



Religious Studies in Kansas

Department of Religious Studies ♦ The University of Kansas ♦ Vol. 1, No. 2, Spring 1993

Authority, Creativity, and Originality: The Case of Martin Luther King, Jr.

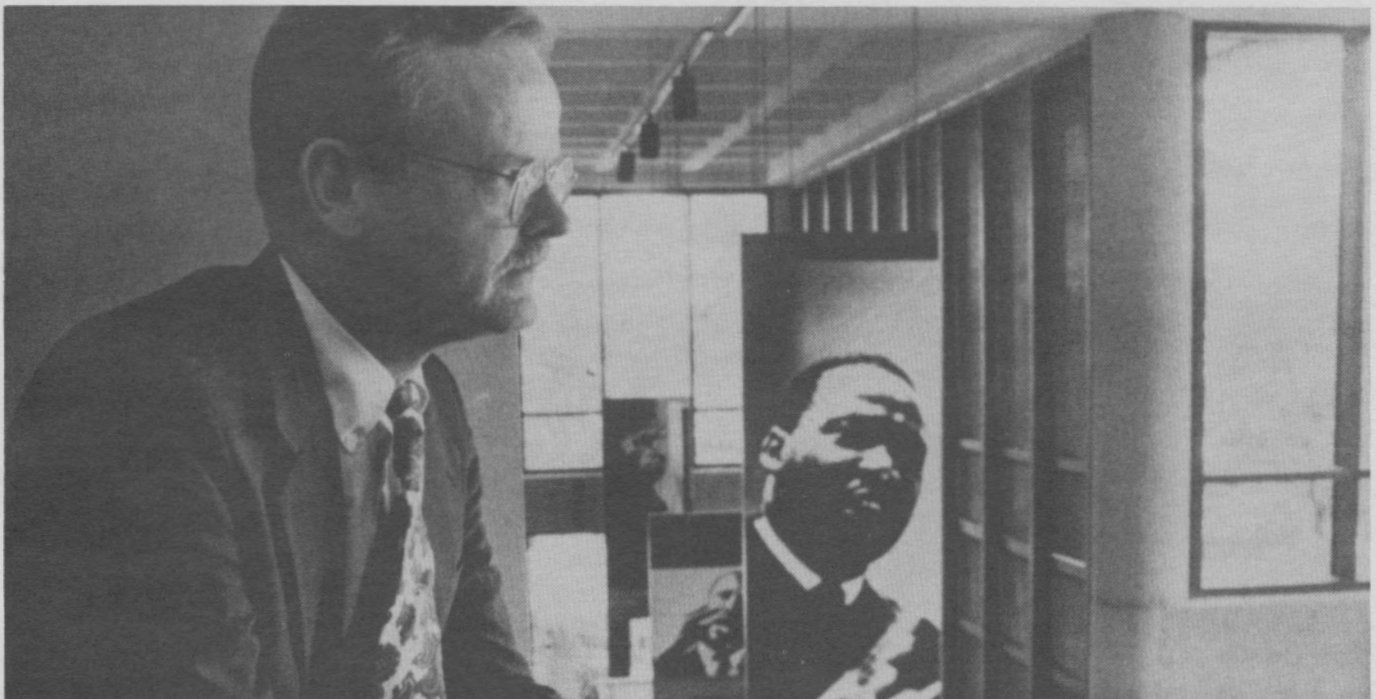
Ralph E. Luker
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Martin Luther King, Jr. submitted a paper entitled "Contemporary Continental Theology" for a seminar in systematic theology in the fall of 1951. The seminar and the paper were on subjects at the heart of his graduate study, early in his first year of graduate studies at Boston University. Finding the paper to be a "superior" piece of work, the seminar's director, Professor L. Harold DeWolf, would soon become King's academic advisor, dissertation director, and life-long friend.

Nearly four decades later, the Martin Luther King Papers Project found two sentences buried in King's seminar paper which said: "I am as far as ever from being a Barthian. What I wish to commend to you is ... a great corrective and great challenge in this theology of crisis." What was striking about these two sentences was that they came, only slightly modified and without quotation marks,

from the most obvious secondary source: Walter Marshall Horton's *Contemporary Continental Theology* (1938). What was more astonishing about King's plagiarism here was that he had used Horton's first person pronoun: "I am as far as ever from being a Barthian. What I wish to commend to you" Obviously, the plagiarism raised questions about the identity of the "I" who was speaking to us from that page.

The plagiarism in this seminar paper extended far beyond these two sentences. Six months earlier, in his third year at Crozer Theological Seminary, King had largely paraphrased and plagiarized a paper on Jacques Maritain from Horton's book.¹ When he returned to the subject of Maritain's theology in his seminar paper at Boston University, his section of eleven paragraphs on Maritain contained only one original sentence by King. The sentence said: "So much for Maritain." It was an astonishingly breezy dis-



Ralph E. Luker, Associate Professor of History at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, delivered the keynote lecture to the 1992 Department of Religious Studies Banquet at the University of Kansas. This essay is an edited version of his lecture.

missal of the thought of perhaps the most important contemporary Roman Catholic theologian.

Despite the plagiarism, the paraphrasing, and the derivative character of his seminary and graduate school papers, King seemed to have little obvious intention to deceive. Although Horton's book was not listed in the bibliography of his paper on "Contemporary Continental Theology," it was cited by King in a footnote in the paper. Some of its other footnotes had simply been taken from Horton's book. In examining King's other academic work, the Project discovered several instances of papers with a "hidden" source, one not cited in either the footnotes or the bibliography. That meant that we could never be *absolutely* certain that we had found all of the plagiarism in King's academic work. We could never within a reasonable period of research be certain that we had exhausted the universe of possible sources for three to four dozen term papers and a dissertation. More commonly, however, King seemed to list the sources from which he borrowed without adequate source citation. The few known instances of a "hidden" source seemed more likely to be another example of academic carelessness than a demonstrable pattern of intentional deception.

During three years of research, members of the Martin Luther King Papers Project staff learned to avoid the word "plagiarism" and speak more carefully of "tracing the sources of King's thought."

The Project's discovery of plagiarism in King's academic papers nonetheless raised many questions: Why did he do it? Did he know what he was doing? How could his professors have failed to notice it? How could DeWolf and King's other professors have judged such papers to be "superior?" After all, the plagiarisms extended from his college years at Morehouse through his Ph.D. dissertation at Boston University. He had graduated from seminary at the top of his class and, if anything, the plagiarism was most extensive in his early years of graduate school.

