority past the scraggly hedges and peer anxiously to see which of the children I recognized, to note whether Mrs. Frieseke still lived with them, and to hope to find the face of Mrs. Kilmer beaming with pleasure as she stood on the porch receiving my anonymous offering. By 1961, when I had graduated from Earlham and entered Yale Divinity School, I was about to marry and wanted to introduce Mel to the most important people and places at home. My old school had vanished; the house had been bulldozed, the hedges and backwoods cleared; in their place, a street had been extended and widened. I found Green Hedges in its new location, and our wedding was better because the Kilmers were there.

Later, while I was still in graduate school, (no longer studying theology but literature), I was sent the essay about the school (*Hornbook*, 1965) from which I have been quoting; with it came the news of Frances Kilmer's retirement and the search for a new head. She was rumored to be moving to France, but I learned by calling the school this fall that she was still living nearby and remains active (with Kenton Kilmer) on the board of directors. That Green Hedges is forty-six-years-old and still growing must be cause for their rejoicing; in our talk on the phone, she announced with jubilation, "The School is doing beautifully!" So it was from the beginning. I celebrate the vision, love, courage, and self-sacrifice of this woman who planted and tended her dream of a garden where children could flourish.

# Behind Me

by Adrienne Israel

In my mother's family, on the mantle of every home, is an old picture from the 19th century, of my grandmother's grandmother, Nancy Jackson. A formidable looking woman with a broad face and crowning white hair, she has challenged me with her unwaivering eyes ever since I was a child. Could I ever be half the woman that she had been, I used to wonder. Now I wonder if she herself could live up to such a legend.

Her daughter was my great, great aunt, Ella Simpson, Mommie El, as I often called her. She used to let me spend weekends with her in her attic apartment in the house where she lived and worked. Mommie El liked me, and when my mother gets frustrated with me she'll say "you're just like Aunt El." That means stingy or stubborn, or hard to get along with. To me it meant frugal, dignified and strong. But when Mommie El reached her late nineties and was facing death in a nursing home with only her son able to visit her occasionally, and with no friends and no interests to keep her busy, I began to reevaluate my determination to be like her.

When I was younger I used to think Aunt El was wonderful because if she got angry with my uncle because it was taking him too long to give her a ride home, she would get up and walk home by herself. No matter that she was almost eighty and lived five miles away. If she didn't want to be bothered with people, she kept to herself. If she didn't want to speak, she would ignore you for months at a time. Then she got old, all the money she had saved disappeared as nursing home payments, people talked about her, and when she died she was alone. That made me rethink my decision to live alone for the rest of my life, to be like Aunt El.

Now I wonder about the stories she used to tell me about her mother, the face on the mantle. Aunt El said her mother read tea leaves and rich men came to her for investment advice. She said her mother knew how to farm and that she had never been to the south. She said none of our people had ever lived in the south or been slaves, that we had come from somewhere else. None of us had ever been slaves. I used to wonder why she said that, and what that meant to her. Now I wonder if she really knew or if that was just how she wanted things to be.

Aunt El's mother, the old woman in the picture, is the same woman my Aunt Lil used to call Grandma Jackson, the one she said would beat them once a month for all the things she knew they had done whether she had caught them or not.

Grandma Jackson is now a legendary face in a picture on my own dresser top. Aunt Ella is a pleasant childhood memory. But Aunt Lil is living as a witness who endured my teenage temper tantrums, my fits of depression and despair, and wild flights of optimism. She is the one I tried hard not to be like, but now call long distance for advice. The one whose house my own home is beginning to resemble. The one whose logic I have ingested. She is the one who is the most compelling of my foremothers.

## BEGINNINGS

My aunt, Lillian Scott, is my grandmother's sister. She took care of me when I was a child from ages six through seventeen. I lived in her house from age ten, and in my cousin Aunt Nancy's house before that. When I was six, my mother sent me from Chicago to live in Massillon, Ohio, because she thought I would have a better life in a small town with my older relatives than in a kitchenette with her on the south side of Chicago. Actually, I was born in Massillon in the same room where I slept some years after I moved in with my aunt. My mother had taken me there many times to visit before I moved to Ohio to stay. I had remembered Aunt Lil's smothering kisses and the bright green grass in her yard. I didn't want to leave my mother, but I thought it would be all right to live with my aunt, so I went without complaining, but that's another story. This is not about me, but about my aunt.

Lillian Scott was born September 28, 1904, in Minneapolis, Minnesota. According to her recollections, and my interpretations, this is some of her life story.

"My mother and father were Cora Jackson and William Jackson. I think my father went to school in Minneapolis to the college of journalism. Anyway he used to be coeditor of the *Chicago Defender*, but drink got the best of him. I don't know anything about my mother. She died when I was three months old from having too many children, one after the other. She had four in three years.

"After she died, grandma Jackson came out and stayed a while. . . then I went to the children's home for a year. . . Then she found out where I was, and she sent for me. My sister Cora was adopted out, and Raymond and Mary and I, the three of us, went to live in New Philadelphia, Ohio, with grandma."

Uncle Raymond died in his youth and Mary went to Chicago with their father, William Jackson. Mary Jackson became Mary Manns and gave birth to Mercedes Manns who became my mother in 1947. But my aunt, Lillian Jackson's life, took a different turn. Her grandmother, Nancy Jackson, had children and grandchildren. Besides her son, William, she had three daughters, Emma, Mamie, and Ella. Aunt Ella's two children, Bud and Nancy, became Aunt Lil's closest childhood companions. The three of them went to school in New Philadelphia where Aunt Lil says they were the only colored students.

"We had a field day," she remembers. "Back in those days if somebody called you a nigger, you beat them up, but we didn't have much trouble. We would fight. Nancy and I were something else. There wasn't much of that. We got along fine because we lived among them."

Before she died at age 97, Aunt Ella told me the Jacksons were the only colored family in town at the time. At any rate, Aunt Lil says they attended a white church and "every once in a while Nancy and I walked to Dover to the colored church, but they scared us over there because they would holler so much."

As a child, she left school and family to go to work. "I was eight or nine then. I was real young. A white man in New Philadelphia gave

grandma a house. His niece came to visit, and she liked me and took me to live with her in Ypsana, Michigan, on the other side of Detroit. She learned me how to wait tables. I was doing housework, sweep, dust, wait tables, and wash dishes. I stayed there about three years, then they sent me back home to grandma because they got tired of me. Everywhere I went, they got tired of me. I went back to New Philadelphia and started working for white folks, doing housework.

"Then I went to Urichsville, and worked there a while. I got married from there. I think I was eighteen. Then I went to Cleveland. Aunt El came to Cleveland and got my husband and me to come back to Urichsville. He worked at stores like Kroger. Back in those days it didn't pay but \$18 a week. The job in Urichsville wasn't paying much either."

## MARRIAGE

She and her husband worked together doing housework and living in with wealthy families. "Back in those days, they paid the man the check, and I could never get any money out of him . . . but later we came to Massillon and got the job at the Albrechts. That was big money in those days." She and her husband lived at the Albrechts. Their marriage lasted twelve years, until bitter differences led to divorce.

"I got up one morning and I left . . . I told them to take their choice, Bill or me. They chose me, so I came back to work and he left. He was a good looking man, but he wasn't worth salt. When I went back to the Albrechts, they kept getting men, but you know colored men don't like to work with colored women, so we had trouble . . . The men had to sweep and dust and drive the kids to school. I did the rest of the work. "I was boss, see, and of course I ain't much of a boss. They just disliked me because I was a woman, and I wouldn't lay down with all of them. I wasn't a street woman. I pick who I go with.

"Bob was the last yard man we got, and I married him. He was a man who wasn't lazy and I wanted a home. He needed a home, and I wanted a home, so I married. When I met him, he looked like a million dollars. He never missed a day's work. Only he couldn't read or write. He was working at Steel Castings. A friend of mine, Herby Bell, introduced us. I asked him to work in the Albrecht's yard. He'd work there after hours after he came from the steel mill. We got married in 1943. We had the house before we got married. Mrs. Albrecht put the down payment on it for us. We lived in this house with nothing but a bed for a long time."

Her marriage to Robert Scott lasted until he died in 1984. She still lives in the house they paid for. By the time I was born there, it was well furnished. Uncle Bob was the first black man in town to own a Cadillac, and when I was fourteen he taught me to drive his old 1949 model. They kept the house remodeled, refurnished, recarpeted, repapered, repaired and repatioed. The porches have been enclosed, and there is furniture everywhere.

## WORK

What I remember most about the years I spent with them can be summed up in one word: work. Aunt Lil and Uncle Bob worked all the time, and

he is still working. She taught herself how to read and write and the house was filled with books and magazines. She read a lot, but she spent most of her time working: cleaning mansions on the other side of town, booking for the huge parties of the wealthy, washing and ironing for other people into the wee hours of the night, then getting up before dawn to get my uncle off to the mill. He left home at 5:30 a.m. and would come back at 3:30, bathe and change clothes, then go out to the Albrechts to do their yard work.

The lot on which the Albrecht's house was built covered one third of a city block. He cut the grass with a push mower before they bought a power mower, raked the leaves, trimmed the hedges, picked up the fallen branches, and chauffeured the widowed Mrs. Albrecht at her request. They were joined at work by Aunt Ella, who retired at 88.

Aunt Lil left home every morning at 8:00 a.m. and returned each night at 8:00 p.m., worked on her off days and on Sundays. She took in washing and ironing, knitted sweaters for me and for her friends, did volunteer work for the A.M.E. Zion church, baby-sat, and went to take care of dying relatives and neighbors. She would take me with her to work and to visit the sick and dying, and I would sit in the basement with her while she washed, and would do my homework at the dining room table, while she ironed. She kept telling me she didn't want me to have to work like she did, and that was why she was sending me to school. She taught me how to do housework, but all I did was vacuum and dust the house, wash venetian blinds, and iron. I would be finished before noon on Saturdays, and spend the rest of the day playing softball or riding my bicycle. I slept on the couch until my uncle's son's family bought their own home and moved out; then I moved up into the room where I was born. I seldom had to cook or do heavy housework. She gave me all the time I wanted to read and study and be involved in school activities.

She came to all the PTA meetings and Open Houses at school. She came to hear me sing in the choir. She came to all the programs at school which I was involved. She paid for me to attend Girl Scout camp, and then went to the Urban League to get them to force the only Girl Scout troop in town to integrate and allow me and my best friend to join. She allowed me to have friends over for birthday parties, and to entertain my friends on Sunday afternoons in the living room. She gave me a key to the house when I was sixteen, and gave me \$30 to buy the prom dress of my choice. She bought new clothes for me every year and tried to turn me into a fashionable young woman. She insisted that I go to college whether we had the money to pay for it or not.

Uncle Bob stood six foot three and was a strong man whom people admired. Aunt Lil stands four foot eleven. They argued, but I never heard them. Aunt Lil says people walk over her, but I have never seen it. I have never heard her raise her voice at anyone or curse or be cruel to anyone.

When I left home for college at age seventeen, she and uncle Bob took me to the train station. I had been dreaming for years about leaving home and getting out on my own. That morning as the train pulled out of the station en route to Washington, D.C., I could barely see Uncle Bob and

Aunt Lil standing on the platform. When I finally got a glimpse of them the train was pulling out. It was too late to wave goodbye. Tears welled up in my eyes and I began to cry uncontrollably. I was going into the unknown. No matter how much I had wanted to leave home and be on my own, at least I knew them. I didn't know where I was going or who I would meet, but I did know them.

Oftentimes at college I wanted to give up, but Aunt Lil never wavered. She never told me to come on back home. When things got rough she told me to keep trying, to keep working. She told me to never quit anything I had begun. She said finish whatever you start. Get an education. Go on.

Last year she fell from the front steps onto the hard concrete sidewalk. A neighbor called to tell me she was in the hospital. My husband and I collected ourselves to drive to Ohio to see about her. He asked me on the way up how we would get into the house. I told him a neighbor would probably have the key. We'd spend the night, then go to visit her the next day, he thought. When we arrived, a familiar figure came to the door. It was Aunt Lil, home from the hospital. In a week she was ready for us to leave. In two weeks she was back at work.

I don't work like she worked, and I'll probably never have her sweet disposition. When people would get angry and say or do cruel things to her, she would cry. She now says she is bitter sometimes because of some of the things that have happened to her. "I've had a pretty good life," she says. "I could have had a better one."

Aunt Lil has given to others and stretched herself beyond her means, but when it comes to what she knows is right, she has always held her ground. Maybe that's why my uncle called her "the boss." Maybe that's some of why I've stopped wanting to be like anyone else and will be quite satisfied if I can hold my ground.



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# Guilford Review

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## INTRODUCTION

In planning the writing assignments for this Honors Course on Henry James, we agreed that we wanted a variety of writing experiences for the students. We both recognized the obvious pleasure of the first assignment on The Portrait of a Lady: We asked the students to extrapolate beyond the frame of the book to create a continuation of the text. Jamesian voice and fictional fleshing out were considered optional but desirable. The examples presented here represent subtle variations that blur the boundary between "creative" and "critical" writing.

After an extended close reading of "The Turn of the Screw," and out-of-class reading of "The Beast in the Jungle" and "The Jolly Corner," the students were asked to construct a critical essay based on the concept of self-haunting. We intentionally avoided providing further instruction or direction to enable the students' own critical voices to be heard.

For the third assignment Jerry suggested that the students read Lee's 86-page chapter on The Wings of the Dove from his working manuscript for a book on James and visual aesthetics. Lee felt somewhat apprehensive about his own readability for undergraduates, but the resulting papers proved that his text was effective for good students working at any level. Although this seminar was scheduled as an Honors class, in fact, several students were "not" in the Honors program and a couple entered with grade point averages well below that requirement. But, all of the students were able to engage with the material on a complex, imaginative level. The purpose of this assignment was to write about a critical treatment of a work that incorporated its own theory within it.

We both wondered about our audacity at opting for the extremely mandarin novel, The Sacred Fount, as our closing text. It seemed reckless, but worth the risk. To our delight they were able to run with it on their own by the end of the seminar. They appreciated its attenuated irony, they understood the self-parody involved, and they took it seriously with great, good humor. We discovered anew that pressing students by demanding close attention to complex texts produces results. It is very gratifying to find that even the most esoteric Henry James can be taught to and appreciated by interested undergraduates.

We would like to say thanks to all the students whose voices are represented here, and unlike Henry James (who revised his brother's letters for posthumous publication), we have resisted the temptation to "correct" them. We had a terrific amount of fun working together.

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EXTENSION OF THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY



SHE LAID HER HAND ON THE LATCH AND...

by M. Tatiana Kissil

At the climax of Henry James' The Portrait of a Lady, the reader is left wondering what "straight path" has suddenly opened up before Isabel, allowing her to finally know where to turn. It seems a kind of cruel joke--throughout the entire book the reader has been privy to Isabel's most private thoughts (some of which even she is not aware of), and now suddenly we are left in the dark. Since readers are used to their novels ending in neatly summed-up ways, one tends to find oneself imagining various endings to the book. Perhaps this was James' reason for ending the book as he did--to keep the reader's attention focused on and past the ending, thereby perpetuating the idea that relations stop nowhere. I like the character of Isabel because I can identify with her, and I therefore have a vested interest in what happens to her after she breaks free from Caspar's embrace and runs away. To me, it seems likely that Isabel returns to Rome only to formally cut off her ties with people there, after which she leaves to begin life on her own, for the first time truly alone in the world. This is probably a frightening concept to Isabel, who has always claimed to have wanted independence but who has always had people watching out for her and protecting her, even if from a distance. But Isabel is a resilient and imminently practical woman, as well as a cautious optimist. I believe she will conquer this fear and start her life anew--older, wiser and more cautious, but still with a strong and positive outlook.

In Chapter 6, we are told that Isabel has "an unquenchable desire to think well of herself" (p. 47, Signet Classic Ed.). This snobbishness (for want of a better word) tends to lull Isabel into a false sense of the worth of her actions. For example, she purports almost from page one to be an extremely independent woman, who is eager to embrace life and all it entails. It soon becomes evident, however, that she is actually someone who hides from life, choosing to remain in an idealistic world of her own making. When we are first introduced to her, Isabel is located in her favorite room of her grandmother's house, the one known as "the office":

At this time she might have had the whole house to choose from, and the room she had selected was the most joyless chamber it contained. She had never opened the bolted door nor removed the green paper (renewed by other hands) from its side lights; she had never assured herself that the vulgar street lay beyond it. (p. 24, SC Ed.)

Already Isabel has begun to create a pattern which will continue throughout the book. When confronted with a wide expanse of space, such as that which complete freedom places before her, she retreats returning to the safety provided by something familiar or less threatening. She does not view herself as a timid person, however, and therefore rationalizes these retreats into flights of independent fancy. One such rationalization occurs during the first confrontation between Caspar and her in the hotel in London:

Don't think me unkind if I say that it's just that--being out of your sight--that I like. If you were in the same place as I, I should feel

as if you were watching me, and I don't like that. I like my liberty too much. If there is a thing in the world that I am fond of...it is my personal independence. (pp. 148-9, SC Ed.)

Isabel continues to retreat from those things that threaten her independence until, ironically, she finds herself trapped--physically and emotionally--in Osmond's web of deceit and power.

