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Poetry in the Free World

CARLTON CULMSEE

Our so-called civilization is, from significant viewpoints, largely chaos; a chaos of abundant and rich raw materials, but still a chaos. Not the chaos from which God decreed cosmic order, but the sort that one would have seen if he had wandered among pioneers who had just disembarked with their gear from a stern-wheeler on the Missouri in the early 19th Century; piles of food and clothing and bedding and weapons, with swarms of children playing, and men and women pacing up and down all starry eyed for a land which they both desired and dreaded.

We have, of course, functioning institutions which we more or less share with other countries of the free world. However, the real edifices of our culture remain to be built. We have many mansions, but most of them lack the spires that fill the chest with pride and lift the eyes to a far vision.

The free world is accused from within and from without of being a church without a steeple, a pyramid without an apex, an altar without a fire. We have been compared to a torchlight procession with the torches unlighted, or a flock of children rolling hoops which bump clumsily along because one segment of each hoop—and that the most important segment—is missing.

True, religious zeal is not a marked characteristic of our age. We have, moreover, lost several secular faiths. One is a belief that physical science will produce a heaven on earth; another is a conviction that a socio-political system will automatically produce unselfish, dedicated, superior human beings. But many of us still cling to a hope in the *responsibly creative individual.* On the other hand, we must concede that our serious cultivation of a life of the mind and spirit is confined to limited spaces, and even in those it struggles against weeds and drought.

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Perhaps a better image of our Occidental civilization than the just-landed pioneers is a church in Italy. Not long ago I stood on the Piazza Michelangelo looking down on the little city of Florence which, as you know, was once the cultural capital of Europe. I could see the broad dome of the cathedral and beside it the campanile of Giotto. This bell-tower created by the so-called Father of Renaissance Art has been widely admired and imitated in Europe and even the New World.

Although the bell-tower is a beautiful structure, it is also a colossal irony. It must make Giotto unhappy as he walks with his friend Dante in some spirit realm, for it is not what he intended. Oh yes; he designed what we see; but he intended a soaring spire which would have meant an addition of more than 80 feet to the height. The spire would have given the cathedral a markedly different character. Towering above that mass of marble with its elaborate geometrical figures, and even well above the dome, the bell-tower would not only have summoned people to worship; it would have said, "There below is a man-made mountain of stones and pillars, of dark against white, symbolizing man's mixture of love and violence; but we can all, at our best, detach ourselves, as this bell-tower is detached, and send our thoughts rising with unity fuelled by despairing hunger or hope, up into the highest places as this spire does."

But if my sources are correct, construction of this campanile was halted just at the point where the spire was to have begun, and a little hump of a roof was put on at a level far below what Giotto had visualized.

That bell-tower, splendid as it may be, is truncated, decapitated; it is like the statue of David with the head lopped off, the head with its eyes of serene courage gone.

That spire would have lifted high above the dome of Our Lady of the Flower, and high above the tower of the signoria, which is now the loftiest structure in Florence, a collared pinnacle of sturdy secularity. It would have transfigured the landscape as well as the cathedral itself, and made another Florence than the one we see from the hills on either side.

As a matter of fact, we do not, of course, need to concern ourselves for the comfort of Giotto's soul, or for the skyline of Florence. But the truncated bell-tower is a symbol of something vastly important to all Western civilization.

We find a dark interpretation in Mary McCarthy's *Stones of Florence.* She declared that ". . . . a terrible mistake was committed here, ... between Giotto and Michelangelo, ... that had to do with power and megalomania or gigantism of the human ego." Obviously she means the exaggeration of individualism, the assumption of a demigodlike posture when humanity shifted from a God-centered view of the world to a man-centered view. There is something to be said for her belief. The Existentialist of a pessimistic cast of mind finds that he cannot draw back from an isolation which, however gallant it may be, is also grim and lonely. As Leo Spitzer averred, ". . . . man fears nothing more than isolation in the universe."

We need not, however, feel forced into ultimate despair or even scorn of our individualism. Our task is not so much to be brave during our last hours (like the Spartans "on the sea-wet rock" who, awaiting certain death before the Persian hordes, "sat down and combed their hair"). Rather, our task is to recognize two factors: the bounteousness of our resources, ill-assorted and ill-organized as they may be; and the possibilities for our creativeness amid the chaos.

We can, no doubt, view the change between Giotto and Michelangelo as a tragic error. We can refer to the Reformation as "the spiritual catastrophe" which "put an end to the Gothic Age with its impetuous yearning for the heights"; we can add that "the vertical outlook of the European mind was forthwith intersected by the horizontal outlook of modern times."

Incidentally, those last two sentences were written by a Protestant, not by a Catholic; and besides, that writer did not think of the Reformation as unrelieved calamity, for he conceded that the Gothic Age was marked by "geographical confinement" and "a restricted view of the world."

Furthermore, I feel that the enduring effects of the Reformation are owing to the stupendous advances of science

as we know it. But in any event, there appears to be no doubt, to repeat the phrases of C. G. Jung, that "the vertical outlook of the European mind was . . . . intersected by the horizontal outlook of modern times." Further to quote Jung, "Consciousness ceased to grow upward, and grew instead in breadth of view, as well as in knowledge of the terrestrial globe. This was the period of great voyages, and of the widening of man's ideas of the world by empirical discoveries . . . after nearly 400 years, the leading European thinkers and investigators . . . . came to regard the mind as wholly dependent on matter and material causation." Jung felt that this "horizontal perspective" was a reaction against "the exclusively vertical perspective of the Gothic Age." But he was, obviously, not reconciled to the prevailing tendency of our time to "account for everything on physical grounds . . . ."[1]

I would not, however, have you understand that I am rejecting what has come to us since the Renaissance; the mechanical marvels and creature comforts, and the avalanches of knowledge which have poured down upon us from a hundred peaks. We can admittedly complain more about having too much than too little. One of our most serious problems is one of assimilation. To use a commission merchant's figure, we have carloads of food rotting on a million sidetracks. Even so, we have mental and spiritual dyspepsia. We are sluggish from over-eating of facts. As pictures of destruction which could be wrought by new, more terrible weapons are flashed before us by our statesmen to frighten us into digging nuclear bomb shelters, or by Red leaders to frighten our statesmen, we are coming to yawn in the stupefaction of overstuffed children. We are coming to feel that there is something unreal about these stories; they sound a bit like tales of giants and ogres used to frighten children into being tractable.

This problem of surfeit, of over-abundance in knowledge, is not really too embarrassing. Most of us solve it by simply ignoring the fact that facts are multiplying in every sub-

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[1]C. G. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933), pp. 173-7.

ject, and next year will be multiplying even more rapidly. Specialization and electronic devices in our computing centers will help us digest the sheer mass. For aid in interpretation, synthesis, illumination, we must have recourse to books of inspired scholarship such as *The Phenomenon of Man,* by Teilhard.

What seems to me to be our most serious difficulty is our need for spiritual readjustment. Certain kinds of radiation can, it is said, affect a person for years without his becoming conscious of them. But having a cumulative effect, they can make him appear to suffer from sudden illness. Something like that has occurred in recent centuries. We went along congratulating ourselves on becoming more worldly wise, more disciplined and objective in thought, less subject to illusion, less *subjective,* in fact—and then something occurred that convinced us we might have to pay more than daily toil for what we had been receiving.

I suspect that in times to come, the Reformation, strictly defined, will take its place in history as a movement in criticism of the Roman Catholic Church and its instruments and practices of the time. It will be seen to have accompanied the Renaissance and to have shared in it, but will take second place to the broader reformation of human thought which included the Scientific and Industrial Revolutions. Conversion to the principles of natural science, as we moderns conceive of it, has been the great revolution. And although in the main we are grateful for all this wealth poured into our laps, we are still intensely aware of something else: the malady which leads to unhappiness even among those most favored. There is this paradox which causes us, on the one hand, to laugh at the *Angst* of the professed Existentialist but, on the other, to pity ourselves for possessing our own brand of deep-seated anxiety or dread or discontent. Not only German but every language has a word for it, several words for it. Take your pick!—anxiety or dread or insecurity or disillusionment or world weariness.

You and I may disagree as to the reason for this sickness of the soul. But upon the existence of it we can find more agreement than upon almost any other question of this ques-

tioning time. And at this convention of poets I suspect that there will be general agreement about a cure for the malady.

The illness of our time is a desperate one, a disease which either engendered such monsters as Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin, or bulwarked and weaponed them for their insane brutalities. It might even bring about the end of our civilization, even the end of the glory of human consciousness. Perhaps those horror stories are not mere tales to frighten children. But this sickness is one which I think you poets are perhaps best fitted to remedy.

This is an intensely practical matter. This is a matter of sanity and survival; and beyond that, of progress in the upper reaches of the human mind.

This is a matter of the resiliency, the health, of the spirit. We Americans have had a dynamic impetus and courage, but perhaps no more than other nationalities; perhaps our national youth has been more blessed with natural resources and with a bright new technology with which to exploit these resources. At least we have shared a dynamic spirit with other human beings.

Dr. Jean Gottman, who has been doing research upon what he terms Megalopolis, the continuous stretch of cities and suburban areas from north of Boston to south of Washington, finds much to admire in that vast urban complex. He wrote:

> ". . . . If our modern Megalopolis has withstood as well as it has the march of time, this must be ascribed to an exceptional degree of diffused and stubborn dynamism. It is to such a spirit, which endures only in a free and changing society, that one should look for the key to successful growth and development of an urban region. Local natural endowment, the brilliance of leading experts, the logical excellence of proposed plans, are of little value without that spirit diffused among the people."[2]

The nourishment of this spirit is a matter of great concern. A general despair, the rising of the miasma of self-pity, the loss of wonder and awe—these could bring fearsome hazards; these we can as poets strive to counteract.

I am not suggesting we organize as a cult for rituals of shallow optimism and issue a manifesto. Each should do it in

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[2]Annual Report, *Twentieth Century Fund* (New York, 1960). p. 35.

his own way, and his own way may be a tragic way or a bitter way. A work of art, as Jung wisely declared, is never unequivocal; there will be ambiguities, there will be paradoxes and downright contradictions. For in a free society the mind must sally forth untrammeled. But there should be honesty and a seeking for the depths of our strength, so that we may again feel that impetuous yearning for the heights, and feel it with confidence.

What is more, I believe that we have grounds for confidence. The world is, I feel, nearing a new birth of wonder, of reverence. But I do not believe that this Renaissance is inevitable, a necessity of history. It is, however, a necessity for our survival and development. You and I must labor to bring it to pass. We cannot, I fear, relinquish our responsibility altogether to institutionalized religion. Not that I would disparage the worthy toilers in the churches, those honestly struggling to restore a primitive vitality, a spiritual robustness, to modern life. But, unhappily, there sometimes appears to be a spiritual sluggishness or laziness often content with threadbare phrases which are actually dangerous to the idealism and awe of the young.

You, the poets, are aiding all the churches because you are bringing about the downfall of false doctrines of the cult of objectivity, which was based upon distrust of the "subjective," of mind, that is, and hence also of spirit. You aid by restoring freshness of vision, by reviving wonder. You, at your best, give glimpses of the universal basis for religious feeling.

For poetry, at its best—perhaps always when it is sincere—is, after all, essentially religious. As Veneta L. Nielsen wrote in her monograph *Under Sound,* "Poetry is the divine light shed upon experience, human experience; it is therefore religious in nature; it is therefore metaphorically always about love."[3]

Be grateful for what science has done for you without losing yourself in a secular faith in scientism, which often proceeds from a materialistic complacency through spiritual vacuum, to emptiness and despair. Know that the horizontal

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[3]Veneta L. Nielsen, *Under Sound* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1958), p. 9.

growth of knowledge will go on, through every university, every great research foundation, through the military services and government agencies; but do not be borne down and crushed by the daily freshets of new data, and made to feel ashamed of your own contribution, which is both indispensable and higher. For to you is left the distillation of true meaning from the masses of fact; to you is left the rearing of those pinnacles and minarets above the flood plain. That plain is deep in sediment fat with fertility; but it needs such as you to light torches and rekindle fires on forsaken altars, to build the spires upon the structures left unfinished by frustrated Giottos.

You the poet can best reconcile the splendid if unruly creativeness of the individual with the need for essential unity. The true poet is not selfish. As a thinker to whom I am much indebted has said, ". . . . the poet . . . . knows that a purposiveness out-reaching human ends is the life-giving secret for man."

And you know, probably best of all, that this gallant new world of science, of industry, yes of poetry, exists ultimately for the purpose of bringing to birth a new world soul. It will be a task, a complex of innumerable tasks, often of sore difficulty. But do not let discouragement enervate you. In the harsh but hopeful words of William Meredith,

> Poems are hard to read
> Pictures are hard to see
> Music is hard to hear
> And people are hard to love . . .
> But whether from brute need
> Or divine energy
> At last mind eye and ear
> And the great sloth heart will move.

You the poets know, as did the great saints, what Robert Fitch termed "the mysterious efficacies of love." He continued, "For if one will not love, one will not learn. It is only love that yields insight."[4] You demonstrate love when

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[4]Robert E. Fitch, "Science and the Saintly Sentiments," *Columbia University Forum* (Spring, 1960).

you bridge the abyss between your own private anguish and ecstasy, and the universal needs of men.

There is, as Teilhard wrote, "that irresistible instinct in our hearts which leads us toward unity. . . . " ". . . . this fundamental vibration which seizes us when confronted by nature, beauty, music. . . ." And he cried, "Resonance to the All—the keynote to pure poetry and pure religion." He linked with these the "expectation and awareness of a Great Presence."[5]

Take with you my best wishes as you go forth to delight in reading poetry, and as you alternate between anguish and exaltation while you write your own poems. And wherever you are, you can remember, in even your darkest moods, that there is wonder in us and a power deep as our roots go, far back even into the inanimate, and beneath, back to some spiral nebula of intense luminosity. We are, as Eiseley wrote, "compounded of dust and the light of a star," from the most ancient of times down to the current chlorophyll which, humble though it may be, weds earth and sun for us.

You at your best are makers and shapers, working in that chaos I spoke of at the beginning. We have evolved far from the spiral nebula of old. We have a mounting dignity and wisdom as we adventure among the stars on this rotund space vessel of ours. Whatever there is of power and majesty in the universe, we share in it or we can if we are at once modest and aware. We have laid our hands upon the mighty potencies in the chest of the universe; we must not use them to return this globe once more to a fiery incandescence of mindless gases. It is your task as poets to help deal with this chaos, to mold shapes of meaning and to bring a new birth of wonder and reverence for the splendors about us.

In ending, I would say as earnestly as I can, "Peace be with you." But not the peace of peace conferences, with everyone glaring suspiciously at everyone else, nor the peace of drowsy meadows and ruminating cows; rather the peace that is heart-swelling storm, that Clinton Larson wrote of

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[5]Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man* (New York: Harper, 1959), p. 266.

in his poetry drama *The Redeemer.* Peter speaks to Jesus saying,

". . . . I wander as your voice
Gathers me from the net you cast
That I take and cast for you.
My soul awaits the storm
Of your prayer in me."

Young Dr. Thomas Dooley (you recall his heroic work among the stricken natives in Laos) spoke of the quality of vital spiritual peace before he died. He said, ". . . . the storm around me does not matter. Nothing human or earthly can touch me. A wilder storm of peace gathers in my heart. What seems unpossessable, I can possess . . . . What is unutterable, I can utter . . . ."[6] This strength I wish you with all my heart as you write and sing in the months to come.

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[6]"The Ultimate Victory," *This Week,* June 25, 1961, p. 2.

Response

VENETA NIELSEN

"Purposiveness outreaching human ends" must be the grandest vision of our time. Fred Hoyle, concluding his book *The Nature of the Universe* says:

> "It seems to me that the greatest lesson of adult life is that one's own consciousness is not enough. . . . What writer would not like to share the consciousness of Shakespeare? What musician that of Beethoven or Mozart? What mathematician that of Gauso? What I would choose would be an evolution of life whereby the essence of each of us becomes welded together into some larger and vastly more potent structure. I think such a dynamic evolution would be more in keeping with the grandeur of the physical Universe than the static picture offered by formal religion."

Father Teilhard, in *The Phenomenon of Man,* defines this high purposiveness as a vision of "psychical expansion," as "an upsurge of total consciousness for mankind" a coalescence of experience. Father Teilhard rejects the Pantheist's version of Unity. We must not aspire to fall back into the All like drops of water to a great sea, but rather aspire to greater personalization, so that at last this divine Person, this total consciousness, "Noösphere," is made up of more perfected and completed minds.

Father Teilhard uses a figure, or metaphor—he talks, as poets should, in metaphor—to clarify his philosophy. (Those who claim poetry and philosophy are inimical should try to find one really good poem which doesn't embody at least one religious or philosophical viewpoint.) He speaks of the earth as "myriads of grains of thought enclosed in a single vast grain of thought, reflections becoming one vast unanimous reflection." That is his idea of Unity—a universe made up of reflective particles. "Everything that exists is

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informed by Mind." He says also in *Phenomenon of Man,* "There is less difference than people think between research and adoration."

The poet might be the bridge, might be the one to bridge the gap, between research and adoration. The poet's gift is largely the gift of relating objective truth to subjective truth—grains of sand to mountains, grains of thought to Noösphere; grains of sand to thought, mountains to the boundless Mind. This is big talk. How is it to be done in a *free* world? How is it to be done at all?

I think there may be no such thing as a free world in the usual sense of "free." Persons may be free.

So what is freedom, for a poet? Wallace Fowlie said: "The poet's capacity to be amazed is his sign. In order to be amazed the poet has to practice a freedom which is unusual because it is related to everything, the physical world, morality, mythology, God. The practice of this freedom insures the response to the world and everything in it. This is vigilance, attentiveness, lucidity, disciplines an artist needs to accomplish his work."

The mystic philosopher Boehme, who through Blake, Kirkegaard, Dostoevsky and others is one of the major influences on religious thought of our time, held that chaos is freedom. Chaos is the mother of all that is, of health, serenity, order, fulfillment, as variety is the necessary condition of unity. It may well be that a free world is one in which everything exists for its own fulfillment. There must be no submersion. All things exist as what they are before they are at one! As in Rosetti's "Woodspurge"

The wind flapped loose, the wind was still
Shaken out dead on tree and hill.
I had walked out at the wind's will.
I sat now, for the wind was still.

Between my knees my forehead was
My hair was over in the grass
My lips, drawn in, said not alas
My naked ears heard the day pass.

My eyes, half open, had the run
Of some ten weeds to fix upon
Among those few, out of the sun
The woodspurge flowered, three cups in one.

In perfect grief there need not be
Wisdom or even memory
One thing there learned remains to me.
The woodspurge has a cup of three.

The Poet's freedom is merely the freedom to assume his own being. Father Teilhard talks of the "radical sacrifice of egoism" which essentially means a radical pursuit of self-knowledge. There can be no sacrifice, no renunciation of self until a self worthy of sacrifice has been created. His view is analogous to the view of Kierkegaard when he says that to have capital salvation we must first have capital suffering, from knowledge of capital sin. The great saint is the great sinner whose suffering reaches an absolute. Both are saying that the free person is the self-moral, and the self-created because self-moral. So, although we may speak disparagingly of the Existentialist and his precious Angst, or with bored amusement of the beatnik with his howls of ineffectual rage, we know that anxiety that is not mere paranoia may signify health of the spirit. We know that strife is the necessary condition of being, and that divisiveness, even among Christian sects, is not an evil until it ends in spiritual sluggishness. Contented sloth is a deadlier sin than envy, and ends in dependency. Dependency is a form of death, just as serenity is a form of death. Serenity is not peace. I like to think of peace as Ibsen's Brand knew it.

For Brand, peace was the power, therefore the freedom, to love the higher purposiveness, God's purposiveness. Peace and freedom lie in the power to assume responsibility—in anguish if that is the condition—responsibility for one's own will. His choice, the death of his only son, was precipitated by the knowledge that if he left his parish for the child's health, irrationality, superstition, madness would take over. The mad girl and her goblins and fairies would prevail over Christian

order and discipline. Peace and freedom are bought by sacrifice.

The greatest poets have written about the price of freedom. Faust warns Mephistopheles: "The end I aim at is not joy." The end was completion of a meaningful personness. This would be his entry to eternity. Dante's master, Plotinus, made the flight of the Alone to the Alone four times. But Dante admitted "The flight was not for my wing." Dante may not have entered eternity, but for so long as time has lasted Dante achieved meaning. He knew, as an exile, that to be free is to escape nothing, but rather to enter into human experience with all his passion and all his power to know.

By pursuing his own self-knowledge the poet adds to the knowledge of the universe. Provided he is good enough, strong enough, clear enough in his grasp of the universal store available to him from the treasuries of the past, and good enough, strong enough, clear enough in expressing the new findings of his own live, conscious, striving spirit, he may help to add to the grand vision of total consciousness. Personally I hope this vision can be completed. According to Hoyle, although there is enough hydrogen to last another 50 billion years, sadly to say it will be only another 10 billion years until the sun will have crisped us up.

