

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL BULLETIN

February 1963



A Prayer for the Church

Almighty God, our Redeemer and Lord, Who by Thy good and gracious will hast provided for our souls a haven of help and a hearth of hope in the midst of the world's furious storms; look to us here, gathered in the unity of our faith and under the consecration of Thy presence. In this hour of meditation and prayer may our hearts be so tuned that we may know Thy presence, so directed that we may see Thy truth, and so inspired that we may do Thy will. Thou knowest our needs and the prayers of our inner man; how in sudden flashes of realization we long for Thy healing hand to touch our broken spirit; how in the secret caverns of our minds we yearn for Thy light to break the darkness of our understanding; and how in the agony of self-examination we grope for the certainty of purpose and fullness of consecration without which we shall lose our way.

We confess before Thee the doubt that underlies all our faith, the reservations which inform our commitments, the hesitation which hinders our resolutions, and the timidity which kills our courage. We confess before Thee also the busy superficiality of our life, our inability to share each other's joy and bear each other's burden, our richness in criticism and our poverty in love. We are men in need, oh God, and we pray, deliver us, deliver us again.

Especially do we pray for Thy Church, our spiritual mother, within whose care we have grown to a measure of maturity and for whose continuing sustenance we are now responsible under Thee; for the Church as a whole, and for each part of it; for the institutions of the Church and its spiritual communion; for its striving toward unity and its many scattered divisions; for its leaders and members, lay or clergy, teachers and ministers, administrators and servants.

May we not in well-meaning strictness chastise too harshly, nor in well-meaning forbearance land in lethargy. May those who preach the Word not feed the hungry stones instead of bread, and may those who hear the Word not discard sound nourishment in favor of occasional snacks.

(continued on inside back cover)

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Giants in the Land

"A generation of Christian statesmen is passing from the scene," I told a World Mission class six months ago; "we may not see their like again." Yet before the semester ended we had welcomed to York Chapel E. Stanley Jones, Frank C. Laubach, Francis Pickens Miller, Ernest Griffith. The spring semester promises Canon Charles E. Raven, Ralph Sockman, plus (in Duke Chapel) Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton and Martin Niemöller. In very different ways these very different personalities have left their benedictions on our lives.

As usual, there are critics in our midst who candidly complain: "Laubach and Jones said nothing they have not been saying for twenty-five years; assembly periods should not be wasted for such trivial fare." The allegation may be correct; the conclusion is patently false. Admittedly an abbreviated version of a stenographic transcript of a dictaphone copy of a tape recording of an informal talk can hardly do justice to any message. But even more truly, the most polished manuscript could never do justice to the radiant spirit of a Frank Laubach or a Stanley Jones.

Over fifty years they have been touching millions of lives: one by evangelistic preaching, the other through the gift of literacy, both in the deepest dimensions of prayer. What they have said and what they have done are important—nay, possible—only because of their obvious companionship with the same Lord. All of us, in the pulpit and in the classroom, need to be less concerned about *saying* something significant than about *being* something significant. "Lives of great men" may not always convince us that "we can make our lives sublime, and, departing, leave behind us footprints on the sands of time." But the presence of saints in our very midst should at least remind us that our primary calling, direct and indirect, is to bring others closer to Christ.

—C. L.

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The Yearnings of the Laity

RAY C. PETRY

Two kinds of human longings cause the angels to weep for joy and move the Trinity to revise the hymn books of heaven. These are the yearnings of the laity and the yearnings of the clergy.

The layman's heartaches are furrowed so deep within him that his harvest of hope scarcely grows to the level of his own self-consciousness. The wistfulness of the Christian cleric springs up more quickly to the surface of his spirit. There it often languishes in the noonday sun that bakes his omnidirectional activity.

On Friday, many of your pastoral tents here will have been taken down and set up again in the home pastures. On that day, however, still not far removed from Reformation Sunday, other ministers meeting in York Chapel will hear an invitation to renewed, ministerial yearnings. It may be hoped that they will long as Christians out of a tradition that is truly catholic and universal, hence not limited to Rome or Wittenberg. May they yearn especially for Christ to become and remain the all-sufficient head of His church on earth and in heaven. God grant they may also yearn that He be not edged from His sovereign rule of earth by His purported vicar in Rome; nor sent into celestial retirement by a virgin matriarch holding high court as the Queen of Heaven.

For today, however, let us give ear to lay yearnings. The listening post is that of a lay church historian. The one before you has for some thirty years heard in his headphones the moanings and the ecstasies of nineteen centuries of laymen and clerics. This does not exclude twenty-five annual seasons at Duke, in which he has been exposed with many of you to Introductory Church History. Some of you left those restless, seemingly impractical sessions long ago to rush to the Lord's defense and to buttress His hard-pressed pastoral forces. God and the people have had the advantage of your passionate youth and your broadened maturity.

A layman teaching church history in a Divinity School has a problem somewhat like that of Siamese twins in a traveling circus. Like theirs, his private life is doubly public. Everything that a layman

This meditation was given by the Professor of Church History in Duke Chapel on October 30, 1962, as part of the annual Convocation and Pastors' School program.

does implicate this lay church historian. All that excites the ministry is static on his radio. The ministry look at him as if he were a layman. The laity scrutinize him as if he were a minister. He looks at himself as if he were a fool. If this does not qualify him for knowing who hurts, he himself hurts for nothing.

The lay historian of the church continues to serve a brutal apprenticeship for his own vicarious ministry. He has two chances to be a hypocrite for each layman's and cleric's one. History runs up on his heels from all the ages past. Contemporary life snaps back his head and pulls up his shirtfront from such anchorage as it may seem to have. Who has a better right to state before the clergy the yearnings of the laity than a lay minister consorting with the clergy?

The layman does long for more than meets the eye or that which balances the budget. He longs to participate in living worship of the Most High, not just to have it analyzed for him by a B.D. on the make or an itinerant on the move. The layman and the laywoman long to rest in, and arise from, something that transcends the human. Perchance he and she would, on occasion, break the feverish rush of headlong aimlessness and lie prostrate in the path of God's merciful judgment and His disciplining forgiveness. How comforting it would be if, in the integrity of their innermost souls, they could steal a moment from good causes and fund-raising paroxysms to cry out in wearied anguish: "Oh God! What is all of this about? Do you ever weep inside for us the way we do for our children?"

The layman and his family yearn to join their pastor in Christian collaboration with the Eternal. Must they always be brushed off and roughed up in prayer and sermon as if they were the only obstacles to integration in the South and the sole enemies of Church Union on the planet?

Doubtless the layman is sometimes as cussed as the preacher who patronizes him suspects him of being. Some of the laity have records in sin that even the clergy find difficulty in surpassing. Nevertheless, the experienced lay-sinner yearns to confess the God of his salvation with tearful praises and in choking relief. He rejoices that where sin abounds God's grace doth yet more prevail. The laity may deride the word *liturgy*, but they are in favor of *worship*. They actually long after the age-old words of collect and hymnody. These proclaim the universality of man's thirst for Life Eternal, as no rambling, extempore dissertations ever can. The layman is also receptive to his pastor's leading him into the habit of expecting old truths to become ever new when man waits upon the Lord. It is not enough for the

busy minister or the harassed layman to rush through a few responses. The layman longs to hear the pastor supplicate the Lord and to recognize his own lay yearnings in these priestly and prophetic words. He also yearns to hear the Scriptures read as if they were food for the soul, not embarrassing communications from illiterate relatives.

The lay soul longs to find a thread knitting mortality and eternity. What clues link the warm days of spring on earth to another land and another season of the spirit after this life has flown? What would the layman not give to learn the logic of faith in a world geared to scientific theorems and the cynical rhythm of computers!

Contrary to all the usual evidences, the laity are not preoccupied solely with business successes and neighborhood competition in houses, cars, and social prestige. They yearn much more to know what manner of people they themselves are inside. Their gratitude would go out to anyone who had the temerity to lead them in cultivating the regularity of inwardness. They yearn to find out how to fill up the honeycomb of emptiness within. They long for pastors who are not misled by the front of obviousness that laymen put up.

These lay people, so often stigmatized by the clergy as hard, prosaic souls, yearn to ask great questions of God and their minister. They would do so reverently if possible, blasphemously if necessary. Ironically enough, from their point of view, the minister is always taking for granted that they understand what actually baffles them most. He sees to it that so much time is taken in reiterating the obvious that no one has opportunity to query the inscrutable things of the spirit with him and with God. Put bluntly, what the layman wants most, translated into his own language, is the doctrinal core which the preacher withholds from him, that which the pastor hugs to himself as if it were too precious for the layman to hold.

What the layman yearns to know is the relation of the quixotic and unpredictable Old Testament and its fearsome deity to the Father of Jesus Christ. Why is it that someone smart enough to be a Monday morning quarterback cannot make head or tail of church symbols and creedal statements? How does a layman learn to pray with the ready nonchalance of a preacher? How shall one pray without feeling merely foolish, or unheard, or without being swept along in vague unreality like a sleep walker banging at last into a broom closet in the dark? Why is the pastor so cheerfully oblivious of life's eventualities until he summons the layman to claim a heritage of faith never expounded upon before—until some dreadful day of testing? What

else beside committee meetings, church suppers, and budgetary underwriting do preachers want from a layman? What are *they* prepared to give *him* freely beyond redundant phrases and embarrassed, pitying glances? Isn't there an exciting, joyous twist to the old gospel story that the parson has been too busy to tell—or live—in the parish?

Actually, every layman still hopes for adventure with the wistfulness of an oft-disillusioned second grader. He yearns to stumble again on some exciting pilgrimage of the spirit like that which swept him up in ecstasy on the first day of school. Will the Lord someday peer into his naked soul and see how he longs to be loved for himself and not for his credit rating or his army I.Q.?

O, the many laywomen who play bridge and smoke cigarettes the whole day through because they are disintegrating from boredom! They rot from the inside of the soul outward—in a society that is one part time-clock, one part sex-pot, a fifth of purposelessness, a quart of lassitude, and a future without Hell or Heaven. The layman, likewise, is often eaten up with ennui and frustration.

Laywomen and laymen yearn to be invited into companionship with the God of the ages. They want to be cherished by the Father, with Christ and the Church in the Spirit as their Family. They really want to be inducted into, and instructed out of, the historic living faith of the Christian Community. They hope, still, to be summoned to rise above their infantile pride in looking as young as their grown-up sons and daughters. They yearn to accept gracefully their pilgrimage through middle life and growing age, without fear of debility and neglect. Is the wisdom of maturity to be ushered out, finally, on a wheel chair to oblivion? Does the Church merely echo what automation sniggers about behind the layman's back? Grow wiser and more mature at your peril where the succulence of youth and the rashness of inexperience are the hallmarks of attainment! Youth, meanwhile, rebels in its agony that it must be so thwarted now—and, afterward, merely grow older! Only the very small child and the infants of the kingdom delight in a day that is full of joy and in a tomorrow that is forever present.

Laymen and laywomen yearn to believe that it is faith in the love of Almighty God that determines their destiny in the universe!—not stark military force and ruthless ecclesiastical pressures. In their own broken way, they beg to be delivered from the rule of greatness and human glory, inside the Church, and without. They hardly dare hope for, yet they do cry out to be saved by, a leadership of divine leastness and self-effacing *agape*.

From the Kremlin to Uganda, from Hoffa's slaves to Castro's dungeons, from Birmingham and Oxford to the Ostian Way—laymen yearn to find this life good and the air clean, and a future that is the Lord's. They desperately seek release from professional reminders of wars past and the eagerly circulated, lugubrious rumors of wars yet worse to come. They also long to strike off the shackles of prejudice that do so easily beset them and to welcome all men as voyagers with them in the heavenly way.

Good news, above all, is what the people yearn for. Of course, they cannot be given false assurances wholly removed from the grim realities of present fact. But they need not, and should not, be left there! Too often, calamity-seasoned ministers join sensation-hungry reporters in reprimanding all longings for peace as the wishful sentimentality of spoiled children.

Good news! The gospel news! Who hears it any more? Does anyone think it will ever be pertinent again? If so, when? Let's hear an informed estimate. To the layman, the pulpit must often seem simply one more tight-lipped inhaling and open-mouthed exhaling of earth's stale breath, not the living respiration of twice-born men.

Are preachers merely barometers of the world's cynicism and its frantic struggle for cheap sophistication and physical sensation? Why do ministers so delight in reflecting the popular mood—now depressed, now gay—instead of stubbornly refocusing the heavenly vision? The layman would like to know.

The laity needs good news now—not after Castro is quarantined, not after Khrushchev's obscene mouth is closed for good. The people can't even wait the all-too-short time it may take to make national political office a one-family prerogative. No! The people can't wait any longer, on anybody, at all. They need the good news now. They don't need it from politicians—good, bad, or typical. They must have the old, foolish, Christian reassurance at once—the word that Christ has already overcome the world, whatever the world does to itself. And the laity have the right to hear it from the clergy. Will the laity dare to believe it, if and when it comes, seeing that the ministry have so often suppressed, in cowardice, this surging, singing hope?

Eventually, lay people (proud and humble) will receive the revelation of joy at Christ's own hand—not from the Pope, or the Virgin, or Vatican II. The people must and will have the good news even if they have to go to the Bible for it; and that will be a last ditch possibility for laity and clergy alike—Protestant as well as Roman Catholic. The laity will have salvation, even if they have to step

over the recumbent forms of despondent ministers telling on their beads the world's dire forecasts of its own doom.

Everywhere there are big voices booming with big plans for little people. Voices from Moscow and Havana, from Washington and New York, from Rome and from Raleigh. But from out of Nazareth a great stillness reigns—a quietness like the bated breath of a tired earth seeking to be reborn from heaven.

Who will interpret the "Telstar" of that still small voice which speaks peace to the heart of Jerusalem and announces the hour of her deliverance? Who if not the clergy yearning in reply to the yearnings of the laity—a clergy stricken in the bowels with human longing and moved to prophesy out of divine compassion?

Things I Dislike About the Ministry

CHARLES P. BOWLES, '32

At the outset suffer me to say two things about my topic: First, it would be absolutely impossible for me to talk about "Things I Like About The Ministry" in the scope of this paper. Time forbids! A treatment of that nature would require a two-semester course of three hours per week. Secondly, as I discuss "Things I Do Not Like About The Ministry," it will not be done in critical manner. I am not availing myself of a platform to air my grievances, explode my pet peeves, and carp on what I may consider justified irritations. Rather, I am attempting to be constructive and helpful; first, to the speaker, and then to the listener. For many years I have made it a practice to preach to myself first and then to my congregation. The things I dislike about the ministry are the things I dislike and deplore about myself. I have taken a long look at myself and at fellow-ministers, and frankly there *are* some things I do not like.

Let it be understood at the outset that I think to be "set aside" as a Christian minister is the greatest compliment which can come to mortal man—that we may hope through God's grace "by the foolishness of preaching to save those that believe." To me this ministry stands at the apex of the "called of God," and I am humbly grateful for the privilege of nearly thirty-two years in this glorious experience. "Things I Dislike About the Ministry" will be discussed under two heads or sub-topics, Irreverence and Irrelevance.

I. IRREVERENCE

The one thing a minister has to combat more than anything else in his ministry is the constant temptation to become so familiar with "holy things" that for him they become commonplace and meaningless. We are guilty of professional routine which is deadly to our own souls and unproductive as we deal with the souls of others. We become so involved in the machinery of seemingly necessary organization that our own central purposes lose their reason for being. It is not simply

The annual Alumni Lecture was delivered at the Duke Convocation and Pastors' School on October 31, 1962, by Dr. Charles P. Bowles (A.B. 1928, A.M. 1931, B.D. 1932), pastor of West Market Street Church, Greensboro, North Carolina, and member of the Board of Trustees of Duke University.

a matter of Ezekiel's "wheels within the wheels," but the danger of the whole Frankenstein colossus of machinery turning to rend us, its creator. If we let this happen, we had just as well write "Ichabod" over the door of all our strivings. We must not deal lightly or mechanically or routinely with sacred things. We must avoid the suffocating sin of irreverence. We must not be guilty of what I like to call "a lost sense of wonder"—to use a term popularized years ago by Joseph R. Sizoo. We must always feel that somehow in everything we do "God will break through"—maybe sometimes in spite of us. When we lose this certainty, our ministry is barren, unproductive, dead.

According to Dr. William Russell Bowie, "There are two impulses in man. One is to accept and take for granted; the other is to look with inquiry and wonder. Out of the latter impulse (true) religion is born." I am sure you would agree with me that too many of us belong in the category of those who "accept and take for granted." Legion is our name. Too few of us follow the latter course and "look with inquiry and wonder."

This attitude of accepting and taking for granted was most certainly not the historic foundation of our religion in its Judeo-Christian tradition. "The Hebrew always had a sense of wonder," to quote Dr. Bowie again. "To the Hebrew mind this world was never *all*. Something vaster overarched it. The supernatural enfolded the natural, and the numinous—the *mysterium tremendum* (to use Otto's terms)—was as real as everyday events. The existence of the other world might seem dreadful; the emotion it first produced might be awe, and even fear. But it was never despised and seldom forgotten or ignored." So there was always an element of nobility in the Hebrew character and in Hebrew history because there was reverence before an Eternal One, who was increasingly recognized as Just and Holy. Jesus was the product of this tradition, and one always has the feeling that he never *had* a "lost sense of wonder." From the blessing of the loaves and fishes, to the healing of the sick, to the agony of the Garden and the pain of the cross, we can always feel the sense of reverence with which he did his work and came into the consciousness of God. "F-A-T-H-E-R," we hear him say with great tenderness and reverence.

Thomas Carlyle once said: "The man who cannot wonder, who does not habitually wonder (and worship), were he the President of innumerable Royal Societies . . . and carried the epitome of all Laboratories and Observatories with the results in his single head,

—is but a pair of spectacles behind which there is no Eye.” Let me add that reverence is the response of body and soul to lofty mysteries, deeply felt and only partially understood. It is reverence—this gaze of wonder—that puts eyes back of the unseeing spectacles and allows us to see things that would otherwise be unobservable. It is “these things” which keep our ministry from the kind of familiarity with “holy things” that makes them become commonplace and meaningless for us.

An unawareness of the forces that destroy a sense of reverence and wonder is likely to issue in a devastating form of behavior in the lives of too many ministers. This is the thing I dislike and deplore. We begin to deal with holy things with unholy hands. *We are prone to use the verbiage of religion until all of the vitality is squeezed out in the routine of professionalism.* We allow ourselves to drift (and drift is the word—we don’t consciously or willfully do it) in this direction until we become a part of that ungodly throng who have no “sacred spots to safeguard.” They have taken down all the “No Trespass” signs, to use Dr. Sockman’s figure. Their walk, therefore, is like the scene I observed recently where a crowd was going over a beautiful green lawn in order to satisfy their morbid curiosity after a tragedy had struck. There were no restraining fences and warning signs, but common decency would cry out at such behavior. You know what happened. Eventually the lovely green became a dirty, muddied brown. Just so, living without reverence reduces life to commonness. When a person ceases to look up to something sacred, he looks downward . . . and how deep is the abyss!

Let me be specific: One of the most sacred responsibilities incumbent upon any minister comes when he stands before his congregation on Sunday morning to feed them, not upon stones, but upon the Bread of Life. Any minister who can do this lightly, casually and without due reverence is not worthy of his high calling. I mean more here than the arduous toil that should go into the preparation of a sermon. (This is taken for granted and would be a fitting topic for another paper. It has been so ably presented in so many ways.) Let me illustrate this by an incident in the life of my father, a Methodist minister for forty years. I remember asking him years ago if he were ever afraid when he went into the pulpit. I shall never forget his reply. He said he was always scared half-to-death. I have come to know what he meant—not stage fright (one soon gets over that), but rather the sacred awesomeness of his task. He was going into God’s house to bring God’s message to God’s people. It is an awe-

some experience and cannot be done in the proper spirit except in the attitude of deepest humility and reverence. The most dramatic moment in my life is when I open the door of my study on Sunday morning, with a prayer on my lips, to enter God's house and to stand before God's expectant people. Yet, I have seen, and so have you, *productions*—and that is the word—which were eloquent in delivery, masterful in language, even profound in thought, which were staged in a certain cocksure attitude that lacked the humble reverence before God needed at such a high hour.

The same is true with all we do. Only those who have especially prepared themselves can approach the Godhead. This feeling, so evident in the early church in Scotland, has come to us also by way of New England. Certain rites and abstentions were practiced preparatory to going to the meeting house on days before the celebration of the Holy Communion. How lightly and casually, and with lack of proper reverence, do we approach the Lord's Table! It becomes to some merely a calendar event. Not only is it done without preparation, but too often short cuts are sought to make it as little "offensive" time-wise, as possible. Dr. E. K. McLarty, Jr. tells a very revealing incident that happened on his first charge many years before he was sent there as pastor. It has to do with Dr. J. C. Rowe, father of Dr. Gilbert T. Rowe. If you think Dr. "Gil" was an unusual and unique character, you should have known his father. When he was a presiding elder, he came to Big Springs Church in the Charlotte District for a Quarterly Conference. As was the custom in those days, he celebrated the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on Sunday morning—the conference having been held on Saturday. (Those were unhurried days when my minister-father used to hitch up the old gray mare and spend an entire day making a call. Now we get frustrated if we miss one slot in a revolving door, and we try to go through on the other man's push.) Some of the older members of the church relate that before Dr. Rowe served the sacred elements, he announced another hymn and went down to the spring about fifty yards away and washed his hands in the overflow. That simple story from this strange but perceptive man struck home to me and made my concept of the reverence with which the service ought to be held more real than it had ever been.

Is it not true with our other sacred responsibilities? How irreverently some ministers approach the marriage ceremony, considering it only as a final and necessary act to make legal a civil contract into which two people are entering, or a social custom of which

they become a part. Such irreverence ought not to be countenanced, for Christian marriage should never be performed by a minister without careful preparation beforehand so that for the couple the vows will really become a spiritual bond which unites two loyal hearts in endless love. To make of it little more than a civil rite or an accepted social custom is the height of sacrilege and the ultimate in irreverence.

I could extend these illustrations indefinitely. One more will suffice. Take the matter of our ministry to the bereaved. Let it be granted that too many of our funeral services are pagan in character. This is an entire chapter within itself. However, in spite of what is expected, with which we often do not agree, we do have a ministry of comfort which must be mediated in a reverent manner. The cold and sometimes callous manner in which some funerals are conducted is, to my way of thinking, pagan also. We have a ministry of comfort to bring to those who face empty days with empty arms and a breaking heart. Any true minister must enter reverently, meaningfully, and helpfully into the fellowship of suffering with these people in the name of a Father of infinite compassion Who is the comforter of His children, and in the name of His Son who said: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

These examples, as I have said, are only illustrative of a host of others I might mention. Let me turn now, just for a sentence or two, to another consideration of this matter of irreverence. All of us would agree that certain forms and artificial poses of reverence are not reverence at all. "Reverence," according to Nathaniel Micklem, "is natural. Any affectation of holiness is unnatural and therefore really irreverent." This may be evidenced by voice, demeanor, dress, or in countless other ways. To be sure, as I have indicated, carelessness about the forms of religion may indicate triviality about holy things. But equally out of place, and very frequent, is a superficial solemnity. There is a world of difference between solemnity and true reverence. The former we can put on like a garment and deceive ourselves that we are properly dressed for holy things.

Let us say that true reverence is the indefinable attitude of body and spirit with which a noble soul responds to greatness in any form. Civilization, not less than religion, rests upon true reverence. Where there is no reverence there is no morality and no stability.

There is not even true humanity, for man without reverence is a man without a soul.