James' constant references to darkness and nighttime in the section dealing with Osmond serve collectively as symbols of the everpresent shadows that are gathering in Isabel's life, which blind her, and thereby strengthen Osmond's hold on her. Because the darkness descends upon her so slowly, Isabel is unaware of how dark her life actually has become until a spark appears, which briefly displays her dark existence for what it is and then is gone. In the case of Isabel, three such sparks appear, and each one incites her to action. The sight of Madame Merle and Osmond in familiar conversation starts Isabel wondering, culminating in her night-long vigil. Hearing the truth about Pansy's parentage from the Countess Gemini causes Isabel to flee to England to be with the ailing Ralph. The kiss which she receives from Caspar serves as the third spark, and is the one which, according to my version of the ending, finally completes the impending rupture between Osmond and Isabel. This kiss is described as "a flash of lightning" (p. 544, SC Ed.), and is what brings to a peak the sexual tension which has existed between these two since the beginning of the book. Throughout the book, the reader has been aware of the vast differences between Caspar and Osmond, but the kiss which Isabel receives from Caspar is a visual representation of the virility which Caspar possesses.

Conversely, I believe Gilbert Osmond to be completely void of feeling--people to him are like chess pawns, to be moved as they suit him and his needs. When he tires of them, or they are no longer useful to him, he removes them from the chessboard that is his life, as he does with the Countess Gemini. He is used to being in control--"...he would have liked [Isabel] to have nothing of her own but her pretty appearance." (p. 395, SC Ed.). I envision a final scene between Isabel and Osmond reading something like this:

She entered his study quietly, without knocking, and was instantly struck by the familiarity of the scene before her. There sat Osmond, magnifying glass in hand, examining a volume of ancient pottery, with his sketch pad nearby. It was as though he had not moved in the entire time of her absence.

"I see that your stay in England has done nothing to improve your manners," commented Osmond coldly, not looking up at her. "Have I not asked you to knock before entering my study?"

"I have come here to tell you that I am leaving," replied Isabel, ignoring his question. "The maid is at this moment packing my belongings." She stood before him, trembling inside, but strangely, her voice remained steady. She was not frightened--no, not that, but her emotions were high and she heard her heart beating loudly. She wondered briefly if he could hear it as well.

She saw no visible reaction in his countenance, he merely continued to study for perhaps a moment more, after which he closed the book, and turned towards her. She saw in his eyes

a look of total hatred and disgust, as if she were a servant who had been insubordinate. Isabel's heart faltered, but she never moved. Her mind, surprisingly, stayed very calm, and she wondered what he would do--threaten her? Empty threats did not frighten her as they once did, for she now possessed the ultimate power--the power to leave. Whatever he did, she would still be free from the darkness and gloom she had encountered here, so what would it matter? She had the strange desire to laugh in his face, but she controlled the impulse.

"You are leaving," he finally said, not asking it as a question, but more as if he were turning the idea around in his head and examining it, as he did the book of pottery. He stood up and slowly approached her. She took a step backwards, not out of fear, but in order to get away from the darkness he seemed to bring with him.

"I am going to England to take care of some last requests of Ralph's. The same lawyer who drew up his last will and testament will be drawing up divorce papers for me. I will not take anything of yours. I want only what is mine, and then you shall not hear of me again. I will be dead to you," Isabel stated slowly and calmly. She portrayed a calm exterior, yet her mind was tossing wildly. All of the darkness she had endured for so long, all of the gloom and mistrust, was starting to fade. She saw the sun begin to rise in her soul, and as it grew brighter her mind became clearer. She stood for a moment, to see if he would say anything. When he did not, she turned and started to leave the room.

"You will regret this, Mrs. Osmond, I assure you!" With this line, Osmond displayed more emotion than he had in the entire six years of their marriage. Isabel exited the study and upon closing the door, she put a trembling hand to her mouth and started to laugh.

In writing this scene, I had originally intended to have a little more action. But as I was writing, I reflected that most of the action throughout the book occurred in Isabel's head in the first place. Also, the climactic scene between these two has already occurred--when Isabel left for England the first time. Anything more dramatic (Osmond's grabbing her arm was one possibility I had had in mind) would have made the scene too melodramatic, and would not have fit with the author's interpretation of Isabel. James did not intend for Isabel to be the heroine of a "Perils of Pauline" movie, in which she is constantly being captured and escaping unscathed from every predicament. He wanted to create a headstrong, idealistic young woman whose only faults were these very traits. Isabel needs merely to grow up to escape from Osmond's clutches, for his hold on her to me seems purely mental. He plays upon her unwillingness to admit defeat or that she has made a mistake, both of which she would have to do in abandoning the marriage. Once she realizes that the prison she is in is self-created, and that Osmond is merely the jailer, she will find a way to dispense with the jailer and free herself. This is another reason why it did not seem appropriate to have Osmond make a physical gesture in order to contain Isabel.

The final scene I have written does not take Pansy into account, nor does it bring up the fact that Isabel has promised Pansy help. Sadly, this seems to be a promise which (in my ending, anyway) Isabel cannot keep. There is no way that Isabel alone will succeed in turning Pansy against Osmond, for

she has tried this before when she goes to see Pansy at the convent:

"Don't leave me here," Pansy went on gently,

Isabel was silent a moment; her heart beat fast.

"Will you come away with me now?" she asked.

Pansy looked at her pleadingly.

"Did Papa tell you to bring me?"

"No, it is my own proposal."

"I think I had better wait, then..." (p. 512, SC Ed.)

Pansy is also a pawn in Osmond's game of life, but unlike Isabel, she cannot see this. She uncomplainingly submits to everything her father demands, and could never think of crossing him. A final scene between Pansy and Isabel would probably read quite similarly to the one which occurs between them at the convent.

I do not, however, see Pansy's future as completely black. There is one woman who still maintains enough influence over Osmond to make him change his mind regarding Ned Rosier's courtship of Pansy--Madame Merle. Her reasons for doing this would not be completely selfless; I expect she would do it to get into Pansy's good graces. But her main reason would be to assuage the guilt she feels over the wrongdoing of Isabel. "Have I been so vile all for nothing?" (p. 484, SC Ed.) she says to herself at one point. I see Madame Merle in some way achieving the marriage of Pansy to Ned Rosier and then just disappearing, her life's work being done.

Where, then, is Isabel, the focus of this story? It is hard to say exactly where she goes after leaving Rome. I see her as going back to England, because it is familiar to her and will allow her a place to stay for a year, pending the sale of Gardencourt. I am not of the mind that she is in any way attracted to Lord Warburton, and I think that she will not be troubled by being his neighbor. Caspar Goodwood will have returned by the first boat to America, having never liked England in the first place. As for the Bantlings, I doubt Isabel will see very much of them either. For the first year, I see Isabel being very much the recluse, but rather than trying to avoid the vulgar world that lay beyond the edge of Gardencourt, she will choose merely not to participate in it. She will not, however, regress completely, as Osmond does, for unlike him, Isabel cannot live without the mental stimulation which connecting with people provides for her. Her attitude during this first year will be merely to help herself heal, and afterwards I see her as striking out to someplace new--Paris, perhaps, or some small village in Northern England. It would be nice to say that she meets a man and gets married (happily this time), but I do not foresee it. She has been deeply scarred by her first experience with marriage, and I think it would be somewhat inconsistent for her to marry again. If she did, it would most certainly be for convenience and platonic companionship in her old age. She can (and will, if I know Isabel) have a very happy singular life, traveling about, making new friends and most of all just living a life of leisure, which she has earned.

In writing this, I realized that this was not necessarily what I had wanted for Isabel. I am an incurable romantic, and tend to believe all the cliches about love always winning out in the end. In the case of Isabel, however, the text does not seem to actively support her suddenly turning completely around and starting life with Caspar--it just wouldn't fit. He demands more of Isabel than she can give--both emotionally and physically. A relationship with Caspar would force Isabel to relinquish any and all vestiges of herself, the "real" Isabel, a woman who is unwilling to sacrifice the entirety of her identity. In creating the character of Isabel, however,

James has a character who is far more developed and complex than those of most romance novels. This complexity is what makes her seem alive and therefore well-liked by readers today.



## THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY

by Lisa Bogar

She had asked not to be announced, as she didn't want the allowance of time for his possible preparation. Nothing would be subtle; she had blown into Rome like the most directed of leaves, although also forcibly thinned and worn; she had fallen, without so much ease, upon the threshold of the drawing room at Palazzo Roccanera--feeling it, as it were, much more of a house than a home. She stopped beneath its magnificent arch as if pausing to gather her wind; a small, weathered figure, yet with a crispness of line sufficiently deep and guided, such as to show that under even the most refined scrutiny, determination would not give way to hesitancy. She had come with the conviction that as her nature had taken one of its most willful paths, it was not to be undermined by any subsequent manipulation. She succeeded, as she had wished, to confront Osmond, at least to separate him distinctly from his setting, before she herself might too soon appear a reckless object in the foreground. But all too quickly the picture was not so clear. Her apprehension was verified as her impression was enveloped, her determination disoriented, by the turbid and vague airs which seemed to occupy the room; frigid and thawing, they mingled between the juxtaposed layers of a stifflingly shared awareness.

She struggled to set things for her own order; to render them in the right position and light. He was a dark figure, although brushed with one of the setting strokes of the sun; a symbol in the foremost frame with the capacity to evoke both depth and discretion. He seemed, as always, contained and certain against the boundaries of his composition--the thick organic shapes which swam and sank about him in the pale blue hour--those masterpieces which continued to modify his nature, only now by throwing a sullen contrast onto his rigidity. She knew she had given him--they had given each other--reason to harden. But now there was a difference--now she knew, and it was his knowledge of her knowledge that made her anxious; it was his truly warped composition which posed the contradictions in his appearance--of this she was sure they were both certain as he continued to look out the window in a premeditation of sorts--an ostensibly patient anticipation, as if equipped and expecting yet still maintaining a reserve for reflexion.

She was once again wondering about his reserves, of the great depths she was sure to meet on this occasion--it was that which had occupied her thoughts the most on the train from London, for he was at once, so calculated and so uncalculatable. She knew very well that he would be at his best, his sharpest, his most substantive. But she wondered what effects her recent knowledge and action had worked on him; upon what treatise he had then chosen to expound. She had shown him what was once broken by trust and embedded in faith--the strength of her will and decision, and although he had his equivalent, it must surely be weakened. But what she could not determine was how that fact would present itself with regard to the others involved. Had Madame Merle been to see him? Surely that woman would not have been able to abstain from her most willful tendency. With this supposition in mind he was sure to be at his basest, for he was at his most extreme capacity when faced with the mildest threat, and he was now standing in the face of a most sordid armament--the risk of losing her fortune, his perfected reputation, hopes for Pansy's proper placement. Isabel knew the potential of her weaponry, and she was fearful of this for both herself, and for him and Pansy--poor Pansy!

Isabel did not want her pride to so wickedly consume them all. Her pride had been so greatly depreciated, and that is exactly where Osmond would throw his first claim, filtering through her wounds, as to insist that she should be as bold as to heal them herself. And that is exactly what she knew she needed to do; that much of the fault was hers was still certain, but that she would not allow him to so triumphantly force this truth upon her--it was that which she mustn't allow. He would prick at her, piercing this most tender of virtues, he would pluck so precisely upon the strands of her strength that she had nowhere to go. Now that poor Ralph was dead and done Osmond and Pansy were all that really mattered in her life. These things would serve him as mighty targets--he should not fail to strike all of them. What she was not so sure of, was whether he would also taunt her with tenderness, appealing to the forthright inadequacy of love, pointing to how their own had been as adequate as any that was to be expected. Surely love had been valid, as she and Ralph had confirmed in those minutes before he had so beautifully left her, and she knew now, more than ever that what had they passed between her and Caspar at Gardencourt was indeed not love at all. No, it was nothing more than a result of her distress; the regurgitation of her fed desperation. What it had been on Caspar's part she still did not fathom, perhaps an affliction of some sort of American-made heroism--surely it was not the result of any bond they justifiably had shared. It was thoughts such as these, along with what path her present course of action should take, over which Isabel had debated during her return from Gardencourt, and it was precisely these ponderings which now lingered about her--swarming profusely.

The vapors of her preoccupation broke and diffused as his eyes cut through them; he now had attracted the whole energy of their source. "Ah," he said in perfect composure, "the little lady has returned." He turned in his chair so as to face her, but she knew his true position--that he was masking his own. "I had been thinking of you, and so at first thought you a slight apparition, but its true; I see you've come back to your senses--back to your home."

Her eyes were set downward, scanning the ground in a process that spoke of revision, and as she raised them she then let out something of a sigh, looking at him with a certain resoluteness of motion, her hands clasping in front of her. "I've come back to my senses, but I've not come back to any home, much less our home. I've returned to a house, to a duty, and nothing more."

"Ah, then. You're here to stay, I presume," he had turned his glance, straightening himself in his seat.

"I'm here to stay in terms of my commitment."

"That's to be expected. I never thought less of you--of your sense of justice. I must say though, I had thought more; that you would have liked to make a struggle for me."

"Well," said Isabel, laughing, "then I have disappointed you once again."

"Which I'm sure you hope is all the more potent," he snapped.

She had, indeed, surprised herself with the ease of sarcasm in her last remark. It was as if, all at once she had been lifted out of Osmond's exile by his very own wit. She was filled with crisp, fluent intent. And the recognition of the degree of disturbance which this effect had taken upon Osmond produced in Isabel a certain satiated delight--it both excited her and nurtured her strength. She was truly detached, and for him it was all too real--all too thorough. She had gotten the best of him; they both knew that she was never again to occupy a position of subservience. No, from now on

she would act upon her own scruples accordingly; she would listen to her own authority whether it took her above, below, or around him--his opinions were no longer an importance! It was obvious that she had lost virtually all respect for him--that she now viewed him, in his becoming impotence, as more pathetic than worthy. It was a comfort that in light of his weakness, she emerged with a newly improved nature; much good had come out of her suffering--she was now a stronger character, a woman strengthened by experience. It struck her as odd, that she had been so naive--even in the most recent months! She had been so affected by Osmond; he had convinced her, she had convinced herself, that her capacity was minimal, stunted--that she was hopelessly entangled in her web of ridiculous theories. She wondered if he knew--he should have--a man of his abilities, been able to identify the truth, that it was his web which had consumed her! How it must have infuriated him to realize the part he played in freeing her. For now her theories were arranged in such a structure that they enabled her to fly, choosing to depart and land wherever and whenever she might wish.

Yet her freedom was not so complete--it was this thought that filled her with a surging uneasiness. She was now independent of Osmond's intentions, but she would have to live with him in some manner--a factor rich with implications. She would have to continue to operate within the structure they had built together, no matter how decaying it might seem. In this sense, her future was tainted with a great task; upon this rubble she would have to superimpose other structures--those of her own. It was in this that she saw her duty--her responsibility to all of them, especially to herself and Pansy, and even--yes, to the memory of poor Ralph. It was as she had known before; she had to heal her own wounds, and they would certainly not heal by wounding others. No, she would not allow herself to hurt anyone--though she recognized a painfully wistful desire that Osmond and Madame Merle might carry on a tad bruised. And so she looked at him, realizing the depth of the silence which had fallen between them.

He sat, reverting once again to looking out the window--but now it was a means of escape. It was obvious, he had been stung and was subsequently incapacitated. The sun had left his face; he knew he had nothing to make himself radiant, so he chose to flee into his thick shroud. She had no desire to uncover him, but she was further assured of her duty; there was more to be said. He didn't move when she spoke. "I'm leaving tomorrow after I pay a visit to Pansy. I'm going to return to America for a while, to New York, to visit Lily, and review my origins--I need that now." Her words echoed back at her, and she was under the dull impression that she would not be able to live in the same house as he--not at least for any extended period of time.

"It's always very good to visit family," he stated mockingly, with no change of expression. "One must act on one's sense of duty."

"Well, I'm very grateful that you approve." She was unable to tolerate his pouting any longer. "Speaking of duties," she continued with ease, "I'm retreating to my room to fulfill some of my own. "And with this, she picked up her bags, and advancing up the heavy stairs, was struck with an impression. She saw her dear Aunt Lydia ascending the broad staircase at Gardencourt, retreating to her room, the minute they had arrived on that first impressionable day. How odd it seemed, that she felt a sweeping wave of sympathy for her now, as if she were one of the persons closest to herself, as if she understood her in the most intimate of senses, as though they shared a unique spirit. It was strange how, as she recalled, she had never before thought of Mrs. Touchett as having much spirit. She resolved to

content herself that this difference was due to her past naivety, and now there was not such need for reviewing the past--it was time to move forward, to contemplate present and future; she had plans to make.

## THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY

by Sarah Glover

Our heroine, as Henrietta informed the unfortunate Mr. Goodwood, did indeed travel to Rome, but she journeyed first to Florence. She had in mind but one objective: it was imperative that she speak to the Countess Gemini. This woman greeted Isabel with her habitually piercing stare considerably sharpened by fascinated curiosity. "Ah, you've returned!" she exclaimed, not sure whether to feel disappointment or joy. If Mrs. Osmond were coming back to her husband, the Countess would seem to be disappointed and confused as to her reasons for returning to someone who she now knew had been so false to her. Maybe Isabel didn't believe her! Maybe she thought that Osmond was right about his sister's pathetic lying. On the other hand, perhaps this clever woman had returned to get revenge on her husband somehow. Now that would be exciting! The Countess would find it delightful to see Osmond "taken down a peg," and if anyone could facilitate such a vulgar operation, Mrs. Osmond could. She hoped it was for revenge that Isabel came. That would make such a grand amusement!

Isabel does indeed come for a sort of revenge. Though she doesn't think to term it as such, her plan is to marry Pansy and Mr. Rosier, in which she recognizes the defiance to Osmond. She almost believes she can carry it off, but she doesn't know exactly how to go about it, which is why she has come to the Countess. Isabel will need at least some of her money which was turned over to Osmond when she married him. She knows he will not just give it over gladly, and she is terrified of fighting him.

