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### The Otterbein Miscellany - May 1972

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## Authors

William O. May, Thomas J. Kerr IV, Robert Price, Harold B. Hancock, William T. Hamilton, Sylvia Vance, Norman Chaney, Rich Townsend, James R. Bailey, William O. Amy, Robert G. Clarke, and Jung Young Lee

# THE OTTERBEIN MISCELLANY

AUTHORITY IN THE EARLY CHURCH

William O. Amy

THE FAILURE OF SUCCESS:  
NEW GODS FOR OLD?

Thomas J. Kerr, IV

FOUR AND TWENTY BLACKBIRDS

Robert Price



## FOREWORD

The *Otterbein Miscellany* is published once or twice a year as an outlet for faculty writing on a wide variety of topics. The college underwrites this publication in the belief that it will help maintain a genuine community of scholars. Papers are accepted, therefore, on the basis of their interest to the whole academic community rather than to members of a particular discipline. Editorial responsibility rests with a committee of the faculty.

Contributions are considered from the Otterbein College faculty and administration, active and emeritus — others on invitation only.

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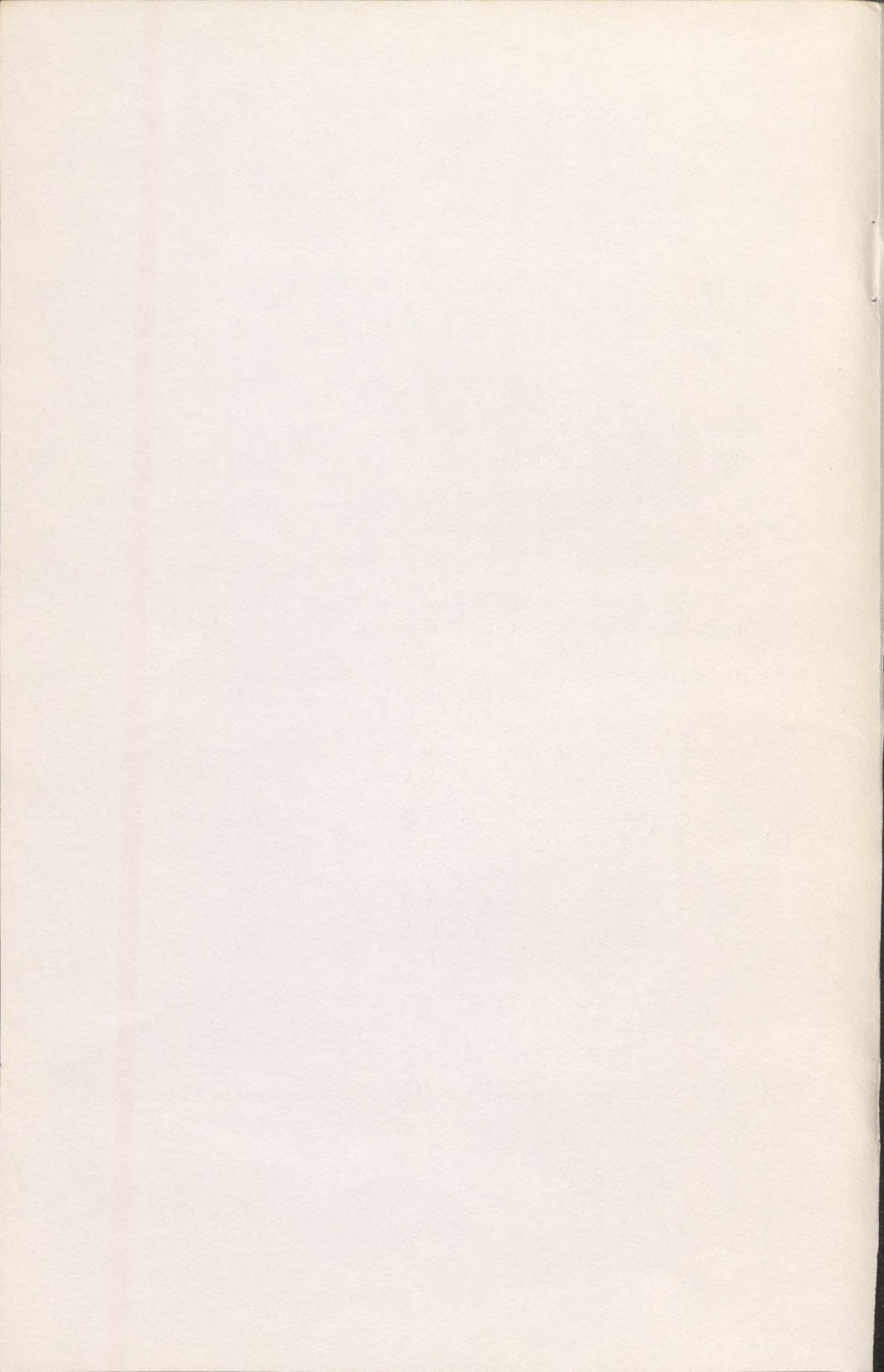
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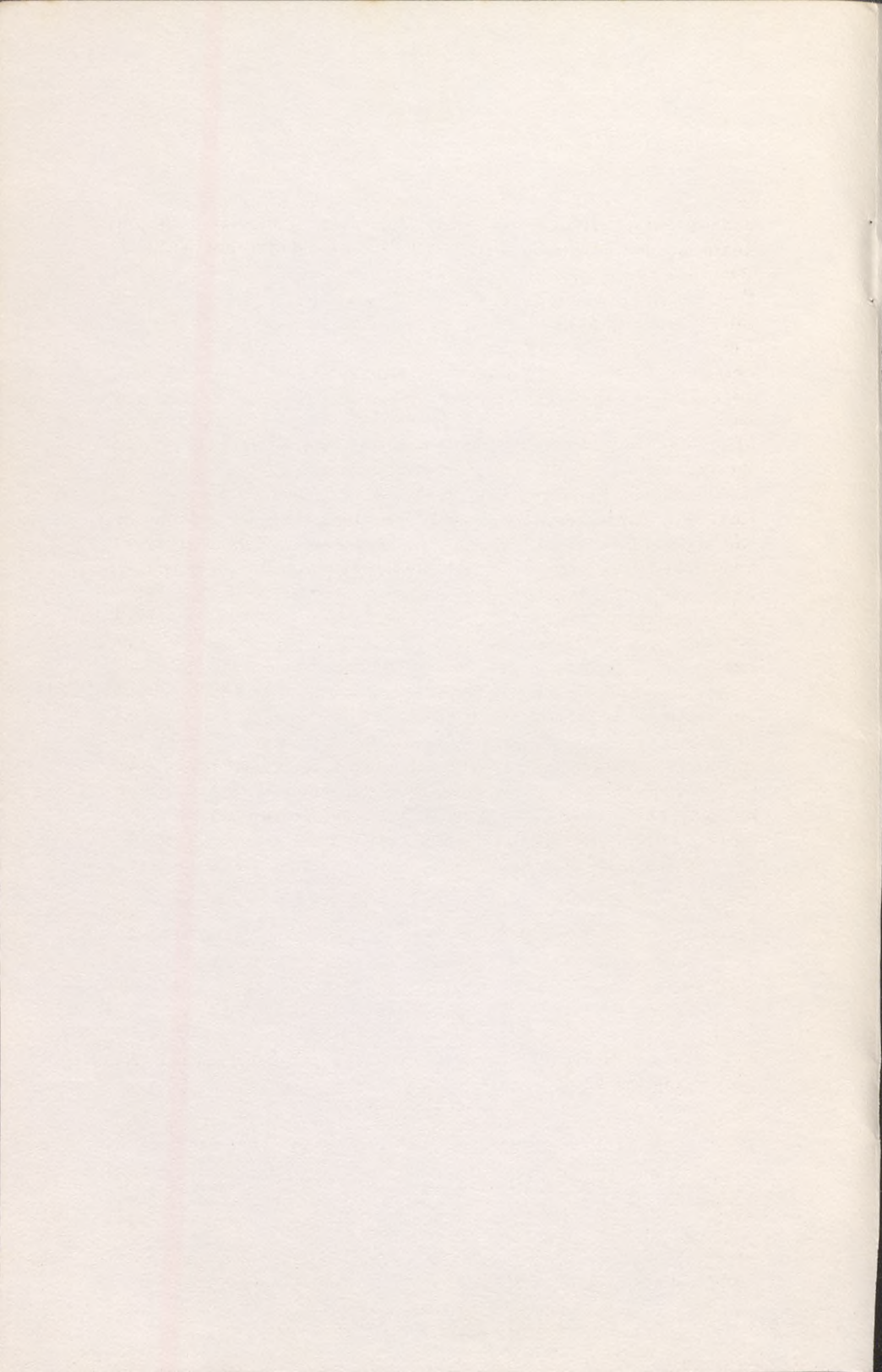
## LOOKING FOR ARROWHEADS

In his *Journal*, Thoreau tells of his yearly experience of looking for arrowheads. "It is now high time to look for arrowheads, etc. I spend many hours every spring gathering the crop which the melting snow and rain have washed bare."

While reading Thoreau's account, it occurred to me that the editors of *Miscellany* are something like arrowhead hunters. Each year, sometime after winter solstice, they take to the field to discover among the work of their colleagues a "crop" of writings which they might print in the spring edition of the *Miscellany*. This year, we presume, our findings have been valuable. At least we can claim that each writing appears here because it yielded us a thought. And we are eagerly looking forward to taking to the field again next year.

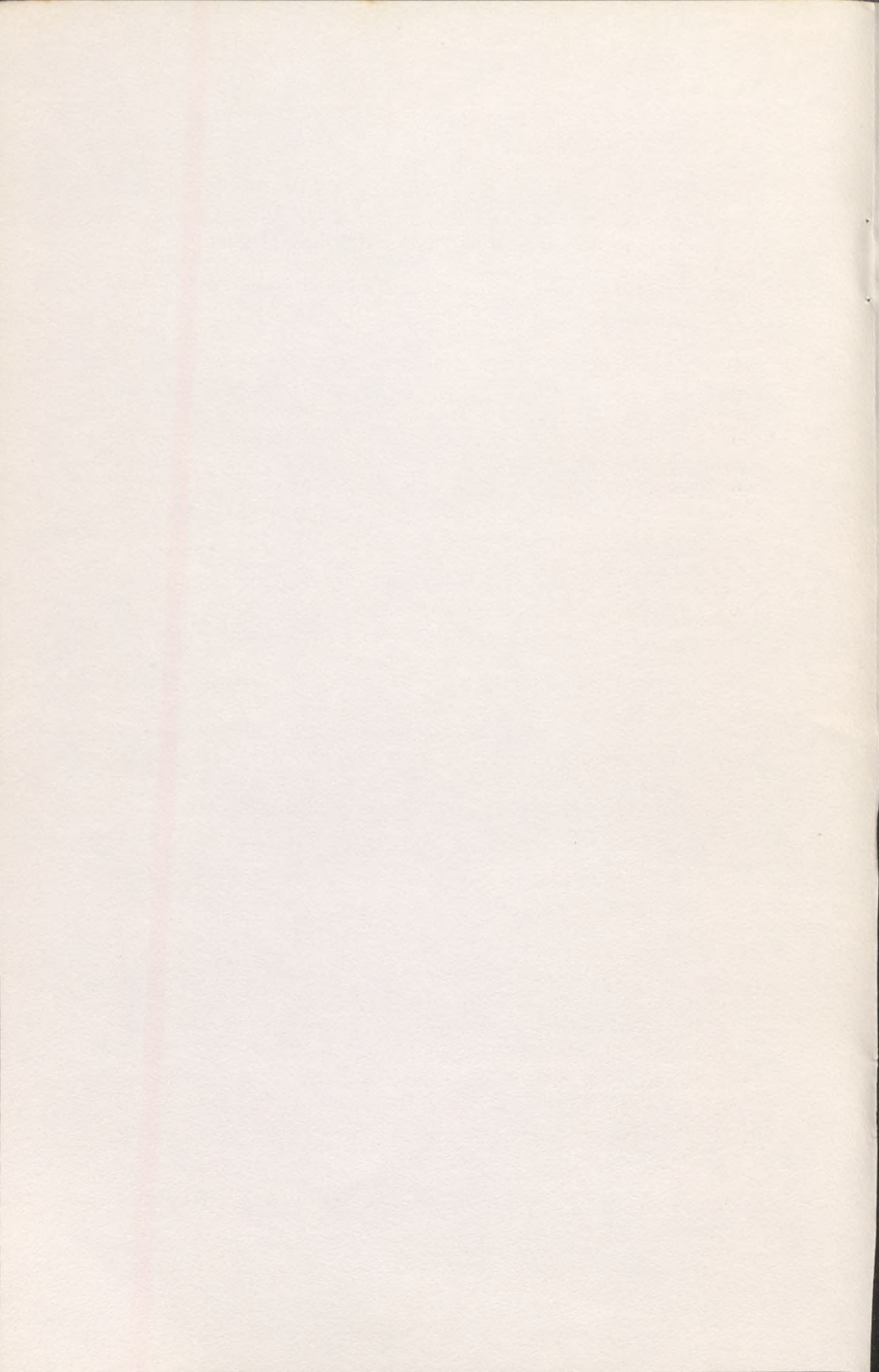
*The Editor*





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## THE FAILURE OF SUCCESS: NEW GODS FOR OLD?

In the United States we face a crisis of monumental proportions. Both externally and internally our institutions, our values, and our entire ways of life are under attack. Yet this crisis comes when our affluence has reached new heights. As *New York Times* columnist James Reston has noted, we have in American society "a paradox in the failure of success. Adversity we have conquered with perseverance, but prosperity has been too much for us. The old gods may have failed, but the bitch goddess success, was no substitute."<sup>1</sup> The basic crisis of American life is clearly one of values. It is a moral and spiritual crisis. Only by examining the dimensions and causes of this crisis can we face it with confidence and design a course of action.