Plato's Trinity as Problem and Promise in University Life

OBERT C. TANNER

Plato's three great ideals of goodness, truth, and beauty have been so universally accepted through all the centuries by all men that one would never suspect them of being a source of trouble. As ideals they give no trouble. Everybody talks freely about them, firmly believes in them, and claims them for his very own. These three particular ideals are like mathematical formula that pass as negotiable media of thought all over the world. They do not separate nor divide individuals and nations and religions. Everybody believes in goodness, truth and beauty.

When, however, these great ideals are adopted within our daily lives, when they are taken from Plato's heaven of eternal forms and brought down into our world of becoming, made flesh of our flesh, and blood of our blood—then we involve ourselves in real trouble. Ideals and principles made incarnate produce the infinitely varying contrasts between our theory and our practice, between great principles and actual living, between professed faith and daily performance. Our trouble is not with our ideals. Our trouble starts with their humanization, both in our personal and institutional living.

One solution to the problem would be to turn our backs on these ideals and live on some lower plane of human existence. But man is so made that his eye repeatedly searches out the heavens in quest of ideals that give direction and meaning to life. To live without ideals is impossible, and to live with them in successful daily practice is equally impossible. Indeed, it is to the glory of man that goodness, truth, and beauty draw like magnets with such power that before

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them and in loyalty to them man willingly condemns himself to ultimate failure.

Another solution would be to deny that there is a real problem. We could, and sometimes do, maintain that our lives are altogether quite close to our ideals, and while there are failures, there is really no great gap between our principles and practices. So we call attention to our own comparative superiority and boast freely about daily accomplishments. Thoughtful people reject such pretense and self-righteousness. Human nature itself insures daily practices that are mixed with failures.

The only remaining solution is to face the problem as insolvable. We never can live by our ideals. We can use them each day for direction, be drawn toward them, but never reach them. It is well to face the problem, the solution of which lies beyond our capacities. In so doing, we reduce the dread chances of hollow pretense.

The fact is that Plato's trinity is at once both an insolvable problem and also a promise with infinite possibilities.

Nowhere is this promise and problem felt more keenly and lived more fully than in a great university. Other institutions may follow the ideals of goodness, truth, and beauty, but specialization compels them to stress one of them, as religion emphasizes goodness, science truth, and the arts seek the beautiful. But a university may not so specialize. The concern of a university is the universal—all of man's life. Neglect of any one great theory or prominent practice in man's life would deny the true function of a real university.

The second source of trouble, concerning Plato's trinity, comes when one of the three would assume a supremacy over the other two, when goodness would dictate what truth shall be or what truth be taught, or when truth usurps the center of the stage, making goodness and beauty play minor roles in university life. On the other hand, the promise of this great trinity of values comes when there is a good balance between them, when each is important and none is neglected. This careful balance of these three great ideals is the challenge of any truly great university.

No proof is needed that universities today are primarily concerned with truth-seeking and truth-teaching, and that they neglect the ideals of goodness and beauty. Goodness must have been neglected somewhere, as witness our present world situation. Beauty has nearly always been slighted. Our persistent university questions of today do not ask: Is it good? or is it beautiful? but rather, is it scientific?

It can be argued that the major concern of a university should be confined to truth-discoveries and truth teaching. If so, humanity must continue to stumble over the barren wastes of the unbeautiful, and edge its way along the narrow precipices between peace and war, and otherwise suffer great failures of goodness.

These past twenty-five centuries began with the Greeks holding that beauty was man's supreme value, then later centuries centered upon the good as supreme, and today we are giving most of our efforts to discovering and teaching truth.

This present unbalance of these three great ideals brings us to a great challenge facing Brigham Young University today: It is the challenge of maintaining a good balance between each of Plato's trinity, of goodness, of truth, and of beauty. These three great disciplines do not overlap. One should not dominate the others. Each ideal has a value-jurisdiction that the other two should not encroach upon. They are autonomous and each be independent and free of dictation from the other two. Moreover, each ideal is practiced better if the other two receive careful and adequate attention. Truth flourishes if goodness is a near and friendly neighbor. Beauty is more easily found everywhere if aided by truth and goodness. And goodness itself is helped if there be no lagging in the search for truth and encouragement in the creation of the beautiful.

Brigham Young University has a charter of strong emphasis upon goodness. All the past years, including today's policies, stress goodness that all can recognize. Thus, B.Y.U. might issue this challenge to her sister universities.

"We intend no neglect of truth, but we do also intend that our truth-seeking and teaching be balanced with goodness, and with adequate attention to the beautiful."

Such a challenge from B.Y.U. would be heard around the world. Such an achievement would make of B.Y.U. a mother institution, giving rise to better universities, a pattern for others to follow.

Nevertheless, there is one problem that must first be solved, and though it is a profound problem, it is not insuperable, not without great hope. This problem might be stated by sister universities to B.Y.U. as follows:

"You do stress goodness and beauty, but you do not balance these two values by an equal emphasis upon truth. Your goodness-value dominates your truth-value. When the two clash, it is goodness that sits as the supreme court to decide what truth shall be, or what truth shall be taught."

This is a challenge that Brigham Young University must answer, and try to answer successfully. It may take many years to do so.

Let us consider now the conditions for a future successful answer to this challenge.

If a university is not to neglect its goal of seeking and teaching truth, then among others, there are two basic preconditions: (1) Freedom; (2) Good method.

Consider first the indispensible requirement of freedom in any great university. Surely the basic requirements are met here at B.Y.U. in ample abundance: freedom of books in the new and magnificent library, freedom within beautiful classrooms, freedom of discussion, freedom of a well-trained faculty. Surely truth is well served where such fundamentals of freedom are met.

But all these great achievements do not completely satisfy. More is required. Great libraries and responsible teachers and free classrooms are necessary, but not sufficient for the freedom that truth requires in a great university. There is, in addition, the necessity of what might be called the delicate atmosphere and encouraging climate, where the winds of freedom may blow gently, and softly, and surely.

Freedom is a fragile plant that bends easily to every breeze of pressure. Freedom wilts before innuendoes of power. Freedom disappears in the presence of absolutism. Freedom smothers with unfair argument. Freedom is destroyed with prying personal questions. Freedom is dead where men are afraid.

Our great libraries and class rooms are achievements for freedom, but they are not freedom's guarantee; for freedom is born of human life, and subject to the frailties of human nature—man's jealousies, man's vanities, man's great satisfaction in exercising dominion and power and authority—these fragile aspects of human nature itself are the bullets that kill freedom.

Freedom lives by confidence and trust. It is born in generosity. It grows with tolerance. It flourishes with kindness and love. Surely goodness is a life companion of truth, and never can truth bless humanity so well as it does by the sunshine of true goodness.

This is one great challenge before us: whether our goodness will be good enough to encourage freedom in truth-seeking, or whether our goodness will be mixed with the frailties of human nature—man's fears that new truth may endanger his peace of mind, jeopardize his place of importance, weaken his exercise of authority, challenge his place of exaltation—in short, upset his cherished and hard-won security. On the other hand, if goodness be kindness and patience, then the delicate breath of freedom may blow gently and surely across this campus from day to day, from year to year, and from generation to generation.

If someone here feels discouraged about the reality of the atmosphere of such freedom here at B.Y.U., may I add that such freedom is the great problem of all universities everywhere. Every campus has teachers and administrators and visiting speakers and a public press—all too human—impatient with new ideas, restless by lack of cooperation, fearful of criticism, anxious about preserving the past. Indeed, such people outside the university are frequently strangers when they visit a campus. They are lost when they witness the life of a great university that is correctly performing the true functioning of a great university, so frequently involved

with reconstructing, recreating, and pioneering toward some new way heretofore untried and uncertain.

But freedom is only one prerequisite if truth is to flourish. Another requirement is good method.

The ideal method of progress toward truth is the scientific method. The scientist, as scientist, is the true professional practitioner of the Christian virtue of humility. He holds all hypotheses and generalizations and theories and laws with true modesty, with mental reservations. He is open-minded and even eager to hear a new modification or reservation or contrary fact, or even an outright contradiction.

This ideal of scientist, of holding his beliefs with a provisional attitude, a tentative spirit, a teachable mood—this is the ideal that scholars need badly in the non-scientific disciplines—the humanities and in religion itself.

Mormonism at its core is a religion of progress—continuous revelation. But there never can be progress if emerging and exploratory ideas are stopped by dogmatisms. Mormonism ideally should have none of the clashes common in other churches, such as that of reason versus revelation. There should be none of the heresey trials that judge ideas by standards of infallibility. Every gospel principle, every teaching, every ideal, according to the Mormon ideal of eternal progression, is subject to the enrichment that comes of wider experience in thoughtful and prayerful deliberations. Each gospel standard is enlarged and made nobler by our probing for new possibilities, deeper insights, and more universal comprehension. Mormonism may progress statistically without such pioneering, but it never can make spiritual and intellectual progress without the humility of a spirit or mood that is tentative, provisional, expectant, searching and awaiting new possibilities. Such progress enables us to receive revelation from God quite as much as we might say that scientific discoveries become our better reading and understanding the language of God.

Our gospel ideals are enriched as we think deeply and prayerfully. The last word has not yet been spoken on any Mormon ideal or principle or practice. Our progress here must be eternal. But eternal progress can be greatly halted

by fearful men, by dogmatic men, by powerful men, or by men lacking in the deep humility that makes new discoveries possible.

Moreover, while the scientist's success is verification by observable fact, successful validation of religious principles is more broadly based, namely a wider coherence between revelations and the rational, already supported by prayer and the probabilities we discover and other tests of our daily living. As faculty members we may not waste millions of hard-earned wealth and countless years in otherwise productive lives now wasted by endless hair-splitting with propositions that are unreasonable and improbable. An old Mormon admonition to "stay out of the mysteries" is still good advice to avoid great wastefulness. We must follow good methodology of high probabilities if we are to successfully engage ourselves with the truth ideal. Truth is the companion of him who looks at God's handiwork as examples of the reasonable, the probable, the natural, and the common within our daily experiences.

Finally, if the great ideal of a great university be a careful consideration of goodness of itself, and truth of itself, of beauty of itself, neglecting no one of them, nor permitting any one of the three to dominate the others, then such a challenge can only be met by the faculty members themselves. Administrators and policy boards can help, but the labors of each faculty member, free and courageous, prayerful and studious, kind and patient—this faculty ideal will win or lose the great challenge now facing B.Y.U.

If someone is discouraged let him know that every great ideal is unattainable. Our trouble is that God has made us to live by the light of our ideals in ways that are always imperfect. Such trouble is a good trouble. Nowhere is it felt more keenly than in a university.

The hallmarks of a great university are these:

1. A people willing to give, not only of their material resources, but also of their great spiritual and intellectual resources, such as freedom of students and teachers to pioneer in quest of a greater good, or a larger truth, and to create and appreciate the beautiful everywhere.

2. A great university is one whose individual faculty members are able to handle this freedom with careful responsibility, devoted to good methods and courageous when freedom is threatened.

If B.Y.U. is to lead other universities as an example, it now faces the demand that truth be autonomous, not subject to goodness, yet encouraged and supported by goodness. For while the gospel is essentially goodness, love of God and man, Latter-day Saints hold that the gospel also includes truth and beauty, and that a careful balance of all three means a good life for man. Such is the great challenge now facing this wonderful university.

The War-Making Power: Congress vs. the President

VAN L. PERKINS

On June 25, 1950,[1] North Korean armed forces invaded the Republic of Korea. That nation had been established under the direction of the United Nations, and its government was recognized by the United Nations and the United States as the legal government for the whole of Korea. The invasion was a violation of those provisions of the United Nations Charter intended to prevent aggressive warfare. Some action by the United Nations was inevitable. Less than twenty-four hours after news of the invasion had been received, in response to a request by the United States, the Security Council adopted a resolution which branded the invasion as a "breach of the peace," urged the "immediate cessation of hostilities," and called on North Korea to "withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the thirty-eighth parallel." The Security Council called upon "all members to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities."[2]

There is nothing in the resolution, or in the Security Council's discussion of the resolution, to indicate that anyone in-

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[1]The invasion began at 4:00 A.M., June 25, Korean time, 2:00 P.M., June 24, Washington time. Korea is fourteen hours ahead of the Eastern Time Zone. First official news of the invasion was received in Washington at 9:26 P.M., June 24.

[2]*New York Times,* June 26, 1950. The action was possible only because Russia was absent from this and subsequent Security Council meetings. Her delegation was boycotting the Council because the Council refused to replace the Nationalist Chinese delegate with a delegation from Red China. The legality of the resolution was challenged by the Russian delegate on the grounds that, according to the U.N. Charter, action could be taken in the Council only "by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members. . . ." (Chapter V, Article 27, Clause 3.) Since Russia had not participated, she had not cast a concurring vote for the resolution. But precedent had interpreted this clause as conferring a veto, which was valid only if actually exercised.

terpreted the resolution as a request to member nations to supply military assistance to South Korea. Nevertheless, on June 27 President Truman authorized the use of American air and naval forces to support South Korean troops. He also ordered the United States' Seventh Fleet into the Formosan Strait to protect Formosa from possible aggression by the Chinese Communists. In a public statement, Truman justified his action:

> The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the Thirty-eighth Parallel. This they have not done, but on the contrary have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution.
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> In these circumstances I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.[3]

Almost simultaneously the United States was sponsoring a second resolution in the Security Council calling on member nations to "furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and restore international peace and security in the area."[4] Truman's order committing American air and naval forces to combat preceded the adoption of this resolution by almost twelve hours. The Security Council was faced with a *fait accompli.* This may have influenced the Council's decision to adopt the resolution, which simply legalized the action already taken by the United States. Three days later Truman ordered American ground forces into action.[5] America was at war, no matter what the fray might be called.

The legality of Truman's action is certainly open to question. He had not consulted Congress prior to ordering American forces into combat, although in doing so he was plunging the nation into war. It cannot seriously be maintained that the President was exercising powers granted or even implied by American participation in the United Nations. At the time

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[3]*New York Times,* June 28, 1950.
[4]*New York Times,* June 28, 1950.
[5]*New York Times,* July 1, 1950.

he acted, the Security Council had not asked for military support for South Korea. Even after the Security Council authorized the use of troops, Truman's action remained a violation of the language, if not the spirit or intent, of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945.[6] Regardless of the political or military justification for intervention, Truman's action was clearly a violation of the Constitution, which designates Congress as the war-making agency of the American government. But this was only the most recent in a long series of encroachments on the war power of Congress.

The power to declare war, under the Constitution, resides with the Congress, subject only to the limitation that a declaration of war may be vetoed by the President. The President may prevent war, unless two-thirds of both houses of Congress override his veto, but he may not declare war. This grant of power to the Congress is consonant with the power given to that body to provide the instruments of warfare: the power to raise and maintain an army and a navy, and to call forth the militia. But other powers, related to the war power, are granted to the President. He is given the principal responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs. He may, with the advice

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[6] *United States Statutes at Large,* 79th Congress, 1st Session, LIX, 619-621. Section 6 of the statute authorizes the President to negotiate special agreements with the Security Council, subject to approval by Congress, defining the numbers and types of troops to be made available to the Security Council on its call for maintaining international peace and security under Article 43 of the United Nations Charter. These agreements were never negotiated, so that in June, 1950, the President lacked congressional authority to supply American armed forces to the Council. But the act provided further, "The President shall not be deemed to require the authorization of the Congress to make available to the Security Council on its call in order to take action under Article 42 [i.e. for military action to maintain or restore international peace and security] of said Charter" the armed forces provided for under those agreements. The language of the statute and the debate on the law in Congress make it clear that it was intended that the President should be free to make troops available to the Security Council as needed, without special approval by Congress, once the troops had been provided for by such general agreement or agreements. This sentiment was expressed, for example, by Senator Robert Taft, who had been expected to oppose giving the President that much leeway. "I want to make it clear," said Taft, "that I am wholly in favor of giving authority to the Security Council to use armed force, permitting its use without reference to Congress." *Congressional Record,* 79th Congress, 1st Session, 10966. Had the agreements been negotiated and ratified, as Congress expected them to be, Truman's action would have been authorized, at least under the second resolution of the Security Council. The failure to negotiate agreements, as had been intended, lay with the Security Council. Thus Truman's action was contrary to the express provision of the statute, but in general accord with congressional intent.

and consent of the Senate, make treaties and appoint ambassadors, and he may, without limitation, receive ambassadors and other public ministers. The President is also designated Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into the service of the United States.[7]

The Founding Fathers intended that the President should exercise the dominant power in the conduct of foreign affairs, and should command the armed forces provided by Congress, but only Congress should have the power to plunge the nation into war. This is supported by Alexander Hamilton in *The Federalist.* Distinguishing between the powers of the President and those of the British King, Hamilton makes this point concerning the Commander-in-Chief power: "It would amount to nothing more than the supreme command and direction of the military and naval forces, as first General and Admiral of the confederacy; while that of the British King extends to the *declaring* of war and to the *raising* and *regulating* of fleets and armies; all of which by the Constitution under consideration would appertain to the Legislature."[8]

On one of the rare occasions on which the Supreme Court has considered the power to declare war, it supported the view that Congress and not the President was to exercise primacy in the war-making power. The issue before the Court was not a direct test of the power of the President to make war, in the ordinary sense of a conflict with a foreign nation, but in ruling on the right of the President to take action in the case of rebellion, the Court declared:

> By the Constitution, *Congress alone has the power to declare a national or foreign war* . . . . The Constitution confers on the President the whole Executive power . . . . He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service of the United States. *He has no power to initiate or declare a war* either against a foreign nation or a domestic state . . . .
>
> If a war be made by invasion of a foreign nation, the President is not only authorized but bound to resist force

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[7]Article I, Sections 7 and 8; Article II, Sections 2 and 3.

[8]Jacob E. Cooke, ed., *The Federalist* (Middletown, Conn., 1961), LXIX, 465.

> by force. *He does not initiate the war,* but is bound to accept the challenge without waiting for any special legislative authority.[9]

Thus the President may not initiate or declare war, but he may commit the nation to war if that action is in response to actual invasion. Such was the constitutional intent.

In practice this has broken down, since the President is in a position to usurp the power of Congress in this area. As the principal agent in the conduct of foreign affairs, the executive can commit the nation to a course of action which may virtually force Congress to declare war. The power to recognize or refuse to recognize nations, to sever diplomatic relations, to enforce or not enforce American claims, and many other similar powers are specifically within the realm of presidential jurisdiction. Any of these may be, by traditional usage, a cause of war. Further as Commander-in-Chief he has the power, if not the legal authority, to order American armed forces anywhere in the world. In so doing, he may actually plunge the nation into war without a congressional declaration, even though such action would be unconstitutional. This is the interpretation which precedent has given the Commander-in-Chief power, rather than the limited power of "first general and admiral" envisioned by Hamilton. William Howard Taft, although he subscribed to a rather limited interpretation of the President's powers, saw this clearly. Writing between his terms as President and Chief Justice, he said:

> The President is Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, and the militia when called into the service of the United States. Under this he can order the army and navy anywhere he will, if the appropriations furnish the means of transportation. Of course the instrumentality which this

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[9] *The Prize Cases,* 2 Black, 635, 668 (1863). Italics supplied. The dissenting opinion of four justices, including Chief Justice Taney, is even more emphatic on this point, declaring that *only* the Congress may make war, that even when the President responds to actual invasion it is not a war until declared or recognized by Congress: "But before this insurrection against the established Government can be dealt with on the footing of a civil war . . . it must be recognized or declared by the war-making power of the Government. No power short of this can change the legal status of the Government . . . from that of peace to a state of war . . . . There is no difference in this respect between a civil or a public war." (688-9) If this interpretation were accepted, the Korean conflict and other undeclared wars would not be wars, and so there would be no question of constitutionality involved. But if not wars, what are they?

> power furnishes, gives the President an opportunity to do things quite beyond his power under the Constitution directly to effect. Under the Constitution, only Congress has the power to declare war, but with the army and the navy, the President can take action such as to involve the country in war and leave Congress no option but to declare it or to recognize its existence.[10]

The ability of the President to commit the nation to war in this fashion extends equally to cases of defense and aggression, though the latter would be unconstitutional. Should the President order American forces to move aggressively against another nation, Congress would be faced with a *fait accompli* and would have no alternative consistent with national honor but to acquiesce. Thus the President is well equipped to assume the initiative in the war-making power.

The practice of one hundred and seventy years supports Taft's argument that while the power to declare war formally rests with the Congress, the President is capable of involving the nation in war, leaving Congress little choice but to concur. Between the founding of the nation and our entry into World War I, the United States engaged in three formally declared wars. Two of these, the War of 1812 and the Spanish-American War, were declared in accordance with the constitutional formula. In neither instance did the President so embroil the nation as to commit, or virtually commit, the nation to war in advance of congressional action. In fact, both of those wars came as a result of congressional demand for war. On the other hand the Mexican War was clearly the result of presidential action, which triggered a Mexican response that left Congress with little choice but to declare war. The joint resolution providing for the annexation of Texas had left the boundary between Texas and Mexico undefined. Asserting America's right to the Rio Grande as a boundary, Polk ordered American troops under Zachary Taylor to the Rio Grande. On April 25, 1846, more than a year after the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas had passed

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[10]William H. Taft, *Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers* (New York, 1916), p. 94. Taft supported the "constitutional theory" of the Presidency, i.e. that Article II enumerates the powers of the executive, and the President must justify all of his actions on the basis of a power enumerated there, or a power that may be clearly implied from an enumerated power.

