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Brigham
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STUDIES

AUTUMN 1965

The Expanding Gospel

Hugh W. Nibley

Irish Heaths and German Cliffs: a Study
of the Foreign Sources of *Wuthering
Heights*

Ruth M. MacKay

Gérard de Nerval: A Reappraisal

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The Bridge

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Estaunié's Naturalistic Period and Spir-
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The Expanding Gospel*

by HUGH W. NIBLEY

The expression "expanding Gospel" is not a contradiction of terms. Even the Roman Catholic authorities concluded after much thought that the proper business of theology and philosophy is to expand men's *knowledge* of the Gospel while leaving the scriptures, the sacred deposit and source of that knowledge, untouched by the addition or subtraction of so much as a syllable.¹ Thus men, by the exercise of their intellects, may add to the Gospel, but God may not. But this puts the thunder before the lightning: where has God imposed any limits on His own prerogative of imparting His word to man? The scriptural warnings against adding or subtracting, aside from being limited to specific individual books, are addressed specifically to men—no *man* may add to the scriptures. That imposes no restriction on God. But it is men who have expanded and contracted the scope of the holy writ to conform to their broad or narrow views of the Gospel; it is men who have selected the books that make up the word of God, and these men have not been in agreement. The debate has raged for centuries about certain well-known writings, and still remains undecided.²

Now we are faced by a new and important development. A sizable number of writings have recently been discovered claiming apostolic or otherwise inspired authorship and enjoying unprecedented antiquity. What is to be done with them? Of the author of some of the prophecies in the Dead Sea Scrolls Father Danielou writes:

A revelation was made known to him . . . that the Messiah was near. . . . Now what is amazing is that this prophecy was verified exactly. Thus between the great prophets of the Old Testament and John the Baptist he emerges as a new link

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¹M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode* (Graz: Akad. Verlag, 1957), I, 1-37; O. Chadwick, *From Bousset to Newman* (Cambridge University Press, 1959), chapters i-iii.

²For a recent treatment of this much-treated theme, see Ol Eissfeldt, *Einführung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1964), pp. 2-9.

in the preparation for the Advent of Christ: he is, as Michaud writes, one of the great figures of Israel's prophetic tradition. It is amazing that he remained so unknown for so long. Now that he is known the question arises as to what we are going to do about this knowledge. . . . Why does not this message, then, form part of inspired Scripture?³

This question, says Danielou, now confronts equally the Jewish and the Christian world. How can they expand their Gospel to include the words of a newly found prophet? If the new discoveries only contained exactly what was already known and accepted, there would be no objection to admitting them to the Canon; but neither would they have any message for us, save to confirm what is already known. But what makes the documents so exciting is that they follow along familiar grooves to the end and then continue onward into new territory, expanding the confines of the Gospel. Are we to assume that their writers, so strict and upright in their ways and so conscientious in their teachings, are saints as far as we can follow them only to become deluded purveyors of fraud and falsehood the moment they step beyond territory familiar to us?

Before reaching a decision on this important head, our first obligation is to inform ourselves as to what it is that these writings teach over and above conventional Jewish and Christian doctrine. What they teach, that is, seriously and as a whole. Speculative flights and picturesque oddities can be expected in any sizable apocryphal writing, and when such are confined to one or two texts they can be ruled out as serious doctrine. But in working through the newly found documents one soon becomes aware of certain themes that receive overwhelming emphasis and appear not in a few texts but in many or most of them. Such deserve our serious attention. Among the most conspicuous of these is the matter of a certain council held in heaven "at the foundation of the world" where the divine plan of salvation was presented and received with acclamations of joy; joined to this we are presented almost invariably with some account of the opposition to that plan and the results of that opposition. Around these two themes of the plan and the opposition a great deal of the old apocryphal writing revolves. But it is in the very oldest records of the race that we find some of the clearest statements of the doctrine,

³J. Danielou, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity* (N.Y.: Mentor Omega, 1957), p. 81.

which in the oldest fragment of all, actually goes under a recognized label as "the Memphite theology."

The antiquity of the material contained in the so-called Shabaka stone of the British Museum has been fully demonstrated and is today not seriously questioned.⁴ The only puzzle to scholars has been how anything so completely thought-out and sophisticated could turn up in what may well be the oldest known text in existence. There is nothing "primitive" in this dramatic presentation which was to mark the founding of the First Dynasty of Egypt. It is divided into two parts, a historical and a theological, the former explaining how the kingdom came to be established and organized after its peculiar fashion, and the latter how and why the world itself was created. The beholder of the drama, which was enacted by priests with the king taking the leading role, is never allowed to forget that what is ritually done on earth is but the faithful reflection of what was once done in heaven.⁵ Since a number of scholars today see an unbroken line of succession between the "Memphite theology" and the Logos-theology of John, the Shabaka stone may not be out of place as the starting-point in a study of the expanding Gospel.⁶ But quite aside from that, it deserves mention as the earliest and one of the best descriptions of the council in heaven.

In the beginning, we are told, ". . . all the gods assembled in the presence" of Ptah, who "made a division between Horus and Seth, and forbade them to quarrel," giving each his assigned portion.⁷ Then for some reason he decided that his first-born, Horus, should be his unique heir, and solemnly announced to the assembled gods, pointing to Horus, "I have chosen thee to be the first, thee alone; my inheritance shall be to this my heir, the son of my son . . . the first-born, opener of the ways, a son born on the birthday of Wep-wawet," that is, on the New Year, the Day of Creation.⁸ Thus, instead of being two portions, they

⁴K. Sethe, *Das 'Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie' der Schabakosteine des Br. Museums* (Band X:1 of *Unters. zur Gesch. u. Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, Leipzig, 1928), pp. 1-5.

⁵In this as in the Pyramid Texts it is often impossible to tell whether a given scene is laid in heaven, on earth or in both places, L. Speleers, *Textes des Cercueils* (Brussels: 1947) pp. xlv-xlix.

⁶See for example L. V. Zabkar, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XIII (1954), p. 87; H. Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Aegypter* (Hamburg, N.Y., 1939); R. Anthes, in *JNES*, XVIII (1959), pp. 169-212.

⁷Shabaka stone, lines 7-8, in Sethe, pp. 23-26.

⁸Lines 10c-18b, in Sethe, pp. 27-32.

were both united under Horus, while the controversy with Seth was patched up for the duration of the festival.⁹ The entire middle portion of the Shabaka text is obliterated, but from countless other Egyptian sources, we know that the conflict between Horus and Seth never ceased on this earth, the combat and victory of Horus being ritually repeated at every coronation.¹⁰ After rites dealing with a baptism, resurrection and the building of the Temple at Memphis, the texts break off completely to resume with a catalogue of Ptah's titles as "he who sitteth upon the great throne, heavenly father who begot Atum, heavenly mother who bore Atum, the great one, the mind and mouth [heart and tongue] of the council of the gods [the ennead]."¹¹ "In the heart [of Ptah] was conceived the image [form, likeness] of Atum, on the tongue [by the word] was the image of Atum. Great and mighty is Ptah through whose mind and word all the spirits were brought forth.¹² And through the mind and word [of God] all physical members were invested with power, according to the doctrine that he [God] is as that which is in every body [i.e., the heart] and in every mouth [i.e., the tongue] of every god, of every human, of every animal, of every creeping thing, of whatsoever possessed life; for whatever is thought and whatever is uttered is according to his will. The council of the gods brought forth the seeing of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the breathing of the nose, that these might convey information to the heart, which in turn became aware of things, to which awareness the tongue gives expression, giving utterance to the mind. In such a way were all the gods brought forth—Atum and the council of the Nine. But the word of God was first that which was conceived in his mind and then what was commanded by his tongue. In such a way were the spirits brought forth and the *bmswt-spirits* elected, for the provision of all nourishment and food, according to the mind and word of God."¹³ The best

⁹Lines 13c-14c, The case was ritually retried at every coronation in the so-called "Justification of Osiris" before the priestly court at Heliopolis. See R. Anthes, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 13 (1954), pp. 191f.

¹⁰Sethe, *op. cit.*, Pt. 2, *Ramesseumpapyrus*, pp. 95-96; cf. the *Victory Over Seth* papyrus (Louvre 3129; Br. Mus. 10252, 13).

¹¹Shabaka stone, lines 48-52a, in Sethe, pp. 46-50.

¹²Lines 53f, in Sethe, pp. 50-56. On the nature of Ptah as Father, Begetter, Opener, etc., M. S. Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), pp. 258-271.

¹³Shabaka stone, lines 56-57, in Sethe, pp. 59-64.

interpretation of *bmswt-spirits*, following Sethe's long discussion of the word, would seem to be spirits chosen for specially high callings, in particular to have progeny.¹⁴ The spirits having been thus created and a physical basis for life supplied, a law was laid down, "that he who does what is good [lovable, desirable] shall be given life to be in a state of peace [or salvation], while he who does evil [that which is hateful] shall be given death to be in a state of punishment [or condemnation]. All the works [of men], all the arts and crafts, the labors of the arms and the goings of the legs, the motion of all the members are subject to this law, conceived in the mind and declared by the tongue [of God], which law shall be the measure [*yimakb*] of all things."¹⁵ All this was done and nourishment and food and all other good things provided by God alone and He saw that His work was good.¹⁶ "And thus it was that all the gods and all the spirits assembled" before the throne of God, the source of all life and joy.¹⁷ The king, representing Osiris who is the dead king, his own predecessor, "goes through the secret gates in the splendor of the lord of Eternity, in the footsteps of Re of the great throne, to enter the courts on high and become united with the gods and with Ptah, the ancient of days [lord of years]." In the concluding scene the earthly king publicly embraces his son and heir declaring his calling and succession, even as the god did in the beginning.¹⁸

That the picture actually goes back to Menes, the founder of the First Dynasty, is confirmed right at the beginning of the Pyramid texts in a writing for Teti, the second king of the dynasty and immediate successor of Menes: "Spoken by the great heavens in the midst of the lower hall of Geb [i.e., the temple of Memphis as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly court]. This is Teti, my beloved son, who sits upon the throne of Geb [the principle of patriarchal succession], who is well pleased with him; he hath declared him to be his heir in the presence of the great assembly of all the gods; every god hath acclaimed him joyfully with upraised hands, saying, Worthy is Teti with whom his father Geb is well pleased!"¹⁹ In the

¹⁴Sethe, pp. 62-64.

¹⁵Lines 57f; Sethe, p. 65 renders *imakb* as "der die Bedeutung aller Dinge macht."

¹⁶Lines 58ff; Sethe, pp. 66-68, notes that the passage "vividly recalls the Biblical Creation story."

¹⁷Line 61; Sethe, pp. 70-72.

¹⁸Lines 63ff; Sethe, pp. 73-77.

¹⁹*Pyramid Texts*, No. 3. We here translate the entire text.

Coffin texts the theme is carried on as Ptah summons the Great Assembly, "they who share the secrets," gives them formal greeting, and introduces his son and heir to them, who acclaim him as Prince of Peace and Righteousness, shouting for joy.²⁰ The earthly rites reflect the heavenly, and the king (or noble) announces in his Coffin text, "I am in the human assembly what he is in heaven. I am . . . the seed of Atum, the issue of him who gave the names in the day when Atum discussed it with the gods."²¹

The great Babylonian creation text, the Enuma Elish, begins and ends with the great assembly in heaven. "As once above," it starts out, "when the heavens had not yet received their name and the earth below was not known, . . . the Creator, he of vast intelligence, omniscient, omnipotent," presided over "a great assembly among his brethren the gods."²² Since the purpose of this version of the hymn is to exalt Marduk of Babylon, he takes over the principal functions of creating man and settling the score with the adversary. The most concise statement is on Tablet VI: "Then Marduk resolved upon a wondrous work. He opened his mouth and addressed Ea [his father], and told him of what he had conceived in his heart: 'I wish to bring blood and bone together and to organize them into a human being, whose name shall be man; let it be his duty to serve the gods and satisfy them.' " To provide satisfaction, however, was beyond the power of man, and "Marduk, in order that there be satisfaction, proposed a plan to the gods: 'Let one of their race be put to death that humanity might be. Let one of the assembled gods be delivered up as a guilty one, that they might subsist.' "²³ But Kingu opposed the plan; it was he who made

²⁰A. De Buck, *The Coffin Texts*, I, IIIff (Spell 33); cf. II, 6f (Spell 76), 24-26 (Spell 79), etc.

²¹*Ibid.*, I, 167 (Spell 39). On the possible identity of Atum with Adam, see E. Lefévre, in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, XXXV (1913), pp. 16-21.

²²R. Labat, *Le Poème Babylonien de la Création* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1935), pp. 76f. The same situation, a great earthly assembly representing the divine council at the creation of the world, is described in early Sumerian texts supplied by E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Crozer Theol. Seminary Babylonian Publ., Vol. I, 1924), pp. 29-30. For an Old Babylonian parallel, W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), p. 163. Hittite ritual texts contain "obvious allusion to an assembly of the gods for the purpose of 'fixing the fates;' the scene is laid in heaven . . . but the inference that such a gathering of gods was actually enacted in ritual form, as in the Babylonian festival, can hardly be evaded," O. Gurney, in S. Hooke (ed.), *Ritual and Kingship* (Oxford, 1958), p. 108.

²³Labat, pp. 143-5 (Tab. VI, lines 2-16). We have not given the lines here in strict sequence. The whole text is full of repetition and contamination.

Tiamat rebel and caused the war. But he was defeated and cast down by Marduk, and the great assembly gave all the power of heaven and earth to Anu and through him to Marduk for carrying out the execution of the plan.²⁴ Throughout, the earthly rites are a ritual repetition of what was done, (in the opening words and title of the hymn,) "once above" (*enuma elish*); and the affair ends with the admonition that the rites be repeated at the same place from year to year forever: "Let them rehearse throughout the ages to come at this spot what God has done, that they may never forget it. . . . For this is the earthly image of that which is done in the heavens. . . . Great planner, full of loving-kindness, may he forgive their sins and deliver them by his grace. . . . Let us praise his name. They who have taken their places in the assembly to declare his names, in the holy place let them all together proclaim his name."²⁵ Though the texts are full of repetitions, contamination, overlapping of different versions coming from different times and places, the main themes of the council and the plan recur consistently.²⁶

We know today that the religion of Israel cannot be studied in isolation from that of its neighbors, and for many years the experts have recognized affinities between the documents just cited and certain Biblical texts. We have referred to them here, however, primarily to forestall the claim commonly made that the doctrines we are considering are of late, even Gnostic origin. The newly discovered Jewish and Christian apocrypha have so much to say about the council in heaven and the plan laid down at the foundation of the world that every student should be aware of the very great antiquity and wide ramifications of the idea. According to Ben Sirach, the great assemblies of Israel were the ritual repetition not merely of the gathering at the foot of Sinai but specifically of the great assembly at the creation of the world, when "God set before them [the human race-to-be] a covenant, the Law of Life . . . and showed them his judgments. Their eyes beheld His glorious majesty and their ears heard his voice."²⁷ According to II Baruch the whole plan of the history of the world was set forth in detail

²⁴Tab. VI, 29f. The authority is bestowed in Tab. IV.

²⁵Tab. VI, 105-168, from which we have selected typical expressions.

²⁶The mixed and derivative nature of the text is clear from the declaration in Tablet VI, 121f, VII, 140-144, that "for us, whatever name we call him by, he is indeed our god, though we have called him by fifty names."

²⁷Ben Sirach, 17:11-13.

"when the Mighty One took counsel to create the world."²⁸ According to the Book of Enoch, in the beginning "the Head of Days, his head like white wool, sat with the Son of Man beside him upon the throne of his glory, and the books of the living were opened before him," the books of the living being the register of names of those who were to live upon the earth.²⁹ Then the calling or mission of the Son and the plan, both of which had been kept secret until then, were "revealed to the Elect."³⁰ It is not too much to say that the dominant theme of the Thanksgiving Hymns of the Dead Sea Scrolls is an ecstatic contemplation of the wonder of man's participation in heavenly affairs going back to the beginning. Consider a few lines from Hymn VI (or F):

Thou hast caused me to mount up to an eternal height and to walk in an inconceivable exaltation. And I know that there is a hope for everyone whom thou didst form of dust in the presence of the eternal assembly; and that the sinful spirit whom thou hast purified of great sin may be counted with the host of the saints and enter the society of the congregation of the Sons of Heaven. Thou didst appoint unto man an eternal share with the Spirits that Know, to praise thy name in joyful unison with them and to recount thy wondrous works in the presence thereof.³¹

The whole point of this is that man actually belongs by prior appointment to that community of the Elect who share in the knowledge of the plan and who shouted for joy at the foundation of the world. In the preceding hymn, God is hailed as "prince of the gods and King of the Venerable Ones" and we must remind ourselves that this is neither a Gnostic nor a pagan production.³² The baffling tenth and eleventh pages of the Manual of Discipline come to life in the light of this imagery. To refer their message to prayers at various times of day makes good sense, since, as we have noted, earthly rites are but the reflection of heavenly events; but if we leave it there much is left unexplained. "He has placed them as an eternal treasure, and established for them a share with the saints, and has joined their society to the family of the Sons of Heaven, the council

²⁸II Baruch, 56:3.

²⁹I Enoch, 41: 1f; 47:3. On the nature of the Book of the Living.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 62:7.

³¹DST VI (F), p. iii, 19ff.

³²This rendering is that of A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1956), p. 77.

of the Church and the assembly of the Temple, an establishment (lit. "planting") which reaches forever into the future and the past."³³ The word which we have translated as "share" above is usually rendered as "lot" (it occurs seventy-six times in the Old Testament), but it is not the gift of chance, but is rather one's "lot" in the sense of having been appointed by God ahead of time. If we turn back to the opening lines of the preceding section of the hymn (p. x), we may see in prayers at dawn a conscious counterpart of the celestial drama: we are told of God's blessing "at the times which he fixed at the beginning of the rule of light, along with his cycles, and in the assembly at the place appointed by him, when the Watchers of Darkness also began." The Watchers, as is well-known, were fallen angels, here the equivalent of those who first opposed the Rule of Light. At that time, the text continues, God "opens his treasury and shows his plan." The treasury is referred to many times in the apocrypha, especially in the *Hodiyot* Scroll, as that knowledge which was with God in the beginning, and which he imparted to his Elect.³⁴ The last word of the phrase is in code—a plain indication that the text does indeed have a double meaning, as it goes on to tell us in terms of lamps in a shrine, of the shining ones being received in the mansion of glory. We are even told that the great light of the Holy of Holies here actually signifies something else.³⁵

This interpretation is borne out at the beginning of the Clementine Recognitions, a work having the closest affinities to the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which Peter tells of "the plan (*definitio*) of God which he announced (*promisit*) as his own will and desire in the presence of the First Angels, and which he established as an eternal law for all."³⁶ This is from a very early and strongly anti-Gnostic work, but the Gnostics have preserved the teaching and given it a characteristic Gnostic twist: "My Father, the joyful glorious light," says the Psalm of

³³DSD XI, 7-9.

³⁴The treasures of wisdom are kept beneath God's throne on high, II Baruch, 54:13; this is the treasury of life on which all the heavenly hosts depend, *Psalms of Thomas*, 203:9; from this chest God took the elements in the presence of the hosts when the creation of the world was being discussed, *Ibid.*, 203: 11ff; it is "the treasure-chamber of the light," *Od. Solomon*, 16:16; Ben Sirach, 39:17; from it the worthy take the riches of knowledge, DSD X, 2; *Thanksgiving Hymn X*, 23f, 29. Cf. C. Schmidt *Das 2te Buch Jeu*, in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, VIII, p. 193, and J. Leipoldt (ed.), *Religionsgeschichte des Orients in der Zeit Weltreligionen* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), pp. 86, 109f.

³⁵DSD X, 1-3.

³⁶*Clementine Recognitions* I, 24.

Thomas, "summoned all the Aeons of Peace [the First Angels have here become mere abstractions], all his sons and all the angels, and established them that they might rejoice in his greatness [i.e., share it]³⁷. . . . All bowed the knee before him and sang his praises together, hailing him as the Illuminator of the Worlds."³⁸ The newly discovered Creation Apocryphon, another "Gnostic" interpretation, tells us that this earth is the result of a discussion in heaven: "On that day began the discussion in which gods, angels, and men participated. And the decisions of the discussion were then carried out by gods, angels, and men. But the Prince Jaltabaoth did not understand the power of faith," and so was denied "the authority over matter" which the others shared.³⁹ The power of faith, it will be recalled, was the power "by which the worlds were created."

The unimpeachable orthodox Pastor of Hermas is quite as specific: "Behold God, constructing the world in accordance with the great council [in some Mss. "the most honored council"] . . . creating the beautiful world and turning it over to his chosen ones, that He might carry out his promise to them, which he gave in the midst of great glory and rejoicing, that is, if they keep his laws (*legitima*) which they accepted in great faith."⁴⁰ The Mandaean version is interesting because it calls the Creator Ptah-il, combining the archaic Egyptian and Semitic names,⁴¹ and while giving the familiar account of the great council, adds the important detail that three messengers were sent down to supervise the work and to instruct Adam, these three being glorious angels who were later to live upon the earth as ordinary mortals and prophets.⁴¹

So far we have only mentioned the bare fact of an assembly in the presence of God at the foundation of the world, but even so it has not been possible to do so without giving some indication of what the business of the meeting was, namely, the agreement upon the great *plan* which is to be "the measure of all things" for those who live upon the earth. Recently J. Fichtner has pointed out that the preoccupation with "Yahweh's *plan*" is the very core and center of Isaiah's thinking, and

³⁷*Ps. of Thomas*, 203: lff.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 8:13.

³⁹*Creation Apocryphon*, 148: 17, rendered by H. M. Schenke, "Vom Ursprung der Welt," in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1959, Nr. 4, p. 249.

⁴⁰Pastor of Hermas, Vis. I, iii.