A closer look at King's plagiarized sentences about Barth in the paper on "Contemporary Continental Theology" raised other questions about the problem. The full title of Horton's book from 1938 was: *Contemporary Continental Theology: An Interpretation for Anglo-Saxons*. King had paraphrased Horton's "What I wish to commend to the Anglo-Saxon world ..." to read "What I wish to commend to you" King's plagiarism, which had begun, so far as we could tell, with undergraduate carelessness at Morehouse, had actually grown and intensified even as he was being rewarded for it by liberal white professors at Crozer Theological Seminary and at Boston University.

Was there a racial factor in the plagiarism? If so, how did it function? Was King a black trickster mocking what he thought was a silly, rigid, white academic system? Or, conversely, was he victimized by a liberal

white patronage that consciously or unconsciously looked the other way? These are difficult and sensitive issues.

During the course of our research, I was shocked to hear a white university administrator say that plagiarism was particularly common among African American students in his institution. Put that way, it sounded like a racist generalization to me. In any case, there was insufficient evidence to say either that King was a student trickster or that he was another black victim of liberal white patronage. The former does not square very well with other things that we know or believe about King. His graduate school professors who are still living vigorously deny the latter.²

In November 1990, the Martin Luther King Papers Project's director and senior editor, Clayborne Carson, announced its finding of plagiarism in King's dissertation. During a pregnant last nine months of the Project's research, the story might have broken at any time because word of it was already circulating on the academic cocktail party circuit and among a small circle of American journalists.³ Despite its headline grabbing capacity, however, the story provoked less public controversy than some anticipated.

Between a few right-wing critics who insinuated that we were attempting to obscure the truth and a few torchbearers for King mythology who suggested that we were attempting to smear King's reputation, the Project occupied a secure middle ground of evidence, seeking neither to exaggerate nor to minimize the extent or gravity of the problem.

Within a few days, the academic scandal of plagiarism committed forty years ago lost the headlines to more immediate issues about the economic, moral, and political vandalism of the last decade. After the Project's announcement, the *Journal of American History* devoted nearly half of its June 1991 issue to a roundtable discussion of King's academic plagiarism.⁴ Boston University correctly convened a committee of inquiry, acknowledged the plagiarism in King's dissertation, and declared the case closed.⁵

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One of the reasons that King's plagiarism is such a difficult issue for some of us is that in the drive to establish King securely in the American pantheon, exaggerated claims were made for his brilliance and intellectual originality. Former Secretary of Education William Bennett assured me that King was one of only two or three genuinely creative intellects that America has ever produced. In truth, I cannot think of an idea which was original with him. Former Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young comforted me with the claim that King was the greatest theologian of the twentieth century. Only by the broadest and most practical definition of the word, however, could one call King a theologian at all. He was a preacher — perhaps the greatest American preacher of his era — but he was only very derivatively a theologian.

However, the questions about King's use of language are more current now than ever before. They are raised anew by the publication of Keith Miller's *Voice of Deliverance: The Language of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Its Sources* (1992). Eighteen months after the Martin Luther King Papers Project revealed that King's dissertation was marred by plagiarism, Miller demonstrated that much of the civil rights leader's later eloquence was borrowed from a variety of unacknowledged sources. Miller's *Voice of Deliverance* trembles on the brink of brilliance and excellence. Its deconstruction of the text of King's later books and articles, sermons and speeches, destroys our perception of them as seamless webs of literary and rhetorical eloquence. All of the major King texts — *Stride Toward Freedom*, "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence," *Strength to Love*, the "I Have a Dream" speech, his Nobel Prize speech, and the "Letter from the Birmingham Jail" — become "mosaics" or patchwork quilts, with many interchangeable parts and themes reworked many times in a black preacher's style and a busy civil rights leader's schedule. It is not news that many of the books and articles were ghostwritten. It is not news that there are plagiarized elements in *Stride Toward Freedom*. King scholars had known that for some time.⁶ What is new in Miller's book is that the sermons and speeches, apparently less likely to have been ghostwritten than the books and articles, included many units, large and small, that were taken without credit from other sources.

Miller's argument is that

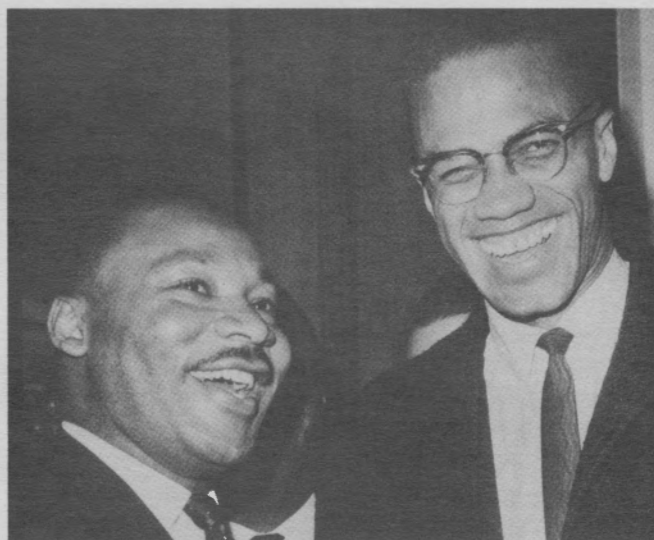
King creatively merged the style of the black folk preacher — he was, says Miller, "the greatest folk preacher of them all"

- and the words of a largely white group of the preeminent preachers of liberal Protestant British and American pulpits. Within his own lifetime, King had acknowledged that he had borrowed from one of the princes of the nineteenth century American pulpit, Phillips Brooks.⁷ According to Miller's evidence, however, King borrowed much more widely from the greatest liberal white preachers of the first half of the twentieth century: Harold Bosley, George

Buttrick, Harry Emerson Fosdick, J. Wallace Hamilton, E. Stanley Jones, Gerald Kennedy, Halford Luccock, Robert McCracken, and Leslie D. Weatherhead.

King was also attuned to a world of black preaching. The scarcity of print, record, and tape sources for African American preaching in the nineteenth and early twentieth century compared to those of prominent white preachers makes it more difficult to document King's sources from among black preachers. But he apparently borrowed from such older and well-educated African American preachers as Atlanta's William Holmes Borders, Chicago's Archibald Carey, the peripatetic Vernon Johns, Howard University's Mordecai Johnson and William Stewart Nelson, Morehouse College's George D. Kelsey and Benjamin Mays, and Howard Thurman of Boston University's Marsh Chapel.