II. IRRELEVANCE

Now let me turn to irrelevance—a thing I dislike in the ministry, a thing I abhor in myself when I am guilty of it.

In the first place, I think that as ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ we ought to believe that our gospel is relevant to this day in which we live and to any day. I believe we have a message for our generation and for every generation. I still think that our gospel is the hope of the world. I suffer under no false illusions concerning the gravity of this hour and the titanic problems with which we are confronted. We are called upon to preach the gospel in what Mihailovitch once called "the gale of this world." I do not, however, believe for one moment, as one out on the firing lines of the Kingdom, that we are facing a post-Christian era or that we will be dealing with post-Christian man. I believe in the relevance of the gospel today. I therefore agree heartily with Dr. Harold C. Case when he says: "In such an hour as this the church has its supreme responsibility. High religion is charged with the obligation of reminding people that 'the things which matter most are not at the mercy of the things which matter least.' These dangerous days are not the final moments in civilization. The sky has not fallen! The world has not come to an end! There will be a tomorrow!" That is not blind optimism, I think, but the realism of one who said in his darkest hour: "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." I believe in the divine perpetuity of the Church—that, as Jesus said, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Of course we must not be duped into the philosophy of those who say with facile glibness (this, too, I do not like about the ministry—facile glibness): "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world!" Rather, we must remind people that God is still in his heaven even if all is *not* right with the world. Our task is to do our best to proclaim a relevant gospel to try to make things right in the world. And that means, not only *believing* that our gospel is relevant but also preaching a truly relevant gospel for this day. Is it any wonder that there is a "yearning laity" as so forcefully described by Dr. Petry—so forcefully described that my face flushed with deserving shame?

Upon the surface this looks like a crucial period for Christianity. There are so many things which assail it and attempt to make the

gospel irrelevant: materialism will choke it out, if possible; a sensate culture will make it barren and unproductive, if it can; personal and social rottenness will weaken its witness, if left unopposed; racial discrimination will make invalid the claim of universal brotherhood so dear to the heart of our Lord; thermonuclear war will annihilate civilization, if we do not have the wisdom to replace hatred with love and teach others so to do; the conquest of outer space will be futile if in the process we have failed to conquer inner space—that yawning chasm between what we are and what we ought to be; an atheistic philosophy will completely destroy us, if we do not make the Christian faith *dynamically captivating*. Yes, these are crucial days. Nevertheless, if we look at history, we shall find that the times when Christianity really rose to the occasion and was most sacrificially supported, when it made its great advances and won its resounding victories, were in days like these.

Listen to the words of one of the graduates of The Divinity School who has spent some time in Russia recently. (If you have not read the article by Dr. Robert G. Tuttle in the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, do so.) He says: "I believe that this is the most significant generation since the time of Christ, and it is wonderful that you and I have our own particular ministry in this era." It is wonderful if we believe the Gospel is relevant and if we are preaching a relevant Gospel. If not, it can be one of the most chaotic and frustrating eras of all time.

Bishop Fred P. Corson was speaking to me (and to you) recently when he stated that Christianity's prime task is to find a new and dynamic approach to the working man and his problems. A part of that challenge is for preachers to stop sermonizing and start talking to the common people in terms they can understand and believe. "We need," said Bishop Corson, "a reinterpretation of Christ in the light of the *state of mind* of this age, an interpretation that is beamed to the common man rather than the scholars. Too much 'gobble-dygook' is used in theological language today, whereas the need is for an interpretation of Christ in plain Anglo-Saxon speech to recapture the attention of the man of the street."

Bishop Gerald Kennedy in his Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale highlighted this same idea when he very wisely and forthrightly stated that preaching is not editorializing or giving good advice. "Not so," he continues. "It is headline stuff, blaring forth the news about a Man, a Life, a Way, an Answer . . . Preaching is *not* going from door to door to sell a book on home remedies, but standing on

the street corner shouting, 'EXTRA.'" Our gospel must be made that urgent and that relevant to our generation. If we believe in our gospel, we will make it *that* relevant. We will not be like the man who came to my door with a bunch of pencils in his hands. As I opened the door, he said, "You don't want to buy any pencils, do you?" And I didn't. What a negative approach to selling pencils—or anything! . . . If we are not making the gospel relevant to our day we are failing, miserably failing. A returned missionary who had spent thirty years on the mission field came back to this country recently and found a complacent church in an hour of great need. This was her comment. "As far as I can see it, the church is a necklace of rocks about the Neck of God." She continued with a familiar quotation from Dean Inge: "The best thing that can be said for the Church is that it has made a mess of telling the world about God." Then Dean Inge adds that our greatest difficulty has been that we have been trying to tell the world more about God than we actually know. That statement cuts me, as a minister, like a two-edged sword because I realize that I have not made the gospel as relevant as I should and it has not been as relevant as it ought to be. I stand condemned daily before my failures. This I dislike about the ministry. "They made me keeper of the vineyard, but my own vineyard I have not kept!"

If I were to be absolutely honest with you, I would have to confess that there are times when a "low mood" strikes me, and I begin to wonder whether the gospel I preach—or even the Gospel itself—is relevant to this day and age. When that mood strikes me, I remember the day when a man came to Athens and stood on the Areopagus, which is really a rocky spur of the Acropolis, and preached the gospel of Christ. What a foolish babbler this little Jew by the name of Paul must have appeared—maybe a hunchback with poor eyesight, who knows? How utterly irrelevant he must have seemed, "telling," as Dr. Sangster so forcefully states it, "his improbable tale in the shadow of the Parthenon, and to men who read Plato and Aristotle." But the message of good news of that "poor babbler" smashed the ancient paganism despite its erudite philosophy, its beautiful ritual, and its lovely temples. Indeed, within the passing of four centuries, it took the glorious Parthenon and turned it into a Christian Church for a thousand years. Irrelevant? It cannot be denied that the message seemed such, but nothing uttered in that ancient world was more relevant than the gospel Paul preached.

Let it be said to our eternal shame—yours and mine—that we lack the real courage of a Paul to preach unpopular, though relevant, truth to our day. This I dislike about the ministry. Who of us can ever forget Dr. Wendell Phillips, who made relevant the preaching of the unpopular truth of the gospel in his day. He was fighting the battle for the abolition of slavery. To be sure, the cause was not popular, but he gave the message straight. The rabble answered back with stale eggs, brick bats and curses. Wendell Phillips was a man of culture; he was a Harvard graduate, an aristocrat in his social affiliations. The challenge which he answered was no easy one. His wife, you remember, was an invalid and had to remain at home in a darkened room for months and months while the struggle went on. He would go to her room to kiss her goodnight as he went out to address a troubled meeting. Invariably she would look up in his face and say, "Now, Wendell, don't shilly-shally." And he didn't! Receiving these words and a kiss from his wife, he put the message straight until the conscience of a nation was awakened.

I have given you this bit of biography to highlight and emphasize one last thing I dislike about the ministry—the self-deluding notion that if we had lived in another day or age we would have had the courage to rise to the situation and be relevant and heroic. We can always imagine ourselves as being heroes in times other than our own. As a young minister, I used to sit at the feet of a retired missionary to the north woods of Canada. He would tell how he rode through blinding blizzards and sub-zero weather to reach a trapper's camp or a mining village. Often he would be frozen to the saddle, and the men would "break" him from the saddle and place him by the fire to thaw out. As I listened, I used to imagine that if I had lived in his day I too would have been heroic. Later I was to read the life of Dr. Wendell Phillips and how he made the gospel relevant to the pre-Civil War world. As I read it, I again imagined that if I had lived in his day I would have made the gospel relevant even as he did. When this thought possessed me, I remembered another incident from his later life. This veteran campaigner for righteousness was sitting by the fire one evening talking to a young man about his thrilling exploits. The young visitor was enthralled. Finally, the young man said: "Dr. Phillips, if I had lived in your time, I think that I should have been heroic too!" The veteran was noticeably aroused when he accompanied his visitor to the door. As he pointed down the street, he drew the attention of his youthful companion to flaunting indications of audacious vice on every hand. His voice

was tremulous with indignation as he exclaimed: "Young man, you are living in my time, and in God's time! Be sure of this: No man could have been heroic then who is not heroic NOW."

There was never a day when a relevant gospel was more needed. The Christian Church must sound forth clearly a relevant message or be relegated to the tomes of forgotten memory. We must dominate or be dominated. To put it a better way, we must possess or be possessed. We must take our rightful place or be driven again to the catacombs. There is no place for an impotent church and an irrelevant ministry in the catastrophic day in which we are now living—our day and God's day.

A Practical Plan for Saving the World

FRANK C. LAUBACH

The subject I sent down here was "A Practical Plan for Saving the World." I didn't realize that I was going to talk to theological students today, but it's all right; you are human beings too, and after finishing your work here you intend to do something for your world. You want to bring the world to Christ; you are convinced that that is the way. But what? and where? are questions that must baffle most of you, and those are the questions that I will try to answer today. You are smart, full of energy, healthy, but most young people that I meet around the United States are still wanting a cause big enough for them. I look at them and ask: Have you as yet found a cause worthy of your magnificent potential? I am here today to present you with a cause, the biggest cause in the universe.

It is true that you already have the cause of bringing people to Jesus Christ, but in addition to that I want to add another one; that is, to rescue history. Our good ship Earth is on the skids, on a tailspin toward disaster, things are deteriorating. . . . Our newspapers and magazines lead us to believe that the way to save the world now is through military victories or through averting threats of war, and it is true that this is important—in a negative sense, however. War can destroy in one year or one month or—the next one—in one day what it took a century to build. . . .

President Eisenhower once said, "All our military effort is purely negative; it is merely holding a line until we can do something positive." That is true. Coming from the greatest American general in our day, it is very significant. . . . Another prominent man (who isn't as prominent as he was before the California elections) said that all our military money is being poured down a rat hole, for we are going to lose the world anyhow unless we do something else. That something else is what I am here to talk to you about today.

In 1915—it seems like ancient history to you young students here—I went out to the Orient. As a student in the ministry, as

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you are, I decided that I wanted to go where—not only to do *what*, but to go *where*—I was needed most, and it seemed to me that the Orient was the place that needed me at that time, so I went out to the Philippine Islands. My first recommendation to you today is that you ask that question: Not only *what* shall I do, but *where* shall I do it? Where am I needed most in this world today? Now that day it seemed to me that here in the United States we were strong. It is true that the enemy is here; sin is here, but there are a lot of people who are preaching against it and working against it. But over on the other side of the world our ranks are thin, and we are losing the battle. I made a great many mistakes in my life but, young men, that was not one of them. I still believe that's valid. . . . If we were in battle, and over here our ranks were thick and we were holding our own or winning, and over there we were losing and our ranks were thin, I would be a coward—I couldn't look myself in the face—if I chose to stay here where it was easy and safe and comfortable. I would only be self-respecting if I went where I was needed, where it was dangerous. And that's the reason I went abroad. I believe that if you don't get a voice from heaven you have still got to face the questions I have faced. What would I do and still be self-respecting, where would I go?

Now when I got out there, I found out something I hadn't known. In one of Daniel Fleming's books called *The Marks of A World Christian*, I think, he said two-thirds of the world was still unable to read or write, and I found out that was at that time true. I went down to the rural people in the southern part of the Philippine Islands. These Moros were Mohammedans. They wouldn't listen to my Gospel for this reason. . . . When the Americans started to subdue them, we killed half of them. Naturally they hated us; you don't make people loyal by killing their relatives. I started to do something for them, but I couldn't do anything for a time.

Some of you who know me have heard of my strange experience on Signal Hill. I was up there one night asking God: What can you do for a hateful people like these, murderers, thieves, our enemies, betel-nut chewers, dirty and filthy. Then my lips began to talk and my lips said to me, "Frank, these Moros don't like you because you look down on them with your white man's sense of superiority. They can read you like a book. You think you are educated and they are illiterate. You think you are a Christian and they are not. You think you are pretty decent and they are terrible. If you could love them in spite of all that, as I love them, they would love you

back." My lips kept talking to me for a while, and I said, with tears running down my cheeks, "God, if You are speaking to me through these lips of mine, You are telling the truth. I am that way, I wish I were dead." I *was* fed up! I couldn't do a thing with those people. I waited a little bit, but He didn't do anything about that; I am still here. So I said, "Come and change me then; make me over," and something happened. A good many people who went out to the mission field had enough religion to go out there but not enough religion to be one with the people and to love them. Something snapped in me, and I fell in love with those Moros. I could have put my arms around any betel-nut chewing, filthy old murderer and loved him while he stabbed me to death that night. I fell in love with the world.

I believe that something like that has got to happen to you. If you do go out there, you have got to love those people as your brothers and sisters for whom Christ died. From that moment on the door opened. Some priests were going by as I was going down that Signal Hill. I saw them there, Mohammedans, and they hated me, but I said, before they could say anything, "I would like to study your Koran." They looked their hate at me, but one of them said, "I think he wants to be a Mohammedan, let's give him a lot of it!" So the next day they came to my house and brought all the priests in that area. It was enough to fill that whole room. They tried hard to make a Mohammedan out of me, and I let them try. I think one of the first things a missionary ought to do is to study their religion and see how much of it is true. I found that they have much like our Bible, more than I have ever found before, even after studying it in Union Seminary. They have sixty prophets in the Koran, patriarchs who are also in our Bible, and a tremendously high opinion of Jesus Christ. It isn't Christ that they hate; it is the Christians that have betrayed Christ that they hate. There is a lot of truth in that; the more I looked at them the more I saw that we *have* betrayed Christ, that we have been un-Christlike in our attitude so often.

It wasn't long before they said, "We hate Christians because they are killers, but we like you because you understand us; now you teach us to read." So I began to teach them English, but I gave up in three days because I was afraid that they would go crazy. You don't know this, but English is the world's worst spelled language. (Half the patients in our United States hospitals are mental cases. I am trying to find out how many of them got that way by trying

to learn English.) I said, "Why don't you know your own language?" and they said, "We have never written it." I said, "Thank God, now there will be only one sound to 'A' not six, as we have in English." I adopted an alphabet and began to teach them phonetically. (I am from Teachers' College, Columbia University, where you don't do that kind of thing—you didn't when I was studying; it just wasn't orthodox. But I was way on the other side of the world where nobody could watch me, so I never told Professor Thorndike about it for five years, and I experimented with phonetics, which was then very heretical in education.) And it worked, with only sixteen sounds—that's all the sounds they had. With one letter for each sound and one sound for each letter, it was child's play to teach them that much, and they could pronounce every word in their language! They had a newspaper, the only one that ever was printed in their language. We printed the story of Jesus and found that it was very popular. They were interested in what he had said and what he had done, and we always told about his compassion. . . .

Well, when I was teaching, hundreds came, thousands came, and we had a tremendous campaign going. Four hundred young men we had trained to teach, and I was paying them from five to ten dollars a month. And then a letter came from the United States: "No more money, we can't send you any; don't come home, just stay there." So I called these four hundred Moros—with a gun here and a knife here and the big chief—together, my knees shaking and my voice shaking too, and I said to them, "I haven't any more money; we'll have to stop this campaign." They all looked daggers at me, but they didn't throw any at me. Then the chief stood up. (He was a tall Moro with fierce black eyes, the fiercest eyes I have ever seen in my life; he had thirteen wives, and all he had to do was look at them and they behaved.) He looked at me with those terrible eyes, and he said, "No, you are not going to stop." I said, "What will we do?" Then he turned those fierce eyes on the four hundred young men and said, "I will make these young men teach, or I will kill them." I thought, "There is a new idea in education." And everybody taught and nobody died; all the chieftains backed the big man up, and there is where 'each one teach one' began. Well, that spread all over the world, and from that day to this I have been answering requests in 103 different countries and from almost every denomination including Catholics, "Come and show us how you did it," because it turned out to be a great success there among those Moros.

Now these are the things I found out as I traveled around the world helping people. I found that these illiterate people around the world (two-thirds at that time, now it is still half) were terribly anxious to learn to read. That is the first thing that I have discovered, no matter what anybody else says about it. If they say they don't want us, it is because they are afraid. They don't like educated people because they have been swindled by so many of them and they are afraid that it will be unpleasant, or they are too old, but they want to read because they are hungry. . . . In Asia and Africa and all Latin America the majority of the human race are illiterate, unable to read and write, one out of ten educated.

But there is another thing about them that we have discovered: these illiterate people are hungry people. Almost invariably the educated people of the world have enough to eat; they are not hungry—unless they are drunkards, and then they are thirsty. But the illiterate people in the world almost invariably are hungry. The United States Government reports that half the world goes to bed hungry every night. The United Nations reports that two-thirds of the world goes to bed hungry every night. I think it is somewhere between one-half and two-thirds. . . .

So what! Well, that's the way America thought about it for a long, long time. I used to go across this country trying to stir up the sympathy of the American people, but there wasn't very much. They were way off on the other side of the world, it wasn't our affair, it was their own fault. That's the way the American people used to feel; they don't now. When Communism gets almost in sight of Florida, then we begin to think about those people; at least we begin to wonder why it's there. America is a rapidly changing country right now. In fact, if it isn't, I am in despair! If America changes soon enough, we can save the world. The American people were indifferent to what happened on the other side of the Atlantic and Pacific except when we wanted to go and make big money. The American people now are not indifferent; they are baffled, they are bewildered, they want to know what to do.

And you young men in the ministry owe it to the country to tell it what to do. What's the matter? Why did one-third of the human race capitulate to Communism so easily? How is it that a few hundred or a few thousand men could bring all those people under their control and make them believe that that was the only way to save the world. There are a very small percentage of them that do not believe that. How is this? Well, this is the answer. Russia went

Communist because Russia was in a horrible condition after the First World War. Everybody ought to read the history of Russia before it went Communist. All will agree that it was in the worst condition that it had ever been in. They revolted against aristocracy, they killed the Czar, they killed 20,000,000 more, and then Karl Marx's philosophy came in with Lenin, and Lenin took over.

The Communists say that they are out to right a terrible wrong. What they point out is this. We on this side of the world, we and Europe, have more than half the world's wealth. While we have more than we need, we feed \$7,000,000 worth of wheat and corn to the weevils. On the other side of the world they are hungry and getting hungrier, and the Communists say this is a horrible wrong and that it must be righted. These people believe them when they go among them. Russia went Communist because they were going to right this wrong, but the trouble is with the Communist method. First, it is wrong to take away from the rich and if they protest put them seven feet under the ground where they will protest no longer. They did that in Russia and they did that in China. . . . That is a very serious, terrible, drastic way to get rid of a terrible wrong, and the American people must know that that way is wrong. But half the world is hungry, and the other half has too much. The gap between them is getting wider all the time.

Another thing the American people must know—that you must tell them too—is that we are responsible, that we cannot wash our hands as Pilate did and say we are not responsible, because it is mostly our fault. In the past their religions made them believe this is all right. For example, Islam has *Kismet*, the idea that everything is the way God wants it to be; people are told to submit to the will of God. And they interpret that to mean, lie still, take it. The Hindus and Buddhists have *Karma*. If you are suffering now, it is because of a previous incarnation; you have sinned and you must sweat it out. There is no forgiveness, there is no Cross, there is just *Karma*.

But now our missionaries go over there with Christianity, and the Christian religion isn't that kind. It hands out good news, and especially good news to the poor. Jesus said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. He has anointed me to preach good news to the poor, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to open the eyes of those who are blind, to heal those who are broken-hearted, and to proclaim the kind of a world the Lord desires." Everything he said was that. Missionaries may be conservative, many of them are. They may never be radical, but that Gospel is radical! And it

has had more to do, in my opinion, with starting this thing that is going on in the world today than any other thing. There are sometimes people who make complimentary remarks about what I have been doing as a missionary, saying that I have done more to stir up this hornets' nest than any other man. Perhaps I have; I have been one of them, but only one. Missionaries have done that; they have stirred up a hornets' nest of dissatisfaction. They are one of the reasons for this revolution of rising expectations around the world, and I am proud of it. Jesus himself said he didn't come to keep people asleep, to keep them satisfied.

There is another thing that America is responsible for. We are responsible for the fact that the world is getting hungrier. We caused that, not because we are bad but because we had compassion, but it was lopsided. . . . Every fifth missionary that goes abroad is a doctor or a nurse. . . . We have more compassion for people who are ill than we have for people who are hungry, because we get ill and our relatives die. We don't get hungry, and we don't know what hunger is. I think that is one reason. At any rate we have done a tremendous thing in preventive medicine. We have stopped all the epidemics, or almost all of them. Malaria is the last one and it is going down, down, down. Smallpox, yellow fever, bubonic plague, pneumonic plague, cholera, typhoid fever, diphtheria, you name it and we have conquered it all over the world. We have doubled the life expectancy of mankind. On the other side of the world people used to live about eighteen years on the average. A large percentage of little babies died before they were two days old, killed by the ignorance of mid-wives who cut the umbilical cords with dirty knives and gave the children tetanus. Now the population is going up because the birth rate is the same and the death rate is only half what it was. And so we have doubled the population of the world in the last forty years. It was only 1,200 million in 1900; now it is 3,000 million. It will be 6,000 million in forty years, and it will be 12,000 million forty years after that. We did that more than any other five nations put together, although the other Western powers had a lot to do with it. So, we can't wash our hands.

It is very obvious—so we might as well say it out loud—that one of two things has got to happen and happen rapidly, or both things have got to happen. We have got to start on a tremendous worldwide campaign of family planning. On the other hand, while we are doing that, we have got to start on a campaign of helping the world's economic condition, even though it does mean competition. There

may be some of you here today who feel that that may be your work, this helping to improve the economic conditions of the world. . . . If we are smart, we would invest twenty billion dollars right away in these areas where people are getting hungrier, in industrializing those countries. We could use all the manpower that America has, even if we were disarmed, in helping this industrialization. Then we and the rest of the world could rise together. Because you are ministers, the other thing that must be done is what you can do. In fact, there are two other things that must be done, while those who are competent go out and help industrialize the world, so that we will have enough food to feed the world.

The second thing that must be done is to educate them. You can't use these illiterate people in a highly technical situation. . . . We have got to educate the world, or we can't industrialize it. Besides that, they have got to be educated or they are going to turn Communist. . . . James Michener says we are losing one hundred million of those people a year, and I think he is right, we are. In ten years they will all be gone. No matter how big our military is (I understand seven times the fire power of the Russians), if we had seventy times as much, we couldn't prevent those people from going Communist as long as the Communists make them believe that they are the only ones who care and we are letting them get hungrier and hungrier. We can't do it any other way. I don't believe that sending them our surplus food is the answer, though I am in favor of it. . . . There are eight times as many people hungry out there as in the United States. Eight times as many people angry because they are hungry. Eight times as many people going Communist because they are angry and hungry and illiterate. The only thing to do is to help them do it themselves, to show them how. We know how, that is why we can do so much. Now it is power, now it is progress, now it is prosperity. Where they don't have it, they can't produce as their rapidly multiplying families demand, and so we have got to go out there and educate them.

I wonder if you and I here would do that. Here is good news, if the church today awakens to its opportunity. The doors are closing in many countries, especially these new countries who have just become free, and are unchristian. They are closing there to the ordinary man and the missionary. About forty countries have become free from Europe since the second World War, and none of them is a Christian country in name. None of them ruled by Christians! They are Mohammedan largely, or Buddhist or Hindu. So it isn't sur-

prising that they oppose evangelistic missions. They call that subverting from their religion to ours. But every one of these countries is in trouble. They are in trouble because they are afraid of their own people. The 10% who rule are afraid of the 90% under them who are honeycombed by Communist agitators who say, "Overthrow your Government!"