Everywhere amid our affluence we encounter irritating reminders of decay. These reminders are mirrored not only in our physical environment but also in our expressed attitude and institutional problems. One recent national survey revealed that 47 per cent of the people polled felt "new and urgent concerns over national unity, political stability and law and order."<sup>2</sup> Another indicated that over the last five years confidence in our major institutions had dropped markedly. In 1971 no more than 37 per cent of those participating in one poll expressed confidence in any institution, compared to a high of 67 per cent in 1966.<sup>3</sup>

In any organized society law is one of the most significant institutions. It expresses and defines relationships between people and institutions, and reflects basic assumptions of the society. In a democratic society where the avenues for changing law remain open, mass violations of the law and widespread feelings that it is too inflexible to accommodate basic changes in the society serve as powerful indicators of serious crisis. We see such indicators. Certainly violent protest, outside the law, of the U.S. position in Vietnam represents one illustration. Other, less emotional, examples reinforce the same point. Among college students a recent Gallup poll indicated 51 per cent sampled had used marijuana, a clearly illegal act. Five years ago only 5 per cent admitted to marijuana use.<sup>4</sup> By their own acts, a majority of future leaders have already rejected existing laws.

The family, one of the basic units in our society, is similarly undergoing changes which bring it into conflict with the laws of our society. Recently in a New York City family court, the judge gave custody of a seven year old girl to the father rather than the mother. Following her divorce, the mother, a social worker and university graduate, established a long term liaison in a Greenwich Village apartment with a graduate student. The father, on the other hand, had chosen conventional respectability. He had remarried and established a home in suburban New York. The mother justified her lasting but unmarried relationship to her male companion on the grounds that she "wanted a home, not boyfriends," and that "a piece of paper didn't protect anything before." The judge, reflecting the traditional view, rejected the pleas of the mother on the grounds of "low moral standards." This drew considerable criticism. In fact, changing relationships, and moral standards have rendered existing family relations law a "wilderness."<sup>5</sup> Traditional morality and institutions absorb successive waves of attack.

Other vital institutions suffer similarly. In 1970 student confrontation with educational institutions capped a violent decade with the Kent State killings. The charges against educational institutions have ranged from benign irrelevance to active oppression. Many question a cardinal aspect of American faith, the belief in education.

The church, traditionally the guardian of our moral commitment, fares no better. In surveying grass roots' views of the United Methodist Church, Dr. Virgil Sexton recorded a representative opinion: "The church itself is one of the greatest offenders in the dehumanization of people. She has often been guilty of developing and maintaining congregational 'castes' based on race or economic status."<sup>6</sup>

Most depressing of all is our loss of faith in man himself. The motion picture industry, regularly a perceptive mirror of popular prejudice, has mocked the liberal belief in man as irrelevant and ineffectual. Films like "R.P.M.," "Easy Rider," "Getting Straight," and "The French Connection" deny that man has positive qualities. In the films "Straw Dog" and "Clockwork Orange," man emerges "an ignoble savage . . . irrational, brutal, weak, silly, unable to be objective . . ." Consequently, any attempt by man "to create social institutions . . . is probably doomed to failure."<sup>7</sup>



What causes this attitude of rejection or institutional condemnation? Popular explanations abound. Social analysts most frequently brand the rapid pace of change as "villain." Unquestionably frequent and accelerated changes do pose problems for society. Yet, as poet Robert Frost noted, "Most of the change we think we see in life is due to truths being in and out of favour."<sup>8</sup>

Commentators also frequently mention the generation gap. We know "conflict of generations is a universal theme in history," one that becomes "bitter, unyielding, angry, and violent," when the older generation loses its authority in the eyes of the younger.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, we know that despite its communication problems and criticisms, the majority of youth holds values and views startlingly similar to those of its parents' generation.<sup>10</sup> Other causes such as Vietnam and racism also receive popular support as crucial factors.

The root cause goes much deeper. Our society, our world, is undergoing a basic revolution in technology and thought which renders obsolete old assumptions and long established institutions. From the Renaissance to modern times, dominant thought and social structures have been based on reductionism. Rationalism, individualism, and the industrial revolution, broadly identified with the centuries of this era, all reflect reductionism. Wholes were reduced to their smallest parts. In physics, the atom became the irreducible unit. In psychology, Freud identified the ego, id and libido. In political science, "self evident truths" became the irreducible unit. In production, the machine assumed many functions that previously had been assumed by man. Man was left to perform those functions machines could not. In institutions, goals were determined from the top, and the individual was subordinated to the goals of the institution as determined by the leader. Leaders reached the top by individualistic efforts: the survival of the fittest. Institutions were merely sums of their mechanistic parts, while man himself became a part of the machine, relegated to secondary functions, and subjected to goals he did not set.

The post World War II period has brought a revolution in technology and thought. This revolution has created the moral crises of our times. New gods have replaced the old. The affluence produced by the machine age and the new potential opened by the electronic age have changed man's perspective on self and society. Affluence has enabled individuals to consider



personal goals beyond those of economic survival and outside those determined by institutional hierarchies. Personal goals of identity and self-fulfillment lead to conflict with the dehumanizing effect of reductionism characterizing the machine age. A new source of interrelatedness, of holism, has replaced reductionism and individualism. Technologically the electronic revolution that has produced rapid communications (telegraph, telephone, radio, television, instantaneous observing (radar, sonar, movies), and manipulative reaction and response (the computer) has contributed to a new awareness of interrelatedness. People now seek goals that "give people a verification of themselves as humans": goals based on their interrelatedness to others. This produces inevitable conflict with established hierarchies and institutions based on pre-existing assumptions.<sup>11</sup>

The tension and conflict between the old and new has produced our crisis in institutions and values. Perceptively, Jesus noted that "every kingdom divided against itself goes into ruin; no town, no household, that is divided against itself can stand."<sup>12</sup> In a different context, John W. Gardner, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare has observed, "The thing that makes a number of individuals a society rather than a population or a crowd is the presence of shared values, a shared conception of the enterprise of which they are all a part, shared views of why it is worthwhile for the enterprise to continue and flourish."<sup>13</sup> We have lost our sense of sharing.

In many ways the youth of our society perceive the new trends more rapidly than we who have formed our lives in the long-established patterns. The destructive activism of recent times has given way to the constructive effort to build new institutions based on broadly conceived human rights and the wholeness of life.<sup>14</sup> The deep concern for a re-emphasis of moral and spiritual values can be seen in such groups as the Children of God and the Campus Crusade for Christ and in the entire Jesus Movement. While one may condemn such groups as either "copouts" from social responsibility or misguided efforts to return to the simplistic values of earlier times, one cannot deny the thirst for value-commitment and "an authority structure in a society that's at a loss for authority structures."<sup>15</sup> Nor can one deny the force of "hope, love and joy" pervading these efforts.<sup>16</sup>

The anti-establishment, anti-institutional rhetoric of our time often obscures the importance of the recommitment to the basic

values of love, caring, sharing and interrelatedness. It also obscures the importance of leadership-commitment and institutional dynamics. In similar confusion, Christ is often viewed as a man alone fighting the institutions and establishment of his day. But Jesus in his time came not "to abolish, but to complete"<sup>17</sup> the spirit of the law. He was a great and committed leader of men, as well as a skillful organizer, who laid the groundwork for the institutional church.<sup>18</sup> Like all great leaders, Jesus recognized the fact that ideas endure and advance only through institutions.

Faced with the crisis of our times, our course of action is clear. The younger generation has sensed it. They but reaffirm the historical example of Christ. We must dedicate ourselves to value-committed lives of leadership. Albert Schweitzer, a committed leader and institution builder, identified those values as "love, submission, compassion, the sharing of joy and the common striving for the good of all."<sup>19</sup> The age of fragmentation is dead. The poet Archibald MacLeish notes that "only when the balance between society and self is both harmonious and whole can there truly be a self, or truly a society."<sup>20</sup> The new age calls for new institutions with a new spirit. It also demands a commitment to the oldest and greatest of human values. Some of our old gods have failed us. Nevertheless, the new gods are not new.

---

<sup>1</sup> "Peace in the Heart," *New York Times*, December 26, 1971.

<sup>2</sup> John Herbers, "Survey Finds Fear of U.S. Breakdown," *New York Times*, June 27, 1971.

<sup>3</sup> Harris Survey, October 1966, quoted in James M. Riche, "... We Are All the Beneficiaries of Business," Address to the Fifth Avenue Association of New York, October 29, 1971, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Linda Charlton, "Gallup Finds a Continued Use of Marijuana and L.S.D. on Campuses," *New York Times*, February 10, 1972.

<sup>5</sup> Laurie Johnston, "Low Moral Standards, Judge Ruled: A Case of Changing Morals," *New York Times*, February 23, 1972.

<sup>6</sup> *Listening to the Church* (Nashville, 1971), p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Fred M. Hechinger, "A Liberal Fights Back," *New York Times*, February 13, 1972 and Bernard Weinraub, "Kubrick Tells What Makes 'Clockwork Orange' Tick," *New York Times*, January 4, 1972.

<sup>8</sup> "The Black Cottage," *North of Boston*, 1915, pp. 54-55.

<sup>9</sup> Malcolm B. Schultz, "Who Are/Were Those Kids and Why Do/Did They Do Those Awful/Wonderful Things?" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 13, 1972.

<sup>10</sup> "The U.S. Campus Mood, '71 Newsweek Poll," *Newsweek*, February 22, 1971, pp. 61-63.



- 11 William Glasser, "The Civilized Identity Society," *Saturday Review*, February 19, 1972, pp. 26-31. The author is also indebted to the analysis of Russell Akoff, "Application of Operation Research to Higher Education," lecture, Columbia University Management and Planning Institute for Higher Education, March 14, 1972.
- 12 "Gospel According to Matthew," *The New English Bible, New Testament* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1961, 1972), 12:25-26.
- 13 John W. Gardner, "Antileadership Vaccine," *Annual Report of the Carnegie Corporation of New York*, 1965, p. 12.
- 14 "Beneath the Surface Calm: What?" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 13, 1972.
- 15 Douglas E. Kneeland, "The Jesus Movement on Campus," *New York Times*, December 26, 1971. See also Eleanor Blow, "Children of God Return Home from Visits to Rejected Past," *New York Times*, January 17, 1972.
- 16 Robert Clarke, "Jesus Now!" *Tan and Cardinal*, November 16, 1971.
- 17 "Gospel According to Matthew," *New English Bible*, 5:17-18.
- 18 Joy Haley, *The Power Tactics of Jesus Christ* (New York, 1969), 39-45.
- 19 *The Wisdom of Albert Schweitzer* (New York, 1968) p. 16.
- 20 "Trustee of the Culture," *Saturday Review*, December 19, 1970, pp. 18-19.



## **OTTERBEIN'S FIRST BLACK STUDENT: WILLIAM HANNIBAL THOMAS**

The career of Otterbein's first black student was not one of steady advance from rags to riches or from lowly social status to one of respect and dignity. His life had many twists and turns. What he probably considered his greatest achievement — the publication of a lengthy volume on the American Negro in 1901 — did not bring him renown and fame, but attacks from all sides.

From its beginning in 1847, Otterbein University was co-racial, but no black student had appeared until William Hannibal Thomas, some of whose ancestors were white, enrolled. The trustees had even passed a resolution in 1854 to encourage the recruitment of Negroes with no results. In the spring of 1859, the fiscal agent of the college, James Weaver, replied to a letter accusing the institution of not accepting black students by declaring that none had applied.<sup>1</sup>

On November 11, 1859, the faculty refused admission to Samuel Williams, "colored," because he was only fifteen years old, but expressed a willingness to consider his application at a later time. A few days later the Executive Committee of the trustees refused to defer the admission of "students of color" until a full board was assembled.<sup>2</sup>

This action was taken because of the application of William Hannibal Thomas. When Dr. Willard Bartlett interviewed Thomas in 1930 in connection with writing the history of Otterbein College, the institution's first black student recalled that the student body divided into those favoring and opposing his attendance. To avoid controversy, members of the faculty and trustees offered to pay his way at Oberlin College, but he rejected the proposal. Thus he was admitted as the first Afro-American student.<sup>3</sup>

Born in Pickaway County in 1843, Thomas had previously attended only a few terms of district school, being mostly self-educated. At Otterbein University in the winter of 1859-60, he was enrolled in the preparatory school, gaining a "fair knowledge" of grammar, history, geography and arithmetic.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas was always grateful to his alma mater for giving him this chance, though lack of funds did not permit him to continue his education further. Many years later he presented to the Otterbein Library a book written by himself, with the inscription: "In remembrance of cherished associations in the distant past, with an institution of learning — founded in freedom and perpetuated by integrity — whose teachings gave inspiration and guidance to a struggling youth, and for which grateful acknowledgment is made by the recipient."<sup>5</sup>

After completing one term at Otterbein, Thomas turned to teaching and also began to learn a mechanical trade. As soon as the Civil War broke out, he offered his services, but at that time Negroes were not permitted to enlist. In the fall of 1861 he joined the 42nd Ohio Infantry Regiment, later transferring to the 95th Ohio Regiment. In 1863 he enlisted as a sergeant with the Fifth Regiment of U.S. Colored Infantry Volunteers at Delaware, Ohio. He participated in the fighting in the South and was wounded near Wilmington, North Carolina, in February, 1865. This gunshot wound led to the amputation of part of his right arm. Thomas' name appears on the Civil War monument on the Otterbein campus.<sup>6</sup>