⁴¹G. Widengren, in J. Leipoldt, p. 86.

scholars are now noting that the presence of a heavenly council from the beginning has been part and parcel of Jewish thought from the earliest times.⁴² In fact, it was concentration on God's pre-existent plan, Seligmann avers, which freed the Jews from the danger of falling into the "naturalistic fatalism" that engulfed the religions of their neighbors.⁴³ Before the creation, according to 4 Ezra, "even then I God had these things in mind, even to the end thereof";⁴⁴ and at the creation itself "when the Most High made the world and Adam . . . he first of all prepared the judgment and the things which pertain to the judgment."⁴⁴ Where there is a purpose there is a plan; where there is neither there is only chaos and chance, leading to the "naturalistic fatalism" of the pagans and the philosophers. God knew, Enoch tells us, "before the world was created what is forever and what will be from generation to generation."⁴⁵ Or, in the words of Ben Sirach, "When God created his works in the beginning, after making them he assigned them their portions. He set in order his works for all time, and their authority unto their generations; and after this God filled the earth with good things, and then finally created man, and gave him a fixed number of days, and gave him authority over all the earth."⁴⁶

When the plan is discussed, we usually hear of a definite time schedule as part of it, with set ages, dispensations, and ends carefully worked out and determined ahead of time, along with a definite and fixed number of spirits appointed to go to the earth in each of those dispensations. The so-called Manual of Discipline has a positive obsession with times and periods as part of God's plan: "From God is the knowledge of all that is and all that will be; and before they existed he established their whole plan (*makhshevtam*), and when they exist [upon the earth] he prescribes the conditions of their existence according to his glorious plan."⁴⁷ Since God created man "according to his own plan (or purpose)," says a Thanksgiving Hymn, ". . . before thou didst create them, thou didst know all their doings from eternity to eternity."⁴⁸ This writer often reminds

⁴²J. Fichtner, in *zeitschrift f. Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 63 (1951), 16-66.

⁴³C. Seligmann, in *Kernmomente*, pp. 54-56.

⁴⁴IV Ezra 7:70.

⁴⁵I Enoch 39:11.

⁴⁶Ben Sirach 16:26-29; 17:1f.

⁴⁷DSD III, 15.

⁴⁸DST I: 7-13. The whole passage is relevant.

us that man was allowed to share in the plan: "In the wisdom of Thy knowledge thou didst establish their knowledge before they existed . . . and without thy knowing nothing was done."⁴⁸ The Battle Scroll reminds us that both blessing and cursing are but the faithful working out of God's plan, that a definite day "has been appointed for the overthrow and humbling of the rule of Wickedness," and that the saints should never despair in their time of probation "until God gives the sign that he has completed his test."⁴⁹ The Zadokite documents teach that the wicked on this earth were those who were not chosen and called up in the pre-existence; thus Rabin translates a key passage on the subject:

For God has not chosen them 'from of old, (from the days of) eternity,' and before they were established He knew their works and abhorred the generations (when they arose), and He hid His face from the land from their arising (or: and from Israel) until their being consumed. And He knows (or: knew) the years of their existence and the number (or: set times) and exact epochs of all them that come into being in eternity (or: in the worlds) and past events, even unto that which will befall in the epochs of all the years of eternity (or: the world). And in all of them He raised for Himself 'men called by name,' in order 'to leave a remnant' for the land and to fill the face of the universe of their seed, and to make (or: and he made) known to them by the hand of His anointed ones His holy spirit and shew *them* (or: demonstration of) truth. And with exactitude He set out their names; but those whom He hated He caused to stray.⁵⁰

Rabin has taken liberties with the next-to-last sentence which, as many have pointed out, states as clearly as possible that God has made known the truth to chosen spirits, called up in the pre-existence, through the Holy Ghost, bestowed "by the hand of His Messiah."⁵¹

Almost always when the plan is mentioned something is said about its glad reception, "when the Morning Stars sang to-

⁴⁹DST 17:7-9, in Gaster's translation, p. 304. The "main purpose" of the Battle Scroll "is to give courage to the Sons of Light—liable to despair because of their defeats—by telling them that this sequence of defeats and victories has been determined from time immemorial," Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford Univ., 1962), p. 8.

⁵⁰C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, 1954), p. 6, citing CDC, ii: 7ff.

⁵¹Dupone-Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 65, points out that in this passage we are dealing with "three great divine entities." To escape such a conclusion, Rabin, *loc. cit.*, puts "messiah" in the plural and then explains in a footnote that such a plural form may refer to prophets.

gether and all the Sons of God shouted for joy." The great year-rites, common to all ancient societies, are a rehearsal of the creation usually presented in dramatic form; invariably the rites end with a great and joyful acclamation.⁵² Thus the concluding lines of the Shabaka stone, with which we began our story: "So all the gods and all the spirits came together to hail God upon his throne . . . and they rejoiced before him in his temple, the source of all good things."⁵³ And the Mesopotamian Enuma Elish ends with an exhortation to all men to "come to this place and rejoice and celebrate the festival," hailing God for His wonderful deeds and His loving kindness, even as was done "once above."⁵⁴ In the Asmavedha, the oldest recorded rites of India, the king is joyfully hailed at the creation as "the Morning Star," a title that often occurs in this connection.⁵⁵ This is a reminder that the question put to Job, "Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth, when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" was not a rhetorical question at all, for Job is expected to give the right answer—"answer, for thou knowest!" This is confirmed in the testament of Job, where that prophet says, "The Lord spake with me in power, and showed me the past and future."⁵⁶ The same writing recommends study of the hymns of Job's daughter, designating them as inspired poems. The word "poema," meaning literally creation, owes its prominence as Walter Otto has shown, to the circumstance that the first poets were all inspired people who sang one and the same song, namely the Song of the Creation: that was the standard ritual hymn at all the ancient cult centers where the Muses were housed and the royal year-rites rehearsed and performed.⁵⁷

The whole purpose of the Book of Jubilees is to show that the great rites of Israel, centering about the temple and the throne, actually originated with "the celebration in heaven on the Day of Creation."⁵⁸ All who were present on that occasion,

⁵²We have described the situation in *Western Political Quarterly* 4 (1951), pp. 226ff, and *Classical Journal*, XL (1946), 521ff.

⁵³Line 61, in Sethe, pp. 70-72.

⁵⁴Enuma Elish, Tab. VII, 32f, 146-150; VI, 72-81, 108-113.

⁵⁵W. Neisser, in *American Oriental Soc. Jnl.*, XLV (1925), 287.

⁵⁶Text in *Jewish Quart. Rev.* XIII (1900), 112.

⁵⁷W. F. Otto, *Die Musen und der göttliche Ursprung des Singens und Sagens* (Düsseldorf-Köln: E. Diederich, 1955).

⁵⁸See the discussion by R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees* (London, 1902), pp. li-lij.

according to I Enoch, took an oath to abide by the proposed order and then burst forth into a mighty spontaneous shout of joy.⁵⁹ Like Job, the psalmist of the Thanksgiving Hymns is frightfully downcast until he is reminded that "the humble bless Thee, while the Sons of Heaven jubilate in eternal glory. . . ."⁶⁰ Thou hast placed the lot of man eternally with the eternal spirits to shout for joy and to tell thy wonders. . . ."⁶¹ The thing to notice here is that man shares fully in these heavenly jublations; the poet is simply intoxicated with the assurance that man, a mere speck of "west dust" is allowed not only to know about the secret councils of the beginning, but actually to share in them, not only as a participant but as one of the directors! The words marvellous, knowledge, treasures, secrets, counsel, intelligence, understanding, etc., occur in constant and varied association in the scrolls. "Mere man is to be raised up to join the heavenly hosts . . . and be among Those Who Know in the great choir of jubilation."⁶¹ "Who is man that God gives him intelligence to share in such marvels and lets him know his true secrets?"⁶² "Thou hast given to thy children a rich portion of the knowledge of thy Truth, and to the degree of a man's knowledge will he be glorified."⁶³

This equating of knowledge with glory may lie at the root of the unique Jewish reverence for things of the mind: "Endowed with intelligence, O Lord, I have known thee. . . . I have learned sure and certain things regarding thy marvellous secrets, thanks to Thy Holy Spirit. . . ."⁶⁴ And in the wisdom of thy knowledge didst thou establish their knowledge before they existed."⁶⁵ The same thoughts preoccupy the author of the Manual of Discipline, who also asks, "Who is man . . . that he should take his place before thy face. . . . How can the clay and the potter sit together; or who understands thy wonderful plan of God?"⁶⁶ And he supplies the answer: "For eternal glory he has chosen me, and for that he teaches me. . . ."⁶⁷ the Way of Light itself is "the spirit of the understanding of all the Plan. . . . Without thee nothing came into existence—and

⁵⁹I Enoch 61:6-10; 69:25-27.

⁶⁰DST XI, 25, 61.

⁶¹DST III, 22-24.

⁶²DST X, 4f.

⁶³DST X, 28.

⁶⁴DST XII, 11-12.

⁶⁵DST I, 19.

⁶⁶DSD XI, 20-22.

⁶⁷DSD X, 12.

he instructed me in all knowledge." Even the Battle Scroll recurs to the theme: "Thou hast engraven them," speaking of the elect of Israel, "on the Tablets of Life for kingship . . . in all the promised ages of the eternities."⁶⁸ Hence if it should happen that the hosts of Israel are defeated in battle, one seeks the explanation where Job found it, in the economy of heaven; the ultimate victory of the earthly hosts is assured by their close cooperation with the heavenly hosts, of which they are but a local extension: ". . . the rule of Michael will be exalted among the angels, and the dominion of Israel among all flesh. Righteousness shall flourish in heaven while all those who embrace God's truth (on earth), shall have joy in the knowledge of eternal things. So, Sons of the Covenant of God, be of good courage in the trial which God visits upon you. . . ."⁶⁹ This was the answer that Job received.

The oft-recurring statement that nothing exists whatever except in the will and plan of God, has led scholars to see a connection not only of the Dead Sea Scrolls but of the Shabako stone itself with the Gospel of John.⁷⁰ The suggestion of Richard L. Anderson, that the "logos" in John may sometimes be translated "council" deserves closer consideration: "In the beginning was the logos (council, discussion) and the logos was in the presence of God, and God *was* the logos. This was in the beginning in his presence. Everything was done (determined) by it, and without it not a single thing was created. . . ." Recently C. N. Dahl has shown that the early Christian conceived of salvation "as a counterpart to the beginnings of the world As a divine act of creation, conforming to the creation of the world, eschatology and creation can be linked up with one another even in this way."⁷¹ Eschatology, that is, cannot be understood without protology (Dahl uses the word), or an understanding of what took place in the beginning before the foundation of the world. The words of the early Christian Barnabas might have been taken right out of the Dead Sea Scrolls: "Praise the Lord who put wisdom and intelligence (*nous*) in us for the understanding of his secrets. Who understands the Plan (*parabolen*: project) of the Lord save the wise

⁶⁸DSW XII, 3. See above, Note 49.

⁶⁹Y. Yadin, pp. 8, 12, 15, 237-242.

⁷⁰See above, Note 6.

⁷¹In N. Davies and D. Daube, *Eschatological Background of the New Testament* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1956), p. 424.

one who knows and loves his Lord?"⁷² We have seen in the Pastor of Hermas that God's plan was "promised in the midst of great glory and rejoicing."⁷³ The theme is as conspicuous in the earliest Christian writings as in the Jewish, but after the fourth century the doctors of both religions rejected it completely.⁷⁴

The early Christian apocrypha are especially concerned with the *opposition* to the plan, which was also initiated at the foundation of the world. The combat between the powers of light and darkness enjoys a very conspicuous place in ritual, being one of the essential episodes of the world-wide creation drama of ancient times.⁷⁵ In the scroll entitled "The War between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness" we have ample illustration of the ritual and doctrinal concern of the Jews for this motif, and the quotations just cited from that work show that the embattled hosts on earth were but a local version of the war in heaven.⁷⁶ Satan, who opposed the plan, led a rebellion and was cast out of heaven with his followers, to become an unwilling agent in the carrying out of the plan upon the earth. The name Mephistopheles ". . . der stets das Böse will, und stets das Gute schafft," denotes the ultimate frustration of the Evil One, who with the worst intent in the world, can only contribute to the exaltation of man by providing the opposition necessary for testing him in the time of probation upon the earth.⁷⁷ In the early Christian apocrypha Satan's rebellion in heaven begins not with a refusal to worship God, but with his refusal to bow down to *Adam*. "I have no need to worship Adam," he says in one early writing, ". . . I will not worship an inferior and younger being. I am his senior in the Creation; before he was made I was already made. It is rather his duty to worship me! When the angels who were under me heard this, they refused to worship him also . . .", and so the revolt was on.⁷⁸ "Now the Prince," says the recently discovered Bodmer Papyrus X, "not being righteous wanted to be God," he had his own counter plan to propose, and the

⁷²Ep. Barnab., c. 6.

⁷³Above, Note 40.

⁷⁴There is a note on this in Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, I, 1222f (Note 20).

⁷⁵S. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, p. 8.

⁷⁶Discussed by Yadin, pp. 229-242.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 232: ". . . the Lord placed Belial to carry out his specific task," this doctrine of the DSS being "in complete agreement with the statements about Belial (or Beliar) in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," *ibid.*, p. 233.

⁷⁸*Lives of Adam and Eve*, 14:2f; 15.

apostates of the Church "actually accept the plan of the serpent whenever they reject God's plan."⁷⁹ The two plans represent the two ways that confront us in life, the devil himself having a definite mission on earth. "If I am a fisherman of men," says the Lord in the Gospel of the XII Apostles (a writing which Origen says is older than the Gospel of Luke),⁸⁰ "the Devil is also a fisherman, who catches many in his nets. . . . If I have come to take for my kingdom those who are mine, why should not he do the same?"⁸¹ "O Adam," cries the Evil One upon meeting him out in the dreary world after the fall, "I was cast forth from my glory because of thee, and behold I have caused thee to be expelled from paradise . . . because thou didst cause me to become a stranger to my home in heaven. Know thou that I shall never cease to contend against thee and all those who shall come after thee . . . until I have taken them all down into Amente with me!"⁸²

The contrast and choice between the Way of Light and the Way of Darkness is made possible by Satan's presence upon the earth. "Horus has two heads," says the famous seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead, "the one is truth, the other is sin; he gives truth to whoever brings truth to him, and sin he gives to whoever sins."⁸³ The concept of this world as a double sphere of light and darkness, good and evil, war and peace, meets us in the earliest meaningful human documents, the prehistoric palette, seals, "standards," reliefs on temples, and designs on clay vessels. On these we find in dramatic opposition to the happy and orderly banquet scenes, rural charm and religious processions opposing scenes of conflict, rapine, and military aggression.⁸⁴ The contrast is shown on the shield of Achilles in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*,⁸⁵ and Hesiod in the eighth century B.C. reminds his wayward brother that two ways are always open to man: "O Perses, the better road of the two is that of Righteousness," the hard and narrow one.⁸⁶ Evil upon the earth is not a dreadful mistake, as St. Augustine

⁷⁹*Papyrus Bodmer X*, 54:12.

⁸⁰See E. Revillout's discussion in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 2:126-9.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 2:154.

⁸²Timothy of Alexandria, *Discourse on the Abbaton*, fol. 21a, in E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms* (Brit. Mus., 1914), pp. 240f.

⁸³H. Grapow, *Das 17. Kapitel des . . . Totenbuches* (Berlin, 1912), p. 43.

⁸⁴A. Moortgat, *Tammuz* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1949), treats the theme at length.

⁸⁵*Iliad* 18: 490ff.

⁸⁶Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ll 214ff, cf. llff.

thought,⁸⁷ for, as the Zohar says, "if God had not given men a double inclination to both good and bad, he would have been incapable either of virtue or of vice; but as it is he is endowed with a capacity for both."⁸⁸ "All things have their opposites," says the old and mysterious Sefer Yeshira, "good and bad. It is the Good which is the foil and proof of the Bad, and vice versa."⁸⁹ Hence in this world "we may live either by the Law of the Lord or the Law of Belial," according to the testament of Naphthali⁹⁰ and though the testament of Abraham announces the alarming news that "for seven thousand who walk the road of perdition, there is hardly one soul that takes the path of righteousness . . . to find salvation!"⁹¹ the presence of the two ways is a blessing, giving man a freedom of choice and opportunity for exaltation that makes him "envied of the angels." "Happy is the man," says Ben Sirach, "who could have fallen away and did not fall away; who could have inflicted injury but did not do so. . . . Poured out before thee are fire and water, stretch forth thy hand and take thy choice. . . . Life and death are before man, and that which he desireth shall be given him."⁹² This state of things, according to Fourth Ezra, was established "when the Most High made the world and Adam," and is "the condition of the contest which every man who is born upon the earth must wage."⁹³ The Manual of Discipline takes up the theme with zeal: "To these two ways all the children of men are born, and to these two divisions they are heirs; every one of them each in his generation, and in his time every man shares more or less in both of them."⁹⁴ The whole human race, "all kinds of their spirits and their natures" are put to the same test, each in his own dispensation "until the final appointed end-time." The real issue is never lost from sight, for Satan himself remains actively engaged: "All man's afflictions and tribulations are in the dominion of Mastema (the Devil as a deceiver of men), and everything that makes the

⁸⁷" . . . misera necessitas non posse non peccandi," this being the exact opposite of the early Christian teaching that men's freedom to choose their own way "makes them envied by the angels," Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, IV, 37, 1.

⁸⁸Zohar I, 23.

⁸⁹Sefer Yeshira VI, 2f.

⁹⁰Test. Naphthali, c. 2.

⁹¹Testament of Abraham, cited by K. Kohler, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, VII (1895), 586.

⁹²Ben Sirach 15:14-17; 31:8-10.

⁹³IV Ezra 7:127.

⁹⁴DSD IV, 15.

Children of Light to stumble is due to the operations of the angels of the Devil," while on the other hand "the God of Israel and his true angels will help every Son of Light, for He created both the spirits of the Light and of Darkness, and according to them he will determine all the deeds of their life . . . for a judgment that will last for all the eternities."⁹⁵ The main idea of "the plan which God laid down . . . in the presence of the First Angels for an eternal universal law," according to the Clementine Recognitions, is that "there shall be two kingdoms placed upon the earth to stay there until judgment day . . . and when the world was prepared for man it was so devised that . . . he would be free to exercise his own will, to turn to good things if he wanted them, or if not to turn to bad things."⁹⁶ In the Dead Sea Scrolls and the earliest Christian writings this is expressly designated as "the ancient Law of Liberty."⁹⁷

The Didache, one of the oldest Christian writings known, (discovered in 1873) begins with the words, "There are two roads, one of life and the other of death, and there is a great difference between the two," which difference it then proceeds to describe.⁹⁸ All the other Apostolic Fathers so-called are concerned with this doctrine, but one of the most striking expositions is in the newly found Gospel of Philip, a strongly *anti-Gnostic* work: "Light and Darkness, life and death, right and left, are brothers to one another. It is not possible to separate them from one another," in this world, that is, though in the next world where only the good is eternal this will not be so.⁹⁹ This is the doctrine of "the Wintertime of the Just," i.e., that while we are in this world men cannot really distinguish the righteous from the unrighteous, since in the wintertime all trees are bare and look equally dead, "but when the summertime of the Just shall come, then the righteous shall bear their leaves and fruit while the dead limbs of evil trees shall be cast into the fire."¹⁰⁰ It is another aspect of the plan. "We believe

⁹⁵DSW III, 23 to IV, 1.

⁹⁶*Clementine Recognitions* I, 24. See our discussion in *The World and the Prophets* (SLC: Deseret, 1954), pp. 166-173.

⁹⁷The "Law of Liberty (khoq kherut) of the DSS (e.g. DSD X, 6, 8, 11), can only be the Christian "ancient Law of Liberty" discussed in the references in the preceding note.

⁹⁸Didache I, 1. The Epistle of Barnabas after a brief introduction begins almost the same way.

⁹⁹*Gospel of Philip* 101:14ff.

¹⁰⁰The classic statement of the doctrine, which is very often met with in slightly altered form through the Apocrypha, is in the Pastor of Hermas, *Simil.* iii.

that God organized all things in the beginning out of unformed matter," says Justin Martyr to the Jew Trypho, ". . . for the sake of the human race, that they, if they prove themselves by their works to be worthy of His plan, having been judged worthy to return to his presence (so we believe), shall reign with him, having been made immortal and incorruptible. At the creation they themselves made the choice . . . and so were deemed worthy to live with him in immortality."¹⁰¹

There are many other areas of doctrine and important rites and ordinances set forth in the newly found writings and in the longer known texts which must now be reread and reconsidered in the light of recent discoveries. In time these are bound to exert some pressure to push out the walls of conventional Christian doctrine. But before the student gets involved in them it would be well to consider one issue which forces itself on the attention of every serious student of early Christianity and Judaism. We mean the problem of literalism. Just how literal are all these things supposed to be? What we have been talking about implies a different view of reality from that of conventional Christianity; it introduces as it were a third dimension into the purely two-dimensional pictures given us by scholastic philosophy and naturalism. The great difference between the Primitive Church and conventional Christianity is that the two take different things literally.¹⁰² The history of Christian dogma has been one long process of accommodation and de-eschatologizing by which one body of belief has been completely displaced by another, eschatological reality being supplanted by sacramental piety. The teachings with which we have been dealing in this paper definitely infer a level of reality above that of the allegory and symbolism of the schools of rhetoric which became the official teachers of Christianity. The early Christian literalism was an *horrendum* to the schoolmen, but the more we learn about the early Church the clearer it becomes that that very literalism is the distinctive stamp not only of the Christian religion but of the Jewish as well.¹⁰³ Today scholars are being forced into a compromise. A recent study of Christ's forty-day ministry concludes: "What happened after our Lord's resurrection was that He moved constantly back and forth between

¹⁰¹Justin, *Apology*, c. 10.