All over the world these revolutions are being fomented without any doubt by Communist agitators who say, "We are your only hope." In Russia everybody is educated; it is a criminal offense to be illiterate in Russia; if you are illiterate, you have to learn or they will send you to Siberia. In Communist China they work hard but every adult is supposed to spend an hour a day learning how to read and write. They believe that knowledge is power and that they can't make them Communists or give them Communist literature unless everybody is taught to read. The result is that in Russia today there are almost 98% literate. In China the figure rose from 20% to 80% in only eleven years. I am against Communism with all my soul because of the reasons I told you, but I must say that they are right when they believe that knowledge is power and that everybody ought to be educated. So they tell these people everywhere: "Now the only hope to come up out of poverty is to be educated, the only hope to be educated is through Communism, because we believe in it. These other people there, ten per cent, want to keep you down so you can be cheap labor. They don't want you educated." That's what they tell them.

People over there believe it. They hate the landlord. Over there in that part of the world the educated people, the ten per cent, own all the land because they know how to write deeds in their own name. They make the laws, they run the courts, they run the government, they mint the money, they control the army, they run everything. They are the haves, they are hated, they take half the crop; all of you must know this if you study the situation. The usual thing is for the landlord, who may live in Paris, to take half the crop that those hungry people raise on his land, and leave half of it for them. Then in seven or eight months they have to go to a money-lender and borrow money at a terrible rate of interest, so they hate the landlord and they hate the money-lender. Now you wonder why the Communists have such a heyday in those areas today, that's why. Because the masses hate the people at the top. The Communists say, "We wiped them out in Russia and China, and we'll wipe them out in your country if you go Communist." Nine people out of ten across

America don't know that guns and bombs and missiles will not save the world, that only going out there and solving the problem (that half the world is now hungry and dangerous) will save our world. That is the good news I am here to tell you.

Those governments are wide open. How do I know? I have worked in 103 of those countries. I have had correspondence with them, and they want us to ask our teams to come, and the only reason we don't is that we don't have the money to send our teams out there as we would like to. The United States government is now keenly aware of what I have told you, especially since Cuba went Communist. Now we are worried to death about Latin America, and also about the rest! The government has asked us, our organization: "How many could you handle if we gave you the money to make these people literate?" I don't know how much we could handle, because we don't have the teachers trained yet, we don't have the staff, the personnel, but we are trying to work out a plan.

I almost wish I hadn't told you that, because I am afraid you may lean back and say everything is all right. But it isn't, and this is why. The government of the United States, even if it wanted to, couldn't do all of this. Many of these countries, as you know, are just about as afraid of us as they are Russia. They would like to be neutral. But that is only one reason. Protocol means no government can go in and tell another government to "please get out of the way while we do something for you." In fact, our government can never go and do anything for any other government; all it can do is give them money or give them the personnel. The Peace Corps now sends these boys to these other governments, and whether they are effective or not depends on whether these other governments are honest and efficient and wise in what they tell them to do.

Protocol is one problem, but there is another one. That is, the government cannot teach religion. There are a great many people who come to me, saying: "Is it safe to educate a man, give him that new power which education gives, without also educating his heart, without also giving him the Christian ideas and standards and unselfishness that will make that education safe?" The answer is—I have to admit it—it isn't safe! We are doing it, but we ought to do more: we ought to carry the gospel to them. Now that is the reason why the church ought to handle this thing, and that is the reason why you men are important. The most important people in the world today are the leaders of the church, present and future leaders, which you are going to be very soon. The Southern Baptists are getting

wide awake to this thing now. They are tremendous about it at the present moment, and I wish that all denominations could be praised as much as they are. The Methodists are coming alive but not fast enough. It's a race with time. All we need now is a tremendous number of missionaries who are trained to teach the people.

In the middle of the Congo, Wembo Nyama, the missionaries were enthusiastic about this, so we called the church together and, after we had made lessons, we trained every single church to teach those lessons in such a way that the student would love them, and at the end of the half hour they were told, "Now you may witness for Jesus. If you have done this thing right, if you have taught him so he loves you and do it right, then he will respond. You can give him the greatest hour of his life, and then at the end of the lesson you can tell him, 'Do you know why we are teaching? Do you know why this is? We learned this from Jesus. He spent every minute of his day helping people; he went down the road looking from one side to the other asking, "Father, who is to be next?" If they were hungry, he would feed them, and if they were blind, he would open their eyes. We are all blind around here. Do you know what it is? You can't see the secrets that are in the books that make those educated people have everything. You don't know how to read, you don't know how to write, but Jesus sent us here to open your blind eyes, and oh, if you will let him in your hearts, it is wonderful what he will do for you.' "

By the time they have studied a dozen lessons about his compassion they love him. We have the story of Jesus, a hundred lessons, leading right up into the ability to read the four gospels. That's the way we can make the world Christian as well as literate; we can make their education safe. So, these are the three things that have got to be done now in order to balance this world, which is out of balance. (We have never in the history of mankind had the world out of balance as far as the human race is concerned; rabbits have been out of balance, and locusts have, and carrier pigeons and all that sort of thing, but not until now has the human race had such a tremendous difference between the birth rate and the death rate.) We can now set up a balance by: one, industrializing; number two, educating; and number three, making it safe by putting Christ in their hearts.

So this is the call to you. Or isn't it? To whom shall we turn if we don't go to those who have Christ? Who else can do this? Can the government? I thank God that not only the government but

clubs like the Rotary have now come alive. (Rotary has sent word out to every Rotary Club in the world, 26,000 of them: "Get busy and do all you can for literacy." But Rotary can't make them Christian as well as literate.) So this call comes to you today. I want to appeal to all you young men to come on out and help us. Get trained. . . .

I am an old man, I ought to retire. I realize that I am slipping, but I am not going to retire. One of these days I may drop over like that, and if I do, I can face my Maker and say, "I didn't run, God!" But the small number of us out there are losing the world. We may be saving individual souls, and maybe that satisfies you, but it doesn't satisfy me. The world's being lost, the doors are closing, the very doors that are open now will close. That is why I am here, to send you out there. The world, the church, is missing its greatest opportunity of the ages. This is the hour, and so I am here to beg you to come on out and help us. This is the practical way to save the world. As Eisenhower said, guns and bombs and maintaining the status quo with our army, that is only holding until we do something, but if we don't do something, we are only pouring all this effort down a rat hole, we are losing the world. If you loathe living a selfish life, if you believe that Christ's way of compassion alone can save the world, come on out and take our places as one by one we older people fall.

Let us pray. I asked You to speak through my lips to these people. You have also been speaking in the hearts of these young men and women, and they will never be able to evade the question, Where am I needed most? They will be glad if they don't evade it. They will look back at the end of their lives, as I am looking back now, and say, "While we made many a mistake, one mistake we did not make was in choosing a place where we were needed most and doing the deed that most needed our help." Thank You, Lord, Thank You, that there are so many young men like these here at Duke University who are dedicating their lives to Christ and in helping the Lord's Prayer come true. . . . Amen.

A Layman's View of New Delhi

ERNEST S. GRIFFITH

It is my understanding that this lecture is supposed to represent the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Anyone who has been at New Delhi or who has read about it knows that no one can possibly do this, least of all a very humble freshman layman. There could be at any one time as many as twenty or twenty-five committees or sub-committees meeting. There were three central groups—Unity, Worship, and Service—and each of those was subdivided, so all one could do would be to catch the generalizations at the end of it all . . . not merely the least common denominator, but generalizations which dodged the questions very often. . . . In connection with theology, for example, everyone started with the doctrine that Jesus Christ was Lord of history. (Certainly I would never doubt it.) But as soon as the discussions came into the clinches, the difference in the interpretation of this was such that all the Third Assembly could do was to set up a commission to study this for the next assembly to see how far consensus could be reached.

Of course in one sense I think the Assembly lived up to its theme—"Jesus Christ, the Light of the World." Now wait a minute—Jesus Christ, *the* Light of the World; this was in a non-Christian country. Jesus Christ, the *Light* of the World; in other words, the intellect, the illumination. Jesus Christ, the Light of the *World*; perhaps the most noticeable fact of New Delhi was the coming of age of the churches of Africa and Asia. In the caliber of their delegations, in their participation in the Assembly, they held their own; they had become of age. The passing of the International Missionary Council, its fusion into a world mission, were evidences of this. Jesus Christ, the Light of the World! Without drawing obviously the distinction, what set out to be primarily the emphasis on the Second Person of the Trinity, became—I think—a greater emphasis on the Third Person. I haven't heard anyone say this, and this perhaps represents ignorance on my part, but I am simply reporting my sensitivity to what I experienced.

The span of the World Council can be said to have broadened at

Excerpts from a tape-recorded address delivered in York Chapel on December 19, 1962, by the Dean of the School of International Service, American University, Washington, D.C.

both ends. It took in, as you know, a broad sector of the Orthodox bodies and for the first time breached the barriers with the Pentecostals, by admitting two groups from Chile, not numerically tremendously large, but theologically—and in terms of brotherhood—highly significant in the World Council. Bishop Lord of the Methodist Church received a call one evening at his hotel from one of the Roman Catholic observers, who wanted to talk. He said, "You know that at the next World Assembly we're going to be with you." Perhaps, perhaps not. But in any event, the winds of change are blowing through both Catholics and Protestants today. Somehow or other, those differences here appear irrelevant in a non-Christian country—if not irrelevant, not important. Having said these things, I recognize that the preoccupation of many of those at the World Council was theological and/or liturgical—in terms of worship.

To the layman the third element—Service—I think, came somewhat more to the front. Before leaving theology completely, perhaps the greatest new thing that was said there, theologically speaking, was the paper in the plenary session on Jesus Christ, the Lord of Nature. I commend it to you for thoughtful reading. . . . Some of us have known this all along in terms of finding God in nature. But the Lord of Nature is still another thing—the Lord of nuclear energy—the Lord of all scientific inquiry, and so on.

But I want to come to what seemed to me to be the strongest central note. As it hit me first, I think it would center around two words—*relevance* and *involvement*. They are facets of the same central trends. Not publicly, but privately, it was very interesting to learn from the Russian Orthodox delegates their explanation of Communism. This probably you have heard, but not everyone there had; i.e., that Communism in the Soviet Union was the judgment of God upon the Orthodox Church for its failure to be relevant to the needs of the people of Russia. Now that by itself was profoundly disturbing, but in a somewhat different phraseology the delegate of the Church of Denmark gave much the same explanation to what he called the post-Christian era in Scandinavia. He said that in other European countries the preoccupation of the Church with personal piety and future salvation (and no one is down-grading the importance of both of those—don't misunderstand me) had made the Church largely irrelevant to the felt need and experiences of the people of Western Europe (or much of Western Europe—not all, by any means, because you can't generalize by nations in this regard, nor can you generalize by religious denominations). But this note

was dominant: that somehow or other the Church must recapture its relevance; it must involve itself with people where they are.

In another connection it was said that to hear the Word you must listen to the world (that's a phrase that I think is going around in theological seminaries in this country today; it's not peculiar to New Delhi). . . . Today the most civilized nations are by and large the most urbanized, the most industrialized. The state has taken over the function of relief of distress; the country club and the labor union and other institutions have taken over the social side. Public schools have taken over the education, and so it goes. . . . This in effect is an erosion of the relevance or the involvement of the church in the form of a congregation, a parish, calling for fundamental re-thinking in many respects.

Now it is at this point that the New Delhi conference attempted to reckon with the traditional institutions of the Church, the traditional thinking of the Church. For example, all over the world—certainly all over the Christian world—there are growing up in factories, in office buildings, things which are characterized as cells or little groups, new names for prayer meetings. Under lay leadership in this country breakfast groups have been growing almost astronomically and centering largely where a person works. It was my privilege for thirteen years to be a member of the prayer breakfast group in the House of Representatives, and I saw those men wrestle with their problems as Congressmen. (Don't tell me that this was not truly sincere. For one thing they would never allow either a photographer or reporter, and when something is so precious to members of Congress—and so potentially lending itself to exploitation for political purposes—that in spite of that fact they refused to do it because their religion was so personal and important to their lives, you can see the spirit of it.)

Let me run over quite rapidly some of the other thoughts that arose out of this. . . . For one thing, there was the feeling that perhaps we should re-examine the idea that the same minister would preach every Sunday in the same church. The corollary of this was that, if the world is so complex as it is—and our Christianity must be relevant to international relations, to labor relations, to competition in industry, to social life, to education, to all these other spheres to which it was relevant in the village days—if it must be relevant to them to this extent they are beyond any possible competence of any one pastor. (We are very much interested, in our School of International Service, in the number of ministers that are coming to spend

time out to acquire the international dimension in their religious thinking, so that when they stand in a pulpit to talk on world affairs, they will know how little they know and will be cautious as to what they say. But their insights will be authentic insights in the light of international relations as they really are.) Ernest Lefever has said that if the United States Government had followed all the pronouncements of the National Council of Churches on international affairs we would today be a Soviet republic. I cannot pass judgment on that because I have never gone over them, but the amount of wishful thinking which tends to appear in the ill-informed, but marvelously well-intentioned, pronouncements in this field and a number of other fields really makes a person blush who knows what is involved in these complex issues. So I am suggesting that one adjustment would be that each clergyman, each pastor, might take some specialty—perhaps psychology, perhaps international relations, labor relations, something—and become at least a well-informed amateur in that field, and then trade pulpits from time to time. Now that's a very commonplace suggestion.

The second derivative of this is that, either in the pulpit or in commissions or in other institutionalization of this, more use should be made of Christian laymen. When we come to specialized fields now, the National Council of Churches is doing a great deal that way; the individual religious bodies are doing a great deal that way. But there is a disposition—fortunately much less so now than formerly—for church members to say to the pastor: "This is business, and don't you mix in it; you don't know what it's about." Well, the pastor's reply should be under those circumstances: "All right, you're a Christian, and as a Christian what do you think Christ would do in your situation? You ought to know. You ought to have thought that through." . . .

One of the insights, as you go into international relations or labor relations—I speak now as a social scientist—is something that the late President Bowman of Johns Hopkins once said which I shall never forget. "No one principle ever exhausts the meaning of any situation of any importance." You see, what sometimes people fail to realize is that *not* to decide one way or the other, because both decisions are equally imperfect or sinful, may be more evil than to decide for one or the other. This, of course, applies to such a thing as war, or the hard decision on what to do about Cuba, or the hard decision that may be in the making in West Berlin. (Don't tell me, please, Better Red than dead! Nobody ever gave you or me that choice.

We have far more chance of being alive when one of the two opponents believes in the sanctity of human life than if the one that believes in the sanctity of human life withdraws and leaves the field to Red China and Red Russia, neither of whom believes in it, and allows that to be the nuclear struggle of the future. Better Red than dead is a false choice based on a false assumption quite apart from ethics.)

The ethics are divided; whichever you do may be wrong, but maybe not to do either is to accept uncertainty insofar as you realize that the healing forces of time make it helpful to play for time, which is what we're doing to a point. But inaction itself is a decision which carries evil with it. (I use that not that I have any answer to Berlin, to Cuba, or to anything else—this is not the place or time for that—but only that in the field of human relations the answers aren't easy. I remember a Catholic priest saying this—and you know that they are past masters of deciding in advance how they should choose what is right and wrong in every possible hypothetical situation—he said, "The time comes when all I can do is throw myself on the mercy of God and hope I'm right." It is so in any situation which is so involved.)

Now I come back to New Delhi for another illustration of this. We had a very fine address by a member of the Indian Parliament on "The Christian Politician." He wove his way through the compromises that the politician must make, sacrificing the lesser good for the greater good—the kind of thing, for example, that Lyndon Johnson had in mind when he said to a Senator who wanted him to go down fighting for something he believed in: "What do you want, an issue or an accomplishment?" One of the most interesting illustrations that this Indian politician made was about Jesus. He spoke about Jesus as a politician, and he said that if Jesus had followed the advice of some of the people of his day, he would have declared himself within the first few weeks of his ministry, and the cross would probably have followed before he had had time to develop his disciples. But he concealed the full measure of his challenge to the powers that be, ecclesiastical and civil, to the vested evils in the society of his day. As a politician he concealed it until he was able to strike and strike hard. So much, then, for the nature of the issue. The problems presented by the present age are so specialized that they require specialists, Christian specialists.

Now I come finally to an illustration which serves to draw attention to another of the two or three major issues that face us

in the world. It was my privilege to be a member of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. Among a number of interesting episodes I might mention one or two dealing with West Berlin proper. The Russian delegates got into the manifesto the declaration that historical background must be taken into account. (That was fair enough; after all the Russians *had* been attacked twice in succession by the Germans.) But then the rest of us got in something for which the Russian delegates voted: that no solution of the Berlin problem should be of a nature that separated families, and any solution must be based on the open society—and we took pains to define the open society so as to be quite sure that they knew what they were voting for. (Now whether their monitors weren't present at that point, I don't know, but in any event they voted for it—which was a gain of something or other, I'm not sure what.)

Then the Third Assembly was able to move beyond the economic aspirations of the developing nations to what could be termed perhaps a revolution of selfhood. Surely we understand this in the aspirations of the Negroes. Economics are not enough; it's the dignity of the person. Now what are the aspects of this, world-wide? I think that, if I called them off, you would see that they are basically Christian. There's this first of all and fundamentally: the desire to be recognized as a human being with dignity. That is anti-colonial of course. It is no longer acceptable for one race or one people to rule over another, not to work with them but to rule over them. . . . So there's the revolution of selfhood. There are aspirations for education, for farm ownership (land ownership is as much a matter of personal dignity as it is of economic advancement). All of the drive for racial equality is part of this. The desire to have the ability to criticize your governors and get rid of them if you don't like them. That has the revolution of selfhood in it. There are all of the great freedoms. I haven't time to expand this, but do you see how this is Christian? In other words, the world is determined to involve itself with revolution—the American, the Christian, or the Communist revolution, which? But unless and until Christianity—the Christian church and Christians as individuals—do involve themselves with this, who shall blame the peoples of other nations for thinking that we regard their aspirations as irrelevant to our faith? I was asked several times why the American Negro didn't go Communist. My answer was perfectly clear—where I had just a sentence in which to answer it—and that was: because Jesus Christ is their Christ as well as ours. But the question still remains.

We again come to involvement and relevance, again come to the setting of a world highly complex, highly specialized. Will you go with me as believing that the message is the same as I heard Dr. Bernard Clausen give thirty-five years ago when he announced a sermon on "The Arm of Christ"? He went into his pulpit, took off his coat, rolled up his sleeve, and said, "This is the arm of Christ, he has no other; these are the eyes, the ears, and so on, of Christ." In other words, the person—whatever his occupation today—must feel that he is there in the place of Christ, and if Christ is to come into the factory, the government office, the doctor's office, the lawyer's, even the church, he can come in only through human beings who are Christians. This is the role, if you wish, of the Holy Spirit. In situations in which compromise is of the essence the Spirit is the answer. So this is the role of the layman: to serve the Church as specialists on the church's councils, to serve Christ as his instrument in everyday life. This is the role of the United States: to serve as Christ's instrument in cooperation with those millions and billions of individuals who are aspiring for a life different from the one which they now have.

If we think this is purely economic, we've sold out to the Communists. It is quite possible that Communism is the better way, the quicker way, to industrialize an underdeveloped nation. (I don't say that it *is*; it is quite possible that it is. We're going to give them a run for it even there.) But without overlooking the economic, our mission is a greater one than that, a mission that the Communists can never really attempt. What does this mean, then, for the clergy, for the pastor? It means, I suppose, that the pastor becomes more a captain of a team than a lecturer to a class. Or perhaps he's a coach with a team going out to play, or maybe he's an assistant coach, who understands international relations, who understands labor, who understands competitive industry relations, who understands about these things. You see if you can make your Church and your faith relevant to all aspects of life, and you probably can't do it yourself—except that your role is an insight role and not a judgment role. (I always feel that we ought to have a few pacifists around just to make the rest of us uncomfortable, to help us recognize that the second best or the next worse thing that we're doing isn't *right* in the end.) The Christian insight is there, and the insights must be drawn in all humility from all of life. . . .

I have tried very briefly to give a few insights from New Delhi. The subject is almost inexhaustible; there were so many facets. And

I'm quite sure that anyone else you asked who had been there would give quite a different account of it. But this is simply the way it happened to hit me. I commend to you again, again, and again, that the Church of Christ, the Holy Spirit, has never been as important in history as it is today. I close with a line from Ibsen that summarized New Delhi for me: "Your God is too small."

A Catholic-Protestant Retreat

EGIL GRISLIS

“Loyola-on-Potomac Retreat House, Faulkner, Md.,” is a description that sounds self-explanatory. It is a retreat center, operated by the Jesuits, on the Potomac River, seventy miles south of Washington, D.C. What is not at all obvious, and could not have been expected even in the very recent past, is that during August 13-15, 1962, there was held a retreat for some sixty Protestant clergymen. Having participated in this retreat, and now reflecting upon it half a year later, I want to share some of my observations.

A pamphlet prepared for Catholic laymen describes the purpose of the retreat center as follows:

What you'll take home with you: Three abundant days with Jesus Christ. Quiet, religious atmosphere. Time to yourself, to think out the problems of life. Peaceful manner of life in private room. Stimulating following of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. Opportunity to chat with a Jesuit priest.

Here's what you'll enjoy: Enrichment of soul by personal love of Jesus Christ. Renewed spiritual confidence in self. Manliness in approaching daily problems.

Could anything like this be offered also to Protestants—even to Protestant ministers? The truly amazing thing is that it was. Early in the retreat Father James A. Martin, S.J., a staff member, reflected clearly and candidly upon the purpose of such a gathering. It had never been done before. But now it was desired for the sake of sharing together the riches of grace that come from our Saviour. It was to be an occasion for prayer and meditation. Of course, Father Martin made it very clear that it was not his prerogative to remove the familiar prohibition for Catholics to worship under Protestant auspices. We could not invite Catholics to our retreats. Yet, while acknowledging the doctrinal stand of his church, he also indicated that now it is possible for all of us to meet together without any fear and suspicion of proselytizing. And more clearly than this could be stated by any formal pronouncements, the whole atmosphere of the retreat reflected such an outlook.

In deep sincerity, quietly, and yet in an easygoing and friendly way, Father Martin outlined the procedure of the retreat. The day

would begin with the celebration of the Mass—Protestants observing it, Catholics actually participating in it. Then at regular intervals five sermons would follow throughout the day. Between the sermons, each retreatant would have the opportunity to meditate in the quietness of his own private room. All the while silence was to be observed, including the mealtimes, when Father Martin read aloud selections from Hans Küng's recent and already famous book, *The Council and Reunion*.

In charge of the retreat's program was Father Gustave Weigel, S.J., introduced to the group with the title "Ecumenist." Nothing could have been more fitting than this description. In his sermons Father Weigel attempted to present the message of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola. They were long sermons, lasting up to forty minutes each—and the most brilliant kind of preaching one could have heard anywhere. Perhaps sometimes we Protestants imagine that preaching is our exclusive prerogative and a distinctive contribution to Christian life. There is also some very excellent Catholic preaching!

During two discussion periods—the only exception to the generally observed rule of silence—Father Weigel was asked a whole score of questions. What emerged from such discussions was a more specific affirmation of the perspective indicated by Father Martin. Father Weigel admitted that he could not visualize in the foreseeable future an actual union between Catholics and Protestants. Nevertheless, he said that he could observe an actual narrowing of the immense gap between the two groups, and viewed this as a very hopeful sign for future. Such a situation suggested no unqualified expectations for future, yet demanded from all Christians a genuine effort to cooperate more fully in those areas of Christian life where this was possible. In this context it was especially interesting to hear Father Weigel's reminder that Protestants have sometimes too readily engaged in negative pronouncements concerning the Blessed Virgin. He did not plead that Protestants should instead accept the Catholic position, but suggested that a thoughtful study of the problem might be helpful.