Another obstacle to her goal is Pansy's perverse adherence to her father's wishes. Isabel thinks maybe if she gets Pansy and Ned alone together somehow--even if she has to trick Pansy into believing her father said it was okay to see him--then perhaps the young couple's passion will come out so strongly that they will have the strength to defy Mr. Osmond. When she goes to the convent to visit Pansy, however, she will be struck with the observation of the good Sisters' consensus that Mr. Osmond is cruel to leave Pansy there and that she needs to be out in the world. Isabel beautifully believes she has a chance of convincing Mother Catherine to help her goal. Mother Catherine could be enlightened to Pansy's feelings for Mr. Rosier, certainly, and to the good nature and love on his part, and surely she would be able to see what so obviously is the best thing for the girl.

Mother Catherine will be quite hesitant, of course, but even if Isabel has to come right out and reveal the horrible story of Pansy's origin and of Pansy's father's falsity to her, Isabel, this latter is determined to go to the necessary lengths to get Osmond and Mme Merle back for their plotting! She will show them plotting! And, she thinks, when the surge of adrenalin ebbs, "I simply must rescue Pansy, and try to ensure her a normal life."

She has some misgivings, naturally, as to whether "revenge" is noble in this case or not--she eventually convinces herself by rational argument that it is because she's doing it for Pansy, too--and as to whether she is stooping to their level by plotting this revenge. She finds it a grand plan, though, and ironically satisfying. It would seem justified if she wanted to hurt Pansy because Pansy represents the awful union of those two despicable characters, except that Isabel dearly loves Pansy! This design of marrying her to poor Mr. Rosier, however, manages to be both something good for Pansy

and something against Osmond's and Merle's hopes of making a "great" marriage for Pansy. Isabel delights in the double usefulness of her scheme—it satisfies both her sense of duty and altruism and her lust for revenge.

Now more than ever she is against the notion of marrying for money! Money, in Isabel's eyes now as it was in Henrietta's from the start, is a disadvantage, because it leaves one prey to vultures—clever, calculating, cold-hearted vultures. She especially can't stand the thought of her dear, innocent, little rabbit of a stepdaughter getting caught up in such vulturous calculations (even though in this case Pansy wouldn't be the one with the money). Isabel can picture so clearly, she knows, how Osmond would charm and swindle the prospective husband and later drain him dry and torture him. Now, she shudders to think her friend Lord Warburton might have become Osmond's prey—and she, the guilty lure!

[Back to Florence and opening scene...]

Isabel did not present all her thoughts in such detail to her sister-in-law; she only asked the Countess if she did not find Mr. Rosier an agreeable and suitable match for Pansy, to which Pansy's aunt replied that yes, indeed, he was quite a pleasant young man.

"Pansy loves him dearly, too," Isabel continued. "A pity he has such a disdainful and obstinate obstacle in my husband." She returned the Countess' stare in such a way that Osmond's sister soon caught her meaning.

"Oh, I knew you were clever!" exclaimed the Countess. She leaned closer to Isabel and asked in a gossipy tone, "How do you mean to do it?"

"Do what?" asked Isabel innocently.

The Countess was excited. "You know! Arrange Pansy's marriage."

"I never said I would do anything of the kind," replied our heroine. "Pansy's marriage is entirely her father's affair."

The Countess was confused. Her words fluttered out in a disarray of protest as Isabel took her leave. This guest left her with a mystifying intimation that she would be back to tell her more later, as she owed the Countess a great deal for the enlightenment of months ago, but that for today she had pressing obligations in Rome.

In Rome, Isabel went first to the convent, where she found, as she half-hoped, half-dreaded, that Pansy had been released and was back at Palazzo Roccanera. The fearsome interview was thus advanced.

Osmond is, predictably, quite cold to Isabel, but he tells her she can stay. His manner, though, suggests that he will make life uncomfortable for her, Isabel puts on a rather deferential manner, almost saying she is sorry she displeased him. He says he didn't expect her to come back, but he is glad she did—for her sake, because people would criticize her! Neither husband nor wife gives any signal that they know that Isabel knows the truth about Osmond and Mme Merle. It is unclear to Isabel and to the reader whether Madame has informed Osmond of his wife's knowledge or not. It will come out later that she didn't tell him. After this interview, Isabel goes to Pansy.

Pansy notes an air of something unhappy about her stepmother; it might be ordinary fatigue, but there seems an element of irritation, frustration, or anger which vaguely confuses Pansy as she is not familiar with any of these emotions. She begs Isabel's pardon for seeming to intrude, but remarks that something appears to be troubling her.

Isabel smiles. "Oh, Pansy, you aren't intruding! You can never offend by such a sweet enquiry. I know that your intentions are pure, because you have the purest heart in the whole, evil world!" Whereupon Pansy looked bewildered, but smiled because Isabel was smiling.

"I don't understand why you call the whole world evil," she quietly interjected. "Papa says that, too, and that that is why I must be protected from the world; but I know that everyone in the world is not evil. You're not! Nor is Mother Catherine or anyone at the convent, nor is Papa." She appeared to hesitate.

Isabel stepped easily, hopefully, into her plan. "And Mr. Rosier? Do you still think of him? Certainly he is not one of the more unpleasant personalities one could have happened upon in one's life." Pansy visibly brightened. "Ah," her stepmother continued gently, "So you do still think of poor Mr. Rosier?"

Pansy looked down. "I know I shouldn't. Papa forbade me to, and there is no good in thinking of him, for I cannot ever see him or talk to him." She lifted her soft eyes to Isabel and confessed, "But I cannot help myself! The thought of him is so pleasant."

"Is it not sad, too, since you love him and yet you cannot see him?"

Pansy did not answer; she merely bowed her head again.

"Does it not seem to you unjust?" Isabel pressed softly.

"Oh, no," Pansy replied, "it's Papa's command." She did not meet Isabel's eyes, thus conveying a certain uneasiness in the automatically sincere tone with which she was accustomed to deliver this statement. It occurred to Isabel that perhaps Pansy thought that she was testing her, to see if she would pronounce misgivings about her father. In fact, Isabel was testing her, but she was hardly an agent of Pansy's father!

Osmond's unhappy wife was tempted to discredit her husband to Pansy, but realized that such an indiscretion could harm innocent Pansy and could quite also result in a loss of favour to herself in Pansy's eyes, which was the last thing she wanted. So Isabel let out a small sigh of resignation and said in a tone different from before, "Yes, dear, you are quite right to think that of your father. Please forgive me for bringing up such an unpleasant issue." [We will notice that she distinctly avoids saying that Pansy was quite right to obey her father, as she would have said months ago. We wonder if Pansy, too, notices the different remark.]

Isabel hoped to implant the seeds of something in Pansy's tender mind that would aid her plan. Whether the most useful result be a hardier strain of love for Mr. Rosier, a whiff of the pungent scent of the injustice of her situation, the realization that her future was being cropped close to prevent blossoming, or even so bitter a fruit as suspicion of Mr. Osmond's motives or character, of this our gardener wasn't sure.

[She had, at least, found out that Pansy still loved Mr. Rosier: she hadn't denied it. Pansy's feelings were the first and most important step. Isabel's next step is to get Pansy and Ned together. She takes Pansy to visit the convent and they just happened to run into Mr. Rosier, with whom Isabel has conspired a little. Pansy is distraught at first, but as Isabel approves and promises that her father will not find out, she talks to the man rather than offend Isabel. Pansy is considerably brightened after this interview and the strength of this happiness propels her to continue to see her suitor under Mrs. Osmond's cover. Isabel is so meek to Mr. Osmond now, and so seemingly-obedient, that his pride lets him believe that she has accepted his superiority, and he trusts her with Pansy. He suggests that since Ralph is dead, Isabel has no one left to turn to, as well as no one left to talk dirt about him--except of course, his crazy, lying sister.]  
END OF VOL. III, CH. 1.

[The rest of Volume III concerns itself mostly with Pansy and Ned's courtship, in which Isabel plays a facilitating role. It is, in fact, her

project, her brainchild, and her most important success since it counteracts (sort of) the big failure of her own marriage. We hear about the courtship and surrounding events through confidences made to Isabel by Pansy, and through conversations.

Ned Rosier overhears a conversation between Isabel and the Countess about Mme Merle and her "plot" (for Isabel's marriage to Osmond) and he tells Pansy, who declares to Isabel and the Countess together that she never liked Madame Merle. The countess lets it out that Pansy is this hated woman's daughter, and Pansy refuses to believe it, and becomes very upset. Isabel goes later to counsel her, and the girl, in tears, asks Isabel if it's true that Mme Merle tricked her into marrying Osmond. Isabel tells her that it wasn't exactly a "trick" but that, yes, to be honest, Mme Merle was very false to her. Pansy then proceeds to ask "Why?" and demands the truth when Isabel hesitates. Isabel decides it is time to destroy the cultivated innocence of Osmond's child; she sees that Pansy wants to know the truth, because the truth has hurt her beloved stepmother. Isabel has set out to, and has, won Pansy's infinite esteem and devotion--even more than she had before she went to England. She sees that she may have a glimmer of a chance to get Pansy to disobey her father if she plays up the hurt to herself and the role of Madame Merle. So she sits Pansy down and tells her the gentlest version of the ugliest story she can manage: that Madame Merle was in love with Osmond but he wouldn't marry her, so she did the next best thing and tried to find him a good, rich wife, which was Isabel. Isabel was deceived by Mme Merle because Mme Merle swore to her that she took no interest in their courtship, and that she wanted Isabel to do whatever made her happy. Also, Isabel told Pansy, Mme Merle praised Osmond so highly that she kind of brainwashed Isabel into liking him. She made him sound easy to live with, which he, one must admit, is not. She told Isabel that he was madly in love with her, and that he admired an intelligent woman, which he does not. She said he didn't care a fig for her money, which he did, Isabel told Pansy.

"I know it's painful to hear me say such things about your father, but you know I mean no harm. I merely wish you to know some of the truth, because no matter how painful, the truth is always best. Did they not teach you that at the convent?"

The girl hesitated. "Well, yes, but.... Well, I suppose father would say that he doesn't feel a young girl should be exposed to such truth. Is that why he doesn't tell me things?"

"Pansy, dear, forgive me once more," said Isabel, placing her hand on Pansy's slender arm, "but your father doesn't wish you to know the truth about him--because he is afraid of losing your adoration. You see, he has made you into his version of the perfect woman." Pansy blushed. Isabel continued, "He admires innocence, shyness, silence, and sweet submissiveness in a woman. But, Pansy, you must admit that I am not shy, nor submissive, nor innocent--by that, I essentially mean 'ignorant'--am I?"

"Oh, no!" Pansy exclaimed. "You are not at all like me; you are charming, and clever, and have such interesting things to say! I believe you are much more perfect than I. That's why Papa married you."

"No, it is not. He would much prefer someone less stubborn, less inquisitive, and less clever. You see, your father did admire some of my qualities, including my intellect, but he would not have married me had I no fortune."

Pansy started to object but Isabel pressed on, "He did not get quite what he bargained for in this marriage, as he now realizes. He expected my

clever mind to be in perfect concert with his clever mind, which it happens not to be."

Pansy was silent. Isabel thought of something else to say. "You remarked once that I seemed troubled. Remember?" Pansy nodded. "I will tell you the truth now: I am not happy with your father." She paused a moment to let this sink to the mark. "I do not mean to make you think less of him, nor do I hope you will think less of me. It's only that we do not understand each other any longer."

Pansy, with tears in her eyes, lay her head on Isabel's shoulder. "I am so sorry to hear that!" she said. Isabel had the impression that more thoughts were circulating in Pansy's noggin than she had handy words for.

"Don't worry that I will divorce him, because I shan't. I merely want to impress upon you the difficulties that arise with money in a marriage. Your father wants you to marry someone with a large fortune; but a fortune does not make a happy marriage. Love does. And, my sweet child, who is it that you love?"

"Are you referring to Mr. Rosier again?" Pansy asked innocently.

"Yes. If you still do..."

"I do," she whispered. "Yes, I do."

Isabel adopted a very conspiratorial tone here, and whispered back to Pansy, "Well, Pansy, if you will let me protect you from your father's disappointment, which I can do better than anyone; will you agree to marry Mr. Rosier?" She held her breath as she took in Pansy's expression.

The girl hung fire but a moment. "Of course," she returned firmly. Her posture erect again, her eyes sparkled with excitement or anger--Isabel wasn't sure which, but she remarked that for once it was not fear.

"Oh, you are a marvel, my dear!" The two women embraced. "You don't, then, believe I'm misleading you?"

Pansy declared that she would follow Mrs. Isabel Archer Osmond anywhere. "You," she brought out, "are the one person who has shown me respect, beside Mr. Rosier, and your plans are wonderful, for they bring happiness to all three of us. Mother Catherine said that justice always would come in the end. And poor father, perhaps he will learn to be happy with my happiness --it's what he's always said he wanted!"

Isabel, struck by the content and length of this speech, kissed Pansy admiringly, feeling herself beautifully justified.

[The young people secretly marry. Isabel manages to buy Gardencourt, with help from Lord Warburton, Mrs. Touchett, and Ned Rosier. She takes Pansy and Ned off to live there, leaving Pansy's father a note that describes everything, and the dastardly Osmond is not heard from again in this volume. Isabel has nightmares about him. At the end, she leaves the Rosiers caretakers of Gardencourt and declares she is going on a voyage.]

"Where are you going?" Ned asks genially.

"I?" replies Isabel, "I am going to America!"



CRITICAL RESPONSE TO TALES OF THE SELF-HAUNTED



"When someone would characterize my position as nothing more than the most recent turn of the new critical screw. I would reply by saying that in my model the reader was freed from the tyranny of the text and given the central role in the production of meaning."

Stanley Fish in the introduction to  
Is There a Text In This Class? p. 7



THE SEARCH FOR MEANING AND THE READER'S RESPONSE  
OR  
IS THERE A GHOST IN THIS TEXT?

by Diana Ward

One of the most frequently debated issues in literary theory is the source of the meaning in the work. It has been put forth that the author or the author's intention is the only valid source of meaning. Others have asserted that this is neither discoverable nor desirable.<sup>1</sup> It is the ultimate stability of the text, "the thing itself" that can be undone to reveal the meaning. Ultimately this leaves the interpretation to the reader who is only restricted in his interpretation by the language of the text. Again there is the problem of validity when the meaning is the property of any of a number of readers. So, where is the source of the meaning?

The Turn of the Screw by Henry James lends itself well to interpretation because the reader is led in the end by the "intended" ambiguity into a state of perfect uncertainty. So perfect is this uncertainty that no reader yet has been able to give a definitive answer. Is the governess the lone viewer of these apparitions or are her suspicions about Miles and Flora correct? To consult the author is no help. His intention was "to catch the reader not easily caught."<sup>2</sup> James would reveal nothing about the true nature of the apparitions. The next turn must then be to the text with all its ambiguity. There are essentially two parts to The Turn of the Screw, the first, a prologue to storytelling that indicates the source of the second part, the governess' text. Douglas, the possessor of the original manuscript asserts that, "The story won't tell, ... not in any literal, vulgar way."<sup>3</sup> What remains then for the reader is the task of interacting with the text transcribed by the narrator, from Douglas, and from before him the governess.

This sort of reader-response interpretation is described in Stanley Fish's essays from Is There A Text In This Class? His approach is in some sense as interrogative as his title, emphasizing not "What does this mean?" but "What does this do?"<sup>4</sup> Interpretive method for Fish values the process of reading over the text as, "The privileged container of meaning."<sup>5</sup> It is the activity of reading that is important in Fish's method:

One could not point to this meaning as one could if it were the property of the text; rather one could observe or follow its gradual emergence in the interaction between the text, conceived of as a succession of words, and the developing response of the reader.<sup>6</sup>

Fish's process of interpretation seems a perfectly logical step beyond the confines of the privileging of author or text, however, it does present certain problems. Fish asserts that his theory works by "Displacing attention from the text, in its spatial configurations, to the reader and his temporal experience."<sup>7</sup> The text develops for the reader temporally through the process of reading the narrative. This is the process of reading to which he alludes. What this may in fact lead to is a wide array of different interpretations because each readers experience of reading varies. The danger is then the relativism of meaning among different readers of the same text. In response to this problem, Fish asserts that the inflexibility of a single meaning per text is undesirable, particularly the notion of a single

intention on the part of the author.<sup>8</sup> Also important to his theory is that the reader's active engagement with the text, "What does this do?", reduces the amount of relativism because a reply is not interaction with the language, in order to understand, it is not merely looking at the text to undo it but the process of undoing it as the narrative unfolds in the process of reading.

Such process of undoing The Turn of the Screw then is the analysis of the reader's responses to the language of the text as it is read. This is temporal, including, "The reader's expectations, projections, conclusions, judgments and assumptions," which Fish includes as the activities of reading.<sup>9</sup> It is not only the reader but the governess who is involved in expectations, projections and the other activities. She interprets the behavior of the children. The reader and the governess are, in fact, engaged in a similar brand of interpretation though the governess bases hers mostly on her ability to see the invisible, (the thoughts of the children), to expect the appearance of ghosts, to assume where the children have been or what they are thinking. The reader, in contrast, works with the ambiguities of language in her text, and creates his own vision of the ghosts for himself.