¹⁰²This is seen in the fourth-century description of a typical old-fashioned Christian, in Sozomen, *Church History* I, 10f.

¹⁰³H. Nibley, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, L (1959), 98-100.

these two 'spaces' or worlds—the seen and the unseen. There *is* another world than this. It is not at some remote point in outer space. It exists side by side with this; . . . it is the world of the spirit, and this is the world of matter."¹⁰⁴ Here a rather surprising concession to literalism is made only to be promptly withdrawn as the "other world" turns out to be only the immaterial "spirit" world after all, in spite of all the pains to which the Lord went as he "moved continually back and forth" between the two worlds to make perfectly clear that he was *not* a spirit.

The earliest Christian apologist, Aristides, rejects spiritual or allegorical interpretations outright when his colleagues at Athens want to introduce them into their religious discussions. If religious stories are "mythical," he insists, "they are nothing but just so many words . . . but if they the allegorical they are simply myths and nothing else."¹⁰⁵ Early Christians were not interested in myths or allegories. The youthful Clement leaves the schools of the philosophers in distress because they cannot answer what he considers the important questions of life, "When was the world created? What was before that? Will a man really continue to live after death?"¹⁰⁶ Only Peter could answer such questions, and Peter opens his discourse by saying, "To begin with, we say unequivocally that there is nothing bad about material substance."¹⁰⁷ This was the absolute antithesis of the teachings of the schools; it was the Gnostic intellectuals who first insisted on dematerializing Christian doctrine, followed by the Neoplatonists. Between those two the attitude of Christian theology to literalism was given its fixed and permanent form. The Bodmer Papyrus "X" shows how early they attacked with their basic weapons: ". . . they deny the resurrection, they are ashamed of the physical birth and death of the Lord."¹⁰⁸ The charge is repeated by all the apostolic fathers and in all the oldest Christian apocrypha. "Christianity," wrote Schopenhauer, "has this peculiar disadvantage, that, unlike other religions, it is not a pure system of doctrine: its chief and

¹⁰⁴B. Holt, in *Encounter*, XXIV (1963), 89.

¹⁰⁵Aristides, *Apology* 13:7. The same thing in Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, c. 3.

¹⁰⁶*Clem. Recog.*, I, 1, 1-2.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, IV, 23.

¹⁰⁸*Papyrus Bodmer X*, 51:10.

essential feature is that it is a history, a series of events, a collection of facts."¹⁰⁹

If the eschatological drama deals with real rather than allegorical events, part of those real events took place long ago and far away, but part of them are actually being acted out here upon the earth. If the saints were taught to think of themselves as outcasts in a hostile world, it just so happened that they *were* outcasts in a hostile world; one had only to look around to see that the pitfalls and dangers were real and physical as well as "spiritual." The faithful actually have found themselves more often than not holing up in the desert places of the world—E. Kaesemann's "Wandernde Gottesvolk," and when they talked of being gathered out of the world and taking leave of it, they were thinking in the most factual and spatial terms. Even those learned doctors of the Church who utterly deplored the old-fashioned literalistic ways of thinking constantly slip back to those ways themselves, especially in times of crisis; and the spiritual miracles, spiritual parousia, spiritual pilgrimage, spiritual Temple, and spiritual Jerusalem, etc., of the schoolmen never proved very satisfying to the Christian mind which displays a constant tendency to revert to the tangible article whenever possible—even the great doctors prefer the dinner to the menu, when they can get it!¹¹⁰ Today a return to literalism is part of the expanding Gospel.

But there is ambiguity here. Take for example the business of light and darkness. In the thousands of passages contrasting the two they are most of the time quite plainly figurative. Yet the shining garments of heavenly beings, as of Jesus at the Transfiguration, are real; and so is the darkness: "As every man's nature in this life is dark," says Enoch, "so are also his conception, birth, and departure from life."¹¹¹ When in the *Pastor of Hermas* the Church is described as a tower built above the water, we are told that the tower is a symbol, but that the water is very real: no one can enter the typological tower without passing through real water.¹¹² From this we see that rites and ordinances present an ambiguous situation, with some

¹⁰⁹A. Schopenhauer, *Essay on The Christian System*.

¹¹⁰Nibley, *op. cit.*, Note 103, pp. 230ff.

¹¹¹*Secrets of Enoch* 68:4.

¹¹²*Pastor of Hermas*, *Vis.* III, iii-v. In the same way the hero stands "sentry duty" not only symbolically but literally, *Simil.* V, i.

things to be taken literally and done literally and others figuratively. But in our ancient texts the reader is rarely left in doubt as to which is which; it is only the doctors of the Church, all men of the schools, who insist on minimizing the literal at the expense of the allegorical. Once one comes to understand, Origen assures us, that the historical parts of the Bible are to be understood symbolically, the historical interpretation of the whole becomes not only expendable but actually misleading, and should be abandoned altogether!¹¹³

The mixing of types and images with reality is of the very essence of our life upon the earth, where we see through a glass but darkly. In the scriptures and the apocrypha we are told of things that are real and yet too wonderful for us even to imagine here, let alone describe; we simply can't conceive them: "Eye hath not seen not ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared. . . ." (I Cor. 2:9). Consequently, if these things are to be mentioned at all, it must be in terms of types and images which are not real. Yet the types and images are not for that reason to be despised. A valuable commentary on this theme is supplied in the newly discovered Gospel of Philip: "Truth did not come into the world naked, but she came clothed in types and images. One cannot receive the truth in any other way." (115:10-12) The solid reality behind the images can only be known by apocatastasis, or restoration to a former state. (115:15-18) If people do not receive the ordinances here, we are told, they will not enjoy the real thing hereafter (121:1-8). Marriage, for example, has a different form in the next world to what it has here (124:6-9); but only by entering it *here* will one be allowed to enter it there: "If anyone does not receive it while he is in this world, he will not receive it in the other place" (134:6-7). So it is with all the ordinances: he who has not mastered "the places" here "will not be able to be master of that place . . ." (124:33-36). "The mysteries of the truth are revealed as types and images" here, while "the veil conceals how God really governs the physical creation" (132:20-25). The rending of the veil is not the abolition but the revelation of what is behind it, "in order that we might enter into the truth of it. . . . We enter in our weakness through despised symbols" (133:1-

¹¹³J. Danielou, *Origen* (N.Y., Sheed and Ward, 1955), pp. 155-7, cf. 119, 141-4, 152.

15),¹¹⁴ but enter we must, for who does not "receive the light" through these ordinances "will not receive it in the other place," while he who does receive it "cannot be held back, and will be beyond the reach of all his enemies even in this world. And when the time comes for him to go out of this world he has already received the truth in the images" (134:6-13).

If one makes a sketch of a mountain, what is it? A few lines on a piece of paper. But there is a solid reality behind this poor composition; even if the tattered scrap is picked up later in a street in Tokyo or a gutter in Madrid, it still attests to the artist's experience of the mountain as a reality. If the sketch should be copied by others who have never seen the original mountain, it still bears witness to its reality. So it is with the apocryphal writings: most of them are pretty poor stuff and all of them are copies of copies. But when we compare them we cannot escape the impression that they have a real model behind them, more faithfully represented in some than in others. All we ever get on this earth, Paul reminds us, is a distorted reflection, but it is a reflection of things that really are. Since we are dealing with derivative evidence only, we are not only justified but required to listen to all the witnesses, no matter how shoddy some of them may be. For years the evidence of the Egyptians, Greeks, Babylonians, etc., has been brought into court as powerful defutation of the Bible's claims to originality and inspiration. Their voices do indeed refute the claims of conventional Christianity to the absolute originality and exclusive inspiration of the Bible, but the Bible itself never made such claims.¹¹⁵ What the outside texts prove is the antiquity and universality of the Gospel and its central position in the whole history of civilization. It is not a local or tribal tradition on the one hand, nor is it the spontaneous expression of evolving human intelligence on the other, but is the common heritage of all ancient civilizations, battered, corrupted, and distorted in most cases, to be sure, but always recognizable in its main features and much too ingenious and elaborate to be the product of independent discovery.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴The translation is that of R. M. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip* (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 43ff.

¹¹⁵We have discussed this in the *Improvement Era*, LXVII (Oct. 1964ff), 816ff.

¹¹⁶Lord Raglan, *The Origins of Religion* (London: Thinker's Library, 1949) Chaps. vii and viii, develops this theme.

But what are we to make of pagans possessing the Gospel, and that from the most ancient times? We did not say they had it, but only that their records testify to it. If we examine those records, we soon discover that all their authors possess are mere fragments which they do not pretend to understand. For them all those elements of the Gospel which fit so perfectly into the account of things given in the story of the redemption are but distant traditions, shattered remnants of a forgotten structure, completely mystifying odds and ends that once meant something but whose meaning can now only be guessed at. This attitude to the heritage of the past may fairly be called the basic mood of Egyptian religion. In the seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead, to which we have already referred, the question is regularly asked, "What does this mean?" and fourteen times when an answer is supplied, it is with the reservation that "others say" it means something else. From the earliest times "the impression made on the modern mind" by the Egyptians, according to I. E.S. Edwards, "is that of a people searching in the dark for a key to truth . . . retaining all lest perchance the appropriate one should be lost."¹¹⁷ They know there is a key, that is, but they also know that they do not have it. It would be easy to show that the keynote of the literature and religion of all ancient people who have left us their records, with the exception of Israel, is one of pessimism and despair. We would only have to quote the authors of the standard literary histories of the various nations to make that clear.¹¹⁸ Israel escaped both that pessimism and fatalism by being constantly reminded by the prophets of the great pre-existent plan that lies behind everything that happens. This we believe to be the most significant element in the expanding Gospel.

¹¹⁷I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (Penguin Books, 1952), pp. 27f.

¹¹⁸An excellent illustration is W. G. Lambert's "Introductory Essay" in his *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford Univ., 1960).

Irish Heaths and German Cliffs: a Study of the Foreign Sources of Wuthering Heights

by RUTH M. MACKAY*

Most of the literary explorers who have "dreamed the dream and experienced the despair"¹ of trying to find the sources of *Wuthering Heights* can be placed into three categories: those, like Somerset Maugham, who believe Emily Bronte came under the influence of the German Romantic writers²; those, like Laura L. Hinckley, who assert Emily's Irish ancestry provided the plot of her novel³; and those, like Lord David Cecil, who emphasize that the novel is indisputably English in its conception.⁴ But no critic, as far as I have been able to ascertain, has ever considered that *Wuthering Heights* is a combination of all three influences. Yet once it is theorized that Emily Bronte brought into conflict "two countries, two civilizations, two histories"⁵—the German and the Irish—by fusing the shorter Irish tale into the longer German story, and that she added incidents from her ancestral history and English experience, then the mystery of her sources is solved, for the similarities between *Wuthering Heights* and these sources can be perceived and the dissimilarities explained.

The many coincidences which led to my finding the two tales which, I believe, Emily combined to produce *Wuthering Heights* are not important here. Suffice it to say that she read "Das Majorat" as part of a reading assignment while studying

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¹May Sinclair, *The Three Brontes* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1912), p. 227.

²W. Somerset Maugham, *The Art of Fiction* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955), p. 239.

³Laura L. Hinckley, *The Brontes: Charlotte and Emily* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1945), p. 319.

⁴David Cecil, *Early Victorian Novelists* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1935), p. 156.

⁵V. S. Pritchett, "Implacable, Belligerent People of Emily Bronte's Novel, *Wuthering Heights*," *New Statesman and Nation*. XXXI (June 22, 1946), p. 453.

German at M. Heger's school in Brussels.⁶ The Irish story, "The Bridegroom of Barna," appeared in the November, 1840, issue of *Blackwood's*, the magazine from whose pages "came, we may be sure, many an inspiration of plot or phrase"⁷ in the writings of the Brontes.

This Irish tale portrays a love of passionate intensity and has a minor revenge plot. The German tale depicts a revenge of implacable hatred, and it has a minor love plot. A combination of the two tales in a novel would give it strong plots of love and revenge, and one certainly cannot consider *Wuthering Heights* merely "a revenge tragedy"; "to consider it merely an account of Heathcliff's and Cathy's love is equally fantastic."⁸ But, realistic as this interpretation is, it does not take into account the minor plots. Mark Schorer has said that in the novel "one world explodes within another—the world of primary passions . . . within the world of conscious propriety."⁹ I feel that the world of primary passions is the world of the Irish tale, and the world of conscious propriety is the world of the German tale. Moreover, Mr. Schorer has failed to sense that, within each of these two worlds, recurring blasts are set off by the minor plots, for the fiery revenge of Irish origin detonates continuously against the cold steel of implacable German revenge, and the controlled love of the German tale dies in a shower of sparks as it is consumed, in *Wuthering Heights*; by the blazing conflagration of Irish passion. Once we are aware of the repercussions of each world exploding within itself, and then of one world exploding within the other, we are able to understand how the novel generates its atomic-like power. But Emily does not allow these worlds to blow themselves to pieces; she controls this fusion of elemental forces by using Heathcliff, the one character in whom she has embodied all the explosive elements of both tales, as the axis on which both worlds revolve. He is the German younger son, who swears vengeance on his brother; he is also the Irish Hugh, the passionate lover who disinters the body of the girl he loves, to hold her in his arms

⁶Virginia Moore, *The Life and Eager Death of Emily Bronte* (London: Rich and Cowan, Ltd., 1936), p. 73.

⁷Irene Cooper Willis, *The Brontes* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933), p. 18.

⁸Melvin R. Watson, "Tempest in the Soul: The Theme and Structure of *Wuthering Heights*," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, IV (September, 1949), p. 88.

⁹Mark Schorer, "Introduction," *Wuthering Heights* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. xvii.

again. Thus, as Dorothy Van Ghent says: "Two kinds of reality intersect in him."¹⁰

The old German baron, Roderick, binds his descendants to the ancestral castle by entailing the estate. To do this he has to pledge the services of his heirs to his sovereign.¹¹ In *Wuthering Heights*, it is the old Hareton Earnshaw who establishes the estate, apparently in the year 1500, for that is the date the visiting Lockwood notices above the door. The incidents in the German tale take place between the years 1760 and 179-, a period of thirty years or more; the incidents in *Wuthering Heights* take place, according to C. P. Sanger, between the years 1771 and 1803, a period of thirty-two years.¹² Now, if Emily was actually following the German story, why did she have to go back to the year 1500? Simply because, in my opinion, she had to establish that the estate was in tail, *i.e.* that the male inherits all in order of birth. Mrs. Gaskell has revealed that Emily would have had some knowledge of what entail meant because in the district around Haworth Parsonage, "the land has often been held by one family since the days of the Tudors; the owners are, in fact, the remains of the old Yeomanry."¹³ Henry VII, the English king who founded the Tudor dynasty and who originated the Yeoman of the Guard to serve as his personal bodyguard, reigned from 1485 to 1509. Is Emily's use of the date of 1500 therefore significant? Did she have the old Hareton Earnshaw establish the estate of *Wuthering Heights* to imply that the estate was entailed, just as the German estate was entailed, and that both estates were founded on service to the respective kings. I think so, and a legal question which Emily raises in her novel supports my view.

In the German story, under the law of entail, the younger brother would inherit should the older brother die without issue. But in *Wuthering Heights*, Heathcliff, being a nameless waif, could not claim the property. Emily, therefore, had to devise a

¹⁰Dorothy Van Ghent, *The English Novel: Form and Function* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1953), p. 165.

¹¹E. T. A. Hoffman, "Das Majorat," translated as "The Entail" in *Weird Tales* by Jno. Thos. Bealby (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), p. 218. Subsequent references to this tale will be introduced in the body of the essay and followed by page numbers in parentheses.

¹²C. P. Sanger, "The Structure of *Wuthering Heights*," a paper read to the Heretics, Cambridge, England. Quoted in *A Wuthering Heights Handbook*, eds., Richard Lettis and William E. Morris (New York: The Odyssey Press, Inc., 1961), p. 5.

¹³E. C. Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Bronte* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, M.DCCC.LVII), I, 17.

way for him to take possession so that she could follow the German plot. It was easy enough, with Branwell for an example, to make Hindley a gambler who mortgages his inheritance to Heathcliff, and a drunkard who does not really know what he is doing. But Emily wanted the estate to come down to Hindley's son, just as the estate comes down to Wolfgang's son in "Das Majorat," and to do this, she had to ensure that the mortgage on *Wuthering Heights* was illegal. Otherwise, on Heathcliff's death, because he left no will and no heirs, the property would have "escheated to the Crown in *bona vacantia*."¹⁴ But it doesn't. The estate is inherited by the young Hareton, just as though the estate were entailed; Emily had achieved her purpose with one simple, brilliant stroke. She simply made the lawyer who effected the mortgage—crooked. There seems to be no other valid reason for Mr. Green of Gimmerton being crooked, for the only other legal business he is called upon to transact is to make some alterations in Edgar Linton's will, but at that time, he had already sold himself to Heathcliff,¹⁵ presumably in the matter of the mortgage.

However, in taking the story back in time in order to follow the German story, Emily ran into a problem. She needed but three generations of the family to coincide with those of the German family: the old Baron Roderick; his son, Wolfgang; and his grandson, Roderick. But Emily has the old Hareton Earnshaw; his descendant, Mr. Earnshaw; Mr. Earnshaw's son, Hindley; and the young Hareton, Hindley's son. Emily, however, deliberately played down Mr. Earnshaw; he does not have a given name, and he appears in the story "only long enough to introduce Heathcliff to the Heights and exits too early to be more than a puppet."¹⁶ Disregarding Emily's puppet, then, we have the old Baron Roderick and the old Hareton Earnshaw, both founders of their respective estates; Wolfgang and Hindley, heirs to the properties; and Roderick and Hareton, both of whom are named after the founders of the estates, and with both of whom the stories end.

Wolfgang inherits the German castle of R--sitten on the death of the baron, and Hubert, the younger son, feeling him-

¹⁴Sanger, p. 18.

¹⁵Emily Bronte, *Wuthering Heights* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 300. Subsequent references to this novel will be introduced in the body of the essay and followed by page numbers in parentheses.

¹⁶Watson, p. 92.

self dispossessed, vows vengeance on his brother. Hindley inherits Wuthering Heights on the death of Mr. Earnshaw, and Heathcliff, who has been given the name of, and been treated as, a younger son, feeling himself dispossessed, vows vengeance on his foster brother. During his father's lifetime and while away from the castle, Wolfgang has secretly married. During his father's lifetime and while away from the Heights, Hindley has secretly married. Wolfgang has a son, named Roderick after the founder of the estate; Hindley has a son, named Hareton after the founder of the estate. Both wives have neither name nor money to recommend them, and both die after having brought the third generation of the families into the world. Wolfgang is murdered and Hubert, although he knows the young Roderick is the rightful heir, takes over the castle. Hindley is driven to his death and Heathcliff, although he knows the young Hareton is the rightful heir, takes possession of the Heights. Time elapses and both the young Roderick and the young Hareton grow up. Just before his death, Hubert repents and the castle reverts to the rightful heir, Roderick. He marries the girl who has inherited Courland, a pleasant estate near the castle. Heathcliff, just before he dies, loses his desire for revenge, and the property reverts to Hareton, who marries the girl who has inherited Thrushcross Grange, a pleasant estate near the Heights. It seems quite apparent that, consciously or not, Emily followed the German plot of revenge quite closely.

And she followed the Irish love plot just as closely. The Irish Hugh is passionately in love with Ellen, whose mother and brother detest him. Heathcliff is passionately in love with Cathy, whose mother and brother detest him. While out on the moors with Hugh, Ellen catches a chill from which she never fully recovers. Cathy, while out on the moors searching for Heathcliff, catches a chill from which she never fully recovers. Both girls die at nineteen: Ellen, of consumption¹⁷; Cathy, of consumption and a mental disorder.¹⁸ Apparently, she inherited a mental disorder from Seraphina, the girl in the German tale, for a facet of Emily's genius was that "she could fuse the char-

¹⁷"The Bridegroom of Barna," *Tales from Blackwood* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, n.d.), p. 73. Subsequent references to this story will be introduced in the body of the essay and followed by page numbers in parentheses.

¹⁸Sanger, p. 21.

acteristics of various persons."¹⁹ After Ellen's burial, Hugh disinters her body and sits at the graveside "enclosing in his arms the form that had once comprised all earth's love and beauty for him. . . . The wan face was turned up to his as if it could still thrill to the mad kisses in which he steeped it, while he had twined one of the white arms around his neck." (77) After Cathy's burial, Heathcliff goes to Cathy's grave "determined to hold her in his arms again." (305) Hugh is shot by the police at the graveside and is buried with Ellen. Heathcliff, however, is forced to live on, tormented by his love, for many years, for, in fusing the two tales, Emily could not let Heathcliff die at this point in her novel; he had to fulfill his role of the German avenger and wait for the young Hareton to grow up. It is significant, however, that to bring *Wuthering Heights* back into line with the Irish story, after Heathcliff has achieved his revenge, Emily has him *re-enact* the scene at the grave before he dies. The hiatus in the novel is clearly discernible and V. S. Pritchett states that after the death of Cathy, the "high power [of the novel] is gone; the storm has spent its force," and that only when Heathcliff begins to "relive the ineluctable love" does the power return.²⁰

Having conjured up Heathcliff by blending, in a witch's brew, the elemental drives of both Hubert and Hugh, Emily faced the problem of getting him into the story. She could not make him Hindley's younger brother, as Hubert was Wolfgang's, because she wanted him to fall in love with Hindley's sister, Cathy. And she could not have him a land-tenant like the Irish Hugh, because she wanted him to be dispossessed of property by Hindley, as Hubert was dispossessed by Wolfgang. So once more she resorted to combination. In the Irish story, there is a gypsy-like foundling, named Bush. Hugh, the main character, had known no family since his boyhood, and Emily's Irish grandfather, Hugh, "had been a runaway lad who came under the brutal power of an adopted uncle."²¹ Heathcliff is a gypsy-like lad (Bush) who is found running around the streets and is adopted by Mr. Earnshaw (Grandfather Hugh), who could find no relatives of the boy (Hugh). With Heathcliff's literary birth established, Emily introduces him into the story

¹⁹William Stanley Braithwaite, *The Bewitched Parsonage: The Story of the Brontes* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1950), p. 170.