Keith Miller has recently reiterated his argument that we can best understand King's rhetoric as a merging of black folk preaching style with largely white sources in the alembic of the civil rights crisis of the 1950s and 1960s. Through a process which he calls "voice merging," Miller says, King embedded borrowed gems of rhetorical eloquence in his most powerful sermons and speeches of the era.⁸ The rich harvest of his research is a remarkable testament to Miller's — and to King's — familiarity with African American, British, and Euro-American sermonic literature in the first half of the twentieth century.



Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X

Impressive as his research is and persuasive as the interpretative framework which he imposes on his findings may appear; however, there are troublesome problems with it. In the first place, Miller misunderstands the character of King's preaching style. Beyond that his interpretation of when and why King committed plagiarism obscures an important distinction between two kinds of religious language and the evidence does not sustain it. Finally, Miller relies on the assumptions of a relatively benign liberal white racism which is common among academicians. Ultimately, it undervalues the capacity of African

American students for original work. It may arch an eyebrow, wink, or nudge a colleague about noticeably derivative work, but it passes them along rather than confront the mutually painful task of helping the student to find an original voice.⁹

It is not especially helpful to think of Martin Luther King, Jr., as "the greatest folk preacher of them all." When he was preaching to black folk audiences or congregations, such stock in the folk preaching trade as the "call and response" survived powerfully in King's sermons. But King rejected other standard elements in black folk preaching, such as "walking the benches" or "whooping." They were, he thought, cultural embarrassments. King's grandfather, the Reverend Adam Daniel Williams, and his father, Martin Luther King, Sr., preached with a "whoop" and "walked the benches." Martin Luther King, Jr., could "whoop" and did so in the private camaraderie and mocking jest that went on among African American preachers. But the younger King never "walked the benches" or "whooped" in the pulpit.

Moreover, just as he rejected many of the elements of the black folk pulpit style, King and his fellow black seminarians and graduate students selfconsciously emulated many of the fashions of the liberal white and well educated black pulpit of his day. While they were graduate students at Boston University, future Methodist Bishop W. T. Handy wrote to King about preaching at Dillard University's chapel. "In the sermon I used the silent conclusion and it seemed to be quite effective," he said. "I used an illustration and when I concluded appeared as if I was to continue then abruptly, 'Let us pray.'"¹⁰ Black folk preachers do not graduate at the top of their class from northern white seminaries nor do they earn doctorates in systematic theology. Had the younger King been a folk preacher, even the greatest of them, he would not have been called to the pulpit of black Montgomery's elite Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. There, "whooping," "walking the benches," and even the "call and response" would have met the cold chill of middle class decorum. Unchallenged, then, by Martin Luther King, Jr., C. L. Franklin (Aretha Franklin's father) of Detroit, is still "the greatest folk preacher of them all."¹¹

Even more critical to our understanding of King's use of language, however, are questions about when and why he borrowed so freely from his sources without giving adequate credit to them. According to Miller and his mentor, David J. Garrow, the answer is a racial one. King felt alien and insecure, they argue, in a northern white seminary and graduate school. He learned from his professors the ideas, methods, and sources which *they* respected and returned them to his professors in term papers that were highly flawed. Apparently not noticing the plagiarism, the professors rewarded King for repeating back to them what he already knew that *they* valued. Finally, steeped in an oral folk preaching tradition which regarded words as a common treasure, not as private property, says Miller, in a northern white seminary and graduate school King learned the style and content of sermons by respected contemporary white preachers. By repeating much of what they said and how

they said it, King learned how to communicate effectively with a vast liberal northern white audience whose support was critically important to the later successes of the civil rights movement.¹²

Yet, "voice merging" is a technique that is not unique to folk preaching, black or white. The words of a high church liturgy acquire much of their power precisely as the congregation senses that its voice blends with the voices of the universal church of ages past and ages to come in common supplication. Interestingly, the only surviving academic paper from the young black Baptist's days as a student at Morehouse College is a sociology term paper on "Ritual."¹³

The most sophisticated preachers embed passages of hymns, poetry, and scripture in their sermons, without the felt need to cite their source, precisely because sermonic language acquires authority from the sense that what the preacher says reiterates the Word of God as it has been proclaimed down through the ages.

Thus, for the religious practitioner, the canons for proper attribution, for acceptable borrowing and paraphrasing of religious language, are far less narrowly defined than they are for the religious scholar.

The King Papers Project's research did find evidence of plagiarism in religious scholarship extending far beyond that for which King was responsible. Among older works, for example, James Orr's *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith* (1897) and Alfred E. Garvie's *The Ritschlian Theology* (1899) were two sources for King's Boston University term paper, "A Comparison of Friedrich Schleiermacher's Christology with that of Albrecht Ritschl." They proved to be so redundant that it was impossible to know from which of them King borrowed, whether he borrowed randomly from both, or whether they convinced him that his own citation practices were quite orthodox. The peculiarities of Paul Tillich's theological language apparently makes his thought difficult to summarize in paraphrase, making secondary scholarship about it peculiarly prone to plagiarism.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the distinction between two types of religious language explains why the plagiarism in King's dissertation drew national headlines, while Miller's revelations about his later sermons and speeches have received much less attention.

Our earliest information about both King's academic work and his preaching tells us that from the beginning he borrowed liberally from the same kinds of sources which he would use throughout his career. The only academic paper which survives from his years at Morehouse College used, without proper citation practices, the largely white academic secondary sources which he believed his professor would respect. The first sermon by King for which we have a title, "Life Is What You Make It," was delivered at Atlanta's Liberty Baptist Church on 25 April 1948. He apparently borrowed it from a sermon published by Harry

Emerson Fosdick, pastor to the Rockefeller benefactors of Morehouse and Spelman colleges and ultimately to King's Ebenezer Baptist Church and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Since King was only seventeen to nineteen years old when he submitted this paper and delivered this sermon, one might attribute the borrowed voice to youthful insecurity. Because both his professor and his congregation were black, however, we know he was not yet in search of a voice for a white audience.¹⁵

What does all of this mean for "authority, creativity, and originality?" Authority, creativity, and originality are three qualities that we value in higher education. We teach students that they should know what the "authorities" have said about a subject. We look for creativity and originality in the student's handling of an issue. King's academic work took our valuing of authority to an absurd extreme. We need not conclude with Miller that it is necessary to redefine plagiarism, however, because King committed it or because students from backgrounds in strong oral traditions find it difficult to write in an original voice.¹⁶ With no similar excuse, I find it difficult to write in an original voice and I know of few writers for whom it is easy. Ironically, however, it remains true that by their very lack of vigilance, King's professors reenforced in him a method of composition that served him and served the nation well in the civil rights crisis. Eschewing an originality which might not have resonated with his audience,

King's rhetorical synthesis appealed to us precisely because, somehow, somewhere, we had heard it all before.