The beginning of the text is a description of "a succession of flights and drops,"<sup>10</sup> the governess' experiences. The governess is very sensitive to her environment and she expresses her experiences in terms of her expectations. In her account of the story, which is retrospective, she seems to have had expectations of what experience before they occurred. Such expectations determine her moods for the first few days of employment and her first view of Bly is judged in terms of her expectation. She states, "I suppose I had expected, or had dreaded, something so melancholy that what had greeted me was a good surprise."<sup>11</sup> This pattern of expectation continues throughout. Indeed the first time that she encounters a ghost she had immediately before been imagining a very vivid encounter:

One of the thoughts that, ... used to be with me in these wanderings was that it would be as charming as a charming story to meet someone on the path. Someone would appear there at the turn of the path and would stand before me and smile and approve. I didn't ask more than that--I only asked that he should know; and the only way to be sure he knew would be to see it, and the kind light of it, in his handsome face.<sup>12</sup>

The two things that startle her about seeing the man on the tower are first that her, "imagination had, in a flash, turned real," and second that this was not the person she had imagined but some different intruder. This circumstance, the fact of her imagining or often expecting the appearance of a stranger or apparition, is evidence that she is either extremely sensitive or that there is a connection between her imagination and the apparitions.

Other instances where this premonition of the appearance of an apparition occur are often in the small hours of the morning or when she is alone with the children. While seated with Flora at the lake she states that:

I began to take in with certitude, and yet without direct vision, the presence, at a distance, of a third person... There was no ambiguity in anything: none whatever, at least, in the conviction I from

one moment to another found myself forming as to what  
I should see straight before me and across the lake  
as a consequence of raising my eyes.<sup>13</sup>

She is absolutely positive of the reality of something she has only felt or sensed and has not seen. In fact, she convinces herself of that reality so readily that she does in fact see it upon lifting her eyes. Many minutes pass as she considers the possibilities. The reader is led through these considerations and at one point she states, "Nothing was more natural than that these things should be the other things that they absolutely were not."<sup>14</sup> This is a stopping block for the reader: a string of unclear references that must be cleared in order to understand what the governess does not see. The things that would be more natural to see are the men about the house or a postman, indicated by the words, "should be the other things." This is followed by the remark that it is not those natural things. From here the first part can be unraveled that nothing could be more predictable or expected (natural) than that the odd presence (these things) would be, for example, the postman. The reader might have had a different expectation of the sentence's meaning from the way it begins by negation, "Nothing." The same reader is caught off guard by its peculiarity as the governess is caught off her guard. Yet through her imagination, and expectation of what she will encounter, she sees the image of Miss Jessel. The reader is drawn in by this surprise and it makes the ghostly image more credible for the reader.

The governess has frequent and sudden expectations of seeing the apparitions or an assumption that they are with the children. If the reader examines the language of these occurrences it is apparent that what the governess says she sees is often an impression. Either she sees something before she has looked at it or she sees into the mind of the child and knows the thoughts of that child. It is inconclusive at best whether she actually sees these things and doubtful that she does. The reader can rely on the text as authority only as the governess' report. It does not show in a "literal or vulgar way" whether the apparitions are real, but only allows the reader to interact with the governess' subjective experiences for the truth. The reader judges the truth of the ghosts by what he fills in the gaps left by the governess' account. The places where she concludes that she has seen a ghost before the actual sighting cause doubt for the reader.

Following the scene at the lake when first the apparition of Miss Jessel is seen, the governess reports the incident to Mrs. Grose. In the text the reader is not privileged to the events at the lake when they occur but only the description of them afterward to Mrs. Grose. The governess says at the time that she lifts her eyes, "I faced what I had to face."<sup>15</sup> In the next chapter, however when she reports to Mrs. Grose, she begins by exclaiming that "they know--it's too monstrous: they know, they know!"<sup>16</sup> The governess then explains that two hours before she saw the ghost of Miss Jessel, that Flora saw, though she had her back to the water and that Flora kept the entire incident to herself. When questioned about this she responds, "I was there--I saw with my eyes: saw that she was perfectly aware."<sup>17</sup> When questioned further about the identity of this apparition she says that it is someone she has never seen but "someone the child has. Someone you have."<sup>18</sup> The governess could not have known this at the time. Her knowledge here has no basis and is again a source of doubt for the reader.

Throughout The Turn of the Screw, the governess has an uncanny awareness and knowledge of others through what she sees or gathers as impressions. She is always very certain. The reader must assume that she either speaks of a different kind of knowledge or, and more realistically so, that she is making

presumptions that are not grounded in actuality. From the beginning the assumption is made that by the very sight of Miles she will be able to discern his innocence in the charges of the schoolmaster. The presumptions continue to escalate until the last scene with Flora by the lake where she changes the child. She's there, you little unhappy thing—there, there, and there you see her as well as you see me!"<sup>19</sup> There seems to be, then, an undeniable relationship between what the governess sees and what she knows. It seems very possible that if she can look into the hearts of the children and know their thoughts from their faces then she might also take something she knows in her mind and literally project it out into the realm of what is seen.

It is difficult at best to be certain of the circumstances of the sightings of the ghosts. The reader is lulled into a state of belief or disbelief by the uncertainty of the language of the governess. She seems certain of things for which there is no evidence. The movement of the reader through the text, what Fish would refer to as the temporal relationship, is to some extent responsible for the ease that a reader may find in believing in the ghosts. The reader becomes more engaged in the consciousness of the governess and if not careful begins to accept her views. A suspicious reading of the text, however, finds the governess engaged in an expanding obsession with the children and the ghosts that includes more and more details of her existence.

In the beginning the governess finds herself, "strangely at the helm,"<sup>20</sup> thrust into a new and very odd set of circumstances. There are the ambiguities: the child expelled for a reason the specifics of which are never known; the odd old manor house that is almost literally the possession of the children; and the peculiar restriction that she is not under any circumstances to contact the master about the children. What follows is then the shock of the sightings and the information she receives about the mysterious control that Quint had of the household. When the governess spies Miss Jessel at the lake she becomes aware of the motive of the ghosts. She asserts that the ghost watches Flora with an "Intention"<sup>21</sup>. It is peculiar that as she sees the ghost watch with intention, she also looks intending to see what Flora knows. From this point her obsession changes subtly. She attempts to catch the children at "it," which is whatever they do, and after several incidents, particularly at night, she believes she has caught Miles. His response however foils her once again. The children take on increasingly grotesque dimensions in her mind, she calls them at one point "little wretches," and is determined that they are conspiring. The conclusion of all events is then the naming of the names, which ultimately reduces the possibilities. It is one thing for the governess to see and know things, it is quite another for her to articulate them. This in some manner reverts to the original restriction of the master that she is not to report, "not a word."<sup>22</sup>

This analysis of the temporal development between reader and text illustrates how the validity of the ghosts in The Turn of the Screw is dependent on the reader's belief or disbelief in the account of the governess. The suspicious reader might easily conclude that this account is not a reliable means for establishing the actuality of the events of the narrative. It is subject to the increasing obsession of the governess and her "expectations, projections, conclusions, judgements, and assumptions"<sup>23</sup> which like the reader's must be weighed accordingly.

NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>W.K. Wimsatt, The Verbal Icon. University of Kentucky Press, 1954.
- <sup>2</sup>James prologue to New York Edition. This reference is from my notes.
- <sup>3</sup>Henry James, The Turn of the Screw and Other Short Novels. New York: New American Library, 1962. p. 294.
- <sup>4</sup>Stanley Fish, Is There A Text In This Class? Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980. p. 3.
- <sup>5</sup>Fish, p. 3.
- <sup>6</sup>Fish, p. 3.
- <sup>7</sup>Fish, p. 4.
- <sup>8</sup>In "The Facts and Fictions: A Reply to Ralph Rader, "he refers to a category in Rader's article about intention, "the unintended and unavoidable negative consequences of the artist's positive constructive intention." p. 137 of Fish.
- <sup>9</sup>Fish, p. 2.
- <sup>10</sup>James, p. 298.
- <sup>11</sup>Ibid, p. 299.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid, p. 310.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid, p. 327.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid, p. 327.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid, p. 328.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid, p. 328.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid, p. 329.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid, p. 329.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid, p. 381.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid, p. 302.
- <sup>21</sup>Ibid, p. 331.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid, p. 303.
- <sup>23</sup>Fish, p. 2.



## JAMES' BEAST

by Eric Johnson

With The Beast in the Jungle, James once again offers the strange choreography between doubt and desire to depict the inner quests of his characters and the interaction between them. In Portrait of a Lady, the interrelations of the characters depended upon their individual desires to control their relations to the rest; to do so, however, each character had to maintain a secrecy of their intentions of manipulating the relations: to reveal their intentions would undermine their potency. This secrecy led to interactions that never allowed the characters to be certain as to whether they were achieving their desired effects of control: their certainty rested in their individual understandings of their relations to the others, but their confusions lay in whether those understandings aligned with those of the other characters. In Turn of the Screw, the tension between desire and doubt creates the suspense that builds to the boiling point of revelation: the governess is consumed with a desire to know the truth of her position in the master's house, but to learn it she cannot invoke it verbally, for she can only understand it intuitively; in doing so, however, her certainty in her position is undermined by her doubt-provoked, hypersensitive analysis of the motives behind the other characters' interactions with her. In The beast in the Jungle, John Marcher's inability to verbally invoke that which he seeks leaves him groping in the darkness of intuitive understandings between him and May Bartram. In all three novels, the unspoken communications between the characters culminate in their realizations that, by virtue of their unspoken understandings, they have trapped themselves within what their imaginations allowed them to believe; their manipulations backfired to produce the horror of realizing that what they had believed as truths were merely self-deceptions. Here, we will examine the anatomy of self-deception.

John Marcher says he is haunted. He likens that which haunts him to a Beast that lurks in the intertwining confusion of the future, the jungle. At any time, the Beast is likely to spring, and although he is not aware of how it is to manifest itself, he is certain of its existence. Before he reunited with May, he faced his quest for the beast alone; it was the private secret he kept behind an impenetrable veneer which he produced for society to make him functionally acceptable, though perhaps misunderstood. This veneer is detachable from how Marcher perceives himself, which is as a somewhat obsessive man on a heroic quest for the deepest truth within himself. This truth is something that he wished, before his reunion with May, that he could discover in solitude, though since the confrontation with the Beast did not occur for the ten years that had elapsed between his meetings with May, it seemed apparent to Marcher that a companion for the quest may not be disagreeable, especially since May did not find the quest hilarious. Her not having demeaned his quest made him feel indebted to her to the point of feeling that her apparent compassion for him was an act of beauty. They were alike in that they were detached: they were detached from society as well as from each other, for neither admitted to having emotional bonds to the other even after having spent so much time together by the ends of their lives.

Each depended upon the other, never for the sake of emotional symbiosis, but for the quest: their loyalties were not to any love that existed between them, but to the completion of the quest.

Their symbiosis was rational; she represented the questioning part of his mind while he searched for the answers. When he began to lose faith in the quest, she reinstated it. "She had no source of knowledge that he hadn't equally--except, of course, that she might have finer nerves. That was what women had when they were interested; they made out things, where people were concerned, that the people couldn't figure out for themselves." (p. 426). So, perhaps, she not only provided companionship in the quest, but was also providing a resource to hasten the revelation of the Beast: indeed, her companionship was necessary to the revelation, for since her relationship with Marcher was close, yet not declared as loving, he needed it to reveal the necessity of emotional bonds in naming the Beast.

Even with May representing such an integral part of such a significant aspect of John's life, an emotional bond still could not be achieved between them: John was too fearful of self-exposure. Detached, he could not bring himself to risk standing naked in a void. He became dependent upon May because she did not humiliate him, and even though their consciousness merged as though they were gazing through the same eyes, she was still merely an object, a hiding place for John from himself. She, on the other hand, could not declare a love for John, for she realized that if she were to introduce an emotional element into their relationship, he would flee, for she knew he would perceive such a declaration as a mechanism to pressure him into declaring a love for her, and he could not bear the self-exposure necessary for such an emotional response. She could only suffer with the secret of John's flaw of detachment until her death, realizing that his personal truth would be revealed to him with her passing.

Her own strengths lay in her faith that John did indeed love her, for she knew he enjoyed her presence, but only as an object of beauty that could not be approached. "She was a sphinx, yet with her white petals and green fronds she might have been a lily, too--an artificial lily, wonderfully imitated and constantly kept, without dust or stain, though not exempt from a slight droop and a complexity of faint creases, under some glass bell." (p. 430) In Marcher's eyes, she was merely an object, an artificial object, that was not prone to even the most basic of physical functions or shortcomings.

He often perceived a mystic glow about her that he hoped would reveal the Beast, the imagery for which starting with the lamplighter impressions (p. 407) and ending with John trying to divine a truth-revealing light from May's tombstone (p. 444). He begged her to provide answers for the quest, but she could only raise questions. May and Marcher were binary: a pair of singularities circling opposite each other to create a swirling vortex between them: together they defined the Beast as the void, the vortex, by it being the negative result of their detached, singular, spiralling selves. The manner in which they create the vortex between them is analagous to the whirlpool that is created by the circling blades of a blender when one makes a milkshake: all of the ingredients are spiralling about the hole in the center that is created by virtue of their spiralling about. She had been able to "see (the relationship by) what it's not." (p. 439), much in the way the whirlpool-hole is formed. May recognized the nature of her relationship with John. He needed her not so much as an emotional support, but as a counterpart to help him define the Beast within himself: his non-identity, his smothered emotions.

The metaphor of burial and smothering is central to the depiction of their relationship, and carries itself throughout the novel. It is first presented in the account of their early days together when "The incident of a thunderstorm that had raged around them with such violence as to drive them for refuge into an excavation--this incident had not occurred at the Palace of the Caesars, but at Pompeii, on an occasion when they had been present there at an important find." (407). This image operates twofold: first, that they had found refuge from a storm in an excavation. This metaphor is analogous to their detachment from society, as they are threatened by the storm, they are also threatened by society. The image of a storm is also a useful metaphor for their reunion, for they came together representing opposites that violently clash together and eventually merge. Like the storm, their meeting is the culmination of swelling, countervailing pressure systems that need to merge in order for the pressures to be dissipated: the pressures between them result from their mutual denial of their relationship being based in emotion. The occasion of their consciousnesses having merged is as violent as a storm, for it, like a storm, is a release of tensions. Their escaping to a place of subterranean explorative excavation is also significant, for it represents the search for the Beast, for what is buried. The second aspect of the metaphor is that they are at Pompeii, where the inhabitants were smothered by volcano ash and smoke and covered in lava; the catastrophe left many of the inhabitants in stone-molded form to be discovered by excavators centuries later. The analogy relates to the lifeless, frozen stone forms of the inhabitants, (like John's identity), and that they died by suffocation (John's suppressed emotions). Here, the storm and suffocation are brought together: a powerful storm system swirls about a center to form a vacuum; to breathe at the center is impossible, for the countervailing pressures there will suffocate.

The final burial metaphor is May's grave. Here, we can still see John's dependence upon May as his counterpart: to him, his secret is buried with her; without her it may as well have not existed. "It was as if, being nothing anywhere else for anyone, nothing even for himself, he were just everything here, and if not for a crowd of witnesses, or of any witnesses save John Marcher, then by clear right of the register that he would scan like an open page was the tomb of his friend, and there were the facts of his past, there the truth of his life, there the backward reaches in which he could lose himself." (p. 446) John's perception of his past depended upon her. His identity and his memory were unified by her: with her passing these things also passed. His identity only existed as a reflection of someone else.

Marcher realized himself at May's grave upon seeing a man in mourning; the man was experiencing that which John hadn't: pain. It initially perplexed John that the man could feel it and go on living: it seemed that the man possessed something that John didn't in being able to absorb the burden and not become dysfunctional. John viewed pain as an end to what was familiar and comfortable to him, and thus was something that should be avoided. Hence the Beast presented itself: the emptiness of Marcher's life was revealed, manifesting itself in his identity being merely reflected in others. Whatever autonomy he perceived of himself was an illusion, indeed, it was a lie. With this realization, May spun down into the center of the vortex and its swirling ceased, leaving John alone with his Beast in the unnerving silence that follows a storm.

John realized that his self-deception lay in his mistaken belief that self-exposure and the risk of pain are elements of life that should be

avoided in the quest for meaning in that life. With May's passing, John came to recognize the error in that belief, for now he stands to suffer the pain of not having May as his comforting, counterpart-self in whom he can see the reflection of himself. Isolated, he must now face the terror of recognizing himself without the deceptive comfort of self-recognition within a convenient reflection: John is in the clutches of the formless and invisible Beast, and he silently flails to free himself from it. Within John's struggle we can recognize James' struggle with his own Beast: language. As John Marcher recognized himself in the delusional reflection that May provided, James sees language as the delusionary reflection that humanity has created for itself in order to recognize itself. As we have seen in John, to define oneself by what is reflected of oneself is a tragic self-deception. Hence, the choreography: John representing the desire to understand himself, as James desires to understand himself, utilizes a reflection of himself, as James utilizes language, to facilitate the understanding. Upon examining the understanding, however, the self-definition it is supposed to provide falls short of intuitive self-recognition. Hence, in language not providing the self-understanding which one desires, one comes to doubt whether any sense of understanding is anything other than a self-deception: the desire for such an understanding borders on desperation, but the shortcomings of the medium by which the understanding can occur, language, prompts one to doubt whether any understanding is ever possible, despite the desire for understanding. No stranger to the frustrations of the shortcomings of language for reflecting human consciousness, James is engaged in a jitterbug dance of alternately being pushed by the desire for understanding and yanked back by the realization of the deception that occurs in employing language as a vehicle for that understanding: his dance is like that of someone with a finger stuck in an electric socket, flailing and jitterbugging and helpless to disconnect from the source of the suffering: his mouth opens to cry out, but not a sound escapes.