²⁰Pritchett, p. 453.

²¹Hinkley, p. 5.

with a minimum of explanation—Mr. Earnshaw brings him home.

In "Das Majorat" and in *Wuthering Heights*, as well as in the Irish tale, there are two narrators: the first, a stranger; the second, a family retainer. The story of the German family is recounted to the stranger by the family retainer, who is ill in bed. The story of the family of *Wuthering Heights* is recounted by the family retainer to the stranger, who is ill in bed. Theodore, the German stranger, has a role in the love plot of the German story, but Emily drops her stranger, Lockwood, as a lover in favor of Heathcliff. She was not, however, able to divest Lockwood of all of Theodore's romantic inclinations, for more than one critic has seen "a hint that he was attracted to the younger Catherine,"²² and that "although something was to have been made out of Catherine's beauty and Lockwood's complacent susceptibility, nothing happens, the intention is scrapped."²³ Precisely, for it is exactly at this point that Lockwood is dropped so that Heathcliff can carry out the role of the passionate Irish lover, Hugh. As Allan R. Brick says: "The reader casts him [Lockwood] aside, anxious that the new focus be directly upon Heathcliff."²⁴ Both Theodore and Lockwood return, after an absence, to their respective tales to finish the stories. A sudden impulse seizes Theodore to revisit the area of R-sitten; he finds the owner of the estate is dead. (319) A sudden impulse seizes Lockwood to revisit the area of the Heights, and he learns the final events of the family history. Heathcliff has died in his absence. (323)

The second German narrator is, appropriately enough, a lawyer, for this story is concerned mainly with the law of entail. Nelly Dean, the second narrator of *Wuthering Heights*, who most critics believe was taken from Tabby Brown, the parsonage housekeeper, is, however, "better educated than Tabby."²⁵ She loves to read and Lockwood tells her: "You have no marks of the manners which I am habituated to consider as peculiar to your class. I am sure you have thought a great deal more than the generality of servants think." (65) If Emily did indeed

²²W. Somerset Maugham, "The Ten Best Novels: *Wuthering Heights*," *The Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXI (February, 1948), p. 89.

²³E. F. Benson, *Charlotte Bronte* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932), p. 174.

²⁴Allan R. Brick, "*Wuthering Heights*: Narrators, Audience, and Message," *College English*, XXI (November, 1959), p. 83.

²⁵Hinkley, p. 13.

follow the German story, then this veneer of education is a carry-over from the German family-retainer lawyer. But Emily was not finished with Nelly; to this combination of English housekeeper and German lawyer, she added a dash of Irish magic. In the throes of delirium Cathy calls out: "Ah! Nelly has played traitor . . . Nelly is my hidden enemy. You witch . . . I'll make her howl a recantation." (136) The witch Nause, Nelly's corresponding figure in the Irish tale, has actually pretended to play traitor for Ellen.

Joseph, who "hed aimed tuh dee wheare Aw'd sarved for sixty year" (338), is a replica of the German Daniel, whose "only wish was to end his days at R--sitten." (280) It is Daniel who murders Wolfgang, and on the night of the murder he is seen to come out of the castle and cross the courtyard. He opens the stable-door and goes in, and soon afterwards brings out a saddle-horse. Then he leads the horse back into the stable and locks the door, and also that of the castle. (292) These actions are duplicated by Joseph in *Wuthering Heights*. Isabella explains that Joseph took the saddle-horses and led them into the stables, "reappearing for the purpose of locking the outer gate, as if we lived in an ancient castle." (145) Emily's use of this incident and of the word "castle" is interesting. At the end of the German story, only Daniel's ghost is left to haunt the castle; at the end of *Wuthering Heights*, only old Joseph is left at the farmhouse.

This farmhouse is certainly not a castle, but Emily's description of it gives a semblance of one. The name above the door, the date of its founding, its locked doors and gates, and the fact that the architect had "had the foresight to build it strong; the narrow windows are deeply set in the wall, and the corners defended with large, jutting stones" (2) make it appear as much like a castle as a farmhouse. Both the German castle and the English farmhouse are set on high ground: the castle "high on the sea-cliffs of the Baltic Sea," (320) and the farmhouse "high on a barren moorland." (2) The German castle has "a thin forest of firs on the landward side" (218); the farmhouse has "a few stunted firs at the end of the house." (2) The fir forest around the castle is inhabited by wolves; the house and grounds of the Heights are infested by dogs, one of which is named "Wolf." (16) This dog sneaks "wolfishly" (16) towards Lockwood, "her lip curled up and her white teeth

watering for a snatch." (4) Lockwood says that the dogs came from "hidden dens" (5) and "he was not anxious to come in contact with their fangs." (5) Theodore is attacked by a German wolf; Lockwood, by English dogs, who could claim the German wolves as first cousins. If my theory is correct, then it is plain that Emily made use of every thread of the two tales she combined.

Over this combination of German and Irish tales, Emily threw the aura of the love-gospel and spiritual essence of German Romanticism, of which the writer of the German tale, E. T. A. Hoffman, was a devoted follower. I believe Emily became obsessed with this philosophy because it promised her a reconciliation with God, against whom she had sinned in loving her brother, Branwell. The spiritual essence of this philosophy is based on Plotinus' idea that "the ultimate purpose of the soul is to achieve an ecstatic reunion with its heavenly father."²⁶ The "love-gospel"²⁷ is based on the Platonic conception of love. According to the German Romantics, Man, cast out from the presence of God and unable to achieve a reunion with Him, transfers his yearning to a beloved woman, for "the heart thinks to find in the loved one the infinite treasure it seeks; this yearning, this love, permits man to penetrate the absolute and eternal."²⁸ But this woman must be unattainable, such a love being "foredoomed to tragic frustration on this earth, but for that very reason the lovers' . . . renunciation of physical love, and their eventual martyrdom will undoubtedly . . . secure their eternal union in the next life."²⁹ Emily makes Cathy unattainable for Heathcliff by having her marry Edgar Linton, and there can be no doubt that Heathcliff yearns for her unceasingly. When he comes back to the Heights, Cathy says his return has reconciled her to God. (104) Both Cathy and Heathcliff, therefore, are, in the spirit of German Romanticism, two half-hearts yearning to be united with each other, and so to God. They are "divided halves who seek one another so as to restore their original unity."³⁰ The whole secret of the followers of this philosophy was that they knew "the body and the soul and

²⁶Ralph Tymms, *German Romantic Literature* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1955), p. 154.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 309.

²⁸Oskar Walzel, *German Romanticism*, trans. Alma Elise Lussky (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932), p. 29.

²⁹Tymms, pp. 304, 305.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 309.

their unity."³¹ No two characters in literature exemplify this precept better than do Cathy and Heathcliff. Cathy maintains: "If all else perished, and *he* remained, I should still continue to be; and if all else remained, and he were annihilated, the universe would turn to a mighty stranger. . . . I *am* Heathcliff—he's always on my mind . . . as my own being." (86) And after Cathy's death, Heathcliff is in a torment: "I *cannot* live without my life! I *cannot* live without my soul!" (197) Cathy, as she is dying, argues: "I'll not lie there by myself; they may bury me twelve feet deep and throw the church down over me; but I won't rest till you are with me." (134) Heathcliff, having completed the role of avenger, with Hareton ready to take over the estate, prepares to join her. He says:

I have a single wish, and my whole being and faculties are yearning to attain it. They have yearned towards it for so long, and so unwaveringly, that I'm convinced it *will* be reached—and soon—because it has devoured my existence—I am swallowed in the anticipation of its fulfillment. (344)

Heathcliff dies of no apparent ailment (356); it is as if, wanting "only to unite himself with Catherine,"³² he wills himself to die. In having him die in this manner, Emily is following the German Romantic doctrine of the "infinite power of the Will."³³ This power is expressed in a passage referring, not to Heathcliff but, to Novalis, the writer considered to be "the key to the German Romantic School."³⁴

His sweetheart . . . had died. He determined to die, but not by suicide. He determined to *will* himself to death, to concentrate on the thought till death came to him, and he was firmly convinced that as he belonged spiritually to this dead girl, that as he was one with her, so he must eventually die from the very strength of this conviction. The soul was to consume the body. He went out to her grave.³⁵

Heathcliff attains his wish, and he is buried in the same grave as Cathy. But he asks to be "carried to the churchyard, in the evening." (354) Why the evening? Because the German Romantics believed that "night is the beginning of the higher,

³¹Walzel, p. 82.

³²Cecil, p. 177.

³³William Rose, *Men, Myths and Movements in German Literature* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1931), p. 185.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 181.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 185.

spiritual life."³⁶ I believe that Emily was following the philosophy that "Night—holy, unspeakable, mysterious night—will bring comfort, and reunite him with his bride, for now: The earthly day is over. . . . He sinks with her on the altar of night. . . . Night is the womb of love, the means by which the higher consummation of life, existence at its highest potential, will be fulfilled."³⁷ It is quite significant that the last words in Emily's novel reflect the peace which Heathcliff and Cathy have found in the grave. Lockwood, visiting their graves on his return to Wuthering Heights says:

I lingered around them, under the benign sky; watched the moths fluttering among the heath and the hare-bells; listened to the soft wind breathing through the grass; and wondered how anyone could ever imagine unquiet slumbers, for the sleepers in that quiet earth. (358)

No wonder that Lockwood finds the graveyard peaceful, for the separation of Heathcliff and Cathy, which caused torment and upheaval in their lives on earth, has been overcome in the grave, and their reunion with each other brings about a reunion with God. "Like *Paradise Lost* the novel has set out to 'justify the ways of God to Man.' No novel in the world has a greater theme."³⁸

That Emily Bronte should have chosen such a theme is not surprising, for through it she was able to resolve her own frightful dilemma, the conflict between her strong religious principles, instilled in her by her clergyman father, and her love for Branwell. Through German Romanticism she was able to believe that love of a mortal was actually an expression of love for God, that the lovers had necessarily to be separated—in her case by a family relationship—and that only when reunion had been effected in the grave could the spirit be ecstatically reunited with God.

If we substitute Branwell and Emily for Heathcliff and Cathy, and we can, for their love "resembled the . . . over-intense, Heathcliff-Cathy type love,"³⁹ then we can see Emily, not as a genius, not as a spinster with no experience of life, but as a woman capable of deep love and intense suffering, a

³⁶Tymms, p. 168.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 169, 188.

³⁸Cecil, p. 178.

³⁹Norma Crandall, *Emily Bronte: A Psychological Portrait* (Rindge, New Hampshire: Richard R. Smith Publisher, Inc., 1957), p. 43.

woman torn apart by the conflict between love of God, and love of man. Lines from one of her poems convey the impression of an illicit love affair: "None but one can the secret repeat/ Why I hate that lone green dell."⁴⁰ Emily's love for Branwell would explain her fierce homesickness whenever she was away from the parsonage; it would explain Charlotte's otherwise inexplicable action in burning Emily's papers. "She displayed an extraordinary eagerness to obliterate all traces of her sister's private life, and . . . there is a hint of baffled terror in her reticence when she writes of Emily."⁴¹ What was Charlotte afraid of? That the object of Emily's love would be revealed to the world? Incestuous love would break Emily and Branwell's link with the God they had been brought up to worship. This separation, personified in religion as Satan, was evil, and from it, torment and suffering resulted. In one of her poems, Emily wrote: "That sin was purified by woe/ I've suffered by night and day/ I've trod a dark and frightful way."⁴² Once the sin had been purified by woe, the lovers could be united in the grave, and then reunited with God. It was Branwell who died first, but Emily followed him quickly. She never "went outside the door again after his death."⁴³ She would have no doctor to attend her, she would take no medicine, and she died just eight weeks after her brother. One can only hope that the peace and tranquillity which descended on Heathcliff and Cathy also descended on Branwell and Emily.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴¹Charles Morgan, *Reflections in a Mirror* (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1944), p. 135.

⁴²Crandall, p. 60.

⁴³Maugham, "The Ten Best Novels," p. 91.

Gerard de Nerval: A Reappraisal

by H. KAY MOON*

Unfortunately, scholars have generally neglected or ignored Gérard de Nerval as a possible precursor to modern tendencies in literature. It will be my purpose in the pages that follow to (1) explore the elements of his biography that seem to contribute to an understanding of his development as a writer,¹ (2) venture a few observations regarding his short prose fiction, and (3) suggest briefly the possible extent of his relevancy in the flood of literary trends since his time.

Seven months after his birth in May, 1808, Gérard de Nerval was left with a wet nurse in the village of Loisy, near Mortefontaine. Upon the death of his mother two years later, he was sent to live with a great-uncle in Mortefontaine. By the time his father returned some seven years later to take him to Paris and begin his studies, the Valois countryside had etched its indelible impression upon Gérard's sensitive nature. When school days were over, he invariably returned to Mortefontaine to his childhood friends, as he later returned to try to capture his childhood memories. A great many of the details of his life in Mortefontaine are found in his *Sylvie* and *Promenades et souvenirs*. There is no question that the region of Valois had a great effect upon his life and his subsequent works. Especially significant was Sylvie, who came from the neighboring hamlet of Loisy, and who provided him with a kind of pagan balance to the other elusive, mystic love whom he also came to "know" in the region of Valois, i.e. his Adrienne. He walked and played with Sylvie, and with her learned to know and love the countryside and its people. She was the principal object of his nostalgic reminiscence in the story that bears her name.

Adrienne, whom Gérard, accompanied by Sylvie, met at a village festival, was to become for him a Pandora and a Beatrice—at once his tormentor and savior. The few extant facts re-

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¹This biographic account is admittedly sketchy, since the purpose here would not be enhanced by cumbersome detail. Only the most salient points are covered. Aristide Marie's account of Nerval's life is perhaps the most thorough and complete: *Gérard de Nerval* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1914).

garding this event would indicate that the person Gérard met and kissed in a dance in the above-mentioned festival was the worldly Sophie Dawes, who by marriage to Baron Adrien de Feuchères, could claim the far more glamorous title of Mme de Feuchères.² It is apparent that Gérard was either not aware of her true identity, or the ideal woman that he saw in this Adrienne could not be erased by ugly realities. His quixotic pursuit of this ideal love was to be the foremost quest of his life.

Another Valois influence on Gérard was his great-uncle's musty attic library, which was replete with books of theosophic and cabalistic deliberations. There were nondescript treatises on Buddhism, alchemy, magic and germane theosophies, neo-Platonic, Orphic and Pythagorean myths.³ Gérard would amuse himself for hours in the fantasy of this discarded library. His great-uncle's own pantheistic bent was also destined to affect him, though he was constantly in touch with Catholic dogma in Valois, largely through the efforts of one of his aunts. He was ultimately to represent in his own beliefs an admixture of pagan and Christian elements which led him on one occasion to claim adherence to seventeen different religions.

Gérard was also a more than passive reader of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who had spent his last years near Montefontaine. The fact that his most characteristic writing is, like Rousseau's, confessional suggests that he was spiritually drawn to the eighteenth century *philosophe*. But the importance of his Parisian life and education cannot be minimized. He owes his initial literary success to the knowledge of German which his father had been careful to impart to him in the earliest years of his instruction, for his translation of Goethe's *Faust* in 1827 was his first literary effort of rewarding merit. It betrays not only an adequate knowledge of German, but more important, an affinity for the Faust theme.

One of the most singular events in his life and works is his platonic love affair with Jenny Colon, an actress in whom Gérard saw the reemodiment of his ideal love, Adrienne. Ironically, Jenny was almost as worldly as Sophie Dawes, his

²S. A. Rhodes, *Gérard de Nerval, Poet, Traveler, Dreamer* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), p. 26.

³Rhodes, pp. 14-17. A complete treatise on the esoteric background and tendencies of Nerval is the aim and *raison d'être* of Jean Richer's *Gérard de Nerval et les doctrines ésotériques* (Paris: Editions du griffon d'or, 1947).

Adrienne. Gérard's love for her was destined, from the moment it was conceived, to dominate the remainder of his life. He first saw Jenny Colon early in the year 1834, but it was several months later that he actually met her. It is doubtful that he ever possessed her, though he lavished gifts and money on her and founded *Le Monde dramatique*, an elegantly edited theatrical magazine, for the dual purpose of swelling her reputation and pleasing his father, who never approved of his son's literary penchant. But Gérard proved, like Balzac, to be a genius of financial disaster. Although some of the foremost names of the day contributed to its publications, *Le Monde dramatique* was destined shortly to pass into other hands, and finally into oblivion, for it soon became a mere altar upon which Gérard made anonymous adorations and sacrifices to Jenny until it had devoured the whole of the modest legacy he had received in 1835. It was at about that time, too, that he chose his pseudonym, Nerval, from a field (Clos be Nerval) near Mortefontaine, which belonged to his great-uncle's family. Jenny not only received limitless adoration and favors from him, but it was for her that he wrote the bulk of his unsuccessful plays. Ironically, his best play, *Leo Burckart*, was written after Jenny Colon had left him.

Gérard traveled frequently. He went often to Italy, and in fact traveled all over the European continent, and visited extensively Egypt and the Near East. He wrote many accounts of his travels, but most notable is his *Voyage en Orient*, which exposes his preoccupations with cabalistic and esoteric religions. The embroidery of his account lends it charm and interest. His letters to his unimaginative father describe the trail of reality in his itinerary. The trail of charming fancy is followed in *Voyage en Orient*.

The last decade, approximately, of Gérard's life was punctuated by periods of actual insanity and confinement. He had lived for many years in a twilight state in which the line of demarcation between dream and reality was to him very dim. It disappeared entirely at intervals, the first of which occurred on February 28, 1841, when he was confined to Dr. Émile Blanche's asylum. It is even believed that he suffered two such confinements that year.⁴ A series of reverses and further mental

⁴Pierre Audiat, *L'Aurélia de Gérard de Nerval* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926), pp. 15-17.

strain precipitated a relapse in the form of a sort of cataleptic fall and consequent chest injury in 1851. For this seizure he was sent for a brief period to Dr. Dubois' private asylum. He was once more interned there in the spring of 1853, but again only briefly. Between this confinement and the subsequent relapse of the following year, he wrote *Sylvie*. In 1854 he was committed again to the care of Dr. Émile Blanche, in whom he expressed complete trust. He was released for the last time in October of that year. Between periods of confinement his life was characterized by hallucinations and vagabond wanderings into the Parisian underworld, with which, by now, he was well acquainted. His subjective description of these wanderings, and some of the accompanying hallucinations, appear in *Les Nuits d'octobre*. In spite of his demented condition, this period was one of his more fruitful, and is unequivocally the most important. The uncompleted manuscript of his *Aurélia* left the asylum with him in his penultimate release. The final pages were found in his pocket following his death on January 26, 1855. He died, it is commonly conceded, by hanging himself with an apron string which he maintained at various times was the corset string of Madame de Maintenon or Marguerite de Valois, or, more often, the Queen of Sheba's garter.

II

Nerval's early prose works are by no means as significant as the final burst of literary activity in the last few years of his life. They mostly reflect the influence of his great-uncle's molding attic library. They represent a type of horror story then in vogue. His output was not very great. He is best when he is autobiographical. Even the stories in which he supposedly avoids his own preoccupations are fraught with overtones of the Adrienne love theme. For example, his *Jemmy*, which is a translation of an obscure story by the German author Charles Sealsfield,⁵ portrays the same scene found in *Sylvie* between Gérard and Adrienne.⁶ At a harvest festival, Jemmy and Toffel, surrounded by a group of young people, are obliged by custom to exchange kisses. The tone is idyllic—pastoral in essence. Its setting is in America, its theme is largely one of primitivism

⁵Jean Gaulmier, *Gérard de Nerval et Les Filles du feu* (Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1956), p. 82.

⁶Gaulmier, pp. 83-84.

à la Chateaubriand. This and other stories merely represent Nerval's ability to follow the literary current of his time.

It is, of course, of greater pertinence to consider the more typical style of Nerval's *Sylvie* and *Aurélia*. The former is a conscious attempt to reconstruct his childhood through a work of art. It represents his primitivism, his reaction against the prevalent materialism, his own "recherche du temps perdu." It is autobiographical, written with a type of pre-Proustian flash-back technique. It is the key to his obsession for the ideal woman, whom he saw personified first in Adrienne, then in Jenny Colon, who was to him a kind of Pythagorean reincarnation of Adrienne. *Sylvie* reveals Gérard's concept of ideal womanhood, his Venus in three phrases. Jean Gaulmier explains it thus:

Sylvie . . . nous donne aussi une image des Trois Vénus: dès le premier chapitre, l'actrice Jenny-Aurélia prend figure de déesse infernale aux feux de la rampe qui l'éclairait d'en bas et Gérard éprouve devant elle une terreur sacrée: Je craignais de troubler le miroir magique qui me renvoyait son image. Au chapitre II, Adrienne, reine du pays d'enfance, est la Vénus céleste, véritable vision paradisiaque. Enfin, la complexe Sylvie, après l'apparition d'Adrienne en sainte, Sylvie qui a perdu sa pureté primitive, qui fabrique des gants à la mécanique au lieu de son ancienne dentelle, qui chante l'opéra et a oublié les vieilles romances, Sylvie devient, elle aussi, une sorte de Vénus infernale.⁷

Gérard's fascination with time and memory is arresting.