Following his honorable discharge in November, 1866, Thomas entered Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh. Some of his activities as a pastor are recorded in the minutes of the Pittsburgh Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He was placed in charge of several small churches on a circuit. He was the principal speaker at a meeting on behalf of Wilberforce University in Pittsburgh and pledged a contribution of \$25. He also worked for *The Christian Radical*, a religious newspaper published in the same city. In 1871 the conference discontinued his itineracy for not turning over a contribution from his congregations to the Bishop's Fund. His correspondence with the American Missionary Association from 1865 to 1873 indicates that during those years he tried unsuccessfully to secure an appointment as a minister or a teacher to the freedmen in the South.<sup>7</sup>

Probably because of his difficulties with the Pittsburgh Conference, he decided to move to South Carolina in 1871 to teach. Through self-study he learned enough law to pass the bar examination. He tried unsuccessfully to be appointed a trial judge in Newberry County. In 1876 he was elected to the House



of Representatives in South Carolina, serving as chairman of several committees.<sup>8</sup>

Exactly what Thomas did for a living subsequently is uncertain. He received a government disability pension and probably taught and preached in Massachusetts and the South. From 1885 to 1893 he wrote six articles for the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review*. The first was part of a symposium of Negro reaction to Cleveland's election in 1884. Thomas considered the Democratic victory "a fraud" and looked forward to Republican success next time. In the other articles he expressed optimism about the progress of the Negro in the South through hard work, education and the acquisition of land.<sup>9</sup>

In 1886 he founded a short-lived magazine in Boston entitled *The Negro*. The American Antiquarian Society is the custodian of the only two surviving issues, xeroxed copies of which have been placed in the Otterbein Room. Most of the articles are philosophical in nature and discuss the role of the Negro in American life. He requested Frederick Douglass to contribute an article, but this distinguished American refused, explaining his views about the position of Negroes in a long letter. With considerable ingenuity Thomas edited the letter, gave it a title and placed it as the lead article in the second issue of the magazine. He even had the effrontery to accompany it with Douglass' picture!<sup>10</sup>

In 1890 Thomas published a pamphlet entitled *Land Education: A Critical and Practical Discussion of the Mental and Physical Needs of the Freedmen*. It stressed the ownership of land and practical education as solutions for the problems of the Negro. Apparently it did not even create a ripple in the publishing world.<sup>11</sup>

In January, 1901, *The Book Buyer* announced the forthcoming publication of a book entitled *The American Negro*. Because of his legal and theological training, no one, reported the magazine, was better qualified than its distinguished author, William Hannibal Thomas, to write such a volume unless it were Booker T. Washington. The accompanying photograph showed the author to be a light-complexioned Negro, slightly bald with bushy white hair and a shaggy mustache.<sup>12</sup>

Reviews ranged in tone from approval to emotional denuncia-



tions. Perhaps it is significant that a reviewer in England in *The Athenaeum* had most to say in the way of praise, for he found the volume a realistic appraisal of the Negro's position in the United States. In spite of some exaggerations and distortion, a critic in *The Yale Review* also thought the study very sound.<sup>13</sup>

Charles W. Chesnutt, a well-known Negro novelist, labeled Thomas "A Defamer of His Race," in a review in *The Critic*. He condemned its spiteful tone, untruthfulness and malignity. In reply in a subsequent issue, Thomas claimed that his research and observations validated his findings.<sup>14</sup>

W. Edward Burghardt Du Bois in *The Dial* reported that the volume was based on Thomas' pamphlet of 1890, but with a major change. In 1890 Thomas had defended the Negro, severely criticized the white race and expressed the opinion that land ownership and education would solve the problems of the Negro. In his new book he toned down the criticism of the white race and added a denunciation of the Negro "unparalleled in vindictiveness and exaggeration." Du Bois believed that it was incomprehensible that the writer after many years of close contact with the Negro race in the South had so completely altered his views during ten years of residence in Boston. Du Bois believed that if there were hope for the oppressed in Europe, there was hope for the Negro in America in spite of the pessimism expressed by Thomas.<sup>15</sup>

The most emotional review was delivered as a sermon by the Rev. C. T. Walker, pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church in New York. He labeled Thomas "the 20th century slanderer of the Negro race." In contrast to Thomas' picture of immorality, laziness and lack of ambition, Walker pointed to the advancement by individuals and the entire race since the Civil War. He undermined Thomas' character by publishing a letter from the President of Western Theological Seminary which stated that Thomas had been expelled for immoral conduct. He also published evidence that Thomas had been found guilty of fraud in South Carolina courts.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, reviews of Thomas' volume were far from favorable. Friends of the Negro and members of the race were highly critical, though occasional reviews contended that his appraisal was realistic in tone. A modern critic, Herbert Aptheker, calls the volume "a viciously anti-Negro book."<sup>17</sup>

In 1922 he was admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court, though it is not known whether he participated in the presentation of any case.<sup>18</sup>

Thomas always felt at home in central Ohio. In 1907 Professor Henry Garst referred to a distinguished Negro lawyer who had once attended Otterbein and was contemplating affiliating with the college church. In 1908 Thomas joined the United Brethren Church facing the campus.<sup>19</sup>

In his declining years he returned to live in Ohio, establishing a residence in the Hotel Litchfield on Fourth Street in Columbus. When Dr. Willard W. Bartlett was writing his dissertation on Otterbein College in 1930, he consulted with Thomas and commented upon his sharp memory of events. At the age of 93 on November 15, 1935, he died in Columbus and was buried in the Otterbein Cemetery. The Rev. J. S. Innerst, pastor of the United Brethren Church, conducted the funeral service. His obituary appeared in *Public Opinion*.<sup>20</sup>

William Hannibal Thomas left his mark in life, though he failed to achieve wealth, distinction or renown. His most lasting achievement was his book, which has recently been reprinted.

---

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1 Otterbein University, Minutes of Board of Trustees, June 20, 1854; *Religious Telescope*, Feb. 23, March 9, 1859.
- 2 Otterbein University, Faculty Minutes, Nov. 11, 1859; Minutes of Executive Committee of Board of Trustees, Nov. 14, 1859.
- 3 W. Bartlett, *Education for Humanity* (Westerville, 1934), p. 39; W. H. Thomas *The American Negro* (New York, 1901), xi-xii.
- 4 Thomas *The American Negro*, xv.
- 5 *Ibid.*, frontispiece.
- 6 Pension Record, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 7 W. H. Thomas to the Rev. G. Whipple, Aug. 7, 1865, and to Brother (Cravath), Sept. 29, 1873, American Missionary Archives, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.; *Minutes of the Pittsburgh Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1870, p. 5; 1871, pp. 8, 10.
- 8 Thomas, *The American Negro*, xvi-xvii; W. H. Thomas to Governor D. H. Chamberlain, March 26, Dec. 10, 1874 with attached petition of citizens to appoint him trial justice, South Carolina State Archives.
- 9 *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review*, I (1885), "The Democratic Return to Power," pp. 225-227; III (1887), "Shall Negroes Become Land-Owners?," pp. 481-490; IV (1888), "Toil and Trust," pp. 369-376; V (1889), "Till Another King Arose, Which Knew Not



- Joseph," pp. 332-343; VI (1890), "Religious Characteristics of the Negro," pp. 388-402; VII (1891), "Negro Problems: Political Domination," pp. 266-182; IX (1893), "Negro Problems," pp. 388-402.
- 10 *The Negro*, I (July, August, 1886), *et passim*; Frederick Douglass to W. H. Thomas, July 16, 1886, Douglass Collection, Library of Congress.
  - 11 Thomas Collection, Howard University.
  - 12 *The Book Buyer*, XXII (Jan., 1901), p. 93.
  - 13 *The Athenaeum*, I (April, 1901), pp. 492-493; *The Yale Review*, X (May, 1901), pp. 112-113.
  - 14 *The Critic*, XXXVIII (1901), pp. 305-351; 548-550.
  - 15 *The Dial*, XXX (April, 1901), pp. 262-264.
  - 16 *Reply to William Hannibal Thomas (Author of the American Negro): The 20th Century Slanderer of the Negro Race* (New York, 1901), *et passim*. (Thomas Collection, Howard University.)
  - 17 Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People*, II (New York, 1965), p. 646.
  - 18 Letters from Clerk of the Court, U.S. Supreme Court, to the writer, Jan. 15, 31, 1972.
  - 19 Henry Garst, *History of Otterbein University* (Dayton, 1907), p. 297; information from the Church Office, Church of the Master, United Methodist.
  - 20 Pension Record; Bartlett, *Education for Humanity*, p. 39; *Public Opinion*, Nov. 17, 1935.



A PASSAGE TO INDIA:  
THE DAKOTAS WERE FAR ENOUGH

So, we meet again, after how many thousands of years?  
Our group peeled off and headed North and West,  
Yours took the longer route, East and North.  
And here we are again, having  
Split a circumnavigation, you in a boat of bone and hide,  
Me in a ship of plank and iron and cotton.

Here on a dusty plain, beside a creek you gave the first name to.  
You got here first, though, as I said, yours was the longer route.  
And here we sit, you on a painted pony,  
Me on an army mount,  
A little behind the chiefs, who wear the feathers  
And the braid.

Always a little behind the chiefs, you and I.  
They sign the papers,  
Give and receive the land.  
We look solemn, watch history being made again,  
As the books put it, just as we must have watched,  
Solemn, loyal, when the chiefs split up,  
Mine to go North and West, yours to take the longer route,  
East and North.

We call it America. We planned this meeting.  
Brought black and yellow to plant the cotton  
And forge the rails. We beat our brains out  
Making sure all the races would be here.  
Cora and Alice and Chingachgook;  
Dagoo and Quequeg and Tashtego. And, of course,  
Old Ahab and Colonel Sherburn and Jim and Huck,  
And Squanto with that little trick of fish and earth  
And seed corn.

And my horse a little taller than your pony,  
More bullets for my rifle than flints for your arrows.  
But now what? All the way round once — let's call it  
Half a globe each, though yours was the longer route,  
And you got here first, by ten or twenty or fifty  
Thousand years.

And now what? You've already started back,  
Chippewa and Cheyenne moving west ahead of the rest,  
Swede and Englishman and Dutchman.  
Where do we go now? What can you sell us, besides  
Dry prairie and stagnant creek, that will begin  
To pay for the work we put into beads and  
Carbines and whiskey?

While you sat there cross-legged on the ground,  
Picking chips off of flints like ticks off a dog,  
We invented and predicted, scanned the heavens  
And the droplets with finely honed glass.  
And, though you've already started back,  
You tell us there's nothing ahead to the West  
Any better than what we've come through already?  
One of them — your leader or mine — must have had  
Something in mind.

*William T. Hamilton*



## FOUR AND TWENTY BLACKBIRDS

Baked in a pie, of course! And when the pie was opened . . .

In Ohio, we always measured his Majesty's astonishment that fantastic day by the clatter that raked our ears whenever we heard a flock of local blackbirds roused out of some thicket or cattail swamp. We knew that old King Cole (or whoever he was) had been hailed that morning by a blasting cacophany of squeaks, squawks, chik-chaks, caw-caws, and skr-e-e-ks.

But it wasn't that way at all, as our Welsh mother could have told us if she hadn't known full well that all genuine nursery rhymes, no matter what their origin, need no footnotes. No British youngster singing his song of sixpence anywhere from Land's End to John o'Groats envisions anything like our American blackbirds. Neither the Rusty, nor the Yellow-headed, nor Brewer's, nor any other of the half dozen regional varieties we boast. Not even our Red-Wing, though I think the Westminster chime in the Red-Wing's spring vocalizing might well appeal to British ears. Nor does he think of the grackles, cowbirds, or starlings that Americans commonly confuse with blackbirds, or any British equivalent under the guise of rooks, ravens, daws and such.

For he probably knows that what burst from that wondrous pie was a flock of *Blackbirds* . . . I'm not being facetious . . . and that English Blackbirds (let's use the capital) are not blackbirds at all but thrushes and belong to one of the most accomplished musical families in all the ornithological registry. They are cousins, indeed, of our American robin (who isn't really a robin, of course, but likewise a true thrush!). His Majesty that morning was actually being saluted by one of the finest musical groups ever privileged to pop from a royal pastry, a top-flight ensemble if there ever was one.

Usually English Blackbirds are very genteel guests. So, if a little later that morning one of them tweaked off the maid's nose, as the verses aver, it must have been because she called him (as Britishers often do) only a "common Blackbird" or a "homely Blackbird," since he is an everyday bird and dresses very soberly. His wife, on occasion, even looks downright dowdy.



Like American robins, he is common enough. He is known to practically every lawn and garden in western Europe. The Romans called him "merulus." He is still the "merlo" in Italy and the "merle" in France. Germans call him the "Amsel." The Normans took the name "merle" to England, and the term still sticks in romantic verse and neighborhood usage. Mostly, though, the much more venerable "blaec bridd" of the Anglo-Saxons prevails. To the scientist, he is *Turdus merulus*, while his American cousin is *Turdus migratorius*.

The male Blackbird is a handsome glossy black fellow. John Burroughs once called him "our robin cut in ebony." He has an orange bill and eye, however, that identify him immediately as that "birdie with a yellow bill" that hopped upon the windowsill in Robert Louis Stevenson's rhyme and sang, "Ain't you 'shamed, you sleepyhead!"

His mate, on the other hand, always wears modest dark brown, with a light throat. On her breast she carries streaks of black dots, a distinguished thrush mark, showing that as a true mother she has an obligation to pass on a proud genealogical heritage. Those ancestral streaks always show up in young American robins, too, in spite of whatever degree of flamboyant red they may aspire to later. Various other close relatives, like our American wood and hermit thrushes, on the other hand, wear the family insignia proudly on their breasts through life.