Congress, and five months after the formal admission of Texas, but within a few days after Taylor's arrival at the Rio Grande, a small scouting force was attacked by Mexican patrols. Eleven Americans were killed and five wounded. In spite of the fact that the skirmish occurred in disputed territory, Polk urged Congress to declare war, charging: "Mexico has . . . shed American blood upon the American soil." Congress responded by declaring that "a state of war exists between that government [Mexico] and the United States." Polk, not the Congress, had actually initiated the war.[11]

Even more important than the three declared wars, in the executive usurpation of the war power, were the undeclared wars we engaged in prior to World War I. These were the French Naval War, the Tripolitan and Barbary expeditions, the Philippine insurrection, the China Relief Expedition—better known as the Boxer War—and the military campaigns against Mexico immediately preceding World War I.[12] Generally, these were fought on executive authority, without benefit of a declaration of war, with Congress acquiescing only by making appropriations. Thus, prior to involvement in World War I, the United States had engaged in three formal wars and six additional conflicts which historians classify as wars. Of these nine encounters, only two were undertaken in accordance with the constitutional formula.[13]

The erosion of Congress' war power was virtually completed by American involvement in World Wars I and II. It

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[11]For the War of 1812 see Francis F. Beirne, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1949), pp. 64-95; for the Mexican War see Jesse S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk* (Baltimore, 1907), pp. 162-189, 288-308, cf. Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico,* Vol. I (New York, 1919), pp. 82-155, which places most of the responsibility for the war on Mexico; for the Spanish-American War see French E. Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy* (New York, 1909), pp. 544-587, cf. Julius W. Pratt, *America's Colonial Experiment* (New York, 1950), pp. 39-54.

[12]Consult any of the standard histories of American foreign relations. See Samuel F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States,* Fourth Edition (New York, 1955) for the French Naval and Barbary Wars; A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (New York, 1938) for the Philippine and Boxer wars; Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York, 1954) for the Mexican campaigns.

[13]To this list might be added many other instances of presidential use of troops, or tentative commitment to the use of troops, ranging from 1800 through the 1950's. Since most of these did not precipitate fighting, and none of them led to "wars," they may safely be excluded from this discussion.

would distort the facts to say that the President single-handedly led the nation into either of those wars, but in both cases presidential conduct of foreign affairs in the pre-war period created a situation where the question of war or peace was virtually taken out of Congress' hands. A principal cause of World War I was Wilson's stubborn insistence on American neutral rights in the face of German employment of the submarine. His reaction to German sinkings, especially of the *Lusitania* and the *Sussex,* the doctrine of "strict accountability," and especially the issuance of the *Sussex* note, in which he advised Germany that he would sever diplomatic relations if she did not abandon unrestricted submarine warfare, committed the nation to a policy which left the Congress little choice but to declare war when Germany did resume unrestricted submarine warfare.[14] Our involvement in World War II is even more to the point. Under Roosevelt's leadership the nation followed an unneutral course almost from the start. The lend lease program and the "destroyers for bases deal" are evidence of our lack of real neutrality so far as Europe was concerned. In the Far East we responded to the Japanese threat by cancelling our commercial treaty with Japan, placing an embargo on the export of scrap metal and freezing Japanese credits. More than a month before Pearl Harbor the nation stood in a state of "undeclared war."[15]

The post-war period brought new problems to further complicate the question. Both our military strategy and our foreign relations became increasingly complex, so that Congress was forced to rely more and more on the judgment of

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[14]See Link, *Woodrow Wilson,* pp. 145-282. Submarine warfare was not, of course, the only factor involved. The Anglo-American "community of interest" which had developed over a century of peaceful relations, our role as arsenal for the allies, the arming of our merchantmen, the Zimmerman note, and other factors entered in. But none of these alter the basic fact that war was pretty much a foregone conclusion before Wilson sent his war message to Congress.

[15]See William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Challenge to Isolation* (New York, 1952) and *The Undeclared War* (New York, 1953). Again, this is not an exhaustive list of the causes of the war. The intent here is simply to suggest the role of the President in committing the United States to a course of action which led to war. It should be noted that while some of the actions (lend lease, for example) involved congressional approval, most were executive acts which did not require congressional consultation. Neither Roosevelt nor Wilson, however, was really going contrary to the will of the nation at large.

specialists in the executive department. Changes in military technology revolutionized traditional concepts. America could no longer rely on her oceanic barriers for protection. The increased responsibility of the United States in world affairs, and the revolution in technology raised the question: "Where *is* our first line of defense?" Most agreed that it was outside our territorial boundaries. In an address delivered in January, 1950, for example, Secretary of State Dean Acheson tentatively drew our "defensive perimeter" in the Pacific. It included Japan and the Philippines, not American territory, though not Korea or Formosa. He made it clear that the United States would fight if an attack occurred inside the perimeter.[16] Finally our association with the United Nations might create situations where it would be difficult to employ the constitutional formula. The question had been raised early as to whether or not our delegation to the Security Council could commit the armed forces of the United States to police action under United Nations' sponsorship without specific congressional approval. In his famed "fireman analogy" in 1944, Roosevelt indicated that they must be able to do so, that the United Nations would be completely ineffective if delegates had to scurry off on each occasion to secure the approval of their respective governments.

The Korean intervention underlined many of these problems. The legality of Truman's action is open to question, but there is general agreement that intervention was both wise and necessary. North Korea's invasion of the Republic of Korea created a crisis situation. The communization of China had been a serious set back for the free world, which produced a growing feeling of despair. There was serious question concerning both the willingness and the ability of the free world, under American leadership, to halt the onward rush of communism. Korea presented a challenge which could not be avoided if the onrushing tide were to be halted. General Douglas MacArthur expressed this very well in a letter to the House Minority Leader, Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

> It seems strangely difficult for some to realize that here in Asia is where the Communist conspirators have elected

[16]*New York Times,* January 13, 1950.

> to make their play for global conquest, and that we have joined the issue thus raised on the battlefield; that here we fight Europe's war with arms while the diplomats there still fight it with words; that if we lose the war to Communism in Asia the fall of Europe is inevitable, win it and Europe most probably would avoid war and yet preserve freedom.[17]

This was the symbolic importance of Korea. If the free world were to effectively resist communism, it must be made clear to all concerned, friend and foe alike, that the free nations were willing to fight to prevent further communist encroachment. In this sense, it might well be argued that Korea was our first line of defense.

But while forceful resistance was necessary, was it also necessary that action be taken without consulting Congress? The answer to this question depends in part on the immediacy of the threat, and the time required for congressional response. There is little doubt that Korea would have been lost had action been delayed. Even with American aid, so promptly supplied, the defenders of South Korea were nearly swept into the sea. What the result of waiting for congressional action would have been, no one knows. The decision to provide air and naval support for South Korea was made on June 27, less than three days after fighting began. Since the invasion occurred on a weekend, it is doubtful that Congress could have convened and taken action in this relatively brief period. But ground forces were not committed until June 30, just short of six days after the invasion. It is entirely possible that Truman could have secured congressional approval of our intervention in that length of time. In any event, he certainly could have sought *ex post facto* ratification of his actions.

Other factors complicated the matter. One was the desire to limit the action as much as possible. There was reason to fear that Russia, and perhaps Red China, might enter the war if the United States intervened. One means of lessening the risk was to avoid the full commitment that would have been implied in a congressional declaration of war, or, for that matter, congressional ratification of the war effort. More important was the relationship between the United States and

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[17]MacArthur to Martin, March 20, 1951, in *Congressional Record,* 82nd Congress, 1st Session, 3831.

the United Nations. Truman was striving desperately to make the action against North Korea a United Nations undertaking, rather than a unilateral enterprise by the United States. He was trying to foster the belief, in the United States and in the free world at large, that this was a collective effort to restore the peace. Under these circumstances, a declaration of war by the United States on North Korea, or for that matter congressional ratification of Truman's action, might well have destroyed the effectiveness of the United Nations umbrella under which the United States was operating.

The constitutional problem is pointed up by Truman's action. If it were necessary, or even wise, for him to act without congressional approval, it would indicate that at times the nation's interest would require the President to act without consulting Congress. On the other hand, it is obvious that in most instances the nation will be better served if full congressional deliberation is given, whenever possible, to the question of war or peace as the question arises. The Chinese threat to invade Formosa and the Pescadores late in 1954 and early in 1955 prompted the formulation of a third alternative. To meet the existing threat, President Eisenhower sought congressional approval *in advance* for military action in that area. This was, in reality, a contingent declaration of war.

In a message to Congress on January 24, 1955, the President reviewed the role of Formosa and the Pescadores in the American defense system in the Pacific, and the current threat posed by Communist China in that area.[18] Emphasizing the seriousness of the situation, and the need for immediate action to offset the threat, the President declared,

> Clearly this existing and developing situation poses a serious danger to the security of our country and of the entire Pacific area and indeed to the peace of the world . . . .
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> . . . the situation has become sufficiently critical to impel me, without awaiting action by the United Nations, to ask the Congress to participate now, by specific resolution, in measures designed to improve the prospects for peace. These measures would contemplate the use of the Armed Forces of the United States if necessary to assure the security of Formosa and the Pescadores.

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[18] *House Documents,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, No. 76, *passim.* All material relating to the President's message is taken from this document.

The President foresaw two possible situations requiring action: (1) air and naval support might be needed in the redeployment and consolidation of Chinese Nationalist forces, and (2) "we must be alert to any concentration or employment of Chinese Communist forces obviously undertaken to facilitate attack upon Formosa, and be prepared to take appropriate military action." The President was asking permission to engage in "preventive war" should that be necessary. The geographical area involved was not clearly defined. It included Formosa, the Pescadores, and any portion of the surrounding area deemed necessary to the safe-guarding of Formosa.

The President anticipated the argument that the authority requested was already his, and stated his reasons for seeking congressional action.

> Authority for some of the actions which might be required would be inherent in the authority of the Commander in Chief. Until Congress can act I would not hesitate, so far as my constitutional powers extend, to take whatever emergency action might be forced upon us in order to protect the rights and security of the United States.
>
> However, a suitable congressional resolution would clearly and publicly establish the authority of the President as Commander in Chief to employ the Armed Forces of the Nation promptly and effectively for the purposes indicated if in his judgment it became necessary. It would make clear the unified and serious intentions of our Government, our Congress, and our people.

The primary reason for consulting Congress was for the propaganda value the resolution would have, not to satisfy the requirements of the Constitution. The intent was to dramatize, in unmistakable terms, American opposition to further communist aggression.

In response to the President's message, identical resolutions were introduced in both houses of Congress. The resolutions took cognizance of the threat to Formosa and the Pescadores, and the importance of those islands to the "vital interests of the United States and all friendly nations in or bordering upon the Pacific," and then resolved:

> That the President of the United States be and he hereby is authorized to employ the armed forces of the United

States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack, this authority to include the securing and protection of such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands and the taking of such other measures as he judges to be required or appropriate in assuring the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.

The resolution was to expire when the President determined "that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured . . . and shall so report to the Congress."[19]

The resolution, which simply gave form to the President's recommendations, conferred broad powers on the President in three areas. First, it is relatively indefinite regarding the geographical area to be protected. Second, the power to act "preventively," in the face of a communist build-up which would threaten Formosa, is implied. Third, the expiration of the resolution is at the discretion of the President. The vague and sweeping nature of the resolution, together with the cursory consideration given the proposal, indicates clearly the extent to which Congress has abdicated, and/or the executive has assumed, the war making power.

Consideration was hurried and superficial. In the House the resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in the Senate to the Joint Committee on Foreign Relations and Armed Services. The committees met jointly on the afternoon of January 24 and heard testimony from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Arthur Radford. The hearings were secret, and have not been published, but they were summarized by the chairmen of the committees. They emphasized the indispensability of Formosa and the gravity of the threat. Dulles, particularly, stressed the need for a firm stand to hold Formosa, and to make it clear to the people of Asia that the United States was determined to halt communist advances. The resolution was described as more of a question of "psychology than geography."[20]

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[19]*Congressional Record,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, 601.

[20]*Daily Digest,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, D-21; cf. *New York Times,* January 25, 1955.

The House committee was content. In order to secure early passage, the committee reported the measure, without amendment, and by unanimous vote, the same afternoon. The Senate committee, moving more slowly, heard testimony from the Joint Chiefs of Staff the following day, and reported the resolution on January 26th. Beating down two amendments, both of which were again submitted on the floor, the Senate committee reported the measure without amendment by a vote of 27-2.[21]

The committee reports, which are very similar, gave special attention to four points: the geographical area involved, the role of the United Nations, the opinions of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the effect of the resolution on the relative powers of the President and Congress. The last, with which we are primarily concerned, received only limited, and, we may assume from the nature of the witnesses, superficial consideration. The language of the *House Report* embodies the sense of the *Senate Report* as well.

> The committee considered the relation of the authority granted by the resolution and the powers assigned to the President by the Constitution. Its conclusion was that the resolution in this form, while making it clear that the people of the United States stand behind the President, does not enter the field of controversy as to the respective limitations of power of the executive and legislative branches.

Language elsewhere in the reports makes it clear that the committees recognized that the resolution conferred on the President the power to act offensively, in the face of communist build-up, as well as defensively in the case of armed attack. There was no question but that the resolution gave the President *carte blanche* to commit the nation to war without further consulting Congress. In view of this, the opinion of the committees that the issue "does not enter the field of controversy as to the respective limitations of power of the executive and legislative branches" is a clear indication of the extent to which the Congress was willing to surrender its war-making power.[22]

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[21]*Senate Reports,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, No. 13, *passim.*

[22]*House Reports,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, No. 4, 4; *Senate Reports,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, No. 13, 7-9.

Debate in the House was severely restricted. The measure was considered by the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union under a closed rule, which allowed only two hours of debate, and banned any except committee sponsored amendments. The rule provided that the question was to be voted on immediately after the committee rose, without intervening action, and only one motion to recommit was to be entertained.[23] Debate on the rule was limited to one hour. Since the debate on the rule was really devoted to discussion of the merits of the resolution, the resolution received a total of three hours of debate, hardly adequate for a measure of such importance. Not even all of that time was used.

The surprising thing about the House debate is that not one member objected to the resolution on the grounds that it gave to the President the authority to decide if, when, and within limits where, war should begin. Action approving the resolution, said Representative Budge, was "in no sense abrogating to the executive the legislative power and the duty under the Constitution to declare war." No one took issue with this statement. On the contrary, a number of Representatives, principally Speaker Rayburn and Majority Leader McCormack, expressed some criticism of the resolution on the grounds that the President already possessed all the power as Commander-in-Chief that the resolution conferred. They were concerned lest the President limit his power to act in future crises by seeking congressional approval in this instance.[24]

The resolution passed the House by the overwhelming majority of 410-3. Of the three who voted "nay," only one did so because the resolution would permit the executive to plunge the country into war without a formal declaration by Congress, or without consulting Congress further.[25] Only one man of the 413 present and voting was alarmed at this far-reaching surrender of congressional power.

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[23]*House Reports,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, No. 5, *passim; Congressional Record,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, 659.

[24]*Congressional Record,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, 659-680. The Budge quote is at 661, the Rayburn statement referred to is at 672, McCormack's at 659.

[25]*Congressional Record,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, 680; *New York Times,* January 26, 1955.

Consideration of the measure on the Senate floor, as in the Senate hearings, proceeded at a more leisurely pace than in the House. Debate broke out on January 26th when the resolution was reported, before it was called up for consideration, and continued until January 28th. Debate was sharp, but the constitutional implication of the measure was not a real issue. As we have seen, the report of the committee whitewashed the issue, declaring that the resolution did not enter the field of dispute concerning the limitations of the two branches of government, and this position was generally adhered to in the debate. Only Senator Morse criticized the resolution because it transferred the war-making power to the President. "I do not believe any President should have that power," he declared. "I do not believe Congress should in any way delegate its power to declare war." On the other hand, a number of Senators took the position Rayburn and others had assumed in the House, that the President already possessed the necessary power to act, without special congressional approval. The paradoxical position of many Senators, who were supporting the resolution while maintaining that Congress had the war power, is exemplified by Senator Sparkman. He recognized that if the President used our armed forces in a Formosan crisis it would probably precipitate a major war. At the same time, he continued to maintain that "under the Constitution, only Congress can authorize the making of war by this Government." Not one of the five amendments which were offered expressed any reservation concerning, or any attempt to restrict, the power of the President to plunge the nation into war. The primary issue was simply a question of geographical limitations. The resolution passed by a majority of 85-3.[26]

In the short space of five days, with minimal consideration, and unchanged from the form in which it had been introduced,[27] the resolution was passed, granting the President the authority to take actions which could precipitate a major war. Considering the gravity of the threat, and the need to take preventive action, there is no intent to suggest that the

[26] *Congressional Record,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, 735-769, 813-852, 920-994. The Morse quote is at 841, Sparkman at 933.

[27] *United States Statutes at Large,* 84th Congress, 1st Session, LXIX, 7.

resolution should not have been passed. But the speed with which it was adopted, the lack of concern for the constitutional issues involved, in fact the insistence that the President already had all the powers included in the resolution, indicate the degree to which Congress was unwilling to assume its responsibility.

The Formosa resolution did adhere more closely to constitutional intent than Truman's action in Korea. Congress was, at least, consulted. But as a substitute for the constitutional formula, it leaves much to be desired. The executive department was clearly at the helm. The resolution originated in the executive branch, and the only witnesses heard by the congressional committees were members of the executive department. Further, Congress had only limited choice. Theoretically it would have been possible to defeat the resolution, and at least this was a more likely possibility than failure to support a war already underway, but that would have undermined the President and compromised the United States in world affairs. The alternatives did not really admit a free choice.

Even the "Formosa formula"—a contingent declaration of war—might not always be possible. Two limitations govern its use. First, the government must be able to foresee the threat. Second, the threat must be remote enough to make congressional consultation possible. Both conditions were present in the Formosa situation. Future threats to the peace may arise without providing time to consult Congress.

There are, then, three alternatives available with which we may respond to a threat of war. The most secure, because it provides the most adequate safeguards, is the constitutional formula. It should be used wherever possible in considering the question of war or peace. But it has definite problems and serious limitations, as we have seen. If the Formosan Resolution is an accurate measure of congressional intent, it is obvious that one of the most important of these limitations is the inability, or the unwillingness, of Congress to accept the responsibility involved. There may be times when the constitutional formula simply cannot be used, but those instances must not be multi-

plied by Congress' unwillingness to assume the responsibility which, under the Constitution, clearly resides with that body.

In some cases the contingent declaration of war may have to replace the constitutional formula. At least it gives Congress a role in the decision-making process. It has value as a propaganda device, making our position clear to friend and foe alike, and it commits the people, through their representatives, to the action, and so may lessen criticism at home. But it has definite limitations. Most important, unless Congress seriously assumes its responsibility and carefully considers the proposal, it is little better than not consulting Congress at all.

Finally, there may be instances when neither of the foregoing is possible, when either military necessity or strategic considerations make congressional consultation impossible or unwise. In these instances the Korean approach would seem to be the only alternative. But neither Congress nor the President should permit this approach, which is the simplest to use, to displace the constitutional formula simply because it is more convenient. The President must exercise great care to avoid further usurpation of Congressional power. Even more important, the Congress must willingly accept its responsibility under the Constitution. Only in that fashion can the nation be adequately protected from involvement in a war contrary to the nation's interest.

Ibsen on Art

(*Note*: The first of two articles by Henrik Ibsen on the nature and function of art, being a letter from Ibsen as the Director of the Norwegian Theater in Kristiania (Oslo) to the Norwegian Parliament, dated October 25, 1859. Although these pieces have long been available to the person who could travel long distances to see the manuscripts and who had a working knowledge of Norwegian, these translations present essentially new material to the English-speaking scholar. Translation by John B. Harris.)

Each man reveals himself, or at least re-reveals himself, with every utterance; and it is only through the study of recorded utterances that we are able to catch the revelation of people of enduring interest who are not our own contemporaries. The publication of the scholarly edition of Ibsen's collected works in 1952[1] *has given us additional opportunity to view and review Ibsen and his concepts, not only through the definitive texts of the standard works presented to us, but also through many less accessible items and a good number of hitherto unobtainable items, some published for the first time in the edition.*

In the following letter we see much that we have long known about Ibsen: it comes as no surprise to us that his focal point is drama; he is known to us, above all else, as a dramatist—in this case a dramatist in the seemingly perennial need for money for theatrical production. It comes as no surprise, either, to find him pointedly patriotic; anyone who has read "Peer Gynt," "The League of Youth," "The Wild Duck," etc. to the end of the list of his famous dramas, most of which were written while Ibsen was in willful exile from Norway, knows that they are strongly Norwegian not only in setting, but in flavor and essence. So one does not even need to have read the earlier, historical plays or be familiar with his early political activities to know of Ibsen's intense patriotism. Nevertheless, little has been said about Ibsen's

[1]Henrik Ibsen, *Samlede Verker,* eds. Francis Bull, Halvdan Koht, Didrik Arup Seip (20 vols., Hundredaarsutgave; Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1928-1952).

concept of the role of art in the patriotic cause, a basic point in this letter. Moreover, we tend to isolate Ibsen from the other arts because he functioned rather exclusively in the theater during his years of fame, despite the fact that he was a painter and a poet in his younger years. Both this article and the one to follow show that he not only was aware of the other arts but that he understood their methods and significance.