Aurélia, his most important work, is, again, autobiographical, or more specifically confessional. It is Gérard's symbolic descent into hell, his personal *Divine Comedy*. He describes quite faithfully, if we can count on his own word, his hallucinations, his visions—his insanity. This work is the summation of his cabalistic, Pythagorean, pantheistic, and Christian tendencies. It is his portrayal of his mental strife. Unattainable

⁷Gaulmier, p. 62. "Sylvie . . . also gives us an image of the three Venuses. From the first chapter, the actress Jenny-Aurélia assumes the form of an infernal goddess under the glare of the footlights which illuminated her from below and Gérard feels a sacred terror before her. "I feared to disturb the magic mirror that sent me her image." In the second chapter, Adrienne, queen of the land of childhood, is the celestial Venus, a true paradisiacal vision. Finally, the complex Sylvie, after the appearance of Adrienne as a saint, Sylvie, who has lost her primitive purity, who makes gloves with a machine instead of the lace-work of former years, who sings opera and has forgotten the old ballads, Sylvie too becomes a kind of infernal Venus."

love was the cause of his madness, and represents for him his salvation. His manias become apparent, allegedly at least, to the initiated in psychology.⁸ He was plagued with feelings of guilt for the outrages he had committed against his love for Aurélia (ideal woman), because he had indulged in "facile love affairs."⁹ He had profaned her memory. He also felt pangs of guilt for his compromise of doctrine, though he never felt that he could embrace Christianity alone. His descent into hell teaches him the way to atone for these sins. He fancies that in these visions he is able to learn secrets withheld from him in his normal consciousness. He sometimes regrets his conscious state and awaits anxiously the time for his visionary sleep, but for the most part his visions are frightful trials to which he is subjected. It is, in Dantesque fashion, his Aurélia that represents to him his salvation when she appears and assures him:

L'épreuve à laquelle tu étais soumis est venue à son terme; ces escaliers sans nombre que tu te fatiguais à descendre ou à gravir étaient les liens mêmes des anciennes illusions qu'embarrassaient ta pensée, et maintenant rappelle-toi le jour où tu as imploré la Vierge sainte et où, la croyant morte, le délire s'est emparé de ton esprit. Il fallait que ton vœu lui fût porté par une âme simple et dégagée des liens de la terre. Celle-là s'est rencontrée près de toi, et c'est pourquoi il m'est permis à moi-même de venir et de t'encourager.¹⁰

His *Aurélia* is not his only account of a descent into hell. There is another of a sort in *Les Nuits d'octobre*, in which he tells of his nocturnal wanderings and the progressively horrifying descent into the Parisian underworld. In fact, his guide at one point tells him, as Virgil to Dante, "Or sie forte ed ardito; omai si scende per si fatte scale."¹¹

⁸L. H. Sebilotte, *Le Secret de Gérard de Nerval* (Paris: Librairie Jose Corti 1948), p. 128 et seq.

⁹Rhodes, p. 283.

¹⁰Gérard de Nerval, *Oeuvres Choisies*, introd. Gauthier-Ferrieres (Paris: Bibliotheque Larousse, n.d.), p. 212. "The ordeal you have undergone is coming to an end; these countless stairways which wore you out so going up and down are the bonds of old illusions that impeded your thoughts; now remember the day when you implored the Holy Virgin and, thinking her dead, were possessed of a frenzy of the mind. Your vow must be carried to her by a simple soul, one free from the ties of the earth. She is near you and that is why I myself have been permitted to come and encourage you." Translation by Geoffrey Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

¹¹*Oeuvres Choisies*, p. 111. "Be strong and bold; only through such steps does one descend here."

As though anticipating that his reader might doubt the verisimilitude of his account, Gérard states in *Aurélia*, "Si je ne pensais que la mission d'un écrivain est d'analyser sincèrement ce qu'il éprouve dans les grâces circonstances de la vie, et si je ne me proposais un but que je crois utile, je m'arrêteraï ici, et je n'essayerais pas de décrire ce que j'éprouvai ensuite dans une série de visions insensées peut-être, ou vulgairement malades. . . ." ¹² This passage is illustrative of his very personal style. The tonal unity in this work, as in *Sylvie*, is impeccable. It is a tone of madness, analyzed with seemingly cold objectivity, which arouses a curious observation regarding Nerval's latest literary output, i.e., that his works, far from suffering from his madness, seem to be enhanced by it, or even contingent upon it.

"Le bon Gérard" was not capable of the consistently mordant satire of Merimée, but satire does appear in his works. Nothing in all his writings is more delightfully whimsical than his account of his relationship with his Mohammedan slave Zeynab (Z'n'b). What could have greater exotic appeal than this Malaysian with almond-shaped eyes, pearl-like teeth, long, burnished hair, tawny skin, and a regal air of distinction, and what could be more in keeping with a romantic bent? But on the other hand, what could be more useless? Their relationship was hardly exotic. She was quite ignorant, she could not cook or sew, and she could not learn French in order to interpret for him; but his moral reservations would not admit of placing her back on the slave market. She was little more than extra weight in his travel plans. But, he observed, "Her smile was delightful!" ¹³ The satirical elements are typically good-natured, by no means bitter nor abusive, but even this would tend to contribute to the decline of Romanticism, because he is, after all, laughing at its exaggerated exoticism.

III

Defining the extent of an author's influence is at best an elusive task. Gérard de Nerval's role and importance are still

¹²*Oeuvres Choisies*, p. 163. "If I did not think that a writer's duty is to analyze with sincerity what he feels in grave moments of life, and if I had not in view to be useful, I would stop here, and make no attempt to describe my later experiences in a series of visions which were either insane or, vulgarly, diseased." Translation of Geoffrey Wagner, p. 121.

¹³Rhodes, p. 190.

being assessed. Guy Michaud, the latest authority on French Symbolism, points out that Nerval went well beyond his fellow *Romantiques* in establishing norms for passing from Romanticism to modern tendencies.¹⁴ Arthur Symons traces the origin of symbolist literature to Nerval, largely on the basis of the ideas and style apparent in *Aurélia*.¹⁵ Gérard's opening statement, "Le rêve est une seconde vie," simple as it is, supplies an initial basis for Symons' claim on him as the father of the symbolists' and surrealists' muse. Symons further maintains that Gerard's genius, "... to which madness had come as the liberating, the precipitating spirit, disengaging its finer essence, consisted in a power of materializing vision, whatever is most volatile and unseizable in vision, and without losing the sense of mystery, or that quality which gives its charm to the intangible."¹⁶ Certainly, Gérard represents a change in libido, a shift from the visible to the invisible, or more specifically, from the material to the spiritual, which is in essence the basis of Symbolism. S. A. Rhodes, whether accurate or not in his evaluation, is certain that Baudelaire felt his influence, and through him "... the long lineage of symbolist, post symbolist, and surrealist poets, all of whom experienced what Jean Cocteau has described as the 'incalculable . . . repercussion . . . of a Nerval. . . .'"¹⁷

The duality theme in *Aurélia* is identical to the symbolic duality of Hakim-Biamr-Allah and Yousouf, who appear in a tale in *Voyage en Orient*. In this tale, Yousouf, who is Hakim's double, strikes the first blow that fells Hakim, just as Gérard's double, who in one of his visions is his mortal enemy, prepares to strike him.¹⁸ This "double" of Gérard's is undoubtedly the phase of his personality responsible for his own death, which is symbolically prefigured in the tale of Hakim and Yousouf.¹⁹ Gérard and his spiritual twin die together, just as Hakim and Yousouf, one inflicting the death blow upon the other. This is the epitome of Nerval's power to "materialize vision."

¹⁴Guy Michaud, *Message poétique du Symbolisme* (Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1951), I, 33.

¹⁵Arthur Symons, *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (London: Constable & Company, Ltd., 1911), p. 3.

¹⁶Symons, p. 33.

¹⁷Rhodes, p. 1. He quotes Cocteau from *Essai de critique indirect* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, n.d.), p. 44.

¹⁸*Oeuvres Choiesies*, pp. 177-180.

¹⁹Gérard de Nerval, *The Women of Cairo*, a translation of *Voyage en Orient* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929), II, 61-70.

Marcel Schwob, whom no less an authority than Pierre Champion places squarely in the mainstream of Symbolism,²⁰ offers affinities for Nerval which tend to substantiate Symons' postulation regarding Nerval's contribution to the development of Symbolism. Schwob no doubt heard his father speak of Nerval, for the elder Schwob had been associated with him and Charles Baudelaire in the printing of a literary review, the *Corsaire Satan*. While still a teen-ager, Schwob wrote an erotic version of *Faust*, and about two years later another work, "Les vierges du feu," which bears notable resemblance to *Les filles du feu* by Nerval. Also, Schwob gave the title *Les Faux-Saulniers* to one of his *contes*, after Nerval's *Faux-Saulniers, Histoire de l'abbé de Bucquoy*, his sentimental journey through the countryside of his childhood. While still in his youth, Schwob composed a "Ballade pour Gérard de Nerval pendu à la fenêtre d'un bouge." Recently, in 1959, John A. Green has brought to light an article written by Schwob with the title "La chanson populaire,"²¹ the essential theme of which he shows to derive from Nerval's statement in "Chansons et légendes populaires de Valois" that the old "Chansons populaires" represent "la mémoire et la vie des bonnes gens du temps passé;" therefore, continues Nerval, "il serait à désirer que de bons poètes modernes missent à profit l'inspiration naïve de nos peres, et nous rendissent . . . une foule de petits chefs-d'oeuvre qui se perdent."²² Moreover, it is apparent that this admiration for Nerval follows Schwob even in his mature years. According to his dossier at the Archives Nationales, on December 12, 1894 (nine years before his death), he requested fifteenth-century documents formerly communicated to Nerval, probably for no greater purpose than to review material in which Nerval had shown a lively interest. He had learned from Nerval's comments regarding the documents that they contained an autobiography of Angélique de Longueval, about whom Nerval

²⁰For a brief introduction to Marcel Schwob and his works, see John A. Green's "Marcel Schwob and 'The Talking Machine,' a Tale à la Poe—Via Thomas A. Edison," *B.Y.U. Studies*, VI (1964), 41-46. It is interesting that since 1950, four American doctoral dissertations have been written on Marcel Schwob.

²¹See John A. Green, "The Literary Career of Marcel Schwob," unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Washington, 1960, p. 54.

²²*Oeuvres Choisies*, p. 62. ". . . the memory and life of good folk of yesteryear; . . . it would be desirable if good modern poets were to profit by the simple inspiration of our forefathers and return to us a wealth of little masterpieces which are disappearing."

wrote in *Les Filles du feu*. Schwob seemed bent on utilizing the same material to compose a play, perhaps in an attempt to surpass his master, but death overtook him before the project could be completed.

A close relative of Symbolism is its descendant Surrealism. "Surrealism aims to transcend the accepted limitation of reality, to bring into literature material hitherto unused, the dream and the automatic association, and to synthesize the experiences of the conscious and unconscious minds."²³ Its basic idea is derived ". . . from a combination of dadaism with Freud: the automatic, illogical, uncontrolled fantasies and associations of the mind represent a higher reality than the realistic. . . world."²⁴ This, certainly, defines the basic approach in *Aurélia*. It is thus that André Breton, author of the surrealist manifesto, is able to declare, "It seems indeed that Nerval possessed exactly the spirit we claim kinship with."²⁵ On the other hand, though Gérard sometimes preferred his dream world to the world of reality, he rarely failed to recognize the difference between them.²⁶ C. G. Jung states the case for many of the surrealists: "Intellect remains imprisoned within itself so long as it does not voluntarily sacrifice its supremacy, and admit the value of other claims. It shrinks from taking a step beyond itself, and will not allow that it does not possess universal validity, for everything outside its own view is nothing but phantasy."²⁷ Gérard was always willing to "admit the value of other claims." For the surrealists, the insane world is a mere prolongation of experience in the sane. The subtitle of *Aurélia* is *Le Rêve et la vie*, not *ou la vie*, and Gérard opens the narrative with "Le rêve est une seconde vie," *another* life, not a prolongation of the conscious world. Hence the difference between him and his spiritual twin, his double. Though the general spirit and tone

²³*Dictionary of World Lit.*, p. 403.

²⁴*Reader's Companion to World Literature*, gen. ed. Calvin S. Brown (New York: The Dryden Press, 1956), p. 429.

²⁵Rhodes, pp. 1-2. He quotes André Breton's *Manifeste du surréalisme* (Paris, 1929), p. 44.

²⁶A letter sent to Ida Ferrier (Mme Alexandre Dumas) is one of the few staunch avowals on the part of Gérard that would tend to refute the claim that he always recognized the difference between fantasy and reality. In this letter, he claims that he is as he had always been and was surprised to discover that people thought him different under the spell of his madness (Rhodes, pp. 171, 172).

²⁷C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933), p. 75.

of his writing is very closely akin to Surrealism, there is that basic difference.

Another unexplored possibility as regards Nerval's range of influence is Latin America. Following the belated Romantic movement in that area, which was obviously on the decline in 1870, the writers of that generation demanded, for the most part, a more subdued treatment of verse than had been practiced by the followers of Byron and Hugo. The Modernist movement in Latin America captures and characterizes much of the spirit of Nerval's writing, particularly the nostalgic reverie and the accompanying disdain of materialism evident in *Sylvie*. The following might have been part of their manifesto:

Nous vivions alors dans une époque étrange . . .
L'homme matériel aspirait au bouquet de roses qui devait le régénérer par les mains de la belle Isis; la déesse éternellement jeune et pure nous apparaissait dans les nuits, et nous faisait honte de nos heures de jours perdus. L'ambition n'était cependant pas de notre âge, et l'avidité curée qui se faisait alors des positions et des honneurs nous éloignait des sphères d'activité possibles. Il ne nous restait pour asile que cette tour d'ivoire des poètes, où nous montions toujours plus haut pour nous isoler de la foule. A ces points élevés où nous guidaient nos maîtres, nous respirons enfin l'air pur des solitudes, nous buvions l'oubli dans la coupe d'or des légendes, nous étions ivres de poésie et d'amour. Amour, hélas! des formes vagues, des teintes roses et bleues, de fantômes métaphysiques!²⁸

This finds an echo in Darío's own statement, "Yo detesto la vida y el tiempo en que me tocó nacer."²⁹ Compare the above quotation from *Sylvie* with the following definition of Modernism: "Modernism may be described as the literary expression

²⁸*Oeuvres Choisies*, p. 20. "We were then living in a strange period. . . . Material man longed for the bouquet of roses which would regenerate him from the hands of the divine Isis; the goddess in her eternal youth and purity appeared to us by night and made us ashamed of our wasted days. We had not reached the age of ambition, and the greedy scramble for honors and positions caused us to stay away from all possible spheres of activity. The only refuge left to us was the poet's ivory tower, which we climbed, ever higher, to isolate ourselves from the mob. Led by our masters to those high places we breathed at last the pure air of solitude, we drank oblivion in the legendary golden cup, and we got drunk on poetry and love. Love, however, of vague forms, of blue and rosy hues, of metaphysical phantoms!" Translation by Geoffrey Wagner, pp. 50-51.

²⁹*An Anthology of Spanish American Literature*, ed. E. Herman Hespelt (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1946), p. 489. "I detest the life and the time in which it was my lot to be born."

of that mood of unrest and of dissatisfaction with the prevailing worship of material success that marked the last few years of the nineteenth century. The young idealist of those days felt himself thrown by fate into an environment to which he did not belong. He had a soul above the sordid aims of his fellow-men, and his art and his ideals were things beyond their comprehension."³⁰

The term "ivory tower," for which Gérard more than perhaps anyone else was responsible, was adopted by the Modernists.³¹ Their inspiration was admittedly French, their champion Rubén Darío an avid reader of all the nineteenth-century masters. Their disdain of the materialistic led them, like Nerval, to explore new doctrines, desire new experiences, discover new truths. Julián del Casal was attracted by Japanese verse patterns and philosophy, Amado Nervo was a student of Buddhism, and James Freyre ardently studied Scandinavian mythology and philosophy, and particularly the works of Emmanuel Swendeborg, likewise a favorite of Nerval's.

It is difficult to assess the extent of Gérard's influence, through his preoccupation with time and memory, on Marcel Proust. It is known that Proust read him extensively and regarded him highly, but did Nerval make any contribution to his literary output? Perhaps Proust would have written just as much, just as well, and perhaps he would have said it just the same way if Nerval had never existed. But the style of *Sylvie*, the nostalgic search for his lost childhood, and his idea of involuntary memory in *Aurélia* suggests that Proust built his novels on the foundation laid by Nerval. Jacques de Lacretelle recalls one of his last visits to Proust, when the latter spoke of Nerval and quoted some of his poetry. As Lacretelle departed, he tells us, ". . . il me parut que Nerval et lui s'étaient unis pour me donner la clef de son oeuvre."³² Proust himself, in an unpublished notebook in the possession of Madame Mante-Proust, acknowledges, however indirectly, ". . . a more than normally

³⁰G. Dundas-Craig, *The Modernist Trend in Spanish American Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934), p. 3.

³¹*Selected Writings*, p. 39.

³²Laurent Lesage, *Marcel Proust and His Literary Friends* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958), p. 104. Lesage quotes Lacretelle from "Allocution de M. Jacques de Lacretelle," *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Marcel Proust*, IV (1954), p. 35. ". . . it seemed to me that Nerval and he had united to give me the key to his work."

ardent friendship . . . a shared taste."³³ The following passage from *Sylvie* suggests, at the least, a "shared taste": "Je regagnai mon lit et je ne pus y trouver le repos. Plongé dans une demi-somnolence, toute ma jeunesse repassait en mes souvenirs. Cet état, où l'esprit résiste encore aux bizarres combinaisons du songe, permet souvent de voir se presser en quelques minutes les tableaux les plus saillants d'une longue période de la vie."³⁴

What, finally, is Nerval's bearing, if any, upon the twentieth century? This is, of course, impossible to determine definitively. He is not widely read; it is not the direct influence of his works that constitutes his present significance. The "mal du siècle" of which he was a victim is still extant. The disdain of materialism which characterized his generation still exists. This feeling, persisting in the guise of existentialist nausea, is not his doing, nor is he the first to introduce the relativity of truth. But in this area, his ideas are still relevant, even though they are only the echo of ideas already expressed in previous ages. "What may I believe?" was Gérard's constant query. He felt a kinship with a certain Mohammedan cult which, aside from its Pythagorean foundation that always attracted Gérard, held truth and error to be equally deceptive. "God knows, we do not!" was their cry.³⁵ This spirit permeates Gérard's works and echoes in the minds of those, like André Gide, who find it impossible to stipulate definitively the difference between truth and error, and those who in far greater extremity, like van Gogh or Hölderlin, belong with Gérard de Nerval to the group of "great abnormals."

³³André Maurois, *Proust: Portrait of a Genius* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 212.

³⁴*Oeuvres Choiesies*, p. 22. "I went to bed but could not rest. Lost in a kind of half-sleep, all my youth passed through my memory again. This state, when the spirit still resists the strange combinations of dreams, often allows us to compress into a few moments the most salient pictures of a long period of life." Translation by Geoffrey Wagner, p. 53.

³⁵*Women of Cairo*, II, 240.

The Bridge

WILLIAM L. KNECHT*

There is a bridge between some of the events of the Mormon immigration of 1856 and later years, and Abraham Lincoln, then only one of the leading members of the bar on the frontier of the United States.

Many changes in route and mode of commerce within the continental United States occurred in the 1850's. Up until 1856, most immigrants bound for Utah came to New Orleans and changed from ship to river boats for the trip up the Mississippi River until they reached the trails westward across the Great Plains. Rivers formed the structure of the transportation system.

While such a trip was a relatively easy affair, travel along the river, particularly when done in the late spring and early summer, seemed to produce sore distress of body or mind and death struck at many who were seeking the land of promise in the Great Basin.

When the railroads became sufficiently reliable to attract passengers and competition became sufficiently acute to reduce the expenses for the trip, the directors of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund decided to route the Utah-bound immigrant to New York and Boston ports¹ and utilize the railroad for transportation to the jumping-off point in Iowa.

Thus it was that the not untypical company under the direction of Captain Edward Martin found themselves at the Mississippi River on July 8, 1856.

One of the company wrote in his journal, "We crossed the river on a steamboat because the bridge was burned down."² This type of crossing necessitated changing trains, but the immigrants had changed trains many times between Boston and Rock Island. Most of my readers who have made the train trip across the country can probably remember changing trains and

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¹Letter, Brigham Young to F. D. Richards, dtd. September 1855, published *Millennial Star*, XVII (December 27, 1855), 813-14.

²McBride, Heber Robert, Journal of, Typescript, B.Y.U. Library, Special Collections.

stations at Chicago. That change, expected beforehand and made with the help of porters, baggage handlers and Parmallee Cars, is relatively easy to negotiate. But in 1856 a far different situation existed. Railroading was still an exciting and new affair.³

In 1856, changing trains was necessary at a number of places between Boston and the eastern shore of the Mississippi. There was no bridge yet at the crossing of the Hudson River. Because of changes in railroad lines and the lack of inter-exchanged equipment, it was necessary to change trains at Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland, Toledo and Chicago.

The appropriately named Miss Patience Loader who made the trip about this same time in 1856, wrote in later years of the kindness of "one of the guards" in Cleveland who found a room upstairs in the depot where the family could stay as long as they had to wait for a connecting train.⁴ It was a far different story that her brother-in-law John Jaques told of the employees in Toledo.⁵ He also wrote of "the night they were in Chicago," when a fire occurred "which some of the emigrants went to see and to help put out."⁶

That most of the changes were anticipated did not make them any easier. It is clear that the immigrants handled their own baggage,⁷ and each change of trains meant handling everything at least twice. How often the advice given to them while they were still in England, to leave everything possible behind,

³December 25, 1830 was the date of the first scheduled passenger service in America with American-built equipment. It was 1834 before New England had its first passenger train service, and that between Boston and Newton. Chicago got its first locomotive, the "Pioneer," in 1848, more than a year after the first Utah pioneers were in the Great Salt Lake Valley. *A Chronology of American Railroads* (Association of American Railroads, Washington, D.C., 1962).

