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The Otterbein Miscellany - May 1971

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THE OTTERBEIN MISCELLANY

JOHN MILTON'S POETIC CONVERSION

Norman Chaney

ENCORE DES LIONS

Earl Hassenpflug

THE ECONOMICS OF REPRESSION:
CINCINNATI 1800-1850

Michael F. Rothgery

VOL. VII

MAY, 1971

NO. 1

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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The
Otterbein Miscellany

May, 1971

TO A GARDENER WARY OF FLOWERY PHRASES

It is said that Edmund Wilson locked Mary McCarthy in a room so that she would write. The methods of Dr. Robert Price, editor of the *Miscellany* from 1967 through 1970 (when he retired from teaching at Otterbein) were much more gracious. He is a cultivator of ground in which writing can grow.

His own writings are abundant evidence of this long and fruitful occupation. His interest in literature and literary history is reflected in scholarly articles appearing through the years, and in such locally oriented research as his current series on Westerville writers, of which his 1970 *Miscellany* article relating to Otterbein faculty writers is a portion. Another pursuit that involved many years of trail following (both literally and in a scholarly sense) culminated in a fine volume published by the Indiana University Press in 1954, in which Robert Price told the story of *Johnny Appleseed, Man and Myth*.

Cognizant from his own writings of "the long, lonely work demanded by publishable composition," Robert Price brought to the position of editor of the *Miscellany* not only the strength of his personal scholarship but also his willingness to shape, to prune, to encourage the most promising growth of others' thought onto the printed page. Nothing delights him more than the sheen of good writing — unless it is the rich soil of a humane scholarship underlying.

Whatever theory of literature, history, or criticism one might hold, it is a revelation in itself to watch Robert Price work with that still living part of the past such as the manuscripts in the Otterbein Room, or see him put together that witness of present academic vitality, an issue of the *Miscellany*. There move the hands in true editorial grace.

Midsummer brings to the flower beds of our yard at home the daily glories of daylilies — Red Bandit, Pale Lady, Princess Hazel, Hyperion, Linda. They came originally from divided clumps in the Prices' garden, and joined the company of those perennials which are the greater delight because they were the gifts of friends. I think of this editor-gardener who gave the lilies as he talks about the habits of growing things, and comments on the change in the pattern of his garden necessitated by the growth of trees nearby. This working with respect for the reality of things as they are, to the greater flowering of things as they come to be, we shall not forget. His years of encouraging and editing *The Otterbein Miscellany* are its finest heritage.

The Editor

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Michael F. Rothgery

THE ECONOMICS OF REPRESSION:¹ THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN CINCINNATI 1800-1850

Since the publication of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis in 1893, it has been accepted by many historians (and debated by others) that the American phenomenon of the frontier was an area in which all men were subject to a leveling element and where they enjoyed new opportunities for economic advancement. Briefly, Turner's hypothesis may be stated thus: the early adventurers who settled this country in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries were lured westward by the hope of inexpensive land and quick riches from fur trading and mining in virgin territory. In this new environment ". . . men were few and land was abundant." This was a world of experimentation and practical living where men could better their social position unencumbered by the hierarchical traditions of the old world. Social mobility was the rule. Materialism and hard work became the creed of the frontiersman. Men were judged by talent and ability and not by social class. The frontier, argued Turner, was a spawning ground of democracy and economic opportunity. Ray Allen Billington, Turner's protege, sums up this idea that on the frontier of America ". . . individualism and political democracy were enshrined," going on to say that ". . . these were the traits which were revitalized over and over again as the frontier was pushed westward."²

In many ways the ideas postulated by Turner and defended by Billington were true of the frontier experience, but many features of this hypothesis are subject to reevaluation. Political equality, economic opportunity, and social mobility were characteristics of the frontier experience which had a tremendous impact on the white settler as he moved westward. Such opportunities were not available to the American Negro. The black man never enjoyed the same opportunities on the frontier. Cincinnati, having the largest Negro population in Ohio prior to 1850, serves as a case study of a frontier city in which the black population suffered economic deprivations. For the most part the Negroes of Cincinnati never attained the economic status of their white counterparts.

From a geographical standpoint, Ohio and, in particular, Cincinnati were in a strategic position to play a significant role in the slavery controversy. Because Ohio was a part of the Northwest Territory where slavery had been prohibited by the Ordinance of 1787, Cincinnati offered a place of refuge for freedmen and fugitive slaves.³ Ohio was bordered by two states which permitted slavery, Kentucky and Virginia. Ohio's southern boundary ran approximately one hundred thirty-five miles along slave territory. By its geographical proximity to these states, Ohio became a haven for fugitive slaves and one of the strongest centers of underground railroad activity. Because of Cincinnati's geographic position on the Ohio River, it was, by 1850, the center of the greatest Negro population in the state.

In 1802 Ohio applied for statehood. At the Constitutional Convention held in Chillicothe in November, the question of slavery aroused considerable discussion. After lengthy debate ". . . over the rights and privileges to be accorded to the Negroes living within the limits of the state," a provision was adopted by a vote of five to four prohibiting slavery in Ohio.⁴ However, the members of the Convention were not amenable to the idea of permitting Negro suffrage. After considerable debate, the members of the Convention voted eighteen to seventeen against the Negroes' right to vote.⁵ Significantly, the Negroes in Ohio had their freedom preserved, but they lacked immunity against further discrimination because they had not obtained suffrage.

Such discrimination took the form of "Black Laws" passed during the administration of Edward Tiffin in 1804 and 1807. These laws required that all Negroes entering the state post bond of five hundred dollars and be compelled to furnish positive proof of their freedom in order to live in Ohio. Once living in the state, Negroes had to register with the proper authorities. There were also stringent penalties for anyone who harbored a fugitive slave. The colored man was denied the right to give evidence against a white man in the courts and could not serve on a jury. Negro children were not considered in the establishment of the public school system.⁶ Obviously, these restrictions, particularly the restriction on Negro education, hampered the Negroes' economic advancement. And, in fact, "no employment was permitted the Negro unless he could present his papers."⁷ Suffering from these legal disabilities, the Negro experienced social ostracism as well. He was ". . . denounced as idle, profligate and criminal." His children were barred from school.

He could not attend white churches.⁸ Consequently, the free Negro, having escaped bondage, discovered that the promise of the land north of the Ohio River was in reality a myth. He was legally free, but he found his path to economic opportunity blocked by legislation designed to keep the Negro in an inferior position.

Much of this legislation was due to the fear that a liberal attitude would lead to a great influx of Negroes into the state. Although many Ohioans worked for the abolition of slavery, most people did not want the Negro in Ohio; some white citizens feared that their state, as an anti-slavery center ". . . would become a dumping grounds for penniless Negroes from the South."⁹ In addition, many whites believed that Negroes were inferior to the white man. Daniel Drake, a practicing physician in Cincinnati during this period, said in a letter to Dr. John C. Warren of Boston that the Negroes ". . . whether bond or free, are, in every part of the United States, a serving people, parasitic to the white man in propensity, and devoted to his menial employments."¹⁰ Faced with this attitude on the part of many white men, and with prejudicial legislation, the Negroes of Cincinnati and of Ohio faced a formidable task in achieving economic gains.

The colored population of Cincinnati grew slowly in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. In the first census in 1801 there is no mention of Negroes at all, and in the census of 1810 the official total was only eighty. Four years later, a fire marshall's count added one hundred more "free blacks" and by 1816 another listing numbered two hundred forty-seven "blacks and mulattoes" out of a total population of 6,493. A census taken by Thomas Dugan in 1821 listed one hundred thirty-five "people of color," but even the compiler was dissatisfied with its accuracy. Generally speaking, these figures are probably all inaccurate because at this time many Negroes worked and lived in white neighborhoods (which made it difficult to ascertain exact census figures) and because it was hard to keep count of fugitive slaves coming into Cincinnati via the underground railroad. However, these figures do give some idea of the colored population in Cincinnati. Negroes comprised about two per cent of Cincinnati's population in 1820.¹¹

Between 1820 and 1829, however, Cincinnati's Negro population grew rapidly. In 1829 the *Cincinnati Directory* listed 2,258 "blacks and mulattoes," making up about ten per cent of the population.¹² The increase between 1820 and 1829 was the result of the influx of free Negroes, escaped slaves accounting for only a small proportion of the city's increasing Negro population.¹³ In 1830, the United States Census listed only 1,095 "free colored" in the five wards of Cincinnati.¹⁴ This decrease followed the "Riot of 1829" in Cincinnati which resulted in the emigration of "... one or two thousand Negroes" to Canada.¹⁵

In the next decade Cincinnati's Negro population grew again to 2,240, the largest population of Negroes in any city of the state. By 1840 the Negro comprised approximately twelve per cent of the population of Cincinnati. The largest concentration of Negroes was in the first and fourth wards.¹⁶ This area came to be known as "Little Africa" where Negroes were "... cut off, though not segregated, from the white population." As the Negro population began to increase, they were forced more and more into "shacks and shanties" along Columbia Street and Western Row.¹⁷ The fifth ward was next in number of Negroes (after the first and fourth) with three hundred fourteen. This fifth ward was the largest in Cincinnati, running from Main to Plumb and from Sixth to Liberty.¹⁸ Gradually the colored population of Cincinnati began to find itself more concentrated in two or three areas and restricted to relatively poor living conditions.

As Cincinnati grew in the decade between 1840 and 1850, its colored population did also. In 1850 the Negroes increased to a total of 3,237 and comprised about two per cent of Cincinnati's rapidly growing population which now totaled 150,000.¹⁹ In 1850 the greatest colored population was in the ninth ward, where eight hundred sixteen Negroes lived. The fourth and first wards were second and third, with five hundred sixty-three and four hundred thirty-four Negroes respectively. The sixth ward, which had had only fourteen Negroes in 1840, showed an increase of three hundred ninety-six Negroes in this ten year period.²⁰ This fact can probably be explained by the proximity of the sixth ward to the fourth. As the number of Negroes increased in the Western Row section many Negroes were forced into nearby areas.

Negroes in Cincinnati found it difficult to find employment,

since few of them had the skills to secure higher paying jobs, and few whites would hire them if they did have the skills, because of racial prejudice. Daniel Drake characterized the Negro as being “. . . generally disinclined to laborious occupations, and prone to the performance of light and menial drudgery.” Drake further observes that “. . . a few exercise the humbler trades, and some appear to have formed a correct conception of the objects and value of property, and are both industrious and economical.”²¹ Writing at a later time, Carter Woodson (the well-known Negro historian) stated that white laborers in Cincinnati believed that it was a disgrace to work with Negroes. In addition, said Woodson, the trade unions in Cincinnati were then proscribing the employment of colored mechanics.²² When a Negro artisan was hired by a Cincinnati firm the white workers left their jobs declaring, “We won’t work with a Nigger.”²³

The Negro appears to have gone through three stages of social history during his early years in Cincinnati. In the period 1800 to 1826, Negroes were tolerated in the “Queen City.”²⁴ This toleration probably resulted from the fact that in his limited numbers he posed less of a political, economic, or general social threat to white dominance. However, from 1826 to 1841, with the rapid increase in the Negro population, the Negro found himself the object of persecution. The “Black Laws” were enforced more stringently by 1829, causing the emigration of one thousand or more Negroes to Canada. Laws were passed restricting his daily life and opportunity. Churches, theaters, hotels, and restaurants barred Negroes. In addition it became difficult for a colored man to find a job except for those menial tasks regarded as unfit for whites.²⁵ After 1841 the condition of the Negro improved. He began to show his usefulness to the community and to make some economic gains.²⁶ Despite the success of a few Negroes in this period, however, the majority of the Negro population in Cincinnati remained in a low-income status.

In the years between 1800 and 1826 most of the working Negro population held menial jobs. According to the *Liberty Hall*, Negro men were employed as porters, vendors, shoeblacks, and messengers, and Negro women were hired for domestic duties. Most of the Negroes found employment in the construction of roads and canals, or as laboring men in commerce and manufacturing.²⁷ One of the major reasons for the Negro’s lack of success in securing skilled jobs was his total lack of preparation for urban living. Most of the Negroes of Cincinnati were from the

plantations of the South and were unprepared for technical labor.²⁸ Another factor which aggravated the employment situation in Cincinnati was the depression of 1819.²⁹

Two factors were significant in enhancing the Negro's economic status in Cincinnati after 1826. His status was improved by the invention of the steamboat and by the rise of the Negro mechanic. With the invention of the steamboat, some colored men found a new source of employment as cooks, stewards, and in other jobs which were a part of the river life. Gradually these blacks would save substantial sums of money which they later invested in Cincinnati. In addition, blacks who showed mechanical aptitude began to prove their usefulness to their own communities as well as to the white neighborhoods. They, too, built up capital which gave them a higher economic status.³⁰

Given this impetus, the blacks of Cincinnati began to make some progress in the years between 1826 and 1841 despite the more strict enforcement of the "Black Laws." Most of this progress was made between 1835 and 1841.³¹ Before 1835 the Negroes of Cincinnati suffered from racial discrimination to a greater degree than after. In 1830 the president of the Mechanical Association was publicly tried by the society for the crime of assisting a colored young man to learn a trade. The feeling among the white mechanics was ". . . that no colored boy could learn a trade or colored journeyman find employment." Another young Negro ". . . of unexceptionable character and an excellent [sic] workman" bought his freedom and learned the cabinet making business in Kentucky. On coming to Cincinnati, he was refused work at every place he applied. Finally, after finding employment in an Englishman's shop, he was forced to quit when the white employees refused to work with a Negro. This same Negro eventually, through ". . . dint of perseverance and industry," became a master workman, supervising at times six or eight journeymen. Unfortunately, as he began his own business, he found it very difficult to obtain work from the citizens of Cincinnati.³²

The combined oppression of public opinion and law reduced the colored people in general to an unenviable state. The report of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society published in 1835 pointed out that ". . . no colored man could be a drayman or porter without subjecting his employer to a heavy penalty."³³ Needless to say, few employers wished to risk such a bold step. Significantly,

many of the Negro families were supported by the mothers or females of the household. Usually this work took the form of taking in washing or other menial domestic activities.

The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society conducted a survey of two districts in Cincinnati in 1835. The conditions reported in this survey seem representative of the general situation of the Negro in Cincinnati during this time. In one district there were twenty-six families numbering one hundred twenty-five persons. Of this total, there were nineteen Negroes who called themselves "professors of religion." Because of the political, economic, and social deprivations forced upon the black community by white society, many blacks turned to religion for spiritual comfort, as Leon Litwack points out in his *North of Slavery*. Clergymen, whether formally trained or not, became key social figures in black areas. Twenty children in this district, according to the survey of the Anti-Slavery Society, attended school. Of the total of one hundred twenty-five blacks counted in the area, ninety-five had been former slaves. The number of individuals who had paid for their own freedom was twenty-three, at a total cost of \$9,112. The employment of the heads of families was as follows: common laborers and porters, seven; dealers in second-hand clothing, one; hucksters, one; carpenters, two; shoeblacks, six; cooks and waiters, eleven; and washerwomen, eighteen. Five of these washerwomen had purchased their freedom. One had paid four hundred dollars for herself, and later bought a house and a lot worth six hundred.³⁴

In the other district there were sixty-three families with an aggregate of two hundred fifty-eight people. Sixteen heads of families called themselves "professors of religion." Fifty-three children attended school. This black community owned \$9,850 worth of real estate. The number of heads of families who had purchased themselves was thirty-six, for a total sum of \$21,513 or an average price of five hundred ninety-seven dollars.³⁵

At least two important facts are suggested by these surveys: (1) the cost of buying one's own freedom represented a tremendous economic burden on the Negro, and (2) while the ability of some black men to raise substantial sums of money to buy freedom casts some doubt on the argument that they were economically repressed, one must remember that a few Negroes were able to better their economic status and that many blacks were helped by anti-slavery societies and abolitionist organizations.

Some figures in the surveys conducted by such societies may be suspect, since in the zeal of these men to help the black man they tended to paint an overly favorable picture of the way life was going on in black communities where the inhabitants were free. In reference to Negro education, for example, one must realize that, despite the number of black children reported to be attending school, most of their schools were grossly inadequate in terms of facilities and trained teachers. According to Leon Litwack, educational facilities in the North were separate and unequal, and even if a northern Negro had an education, he still faced limited opportunities and a long struggle to escape menial labor.

Thus, it is clear that the blacks of Cincinnati prior to 1835 suffered deprivations. Although this picture did not change substantially after that year, there was some room for optimism on the part of the black population. However difficult it may have been for the colored man to gain employment and prosper, there were some Negroes who did succeed. David Young, an emancipated slave, purchased his wife and six children at a cost of \$1,265. Henry Boyd had bought his freedom at the age of eighteen; at the age of thirty-one, he owned property worth three thousand dollars. He also purchased the freedom of a brother and a sister at a cost of nine hundred dollars. Samuel Lewis paid five hundred dollars for himself before the age of eighteen, and Rebecca Madison had paid eighteen hundred dollars for herself and owned property worth three thousand. William O'Hara, another emancipated slave and an eight year resident of Cincinnati, was worth seven thousand dollars.³⁶ In short, there were some signs by 1835 that the colored man might find his promised land.