Both articles have a good deal to say to the modern artist and critic because they deal with problems still a part of our artistic age. This first article, however, seems to hold a particularly pertinent message for L.D.S. artists who are too often guilty of being unaware of the major point Ibsen is here trying to make.

From: The Directorship of the Norwegian Theater in Kristiania[2]

To: The Parliament

The significance of *Nationalism* in the complete spiritual orientation and development of a people has, in the past fifteen to twenty years, become remarkably clear and understandable. In these last few years, it has become notably clearer and clearer to the common mind that political freedom alone by no means makes a people free in spirit and in truth, but that the higher spiritual freedom comes about above all through the breaking of those bonds which imprison a people's understanding of itself by way of a foreign artistic domain—that this freedom first comes about when people have viewed themselves and the world around them through that characteristic form and that characteristic illumination which is to us, as a nation, indigenous and natural. The battle in the service of this higher freedom is fought here, as in other places, by our artists and our authors, the spiritual eyes of the people who, prior to the masses, have caught a vision of it in this situation as an absolute necessity. And the battle is not fought merely over theories; hence, the results are immediately felt. Through their works, our poets have taught the people to understand and love their own heritage with all its variations.

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[2]*Ibid.*, XV, 224-230.

They have, in true and noble forms, presented pictures of the people's life to our eyes, and in the midst of all these variants, in the midst of these deviant forms, they have taught us to glimpse and admit of an essence which lies characteristically at the root—the common mind of the people, the characteristically basic points of view which belong to us and no other people because we, as opposed to the world at large, make up an entity, not simply because of political agreement, but because of common orgin, common traditions, common language, and a common fate through good and bad times. In a word, because we, in the full sense of the meaning, *are* a Nation.

And our graphic artists have not been less stimulating. They have composed for us in colors and shapes as others have in words; they have taught us to grasp with the essence of understanding that particular Nature under whose influence we have grown up and which in its distinctiveness lies so close to our spiritual character.

The field of music has also been cleared and cultivated; a single eminent personality in this area has borne our country's name with honor far beyond our borders. Now, if we could imagine that all of this work of artistic spirit were left undone or that it had been performed by foreigners, the picture of the situation which would present itself before our eyes would then be dark indeed; only then could we completely realize the significance which lies in a *national* operation in poesie and art. It will become clear to us that in large measure it is from these things that our national spirit has received its awakening and strength; that it is from these things that our love for our country and our national institutions absorbs its most healthful nourishment; that we of these professions have a living obligation to create an organic unity and an obligation toward harmonious strife in peace as well as defense against an enemy attack.

This acknowledgement of lofty meaning in the national art for our most important and deepest interests has apparently been also clear in the eyes of the representatives of the people because, lately, they, by means of not inconsiderable financial support on the part of the State, have made it possible

for our young, struggling artists (namely painters and sculptors of stone and wood) to pursue their education for a greater or lesser period in foreign art centers. Moreover, by means of travel allowances, the opportunity has been given them to partake of that education which the study of nature and art offers, be it at home or abroad. Our musicians, also, have been benefited by this liberality; several of them have in part received instruction in foreign conservatories by means of public support. And finally, in previous years, certain authors have, by means of travel stipends, benefited by the awakening awareness in our society of the importance of intellectual achievement to our national well being.

But it becomes immediately apparent that while help and support have been given in all of the above-mentioned directions, our own dramatic art has been ignored and left to itself. The reason for this cannot reasonably lie in a denial or plain underevaluation on the part of the National Assembly of the importance of this art, for it has placed its stamp of acknowledgement on the national operation of poetry, painting, the plastic arts, and music; so it is impossible for it to deny the validity of the dramatic art. This art, because of its very nature, must be looked upon as an exalted commingling of all the foregoing arts in that it appears as a union of the elements of poetry, painting, plastic art, and music. Therefore, the parliament has, by supporting the foregoing arts, indirectly given its acknowledgement of the dramatic art's title. And when its title is once acknowledged, it incontestably follows that in its influence upon the people it has a wider importance than any other art form. For while each of these, in accordance with its basic idea, presents itself more or less abstractly—Poetry by words alone, painting alone through drawing and color, the plastic arts through pure form, etc., all of these media of artistic communication unite in the dramatic art to form a complete entity, to form a straightforward representation of life and reality, cleansed and elevated, in the manner in which the artistic ennobling process brings it into being. To understand completely the marked influence and significance of the dramatic art—that it is, indeed, national—one must further consider that in it, the

creating artistic personality is likewise the artistic medium: the painter employs canvas and colors; the sculptor, marble and brass; but the actor, simply himself—his voice, his movements, his facial expressions, his striding and posing—in short, everything which collectively moulds itself into a living, individual characterization, by which the laity justifies its concept of that individual as opposed to all others.

An artistic endeavor in this direction which is in essence and truth national must be granted by everyone (since they have already acknowledged the significance of a national art in general) to be of the utmost importance as a principal medium for the people to clearly find themselves, to be ennobled and taught, to be strengthened and united. Therefore, in most progressive societies, the dramatic arts enjoy a high valuation as a spiritual educational medium for the populace. In manifold places the operation of the theater is made a matter of state, and in general is partially supported with generous allotments from the official party, concerning which more exact statistical information is enclosed.

But when it is sufficiently substantiated, by experience as well as by the reasonable basis of the thing itself, that no art form can so forcefully and meaningfully bear upon the development of the people as the dramatic, it also necessarily follows that this particular art form—which can with greater success than any other strive toward the goal it should reach for, or at least toward that which it *can* reach—when pressed by circumstances and weighty conditions to go off on the wrong track, is forced at times to give up that goal in order to be allowed to pursue it in general. This has oftentimes proved to be the case in the theater when the official stipend has not been great enough; hence, is it not quite natural that the results are readily apparent in our theater, which is supported exclusively by its daily receipts? In such a circumstance it is altogether too frequently necessary for a theater to *follow* the public instead of *leading* it, to allow itself to be carried away by the prevailing, often vitiating taste rather than govern it. If our theater possessed greater means it would also be able to enlarge and improve its staff, together with supplying that staff with a more basic preparatory education;

it would be able to bestow greater care to the selection and performance of plays, to reward original authors more liberally and thereby promote our dramatic literature, and likewise be able in general to work in a more artistic and national spirit than any up to this point has seen the possibility of doing.

The Norwegian theater is a people's theater. It has established as its commission to work, as far as is possible, for the plebeian class. It has, therefore, an inordinate number of inexpensive seats; but as a result, the daily receipts are too small to support the institution without its resorting to an artistically damaging parsimony. Yet no one has thought that any change ought to be made in this regard because, as I said, it is part of the plan of the theater to make itself available to all. This characteristic of the dramatic art should not be ignored. The works of our painters and sculptors can be owned and enjoyed only by individuals; moreover, their greatest and best productions most generally remain abroad where they were created. Yet the State feels obligated to support their activity which by its very nature cannot really be said to benefit the people. This liberality is, to be sure, well founded; but the need of the theater for comparable support ought to stand established on equally firm ground: the contributions which are given here remain in the country and the gains are the common property of all.

This bold acknowledgement of the need and significance of a national theater has been declared in an unmistakable manner throughout the land in recent times by the fact that the newly established subscription for the procurement of a satisfactory building for the Norwegian theater has met with sympathy not only with the country's king and his family, but also with the farmer up in the mountain villages. As soon as this proposed building becomes a reality, the future of the dramatic art in our country will undoubtedly be secured. But that time still lies in the distant future, and until that time it is not only necessary to support the institution, but also to work vigorously and without losing sight of our artistic ideal. This problem is doubly difficult for the Norwegian theater to solve, for conditions have developed over the years

so that it not only has a goal to work toward but an opposition to conquer—in order to achieve, the dramatic art in our land must not simply learn, but also forget.

This humanistic and intellectual spirit, wherein our national unity has taken effect throughout the land during our period of independence, must essentially be regarded as a lever for the higher ideas which the time has called to life in our political state. And amongst these stands the idea of a National Theater of the first rank. It is, therefore, in full confidence that we address ourselves to the Norwegian Parliament in that we hereby request that a grant from the State Treasury of two thousand special kroner annually be given the Kristiania Norwegian Theater that it may more freely and unimpeded than heretofore work in the service of art.

Home

The nomad call in my blood.
The call of the seas my fathers sailed.
The call of the fresh, untouched prairies
my fathers looked upon.
And that was long ago.
The call of the valleys, unseen by man,
before my fathers came.
The longing to look where they looked.
But my fathers' wild valleys lie sleek and fat,
Soothed by the husbandman's hand.
The call to be wandering,
To stay never still in one place.
I have no home but the earth,
And the stars call me outward now.

—Kathryn Alley

The Theater[1]

(—The second of two articles by Henrik Ibsen on the nature and function of art, being an article written by Ibsen in his younger years when he was a reporter on his friend's not too successful paper, *Manden*—when his wages for writing theatrical reviews was only a free pass to the plays. Written on May 25, 1851, the article was perhaps intended for that periodical, but it did not appear in print until it was published in Ibsen's posthumous papers. Translated by John B. Harris.)

"How was *William Tell?*" I heard one student ask another after the performance of that opera.

"Excellent! The music is really outstanding."

"And the libretto?"

"Oh well, there isn't anything outstanding about the libretto—But in opera, the libretto is merely a tributary element."

This line of reasoning is not at all uncommon; most people can remember either having used it themselves or having heard it used by others. The so-called appreciators of music are particularly fond of expressing themselves in this way, because it is usually they who consider opera as a mixture of two separate entities, music and text, in which, according to them, the one can perform its function completely even though the other is somewhat less than successful. Even real artists subscribe to this view, so it is therefore not unusual to hear a complete opera presented in a concert hall. Nothing can be more warped than such a concept of the purpose of operatic music, and I must, therefore, beg permission to dwell a bit on this subject.

Opera is that dramatic art form which, through a plastic-[2] musical medium, reproduces reality in an ideal picture. Consequently, this medium is, in its very basis, a composition of two elements, of which one alone is insufficient for the fulfillment of the intended goal. Each revelationary form in the

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[1]Henrik Ibsen, *Samlede Verker* XV, 66-68.

[2]In this article, Ibsen uses the term "plastic art" in a most liberal application, using it to refer to *any* visual art—hence, acting.

arts has its boundaries, beyond which its power has not the capacity to stretch. Now music is basically of a lyrical, whereas the plastic art form is basically of an epic nature; but the opera is a unity of both and cannot, consequently, reveal itself through a medium whereof one element is missing.

The complete fulfillment of operatic music lies, therefore, precisely in its inability in and of itself to express the composer's creative thoughts, just as the libretto's fulfillment lies in the fact that it is not complete so long as it is not expressed through the unity of music and the plastic form. The most heartfelt harmony must thus take place between the music and the text: music is the soul of opera, the text its concrete form by which it is bound together, so that when in opera we find ourselves in the realm of the ideal, we demand a complete cooperation between content and form. Because music in the opera is characterized as content (not as form), it must be admitted that it must negate its won existence when it strives to become objectified of and by itself. Certainly a content without form is, in reality, merely an empty abstraction. The very existence of operatic music thus ceases when it is presented out of the theater, in that it strives to create of itself a self-sufficient entity.

Therefore, when the "appreciators of music" say that they prefer to sit with their eyes closed during the performance so that they might not be distracted in their appreciation of the music, they do so either for affectation or because their statement is founded upon a total miscomprehension of the meaning of operatic music. This sort of thing is possible in a concert hall; truly, here the presentation is immaterial. The music is, in and of itself, everything. But that is not the case in opera where music, as content, is experienced primarily through the medium of the plastic form.

It will hereby be perceived that that view which holds that the plot in an opera is to be regarded of secondary significance proclaims a completely erroneous understanding of what, precisely, an opera has to say. Any singer who does not have acting talent is unqualified to appear in an opera, for it is only through the dramatic that he can make understandable the poetry of music and let its thoughts express themselves.

Study of the Outcomes of College Education in Art in Selected Colleges in Twelve Western States

J. Roman Andrus

With the growth of art programs and the increase of studio classes in colleges, the problem of what outcomes should receive emphasis in the total program has become more basic than ever to evaluation. The primary purpose of this study was to make a contribution to objective and valid criteria for the evaluation of college art programs. To accomplish this goal, the study sought to identify major outcomes from education in art in college, to ascertain the relative emphasis these outcomes should receive in the college art program, to determine the extent to which these outcomes have been achieved in college, and to interpret some specific incidents in art in college from which might be formulated some critical requirements for more effective art training.

Certain widely accepted basic assumptions underlie this study of outcomes of education in art.

1. Under our democratic way of life the individual has the right to expect to be trained to express himself creatively in his own unique manner in his chosen medium as long as this expression does not interfere with, endanger, or abridge the freedom of others.

2. Art educators are searching for ways to train young people in art that they might contribute to and be happy in our democratic society. ". . . the aesthetic principle is deeply embedded in man and . . . its presence contributes to his well being."[1]

Dr. Andrus is professor of art at Brigham Young University.

[1]Arthur R. Young, "Art Education in Our Culture," *This Is Art Education* (Kutztown, Pennsylvania: National Art Education Association, 1951), p. 8.

3. Many factors growing out of a rapidly changing culture are exerting significant influences upon art programs in college.

4. The methods and procedures for effective art training in college are not clearly defined.

5. A study which identifies values from training in art, strengthens the role of art education in our culture to the extent it contributes useful criteria for the evaluation of college art programs through the alignment of expected and achieved outcomes.

6. A study of the incidents which are critical to the achievement or the thwarting of achievement, according to the student's point of view, can be useful in interpreting the study of outcomes.

From a survey which was made of the literature published in the past twenty years in the fields of art, aesthetics, and art education, twenty-eight concepts were abstracted which were stated by a majority of writers as kinds of knowledge, attitudes, and proficiencies which, ideally, college graduates in art should possess. These twenty-eight concepts represented the seven general areas of intellectual, psychological, manual, appreciational, educational, social, and integrational aspects of art education. The general areas were not mutually exclusive, and it was not intended that they should be, inasmuch, as the permeating ideal of art is integration, and exclusiveness among outcomes is neither possible nor desirable.

Intellectual Outcomes. The degree of excellence of art is controlled by the degree of intelligence of both the creator and the consumer. Irwin Edman expressed this as:

> So far from having to do merely with statues, pictures, and symphonies, art is the name for the whole process of intelligence by which life, understanding its own conditions, turns them to the most interesting or exquisite account.[2]

Intellectual outcomes were stated as: (1) independent creative thinking as a part of art work, (2) interest in learn-

[2]Irwin Edman, *Arts and the Man* (New York: The New American Library, 1950), p. 10.

ing as related to art, (3) understanding of art processes, (4) knowledge of the history of art, and (5) understanding of aesthetic theory.

Psychological Outcomes. Because the creation and appreciation of art depend upon interpretation of sensory responses, awareness and use of feelings, and acuity of perception, outcomes from education in art which carry psychological implications were expressed as: (6) Sensitivity to aesthetic elements of environment, (7) personal satisfaction from art activities, (8) freedom of expression in favorite art medium, and (9) ability to sustain intensity of feelings during art work.

Manual Outcomes. Ernest Ziegfeld outlined the place of skill in creative activity as:

> Creative activity in the arts, therefore, seems to involve a complex of closely related factors. There must, first of all, be a degree of sensitivity to the environment, a responsiveness to the experiences of living . . . In addition to emotional receptivity and awareness, the individual must possess an imaginative capacity which enables him to organize his responses into new and emotionally significant patterns and relationships . . . And finally, if the creative idea is to be given material form—there must be skill in handling the techniques and the materials of the artistic medium.[3]

Manual outcomes were stated as: (10) Facility in the use of the tools, equipment, and materials of art, (11) ability to design in one or more medium, and (12) skill in recording graphic symbols.

Appreciational Outcomes. Appreciational outcomes were concerned with the analysis and enjoyment of art and utilitarian objects which appeal to the eye. Melvin Rader wrote:

> Although art is obviously a mode of self-expression, it is also social. . . . Just as scientific discourse is the language of descriptions, so artistic expression is the language of appreciations. Art is the expression of values, both individual and social.[4]

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[3]Ernest Ziegfeld, *Art in the College Program of General Education,* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953), p. 81.

[4]Melvin Rader, *A Modern Book of Esthetics* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. xix.

Appreciational outcomes from art education were stated as: (13) Conviction of the importance of aesthetic considerations in selecting clothing, home appliances, automobiles, and so forth, (14) belief in the validity of contemporary art forms in modern living, (15) promotion of appreciation of art, and (16) appreciation of traditional art forms.

Educational Outcomes. Primarily, values from education in art in college which are vital to the teacher of art were included under educational outcomes. While outcomes listed in this area can add to the growth and satisfaction of any student, since they center around experiences in analyzing art, relations with people, and development of personality, they are indispensable to the teacher of art. Educational outcomes appeared as: (17) Confidence in criticizing the artistic endeavors of others, (18) ability to stimulate others to participate in or to learn about art, (19) ability to get along well with people, and (20) flexibility.

Social Outcomes. Of major concern in the group of outcomes categorized as social outcomes were evidences that the student in art was preparing to find a place in society as well as acquiring understandings which would enable him to grow in economic efficiency and become increasingly useful socially. Those outcomes with particular social implications were: (21) Knowledge of the vocational opportunities in art, (22) established professional goals as artist, art teacher, and so forth, (23) maintaining integrity in the use of creative abilities, and (24) recognition of the therapeutic function of art in our society.

Integrational Outcomes. The final four outcomes were concerned with areas of training in art which would indicate the ability of the student to consolidate his learning into a set of personal beliefs as a result of his experiences and training, and his ability to express himself in a somewhat mature style while working creatively and confidently. It was intended that these integrational outcomes would indicate functionally, the unity of the preceding outcomes. Integrational outcomes were expressed as: (25) A philosophy of art, (26) projection of individuality through plastic and graphic media, (27)

synthesizing of ideas, feelings, and skills in creative work, and (28) preparation to participate professionally in art.

The twenty-eight concepts became the basis from which questionnaires were constructed. These questionnaires were sent to eight hundred and twenty persons. This number was divided into three groups as follows: (1) Six hundred and two students who had graduated from college art departments during 1954-55 and 1955-56, (2) one hundred and seventy-seven art teachers, and (3) forty-one art specialists. Completed questionnaires were returned by four hundred and seventy-eight students, one hundred and forty-five art teachers, and thirty-three art specialists, making a total of six hundred and fifty-six or 80 per cent of the original number. Ninety-one letters were returned by the postal service marked not deliverable. The six hundred and fifty-six completed questionnaires represented 89.9 per cent of the seven hundred and twenty-nine persons who actually received questionnaires. Identification of the three groups reveals the varied scope of interests and achievements within the groups.

Identification of Student Group. Of the four hundred and seventy-eight students who completed the questionnaire, sixty had graduated from college with a Bachelor of Science degree, two hundred and ninety-six with a Bachelor of Arts degree, one hundred and nineteen with a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree, and three with a Bachelor of Education degree.

Responses indicated that at the time of the study, members of this group were engaged in the following pursuits: Eighty-one were enrolled in graduate study, seven were teaching art in college, two were directors of visual education in college, fifty-three were teaching in high schools and junior high schools, twenty were teaching in elementary schools, and thirty-seven listed their occupation as that of teaching but did not signify the level of activity. This was a total of two hundred graduates who were in educational activities. The listing of other occupations among the group indicated two were cartoonist inkers, sixteen were in advertising and advertising art, twelve were illustrators (two of these were medical illustrators), twenty-three were commercial artists, one was a

photographer, fourteen were craftsmen, ten were interior designers, eight were industrial designers, six were unspecified designers, fourteen were artist-painters, two were art therapists, two were art directors in television studios, sixteen were office workers, six were social workers, five were receptionists, five were clerks, seven were salespersons, three were librarians, two were steel workers, four were mechanics, one was an aircraft worker, two were store employees, two were buyers, one was a radio and television performer, one was an architect, one was a laborer, fifty-eight were housewives, forty-two were in the armed services, and nineteen respondents did not indicate their occupations.

Of the four hundred and seventy-eight students who completed questionnaires, two hundred and fifty-seven were females and two hundred and twenty-one were males.

Identification of College Art Teacher Group. Among the one hundred and forty-five college art teachers who checked questionnaires for the study, thirty-nine were professors, fifty-three were associate profesors, and fifty-three were assistant professors. These represented thirty-six college and university faculties.