⁴Patience Loader Roza Archer Journal, Typescript, B.Y.U. Library, Special Collections.

⁵He wrote: "Toledo was the place where the railroad employees were the most discourteous, uncivil, and harsh in conduct towards the company. Scarcely had the train arrived at the depot there, when the energetic but vulgar salutation was hurled at the emigrants—'Why the h--l don't you get out of those cars?' " He added his own thoughts: "Those employees must have belonged to that peculiar class of people who never tire of boasting that they live not in a despotic empire nor in an effete monarchy, but in a democratic republic, a free country, a land of liberty, where one man is as good as another, and a great deal better if he has more cheek and impudence. . . ." *Salt Lake Herald*, January 5, 1879.

⁶*Ibid.*, December 1, 1878.

⁷Letter to writer from Mr. Charles E. Fisher, Pres., Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, Inc., dtd. September 24, 1963; letter from James G. Pate, Exec. Assistant, Office of Public Relations, Rock Island Lines, dtd. July 31, 1963.

must have come to mind. Some must have said: "It just goes to show that one should follow counsel!"⁸

There was, however, one change that was not expected. Jaques reports: "At Pond Creek it was learned that the Bridge at Rock Island had fallen while a previous train was passing over it."⁹ This change was as difficult as any previously experienced, for it required that baggage be off-loaded from the train from Chicago, carried to the steamboat landing at Rock Island, loaded aboard the steamer, and the process reversed and repeated on the Davenport side.

This loading and unloading was unexpected, for while all earlier immigrants from the eastern port cities had had to make such a change, early 1856 saw the finish of three years' work on the first bridge crossing of the Mississippi River.

A corporation had been formed to represent the interests of the two railroads meeting at this point and plans laid to cross the Father of Waters. As welcome as a bridge across that river may seem to us today, the announcement then of such plans was not greeted with happiness in many quarters. "It was contrary to nature!" "If God had wanted such a bridge, He'd have built it when He was arranging things!" Such a structure, it was claimed, would jam up the ice and flood out the whole countryside. Such a bridge would be a peril to navigation and most important of all, it might divert trade from the river. "After all, the river traffic was here first!"

The Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, allied as it was with the river interests, declared its view that such a bridge would be "unconstitutional, an obstruction to navigation, dangerous, and that it was the duty of every western state, river city, and town to take immediate action to prevent erection of the structure."¹⁰

⁸*Millennial Star*, XVIII (1856), 122-124.

⁹*Salt Lake Herald*, December 29, 1878. He continued: "Erastus Snow and some other Utah people were on that unfortunate train, but escaped uninjured." No one else, to the writer's knowledge, has ever mentioned the involvement of any train (the bridge was open for the *Effie Afton*). It is hard to know what Jaques (then ass't. Church historian) was referring to.

¹⁰Carl Sandburg, *A. Lincoln, the Prairie Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926), Vol. II, p. 37.

To allay the fears of the river men, the bridge was designed with a wide draw and the draw was always to be open save when a train was ready to cross the river.¹¹

Still the river men were not to be satisfied. When the construction work started on the rails across the island which sat near the middle of the river, the river men appealed to Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War. He forbade the Bridge Company to break ground, for that island—Rock Island—was the site of Fort Armstrong. It did not seem to matter that Congress had spoken in 1852 and had granted “rights of way to all rail and plank roads . . . through the public lands of the United States.”¹² Davis ordered the United States Attorney for Northern Illinois to seek an injunction to stop the company from using federal lands and to prohibit them from blocking the river. The application for the injunction was heard by Associate Justice John McLean of the United States Supreme Court, who was riding circuit¹³ as judges in that day were required to do. Judge McLean upheld the rights of the Bridge Company and denied the application.¹⁴ The Company was free to proceed.

Construction of such a bridge was a large undertaking. A contemporary description helps visualize the magnitude:

Its . . . length will be 5832 feet, consisting of spans of 250 feet each, exclusive of bearings. The river is divided into two channels at this point by the beautiful isle, Rock Island. The main channel is on the Iowa side, the second channel upon the Illinois side of the river. That portion of the bridge over the main channel is 1583 feet in length. The circular shaped draw-pier, which stands near the center of the channel, is 40 feet in height, 46 feet in diameter at the foundation, and 37 feet at the top. On each side of the draw-pier is a draw of 120 feet, working on the rotary principle, making, in all, a clear space of 240 feet for the passage of river craft.¹⁵

This structure was completed and the first official train passed over the first railroad bridge ever built across the Mississippi River on April 23, 1856.¹⁶

Six months previously, Cincinnati had been the scene of another different record-making accomplishment. The fastest

¹¹*Iowa As It Is in 1855, etc.*, (Chicago, Ill.: Keen and Lee, 1855) pp. 91, 95-7.

¹²10 Stats. 28 (1852).

¹³District Court for the United States for the Northern District of Illinois.

¹⁴*United States vs. Railroad Bridge Co., et. al.*, 6 McLean 517.

¹⁵Parker, pp. 95-97. He gives extended additional details.

¹⁶*A Chronology of American Railroads*, p. 3.

ship of her draft, some two hundred and thirty feet long, side wheels measuring thirty feet across, with seven hundred ton capacity, the *Effie Afton* which had just entered the waters was the talk of the men and boys who lived for the river. Captain John S. Hurd had invested more than forty thousand dollars in the latest word in river boats.

It was the meeting of this boat and the new bridge that made history. Railroad historians describe the events leading up to May 6, 1856 in dark and sinister terms:

The *Effie Afton* was moving slowly. None knew the steamboat's mission. Her destination hadn't been announced publicly. It never was.¹⁷ Her appearance was a surprise; her mission was a closely guarded secret.¹⁸

To be objective, one must admit it is difficult to see into men's hearts, especially after the lapse of more than one hundred years. There is no reason to think that a ship of this size moving slowly on its first trip through a strange and new drawbridge was suspicious. It is impossible to say whether anyone knew of the ship's mission. It is reported that she carried two hundred passengers. If that is so, it is hard to imagine that they were on board but unaware of their destination.¹⁹

Whatever the reason for the ship's being at Rock Island, there is not very much dispute about the sequence of events thereafter. The railroad account reports that the *Effie Afton* had cleared the draw, then heeled over hard to the right, her starboard engine stalled, her port engine seemingly speeded up.²⁰ Beveridge reports only that while in the draw, the boat struck one of the piers.²¹ Sandburg says, "She rammed into a pier of the . . . bridge. . . ."²² John J. Duff wrote of the event: ". . . Parker, the pilot, pulled the bell ropes, and was answered by faint jinglings in the engine room below, while the boat's speed slackened. The handsome river boat swung into the draw of the bridge, and then, as one of her side wheels stopped,

¹⁷Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln 1809-1858* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), p. 598, says she was bound for St. Paul.

¹⁸*Rock Island Lines News Digest*, XI, No. 10, (October 1952), 16.

¹⁹They could have debarked at Davenport, where the *Effie Afton* landed on May 5.

²⁰*Rock Island Lines News Digest*, XI, No. 10, (October 1952), 16.

²¹Beveridge, p. 598.

²²Sandburg, II, 37.

struck one of the piers, was catapulted against another and bounced back onto the first."²³

The impact must have done some damage to the bridge and its piers, but the disaster came from a fire resulting from an overturned stove in one of the boat's cabins. The fire spread to the deck of the boat, ignited its cargo, and then leapt high to ignite the bridge timbers. The wooden work of the bridge, pine and oak, burned easily. One span was completely destroyed and fell into the river. In five minutes the steamer was a total loss.

The bridge was closed to further rail use until September 8. During that period, all traffic—passenger and freight—returned to the river. It is impossible to reconstruct the volume of that traffic, but we know that from the date traffic was restored until August 8 of the following year (11 months), 74,179 passengers made the crossing on the bridge.²⁴ We know that 4,395 emigrants were sent out from Liverpool by the Church authorities, during the 1856 season²⁵ and those who crossed the river must have made the same changes that Robert McBride did.

Captain Hurd, who had just lost \$50,000 in the value of his ship and who faced claims for loss of cargo and injuries to passengers, lost no time in bringing suit against the Bridge Company.²⁶ The river men said, "I told you so!" The *St. Louis Republican* wrote: "The Railroad Bridge at Rock Island is an intolerable nuisance. . . . It is utterly impossible for any man not an idiot to note the disasters at Rock Island and honestly ascribe them to any other cause than the huge obstruction to navigation which the Bridge Company have built there and insist shall remain, even though lives by the score and property by the millions are destroyed each year. . . . We have rarely seen such illustration of [such] supercilious insolence. . . ."²⁷ The

²³John J. Duff, *A. Lincoln, Prairie Lawyer* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1960), p. 334.

²⁴The figure is used by Lincoln in his closing argument to the jury. Quoted by Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 342, quoting the *Chicago Daily Press*.

²⁵*Millennial Star, LeRoy*, XVIII (1856), 542.

²⁶*Hurd, et. al., v. the Rock Island Bridge Co.*, better known as the *Effie Afton* case. The Plaintiff alleged that the *Effie Afton* was carefully and skillfully navigated at the time, and that the boat was "forcibly driven by the currents and eddies caused by the said piers against one of them. . . ." They also alleged that the bridge was a permanent obstruction to navigation. The defendants denied the charges.

²⁷*St. Louis Republican* as quoted in the *Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 1857, p. 3.

Chicago *Tribune*, aware of the value of a railroad connection across the river to its community, took up the challenge. "Facts . . . do not warrant the incessant clamor kept up by those who insist that the magnificent and necessary structure shall be torn down. . . . We trust that . . . the outcries of the St. Louis and river press may be silenced."²⁸

The complete story is told elsewhere, and is too long to recount here.²⁹ Of special interest, however, is the fact that Abraham Lincoln was retained by the owners of the bridge to defend their interests. The battle which took place is regarded as "one of the most celebrated cases in Lincoln's entire career. . . ." It ". . . stands out as the highest point of his career at the Illinois bar. . . . It did more for his reputation as a lawyer than any other case he ever tried."³⁰

Lincoln shared his assignment to defend the bridge owners with two other then well-known and able attorneys; the interests of the river men in general and of Captain Hurd in particular were extremely well-attended to by outstanding counsel. But because of later events in history, Lincoln's part in this case has survived as part of the folklore surrounding that great man. With Lincoln were Norman Judd and Joseph Knox for the defense. Hezekiah M. Wead, Corydon Beckwith and Timothy D. Lincoln³¹ carried the burden for the plaintiffs. It appears that Judd and Knox conducted the presentation of the evidence and most of the cross-examination for the bridge interests. There is no question, however, that Abraham Lincoln took part in the presentation of the case, and to him was reserved the critical matter of closing the defendant's case before the jury.

Lincoln spent a great deal of time at the site of the wreck. With the bridge engineer, Benjamin Brayton, Sr., he went back and forth and back and forth through the draw.³² He talked to river pilots and boat captains. He measured and measured and remeasured. It was said that Lincoln "knew the bridge better than the man who made it."³³

²⁸Chicago *Tribune*, April 17, 1857, p. 2.

²⁹Duff, Chapter XX.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 332.

³¹Apparently no kin to A. Lincoln. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³²B. B. Brayton, "The Crossing of the River: the Turning Point for the Railroad and the West," *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, (Half Century Edition) Oct. 22, 1905.

³³Russell, Charles Edward, *A-Rafting on the Mississippi* (New York: Century, 1928), p. 67-72.

Models and maps were prepared and presented to the jury. Lincoln turned his experience on the river to good advantage. He could correct the boat's pilot on matters of navigation and currents and the effects of the *Effie Afton's* displacement in the draw.³⁴

Mr. Lincoln's seven hour closing speech to the jury has been characterized as demonstrating his "aversion to long-windedness";³⁵ perhaps so. Timothy D. Lincoln stated the plaintiff's position and the jury received a long charge from Judge McLean, who was back again from Washington.

The jury retired to seek a verdict. After some hours it reported back that it stood nine to three and could not see any hope for agreement. Judge McLean then recalled them, accepted the foreman's report and dismissed them. "This was the end of the '*Effie Afton Case*.'"³⁶

Thus the bridge remained, though still subject to attack,³⁷ to carry countless thousands, even tens of hundreds of thousands of settlers across the Father of Waters to the great regions of the West. Not only the Utah immigrants but all those who sought a better life were benefitted by the abilities of Judd, Knox and Lincoln. Lincoln had a vision of the value of the bridge: ". . . Demands of travel and traffic from east to west are . . . important. . . . It is growing larger and larger, building up new countries with a rapidity never before seen in the history of the world. . . . This current travel has its rights as well as that of north and south. . . . This bridge must be treated with respect in this court and is not to be kicked about with contempt."³⁸ How few of those who subsequently crossed that bridge ever suspected what an obligation they owed to Abraham Lincoln, prairie lawyer.

³⁴"Pilot Parker has shown here that he does not understand the draw. I heard him say that the fall from the head to the foot of the pier was four feet; he needs information. He could have gone there . . . and seen there was no such fall." *Chicago Daily Press*, September 24, 1857.

³⁵Duff, p. 343.

³⁶According to Duff, for the defendant, (*ibid.*) but see Beveridge who reports the majority stood for the plaintiff (603).

³⁷*Rock Island Lines News Digest*, p. 17.

³⁸*Chicago Daily Press*.

Yeats and the Invisible People of Ireland

By DOUGLAS HILL*

Perhaps it is unkind to Yeats, during the centennial of his birth, to bring up some of his rather embarrassing excursions into hermetic philosophy, theosophy, and fairy lore. Many critics see in his prolonged interest in psychic phenomena and folk superstition a forgivable but nevertheless unfortunate lapse in rational and poetic discrimination. At best they see it as a charming pretense, an engaging, tongue-in-cheek preoccupation, for surely no sophisticated man of the twentieth century, it is argued, could believe in such little folk, for example, as William Allingham writes of in his poem, "The Fairies":

We daren't go a-hunting
For fear of little men;
Wee folk, good folk,
Trooping all together;
Green jacket, red cap,
And white owl's feather!

If belief in fairies and leprechauns is the mark of a feeble or untutored mind, then we must look elsewhere for an explanation of Yeats' apparent credulity, for surely his mind was not feeble or untutored. However, if Yeats' beliefs were not merely an eccentric susceptibility, we should undertake a sincere examination of just what they were.

In this paper I would like to mention briefly the positions from which we usually judge Yeats' propensity for the occult, then limit the discussion to his belief in the invisible people of Ireland, the *Sleagh Math*, or good people (so called to avoid incurring their wrath or enmity)—leprechauns, cluricauns, pookas, banshees, merrows, fir darrigs, etc. Furthermore, I would like to show how Yeats could be induced to accept the reality of these amusing, mischievous, and sometimes dreadful creatures.

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The attitudes from which we usually examine Yeats' occultism range from disapprobation to firm approval. Not a small number of critics have thought, as Auden does, that the occult was nonsense, an understandable consequence of the great turn-of-the-century argument between reason and imagination, but nevertheless something he accepted "not because it is true but because it is interesting."¹

But according to Arland Ussher, Yeats was indeed a charlatan, but a sort of legitimate one.

As Shaw was continually called a montebank, so Yeats was often called a charlatan, or a believer in charlatanry. And there was some plausibility in both descriptions. Only, as Shaw was content to be a fool for truth and a life closer to truth (as he conceived it), so Yeats, desired only to be a charlatan for the purposes of poetry.²

If we can accept Ussher's explanation, Yeats was playing a role, posturing for the sake of his poetry. But the almost unabated energy he poured into his studies of the esoteric, culminating in that peculiar work of imagination, *A Vision*, suggests a firm belief rather than an expedient affectation. This, of course, doesn't rule out the possibility that a practiced belief in the fantastic couldn't become, later on, a genuine commitment. It is one of the functions of poetry to transform skepticism into belief.

Richard Ellmann, in answer to the question of whether or not Yeats actually believed in his esoteric studies, has this to say:

It cannot be answered simply. As a man he sometimes believed in his system and sometimes did not; at first he had more confidence in the 'communication' of the automatic writing as spirits beyond space and time than he afterwards retained. As a poet he largely accepted his father's position that the poet must be free of dogma and formula. But he feared that the real reason for his reluctance to use the *Vision* in his verse might be his timidity, and therefore wrote a few poems explicitly didactic, based on the system, to salve his conscience.³

Had Yeats been a practicing charlatan there is little likelihood that he would have shown reluctance to utilize the *Vision* in

¹See W. H. Auden, *The Permanence of Yeats*, ed. by James Hall and Martin Steinmann (New York, 1950), p. 346.

²Arland Ussher, *Three Great Irishmen* (New York, 1957), p. 51.

³Richard Ellmann, *Yeats: The Man and the Masks* (New York, 1948), p. 230.

his poetry. Indeed there is no simple answer. We suspect that Yeats' belief in the occult was intimately concerned with his poetry, and since we know so little about both the occult and creativity, their interanimation is little understood.

Before turning to what Yeats himself says about his belief in fairies, we might find it useful to define them. It should be noted that the word *fairies* is used generically to refer to the various forms of invisible people. A definition of them can be as elusive as the fairies themselves, but they do have characteristics about which there is general agreement. They are ethereal creatures, changeable like mist and clouds, invisible most of the time; a sort of ultra-refined substance or, as it is sometimes put, congealed air. They are usually seen as a race of tall, handsome, frolicsome people or short, wretchedly ugly people with dispositions to match. Although they can be found everywhere—in hawthorne bushes, lakes, castles, bogs, and glens—their own land is Tir-na-N'og, a country where time does not exist and where the inhabitants remain forever young.

Robert Kirk, who described the Gaelic fairies in *The Secret Commonwealth*, 1691, called them "the subterranean people" or "the abstruse people."⁴

Lady Gregory describes the *Sidhe*, or fairies, this way:

The Sidhe cannot make themselves visible to all. They are shape-changers; they can grow small or grow large, they can take what shape they choose; they appear as men or women wearing clothes of many colours, of today or of some old forgotten fashion, or they are seen as bird or beast, or as a barrel or a flock of wool. They go by us in a cloud of dust; they are as many as the blades of grass.⁵

Unlike many grim, brooding manifestations of the occult, fairies are vital, lively, and colorful. There is even "something of timid affection between men and spirits. They only ill-treat each other in reason; each admits the other to have feelings."⁶

Of these people, Yeats says in "The Celtic Twilight": "No matter what one doubts, one never doubts the faeries."⁷ Whether this is the residual superstition from Yeats' childhood

⁴Lady Gregory, *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland Collected and Arranged by Lady Gregory: With Two Essays and Notes by W. B. Yeats* (New York, 1920), p. 265.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁶W. B. Yeats, *Mythologies* (London, 1959), p. 7.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 106.

speaking or Yeats himself is difficult to determine. The question for many critics remains: was Yeats capable of distinguishing between volitional belief and a possible hoax that irrepresible and fugitive memory sometimes plays on the mature mind? Virginia Morre in *The Unicorn* recounts one of Yeats' early experiences with fairies in Sligo.

Visiting his Middleton cousins at Rosses Point near Sligo, he often entered the cottages roundabout, and it was there he first heard the quaint doings of the 'wee folk.' Like many Irish, a cousin Lucy Middleton had 'second sight.' She described amazing experiences. Willy too had heard mysterious sounds and seen mysterious sights. It did not occur to him to doubt the invisible.⁸

It is not entirely clear whether a belief in 'the occult' preceded or followed a belief in fairies in Yeats' adult life, whether both were consequences of a predisposition for numinous experiences. In other words, there is no assurance that an explanation of Yeats' search for illumination in the occult is consistent with his affirmation of the existence of fairies. The two are related but not necessarily concomitant.

An acquaintance with the peculiar Irish logic at work in these matters would be helpful in understanding the basis for Yeats' belief. For example, in "The Celtic Twilight" Yeats tells of several Connaught Fenians who apparently convince a group of townspeople of the reality of a fairy pig by showing them that it isn't there.⁹ The reasoning seems to be thus: "Of course it's a fairy pig; you can't see it now, can you?" Irrefutable logic indeed. Again, a woman in County Dublin replies to Yeats' question concerning the fishermen's knowledge of mermaids: "Indeed, they don't like to see them at all."¹⁰ I obtained the following information in Rosmuc, County Galway—a tiny Gaelic speaking parish. A local schoolmaster told me that many of the local inhabitants were apprehensive over his safety because his house was built on a fairy path. The fact that the schoolmaster had lived there for several years without observing any wondrous phenomena failed to controvert their belief.

This logic might appear all the more wondrous when it is noted that a belief in fairies and fairy tales often existed side

⁸Virginia Moore, *The Unicorn* (New York, 1954), p. 9.

⁹Yeats, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁰W. B. Yeats (ed.), *Irish Folk Stories and Fairy Tales* (New York, n.d.), p. xi.

by side with an equally devoted belief in Christianity, without either absorbing or transforming the other.

The rationalist immediately spots the absurdity of the quaint logic in these stories. Unqualified belief cannot precede the evidence for it. But in these matters it does, because belief, for these people, is to fairy lore what evidence is to rationality. The framework of assumptions or laws in each system governs the limits of its application. Rules of evidence in the fullest sense are inadmissible or simply irrelevant in dealing with the little people. Belief cannot be disproved without repudiating it as an experience, but experience with the elusive world of the fairies is part of the very texture of Irish life. Belief, then, is emotional and cannot be acquired through the usual channels of study; rather the reverse is the case: knowledge is acquired through belief. It might be anachronistic to believe in fairies, but it isn't necessarily the mark of intellectual inferiority to seek in irrationality a substitute for an emotionally faltering society. Completeness of form is not judged by its submission to reason, but by its power to please or to elicit wonder. Therefore, a thing is complete only when it evokes belief, or it is miraculous only when it is confirmed by the imagination. A belief in fairies is taken for granted. It is an assent without apology or explanation. One believes in science because it works; it gets results. One believes in fairies because they animate life and release latent images of reality that lie somewhere in the deep inaccessible regions of the mind.