"I have a dream," he told us. "It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed — we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" ... "I have a dream," he said again, "that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made plain, and the crooked places shall be made straight and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."¹⁷ He did not cite Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence or Isaiah's biblical vision. Intuitively, we knew that the prophet, the patriarch, and the preacher spoke the word of moral authority. Never before, perhaps, had we heard it said quite so well. Martin Luther King's rhetorical creativity lays in its very lack of originality, for he said very well what we already knew and what we already believed.

Notes

- ¹Clayborne Carson, Ralph E. Luker, and Penny A. Russel, eds., *The Papers of Martin Luther King* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992): I, 436-39.
- ²"Conversation Between S. Paul Shilling and David Thelen," *Journal of American History*, 78 (June 1991): 63-80.

- ³Charles Babington, "Embargoed," *New Republic*, 204 (28 January 1991): 9-11.
- ⁴David J. Garrow, "King's Plagiarism: Imitation, Insecurity, and Transformation," *Journal of American History*, 78 (June, 1991): 86-92; and Theodore Pappas, "A Houdini of Time," *Chronicles*, 16 (November, 1992): 26-30.
- ⁵"Becoming Martin Luther King, Jr.—Plagiarism and Originality," *Journal of American History*, 78 (June, 1991): 11-123; "King's Reputation Intact, Scholars Say," *Atlanta Constitution*, 12 October, 1991, A,7; and Ellen K. Coughlin, "Plagiarism by Martin Luther King Affirmed by Scholars at Boston U.," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 16 October 1991, A, 21.
- ⁶Ira G. Zepp, Jr., "The Intellectual Sources of the Ethical Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr., As Traced in His Writing with Special Reference to the Beloved Community" (Ph.D. diss., St. Mary's Seminary and University, 1971), 143-46, 183-84, 339-40, and passim; Kenneth J. Smith and Ira G. Zepp, *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1974): 62, 93; and David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc. 1986): 111-12, 650n. and passim.
- ⁷Mervyn Warren, "A Rhetorical Study of the Preaching of Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr., Pastor and Pulpit Orator" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1966), 105.
- ⁸Keith D. Miller, "The Roots of the Dream," *New York Times Book Review*, 15 March 1992: 13-14; and Miller, "Redefining Plagiarism: Martin Luther King's Use of an Oral Tradition," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 39 (20 January 1993): A,60.
- ⁹See James Cone's remarks in: David Thelen, "Becoming Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Journal of American History*, 78 (June, 1991): 22.
- ¹⁰W. T. Handy, Jr., to Martin Luther King, Jr., 18 November 1952. *Martin Luther King Papers*, Mugar Library, Boston University, Boston, MA.
- ¹¹See Jeff Todd Titon, ed., *Give Me This Mountain* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).
- ¹²Garrow, "King's Plagiarism..." 86-92; Miller, "Roots of the Dream," 14; and Miller, "Redefining Plagiarism," A,60.
- ¹³King, "Ritual," in Carson. *Papers of Martin Luther King, I*, 127-142.
- ¹⁴James Orr, *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1897); King, "A Comparison of Friedrich Schleiermacher's Christology with That of Albrecht Ritschl," 9 May 1952, *King Papers*, Mugar Library, Boston University; and Martin Luther King, Jr., *Papers Project, "The Student Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Summary Statement on Research,"* *Journal of American History*, 78 (June, 1991): 28-29.
- ¹⁵King, "Ritual," in Carson. *Papers of Martin Luther King*, 127-142; *Atlantic Daily World*, 24 April 1948, p. 3. See also Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1988), pp. 66, 932n; and Carson, *Papers of Martin Luther King I*, 86, 140n. and passim.
- ¹⁶Miller, "Redefining Plagiarism," A, 60.
- ¹⁷King, "I Have a Dream," in James Melvin Washington, Jr. *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986), 219. ❖

Computer Network Resources for Biblical Studies

The following is a list of Bible related software programs or packages available for the taking on the Net, as of November 1992. Compiled by Michael Strangelove*

—**Bible Browser for UNIX.** (1992). Created by Richard L. Goerwitz (GOER%SOPHIST@UCHICAGO.BITNET or GEOR@SOPHIST.UCHICAGO.EDU). Available via FTP from the node CS.ARIZONA.EDU in the directory /icon/contrib/ as BIBLEREF-2.1.TAR.Z.

—**Bible Quiz Game: 1000 Questions.** Available via FTP from the node oak.oaklandedu in the directory /pub/msdos/bible/ as bibleq.arc.

—**Bible Promises Macintosh Hypercard Stack.** Available via FTP from the node 128.163.128.6 (F.MS.UKY.EDU) in the directory /pub/mac/hypercard/ as bible-promise-stack.cpt.bin.

—**Bible Retrieval System (BRS) for UNIX.** Created by Chip Chapin (CHIP%HPDA@HPLABS.HP.COM or CHIP%HPDA@HP-SDE.HP.COM). Available via FTP from the node ftp.uu.net (137.39.1.9) in the directory /doc/literary/obi/Religion/Bible.Retrieval System/ as a variety of files.

—**Bible Search Tools** (also for other literature). (Rather primitive) Available via FTP from the node OAK.OAKLAND.EDU in the directory as /pub/msdos/bible/ as kjv-tool.arc.

—**Bible Verses (RAM-Resident Pop-Up).** Available via FTP from the node OAK.OAKLAND.EDU in the directory /pub/msdos/bible/ as biblepop.arc.

—**Bible Words and Phrases Counts of King James Version.** Available via FTP from the node oak.oakland.edu in the directory /pub/msdos/bible/ as kjvcount.txt.