This promised land, however, was only available to a minority of Negroes. By 1840 the black population of Cincinnati owned \$200,600 worth of property. When this figure is divided by the number of Negroes in the "Queen City" in 1840, it averages eighty dollars per person, but obviously such averaging of ownership figures presents an unrealistic picture. The property belonging to the "Iron Chest Company" alone was estimated at nine thousand dollars. This company was formed in September, 1838. By its constitution, each member was to pay into the treasury one dollar per week. By this means, a fund was formed to be invested in real estate. The three large brick buildings built by the company were rented to whites. Many purchases by Negroes of houses and lots took place in the years between 1836

and 1840. Three Negro churches and the lots on which they stood were estimated to be worth \$19,000, in 1840. It was noted by the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society that ". . . the colored people of Cincinnati . . . [are] worth *ten times the amount of property they were four or five years ago.*"³⁷

There were cases of even greater economic success stories among Negroes by 1840. One Negro who had been a slave until he was twenty-four years of age owned two houses and lots worth \$10,000 (on which he paid forty dollars in taxes in 1840) and three hundred twenty acres of land in Mercer County. Another colored man owned seven lots in Cincinnati, on most of which were good homes, and he owned four hundred acres of land in Indiana as well as land in Mercer County. His estimated worth was twelve thousand to fifteen thousand dollars.³⁸ Henry Boyd aided in combatting prejudice against colored mechanics by exhibiting the greatest efficiency in his work. He invented a corded bed which became highly popular and consequently he built up a substantial manufacturing business employing from eighteen to twenty-five white and colored men. Robert Harlan made considerable money buying and selling race horses. There was a successful pickling establishment and also a thriving tailoring business in the black community in 1840. A grocer named Samuel Wilcox had a prosperous grocery trade and eventually accumulated property worth \$59,000 by 1859.³⁹

Negroes also made gains toward better educational facilities. In 1835, one thousand dollars was expended in sustaining colored schools, of which only one hundred fifty was paid by colored people. In 1839, the colored population contributed \$889.30, ". . . yet the latter was obtained much easier than the former."⁴⁰

The Negroes of Cincinnati did make substantial gains between 1835 and 1840. One writer maintained that ". . . undaunted by this persistent [sic] opposition the Negroes of Cincinnati achieved so much during the years between 1835 and 1840 that they deserved to be ranked among the most progressive people of the world."⁴¹ Such enthusiasm, however, does not reflect the total picture of the Negro in Cincinnati. After 1840, even though some colored men enjoyed more successes, the greater portion of the black population still remained in the lower income brackets. *Shaffer's Cincinnati Directory* for 1840 bears out this fact. The greatest number of blacks listed in the separate section of *Shaffer's Directory* fall into the laborer category (forty-six),

closely followed in numbers by Negro barbers (forty-three). A substantial number were reported employed on the steamboats as cooks and stewards, or merely listed as "follower of the river." Other categories which appear are whitewasher, shoeblack, painter, seamstress, huckster, cooper, and washerwoman. There were some skilled jobs listed such as tailor, bricklayer, stonemason, and carpenter.⁴² There were very few Negroes in these categories, but the appearance of these few shows a trend toward a more liberal attitude in Negro-white relations in Cincinnati in the 1840's. Charles Cist's *Cincinnati Directory for 1842* also bears out this fact. The pattern of Negro employment is substantially the same as that found in *Shaffer's Directory*.⁴³ An informal survey taken of the Negro population in 1845 showed that ". . . although there was a sprinkling of skilled workers in various trades . . . the bulk of Cincinnati's Negro population held low-income status, and low-income jobs."⁴⁴

In summary, the black man's economic status in Cincinnati between 1800 and 1850 was generally low. The legal disabilities placed on the Negro made it difficult for him to rise on the economic ladder. As his numbers increased he found himself hard pressed by stringent rules and racial prejudices. Before 1830 he generally found himself in the most menial jobs. After 1830 he was still limited by legal restriction and prejudice, but a minority of Negroes began to break through the color line and made some economic headway. The majority of the blacks, however, remained at low-income levels, their economic status near the bottom of the scale. In general, the urban frontier was not the spawning ground of opportunity for the Negro. Instead he was restricted politically, economically, socially, and legally.

FOOTNOTES

1 The title of this study is taken from the fifth chapter of Leon F. Litwack's *North of Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 153. Also compare this study with Richard W. Pih, "Negro Self-Improvement Efforts in Ante-Bellum Cincinnati, 1836-1850," *Ohio History*, Vol. 78 (Summer, 1969), pp. 179-187.

2 Ray Allen Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York, 1966), p. 3.

3 The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in the territory, but it did include a clause providing for the return of fugitive slaves. See Charles B. Galbreath, *History of Ohio*, Vol. II (Chicago, 1925), p. 153. According to Galbreath the anti-slavery clause was a fortunate result of a number of converging causes: first, the aftermath of the American Revolution; second, the Indian Wars; and third, the development of a new view of what was the Great West. p. 156.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 168. For an account of this Convention and the issue over slavery see the *Journal of the Convention of the Territory of the United States North-West of the Ohio*. (Chillicothe, 1802), pp. 27-32.

5 Galbreath, *History of Ohio*, p. 172. Also see *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 27-32.

6 James H. Rodabaugh, "The Negro in Ohio," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXI (January, 1946), p. 15. Also see Pih, "Self-Improvement," pp. 179-187. For a general discussion of Negro education in this period see Litwack, *North*, pp. 113-152.

7 Rodabaugh, "The Negro," p. 15.

8 Wendell P. Dabney, *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens* (Cincinnati, 1926), p. 34. Also see Litwack for a general discussion of the Negroes' flight to the North, pp. 3-29.

9 Rodabaugh, "The Negro," pp. 14 and 15.

10 *Dr. Daniel Drake's Letters on Slavery to Dr. John C. Warren, of Boston*, reprinted from the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, April 3, 5, and 7, 1851, with an introduction by Emmet Field Horine, (New York, 1940), p. 31.

11 Richard C. Wade, "The Negro in Cincinnati, 1800-1830," *Journal of Negro History* (1954), p. 43. Also see the *Western Spy*, May 6, 1801. Also see the *Liberty Hall* February 19, 1816, and January 6, 1821.

12 *The Cincinnati Directory for the Year 1829* (Cincinnati, 1829) n.p.

13 Wade, "Negro in Cincinnati," p. 44.

14 *Census of 1830* (Washington, 1832), pp. 126-127.

15 Francis Weisenberger, *Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850* (Columbus, 1941), p. 42. This migration took place as a result of the greater enforcement of the "Black Laws" of 1804 and 1807.

16 *Census of 1840* (Washington, 1841), p. 306. There were 800 Negroes in the first ward and 563 in the fourth.

17 Wade, "Negro in Cincinnati," p. 44. Also see the *Cincinnati Centinel*, quoted in the *Western Star* (Lebanon, Ohio, August 29, 1829).

18 Charles Theodore Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati and Representative Citizens* (Chicago, 1904), p. 685.

19 *Census of 1850* (Washington, 1853), p. 830.

20 Greve, *Centennial*, p. 686.

21 Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami County* (Cincinnati, 1815), p. 172.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 34. Also see Carter Woodson, "Negroes of Cincinnati Prior to the Civil War," *Journal of Negro History*, I (January, 1916).

23 John Malvin, *North Into Freedom: The Autobiography of John Malvin, Free Negro, 1795-1880*, with introduction by Allan Peskin (Cleveland, 1966), p. 6.

24 Dabney, *Colored Citizens*, p. 31.

25 Malvin, *North*, p. 6.

26 Dabney, *Colored Citizens*, p. 38.

27 Wade, "Negro in Cincinnati," p. 45. Also see *Liberty Hall*, July 9, 1829.

28 Malvin, *North*, p. 7.

29 Wade, "Negro in Cincinnati," pp. 37-38.

30 Dabney, *Colored Citizens*, pp. 37-38.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

32 *Report on the Condition of the Free Colored People of Ohio, Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention Held at Putnam*. (Beaumont and Wallace, 1835), p. 19.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 20

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

37 *Philanthropist*, July 21, 1840. Personal property was not included in the figure.

38 *Ibid.*

39 Dabney, *Colored Citizens*, p. 40.

40 *Philanthropist*, July 21, 1840. Much of the aid to Negro education came from the Ladies State Anti-Slavery Society.

41 Dabney, *Colored Citizens*, p. 37.

42 David Henry Shaffer, *The Cincinnati Directory for 1840* (Cincinnati, 1840), pp. 467-477.

43 Charles Cist, *The Cincinnati Directory for 1842* (Cincinnati, 1842), pp. 440-447.

44 Malvin, *North*, p. 8.

LIMERICK

There was a young man from Mt. Gilead
Who was translating the *Aeneid* and *Iliad*.
He was oft heard to say,
In a roundabout way,
That of translating his fill he had.

James K. Ray

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *I CHING*¹

[Recent interest in the *I Ching*, ancient Chinese "Book of Changes," exists at several levels, from that of the casual seeker of fortune telling devices to that of the scholar of Chinese classics. A reader approaching the text for the first time encounters a series of sixty-four lineal figures, all with six layers of lines, called the hexagrams. The lines are of two kinds only, broken (— —) or unbroken (——). To illustrate, one example of a hexagram, number XVII (the *Sui* hexagram) looks like this:



Under each hexagram is a Judgment (so-called), summing up its meaning. For the hexagram pictured above, the Judgment reads, "*Sui* indicates that (under its conditions) there will be great progress and success. But it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. There will (then) be no error."² Following the Judgment is a series of six numbered statements, each corresponding to one line of the hexagram, beginning at the bottom. For example, the statement for the second line of this *Sui* hexagram reads, "The second line, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the little boy, and lets go the man of age and experience."

This series of sixty-four hexagrams (each formed from the combination of two trigrams, or three-line figures), with the Judgments and the line by line comments added, forms the text of the *I Ching*. A discussion of its use in divination is beyond the intent of this article, but an insight into the symbolism built into this remarkable book emerges from the following examination of its origins.]

The Editor.

The origin of the *I Ching* or the Book of Changes is uncertain. Its authorship has been debated for centuries. In *Shuo Kua*, the

Discussion of the Trigrams, the authors of the book are identified with the holy sages: "In ancient times the holy sages made the Book of Changes."³ A similar idea is also expressed in *Ta Chuan* or the Great Treatise: "The holy sages instituted the hexagrams, so that phenomena might be perceived therein. They appended the judgments in order to indicate good fortune and misfortune."⁴ According to the original version of the Chinese texts, we do not know whether the term "*sheng jen*" was intended to signify the "holy sage" or the "holy sages." Because there is no distinction between singular and plural nouns in Chinese, it is difficult to say whether it meant singular or plural. However, the translation of "*sheng jen*" as "holy sages" seems to be correct, because the multiple authorship of the *I Ching* has been accepted by Chinese tradition.

According to this tradition, the *I Ching* originated from the practice of divination and was attributed to the legendary king, Fu Hsi (2953-2838 B.C.). Later, King Wen, the founder of the Chou dynasty (which ruled from 1150-249 B.C.), rearranged the sixty-four hexagrams and added to them the Judgments (*kua tz'u*). His son, Tan, who was Chou Kung or Duke of Chou, composed the texts on the lines of the hexagrams (*hsiao tz'u*) to supplement and to expound the *kua tz'u*. The Ten Wings, which are the Commentaries attached to the *I Ching*, have been traditionally attributed to Confucius, but recent scholars have subjected this attribution to severe criticism. It is not my intention here to deal with this controversial part. My concern is to examine the authorship of the main texts of the *I Ching*.

The *I Ching* went through four stages of formation in Chinese history. At first there was the stage of divination practice without reference to cosmology. The second stage was the creation of eight trigrams, which were meaningfully correlated with the primitive cosmology. The third stage was the formulation of the sixty-four hexagrams and the Judgments. Finally, the fourth stage was the elaboration and explanation of the lines of the hexagrams. We may take each stage of formation separately for a detailed examination.

The *I Ching* had its origin in the practice of divination. Thus, it is most of all the book of divination. According to the Book of Rites, "The ancient kings made use of the stalks of the divining

plant and the tortoise shell; arranged their sacrifices; burned their offerings of silk."⁵ The use of both the stalks of the divining plant and the tortoise shell for divination was evident in early Chinese history. It is uncertain why the tortoise shell was first used for divination. It is presumed that the tortoise was thought to have more mysterious and oracular powers than all other living creatures because of its long life. For the primitive mind the life of the tortoise was so long that it was recognized as the symbol of immortality. Because of its immortal life, it became the object of divination. In the method of divination, the belly surface of the tortoise shell was incised with a red-hot stylus, so that the shell cracked. The diviner then read the oracles from the cracks formed by the insertion of the hot stylus. Because it was rather difficult to read and understand the cracks of the tortoise shell, another practice of divining was developed. This later method was divination by means of stalks of the divining plant, milfoil. For some time in Chinese history both methods, tortoise shell and stalks of a plant, were used, as is illustrated in the story of a faithful wife who is waiting for her husband to come home. "The transport waggons did not come. Great was the distress of my sorrowing heart. For he did not arrive when the time was due, so that I am full of grief. Yet I have divined by tortoise shell and by the stalks; and they agree in saying that he is near. My soldier (husband) is at hand."⁶ There is evidence for the co-existence, for a long time, of divination both by tortoise shell and by stalks. Because of the difficulty of using tortoise shell, however, divination by stalks seems to have become more popular and finally to have replaced the shell. It is not certain when the transition took place. It is clear, however, that the *I Ching* had its origin in the use of a fixed number of milfoil stalks.

The second stage in the formation of the *I Ching* has to do with the correlation of the cosmic process with the oracles of divination in terms of the trinity of world principles. The three principles are the subject (man), the object having form (earth), and the content (heaven).⁷ From these three principles, in combination and interaction, are formed the eight trigrams which represent the basic constituents for everything that exists in the world.

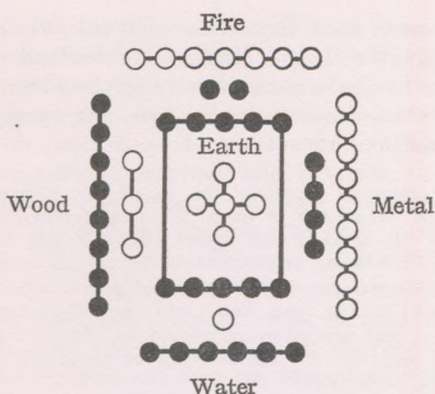
According to the tradition in China, there was found a map (or

scheme) that came from the Yellow River. This map, which is called *Ho T'u* (the River Map), is described in *Ta Chuan*. Because James Legge's translation is much closer to the original text than other translations in English, let us quote a passage from his translation:

Therefore, heaven produced the spirit-like things, and the sages took advantage of them. (The operations of) heaven and earth are marked (so many) changes and transformations; and the sages imitated them (by means of the Yi [I]). Heaven changes out its (brilliant) figures from which are seen good fortune and bad, and the sages made their emblematic interpretations accordingly. The Ho gave forth the map, and the Lo the writing of (both of) which the sages took advantage.⁸

The word "ho" literally means a river. It is commonly believed that the "Ho" indicated here meant the Yellow River, which gave the map. It is believed that this River Map became the basis for the formation of the *I Ching*. This map was thought to contain a certain scheme which gave a model to Fu Hsi, the legendary king, when he formed the eight trigrams. According to popular belief this map was drawn on the back of a dragon-horse coming out from the Yellow River. Confucius himself seems to have believed in the map, for he mentioned it in his *Analects*.⁹ Evidence of this tradition is also recorded in the Book of Rites: "the map was borne by a horse."¹⁰ There is no way to prove or disprove this belief; however, the importance of this map cannot be denied.

The original map which Fu Hsi received from the Yellow River was thought to have been lost in the eleventh century B.C. However, there was speculation that the map was reconstructed at the time of the restoration of the ancient classics during the Han dynasty. If this was the case, it is questionable whether the reconstructed map was identical with the original one or not. The most reliable map was thought to be that developed out of the so-called "Five Elements" or "Five Stages of Change" school in the Han era. The following map is commonly accepted as identical to that which Fu Hsi got hold of from the Yellow River:



Because there is no way to verify the authenticity of this map, let us suppose that it was the authentic map with which Fu Hsi was acquainted and from which he formed the eight trigrams. In the map there is a distinction between the black and the white circles. Furthermore, all the dark circle groups are even numbers such as two, four, six, eight and ten, while all the light circle groups are odd numbers, one, three, five, seven and nine. According to *Ta Chuan*, "To heaven belongs (the number) one; to earth, two; to heaven, three; to earth, four; to heaven, five; to earth, six; to heaven, seven; to earth, eight; to heaven, nine; to earth, ten."¹¹ Thus, even numbers (*yin* numbers) represent earth, while odd numbers (*yang* numbers) represent heaven. *Ta Chuan* goes on to say, "The numbers belonging to heaven are five, and those belonging to earth are (also) five. The numbers of these two series correspond to each other (in their fixed positions), and each one has another that may be considered its mate. The heavenly numbers amount to twenty-five, and the earthly to thirty. The numbers of heaven and earth together amount to fifty-five. It is by these that the changes and transformations are effected, and the spirit-like agencies kept in movement."¹² Heaven represents the Great *Yang* or Great Brightness, and Earth the Great Darkness or Great *Yin*; everything in the universe is a product of the interaction of both heaven and earth.

This idea concerning the prototype of *yang* and *yin* is implicit in the word "易" (易). It is the combination of two words "日" and "勿". The former implies "sun" while the latter could be the old word "月" which means "moon".¹³

From the analysis of the word “*I*” it is possible to conclude that the Great *Yang* came to be symbolized by the sun and the Great *Yin* by the moon, because heaven and earth were governed by the sun and moon. The correlation of heaven and earth with the sun and the moon is evident: “There are no greater primal images than heaven and earth. There is nothing that has more movement of greater cohesion than the four seasons. Of the images suspended in the heavens, there is no more light-giving than the sun and moon.”¹⁴ Thus the title of the *I Ching* is in harmony with the basic principle of *Ho T'u*, the River Map, which became the basis of the eight trigrams.