But back to his Majesty's very special entertainment that magic morning. The music of the blackbird is mellow and flute-like. It can ring loud and clear, but it never has the shrill edge that sometimes on summer mornings wakes night-owl Americans too early. "And the blackbird plays but a boxwood flute,/ But I love him best of all," wrote William Ernest Henley. The song is one of the "firsts" that winter-weary Britishers start listening for soon after the turn of the year. Like Northerners in the States who delight in reporting first robins, they begin sending word to local papers along in February or March that the Blackbirds are back from the Mediterranean. (Usually the cuckoo gets there first.)

Some admirers even place the Blackbird's song in quality above the nightingale's. Theodore Roosevelt, when he first heard it, complained that Britons didn't appreciate it enough. They do — it's just that admiration of common things isn't likely to be much in daily talk. Naturalist W. H. Hudson (1841-1922), who of

his generation probably listened closest to British birds, declared that there were even Blackbird musical geniuses. One of them, he said, that roosted every night on a level with his window, would begin to sing each morning at half-past three and go on repeating at short intervals for about half an hour. "I could hear no other bird; and the sound coming in at the open window from a distance of a few yards had such a marvelous beauty that I could have wished for no more blessed existence than to lie there, head on pillow, with the pale early light and the perfume of night flowers in the room, listening to that divine sound." That it can be memorable, I know, for I heard it first one dismal May dawn, fluting from the roof outside my bleak quarters in a London roominghouse, while my wife the same season listened for it mornings and evenings in the courtyard adjoining her wing of the Royal Northern Hospital. Only the clarion of an Ohio robin ringing from the tiptop of a cottonwood could have surpassed it for us.

Like his New World cousin, the Blackbird knows that trust begets trust. He sizes up his human neighbors and manages them accordingly. If people are handled right, he knows, they'll welcome his residence close by in a comfortable appletree or grape arbor, or in a nook under a sheltering cornice or stoop. They will supply daily crumbs and other staples, and when spading the garden will often step aside just to let a feathered associate salvage an earthworm or grub.

Also like their New World kin, the Blackbirds are born plasterers, with a fine skill in laying up strong adobe walls, which they line with soft grass in which to lay their four or six greenish white, red-spotched eggs.

One season, our cousins in Marston Green found their Blackbirds settled atop a meterbox in the side porch. When the gaping mouths finally bobbed above the parapet, the hosts set out a bowl of bread and milk, and the knowing parents immediately recognized it as certified babyfood. When young Colin decided to help fill the cavernous craws and mounted a stepladder with the bowl and began spooning, any self-respecting American robin would have exploded into noisy hysterics. Not so the Blackbirds. With typical British poise, the mother merely flew to the edge of of the nest and calmly helped with the shoveling.

His Majesty's feast that wonderful day must have been a uniquely happy and gracious occasion.



## TRIPTYCH

### I

Out of Rivière-du-Loup  
Provincial 2 leads to Quebec,  
And from Quebec to Montreal  
It's all concrete and autoroute.

Your knapsack is your livelihood —  
Three hundred miles from ramp to ramp  
That looks the same. Your eyes are veiled.  
Salvation is a moving road.

### II

But you are silent. Would you not say  
That when in dreams an old man speaks  
We cannot hear? Say the heart flees  
When flesh stays on for failing feet?  
Heart's palsy stops the hand in place?  
Tremble of flute has quavered out  
For want of love?

No, not of love,  
But want of risk of love. I know  
The wild, sweet, dimming light of heaven  
Fails in a sunset. Dirt on a shovel  
Covers the bones of the last of the giants.

### III

What is it then I cannot say?  
The flower is not how desert lives —  
Its creeping is. And all who flee  
A blighted place dare not look back.  
Godspeed. Godspeed.

*Sylvia Vance*

## BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND THE FULL WORLD OF FICTION

In his essay on Alexander Pope, De Quincey drew the distinction between the literature of knowledge and the literature of power. The literature of knowledge conveys information and makes its appeal to the reason. The literature of power may convey information also, but its appeal is to the sympathy, the emotions, and the imagination, as well as to reason. A cookbook conveys information. So does a text on sociology or the history of dogma. Such literature of knowledge "builds only ground-nests that are swept away by floods, or confounded by the plough . . . The knowledge literature, like the knowledge of this world, passeth away."<sup>1</sup> But the literature of power is timeless, because it appeals to the elemental sympathies of men, evoking emotions of pity, fear, love, or hate.

The Bible belongs pre-eminently to the literature of power, and its writers used imaginative means to convey something of what they saw, and thought, and felt. They spoke of the morning stars singing at the creation, of God making grass to grow on the mountains, and of his making manna to fall upon his people in the wilderness. It may well be that part, at least, of the element of inspiration in the Bible is this quickening of the imaginations of gifted men, to whom it was given to see visions and to dream dreams, who spoke as they were moved, and whose words, through all the accidents and handicaps of literary transmission, speak to the mind and heart still. But is it not true that their words yield up their full content of meaning only to those who approach them with an imagination as venturesome as that of the biblical writers themselves?

Biblical scholars of the last several years, such as Paul Minear, Amos Wilder, Brevard Childs, and a host of others — separated though they are in numerous allegiances and convictions — have made clear that there is an unmistakable continuity in both the form and content of the Bible. This observation in biblical criticism finds a counterpart in literary criticism in the work of Northrop Frye. Frye tells us that the Bible (along with other sacred texts, such as the Koran) is an "encyclopedic form" which contains a "total body of vision that poets as a whole class are entrusted with, a total body . . . which can be attempted by one poet if he is sufficiently learned or inspired, or



by a poetic school or tradition if the culture is sufficiently homogeneous."<sup>2</sup> One means by which we as readers may insinuate ourselves into the Bible's total body of vision is through an examination of biblical typology.

The term "typology," as I am here using it, designates an analogical method of interpretation and writing. As a method of interpretation, it is the establishment of analogies between certain events (as well as persons or things); as a style of writing it is the description of an event (or person or thing) in terms borrowed from the description of its prototype. (In discussions which deal with typology, the earlier event is often called the "type" and the later event the "antitype.")

It was common practice among writers of the Old Testament to look back upon past events for clues to understanding present events, and for anticipating future events. In other words, they looked back upon the past to discover types. One type, for example, was exodus.

Occurring frequently throughout Second Isaiah is the comparison between the return of Israel from exile and the exodus from Egypt. This theme is coupled with the promise that Yahweh will make the way through the wilderness for his people and provide them with water. Of all the signs and wonders that accompanied Israel's journey through the wilderness, none was more memorable than the gift of water:<sup>3</sup> the healing of the waters at Marah (Ex. 15:22-26) and the waters gushing from the rock at Pephidim (17:1-7). So the prophet of the exile records the words of Yahweh:

I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert. The wild beasts will honor me, the jackals and the ostriches; for I give drink to my chosen people, the people whom I formed for myself, that they might declare my praise. (Isa. 43:19-21)

And again:

When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue is parched with thirst, I the Lord will answer them, I the God of Israel will not forsake them. I will open rivers on the bare heights and fountains in the midst of the valleys . . . (41:17-18)

Yahweh's activity in the exodus is for the prophet the clue to what he will do for his people in the return from exile.

In the Old Testament's use of typology, events are treated as historical in their own right. At the same time, however, the antitypes represent an imaginative heightening of the types: the return from exile will be accompanied with greater signs of Yahweh's care than was the original exodus.

But the use of typological interpretation and writing is even more evident in the New Testament than the Old, for typology was a chief means by which New Testament writers sought to establish the historic continuity between the Hebraic and Christian faiths.

The gospel of John, for example, bears a close resemblance to the book of Exodus. There are, in the first place, parallels in the larger structure. In both there is an early reference to an unrecognized deliverer. When Moses killed the Egyptian who was beating a Hebrew, and on the next day attempted to settle a dispute between two Hebrews, one cried out, "Who made you a prince and a judge over us?" (Ex. 2:11); John 1:11 reads, "He came to his own home, and his own people received him not." There is a frequent appearance of the term "sign" in the early portions of both books (Ex. 3:12-13:16; John 2:11-12:37). The concern of the later portions of both is with the Lord's own (Ex. 16-40, except 32-35; John 13-21, except 18-19). The prayers of intercession in both books have the same concerns; the credentials of the petitioner, a plea for the presence of God, the identification of the leader with those led. Both books are concerned about making known the divine name and express divine authorization. In short, it would seem that in the gospel of John typology shapes the structure of the author's work as he looks back to the events of Exodus in his attempt to portray Jesus as the finisher of creation, as God's full gift of salvation.

In recent years there has been a good deal of discussion among biblical scholars concerning the view of history that is implied in biblical typology. Rudolf Bultmann, for instance, makes a comparison between typology, as one method of interpretation present in Scripture, and fulfillment of prophecy as another. He maintains that fulfillment of prophecy rests on completion,<sup>4</sup> while typology rests on repetition; and he sees an indication that prophecy is based on a linear conception of time (history is a succession of events which lead towards an end or completion), while typology is based on a cyclical conception (history is the return or recurrence of similar events). Bultmann



concludes that the former reflects the Old Testament view of history as a course run according to divine plan, and that typology reflects a cosmological theory which has its origin not in Old Testament thought, but in ancient Oriental tradition.<sup>5</sup> If Bultmann's view is correct, we would have to consider typology as incompatible with the notion of prophetic eschatology.

Other scholars, however, oppose Bultmann's attempt to connect typology with the ancient Oriental theory of cyclical time. Gerhard Von Rad says that we

... must see the basic ideas of typology less in the notion of "repetition" than in that of "correspondence." In the one case, the earthly gains its legitimization through its correspondence with the heavenly; in the other, the relationship of correspondence is a temporal one. The primeval event is a type of the final event.<sup>6</sup>

In an argument similar to Von Rad's, Walther Eichrodt, in considering Bultmann's thesis, insists:

It is not in fact true that the return of the similar is the constitutive idea of typology. On the contrary . . . in contrast with the ancient cyclic idea, typology is concerned with the depiction in advance of an eschatological, and therefore an unsurpassable, reality, which stands toward the type in the relation of something much greater or of something antithetically opposed. The basic view of history is the same as that involved in the proof through prophecy, in that history is definitely understood as teleologically determined, as salvation history striving toward its end or completion. This view clearly has its origin in the genuine Old Testament understanding of history, which from the experience of divine election and miracle hopes for a similar miracle in future times of necessity. Thus typology belongs in principle to prophecy; it is extremely closely connected with the eschatological hope and must be explained from the same fundamental forces as the latter.<sup>7</sup>

Eichrodt, in his disagreement with Bultmann, does not deny that the Bible gives some credence to a cyclical view of history.<sup>8</sup> But he suggests that biblical writers, in adopting this view, altered it in significant ways. An example of this alteration appears in Isa. 65:17ff., in which the new heavens and new earth are contrasted to former things which are no longer to be remembered. The world must undergo a transformation in order to harmonize with the new Israel. The description of the new heavens and

earth indicates the author's intention of picturing the entrance of a new reality surpassing the old. Nevertheless, the new preserves the form of the old. The original purpose of God for his people is realized in the establishment of a new Jerusalem at the center of the world. The return of the eschatological time to the events of the past indicates that essentially the first and last form one event. They relate to one another as start and end, the beginning and fulfillment of one event. The pattern indicates that for the biblical writers these two times belong to the same *kairos*, time filled with significance, the same manifestation of God's will for his people. And this pattern lays the exegetical basis for a typological understanding of history which the Bible itself sets down as a witness.

The view of time reflected in biblical typology does not wholly exclude, of course, a biblical view of time as chronological, or as transitional. The notion of time as chronological is reflected in the Bible's use of such a term as "day" to describe a period of twenty-four hours, or in its descriptions of genealogies. But it places much stronger emphasis upon the experiential aspect of time, or what John Marsh calls "realistic,"<sup>9</sup> time — that is, time which affords an opportunity to which men are to respond with some appropriate action. Even though the Bible recognizes both chronological and realistic time, says Marsh, it nevertheless views both as "different themes within one story; not as though each had the same status and importance, but as together constituting what we call history."<sup>10</sup> In the Bible, in other words, both chronological and realistic time constitute the locale wherein the opportunities that come to man are given by God. "Even in a simple thing like going to bed at night, or rising at the beginning of the day; in sheltering from the rain, or gathering the harvest of the fields, man is making a response to the activity of God in time,"<sup>11</sup> insofar as he recognizes the given quality of time in which his activity occurs. Marsh describes this as a recognition of the "theological transcendence of the chronological."<sup>12</sup>

But the Bible as an "encyclopedic form" which embodies an experiential view of time and employs a typological method of interpretation and writing may afford us insights into the nature of literary creation beyond the confines of the Bible itself. Such a notion has recently been explored by Frank Kermode in his book, *The Sense of an Ending*.

Kermode's book is not precisely about biblical typology. It is



in fact an attempt to set forth a theory of fiction along lines suggested by Aristotle; but the concept of biblical typology becomes intermixed with Kermode's theory. The creation of imaginative literature, from Kermode's point of view, grows out of man's felt-need to impose a sense of order upon his experience of temporality. He desires to grasp the significance of his own moment in relation to all moments. It is necessary, therefore, that he visualize his own moment in relation to a beginning and to an end. Kermode says:

The physician Alkmeon observed, with Aristotle's approval, that men die because they cannot join the beginning and the end. What they, the dying men, can do is to imagine a significance for themselves in these unremembered but imaginable events. One of the ways in which they do this is to make objects in which everything is that exists in concord with everything else, and nothing else is, implying that this arrangement mirrors the dispositions of a creator, actual or possible.<sup>13</sup>

Kermode sees the Bible as the chief paradigm of the kind of literary objects that he is describing. In its total body of vision as reflected in its typological literary form, the Bible embraces the whole of world history:

It begins at the beginning ("In the beginning . . .") and ends with a vision of the end ("Even so, come, Lord Jesus"); the first book is Genesis, the last Apocalypse. Ideally, it is a wholly concordant structure, the end is in harmony with the beginning, the middle with beginning and end.<sup>14</sup>

The most significant feature of the Bible as a paradigm for Western literary imagination, Kermode suggests, is its emphatic vision of the end. Without a vision of the beginning there would of course be no vision of the end, but without a vision of the end, as rendered most forcefully in the Book of Revelation (which is traditionally held to resume the whole structure of the Bible), human life, from the biblical perspective, would lack a sense of purpose in the here and now. When the biblical prophets discerned God's hand at work in immediate events, they were not reading into events the meaning they wanted to find there, but were intent upon discovering within their very texture and momentum an inner and controlling reality directed from a created beginning to a preordained end. It was therefore in relation to the end which God had preordained that the purpose of human life in the midst of these events was discerned. Men lived towards

the end as the fulfillment of human potential.