It is precisely this very obvious willingness to meet genuinely with Protestants, as with real Christian brethren, that permitted a profound and unforgettable devotional sharing.

Testing the Ministry

The widely noted biographical article of a resigning young minister, carried in the December *Saturday Evening Post*, has had more attention than it merits. Quite plainly the publicists are striving to make "copy" of a rumor that all is not well with the Protestant churches and their ministry in suburbia. Obviously, the only pertinent comment respecting the young man's cry of distress is that he certainly wearied in well-doing by his own ignominious confession. As usual, journalism scratches the surface of theological and ecclesiastical problems with little constructive effect, save to whet the appetite of the ill-informed for more sensationalism. It probably would have been better for some churchmen to have let the article go unnoticed.

Doubtless we have here a depressing symptom of problems that go much deeper than the inability of a naïve parson to get his congregation to take their Christian profession seriously. Perhaps the deeper problem is that many of them had never vouchsafed a genuine Christian profession in any case, but only inherited the externals of a churchly propriety never vitally shared. That this phenomena has disquieting representation among our churches, urban or suburban, hardly anyone doubts. Ecclesiastical Christianity has probably become too popular in the present phase of our culture and in virtue of our failure to apply rigorous Disciplinary tests of church membership. The young man in the biography was simply being confronted with the facts with which he might have been prepared to spend a lifetime in wholesome transformation.

Comment upon the issues raised in *The Christian Advocate's* "Special Report" for January 17, 1963, may be useful to our alumni and serve to expand upon the statement I made therein.

Again it is perfectly evident that the author of the book, *The Brain Watchers*, is making journalistic capital upon inadequate information, tendentially interpreted. In the first place, I know of no theological school which imposes a personality inventory test as a condition of admission. Duke Divinity School imposes no test prior to admission, though there has been consideration given to the Graduate Record Examination where available.

During the orientation period we do request the students to take tests in three categories: English usage tests, a mental ability test, a personality inventory. The results of these testings are employed first to determine where remedial English is needful for the benefit of the student's academic program. Approximately twenty students per year are assigned to a one-hour, one-semester course in remedial English. The results of the mental ability and personality inventory tests are held in strict confidence for possible subsequent use in the counseling of students. We have found some correlation between the personality inventory profiles and subsequently emerging personality problems of students. Needless to say, the correlation is far from exact. But in the case of critical problems, which from time to time manifest themselves, the personality inventory profile is helpful in diagnostic and counseling procedures. Clinical psychologists are fully aware that the tests do not have predictive value and must be employed and interpreted in terms of broader experience of the student as he manifests himself in interpersonal relationships. There is sometimes a correlation between ineffectual academic work and decipherable personality imbalance.

It is, of course, utterly absurd to suppose that theological schools are using personality inventories either prior to or after admission to course of study as determinative screening devices for students contemplating their ministerial vocation. Innumerable factors are always considered in encouraging or discouraging students with respect to their seminary program.

—ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

What Love Requires: A Contemporary Exposition of Philemon

CHARLES K. ROBINSON

The letter of Paul to Philemon deals with the question: How ought one to treat a former slave? The South has been faced with exactly this question for now one hundred years and a few days. During this brief period of time the letter of Paul to Philemon has no doubt been read in public and in private many times in the South. For in the South the Bible—the evidence of English Bible exams to the contrary notwithstanding—gets read with comparatively high frequency. However, to say that it is read a thousand times is not thereby necessarily to say that it is heard once. Thus, the letter of Paul to Philemon, a book of the New Testament Scripture dealing with the question, “How ought one to treat a former slave?” has been here read yet once more this morning. Whether it has been heard is known only to God. Whether it may yet be heard is known only to God.

“‘Comfort ye, comfort ye my people,’ saith your God.” These words the “Second Isaiah” chooses for the opening of his ministry. These words Händel chooses for the opening of his oratorio, “The Messiah.” Similarly, Paul in his letter to Philemon, after personal greetings and a prayer for grace and peace, begins with words of reassurance and comfort: “I thank my God always when I remember you in my prayers, because I hear of your love and of the faith which you have toward the Lord Jesus and all the saints.”

Perhaps there is a beginning word of comfort to be spoken to the segregated white Southern church. If there is not, in this or any moment, a word of comfort to be spoken, a word of a new beginning toward a better ending to be spoken, then there is no point in speaking any other kind of a word either. It would not be heard because it *could* not be heard.

If you as ministers to God’s people cannot find it in yourselves, cannot find it in Christ, to proclaim to them a word of comfort, do not bother to proclaim a word of rebuke. If you cannot “speak comfortably to” the white Southern Jerusalem, do not waste your

ulcers or hers by speaking harshly. If you cannot "cry unto her that," despite the apparently unending battles ahead of her, already "her warfare is" in Christ "accomplished," and that, despite the magnitude of her sins (which are your sins), already "her iniquity is" in Christ "pardoned," do not beat the already confused air with other shrill noises. If you cannot, like Paul, thank God for the love and faith of those in the church to whom you may have something to say, save it! Don't waste your breath; save it merely for sighing.

Unless in, with, under, and despite the unlove and unfaith of this segregated white Southern church—as of any church—there is the actual reality of genuine faith and love which stem from Christ's relation to us, no word of imperative exhortation on your part will avail anything.

On the basis of his conviction of the present reality of faith and love in the lives of those concerned, Paul turns to the question behind his letter: how should Onesimus, a former slave, be treated by Philemon, his former master, inasmuch as both are now Christians? "Accordingly, though I am bold enough in Christ to command you to do what is required, yet for love's sake I prefer to appeal to you . . . for my child, Onesimus, whose father I have become in my imprisonment."

Paul, an apostle of Christ, has no doubt as to his authority from Christ to proclaim in Christ's name what is required in this case and indeed to command that it be done. Yet, strangely enough, nowhere in this brief personal letter does he state precisely what is required, much less command it of Philemon. For Paul, love is always the "more excellent way." And instead of commanding as he might, he prefers "for love's sake to appeal" directly to the reality of faith and love known to Philemon's life.

Whatever Philemon might do or not do merely as a response to the man Paul would have no ultimate significance. Paul does not command Philemon. Rather he shows Philemon clearly how he is placed before, in the presence of, and under one Lord Jesus Christ, who is the *common* Lord: Lord of Paul, Lord of Onesimus, and Lord of Philemon. Paul is certain enough in his own mind as to what is required by Christ's lordship. And perhaps Philemon might even have preferred that Paul lay down a five-point program, a neat set of rules, for his treatment of Onesimus. Then, if indeed Philemon were willing to "go along fully with the program," he could reassure himself that he had done all that was required.

Why does Paul refuse to invoke apostolic authority to command what must be done? The answer to this question is stated clearly enough: "in order that your goodness might not be by compulsion but of your own free will."

Right now (October, 1962) some of the citizens of the state of Mississippi are providing us and the world (and perhaps the Maker and Lord of the world?) with an all-too-clear example of the reverse kind of "goodness": the "goodness"—if one may call it that—which is not of one's own free will, but rather by compulsion. Is it conceivable that if all those white Southerners claiming the name of Christ who bewail the use of compulsion by the national state had been more open to the kind of goodness which is of one's own free will in response to the common lordship of Christ, the compelled brand of goodness here would not have been required?

It is no longer left merely to white Southerners—claiming the name of Christ or not—to decide what "goodness" shall mean in relation to those who were in time past their slaves and chattel. "Like it or lump it"—we are being taught the meaning of "goodness by compulsion" and "what is required" by "command." Is there yet time for us to learn more of the other kind of goodness in response to the direct lordship of the one Christ and to communicate this not by command, but "for love's sake" by "appeal" to those who already know, through faith and love, something of that lordship?

"Perhaps this is why he was parted from you for a while, that you might have him back for ever." Paul does not claim fully to understand the ways of God's Providence. But he cannot escape notice of a compelling possibility: that in Onesimus' struggle against bondage to Philemon, his earthly master, a temporary separation and alienation between master and slave is destined to be used by God as a means to an everlasting personal reunion in Christ.

If it is true that from Lincoln's perspective—right or mistaken—the Civil War had to be fought "towards a more perfect union" in the political sense, it might perhaps be true that from God's perspective the true continuation of that war must be fought "towards a more perfect union" in the transpolitical and transgeographical sense of interpersonal union in Christ. "Forever" is a long time. Whether white Southern Christians regard it as good news or bad, the Negro is no passing fancy; he is here to stay! And inasmuch as Negroes are Christians—and there is some evidence that some of them are—they are with us to stay, with us forever.

Can segregationist Christians seriously picture a Jim Crow heaven? Probably some can, but surely most cannot. More typically they will argue that since our "spiritual bodies" will presumably be neither white nor black, segregation will not be a problem as regards the world to come. The premise here might be granted, but not the conclusion. For the issue of segregation is not the issue of how white skins are to treat black skins, and thus a problem which could magically disappear merely by doing away with such a material condition as skin coloration. The issue of segregation is the *spiritual* issue of how some *persons* are to *treat other persons*.

Now, this problem of personal relationship *is* going to be solved. No matter what we have done, are doing, or may yet do to reject these persons as persons we *are* going to have to accept them back again, *forever*. If we can begin to learn already in this present life how to do this, then so much to the good. Because, late or soon, we *are* going to learn. Perhaps we had as well be grateful for a painful Providence from which we may begin to learn something even now without deferring all the learning for later. We may make the learning easier or we may make it harder. But, however we will have it, we *will* learn. He in whose hand is this "forever" will teach us.

". . . that you might have him back for ever, no longer as a slave but more than a slave, as a beloved brother." Paul does not spell out for Philemon exactly what it will mean to treat a former slave as a brother. The burden of having to decide before Christ—not merely before Paul—what this must involve is thrown directly upon Philemon, as it is thrown directly upon each of us.

Well, perhaps Paul only meant to indicate some shadowy comforting notion of brotherhood in Christ which in its vague spirituality would have no necessary connection with actual brotherly treatment in the flesh. How many white Southern Christians today would be only too happy to acknowledge at the cheapest price of no price at all that in some sense or other there are countless Negroes who are their "brothers in the Lord" though not "in the flesh"—that is, not in any concrete here-and-now manner whatsoever? Unfortunately, however, Paul does not leave matters so delightfully vague! He specifies the meaning of his phrase "as a beloved brother" by adding "*both* in the flesh and in the Lord."

How then does one treat a brother in the flesh? Well, again everyone must answer this question for himself. Have you ever met a man who will not eat or associate socially or worship with his own fleshly brother? Yes, there are such men. And for such men it is

perhaps appropriate, certainly not surprising, if they treat persons of another race with a similar version of "brotherliness." Each man may speak for himself in answer to the question how he does or ought to treat a fleshly brother. But having answered the question for himself, each is then faced with the fact—whatever he may wish or not wish to make of it—that it is in this very same way, according to Paul, that he is to treat a one-time slave who has become a Christian.

And if this were not enough Paul continues: "So if you consider me your partner, receive him as you would receive me." Now this injunction leaves the freedom of Philemon quite intact. Presumably, if Philemon so chose, he could seize the former slave and throw him in chains. Presumably he could beat him. Presumably he could merely give him a cool welcome and stick him off in shabby quarters near the stables. But there is a condition which he is not free to alter: namely, that in the person of the former slave, however he treats him, he is treating not him alone, but also the beloved apostle, Paul.

Paul might have put the issue even more bluntly and at the same time more literally by saying to Philemon: "So if you consider Christ Jesus to be your Lord, receive the former slave as you would receive Christ Jesus." For the Son of Man will say: "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me. As you did it not to one of the least of these, you did it not to me."

There are such things as facts in the world. This is one of them.

York Chapel

October 9-10, 1962

FOCUS ON FACULTY

O. KELLY INGRAM, Dean of Students and Associate Professor of Applied Theology:

I was named for a paternal uncle who was the first American to lose his life in World War I and who was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and the French *Croix de guerre*. His ship, the U.S.S. Cassin, was subsequently christened with his name. But my personality was not fashioned by the name given me at birth. Rather it was formed by those things the world "little notes nor long remembers," not the celebrated death of an American sailor but the relatively unnoticed death of my mother. Her death when I was three years old turned my childhood into a nightmare of fear and loneliness and robbed me of the child's irreplaceable maternal refuge.

My father was the son and grandson of Methodist preachers, but, instead of being a minister, he was a Sunday School superintendent the first twelve years of my life. He allowed me to hold his hand while he presided over the "opening exercises" of Sunday School, providing me my first pulpit experience. When Mother died, he did not marry again. To take her place he brought into the home Miss Mollie Cooper, the most saintly person I have ever known. It was to her that I turned for love and solace, and, until I was grown, she was an unfailing source of sympathetic understanding.

In grade school and high school I was a notorious underachiever, and in college I had little incentive to apply myself to my studies. My Achilles' heel was not an inability to do good work but a disinclination. I did not mature as a scholar until the very end of my seminary training when, like some others, I was forced to discipline myself as a result of the rigors of writing a thesis under Dr. H. Shelton Smith.

It is not surprising that as a young child I thought of the ministry as my future vocation, for the church, Bible lore, the Genesis cosmology and a pre-millennialist eschatology, together with an awful sense of the omnipresence of an "Eternal Judge," the "All-Seeing Eye," formed the framework of meaning within which my childhood was cast. Those beliefs lost some of their pristine transparency be-

fore the onslaught of adolescent iconoclasm, and for a time I wavered in my choice of the ministry to the extent of declaring my intention of entering upon a legal career. Not for long, however, for the redemptive fellowship was beginning to act in a remarkably effective way to draw me into the warp and woof of its life and to share with me its loyalty to its Saviour.

When I was fifteen, a visiting evangelist took me to his room in the parsonage and put his hand on my shoulder as he said, "Son, have you ever thought that God might be calling you to be a preacher?" When I expressed a confusion of mind about the matter, he had me kneel with him while he prayed that God would guide me, and then he told me to go home and pray about it. I did pray a long time that night, but God did not speak to me. I had the feeling that I should become a minister, and that is all I have ever had.

I felt that my calling was to the parish ministry and began my pastoral career during my junior year at Birmingham-Southern College, when I was appointed to serve St. Luke Church in the Italian sector of Birmingham. Of course, I was too young, too inexperienced, too untrained. My only plea is that I was led by my zeal for my calling to inflict myself upon a poor congregation whose proffered salary of \$240 a year would attract little better than they received.

During my first year at Duke Divinity School I served as associate pastor at Trinity Church in Durham. Having been faithful over that small assignment, I was made pastor over my own four-point circuit in Moore County ninety miles from Durham. Not one church had electricity, and all were five miles or more from paved highways. I was moved at the end of the first year to Wilmington, North Carolina, over my own tearful protest and the vehement objection of my people. In a four-year period from 1942 until 1946 in that World War II shipbuilding city I was to organize and build the Sunset Park Church. After that there followed two four-year pastorates in Erwin and Oxford and a five-year term at Elizabeth City.

The happy afterglow of those pastorates causes me to view them in too optimistic terms, I am sure, for, to be honest, I must acknowledge that there were days on end when routine demands and my involvement in the tragedy of other lives made life almost unendurable. Still, as I look back, my memory insists that, on the whole, those were glad and good days. In 1960, when it appeared I might succumb to coronary thrombosis, I concluded that I could not feel cheated in being cut down in my prime, for I had the feeling that my life had been rich, full and rewarding. I had enjoyed far

above the average good fortune in my marriage to Mary Middleton and in having two lovely and lively female offspring, Beth and Julia; I had been blessed with long and fast friendships; and, to insure a happy life, my "lines had fallen in pleasant places." If I should want to wish for any pastor the most felicitous series of parishes imaginable, I would wish for him those I had the good fortune to serve.

While I was often uneasy about the way the pastorate was structured, I felt comfortable in the role of pastor most of the time, for that was where I belonged. Indeed, I was so wedded to the parish ministry that it was not easy for me to leave it for teaching. I have long been convinced that, though her forms, creeds and practices may inadequately express her faith, the empirical church is the only church there is. A Christian ministry is a service rendered within the body of the church as constituted. So convinced am I concerning the pre-eminent importance of the parish ministry that I was not able to bring myself to abandon the practitioner's role until I was assured that my task as teacher would be that of providing a ministry for the parish.

The most satisfying thing about my job as Dean of Students is that it is what I was told it could be, *i.e.*, *pastor pastorum*, not by election and consecration, not in the sense of my being *primus inter pares* among the students, but in the very real sense of my having an opportunity to render a pastoral service to men who are so busy being students they do not realize that very soon they will be my brethren in the church's ministry. But they are and will be pastors, and, in my better moments, I am able to see my work among them, not administratively as a dean, but pastorally as an elder brother called to minister in love the compassion of our Lord.

In all things I find it takes little effort to discern the usually beneficent, though occasionally chastening, hand of a kindly and purposive Providence. Here I am—in the Divinity School as a result of His guiding.

"Here I raise mine Ebenezer,
Hither by Thy help I'm come."

And, conscious of my infirmities, I hasten to add:

"And I hope by Thy good pleasure
Safely to arrive at home."

The Impact of American Religious Liberalism. Kenneth Cauthen. Harper and Row. 1962. 290 pp. \$6.

Professor Cauthen, who recently joined the faculty of Crozer Theological Seminary, has here made the first comprehensive analysis of American Protestant liberalism as it existed during the first third of our century. While recognizing a great variety of liberalisms, he focuses his study upon two types: (a) Evangelical Liberalism and (b) Modernistic Liberalism. He takes as representative of the first type William Adams Brown, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Walter Rauschenbusch, A. C. Knudson, and Eugene Lyman; and as representative of the second Shailer Mathews, D. C. Macintosh, and Henry Nelson Wieman. The basic difference between the two types seems to be that the "modernists" reject Jesus Christ as normative, while the "evangelicals" are Christocentric.

According to the author, theological liberalism was basically fashioned by the application of three "formative principles"; namely, continuity, autonomy, and dynamism. To the first, Cauthen assigns the major role in determining the character of liberalism. Under its application, the older distinctions which Protestant orthodoxy had drawn between the natural and the supernatural, the divine and the human, were erased. The principle of autonomy served to exalt human reason as against revelation and to beget in man a sense of his self-sufficiency. The principle of dynamism led to an accent upon nature and history as developmental. The operation of these three principles can be "seen most clearly in the emphasis on the immanence of God, on the centrality of religious experience, and on the evolution of nature and history" (25).

Against this background, the next eight chapters succinctly survey the thought of the two groups of liberals. All of them were found, in varying degrees, to have been victims of an immanentism which imperiled Biblical faith. Summarizing, Cauthen says: "The heart of the matter is that the liberal notion of an immanent Spirit at work gradually imparting order to nature and by an evolutionary process bringing man to moral and spiritual perfection within history is too simple a version of the relationship between man, the world, and God" (222). A "fundamental correction" is needed, and is possible only if the principle of continuity be rejected. Says the author: "The discontinuity between man, the world, and God, which is grounded in the freedom of God and in the nature of human personality, is the basic clue to the way in which the whole liberal perspective needs to be corrected" (224).

Neo-orthodoxy, he thinks, is the answer to liberalism, since it involves "a reassertion of the discontinuity between nature, man, and God" (233). On the other hand, Cauthen urges that neo-orthodoxy has "little intention of reviving a pre-liberal kind of supernaturalism" (240); that is, a supernaturalism which postulates a God who makes intermittent miraculous sallies into the cause-effect events of nature. But in that case, has neo-orthodoxy totally rejected the liberal principle of continuity? Much ambiguity attends the discussion at this point.

Toward the close of this volume, Cauthen acknowledges that he has interpreted liberalism from the standpoint of one whose theological thought has been shaped by neo-orthodoxy (213). That is obviously true. The

question is, Is the interpretation valid? Much of it surely is, but there is also much that seems doubtful. For example, he leaves the impression that the evangelical liberals largely ignored the principle of a transcendent God. Actually all five of the men studied were vigorous theists, who viewed God as the transcendent ground of the phenomenal order. To hold that they "understood neither the freedom of God as Person nor the freedom of man as person" is absurd. It is truly amazing that a person as well informed as Cauthen should give "strong weight" to Dr. Visser t'Hooft's faulty charge that Rauschenbusch was a pantheist. One may, I think, also quarrel with Cauthen's notion that the evangelical liberals considered by him were inclined to view the evolutionary process of history as itself redemptive. To be sure, they held to an evolutionary view of nature and of human history, but they were unanimous in the conviction that salvation must be accomplished in the person and work of Christ. Other examples might be given, but these will illustrate the author's tendency to exaggerate the limitations of the liberal tradition.

While Professor Cauthen has left a somewhat one-sided picture of Protestant liberalism, he has given us a highly fermentive volume which deserves close analysis and also a wide reading. He has stimulated a new desire to re-think the character of the liberal movement, and it is to be hoped that many other students will be prompted to take a second careful look at the original works of the major exponents of the various types of American religious liberalism.—H. Shelton Smith.

Christian Origins and Judaism. W. D. Davies. Westminster. 1962. 261 pp. \$4.50.

Numerous readers of this *Bulletin* have already experienced Dr. Davies' outstanding qualities as a teacher. He is a well-proven expert in the Jewish background of primitive Christianity,

and his work on *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* has become a standard text on Pauline studies.

The reviewer confesses that, on first taking up the present book, he felt a little disappointed to discover that it contained a collection of essays which had already appeared over the last several years in various periodical sources. Nevertheless the fact they have now been brought together in this readily accessible form (in a singularly attractive and accurate presentation) will be of great service to those who have little occasion or opportunity for searching the journals.

The topics covered are extensive in their range, although all are influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the author's interest in the interaction of Christianity and Judaism in the first century. Even where the discussion is of a fairly technical order, as in the papers on "Apocalyptic and Pharisaism" (19ff.), "Matthew 5:17, 18" (31ff.) and "Reflections on Archbishop Carrington's *The Primitive Christian Calender*" (67ff.), the author succeeds in combining with a searching attention to critical detail that comprehensiveness of grasp of the interpretive and theological issues involved that makes for clear expression and forceful writing. There is also a sane and sensitive estimate of the bearing of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Christian origins (97ff.) that would still be in accord with the consensus of the best and most recent scholarship, although in this fluid area of study much water has flowed under the bridge since the paper was first written in 1957.

The two essays which conclude the book are likely to be the most widespread in their appeal: "A Normative Pattern of Church Life in the New Testament?" (199ff.) and "Light on the Ministry from the New Testament" (231ff.). The former contains an admirable critique of the history of the controversy concerning "order" in the primitive Church, from the classical debate between Sohm and von Harnack onward. Dr. Davies says a cautious "Yes" to the traditional Free

Church position on this epochal question, for while he agrees that the New Testament does not present us with a fixed and normative pattern of Church order, he is prepared to allow that it does offer us criteria for judging and even condemning, say, the kind of caliphate that obtained in the Salvation Army under the Booths no less than the hierarchical system of Roman Catholicism (so that we are not free to hold that any or all notions of order are of equal merit). In a day when we are perhaps prone to place too much stress on the role played by the exigencies of our contemporary social-cultural situations in shaping our understanding of the Church and the Church's ministry, it is very good to be recalled in these learned treatises to the one rock whence all ideas of the Christian ministry are hewn, the New Testament itself. The parish minister, for whom constant re-evaluation of his priorities is obligatory, can hardly but find these last two essays both stimulating and rewarding.