Identification of Art Specialist Group. Among the thirty-three art specialists who checked questionnaires for the study, eleven were art educators, eleven were art administrators, and eleven were artist-teachers. Of the eleven art educators, five were supervisors or directors of art from large districts in Pennsylvania, Oregon, New York, Colorado, and Utah; two were professors and one was an associate professor of art education from universities in California, Missouri, and Washington; one professor emeritus of art was from Washington, D.C.; one assitant professor of art education was from Georgia, and one professor of art education was from Illinois. The latter two were engaged in research in art education at the time this study was made.

Nine of the eleven art administrators were or had been chairmen of art or art education departments of large universities in Florida, California, Illinois, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Washington; one was director of the department of edu-

cation of a national museum in New York, and one was director of art education for a large city district in Washington. This latter juror had previously served as president of the National Art Education Association. The immediate past-president and the former national secretary-treasurer of the National Art Education Association were also in this group.

The eleven artist-teachers have made contributions to art as leading artists nationally and internationally. They have taught art and have shown vital interest in art education. Six of the eleven were, or had been associated with universities as chairmen, professors, or artists in residence; two were associated with museum schools. Painters, printmakers, designers, art historians, a sculptor, and a ceramist were included in this group. These artist-teachers were distributed geographically as follows: Alabama, California, Colorado, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Washington.

Only leaders in their respective fields were invited to participate in the study as members of the jury of art specialists.

Sources of Data. Questionnaires sent to art specialists and to art teachers were divided into section "A" and section "B." Section "A" asked respondents to rate each of the twenty-eight outcomes according to the relative degree of emphasis each should receive in the total college art program. Section "B" of the questionnaire submitted to the jury of art specialists asked for the jury member's opinion on the degree to which each of the outcomes should be achieved in the college art program. Section "B" of the questionnaire submitted to the art teachers asked for the teacher's opinion as to the degree students were achieving the twenty-eight outcomes under the present college program.

The questionnaire sent to students was designed to obtain student opinion concerning the extent the twenty-eight outcomes had been achieved by them in college. In addition, students were asked to report an incident which had assisted achievement at a critical time and an incident which had thwarted achievement. Some critical requirements for improved training in art in college were sought through this critical incident technique.

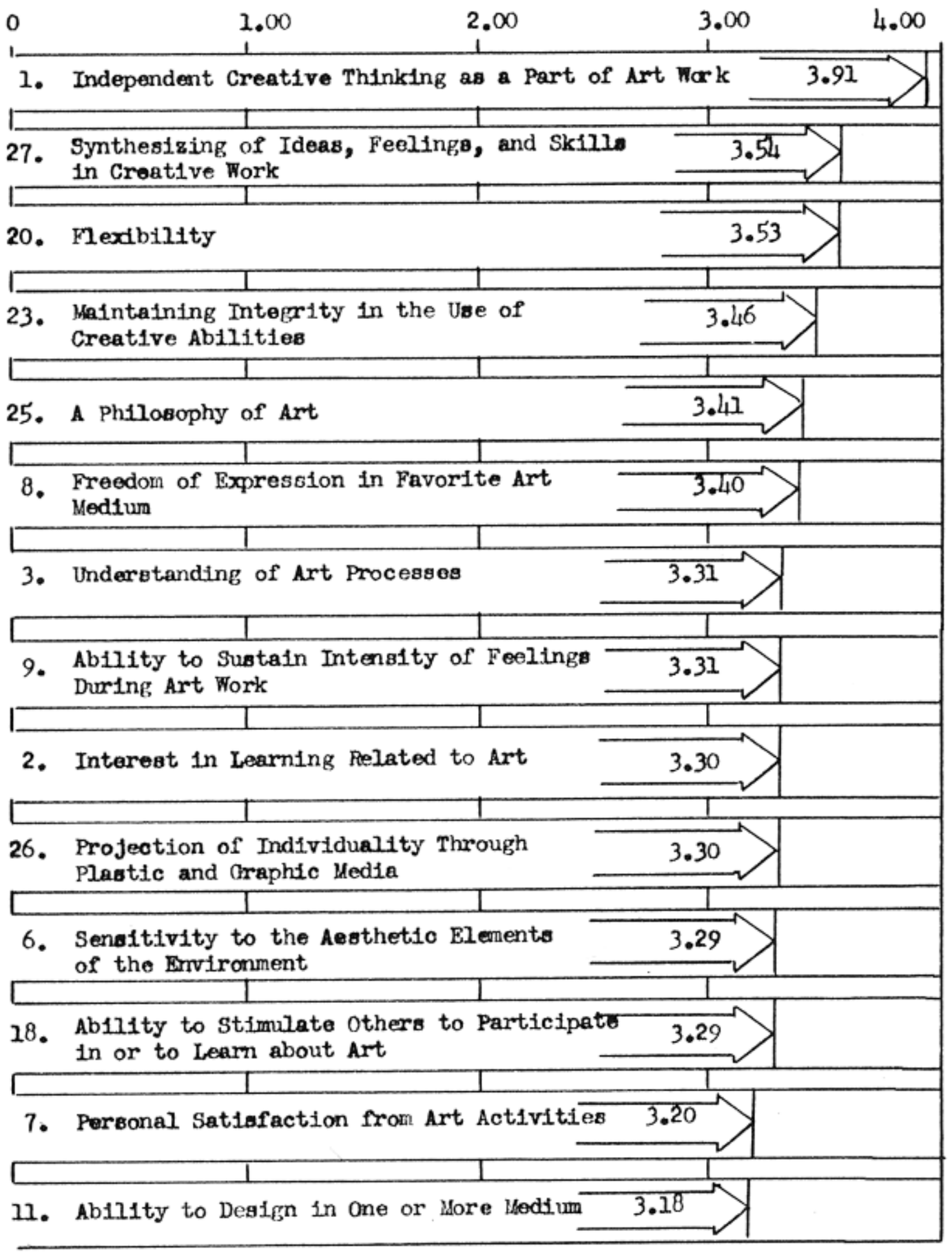

Figure 6

Rank Order of Importance of Outcomes According to Combined Emphasis Point Averages Scored by Art Specialists and Art Teachers

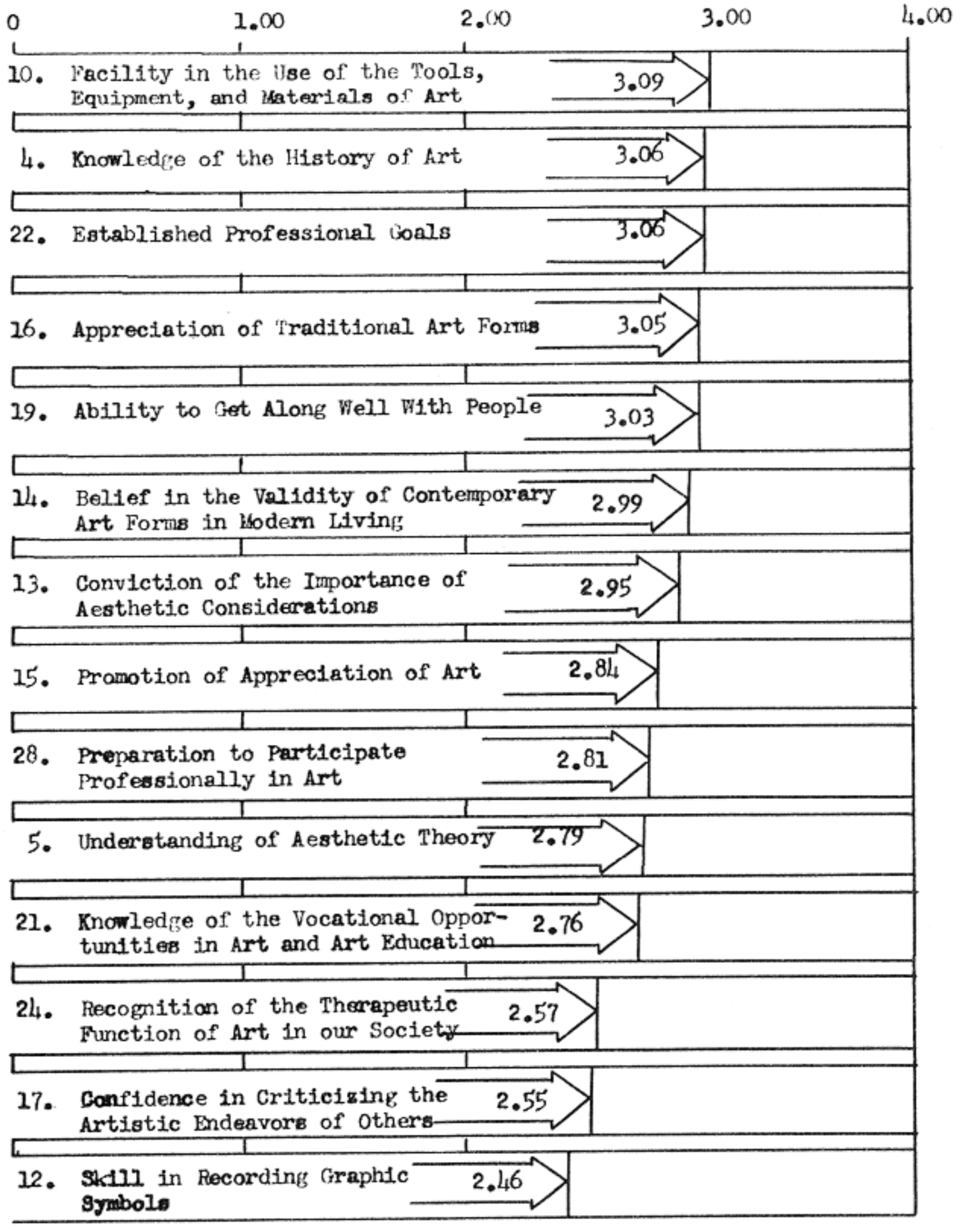

Figure 6 (continued)

Rank Order of Importance of Outcomes According to Combined Emphasis Point Averages Scored by Art Specialists and Art Teachers

The Relative Importance of the Twenty-eight Outcomes. Since the twenty-eight outcomes expressed important concepts regarding art education in college as compiled from literature in the field of art and art education, it was assumed that all were desirable. This assumption received verification in the responses of the jury of art specialists and art teachers regarding these outcomes. An emphasis point average, determined by weighting responses, showed the consensus of opinion rated no outcome worthy of less than medium emphasis, and most outcomes were scored in the area of considerable emphasis. In general there was rather close agreement in the responses to the various outcomes by the art specialists and art teachers; however, the art specialists tended to be more emphatic, whether higher or lower, in reactions. The rank orders of emphasis to be given the twenty-eight outcomes as determined by returns from the art specialists and the art teachers, are shown in Figure 1. The number preceding the outcome in each case represents the serial order of the outcome. Emphasis point averages are shown for each outcome in the two lists. Combined emphasis point averages scored by art specialists and art teachers placed independent creative thinking; synthesizing of ideas, feelings and skills; and flexibility highest. Confidence in criticizing the artistic endeavors of others; recognition of the therapeutic function of art in our society; and skill in recording graphic symbols received the lowest emphasis point averages in the combined scale.

On the basis of the returns, it seemed apparent that in these twenty-eight outcomes we have basic criteria for establishing and evaluating college art programs, and unless these programs are set up to encourage students in individual critical thinking and creative expression, where there is a fine balance between the tangible skills and intangible ideas, and feelings of art, and ability in adjusting to elements with sensitive, constructive responses is fostered by the program, no amount of emphasis on skill in recording graphic symbols, confidence in criticizing the artistic endeavors of others, or recognition of the therapeutic function of art in our society will enable art programs to serve the purposes of art education adequately. By employing these outcomes as criteria for

checking practices and programs of art in college, some less important aims may be eliminated or minimized. The value of continued evaluation in art education is apparent when it is realized that the choices are among many desirable factors rather than between clear cut good and bad outcomes.

The Achievement of the Twenty-eight Outcomes in College Art Programs. Responses to the questionnaires indicated rather wide differences in levels of what was expected of students by the art specialists, the degree of achievement by students according to the art teachers, and student achievement according to their own opinions. For fourteen of the outcomes, the specialists expected greater achievement than either the students or art teachers indicated was being realized. For seven outcomes, in which subjective evaluations and personal standards were primarily involved, the students scored themselves higher than did the teachers and higher than expected by the art specialists. Students consistently indicated greater achievement of outcomes than did the art teachers.

All three participating groups scored the highest level of achievement for the same outcome, maintaining integrity in the use of creative abilities. Art students scored highest the outcomes, personal satisfaction from art activities, and conviction of the importance of aesthetic considerations in selecting clothing, home appliances, automobiles, and so forth; this was a healthy indication that students felt there was a real transfer of training from the classroom to daily living.

While responses from students generally showed a higher personal evaluation of their achievement than was observed by teachers, there was evidence that achievement in present college art programs falls short in several vital areas. This was evidenced in the importance rating exceeding the achievement rating for thirteen of the twenty-eight outcomes. The greatest differences between importance rating and achievement rating were shown for the outcome, independent creative thinking as a part of art work, and the outcome, synthesizing of ideas, feelings, and skills in creative work. Since these outcomes were placed first and second, respectively, in rank order of importance, it was indicated that college art pro-

grams need to be planned for a greater degree of achievement in creative experiences.

Critical Incidents in College Art Education. Of the four hundred and seventy-eight students who checked and returned questionnaires, four hundred and six students reported critical incidents which had happened in college to assist them in achieving an important goal or desire in art, and four hundred and twenty-eight students reported critical incidents which had happened in college to thwart them in achieving an important goal or desire in art. Categories for critical incidents grew out of sorting of student responses. There were seven major categories for critical assisting incidents; these were: (1) stimulating situation, (2) personal achievement, (3) new methods and media, (4) unusual motivation, (5) regular supporting influences, (6) direct instructor influences, and (7) recognition. Responses indicated instructor influences were the most potent force for assisting achievement in art, with personal achievement of students in second position. Critical thwarting incidents formed seven major categories, which were listed as: (1) limiting situations, (2) student inadequacies, (3) poor programs and facilities, (4) disruptive emotional factors, (5) rigid requirements, (6) inadequate instruction, and (7) unfair treatment by instructors. Responses indicated that inadequate instruction and student inadequacies were the most thwarting factors in art education.

Conclusions and Recommendations. Each of the twenty-eight outcomes is important in the college art program, and no one area should be emphasized to the exclusion of any other area. Designation of the relative importance of the twenty-eight outcomes is useful in providing qualitative criteria for improving art experiences.

In art teaching-learning situations, symbols for accomplishment are tangible, but the meanings of those symbols are illusive and personal and are arrived at in unique and individual ways; therefore, feelings are often near the surface, and the ego is readily threatened or rewarded. Student evaluations of their own achievement in creative work and in ability to get along well with other people are usually higher than teacher

evaluations in these same areas. Under present art programs, students develop respect for honest art production and recognize individual responsibility for maintaining integrity in the use of creative abilities. Unrealistic goals and attitudes, inabilities or fear of inability, limiting factors such as shortage of time or money, physical or emotional difficulties, and unproductive social relationships interfere with student achievement in art. Students gain feelings of security and confidence through art training which enables them to understand the relationship of art to life situations, to formulate realistic professional goals, and to adequately prepare for achievement of those goals.

Critical conditions and situations exist in college art programs, and should be recognized as potential factors in assisting or thwarting student achievement.

As bases for specific moves towards college art program improvement, the following recommendations are made:

1. Each of the various outcomes should be intensively studied in relationship to individual programs. For example, the elementary figure drawing class should be scrutinized to see if independent creative thinking is being thwarted by too rigid insistence on anatomical perfection. The question of whether the student is expected to be a recording mechanism or an individual aware of his potential as a responding, thinking entity needs an honest answer. Physical aspects of such a class need to be examined to determine if the student is visually motivated to seek simple, graphic truths which contribute to understanding of problems of life as well as art, or if stereotyped symbols encourage adjustment which is superficial and without understanding. In a more thorough manner than indicated here, each outcome should be applied to every offering in the art program and to the overall correlation of curriculum materials.

2. College art programs should be planned to encourage creative expression and critical thinking in all of the seven general areas of intellectual, psychological, manual, appreciational, educational, social, and integrational aspects of art education.

3. Scheduling of art programs should be examined in relationship to work involved, and sufficient time and opportunities should be provided for individual activities. Short interrupted periods, which curtail possibilities for entering the creative act, should be avoided.

4. Those individuals who possess ability to employ the information and materials of art and have an intuitive perception which prepares them to share creative experiences should be encouraged to enter the field of art education. Art teachers should be artist-teachers who are interested in and understand needs of individual students, and respect and know materials of art.

5. Teacher-student relationships should be conducive to realistic evaluation of student goals and achievements, and should encourage sincere, constructive production.

6. College art departments need to study means of developing stimulating, friendly, and challenging atmospheres where art has meaning as an integral part of life.

Foreign Languages: Too Little, Too Late?

Today the intensive study of modern languages is an imperative in the free world. For more than ten years now Americans have been hearing pleas by eminent educators, scientists, and government officials for an accelerated language training program. In its customary way the government has appropriated millions for language scholarships and language training centers across the nation. In general the public has responded about as well as one could expect. The enrollment in Western European language courses has increased, and in some areas an enlightened public has demanded that language training courses be made available. However, these manifestations are not enough. We need a larger reservoir of students who have had language training as a part of their regular elementary, secondary and higher education. Last year, according to an article in the *Wall Street Journal,* not one student applied for a tuition-and-subsistence scholarship to study Quechua, a language in which the Russians were daily broadcasting to four million natives in Peru and Ecuador.

Recently Dr. Edward Teller, nuclear physicist, expressed our plight in clear and sober terms to the students and faculty of Brigham Young University: "There are few countries," he said, "where foreign languages are spoken by as few as in our own country. In two important, vital fields of education—in science education and in the teaching of languages—we are lagging. And these shortcomings may cause our downfall." What do we do now? The answer is clear: we must make available and attractive Western European and exotic language and science courses on all academic levels and require all capable students to enroll in them. College administrators, superintendents of schools, school boards, and principals everywhere have the duty and the responsibility to act now in this national crisis. By the time an aroused public demands universal science and language training to acompany " universal" military service, it may be too late.

ARTHUR R. WATKINS

Religious Implications in the Novels of Robert Penn Warren

MARDEN J. CLARK

To look for religious implications in the novels of Robert Penn Warren may seem a surprising preoccupation. What we are most apt to remember is the activity, the struggle, the violence—or the cynical flippancies of a Jack Burden, the agonizing introspections of a Jerry Beaumont, or more recently, the candid self-defences and self-revelations of a Manty Starr. Or we may respond only to the fast, violent action only vaguely aware of any implications. But implications crowd in upon the alert and careful reader: implications social, economic, psychological, symbolic, mythic. And implications religious.

Warren embodies these religious implications in at least three kinds of characters and actions: first, in his Bible-thumpers, his passionate religionists; second, in his minor religious characters; and third, symbolically in his major characters and their actions.

Warren grew up in the Bible belt. All three of his later novels have at least one extreme representative of revivalist religion: Corinthian McClardy in *World Enough and Time,* who "had left across the country a smoking trail of carnage, cold fear in the hearts of men and a sweet shuddering in the loins of women"; Seth Parton in *Band of Angels,* who embodies the strict, formal religious training of Oberlin; and MacCarland Sumpter in *The Cave,* who is the young heller turned minister.[1]

We see Corinthian McClardy only often enough to see in him a severe denunciation of the kind of religion he repre-

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[1]This essay was being set in type before I was able to get a copy of *Wilderness,* published late in 1961. A quick reading of this novel reveals much that would support but little that would essentially change my analysis.

sents. Partly this denunciation gets dramatic expression in Jerry's howling ecstatic flight into the woods after one of McClardy's sermons. Jerry's "wildness of joy" ends when he comes to his senses in the "embraces of a snaggle-toothed hag." His experience is only too typical of McClardy's "smoking trail of blood and carnage." This kind of religious "wildness of joy" is connected over and over in Warren with violence and sex.

Seth Parton, the pride and epitome of Oberlin, has an austere, exalted religious passion that can make him warn Amantha Starr against being deceived by "incidental virtue," by "the small and foolish goodness of a person," can make him preach his exalted sermon on the "possibility of sanctified joy," but can also make him take Manty after the sermon to "redeem" the spot in the woods to which "that lustful boy Norton would have lured a young female." He makes her repeat after him a most revealing prayer: "Oh, Lord, show me the performance of sanctification--that I may know it—and knowing it with my beloved—then enter into the fullness of our joy." He is trying desperately to keep spiritualized his feeling for her. But the sexual basis of that attraction, and how well he can keep it spiritualized, we see in her picture of him kneeling in prayer and then throwing himself "face down, in the snow"—a gesture of substitution that fits with an interesting inevitability the Seth we come to know. But to see Seth as simply an over-sexed religious fanatic oversimplifies him. What seems apparent to us, and what he cannot know, is that the passionate, exalted intensity of both his religious experience and his sexual desires springs from the same source, deep in his psychological makeup, and that mixed with both is a nearly neurotic fascination with evil.