The question is, then, how could the eight trigrams be formed out of this map? First of all, it is an hypothesis that Fu Hsi, if he was really the author of the eight trigrams, failed to construct the trigrams with the circles of the map. He then decided to replace the circles with lines for convenience. The whole line (—) is used for the light circle, and the divided line (— —) for the dark. Then, all odd numbers became whole lines which signify *yang*, and all even numbers became divided lines which signify *yin*. The change from circles to lines was the initial step in the development of the trigrams.

If we observe the map carefully, we will get some idea of how the trigrams were formed out of the map. We see that the circles of the outside edges of the map are divided into four groups — two groups of dark circles and two groups of light circles. The group of circles which represents water is, because of its six circles, number six. The group of dark circles which represents wood has the number eight, because of the eight dark circles. Both six and eight are even numbers and represent *yin* forces. The number six is assigned to the “old *yin*,” which is symbolized with two broken lines (==), while the number eight is assigned to the “young *yin*,” which is symbolized with a broken line above and whole line below (— —). In a similar manner we have two groups of light circles which represent fire and metal. The group which represents fire has seven light circles, and thus has the number seven. The group which represents metal has nine light circles, and therefore it has number nine. Both seven and nine are odd numbers and represent the *yang* forces. The number seven is assigned to the “young *yang*,” which is symbolized by the unbroken line above and the broken line below (— —), and nine, the “old *yang*,” symbolized by the two unbroken lines (===). These four symbols not only represent

the four seasons of the year, but also they are the foundations of the eight trigrams. By adding another line (*yang* or *yin*) to these basic symbols the eight trigrams are formed.

The process of the evolvement of lines to the eight trigrams is described in *Ta Chuan* as follows: "Therefore there is in the Changes the Great Primal Beginning. The two primary forces generate the four images. The four images generate the eight trigrams."¹⁵ The Great Primal Beginning is identical with the *Tao*, the source of all things. The two primary forces, which are the products of the *Tao*, are *yin* and *yang* forces. Through the interaction of *yin* and *yang* forces the four images are produced. The four images imply the old *yang*, young *yang*, old *yin*, and young *yin*. And these four symbols produce the eight trigrams. They are *Ch'ien*, heaven (☰), *K'un*, earth (☷), *Chen*, thunder (☳), *Li*, fire (☲), *Tui*, lake (☱), *Sun*, wind (☴), *K'an*, water (☵), and *Ken*, mountain (☶). The addition of one more line of either *yin* or *yang*, which represents man, to the two primordial lines of heaven and earth completes the cosmic principle, because man together with heaven and earth form the trinity of world principles. Thus the trigrams are complete symbols of the universe.

The third stage deals with the creation of hexagrams and the composition of the Appended Judgments (*kua tz'u*). According to tradition, the authorship of the hexagrams is attributed variously to Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, Hsia Yu or King Wen.¹⁶ Was Fu Hsi, who formulated the eight trigrams out of the *Ho T'u*, responsible also for the creation of the sixty-four hexagrams? It is probable that Fu Hsi could have constructed the hexagrams through the combination of the trigrams, even though the present form of arrangement of the hexagrams in the *I Ching* is commonly attributed to King Wen. The existence of different arrangements of the hexagrams was evident prior to King Wen's time, however, as James Legge points out, Speaking of these already existing forms of hexagrams, Legge says, "King Wen takes them up, one after another, in the order that suits himself, determined, evidently, by the contrast in the lines of each successive pair of hexagrams, and gives their significance."¹⁷ Even though there is not enough evidence to prove whether Fu Hsi or someone else was responsible for the formation of the hexagrams, it is quite clear that King Wen had something to do with the present arrangement of hexagrams and the addition of the Appended Judgments.

It is a commonly held view that the Judgments were added to the hexagrams by King Wen when he was held captive by the last ruler of the Yin dynasty. According to popular belief in China, King Wen was in captivity for seven years. During this time he was able to arrange the sixty-four hexagrams and prescribed the Judgments to them. There is an interesting story which illuminates the tragedy of the great diviner, King Wen, in prison. According to the story, his power of divining was tested by the tyrant Chou Hsin while he was in prison. In order to test the King's powers, Chou Hsin brought him a bowl of soup which was made of the flesh of a murdered son of the King. Even though he realized this, King Wen ate the soup in order to preserve his life. While he was held captive, he occupied himself with the hexagrams. The arrangement of these lineal figures and the composition of the Judgments came to him, according to the tradition, not in a manner of logical analysis but more or less like the visions which many prophets have experienced in the past. In both the Old and the New Testaments, especially in the books of Daniel and Revelation, we see many visions appearing to the prophets, visions which embody divine truth. If this were the case with King Wen, the hexagrams and the Judgments in the *I Ching* could be more than a mere product of human wisdom. They could be the gift of the divine. From a psychological point of view, they could be said to be the revelations of cosmic unconsciousness which are not available to the ordinary human condition. Some modern scholars, who are scientifically inclined, may say that the *I Ching* is nothing but the product of hallucination, which came to King Wen because of the devastating conditions of his imprisonment. Whatever the mental condition of King Wen was at the time of his study, the *I Ching* has been regarded in the past centuries as the supreme product of Chinese mentality. The greatness of this mentality is not in a logical system of thought but in the intuitive insight which perceives directly the nature of spiritual reality. Perhaps the visions expressed in the hexagrams can be said to be the creation of such insight.

The final form of the *I Ching* which we have today is thought to have been completed by the Duke of Chou (Tan), the son of King Wen. Tan is thus thought to be responsible for the formulation of the texts for each individual line of the hexagrams (*hsiao tz'u*). This man was not only a great ruler but a great philosopher

as well, one who could continue his father's work and complete it as a tribute of filial piety. Even though this tradition of the authorship of the *hsiao tz'u* has been often questioned by modern scholarship, it is certain that this textual stratum belongs to the early Chou period.¹⁸ Furthermore, the texts for individual lines of the hexagrams are done in harmony with the Judgments, so that the author of the texts for individual lines must have been familiar with the Judgments on the hexagrams as a whole. Even though it is questionable whether Tan himself formulated every line of the hexagram texts, it is reasonable to believe that the whole work of this part of the *I Ching* was done in the Chou court under the leadership of the Duke. The traditional name of this book, *Chou I*, suggests that it was originally a Chou manual on divination. Therefore, we can conclude that the final form of the *I Ching* (though not the Ten Wings) was completed sometime in the early Chou dynasty, about three thousand years ago.

What I have attempted so far is to reconstruct the authorship of the *I Ching* according to the Chinese tradition. As we have observed, there is no way to make any conclusive statement about the authorship of this book. I like to look at the *I Ching* not as the product of specific individuals in history but as the unique creation of Chinese civilization. It is a natural treasure which belongs to the very expressions of Chinese culture. Even though tradition has attributed the authorship of this book to particular persons, like Fu Hsi, King Wen, and the Duke of Chou, we must not think that they alone were responsible for it. Fu Hsi, for example, was a legendary figure who represents the very foundation of Chinese civilization. He is the symbol of the beginning of Chinese culture. Just like *Tang-Kun*, who was the legendary figure representing the beginning of Korean civilization, and *Ama-terasu Ohmi-kami*, who was the legendary emperor of Japanese civilization, Fu Hsi became the symbol for the birth of Chinese civilization. Thus we can say that the origin of the *I Ching* was in the origin of Chinese civilization. The authorship of the *I Ching* might be compared with that of the five books of Moses (Pentateuch) in the Old Testament, which went through many years of oral transmission and of revisions until they were finally written down and canonized. Just as the Pentateuch was attributed to a great person like Moses, so the *I Ching* was attributed to great figures like Fu Hsi, King Wen and Tan. Much like any other great national epic, the *I Ching* perhaps went through various revisions

and refinements through the centuries of experiments in divination until it was finally completed and written down in the early part of the Chou dynasty. Thus, in the final analysis, the authorship of the *I Ching* belongs not to several individuals whom we have mentioned, but to the corporal community of early Chinese people. Certainly, the men like King Wen and the Duke of Chou are much credited for the formulation of this book, but they are not in any way separate from the community of those who shared the tradition of Chinese civilization, which is the real source of this book. It is not only the product of Chinese history but also has been a part of Chinese life. For this reason, even though it became the first book of the Confucian classics, it never identified itself only with the Confucian schools. It has been a source of inspiration and challenge to all people in the history of Chinese civilization.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of an article published in *Numen, International Review for the History of Religions*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (Dec., 1970), and published here by permission. The article, in slightly different form, will constitute one chapter in Dr. Lee's book, *The Principle of Changes: Understanding the I Ching*, to be published this year by University Books, Inc.
2. *The I Ching: The Book of Changes*, trans., James Legge (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. 93.
3. *Shuo Kua*, I:2.
4. *Ta Chuan*, Sec. I, Ch. 2
5. *Li Chi* 7: 2, 1.
6. D. Howard Smith, *Chinese Religions* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 26.
7. *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, trans., Richard Wilhelm (Princeton University Press, 1967), third ed., p. 265.
8. *Ta Chuan*, Sec. I, par. 73.
9. *Analects*, IX, viii.
10. *Li Chi*, VIII, iv, 16.
11. *Ta Chuan*, Sec. I, par. 49, or Sec. I, Ch. 9.
12. *Ta Chuan*, Sec. I, Ch. 9.

13. Legge, *op cit.*, p. 38, note 1.
14. *Ta Chuan*, Sec. I. Ch. 9: 7.
15. *Ta Chuan*, Sec. I, Ch. 11.
16. See Chu Chu-Sheng, *Liu shih ssu kua ching chich*, p. 2.
17. Legge, *op cit.*, p. 10.
18. Helmut Wilhelm, *Change: Eight Lectures on the I Ching* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 11.

RAIN SONG

Rain upon my shoulder,
Wind against the rye;
Climb the attic ladder,
Watch the twisting sky.

Pigeon flock a-skitter,
Rabbit on the run;
Screeching wren a-flitter
In the dipping plum.

Spider at my finger,
Mouse upon the floor;
Beggars in this weather —
Thunderstruck and poor.

Norman Chaney

James V. Miller

REFLECTIONS ON FREEDOM, LAW, AND GRACE

There are several basic civilizing needs striving to be embodied in the college.

The first lies in the conditions of human freedom. Freedom involves significant choices or decisions. It is not constituted by lack of ends and structures, rules, standards, or norms for achieving those ends. Freedom is constituted in ability to choose among significant alternatives.

Freedom requires rational (not necessarily intellectual) choice. One is rational when emotion or intellect fits the situation. For example, rational emotional behavior is expressed when one prepares for an impending examination or interview or is moved to engage in an effort to solve a current or potential problem. One is irrational when one becomes sick in the face of such instances or exhibits other patterns of avoidance. Rational intellectual behavior is manifest when one's intellectual powers are organized so as to seek to achieve desired goals. If, for instance, one truly wishes to achieve a vibrant small college, then sets the intellectual paraphernalia to work devising patterns demanding thousands of students in a single grouping, one manifests irrational intellectual behavior.

A man who is driven by anxieties, or manifests other such irrational patterns, is not free. Man is free only as he is wise, graceful, rational. Although one usually thinks and feels he is free he cannot be utterly sure. The Christian tradition seems to have this sort of thing in mind while insisting that every man is a sinner. Eric Hoffer captures the same thought in arguing that every man is capable of doing all the crimes in the book. Since one is not always wise, graceful, rational, one must opt for law (structure, order, logos).

Freedom thus requires the rule of law. It requires order, structure. Law is equated with structure, not stricture. Recall this usage in Bolt's drama, *A Man For All Seasons*. Richard Rich has been plaguing Sir Thomas More for an appointment in the government.

- More: The law, Roper, the law. I know what's legal, not what's right. And I'll stick to what's legal.
- Roper: Then you set man's law above God's!
- More: No, far below; but let *me* draw your attention to a fact — I'm *not* God. The currents and eddies of right and wrong, which you find plain sailing, I can't navigate. I'm no voyager. But in the thickets of the law, oh, there I'm a forester, I doubt if there's a man alive who could follow me there, thank God...
- Alice: While you talk, he's gone!
- More: And go he should, if he was the Devil himself, until he broke the law!
- Roper: So now you'd give the Devil benefit of law!
- More: Yes. What would you do? Cut a great road through the law to get after the Devil?
- Roper: I'd cut down every law in England to do that!
- More: Oh? And when the last law was down, and the Devil turned around on you — where would you hide, Roper, the laws all being flat? This country's planted thick with laws from coast to coast — man's laws, not God's — and if you cut them down — and you're just the man to do it — do you really think you could stand upright in the winds that would blow then? Yes, I'd give the Devil benefit of law, for my own safety's sake.¹

The opposite of law is chaos — the ultimate in stricture. Hindu and Buddhist thought captures this understanding of law, order, structure in a lively symbol: the lotus. The hands held together in prayer also provide the symbol. The bubble, the eye, the arc, the firmament of heaven, the hands upraised in blessing, capture this characteristic of law: structure or order withholding chaos and making life possible. The Apostle Paul, even though he speaks also of grace, celebrates law in this sense. The structure is God in Christ reconciling the world to himself. The Logos, the Son, the Saviour in Christian tradition offers the same structure in which and by which freedom is a fact of experience.

Plato's stance is similar.

- "Socrates: ...If, as I was on the point of running away (or whatever it should be called), the laws and the commonwealth should come to me and ask, 'Tell me, Socrates, what have you in mind to do? Are you not intending by this thing you are trying to do, to destroy us, the laws, and the entire state, so far as in you lies? Or do you think that state can exist and not be overturned, in which the decisions reached by the courts have no force but are made invalid and annulled by private persons?' "²

Later, Socrates continues his musing on what the laws would say to him if he fled.

“ ‘Ah, Socrates, be guided by us the laws who tended your infancy...you will go away wronged, if you do go away, not by us, the laws, but by men; but if you escape after so disgracefully requiting wrong with wrong and evil with evil, breaking your compacts and agreements with us, and injuring those whom you least ought to injure — yourself, your friends, your country and us — we shall be angry with you while you live, and there are our brothers, the laws in Hades’ realm, who will not receive you graciously; for they will know that you tried, so far as in you lay, to destroy us. Do not let Crito persuade you to do what he says, but take our advice.’ ”³

The references are not to local custom as law or rule or order or structure. Such customs may provide structures and may provide only strictures. If the latter are offered in the name of law the offerings must be challenged as aborting the law. Even so, one must opt for law and risk the frequent abortive statements of law else structure is gone and chaos engulfs or tyranny rules. Then freedom evaporates into license or freezes into despotism.

The third civilizing thrust lies in the understanding of the nature of grace or gracefulness or graciousness. Grace is unmerited favor. We experience this daily in our families and among associates — even with strangers. It is care for others. It is manifest in acting toward others as persons not as things. It is acceptance of others as they are. Such statements as “Children of God” and “brothers” seek to capture this characteristic of grace because such action is a central characteristic of our experience of the universe. But grace never exhibits lack of information, prejudice toward those one likes and against those one scarcely knows or dislikes, or other forms of carelessness. Nor is it approval of prejudice in oneself or others, even though we are filled with prejudices.

The view expressed here leads not to the “let’s stumble upon issues and decide under pressure what to do,” and that in the name of “good judgment.” It leads to a few clear rules embodying the wisdom of many, positive in formulation, carefully understood and impartially enforced (given human frailty). In such

enforcement one does not assume infinite wisdom. Nor does one condemn the other as a lost soul when the rule is "broken." Nor does one waive or forget the rule or the violation. These are held clearly in mind while the healing forces of the community are brought to bear upon the broken relationship. Grace is seen in forgiveness within the rule of law — in justice. The rights to a fair hearing and impartial judgment are such acts of healing. Human rights are set firmly within a community of *persons who voluntarily cooperate*. Thus, none is thrust out beyond the realm of law and none thrust outside of the reach of grace, although one may live so as to reject both.

These are days filled with sadness. The world is so out of joint that the university swirls with hate and other forms of unreason. The university, no less than the world about us, is torn with suspicion, coarse and uncivil behavior, lack of purpose, unwillingness to seek purposes broader than one's private realm. Riots are so common on campuses and cities that only the more violent reach our attention. Injuries and death stalk the riots. Universities close. Our universities and the nation seem to blunder from one disaster and shattered hope to the next.

Inflammatory rhetoric sears the airways and scorches the pages of the press in the pattern of the worst of the yellow journalism and demagoguery of the past. Sloganeering and violent behavior seem to be the order of the day. The indifference or spastic emotional outbursts we exhibit toward war in Vietnam, Cambodia, the Middle East, or the destruction of our environment, or the suffering of the many minorities in our land bespeak serious flaws in our moral and rational fibers. We lash out at those whom we label "subversives," no longer able to see that our own immoral, irrational reactions delay or destroy solutions to problems. Our frustrations with the gaps between 20th century hopes and abilities to achieve those hopes all but overwhelm us.

It is easy to give in to despair in the face of the world's — our world's — problems. It is an easy cop out, to resort to reviling and violence. It is easy to join the silent majority — in Homer's sense: the dead.

In such moments the legends surrounding Moses offer rich sustenance. One is especially pertinent. Moses led his people

from slavery in Egypt into the wilderness of freedom. The wilderness often refers to the place where there is no path. The structure of law is there but not well-worn paths.

So we must work within the law or framework of dynamic change. We must live with eyes open to mutability, at home — but not at rest or at ease — within the instability of the universe, while committed to worthy human ends on behalf of which we act.