But the biblical vision of the end has been quite problematic in the history of Christian thought. From the period of early Christianity down to our own day, men have predicted that the end is near at hand; while the very continuation of history discredits these predictions and causes them constantly to be revised. In some instances, even within the Bible itself, the end is reconceived as immanent rather than imminent,<sup>15</sup> but whether the end is conceived as immanent or imminent,<sup>16</sup> the biblical idea of the end itself has proven remarkably viable in the history of Western thought.

The philosopher Hans Vaihinger has said that

However we may conceive the relation of thought and reality, it may be asserted from the empirical point of view, that the ways of thought are different from those of reality, the subjective processes of thought concerned with any given external event or process have very rarely a demonstrable similarity to it.<sup>17</sup>

The whole world of thought, Vaihinger maintains, is an instrument to enable us to orient ourselves in the real world, but is not a copy of the real world. Ideas, in other words, are artifices of the real world, which are strikingly purposive expressions of the function of thought.

Kermode wishes to show that the idea of the end is a strikingly purposive expression of the function of literary thought. In an age such as our own, especially, "when the history of the world has so terribly and so untidily expanded its endless successiveness,"<sup>18</sup> when our tightly-ordered world schemes — be they philosophical, scientific, or whatever — no longer obtain, "We re-create the horizons we have abolished, the structures that have collapsed; and we do so in terms of the old patterns, adapting them to our new worlds."<sup>19</sup>

One way of adapting the "old" pattern of the Bible to our new worlds, through the medium of fiction, or imaginative literature, is by heeding the command addressed to the ancient prophet, "Now write what you see, what is and what is to take place hereafter" (Rev. 1:19). Similar to the writer of Revelation, the literary artist, by telescoping the moments of human life into an epitomizing form — a poem, a novel, a drama, an epic — becomes



in a sense an artificer of apocalypse. Such a notion is expressed poignantly by Wallace Stevens, an artist who seems to have held a theory of fiction similar to that of Kermode's. Stevens says in "Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction":

The poem refreshes life so that we share,  
For a moment, the first idea...It satisfies  
Belief in an immaculate beginning

And, sends us, winged by an unconscious will,  
To an immaculate end. We move between these points:  
From that ever-early candor to its late plural

And the candor of them is the strong exhilaration  
Of what we feel from what we think, of thought  
Beating in the heart, as if blood newly came,

An elixir, an excitation, a pure power.  
The poem, through candor, brings back a power again  
That gives a candid kind to everything.<sup>20</sup>

A literary artist such as Stevens tends to make professional capital of the analogical sort of thinking which is characteristic of the biblical prophets. He sees the often insignificant, obvious things and recognizes in them ultimate value. In the movement of the elements, the passing of the years and the days — in everything, for Stevens, regularity reveals itself, and hints at a controlling reality that dwells deep within things, in which the smallest as well as the greatest things participate. As Stevens himself says, "There is inherent in the words *the revelation of reality* a suggestion that there is a reality of or within or beneath the surface of reality."<sup>21</sup> There is little reason to assume, on the basis of Stevens' writings, that the idea of a reality beneath the surface of reality carried the monotheistic connotations for him that it carried for the biblical prophets. Nevertheless, Stevens is an example of a modern writer who, like the biblical prophets, observes the uniform enhancement of all things within the category of imagination. A main aim of his art, seemingly, is to impose a sense of temporal concord upon our sense of life (through the medium of the fiction itself) while we are still in the midst of life, and to allow us, for an apocalyptic moment, to distance ourselves from sheer chronicity. He projects us, as readers elect, beyond the flux of history into an imaginative state of the new Jerusalem, from whence we may see life steady and see it whole.

From Kermode's point of view, all *successful* fictions attain

to the condition of apocalypse. They serve a basic human need, both aesthetically and existentially, as "coherent patterns which, by the provision of an end, make possible a satisfying consonance with the origins and with the middle."<sup>22</sup> And he sees even such anti-traditionalist writers as Sartre and Robbe-Grillet as creating basically *successful* literary artifacts.

In Sartre's novel *La Nausée*, for example, the protagonist Roquentin is depicted as one who experiences reality in all its contingency. "He is in a world which he not only never made, but which was never made at all. His world is a chaos without potentiality, and he himself is purely potential nothingness."<sup>23</sup> But even if Sartre intends his readers to identify with Roquentin in his experience of the world, the world Sartre's novel itself makes "is unlike the world of our common experience because it is created and because it has the potency of a humanly imaginative creation."<sup>24</sup> Kermode insists, in opposition to Sartre's expressed aim of creating a novel of pure contingency (which is the expressed aim of the school of the *nouveau roman* as a whole), that

A novel which really implemented this policy would properly be a chaos. No novel [qua novel] can avoid being in some sense what Aristotle calls "a completed action." This being so, all novels imitate a world of potentiality, even if this implies a philosophy disclaimed by their authors. They have a fixation of the eidetic imagery of beginning, middle, and end, potency and cause.<sup>25</sup>

In short, novels have form even if the world does not; novels have a beginning, a middle, and an end even if the world seems not to have; novels, as fictions, lie about the character of the world as we experience the world, but they are profoundly consoling lies.

Are we to assume, however, that the Bible is also a consoling lie, rather than, as tradition teaches, an inspired body of literature which reveals the actual historical character of the world? Kermode maintains that the Bible, as "a familiar model of history,"<sup>26</sup> is a large cultural or cosmogonic myth which attests to a divine creator who is himself the author and validator of the myth. Precisely in its claim to divine authorship and validity does the Bible, as one among many cultural myths, differ from fictions.<sup>27</sup> "Myths call for absolute, fictions for conditional assent. Myths make sense in terms of a lost order of time, *illud tempus*...; fictions, if successful, make sense of the here and



now, *hoc tempus*.”<sup>28</sup> It would seem that Kermode makes a distinction between the truth-value of a myth as opposed to that of a fiction, but he leaves it up to his reader to determine what that distinction may be.

Perhaps such a distinction can be made only from the standpoint of one's own religious commitment. As H. Richard Niebuhr has so ably reminded us, to speak of the truth-value of the Bible is to speak

...from the point of view and in the context of church history. The Scriptures point to God and through Scriptures God points to men when they are read by those who share the same background which the community which produced the letter possessed, or by those who participate in the common life of which the Scriptures contain the record. Doubtless the Bible differs from nature, being the external form in which our history is preserved and so being indispensable to a community whose history is nowhere recorded in nature.<sup>29</sup>

The truth of the biblical view of world history, Niebuhr indicates, can never be proved empirically. It can only be assented to, absolutely, from within the community of faith. To speak as a Christian within the community of faith is to avow belief in the biblical view as revealing the divine character of the world, a created world which has a beginning, middle, and end. Of course, all sorts of truths about the biblical view may be affirmed and denied. If we were to consider the phrase “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth” externally, and read it as merely one more historical report, describing what happened upon a distant time, we should have to take it as either informationally-true or informationally-false, to be confirmed or disconfirmed, by the admittedly scanty evidence. But the essential meaning of the biblical assertion about the creation (as well as about the consummation) can never be encompassed in any recitation of historic fact. It can only be encompassed through an internal assent to the assertion as fact. Those persons who give absolute assent to the biblical view of world history affirm that this view fixes the limits and establishes the order of the world *in principio*. This does not mean, on the other hand, that these persons' empirical experience of the world does not suggest that the world is a realm of pure contingency which has no fixed limits and established order.

It is precisely because we experience the world as the realm

of pure contingency that we give our conditional assent to fictions as self-contained models of world-time, or to what Ker-mode, following Suzanne Langer, calls the "virtual" time of books.<sup>30</sup> For by giving this assent we actualize again and again the ideal of temporal concord to which the Bible paradigmatically attests. Just as time is ongoing, so are our fictions ongoing in time, assimilating the moments of our lives into significant patterns, imposing a sense of *kairos* upon our sense of *chronos*.

From the biblical perspective, we are preserved as God's creatures in every moment of our existence because all our moments are cherished and embraced by the same God who has launched time into being, and who has deemed that time will have its consummation. As creatures who are created in the image of God, we do well in this time between the times to cherish the moments of our existence even as God cherishes them. One way of cherishing them, as I have suggested in this paper, is through our fictions. For through our fictions we redeem time. What is past is not gone; it abides in our fictions as our memory; what is future is not non-existent but present in our fictions as our potentiality. Man's fictive response to his experience of temporality might well be conceived as a creative response to the opportunity that God has given.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas De Quincey, *Leaders in Literature* (Edinburgh, 1862), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, 1957), p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> James Muilenberg, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66: Introduction and Exegesis," in *The Interpreter's Bible*, V, ed. George A. A. Buttrick (New York, 1952), p. 637.

<sup>4</sup> Fulfillment of prophecy as an interpretive method is concerned with relating the promises of God to subsequent historical events in which these promises are brought to pass. It is based on the view that when God makes a promise his revelation is not concerned with particular historical situations only, but has ultimate meaning as well. An example of this is the use made in the New Testament of Isa. 7:14: "Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."

<sup>5</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, "Ursprung Und Sinn der Typologie als hermeneutische Methode," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1950, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Gerhard Von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," in *Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics* ed. Claus Westermann (Richmond, 1963), p. 20.



<sup>7</sup> Walther Eichrodt, "Is Typological Exegesis an Appropriate Method?" Westermann, pp. 233-234.

<sup>8</sup> We see this cyclical view emerging, for instance, in the prophets. There is to be a returning chaos (Jer. 4:23), a new paradise (Amos 9:13ff.; Isa. 11:6ff.), and a new covenant of peace between man and beast (Hosea 2:2). Moreover, the entire redemptive history of Israel is described as repeating itself in an eschatological age. There is to be a redemption again from Egypt and a passing through the sea (Isa. 19:26; Zech. 10:10ff.; Isa. 43:16f.). The miracles of the wilderness will return (Mic. 7:5; Isa. 43:19), and a new David will appear who will re-establish his kingdom (Hosea 3:5; Jer. 30:9; Ezek. 34:23). The matching of the eschatological events in these passages with events of the past is not merely a device for achieving contrast. It is a means of describing the future as analogical with the past.

<sup>9</sup> John Marsh, *The Fulness of Time* (London, 1952), p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>13</sup> Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending* (New York, 1967), p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> As Rudolf Bultmann has demonstrated in relation to the gospel of John. See his *Theology of the New Testament*, Vol. II (New York, 1955), pp. 75-92.

<sup>16</sup> Both views in the biblical context call for a moment of decision in accordance with the ultimate purposeful end of God.

<sup>17</sup> Hans Vaihinger, *The Philosophy of "As If"* (London, 1965), pp. 7-8.

<sup>18</sup> Kermode, p. 58.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Wallace Stevens, *The Collected Poems of Wallace Stevens* (New York, 1957), p. 382.

<sup>21</sup> Wallace Stevens, *Opus Posthumous* (New York, 1957), p. 213.

<sup>22</sup> Kermode, p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Here Kermode takes a relativistic attitude towards the biblical view of history. Such an attitude, I think, is not theologically indefensible, as I attempt to indicate later in this paper.

<sup>28</sup> Kermode, p. 39.

<sup>29</sup> H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Meaning of Revelation* (New York: Macmillan paperback, 1960), pp. 50-51.

<sup>30</sup> Kermode, p. 52.

## SONG

You can not mock delight — in anything:  
Daisies on a grass sea bobbing,  
Swallows in clean flight,  
Or maples, with their million  
clapping leaves.

You can not mock my heart,  
Disturb my dream,  
Nor interrupt this song,  
This animal prayer, this love  
I sing.

*Rich Townsend*



*James R. Bailey*

NOTES ON THREE POEMS BY TOYO S. KAWAKAMI

GRASS

It was there all the time, you know,  
Hidden beneath impassive snow —  
The strong aliveness of the grass,  
Invisible, but there, below

The trampled white, streaked muddy-dark,  
So mind could not relate or mark  
The unseen from the seen, until  
The first few blades showed green and stark.

EVENTUALITY

Grant this unquiet heart  
The long slow peace  
Of summer stretched  
Through autumn days,

Till knowledge culminates  
In this is so,  
As crystalline  
As winter snow.

EGG AND STONE

The egg, beside a stone,  
Bears no comparison:  
The wonderment of each  
Is more than shape or touch.

The fragile shelters life,  
The hard once grew a leaf,  
Compelling mind to know  
Far more than eyes can see.

### Notes by James R. Bailey

A native Californian and for the past several years a resident of Columbus, Ohio, Toyo S. Kawakami is a person of many interests and activities. She generates creative energy far out of proportion to her diminutive stature, and writing is one outlet for her need to create. While living in California, Mrs. Kawakami published poetry, essays, and stories, under her maiden name of Toyo Suyemoto, in several papers, including the *Pacific Citizen*, the *Seattle Courier*, and the *Kashu Minichi*, a Los Angeles paper. A professional librarian, Mrs. Kawakami has continued to write, and her poetry has appeared in *Crux*, in the *Yale Review*, and in a recent compilation of American ethnic writing, *Speaking for Ourselves*. Currently she is working on an account of the years she and her family spent at the Japanese Relocation Center at Topaz, Utah, during World War II. She frequently speaks to high school and college groups about her own experiences as a Nisei, and especially about the internment of Japanese-Americans during the war.