The fascination with evil wins out in Seth. When he reappears in Manty's life, he comes to her with a new version of Oberlin morality: that "what is done in the heart is done already" and "should as well be done in the flesh that the vileness of the heart may be confirmed." Her refusal takes him to Miss Idell, who knows that when he thaws, he "will really be a bedbreaker," and a moneymaker. He turns out to be both.

MacCarland Sumpter is a still more complex character. Less overtly guilt-ridden and sex-ridden than Seth, he moves from his early helling about with Old Jack Herrick, through what we must accept as a genuine conversion—or nearly genuine—to a kind of final Warren salvation. But that salvation comes only late and after great struggle.

In each of the first four novels, Warren shows us a different kind of religious character who contrasts meaningfully with his Corinthian McClardys and Seth Partons. In each the character is minor and his story is told in the tradition of the interpolated story. But Warren embodies much of the positive meaning of his novel in each: Willie Proudfit in *Night Rider,* Ashby Wyndham in *At Heaven's Gate,* Cass Mastern in *All the King's Men,* and Munn Short in *World Enough and Time.* All are "religious," but all share the trait of having come through violence, physical or sexual or both, to a kind of peace and inner certainty that contrasts sharply with the frantic searching and questioning and violence of the major characters. Though the stories differ in many meaningful ways, I must content myself with a look at only one, Ashby Wyndham's.

Ashby's long story is in the form of a "Statement" that he has written in jail while awaiting trial as accomplice to murder. Presented in a series of inter-chapters, it acts as a fascinating counterpoint to and commentary on the rest of the action of the novel, in which the characters struggle toward at least their various private images of heaven, only to be turned back "at Heaven's gate" by the breakup of the various worlds they have created—a violent, unpleasant series of worlds. Ashby's too has been a violent, unpleasant world, as his imprisonment testifies, but with a difference. Told in that wonderful regional idiom over which Warren has such mastery, it begins with both a testimony and a question. The testimony:

> The pore human man, he ain't nuthin but a handful of dust, but the light of Gods face on him and he shines like a diamint, and blinds the eye of the un-uprightous congregation. Dust, it lays on the floor, under the goin forth and the comin in, and ain't nuthin, and gits stirred up under the trompin, but a sunbeam come in the dark room

> and in that light it will dance and shine for heart joy. . . . I laid on the floor, and didn't know, and the trompin. But the light come in the dark room, like a finger apointin at me through the hole, and it was the hard trompin had stirred me. I shined in the light.

But Pearl has killed a man. The question:

> If I han't never come, and named the words on my tongue, she would been there yet, and it the house of abominations, but her face smilin. Salvation, what good has it done her? . . . Gods will, it runs lak a fox with the dogs on him, and doubles, and knows places secret and hard for a man's foot. (36)[2]

The testimony and the question act as a double motif for Wyndham's story, indicating both the wisdom he has arrived at and the limitations of that wisdom.

The journey to the jail has its beginnings in an awful beating Ashby, in terrible anger and "blood guilty in my heart," gives his brother Jacob. But after a series of other episodes in which Ashby is involved in violence, his son Frank dies. Warren points up the symbolic import of the death when Frank comes to Ashby in a vision and tells him,

> Oh, Pappy, I couldn't thrive none and it the vittles of wickedness. I couldn't thrive and it vittles and sop taken in blood wrath and wickedness. And from Jacob. (216)

The vision, so believable because so naturally recorded, sends Ashby on his pilgrimage in search of Jacob, a pilgrimage of seeking and working, of preaching how "the Lord had laid it on me to tell folks," of telling "how peace come in yore heart."

Prevented from preaching in the city, Ashby is sore in his heart:

> A saved man has got joy and rejoicin in his heart and he is bustin to tell. He has got Gods word in him and he has got peace and he has got to pour it out to them as has ears. It is a joy to pour it out and the joy is withouten end. But you don't let him tell and pour it out of his heart and his heart is sore. He is lak a woman got a baby and her

[2]Page numbers in parentheses refer to the original editions of Warren's works.

> breast has got milk for that air baby and her breast is swole and sore for the fullness. My heart was sore. (325)

The wonderful simile introduces us to the breakup of Ashby's world. Pearl, in an almost instinctive gesture of self-defense, shoots a policeman. Ashby's statement ends on the same note it began, but minus the testimony:

> I am in the jail now and I lay here. I lay here and I pray to God to show me His face. O God make me to rejoice agin and in my salvation . . .
>
> Oh Lord yor salvation it moves lak the wind. It blows the pore mans heart lak a dead leaf. It is lak the wind and no man aint seen it come or go. Oh Lord yore foot has been set in the dark place and it is not seen. O Lord yore will has run lak the fox and sly. The pore mans mind sniffs after it lak a hound dog. But the scent is done lost and ways of its goin. (328)

He has "writ down the truth lak it was."

Ashby may be turned back at Heaven's gate. But there is light and warmth and love and fertility and beauty in his world and in his journey. And there is a deep sense of direction and mission. If Ashby is denied his heaven, it may be simply because the Lord's will, as he says, "has run lak the fox and sly," because His universe and human experience are too complex and mysterious to be approached even by Ashby's simple sense of mission. In which case Ashby has won through to a final kind of insight. Or it may be because his belief and his mission are ignorant and unguided and uncontrolled by a similar sense of belief and mission in those who control so much of the total world he finds himself in, those whose journeys Warren places in contrasting juxtaposition with his. In which case his own failure acts as the final commentary on theirs.

In reviewing Ashby's story I have let him speak for himself as much as possible, because this least known and least appreciated of Warren's novels contains some of his most beautiful writing, but also because that beauty is characteristic of at least two of the other stories. One other passage will illustrate.

Munn Short has come through evil and violence to find that he can be Jesus's, and overcome the effects:

> I found the way and the promise, and Jesus come in my heart. He is hung on my heart lak a cow-bell and a cow-bell caint keep no secret. I move and I got to tell about Jesus, how he come. (425)

Again, the beauty and serenity that contrast tellingly with the violence and struggle of the main action.

The third kind of religious implications in the novels is much more difficult to pin down. To see what Warren is saying about religion through his major characters and the major plot lines, I will need to survey briefly what has happened in their development. Basic to the structure of all the novels is a symbolic pattern that I call the soul-journey. The completed pattern emerges in *All the King's Men,* but is implicit in both the earlier novels.

Night Rider dramatizes the journey of Mr. Munn into the darkness and coldness and emptiness of himself. He is, in his own kind of quiet desperation, seeking some sort of fulfillment and identity. His journey is complete for him, but it ends in the Inferno. Hence in a broader pattern it is incomplete.

Organized around Dante's seventh circle as a basic metaphor, *At Heaven's Gate* is more complex. The violence implicit in the metaphor shows up everywhere, though in different ways, in each of the several worlds of the novel which interact on one another and through which the major characters pass in their almost frantic journeys in search of some kind of fulfillment, of their private images of Heaven. Each character is in turn denied his version of Heaven just as he thinks it within his grasp. In the last of these worlds that Sue Murdock passes through, Sweetie Sweetwater's, she becomes pregnant, suggesting in the symbolic context of the novel that she has finally found a fertile world. But because Sweetie won't marry her she has an abortion, symbolically destroying the nascent life in her that is part of her image of Heaven.

Warren picks up the fetus image in *All the King's Men* to make it the center of the remarkable pattern of rebirth imagery in which Jack Burden figures his own and Willie Stark's journeys, and in which the pattern of the journey is spelled to its completed form. Jack moves from his early inability to violate the image of innocence he has formed of Anne Stanton, into a kind of amoral research man for Willie Stark. He struggles always for his own innocence, as we know by the patterns of escape imagery, particularly the fetus symbol. But he cannot remain innocent. The documents he digs up for Willie proving the guilt of both Judge Irwin and Anne's father help send Anne to Willie as mistress, hence indirectly cause Adam Stanton to kill Willie Stark. And they directly cause Judge Irwin's suicide and with it the silvery, soprano scream of Jack's mother, which becomes the symbolic labor pain for his rebirth into the knowledge that the Judge had been his real father. From here Jack moves, with many hesitations and retreats, into a knowledge of his own responsibility for what has happened, to a knowledge and acceptance of his own guilt, and through that, to an acceptance of the past he had felt tainted and evil, and finally to an acceptance of positive responsibility, the "awful responsibility of Time." His regeneration, though limited and perhaps undramatic, is complete.

I will not need to follow Jerry Beaumont through his tortured and tortuous inner journey to something of the same kind of recognition. But I do want to look briefly at the implications of that strange, drawn-out scene near the end of the novel, in the lair of the Gran Boz. The flight West has been in earlier novels another of Warren's symbols for escape. Though Jerry hardly goes to the lair of his own choosing, he finds, he tells us, a kind of peace there. But it is a place where only a special kind of peace is available: a place where human beings merely vegetate, where no moral distinctions exist, where the murder that has been the focal point of Jerry's life is nothing, "*Rien,*" as the old Gran Boz puts it, "*ce n'est rien.*" It is a final and absolute escape, but an escape into the "black inwardness and womb of the quagmire." Warren is saying through the episode that the human desire for escape,

In his two latest novels, *Band of Angels* and *The Cave,* Warren finds new sets of symbols: the black-white dualism that is central to Amantha Starr's journey to a hard-won and limited regeneration, and the cave itself. But the old concerns, and many of the old symbols, still control these novels. Manty finally comes to accept the black, the nigger, in her, to accept her involvement in and responsibility for much that has happened, and hence to know and accept herself. The experiences of the cave bring something of the same kind of hard-earned self-knowledge and acceptance to Old Jack Harrick and others, the only kind that means salvation in Warren.

Man, then, as Warren dramatizes him, finds himself in the world torn between two nearly instinctive and conflicting urges: the urge to remain statically innocent or move backward in time to pre-experiential innocence and the urge to move forward in time, to seek experience and knowledge. His own need for identity causes him to separate from others, to deny the past, to reject the father (all the novels work with the father-son relationship). But in so doing he is really denying identity, not finding it. For man is a composite of the past and can achieve identity only in terms of that past. The harder he struggles for selfness apart from his own past, apart from others, or simply through others, the farther he moves into the abstraction of self. The potentiality for evil in him that is part of his condition and that he tends to deny asserts itself, and he is drawn into violence. But he denies his responsibility for that violence. He takes his steps toward knowledge when he becomes aware of his own involvement in the commonality of things, then aware of the evil in himself, then aware of his own responsibility for violence and evil and hence aware of his guilt. But that awareness is not enough. He must also accept himself and his past, his father and his culture, with all his and their weaknesses and commonality and evil. But more, he must accept the responsibility for his own actions and for his future. Accepting these he can move back into the human communion (the phrase is important to Warren). He has achieved his redemption, limited and undramatic but precious for its very limitations.

It is difficult to talk about Warren's work without using the terms of religious experience. But neither he nor I mean quite the same thing by them as they generally mean in religious writing. The journeys of Warren's protagonists, nevertheless, do have religious significance. Some of that significance I want now to define.

First there is religious significance in Warren's repeated concern with the problem of free will versus determinism, a problem I have said little about thus far. In all the novels are images which suggest a rather complete determinism: the repeated image of Jerry Beaumont as a chip on the tide of things, Manty's image of her life, or History, as having lived her, the nearly subvolitional move of Mr. Munn into the abstraction of the tobacco growers' association, or Jack Burden's Great Twitch theory that he picks up on the way back from Long Beach, the theory that "all life is but the dark heave of blood and the twitch of the nerve." The problem receives its most detailed analysis in *World Enough and Time,* where the narrator repeatedly refers to the drama Jeremiah *had* to prepare, talks about how he had to bring forth out of his own emptiness "whatever fullness might be his," and elaborates the chip image by talking about the "blind, massive drift" of events with Jerry caught up in them. It all seems to add up to a rather firm determinism. But at the end, Jack rejects his Great Twitch theory and is prepared to go back into "the awful responsibility of Time." Jerry gains his limited redemption when he accepts his guilt and determines to go back to shake the hangman's hand. And Manty's idea that her life and History live her is part of what she recognizes at the end, her own erroneous picture of herself as "poor little Manty" to whom "all the world had happened." The problem is much more complexly embodied in the novels than this brief analysis would indicate. But Warren does come to some kind of resolution, perhaps best stated near the end of his long philosophical poem *Brother to Dragons*: "The recognition of necessity is the beginning of freedom." Even this can be read as almost complete determinism: freedom is simply the recognition that one has no freedom. But the context of the poem will not permit that reading. Warren would never

permit his characters the too-easy "out" that they were not responsible for their actions. That very responsibility he has repeatedly insisted upon. Further, "beginning" connotes capacity for growth. One must recognize the operation of necessity, but that recognition opens up the possibility for growth in freedom, even if always within the limitations of necessity. In a sense, the end of the completed journey is that moment of recognition and hence of the beginning of freedom.

Second, there is religious significance in Warren's concern with the nature and operation of evil in human experience. We see much of evil and violence in the novels. But the actual violence, the portrayed evil, we sense to be almost after the fact, to be an expression or symbol of a more general and deeper involvement in evil. In everyone, Warren would say, is the latent capacity for evil. That capacity is part of man's condition as man and somehow part of the very nature of the universe. Though evil exerts its own mysterious pull on man, the active expression of it is usually called forth by his withdrawal from the human communion into the abstraction of self. That withdrawal we have seen as part of man's own efforts toward knowledge and definition, but efforts in the wrong direction. If it is a blind withdrawal, however, it is still a willed withdrawal. What is being dramatized through this withdrawal is that same mysterious movement into evil (the first step of which is withdrawal from good), that same illusive fascination that has always intrigued the poet, that draws Macbeth and Raskolnikov toward murder or even Satan toward rebellion. The imagery of dark, coiling inwardness that characterize Mr. Munn and Jeremiah and even Manty is the imagery of that withdrawal, but also the imagery of the deeper positive capacity for evil.

The positive expression of evil usually comes in acts of violence, as with Mr. Munn or Jerry. But it may also be expressed in the evil manipulation of people, as with Willie Stark. Or it may come even in the attempt to deny evil, as with Manty or Jack Burden. The denial of evil, or of communion, becomes itself the evil, or at least the cause of it. Perhaps the primary sin, even, is the "sin of self" that Jerry and Manty finally recognize as theirs, the sin of an absolute

concern for self to the exclusion of others and the harm of others, the sin of separation from the human communion by turning all of experience in upon oneself. The failure is of a most basic sort: the awful failure to love one's neighbor as oneself. We can even summarize Warren's achieved tragedy as the tragedy of self. In one way or another all of his novels gloss the theme, He who would save his life must lose it. The dramatized journey becomes the education of the protagonist to acceptance of the evil and the guilt in himself and hence finally to a sense of positive responsibility and love—to salvation.

Finally there is religious significance in Warren's picture of the nature of man himself. The concept of the evil in man may be taken as an indicator, even itself almost a symbol, of the limited nature of man as Warren sees him. There are no perfect characters in Warren. There are only people who aim at perfection, who think themselves perfect for a time. The reason appears in the total context of the novels. Man, that context tells us, is a limited creature, full of paradoxical capacities for evil and good, torn between his desires for innocence and his necessity for experience capable of terrifying injustice but longing for justice, capable of groveling in animal ignorance but blessed with a capacity for knowledge, blinded into a primal selfishness by his own need for definition but capable of achieving that definition only by accepting self and guilt and responsibility, desiring to reject the past but striving to escape into it and finding eventually that it is an essential part of himself. The paradoxes pile up. The sin of self may be the worst of sins, but it results from, at the same time that it interferes with, the struggle for identity. Man's struggle for identity is his glory, but he struggles in the wrong direction, in the direction of separateness. He must struggle for separateness, but for separateness from the brute in him, not from the human communion. Ultimately the struggle for identity must be away from identity and toward communion. Warren sums all this up best, perhaps, in these lines near the end of *Brother to Dragons*:

> Fulfillment is only in the degree of recognition
> Of the common lot of our kind. And that is the death of vanity,
> And that is the beginning of virtue.
>
> The recognition of complicity is the beginning of innocence.
> The recognition of necessity is the beginning of freedom.
> The recognition of the direction of fulfillment is the death of the self.
> And the death of the self is the beginning of selfhood.
> All else is surrogate of hope and destitution of spirit. (214-5)

Warren has spelled much of this out in expository prose After describing the process of separation, he says,

> The return to nature and man is the discovery of love, and law. But love through separateness, and law through rebellion. Man eats of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, and falls. But if he takes another bite, he may get at least a sort of redemption. And a precious redemption.[3]

Just this limited but precious redemption Warren has given fictional form and embodiment in the last four novels.

But what, we ask, does all this add up to in conventional religious terms? Here I run the risk of the conventional terms blurring rather than clarifying. Clearly, Warren's religion is not a conventional, institutionalized Christianity. But just as clearly it is not a rejection of religion. Between these extremes emerges the picture of a tough-minded writer and religious thinker. Warren does reject the cheap and easy in religion. Whatever is of value cannot come from the Corinthian McClardys. It must be earned, earned in the fire of experience and suffering, earned as Ashby Wyndham and Munn Short have earned their religious peace and serenity. Warren does reject the over-simplified in religion. Repeatedly his novels dramatize the complexity, the paradoxes of human experience, religious and otherwise. Man must win his way through these paradoxes to the vision, itself perhaps simple enough, but he must win through a world in which human beings, their problems, and their experience are far too com-

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[3]"Knowledge and the Image of Man," *The Sewanee Review*, LXIII (Spring 1955), 192.

plex to be reducible to black and white—as Manty Starr tries to reduce them. Warren does reject the fanaticism of a Seth Parton or even the sincere but extreme emotionalism of a MacCarland Sumpter. Religion is an emotional experience, but the emotions must be grounded in self-knowledge and responsibility. But Warren is more positive than this. If he rejects as romantic the concept of man's limitless potentiality, he affirms the worth of the struggle for self-realization and self-knowledge. If he criticizes the institution, he affirms the values that lie at the heart of Christianity: the values of love, of human communion, of loss of self in a higher good, of doing unto your neighbor as you would have him do to you. We can go even farther. One of Warren's critics has analyzed the whole problem of man's withdrawal from communion as a problem in "the relation of human will to divine will."[4] I should hesitate to state the relation in such strictly theological terms, but partly the education of Warren's protagonist is a matter of determining just that relation.

Perhaps I am wrong in trying to see his work in religious terms. Perhaps, since the novels are art, we should simply say that Warren has achieved what he calls the *rhythm* that is a "myth of order or fulfillment, and affirmation that our being may move in its totality toward meaning." But even this is a religious affirmation. And an affirmation that tells us that for Robert Penn Warren there need be, there can be, no dichotomy between the world of religion and the world of art.

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[4]Leonard Casper, "The Lost Sense of Community and the Role of the Artist in Robert Penn Warren" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953), p. 338.

October

I was stretched out on the ground facing
The endless Castilian countryside,
Which Autumn was enfolding in the yellow
Sweetness of a pure setting sun.

Slowly, the plough was opening
The dark loam in parallel lines, and the rude
Open hand left seed
In its bosom cut into furrows.

I thought of tearing out my good and evil heart
And throwing it into the wide furrow in the tender
ground;
To see if by bursting it and planting it,
Spring would make it
A pure tree of eternal love for the world to see.

"Sonetos Espirituales,"
1917—Ramón Jiménez
Translated by H. Darrel Taylor

William James: Philosopher-Educator

TRUMAN G. MADSEN

> We are only beginning in this country, with our extraordinary reliance on organization, to see that the alpha and omega in a university is the tone of it, and that this tone is set by human personalities exclusively.
>
> *Memories and Studies*[1]

A half century has passed since a Harvard undergraduate completed a theme on the teaching prowess of one of his professors. He read it to an instructor who remarked with a sigh, "Let us turn this over and write, 'Have you heard James?' "[2] But only recently on a summer afternoon, a foreign student walked slowly up the path to Emerson Hall and spoke to a man on the steps. "I have just arrived from Syria, and wish to study where William James taught. Could you tell me, please, if this is the place."[3]

In its written phases the influence of William James has been notable, potent and enduring. A variety of considerations might be invoked to account for this: The originality of his contributions ranging from psychology and theories of mind, motivation, and emotion to philosophy and theories of meaning, truth, and value. The position he has come to occupy as representative not only of his culture but of a unique intellectual era. The vivid prose in which his thought is formulated. The fertility of his work providing as it has the soil for many distinct and even opposed contemporary movements. At any rate, in psychology and in philosophy if one would understand present tendencies whether he chooses to go through or around James, it is unlikely that he will escape him.

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[1]William James, *Memories and Studies,* p. 354.

[2]*Harvard Illustrated Magazine,* Volume 8 (February, 1907) p. 95.

[3]This incident is recorded by Gordon Allport in the *Psychological Review,* Volume 50, 1946, p. 95.

James was also a teacher, the motive force behind a great department of philosophy. For thirty-four years he was in and out of its classes and seminars, one of his own plural centers of creative causation. Over and over in journals, memoirs, and letters of his students and associates (and of theirs) his influence is revealed, and the evidence is still accumulating that few teachers have had more grateful students than James and that no philosopher has been more highly esteemed as a man.[4] Today as the world of education has shifted its center toward science, the entente of philosophy itself moving toward the methods and logic of the sciences, it is remembered that James came to philosophy through science. And this is one, though not the only, reason that in the convocations of higher education his name recurs as one who exemplified teaching dimensions of increasing significance.[5] And it is a thoroughly modern question. What was it about James?