—**Bible Search and Extraction Tool.** Available via FTP in three sections from the node OAK.OAKLAND.EDU in the directory /pub/msdos/bible/ as refkjv1.zip refkjv2.zip refkjv3.zip.

—**Fast Bible Search Program.** (Rather primitive.) Available via FTP from the node OAK.OAKLAND.EDU in the directory /pub/msdos/bible/ as bible14.arc.

—**God's Word for Windows.** God's Word For Windows Version 1.1 is a Shareware Bible search program for Windows 3.X. Enter keywords, optionally using logical connectives (AND, OR, and NOT) and God's Word For Windows searches the Bible for verses conforming to your search parameters. Wild cards in keywords are supported. Matching verses may be viewed, then copied to the clipboard for insertion into your word processor. Perfect for ministers, theologians, philosophers of religion, etc. Includes a 270 topic user extensible topical index. Currently available in KJV. Available via FTP from the node OAK.OAKLAND.EDU in the directory /pub/msdos/bible/ as gw4win11.zip.

—**Genesis: Study Aid/Reference for KJV.** Available via FTP from the node OAK.OAKLAND.EDU in the directory /pub/msdos/bible/ as genaidc.zip.

—**Hebrew Quiz. Biblical Hebrew Language Tutor.** Available via FTP from the node OAK.OAKLAND.EDU in the directory /pub/msdos/hebrew/ as hebquiz.zip.

—**Learn the Ten Commandments: CGA or MONO.** Available via FTP from the node OAK.OAKLAND.EDU in the directory /pub/msdos/bible/ as journey.arc.

—**Online Bible (Version 6).** Available FTO from the node wuarchive.wustl.edu (128.252.135.4) in the directory /doc/bible/ as journey.arc [for more details get the file README and see also the description below].

—**Revelation: Study Aid/Reference for KJV.** Available via FTP from the node oak.oakland.edu in the directory /pub/msdos/bible as revaidc.zip.

If you find others that may have been overlooked, please send the names and locations of these to:

Michael Strangelove (Department of Religious Studies, University of Ottawa; 177 Waller, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada; 613-747-0642; 441435@UOTTAWA; 441495@ACADVM1.UOTTAWA.CA)

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Conferences and Lectures

“Myth in the Biblical and Jewish Tradition: an Interdisciplinary Conference” March 6 and 7, 1994

This conference, sponsored by the University of Kansas Department of Religious Studies, will explore the nature and role of myth, both explicit and implicit, in the Hebrew Bible and in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic, Rabbinic, medieval, and modern periods.

Scheduled key note speakers include Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Stanford University and well known student of biblical and rabbinic Judaism, and Howard Schwartz, poet, author, and Professor of English Literature at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. Dr. Eilberg-Schwartz is the author of *The Savage in Judaism: an Anthropology of Israelite Religion and Ancient Judaism* (Winner of a 1990 American Academy Award for Academic Excellence) and editor of and contributor to *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective* (1992). Dr. Schwartz is

known for his retellings and evocative treatment of Jewish myth in several of his books such as *Lilith's Cave: Jewish Tales of the Supernatural* (1989) and the forthcoming *Gabriel's Palace: Jewish Mystical Tales*.

Call for Papers: Papers are invited from all interested scholars. Abstracts (250 words) should be sent by 15 September 1993 to Professor S. Daniel Breslauer, Department of Religious Studies, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 66045 (BITNET: BRES DAN@kuhub.cc.ukans.edu). ♦

Departmental Annual Lecture and Banquet

The Department of Religious Studies' annual banquet will be held Tuesday, 4 May 1993 in the Smith Hall library at 5:30 p.m. All religious studies majors and graduate students are invited to attend the banquet free of charge.

This year's speaker will be Dr. Robert Baird, Professor of History of Religions, University of Iowa. He will speak on "Religious Conflict in Contemporary India." Dr. Baird is the author of *Category Formation and the History of Religions* (1971, 1991), *Essays in the History of Religion* (1991), co-author of *Indian and Far Eastern Religious Traditions* (1972), editor of *Religion in Modern India* (1981) plus numerous articles on methodology and the history of religion in India.

The public is invited to attend Dr. Baird's lecture. It will be held at 7:00 p.m. in room 100 Smith Hall. For more information, call the department office at 913/864-4663. ♦



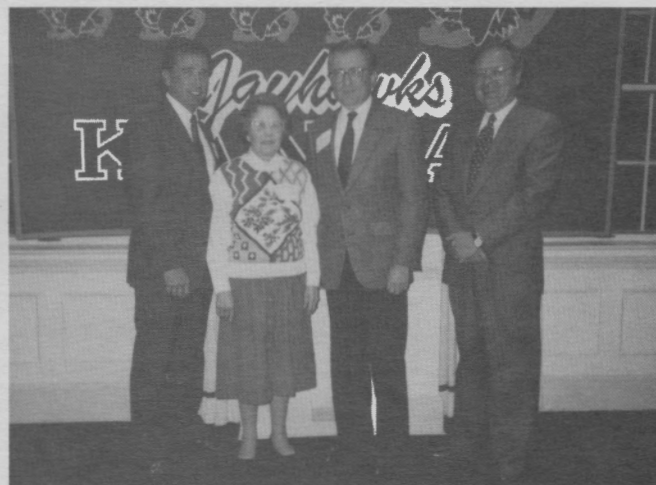
Dr. Sally Ahl assists a student in the William J. Moore Library (Smith Hall). Dr. Ahl, director of the library, earned her Ph.D. in Mediterranean Studies from Brandeis University in 1973.

1993 Kansas School of Religion Lecture

Dr. Gordon K. Douglass, author of twelve books and numerous articles was this year's KSR lecturer. The title of his lecture was "Sustainable Development, Reformed Faith, and U.S. Economic Policy." The lecture, delivered Tuesday, 20 April 1993, was held in conjunction with the annual KSR Banquet. Dr. Douglass also spoke Wednesday, 21 April 1993 to Dr. Shelton's class, Human Conflict and Peace, and at a luncheon at the Ecumenical Christian Ministries. The title of his address at ECM was "Do We Have Time for Restoring Creation for Ecology and Justice?" ♦

Departmental News

Dorothy M. Reusch Honored



(From left to right) Professor Robert N. Minor (Chair Department of Religious Studies), Dorothy M. Reusch, Chancellor Gene Budig, and Executive Vice Chancellor Edward Meyen.