I cannot here enter into any full discussion of Dr. Davies' critical findings. Suffice it to make these two points. Firstly the author finds it very hard to overcome his historicism. In several places (e.g. 55) he betrays his continuing allegiance to the thought of Jesus' Messianic "self-consciousness." One would have welcomed a more penetrating engagement with the recent scholarly trend away from the idea of the "Messianic consciousness" of Jesus, with the Jesus-research of the so-called "new quest." Secondly in his excellent review of Johannes Munck's important study, *Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte* (available in English translation under the title *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, London and Richmond, 1959), Dr. Davies takes a negative attitude to Munck's view of the activity of Paul as dominated throughout by the eschatological conviction that he was *the* apostle to the Gentiles. The thesis, expounded notably by Dodd and fol-

lowed by Davies, of a diminution of eschatological interest in Paul, seems now to need comprehensive re-examination.

Whoever reads Dr. Davies' book (and it is to be hoped very many will do so) will be greatly enriched in his knowledge of the Jewish background of primitive Christianity. The reviewer agrees with Davies that such knowledge as we can wrest from the increasing stock of remains of Judaism that has come down to us may best serve still to illumine our understanding of Jesus of Nazareth.—Hugh Anderson.

The New Testament in Current Study.

R. H. Fuller. Scribner's, 1962. 147 pp. \$2.95.

The many tend to think of our age as an age of advance mainly in science and technology. The few are aware that exciting new steps have been taken also in the cultural sciences, and the very few that this is not least so in theological inquiry and Biblical studies.

Dr. Fuller has succeeded in capturing a great deal of the excitement that has prevailed in the recent animated debate about the New Testament and its interpretation. In a clear and concise account of Bultmann's demythologizing program and of the "new quest" of the historical Jesus that arose within the Bultmannian fold, he has—*mirabile dictu*—largely succeeded in avoiding the often obscure jargon that has been typical of the "existentialist" phase of investigation. Aside from discussion of the pros and cons of Bultmann's theological stance and of the "new quest," Fuller offers us a useful critical and interpretive commentary on major trends in studies in the Synoptics, in John and Paul and the Deutero-Pauline writings, e.g. the "metamorphosis" of Luke (largely through the works of M. Dibelius, Ph. Vielhauer, E. Haenchen and H. Conzelmann) from Luke the positivistic historian to Luke "the theologian of sacred history," or the opposition of such scholars as E.

Käsemann and N. A. Dahl to Bultmann's narrowly anthropological interpretation of Paul and their preference for a *Heilsgeschichte* approach.

On the basis of his diagnosis of recent movements in New Testament study, Fuller ventures to predict, among other things, that much attention must be given to the unresolved question of the background from which Paul emerged (Pharisaic or Hellenistic Judaism?), and that current exaggerated emphases on the unity of the New Testament in the kerygma need to be corrected by fresh exploration of the relations between the *variations* in the kerygma. With these two points it is not difficult to agree. I am not so certain about Fuller's prophecy that the Form-critical method, as an indispensable tool for the investigation of the pre-literary tradition behind our written Gospels, is likely to become more and more widely accepted. One misses here an allusion (no doubt Fuller's book was in the press before he could refer to it) to the work of Harald Riesenfeld's able pupil, Birger Gerhardsson, on *Memory and Manuscript* (Copenhagen-Lund, 1961), in which, after an intensive examination of the methods of transmission of the oral Torah in Judaism, the thesis is proposed that there existed in the primitive Church an *institution*, namely the apostolic collegium in Jerusalem, devoted to the accurate preservation and transmission of the tradition of Jesus' words and deeds. Pending further detailed scrutiny of Gerhardsson's study, it may not be too much to say that it could well lead to a new questioning of Form-criticism and a new presumption in favor of the historicity of the Gospel tradition.

On the subject of the historical Jesus, Fuller believes (rightly, I think) that on the one hand Bultmann was mistaken in making Jesus only a factual "Jewish" peg on which to hang the kerygma, and that on the other hand the "new quest" fails to do justice to the integral place of the Resurrection within the kerygma, to the fact that the kerygma does more

than simply mediate an encounter with the historical Jesus, and so really looks like a new liberalism, in which the Jesus who proclaims an eschatological message and demands a radical obedience becomes a substitute for the liberal Protestant historical Jesus who taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Fuller's own position, enunciated fully in his earlier work, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus* (London, 1954), is as follows. He wishes to emphasize, against Bultmann's stress merely on the promise of the *coming* eschatological action of God in Jesus' message, a greater degree of the "already" in Jesus' life and ministry. The raw materials of Christology are present *already* in his ministry: Jesus thinks of himself as Messiah-designate and Son of Man-designate. He wishes also to emphasize, against the "new questers," that only in and through Jesus' death and Resurrection has the word been able to go forth that God *has* acted eschatologically in him. But three crucial questions present themselves. Has Fuller, by reason of his almost entirely futuristic interpretation of Jesus' eschatological sayings, been able to give a sufficient account of the "already" in Jesus' history? Is the Resurrection, in its connection with Jesus of Nazareth, to be understood as a *transformation* or *confirmation* of who Jesus was and is? Do the texts actually bear out that Jesus thought of himself as no more than the one destined to become Messiah or Son of Man? I can do no more here than recall the comment of the late Bishop E. G. Selwyn: "The life of Jesus is neither un-messianic (Bultmann) nor pre-messianic (Fuller), for He is what He was and He was what He is."

It is no small task to have reduced the vast literature that has grown up around recent New Testament interpretation to manageable and presentable proportions. Dr. Fuller has done so with considerable skill and lucidity. His book should provide a valuable guide to the exciting con-

trovery of these last twenty years.—
Hugh Anderson.

The Sense of The Presence of God.
John Baillie. Scribner's. 1962. 269
pp. \$3.95.

The recently deceased John Baillie was one of the fine spirits of the contemporary church and a constant contributor to theological discussion for over thirty years. Any minister who is unfamiliar with his work needs to come to know him—probably at both the points of his devotional and theological writing. *A Diary of Private Prayer* and *An Invitation to Pilgrimage* are introductions to these two facets of his life and thought. In this present volume, finished just before his death, we have his most thorough statement of his position as it relates to the cardinal areas of Christian theology.

Perhaps the best way to review this book, which is, by the way, a restatement of his position as provided in *Our Knowledge of God* (1939), is to indicate the main lines of his argument and then make an assessment of his position.

In a somewhat Tillichian, and a somewhat confusing, manner Baillie refers to a universal religious awareness of "ultimate concern." Or, in his more direct statements, he refers to the belief of every man that there is a Divine Presence which sets the context of his life. The awareness of this Presence is primarily a cognitive event, and thus, according to Baillie, the emotional and volitional elements in faith are "utterly dependent" upon this prior cognitive experience (65). But what is this faith "in"? Baillie answers that it is not belief in a list of independent judgments or propositions, rather "it is a single illumination" (72). This means, as I understand it, that in faith we see the world from a peculiar vantage point, namely from the vantage point which makes evident the sovereign rule of God; that is, from this perspective the world is recognized to be God's world. But at this juncture two questions

arise: How is such an awareness authenticated? What causes it to arise? To the first question, Baillie answers that faith has its own way of being proved, a way which is distinguished from the "proofs" offered by other areas such as mathematics or natural science. The proof of faith is the "self-authenticating" character of the awareness (73). Therefore, if there is any question of the validity of faith we need to be reminded of how faith was gained and how it has continued to be nourished. Where, then, was the faith gained?

At this, the most critical, point Baillie falls back upon a Kantian base as mediated by Ritschl and Troeltsch. Faith is an awareness which is mediated through the sense of moral responsibility. As far as I can see, Baillie differs from Kant in that he makes faith a necessary aspect of the moral sense, i.e., the Divine Presence is manifest through moral responsibility, and the man who has the illumination knows that moral responsibility can only arise from such a ground. Kant would have kept the moral awareness independent of religious faith and would have held religious conviction to be an addendum to the sense of ought. Baillie, however, holds that they are necessarily involved with one another, and, at least for the religious man, his sense of the Divine Presence is given in and with his sense of moral responsibility. Baillie's position is succinctly put in two sentences: "But if it is only in our togetherness with our neighbor that the love of God and his Christ effectively reaches us, so conversely is it true that our own love for God and his Christ can find effective expression only in our love of our neighbour" (139). "If we can find God, and God can find us, only in our finding of our brother, so also is it true that we can find our brother only through God's finding of us and our finding of him" (140).

What, then, is the role of Christ? What is the place of Christology in such a system? Baillie acknowledges

that there is historical relativism in our moral awareness, but he argues that for the Christian it is out of the history of a social consciousness informed by the New Testament gospel that our own moral conscience arises. But this particular revelation, he argues, must be understood as the fulfilment of every authentic reception of and response to God's self-manifestation in any time or place.

If this is an accurate, even though truncated, summary of Baillie's position, several questions press to be answered. 1) Can man's awareness of God be so basically dependent upon man's moral awareness? Is there not a unique mode of religious cognition? Theologians as widely diverse as Schleiermacher and Barth have argued that there is such an independence in our cognition of God and one must assess Baillie's claims over against these other possibilities. 2) Conversely, can the connection of the Divine Presence with the moral conscience really be defended? Does not the moral conscience also have an independent status? In other words, is not Kant more nearly correct? Or can the counter claims be adjudicated? No, as long as the criterion is self-authentication. 3) Perhaps of more importance is the question: Is the role of Jesus Christ not peculiarly devalued in this theology? Baillie would certainly deny that this is his intention. But the primary function of the Christ, so far as I can decipher it, is to set the social awareness of moral responsibility upon another base and thereby provide the context in which the western man becomes aware of this moral obligation. In spite of the insistence upon the Divine Presence I find strangely lacking the present Lord of Christian faith. 4) Finally, is it possible to define faith in the New Testament sense as primarily cognitive? While this may be true of a book like Hebrews, I doubt if it can be maintained as the case in either the Johannine or the Pauline writings.

These are only some of the questions which come immediately to mind.

But because of these I find the work basically unconvincing. I think this is in part due to the fact that in spite of his many (too many) quotes and discussions with other positions he never directly attempts to answer some of the more crucial problems. Indeed, even the quotes are often misleading, as when he calls people to his defense who disagree with him, such as John Hick. Nevertheless, the book can be commended to people interested in the alternatives in contemporary theology, for there is much here that will excite one to think and to react.—Thomas A. Langford.

Christian Devotion. John Baillie. Scribner's. 1962. 119 pp. \$2.50.

Apart from the twelve sermons, homiletically and theologically rewarding, there are two reasons why disciples of John Baillie will want this posthumously published volume: the sensitive biographical sketch, written by his cousin, which introduces the sermons; and the complete list of the books which he wrote, all for our benefit. You know *The Diary of Private Prayer*, of which 400,000 copies have been sold; you will want to lay possessive hands on the other posthumous publication: *The Sense of the Presence of God*, the Gifford Lectures which John Baillie did not live to deliver.

To read these sermons is to be in church listening to a great and good man of God telling us, in the right words, about the joyous responsibility of being a Christian. Here is serious exegesis: e.g., the meaning of "saint" (23-24), the correct translation of the Greek (62) or the Hebrew (108, 110, 112). Here are current questions and worries: e.g., objections to prayer (46-50), the custom of church-going (75-82). The language is crystal clear and arresting, e.g.: "My subject is the theology of sleep. It is an unusual subject, but I make no apology for it. I think we hear too few sermons about sleep. After all, we spend a very large share of our lives sleeping" (100). Wouldn't you stay awake

to hear what comes next? He does not quote too much; but he has absorbed the wisdom of the ages, and he shares it with us. There are occasional traces of chuckling humor. He dates the fall of Jerusalem as 9 July 586 B.C. (34). He answers Peter's first letter with one from an average Christian which ends: "I certainly do not pretend to be a saint. I'm just an ordinary Church member—one of the rank and file. Hoping that you will not be too disappointed, I am, my dear St. Peter, yours very truly . . ." (22-23). Do you know how he defines God? "God is He with whom we have ultimately to do, the final reality to which we have to face up, and with whom we have in the last resort to reckon. But for you and me to face up to God is to face up to Jesus Christ" (68). This man is a maestro.

Professor Thor Hall is offering a new course this summer: "*Theology and Preaching: An examination of the relation between systematic theology and homiletical presentation in the sermons of major post-Reformation Christian preachers.*" You may do this kind of work in your own studies. John Baillie, theologian and preacher, is worthy of such an examination. —James T. Cleland.

The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith, and the Consummation. Emil Brunner. Westminster. 1962. 455 pp. \$6.50.

The third and last volume of Brunner's *Dogmatics* contains his ecclesiology, soteriology and eschatology. In part it is an elaboration of views already expressed elsewhere, for example, in *The Misunderstanding of the Church*. But now integrated into his major dogmatic work these views take on new lucidity and relevance.

The book is steeped in the contemporary theological debate. Any pastor or student who feels lost in the woods of the demythologizing discussion or the contemporary theological situation as a whole will appreciate the clarity with which Brunner de-

fines the issues, especially in the sections on "The Problem of Demythologizing" (401-7) and "The Contemporary Theological Situation" (212-25). This is a unique theological compass which will give guidance in the divinity school and the pastor's study for years to come.

As to Brunner's own position on several issues, a few critical questions are in place. I will confine myself to his concept of the church. From *The Misunderstanding of the Church* it is well-known that Brunner distinguishes between the *Ekklesia* and the church. In this new book the *Ekklesia* is again defined as the true fellowship of Christians while the church is labeled an institution. The character of the church is merely to be the shell of the *Ekklesia*. Brunner now makes it unmistakably clear that in his view he depends on St. Paul. Wondering whether or not he is talking about an idealization when emphasizing the *Ekklesia*, he claims: "The question is only whether the author [Brunner] is to be blamed for this idealization, or whether it is what Paul in fact *teaches* about the *Ekklesia*" (37). But in my view it is also a question whether St. Paul has as fully a developed doctrine of the *Ekklesia* as Brunner suggests.

Since Brunner makes considerable use of Karl Ludwig Schmidt's essay on *ekklesia* in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament*, it might have occurred to him that according to this article it is possible to speak of a unique Pauline doctrine of the church only in terms of Ephesians and Colossians and that otherwise St. Paul and the Jerusalem church seem to have very much the same doctrine of the church.

Brunner's stance on the church raises the methodological issue whether for a particular Christian doctrine there is only *one* normative image to be found in the New Testament. According to Brunner, whatever as Christian social existence conforms to the model of the *Ekklesia* is right, whatever does not is wrong. In the New Testament, however, the norm

of Christian doctrine seems to lie in God's presence in Jesus Christ, and whatever subjective appropriation of this reality takes place individually or socially is relative. The New Testament does not depreciate the primitive Jerusalem church as Brunner does. According to Brunner it would seem that the Jerusalem church is no real *Ekklesia* at all. In my view of the New Testament various types of *Ekklesia* are apparently able to exist side by side, at least the more institutional Jerusalem type and the more charismatic Pauline type. Something similar should not be impossible today.

Much more could be said about Brunner's limiting himself to what he considers Paul's view of the church. My comments at least should have pointed out where the major difficulty of this position is to be found. The reader will want to do some checking of his own in the Bible and the best Biblical reference works "to see if these things were so" (cf. Acts 17: 11).

Brunner's attempt at working out a distinctive doctrinal position is thought-provoking. Perhaps occasionally one has to move a theological doctrine out on a limb to draw attention to it.—Frederick Herzog.

The Rebirth of the Laity. Howard Grimes. Abingdon. 1962. 171 pp. \$3.50.

The Ministry of the Laity: A Biblical Exposition. Francis O. Ayres. Westminster. 128 pp. \$2.50.

While America's much publicized religious revival is on the wane, there are signs of a quieter but profounder, more authentically Christian renewal of the Church involving "the rebirth of the laity." Such "signs of hope" include the contemporary theological rethinking of the role of the laity in the Church, the emergence of vital lay movements and lay renewal centers, the proliferation of lay theological literature and study groups, and "the ministry of the laity" in remarkably

realistic and relevant witness and mission to the secular world. Exciting developments in post-war Europe are being matched by indigenous American forms of lay awakening. Here are two especially noteworthy—and complementary—introductions to this movement which invite our participation.

The Rebirth of the Laity is a sequel to Professor Grimes' useful earlier book, *The Church Redemptive*, which reviewed current theological understandings of the Church for their implications for the mission of the laity in the life and work of the whole Church. The present volume looks first at the human situation in our time and the failure of the churches to minister to it adequately, looks back to the Biblical faith and conception of the whole covenant people (*laos*) of God as a ministering community, and examines the history of the laity in the Church from the New Testament to the present. The core of the book deals with the interlocking, supplementary ministry of laity and clergy within the "gathered Church" (*ekklesia*), and with the distinctive Christian vocation, service, witness, and lay apostolate of "the laity in dispersion" (*diaspora*).

A discussion of needs for new Church structures and patterns points to examples of such "emerging patterns of renewal" in Europe and America, and proceeds to practical suggestions of "means to renewal." A final chapter, "toward the renewal of the Church," summons the laity to faith and commitment, reconciliation, personal and corporate discipline and instruction, and the recovery of mission and ministry of the whole Church. "Whatever else the clergy must do in our time," concludes Dr. Grimes, "they must call the laity to responsible action as Christian disciples both in the Church and in the World" (170).

The Ministry of the Laity is just such a forthright, lively, and resolutely Biblical summons to laymen, calling them from second-class citizenship in the Church to their full stature as men and ministers of Christ. This book

typifies the life and thought of the Parishfield Community, a strategic lay training center near Detroit, where Francis Ayres serves as Director. Two quotations may sum up his message: "You are a minister. You are called, freed, sent, empowered by the Holy Spirit, loved, living under the Lordship of Christ, given gifts" (66). The appropriately grateful response is in a "therefore" Christian "style of life": "You are a minister of Christ; therefore fulfill your ministry, be a man, a servant of the living Christ in the world. . . . Therefore be a mature man: affirm life, be aware, be responsible, be one with Christ in his suffering, be secretly disciplined" (127). This reviewer is not quite at home theologically with Ayres' views of baptism (29, 35), revelation (28), atonement (48), and sacraments (38), but welcomes the stirring influence of Bonhoeffer, Kraemer, Suzanne de Dietrich, and the Bible(!) through Ayres' ministry and book.

Both books are for thoughtful and responsive laymen. But pastors will want a chance to read, mark, and inwardly digest (and preach) them before enthusiastically sharing them with their people.—McMurry S. Richey.

The Creed in Christian Teaching.

James D. Smart. Westminster. 1962. 238 pp. \$4.50.

Those who have been starkly awakened by Professor Smart's other books—especially *The Teaching Ministry of the Church* and more recently *The Rebirth of Ministry*—will not be surprised to encounter another vigorous new proclamation of the faith for teaching. A Biblical theologian and former editor in the theological reconstruction of the Presbyterian U.S.A. curriculum, Dr. Smart is concerned over what he regards as the "gray and dull and cold" state of religious education too superficially "theologized." Now he suggests that "to go through the Creed drawing attention to its implications for the

educational task might do more than anything else to sharpen the theological issues in education and to counteract the sterility that seems to affect the so-called new theological era in religious education" (8).

What may surprise us is the Christian faith itself as interpreted by Dr. Smart. If we take it for granted that most of our people believe in God; if we think God is knowable except through Jesus Christ; if we regard articles of the Creed as separable items, some of which we can dispense with; indeed, if we are not astonished by the central, uniting article on Jesus Christ—then Dr. Smart has disturbing good news for us! On the other hand, if we judge others' faith by their acceptance of creedal articles, or think they "ought" to believe, we may be surprised to read: "There is no 'ought' in believing, as though believing were something a person could do at will" (30). "It is shocking," says Dr. Smart, "how rarely churches and church schools are recognized as places where people can frankly and freely bring into the open their questions and doubts concerning all that has to do with the Christian faith" (33).

This book surely is anything but "gray and dull and cold." There are keen insights into implications of the faith for teaching, including the limitations of teaching; and there are notable treatments of certain articles ("I believe"; "I Believe in the Holy Spirit"; and "The Forgiveness of Sins" especially). It is easy to recognize and perhaps dissent from an essentially Barthian thrust, even though comparison with Barth's *Credo* and later *Dogmatics in Outline*, both based on the Creed, shows how vast the difference in content, concern, and style. Yet there are the same Barthian emphasis on revelation through Christ alone, the same doctrinal centralities, the same exhilarating challenge even when we disagree. And we do not agree that the new Christian education is sterile! Dr. Smart has helped to prevent that.—McMurry S. Richey.

The South and Christian Ethics.
James Sellers. Association. 1962.
190 pp. \$3.75.

James Sellers, who teaches Christian Ethics in the Vanderbilt Divinity School, has offered us a warm and personal, almost folksy and sometimes profound, word about the relevance of Christian faith for "men living together" amid the tensions and ambiguities of racial life. Himself a Southerner, the author has sought to speak to the "peculiar dimensions of the Southern kingdom of God on earth" (44).

It is his claim that there are special attributes of this "Southern kingdom" (!) and that these lineaments, when properly understood, provide the framework for speaking a redemptive theological word to the racially "fallen" South. This word, in sum, is the proclamation of Christian love, which requires not only the structures of racial justice but also a unique quality of "neighborliness" through which persons are encountered as "Thou's" and by which they are loved as persons.

Several features of the book merit critical comment. At the outset, the reader should observe that the book's title is frankly misleading and that the scope of Christian ethical interest is confined exclusively to race relations. Political, economic, and other social problems are conspicuously consigned to fringe areas as largely irrelevant to the overwhelming interest in racial issues. In this respect, the book deals more with the South than Christian ethics.

Perhaps more importantly, one has a less than adequate impression of the organization and development of material. Although there are sections (notably theological exposition) that are more precise and systematic, the general flavor is impressionistic and confessional. This judgment is demonstrated in part by the way in which Rauschenbusch and other proponents of the Social Gospel are too-uncritically assessed in the light of dialectical theology and contextual ethics, and

also in the quite un-Buber employment of the "I-Thou" concept.

It bears repeating that the strongest and most lucid sections of the book are those that stress the religious dimensions of the problem and move toward a theological answer. On these grounds, the book is worthy of study by laymen. The price of the book may limit its readers; but, for those who can afford it, here is a look at how one man faces one of the problems of his own time and place.—Harmon L. Smith.

Ethics and Business. William A. Spurrier. Scribner's. 1962. 179 pp. \$3.50.

One most frequently reads volumes of letters with a primary view toward learning something about the person who wrote them. In this slender volume, the college pastor at Wesleyan University only very incidentally tells us something about himself. More importantly, he seeks to address businessmen who are concerned about taking seriously the Christian faith in their business and professional life.

A series of letters to imaginary persons produces no really systematic treatment of the topic. But there is at least partial compensation for this lack in the variety of concrete problems which receive attention. Happily, this is not a text of easy answers and Spurrier has dealt imaginatively with more than a score of typical problems. Among the gems included here are "The Powerlessness of Positive Thinking" and a Spock-type manual on "The Care, Feeding, and Training of Management." These letters are reminiscent of Halford Luccock's "Simeon Stylites" series in *The Christian Century* but more obviously serious. One can read this book for both fun and profit!—Harmon L. Smith.

The Christian in Politics. Walter James. Oxford. 1962. 216 pp. \$5.

A full appreciation for the message of this book is unfortunately hampered

by the serious lack of documentation and a rather casual employment of primary materials. It is not uncommon, throughout the volume, for a citation to bear only its author's name. And, at the other extreme, while it is doubtless the case that most readers would recognize a familiar Augustinian aphorism, the author should at least acknowledge it as such (cf. 23).