II

At first glance, and perhaps in the end, his background is most impressive in its diversity. Foreseeing his role as a philosopher-educator, which he through years of unsurety could not, there is much that is uniquely appropriate about the varieties of James' application. Little was wasted.

Receive a young man of promise into a family of minds where 'student' is the noblest appelation. Let his biography parallel Mill's in this respect: that he have a father with profound intellectual interests and distinguished friends. Let

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[4]This analysis draws upon published materials and memoribilia at Widener Library. But also upon letters of several former students of James, themselves teachers, written in response to a canvass by the writer. Especially helpful were Edgar A. Singer, Charles M. Bakewell, B. A. G. Fuller, Levi Edgar Young, H. V. Kaltenborn, James R. Angel, and H. M. Kallen. See Notes.

[5]Cf. for example the study *Philosophy in American Education* (Harper's, 1945) where the committee reflects the judgment of teachers throughout America that "From William James on philosophers have stressed the necessity of philosophers having other fields," and that "William James managed to talk directly to the plain man." (p. 39, 260 f.)

See also Brand Blanshard's "Philosophy Teachers, Past and Present" in *The Teaching of Philosophy,* Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio, 1950), p. 6 ff. where James is classed with T. H. Green as a "humanist," one who sees "how philosophy may return upon life to transform its feeling, character, and action."

And see the *Art of Teaching* by Gilbert Highet (Knopf, 1955) p. 206 f. where James is described as a master of teaching improvisation.

abundance be compounded in books and travel so that he receives the intangible advantages of a crosscut of cultures. Early in his teens let him study in Germany, France and Italy mastering the languages at first hand and reading widely. Back in America as he nears twenty let a year be given to the pursuit of painting with William Hunt, to quicken his native perceptiveness.[6] Bring him next into a field where he learns with thoroughness the data of a science: physiology and medicine. To develop his ability for independent observation and, still in the context of natural science, the rigor of minute analysis, let him accompany Louis Aggasiz on an expedition to the Amazon. Next bring his faculties to bear on the mastery and furthering of a budding experimental science, psychology. At thirty-five with the stimulus and equipment of a university at his disposal let him undertake the sustained task of gathering his findings in a work which will be published a decade later a veritable classic. Then free him from the laboratory and bring him into reflective encounter with the perennial problems of metaphysics, epistemology and ethics where his discipline and an insatiable desire to be true to the concrete fulness of experience can work hand-in-hand.

But such a prescription, a portrait of qualifications, even if filled out with further known details of James' training, would make an all-important omission. For beneath and outside these channels of recognition James, in the very nature of himself and his world, knew intimately the currents of what he called "raw, unverbalized life." The delicacy of constitution which his professors noted in him when he first studied chemistry issued in a life-long and disappointing quest for health. Weak eyes, stomach disorders, heart together with the vicarious woes of an invalid sister conspired against him. But this was not all. His personality, sensitive and volatile in the struggle with ultimate questions underwent nervous-mental strains of extreme proportion. Well known is his account of a period in his latter twenties when there came upon him what might today be called "existentialist dread," or in his own words, "a horrible fear of my own existence."

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[6]This was the only one of his early interests that James did not carry to fruition. But indirectly the training stood him in good stead.

> It was as if something hitherto solid within my breast gave entirely and I became a mass of quivering fear. I remember wondering how other people could live, how I myself had ever lived so unconscious of that pit of insecurity beneath the surface of life.[7]

His recovery was slow involving intellectual realignment, a Renouvier-influenced will to freedom, and not a little courage. At thirty, when he accepted a Harvard instructorship in anatomy in preference to one proferred him in philosophy, it was out of his felt need for "some stable reality to lean upon" and a fear that his voluntary faith could not survive philosophic rigor.[8]

This experience, with many others of which his biographers have made capital, indicate that James' strength in the classroom grew not from the fact that his life was especially professorial, but that it was not. His life spanned more than the distance between bookcovers and the result was, as John Dewey says, "a wider vision";[9] he was as his son Henry writes, a *ganzer Mensch.* Whatever change his thought underwent from his earliest reflections to its mature expression there was this constant note sounded anew in a recently discovered letter, written in the year he was appointed professor of philosophy:

> There can be, after all, no glib and cock-sure formulation of life. But the inarticulate *living itself* is always there to take up what can't be put into our words. That's why it seems to me that, as you say, *opinions* are less what bring men together, than the sense that each may have of being in the same depths as the other.[10]

If his thought was not the outgrowth of these depths of awareness, his teaching, whatever the topic at hand, was in recognition of them. Ever afterward he brought together two

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[7]The account is published in full in James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* as the experience of a "French correspondent," p. 160. Cf. *The Philosophy of William James,* ed. H. M. Kallen (Modern Library) p. 26 f.

[8]See F. O. Matthiessen, *The James Family* pp. 216, 220 for an account of this period.

[9]"James as Empiricist," *In Commemoration of William James,* addresses delivered at the American Philosophical Association. (Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 48-57.

[10]The letter is published in the *Philosophical Quarterly,* Number 1 (1951), p. 439.

strains: an intense awareness of his own inner life, and a studied grasp of its psychic and physiological correlates. As if in fulfillment of his brother Henry's counsel to the novelist to be "one of those on whom nothing is lost," he was able to assimilate the artistic and scientific methods, and to describe and interpret the manifestations of consciousness, even in their fugitive tints and moods. His psychology, rich rather than reductive, was born of a mind relentlessly seeking to represent the whole landscape of data while at the same time seeking universal laws of mental life. As he stood before his classes his genius was not in doing now one and now the other, but, far more difficult, doing both. In short, he combined a vital grasp of both the concrete and abstract aspect of his subject.[11]

His explicit teaching aims harmonized with his own skills. And it is inadequate, if not mistaken, to put James' philosophy of education in a pigeon-hole of his own making; pragmatic.[12] He was the author neither of the polemical excesses nor of many later applications of this his most original and influential doctrine. Moreover, two-thirds of his university life was behind him before the view received formal articulation and then it was, so far as James followed out its implications for teaching, most fundamentally an insistence that ideas have impact *within* as well as outside the mental world. (His pluralistic metaphysics of experience and theory of consciousness tended to obliterate the distinction.) It was this outlook together with his conviction that the mental life of a student is an active unity, not "chopped up" into distinct processes and compartments, that led James to say:

> No truth, however abstract, is ever perceived that will not probably at some future time influence our earthly action. You must remember that when I talk of action here I mean

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[11]Oliver Wendell Holmes, in recommending James to Johns Hopkins wrote of him, "I doubt if I shall ever meet his equal in suggestiveness and many-sided perception among men of his years." *Journal of the History of Ideas,* Volume 12 (1951), pp. 609-627.

[12]Brand Blanshard says that James' pragmatism led to an insistence on human and practical bearings of ideas "in a way which to most of us would seem hardly relevant," but adds that whatever his philosophy James "would still have invested with interest everything he said." *The Teaching of Philosophy* (Cleveland, 1950) p. 6.

> action in the widest sense. I mean speech, I mean writing, I mean yeses and noes, and the tendencies 'from' things and tendencies 'toward' things and emotional determinations; and I mean them in the future as well as in the immediate present.[13]

Thus he said the educated man is able properly to cope with situations he has never met before by means of the examples with which his memory is stored and of the abstract conceptions which he has acquired.[14] Higher education is that pursuit through which we acquire "standards of durability" and through which, by sifting human creations, we learn to know a good human job when we see it. This is the better part of what men know as wisdom.[15] Students should be told that persistence day by day in their chosen field will eventually yield as a permanent possession "the power of judging in all that class of matter."[16] And the college bred are of value to society because their critical sensibilities are more acute.[17] [18]

But much earlier than these utterances, when James first assumed his teaching duties at Harvard, he wrote an article on the teaching of philosophy in which appears this statement of what remained, with little modification, his personal teaching credo.

> Philosophic study means the habit of always seeing an alternative, of not taking the usual for granted, of making conventionalities fluid again, of imagining foreign states of mind.
>
> What doctrines students take from their teachers are of little consequence provided they catch from them the living philo-

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[13] *Talks to Teachers,* p. 27.

[14] "The Social Value of the College-Bred," *Memories and Studies,* p. 313.

[15] *Memories and Studies,* p. 309.

[16] *Talks to Teachers,* p. 78.

[17] *Memories and Studies,* p. 314.

[18] Whether due to contact with James in the classroom or in his writings, William Peperell Montague called pragmatism a "threat" to the teaching of philosophy in that it tempted incompetent minds to deal with serious problems as "unreal, old fashioned, dialectical subtleties with which a practical man in a practical age need not concern himself." *Ways of Knowing,* 1948, p. 167. Against this sort of indictment, justified or not, contemporary analysis, semantics and formal logic are a pervasive reaction.

> sophic attitude of mind, the independent personal look at all the data of life, and the eagerness to harmonize them.[19]

III

James in the classroom was not a great deal different than James out of it—this because he brought his world into the classroom not the reverse. He rarely attempted and more rarely achieved the finished lecture. His classes were more like seminars and his seminars like library gatherings. At the inception of his career to one who proposed to substitute the case-system for lectures in the medical school, James said:

> The learned professor would rebel. He much prefers sitting and hearing his own beautiful voice to guiding the stumbling minds of students. I know it myself. If you know something and have a little practice there is nothing easier than to hear yourself talk.[20]

Books, he felt, served to give continuity but a teacher if he *is* a teacher must be more than a tome. It was a maieutic pedagogy, direct and personal, that he cultivated.

And so students recall that James would enter the room, put down an armload of books germane to the subject, perch on the corner of the platform desk, cast his friendly glance and begin, "You have read today's chapter . . . but perhaps there is a question." Sparring for an opening he would eventually uncover a latent confusion or an issue. Then becoming animated, and at times fluent, he would begin the cooperative clarifying process that was his forte. There was no encyclical air, no talking down.

He was flexible, perhaps too flexible. Enlightenment was his end and in pursuit of it he was adept at seeing through the eyes of the student, abandoning his own framework to follow a suggestion or capitalize on an illustration. The floundered had an ally in him, but he was a considerable antagonist in the face of the too-confident. He would thus express surprise at a fresh idea or a new mode of presentation and overwhelm

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[19]"The Teaching of Philosophy in Our Colleges," *Nation,* Volume 28, (1876), p. 178. Cf. Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James,* Volume I, p. 442-3.

[20]Perry, *op. cit.,* p. 444.

its sponsor by the warmth of his appreciation. On the other hand he was known to say, "Mr. Jones, I cannot stand your almighty air."

The activity of his body seemed to keep pace with his mind. He could not sit immovable grinding through a syllabus with only the talk muscles in play. Rising from his chair, toying with his beard, he spoke, moved, gestured rapidly. Bold strokes on the blackboard might be followed by a moment of absorption, foot on chair and elbow on knee. But for the most part he was a peripatetic, moving to the window and back in obvious tension. Once during a class held in his own study, he had the problem of holding a blackboard steady, having it in class vision and writing. This he finally achieved by lying down full length, holding it with one hand, and while continuing his commentary, writing with the other.

His desire to identify himself with the student showed up in little things: His impatient hand-waving when someone called him "Professor," or "Doctor." His appropriation of student terminology. His dress. Visitors at Cambridge dropping in on a class and noting his vigorous air, bronzed complexion and brown tweeds were led to remark, "He looks more like a sportsman than a professor." Yet this athletic mien, and his other candid qualities, if they left newcomers a bit doubtful of his stature as a scholar did not rob him of dignity. Palmer records that he was not identified with loose radicalism nor thought bumptious or odd in the academic community. And Bertrand Russell has now added his opinion of James' personal impressiveness which remained, he says, "in spite of a complete naturalness."[21]

> No degree of democratic feeling and of desire to identify himself with the common herd could make him anything but a natural aristocrat, a man whose personal distinction commanded respect.[22]

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[21]But Russell elsewhere objects to James as one of those thinkers "who have allowed their opinions as to the constitution of the universe to be influenced by the desire for edification; knowing, as they supposed, what beliefs would make men virtuous, they have invented arguments, often very sophistical, to prove that these beliefs are true." *History of Western Philosophy,* 1945.

[22]In his *Unpopular Essays* (Harpers, 1953), p. 167.

From his father he had learned the force of apt exaggeration, and so his phraseology was freckled with superlatives. But there was little of the theatrical about him. The element of surprise and a subtle, rarely caustic humor pervaded his discourse. Though section-managers felt obliged to counsel their groups, "Don't forget the philosophy while writing down the epigrams," students were not always sure where to draw the line. James often told on himself the story of one who interrupted him with, "But doctor, doctor, to be serious for a moment . . ." in an earnest tone that brought a volley of laughter.[23] To show that chance does not carry any guarantee he told a class there was a chance each would receive from him a souvenir at the end of the course. When he arrived the final day empty-handed intending to observe that "chance had turned out wrong," the class made that point and another one too by presenting him a silver-mounted inkwell.[24]

As he preferred ideas to formulas, he preferred interpretation to exposition and he was less inclined to argue historical questions than to examine the implications of varying standpoints whether historical or not. This he was qualified to do in a many-sided way. Even in didactic courses such as Mill's logic this technique showed through. Thus a student to whom James later apologized because the course was "loose" in the Jamesian sense, writes:

> James was rather hampered, perhaps, by the textbook used but he could have given a good course with anything for a textbook, Plato's Dialogues or Tupper's poems: perhaps a course with the latter might have been quite as good as the former because it would have had more, I take it, of James himself in it . . . The very fact that he had not well organized the course and that he was perhaps rather bored with the textbook, gave him opportunity to show his own personal reactions.[25]

Words did not come easily to James in spite of his celebrated talent for expression.[26] His search for the right word

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[23]"The True Harvard," *Memories and Studies,* p. 349.

[24]*Harvard Illustrated Magazine,* Volume 8 (February, 1907) p. 93.

[25]Perry, *op. cit.,* p. 443.

[26]Cf. Grattan's account of his labor in writing the *Principles of Psychology* in *The Three Jameses* (New York, 1932), pp. 138 ff.

in discourse was born of *une longue patience* persistent as he was in seeking clarity and dissatisfied with anything less than grace. Students felt his mind at work both to find and formulate its insights. "Everything comes out wrong with me at first," he once said. Still, when a phrase or argument "offended him no more" it was usually born to longevity and many are the distinctions of his mind that are still active philosophical currency: The "tender" and the "tough-minded" approach to reality, the "each-form" vs. the "all-form" of metaphysics, the "stream of consciousness" and the "blooming, buzzing confusion." His influence, indeed, established the term "pragmatism" to the later regret of both his allies and himself. But in the teaching workshop a whole hour might pass without yielding much light. Scientific students especially found James obscure. Still we must grant with Schiller that even in his letters written spontaneously as he would speak there is an evident gift of style. Perhaps what he said would have been less impressive if uttered by someone else. Thus B. A. G. Fuller can write of a course in metaphysics:

> James technically speaking was not, I should say, a good lecturer. The ebullition bottled up inside him tended to fizz when he lectured, and made him at times jerky and incoherent.

And then can add

> But he was a good professor, for what he said was never dull always interesting and exciting, held the attention of his classes, and gave them a shot in the arm.[27]

He felt impelled to an untechnical prose. The choice, if a costing one, of a presentation trimmed for communication but unfortified in the heavily systematic or security-minded way, was made deliberately. In his later years he lamented platform assignments which obligated him, he felt, to stand by this style. And near the end he undertook a summation of his thought that was to be "serious, systematic, and syllogistic," a project he did not live to complete. Of course he knew

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[27]In a letter to the writer. Fuller contrasts James with Santayana whose lectures "could have been taken down short-hand and published without a change." Of James' personality he writes that he was "warm, vital, friendly, full of 'vim and vigor' and bounce, both in the class room, and in the little gatherings in his study."

that popularization conduces to thinness and that thorough work in any field will be technical. But progress in research and effectiveness in teaching are different things. At both levels an unusual range of attentive minds were able to follow him.

IV

Whatever weight one gives to the foregoing facets of his technique, James' impact remains unexplained. Others have proceeded in similar fashion without comparable drawing power, without his ability to generate intellectual excitement. Is it possible to get beyond the elusive *x* of personality, beyond Singer's typical appraisal that "His strength was himself"?[28] Not far perhaps. But some further elements are discernible.

First, James assimilated an extraordinary number of ideas ordinarily assumed to be opposed. His primal imperative was fidelity to the full flow of radical empiricism, an empiricism so broad that he found restriction of what should count as data the cardinal failing of scientists and philosophers alike.[29]

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[28]In a letter to the writer. Singer says, "I always come back to the same point. His strength was himself. This does not mean that his personality made up for inadequate equipment or superficialities of thought." And again, "It was the man in him that most appealed to the man in me."

[29]Perhaps the two extreme interpretations of James' empiricism at present are the positivistic and the phenomenological. But James' total thought defies these classifcations even when redefined in his context and taken together. Feigl, for example, in calling James' thought "tough-minded" finds it advisable to add in a footnote "disregarding some of James' own tender-minded deviations." (*Readings in Philosophical Analysis,* p. 3)

Against a positivistic reading it may be urged that though James claimed "matchless intellectual economy" for his pragmatic test, he also insisted that it proposed "no rigid canon of what shall count as proof" and would "entertain any hypothesis." (Cf. *Age of Analysis,* p. 122 f.) Where sensory operations are not forthcoming, practical import determines meaning, which for James includes the "claims" of interest and obligation. Truth becomes a species of good. Again, the view that appropriation of any belief, metaphysical and ethical ones most of all, "makes a difference" is hostile to a strong positivistic reduction. Finally, James blurred the analytic-synthetic distinction which for most logical empiricists has been axiomatic.

Against a phenomenological reading one may cite James' insistence that "meanings" are in the "last things, fruits, consequences," and not separable from them as in the "epoche" of Husserl; also his view that the influence of temperament on reflection, acknowledged or not, is inevitable. But with contemporary existentialism James championed the "richness of life" against the "poverty of formulas," a view of the self as sum-total of all that is its "own" including memories and projects; freedom, spontaneity, risk; the paradoxical unfinishedness of consciousness; the irreducibility of the individual and the inevitability of personal commitment.

Reconciliation was a secondary matter and would in due time be burst by the growing content of experience. Whatever may be said of his philosophical heirs, James' criteria of meaning and of truth were far more inclusive than exclusive.

Thus, even when he was aware of contradictions in his thought, as apparently he often was not, his acceptance of both horns of a dilemma such, for example, as that presented by the ideas of freedom and determinism, endeared him to students and readers alike as one unwilling to dismiss either of two antithetical views each of which bore the credentials of experience. He was known to appear today and affirm that he had been mistaken yesterday. More, in the midst of an argument, and he was as Santayana says "short-winded in argument," he was apt to puncture his construction with a foreign flash or an injection of common sense that was at once refreshing and exasperating. And he was much better at beginnings than endings. Such mixing of incompatibles, such sparsity of even tentative conclusions, called out the innate passion for consistency and form in student minds, made them keenly aware of the scope of evidence and sponsored reflection and discussion long after the official class hour ended.

Second, James called out student effort in aid. "You would think," writes one, "that he was the veriest freshman from the number of things he could learn from others."[30] Sometimes his ignorance was feigned, sometimes genuine. But in any case it led to Socratic give and take.

Thus Starbuck remembers a time when James was using the blackboard to clear up some notions in psychology. Circles and lines symbolized selfhood, cognition, feeling of value, affectors, effectors. In going over the scheme he became confused. He backed away, cocked his head to one side and said, "What the deuce have we got here anyhow?"[31] Immediately

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[30]John Elof Boodin, "William James as I Knew Him," *Personalist* (Spring, 1942), p. 125.

[31]Edwin D. Starbuck, "Impressions of James," *Psychological Review* Volume 50 (1943), p. 129. It was James who attracted Starbuck to Harvard "because he wrote and lived a psychology surcharged with cultural and spiritual fineness."

the group united in the task of disentanglement and all benefited from this bit of cooperative roadbuilding.

His deficiencies in the formal and analytic modes of thought were at times all too apparent. It is recalled that in a course in traditional logic he was caught in the intricacies of mood and figure and for a time puzzled. "You will have to wait a few minutes," he said, and turned his face to the wall. After the recovery he turned back and resumed his lecture as if nothing had happened. Edgar A. Singer writes that often James, seizing on a mathematical suggestion that might serve to illustrate a point made "some of the most absurd mistakes." But this spoiled nothing. As Singer says, "It is said to us who made worse mistakes of other kind, 'Lo, he too is human.' "[32]

There were other foibles. He often forgot his notes. Getting lost in digressions was not uncommon. A flat failure at pretense, he would turn to someone in the front row and say, "What was I talking about?" Sometimes he even dismissed the class. "I can't think today," he would say with his hands to his head, "we had better not go on with the class."[33] He persisted in bringing books to class in foreign languages which for him had been equivalent to English in ease. In trying to translate directly he usually hobbled briefly and then gave up.