WAITING FOR THE BEAST, OR, THE WASTED LIFE OF JOHN MARCHER

by M. Tatiana Kissil

A soul haunted by doubt and fear hides behind John Marcher's outer facade in Henry James' short novel The Beast in the Jungle. The torment present within Marcher's soul ultimately leads to his undoing, although not in the way the reader initially expects. On the surface, Marcher appears well-off, single and somewhat solitary by nature, although at the beginning of the novel he enjoys something of a superficial social life. This outer life quickly falls away, however, as the reader becomes aware of the troubled soul which Marcher possesses. For the majority of his life, John Marcher has had the feeling that something of terrific importance is going to happen to him, although he knows not what. He alternately fears and prepares for this monumental event, until waiting for it completely takes over his life. The only other person who shares this secret is May Bartram, who, fascinated by Marcher, joins him in his lifetime vigil. Trapped within the paradox this self-haunting brings him, Marcher has ceased to live, and instead becomes an automaton who has never truly experienced life. In her role first as passive watcher and later as active manipulator, May Bartram becomes paradoxically trapped as well. When looked at together, these complicated sets of paradoxes interweave again and again, slowly drawing both characters into a complex relationship from which neither will emerge alive.

The solitary life which Marcher leads quickly alerts the reader that there is something extraordinary about him. Here is a moderately wealthy bachelor who does not fit that persona. He rarely attends parties or other social functions, nor does he have a large circle of friends surrounding him, which theoretically would make up for the lack of a wife. After the superficial relationships alluded to in Chapter 1 fall away, Marcher maintains only one steady companion, a woman who we quickly discover is extraordinary in her own right. The character of May Bartram plays an extremely important role in the story, for it is she who provides Marcher with the final insight he needs to free himself from his haunted soul. In addition, May Bartram serves a much more active purpose as well, in actually attempting to "save" Marcher from becoming completely enveloped by his self-haunted nature. James' use of a woman in the "Savior" role is possibly a symbol of the Biblical "Angel of Mercy" who is sent down to rescue souls that are in torment. Because Marcher is unable to save himself, the character of May is sent to help him. At this point in the story, however, May's method of helping consists of assuming a like role to Marcher's, that of passive observer. Marcher is grateful for May's participation in his quest, for her presence gives validity to the "feeling" he has that something is waiting for him.

Quite early in the novel, we see that Marcher's "feeling" has become sinisterly personified:

Something or other lay in wait for him, amid the  
twists and the turns of the months and the years,  
like a crouching Beast in the Jungle. [p. 417]

It is with an increasing sense of dread that Marcher awaits the ultimate appearance of his beast. At times the feeling is so strong that he senses the darkness of the jungle from which the beast will spring. Living in conjunction with this being paralyzes Marcher with fear, yet he rationalizes his fear into awareness and caution. What we as readers see as a disinclination

to actively partake in what life has to offer, Marcher views as humbleness and reverence for the beast which could spring at any moment. When examined on a deeper level, therefore, it appears that Marcher revels in the fear of the beast itself, for it is the fear that allows him to avoid making choices that he might regret later on. By continuously, slavishly preparing for the beast he feels is near, Marcher is able to take a fatalistic view of life. Since he feels that the spring of the beast will so alter his life as he knows it, he is able to go through life without emotion. In so doing, he avoids creating a destiny for himself, which in the end does leave him as "the man, to whom nothing on earth was to have happened" [p. 450]. The central irony here, then, is the personification of what ultimately ends up a passive event with the active image of a beast that lurks in a jungle, waiting for just the right moment to spring upon its prey.

Because she is the only one who knows his "secret," May Bartram's companionship is something Marcher comes to depend on, although it never supercedes his waiting for the Beast to appear:

He felt in these days what, oddly enough, he had never felt before, the growth of a dread of losing her by some catastrophe--some catastrophe that yet wouldn't at all be the catastrophe..." [pp. 426-7]

Marcher's preoccupation with the beast prevents him from achieving a deeper relationship with May, although they share a depth of feeling for each other which goes beyond that of mere friendship. At their first meeting, which occurs at a party, Marcher is aware of a connection between them, although it is a vague one:

It led, in short, in the course of the October afternoon, to his closer meeting with May Bartram, whose face, a reminder, yet not quite a remembrance, as they sat, much separated, at a very long table, had begun merely by troubling him rather pleasantly. It affected him as the sequel of something of which he had lost the beginning. He knew it, and for the time quite welcomed it, as a continuation, but didn't know what it continued, which was an interest, or an amusement, the greater as he was also somehow aware--yet without a direct sign from her--that the young woman herself had not lost the thread." [p. 405]

This meeting, we later discover, is actually a re-meeting, although Marcher has forgotten it. This seems ironic in that we soon see that Marcher has already told May his secret 10 years previously. Marcher does not seem concerned that he has forgotten the one occasion in his life where he truly let someone know him. In fact, neither the past nor the future seem to matter very much to Marcher, for he lives in a vacuum. His relationship with May grows out of the fact that she at first is willing to enter the vacuum as well.

The fact that she "knew"--knew and yet neither chaffed him nor betrayed him--had in a short time begun to constitute between them a sensible bond, which became more marked when, within the year that followed their afternoon at Weatherend, the opportunities for meeting multiplied." [p. 414]

And so they continue to meet and form a friendship around the rather ominous spectre of the beast which is constantly present in both their lives.

In order for May to truly fulfill her role as "savior" to Marcher,

however, it is necessary that she do more than just wait. At a turning point in the novel, May's role is transformed from that of passive spectator into quite the opposite. She is, however, doing more than merely complimenting Marcher's passive nature with her active one. Like an expert puppet master, May comes to control Marcher, carefully and discreetly steering him towards the realization of the beast within him, which she has already recognized. Her control of him is possible because he refuses to take control of himself. This control, however, rather than freeing her, instead traps May in a new paradox—she must gently push Marcher in the direction of realization without completely revealing what she knows. At the same time, May wishes for Marcher to avoid the realization, for she knows the comfort he achieves from reveling in ignorance. More irony comes into play here, as Marcher, while begging May to tell him what she knows, says "'I'm only afraid of ignorance now—I'm not afraid of knowledge.'" [p. 433]. Nevertheless, May knows it is an impossibility on her part to tell him. This is a realization which Marcher himself must come to, and May knows this. If Marcher were to be told this by someone, not only would it seem unbelievable, as well as anticlimatic, but it would be passively received, just as is everything else in Marcher's life. By refusing to tell him what she knows, May is forcing Marcher to do the realizing (an active process) on his own. At times she is not completely sure that this is the right thing to do, for although it is possible that Marcher's realization could result in his finally falling in love with May (her ultimate act of saving him and herself), it could just as easily result in his death, which would cause her own. Each one, therefore, is in charge of the entire existence of the other—yet the final decision is in Marcher's hands. Whichever path he chooses will be his destiny, although he remains ignorant to this fact.

'How kind, how beautiful you are to me! How shall I ever repay you?'

She had her last grave pause as if there might be a choice of ways. But she chose. 'By going on as you are' [p. 426]

And so we are left with yet another ironic twist in the life of a man who has tried to hide from destiny. Having helped him all she can, May can do no more for Marcher. It is as though she now has no will to live—since her so-called "encounter" with the beast, she and Marcher have nothing left to watch for. Since Marcher himself is unable to recognize the beast as being the tragedy of having done nothing, May, the angel of mercy, is unable to help him anymore, and therefore must die. His recognition perhaps could have saved them both, for in it, they could have found a love that would have been "something," and which would have killed the beast prior to its spring. Now, however, it seems that nothing can save Marcher, for the beast has sprung, unbeknownst to him.

After May's death, Marcher is lost—he has no one to turn to, and so seeks solace at May's grave. At this point we again realize the strength of the connection between them:

...his spirit turned, for nobleness of association, to the barely discriminated slab in the London suburb. That had become for him, and more intensely with time and distance, his one witness of a past glory...small wonder then that he came back to it on the morrow of his return. He was drawn there this time as irresistably as the other... [p. 445]

And yet he remains emotionless and empty—his body, like May's, a hollow

shell with no life in it.

It only takes a brief glance, the "turn of a hair," as he calls it, to forcefully drive realization home to Marcher. The sight of a stranger standing beside a newly-dug grave with a look of "deep ravage" on his face causes Marcher to finally see that he has never really lived:

No passion had ever touched him, for this was what passion meant; he had survived and maundered and pined, but where had been his deep ravage?...Everything fell together, confessed, explained, overwhelmed; leaving him most of all stupified at the blindness he had cherished. The fate he had been marked for he had met with a vengeance--he had emptied the cup to the lees; he had been the man of his time, the man, to whom nothing on earth was to have happened. [p. 449-50]

In a blur that is paradoxically crystal-clear, Marcher relives his last moments with May, and marks in his mind the moment that the Beast had sprung. He sees that by allowing his preoccupation with the beast to take over his life, he has completely ignored the only person who had really loved him. In patiently waiting for one thing to occur, he has forfeited all other feelings and emotions. Now they descend upon him with a vengeance, bringing with them the blackness he has grown to fear and avoid. This in effect is the second spring of the beast, and is the one which is Marcher's undoing.

The final glimpse we have of John Marcher is that of him throwing himself face first onto the tomb of May Bartram. A passionate gesture at the very least, this seems to signify Marcher's suicide--undertaken to try and regain in death what he could not have in life. There is none of the passivity present which represents the younger John Marcher--all that remains is the broken body of a man destroyed by feelings he thought he could hide. In trying to outwit the beast by passively waiting for its arrival, Marcher succeeds in only destroying his own life. The beast, in the end, has won.

REACTION TO LEE JOHNSON'S "THE WINGS OF THE DOVE:  
PICTURE AND SYMBOL"



JAMES: DRAWING A BLANK

by Eric Johnson

James is unnerving. Ghost-like, he is privileged to permeate the consciousness of his characters, sometimes more than one at a time, while narrating their actions as a bystander. He creates his characters not only to show the operation of their consciousness, but to build a model of his own consciousness with the interaction of theirs. With this model, he interacts with the reader on a level of intimacy rarely achieved by other authors: as his characters stand in relation to each other with James permeating their consciousnesses, he invites the reader to do the same with his consciousness. Such an approach at first seems risky, for he would be laying his consciousness bare for the scrutiny of all, but James has installed a safety valve to reduce the risk of nakedness, for no matter how deeply one dives into his "models," hence his consciousness, one will invariably encounter a vacuum. This vacuum is that which cannot be comprehended, it represents the subconscious horror of encountering that which is alien. It is the unspoken element in James' novels--indeed, it is unspeakable. It exists between his characters and it exists between James and his reader. Shamanlike, James invites the reader to confront the vacuum, for to understand it, one must experience it: it is nothing at a distance. James, then, forces the reader to lay his consciousness as bare as his own, for this relation fills the structural demands of the internal vacuum: it can only occur between pairings of either self and "other" and/or between self and itself; James, in working with this scheme, becomes "other."

How is this experience achieved, using the novelistic medium? As was pointed out before, it is, by nature, unspeakable: to name it is to dissipate it. Hence, James is presented with a paradox: to employ language, which is naming, to create a virtual experience of the elusive, unnamable vacuum. In Lee's critical essay, he points out that James employs a technique of making his verbal medium of expression resemble that of the visual arts. This "visual" approach to writing does not necessarily imply that James merely has a talent for creating vivid imagery in describing the action and settings for the novels, but that, like the experience of visual art, the experience of his work does not depend upon a measured progression of time, as is the case in experiencing music or even picaresque novels. In James' novels, there is an element of episodic simultaneity or unity of concurrent events.

This simultaneity implies a four-dimensional scheme. The most basic dimension is the progression of events within the novel. This notion may at first seem to contradict what was just mentioned of James' novels, namely their independence of the measured progression of time; here it should be pointed out that the scheme does not depend upon events occurring congruently with a unidirectional, straight-arrow movement of time, for such a scheme would allow only one event to occur within each indivisible moment. Hence, the second dimension of the scheme is the events that fall along the single dimension of time, somewhat like beads on a string. The third dimension of the scheme, then, is introduced when characters experience a single event simultaneously: to modify the string-of-beads metaphor, any time two or more characters concurrently experience the same event, their "strings" will intersect to share the same "bead" at that point. In other words, the third dimension allows these intersections to form between all the characters in

James' novels simultaneously to form a constantly shifting network of interconnected and interpenetrating events or, as James calls them, "Occasions." With every new Occasion, all of the former Occasions, which continually exist within the scheme, will be modified in terms of the impact they will have upon the entire scheme: once they occur, they affect all parts of the network so that even if an event occurred in the past, it still has a strong bearing on any present Occasion as much as the present Occasion has an effect on how a past event is perceived. Here, another aspect of simultaneity is introduced, for now events can not only exist concurrently in the present, but all events of the past exist simultaneously with the present. This simultaneity of the past and present introduces a fourth dimension to James' novelistic scheme, for now all events of the present can not only intersect with all other events of the present, but they can simultaneously interact with all events of the past, and their interrelations.

Given this scheme, then, what is James' role as novelist, especially when considering the comparison of his art to that of the visual arts? Lee says, "The design is not a series, but a circle around a center, so that even if the scenes in the novel follow each other, their unified effect will be to light up a 'pictorial whole'." (p. 7) I find the idea of a circle about a center appropriate to James' methods, for a circle can serve as a model of consciousness: it creates an inside and outside by virtue of points that are equidistant from a center that is as elusive as the number of points about the center are infinite. It serves as a model for the visual arts as well, for it does not rely solely upon the one-dimensional progression of events that occurs in music or, to an extent, picaresque novels: to view the entire inside of a circle as well as the elements within the frame of a painting requires a meandering scan by the eye, rather than the directional regard for one-dimensional, episodic arts that only allow the experience of one event within each moment. Each point about the center of a circle can be connected to any of the infinite number of points of the same circle: to further the analogy to Jamesian time/event schemes, if each point of the circle represents an Occasion, its potential to be connected with all other points of the circle is analagous to the potential to connect all other Occasions of the novel. Hence, the framing quality of a circle can be compared to James' technique in that it is comprised of a series of points, or Occasions, that frame an elusive center.

The triply-connected themes of circles, consciousness-models, and visual metaphors comes forth in Milly's confrontation with the Bronzino, where James writes, "The more easily that the house within was above all what had already drawn about her mystic circle." (p. 135) Here, Milly's consciousness fuses itself with the Bronzino to complete a circuitous feedback loop that closes off Milly's consciousness, for she now sees an external model of herself and has become part of it: her internal and external selves have met. This Occasion demonstrates the visual metaphor to James' technique in two ways: first, by his narrative technique of subjective deepening of consciousness presented as though James himself were part of it, and second, as a metaphor for the visual metaphor in that a frame is set about the scene of Milly setting a frame about her own self-perception. This small part of the book, then, is a model for James' technique of narrating all such silent confrontations, for he closes it off on all sides to suggest that the relations that occur within the frame are microcosms for those that occur throughout the rest of the book. The book itself acts as a frame, for it closes off a small section of a network of infinite relations: since it is impossible to conceive an infinite array of relations, the isolation of a

framed-off section of the array affords the author and the reader the capacity to (virtually) conceive it. The book itself, then, becomes an Occasion. The picture, then, closes off a section of Milly's consciousness to allow her to regard it as a whole. James verbally "paints" her doing so: as his character stands in relation to herself before the Bronzino, James stands before the reader and the reader before James as each experience a simultaneous deepening of consciousness. The book becomes a Bronzino itself, with its frozen, timeless invitation to the reader to become part of its terrible quiet.

Another key Occasion is the moment that an understanding is achieved between Densher and Eugenio during the storm in Venice. Lee says, "the storm has the same force of harrowing objectivity that Densher feels in his sustained look with Eugenio: as the storm strips Venice bare of its light and color and exposes it as ugly, greasy, and evil, Eugenio's glance reduces Densher to his mere visible appearance as seen by others, exposing the same degree of moral ugliness." (p. 21) Certainly, a sense of unpleasant exposure has taken place, for the men recognize a common interest between them that they did not wish to recognize. However the storm in this case also serves as a setting for an Occasion, so perhaps James used it as a pointer to the interior workings of his characters as well. Here, as the quiet existed during Milly's self-definition, a storm raged around the Occasion of Densher and Eugenio's definition of their relations. With the painting, Milly was confronting her own consciousness by seeing it as others do; the process is one of gradual illumination. The Occasion between Densher and Eugenio is a clash of opposites; it is violent, for, as a storm is the result of the meeting of pressure systems, their meeting represented the culmination of countervailing pressures that had to merge in order to be dissipated: the pressure between them comes from their mutual denial of their mutual interest in Milly's money. The merging of their consciousnesses is violent, for it is a release of tensions.

Despite the apparent differences between this Occasion and Milly's, the two may be connected as means of confronting the vacuum at the center of Jamesian consciousness. For Milly, the experience was a succession of "innumerable natural pauses and soft concussions." (p. 135); Milly's Occasion exposed herself to herself; it was a gradual sinking down into herself to understand the silence at the center of her experience. For Densher and Eugenio, their struggle for mutually exclusive identities developed a friction that culminated in their silent exchange of glances, framed by a storm: as Milly confronted the silence at the center of her consciousness, Densher and Eugenio become aware of the frame that groups them together. Milly's silent confrontation with her self and Densher and Eugenio's confrontation with their mutual interests are respectively analagous to the elusive, invisible center of a frame or circle, which is analagous to the center of a consciousness, and the violence that accompanies the act of framing implies: to put a frame where one formerly did not exist is like creating something from nothing; in the case of the men, after the Occasion between them, relations existed between them that formerly did not exist. A frame automatically creates countervailing tensions, by virtue of the juxtaposition of the inside and outside that are created by a frame. It is this tension that begets the violence. Hence, as high and low pressure systems must merge to be dissipated in a storm, Densher and Eugenio's consciousness had to merge to dissipate the tensions that existed between them: they moved to a center of consciousness by merging theirs. The event

occurred in a silence framed by a storm, analagous to the elusiveness of the center of a circle, or frame, and its relation to the violent tensions that exist at the edges of a circle or frame.