My estimate of the book, however, is not altogether negative, and the content, although framing no new or novel arguments, is sound and instructive. The first seven chapters are historical in character and survey the problem from patristic times to the present. In the final chapters the author has undertaken an analysis and critique of contemporary British and continental political movements.

His conclusions (at the risk of oversimplification) are that Christian love is mainly concerned with personal relationships and that therefore the Christian who enters the political arena must discover his place of greatest utility and relevance on the common ground covered by natural law. One would want to question whether the Christian's "religion will give him no special guidance in his public task" beyond endowing him "with a greater energy and a profounder seriousness" (191). It is one matter to understand justice as the "public face" of love; it is something else again to assert that "the ethics of the Gospel cannot be applied in this sin-corrupted world—except . . . in personal relationships with God and man" (189).—Harmon L. Smith.

Handbook of Church Administration.
Lowell Russell Ditzen. Macmillan.
1962. 390 pp. \$7.

This book dealing with church administration is the fourth "handbook" for pastors published by Macmillan. The other three deal with church finance, church correspondence, and preaching resources. The manual on church finance by David Holt is a superior work and achieves an in-

tegrity of theology and practice not attempted in Ditzen's book on administration. The absence of theological perspective will detract from the significance of *Handbook of Church Administration*, for today, when ministers are giving ecclesiology careful scrutiny, books on administration *per se* are not as popular as those that begin with an attempt to understand the nature of the church and its goals, and then recommend techniques appropriate to the life peculiar to the Church.

Nevertheless, books on administration are needed, and Dr. Ditzen has brought together a helpful encyclopedia of information for the church executive. The administrator will find scores of occasions each year to refer to the "how to" sections of this handbook. Why should one waste his time and energy trying to be original in dealing with "administrivia"? Here are the answers ready to be put to use. The pastor should feel as free to resort to these canned answers as his wife is to serve up pre-cooked meals. Let him devote the time thus saved to his more rewarding duties.

Handbook of Church Administration will be especially useful for two types of pastors, the neophytes and pastors of large churches. The chapter on organization should help the administrator in a church of congregational polity more than those of us for whose local churches the denomination prescribes organization, but even the latter will find some valuable tips in this chapter. Problems relating to personnel, care of buildings and grounds, records, and the church office are treated in a way to be helpful for pastors of large churches.

The book does not demonstrate a sensitive theological and ethical discrimination in the choice of subjects to be treated and programs recommended. Ditzen states that all the church's activities should be "distinctively Christian." Then, among other programs, he lists arts and crafts as well as musical and cultural events. Under the heading of the latter his church presented concerts

by Yehudi Menuhin, the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, and George London, bass-baritone—tickets for the entire series selling for fifteen dollars each. One wonders how he defines the term “distinctively Christian”! Again, the disproportionately large amount of space devoted to by-laws for a church nursery school compared with that devoted to other more essential phases of the church’s program seems to reflect a fuzziness in viewing program values. Nor is the chapter on program organized to present all cognate materials in the same section, *e.g.*, evangelistic outreach is separated from baptism and membership visitation and cultivation.

One can overlook these relatively minor shortcomings, however, when he allows himself to acknowledge the obvious values of the book. This is not the type of book one reads straight through, but it is rather what its name implies, a “Handbook” to be consulted when one has an administrative problem. The pastor who does not own such a book will not go wrong in purchasing this one.—O. Kelly Ingram.

Religious Drama: Ends and Means.
Harold Ehrensperger. Abingdon.
1962. 287 pp. \$6.

The subjects of drama and religion have been related for a long while. No signs of separation are appearing in our time, but it may be admitted that the relationship sometimes assumes awkward if not offensive forms. Examples of objectionable amateurishness are regularly seen in church-sponsored productions, and the reputation of religious drama is not always a lofty one. The desire for improvement is being expressed by both church leaders and representatives of the theatre. The great ideas, feelings, and conflicts which move men furnish themes for both religion and drama. Neither camp can claim exclusive ownership or even priority rights. More compatible relationships are necessary, and, if Harold Ehrensperger’s latest book can be trusted as

kind of prophecy, are coming soon. The dramatist and the religionist must and can work together.

In *Religious Drama: Ends and Means*, Ehrensperger has expanded and enriched his earlier book, *Conscience on Stage* (Abingdom-Cokesbury, 1947), regarded by some as a definitive work in the area of religious drama. This second work is really a new book, although there are sections where the material of the first one is repeated. A new stance is taken and a larger scope is present in this explication of “ends and means.” The book is not a book of definitions, yet persons needing definitions of basic terms will find these pages helpful; it is not a volume of history, yet glimpses of the history of religious drama are given; it is not a treatise on theories of drama, but it includes trustworthy insights into the nature and purpose of religious drama; it is not a handbook for the director of a church play, yet such a person will be immeasurably benefited by reading it. Its emphasis on depth is a quality that will immediately impress all who examine it.

This book, while not intended to replace the earlier one by Ehrensperger, is superior in many ways. One item deserves mentioning: it has more than one hundred pages under the caption Appendices, listing sources of material that both amateurs and professionals, persons in and outside the church, will find invaluable.—W. A. Kale.

The Word in Worship: Preaching and Its Setting in Common Worship.
Thomas H. Keir. Oxford. 1962.
i-viii + 150 pp. \$3.50.

It is interesting to notice how many homiletical lectureships are producing volumes in which preaching is categorically subsumed under the heading of worship. Preaching not only takes place within the context of worship, but the liturgy determines (should determine!) the content and presentation of the sermon. My own comment is a fervent “amen.” Maybe that is why Dean Cannon referred to

me—in humor, even in disgust—as “that Scoto-Catholic.” Thomas H. Keir is in that tradition, too. His Warrack Lectures for 1960 are all about the conscious and continual interplay of the various parts of the service. His thesis may best be set forth by quotations: “It is . . . appropriate that preaching be considered afresh from the viewpoint of its associations with the Church’s common prayer” (v). “The liturgy is not safe without the Word, nor the Word without the liturgy” (38). “The liturgy . . . is nothing else but truth expressed in terms of prayer” (51). He makes his case. Or, am I biased?

There are five chapters. The first, “The Vagrant Word,” pleads with us to understand what the Word of God is. It “is not simply the Bible or the sermon regarded as a written or spoken account of God’s will for past ages or even for our day. The ‘Word of God’ is personal. It is *whatever God may say to men* through the Bible and the sermon, or even without Bible and sermon. . . . The sermon is the thing outwardly spoken; the Word of God is the thing inwardly heard” (6). There’s something to chew on. That leads to a chapter on “The Liturgy,” with a good discussion of a service in three acts, set forth useably in an Appendix. “The Image” is the title of Chapter Three, with a plea for an imaginative poetic approach to a choice of language in the wording of the sermon, once one has entered into the Bible’s imagination. “The Song” inevitably follows. “Faith’s fervour demands song” (94). The song is the response to the Word, and is itself a vehicle of the Eternal Word. “A well-compiled hymnbook is indeed the most ecumenical book in the world, the Bible alone excepted” (107). The last chapter “The Mouth-Piece” looks at the sermon proper and at the Sacraments. “A sermon . . . is a going into action” (119). The preacher is “the mouthpiece of a conviction” (120). “Preaching . . . is a man speaking in such a way and under such a direction that the God who is eternal may be heard to utter his solving

and saving Word in the situation that is contemporary” (121). It must be controlled by a doctrine of the Church (122), and be determined by the framework of the Christian Year: “liturgically controlled preaching” (34).

Deliberately I have made this review mostly a catena of quotations, so that you may hear Keir talking. He has written no textbook, divided and sub-divided for easy perusal. This little volume is a digest of years of thoughtful, studious service in the tradition of the Reformed Churches as mediated by the Church of Scotland. The lectures are almost too compressed. They were tough to listen to—I heard one of them. But they have become a book for the study desk, the desk of one who takes corporate worship very seriously.—James T. Cleland.

The Lord's Prayer. Walter Lüthi. Translated by Kurt Schoenenberger. John Knox. 1961. vii + 103 pp. \$2.50.

Professor John Knox in his Gray Lectures of 1956 (*The Integrity of Preaching*, Abingdon) has an intriguing section on the “implicit meaning” of a text. It discusses the interpretation of a passage “which there is good reason to doubt the original writers intended or the original readers recognized.” This, obviously, has an illegitimate aspect: the homiletical heresy of eisegesis. But Knox, rightly, pleads for another understanding of “implicit”: the unfolding of “some universal or timeless truth . . . of which those who recorded it . . . did not think at all.” It is in this latter sense that Walter Lüthi—Swiss theologian and preacher—expounds the Lord’s Prayer. There is little exegesis, much exposition, few illustrations, but valid application.

Lüthi analyzes the prayer in twelve chapters: the address to God, the seven petitions, the three glorifications, and the victorious summation. The reader sits back breathless, knowing that this volume must have a permanent

place on his shelves and frequent journeys to his desk. For here is a theological homiletician sharing his reflections with us, as he did with his flock in Europe.

The pages are packed with interesting ideas and arresting sentences. He links the first petition of the prayer with the first Commandment and the first Beatitude (10, 13). He points out that the petition for bread rightly comes before the one for forgiveness, as he reminds us that God gives to the unjust as well as to the just (50). Listen to these sentences: "The third petition of the Lord's Prayer cost the life of Him who taught us to pray"

(28); "What if the will of God were to enter my calling of minister, whatever would come of it!" (35); "The seventh petition is answered on the Cross" (66); "We meet the disease of doubt at every turn in the Bible itself" (97-8).

The only criticism of this volume is that there is too much emphasis on the Cross and not enough on the Resurrection. But we shall be grateful for this book: beautifully printed, splendid in format, and rich in content. For, if we are normal, we are almost bound to preach on the Lord's Prayer. Here is unusual and lasting succor.—James T. Cleland.

CORRECTION: On page 164 of our previous issue Dean Ingram's review of Robert Lee's *Cities and Churches* said in print that "the old stand-bys . . . should be discarded." The typesetter confused a pencilled revision and the proof-readers failed to question the reviewer's apparently negative judgment. The editors hereby apologize to our Garrett colleague, Dr. Murray Leiffer, and to Walter Kloetzli and Arthur Hillman, whose books, *Effective City Church* and *Urban Church Planning*, should NOT be discarded.

Bring Thy Word to bear upon us, oh God; send again Thy Spirit over us; fulfill in our hearts Thy work and in our lives Thy purpose; raise us up again to be a people for Thee, in communion with Thee; free us once more from the captivity under earthly powers; lead us again from the flesh-pots of Egypt and the rivers of Babylon, and make us see that the hazards of Thy will are more blessed than the securities of worldly bondage.

Come once more to be the king of Thy covenant people, the nation of the New Testament, and so act in our midst and in Thy Church that the secret longings of our lives may be fulfilled, together with the yearnings of all thy people everywhere, so that Thy Church may once more be reformed, transformed from the likeness of a worldly image and restored to conformation with Thy will.

This we ask in the name of Christ, our Saviour, the Lord. Amen.

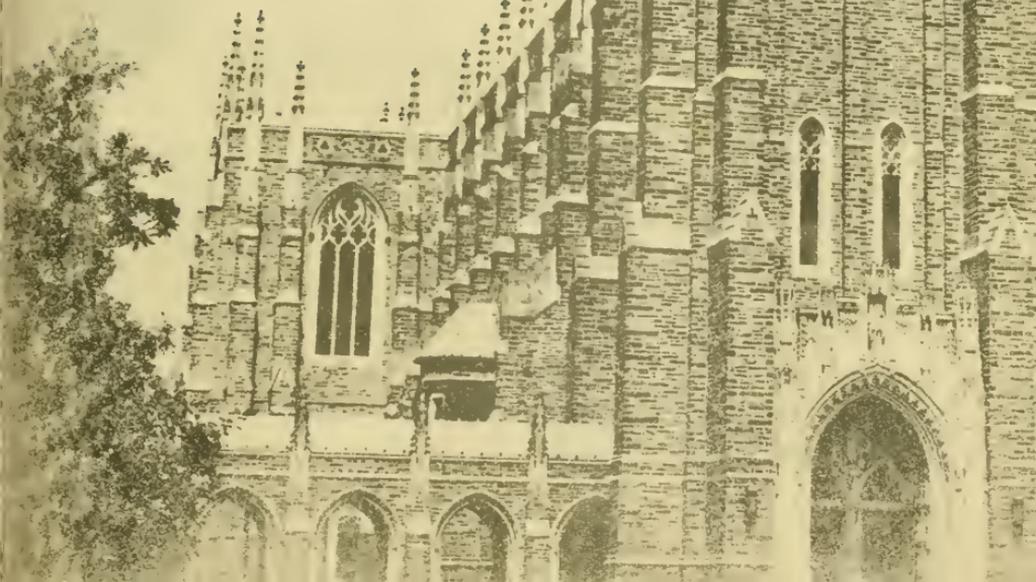
Duke Chapel
Convocation
Oct. 30, 1962

—THOR HALL



THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL BULLETIN

May 1963



Prayers for Methodists

(remembering the conversions of John and Charles Wesley
May 21 and 24, 1738)

Let us give thanks to God for our Methodist forefathers:

Eternal God, we give Thee humble and hearty thanks for Thy servants, John and Charles Wesley, and for all those human instruments through whom Thou didst lead them into Thy saving truth. We thank Thee for the power of their preaching, the challenge of their dedicated lives, and the continued inspiration of their hymns. We praise Thy holy name for the multitude of those in many lands who through their ministry have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grant that we their children may prove worthy of the glorious heritage bequeathed to us. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Let us pray for the people called Methodists throughout the world:

O Lord God, who didst reveal Thy salvation to our fathers and didst strengthen them to proclaim Thy word to the uttermost parts of the earth, we pray Thy blessing upon the people called Methodists in every land. Grant that their wisdom and faith may be deepened in mutual understanding and fellowship, and that they may be enabled to obey Thy call to spread scriptural holiness throughout the world, ever praising Thee for what Thou hast wrought. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Let us pray for a catholic spirit:

God of our fathers, Who hast made the Methodists of the world to be one people, we pray Thee for a catholic spirit that we may walk the royal way of universal love. Take from us all false pride of names and sects and parties, that we may be the friends of all, the enemies of none. Teach us to long for the welfare of all Christian people, to spend and be spent on their behalf, until all hurtful divisions are destroyed and Christ is all in all, through the power of his holy name. Amen.

Let us dedicate ourselves afresh to the service of Almighty God:

Almighty God, Who didst raise up Thy servants, John and Charles Wesley, to proclaim anew the gift of redemption and the life of holiness, be with us, their children, and revive Thy work among us; that inspired by the same faith, and upheld by the same grace in word and sacrament, we and all Thy people may be made one in the unity of Thy church on earth, even as in heaven we are made one in Thee. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[From *An Order of Worship for Aldersgate Day* prepared for the World Methodist Council in 1951, partly original, partly adapted, by Frank Baker.]

THE
DUKE
DIVINITY
SCHOOL
BULLETIN

Aldersgate Issue

Volume 28

May 1963

Number 2

Wesley in Focus

John Wesley once said: "If your heart be as mine, give me your hand." He was speaking of a brotherhood which surpasses all differences of opinion, form, and practice, namely a brotherhood of the spirit based on a common experience and a united faith. In this sense, Wesley has become a symbol of ecumenical and international unity; all Christians with a warm heart (and some who long for such an experience) accept his invitation and recognize its background in Wesley's own life. And so, Aldersgate has become the motto of a new ecumenicity, the ecumenicity of the heart. It should not surprise us, then, that this Wesley symposium, published on the occasion of the 225th anniversary of Wesley's heartwarming experience at Aldersgate, includes interpretations of this event by an English Methodist, Frank Baker, and a Scots Presbyterian, James T. Cleland.

However, Wesley's place in history includes also his opinions. If, as most of us willingly recognize, Wesley was able to testify to something characteristically Christian in the area of religious experience, it is also true to say, as an increasing number of theologians do say, that he had an almost uncanny ability to express the central and characteristic elements of Christian faith and thought. Thus Wesley gains importance also for the ecumenical mind. This is the clear implication of the three other papers that comprise our Wesley issue, in which an American Methodist, Harmon L. Smith; a Latvian Lutheran, Egil Grislis; and a Norwegian Methodist, the undersigned, attempt to show Wesley's views on justification, sacrament, and the Christian's life, both as compared to the views of other reformers and in reference to the sober centrality and meticulous balance to be found there.

This issue of the BULLETIN carries a great potential influence within its pages. We hope that this potential will be released as its content passes from the page, through the eye, to the mind and the heart of the reader. It should be read with much searching and much prayer. And as one prays, one might also include a word of thanks for the toil and expense which lie buried under the roots of this expanded issue.

—T. H.

Aldersgate 1738-1963

The Challenge of Aldersgate

FRANK BAKER

The great events in the constantly unfolding story of God's relations with man remain mysteries—the creation of the world and its human inhabitants, the creation of your baby, and mine; the birth of God in the likeness of man; the rebirth of man in the likeness of God. Sometimes we accept these things in simple faith, which is good. Sometimes we accept them with simple minds, which is bad. We ought to ask questions about God's mysteries, for thus we learn more of His nature and of our own. And the more we learn to understand the mysteries of human life the better equipped we are to live.

The birth of every baby offers challenges to society in general, and especially to the child's parents. What strange series of events brought us to this day? What is wrapped up in this tiny bundle of unfolding elements and elemental desires? What purpose does it have in the mind of the eternal God? What demands does it make upon us as individuals? Every birth presents such challenging questions, and some more than others.

Every spiritual rebirth offers similar challenges, but again some raise more questions than others. As we look back through Christian history, we realize that the conversions of a number of men have radically changed the course of history, and have cast the mantle of their influence even over our own lives. If we are to understand the ways of God with us, it is desirable, perhaps essential, to know more about the ways of God with them. We think of the conversions of Paul, of Augustine, of Luther, of Wesley, all similar, yet all different. Of them all perhaps that of John Wesley is the most taken for granted by Methodists and the least understood. His spiritual rebirth is the least understood not because we do not wish to understand, or will not take trouble to understand, but because the mysteries surrounding it are more numerous.

The final word about what happened to John Wesley in Aldersgate Street, London, on May 24, 1738, has not yet been spoken, nor will it be spoken tonight. The books devoted solely to this event run into two figures, and those dealing with it at length into three figures. None of them, however, convince me, nor probably you, that the mystery has been explained—certainly not explained away. We have

[An address delivered at the "Aldersgate Around the World" gathering in Winston-Salem, May 24, 1963.]

yet more questions to ask, more tentative answers to frame, and revise, and possibly discard in the light of further evidence and further study. But we must not ignore the challenge of Aldersgate, for as we face up to it we can become both better Methodists and—what is far more important—better Christians.

I propose, therefore, to speak about the challenge of Aldersgate, the questions that this mystery prompts in different men, or in the same men in their diverse manifestations, the challenge of Aldersgate to the historian, to the psychologist, to the theologian, and to the practicing Christian.

I

John Wesley's experience at Aldersgate challenges the historian both in sundry details and in its general significance in Wesley's life. The essential paragraph which will reverberate around the world tonight is well known, but we should remind ourselves of it here, remembering that it is the climax of a thousand-word spiritual autobiography in eighteen numbered sections, some of these sections recounting familiar facts, others sheltering historical puzzles, all of them revealing an ardent seeker after God from his youth up. Section 14 runs thus (I quote from the first edition, 1740, of the second *Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, which covered the period "from February 1, 1737-8, to his return from Germany"): "In the Evening I went very unwillingly to a Society in *Aldersgate Street*, where one was reading *Luther's* Preface to the Epistle to the *Romans*. About a Quarter before nine, while he was describing the Change which God works in the Heart thro' Faith in *Christ*, I felt my Heart strangely warm'd. I felt I did trust in *Christ*, *Christ* alone for Salvation: And an Assurance was given me, That He had taken away *my* Sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the Law of Sin and Death."

Among the historian's many unanswered questions about this are a number upon relatively unimportant though interesting details. Whereabouts in Aldersgate Street did this event take place? At least three sites are possible, but none of them is certain. What kind of a society met there? An old one or a new one? Almost certainly it was a new one founded in Nettleton Court, just off Aldersgate Street, by John Wesley's devoted protégé, James Hutton, who later became a leading Moravian, but was at the time a good Anglican son of a good Anglican priest in whose home at Westminster another

religious society met. Were the people attending this gathering Anglicans, Moravians, both, or neither? No one is absolutely sure, but the evidence seems to favor a group of Anglicans with a strong sprinkling of Moravians. What kind of a meeting were they holding that evening, to which John Wesley went "very unwillingly"? Probably—but by no means certainly—an informal "conference" beginning at eight p.m. with singing and prayer, and continuing with personal testimonies, exhortation, conversation, or the reading of some improving letter or book, according to the promptings of the Holy Spirit.

What about Paul and Luther? Who was reading what? The reader was possibly a painter named William Holland, a good Anglican who became a prominent Moravian but returned to the Church of England before his death in 1761. It was Holland who had introduced Charles Wesley to Luther's commentary on Galatians, and was himself converted while Wesley read the preface aloud. Charles Wesley kept the volume to study, and was especially moved by Luther's comment on Gal.2:20: "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." Luther emphasized, and Charles Wesley's hymns after his conversion echoed him, the words *me* and *for me*. So also did John Wesley in his Aldersgate account, printing in Lutheran italics "that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death." Does this mean that it was in fact Luther's preface to *Galatians* that Holland (or someone else) was reading in that meeting? Probably not. Luther's emphasis on the personal appropriation of Christ by the believer was surely familiar to John as well as to Charles, and remained with him even as Luther's preface to Romans was being read—whether in Latin, German, or English remains uncertain, though the latter is likely.

The passage might have been one in an old English translation containing these words: "Faith alone justifies. . . . Faith through the merit of Christ obtaineth the Holy Spirit, which doth make us new hearts, doth exhilarate us, doth excite and inflame our heart, that it may do those things willingly, of love, which the Law commandeth." Did this phrase about "inflaming our heart" in fact suggest the terms in which Wesley described his own experience—"I felt my heart strangely warmed"? We do not know, but it is at least possible, as it is also possible that the remembered Galatians passage led to his emphasis on the personal pronouns.

Do you remember Wesley's first reaction to this experience?

"I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitely used me and persecuted me." Did he have anyone in particular in mind? The ruling clique that forced him out of Savannah? The ministers who had closed their pulpits to him since he had begun to preach about faith? William Law, who had neglected to urge faith upon him? We do not know. We think that we can visualize him in his next reaction, however, as he jumps to his feet and testifies openly to all present what he now first felt in his heart. And we can understand something of his sobered questionings when he realized that the transports of joy supposedly inseparable from this experience were missing. At least he was sure of one thing, the certainty that formed the burden of his proclamation when he burst triumphantly into Charles Wesley's lodgings in nearby Little Britain: "I believe!"

We are faced with so many questions about details, however, that we can be excused for hesitating momentarily about the trustworthiness of the account as a whole. This is increased when we realize that it was written down at the earliest a day or two later, and probably weeks later, nor was it published until two years afterward. Unfortunately Wesley's diary, which he had begun as part of his pursuit of holiness thirteen years earlier, is not available for the period from May to September, 1738, the volume which should contain it having only fragmentary records. What contemporary evidence have we that something really significant happened on that day? Perhaps most important of all is Charles Wesley's *Journal* for the evening of May 24, which he had spent praying alone on his sickbed: "Towards ten, my brother was brought in triumph by a troop of our friends, and declared, 'I believe'. We sang the hymn with great joy, and parted with prayer." "The hymn" was probably—not certainly—"Where shall my wond'ring soul begin?"; at least it was one written by Charles upon his own conversion three days earlier.