But all of this made students less prone to postulate in James an undersurface system subsequently to be divulged, and engendered confidence that their own insights might be worth presenting. James never capitalized on appeals such as "self-evidence," or his increasing reputation of authority. Nor did he assume that he was accountable only to a professional few. The response of the neophyte, even his *mis*understandings, might shed light on the issues at hand. Hence he bore questions that were really criticisms with inexhaustible patience. He invited written comments as well and would often return them with a reply penciled on the back when he thought the discussion too special in scope to be of class interest. He asked for student suggestions regarding course procedure and books to be used and his method is revealed in a typical complaint that too much time was being given to wranglers.[34]

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[32]In a letter to the writer. "His very imperfections endeared him."
[33]Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
[34]Dickinson Miller in *Letters of William James,* Volume 2, p. 18.

Third, there was the department itself composed in the end by James and symbolizing the very intellectual chivalry for which he is remembered. It was his conviction that a university breathes life only when it is inoculated with a few men, at least, of real genius. Not only were Royce, Santayana, Palmer, Munsterberg and James himself individually great but, as Whitehead says, "as a group they are greater still, a group of adventure, of speculation, of search for new ideas."[35] These men gathered not to celebrate a school or system of thought in common. Each in his own way was the philosophical enemy of the other. "As much as we differ," James wrote, "we relish the personal element in the difference. We play harmoniously into each other's hands, and are bathed in the same sort of atmosphere."[36] In the period when his thought was most mature and organized James encouraged "trading" of students, each professor taking a semester to range his particular forces against the others. James often attended Royce's classes, and a common student recollection has them standing on the steps of Sever Hall in animated disagreement. Each time a colleague published a book James welcomed the "thickening up" of atmosphere.

Upon Royce, a man of immense learning (*The Faculty Minute* on his life said that few men knew so much about so many matters) James depended for thorough exposition of the classic systems and for logic. Palmer, whose versatility included translations of Homer, did careful work in history and ethics.[37] Santayana, lecturing with a refinement that is hardly surpassed by his prose, represented esthetics and scholastic philosophy.[38] And in a day when philosophy and psychology were still united, Munsterberg manned the laboratory.

Not alone by providing personal and philosophical contrast this outstanding faculty much enhanced James' contribu-

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[35]Alfred North Whitehead, "The Aim of Philosophy," in *Problems of Philosophy,* ed. by Krikorian and Weiner (New York, 1947), p. 707. Tucker of Dartmouth said this department was not only the strongest department of philosophy in the country, but the strongest department of any kind. Cf. *Autobiography of a Philosopher,* George Herbert Palmer, (New York, 1930).

[36]*Harvard Illustrated Magazine,* Volume 8, p. 95.

[37]See *Autobiography of a Philosopher,* George Herbert Palmer (New York, 1930).

[38]Cf. *Letters of George Santayana* (Daniel Cory, ed.) Scribners, New York, 1955. p. xxviii.

tion. Many of those who registered for courses with James were already disposed for or against him by departmental opponents. And since his colleagues made up in various ways for the gaps and limitations of his approach he could the more remorselessly be himself. For a student who was astute, and perhaps advanced students profited most, this was an intellectual climate of genuine stature and power. The interpenetration that resulted was one of the great examples in the liberal tradition.

V

To an assembly of teachers James once said:

> Prepare yourself in the subject so well that it shall be always on tap; then in the class-room trust your spontaneity and fling away all further care.[39]

His own preparation was prodigious. His sense of the ocean that remained unexplored, his relish for seeing an old idea in a fresh way, his hunger for factual disclosures however out of the way the source, all these went with him to his study. He developed despite weak eyes a capacity for rapid reading and could assess the meat of a book with dispatch. He made critical notations on book margins, copying out key passages and summaries and organizing them in indexed notebooks—a task he told his son that made a man a philosopher. Two things stand out in addition to the breadth of his work: He forced himself to read books to which he felt a keen aversion, and he read everything he could get his hands on in biography.

More, James believed and taught that much fine gold could be mined in literature and the arts. To overlook these sources, or in the name of science to exclude them was to atrophy one's sensibilities with a corresponding loss in teaching force. It was in his seminars that students, often through allusion, felt the deep store of his contact with the poem and drama, with museum and symphony hall. He did not consider himself an esthete. "I envy ye the world of art," he wrote his brother, Henry. And he denied the self-sufficiency of the

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[39] *Talks to Teachers*, p. 222.

aesthetic insisting that it must be the overflow of a life rich in other ways. But from his youth he devoted much time and effort to the arts. "Has there been in our generation," writes Miller, "a more cultivated man?"[40]

His reading assignments were heavy. He once defined a professor as one who "distributes bibliographical information" and said he felt a sham as a "walking encyclopedia of erudition." But only his implacable modesty has led some to underestimate the bibliographical bulk which he demanded both of himself and his students. Along with the need, he wrote of his first students, to "stir them up and not bore them," he recognized the challenge to "make them work."[41] This challenge he met on the first day of class with a blackboard filled with many-languaged lists, insisting further that papers and reports be begun early. He spoke of Harvard as "a forcing house for thought," and his articles on university life stress "persistence," "pain," "faithfully busy." Despite the widely known quotations which reveal his disesteem of technical virtuosity, James felt that no degree should be granted a student who, whatever his originality and intellectual promise, had not acquired a "heavy technical apparatus of learning."[42]

Nevertheless there is evidence that in legislating for a student career James took a wide span of factors into account beyond the standard indices of examination and transcript. There was, for example, the student of psychology who faced an oral examination. It took place in James' home, James sitting on one sofa in his library and the student across from him on another. The method was conversational and there was easy, almost aimless discussion of the intellectual premises of philosophy and psychology. The one direct question asked late in the session was answered briefly. In due time after conversation the student was given to understand that this was sufficient and withdrew. Only the fact that the

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[40]Dickinson Miller, *op. cit.,* p. 18. See also his "William James Man and Philosopher" an address delivered at the University of Wisconsin (University of Wisconsin Press, 1942), and "A Debt to James," in *In Commemoration* (New York, 1942), p. 24 ff.

[41]Perry, *op. cit.,* Volume I, p. 336.

[42]"The Ph.D. Octopus," *Memories and Studies,* p. 330.

department had prescribed it and that he never heard to the contrary assured him he had performed satisfactorily.[43]

From the first James concerned himself with possible avenues of discovery of the different ways in which student energy reserves might be appealed to and set loose.[44] Individual experiences of varied kind were drawn upon here including the abnormal. Some students, he said, were capable and confident and needed nothing but opportunity to work out their possibilities. But many without marked originality or native force were easily driven aback. And these were the "tender plants," the unfit in the academic struggle for existence who called out his initiative.

The notations on student papers were geared to student stimulation. His comments were pithy, sometimes sharp, and always whether the subject was brain-states in sheep, problems of perception, or the pragmatic theory of meaning, James addressed a person behind the formal construction. On one paper he would write, "Damn it, why cannot you be more clear!" To another, "You have come out at last." To another, "That theory's not a warm reality to me yet—still a cold conception." If he complained of the "loutish character" of the undergraduates, so few of whom showed interest and ability, he took it as reflecting in part on himself. And if he rebuked, he followed it with an increase of personal attention. The function of the university, he once said, was to provide that the lonely thinker be "least lonely, most positively furthered, and most richly fed."[45]

He hovered over a developing idea with anxious care. First thoughts might be more significant than second ones, and the insight than its expression. He encouraged students to set down their ideas without being intimidated by their youth. To think the truth through with one's own experience

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[43]Bernard C. Ewer, "William James as Psychologist," *Personalist* (Spring, 1942), p. 159.

[44]James in his "Energies of Men" says, "The two questions, first that of the possible extent of our powers; and, second, that of the various avenues of approach to them, the various keys for unlocking them in diverse individuals dominate the whole problem of individual and national education." *Memories and Studies,* p. 263 f.

[45]*Memories and Studies,* p. 314.

the compass, regardless of the advantages of standard classifications, was the important thing. His appreciation of such efforts was extravagant. John Elof Boodin, for one, writes of his researches on the problem of time. James seemed to sense something before he himself. He encouraged him to present his work in a seminar of Royce's. This first draft was diffuse and hazy. But laboring further Boodin was soon prepared for a second presentation which James attended and followed with great closeness. The next day he was invited to dinner at the James home and spent the entire evening talking the subject over. James led Boodin on to talk, answered questions with questions, remained noncommittal. Finally with enthusiasm he walked up and said, "Boodin, you have earned your degree. Any man with one original idea deserves a degree."[46]

James became outspoken against the tendency of the university to become "a tyrannical machine." He felt that men unfit for the profession should be properly screened. But he believed that faithful labor, even if commonplace, should be acknowledged formally and added that after all native distinction needs no official stamp. Each student should be lifted to his fullest expression. Where standards could not be met James still refused to abide academic distance.[47] There was, for instance, a man who having brought his family to Cambridge in order to earn a degree in philosophy could not meet the qualitative test. The impact of the departmental decision to drop him, which James sought to soften and redirect, was intensified when the man's wife became ill and died. No one served the man more closely than James. But in all of this he never reversed the decision.[48] Still, Palmer records

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[46]John Elof Boodin, "William James as I Knew Him," *Personalist, op. cit.*, p. 129.

[47]Cf. Arthur O. Lovejoy's statement: "He (James) had—what is one of the least common qualities—a constant sense that other people have, as he puts it, 'insides of their own,' often quite different from his; and he had an eager desire and an extraordinary power to get outside of what was peculiar to himself and to understand 'from the centre outwards,' what was peculiar to any of his fellows. . . Any spark, or even seeming spark, of originality or uniqueness in his students, or in any man or writing, however little regarded by most of the professional philosophers, aroused his instant interest, his sometimes too generous admiration and a hope that there might be here the disclosure of one of the many aspects of a happily very various universe which an adequate philosophy could not neglect." *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 313.

[48]John Elof Boodin, *op. cit.*, p. 127-8.

that in their committee, when voting on candidates, James favored the merciful side. "Of course Smith isn't a genius. But, poor devil, how he has worked!"[49]

VI

"He had an uncanny way of coming to know us individually."[50] The pluralistic universe for James was too great for any one actual mind; many cognizers are required to take in the whole of its facts and worth and every man is afflicted with "a certain blindness." The slightest contact with students, therefore, whatever else its merit, was for James a gain for truth. And he had what one student calls "an empathic interest in everyone." Considering the commitments to writing that came with his position, his administrative tasks, the steady flow of eminent visitors, cares of family, the drain on his energy—"a small teacup full"—of teaching schedules it is the more remarkable that he made time for the individual. But make time he did.

In and out of office hours he was caught by students who came, as did one whose field was history, "to have a word with him, a word of encouragement really, and he never forgot me. I never forgot him."[51] He had a willingness to be interrupted, indeed he is quoted as saying that life is a series of interruptions, and was prodigal with his resources. At his best he was adept in getting to the heart of things, including underlying motives and strains, and a reliable aid in mediating protocol. His suggestions for corrective reading, or for a proposed project that would blend student ability with course demands were acute. But the problems laid before him were often only remotely related to school matters. He was asked to read poetry, importuned for psychological therapy, pressured for the signature-sanction of some crank project. Anxieties were unfolded to him in endless detail. Usually a patient listener at whatever level, his counsel was anything but

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[49]George Herbert Palmer in *The Development of Harvard University* edited by Samuel Eliot Morison, (Cambridge, 1930), p. 5.

[50]Edmund B. Delabarre, "Impressions of James in the Late 80's," *Psychological Review, op. cit.,* p. 129.

[51]Levi Edgar Young in a letter to the writer.

standardized. A punctilious phrase would often make it stick. To one sophomore who presented him a study card with only philosophical electives on it James said, "Jones, don't you philosophize on an empty stomach!"[52] To a student who was on the verge of making a career of philosophy James said, "Don't do it. You will be filling your belly with the east-wind." The man went on to distinguish himself in science.[53] However unpredictable might be James' advice many were the number who sought it and who found themselves talking to him after five minutes "as if I had known him all my life."[54] The extent of this following was more apparent to his colleagues during James' temporary absences. Royce, for example, once worte a letter to James complaining that he was forced to psychologize and brood over students "who formerly confided in you and now come to me for relief and consolation."[55] Somehow James managed to attract and sustain where others, as well qualified, did not. There is, for example, something of pathos in the confession of his English ally, F. C. S. Schiller, that on James' death, friends tried to attach themselves to him but that he could not retain their allegiance. "I suppose," he writes, "I was too distant either spiritually or geographically."[56]

His passion for first-handedness alerted him to people of unique backgrounds. Exponents of psychic research of such questionable standing as Madam Palladino as well as representatives of minority groups and visitors from the Orient were among the number who were invited as guest speakers to James' classes and seminars. He would introduce the speaker reassuringly, ask for candid statement, sit close by, and remain a considerate go-between. There were times when such visitors became uncomfortable under the inevitable question

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[52]Morison (ed.), *op. cit.*

[53]This was Walter Bradford Cannon later of Harvard Medical School. "The remark," he says, "probably sprang from his quick recognition of my lack of fitness rather than from his disdain for philosophy. Whatever the reason for his advice, I followed it." *The Way of an Investigator* (New York, 1945), p. 19.

[54]F. C. S. Schiller so describes his first meeting with James. *Must Philosophers Disagree,* p. 61.

[55]Perry, *op. cit.,* Volume 2, p. 804.

[56]F. C. S. Schiller, *op. cit.,* p. 64.

period. James would then arise and say in his inimitable way, "I thank Mr. Young for his contribution. It is always interesting to get new viewpoints on religion and philosophy. This Mr. Young has certainly given us. Gentlemen of the class, let us stand and thank Mr. Young." Always he had a new friend.[57]

Students saw a lot of him on the side. Informal gatherings, not to mention many graduate classes, were held at his home. A supper *en famille* was often included. Again, students were prone to come forward at the end of the class hour and extend discussion. "Come over to the house," James would say, "and we will talk it over." Starbuck postulates that James made appointments for conferences at a designed time, eleven or five o'clock, in order to usher students into the mealtime hospitality of his home.[58] "Above all," he said to an assembly of educators at Stanford, "offer the opportunity of higher personal contacts."[59] And so the James table was frequently graced by a visiting dignitary. Students were fitted into such groups with sometimes only first name introductions. One, for instance, wrote home about a certain guest who had been at the James' home and talked a lot. "I gathered he wrote books," he said by way of identification. This it turned out, was James' renowned brother, Henry.[60] In the course of the meal James encouraged lightweight intellectual grist but kept things on a personal basis. Around the board he had what Palmer calls "an aptitude for vicariousness."[61]

Apparently James did not have his own kind of student. Little, unless it was bigotry or indolence (and some temperamental lapses on his own part) could push anyone out of his

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[57]Levi Edgar Young in a letter to the writer. He was asked to speak on a little-know religious sect. He describes James' personal relations as "simple and kind."

[58]Edwin D. Starbuck, *op. cit.,* p. 129.

[59]*Memories and Studies,* p. 362.

[60]B. A. G. Fuller in a letter to the writer. He writes that William James was "immensely amused" by this incident, but would not let Fuller pass it on to Henry.

[61]One wonders how much Palmer was influenced by James in his essay the *Ideal Teacher.* Vicariousness, he says, the power to put ourselves in others' places, is the first prerequisite. "It is in this chief business of the artistic teacher, to labor imaginatively himself in order to diminish the labors of his slender pupil, that most of our failures occur."

range. Of artistic makeup, depressed for example by the kind of floor under his feet, or a superabundance of foliage, or ill-proportioned architecture and even more deeply responsive to personalities, James must have struggled for this quality. He taught that people who had nervous burdens to carry, perhaps hereditary, could order their lives well and perhaps capitalize on their "degenerate sensitiveness." This was autobiographical of his own effort. Nor again did James seek disciples in the schoolish sense but put a premium on independence. In his youth he had been impressed by a student of Agassiz's who had told him that he now felt qualified to go anywhere on earth, his notebook in hand, and proceed scientifically. "Agassiz must be a great teacher," James wrote in his journal.[62] Men from many fields looked to him for guidance. But though committed to a movement which in its precipitous stages he called a "crusade," he refused to superimpose his thought on anyone, believing this to be a kind of crime. Provide the materials of growth, champion what was one's own, yes. But tamper coercively by dint of professional strength, no. One of the quotations which he often repeated to classes, and James disliked repetition, was from Ezekiel, "Son of man stand upon *thy* feet and I will speak to thee." He once said that the darkest day for a university is when it begins to stamp a hard and fast type of character on its children. "Our undisciplinables are our proudest product," he said of Harvard.[63]

VII

Finally, James remained diffident about his task; was never sure of himself, his subject nor his method. Students were attentive and he was responsive to signs of approval at whatever remove. But professorial authority, flattering to some, was always somewhat frightening to him. He was grateful when he could shift to a new idea, a new course, more so when he could forget all about it. "Why," he once said of Royce, "the man enjoys the act of teaching."[64] And again, "I

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[62]Cf. *Philosophy of William James,* ed. H. M. Kallen (Modern Library), p. 22.

[63]*Memories and Studies,* p. 355.

[64]*Harvard Illustrated Magazine, op. cit.,* p. 98.

actually hate lecturing." During his final semester he said to a student, "I have lectured all these years and yet here I am on the way to my class in trepidation."[65] Looking back over his career he "shuddered at the bad instruction," and in this spirit advised a junior to be as methodical as possible, since he said his disorderliness had stood in the way—"too incoherent and rambling."[66] There was the monotony of the process and the abiding hunger for praise which he took to be the philosopher's goal. His retirement brought him a great sense of relief, helped though he acknowledged he had been in his work by the university climate.[67]

But if James ever taught as if he hated it, few of his associates were aware of it. His career saw philosophy classes grow in size from one hundred when courses were prescribed to as many as five hundred when elective. At his retirement about three-fourths of the Harvard student body were taking one or more courses in this widely-known department drawn by his colleagues as well as himself.[68]

VIII

And so we return to an insight which James claimed to derive from an unlearned carpenter: "There is very little difference between one man and another, but what little there is is very important."[69] Teachers of philosophy, after all, can be fitted into basic types.: Great lecturers variously distinguished by their almost dramatic power or massive erudition. Expositors, masters of comparison and relation. Dialecticians who have a rigorous command of implication and validity. Analysts who strive with infinite patience for the clear and distinct. Socratic midwives who elicit latent ideas from student minds. James could hardly be rounded into any of these types, unless it be the last. He was a little of each and not perhaps pre-eminently any. In each category he had colleagues who surpassed him. Yet it might be said that his particular

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[65]Dickinson Miller in *Letters of William James,* Volume 2, p. 16.
[66]Perry, *op. cit.,* p. 442-3.
[67]See his letter on retirement. *Letters of William James,* Volume 2, p. 279.
[68]*Harvard Illustrated Magazine, op. cit.,* p. 95.
[69]*Will to Believe and Other Essays* (New York, 1897), p. 256.

genius was in the composite; that at his best he exhibited such unusual combinations as zest and scholarliness, flexibility and control, originality and clarity. And so he did.

But what James said and did as a teacher demonstrated something more pervasive and, in comparison with "time-caught" elements of his thought, permanent: That a maieutic approach, defined primarily as the abiding concern for communion of mind—getting inside the student and working, as it were, from the centre outwards—is compatible with all other methods. No one of the teacher types, nor combination of them, need scrifice it. Indirect it may become in variable teacher-student relations and subject matter. But it is the presupposition of all genuine teaching. It was the constant in James' technique through the whole of his career.

Further, James showed that scholarliness and discipline need not—though they often do—entail the seclusion and exclusion of personality; that wealth of spirit is not essentially —though it often is practically—incompatible with exact thinking and exacting teaching. In every facet of academic life, from lecture to examination, James claimed the right to be a man in the fullest sense, endowing all with the decisively personal radiation that was himself.[70]

On his retirement some of his students and associates paid tribute to him in the *Harvard Illustrated Magazine.* Reprints were requested from many parts of the world, and several editions were necessary. Moved by this gesture of good-will, James wrote the editor of the magazine, H. V. Kaltenborn, a letter of thanks which concluded, "I have tried all my life to be good, but have only succeeded in becoming great."[71]

Let it be granted that a legend in the academic world, even in critical hands, is pliable; that recorded estimates of

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[70]Withal it should be remembered that James' conscience of mind was sensitized by long scientific training. He practiced his own maxim in the classroom, "The greatest proof that a man is *sui compos* is his ability to suspend a belief in the presence of an emotionally exciting idea. To give this power is the highest result of education," (*Principles of Psychology,* Vol. 2, p. 308)

[71]H. V. Kaltenborn in a letter to the writer. For his evaluation of James' teaching influence see his *Fifty Fabulous Years* (New York, 1950) pp. 47-50. Cf. Rollo Walter Brown's portrait of James in his *Harvard Yard in the Golden Age* (New York, 1948) pp. 67-84.

him by student, colleague and friend alike are tinctured with charity. Admit too that the generosity of their esteem reflects that of his. Still to those who sat under him William James was great. Great because in teaching philosophy he taught students as well, because in the process of learning he helped them discover themselves. He was great because he was unable to teach what he had not himself experienced and because in experience nothing human was foreign to him.