The apparently opposing ideas of the confrontation between opposites and the confrontation of self with self are analagous to the analogy between a storm and painting: the mixing of paints to comprise a whole is analagous to the mixing of elements to comprise a storm. So, James reduces the virtual, four-dimensional aspects of the action in his novels to the three-dimensional medium of a book (the actual book, the pages and print), and employs a two-dimensional approach to presenting the action by comparing it to the two-dimensional aspects of painting. This dimensional compression is analagous to the compression of the three-dimensional aspects of a storm to the violent, two dimensional aspects of the mixing of paints and the creation of frames. As there is violence in a storm and violence implied in a painting, so there is also a quiet that exists at the center of powerful storms (as in the eyes of hurricanes), as there is silence in confronting a painting: Milly and the Bronzino. They are models of confronting the vacuum: Milly, solitary and significantly female, came to recognize the silent isolation of her interior, while Densher and Eugenio, who are significantly male in the exterior interests of their confrontation, are now exposed to each other. In both cases, the characters are confronting truths that exist at the center of their selves, and these truths produce a sort of horror. The "male" confrontation with exposure produced a wild storm while the "female" confrontation with isolation produced almost imperceptible tears: violent rain is juxtaposed with solitary tears. It can be said from this, then, that within silence there exists an implicit violence and vice-versa: the horror of confronting either is unspeakable.

Hence, the painting and the storm express the vacuum-center around which James revolves his novels: they represent the confrontations with that which cannot be named. James recognized the psychological comfort in naming, of language, for it points away from the horror of internal truths. Nevertheless, language and silence are negatives of each other, for silence approaches the point of perceiving that which cannot be named. James' "models" demonstrate the pathos of language and the inarticulate horror of being. The storm and the painting are metaphors for James' frustrations with this human incapacity; the thrashing rain and the quiet tears reflect the rage and the despair accompanying the frustration. Hence, in using language to describe the consciousness of silence rather than flatly naming the silence, James creates a framing mechanism that provides a model for the experience of the deepening of consciousness through silent confrontations.

## THE LAYERED IMAGERY OF THE DOVE: MILLY THEALE

by Julie Lewis

What can be frustrating about attempting to analyze the works of Henry James is that no matter how much one says, one's interpretation can't include all that James' prose suggests. Every word is precisely chosen for its exact shade of meaning, and yet the combination of these words maddeningly leaves room for wildly disparate interpretations. James manages to "communicate a multiplicity of meaning which can be directly perceived but not paraphrased" (Johnson, "Picture and Symbol," p. 47). Since language for James possesses "a general inadequacy...to express complex meaning" (Ibid.), James achieves this "multiplicity" through the masterful use of symbols, substituting the visual for the verbal. One example of such a symbol is that of Milly Theale as a dove. Milly is likened to a dove on four major "occasions" in The Wings of the Dove, and each subsequent occasion is layered, or superimposed, upon previous occasions, a technique which also communicates a "multiplicity of meaning."

The words occasion and superposition have special meanings for James, as critic Lee Johnson points out. In his Prefaces, James describes four properties of a Jamesian occasion. (1) An occasion is a discrete segment of plot which "frames the action and unifies the novel" (Johnson, p. 9), while at the same time "suggest[ing] the lines and direction of change" (Ibid., p. 10). (2) An occasion is similar to a symbol in that it is a single unit of multiplicitous meaning (Ibid.). (3) An occasion renders the novel, to a degree, self-similar in that it "reflects the pattern of the novel on a small scale" (Ibid.). (4) Most importantly, however, an occasion has autonomy and "a distinct identity." This last characteristic enables superposition or layering of occasions, so that one can "be viewed 'through' another without losing the outlines of either" (Ibid., pp. 11, 12, and 83), and yet at the same time, each superposition adds "a new layer of meaning." (Ibid., p. 84). I will examine four occasions in which Milly is portrayed as a dove, in particular, examining both the dove imagery and the role of superposition in making the dove a symbol with a "multiplicity of meaning."

The first occasion on which Milly is likened to a dove occurs fairly early in the novel in a conversation between Kate and Milly in Vol. 1, Book Fifth, VI. Kate tells Milly that she is a dove, and although Kate's exact meaning is unclear to the reader, Milly takes the metaphor as a compliment. Milly immediately accepts this label, and as Johnson notes, "she conspires to become what she appears to others" (Ibid., p. 54). Milly fancies that she's acting like a dove by telling Mrs. Lowder what she wants to hear. Milly is further flattered when Mrs. Lowder exclaims to her, "Oh you exquisite thing!" (p. 172). Milly then thinks more on the dove image and imagines she acts like one by listening silently to Susie's account of her evening. Upon further considering how a dove would act, Milly decides to "readopt her plan with respect to Sir Luke Strett" (Ibid.) Milly will leave so that he and Susie can talk alone together; but in "readopting" her plan, Milly makes one important change in order to appear dovelike. She tells Susie of her intention and requests her to meet with the good doctor; whereas before, Milly had intended to keep the fact of his coming a secret. Milly decides to ask Susie to meet with him as a favor to her, playing up her dovelike image of a quiet victim in need of assistance (Sandeem, "Wings and Portrait: A Study of Henry James' Later Phase," p. 517). The subsequent occasions in

which Milly is compared to a dove are increasingly intricate, dense, and layered as a result of other occasions being superimposed on top of this occasion and others.

The next occasion containing an image of Milly as a dove is Milly's party in Venice, Vol. II, Book Eighth, III. On page 302, by giving us the thoughts of Densher, James specifically refers the reader to two occasions--the National Gallery scene and the scene at St. Mark's Square where Densher first proposes to Kate his bargain of sex for deceit--both occasions revealing the secret relation of Densher and Kate. When Milly appears in her white lace dress and ropes of pearls, Kate calls her a bejeweled dove. Densher considers this comment and agrees that Milly is indeed a dove. He then perceives that Kate is at the moment also considering Milly's immense wealth and its resulting power. Densher concludes that wealth can only be dovelike, insofar as it enables Milly to go anywhere (in effect, "have wings") and hover ethereally above the rest of society (have "wondrous flights") (p. 304). At the same time, Densher perceives Milly as a protectress, describing her in almost maternal terms. He sees Milly as having "wings and wondrous flights, hav[ing] them as well as tender tints and soft sounds" (Ibid.). It "dimly" occurs to him that Milly's wings of wealth could spread themselves for the protection of others, and in fact have done so "in the case with which he was concerned" (Ibid.). Meanwhile, Kate, envisioning herself in Milly's place, sees herself in a floor length rope of pearls (like Milly's). This illusion is suddenly shattered, however, with the realization that Densher can't buy her such a gift. Jealous, Kate sees Milly as the embodiment of the importance of wealth for happiness. Ironically, Milly is putting on a brave act of wellness, of radiance, in recognition of the importance of health for happiness.

James superimposes on this occasion the one immediately preceding it, in which Susie expresses Milly's hope to Densher that he will stay in Venice awhile and also states that Milly "is better," "is marvelous" (p. 297). James accomplishes the superposition of these two occasions by noting Densher's preoccupation with his and Susie's conversation. All three occasions which are superimposed on the occasion of Milly's party--the National Gallery scene, the St. Mark's Square scene, and the scene of Densher and Susie's recent conversation--serve to call attention to the tightrope Densher is walking in his relationships to both Kate and Milly.

The next occasion showing Milly as a dove opens with Densher's walk to Sir Luke Strett's home to learn news of Milly, Vol. II, Book Tenth, III. Densher, seeing a carriage out front, assumes it to be the doctor's, but with a flash of recognition he realizes that it's Mrs. Lowder's. Densher reasons that Sir Luke must have returned from Venice, meaning that Milly has finally died. Densher wonders if Kate came with her aunt, but upon peering inside the carriage he is shocked to see again the face of Lord Mark. The sight of him reminds Densher of the last time he saw Lord Mark: in Venice, through the cafe window after Lord Mark told Milly of Densher and Kate's secret engagement--a "brutally explicit" revelation which puts Milly on her deathbed. Densher knocks upon Sir Luke's door; surprisingly Mrs. Lowder answers it and tells him that the doctor is on his way back and that yes, "our dear dove...has folded her wonderful wings...unless it is more true... that she has spread them the wider...for a flight, I trust, to some happiness greater-!" (p. 377)

Mrs. Lowder's reference to Milly's wings is the opposite of that which Densher makes in the previous occasion (the Venetian party), thereby superimposing these two occasions. Whereas Densher thought of her dovelike

wings enabling Milly, in life, to fly above society, Mrs. Lowder thinks of Milly's wings as enabling her, in death, to fly to heaven. The superposition of the occasion of Densher seeing Lord Mark in Venice on top of the occasion of Densher's walking to Sir Luke's underscores the anguish that Densher is feeling because of the decline in Milly's health and his role in causing her pain and suffering. The superposition of Densher's and Mrs. Lowder's different views of Milly's dovelike wings adds another layer to this complex symbol. Densher, seeing Milly's wealth as her power, her wings, reminds the reader that "'the truth of truths' is Milly's wealth" (Johnson, p. 53), a fact which becomes ironic if one superimposes this occasion on the final conversation between Kate and Densher in which Milly is literally reduced to her money (in the form of a check). The reader can infer from Mrs. Lowder's view that she sees Milly as both a helpless victim (a pigeon) and an innocent, other-worldly figure (dove). The superpositioning of these views of Milly serves to underscore the paradoxical aspects of Milly as a dove: powerful yet victimized, innocent but willfully so.

In the final scene of the novel, Kate describes Milly's death in almost Christlike terms, saying that "she died for you then that you might understand her" (p. 402). Kate says that Milly "stretched out her wings...They cover us" (p. 403). Milly may have given Densher a sizeable inheritance so that he can marry Kate and be financially well off and happy. Kate's reference necessarily echoes earlier occasions in which Milly's wings are perceived as protective--namely the Veronese party scene and the scene of Mrs. Lowder's announcement to Densher at Sir Luke's house. Ironically, however, it is Milly reduced to "mere money" (money which can give security or power), who once again separates Densher and Kate; Milly's wings, her wealth are in effect more manipulative than protective, in contrast to Densher's view of her as a protectress in the party scene. But Kate, not yet realizing that she can't have both Densher and Milly's money, cannot let Milly take credit for the couple's presumed future wedded bliss. Kate goes on to say "that's what I give you," "That's what I've done for you" (p. 403). What Kate actually means is left ambiguous. Her statements could be taken to mean that by sharing Densher with Milly, she made it possible for the couple to be rich. Ironically, however, at present Densher can be viewed as being more obsessed with the memory of Milly than he is in love with Kate; in Kate's effort to have it all, she has tragically lost everything. Kate's statement "that's what I give you" recalls the only other scene in which Kate gives something to Merton, a scene which the reader only hears the plans for and sees the scene's subsequent effect on Densher: the occasion on which Kate gives Densher a night of sexual pleasure and reassurance. Again ironically, by doing so she encouraged the relation between Densher and Milly, a relation in which Densher ends up, like Mrs. Stringham, almost worshipping Milly's absent yet present image. Kate then wants Densher's "word of honour" that he's not in love with Milly's memory (now inextricably interwoven with her image as a dove), language similar to the ironic words of "on my honour" (p. 312), with which Densher and Kate seal their bargain of sex for deceit, thereby super-imposing the St. Mark's Square occasion and the occasion of Milly's party on this final scene.

This layering, the superposition of occasions on other occasions which have been superimposed on other occasions, sets up numerous echoes for the careful reader, thus unifying the novel by a "simultaneous view of all the parts, perceived in relation together, all at once 'the absolute of perception'" (Johnson, p. 12). James' use of superposition of occasions both deepens the symbol of Milly as a dove and unifies the novel through this

recurrent symbolism. Moreover, the superposition illustrates and complicates the intricate, dynamic web of relations between the three principle characters.

## THE TRANSITION OF POWER

by Dail Rowe

In The Wings of the Dove, Henry James has constructed a unique work in that the crucial scenes of the work are not scenes in which the principal thematic power arises from what the characters do, scenes of action, but scenes that derive their power from the unexpressed mental processes of the characters, scenes of thought. This feat becomes even more impressive when one realizes that James has renounced the author's privilege of omnipotence. He never limits the contents of a character's mind by telling us what the character is thinking; instead, he creates our perception of their thought processes using superposition and theatre like description.\* To show how James implements these two techniques, we shall take a close look at one of the more power packed chapters of the novel, book tenth, part IV, the occasion of the meeting of Densher and Kate at Chelsea.

From the very first paragraph of the chapter, James employs description and superposition in a very powerful, scene setting fifteen lines.

Her conditions were vaguely apparent to him from the moment of his coming in, and vivid partly by their difference, a difference sharp and suggestive, from those in which he had hitherto constantly seen her. He had seen her but in places comparatively great; in her aunt's pompous house, under the high trees of Kensington and the storied ceilings of Venice. He had seen her, in Venice, on a great occasion, as the centre itself of the splendid Piazza; he had seen her there, on a still greater one, in his own poor rooms, which yet had consorted with her, having state and ancience even in their poorness; but Mrs. Condrip's interior, even by this best view of it and though not flagrantly mean, showed itself as a setting almost grotesquely inapt. Pale, grave and charming, she affected him at once as a distinguished stranger... (pp. 380-381)

James begins his description of the setting by telling the reader what it is not: "great," "pompous," "storied," or "splendid." These are all terms he applies to some of the previous places in which he has seen Kate. Instead, he describes Mrs. Condrip's abode as "flagrantly mean" and "grotesquely inapt" which leaves the reader not with a perception of what the room actually looked like, but with the flavor of its atmosphere.

As artfully done as this description is, the power of the scene arises from its superposition over the previous parts of the novel. By placing Kate in a setting in which she markedly does not belong, James recalls for the reader earlier scenes in which we learned of Kate's distaste for poverty. The reader remembers her desire to raise the family image out of the muck through which her father has plowed, and her intense fear of living a Mrs. Condrip-like life. James also very powerfully makes us aware that Densher is holding these same thoughts simply by noting that "she affected him at once

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\*This close reading of one "occasion" is stimulated by the assignment to read Lee Johnson's "The Wings of the Dove: Picture and Symbol."

as a distinguished stranger..." Merton feels that she does not belong in the setting in which he has found her.

James immediately contrasts Kate's misplacedness with Densher's repeated requests of her to take him as he is, without money.

He could have lived in such a place; but it wasn't given to those of his complexion, so to speak, to be exiled anywhere. It was by their comparative grossness that they could somehow make shift. His natural, his inevitable, his ultimate home - left, that is, to itself - wasn't at all unlikely to be as queer and impossible as what was just round them. (p. 381)

By describing the setting as Densher's "natural," "inevitable," and "ultimate home," James highlights Merton's previous offers to Kate, and her subsequent denials. The five word phrase, "left, that is, to itself" also brings their mutual plot to "inherit" Milly's money to the forefront of the reader's mind. In these first two passages, James has succeeded in taking the reader's mind on a quick excursion through the major plot points of the work as he continues to develop this same plot. This is truly an amazing feat.

Later in the chapter, James again overlaps the past and the present with a simple description of the scene taking place.

He got up as he spoke; she herself remaining perfectly still. His movement had been to the fire, and leaning a little, with his back to it, to look down on her from where he stood, he confined himself to his point. (p. 383)

By making this movement reminiscent of Densher's meeting with Susan Stringham, the Venetian climax, of the novel, James brings Milly back to the reader's mind as Merton "look(s) down on Kate from where he stood." The recall of the Venetian climax combined with Densher's pose begins to illustrate the power shift that is taking place between Kate and Densher. Earlier, Merton was the passive one; now he is clearly orchestrating the action. James further drives this action home when Densher recalls the Venetian climax himself.

It brought him the more to the point, thought it did so at first but by making him, on the hearthrug before her, with his hands in his pockets, turn awhile to and fro. There rose in him even with this movement a recall of another time--the hour in Venice, the hour of gloom and storm, when Susan Shepherd had sat in his quarters there very much as Kate was sitting now, and he had wondered, in pain even as now, what he might say and mightn't. Yet the present occasion after all was somehow the easier. He tried at any rate to attach that feeling to it while he stepped before his companion. (p. 385)

The situation is easier because he is in control. This accents the transition of power taking place because this is the first of Densher's dealings with Kate in which he gains the upper hand. On all previous occasions, Kate takes the initiative, and Merton allows himself to be molded by her actions.

Kate, from her chair, always without a movement raised her eyes to the unconscious reach of his own. Then when the latter again dropped to her she added a question. (p. 385)

The fact that Kate waits for Densher to "drop," to come back from his

thoughts and recognize her illustrates just how in control Merton is. She waits for him just as he had always waited for her.

James closes the chapter with another call back to the scene between Densher and Mrs. Stringham in Densher's Venetian quarters.

She waited for him to say more, but he only, with his hands in his pockets, turned again away, going this time to the single window of the room, where in the absence of lamplight the blind hadn't been drawn. He looked out into the lamplit fog, lost himself in the small sordid London street--for sordid, with his other association, he felt it--as he had lost himself, with Mrs. Stringham's eyes on him, in the vista of the Grand Canal. It was present then to his recording consciousness that when he had last been driven to such an attitude the very depth of his resistance to the opportunity to give Kate away was what had driven him. (p. 386)

This passage helps us to recall that, in Venice, the preservation of his loyalty to Kate was the motivating force in Densher's life. His description of the London Street and his "other association," his present relationship to Kate, as "sordid" illustrates the growing size of the rift between their old life and the greed scarred path that Kate chose for them. In Venice he was haunted by Kate's presence, now her ghost has been relegated to second string as the entrance of a new motivating force, his love of Milly's memory, begins to assert itself as the driving force in his life.