We must learn to live within the pattern of governance which we are always in the process of approving. The pattern and philosophy of governance on a campus set the style for performance in the college. The authoritarian outlook breeds sly contempt in the older and younger members of the college. The anarchistic outlook fosters first chaos then tyranny with its heavy emphasis against the spirit of law, structure or restraint. The proprietary or paternalistic outlook sponsors apathy and possessiveness. Both are equally against law.

The *unyielding* pressure to reform or to avoid reform will destroy a college through violence or paralysis. A college is held together by the most gentle, fragile bonds: goodwill, respect, tolerance, reasonableness. These bonds are easy to snap. We must celebrate them in our daily ways of living together. The process of self-government is educational. We all stand to learn and appreciate the problems and our skills when we work together practicing the liberal arts we so often talk about.

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1. Bolt, Robert, *A Man For All Seasons*, New York: Scholastic Book Services, 1969 (1960).
 2. Plato, *CRITO*, Tr. Harold North Fowler, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914, 50, A-B.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 54, B-C.

LAMENT

Dig, dig, dig;
Plant, plant, plant.
Alas, 'tis springtime once again.

Would that the Almighty
In his infinite mercy
Had ordained perpetual winter,
With its regal ridges clad in ermine,
Its juncos and chickadees,
Its titmice and tree sparrows —

Without summer's sowbugs and leaf hoppers,
Its dandelions and buck plantain,
Its ragweed and goldenrod,
Its mosquitoes and gnats and other noisome insects
Too numerous to mention.

O blessed winter,
How ardently I yearn for thee
And thy happy, joyful time,
When one may sit contentedly
In the genial warmth of a glowing fire
And read "a tale which holdeth children from play
And old men from the chimney corner." But

Alas, 'tis springtime once again.
Plant, plant, plant;
Dig, dig, dig.

James K. Ray

ENCORE DES LIONS

We drove over the sparse landscape of Mali between Bamako and Mopti in the dim light of approaching dawn, our eyes on the road ahead. Moving shadows at the sides of the road. "Beaucoup de lions! Encore des lions," Burkhardt observed repeatedly. And we laughed at how his wit had transformed blurred images of men and domestic animals. In this way Burkhardt, a German with years of experience in Africa, hinted at a common misconception that the continent from one side to the other abounds in wild game.

Between Burkhardt and me in the back seat of the Land Rover was a young Malian tour agent being transferred from Bamako to Mopti. The constant exchange of observations and puns which he and Burkhardt maintained set the conversational tone of the trip. A new note was sounded when at mid-point we got out of the car to stretch our legs. It was not the discovery of a book on the shelf behind the rear seat which took Burkhardt by surprise. It was a glance at the title. The German was chagrined to learn that the young Malian was in the process of reading a Russian version of the Nürnberg trials. The discussion which ensued was not so much on war crimes as on the relative positions of winners and losers in war. Burkhardt, to be sure, cautioned the young man about the assumed propagandistic character of the book. The caution was unnecessary. Malians had learned something about propaganda from the French during World War II when contrary to French propaganda it became apparent that the Germans in Africa were not intent upon devouring Malians. Furthermore, we were assured that the young man had read other versions of the trials in order to draw his own conclusions. His reading was part of a broader effort to understand the economic, geographic, and political causes of war. Would his landlocked country, as it developed, fight for access to the sea? This kind of concern, intelligence, and eagerness to learn seem characteristic of many young Africans today. One would not recognize them through old Tarzan movies.

Burkhardt was an equally fascinating companion with a rich sense of humor and a healthy balance between self-esteem and humility. His "Bi-be" story reveals something of himself and

serves to highlight one of the problems involved in researching within a foreign culture. A certain professor published an article on a linguistic study he had made in West Africa. He had, among other aspects of his study, shown the same coin to one African after another, asking essentially, "What do you call this?" Each referred to the coin as a "bi-be". Everywhere he had asked, the word for coin seemed surprisingly the same. Now Burkhardt, a thoroughly familiar figure in Mali, the Cameroons and elsewhere in Africa, makes no claim to expertise, but thoroughly enjoys pointing out an expert's errors. So it was both his duty and his delight to call the professor and reveal that "bi-be" is pidjin English for big beast. How illusive the obvious can be! The natives had responded to the image on the coin, not to the coin itself.

So, avoiding any pretension to expertise, I hope only to share my interest in art and man, which at this time focuses within West Africa. It was the dynamic visual order of African masks which first interested me in African art. Behind each powerful mask is the strength and conviction of a man, an artist, and a community which supports the beliefs in which the mask participates. These beliefs, I know, find expression in other forms as well - in architecture, for example, or in dance ritual. For back of the structure of the masks, the architecture, and the dance is a panoramic view of the human situation, by means of which the community attempts to order and comprehend man's unique position.

The distinguishing nature of human experience is explicit in myths of the original state of man and his fall from grace. The account in the book of Genesis is well known to those within the Judeo-Christian tradition although its significance is generally overlooked. Less familiar are the myths of other cultures which express essentially the same intuitive grasp of the human situation.

The various African peoples each have their own mythology. Widely held is the belief in a supreme God, creator of the universe, who originally dwelt among men or close to men in the sky immediately overhead. Then, the stories continue, as a result of one or another human fault, God removed himself from close proximity to man and since that time has dwelt higher in the heavens.

The Mende of Sierra Leone say that God the Creator made everything, man last of all. God promised man that he could have anything he asked. But being troubled too frequently by human demands, God withdrew into the high heavens — not, however, without the admonition that men should live together in harmony. God gave man and woman a fowl each for sacrifice to him in the event that they wronged each other. Thus ritual sacrifice was instituted to reconcile humans to each other and to their creator. At the same time, man's dominion over other species is implicit. Sacrifice is thus born of the need to order human relationships, man's relationship to the source of his being, and man's relationship to other creatures.

Throughout West Africa both grain and yams are pounded in a large wooden mortar with a wooden pestle four to five feet long. African women spend a great deal of time and energy in this activity. Working rhythmically they raise the pestle high and let it fall with a thud. In myths common from the Ivory Coast to Nigeria women are blamed for bumping God or hitting him in the eye with the pestle. This indignity caused God to withdraw higher into the sky.

Another common practice in West Africa figures in a different explanation of God's retreat. Burning dry grass and brush to prepare farm plots is so extensively practiced that the sky at night glows with the red of fires and the pink haze of smoke. Irritated by the smoke and perhaps annoyed by man's inconsiderate behavior, God withdrew to a point where the air was less contaminated by man's fires. And man was left to make sense out of human experience. Here he stands alienated from his creator, frequently at odds with himself and his fellow men and confronted with forces outside himself which he seeks to comprehend and control.

In each of the African myths (and many more might be cited) the alienation of man from God results in God's withdrawal to a place where he is less accessible to man than he was originally. Each of the myths points to man's emergent consciousness of his uniqueness as a species, his awareness of his estrangement from the source of being. This consciousness may be equated with the birth of man as a species. We may express man's distinctive nature in terms of a manifest psychological need to belong once more, to establish relationships, to find his place in the scheme of things. And we may look at the structures which man has

created as efforts to shape human experience, thus fulfilling the need for relatedness.

Myths, themselves, are of course verbal structures which man has created for the ordering and comprehension of the human situation. Myths are the verbal correlatives of ritual and architecture. Some myths are perpetuated by works of art and rituals associated with them. For example, the antelope headpiece of the Bambara of Mali is used in agricultural rites at planting time to commemorate the event when Chi Wara, a mythical being, taught the Bambara how to cultivate corn. The headpieces are paired, male and female, in the ritual dance although both are worn by men. The man who wears the male headpiece is designated as Chi Wara, and is selected for his ability to dance. The name Chi Wara is also used for an excellent farmer, one able to work like an animal (as does the mythical Chi Wara) throughout the hot day in the fields. The ritual serves to support the way of life of an agricultural community. The aspirations of the people for a successful crop are answered in part because each farmer seeks to emulate Chi Wara.

My recent trip into Dogon territory in Mali was prompted by a desire to see and photograph visual evidence of what extensive studies have revealed as a complex and highly structured life style within a rather inhospitable environment. The masks of the Dogon which I had seen and the few photographs of their stone and mud architecture had evidenced a visual order of exceptional strength. Walking through their villages I was struck by the feeling that life moves through the Dogon people in a special way — the measure of their creative response to life, their structuring of order into the human situation.

Life demands interaction between the organism and its environment. On the specifically human level, the problem is to select and incorporate within our lives that which strengthens through complementing the existing structure, or that which may revitalize by upsetting the balance and allowing for a reintegration of our lives on a higher or more inclusive plane. The foregoing is as true of the group as it is of the individual. I found the high-level integration of visual forms in Dogon territory inspiring evidence of meaningfully structured lives.

First, one is impressed by the rugged cliffs of Bandiagara where Dogon lives are strengthened by the effort required to maintain life. At Ireli water is obtained from a spring half-way up the cliffside fissure. It is quite a climb without any burden. Descent with a twenty to thirty inch diameter clay pot full of water on one's head is precarious. Small wonder it is that many broken pots lie beneath the narrow trail. When the well of the neighboring village grows dry, as it does annually, the women of that village walk over the sand trails of the plain to Ireli, climb to the spring, and return to their own village. Chosen as a natural fortification against enemies and outside influence in earlier days, this beautiful, arid land itself challenges the Dogon. (Figure 1).

Next, the organic relationship of the architecture to the cliffs becomes apparent. Descending from the plateau into Ireli one comes upon evidence of the magnificent adaption of Dogon architecture to the site upon which it is built. The first buildings one discovers in this descent are within the recesses of the cliffside itself. Part of the space is enclosed. Part of it remains open, becoming an outside room. The balance between rock surface and cave-like space is retained. (Figure 2).

Where a structure is built in the open, as are those shelters constructed exclusively for the use of the men, it too is related to its site. Here in Ireli, the base of the men's shelter is an outcropping of rock. (Figure 4) Part of the base remains undressed and completely natural, but where the base is extended by a rock fill it is squared off and plastered with mud. The columns are piled rocks which are plastered over so that they become beautifully tapered columns which support the timbers, which in turn support layer upon layer of small branches to a depth of about four feet. These comprise the roof. The effect is monumental although the structure is not of great size. It is related to nature but at the same time clearly ordered by human design. The men's shelter as an institution is geographically widespread but, so far as I know, nowhere in Africa outside of Dogon territory does it become elevated to the status of architecture. The importance of these shelters in the life style of the Dogon is suggested by the artistic level which has been achieved in building them.

Typically, these shelters are located at or near an outer edge of the village overlooking the plain below. Marcel Griaule, the

French anthropologist and writer on Dogon culture, has indicated that the smith's shelter and the men's shelter, together, form the symbolic head of the village. The two are juxtaposed at the north end of Ogul du Bas. In other villages the plan may not follow exactly the same arrangement. However, there can be no doubt that the men's shelter in each village is physically set apart and symbolically important as the focus of male authority.

If the men's shelter is the head, the women's houses are reportedly the hands. Again in Ogul du Bas they are located according to plan at the edges of the village. They are cylindrical stone structures too low, I should think, for most women to stand within. But each month, during their menstrual period, the women sleep in these shelters.

Design sensitivity is everywhere apparent in Dogon communities. The Dogon share with their neighbors in the Western Sudan a disposition to juxtapose rectilinear and cylindrical forms. Elsewhere in the Sudan it seems to be a matter of personal choice today whether a home is constructed on a circular or rectangular plan. However, as the Dogon use these forms, symbolic significance may often be the determining factor. Family homes are rectilinear but their kitchens are often attached cylinders. Cylindrical towers are a part of the design of ancestral homes. The modestly scaled granaries may be either circular or square at the base. Strikingly effective, too, is the combination of mud-surfaced buildings, stone walls, and thatched granary roofs. (Figure 3)

In December, protected from the sheep by a viney, pecan-colored fence, the onion gardens show their dense green tucked against a yellow-flowered groundcover. But before the onions have grown so luxuriant the gardens hold still another interest. Low mud walls subdivide the onion gardens into units which are roughly six feet square. The architectural order of the garden plan serves to enable systematic watering of one unit at a season when the water must be carried in a calabash to the garden plot. In the rainy season, the same walls, used sometimes in connection with terraces, would serve to conserve water and prevent erosion. (Figure 5)

The lineage houses (Figure 6) with their geometric play of light and dark echo the treatment of the gardens. In the facade of these houses there is, however, greater variety in the design.