John Wesley's letters confirm and fill out the picture. The important letter which was apparently written during the daylight hours of that same day is known only from the extract of it which precedes the *Journal* account, and we can only guess at its recipient. Its emphasis upon his quest for faith, however, is found in two letters to William Law, written on May 14 and 20. Indeed he somewhat petulantly blames Law for not having directed him to "seek first a living faith in the blood of Christ". The subsequent correspondence of James Hutton's mother with Wesley's older brother Samuel shows what a bombshell Wesley dropped into that respectable home in

Westminster the following Sunday, May 28, by announcing that before the 24th he had not been a Christian. This is echoed in a letter to his brother Samuel on October 30: "By a Christian I mean one who so believes in Christ as that sin has no more dominion over him; and in this obvious sense of the word I was not a Christian till May the 24th last past." Nor were these words dashed off hastily. The draft of the latter (at Wesley College, Headingley, Leeds), shows many deletions, especially in the following sentence, which was finally amended to read: "For till then sin had the dominion over me, although I fought with it continually; but since then, from that time to this it hath not, such is the free grace of God in Christ."

This statement about not being a Christian until May 24, 1738, was implied in the epilogue to the first published extract from his *Journal*, under date of February 1, 1738, and strangely echoed a year later, *after* Aldersgate, in another spiritual summary prepared during his two hours of morning devotions on January 4, 1739: "My friends affirm I am mad, because I said I was not a Christian a year ago. I affirm I am not a Christian now." This strange assertion is placed alongside what is surely a reference to Aldersgate: "I received such a sense of the forgiveness of my sins as till then I never knew." Here are mysteries enough! The reason for his disavowal of the title "Christian" on this occasion is again an extremely high definition of such a person, as "one who has the fruits of the Spirit of Christ", including love, peace, joy, which Wesley claims he does not experience. In later years he modified these views written down while the pendulum was still swinging wildly from one extreme to the other, and came to agree that even before Aldersgate he was in some measure a Christian and possessed at least the faith of a servant of God, though not that of a son.

Still other evidence confirms the traditional belief that it was the experience of May 24, 1738, that set the spiritual pendulum swinging, albeit somewhat erratically at first. Over seven years later he discussed with a prominent but still anonymous clergyman disguised under the title of "John Smith" (it seems certain that in fact he was not Bishop Secker, in spite of many claims or assumptions to the contrary) the essentials of Methodist preaching, and wrote: "It is true that from May 24, 1738, 'Wherever I was desired to preach, *Salvation by Faith* was my only theme,' (i.e. such a love of God and man, as produces all inward and outward holiness, and springs from a conviction wrought in us by the Holy Ghost, of the pardoning love of God)." Later in the same letter, written in December, 1745, he states that before May 24, 1738, he neither preached

nor *knew* salvation by faith. Actually this assertion is incorrect in one particular, for his *Journal* and other sources show that he began to preach justification by faith on March 6, 1738, some weeks before it became his personal experience. Nevertheless the importance of Aldersgate for Wesley is underlined.

This is confirmed by frequent references back to 1738. One of the best examples occurs in a most important letter to John Newton, written in May, 1765, and dealing with Methodist faith and practice: "I think on Justification just as I have done any time these seven & twenty years: And just as Mr. Calvin does. In this respect I do not differ from him an hair's breadth."

May 24, 1738, was preceded by Wesley's preaching of justification by faith and by his founding (together with Peter Böhler) of a religious society; it was followed by moods of depression and uncertainty. Certainly it is neither a complete break with a dark past nor the first opening of an unclouded future. Yet we cannot but echo the claim of the rationalist historian, W. E. H. Lecky: "It is . . . scarcely an exaggeration to say that the scene which took place at that humble meeting in Aldersgate Street forms an epoch in English history. The conviction which then flashed upon one of the most powerful and most active intellects in England is the true source of English Methodism."

II

We turn briefly to the challenge offered by Aldersgate to the psychologist. The mysterious phenomenon of conversion has furnished one of the favorite subjects of the modern science—or is it an art?—of psychology. Some students have treated the subject all too mechanically, as if man were no more than a collection of impulses governed by his chemistry, and as if to describe a psychological process were to explain it. Others, in increasing numbers, have been more reverent in the presence of mystery and, admitting that there might be something beyond their understanding, have made greater contributions to knowledge. Popular psychology, however, long ago arrived at the conviction that conversion is the stabilizing of emotions around some person or ideal, and normally occurs in adolescence. Any deviation from the norm is suspect, and inevitably pictured against this background as an exception to the rule. This preconception has strangely joined hands with the traditional revivalist idea of conversion to hinder enquirers from approaching any particular conversion with an open mind. Subconsciously we insist that it must conform to the mass-produced fashionable model. This hand-

cuffed approach has prevented even scholars from being as unbiased as they should have been.

John and Charles Wesley both described the experiences which they underwent within three days of each other in May, 1738, as "conversion". What they meant by the term, however, was very different from what many of us assume. Both were certainly far removed from adolescence, Charles being thirty and John thirty-four—a month short of the thirty-five years with which many writers have credited him. Nor were they spectacular sinners being brought to the penitent form, finding spiritual release in an emotional outburst to turn over a new leaf. Both were ordained clergymen, John of twelve years' devout and devoted experience. Both had been sincerely admired by other people as saints. We must find room here for some other definitions of conversion, or possibly throw away the definitions altogether and simply try to understand what happened.

Indeed if we are looking for a conventional moral conversion in the life of John Wesley, we might be better advised to concentrate—as some have done—upon 1725, the year of his ordination at the age of twenty-two after a spiritual awakening under the combined influence of his father, Sally Kirkham, and Thomas à Kempis. The Roman Catholics, represented by the Belgian Father Maximin Piette, would claim this for his conversion, conceived of in terms of a deepened and unified devotion to the pursuit of inward holiness. The Protestants, represented most recently in English by the German professor Martin Schmidt, usually accept as his true conversion the traditional experience of 1738, thought of in Lutheran terms of justification by faith. Must it necessarily be "either/or"? Could it not be "both/and"? So thought the English psychologist, Dr. Sydney Dimond, and others like the American, Dr. Umphrey Lee, have followed him in describing the Aldersgate experience as a "mystical conversion" rather than an "evangelical conversion".

Dr. Dimond's pioneer study, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival*, uses the terminology of mysticism to describe the stages of Wesley's psychological development. We must surely agree with the rough division of Wesley's life into three periods by the spiritual landmarks of 1725 and 1738. Dimond applies to Wesley the three normal stages of growth in mystical experience, as outlined by Miss Evelyn Underhill, though he finds no parallel to the two final stages reached by exceptional mystics. The five stages are: (1) awakening, "the adolescent of the Infinite"; (2) purgation, by discipline; (3) illumination, or vision; (4) mystic death, or mortification; (5) union, or absorption in the Infinite. Dimond treats 1725 as Wesley's mystical

awakening, 1725-1738 as the period of discipline or purgation, and 1738 as his illumination.

There is much to ponder in this psychological approach, but again questions remain. Was the 1725 awakening the first, or the highest step in an ascending series of awakenings? We would agree that Wesley never attained "union, or absorption in the Infinite"—indeed he strongly repudiated this spiritual amnesia as the rock on which he most nearly wrecked his soul. Yet does not his rejection of all dependence upon any claims to righteousness in his own actions, words, thoughts, and even desires approximate to mortification? Certainly Wesley owed a debt to mysticism, even though he repudiated some of its forms as he saw them in Behmenism, in William Law, and in Moravian "stillness". Nevertheless this approach offers some clues to an understanding of what happened at Aldersgate.

Nor, as Dr. Dimond also points out, must we neglect other apparently non-spiritual factors in assessing Wesley's experience. The emotional stress of his break with Sophy Hopkey may well have been sublimated into a passionate love relationship with God. Certainly he himself later believed that the failure of his eventual marriage heightened the success of his life's work. As sexual sublimation possibly played a part in his conversion, so also with suggestion. We cannot but be impressed by Wesley's constant harping on the theme of his own instinctive dread of the sea and the Moravians' calmness in the midst of storms. This seemed to focus and symbolize the spiritual certainty which they possessed and he lacked, and it was due to their persistent challenges that he pursued this missing sense of security, and eventually believed himself to have attained it. This is by no means an explanation of his conversion, but constitutes at least a minor element in any full explanation. Even the Puritan repressions of his youth may be related to the bursting of the restraints at Aldersgate—his chains fell off, his heart was free!

III

If Aldersgate presents a challenge to the psychologist, it presents an even greater one to the theologian. By what theological terms should we describe this important event? Was it justification, regeneration, Christian assurance, sanctification, a complex blend of all, or something quite different? There is a temptation to simplify the mystery by borrowing the threefold division of his life offered by the psychologist and altering the terminology, thus claiming that until 1725 he was living under sin, from then until 1738 under the

law, and after that under grace. This is a gross over-simplification, yet it holds elements of truth that merit consideration.

Wesley's conversion cannot be understood apart from a rigorous Pauline doctrine of sin rigorously applied. Sin in general was for Wesley "a voluntary transgression of a known law of God." Among the known laws of God, however, one overshadowed all the rest for him in 1738—the fact of original sin, which he saw as such an integral part of human nature that man could do nothing to help himself except ask God's help. The life of a saint is the life of a devil apart from a realization and an acknowledgment of our sinfulness and our impotence. Penitence is the only path to purity. In 1725 Wesley had dedicated himself wholly to God, and sought not only the outward holiness of blameless actions but the inward holiness of blameless motives. Nevertheless in 1738 these years of sincere striving to do the will of God were dismissed as mere legality, which is sin even though it involves no gross sins. Martin Luther trod a similar path.

As Wesley's conception of sin widened, his conception of faith narrowed. Previously faith had comprised for him a belief in a triune God, a trust in divine providence, and a hope of eventual salvation to eternal life. In 1738 it became pinpointed into a faith in the power of Christ, and Christ alone, to wipe out a man's sins and reconcile him to God. Sometimes, as in that triumphant cry at the sickbed of Charles, he used instead the word "belief", but the same narrow definition is implied.

Through the heat haze of the 1738 moment, the aftermath of the warmed heart, Wesley saw all his former pursuit of holiness as pride and sin, his former belief in and dependence upon God as the faith of a devil. Thus the pendulum swung to the far extreme. Eventually he corrected his exaggerations, while continuing to emphasize the importance of the undoubted change. He agreed that before 1738 he did have faith, but it was the faith of a servant rather than that of a son. He agreed that the pursuit of holiness, though possessing no merit in itself, was a normal prelude to regeneration and an essential expression of it, without which the Christian would prove stillborn.

The letters, the sermons, the hymns, in which the two Wesley brothers reveal directly or indirectly their own views of what happened at Aldersgate, suggest that they thought of it as basically an experience of justifying faith: not the justification of arrant sinners who had previously neither possessed nor wanted any faith, but the justification of noble, even saintly, sinners who had come to realize more fully their dependence upon God in Christ. In any case, this

realization, though it might bring no reformation of conduct, did bring regeneration of life.

Wesley's "standard" sermon on "The New Birth" stated that justification and regeneration were inseparable in experience though they should be distinguished in thought. Justification, he said, was "that great work which God does *for us*, in forgiving our sins", and the new birth what "God does *in us*, in renewing our fallen nature." As a child in the womb has eyes and ears but cannot see and hear until it is born, so the "spiritual senses" of a "natural man" are "locked up"; "though he is a living man, he is a dead Christian." After he has been "born again", he is "alive to God through Jesus Christ", and "by a kind of spiritual respiration, the life of God in the soul is sustained; and the child of God grows up, till he comes to the 'full measure of the stature of Christ'."

Whatever their psychological or theological views, all students of the influence of Aldersgate on Wesley agree that something happened to release new spiritual vigor. True, he did not experience those transports of joy that the Moravians had led him to expect. Nor did he clearly recognize in himself other fruits of the Holy Spirit, especially peace of mind. For a time this troubled him greatly, until he learned to ascribe it to the varying operations of God with different individuals. Nor was Wesley free from temptation. Describing this problem of his post-Aldersgate experience he used the law-grace terminology: "I was striving, yea, fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror." This may appear an over-optimistic statement induced by the afterglow of Aldersgate, but it is in general borne out by the succeeding fifty years of victorious Christian service. Previously he had been beating the air; now his blows hit their target solidly. He endured many hardships as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, and nearly always endured them as one whose eye was constantly on his invisible Captain.

John Wesley is displayed before scholars like a specimen mounted upon a microscope slide, though in revealing the minutiae of his daily activities he frequently manages modestly to conceal himself. What we observe and deduce of the spiritual springs of his conduct, however, constantly enhances his image in our minds; the more we know him the more we respect him. We see human frailty, but unalloyed with self-seeking. We see minor failures caused by over-eagerness or over-trustfulness. Far overshadowing these, however, we see an alert mind and a magnanimous spirit imprisoned in a puny body, but all triumphantly used to the glory of God. Although neither his

doctrines nor his conduct changed much in 1738, his ability to serve God was increased immeasurably. As Pentecost saw the birth of the Christian Church, so Aldersgate saw the birth of the Methodist Church—and more.

An inseparable corollary for the Wesleys of the experience of justification and regeneration was that of Christian assurance—*knowing* that this had happened, rather than *hoping* that it had, or might some day. Clearly this was a very important part of what Wesley, under the influence of Luther and the Moravians, was seeking, witness the description of his spiritual preparation during the weeks immediately preceding 24th May. Convinced that a “true living faith in Christ” was “the free gift of God, and that He would surely bestow it upon every soul who earnestly and perseveringly sought it”, he says: “I resolved to seek it unto the end, (1) By absolutely renouncing all dependence, in whole or in part, upon *my own* works or righteousness; upon which I had really grounded my hope of salvation, though I knew it not, from my youth up; (2) by adding to the constant use of all the other means of grace, continual prayer for this very thing, justifying, saving faith, a full reliance on the blood of Christ shed for *me*; a trust in Him, as *my* Christ, as *my* sole justification, sanctification, and redemption.” Notice that “me, my, my”, and see how they are echoed by his record of the experience itself, combined with an emphasis upon feeling, and upon assurance: “I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.” This is by no means conversion by feeling, nor does emotion run away with Wesley’s mind and will, but those six personal pronouns in that closing sentence, three of them deliberately underlined by Wesley, symbolize the difference between his former striving and hoping and his present accepting and knowing.

This assurance of salvation, of course, he speedily classed as an essential operation of the Holy Spirit in the justified believer—the Spirit bore witness with our spirits that through faith in Christ we were now the adopted sons of God. This personal involvement with Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in salvation was of great importance to a staunch trinitarian like Wesley. So important was his emphasis upon the assurance of salvation by the Holy Spirit that this element has sometimes been singled out as the determinative central feature of the Aldersgate experience. Certainly this was the factor that more than anything else drew the abuse of Wesley’s contemporaries, summed up in the charge of “enthusiasm”, a pretense of being “filled

with God". Even the theologians raised their eyebrows, and occasionally their fists, deploring this evidence of spiritual pride, or confusing an assurance of present salvation with an assurance of eternal salvation, which Wesley denied.

Another corollary for the Wesleys was the necessity of going on from justification to sanctification, the one being the outer gateway to God's presence, the other the inner path. Wesley never claimed to have experienced sanctification or Christian perfection or holiness or (his preferred term) perfect love, but it was always the attainable goal constantly urged upon himself and upon others—"press on to perfection." This, indeed, was as truly a part of his Aldersgate experience as a purpose is part of a deliberate action or the desired holy place a part of a pilgrimage. Lack of spiritual growth, even outstanding spiritual achievement not projected into still further achievement, implied for him a breach of our continually increasing communion with God, a "backsliding". Justification for Wesley meant the power of God transmitted to him for a new beginning which entailed ever new beginnings. As Charles Wesley put it, "for ever beginning what never shall end."

Is it possible to express all that is involved in Wesley's experience in Aldersgate Street in a tight definition, either historical, psychological, or theological, or a combination of all three? I personally doubt it. But perhaps we can, and should, do something more. We can face up to the challenge that Aldersgate offers to us as practicing Christians.

IV

Through two and a quarter centuries John Wesley at Aldersgate speaks to you and me, underlining our own spiritual needs and our own spiritual possibilities. Vividly he realized the dangers of an established church that might value its reputation more than its calling. Towards the end of his life he re-emphasized the point: "I am not afraid that the people called Methodists should ever cease to exist in either Europe or America. But I am afraid lest they exist only as a dead sect, having the form of religion without the power." Has not that very danger stifled the witness of Methodism? Is it not still with us? What can we do about it, you and I? Has Aldersgate any challenge to the sincere but sometimes ineffective Christian of today?

We must realize, of course, that our social and spiritual background is so different from Wesley's that it would be folly to attempt

a detailed reproduction of his experience. We must also realize that we cannot dictate to God, not even by prayerful planning of revival services and Aldersgate commemorations. Nevertheless we can, I believe, do something in the light of what we know of Wesley's experience, something that will at least prepare the soil of our lives and of our churches so that when the Holy Spirit wafts the seeds of revival our way we are the more likely to blossom with the beauty of holiness and bear the fruits of the Spirit to the glory of God.

In this preparation—or so it would seem from the example of John Wesley—there are four main stages. Firstly, we must acknowledge that all our health, physical, mental, and spiritual, comes from God, and that He can give or withhold and yet remain both wise and loving. Just as sickness and suffering play some part in fulfilling His purposes for us, so may our spiritual delays and frustrations. Although our finite minds cannot hope to understand the concealed purposes of all these trials—though of some we may—we can remain assured that He is the kind of God revealed in Jesus Christ, loving us, suffering with us and through us and because of us, and thus saving us. Acknowledging the eternal wisdom of God we must also acknowledge His unceasing love, His unimaginable power—limited only by the laws of His own personality—and the blinding radiance of His purity.

Secondly, we must continue to use diligently all the means whereby Christian experience has shown that the grace of God is mediated to men, keeping ourselves in strict spiritual training and engaging in every possible form of Christian service. But we must not *depend* on these activities, banishing the slightest traces of self-righteousness. We must try to root out from our systems not only the perennial weed of spiritual pride—the Little Jack Horner mentality of “See what a good boy am I!”—but also the creeping crabgrass of a merit theology, an unspoken, unconfessed assumption that God cannot help but save us if we are good enough.

Thirdly, when the sovereignty of God and the impotence of man to put himself right with God are firmly accepted as general truths, and are then vividly realized as particular truths applying to us as individuals, we are ready for the next step—nor are we truly ready before. This also is a two-fold step, first of acknowledgment, then of acceptance: acknowledgment that God has Himself provided a means for making man at one with Him by becoming man in Jesus Christ, and then the acceptance of Christ as “my God”, “my Saviour”, through that unconditional throwing of ourselves upon God's mercy which we call faith.

When we are thus beaten to our knees before God we can add another petition, that the Holy Spirit will speak to our hearts, assuring us that we are indeed at this moment His children, forgiven by Him for our past sins, freed from the power of sin at the present moment, and promised continually maturing spiritual growth and effectiveness so long as we continue to depend upon Him. We must constantly remember, however, that this is a moment-by-moment assurance, which can be lost as well as found, lost and also re-found. The moment of first finding is one of the most precious in life, a spiritual landmark, as it was for John Wesley. But as it cannot come without an awareness of sinful man's dependence upon a holy God, so it cannot continue to its desired maturity without a constant projection of our whole personalities into the purposes of God.

This is the way of salvation that the Wesleys knew. This is the unwinding ball of string that may lead us through the labyrinthine mysteries of Aldersgate. This is the way to the heaven of perfect love for which Charles Wesley prayed, and for which we also should surely pray:

Finish then Thy new creation,
 Pure and spotless let us be;
 Let us see Thy great salvation,
 Perfectly restored in Thee;
 Changed from glory into glory,
 Till in heaven we take our place,
 Till we cast our crowns before Thee,
 Lost in wonder, love, and praise.

A Presbyterian Looks at John Wesley

A SERMON BY JAMES T. CLELAND

It may seem to some of you a presumptuous, if not an impertinent, undertaking for a Presbyterian to talk about John Wesley. You may feel that I should concentrate on John Calvin and John Knox, and leave Wesley to the folk who know him best. I appreciate that. But I want to share with you my reflections on one incident in his life, when the power of God was made manifest to him, and the effect which it had on this tremendous person. I want to probe into what happened on May 24, 1738, and find if it has anything to say to us. Because, as I studied what that experience did to Wesley, and through him to millions (literally, millions) of people, I began to understand why "Aldersgate" is as dear a word to Methodists, as "Westminster" is to Presbyterians, and "Canterbury" to Episcopalians.

Many of you know by heart the words from John Wesley's journal for Wednesday, May 24, 1738. They are worthy of repetition:

I think it was about five this morning that I opened my Testament on those words: 'There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature.' (2 Peter 1:4) Just as I went out I opened it again on those words: 'Thou are not far from the kingdom of God.' In the afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was, 'Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord: Lord, hear my voice.'

In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart.

First, then, what was Wesley converted *from*?

In popular understanding, conversion is associated with bad men. That may well be a true linking. But in popular misunderstanding, bad men are identified with drunkards, wife-beaters, embezzlers, Sab-

bath-breakers, and the like. Or, from another angle, conversion is associated with young people, especially with those in an emotional transition from innocence through adolescence to holiness.

How does John Wesley fit into these categories? Taking the latter first: one could hardly say that chronologically he was in the grip of adolescent emotionalism. Because on May 24, 1738, he was 34 years old, within one month of being 35. Moreover, with the popular misunderstanding of "bad men," Wesley's preconversion life is at loggerheads. Look at these facts:

1703—Born into the home of a godly Mother, and of a ministerial Father who was consecrated enough to go to prison for his Christian convictions.

1714—Went to Charterhouse, one of the famous English public schools.

1720—Matriculated at Christ Church College, Oxford.

1725—Ordained deacon in the Church of England.

1728—Ordained Priest in the Church of England.

1729—Returned to Oxford as Tutor in Lincoln College, where he became a member of a club which "adopted certain rules for right living". The members pursued this course so methodically that they were derisively called "Methodists". They named themselves the "Holy Club".

1735-1738—Worked as a foreign missionary in Savannah, Georgia.

That is hardly the biography of a hell-raiser. He doesn't seem to have sown even one wild oat—maybe one in Savannah. In fact, today, with such a preconversion record, Wesley would be in line for the position of Dean of the Chapel at Duke University, if not District Superintendent or even Bishop in the Methodist Church.

When we ask what Wesley was converted *from*, we must say he was converted from an upright life of disciplined devotion, earnest service, faithful worship and good works, which made him thoroughly miserable, dull, and ineffective for God or man.

Second, what was Wesley converted *by*?

Well, none of the trimmings and trappings of sawdust-trail revivalism twisted his emotional life to a new direction. No one sang the "Old Rugged Cross" or "Heavenly Sunshine" to an organ-and-piano accompaniment. There were no mass meetings, no shake-hands-with-the-person behind you, no high-pressure spiritual salesmanship.

Wesley went, "unwillingly" (as he tells us), to a Moravian society in London. He had been impressed by the Moravians; they seemed to have something of spiritual sanity which he lacked. Was anyone

shouting? No. Was anybody singing? Not to our knowledge. Someone was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. When the reader described what Luther meant by the change which God can work on the heart, Wesley felt his heart "strangely warmed". That was it. Imagine being converted by a comment, on a German commentary, on a letter by Paul, on an interpretation of Jesus. Fourth-hand Christian experience!