Three of Mrs. Kawakami's previously unpublished poems appear here with the author's permission. These works indicate well her lyrical gift and the sensitivity that marks her response to human experience. It is evident, especially in "Grass," that this poet refuses to be subjugated by misfortunes. The optimism that the poem offers is not facile but is won through enduring: silence, coldness, physical-punishment can subdue but not annihilate the vitality of the grass. Similarly, "Eventuality" offers a vision of repose, but a repose that depends upon knowledge wrested from life.

In each of these lyrics Mrs. Kawakami succeeds in providing precise, satisfying imagery. Although the imagery is drawn from the everyday — the objects and phenomena of nature — the poet presents the familiar with a precision and tautness that encourage the reader to see it anew. She refuses to prettify her images: the grass, "stark" as well as "green," the snow, "trampled white, streaked muddy dark," not only call the reader's attention to the mixed nature of things but asks him to note the difference between the appearance and the reality, and to contemplate the relation between inner strength and endurance. In "Eventuality" Mrs. Kawakami carefully gives each concept its apt image. "The long slow peace," a phrase effective aurally, is made specific by its identification with summer's movement into autumn. The



knowledge that evolves from the struggle to the clarity of a fresh snow. In "Egg and Stone" she draws upon sensory experience to make us aware of the inadequacy of such experience. Sight and touch help to define the objects but also obscure their inner reality.

Mrs. Kawakami's poetic forms and methods remind us of her Japanese antecedents. Much as does the writer of haiku, she controls the image and makes it reverberate to suggest shades of emotional response and meaning. Her skillful use of quatrains and the conciseness of her phrasing suggest another influence, Emily Dickinson, who is admittedly one of Mrs. Kawakami's favorite poets. But Toyo Kawakami's lyrics are also very much her own creations. They are the extensions of a sensitive person engaged in living and in observing life. They are small, polished gems that reflect an undaunted spirit.

*William O. Amy*

## AUTHORITY IN THE EARLY CHURCH

When Jesus cast the money-changers out of the temple, the Sadducees came asking Him, "By what authority are you doing these things, or who gave you this authority to do them?" In some fashion this question of religious authority has been raised in every age, and each new generation is faced with the need to give its answer. Some standard or canon of truth seems to be essential as a guide in teaching the Christian faith or in deciding between diverse interpretations of it. Be it the infallibility of a Pope, or of writings considered sacred, or the voice of councils, or the visions of a mystic, or the appeal to human reason alone — all are among the attempts to establish a basis of authority in matters of religion.

As the Christian church, spurred on by persecutions and by religious zeal, began to spread across the Roman Empire, she proclaimed a Gospel which declared that God had come in the person of His Son Jesus Christ. In some manner beyond the comprehension of man's finite thought, God had, through the death of His Son on the cross, atoned for man's sin and provided a way to eternal salvation for all who by faith received this Jesus as Lord and Savior. The Good News was available to all men who believed it — both Jew and Greek. Those who responded in a commitment of faith were promised the Holy Spirit, who would make them into new creations and empower them to bear "the fruit of the Spirit." In an age which had lost its security, in which the city states which once gave meaning to existence had been swallowed up in the vastness of Rome's imperial advance, in which the traditional religions of these conquered lands were crumbling, people everywhere began to listen to this new religion of Jesus Christ. Through the efforts of the great apostles like Paul and Peter, as well as the unknown faithful believers who shared their Gospel, small groups of Christians could be found everywhere in the Roman world. They were like flames that grew and spread despite the efforts of the Neros and Domitians and other Roman officials to squelch them.

In the earliest days of this rise of the Christian church, it seems to have been assumed that the declaration of the Christian message, based as it was on the testimony of eye-witnesses who



had been with Christ, was an authoritative message. As long as the age of the apostles continued, these eye witnesses were considered the absolute authorities in the churches which they had founded. Even in those churches which could claim two apostles as founders — Corinth, Ephesus, Rome and others — and where some divisions or parties could at times rend the unity of the body of Christ, the divisiveness was the result of human pride and misplaced loyalties rather than the questioning of the authority of any one of the apostles. Basically the apostolic message was the same despite the personal emphases that each man would naturally make. But, with the death of John sometime in the last decade of the first Christian century, the apostolic age came to a close, and with it the oral witness of those who had been with the Lord. Now where should men look for a standard of authority?

This question is further enhanced as we recognize that Christianity began in the East and moved within a brief span of time into the West, especially into the world of the Greeks. The concern of the Western mind was more with reason than with revelation; and, while the Gospel of a God who had revealed Himself in Jesus Christ might be received by faith, the logic of Western thinking sought to work out the implications of this new message in terms of philosophical thought. Christian apologetics, i.e. systematic theology and doctrine, were the result. When men began to differ in their interpretations of the Gospel, how was the Church to decide which point of view was orthodox and which heterodox?

To illustrate this question of authority, let us look at a man and a movement which in this post-apostolic age threatened to overrun and destroy the orthodox Christian church. The man's name is Marcion and the movement is generally referred to as Marcionism. Marcion was born in Sinope in Pontus (Asia Minor) where his father was a bishop. Marcion was presumably excommunicated by his father because of his unacceptable theology. Leaving Pontus, Marcion eventually arrived in Rome where he attached himself to the Roman church and became an influential figure in its affairs. Bitter differences in teachings arose between Marcion and other church leaders, and in 144 A.D. Marcion withdrew from the orthodox church and promoted his own "Christian" movement. Since the God of the Old Testament and the God of the Lord Jesus Christ seemed in Marcion's interpretation to be so vastly different, he promulgated the concept that there were

really two gods. The Old Testament God was the God of the Jews, a God of wrath and justice. But the God revealed by Jesus was the true God, a God of love and forgiveness. The Old Testament God was not an evil being. He was good. He was the creator of the world. But he was inferior to the God of our Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus, Marcion reasoned, came to destroy the power of the Old Testament God whose emphasis was upon law rather than Spirit.

Marcion's movement grew rapidly. Its emphasis upon Christianity as "wholly new"; its high ethical teaching for its followers; and the devotion even to martyrdom of its members — all contributed to its advance, until there were almost as many Marcionite churches as Christian churches in the Empire. St. Paul was adopted as the patron apostle of Marcionism because of his emphasis upon freedom from the law of the Old Testament. But most significant of all for the question of religious authority, Marcion set down the first written canon of New Testament Scriptures. It included the epistles of Paul and a mutilated Gospel of Luke. Most important in this action was the fact that the Marcionite church had now made its selection of authoritative scripture from the multitude of Christian writings dating from the actual apostles down to contemporary church officials. How was the church catholic to respond to this selected standard of authority?

Marcion is but one illustration of the kind of a challenge which faced the church in the second century. There were literally dozens of other influential leaders who proposed and propagated teachings in the name of Christ. Gnostics attempted to combine the revelation of Jesus with Greek philosophical concepts and oriental influences to present a message of salvation based upon esoteric knowledge (*gnosis*) passed on only to the initiated, i.e. those who joined the Gnostic ranks. Out of these unorthodox viewpoints there arose numerous writings, oftentimes attributed to the apostles (e.g. the Gospel of Thomas), which sought to give apostolic sanction to their ideas. So the church was faced with the need of deciding which of these many writings were authoritative.

This challenge to the church was increased by another group which became known as Montanists, after their founder, Montanus, from Phrygia in Asia Minor (156 A.D.). Unlike the Gnostic challenge, the Montanist movement was not proposing doctrines



unacceptable to the church. What it claimed to be doing was calling the church back to the hearing and guidance of the Holy Spirit. True, this movement was later put out of the church; and it developed ultimately its own organization and officialdom. Partially as a result of this movement, however, the church came to recognize that it could not neglect the concept of the authority of the Holy Spirit. Yet, was she to accept the word of Montanus and his two prophetesses Prisca and Maximilla as the authoritative voice of God's Spirit? Were the new revelations, claimed to have been received in ecstatic visions, to be recognized on a par with the Old Testament Scriptures and the record of the sayings of Jesus and His apostles? Such questions can still provoke a lively debate in theological circles in terms of subjective and objective authority (Cf. Soren Kierkegaard: *On Authority and Revelation*) or in laymen's discussions on how one knows the will of God for contemporary situations through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

This was the problem facing the church in the apostolic and more so in the post-apostolic period. Over the years, even before the question was dramatized by Marcion and Montanus and others, the church was gradually but surely developing its answer. As already noted, as long as the apostles were alive their voice was considered authoritative. Many of the apostles, either themselves or with the help of their closest followers, recorded the teachings of Jesus their Lord, and their own apostolic interpretations in letters and gospels which soon circulated among the churches. And while a bishop like Papias of Hieropolis might later write (c. 140 A.D.) that he would prefer the living voice to the written material of the apostles, the record of apostolic teaching in these books was soon generally considered of equal authority with the living voice of the apostolic authors themselves. The question of the authority of these writings, however, was complicated by other factors. Some of the books (such as the four gospels and Hebrews) were written anonymously, though tradition attributed them to apostles or apostolic authors. Other books, by their titles and contents, clearly claimed to be written by apostles but were obviously the forgeries of heretics who were seeking to give apostolic sanction to their deceitful teachings (e.g. the Gospel of Peter, the Acts of Paul, etc.). Over the years, these were gradually sorted out, and, by the last quarter of the second century, unanimity concerning authoritative writings had developed within the church. But final decisions on certain books (e.g. Revelation, II and III John, etc.) would not be made for another two hundred years.

An important figure in the church in this formative period was St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons in southern France (Gaul). His extensive writings in opposition to the heresies of his day can provide us with illustrative material for a study of this question of authority in the post-apostolic church. Irenaeus was a Greek, born somewhere in Asia Minor (c. 126 A.D.). In his writings, he mentions a boyhood recollection of hearing the saintly and later martyred Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna, who had known the apostle John. This seems to have been Irenaeus' way of indicating that a link with the actual apostles still existed in his lifetime. During his early manhood Irenaeus arrived in Rome where he appears to have been a student of Justin Martyr. Then, apparently, he went to Gaul where he became the presbyter chosen by Bishop Pothinus to bear a letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome, interceding on behalf of the Montanists in Asia Minor. This need not suggest that Irenaeus was himself a Montanist, but it does point out how seriously the church gave consideration to those who claimed the inspiration of the Holy Spirit for their teachings. On Irenaeus' return to Gaul after his journey to Rome, he found that a persecution had broken out against the Christians in Gaul, and that Pothinus had died a martyr's death. The office of bishop now fell upon him by election, and he assumed its duties about 178 A.D. Little is known about him from this time on, except that he wrote a number of books, and possibly, according to tradition, was also martyred. His most important writing was a work entitled *Five Books Against the Heresies*, from which most material about his life and thought is drawn. In this work, Irenaeus clearly and repeatedly appeals to the apostolic writings, which make up most of the New Testament canon, as his authority and the basic authority for all Christian churches. On what basis did the church arrive at this canon? This is a question upon which we shall seek to shed light.

One of the arguments for the authority of the scriptures used by the early church was the antiquity of the writings. In Irenaeus' time this argument from antiquity had a special importance. With the various heretical writers promoting novel ideas, one test which the church could apply, and which assured the rejection of these novel notions, was the appeal to the time-tried teachings of the apostles. When Valentinus, a Gnostic teacher, wrote a book various heretical writers promoting novel ideas, one test which the church could apply, and which assured the rejection of these novel notions, was the appeal to the time-tried teachings of the apostles. When Valentinus, a Gnostic teacher, wrote a book



entitled the *Gospel of Truth* (a copy of which has been discovered in recent years at Nag Hammadi in Egypt), Irenaeus replied to this new gospel's challenge by arguing that because it was of comparatively recent date it could not be accepted with the authoritative four gospels of the church which had come down from the days of the apostles themselves. This kind of argument was not unique with Irenaeus. The earliest record of a list of New Testament books which the church accepted as authoritative is a fragment called the Muratorian canon (c. 180 A.D.), which tells us that the *Shepherd of Hermas*, a Christian writing read in many churches like scripture, while valuable and edifying, was not to be considered authoritative because it had been composed in recent times by the brother of the Bishop of Rome. It is interesting, however, that Irenaeus does quote this book as scripture, an indication that antiquity could not be considered the sole standard for judgment so far as he was concerned. Irenaeus' teacher, Justin, had also argued against the heretics on the basis of the antiquity of the Old Testament, but his view was that the heretics were merely plagiarists, stealing from Moses and the prophets. When one looks carefully at Irenaeus' view of antiquity, one soon realizes that he is not so much suggesting that if a book is ancient it should be regarded as authoritative. Rather, he is suggesting that the Christian books can be traced back to the authoritative apostles while the heretical writings cannot. Apostolicity rather than antiquity is the test he is applying.

Some who have read through Irenaeus' *Five Books Against the Heresies* might conceivably conclude that the real test of the authority of the church's writings and message was for him the test of reason. Irenaeus neither negated reason, nor did he deify it. He recognized that reason was a tool to be utilized by man in seeking and discovering truth. Over and over again he berated the Gnostic heretics for their inconsistencies in logic and their fallacious reasoning. But Irenaeus also recognized the limitations of reason. He was ready to acknowledge the role of reason in comprehending the message of the scriptures, while also insisting that their basic authority went far deeper than man's rational capabilities. The truth of scripture, and therefore its ultimate authority, was the non-rational revelation of God.