A landscape animated by invisible presences heightens the observer's aesthetic response. The difference between the history of a locality and the fairy lore is that the history is dead, the events have happened; but the fairies are still alive and can only be kept alive by belief, even if the belief contradicts rational judgment. Furthermore, contradiction itself does not require explanation. Some things are revealed through or because of it—just as mystery does not always plead for clarification, because clarification would destroy its holy persuasion. It can be seen that, for the Irish, belief is based on the depth of what is *not* known. When the possible becomes probable, man's spirit is somehow diminished.

Yeats did not have to define these nuances of belief because he was already a typical Irish visionary. The fairies were

part of the Irish racial imagination that he inherited. The fact that he was a poet and found these irrational predispositions useful does not argue that he decisively chose to augment his fertile imagination with myths and folklore—though certainly there was conscious effort in this direction, particularly in his attempt to reintegrate ancient tradition in contemporary life and literature.

Yet it would hardly do to think that Yeats lied about his belief in the invisible people even to insure the continuity of Irish tradition, or even for the sake of establishing a harmony of forms. In the first case, belief based on deception leads to discovery, repudiation, and disorientation. In the second case, belief based on convenience lacks conviction; hence, it is no belief at all but arbitrary and mechanical pretense-like ritual without content or like Pascal's severely rational argument for an acceptance of God. To Yeats, unity was of utmost importance. "He never gave up hope of bringing together myth and fact into a new religion, or, as he called it, a new 'sacred drama' of Unity of Being."¹¹ Myths cannot elicit unifying belief if they have lost their sacramental value; that is, if their attempt to harmonize a diversity of forms is based solely on intellectual discrimination.

Yeats felt that fairies, everywhere and in everything, prevented a dissociation of the conscious and the unconscious and further led to a harmony of reality. The crucial question was not whether the fairies actually existed but whether a belief in them would unify man with his environment, harmonize the past with the present, the rational with the irrational. Of course, a belief in fairies *per se* would not confer all these benefits on an individual, but the attitude toward reality that makes a belief of this kind possible would. Fairies, in addition, symbolized Yeats' acceptance of a wider world of epiphenomenal creatures and his refusal to make any more concessions to a science bent on trivializing every belief not based on rigidly prescribed rules of evidence. L. A. G. Strong says:

Believing that all material objects were 'representations' or 'dramatisations' of a reality which did not end with their destruction, and that their form was decided, more or less arbitrarily, by human perceptions, he naturally drew less distinction than do most men between what everyone sees,

¹¹Ellmann, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

which we call reality, and what only a few see, which we call illusion.¹²

Convinced that the purely physical and the purely psychical are artificial, Yeats was free to believe in fairies because he had disburdened himself from the rational foundation upon which any objections could be raised. Whether his belief in fairies was neurotic or merely childish, there seems to be substantial evidence that it was genuine. Had it not been, there is doubt that his mythic poetry and occult investigations could have been sustained for the greater portion of his life. At any rate, it is more important to try to understand Yeats' belief than to explain it away or to apologize for it.

According to Ernst Curtius:

Man creates tools with which to work matter. Hence his intellect is adapted to the world of solid bodies and is most successful in the sphere of mechanics. But just as life is safe under the guidance of instinct, so it is endangered in the sphere of the intellect. If intellect encounters no resistance, it can threaten the existence both of the individual and of society. It bows only to facts, i.e., to perceptions. If 'Nature' wished to take precautions against the perils of the intellect, she would have to produce fictitious perceptions and facts. They have the effect of hallucinations, i.e., they appear to the mind to be real beings and can influence conduct. This explains the simultaneous existence of intelligence and superstition. "Only intelligent beings are superstitious." The fiction-making function ("fonction fabulatrice") has become necessary to life. It is nourished by the residuum of instinct which surrounds the intellect like an aura. Instinct cannot directly intervene to protect life. Since the intellect reacts only to perceived images, instinct creates "imaginary" perceptions.¹³

Yeats the poet and Yeats the visionary were one and the same. His poetry and his belief both led to a suspension of time as in dreams and in myths, where reality endures and facts as we know them slide away into the irrecoverable past.

¹²See L. A. G. Strong, "William Butler Yeats," *Scattering Branches*, ed. by Stephen Gwynn (New York, 1940), pp. 209-210.

¹³Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), p. 8.

Estaunie's Naturalistic Period and Spiritual Period

By BERTRAND LOGAN BALL, JR.*

Although Edouard Estaunié is not widely known outside of France, his novels are stimulating to study because of the great interest which his ideas have for those devoted to the quest of high moral and spiritual values. A popular writer in his own country during the 1920's, at the time of his election to the French Academy, he is still interesting today because of his evolution as a novelist. He began writing in the tradition of the naturalists who were essentially materialists and fatalists, but later, during his metaphysical or spiritual period, he developed toward a high spirituality and a clear concept of free agency or freedom of the will.

Edouard Estaunié (1862-1942) was born in Dijon, France, of a family of the upper middle class. A Jansenist gravity characterized the Languedocians of his father's side; ascetic tendencies ran strongly among the Burgundians of his mother's family. His father died before he was born. M. Monthieu, his maternal grandfather, took charge of his education. The boy was required to study assiduously, and he was not permitted to indulge in many distractions. He received love, encouragement, and understanding from his mother, who compensated in some measure for the sternness of M. Monthieu.

Estaunié prepared for a career in civil engineering which began in 1886, when he successfully passed the examination for the Administration of Post Offices and Telegraphs. He rose steadily to positions of importance, eventually becoming Inspector-General of the Administration of Telegraphs. During the first world war, the British government appointed him to a high post in telecommunications. After the war, he was called to Strasbourg by the French government to head a commission for the liquidation of German property in Alsace-Lorraine.

Despite this extensive and rigorous career in public life, he maintained a consistent literary career launched before he enter-

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ed public life with the publication in 1884 of his first literary work, *Symphonie en ut mineur*, a short lyric piece.¹ His literary vocation had been discovered by his mother when he was only seven years old. This precocious talent, modified by the scientific education which he received affected his early novels. He developed his psychological, critical, and artistic powers in the field of journalism. He contributed some seventy articles of criticism, in the field of art and literature, to three periodicals: *La Gazette Diplomatique*, *Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, and *La Revue des Musées*. In spite of his many responsibilities as a civil servant, Estaunié persistently set aside two hours in the middle of the day to work on his novels. He retired from government service in 1919 in order to devote more time to writing. He was elected to the French Academy in 1923. He died in Paris.

The novels, novelettes and short stories of Estaunié can be divided into two groups: those of the naturalistic period and those of the spiritual or metaphysical period. Estaunié himself acknowledges the validity of this dichotomy.

Dans ma vie de romancier il y a deux périodes bien distinctes qui correspondent à un changement métaphysique. La première va jusqu'à *La vie secrète* en passant par *L'empreinte* et *Le ferment*. La seconde est la période actuelle.²

The first period was naturalistic.

J'ai fait mes débuts de romancier en poeine époque naturaliste. J'avais écrit tout d'abord deux livres de science pure . . .³

Mes fortes études scientifiques m'avaient imprégné d'un positivisme éperdu que j'ai exposé plus tard dans *L'épave*.

Mais les deux ouvrages les plus caractéristiques de cette période furent successivement *L'empreinte* et *Le ferment* . . .

Dans *L'empreinte*, j'avais déterminé les effets d'une éducation religieuse trop forte et laissant insuffisamment place au libre arbitre, mais bientôt, dans *Le ferment*, j'étudiais au contraire les conséquences d'un enseignement purement scientifique, dans des esprits dépourvus du soutien de la morale.⁴

¹*Symphonie en ut mineur trouvée dans un carnet*. Plaquette published under the auspices of La Nouvelle Gaule, an ephemeral literary group, 1884. Re-published: *Semaine Littéraire* (Geneva), January 9, 1897, pp. 22-23.

²Robert Valette, "Entretien avec Edouard Estaunié," *Revue des Visages*, VI (March, 1928), p. 3. See also: Henri Villemot (ed.), "Quelques propos de M. Edouard Estaunié," *Bourgogne d'Or*, (December, 1933), p. 38.

³*Les sources d'énergie électrique* (Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1895); *Traité pratique de télécommunication électrique (télégraphie-téléphonie)*, (Paris: Dunod, 1904).

⁴Valette, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

The principal works of this period are: *Un simple* (1891), *Bonne-Dame* (1891), *L'empreinte* (1895), *Le ferment* (1899), and *L'épave* (1901). *La vie secrète* (1908), although containing characteristics of naturalism, is more properly placed in the second period.

The naturalistic works are motivated by the concept that human beings are a product of heredity, environment, and the attendant circumstances of life; Hippolyte Taine termed these factors *race, milieu, and moment*. The dénouement of the novels of this period is an inevitable result of the interaction of these forces upon the individual.

Un simple concerns a young bourgeois of Toulouse, Stéphane Deschantres. He inherited weak health. His early environment hampered his physical and emotional growth; he was forced to study long hours without exercise and social contacts. Having lost his father, he was raised by a domineering mother, who treated him alternately with effusive tenderness and unreasonable severity. His schoolmates teased him unmercifully because he was awkward, timid, and slow of mind. During the summer of his nineteenth year, he and his mother sojourned in the country. The daily contact with nature strengthened his health and hastened his emotional and sexual maturity. Sensual desires awakened within him, causing him to feel excited and guilty at the same time. He eventually discovered that his mother was carrying on a clandestine love affair with a married cousin. Stéphane's delicate and sensitive nature was shocked so deeply that, failing in his attempt to persuade her to leave her lover, he ended his life by drowning himself in a river. The dénouement is an inevitable result of the forces of heredity, environment, and circumstances acting upon the protagonist over a period of time.

Léonard Clan, the hero of *L'empreinte*, was an orphan raised at the Jesuit school of Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague at Nevers. He had inherited keen intelligence and sensitivity. His early environment developed his religious nature to the utmost; pressure was brought upon him by the Jesuits to enter their order. His intelligence, however, recognized the inadequacy of the academic instruction which he was receiving and the underhanded methods of his teachers. His pride refused to submit to a rule of absolute obedience to one's superiors. Upon graduation, he rejected the priesthood and left for Paris. Having lost

his religious faith, he turned to social reform. He wrote a few articles and aspired to give a series of lectures. Yet his Jesuit education had neglected to stimulate his intellectual curiosity and to develop within him the ability to examine documents and ideas with scientific objectivity; he lacked the prerequisites for becoming an effective social leader. He lost the opportunity to give the lectures because of a plot against him on the part of his former teachers. His contempt for women made him unfit for marriage. His religious nature craved a faith which he could not find in a society of agnostics and materialists. After the death of his only close friend, Léonard returned to Nevers and decided to enter the Jesuit order in an attempt to regain his lost faith.

Julien Dartot, the protagonist of *Le ferment*, was a peasant who had inherited the ugliness of his father. As an engineering student in Paris, he came to scorn his peasant background. Studying diligently, he dreamed of a life of prestige, luxury, and pleasure which he would lead after graduation from the Ecole Centrale. Once he had received his diploma, however, he was unable to find a position in Paris and was obliged to accept a mediocre factory job in Belgium. He felt that society had treated him unjustly since he had made the effort in school to achieve success and wealth and yet had been denied these rewards in the outside world. Upon the death of his father, he inherited a small amount of money which he risked at gambling. Having won a fortune, he returned to Paris to engage in dishonest financial manipulations and avenge himself on the world. He soon rose to rank and wealth.

Determinism is expressed many times in the naturalistic novels. Nature is conceived as a vast accumulation of matter and energy, of force and equilibrium, in a constant state of flux. Man is a tiny, unimportant part of the universal scheme of things. His mind and body are subject to mechanical laws. The concept of good and evil is only a figment of his imagination.

L'homme ne vit que par la nature; il n'est que pour la servir. Elle le façonne, l'élève; docile, plein d'illusions, il obéit, accomplit son rôle et, modifiant les énergies disponibles, concourt à l'oeuvre commune de transformation.

Regardez encore de plus près: il n'y a partout que justice. Rien ne se perd ni ne se crée, dit un axiome de physique: chaque force, quelle que soit sa nature, rencontre une autre

force qui lui est égale. Notre être misérable n'échappe pas à l'universalité de la loi. Matière et esprit subissent les mêmes nécessités mécaniques. Il n'y a, je le répète, ni bien ni mal; il n'y a que des forces et des équilibres.⁵

It must be borne in mind that the protagonists of the novels of the naturalistic period, although products of heredity, environment, and circumstances, are not the character-types created by Zola. They are not symbolic representations of a whole social class. They are not conceived in terms of instincts and primitive emotions. On the contrary, they are individuals, unique and different from others; they are sensitive beings, endowed with intelligence and strong wills. Estaunié carefully analyses their thoughts and emotions in the course of his narratives, noting the manner in which they react to their environment.

The second phase of Estaunié's literary development may be termed spiritual.

"La seconde partie de ma vie littéraire," reprend Edouard Estaunié, "que commence à partir de *La vie secrète*, est due à une crise métaphysique. Je venais de découvrir la solitude intérieure et le silence—l'impossibilité d'atteindre le mystère de notre destin.

"Nous nous étendons en surface, mais pas en profondeur, de là l'idée que la science ne joue pas un rôle absolu, et ne nous conduit pas, Voyez-vous, nous sommes enveloppés d'inconnu. Il y a des forces agissantes, en dehors de nous-mêmes et qu'on n'a pas encore déterminées. La rupture entre la matière et les forces intellectuelles n'existe pas. Le trait d'union est encore l'inconnu."⁶

The principal works of the spiritual period are: *La vie secrète* (1908), *Les choses voient* (1913), *Solitudes* (1917), *L'ascension de M. Baslèvre* (1919), *L'appel de la route* (1921), *L'infirmes aux mains de lumière* (1923), *Le labyrinthe* (1924), *Tels qu'ils furent* (1926), and *Madame Clapain* (1931). The chief characteristics of these works is the emergence of spiritual phenomena, such as the soul, the "secret life," and solitude, as dominating realities in Estaunié's universe.

The concept of the soul as an entity separate from the body is first developed in *La vie secrète*. Spiritual health is regarded as determining physical health. One of the characters, Dr.

⁵*L'empreinte* (Paris: Perrin, 1895), pp. 268-269.

⁶Valette, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Pontillac, states: "J'estime qu'en tout temps, la santé de l'âme commande au corps."⁷

Extrasensory perception is a notable feature of the writings of the spiritual period. The characters are sensitive to the thoughts and feelings of others, even though they do not communicate with them through the five senses. In moments of crisis, souls have recourse with direct contact. "A certains moments, la parole cesse de compter: on n'est plus sensible qu'au peuplement de l'air par l'invisible émanation des âmes."⁸

M. Lormer, in *L'appel de la route*, loved his daughter so intensely that when her attitude toward him changed, he sensed it immediately.

Si par hasard vous avez aimé, ce dont je vous plaindrais, fallait-il que vous *vissiez* pour apprendre quand on était las de votre présence? Vous le sentiez! Ce que l'on sent est autrement certain que ce que l'on voit. Sentir, c'est happer l'impondérable, tâter l'invisible, atteindre là où le regard ne pénètre pas. Dans un doute poignant, je vous le demande, est-ce vos yeux que vous consultez ou la perception intime, continue, que la raison méprise et qui, heureusement, veille à sa place pour notre garde?⁹

Adèle Doublet and her daughter, Aurélie, characters of *Tels qu'ils furent*, had such apprehension toward the future that their emotion filled the atmosphere of their house.

Il est très difficile d'expliquer pourquoi une maison change, et même en quoi elle change. Il est cependant incontestable qu'à certains moments et tout d'un coup, sans que rien soit modifié dans le train de vie ou l'aspect matériel des choses, l'atmosphère se transforme, l'air vibre autrement, chacun rôde d'une pièce à l'autre sans les reconnaître, et la paix coutumière fait place à une irrésistible anxiété.¹⁰

The souls of the dead communicate with the living. M. Baslèvre, the protagonist of *L'ascension de M. Baslèvre*, learned to love Claire Gros in a pure and unselfish way. Her death brought them closer together spiritually. Claire's soul accompanied M. Baslèvre wherever he went, counseling and guiding him. The protagonist of *Madame Clapain*, Ida Cadifon, learned

⁷*La vie secrète* (Paris: Perrin, 1908), p. 312.

⁸*L'appel de la route* (Paris: Hachette, 1930), p. 280.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁰*Tels qu'ils furent* (Paris: Perrin, 1927), p. 86.

the reason for the suicide of her boarder, Madame Clapain. She kept the secret for which the latter had sacrificed her life and gained a spiritual joy which transfigured her former self. Once, she saw the dead woman before her, peacefully speaking to her of the rewards of self-sacrifice.¹¹

Things, that is the material possessions of the characters, become vessels which receive their souls. The innermost emotions and desires of individuals are preserved in these things forever. Three pieces of furniture in an old house in Dijon witness violent and tragic events occurring over a period of three generations. The clock, the mirror and the desk are witnesses to a crime and its expiation. It is their recollections which form the basis of the novel entitled *Les choses voient*.

Solitude is the most important phenomenon in all of the novels of Estaunié, both those of the naturalistic period and those of the spiritual period. The importance of solitude lies in the decisive effect which it exercises on the lives of the characters. In the naturalistic novels, solitude was conceived as the result of heredity, environment, and circumstances. Stéphane Deschantres' solitude was due to his naïveté and timidity, stemming from weak health and early environmental conditions. Léonard Clan's solitude was developed as his keen intelligence and sensitivity were fashioned in such a way that he could not adjust to the outside world. Julien Dartot's solitude arose from his feeling of inferiority at being an ugly peasant.

In the spiritual period, solitude is conceived as a transcendent reality imposed upon all men. It is not essentially derived from heredity or environment. It stems from the very nature of man and the universe. In the spiritual novels, solitude is first conceived in terms of the "secret life." This phenomenon is defined and described in the novel *La vie secrète*. The "secret life" is the spiritual force which rules the human soul and determines its destiny. Human beings experience it as the love which they have for some activity or some person, perhaps themselves. It remains unknown to others, for each person is walled in by his own emotional and spiritual nature. For a long time it appears that the "secret life" does not exist; it is masked by conventional behavior. Suddenly it bursts forth, upsetting the life of the individual. Great joy comes to those who forget themselves to give unselfishly to others; destruction is

¹¹*Madame Clapain* (Paris: Perrin, 1932), pp. 322-326.

the punishment reserved for those who persist in striving solely for personal gain.

To illustrate the manner in which the "secret life" works, let us examine the life of three characters in *La vie secrète*. They are inhabitants of the village of Montaigut in the Haute-Garonne. Noémi Peyrolles, a wealthy middle-aged spinster, was outwardly austere and unyielding; inwardly, she was passionately attached to her struggling young nephew, the illegitimate son of her brother. Although she had paid for part of her nephew's education, she had refused to have any social contact with him. Now he came to her as a poor young doctor who needed money for his tubercular mistress, who was expecting a child. He had been too poor to marry her. In order to help him financially and gain his affection, Noémi had to overcome the jealousy she felt toward the other woman and renounce her narrow religious and moral views. After a struggle, she yielded to the call of her heart and gained great joy.

M. Taffin, the benign village priest, was inwardly tormented by solitude. His loneliness was relieved by worshipping a local saint, whom he imagined to be a beautiful woman pouring out her love to him. When a noted hagiographer declared this local saint as unworthy of sainthood, the weak faith of M. Taffin gave way completely and he determined to leave the priesthood. Before he could carry out his intention, however, he was called to bring spiritual comfort to some suffering parishioners. He became more clearly aware of his responsibilities toward others and the comfort that he could bring them even though he did not have a strong faith himself. He decided to remain in his post.

M. Lethois, a middle-aged recluse, had spent years secretly observing the habits of ants in the hope of gaining prestige and wealth as a scientist. But a fatal illness carried him away before he could finish his research. The reward of his selfishness was suffering and death.

The phenomenon of the "secret life" is interrelated with solitude and suffering, which hold Estaunié's attention in later novels. Solitude results from the passionate attachment of a person to an activity, or more commonly, to a person whom he desires to possess completely. Pierre Jauffrelin, the hero of "Les Jauffrelin" (a part of the trilogy *Solitudes*), loved his wife in such a way.

Aimer n'est pas seulement se sentir soulevé par le désir d'une femme; ce n'est pas uniquement avoir l'obsession de ses lèvres et la hantise de son corps: c'est posséder les pensées qui fleurissent en elle et les images de ses songes; c'est, la cherchant dans ses yeux, s'y retrouver comme dans un miroir sans cesser pourtant de l'y apercevoir.¹²

Such a possessive and selfish love made Pierre feel completely alone. He saw his wife's face as an impenetrable mask concealing feelings and thoughts which he would never know.

Some of Estaunié's characters are able to escape the anguish of solitude. They must renounce possessive love and think only of giving.

S'il [l'amour] fabrique du bonheur, ce n'est jamais pour lui, mais seulement pour l'autre. Il ne prend rien: il donne tout. J'ai souvent imaginé qu'on pouvait aimer un être désespérément, sans presque l'approcher, sans parfois qu'il le soupçonne. Qui sait si un grand amour muet n'est pas la plus belle fleur qui ait jamais paré une âme humaine? Qui sait aussi quelle ivresse intime peut sortir d'un tel sacrifice où rien n'a été sacrifié que soi-même?¹³

The love of M. Baslèvre, the protagonist of *L'ascension de M. Baslèvre*, for Claire Gros was both spiritual and physical. Since Claire was married to another, the physical expression of love would have been selfish and immoral. M. Baslèvre was able to overcome his physical lust and his jealousy toward Claire's husband; he contented himself by serving her. Since their love became entirely spiritual, it could not be destroyed by death. After her demise, her invisible presence accompanied M. Baslèvre everywhere, advising and directing him.