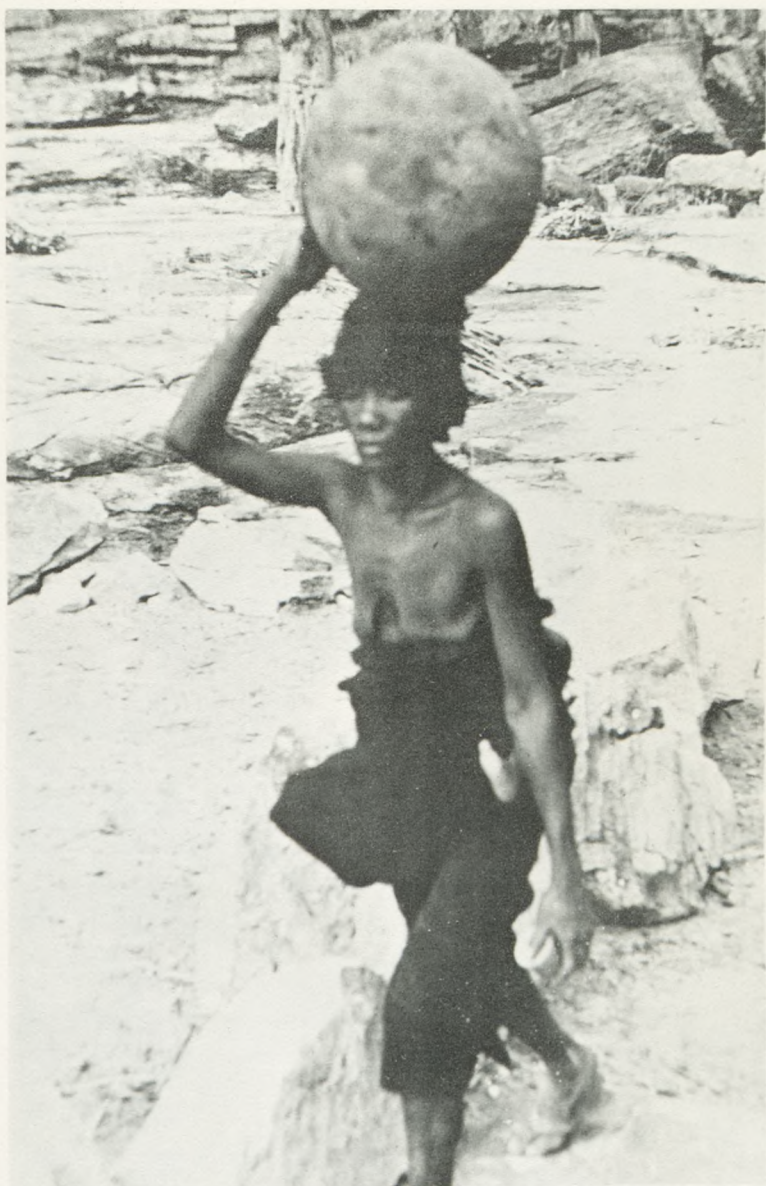


Figure 1. Dogon woman carrying water

Photographs by the author



Figure 2. Cliffside dwelling



Figure 3. Granaries

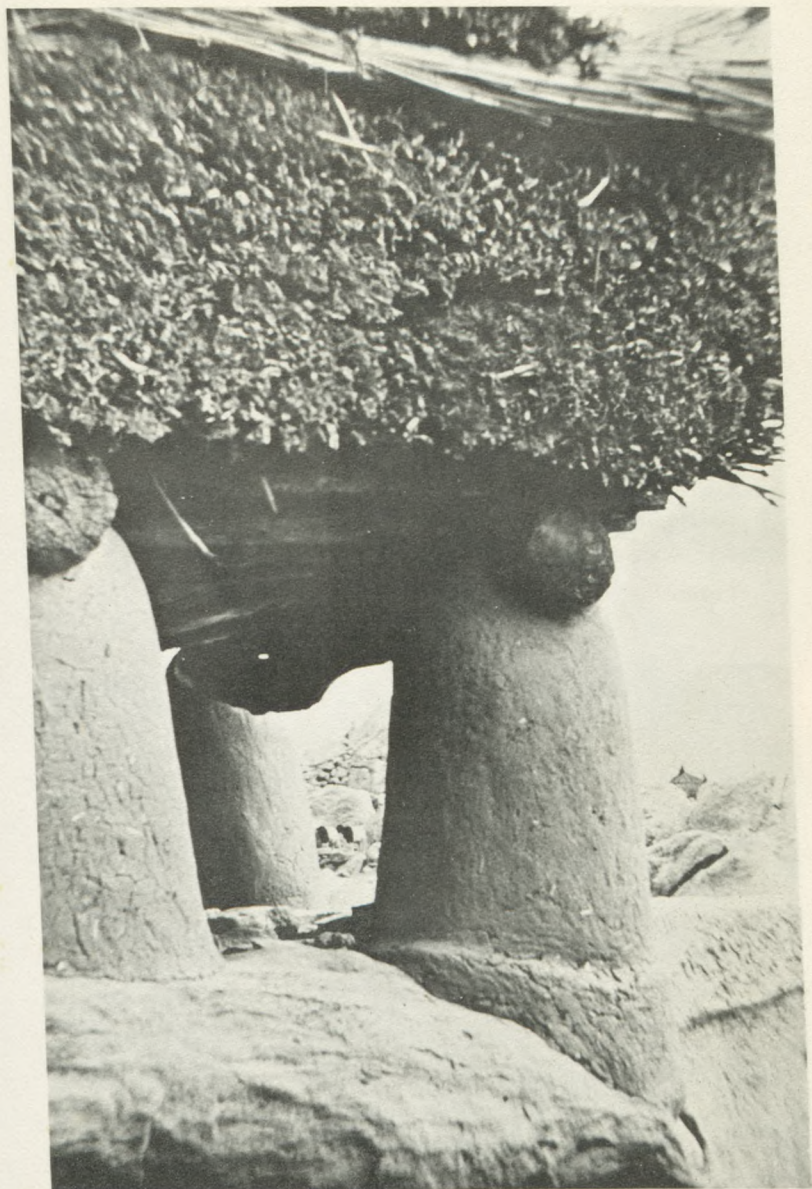


Figure 4. Men's shelter



Figure 5. Onion garden



Figure 6. Lineage house

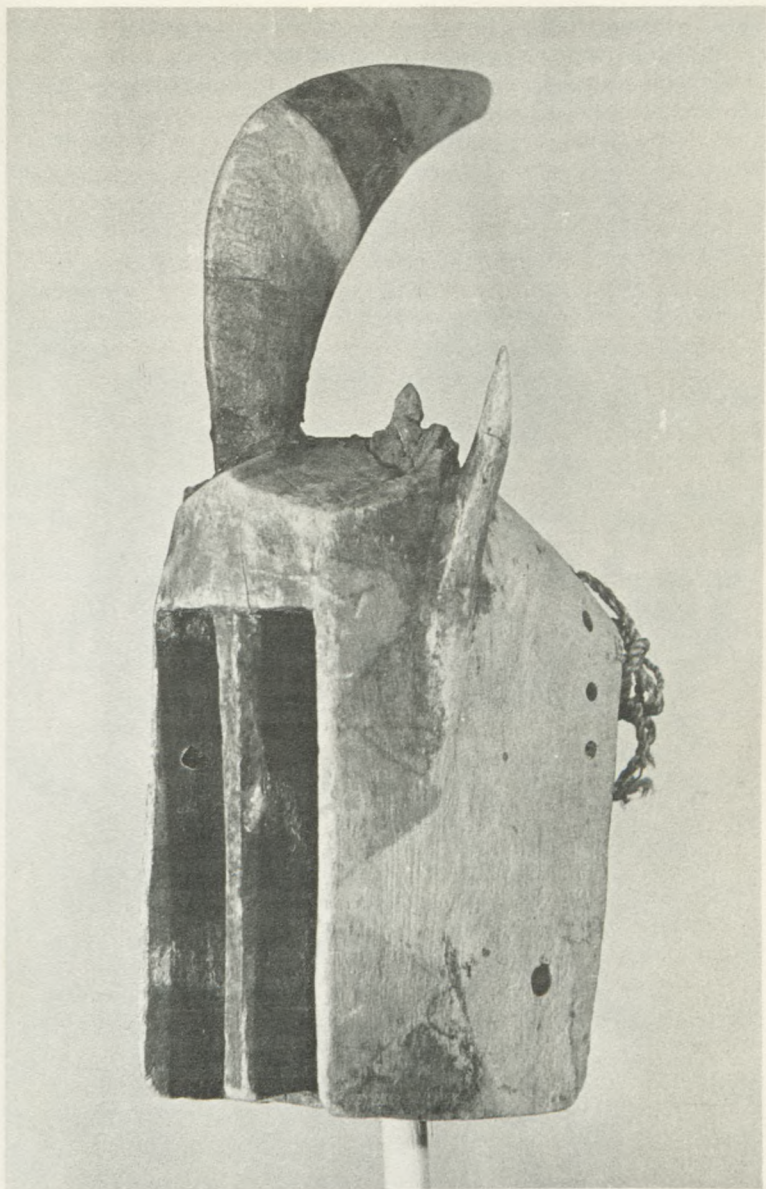


Figure 7. Dogon mask

(Otterbein College collection)



Figure 8. Dogon dancers: Kanaga masks in action

Here the treatment provides an open and inviting quality to the building and affords the structural strength required without a heavy continuous wall. Furthermore, the pattern on the facade has reportedly a symbolic function. According to Griaule the facade with its "incised lines of shadow separated by bright surfaces . . . resembles the appearance of cultivated fields and the alternation of light and shadow in the rows of hillocks . . . This is a way of calling to mind the fact that the processes of germination and gestation are of the same kind."¹ Thus relationships which are recognized immediately on sight are upon investigation revealed as fundamental in the way the Dogon structure their world view.

The deeply recessed areas of the lineage house facade are seen again in Dogon masks. (Figure 7). The quality of abstraction in which planes are reduced to sharp verticals and horizontals and in which recessed areas are deep and dark is stark and impressive. The visual strength of Dogon masks confirms their spiritual power. A geometric order (which is, however, not rigid) pervades the structures the Dogon have created.

Although the masks are impressive enough in themselves, their drama is intensified by the beat of the drums, the shouts, and the movement of the dancers. Each of the many masks has its own role. It is known that the Kanaga mask (Figure 8) storms the roof of the deceased at a certain point in the funeral rite. It is said that the spirit of the dead is thus chased from the house. Beyond this there seems to be a ritual connection of heaven and earth in the movement of the Kanaga mask and also that of the ten to thirty foot high Grand mask. Each mask, during the dance, touches the ground and reaches into the sky. The superstructure of the Kanaga mask completes a circle in swift movement. Leaning backward with the mask high, the dancer moves to his left and then down. The tip of the superstructure brushes the ground and the movement continues to the right and up once more. The tall, vertical Grand mask is brought slowly forward until it touches the ground and then is brought slowly again to an upright position. In funerals and other rituals, the masks function along with costume, music, and prescribed movement in shaping the significance of crisis situations in Dogon life.

I have wondered whether the significance of even a casual meeting on a path may not be assured by a kind of ritualistic, customary behavior. As they approach and pass one another

Dogon people each exchange a greeting again and again until the distance between them diminishes the sound of their voices. I wonder what their greeting means. Are their lives thus strengthened, by caring and letting each other know that they care?

As I walked the sandy plain and climbed through Dogon villages, the men's shelters, the onion gardens, the lineage houses, each in turn, emerged from the pale light of dawn and became clear in the full light of day over the cliffs of Bandiagara. In interactions with their environment and with each other the Dogon have selected and incorporated that which has strengthened their lives over the centuries in which they have lived together in their cliffside environment. Dogon lives will inevitably change through interaction with the wider world. I sincerely hope that they will be reintegrated on as meaningful a level as that which they have achieved in the years of their isolation in their remote and beautiful homeland.

¹Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen, "The Dogon", *African Worlds*, ed. Forde (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 96.

MYTH AND REALITY IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

In 1952, after hearing a speech delivered by Adlai Stevenson, then Democratic nominee for President of the United States, a man in the audience shouted out, "Every right thinkin' man and woman in the United States will vote for you, Mr. Stevenson." Stevenson replied, "Thank you, sir, but that isn't good enough — I need a majority!" And so too, today, this country needs a majority (preferably a very large majority) — citizens who will keep themselves informed of changing events and the reasons behind our actions and inactions, in order to judge intelligently the policies and principles which direct this great nation.

Almost eight years ago, President John F. Kennedy asserted that our principal adversary was not the Russians but rather our own unwillingness to do what must be done. But it is exceedingly difficult, regardless of our occupations, background or interest, to keep pace with the changing face of domestic and international politics today.

In the recent and ever-changing public discussion of policy issues, it has become evident that the language and ideas of the Cold War no longer serve as adequate guides to international politics. This is not because the conflict of purposes described by the designation "Cold War" no longer exists, but because this conflict is no longer the *dominating* fact of international politics and because the sources of this conflict (between Communist and non-Communist) have been changing.

International politics has been marked by stages in the two decades of the Cold War. The first stage was characterized by the Soviet effort to consolidate Eastern Europe, a period in which the United States saw the Soviet leadership reinforce its attitudes of suspicion and hostility toward the West, which had originated decades earlier. Following the close of World War II, the American citizen felt a deep sense of bitterness and betrayal when he saw an ally in the war, the Soviet Union, begin to engulf much of Eastern Europe, resort to the veto in the United Nations, and threaten Western Europe with aggression. The initial response of our nation was slow and lacking in direction, but the United States did act to counter these new Soviet moves with the

Truman Plan, our policy of containment of Communism, the very successful Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift, and of course the formation of the Western Alliance (NATO).

Events happened so quickly that many Americans mistakenly viewed the successive Soviet moves as a result of treason and espionage here at home. The Alger Hiss and Fuchs treason cases erupted, revealing what seemed to be episodes of cloak and dagger spying and espionage. The inevitable result, or second stage in the political scene of the Cold War, was the most unfortunate McCarthy episode which threatened, in a flagrant and unwarranted fashion, many forward-thinking men in the councils of government. But after the McCarthy episode passed, and the public learned that all of its troubles were not caused by spies or information leaks or misuse of power, the Soviets continued to make great strides in military and missile technology.

It is now evident, in retrospect, that America and its people were sadly unprepared for the complexities and the burdens which are a necessary, and sometimes undesirable, consequence of being a superpower — a superpower which had quickly acquired, but had not sought, the mantle of leadership in the Western world. Gradually and painfully we have learned that

It is not the revolution of Marx and Lenin that is transforming the world, but the radical efforts of modern military technology; the new forms and uses of energy in non-military technology, such as transportation and communications; the continued upsurge of industrial techniques in the already industrial areas, with profound consequences for their societies; and the explosive force of nationalism in the former colonial areas and, to some extent, in the industrial parts of the world as well.¹

What has changed the political landscape so drastically in some twenty years? The world has seen the creation of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons in quantity. Within any several units of these weapons is the destructive capability of all the bomb tonnage dropped by both sides during World War II. The world public has observed the near-end of colonialism with the radical and quick decolonization of the British, French, Belgian, Dutch, and Italian colonies. These new states are weak politically and weak militarily, and cry out to the Western world for assistance, just at a time when the United States seems to be turning more inward. We have seen the negative effects of a spiraling arms race, which not only threatens our very existence as a civiliza-

tion, but robs our economy of seventy-five billion dollars a year in defense expenditures. Unless the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is adhered to by all signatories, the interested public may find one morning in the newspapers that there are fifteen, twenty, or thirty nations which possess the ability to start a nuclear war and to involve the United States and the Soviet Union in conflict they neither seek nor can end peaceably. What then has happened in twenty years? The whole terrain of international politics has been *radically* transformed since World War II and the seeds of this revolutionary change have essentially not been the making of either the United States or the Soviet Union.

Both countries find themselves in the midst of the "revolution of rising expectations" and seek *mutually* "to widen the community of the concerned"² to deal with problems which they alone cannot resolve. Both superpowers have discovered to their awe and disbelief that their individual and mutual security results *not* from their large stockpile of nuclear weapons, but from their mutual vulnerability and fear, not only of one another, but of a host of other states neither superpower can control nor understand. Today, for example, one could argue (and I think recent history can support this view) that the North-South division in our world (the haves vs. the have-nots) is a source of tension in United States foreign policy almost as great, if not greater, than the East-West conflict. Strife and struggle in the underdeveloped world can set off and have triggered East-West conflict, as illustrated in Laos, the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Cyprus, the Middle East, and most significantly in Vietnam. In effect, local or domestic political clashes today have the potential of becoming international conflict tomorrow, pulling both the United States and the Soviet Union into the maelstrom of confrontation.

Moreover, the costs — financial, political, social — of involvement and confrontation have become staggering. Every month the United States remains in Vietnam it is costing us two billion dollars (and therefore two billion dollars *less* spent on badly needed domestic necessities such as mental health, education, job retraining, and pollution control). Furthermore, if the immediate post World War II years and the aftermath of Korea are valid precedents, the cost to our nation for stabilizing the war-torn Vietnamese economy after the war there is concluded will be enormous. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird has stated repeatedly that the de-escalation of the war in Indochina will not

necessarily mean a scaling down in the defense budget or a reallocation of defense monies to the civilian sector. Vietnam involvement also prevents the United States from acting in a major way in other parts of the world. Even if we had wanted to assist Czechoslovakia, for example, it is doubtful whether we would have had the capacity to muster military assistance to central Europe, when we have one million men tied up in Vietnam and elsewhere overseas. Our options to action are limited and less centralized with a military establishment that is spread out globally, from Thule, Greenland to Ascension Island in the South Atlantic; from Bodo, Norway to Soctrang in the Vietnam Delta. This dispersal causes severe problems as the capture of the intelligence ship, *Pueblo*, has amply demonstrated.

One can only estimate the nature and degree of social costs stemming from our extended involvement in Indochina. We do know that approximately one-half of those presently unemployed are ex-servicemen, most of whom are veterans of Vietnam. We do not yet know, however, the long-term costs of removing this many young men from their normal or expected life styles. Nor have we yet measured the potential impact of returning Vietnam veterans on the existing psychological and social mores of society.

To conclude, the United States is a superpower — indeed, perhaps the most powerful nation this small earth has ever seen — but its power, influence, and action have their limits. One need not come to the conclusion that we ought to dissociate ourselves from the rest of the world. A return to isolationism is no longer possible today, and certainly not very desirable when one considers that our security and prosperity are no longer guaranteed by the great and expansive oceans which wash our shores on east and west. On the contrary, it is imperative that the United States government (the Executive and the Congress) be well aware of this nation's capacity for action, the costs of inaction, and the absolute necessity of informing its citizenry wherever and whenever possible of the nature and extent of our commitments, providing the American public with the information an intelligent society needs to evaluate the role of this nation in the complex world situation. More than ever the American people need a chief executive who understands the complexity, the limits, and the effects of foreign policy decision-making. The nation needs a Congress of the highest talents to act in a positive way, formulating, questioning, criticizing, and evaluating the nature and purpose of our commitments at home and overseas.

The country needs citizens willing to take the time to be informed.

This close scrutiny of complicated foreign policy issues is enormously difficult to accomplish. In the first place, the United States maintains forty-three different security commitments, codified in formal treaties, to foreign states. In addition, this country has signed dozens of executive agreements which do not require Senate consent or approval and yet pledge us to support the respective state on certain security issues. We also are committed, without treaty or executive agreement, to the security of other states such as Israel and Ethiopia.

These and other political affiliations and security guarantees arose largely in response to particular existing or potential threats to world peace and security. In this sense many commitments, and thereby specific foreign policies, were made in the heat of fear and emotional reaction. In these instances United States foreign policy was formulated neither by the Congress nor the American people but by reaction to rapidly changing events and potential ruptures in the Western defense line.

In such circumstances the American people have had little or no say about how their sons or dollars were to be committed overseas. For this reason the national interest of the United States requires an inquisitive and informed citizenry to ask for reasoned, intelligent, and sound answers to questions about those issues of foreign policy which determine and can threaten the lives and prosperity of all Americans.

¹Marshall D. Shulman, *Beyond the Cold War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 18-19.

²Both of these phrases, now common political vernacular, were coined by the Honorable Harlan Cleveland, former Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs (1961-65), former U.S. Ambassador to NATO (1965-69), and presently serving as President of the University of Hawaii.

William T. Hamilton

BOOK REVIEW

Studs Terkel, *HARD TIMES: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION*. Pantheon, 1970, 462 pp.

An oral history is, at least in Mr. Terkel's view, what you get when you place a tape recorder in front of dozens of people who have had some interesting experience and let them talk. Stated like that, however, the definition provides no notion of what a remarkable book this is. Every formal historical statement of what the Depression was — in economic, political or social terms — somehow comes to seem hollow and meaningless in light of the very personal experiences this book recounts.

The author has — wisely, I think — refrained from providing anything but the loosest scheme of organization for this book. Politicians and historians, writers and singers, Sally Rand and Alfred Landon, sharecroppers badly beaten and millionaires hardly touched by the Great Crash, all tell what they can remember of their story. Nearly two hundred people tell their tales, and the resulting confusion is intriguing, painful, entertaining and finally, in a variety of odd ways, heartening.

A few generalizations emerge, or at least this reviewer thinks they do. America, and most Americans, survived. They do not, however, agree on how. Some think it was Roosevelt and the New Deal, but others will obviously go to their graves believing that Roosevelt's conservatism prevented more basic, constructive changes in our economic system. Others believe that only World War II ended the Depression. And, incredibly, some went through the period not really believing that there had been such a thing as a Great Depression.

Many of these accounts, especially some of those by people who have remained impoverished to this day, testify to a spirit of community, a sense of innovation and experiment among the down-and-out, that made the Depression, in spite of its hardships, an exciting time to live through. Much of this is, no doubt, nostalgia, but it is a tribute to the human personality that it *can* be nostalgic about such suffering. Naturally, many of these old-timers doubt that the young today could survive such an ordeal.

They may be right, but there is some reason to hope that the same resources of the spirit could be called up again.

One hopes that many Americans, both those on the Right and those on the Left, will read this book. A great love for America emerges from many of these pages, but it is not a simple "from-sea-to-shining-sea" kind of emotion. It is a love, instead, for what, in not-so-distant times, has been the American experience. There are not many straightforward pledges of allegiance to America as it is and as it was and always must be. Instead, America is seen as a process, a struggle: Communists and socialists, "wobblies" and Catholic Anarchists, farmer radicals, Republicans and Democrats, unembarrassed capitalists and followers of Huey Long, all contributed to this creative and exciting process of change that went on during the 'thirties; they all, in contradictory ways, demonstrated their credentials as Americans.