Dorothy M. Reusch, secretary for the Department of Religious Studies since June, 1980, retired from the University of Kansas after thirty years with the university on 1 May 1992. She was recognized by Chancellor Gene Budig and Executive Vice Chancellor Edward Meyen at the staff retirement dinner on 27 October 1992. As the receptionist and office manager for the department, Dorothy was known for her warm and caring spirit, her pleasant telephone voice, and her desire to be of service where needed. She continues to pursue a variety of interests in retirement. ♦

Book and Video Reviews

***The Schocken Guide to Jewish Books.* Barry W. Holtz, editor. New York: Schocken Books, 1992. 357 pp.**

When Muslims designated Jews and Christians *Ahl Kitab*, People of the Book, they expressed their own theological perspective, not that of the people they categorized. A famous, although certainly fictional story about Umar I, conqueror of Alexandria, illustrates that perspective. Umar, reportedly, stood amazed before the great library collected by Hellenistic rulers. "What can be the use of so many books?" he queried. "Either they agree with the Quran, in which case they are superfluous, or they disagree with it, in which case they are heretical. In either case they are unnecessary." Such a view characterizes a true people of "The Book." This designation, however well it may suit Muslims or Christians, is inappropriate for Jews.

From earliest times Jews have been a literary people, a people of books, not of "The Book." An ancient story tells that when Moses ascended Mount Sinai to receive God's revelation he was first given the written text. Then God gave him an oral tradition that would, only over the progress of time, become crystallized in a diverse Jewish literature. Moses objected. "Why don't you just give us one complete book?" God replied that in days to come the nations of the world would steal Israel's one book and call it their own. Israel could counter that claim by demanding to know the entire literary tradition without which the book alone is indecipherable. The point of this story is that those who have only The Book do not even have The Book.

A fatal misunderstanding of Jews and Judaism often arises when non-Jews attempt to comprehend them only by looking at The Book, at the Bible. An accurate picture of Judaism comes only by reviewing the entire literature of the Jewish people as it grows and develops. For non-Jews seeking to explore a foreign land, or for Jews seeking a more complete knowledge of their own tradition, this new book edited by Barry W. Holtz, *The Schocken Guide to Jewish Books*, offers an accessible and clearly written "port of entry." The fifteen chapters, written by acknowledged scholars, most of them at the beginning or midpoints of their career, not only survey the Jewish literary heritage from the Bible through the Talmud to the Middle Ages and into the modern period of the Holocaust, American Jewry, and Israeli society. They introduce concepts and concerns prominent in contemporary discussions of the meaning of Judaism. Ivan G. Marcus shows that "ancient," "medieval," and "modern" Judaisms are defined not by chronology but by social and political patterns. Elliot Ginsburg charts the often muddled waters in the heated debate concerning the nature of Jewish mysticism. Alan Mintz and David G. Roskies, names familiar to "radical" Jews of the 1960s, offer their current perspectives on modern Judaism by

reflecting on modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature. Readers interested in American Judaism and its peculiarities will find Jonathan D. Sarna's lucid chapter enlightening and challenging and will discover that Mark Shechner provides an indispensable guide to the meaning as well as the substance of American Jewish authors. Both general readers and those pursuing academic studies will profit from reading this book. After finishing its chapters one realizes even more strongly than before the inaccuracy of calling Jews "the People of the Book" and the reality of Judaism as a literary tradition.

Reviewed by: Professor S. Daniel Breslauer

Victoria Barnett. *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. 358 pp. \$30.00.

On 30 January 1933, Hitler, the leader of the National Socialist German Workers Party (*NSDAP*), became Chancellor of Germany replacing the legendary war hero and politician Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg. For many German citizens in 1933, Hitler and the Nazi party represented a return to the foundational elements of German existence, namely an emphasis on the German soil, the German blood, and the German work ethic. The result of these emphases was an overwhelming new sense of German



Marienburger Allee in the Grunewald area of Berlin was a central location for anti-Nazi resistance. Dietrich Bonhoeffer lived in the house to the left. Rudiger Schleicher, Bonhoeffer's brother-in-law lived next door. Both were later executed for their involvement in the 20 July 1944 plot to kill the Führer. (Photo by Scott T. Kline)

nationalism. This new nationalistic spirit soothed the festering wounds caused by the embarrassing loss the *Kaiserreich* incurred at the hands of the Allied forces in World War I, the signing of the oppressive *Treaty of Versailles* after the war, and the ineffective and consequently hated post-war democratic government known as the Weimar Republic.

A number of Germans, however, were not quite so enthusiastic about Hitler. One of the earliest movements opposed to the *Führer* and Nazi ideology called itself the Confessing Church (*Bekennede Kirche*). This movement, lead by the Swiss theologian Karl Barth, objected to Hitler and the German Christians almost exclusively on theological grounds. The "German Christians" (*Deutsche Christen*), those Christians sympathetic to Hitler and the Reich bishop, Ludwig Müller, held that God's revelation could be discovered by reading German history and by supporting the *Führer*. In response to the German Christian's doctrine of revelation, Barth and other Confessing Church leaders drafted the Barmen Declaration (May 1934). At Barmen, the leaders of the Confessing Church, attempting to construct a theology closely associated with the traditional Reformation doctrines of *Sola scriptura* and *Solus Christus*, stated that revelation comes only through an experience with the Word of God, not through an individual or a government such as Hitler and National Socialism. Almost immediately after Barmen Declaration was published, the leaders of the movement came under severe persecution. Barth, who was teaching at the University of Bonn, was forced out of Germany and to his native Switzerland in 1935; Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a young theologian and the director of an illegal underground Confessing Church seminary, was forbidden to teach in Berlin in 1936; and Martin Niemöller, founder of the Pastors Emergency League and pastor of Dahlem Parish, a large Lutheran parish in suburban Berlin, was imprisoned at Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1938.

For the Soul of the People by Victoria Barnett is a history of the Confessing Church; however, it is not a typical "history book." Between summer 1979 and spring 1988, Barnett interviewed more than sixty Germans who were active in the Confessing Church. In and of itself, this method of research is not especially unique; however, the manner in which Barnett uses these interviews is unique. Quoting liberally from these interviews, sometimes multiple pages at a time, Barnett allows the engrossing history of the Protestant resistance movement to be told from the view point of those individuals who actually lived it. Using a considerable amount of archival and historical material to frame the interviews, Barnett succeeds in writing good history.