Estaunié's characters all suffer from solitude. He focuses his attention upon the suffering caused by solitude in *L'appel de la route*. Three friends gathered in a café after the first world war. They discussed the problem of suffering. One claimed that it was unjust; another insisted that it was incomprehensible; and the third asserted that it was merely not understood. In order to illustrate his contention, each friend told a story. But the three stories concerned the same people and the same events. Without knowing it, each friend had been witness to a different phase of the same chain of events. The third

¹²*Solitudes* (Paris: Perrin, 1917), p. 211.

¹³*L'Ascension de M. Baslèvre* (Paris: Perrin, 1919), p. 181.

story concluded with an exposition concerning the effect of suffering on human lives: it detaches people from the life which they know and focuses their attention upon the more important life beyond the grave. Thus, suffering itself is the "call of the way." It called the characters from their egocentric earthly life to a greater spiritual life beyond.

In the spiritual period, destiny is a transcendent force, logical and implacable. It is external, however, and independent of the will and psychological proclivities of the characters. It influences them in their thoughts and actions, but it does not take their free agency from them. Noémi, one of the characters of *Les choses voient*, was a young woman who lived in the house of her employer, Marcel Clérabault, and kept his accounts. Her desperate love for this middle-aged man was of no avail; he had made up his mind to marry another young woman. Noémi felt certain there must be some way to change disaster to triumph. Following a hunch, she took a pile of old letters out of the kitchen cupboard. They had been written by Marcel's deceased wife to her lover. Upon a sudden inspiration, Noémi changed the date of one of the letters so that it would appear as if written by Marcel's present fiancée, who had the same name as his deceased wife. Noémi's actions, abetted by the invisible force of destiny, set off a chain reaction of violence and death which was not expiated until the third generation.

Fate may also insinuate itself into the life of a character in direct opposition to his conscious desires, but not perhaps in opposition to his subconscious desires. Jean Pesnel, the protagonist of *Le labyrinthe*, struggled in vain to pay off the debts of his deceased father. A miserly aunt died; since she had left no will, her fortune went by default to Jean, the nearest relative. He repaid the creditors joyously, satisfying his wounded pride. But he was uneasy in his aunt's mansion; he felt the presence of her hostile spirit. One night, in looking through some old books, he found a holograph will written by his aunt on a slip of paper; she had left her entire fortune to her private maid, Alice de Vaubajour. He visited Alice and, finding her beautiful in spirit and in body, he married her and gave her the legal right to his fortune. In this way he hoped to assuage his guilty conscience. But the deep love that united the two was marred by Jean's selfish calculation. Although he eventually told her of the existence of the will, he could not efface in her

the suspicions that he had aroused in trying to conceal the truth. The lovers wandered in a perpetual labyrinth of anxiety and doubt.

For Estaunié, the past is a spiritual force as well. It resurges in the lives of the characters to establish justice and bring retribution. Noémi Peyrolles' brother, Oscar, had left home to lead a dissolute life. His mistress became pregnant, but Oscar's father refused to permit the marriage or succor the expectant mother. Noémi, however, sent money secretly and continued to support partially the illegitimate nephew, Marc, as he grew to maturity. She never permitted him to visit her, however, for she felt that he did not belong to her social class. By dint of hard work, he became a doctor, but was too poor to marry the woman he loved. His mistress became pregnant, and at the same time was suffering from tuberculosis. Marc appealed to his aunt for aid. She was now a lonely middle-aged spinster who craved his constant presence. Yet her moral and religious scruples would not permit her to help him.

Ils [Noémi et Marc] s'étaient levés. Ils criaient: le passé! En même temps, ils tendaient les poings vers lui, comme s'il venait d'entrer; et c'était vrai qu'il était là, témoin tragique revenu à vingt ans de distance et sans changement. Etait-ce Marc ou son père qui revendiquait ainsi la liberté d'épouser sa maîtresse? Lequel des deux invoquait ici le droit de l'enfant? Rien n'avait changé, ni la pièce où ils parlaient, ni le costume noir de Mlle Peyrolles, ni même les personnages: celle-ci à peine blanchie, Marc si pareil au mort qu'il semblait celui-ci rajeuni.

Frémissante, Mlle Peyrolles retomba sur sa chaise. Qu'il y eût dans ce retour une justice souveraine, qu'après avoir tant fait souffrir, elle souffrît à son tour par les mêmes moyens, cela ne la frappait pas.¹⁴

Noémi had to sacrifice her moral convictions and acknowledge in her heart the injustice of her former attitude. Only by doing this and by giving her nephew the money which he needed did she gain the peace and joy which she craved.

As we have seen, the spiritual novels presuppose the existence of spiritual phenomena which impinge upon the lives of the characters without depriving them of their free agency. Noémi Peyrolles and M. Baslèvre freely chose to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of others, just as M. Lethois and

¹⁴*La vie secrète*, p. 263.

ESTAUNIÉ'S CONTRASTING PERIODS

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Pierre Jauffrelin deliberately chose to remain selfish. The actions of the characters are rewarded or punished according to transcendent spiritual laws. Thus Estaunié as a novelist evolved from a concept in which determinism, in the form of heredity and environment, played a major role in the characters' lives to a concept in which free agency, against a backdrop of spiritual laws and forces, functioned to determine the characters' destiny.

Book Reviews

RICHARDS, HENRY W. *A Reply to the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1965. 159 pp.

The writing of this book was undertaken by Mr. Richards in acceptance of a challenge in an "open letter" by Mr. Stephen M. Silver "to bring your doctrine forth in a manly way, that it might be put to the test. . . ." It seems that Mr. Silver, whose parents were neighbors to Mr. Richards, had left the L.D.S. Church and joined the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times. Mr. Richards, who was fond of his neighbors, was eager to bring young Mr. Silver back into the Church. He told Stephen's mother that he had found enough "proof and information" to prove the doctrine of the Church of the Firstborn incorrect. Mr. Silver stated that he at first thought to write privately to Mr. Richards but believing that their "lectors" would be "equally interested" in Mr. Richards' findings, decided to write "this open letter."

In the introduction to the book, it is made clear that the main problem of controversy is "Priesthood Government . . . ; who's got the keys and who doesn't."

It is pointed out that the "LeBaron movement" maintains that there are two offices higher than the First Presidency of the Church, the President of the High Priesthood of the Church (an office of the Melchizedek Priesthood) and the Presiding Patriarch of the Church (an office in the Aaronic Priesthood); and that the authority of the highest office was given by John the Beloved to Joseph Smith, who conferred it upon Benjamin Johnson, who conferred it upon his grandson, Alma Dayer LeBaron, who conferred it upon his son, Joel F. LeBaron. The second highest office, according to the LeBaron group, was handed down to Margarito Bautista without a break in authority.

All prophets of the L.D.S. Church down to and including Joseph F. Smith are accepted by the "LeBaronites," and both churches accept the four standard works of the L.D.S. Church. The LeBaron group also accepts the *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* by Joseph Fielding Smith. In addition, they also

acknowledge their own booklet *Priesthood Expounded* (published in August, 1956) and their periodical *Ensign* as being official. In addition to using the two above-mentioned publications, Mr. Richards also obtained information concerning the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times from tape-recorded interviews with the leaders of their church.

Mr. Richards' first chapter deals with the founding and organization of the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times in some detail, giving also their articles of incorporation. Chapters two and three deal with the LeBaronite claims to having two priesthood offices higher than that of president of the Church. Mr. Richards brings out the fact, admitted by the LeBaronite leaders, that there is no written evidence that Benjamin Johnson was ever ordained to be president of the High Priesthood. Mr. Richards also points out that nowhere in L.D.S. literature is there any evidence that the patriarchal office is higher than the office of president of the Church, nor is there any evidence that the office bestowed by John the Baptist had any patriarchal authority whatsoever. Another major problem discussed is whether the apostleship is a priesthood or an office and whether apostles have the authority to ordain other apostles or not.

Because the LeBaron group claims to have received all of their authority from Benjamin Johnson, his writings are used by Mr. Richards to show that Joseph Smith gave "all the keys and powers bestowed upon me" to the Twelve Apostles, and that "after the Prophet's death, Brigham Young became Israel's great leader, a prophet, seer and revelator to the Church in all the world . . . holding every key of priesthood and power pertaining to the kingdom of God on the earth and the salvation for the dead."

Sundry matters are next taken up in a series of thirty-five questions to Stephen Silver, in which Mr. Richards seeks an answer to what he considers certain false teachings and statements of the LeBaronites. One of these is the claim by William Tucker that Joel F. LeBaron is the "one mighty and strong." (D&C 85:7), when Joel F. LeBaron had personally told Mr. Richards that his father Alma Dayer LeBaron was the "one mighty and strong."

The author concludes his work by pointing out that both Alma Dayer LeBaron and wife, Maude LeBaron, who had been

excommunicated from the Church on grounds of adultery, had written to President Heber J. Grant (Mrs. LeBaron having written on three different occasions, the first time in July, 1926 and the third time in Feb., 1942), asking for forgiveness and readmission into the Church. Mr. Richards poses the question of why they would do this if they knew that Heber J. Grant had no authority and that Alma Dayer LeBaron himself claimed to have the highest priesthood authority on earth.

There are two rather unimportant, yet quite noticeable, errors in the book. On page twenty-three, Mr. Richards has confused the publication date of the *Documentary History of the Church* (published in 1902) with that of the *Comprehensive History of the Church* (first published serially in *Americana Magazine* from 1909-1915 and first published in book form in 1930). Ordinarily this would nullify a point made by Mr. Richards, but he needs only to replace his reference from Vol. I, page 271 of the *Comprehensive History of the Church* to Vol. I, page 243 of the *Documentary History of the Church* in order to make his point equally valid. On page 129 of the book D&C 139 should read D&C 130.

Mr. Richards did a tremendous amount of research, both in the scriptures and in the beliefs and history of the LeBaronite Church, in order to write his book. Yet, his book does not purport to be a history of the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times. If one desires a background in this subject in addition to Mr. Richards' book, he could profitably read *Origins and Development of the Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times*, a master's thesis at B.Y.U. by Lyle O. Wright.

It is the reviewer's opinion that Mr. Richards has done a very capable job in performing the task that he set out to do.

Russell R. Rich

REYNOLDS, GEORGE AND JANNE M. SJODAHL. *Commentary on the Pearl of Great Price*, Compiler, Philip C. Reynolds. Salt Lake City, 1965. 391 pp.

According to Harold Lundstrom, music editor of the *Deseret News*, this commentary is the result of "combining the heretofore unpublished testimonies, observations, research and sound doctrine observations" of George Reynolds, who was the father of the compiler, Philip C. Reynolds, and Janne M. Sjodahl, father-in-law of the compiler. Reynolds and Sjodahl are well-known in Mormon circles for their previous commentaries on the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. In this work their independent notes are seemingly combined (no individual authority is established) to give a verse by verse commentary on the Book of Moses and the first four chapters of the Book of Abraham. Unfortunately no commentary is given on Abraham 5, other than a reference back to the commentary on Moses, Chapter 3, nor is a commentary provided for Matthew chapter 24 (Joseph Smith I), Joseph Smith's Story (Joseph Smith II) or the Articles of Faith.

The compiler has also included a rather lengthy introductory essay of seventy-four pages entitled "Is Continuous Revelation Necessary or Was Joseph Smith a Prophet of God?" This introduction, while interesting, and in the view of the reviewer, basic as an approach to the Pearl of Great Price, might have been somewhat shortened and still have answered the two questions propounded in the title. Appended to the commentary on the Book of Abraham (pp. 322-367) is a reprint of George Reynolds' "The Seed of Abraham or Are We of Israel?" which was first published in the pamphlet form in 1879 and an article on "The Symbolism of the Great Pyramid," which is now out of date. A nine-page index concludes the volume.

The main value of this work is the verse-by-verse commentary on the eight chapters of the Book of Moses and the first four chapters of the Book of Abraham. No previous verse-by-verse commentary on the Pearl of Great Price has been published. The commentary seems to draw heavily on Sjodahl's acquaintance with the standard Bible commentaries of his time, his access to Hebrew as a source of insight into disputed passages, and on the ready acquaintance of both authors with the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants from their previous works.

The commentary will be valuable for suggested insights into many verses in the Pearl of Great Price which normally come up for discussion in classes and study groups on the Pearl of Great Price. Reynolds and Sjodahl have some interesting insights into such problems as the identity of the giants mentioned in Moses 7:15; the meaning of Moses 6:55 ("children are conceived in sin"); the Cain and Abel story—Moses 5, especially Moses 5:23 ("thou shalt rule over him"); and many others. A refreshing feature of the Commentary to the reviewer was the authors' insights, because of their familiarity with the meaning of Hebrew texts that form the backdrop for the Pearl of Great Price.

James R. Clark

BRUCE B. CLARK AND ROBERT K. THOMAS. *Out of the Best Books*, Vol. I. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1964. 485 pp., \$2.95.

Nearly all thinking persons agree that American education needs more humanistic training. The Relief Society has long ago recognized our present need in this regard. This organization has therefore given literary lessons to its members for many years. Indeed, fortunate were members of the Relief Society, and hence the membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, when two Brigham Young University English professors, Bruce B. Clark and Robert K. Thomas, were commissioned to produce a "text" that could serve as the basis for their literary studies.

The title, *Out of the Best Books*, reminds us at once of a statement in the Doctrine and Covenants that reflects the well-established belief of Latter-day Saints since 1830, that all men need general education and cultural elevation. The subtitle, *An Anthology of Literature*, is too modest. A text that can boast an introduction as scholarly, as helpful, and as easily understood as that written by Professor Thomas, is more than an anthology or collection of pieces of literature. A further modifier of the title, "Volume 1," foreshadows other volumes to follow in a systematic series.

The main concern of Volume I is said to be "The individual and Human Values," which Professor Clark divides into "Faith in God and Man," "Right and Wrong Attitudes," "God Versus Evil," "The Place of Suffering in Life," and "Facing Death." With this careful and logical arrangement of values, a good course of study based on *Out of the Best Books* will make the students realize that all that can be called literature, prose as well as poetry, deals with life's values rather than with life's happenings only.

A "discussion" follows each literary selection, which contains pertinent data concerning the author, specific qualities of the work being analyzed, relative quality of the author's works, stylistic characteristics of the author under discussion, and makes a helpful comparison with other well-known, at times famous writers.

In such "discussions" Dr. Clark has probably wrought better than he knows. Tenaciously he holds to human values and discusses the various techniques of writing very little, some-

times not at all. This is noteworthy since, to date, too many commentaries on literature discuss too much the part played by form, and that not infrequently at the expense of that played by content.

If those who lead groups of students through a study of literature at the hand of Professor Clark apply the analytical philosophy of Professor Thomas given at the beginning of *Out of the Best Books*, the students will find their perception of beauty sharpened and their commitment to ennobling principles of living strengthened. Students who study literature inspired by this monumental work will never again be content with a superficial analysis or the mere "reading stories" approach to literature. Whatever success this text may reap eventually, its pair of authors will have earned all of that and more.

Gerrit de Jong, Jr.

FRANK B. SALISBURY. *Truth by Reason and by Revelation*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1965. Pp. 350, \$4.50.

This book, upon the much-abused subject of the conflict between science and religion, gives real insight into how one man, a deeply convinced Latter-day Saint and a recognized scientist in the field of biology, has dealt with the conflict. As the title indicates, Dr. Salisbury recognizes two channels to truth: reason, which he equates with the scientific method of experience and logic; and revelation from God, which he treats as including the standard works of the Church and personal testimony. He accepts both sources as valid, recognizes that there are real conflicts between the present scientific understanding of the world and the teachings of Mormonism, and identifies as one factor in the conflict that the scientist has not yet learned to accept the validity of revelation. His own avowed purpose in writing the book is "to give my fellow scientist, as well as the student, grounds for faith and reason to believe that the gospel has been restored."

The book's first and best section deals briefly with the two different approaches to truth, and the limitations of both. Dr. Salisbury presents a good discussion of the unique epistemological foundations of the Mormon position, and shows evidence of careful thinking in answering the casual objections whereby the skeptic usually wholly dismisses the possibility of knowledge by revelation. He seems to recognize that the ultimate sources of the conflict are indeed epistemological and metaphysical—a natural versus a theistic approach toward the questions of the universe, each equally based upon faith in certain assumptions. He does point out that if Mormonism's claims are true, it is possible to attain a certainty upon fundamental questions by revelation, whereas by the inductive methods of science one is limited to arriving at only an increasing probability that any current interpretation of facts is the correct one.

The second section of the book is an attempt to analyze certain problems between science and religion especially that of evolution versus creation. Beginning with a commendable brief discussion of miracles, which ably fields Hume's classic objection, the section continues with a little of everything from biological and theological exposition and a Word of Wisdom discussion to open and avowed speculation upon subjects as diverse as how Eve was created from Adam's rib and how

flying saucers may figure in the eschatological picture. There is a good treatment of the theory of evolution and certain of its strengths and weaknesses from a scientific viewpoint. Dr. Salisbury disappointingly makes an attempt to solve the problem by reconciling both viewpoints, with the usual result of a picture that is scientifically disquieting without being theologically satisfying. While defending strongly the doctrine of an anthropomorphic God in whose bodily image man was created, and even urging the doctrine of Adam's supervising the whole creation process as an embodied being, the author seems to want to hold the door open to Darwinian evolution's being possibly the creative process whereby the species that God and Adam already represented was brought by them into existence. Nor does he ever really come to grips with the problem of the Fall, or of the paradisiacal condition of the earth to which it is to be renewed by the Redemption.

However, his treatment of the theory of evolution, its assumptions and problems, is honest and lucid and perhaps the fairest yet given in a Latter-day Saint publication. This, together with its epistemological approach to the problems and its recognition of many usually hidden assumptions behind the problems, keeps the book from being just one more attempt to show that Mormonism is really scientific after all.

F. K. Nielsen

Book Notes

WILLIAM R. FARMER. *The Synoptic Problem*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1964. 308 pp., \$10.00.

Although the subtitle promises a critical analysis, Professor Farmer devotes the bulk of his space to a history of scholarship on the synoptic question. The book is noteworthy, therefore, as a challenge to the establishment (which maintains the priority of Mark and assumes document "Q" to explain correlations of Matthew and Luke) rather than as a work which proves its point. The latter, as a matter of record, was not really intended (pp. xi, 233), whether from discretion or simply lack of evidence. Be that as it may, the heart of the book is Chapter VI, which emerges as an oasis of concise persuasiveness. Clear verbal interrelationships of Matthew, Mark, and Luke rule out all possible sequences but six, setting aside hypothetical sources (a decision that relegates Matthew's *logia* of Jesus—noted by Papias—to this category). After this point Farmer is best on reasons that establish the priority of Matthew to Luke: e.g., Matthew's Jewishness as most primitive, Luke's intention in his preface to revise the existing "narrative," and "the unanimous testimony of the Church Fathers that Matthew was written before the other canonical Gospels" (p. 224). It is hard to see why these same reasons do not compel Farmer to add Mark after Matthew in sequence before Luke, but his cause is defending the theory of Mark as the redactor of Matthew and Luke.

While Farmer is considered perverse in such analysis by many with standard synoptic convictions, he adds another great dissent, claiming a "widespread" mandate of colleagues "to have the Synoptic Problem reopened" (p. xi). That his methods have injected greater certainty into the question is not likely, in view of the thin presentation of his own thesis, combined with admission of ambiguous phenomena (p. 219), intrinsic "unresolved questions" (p. 253), and realization that statistical patterns cannot be wholly expected from spontaneous authors (p. 217). Farmer's contention that alternative explanations are possible to the usual synoptic analysis is also true of his own solution. In the long run the work may stand as evidence of

the inconclusiveness of the literary analysis which it emphasizes and foreshadow a return to the historical techniques which it adopts to establish the chronological priority of Matthew to Luke.

DONALD GUTHRIE. *New Testament Introduction: The Gospels and Acts*. Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1965. 380 pages, \$5.95.

The final volume of Guthrie's trilogy reviewing the entire New Testament is welcomed by many who have come to appreciate the British professor's wide grasp of secondary literature and gift for lucid expression. An "introduction" to the New Testament may be a technical work for the specialist or a survey of the field. Guthrie fits the latter category, but his lack of superficiality dictates review. It is characteristic of this age of literary saturation that the author has adopted the bibliographical approach to his subject of treating issues in terms of modern proponents of various theories. Consequently, a treatment of a New Testament book in Guthrie reads like a well-written law case, citing, criticizing, and distinguishing its authorities. This can result in the false impression that answers are to be found through books about the New Testament instead of through the primary evidence of the New Testament and the early Christian period. On the other hand, this approach is particularly helpful in dispelling any illusions which persist concerning a supposed consensus of New Testament experts.

While generally conservative in his own conclusions, Guthrie is unerringly fair to all points of view, and faithfully records strengths and weaknesses of every position, including his own. His methods are characterized by a suspicion of *a priori* assumptions, a cautious respect for ancient testimony (see pp. 195-6) as superior to inconclusive literary analysis, and a disdain of the probative value of recurrent arguments from silence. He is candid enough to label theories as such on the basis of evidence and in the face of professional popularity. All this is not to argue perfection for the author. This final volume is too quick to identify Matthew's *logia* with the present Gospel. Goodspeed's *Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist* (1959), contending that Matthew is certainly the Gospel's author, is not discussed, and failure to mention the most cogent of his arguments is a glaring omission. One would also expect to find in a competent introduction the citations to actual evidence on the Theophilus question rather than footnoting of merely secondary discussions. But on the whole, Guthrie is a competent, up-to-date, and reasonably comprehensive analyst of the authorship and background of New Testament literature.