Beyond the ideas *Hard Times* challenges the reader to consider, the book is so readable, so lively, that one is challenged to reconsider his definitions of literature. We usually think of literature as involving a high degree of control, of craftsmanship. Terkel's respondents were simply asked to talk. What we get, then, is largely unrehearsed speech, and it is often filled with undirected syntax, sloppy grammar, and ideas that get lost as the mind wanders. And yet these monologues have considerable life in them. Many of them are filled with wit and irony, and traces of the kind of tall-tale humor that comes from deep in the American past. One Southern minister reports that he was born "so far back in the sticks that they had to pump in daylight to make morning." And in many of these accounts there are other kinds of poetry, including a touching statement by a young man of today who compares the raft he would like to drift down the Mississippi on with the ship his depression-scarred father always hoped would come in. Many of Terkel's respondents are blessed with remarkable image-making memories; they recall or can recreate the taste of sardines of forty years ago and the color of American cities and towns in a turbulent time. Many of the resources that go into making literature are strikingly present here: a dozen or more of Terkel's respondents have provided embryonic novels, plays and memoirs, all in their own pungent language. One would have to be rather stuffy to deny the title of "literature" to such outpourings. Since *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, American writers have tried to capture American speech rhythms; *Hard Times* testifies that the effort is worthwhile.

BEYOND QUESTION

Kansas was virgin then and, to the eyes
From orchard country, bare but in no wise barren,
Open to claim stake, shaped by a turning year,
A sun, a wind unknown to fruited land.
Love's claim (was it on earth or wanderer?)
That limestone fencepost on the treeless soil.

How does spring come to Kansas? We do not know,
We who from orchard country, passing by,
Bemused by sun, stretched to horizon view,
Have asked what prairie flowers grace the spring.

I hold a banded agate in my hand,
Playing its polished whorls in changeless turns
Where sifting silica has made chalcedony.

What are the generations of the gentle?
What claiming loves have silent come and gone
That mold the firmness of a single touch?

For I was passing wanderer, once – and I
Felt that claim stake of love to time and place
In orchard country. I know its seasons now,
Its smudge pots in the frost, its heavy harvest,
And what I do not ask is why we cherish fruit
Nor why we did not plant the orchards that we tend.
I only ask of Kansas and the stone
What is the claim on love of time and place,
Of troubled orchard in a settled land?

Sylvia Vance

JOHN MILTON'S POETIC CONVERSION

Puritanism arose in England early in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued as a religious movement for approximately a hundred years. The chief aim of the adherents of Puritanism was "either to 'purify' the usage of the established church from taint of popery or to worship separately by forms so 'purified.'"¹ But Puritanism had a profound influence upon the whole of English life and culture. It contributed to the development of democracy, it imposed a new vision of morality upon English society, it encouraged universal education,² and not least, it gave to England one of her greatest poets in the person of John Milton.

Milton was born in London on December 9, 1608, the son of a prosperous scrivener (a writer of legal documents). Milton's father, also named John, had been reared a Catholic, but had converted to Protestantism. As a result, his father, Richard, had turned him out of the house and disinherited him.

The bitter strife over religion that had marred the relationship between Milton's grandfather and father did not repeat itself in the scrivener's household. So far as we can discern, Milton's father made no attempt to impose prescribed religious views on him. Indeed, he encouraged Milton to read widely for himself, and to establish his own intellectual perspectives. Milton tells us in his own words:

My father had me daily instructed in the grammer-school and by other masters at home. He then, after I had acquired a proficiency in various languages, and had made a considerable progress in philosophy, sent me to the University of Cambridge.³

When Milton went to Cambridge in the spring of 1625, his delicate good looks and moral fastidiousness soon earned him the college nickname, "the Lady of Christ's."⁴ It was a nickname which he understandably disliked:

Why seem I to them too little of a man? Is there no regard for Prician? Do pert grammaticasters thus attribute the *propria quae maribus* to the feminine gender? Is it because I have never been able to quaff huge tankards

lustily, or because my hands have not grown hard by holding the plough, or because I have never, like a seven years' herdsman, laid myself down and snored at midday; in fine, perchance, because I have never proved my manhood in the same way as those debauched blackguards? I would they could as easily doff the ass as I can whatever of the woman is in me.⁵

Milton's high sense of moral purity has often been ridiculed by his literary critics. Dr. Johnson, for example, could hardly stomach Milton's "Turkish contempt of females."⁶ T. S. Eliot has said that Milton "as a man is antipathetic."⁷ Underlying the remarks of these critics is perhaps a regret that Milton, though a masterly poet, was a Puritan. Matthew Arnold, who is typical of this group, expressed this attitude explicitly when he wrote:

If there is a defect which, above all others, is signal in Milton, which injures him even intellectually, which limits him as a poet, it is the defect common to him with the whole Puritan party to which he belonged, — the fatal defect of temper. He and they may have a thousand merits, but they are unamiable. Excuse them how one will, Milton's asperity and acerbity, his want of sweetness of temper, of the Shakespearian largeness and indulgence, are undeniable.⁸

Although Puritanism in Arnold's opinion was detrimental to Milton as a poet, other commentators have argued that it was beneficial to him. David Masson, Milton's chief biographer, has said that Puritanism reinforced in Milton a "seriousness"⁹ of mind which was one of the qualities that made him a great religious poet. In my own opinion, Puritanism was beneficial to Milton, but not simply because it reinforced his seriousness. Rather, it was beneficial because it bestowed upon him a passionate feeling for an ultimate truth, a feeling which pervaded his finest art.

Geoffrey Nuttall, a prominent scholar of Puritan theology, argues that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit lay at the very heart of Puritan religious thought.¹⁰ This doctrine, of course, enjoyed a long and venerable tradition in the history of Christian thought prior to the age of Puritanism. Rooted in the event of Pentecost, it branched out and blossomed repeatedly in later historical periods. One such blossoming occurred in the middle ages in the thought of such men as the pseudo-Dionysius, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Meister Eckhart. These men were primarily mystics — meaning that they sought a spiritual union with God through definite steps of meditation. But they were also theologians of

the Holy Spirit in the sense that they emphasized the inner experience of belief.

Another blossoming of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit occurred in the thought of the reformers of the sixteenth century, notably in the early teaching of Luther.¹¹ In comparison with the mystics, Luther placed relatively little emphasis on the idea of spiritual union with God – which for the mystics was a transient experience – and a good deal of emphasis on the idea of the Holy Spirit as a power which continually fills the life of the believer.¹² His emphasis upon the inner experience of belief as opposed to the outer manifestation of works, and his conception of the Holy Spirit as the chief assistance in the correct interpretation of Scripture and as a necessary support in securing and maintaining belief were compatible with Puritan notions of the Holy Spirit.

The Puritans were by no means in accord among themselves, however, in their thinking on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Within Puritanism there were two poles of thought, one represented by the spiritualists (or antinomists) and the other represented by the legalists (or nomists).

The spiritualists believed that there had been two administrations of God's covenant, the Law and the Gospel. While they recognized that God had manifested his love for man through the Law – in providing man with a guide for his moral action – they maintained that God had manifested his love even more strongly through the Gospel – in freeing man from the strictures of the law and affording him direct access to the divine will through the voice of the Holy Spirit. The spiritualists therefore proclaimed an experiential religion which would subordinate the Scriptures to interpretations of those possessed of the Holy Spirit. The legalists, on the other hand, viewed the Scriptures as an infallible repository of oracles from which texts could be lifted out of their settings to guide men's moral action.

Two of the most influential spiritualists were Richard Sibbes (d. 1635), who lectured at Cambridge, and John Everard (d. 1650's), who preached in various pulpits in and around London. In his devotional tracts Sibbes emphasized the need for the believer to possess the "inner word"¹³ before he could understand the true meaning of the Scriptures. He also placed great stress on the Holy Spirit as opposed to learning as a guide to Christian living:

An illiterate man of another calling may be a better divine than a great scholar. Why? Because the one hath only notional knowledge, discursive knowledge. . .

God giveth knowledge *per modum gustus*. When things are to us as in themselves, then things have a sweet relish.¹⁴

In a similar vein, Everard declared that the Scriptures should not be taken literally, that their true significance was spiritual, and that real knowledge was "internal, spiritual, experimental."¹⁵

While Sibbes and Everard were spiritualists, Milton, at least in some of his writings, was a legalist. In his *Defense of the People of England* he could quote Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes and Joshua to prove that the king was bound by divine law to establish the right of a people to reject their king. Milton's prime authority in this tract (as in *The Reason of Church Government*) was Scripture itself, read as divine injunction.

But in other writings Milton recognized an authority apart from Scripture. In *De Doctrina Christiana*, for instance (a specifically theological work which Milton began in his youth and completed about 1661), he speaks of the "mysterious" and indwelling power of the Holy Spirit which he identifies with the power of "nature" (reason):

God's ordinary providence is that whereby he upholds and preserves the immutable order of causes appointed by him in the beginning. This is commonly, and indeed too frequently, described by the name of nature; for nature cannot possibly mean anything but the mysterious power and efficacy of that divine voice which went forth in the beginning, and to which, as to a perpetual command, all things have since paid obedience.¹⁶

In another passage Milton suggests the relationship between nature and the mind of man:

The Law of God is either written or unwritten. The unwritten law is no other than that law of nature given originally to Adam, and of which a certain remnant or imperfect illumination still dwells in the hearts of all mankind; which in the regenerate under the influence of the Holy Spirit is daily tending towards a renewal of its primitive brightness.¹⁷

We see in the above passage how personal an authority the unwritten law of nature could be for Milton, and in other passages he seems to view it as more authoritative than Scripture, or the written law of God:

Under the gospel we possess, as it were, a twofold Scripture; one external, which is the written word, and the other internal, which is the Holy Spirit, written in the hearts of believers, according to the promise of God and with the intent that it should by no means be neglected. . . Hence, although the external ground which we possess for our belief at the present day in the written word is highly important and in most instances at least prior in point of reception, that which is internal and the peculiar possession of each believer is far superior to all.¹⁸

In his stress upon nature or reason as an authority for the Christian life, Milton had a good deal in common with the group of Platonic philosopher-theologians who flourished at Cambridge in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century. For Milton, as for the Platonists, the term "reason" did not mean an indifferent mode of apprehending and deducing, but reason aided, regenerated, and sustained by God himself. The prominent Platonist and preacher Benjamin Whichcote said in his "Sermon on the Exercise and Progress of a Christian":

I find that some men take offence to have reason spoken of out of a pulpit, or to hear those great words of natural light or principles of reason and conscience. They are doubtless in a mighty mistake. . . . There is no inconsistency between the grace of God and the calling upon men carefully to use, improve, and employ the principles of God's creation. . . . Indeed, this is a very profitable work to call upon men to answer the principles of their creation, to answer natural conscience, to be throughout rational in what they do; for these things have a divine foundation. The spirit in man is the candle of the Lord, lighted by God, and lighting men to God.¹⁹

Insofar as Milton and the Platonists insisted that reason in man is a gift of God, a candle that is "lighted by God," they had something in common with such spiritualists as Sibbes and Everard. The presupposition shared by all these men was that the real instrument of religion was not to be looked for in thought and discursive inference. They combated logical as well as theological dogmatics, and dogmatics of understanding as well as those of faith. For in both they saw an obstacle to that intuitive grasp of the divine which could spring only from the fundamental disposition of the heart. My intention is not to blur real distinctions between "rationalists" such as Milton and the Platonists, and spiritualists such as Sibbes and Everard. (One main distinction was their different attitudes toward sectarianism. The "rationalists" tended to be latitudinarian, while the spiritualists tended to be sectarian.) I merely wish to suggest

that when a "rationalist" like Milton used the term "Holy Spirit," it had much the same connotation as when the spiritualists used it. It connoted the principle of intuitive knowledge of the divine, as personified in the third person of the Trinity.

From the Puritan point of view, the receiving of the Holy Spirit resulted in an experience of conversion, or a turning from intellectual-moral-spiritual darkness to intellectual-moral-spiritual light. Only after receiving the Holy Spirit could one claim himself a true Christian. "The Puritans," writes A.S.P. Woodhouse, "(though in different degrees) were men who had undergone a religious experience, whose effect was to bestow a new unity of feeling upon their thoughts."²⁰ Is it possible to discover some particular occasion when Milton experienced an illumination corresponding to the conversion experience of the Puritan? William Haller suggests that it is not: "We are not told in Milton's spiritual autobiography the precise moment when he first felt the conviction of grace. The sense of personal election seems to have been his from the start."²¹ But judging from some of the poetry Milton wrote while he was a student at Cambridge, the conviction of grace, or the possession of the Holy Spirit, was not his from the start. It seems to have come to him somewhat abruptly, in his twenty-first year, and had some important implications for his self-understanding as a poet.

Sometime during the Christmas holidays of 1629 Milton wrote a poem in Latin, "Elegy VI"²² addressed to his college companion, Charles Diodati, who was then staying in the country. Milton says in the prose headpiece to the poem that Diodati had sent him some kind of letter in verse on the thirteenth of December, and said that if his verses were not as good as usual, it was because the festivities of the Christmas season had taken his mind off the Muses. Milton answers Diodati in a tone that is half joking, half serious.

He begins by saying that he, on an empty stomach, wishes Diodati good health, which perhaps he needs because of a stomach that is too full. But why, he asks, does Diodati's muse provoke his own to song, instead of permitting her to seek the obscurity that she craves? Is it because Diodati wants to hear him profess his admiration for him as a friend? Such admiration can hardly be expressed within the confining meters of the elegiac verse he is now writing.

Milton continues by praising Diodati for his description of the seasonal joys, the pleasures of winter in the country. But why does he complain of sumptuous food and wine? Bacchus (wine), Apollo (the arts), and Ceres (food) provide the poet with inspiration. Diodati's songs are pleasant because they are brought forth by the combined powers of these three. The poets who write lyric and elegiac verses may indulge in pleasures of the senses; but the poet who sings of wars and of heaven, of pious heroes and of half gods, of hades, must live in the manner of Pythagoras. His food must be herbs and his drink water. He must be chaste and his conduct irreproachable. His character should be like that of a priest who washes himself with holy water before going into the presence of the angry gods. After providing a few examples, deciding that the epic poet (notably Homer) is sacred to the gods and is their priest, he proceeds to inform Diodati of his own immediate activities. He says he has written a poem of the Nativity; that he has offered the poem as a gift to Christ on his birthday, the first light of whose dawn inspired him with the idea for the poem. He concludes by saying that the poem has been meditated on his native pipes (by which he apparently means it has been written in English), and that when he next sees Diodati he will recite it to him.

A number of literary critics have offered interpretations of of Milton's "Elegy VI." Tillyard sees it as Milton's serious self-dedication to the vocation of poetry.²³ Previously he had written imitations of the glowing love poetry of Ovid, as well as imitations (in Italian) of the love sonnets of Dante and Petrarch, but now he proposes to write a higher kind of poetry, namely epic. W. R. Parker, on the other hand, questions Tillyard's interpretation. Parker sees "Elegy VI" simply as a poem that is written in the style of an academic exercise. "Milton turns his friend's excuse for not composing verse into the theme of a rhetorical debate, discussing each side learnedly from a single point of view."²⁴ Parker maintains, in opposition to Tillyard, that Milton "does not mention himself as an aspirant to epic honors (although he had cited Diodati as an elegiac poet), but gives Pythagoras as an example of living sparingly."²⁵

It would seem that Tillyard has the better argument. If Milton does not describe himself as an aspirant to epic honors, that aspiration is surely implied. In the last few lines of the poem he tells us that he has dedicated his recent poem (the "Ode") to Christ "the heaven-descended king."²⁶ Earlier in the poem he

tells us that the epic poet has as one of his themes the activities of "pious heroes."²⁷ In light of these suggestions, it would seem that Milton views Christ as an epic hero, and himself as a foliating epic poet.

But even though we may agree with Tillyard that Milton "about Christmas 1629 . . . made a mental dedication of himself to the high calling of epic poet,"²⁸ can we show that his dedication was the result of a conversion experience? And can we show that his conversion experience bestowed a new unity of feeling upon his thought and art? If these questions are to be answered, they can only be answered on the basis of the "Ode" itself, for at no place in his writings does Milton directly allude to his own conversion experience. The "Ode" indicates, however, that he had such an experience, one which provided him with both a personal and cosmic understanding of the principle of the Incarnation. This understanding, in turn, bestowed a new unity of feeling upon his thought and art.

The poem begins with a short Introduction of four stanzas in which Milton alludes to the circumstances under which he came to write the poem. It is Christmas morning; the stars are still shining; the sun has not yet risen; and Milton addresses the "Heav'nly Muse," asking if there is not some gift of song with which he (Milton) might welcome the "Infant God" to "this his new Abode." The gift of song is then presented in the "Hymn," which constitutes the next twenty-seven stanzas of the poem. The first nine stanzas of the "Hymn" describe the setting of the Nativity, the next nine the angelic choir, the next nine the rout of the pagan gods. The last stanza presents a picture of the Babe being laid to rest in the stable, guarded by angels.

The first stanza of the Introduction might be read as a profession of Milton's orthodoxy. He is at pains to tell us that "the Son of Heav'n's eternal King" has descended to bring "redemption" to sinners. As though to underscore the orthodoxy of his view of Christ as redeemer, Milton assures us that "holy sages" have established the precedent for speaking of Christ in these terms:

For so the holy sages once did sing,
That he our deadly forfeit should release,
And with his Father work us a perpetual peace.