The first part of the book begins with a short, but often overlooked, history of the Weimar Republic, followed by an examination of the rise of nationalism and Nazism. The second part examines the everyday life of Confessing Church members during the Nazi era. In this section, Barnett notes the important role played by women. In

many instances, it was the women, Barnett asserts, who were given important "resistance duties" because the Gestapo often suspected only the men. Chapters six, "The Murder of the Institutional Patients," and seven, "The Confessing Church and the Jews," from part two are especially good. Part three, "Resistance and Guilt," takes a frank look at the Confessing Church's ambiguous stance in regard to Hitler's political *Weltanschauung*. This section examines why the church, so opposed to National Socialism in the beginning, was virtually absorbed into the organizational framework of National Socialism by 1942. Part four, "The Inability to Mourn," shows how the leaders and the parishioners of the Confessing Church reacted to post-war Germany. Chapters twelve, "Political Developments and the East German Church," and fourteen, "Christian Faith and Political Vision in Germany," are especially timely because they present the current church-state situation and the Confessing Church legacy in a unified Germany. The book is well documented, containing copious end notes, an adequate bibliography, and a useful index.

For the Soul of the People will perhaps be the last book of its kind. Why? Plainly put, the leaders of the Confessing Church are either dead or well past 70 years of age. In fact, many of the people Barnett interviewed between 1979 and 1988 have passed away, Martin Niemöller being the most important. Helmut Gollwitzer, a student of Karl Barth and an assistant pastor under Niemöller at Dahlem, is in his nineties and in poor health. Albrecht Schönherr, a student of Bonhoeffer at the Confessing Church's illegal seminary and former bishop in the East German Lutheran Church, remains in good health, but has had to limit his activity. Eberhard Bethge, Bonhoeffer's student, best friend, and biographer, remains extremely active, traveling around the world with his wife Renate delivering lectures on the Confessing Church and Bonhoeffer. Bethge is 83 years of age. One can only wonder how long it will be before the world loses not only these great historical resources, but fine human beings. To Barnett's credit, *For the Soul of the People* will make the legacy of the Confessing Church leaders accessible to a new generation of people who will never have the opportunity to meet these great men and women.

Reviewed by: Scott T. Kline
M.A. candidate, The University of Kansas

VIDEO: *Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls* Films for the Humanities and Sciences, Box 2053, Princeton, NJ 08543; 1991. 60 minutes, color; A NOVA Program for WBGH, Boston.

The video *Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls* is a general introduction to the ancient and modern history of the Dead

Sea Scrolls. This well-produced one-hour video details the history and discovery of hundreds of ancient hand-written manuscripts, the scholarly work involved in retrieving and editing the texts, and the ensuing legal battle over public access which was finally reached in late 1991.

The "Dead Sea Scrolls" is the name given to a large number of ancient Jewish manuscripts, in scroll rather than book form, which were buried in eleven desert caves near the northwest corner of the Dead Sea about 15 miles east of Jerusalem between approximately 250 BCE and 70 CE. During these years, the scrolls were buried for safe-keeping by various Jewish sectarian groups who used them and so provide modern researchers with primary comparative data for understanding the roots of modern rabbinic Judaism and various types of early Christianity. The scrolls contain some of the earliest known Hebrew Bible manuscripts, such as an Isaiah scroll which predates previously known manuscripts by 1,000 years, and shows that the currently used text of Isaiah is of a later period, in virtue of its identifiable literary expansions.

The video also functions as an excellent introduction, for adult study groups and college classrooms, to the necessary and somewhat obscure science of papyrology and to the search for the origins of biblical literature. Viewers are introduced to the basic concerns of papyrological work which focusses on the acquiring, conserving and photographing of ancient manuscripts, and the editing and translating of their texts, many previously unknown. Viewers are lead through a specific papyrological case study (concerning the realignment of scroll fragments) by the French papyrologist Emile Puech of the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française*, Jerusalem.

Other characters in the international drama include long-time scroll scholars and fellow Harvard luminaries Frank Moore Cross and the delightfully erudite John Strugnell. The scrolls media mogul Hershel Shanks, editor of the widely subscribed *Biblical Archeology Review*, was a successful prime mover in the public access debate. Computerized scholar-sleuths Martin Abegg and Ben Zion Wacholder introduce the ancient Jewish scribal tradition to computer programs as they (re-)create texts on video screens. Numerous other specialists in ancient Jewish culture, Hebrew papyrology, Roman archeology, and the history of religions contribute their scholarly expertise to the on-going discussions.

The video also introduces viewers to the highly charged political atmosphere surrounding international scholarship in the Middle East. The first editorial team in the early 1950s included no Israelis, but today the scrolls are the state property of Israel; for years the scrolls were not accessible to the scholarly public, but today quality photographs are available worldwide to all serious scholars. The video is a quality production, thoughtfully creative in its editing, and is equally entertaining as it is informative.

Reviewed by: Julie Wasson (Journalism Major) and Professor Paul Allan Mirecki

***A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People from the Time of the Patriarchs to the Present*, General Editor: Eli Barnavi; English Edition Editor: Miriam Eliav-Feldon; Cartography: Michel Opatowski; et al. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992. Pages i-xii, 1-299; 200 maps, 581 illustrations. \$50.00.**

General editor Eli Barnavi, Professor at both the University of Tel-Aviv and at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* in Paris, notes that this atlas is in a sense a response to Sir Isaiah Berlin's aphoristic observation that the Jewish people have "too much history, not enough geography".

The result is a folio-sized atlas with a well-designed and visually effective lay-out in which each set of left-and-right facing pages is a complete presentation of a single phenomenon or theme in Jewish history and experience. Each of the 142 presentations includes a concise article by one of 49 participating scholars, and each is accompanied by a map or chart, a chronological time-line, and quality photographs of relevant artifacts or works of art which illustrate and help to "visualize" the accompanying text. The texts are concise yet informative, and are scholarly yet without technical jargon.

For example, the presentation entitled "Poland as a Cultural Center: 15th-17th Centuries" includes a text of about 1,000 words which surveys the history of Jews in Poland in the 15th through 17th centuries. The text focusses on the history and international reputation of the German and Polish Yeshivot. The chronological time-line includes 13 entries such as the founding of the Cracow Yeshivah in ca. 1494. The map illustrates the locations of and movements between the German and Polish Yeshivoth up to the 16th century. Three full color photos include the elaborate Torah-Ark doors from early 17th-century Cracow, Ch. Burstin's painting of 1933, "A Theological Disputation" (between an aggressive priest and a thoughtful rabbi), and an 18th-century Polish Hanukkah lamp. This particular presentation is complemented by several others on Polish Jewry written by Israel Bartal.