Another argument which has been proposed as the solution to the problem of the authority of the New Testament writings is that their authority was dependent upon the church. Were they

not written by the church? And was it not the church which determined which books would comprise the canon? One might say, in other words, that according to this view, the books of the New Testament are to be considered authoritative because the church said they were. That the church was an authoritative body is quite certain. Heretics like Marcion and Montanus and numerous others who were excommunicated were forced to acknowledge this authority. Although the church in this post-apostolic age was still subject to times of harsh persecution by Rome (and the period is replete with the stories of martyrdoms such as that of Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin and perhaps even Irenaeus himself), her power was growing. Irenaeus had a high estimate of the church. Despite the numerous heretical factions which beset her both within and without, Irenaeus sought to maintain and emphasize her unity. He saw that strength against the heretics lay in the unity of the church and in her preservation of the one faith everywhere in the world. On at least one occasion he played a role in working to hold on to this unity. When the church was torn by the Quartodeciman controversy over the date for the celebration of Easter, and Victor, Bishop of Rome, was ready to excommunicate all the Eastern churches which would not comply with Rome, it was Irenaeus who wrote a conciliatory letter to Victor advocating tolerance, moderation, and love. The church and her unity were important to Irenaeus, even to the point of saying that here was no salvation outside the church or the "pale of truth."

Yet in spite of this high estimate of the church, nowhere in Irenaeus' writings does he suggest that the church is the basis of the authority of the scriptures. In no way does he declare that the church is the author of these scriptures except as this might be implied in their apostolic origin. It is the Christian message which brought the church into existence and not the church which created the message. For Irenaeus, the church received the message from the apostles, in both oral and written form. She preserved it, and safeguarded it, and passed it on to succeeding generations.

When one discusses the question of church authority in this ancient period of church history, two closely related questions arise. The first is the rise of the power of the church in Rome, and the second is the succession of church bishops from the apostles. Intimations of the power of the church at Rome have already entered our discussion in terms of Irenaeus' role in the



Quartodeciman and Montanist controversies. But the question is even more important in the writings of Irenaeus, for an important passage in his *Five Books Against the Heresies* has often been quoted as evidence of the pre-eminent position the Roman church had attained by the end of the second century. From the time that Clement, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 95), sent his first letter to the church in Corinth to try to mediate between the quarreling factions of that church concerning who were its rightful officers, on down through the second century and later, the Roman church took a leading role in church affairs which extended beyond the confines of her local area. There are many reasons for this, among them being the fact that this was the church in the capitol of the Empire, and also that this was the city to which representatives from all parts of the Empire, for any number of reasons, came to reside. It was a cosmopolitan church which was in touch with the affairs of the church universal. Irenaeus also notes that it was a church which could boast apostolic founding by two of the greatest representatives of both Jewish and Gentile Christianity — St. Peter and St. Paul. In his third book Irenaeus argued with the heretics on the basis of the authority of the written tradition of the church, the scriptures which even the heretics accepted and used. But they added that the oral tradition of the church was also important and that it was on the basis of some secret, esoteric and additional teaching entrusted to them that they proclaimed their unorthodox message. Like most off-shoots of Christianity in every age, their argument was that some additional revelation, received only by the in-group, was required to augment that which had been found in the apostolic writings. To counter this argument, not to suggest that Rome had ecclesiastical authority over all other churches, Irenaeus appealed to the church at Rome as one with a pre-eminent position, and hence a church with which all other orthodox churches must necessarily agree concerning the apostolic message. While there is great debate over what Irenaeus meant by Rome's pre-eminence, it appears best, in keeping with Irenaeus' over-all attitude toward Rome as reflected elsewhere in his writings, to interpret this to mean Rome's cosmopolitan or universal character. Rome was a miniature of the whole Empire, and hence she would preserve the Christian tradition, not on a local basis, but as a representative of the universally acknowledged truth upheld in the Christian church everywhere throughout the Empire. Even if one were to disagree with this interpretation of Rome's pre-eminence as a church, it is evident that Irenaeus could not see the Roman church as the authority for the apostolic

message; rather he perceived that it was the message which brought this church into existence.

The second question closely related to the church's authority is that of the authority of her bishops. It was not sufficient for someone in Irenaeus' day merely to appeal to a bishop for an authoritative answer to religious questions, for there also were bishops in the Marcionite churches as well as in other heretical groups. The office alone was no guarantee of truth. Yet it is clear that the bishops of the church were men of great power who played a key role in determining the canon of apostolic scripture. Eventually by the end of the fourth century it would be a council of bishops of the church which would place its final seal of approval on the twenty-seven books which now compose our New Testament. Therefore, it is not surprising that Irenaeus would appeal to the bishops of the church in opposition to the false teachings of the heretics. Basically his appeal was for historical support rather than hierarchical support. What he sought to prove was that the church's bishops originally received the message of the church from the apostles themselves, and that they had faithfully preserved and passed on the apostolic tradition through the succeeding generations of bishops. The Gnostic heretics knew of no such succession of bishops from the apostles to support their false notions. Certainly no bishop of the church knew anything about the supposed secret teachings handed down to the "perfect" as the Gnostics declared.

To illustrate his point, Irenaeus referred to the actual list of the bishops of Rome, from the apostolic day down to his own times. The first in the list is Bishop Linus. (He notes Linus was named by Paul in his letter to Timothy.) The third in the list is Clement, who, according to Irenaeus, knew the apostles personally, so that one could clearly conclude that Clement's preaching was that which he received first hand from the apostles themselves. Similarly, the list of bishops from Smyrna would demonstrate this preservation of the apostolic teachings; for the first in this list is Polycarp, the martyr, whom Irenaeus had known in his youth, and who was appointed to office by the apostles. Ephesus, too, could list her bishops reaching back to the apostles. None of these knew of any secret traditions such as the heretics were claiming, and all of them proclaimed the same apostolic message known in the church and preserved with integrity through the whole succession of church bishops.



As mentioned previously, Irenaeus' argument concerning the bishops was an historical one, and not hierarchical. Nowhere does he suggest that the preservation of the apostolic message through the church's bishops came as a result of a special gift of infallibility. While on one occasion he mentions that the bishops possessed a "certain gift of truth," the reference is not to some special *charisma*, but rather to the apostolic message itself which was the "truth" entrusted to them.

Finally we must consider the role of the apostles themselves in the question of religious authority. Over and over again Irenaeus appealed in a variety of ways to apostolic authority. The argument concerning the antiquity of the church's oral and written message was basically an appeal to apostolic authorship of this message. The succession of bishops was chiefly the tracing of an historical link back to the first apostles. Even the church was to be seen as the depository of an apostolic message. It would be most easy to conclude from this that the authority of this message lay in its guarantee of truth by apostolic men who were eyewitnesses to the truth. Anyone who reads the literature of this post-apostolic era is made very much aware of the distinctive place the apostles held in the establishing of the Christian church. When Clement of Rome took it upon himself to attempt a conciliation of the dispute over church leadership that was rending the church at Corinth, he distinctly declared that his function was not to speak with the authority of one who was an apostle, but rather as one who followed in their footsteps and who appealed to the Corinthian church to accede to the original apostolic appointment of its leaders. Similarly Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who wrote letters to various churches while he was enroute to Rome to be martyred, stressed the fact that he did not issue orders or commandments the way an apostle would do. There was no question whatsoever, from the earliest times in the church, that the apostles held a unique place in her organization, and Irenaeus' writings give ample evidence that the only true faith was the apostolic faith. These men were eyewitnesses. They were inspired by the Holy Spirit. They had received their message from the Lord Himself. If anyone in the church was "perfect" it would be them and not the so-called perfect ones in the Gnostic ranks. Yet Irenaeus did not suggest the apostles were perfect in the sense of infallible, a quality belonging only to God. Rather, he suggested they were perfect in the sense of having complete knowledge of the truth of redemption. There was no need of any secret *gnosis* to supplement their message.

Despite the fact that the second generation leaders in the church made a distinct separation between themselves and the apostles, and despite the very important role which Irenaeus declared these apostles played in the fashioning of the church's message, it would be wrong to conclude that the apostles themselves are the basis of the authority of this message. Even these men were not the ultimate authority. They too had a derived authority. They were apostles, a word which means *one who is sent forth from another*. They were the representatives or ambassadors of the One who sent them forth. As Irenaeus says, they received their message from the Lord who sent them forth to preach, but they were not authorities on their own merit. They derived their authority from their commission. The source of their authority lay not even in their office, but rather in the One who sent them forth with His own authority. Christ was the basis of the authority of the apostles and their message. Even though Irenaeus can suggest that to deny the apostles and their preaching was tantamount to rejecting Christ and God, it is clear that for him the basis of authority is Christ and the God He came to make known, and not the apostles.

It is significant to note that in the centuries which followed Irenaeus the real issue which was debated in the church was not which books should be accepted as authoritative, but rather what was the nature of the authority of Christ. The doctrines of the Trinity, and the two natures of Christ (wholly man, wholly God) are illustrations of ways in which the church reiterated her conviction that the authority for the apostolic preaching lay in the divinity and Lordship of Jesus. Irenaeus had recognized this essential point in his debate with the heretics of his day. He clearly proclaimed that the sole basis for authority was truth and that the Lord was Truth. All other efforts to demonstrate the authority of the church's message by appeals to antiquity, reason, the church or her bishops, or even the apostles, were really appeals to derived and not absolute authority. They were valid only insofar as they served as rational reinforcement of the message of Truth.

Irenaeus is the first of the church fathers in the post-apostolic period to supply us with sufficient extant writings to clearly demonstrate that for the church of his day the apostolic scriptures were considered authoritative sacred writings. But it must be added that for Irenaeus they were authoritative not because they were perfect books produced by infallible men and pre-



served by an infallible church. He considered them authoritative writings only insofar as they communicated the Truth to man. That they did this was a certainty to Irenaeus, so much so that he could almost identify the Scriptures with the Truth. However, for Irenaeus the Truth hidden in all scripture, Old and New Testaments, was Christ Himself, and He alone was the basis of their authority.

The history of the Church from this post-apostolic day down to our modern era reveals many times when this truth was either forgotten or neglected. Religious authority was too easily reposed in hierarchy, council, or the infallibility of a book (or the Bible). During the period of the Protestant Reformation, the leaders of this movement sought to cleanse the church of her traditional man-created evils by calling her and her members back to the teachings of the Scriptures. This was the instrument God would use to reveal Himself and His will in His Son Jesus Christ. It was this Lordship or dominion of Christ in the scriptures which was the essential point the reformers sought to make, as they understood with clarity the point Irenaeus had made centuries before. So essential was this truth that Martin Luther could declare that whatever did not proclaim the centrality of Christ was not really apostolic even if it had been written by a Peter or a Paul. Christ, the Truth, was the basis of the authority of the Bible. Yet it was not long before the followers of the reformers forgot this truth and were once more appealing to the perfection or verbal infallibility of a book as the basis of religious authority.

And so the struggle concerning religious authority has continued through the years. Sometimes the honoring of the Bible has caused men to fear if not disavow the findings of the scholars whose research has led to biblical criticism. But always there are those who call the church back to the truth which a man like Irenaeus discovered long centuries ago, namely that it is Christ, and not a book, who is the Word of God, who reveals the Father to His children. The centrality of Christ is the essential truth of scripture. When we approach the authoritative writings of the church in our day, it may be *apropos* to recall a legend about St. Thomas Aquinas, the great theologian of the middle ages. Having finished his great masterpiece of systematic theology, the *Summa*, Thomas entered into the sanctuary to pray. As he faced the figure of Christ upon the cross, the legend declares, Christ addressed Thomas and asked what reward he wished for his faithful and diligent labors. St. Thomas replied: "Give me thyself."

## AN OLD MAN ANSWERS

Old man, how did you husband your time —  
The honeyed hours, swarming by, like the bees  
You tended at your prime?  
The wheels of anguish, fired in your forge,  
And smote upon your iron?  
The toothsome time, your strawberries on the vine?

Through ninety years the tangled runners reach;  
For nearly a century you have tilled and pruned.  
Quick passions did thrive on roots  
Now withered and ruined.  
Yet in greener seasons,  
As farmer and smith,  
As lover, husband, and sire,  
You sought, panted, and quested;  
You plowed, seeded, harvested.

Is the ripened quince bitter?  
Has the gourd, like Jonah's gift, dried upon its vine?  
Having outlived seedling groves,  
And brought to grave children and wife,  
And seen others turn the land, and scorn the land,  
Where you urged blossom to life,  
Would you unleaf the past?  
No. Such reckoning omits the half.  
His answer to the doubting mind —  
Hear his gusty laugh,  
As sailing out into March's wind,  
He roots a sapling in the swelling ground.

*James R. Bailey*



## THE OTHER CANDIDATE

In 1972 we find ourselves in the midst of another presidential campaign. The Democrats have come up with fifteen hopefuls; the American Independents with one; even the Republicans with three. Though the leading contenders, Muskie and Nixon, are making the daily headlines, opinion polls are not substantiating real popular support. In fact, what is worrying the political professionals, especially with so many electoral reforms having been enacted since 1968, is the continual emergence of new candidates.

Not too long ago, in one of the nation's most industrialized cities, answers were sought to the question, "Who would receive your presidential vote today?" The replies were astonishing, if not frightening: 13 per cent said they would endorse Muskie; 11 per cent said they would endorse Nixon; and 76 per cent said they would endorse a dark horse candidate, J. C. Superstar.

The news of Superstar's popularity in this important urban center electrified the political community. Who was he? What party did he represent? Who were his backers? What was his platform? His surprising popular support was sensational. Elements of each political party sought him out and shortly thereafter expressed opinions on how they had long admired Superstar and his principles. In action reminiscent of the first Eisenhower campaign, each party indicated Superstar would accept a draft and head its ticket.