With the mention of "perpetual peace" Milton indicates that he

now understands what the "holy sages" were talking about, whereas once he did not. For him there has been a turning from mere discursive knowledge of the Christ event to an intuitive, experiential knowledge which brings comfort and peace to his mind. (As the poem progresses, Milton will apply the concept of peace to the entire cosmos, employing the ancient notion of the music or harmony of the spheres. Christ is both a symbol of the divine redeemer, in Christian terminology, and a symbol of universal harmony, in classical terminology. The poem as a whole is a skillful blending of classical and Christian elements.)

The second stanza opens with exuberance. The joy of knowing Christ experientially is rendered in images of light:

That glorious Form, that Light unsufferable,
And that far-beaming blaze of Majesty.

Christ and the believer are joined ontologically through the initiative of Christ himself, who

Forsook the Courts of everlasting Day,
And chose with us a darksome House of mortal Clay.

That which was once a "darksome House," the mind of the poet, has been lighted by the "glorious Form" of heaven's own sun.

Having made his opening declaration of orthodoxy, having expressed his joy at receiving an experiential knowledge of Christ as redeemer, Milton in the third stanza addresses the "Heav'nly Muse," begging power to create a poem which will be worthy as a birthday gift. The "Heav'nly Muse" can be no other than the Holy Spirit, for Milton tells us later in the poem (stanza XIX) that the coming of Christ puts Apollo, the traditional classical muse of song, to rout. If previously Milton had conceived of himself as a devotee of profane Apollo, as in his imitations of Ovid, he now conceives of himself as a devotee of the muse who has presented him not only with his theme, but also with an intuitive knowledge of how that theme relates existentially to himself.

Tillyard has commented on the quaintness and originality of Milton's introductory fourth stanza.²⁹ He assures us that a poet of less artistic conscience would have abandoned the idea — once he had conceived it. — of putting himself in the poem as a character, and making himself a contestant of the Wise Men for placing the first gift at the feet of Christ:

See how from far upon the Eastern road
The Star-led Wizards haste with odors sweet:
O run, prevent them with thy humble ode,
And lay it lowly at his blessed feet;
Have thou the honor first, thy Lord to greet,
And join thy voice unto the Angel Choir,
From out his secret Altar toucht with hallow'd fire.

Tillyard fails to pursue, however, the religious implication of Milton's idea. For in placing himself in the poem as a character, Milton reinforces the notion that the gift-ode is not simply an objective description of a divine event, but a description of a divine event as it has sunken into his deepest consciousness. How deeply it has sunk is suggested not only through Milton's fillip of placing himself in the poem (perhaps as a shepherd), but also through his skillful handling of tense-structure.

The opening lines of the Introduction present the possibility that Milton has in mind either of two separate time planes, that of the event or that of the speaker: "This *is* the Month, and this the happy morn" when Christ "Our great redemption from above *did* bring." And they suggest a third possibility, that the two time planes are of equal status. But as we continue in our reading of the Introduction, we discover that the two time planes are merged:

Now while the Heav'n by the Sun's team untrod,
Hath took no print of the approaching light,
And all the spangled host keep watch in squadrons bright.

Milton thus makes explicit through the tense-structure that he is not simply describing the event of Christ's birth as something that has happened in the past, or simply as something he is remembering of the past in the present, but as something that is *now* happening in the present; and where else but in his own consciousness? Throughout the remainder of the poem he employs a pattern of shifting tenses — usually involving tenses of past and present, but sometimes involving tenses of past, present, and future — to enforce the notion of Christ's immediate relationship to the poet himself (as well as to all men):

It *was* the Winter wild,
While the Heav'n-born child,
All meanly wrapt in the rude manger *lies*.

Doctrinally, of course, this idea of an immediate relationship between Christ and the believer is a staple of Christology. Yet Milton is not satisfied with merely stating this relationship in

theological terms. His intention is to embody it in the work of art itself.

To turn to details of the hymn, the first stanzas portray a nature which is shocked by the advent of the supernatural. Nature's shock is described in a series of images which suggest submission to Christ, "her great Master." There is no color because Nature has "doffed her gaudy trim" and covered her face with "a veil of maiden white." Peace has replaced the sound of war; the air is "gentle"; the winds smoothly kiss the waters, while "birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave." The scene is dimly lit by the "glimmering orbs" of the stars standing "fixt." The sun, we are told, withholds his "inferior flame." The eighth stanza completes this hushed and dimly lit scene by introducing the shepherds "on the Lawn . . . simply chatting in a rustic row." It also serves as a link to stanza nine in which Milton, now shifting to another mood, announces the angelic choir, whose enrapturing music³⁰ breaks upon the ears of the shepherds:

When such music sweet
Their hearts and ears did greet,
As never was by mortal finger strook,
Divinely-warbled voice
Answering the stringed noise,
As all their souls in blissful rapture took:
The air such pleasure loath to lose,
With thousand echoes still prolongs each heav'nly close.

The possible effect of the music upon Nature, as well as upon the shepherds, is elaborated in the next several stanzas. Nature hearing such music seems to feel that perhaps the end of the world has come, for

She knew such harmony alone
Could hold all Heav'n and Earth in happier union.

We are told that if the heavenly music continues for long, "Time will run back, and fetch the age of gold," or the age in which the world, as well as man, was in a pristine state of innocence. Hell itself will pass away under the influence of such music, and "speckl'd vanity" and "leprous sin" give place to Mercy, "thron'd in celestial sheen," and Justice, wearing "The enamel'd Arras of the rainbow."

But, of course, Milton cannot have the age of innocence come back with the birth of Christ. Although Mercy is to be granted to

men, it will only be granted after Justice has been satisfied, or Christ has made atonement on the cross. In stanza sixteen, therefore, we come face to face with the central paradox of the poem, already implied in Milton's identification of past and present: the Christ child was and is an infant, yet he must ascend the cross and die as paradoxically he has already done. With the mention of the "bitter cross" the vision of innocence is dissipated. Milton recognizes that time does not run backward, but runs forward: the apocalyptic trump of doom must "thunder" with "a horrid clang" such as was heard amid the "smouldering clouds" of Sinai.

The first sounds of the trump of doom have already begun to reverberate throughout the world. The last section of the poem, beginning with stanza nineteen, is full of discordant sounds, the twitchings and agonies of distorted creatures. The old dragon thrashes his "folded tail"; we hear the "hideous hum" and "hollow shriek" of the oracles, who no longer have the power to inspire either priest or poet. They flee before the infant Christ, the *Christus Victor*, with "a voice of weeping" and "loud lament." Even in his state of infancy

Our Babe, to show his Godhead true,
Can in his swaddling bands control the damned crew.

In the concluding stanza of the poem, Milton turns to focus on the stable-scene:

But see! the Virgin blest,
Hath laid her Babe to rest.
Time is our tedious song should here have ending;
Heav'ns youngest teemed star
Hath fixt her polisht car,
Her sleeping Lord with handmaid lamp attending:
And all about the courtly stable,
Bright harness'd angels sit in order serviceable.

The idea of order, courtliness, and stability brings the poem to a peaceful resolution, and thus returns it to the peaceful mood in which it began.

If we may reiterate what we have discovered as transpiring in the poem's total action: Milton reveals that he has had some kind of religious experience (a visitation of the Holy Spirit, who is now his muse) in which he has come to have a vision of Christ as personal and cosmic redeemer; the theme of personal and cosmic redemption is reflected in images of music and harmony;

the poem has not one but two "pious heroes," Christ and the poet himself, who is filled with the spirit of Christ; Milton conveys his sense of being filled with the spirit of Christ by breaking down the expected tense-structure of the poem, creating an illusion of timelessness; the poet lives in the timeless moment in which Christ lives.

In an autobiographical section of *Apology for Smectymnuus*, Milton explains that at a certain time in his career he became

. . . confirmed in this opinion that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things: not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy.³¹

At the heart of this confession lies the aesthetic notion, common in much Renaissance literary theory (and commonplace in romantic literary theory) that things are the expression of their inner spirit. Although Milton would not have claimed to have originated this idea (it was at least as old as Longinus), he would have claimed to have understood it from the standpoint of a Puritan Christian: the "best and honourablest things" are exemplified in Christ as revealed through the Holy Spirit. For him as for all Puritans, the "relation between the invisible spirit of man and the invisible God was immediate rather than mediate."³² Milton's composition of the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" began with a pulse quickened by the invisible Spirit of God: it was the first quickening of a pulse that beat even more rapidly when he came to write his great epics.

¹ G. M. Trevelyan as quoted by M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1965), p. 489.

² See Knappen, pp. 339-480, for a general description of the influence of Puritanism on English life and culture.

³ *Second Defense of the English People*. The quotation is from *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. M. Y. Hughes (New York, 1957), p. 828. All quotations from Milton's works are from this edition, unless otherwise noted.

⁴ The fact is handed down by Aubrey, one of Milton's early biographers. See David Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, I (New York, 1946), 291.

5 "Proclusiones Oratoriae VI," Masson's translation, I, 292.

6 "John Milton," in *Lives of the English Poets*, Everyman's Library Edition, I, 93.

7 "Milton I" (1936), in *On Poetry and Poets* (New York, 1957), p. 156. Although Eliot modified his position on Milton the poet in the 1947 Milton essay (pp. 165-83 in *On Poetry*), he did not change his opinion of Milton's character. In fact, he expressed hope that he, unlike Dr. Johnson, would not allow his "antipathy towards Milton the Man" (p. 168) to influence his judgment of Milton's poetry.

8 "A French Critic on Milton" in *Mixed Essays* (New York, 1883), p. 183.

9 A review of *The Works of John Milton*, *North British Review*, XVI (February, 1852), 298.

10 *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 2-19.

11 Cf. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* II (New York, 1960), a Harper Torchbook, pp. 934, 947 f., 962 f. But in his later teaching, particularly after the Peasants' Revolt, the spiritual emphases in Luther are overlaid.

12 Cf. Luther's comments on the Holy Spirit in *Commentary on Galatians*.

13 *The Complete Works of Richard Sibbes*, ed. Alexander Grosart (Edinburgh, 1862-64), III, 434.

14 *Ibid.*

15 John Everard, *Some Gospel-treasures Opened* (London, 1653), 312, as cited by George Arthur Johnson in an unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago), *From Seeker to Finder: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Spiritualism Before the Quakers* (1948), p. 8.

16 *The Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. J. A. St. John, IV (London, 1848-53), 211.

17 *Ibid.*, 378.

18 *Ibid.*, 447.

19 As quoted by John Tulloch in *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, II (London, 1874), 99.

20 *Puritanism and Liberty*, ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse (London, 1938), p. 38.

21 William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1957), a Harper Torchbook, p. 297.

22 Hughes' translation, pp. 50-53. The dating of the poem is based on Milton's own dating of the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity." When he first published his *Poems*, 1645, he printed the "Ode" first in the volume with the words "compos'd 1629." Because of his mention of the "Ode" in "Elegy VI," it is apparent he wrote "Elegy VI" sometime after Christmas.

23 E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Miltonic Setting* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 177-79.

24 *Modern Languages Notes*, LV (1940), 216.

25 *Ibid.*, 217.

26 Hughes, 52.

27 *Ibid.*

28 E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton* (London, 1930), p. 40.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

30 The music of the angels is representative of the music of the spheres. According to ancient Pythagorean notions of astronomy, the various heavenly bodies were fixed in concentric spheres which turned about the earth as a center. The spheres, moving in perfect harmony, made a divine music which, though normally inaudible to human ears, might in moments of ecstatic illumination and vision be heard by a human being. One of Milton's Latin exercises written at Cambridge (Proclusion II) is entitled "On the Music of the Spheres." See Hughes, pp. 602-604.

31 Hughes, p. 694.

32 Edward Dowden, *Puritan and Anglican: Studies in Literature* (New York, 1901), p. 11.

COMPUTER-ASSISTED DISCOVERY OF POTENTIAL PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

The American legislator enjoys a degree of freedom from political party discipline untypical of democratic legislative systems generally. This relative freedom is reflected in departures from party norms as these come to light in the roll call votes of the U. S. Congress. The lack of party discipline makes for interesting behavioral studies which offer clues to political ambition. Many kinds of statistical analyses of legislative roll calls have been worked out to characterize the forces at work in a representative system.¹ One very simple device used to identify voting blocs which result from casual or formal coalitions is the "index of agreement" which can be computed for each pair of legislators in a given group on a selected number of issues. The index of agreement consists of the percentage of times any pair of legislators votes identically on particular issues. If, for example, Congressmen A and B both voted yes on two issues, both voted no on two other issues, and opposed each other on six other issues, their index of agreement would be forty per cent.

The use of the index of agreement offers some possible insight into the shape of political coalitions which may come into play within the Democratic Party as it seeks a challenger to do battle with Richard Nixon for the presidency in 1972. The chief Democratic opponents to the President have found their major forum within the context of the U. S. Senate. During the 90th Congress which legislated in 1967 and 1968, there were sixty-four Democratic senators. From among the ranks of the Senate the Democrats selected Edmund Muskie to run as their Vice Presidential candidate. As will be shown later, Muskie's selection was preceded by Senate voting behavior suggesting that the senator from Maine was building voting alliances which may have been quite useful when the Chicago nominating convention rolled around. Roll call voting patterns in the Senate in 1969 and 1970 indicate that Muskie's Senate alliances would still serve him well if he wishes to go for the presidency in 1972. But the same quantitative measures reveal others who could also rely upon Senate voting pacts to sustain a claim for influence in the high councils of the Democratic nominating convention.

Since December, 1970, Otterbein has had computing facilities installed on campus to handle administrative and academic work. Without this equipment the computation of indexes of agreement and the disclosure of voting coalitions would present a prohibitively laborious task. The computer, however, can, in seconds, polish off calculations which would absorb weeks of hand computation. The possible voter combinations among the Senate Democrats varied from around 1,500 to slightly over 2,000 during the period covered in this study. Since the 2,000 voter combinations related to seventy selected issues, the usefulness of the computing system is quite apparent. In this study four time periods came into focus: 1967-68, 1969, 1970, and 1969-70. 1969 and 1970 were studied separately to provide an opportunity to note possible shifts in leadership occurring within the time span of the 91st Congress.

In the Senate in 1967 and 1968 the sixty-four Democratic legislators paired with each other in 2,016 combinations. (The number of pairs in any group is equal to one-half of the product of the number in the group times one less than the number.) A computer program was developed to select important issues and to calculate the 2,016 indexes of agreement which rated the similarity of the voting of each of the 2,016 pairs of senators relative to the important issues selected. Since our concern in this study is partisan behavior, it was thought desirable to identify issues which produced the largest voting quorums combined with a sharp division of voting. The method used to measure these qualities was to multiply the yeas times the nays votes on Senate roll calls and to rank the contested issues in descending order relative to their products. Since the Senate has a membership of one hundred, the smallest possible product of a divided vote of all members would be 99 (99 x 1). If the Senate had the optimum division, the product of yeas times nays would be 2,500 (50 x 50).

By computing the products of yeas times nays, seventy issues having the highest products were selected for each of the four periods of this study. By use of the computer program designed to calculate the 2,016 indexes of agreement on the seventy issues for 1967-68, it was possible to place the computed pairs of senators in order on the basis of the descending indexes of agreement. A glance at the top of the list offers some interesting information concerning the most cohesive in voting patterns.

DEMOCRATIC SENATORS

1967-68

Top 10 Pairs Ranked in Order of Descending
Indexes of Agreement on Selected Roll Call Votes

<u>Senate Liberals</u>	<u>% Index of Agreement</u>	<u>Senate Conservatives</u>	<u>% Index of Agreement</u>
		Ervin(N.C.)-Byrd(Va.)	93.33
Hart(Mich.)- Mondale(Minn.)	92.06		
Bayh(Ind.)- Williams(N.J.)	91.80		
Muskie(Me.)- Jackson(Wash.)	91.67		
Muskie(Me.)- Hart(Mich.)	91.23	Eastland(Miss.)- Ervin(N.C.)	91.23
		Russell(Ga.)- Stennis(Miss.)	90.91
		Russell(Ga.)-Byrd(Va.)	90.91
		Talmadge(Ga.)- Hollings(S.C.)	90.63
		Russell(Ga.)- Ervin(N.C.)	90.24

The top ten pairs included a six to four majority for the leading Southern Conservatives, their cohesion being quite high. Conservative Senators Ervin and Byrd led off with the highest index of agreement - 93.33%. The liberal Senators - Hart and Mondale - followed with 92.06%.

If one were to imagine this list extended through the top fifty or so pairs as ranked by the indexes of agreement, one could begin to identify apparent leaders of the most cohesive voting coalitions by noting the frequency of the pairing of individual senators. For example, Senators Ervin and Russell each appeared three times among the top ten pairs presented in the above table. This reveals a degree of voting leadership on their part within this limited group. Among the top fifty pairs, however, other leaders appear, and the significance of their leadership is at a higher level. The computer program which tallied the indexes of agreement and placed the voting pairs in order also produced a count of the frequency of pairings in the first, second, and third top groups of fifty pairs. (The top group is that counted from one through fifty in the list of descending indexes of agreement of ranked pairs; the second group, from fifty-one through one hundred; the third, from one hundred one through one hundred fifty.) Next let us have a look at the frequency of paired appearances in the top fifty linked three or more times.