The first three presentations in the atlas are introductory. The first two cover Jewish perceptions of space and time, while the third covers demography. The remaining set of 139 presentations begins with an article covering the basic features of the period of the patriarchal migrations and ends with an article on Jews in Israel and elsewhere up to 1992. The volume then concludes with a three-page glossary, a useful and detailed 13-page index, and a table of contents.

The book can be read through as a continuous narrative or used as a reference guide. This attractive folio volume will prove to be useful in university, community, and home libraries.

Reviewed by: Professor Paul Allan Mirecki ♦

Graduate Teaching Assistants 1992-1993

Will Ingram, graduate student pursuing the M.A. in American Studies, received a B.S. in Economics at Southwest Missouri State University in 1989. Since 1991, he has been a Teaching Assistant for Prof. Robert Shelton's courses "Loving Relationships" and "Human Conflict and Peace." Will's academic interests focus on American millennial movements, especially Herbert W. Armstrong's World Wide Church of God. Will has written the article "God and Race: British Israelism and Christian Identity" for Timothy Miller's forthcoming book *America's Alternative Religions*.

Scott T. Kline, M.A. candidate in Religious Studies, received a B.A. in Biblical Literature from Southeastern College in Lakeland, Florida in 1989. In the Fall 1991, Scott was a Teaching Assistant for Prof. Minor's "Living Religions of the East" and in the Spring 1992, he worked with Prof. Breslauer's course "Understanding the Bible". This current academic year, Scott is serving as the student editor of *Religious Studies in Kansas* and working with Prof. Mirecki's "Understanding the Bible" class. Scott's academic interests are centered in twentieth century German theological-political thought. This past year, he attended two international conferences. At the 1993 Central States Meeting of SBL/ASOR in March, Scott delivered a paper on the theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Next year Scott plans to attend the University of Heidelberg, Germany on scholarship.

Russ Paden, graduate student in the department of Religious Studies, obtained his B.G.S. in religious studies from the University of Kansas in 1991. Russ has written a chapter for Timothy Miller's forthcoming book *America's Alternative Religions*. Russ has been working with Prof. Minor's "Living Religions of the East." His field of study is religion in America focusing on the nineteenth century Restoration Movement on the schismatic Boston Church of Christ. In 1992 Russ was the recipient of the Kansas School of Religion Scholarship. He is planning on continuing his studies at the doctoral level.

Shawn Michael Trimble is currently pursuing a M.A. degree in Religious Studies. He has been a Graduate Teaching Assistant for Prof. Minor's "Living Religions of the East" and Prof. Mirecki's "Understanding the Bible." Shawn also has interests in the arts, working as a local satirist and dramatist dealing in socio-religious issues. His academic interests are in the Latter Day Saints movement and the Restoration, specifically extant and historical schisms. Shawn has written a chapter on Spiritualism in Timothy Miller's forthcoming book *America's Alternative Religions*. ♦

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES SCHEDULE OF CLASSES FALL SEMESTER 1993

REL 104 Introduction to Religion	Paul Zimdars-Swartz
REL 104 Introduction to Religion	Sandi Zimdars-Swartz
REL 106 Living Religions of the East	Robert Minor
REL 124 Understanding the Bible	Paul Allan Mirecki
REL 171 Religion in American Society	Timothy Miller
REL 245 Christianity	Sandi Zimdars-Swartz
REL 339 History of Religion in America	Timothy Miller
REL 404 Undergraduate Seminar in Religion: Group Leadership	Robert Shelton
REL 475 Loving Relationships	Robert Shelton
REL 486 New Religious Movements (non-Western)	Timothy Miller
REL 499 Undergraduate Honors Research	Timothy Miller
REL 526 Jewish History and Literature in the Greek and Roman Periods	Paul Allan Mirecki
REL 601 Approaches to the Study of Religion	Robert Minor
REL 602 Special Topics in Religion: Modern Christian Thinkers	Sandi Zimdars-Swartz
REL 786 Special Topics in Religion. . . Loving Relationships	Robert Shelton
REL 875 Seminar in Religion & Society: New Religious Movements (non-Western)	Timothy Miller
REL 875 Supreme Court & Religious Issues	John S. Macauley

Religious Studies in Kansas

Religious Studies in Kansas is the newsletter of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Kansas, and continues the tradition of the former newsletter *Religion: Journal of the Kansas School of Religion* which published its final edition in the spring of 1992. This newsletter is published twice annually in the fall and the spring and is edited by Professor Paul Allan Mirecki and Scott T. Kline (M.A. candidate in Religious Studies). Please send inquiries, change of address information, and notes for inclusion for the fall issue by October 15, and for the spring issue by February 15, to:

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Islam and the Media

Muneera Naseer and Kelli Oliver

The recent explosion at the World Trade Center in New York City has brought several issues to light. As Muslims, this event was just as disturbing to us as it was to non-Muslims. We fear that the arrest of the Muslims in connection with the bombing may perpetuate the myth that Islam encourages violence, and may even widen the gap between us and non-Muslims in the United States.

We also are concerned about the emphasis on the suspected bomber's religion. It may characterize Muslims as terrorists. Our religion teaches us that peace and compromise is the best way to solve problems.

It is an injustice that Islam has been equated with violence in the past. The Muslim world is brought to our attention mainly in times of war or conflict. We rarely hear of the peaceful coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims world-wide. Often, when a Muslim commits a violent crime, religion is highlighted. When a non-Muslim commits a crime we never know if that person is a Catholic, Protestant, or a Jew, nor is it pertinent for us to know. We need to stress that nowhere in our Holy Qur'an does it state "thou shalt commit terrorist acts".

The media also has a responsibility to the public to let the suspects stand trial in the U.S. court system, not in the media itself.

We would like to emphasize that there is a large, ethnically diverse Muslim population living in the U.S. These citizens vote, pay taxes and are active within their communities.

Muslims want to live in peace just as much as anyone else. We want a better future for our children and a better society in which everyone has the right to express his or her beliefs.

Muneera Naseer is a Karachi, Pakistan senior, at the University of Kansas

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