Quickly journalists started probing for background data on J. C. Superstar. The candidate's position on Vietnam was total withdrawal immediately and conciliation by all parties. In fact, he appeared to be a dove on all foreign policy issues. Although this position would perhaps weaken him in the Bible Belt areas, his continuous referrals to sound personal principles and the use of religious terminology would offset any loss there.

Superstar's statements concerning equal justice for all persons were hailed by minority groups, although it could not be determined if this position was a cause or result of a law and order perspective. Fiscal policy was another matter. Lending

policies based on public trust rather than property collateral shook Wall Street bankers. His proposal to distribute natural and public resources on the principle of personal and community needs — rather than on the principle of creating demand by withholding supply — shocked corporation executives and caused the Dow-Jones averages to sink twenty points. However, he picked up votes among welfare recipients, although insufficient to counter the military-industrial complex's influence. His approach was certainly non-middle-of-the-road.

As the campaign weeks rolled on, more and more became known about J. C. Superstar. Hate literature began to appear questioning his patriotism and family background. The issue was even raised whether or not he was a legitimate child. His personal associations were frowned upon: Prostitutes, Jews, unhealthy and diseased people. His campaign tactics were unorthodox, if not downright immoral — spending three or four days in commune-like settings with men only. Where was his family?

His image was definitely fading — long hair, a beard, lots of talk about love, peace and charity. It just offended too many voters, even though he always attracted crowds.

A sharp criticism lodged by both liberal and conservative politicians was that Superstar was so convinced his views were right that "he acted like he was God." A television commentator was heard to remark that "any man seeking the Presidency today on a platform similar to Superstar's would get crucified."

His voter appeal was subsiding. Many voters agreed they liked his program in principle, but said it would never work in practice; so they turned to men who faced pragmatically the realities of 1972.



## GOING TO THE PICTURE SHOW

You were unhappy, Mother,  
Because Daddy didn't have a dime.  
And, yet, you'd promised to take  
Me to the picture show.

All morning you were cross.  
I planned and primped.

By noon, you'd shaken the bank,  
Sold some bottles, and borrowed  
A quarter from a friend.

By 7:00 we were in the picture show,  
With popcorn, too.

Lumbering home under the stars,  
The guns still banging in our heads,  
I looked up and said, "Now, Mama,  
Wasn't that a good picture show?"

*Norman Chaney*

## WHY DO WE NEED THE EASTERN VIEW OF DEATH?

I believe that there are at least two important reasons why our society today needs to understand the Eastern view of death. First, we live in a world civilization. Scientific technology with its electronic mass communication, supersonic air-transportation, and computer technology almost forces us to see ourselves as citizens of the world. We have begun to talk about the global village. The earth is now seen as a colony in the vast universe. But despite this single-world consciousness, we are still ignorant in the most profound area of our life, namely, the area of death. Solutions to this soul-searching problem have never evolved much beyond those held by our primitive ancestors. We must now undertake seriously the study of the problem, and in so doing, we need to reassess the intellectual treasure on the subject long held by the East. No major work has appeared in recent times to introduce to the Western world the centuries of accumulated Eastern wisdom concerning death. Such a work could help to compensate for the failure of scientific technology in our increasingly complex world civilization to deal with the spiritual dimensions of human existence.

Another reason for studying the Eastern view of death is to encourage the West to pursue the study of death as a part of life. The Eastern study of death may enable the West to change its attitude towards death. As Anselm Strauss says, "American perspectives on death seem strangely paradoxical. Our newspapers confront the brutal fact of death directly, from the front page headlines to the back page funeral announcements . . . Curiously, however, Americans generally seem to prefer to talk about particular deaths rather than about death in the abstract. Death as such has been described as a taboo topic for us, and we engage in very little abstract or philosophical discussion of death."<sup>1</sup>

Even though we think we speak openly on all human issues, we are not really free to discuss the topic of death. As we have reached a higher form of civilization and have acquired a broader knowledge of human issues, we have become more and more reluctant to discuss death in public. Dr. Belgum, a University of Iowa religion professor, has said, "Now sex is openly discussed



and dying is obscene.”<sup>2</sup> Death has become a forbidden topic as life has become more precious. It is one of the major problems which Western civilization has failed to consider. The topic of death must not give the feeling of depression and uneasiness. People are often afraid to mention the word “death” in the West. Dr. H. H. Price, Professor Emeritus, University of Oxford, recently read a paper on “The Problem of Life After Death” at a meeting of the Society for the Study of Theology in Nottingham. In his paper Professor Price began by describing the negative attitude of people towards death. He said, “Nowadays the subject of life after death is not merely a depressing one. It is something worse. It is a topic which arouses such strong and uncomfortable emotions that we prefer not to mention it at all.”<sup>3</sup> We may ask why people in the West react in such a way. P. J. Saher suggests that the reason may lie in the West’s fundamentally optimistic view of the world, according to which death is something unpleasant and undesirable. He says, “The problems of death, evil and suffering are not investigated properly in the West for fear of upsetting some long-held dogma, or else to avoid coming in conflict with a world-affirming optimism.”<sup>4</sup> Perhaps it is immaturity which causes people to avoid consciously the reality of death. The situation resembles that of a teen-age boy who does not want to know the real personality of his girl friend because he is afraid that he cannot keep the illusion of his love if he knows the reality of the person he loves. It is a sign of immaturity to avoid the real issue for the sake of superficial happiness. Death is a real problem which man cannot avoid. Even physicians, who need to know the nature of death, seem to neglect the study of this problem. Dr. Kübler-Ross says, “If this is a big problem in our life, and death is viewed as a frightening, horrible, taboo topic, we will never be able to face it calmly and helpfully with a patient.”<sup>5</sup> Why is this topic forbidden in the West? Why has it been neglected?<sup>6</sup>

I believe that there are many different reasons why the West has failed to study death seriously. One of the most important factors in promoting the unhealthy attitude towards death is the dualistic value-orientation in the West. The absolute dichotomy between good and evil may go back even to Zoroastrianism in Persia. This conflicting dualism between good and evil has been the dominant tendency of Western thought. The Judeo-Christian idea of creation and salvation is based precisely on this dualism. Death is thought to be a result of man’s sin (Genesis 3:3). Thus, death has been closely associated with evil. On the other hand,

life is thought to be the gift of God. Consequently it is closely related to the tree of life, which has become the symbol of goodness. Greek philosophy, especially Aristotelian logic, has contributed much to the conflicting dualism in the West. Aristotelian logic is the basis of an "either-or" way of thinking. It is the method of absolute categorization of things to either this or that. This kind of thinking is often understood as the logic of the "Excluded Middle." In this kind of thinking both death and life, or both evil and good, cannot co-exist without conflict. In other words, to choose life is to deny death, and to choose death is to deny life. Man must take *either* life *or* death. If there is none other than the either-or choice, all men may be expected to choose life. This explains perhaps how life has come to be the center of all values, while death has become the center of valuelessness. Since all value systems are based on life, death means the negation of all values established in life. Death is the end of meaning and existence.

In interviewing old and dying patients in the hospital, the interviewer often hears expressions such as: "Do you really want to talk to an old and dying woman? You are young and healthy!"<sup>7</sup> To be old and unhealthy means to be less valuable in society. Thus the old people in the West have been much neglected and isolated from the mainstream of society. It is certainly a frightening and horrible experience to be old in a society where the value of dying is excluded from that of living. Therefore, the either-or way of thinking in the West has created a one-sided civilization where life alone is valued and death is abhorred. Even though this one-sided civilization has produced a magnificent scientific technology, it seems unable to meet the need of the whole man. If death is inevitable to the living, the happiness of life can never come to those who are constantly threatened by death. The either-or way of thinking has certainly made the development of modern science possible, but it has failed in the science of the whole man. The science which concerns the need of the whole man must deal with his death as well as his life. Without meeting the need of the former, science is one-sided. The one-sidedness of Western civilization is not only apparent in scientific technology but in philosophical issues as well. Western philosophy as a whole has been based on the exclusive way of thinking. As Saher says, "In Western philosophy an idea is *not accepted* unless proved to be correct. In the Eastern philosophy an idea is *not rejected* unless proved to be false. The attitude of Western philosophy is . . . what is



*not proved* is to be treated as false. The attitude of Eastern philosophy is . . . what is *not proved* may be accepted as true until proved false."<sup>8</sup> Western philosophy has been much preoccupied with sharp distinctions and analyses as the bases of proof because of the either-or way of thinking. As one writer, Professor Conger, says, "Historically the West has been most concerned to introduce sharp distinctions of A and not-A."<sup>9</sup> This A versus not-A type of thinking, that is, the either-or way of thinking, according to Saher, develops quickly into the bigotry of 'not-A is identical with anti-A.' "So that in our own day we hear such hysterical cries as 'whoever is not against communism is for it,' or 'whoever is not baptized is an enemy of Christianity' and the like."<sup>10</sup> Because of this kind of exclusive way of thinking in the West, what is intellectual is necessarily dualistic.<sup>11</sup> This is precisely why Western philosophy has failed to deal with the totality of life, which includes both birth and death or both life on earth and life after death. It is certainly the either-or way of thinking which has created a one-sided civilization in which death is almost completely neglected. However, the validity of this kind of thinking is questioned by the development of the new nuclear physics. Especially, in views of both Planck's quantum theory and Einstein's theory of relativity, the either-or logic is not only questioned but almost untenable.<sup>12</sup> The very failure of this kind of exclusive thinking, then, should perhaps encourage Western people to turn to the possible solutions offered by the East in understanding the more comprehensive view of life and death.

In contrast to the Western way of thinking in the past, that is, the either-or way of thinking, the Eastern people have been interested in the integration of knowledge rather than in the distinction of it. The main characteristic of Eastern wisdom is its inclusiveness, while that of Western thought is its exclusiveness. The inclusive way of thinking in the East is expressed in the category of a 'both-and' rather than an 'either-or'. This both-and way of thinking is not only basic to the understanding of *nirvāna* but also to the meaning of Change in the *I Ching*. Since the both-and way of thinking is clearly expressed in the relationship of *yin* and *yang* in the process of Change, it is often called the *yin-yang* way of thinking.<sup>13</sup> The *yin-yang* way of thinking, which is peculiar to Eastern wisdom, is interested in the wholeness rather than in the partial aspect of things we describe. It is both-sided rather than one-sided in understanding. It is not based on a conflicting dualism but on a complementary dualism. Accord-

ing to the *yin-yang* way of thinking, life and death are not in conflict but are complementary to each other. Life without death is not complete. Death without life is not possible. Just as *yin* cannot exist without *yang*, life cannot be conceived without death or death without life. *Both* life and death are mutually inclusive and complementary to make the rounded whole possible. Because of this inclusive way of thinking, Eastern people often fail to analyze and discriminate as clearly and precisely as the Western people. Nevertheless, Eastern wisdom has been concerned with the wholeness of issues. That is why, as Saher says, "A comparison with Eastern wisdom usually means a comparison of the whole of Western philosophy with only a *part* of Eastern philosophy. Eastern wisdom, like an iceberg, keeps the greater part of itself immersed and invisible."<sup>14</sup> Because of this inclusive approach to the problems and issues of human life, Eastern wisdom has been deeply concerned with the problem of life as well as that of death. The problem of death has never been taken lightly in the East. Death has never been thought to be the end of all the values established in life. Rather it is seen as the cumulation of all the values attained in life. Death becomes important because of life, and life is meaningful because of death. And it is largely for this reason that old people in the East are not neglected, but are respected, valued, and cared for by society.

Since death has been accepted in the East as a part of life, Eastern wisdom has made a profound contribution to the understanding of the nature and meaning of death. Out of this tradition (in which the investigation of death has been greatly encouraged) has come the *Bardo Thödol*, one of the world's most authentic and scientific descriptions of death and dying.<sup>15</sup> This book along with many others represents the unique creation of Eastern ingenuity. If we believe that the Western contribution to world civilization is the science of life, we may also believe that the Eastern contribution to it is the science of death. If the West gives the East scientific technology to conquer outer-space, the East gives the West spiritual insight to explore the inner space of man. That is why the West needs the East, and why the East also needs the West.

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<sup>1</sup>Anselm L. Strauss, "Awareness of Dying" in *Death and Dying*, ed. by Leonard Pearson (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1969), p. 108.



<sup>2</sup>*The New York Times*, March 28, 1971.

<sup>3</sup>His address has appeared in *Religious Studies*, Vol. III (1968), 447-459.

<sup>4</sup>P. J. Saher, *Eastern Wisdom and Western Thought* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), p. 255.

<sup>5</sup>Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, *On Death and Dying* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 28.

<sup>6</sup>However, I must note that there is a growing awareness of this problem in recent time. For example, the recent formation of the Foundation of Thanatology in New York is one of the significant movements towards this awareness. The publication of *Omega* also reflects a significant awareness of this movement.

<sup>7</sup>Kübler-Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup>Saher, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>9</sup>See "Radhakrishnan's World" in *Library of Living Philosophers*, Vol. VIII, 111.

<sup>10</sup>Saher, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>11</sup>Chang Chung-yuan, *Creativity and Taoism: A Study of Chinese Philosophy, Art, and Poetry* (New York: Julian Press, 1963), p. 103.

<sup>12</sup>Jean Gebser, "Foreword" in Saher, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup>See J. Y. Lee, "The Yin-Yang Way of Thinking" in *International Review of Mission*, Vol. LX, No. 239, July 1971, 363-370.

<sup>14</sup>Saher, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>15</sup>*Bardo Thödol* is translated in English as *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by Evans-Wentz, published by Oxford University. One of the most controversial and important contributions of Carl Jung to modern thought is his commentary on this book.

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Thomas J. Kerr, IV, President of the College and Professor of History, has written widely on historical subjects. His essay which appears here was first presented as a public address.

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