In this chapter we have seen a transition from Kate's dominance to the dominance of Densher's memory of Milly. The powerful part of the way James presents this shift arises from the fact that the majority of this transition is illustrated, not in the action of the scene, but in references to previous scenes. James consciously makes this movement in full light of the entire past plot of the work, and effectively uses the crayons of the past in the coloring book of the present.

The novel is nonlinear in that it does not follow a clear cut plot, developing one scene after another. Instead James gives us the views of many characters, ranging from Lord Mark and Eugenio to Aunt Maud, Densher, and Kate. Each character presents a unique perspective on the present action and often on previous ones. Each specific scene comes from the viewpoint of one character, but because of James' elegant use of the technique of superposition, the novel holds together as a self inclusive unit. Each character recalls something or refers to something, either directly or indirectly, that a previous character has encountered. This use of superposition produces the effect of reading a story with each proceeding chapter written by a different author. The voices continually change, but the reader recognizes that the story is a cohesive unit.



## REACTION TO A REACTION: A FURTHER STUDY

by Cynthia Hoadley

When I read the title of Lee Johnson's paper, The Wings of The Dove: Picture and Symbol, I enthusiastically began to read, unaware that structure would be an indispensable lattice on which the "picture and symbol" idea would be built. Structure has been an aspect of textual analysis that I have avoided because of my difficulty in finding patterns, techniques, and principles of structure. At the start of my reading I knew little about what was being meant and I did not easily follow what seemed to be a murky text. It wasn't until eight pages into Johnson's paper that I became comfortable in the reading. By page fifteen I was understanding and actively thinking of my own responses, instead of just "listening." I could even predict what was to be said at some points. For example, on p. 37 when I read "visual comprehension communicates an awareness that precedes its own comprehension..." I wrote "as with Isabel seeing Mme Merle and Osmond in the moment" in my notes before I read further, only to discover that this scene was mentioned a few lines down. What started out in my mind as an esoteric subject for other professors or graduate students became a very readable and understandable essay.

The devices that we've spoken of in class and which are called "blocks" and "occasions" in the essay cater to the idea of scenes as frames in the book. The analogy of the book being a picture made up of many smaller pictures which James succeeded in accomplishing allows for examination "occasion" by "occasion" as separate paintings, yet in each examination successively we should see relationship and parallel between them. The forming of relationships and parallels happen despite the self-sufficiency of each scene. It seems as though each scene mirrors others or brings them to mind by so reminding us of the other scenes through similarities. The relationship between scenes often occurs when one scene reveals something about a previous and separate scene, thus bringing them together even as each continues to be separate. The relationship turns ironic because the structure of the separate yet related scenes is mirrored by a message conveyed by the author. Such examination of structure shows that although the scenes are separate and self-sufficient they are in fact dependent because one scene helps "illuminate" other scenes. A similar message conveyed in the plot of the story and spoken by James himself is that "relations stop nowhere." The characters while separate independent people, sometimes capable of making independent decisions, are also wholly dependent on others for who they imagine themselves to be (Densher) or in fact who they make themselves become (in Milly's case).

The book works as a series of framed paintings, yet the idea of creating a story out of these independent yet parallel paintings to create a whole is not "tried out" only in Wings of The Dove. In James' Portrait of a Lady, the idea was also experimented with although Johnson has shown how successfully James has made the collection of separate "occasions," pictures, fit as a whole in The Wings. It seems that the essay showed that the different devices were utilized to create an image in our minds that would more closely relate to a painting than a book. The similarity between the two is caught in the phrase "both scene and picture imply visual boundaries." For me a picture is visual in that there are colors and shapes, which in a written scene my mind translates the description into a visual picture that I could

paint (if I had any talent) without my being conscious of it. The book, made up of "blocks" and "occasions" which are framed paintings, is to be a visual piece within the boundary of the front and back cover, yet we are not to assume that life begins and ends there for the characters. The book then is a boundary for a section of the story of the character's lives. The fact that it is a whole piece of a larger whole leads us to consider the question of reality in the book. The reality of the characters, their credibility and humanness, contributes to "the concrete reality of a framed canvas" which we are looking at while reading frame by frame, or by "occasion" by "occasion." The artists who are identified in the book are all realistic painters. The Bronzino is especially lifelike, and in that, death like, so the feeling comes to be that the painting we are "reading" visually is realistic.

Reality and truth are closely equated in the essay as can be seen in following the "consciousness of all relations in the book." In the essay change comes from the "deepening of consciousness" which comes from a series of well thought out and "true to life" juxtapositions, covered in depth in the essay. The main juxtapositions are the intensity of awareness of absence by a presence (absence vs. presence) and communication through silence (silence vs. dialogue). I'll start with silence and dialogue since it struck me as the most important symbol in the essay and had an indescribable effect on me.

The first mention of silence came with the words "the paradox of language expressing silence." This struck me because of the surprise of it. The author, in a book which is obviously made of words, language, is trying to paint a picture verbally. A picture is silent but there is no way to get around the medium of language in a book unless, like with Mallarme, the space is left blank. Through language then the author can only suggest, through description, silence. So the picture the author is trying to paint is silent, though written with words, yet a picture actually painted is translated into words in the reader's mind. I'm awfully glad for the real tangible difference between the verbal portrait and the painted (visual) one which the essay calls "the elaborate verbal structure used to render silence," the words.

Silence in The Wings goes further than the author's use of words to express silence verbally. Silence is used between characters to say things that if spoken would be ruined, to "give a precise value and quality to the lapse of speech," to give strength to something just said, or the silence is filled with a visual impression (p. 30). Silence also becomes more than a device, it becomes a style when Milly adopts it. This greatly changes the course of the book as it transforms Milly into a more mysterious character. The silence becomes a part of Milly that, because of the mystery, makes her into a type of immortal; immortal in the sense that now that as she becomes mysterious, people wonder about her and she becomes memorable. It is precisely this aspect of Milly that defeats Kate by winning Densher (living silently, deeply, forever in his memory). Kate's horror of silence (p. 79) and Milly's silence is in keeping with the contrast of the two women. The fact that the silence of Milly wins Densher makes the point (of silence), in all its functions, central to the book. Silence is also central in the book because of what appears to be the safety of silence for Densher. He resists throughout the book telling Milly a lie or the literal truth about himself and Kate. He relies on what is called on page 65 "the white lie of silence." Perhaps his resistance to speech, his clinging to silence, is a foreshadowing of what is to come of his relationship with Kate, she being afraid of silence, because it shows a sort of incompatibility. On the subject of

silence, the essay brought up many points that seemed central to not only the plot, but to the characterization. I would have to say I see the subject of silence, more than before, as a main focus of the story and its means of success; that is, the author's structural use of silence makes the text work. I've been a bit of a failure as a critic of this critique because I found nothing with which to disagree on the subject of silence and in the paper.

Silence also has to do with another theme thoroughly discussed in the essay, absence. Not only was absence of speech of primary importance but absence denoting presence (of people) was a strong second. In absence there is something missing and it is easily intuited when it is obviously missing. This was something to which I had not given much thought before I read the essay, yet I see it now as an indispensable theme to the story. Now that I've read this essay I feel as though I finally understand the book because all I missed in the reading of it seems to be here in this essay. So... Absence of someone turned into their presence because of heightened awareness of the "missing" character is important. The heightened awareness, the greater sensitivity is the capability of feeling the aura of a person through remembered events and a person's previous presence, (as in the case with Densher feeling Kate in his room) or through objects holding the symbol of a person, (Milly's letter at the end, after her death, represents her being there). Absence plays more of a part than just this though; absence actually speaks. What's not being said is sometimes indicative of what is meant and this is often the case between Densher and Susie. It is interesting that Milly, whose style is silence, is the central thought in their silence. Absence also increases intensity of the seeming presence of the person: "with every reduction of Milly into silence, absence, and invisibility, her image (although a negative) is intensified and her 'essence' becomes more 'pervasive.'" (p. 74) There is strength in absence because it creates wonder, as does silence. We see from the essay that while Kate's presence through absence in Densher's room is disintegrated by the presence of Susie, while Milly's presence, although absent, is never faded (even after her letter is burned and even when her name is not mentioned). Milly's presence is permanent much because of her silence while Kate is not always present much because she is never silent; "Kate's 'lucidity' is defeated by Milly's 'mystery,' the value of absence and presence are reversed." (p. 76) As I said before, absence becomes a strength because it involves heightened awareness and because there is wonder or mystery involved. Closely related to absence and presence is the idea of images. An image is an absence yet it is the appearance of presence.

The image of Milly is part of the important theme of absence. When Milly is most strong and her "'essence' becomes more 'pervasive'" is when she is an image. When she is no longer seen in person near the end of the book is when she is most clear. It is interesting that both Susie and Densher are "worshippers of images" and they are the two who I feel most truly love Milly, the image of a work of art, a princess, a dove, an American girl, and "mere money" (p. 63). Both are devoted to Milly and her image. Milly's image in my mind is that of a finished and perfect painting needing no further touch ups. Milly's success in creating images such as these for herself has made her the immortal I mentioned earlier.

In looking back at the book, the whole picture, the "occasions," came together for me only fairly completely when I finished Johnson's essay. The final bit of the paper, calling the backward glance at all the frames superposed pictures, at first confused me because I had been thinking of the framed pictures as a whole like a configured cyclorama or just a series of

consecutive prints. I came to understand the claim that the pictures were to be set up in a row from back to front and not in a line from left to right. It is as if the light from the first print shed light on each print forthcoming and vice versa before the whole picture was clearly revealed, "the final effect of mutual illumination." The essay which so clearly flowed for me from one idea to the next did much the same thing as the book in that the separate ideas connected and shed light on one another. I'm left with a much more thorough understanding of the book as a picture and a structure. The interconnectedness of the framed scenes and ideas of which I have explained make for a clear understanding that "relations stop nowhere."

ON THE SACRED FOUNT



Deconstruction attempts to resist the totalizing and totalitarian tendencies of criticism. It attempts to resist its own tendencies to come to rest in some sense of mastery over the work. It resists them in the name of an uneasy joy of interpretation...

J. Hillis Miller  
"The Critic as Host" p. 252.



A HOST IS A HOST, IS A HOST  
AND WHAT ABOUT THE GUESTS?

by Diana Ward

In "The Critic as Host," J. Hillis Miller defends the notion that "The deconstructionist reading of a given work is plainly and simply parasitical on the obvious or univocal meaning."<sup>1</sup> This defense is in opposition to a chain of citations by other authors and is an example of the very sort of parasitical relationship he explicates within the article. Hillis Miller's inquiry into the nature of the parasitical relationship between the critic and the text has useful resonances for the discussion of The Sacred Fount by Henry James. The Sacred Fount is the story of a narrator who believes he sees between individuals a kind of parasitical relationship in which one draws youth or wit at the expense of another. This is somewhat like the guest/host relationship that is discussed in Miller's article. Also significant is that the narrator seems to be drawing from these relationships as well. The readers part in this web of relationships may not be excluded either.

In his article, Hillis Miller rejects that the univocal meaning is the only valid purpose for interpretation. By explaining the nature of parasitical relationships he also shows that the critic is actually coexisting with the text and that an interdependency between the two is the significant factor in deconstruction. His explanation is that:

Criticism is a human activity which depends for its validity on never being at ease within a 'fixed' method. It must constantly put its own grounds in question. The critical text and the literary text are each parasite and host for the other, each feeding on the other and feeding it, and destroying and being destroyed by it.<sup>2</sup>

Against the attack that deconstruction is ultimately nihilism, "the reduction to nothingness of all values,"<sup>3</sup> he argues that it is "neither nihilism nor metaphysics but simply interpretation, as such."<sup>4</sup> Deconstruction for Hillis Miller is, then, an unending process of deciphering the language of the text uninhibited by the metaphysical, univocal meaning assumed by others.

In a sense The Sacred Fount invites the reader to deconstruct from without as the narrator attempts to from within. The narrative voice in the work is attempting to discover which people are the founts, being drained of their youth and wit. Though he continually claims to have seen certain things or to know things, deciphering the puzzle is accomplished through discussion, or through language. He begins to build his theory early, "I was just conscious, vaguely, of being on the track of a law, a law that would fit, that would strike me as governing the delicate phenomenon—delicate though so marked—that my imagination found itself playing with."<sup>5</sup> At the outset of his going, the narrator finds great amusement in the unravelling of the mystery he believes he has detected. Hillis Miller describes deconstruction as a similar kind of pursuit, that is, "Interpretation as joyful wisdom, the greatest joy in the midst of the greatest suffering, an inhabitation of that gaiety of language which is our seigneur."<sup>6</sup> In this way the narrator is like the deconstructionist who finds great pleasure in deciphering the chain of language, only in this case it is a chain of events.

The relationship of the parasite and host is an interesting one, particularly because it exists among the characters in the story, between these and the narrator, and between text and critic. The narrator speaks several times of the nature of the relationship in which the parasite draws on the victim. As he thinks about the Brissendens he says, "One of the pair,... has to pay for the other. What ensues is a miracle, and miracles are expensive."<sup>7</sup> Hillis Miller gives a detailed discussion of the nature of the parasitical relationship, "'Parasite' comes from the Greek *parasitos*, 'beside the grain,'... A parasite was originally something positive, a fellow guest, someone sharing the food with you, there with you beside the grain."<sup>8</sup> A more negative connotation of the word developed in modern times which is that of something or someone that flourishes at the expense of another without contributing something in return.<sup>9</sup> This is the sense that exists among the characters in The Sacred Fount. Mrs. Brissenden describes her relationship with her husband towards the end of the work, "He's peculiar, dear old Briss, but in a way by which, if one uses him--by which I mean, if one depends on him--at all, one gains, I think, more than one loses."<sup>10</sup> "Poor Briss" is the host in this relationship and the nature of it is spelled out by his own wife.

The word parasite is important in another sense to the nature of deconstruction. Hillis Miller breaks down the word to illustrate its usefulness in examining the relationship between the critic who cites from a host text and that text itself. Each is, in a way, contributing to the other because the parasite is mobile within the text:

"Para" is a double antithetical prefix signifying at once proximity and distance... something simultaneously this side of a boundary line, threshold, or margin, and also beyond it... A thing in "para" moreover, is not only simultaneously on both sides of the boundary line between inside and out. It is also the boundary itself.<sup>11</sup>

The narrator in The Sacred Fount moves back and forth between his interpretations, taking the reader with him, never quite willing to penetrate to a quintessential interpretation of the matter he is investigating. Near the end Mrs. Brissenden says to him, "Dear no--you don't penetrate anything. Perhaps it would be better if you did!"<sup>12</sup> The narrator moves back and forth in the text between his interpretations and between his role of parasite on the others and host of the reader.

Within the text of The Sacred Fount there is a complex of different parasitical relationships. One particularly rich passage is between the narrator and Mrs. Brissenden in which they are discussing the possibility that Mae Server may be the sacred fount from which Long draws his new refinement. Mrs. Brissenden describes a parasitical relationship:

"He would think of her if he weren't selfish. But he is selfish--too much so to spare her, to be generous, to realize. It's only after all," she sagely went on, feeding me again, as I winced to feel, with profundity of my own sort, "It's only an excessive case, a case that in him happens to show as what the doctor's call 'fine,' of what goes on whenever two persons are so mixed up. One of them always gets more out of it than the other."<sup>13</sup>

The narrators choice of the words, "feeding me again," are an example of how one parasite exists in the midst of another. Long feeds on Mae Server, Mrs. Brissenden uses their example like the critic citing a text, and the narrator feeds on her words. Then the passage is cited in this text. Here it is as

Hillis Miller describes, "beside the grain; host and guest, host and host, host and parasite, parasite and parasite."<sup>14</sup>

The narrator does possess some qualities that Hillis Miller attributes to the deconstructionist. Hillis Miller depicts deconstruction as, "ceaseless movement of interpretation."<sup>15</sup> The narrator is also engaged in a kind of ceaseless deciphering. By his method, he would never find the sacred fount. Hillis Miller says of interpretation, "This movement is not subject to dialectical synthesis, nor to any other closure. The undecidable, nevertheless, always has an impetus back into some covert form of dialectical movement."<sup>16</sup> In this way deconstruction is not intended to stop just as the narrator says that he did not intend to conclude his theories. He confesses this near the end, "'My system, where so much made for protection,' I explained, 'wasn't intended to have the effect of exposure.'<sup>17</sup>

The narrator builds what he refers to as a "glass house," in which he admits he lives.<sup>18</sup> He compares this house to the house of granite belonging to Mrs. Brissenden who would destroy his structure, or in this case his interpretation. He says to her, "'You, from your fortress of granite, can chuck them about as you will! (referring, of course, to stones.) All the more reason, ... that before my frail structure, you honor me, for a few seconds, with an intelligent look at it.'<sup>19</sup> In the end she does however destroy his structure with her final words to him, "My poor dear, you are crazy, and I bid you good-night!"<sup>20</sup> This can be equated with nihilism, which is discussed by Hillis Miller. The effect of Mrs. Brissenden's words are to effectively shut off his inquiries, to stop his movement within the different interpretations. She devalues his theories as deconstruction if it in fact were nihilism would devalue the univocal meaning.