1967-68	
Democratic Senators Paired Three or More Times in Top 50 Pairs Ranked by Index of Agreement	Times Paired
Muskie (Me.)	9
Williams (N.J.)	7
Hart (Mich.)	7
Pell (R.I.)	7
Eastland (Miss.)	5
Russell (Ga.)	5
Jackson (Wash.)	5
Moss (Utah)	5
Pastore (R.I.)	5
Talmadge (Ga.)	4
Bayh (Ind.)	3
Byrd (Va.)	3
Ervin (N.C.)	3
Stennis (Miss.)	3
Harris (Okla.)	3
Kennedy (Mass.)	3
Clark (Pa.)	3

Senator Muskie, who led off this list, was nominated late in 1968 to run as the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate and may have found his leadership of these Senate alliances quite useful politically. While the Southern conservative senators appeared in strong positions among the top ten of the ranked pairs, they evidently lost ground when the list was extended to the top fifty. Since Muskie dominates this list of fifty, it would be worth considering who paired with him for this count of nine. They were the following: Jackson (Wash.), Hart (Mich.), Moss (Utah), Mondale (Minn.), Pastore (R.I.), Williams (N.J.), Pell (R.I.), McIntyre (N.H.), and Harris (Okla.). Muskie's nine pairings descended from an index of agreement of 91.67% with Senator Jackson to 86.54% with Senator Harris.

While the leadership of the top fifty pairs has been briefly examined, a quick glance at the top of the second fifty shows that Walter Mondale (Minn.) led with seven pairings. Senators Pell and Jackson each had six. Senator Mondale also led the third fifty list with nine pairings. Senators McCarthy, Williams, Pell, and E. Kennedy each had five.

With the above results in mind, it is possible to observe shifts which took place in the Senate in 1969. The list of pairs descending in order of the indexes of agreement for 1969 was as follows for the top ten pairs:

DEMOCRATIC SENATORS
1969

Top 10 Pairs Ranked in Order of Descending
Indexes of Agreement on Selected Roll Call Votes

<u>Senate Liberals</u>	<u>% Index of Agreement</u>	<u>Senate Conservatives</u>	<u>% Index of Agreement</u>
		Eastland(Miss.)-	
		Stennis(Miss.)	98.53
		Ervin(N.C.)-Jordan(N.C.)	97.14
Hughes(Iowa)-			
Mondale(Minn.)	96.77		
Kennedy(Mass.)-			
Nelson(Wisc.)	96.67		
Kennedy(Mass.)-			
Mondale(Minn.)	96.43		
Hart(Mich.)-			
Williams(N.J.)	95.24		
McGovern(S.D.)-			
Nelson(Wisc.)	94.12		
Muskie(Me.)-			
Kennedy(Mass.)	93.10		
Hughes(Iowa)-			
Kennedy(Mass.)	92.98		
		Stennis(Miss.)-	
		Jordan(N.C.)	92.96

The 1969 list suggests a relative increase in the cohesion of liberals as compared with the conservatives at the top of the list. The senators linked three or more times in the top fifty pairs are as follows:

1969 Democratic Senators Paired Three or More Times in Top 50 Pairs Ranked by Index of Agreement		Times Paired
Kennedy (Mass.)	10	
Mondale (Minn.)	7	
Nelson (Wisc.)	7	
McGovern (S.D.)	7	
Williams (N.J.)	6	
Eastland (Miss.)	6	
Jordan (N.C.)	5	
Stennis (Miss.)	5	
Ervin (N.C.)	5	
Bayh (Ind.)	5	
Tydings (Md.)	5	
Talmadge (Ga.)	4	
Hughes (Iowa)	4	
Hart (Mich.)	4	
McClellan (Ark.)	3	
Long (La.)	3	
Pell (R.I.)	3	

The emergence of Edward Kennedy – who sat out the 1968 presidential contest – as a strong Senate leader was foreseeable, especially prior to the late 1969 disaster involving Mary Jo Kopechne. Kennedy matched with the following in descending order for his ten pairs: Nelson (Wisc., 96.67%), Mondale (Minn.), Muskie (Me.), Hughes (Iowa), Hart (Mich.), McGovern (S.D.), Pell (R.I.), McCarthy (Wisc.), Tydings (Md.), and Williams (N.J., 88.14%). Of this group, Mondale, Hart, Pell, and Williams were linked with Muskie's leading pairs in 1967-68.

The second highest group of fifty pairs in 1969 was led by Senators Ribicoff and Mondale who had seven and six pairings, respectively. Hughes of Iowa, with Eagleton and Symington of Missouri, led the third list with seven, six and six pairings, respectively.

The second session of the 91st Congress (1970) produced another array of high indexes of agreement for the Democratic senators. Beginning in November of 1970 Adlai Stevenson III, who won election to the Senate vacancy left by Everett Dirksen's death, joined the high scoring party leaders. The top ten pairs of 1970 include several instances of the famous name:

DEMOCRATIC SENATORS

1970

Top 10 Pairs Ranked in Order of Descending Indexes of Agreement on Selected Roll Call Votes

	<u>% Index of Agreement</u>
Fulbright(Ark.)-Stevenson(Ill.)	100.00
Kennedy(Mass.)-Stevenson(Ill.)	100.00
Mondale(Minn.)-Stevenson(Ill.)	100.00
Mansfield(Mont.)-Stevenson(Ill.)	100.00
Burdick(N.D.)-Stevenson(Ill.)	100.00
Young(Ohio)-Stevenson(Ill.)	100.00
Harris(Okla.)-Stevenson(Ill.)	100.00
McGovern(S.D.)-Stevenson(Ill.)	100.00
Williams(N.J.)-Young(Ohio)	98.41
Mondale(Minn.)-Harris(Okla.)	98.33

The list of the top ten pairs ranked in order of indexes of agreement for 1970 includes no Southern conservatives. Even if one strikes from the list the pairs including the late-appearing Stevenson, it is necessary to proceed down the list sixty-seven more pairs before a Southerner appears – Richard Russell who shared with Stennis an index agreement of 90.63%.

The frequency-of-pairing list for the top fifty pairs of 1970 was led by Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma. It contained only twenty-two names. Those appearing three or more times were:

1970	
Democratic Senators Paired Three or More Times in Top 50 Pairs Ranked by Index of Agreement	Times Paired
Harris (Okla.)	11
Young (Ohio)	10
Stevenson (Ill.)	8
Mondale (Minn.)	8
Muskie (Me.)	8
Williams (N.J.)	7
McCarthy (Wisc.)	7
McGovern (S.D.)	6
Kennedy (Mass.)	6
Inouye (Haw.)	6
Nelson (Wisc.)	6
Church (Idaho)	3

The senators pairing with the leading legislator, Fred Harris, were, in descending order, Adlai Stevenson (Ill., 100.00%), Walter Mondale (Minn.), George McGovern (S.D.), Daniel K. Inouye (Haw.), Eugene McCarthy (Minn.), Edmund S. Muskie (Me.), Stephen Young (Ohio), Edward Kennedy (Mass.), Gaylord Nelson (Wisc.), Harrison A. Williams (N.J.) and Birch Bayh (Ind., 92.45%). Four of those paired in the top fifty with Senator Harris had been associated with the leading Kennedy group of 1969: Walter Mondale, George McGovern, Eugene McCarthy, and Harrison Williams. Mondale and Williams were also linked with the Muskie group of 1967 and 1968.

While Senator Harris was paired most frequently with the top fifty pairs ranked by indexes of agreement in 1970, the three leaders of the second fifty pairs were Harold Hughes (Iowa), Harrison Williams (N.J.), and George McGovern (S.D.). The three leaders of the third fifty were Birch Bayh (Ind.), Frank Moss (Utah), and Harold Hughes (Iowa).

We have had a look at the results of computations for 1969 and 1970 separately. The two years may be combined and viewed comparatively with 1969 and 1970 as well as with the 1967-68 period. To do this it is necessary (as for each of the preceding three periods) to make a new selection of the seventy most important issues based on the yea-times-nay-product method

described earlier. The top ten pairs as ranked by indexes of agreement for 1969-70 are as follows:

DEMOCRATIC SENATORS
1969-70
Top 10 Pairs Ranked in Order of Descending
Indexes of Agreement on Selected Roll Call Votes

	<u>% Index of Agreement</u>
Williams (N.J.)-McGovern(S.D.)	98.53
Hughes(Iowa)-Mondale(Minn.)	98.46
Kennedy(Mass.)-Mondale(Minn.)	98.36
McGovern(S.D.)-Nelson(Wisc.)	98.25
Hart(Mich.)-Williams(N.J.)	97.06
Williams(N.J.)-Young(Ohio)	97.06
Kennedy(Mass.)-McGovern(S.D.)	96.83
Hughes(Iowa)-Kennedy(Mass.)	96.77
Muskie(Me.)-Kennedy(Mass.)	96.77
Tydings(Md.)-McGovern(S.D.)	96.61

The several appearances of Kennedy's name among the top ten pairs suggests that Kennedy might again lead the top fifty for 1969-70 as well as for 1969. However, two other senators tied in appearing most frequently among the top fifty for 1969-70 — Senators Walter Mondale and George McGovern. The senators who were paired three or more times among the top fifty pairs for 1969-70 are as follows:

1969-70	
<u>Democratic Senators Paired Three or More Times in Top 50 Pairs Ranked by Index of Agreement</u>	<u>Times Paired</u>
McGovern (S.D.)	11
Mondale (Minn.)	11
Williams (N.J.)	10
Hughes (Iowa)	9
Kennedy (Mass.)	9
Tydings (Md.)	8
McCarthy (Minn.)	8
Nelson (Wisc.)	6
Bayh (Ind.)	5
Muskie (Me.)	4
Hart (Mich.)	4
Hartke (Ind.)	4
Young (Ohio)	3

Each of McGovern's partners in pairing had been previously allied with Muskie, Kennedy, or Harris in the periods of their

respective leadership of the top fifty. Senators Williams and Mondale were joined with all three predecessors. McCarthy had been linked with the Kennedy and Harris groups. Senator Hart had appeared with the Muskie and Kennedy coalitions, but bypassed Harris. Muskie had previously appeared in the Kennedy and Harris groups as well as his own. Bayh linked earlier with Harris, and Hughes, with Kennedy. Tydings was grouped earlier with Kennedy. Nelson and Kennedy had been listed with the Harris circle. Senator Young affiliated with Kennedy, and Young, with Harris.

Senator Mondale's list was much like McGovern's. It did not include Young and Hart, however. Mondale's list included Harris, who otherwise appeared only in his own list, and Pell, who was grouped with the Muskie and Kennedy coalition.

Mondale and McGovern were on each other's lists, Mondale being eighth on McGovern's as ranked by the index of agreement. McGovern ranked higher on the Mondale list, taking up the fifth position.

Senators Pell, Bayh, and Muskie led the second fifty pairs for 1969-70 with ten, nine and eight alliances respectively. Cranston (Calif.), Church (Idaho), Eagleton (Mo.) and Harris (Okla.) were front runners in the third group of fifty pairs.

We have had a chance to examine the alliances of those senators who were paired most frequently with other senators at the top of the list of indexes of agreement for 1967-68, 1969, 1970, and 1969-70. Senators Muskie, Kennedy, and Harris led for the first three periods. Senators McGovern and Mondale were tied for leadership in the 1969-70 period. Some senators stand out because of the frequency of their linkage with these five pairing leaders within the span of the highest fifty pairs. Senators Edmund Muskie, Walter Mondale of Minnesota, and Harrison Williams of New Jersey were each allied with all five groups. Senators Gaylord Nelson (Wisc.), George McGovern (S.D.), and Eugene McCarthy (Minn.) were grouped with four of the five leaders, but all three failed to ally with Muskie.

For some of those named, this leadership in voting patterns would find reinforcement in key Senate committee assignments.² Harrison Williams and Edmund Muskie served in positions three and four on the Banking and Currency Committee of the 91st Congress. Williams was number three Democrat on the Labor and

Public Welfare Committee, and Muskie was number three on Public Works. Muskie chaired the Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations and the Public Works Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution. Kennedy led the Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure. Gaylord Nelson presided over the Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty. Harrison Williams chaired the Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Labor, and the Special Committee on Aging. George McGovern chaired the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Of the voting leaders prominently discussed, only Edward Kennedy served on the Democratic Policy Committee of the U. S. Senate.

While reference is being made to the official Senate roles of the legislators with high indexes of agreement, it is relevant to take note of the degree to which these voting patterns diverge from the voting liaisons of the Senate Majority Leader, Mike Mansfield. In 1969 Mansfield's highest index of agreement (79.03%) was with Senator Yarborough (Texas). While Mansfield and liberal Senator Church shared an index of 73.13%, Mansfield's score with Senator Muskie was only 54.55%, lower than his index of 57.63% with Senator Bayh. Mansfield linked surprisingly high - 63.64% and 62.69% - with conservative Senators Ervin and Stennis. But in 1970, Mansfield's scores changed. His index of agreement with Ervin and Stennis dropped to 34.43% with both Senators Ervin and Stennis. His agreement with Muskie ascended to 81.03%, and with Bayh, to 77.08%. Most of his scores with the liberals were in the 80's. The liberal leaders in this study are becoming more closely linked with the most important Senate strategist.

We may now speculate as to whether this computer-assisted analysis points to anything we did not otherwise know. If Edmund Muskie chooses to run as the Democratic standard bearer for President in 1972, it appears that he may find continuing support from vote-leading Senate colleagues. A Louis Harris poll taken in mid-November of 1970 disclosed that in a three-way race with Nixon and Wallace, Muskie would take forty-six per cent of the popular vote to forty per cent for Nixon.³ Muskie's alliances have endured, though his level of leadership has declined. Edward Kennedy, who emerged as the voting leader in 1969, slipped in 1970 as Fred Harris, the National Party chairman for a time who has since resigned, took over the lead. Harris, who launched a

campaign in late 1970 to reform Senate rules, had been aided by Senators Hughes, Hart, Mondale, Moss, and Muskie — all mentioned as vote leaders in this study.⁴ Kennedy's decline was marked further by the defeat which he suffered when Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia took over his job as Democratic Senate Whip. George McGovern is already a confessed Presidential candidate. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, leader in the fight against pollution, may be nudged to prominence in the months of political elbowing yet to come. The computer analysis does shed some surprising light on Senators Walter Mondale of Minnesota and Harrison Williams of New Jersey. These two, along with Edmund Muskie, were linked with all five of the leadership groups studied. Since neither has been made conspicuous by news media, a more detailed look at the backgrounds of both may serve to answer whether Mondale and Williams are potential candidates for high office, or whether their high standings in the Democratic voting leadership of the Senate would be of no further significance.

Harrison A. Williams, junior U. S. Senator from New Jersey, added a Columbia University law degree to his Oberlin College B.A. Having been elected to the House of Representatives for a partial term in 1953 and a full term in 1954, he switched to the Senate in 1958. In the 91st Congress (1969-70) Williams, a relative Senate youngster beginning his fifties, presided over the Special Committee on Aging. His other Senate committee assignments were on the Banking and Currency as well as the Labor and Public Welfare Committees.⁵ The *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, which covers governmental affairs comprehensively, offers little comment on Williams' role in the Senate. The 1970 index of the publication included no references to him at all. In spite of his low profile, Williams enjoyed some prominence with the Democratic National Committee, serving on the Executive Committee of its Nationalities Division.

While Harrison Williams' scores and pairings on the indexes of agreement with other senators resembled that of Walter Mondale, the latter appeared much more newsworthy to the *Congressional Quarterly*. The 1970 index listed a great number of references to Mondale who, at the age of forty-two, appeared to follow in the liberal footsteps of Hubert Humphrey during the last session of the 91st Congress. Humphrey's departure from the Senate in 1964 paved the way for the appointment of Mondale to the vacancy in December of that year. In November, 1966, Mon-

dale won the Minnesota U. S. Senate seat with 53.9% of the popular vote.⁶

Having attended Macalester College, Mondale moved on to the University of Minnesota for the B.A. and law degrees. During the years of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, Mondale became a public figure as Minnesota's Attorney General. While Mondale was in that office, the U. S. Supreme Court was receiving petitions from many state attorneys-general begging the Court not to require that public defenders be made available for indigent clients in all criminal cases such as that of Clarence Gideon.⁷ Mondale, on the other hand, helped channel petitions from other state attorneys-general urging the Court to rule favorably on Gideon's plea. The Supreme Court did what Mondale and his colleagues asked. Walter Mondale's streak of reforming liberalism made him an appropriate member of Senator Harris' group which, in late 1970, launched an effort to reform the Senate Establishment. Mondale is able, articulate, and makes a good TV appearance. He is a respected member of the Senate Committees on Banking and Currency and Labor and Public Welfare. Other committee assignments involve him in problems of aging and of migratory labor. He has many of the earmarks of a potential national candidate for high office and a voting record which indicates the existence of supportive alliances.

The reader may have injected between the lines of this article some speculations concerning Hubert Humphrey's place in the spectrum of presidential contenders. Humphrey's absence from the Senate during the period studied precluded comments based upon the analytical methods used here. Verification of such speculations may emerge from the now-familiar indexes of agreement which Humphrey, presently back in the Senate, has yet to develop in the 92nd Congress. The Otterbein computer facility has made it possible to develop evidence revealing the strength of relationships linking already-known presidential contenders. The degree to which Muskie, Harris, Nelson, McCarthy, Hughes, Hart, Bayh, Williams, Mondale and others "stick together" is now evident. Also evident is the disclosure that Walter Mondale, who, like Agnew, is not a household word, might become one.

NOTES

1. Lee F. Anderson et. al., *Legislative Roll Call Analysis* (Northwestern University Press, 1966).

2. See *Congressional Directory*, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, 1970.

3. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 1970, p. 2916.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Congressional Directory*, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, 1970, pp. 89, 109.

6. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 1970, pp. 2240, 2396, 2799.

7. Anthony Lewis, *Gideon's Trumpet* (Vintage Books, 1966), pp. 145-48.

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