In "The Critic as Host," Hillis Miller finds the best illustration of nihilism to be that from Heidegger that it would be, "like making the cancer bacillus visible... the essence of nihilism is neither healable nor unhealable. It is heal-less."<sup>21</sup> The words of Mrs. Brissenden are not on either side of the boundary line. She completely dismisses it altogether. The narrator is left with nothing. He admits as much in his final words:

Such a last word--the word that put me altogether nowhere--was too unacceptable not to prescribe afresh that prompt test to escape to other air... I should certainly never again, on the spot, quite hang together, even though it wasn't really that I hadn't three times her method. What I too fatally lacked was her tone.<sup>22</sup>

Here Mrs. Brissenden wins out because the narrator's method did not include the possibility of closure. Perhaps this is an illustration of how deconstruction is not nihilism and is in fact valid by, "never being at ease within a fixed method."<sup>23</sup>

So far little has been mentioned about the critic citing the text. There is a danger in including such citations within this text. There may be a hungry guest devouring this host with the history of their original context. This text may in turn be nothing more than a parasite devouring the other hosts: The Sacred Fount and "The Critic as Host." Preferable to either of these would be that the "host and parasite live happily together in the domicile of the same text, feeding each other or sharing the food."<sup>24</sup> It is an uncomfortable relationship for either the host or guest, critic or text if one most always overcome at the expense of the other.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Miller, J. Hillis. "The Critic as Host" from Deconstruction and Criticism; New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1979. 217.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 249

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 228

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 30

<sup>5</sup>James, Henry. The Sacred Fount. New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1901. 23

<sup>6</sup>Miller, 230-1

<sup>7</sup>James, 29

<sup>8</sup>Miller, 220

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 220

<sup>10</sup>James, 310

<sup>11</sup>Miller, 219

<sup>12</sup>James, 299

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 80

<sup>14</sup>Miller, 224

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 250

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 250

<sup>17</sup>James, 304

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 311

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 311

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 318

<sup>21</sup>Miller, 227

<sup>22</sup>James, 318-9

<sup>23</sup>Miller, 249

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 217

SIMILAR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOVERNESS  
AND THE NARRATOR CORRESPONDING TO THEORY

by Miller A. Bushong III

Jamesian characters affect the reader uniquely in that they linger in the mind well after the read. Reflecting upon the Jamesian works read this semester the two characters who most re-enter my thoughts are the governess of The Turn of the Screw and the anonymous narrator of The Sacred Fount. I understand why the haunting governess stays with me and perhaps the similarities between the governess and the narrator explains my fascination with the latter. In this essay I shall examine several similarities between the governess and the narrator with the end goal being an attempt to categorize the two works, Turn of the Screw and The Sacred Fount, in relation to their main characters. The similarities which I shall explore are these:

- (A) Both the governess and the narrator are great theorizers.
- (B) Both the governess and the narrator complicate situations to great degrees.
- (C) Both the governess and the narrator have a conscience, that is, they mean well.

(A) Theory: As one observes, usually theories are formulated to accommodate the observation. Both the governess and the narrator create hypotheses corresponding to their environment then work to prove their theory. The governess theorizes that the children, Miles and Flora, are seeing and in fact communicating with ghosts. Once her theory is set she will do anything to justify its validity. For example, the scene where the governess looks out a window expecting to see Miss Jessel communicating with Flora and instead sees Miles apparently looking above her, indicates the degree to which the governess is obsessed with her theory. Because there is no ghost the governess must create one, the one at which Miles is staring, in order to keep alive her theory, thus maintaining her sanity as well.

Theory in The Sacred Fount is in the form of a game. That is, the narrator applies theory in order to find certain knowledge. However, because "certainty" is difficult to establish in life, it becomes difficult for the narrator to confirm his theory, thus difficult for him to win the game. Like the governess, the narrator becomes so enthralled with theory, theory inevitably dominates his life. Psychic vampirism, a sacred fount from which a victim is drained of youth or intelligence is the theory at which the narrator arrives to explain changes which he observes in couples. Ironically it is the narrator, the theory builder, who is drained, vampirized, by his own obsession with his hypothesis. It is he, in end the end, who is victimized. As conformation of theory becomes less attainable, the theory, like a "house of cards" collapses and subsequently "drains" the narrator. James seems consistent in his use of irony as it was the governess who in trying to protect the children in fact killed one of them.

(B) Complications: Complicated situations are the result of theory justification. That is, both the governess and the narrator after having established a hypothesis go to all lengths to make sure it develops into theory. The very fact that nothing can influence the governess' obsession with her hypothesis, that is, nothing is going to convince her she is wrong, justifies theory from hypothesis. As was mentioned earlier with the scene involving Miles on the lawn at Bly, the governess, given her theory and her

over active imagination, is unable to explain the child's actions in any way contrary to her theory. She is therefore forced to complicate her theory and therefore her level of involvement in order to keep the theory alive. To simply explain Miles' actions as a childish game would be to not only put her theory in jeopardy but her sanity as well.

As for the narrator, two examples whereby he ignores rational explanations and thus complicates his involvement, all in the name of supporting his theory, are the apparent ware of Guy Brissenden and the apparent new found cleverness of Gilbert Long. Just as Miles and Flora could be up to nothing more than childish games, so too could Guy Brissenden appear older as the result of much tension and or physical exertion over the years since he and the narrator last met. And as for Gilbert Long, is it not possible for a man to better his mind over a period of years, to gather knowledge and information by merely existing in those years? Of course it is possible, indeed probable, but not in the eyes of he, the narrator, who is attempting to justify a theory. Just as a web of lies becomes unmanageable as one must create lie on top of lie to protect the validity of the original lie, so too do desperately complicated situations arise as a means of supporting a theory at all costs.

It seems, therefore, that the governess and the narrator have two striking similarities in that they create a theory and then complicate both their lives and environment in an effort to justify and validate the theory.

(C) Conscience: Though the governess damaged her own life and ultimately the life of Miles, she was, in her own mind, trying to protect the children. As consuming as her theory became and as harmful the consequences of the theory were, she did what she felt was right for those about whom she cared; the governess meant well.

The narrator, however, who ends up hurting only himself has twinges of consciousness. That is, in his pursuit to validate his theory there are times when he realizes his possession: "... it pressed upon me that I had really learnt more than I had bargained for. Nothing need have happened if I hadn't been so absurdly, so fatally meditative about poor Long..." (p. 137) These twinges, however, are not enough for the narrator to abandon that which drives him, theory conformation. Therefore the narrator, unlike the governess who has the interest of others at heart, is possessed by a predominantly selfish theory.

If we consider the governess and the narrator in light of an "obsession" then again there is a common characteristic. An obsession is destructive particularly when one does not realize the obsession or when one does not profit from the obsession. Neither the governess nor the narrator have an understanding of their obsession, neither can control their obsession. To profit from an obsession is to learn from an obsession. If The Sacred Fount is a Jamesian self parody, that is, if James used the narrator's obsession as a means of self parody then James clearly had an understanding of his own obsession, whatever it may have been, and therefore learned from the obsession and perhaps yielded a better understanding of himself. As the characters themselves, the governess and the narrator, have seemingly brought no solution to their lives' troubles, the author and hopeful the reader can learn from those who have not learned and profit from an obsession's missed opportunity.

Originally I felt that both The Turn of the Screw and The Sacred Fount were works in which the characters other than the main characters provided mostly a useful backdrop. As I reflect, however, it is perhaps the two main characters, the theorizers, whose importance lessens in respect to the other

characters. Miles and Flora provided the governess with thought and it is possible their actions were not accidental; perhaps they meant to take the governess for a psychological ride. The key to the children's success lies in the fact that they were perceptive of the governess' vulnerability, her over-active, impressionable imagination.

If vulnerability applies, then it is possible that Mrs. Brissenden and Gilbert Long, like Miles and Flora, provided themselves with a theory from the theory builder. That is, if the narrator was known for his "theories" before the weekend during which the novel takes place, then Mrs. Briss and Long could have set the narrator up in order to watch him "theorize." Thus, the governess and the narrator were victims of their imagination and those whom they attempted to victimize.

From the roles of the governess and the narrator I would categorize both novels as haunting. James has the unique ability to take literal "horror," ghosts and vampirism, and de-horrorize it in his literature. The result is more terrifying than the supernatural because it is indeed natural. Though there may exist ghosts and vampirism, I have not yet experienced them; I have, however, experienced the reality of the human mind. It is the mind that James haunts and that, for me, makes both The Turn of the Screw and The Sacred Fount very real horror stories.



AN ARTIST'S BLEND OF ASSIGNMENTS



ART FORM AND ALLUSION IN HENRY JAMES  
OR THE PORTRAIT OF THE JOLLY TURN OF THE SACRED DOVE

by Adam Robinson

Throughout our readings of Henry James, allusions to visual art have been drawn to varying effects. I will begin with relatively simple examples of the use of artistic allusions in the books we have read and proceed to enter more deeply into the complex understandings of art and writing that James brings to the surface of his later novels. James was a very self-conscious writer. His journals and prefaces show a great attention to his craft. The connectedness of writing to the others arts is central to his desire to create and understand form.

The specific allusions to artists' works often describe the style and effect of settings. In The Wings of the Dove characters move between homes. One of the English homes is Matcham, described as a Watteau setting. When the guests arrive for a gathering at the house, they enter a Watteau landscape, green and rosy with vegetation and pale flowers. With this allusion, James does not need to describe the scene with detail. He uses a once standard motif, allowing the reader to fill in the sublime (and possibly cloying) details. Milly Theale comments on the afternoon: "Everything... has been too beautiful, and that perhaps everything together will never be so right again" [Dove, 137]. She refers to a complex, overpowering, experience of being woven through the lawn and into the house under the constant stare of the other guests. The Watteau "ness" of the setting contributes to Milly's intense feelings of being somewhere special, in a time when "things melted together--the beauty and the history and the facility and the splendid midsummer glow..." [Dove, 137].

Later in the novel, Milly creates her own artistic setting--when she leases the Palazzo Leporelli. This Venetian home is described as a Veronese Palace, referring to the interior frescoes. These paintings are characteristic for taking the mundane and elevating it to the spiritual and unifying Christian spirituality and pagan heartiness. They celebrate life and are a key to Milly's fiction of liveliness. The power of this artistic allusion rests in the reader, is understanding of the style and subjects of Veronese, the fleshy figures attending ceremonial and sumptuous feasts. The reference does not create an atmosphere in the way the Watteau connection does, with characteristic colors and designs. Rather, the Italian allusion is a more intellectual one, highlighting Milly's attempt to appear lively.

These direct allusions lend descriptive, emotional and intellectual content to the settings they describe. James does not always employ such obvious conventions. Often he uses methods more traditionally visual than literary. In The Portrait of a Lady, Isabel Archer is presented in dynamic relation to others and in various settings. In visual descriptions throughout the novel, James frames Isabel in doorways and windows, wherever he can supply a convenient rectangle. These framings allow us to capture an image, like a portrait, that we can then remove from its stream of narration and compare to other such portraits. The "portrait" of Isabel we have is thus a composite of numerous images as she changes through time and locale. Once isolated they resemble a photo album.

In framing Isabel, James is not referring to visual arts in a conventional sense. He is literally describing the imagery that an artist would paint. The resultant scenes are to be analyzed visually as well as

verbally. James is painting with words.

In doing so he draws a sequence of major tableaux which punctuate the novel. It is a germinal moment when Isabel interrupts her husband Osmond and Mme Merle.

Just beyond the threshold of the drawing room she stopped short, the reason for her doing so being that she had received an impression. The impression had, in strictness, nothing unprecedented; but she felt it as something new, and the soundlessness of her step gave her time to take in the scene before she interrupted it. ...There was nothing to shock in this; they were old friends in fact. But the thing made an image, lasting only a moment, like a sudden flicker of light.

[Portrait, 343]

Such an impression is an example of powerful, preverbal knowledge. This tableau illustrates the ability of visual events to communicate with intensity truths verbally unsupported. James is being realistic in a modern sense. He shows the power of visual events.

Paintings as visual events have emphasized power in The Wings of the Dove and The Sacred Fount. The experience of viewing art is not that of receiving a message from the artist. Rather James points out the dynamism of the viewing. The meaning is the experience.

Milly confronts a portrait reported to resemble her in The Wings of the Dove. Having been lead through the park into the house at Matcham, she has wound her way into labyrinthine corridors to arrive at a Bronzino portrait. Such portraits are characterized by a richly glowing attention to wealthy materials and finery and a sensitive, somber (almost haunting) rendering of the figures. They have sad eyes and appear in psychologically and visually powerful settings (e.g., in a darkened alcove).

Driven by the constant staring of kind eyes into a heightened awareness of her own illness, Milly Theale is overwhelmed with the connections to the Bronzino portrait. There is a family resemblance in the pale face of the sitter, which intensifies Milly's feeling of sisterhood with the "very great personage." They resemble each other; they share features: pale skin, wealth and the air of death. Others notice the resemblance, leading to subtle reversals of identity: "Lady Aldershaw meanwhile looked at Milly quite as if Milly had been the Bronzino and the Bronzino only Milly." [Dove, 139]

Milly's perception of Lady Aldershaw's look implies that the Bronzino can be qualitatively more than Milly. Such a statement, coming from Milly's consciousness, could suggest that she devalues herself. Alternately the statement may point out the great power of images to be interpreted. The Bronzino would be more than just Milly in that it would not be locked into this one interpretive connection with the heiress.

There is a similar experience in The Sacred Fount. The narrator in viewing a painting entitled "The Man With the Mask" appeals to the artist Obert "It's the picture, of all pictures, that most needs an interpreter. Don't we want... to know what it means?" [Fount, 55] They begin, as Milly does, with an immediate connection that limits further possibilities. Nonetheless, their interpretation must develop.

In asking for an interpretation, the narrator betrays that he has already formed the beginnings of a fiction. The painting is a key naming point in the novel. And whether the narrator has previously interpreted the

painting or not, it crystalizes his suspicions. The passage is the first place I began to sense a truly sinister reality in the story. Perhaps the nosey guest found his suspicions suddenly becoming focussed by the painting. It seems ridiculous that the house would have a portrait that strangely revealed the secret similarities of the tired Briss and depleted Mae Server. However, it is not too uncanny that the picture would arrest the imaginations of the viewers, perhaps allowing their own perceptions of events to dominate their perceptions of the painting. They begin to see the resemblances between the pale man and his mask and those between Briss and Mae Server.

In this passage James brings together characters, one of whom is avidly trying to piece together a theory. In gathering the validation and participation of others, the narrator brings them to the painting and forces his interpretation to predominate. The painting is not just a foil for the sleuth. Much more powerful, the painting itself focuses the fiction, naming the victims of the story. As reader, I found myself puzzling through its meaning. The final interpretation implies that Mae is as much a victim as Briss but can hide her decay with her own mask. But this is my interpretation and would orient my further reading, limiting its possibilities. This is power of art that James employs and illustrates in The Sacred Fount. Interpretation draws on theories and in turn feeds them.

Henry James uses allusion to art to convey complex description, and emotional and intellectual connotations. Furthermore, he uses examples of art objects to illustrate and employ the power of visual experience to focus perceptions. Inherent in the power of naming is its own chief limitations. Art is organizing and limiting, as is hinted at in The Jolly Corner. Spencer Brydon confronts his alter-ego. The apparition he has both pursued and fled from stands before him. "No portrait by a great modern master could have presented him with more intensity, thrust him out of his frame with more art..." [Corner, 814]. This passage refers to the artist's ability to present an image with strength and to thrust the image out of the two-dimensional picture plane. The apparition is no image; it stands solidly before Brydon. The description of being thrust out of his frame may suggest the move from image (2-D) to reality (3-D). There is another alternative, however. The alter-ego may extend beyond the borders of the frame. Suddenly a frame could not contain the image of the presence. Its reality could not be limited. If its relations ended nowhere, it would be active and real. And it is.

Regardless of which theory one draws, the inadequacy of the frame is apparent. Limiting relations creates a false clarity. The clarity, though, is powerful, and has utility. Lee Johnson discusses the particular function verbal framing has in The Wings of the Dove: "What James tries to bring to the novel from drama and painting, is the sense of a containing form, some limit to the theoretical possibility of unimpeded flow latent in the nature of storytelling..." [Johnson, 3]. In creating this container, James frames "blocks" of consciousness in the novel. By delimiting spans of time or consciousness, he creates units which we can then remove from sequence and superimpose upon themselves. Through this layering we see a spatial view of the relationships between such blocks that bring us simultaneously to the beginning and the end of the novel.

By drawing frames around these "occurrences" James employs the methods of the visual arts. Such artistry is a sophisticated development. I haven't read enough of Henry James to make a broad statement with confidence, but there has been a deepening involvement with art apparent throughout our

readings. Direct, literary allusions to art appear in several of the works. They have emotional and intellectual connotations that enrich settings with meaning. But this is a conventional use of allusion. James becomes a visual artist when he describes settings and tableaux which are to be visually as well as verbally interpreted. He paints with his words an impressionist world in The Portrait of a Lady. This attitude toward description and allusion continues through the novels. But ultimately James arrives at a more deeply involved artistry. In developing the structure of novels, "he is interested in the analogy [between prose and painting] itself and the discovery of literary equivalents for the general structural and technical principles involved in visual art" [Johnson, 4]. At his most sophisticated, James draws with words and in a literary manner creates forms analogous to framed paintings. These frames both use the limiting of relations to facilitate superimposition and illustrate the inadequacy of such frames to enclose meaning. Relationships extend beyond the artificial borders. This is a realism mirroring our own condition.

By assimilating some of these technical conventions of painting, James develops his own craft and extends the previous structure of the novel. His understandings of art and the reality it struggles to organize are synthesized into a sophisticated literary form.



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