What happened? We don't know. But we can guess. Wesley discovered for himself what Jesus had preached, and Paul had known, and Luther had broadcast, and the Moravians lived. What was that? That no man can find peace at the heart by trying to make himself a worthwhile person in the eyes of God. That is to begin religion at the wrong end. That is to be a debtor seeking to repay a creditor, with extra interest. That is to be a servant trying to satisfy a master, by working overtime. That is to be a criminal hoping to influence a judge, by unexpectedly good behavior. And Jesus taught that God, in His essential being, is not a creditor, or a master, or a judge, but a Father. Therefore, man, in relation to God, is not a debtor or a slave or a criminal, but a son, or a possible son.

That is so confoundedly simple an idea that organized religion is upset by it. Organized religion prefers rules, regulations, observances and the like—and understandably so. For that is how one can test the worthwhileness of the believer. Then along comes a John Wesley who says: "OK. I've done all you ask, plus. And I feel awful. What now?" And, in a quiet Bible study group, someone reads to him what Luther said about Paul's understanding of Jesus. And, Wesley divided time B.A. and A.A.—Before Aldersgate and After Aldersgate. He discovered that when Jesus told the parable of the Prodigal Son, as *the* symbol of the man-God relationship, he meant it. On May 24, 1738, Wesley finally believed it, and went out and acted on it.

This was the conversion of a servant of God to a son of God. This was the conversion of a good man to a better one. This was the conversion of a sub-Christian to a genuine Christian. The Aldersgate experience was a stepping over the threshold into the Kingdom of God by a man who had been not far from the Kingdom all his life. It was literally conversion—the turning of Wesley to a new spiritual direction.

He later had his doubts and worries about Aldersgate. Looking back over the experience, he admitted that he had not felt the "transports of joy" usually associated with conversion! But he never went back on the spiritual insight he received: that God of His own

free will wishes and enables man to be in such relations with Him that man knows peace and joy.

Now, to the third of our questions: What was he converted *to*?

The answer is not hard to find: to the same kind of jobs he had been doing before Aldersgate. Remember this was not the conversion of a bad man to a good man. It was the conversion of a good man who was unhappy to a good man who was so happy that he had to tell the whole world about it.

Didn't he give up being a Church of England minister? No, he remained a priest of the Anglican Church until he died. Did he continue to attend the Anglican Church? Yes, and he continued to receive the Sacrament of Communion. In fact, it has been estimated that he received the Lord's Supper once every five days throughout his ministry. Didn't he stop studying so much and become a more simple believer? No, he added to his knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew (which he had already studied) German, French, Italian, and Spanish. Think of this one fact: He translated the New Testament from Greek into English, and made 12,000 deviations from the King James Version. Note this: 9,000 of these corrections have been incorporated into later authorized editions. Wesley would not be over-enthusiastic about the revivalist who thanks God he has no education. Did he still visit the sick and the poor and the imprisoned? Yes, Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote of him: "I hate to meet John Wesley. The dog enchants me with his conversation, and then breaks away to see some old woman." Dr. Luccock comments, "We can be sure that if the 'old woman' was in need, she had a definite priority over the great Doctor Johnson." (*Endless Line of Splendor*, p. 21.) Surely, he wasn't interested in religion becoming mixed up with politics and social betterment and all that sort of pink-fringe stuff? Well, you judge. Here is a letter he wrote, age 88, six days before his death. To whom is it addressed? William Wilberforce. What was Wilberforce doing? Trying to abolish slavery, by fighting it legally in the Houses of Parliament. What did the letter say?

"My dear Sir:

Unless the divine Power has raised you up to be as Athanasius *contra mundum*, I do not see how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villainy, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and of devils; but if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together

stronger than God? O! be not weary in well doing. Go on in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish before it.

Your affectionate servant,
John Wesley."

That last sentence sounds like a damn Yankee. There are many Southern Methodists who wish John Wesley had died a week sooner.

He was converted *to* the same old tasks, but he went at them in a new way. No longer did he do them because he felt he ought to, because God demanded it. He did them as a joyous response to the realization that God loved him. He did what he had done, but he did it better: with joy, with a flair for experimentation, for pioneer work. He did it as a son rather than as a servant.

Well, you are asking, "So what?" My answer is very simple: "What does this Aldersgate experience say to any generation of Christians, to you as Methodists, and to me as a Presbyterian?"

Is it possible that some of us need to be converted *from*? Is it not true that some of us consider our religion a burden, a chore, even a bore? I did. Here was the Scottish "Sabbath" in our home:

9:30 Bible Class
11:00 Church
2:30)
3:00) Sunday School
3:30)
6:30 Church
8:00 Bible Class (again!)

As a result, we were bad tempered all day, all of us, until 9:30 p.m. supper when, with a sigh of relief, we recognized that the Sabbath (as we miscalled it) was almost over. How "weary, stale, flat and unprofitable" it seemed to be so often. We glorified God; there is no doubt of that, but few of us could be accused of enjoying Him. We were servants, not sons. We weren't bad. We were very proper Presbyterians. But there wasn't much thrill to it. That has not been unknown in other denominations.

Yet, when we think of the history of the church in this connection, one fact stares us in the face: When God wishes to jar the church to life, He has been known to choose, for that purpose, a man who worked hard at religion, who was an able scholar, who was past 30 years of age, and who was a good servant: e.g., Paul, age 30, a prominent Rabbi; Luther, age 34, Professor of Theology; Wesley, age 34, Tutor at Lincoln College. And in the 20th Century, add

Grenfell of Labrador, a medical doctor, and Schweitzer of Africa, Ph.D., Th.D., Mus. Doc., M. D. (all earned!).

The men who are selected of God to shake the dormant church awake are not necessarily the changed wild men or the young idealists. They are sometimes devoted, intelligent, middle-aged legalists, who have missed the heart of the Christian message. Does that describe some of us?

What are we converted by?

It is neither by a long period of search, nor by a sudden awakening, but by both. It is the daily struggle to find the truth and the unexpected but welcome moment of enlightenment, when one shouts *Eureka*: I've found it; I've found Him; I've found Him finding me. St. Augustine, reflecting on Paul's conversion, wrote: "*Si Stephanas non orasset, Paulum ecclesia non haberet*": If Stephen had not prayed, the Church would not have had Paul." Paul's conversion began *before* the Damascus Road incident. It required and requires the combination of a discipline of the mind and of the heart. This means meditation: a method of study and of prayer; and a capacity to keep at it in the dry periods: a "stickability."

It also requires self-surrender to the Father-Son relation when the climactic moment meets up with us. This is even harder on us than the discipline. Because it means the subordination of that which is dearest to each one of us: the self, myself. We have been taught, in American culture, to make the most of ourselves. We have been reminded, day in, day out, of the importance of our self: "Drive carefully. The life you save may be your own." "Now you can be taller than she is." And Christianity says: "Uh, uh. You're on the wrong lines. Forget yourself." But no, we won't forget ourselves. We will discipline ourselves; i.e., *we* will. We will subordinate ourselves; i.e., *we* will. We will play second fiddle; but it is second fiddle *we* will still play. And God still says, "Uh, uh. Forget yourself. Think of me, as your Father; as the one who created and sustained and will now redeem you. Stop looking in. Look out. Look up." And when we do, all He says is: "My son. My daughter." And our hearts are "strangely warmed".

Wesley's experience is as old as Abraham, Isaiah, Peter, Thomas, and Paul. It is as normative as Luther's and Bunyan's and Schweitzer's. It is as recurrent as there are folk who discover it daily.

What are we converted *to*? You know. The old routine: coming to church; singing in the choir; ushering; Sunday School teaching; studying the Bible on Wednesday night; visiting the sick, at home and in the hospital; writing to our congressmen about ethical

issues; voting on resolutions in Conference. But, it is done with a new spirit. Our religion begins to carry us, instead of us toting it around like the Old Man of the Sea.

Let me warn you of one thing, though. The sense of inner peace and joy may make us want to experiment, as Wesley did, and the legalistic conservatives, the elder brothers of all ages, will neither understand us nor appreciate us!

Brethren, what shall we do with John Wesley of the Aldersgate experience? On the one hand, we can remember him, without any desire to emulate him. I wonder if we would have followed John Wesley in the 18th century? or in the 19th? In 1880 an Annual Conference was being held in Liverpool, England. A young man asked the permission of the Conference to be a traveling evangelist rather than minister of one congregation. He had real gifts for revival preaching and felt called to it. The Conference refused his plea. He walked out of the building—and out of Methodism. That man was William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army. The successors of John Wesley, an itinerant evangelist, had no place for an itinerant evangelist. The successors of John Wesley, who was willing to make experiments, had no place for a conservative experimenter. We can be like that Conference, packing a large church, remembering Wesley gratefully without any desire to emulate him, on some equally vital and equally unusual issue.

On the other hand, we can remember him, and be ready for the stirring of the Holy Spirit. Wesley was converted in an unexpected place. No human being said: "Go to now. Tonight, on May 24, 1738, we shall convert John Wesley, who will found Methodism." No, someone, in a study-prayer group, read Luther on Paul, and tried to explain it. And a servant of God, by the name of Wesley, was ready for it, because it shed a true light on his studious search.

We do not know when God will work His will. It behooves us to be watchful and sensitive and in expectancy. It may be that someday, centuries from now, this service will be remembered. It will be remembered, not because of the sermon, or the anthem, or the prayers. It will be remembered because, at some unexpected place in it, God stepped in and laid His gentle, strong, commanding hands on someone, a good man or a good woman, a serious person, of mature age and judgment, who ceased to be God's servant and became His son, His daughter. And the world may never be quite the same afterwards, because of it.

Wesley's Doctrine of Justification: Beginning and Process

HARMON L. SMITH

If one may judge from the preaching and religious journalism of much mid-twentieth century American Methodism, Wesley's doctrine of justification no longer characterizes American Methodist theology in its contemporary mode. Whether this state of affairs may be credited to an earlier development of a "frontier consciousness" and the pragmatic attitude of much American religious thought, or whether it is chiefly a fault in contemporary theology, is not our primary concern. The fact is that much, if not most, American Methodist theological reflection has tended toward one or the other of two seemingly antithetical positions: either it has affirmed the radical nature of God's sovereignty and man's sin to the neglect, in large measure, of man's role in obedient and meaningful response, or it has so much emphasized human freedom and autonomy that the deity has been reduced to the role and function of a benevolent and kindly, albeit cosmic, old gentleman. In either case, only with difficulty would Wesley recognize his theology in the image reflected by his spiritual heirs in contemporary America.

I. SOLA GRATIA

What Wesley seems to have learned at Aldersgate was that man is justified by grace alone and that this grace is given only through faith.¹ He later defined faith as that which, given by grace, enables us to "feel [the] power of Christ . . . resting upon us."² More fully explicated, Christian faith is,

. . . not only an assent to the whole Gospel of Christ, but also a full reliance on the blood of Christ; a trust in the merits of his life, death and resurrection; a recumbency upon him as our atonement and our life, *as given for us, and living in us*; and in consequence hereof, a closing

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1. Thomas Jackson (ed.), *Wesley's Works* (John Mason, 1829), Third Edition, VI, pp. 7-8. Hereinafter cited as *Works*.

2. *Ibid.*, V, p. 167.

with him, and a cleaving to him, as our 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption,' or, in one word, our salvation.³

Upon this predicate, one may safely say that Wesley's main concern (in contrast, for example, to that of Luther) is with the application and realization of the transforming power of saving grace within the life of the person. And while it may be true that Wesley takes his cue from the center of Luther's theology, namely, the doctrine of justification by grace, it may also be true that Wesley works out the full existential implications of Luther's crucial insight in a theologically and anthropologically more appropriate and balanced way.

But there is a certain danger in this kind of generalization. Although Wesley does certainly modify Luther's understanding of justification, one should not conclude thereby that Luther's paradoxical formulation of *pecca fortiter et crede fortius* or of *simul peccator, simul iustus* is irrelevant for Wesley's view. What is quite plain, however, is that Wesley wishes to distinguish clearly between the Christian life and justification. For Luther, all is accomplished with the act of justification; for Wesley, there is more. Charles Wesley's hymn puts the case succinctly:

What shall I render to my God
For all His mercy's store?
I'll take the gifts He hath bestowed
And humbly ask for more.⁴

John Wesley himself preached that

. . . of yourselves cometh neither your faith nor your salvation: 'it is the gift of God;' the free, undeserved gift; the faith through which ye are saved, as well as the salvation, which he of his own good pleasure, his mere favour, annexes thereto. That ye believe, is one instance of his grace: that, believing, ye are saved, another.⁵

Thus, while grace is the source of salvation, faith is its condition; and God is the giver of the possibility of both. ~

With this in mind, it is appropriate to observe that Wesley's estimate of man, at least after his Aldersgate experience, is that there is nothing which man in himself alone can either achieve or perform which is deserving of the least thing from God's hand.⁶ Indeed, if man finds any favor at all with God, it is due entirely to

3. *Ibid.*, V, p. 9.

4. *The Methodist Hymn-Book* (London: Methodist Conference Office, 1933), No. 399. Hereinafter cited by title.

5. *Works*, V, p. 13.

6. *Ibid.*, V, p. 7.

God's own mercy. Hence, if man receives salvation, his only response can be "Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift!"⁷

II. ANTHROPOLOGY

In describing Wesley's view of justification *sola gratia*, we have already spilled over into what is, at least implicitly, a statement of his understanding of man and the human condition. Perhaps one of the most lucid statements of the Wesleyan anthropology is found in another of Charles Wesley's hymns, "Jesu, Lover of my Soul":

Just and holy is Thy name,
I am all unrighteousness,
False and full of sin I am,
Thou art full of truth and grace.⁸

The human predicament thus described is a universal reality inasmuch as "man was created looking directly to God, as his last end; but falling into sin, he fell off from God, and turned into himself."⁹ One is reminded here of Luther's notion of the will curving back and in upon itself, producing a vicious circle of idolatries. Wesley used the same idiom.

Moreover, Wesley utilized, as had Luther, the Augustinian-federal theory of the Fall, and claimed that all men are born into the state of separation by virtue of Adam's sin. Every man inherits this corrupt nature. And, to this point, Wesley's thought strongly parallels that of both Luther and Calvin. "Man's heart," says Wesley, "is altogether corrupt and abominable."¹⁰ Indeed,

. . . all who deny this, call it 'original sin,' or by any other title, are but heathens still, in the fundamental point which differences Heathenism from Christianity. They may, indeed allow that men have many vices . . . but here is the *shibboleth*: Is man by nature filled with all manner of evil? Is he void of all good? Is he wholly fallen? Is his soul totally corrupted? Or, to come back to the text, is 'every imagination of the thoughts of his heart only evil continually'? Allow this, and you are so far a Christian. Deny it, and you are but an heathen still.¹¹

Wesley does not claim that the truth of this assertion is universally obvious. In fact, only those whose eyes have been opened by God's grace can perceive their true condition. Grace, then, serves a double function in Wesley's theology: it is not only the means of

7. *Ibid.*, V, p. 8.

8. *The Methodist Hymn-Book*, No. 110, v. 3.

9. *Works*, IX, p. 456.

10. *Ibid.*, V, p. 7 and pp. 203-4.

11. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 63.

establishing a right relationship with God; it is also the means for one's apprehension of a proper self-understanding whereby one comes to recognize the *need* for a new relationship with God.¹²

It is required that more be said of "grace" later. At this juncture, however, it should be made clear that Wesley did not bind himself to a single definition of sin. [That is, he saw man not only in the totality of inherited "original sin," under which he could never cease to be a sinner; but he also viewed man in terms of his "immediate relationship to God," and in this latter relational sense man can be *simul peccator, simul iustus* if he consciously uses the grace which God is giving him. Let it be pointed out that Wesley did not mean to equate *simul iustus* or any other phrase or category with sinless perfection. He was speaking, as did Luther, of the whole person who embraces within himself both polarities, that is, as one who is at once *both sinner and justified*.]

One additional feature of Wesley's doctrine of man, in which he follows Luther and Calvin, should be noted: though fallen, man is nonetheless able to use his natural capacities for relatively good social purposes. These are not to be understood as ultimately good when judged by the normative standards of God's love and law. However, Wesley insisted upon a central point which, by way of emphasis at least, distinguishes his theological position from that of Luther and Calvin: in ethics as well as soteriology, concrete *relationship with God* (that of sinful alienation and/or faithful responsiveness) is *altogether determinative* for a theologically appropriate anthropology. In falling out of right relation with God, who alone is the ultimate power of righteousness, man inevitably falls into sin.¹³ Even in the performance of relatively good acts, committed in relation to other men in society, one's acts are performed out of a heart corrupted by wrong relation to his Creator.

Nevertheless, though man in falling away from God loses the "moral image" of God, he by no means loses the image of God altogether. He remains in real relationship to God, even though this may be a sinfully perverted relationship. It is through the reality of this relation, as sustained by God himself, that man's Creator continues, as it were, to inform him of the fact that he is "made for" personal fellowship with his Maker and to offer him the responsible possibility of turning (or "returning") to that fellowship.¹⁴ Thus we come to a more "catholic" emphasis on prevenient grace which,

12. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 58.

13. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 456f.

14. *Ibid.*, V, p. 7.

in Wesley's understanding of its full existential implications, maintains the divine sovereignty while avoiding any necessity for postulating an ultimate predestination or divine determinism.

III. PREVENIENT GRACE

Although Wesley was in substantial agreement with Luther and Calvin at the point of insistence upon man's moral impotency and in ascribing man's justification to God, *sola gratia*, he refused to agree that grace is particular and restricted in the ultimately selective and limitative sense implied by a predestinarian doctrine of election. To pose such a claim is, according to Wesley, to make God Himself unjust. In the place of such an election Wesley understood the operation of grace to be "free for all and free in all";¹⁵ bestowed in an appropriate way to each and every man, not merely to some restricted group whom God has foreordained.

Wesley saw original sin as *man's* falling out of right relation with God. He saw prevenient grace as *God's* continuing offer of the new *real possibility* of man's responsive turning back toward that proper mode of relationship out of which he has fallen. As a result of his synthesis of these two doctrines, Wesley was able to hold together two seemingly disparate *foci*: man's inability to *move himself* toward God and his freedom to *respond* to God. Because of original sin, the natural man is "dead to God" and unable to move toward Him or to respond merely to the external proclamation of the Gospel. Through the work of "preventing grace," however, he is given the power freely to respond either in resistance to or acceptance of God's mercy. Wesley himself stated the case adequately:

The sum of all is this: The God of love is willing to save all the souls that He has made. This he has proclaimed to them in His word, together with the terms of salvation, revealed by the Son of this love, who gave His own life that they that believe in Him might have everlasting life. . . .

But He will not force them to accept of it; He leaves them in the hands of their own counsel; He saith, 'Behold, I set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: Choose life that ye may live.'¹⁶

It should be noted here that Wesley's doctrine of justification is concerned only with the spiritual condition of those who have been confronted with the proclamation of the Gospel. He states explicitly, in his sermon "On Living Without God,"¹⁷ that it is better to leave

15. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 373 and pp. 380-1.

16. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 317.

17. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 353-4.

the question of the fate of the "heathen" to the counsels of the Almighty than to sentence them to damnation for their lack of positive encounter with the Word. With this in mind, it may be reiterated here that Wesley remained within the classical Protestant framework through his insistence upon justification *sola gratia*. Our next task is to show how this can be.

Though Wesley insisted on *sola gratia*, he did not follow the psychology of the Wittenberg and Geneva Reformers to the point of claiming that there is *nothing* still operative within the life of the "natural man" besides his natural qualities. This is a significant caveat and it has far-reaching implications; for, in contrast to Luther and Calvin, Wesley claims that God endues man with "preventing grace" which continually presents the human will with the *genuinely* "live" option of responsively turning back again to God and receiving the saving grace of justification.

. . . No man living is entirely destitute of what is vulgarly called natural conscience. But this is not natural: It is more properly termed *preventing grace*. Every man has a greater or less measure of this, which waiteth not for the call of man. Every one has, sooner or later, good desires; although the generality of men stifle them before they can strike deep root, or produce any considerable fruit. Every one has some measure of that light . . . which . . . enlightens every man that cometh into the world . . . so that no man sins because he has not grace, but *because he does not use the grace which he hath*.¹⁸

[Prevenient grace, then, is related to justification in quite the same manner as justification is related to sanctification: it is the necessary antecedent.¹⁹]

[Nevertheless, prevenient grace, although an evidence of God directly at work within even the natural man, is not enough to enable man to turn to God in the fullness of faith. God makes himself known to man in two quite distinct ways, in Wesley's thought: first, in a preliminary way, through conscience; and, secondly, through the proclamation of the Gospel. Hence, the work of salvation begins with the activity of prevenient grace upon the "natural conscience." And while Wesley acknowledges the third, or instructing use of the law,²⁰ it would not be correct to say that in his judgment the law, *ex opere operato*, brings man to a recognition of his fallen state and thus to repentance. It is the role of prevenient grace, not the law, to lead man in his first positive step toward salvation. [Thus, for Wesley,

18. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 512 (italics mine).

19. Cf. the entry in Wesley's *Journal* for September 13, 1739. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 224-5.

20. *Works*, V, pp. 443-4.

repentance or conviction of sin is existentially antecedent to faith.

One should be careful here to catch the dialectic in Wesley's thought. Justification is God's own act, intended for man's benefit, performed in his behalf, and grounded in universal and free grace which, like life itself, is bestowed upon all humanity. This same grace, also depends upon faith as the instrument of its effectiveness and apprehension because faith, in this context, is simply grace made conscious in man's acknowledgment and acceptance, and thus transformed from a latent to an active state.

IV. THE NATURE OF JUSTIFICATION

It has been argued above that Wesley was in substantial agreement with both Luther and Calvin at the point of claiming that man in himself is morally impotent and that justification is by grace alone. We have attempted to show, further, that Wesley departed from both Wittenberg and Geneva in his claim that no "natural" man *really* exists "in himself" alone; that saving grace is free and unrestricted; and that freely responsive faith is required as the means of its appropriation. Now we must reassert the other focus of Wesley's dialectic, namely that salvation is the total work of God.²¹ Regarding good works, Wesley insists that

No works are good, which are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done; but no works done before justification are done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done; therefore, no works done before justification are good.²²

If man is helpless, it is likewise true that he is devoid of righteousness and stands in condemnation before God.²³ Still through the merits of Christ, God has prepared for man's redemption.²⁴ [The foundation of justification, then, rests upon both Christ's righteousness and man's sinfulness.]²⁵

Being justified, however, does not mean being made actually righteous or just.²⁶ It means precisely what it meant in the thought of the Reformers, namely, that we who have no righteousness are accounted as righteous.

Justification . . . is not the being made actually just and righteous. This is sanctification; which is, indeed, in some degree, the immediate fruit of

21. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 44.

22. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 59-60.

23. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 54-5.

24. *Ibid.*, V, p. 55.

25. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 55-6.

26. *Ibid.*, V, p. 56.

justification, but, nevertheless, is a distinct gift of God, and of a totally different nature. The one [justification] implies, what God does for us through His Son; the other [sanctification] what he works in us by His Spirit . . . in general use, they are sufficiently distinguished from each other . . .²⁷

In more direct language, one might paraphrase Wesley to say that justification is the basis and beginning of the Christian life, that faith opens the way to the "new birth" and fullness of life in Christ, and that sanctification in holiness then follows.

In Luther and Calvin, both of these movements (i.e., repentance and trust in Christ) had been identified in justifying faith. Wesley, however, distinguished them, both ontologically and psychologically. [The free response to prevenient grace indicates our readiness to receive God's further gifts of grace. [The succeeding justifying faith is a sure trust and confidence in Christ which brings conviction of sin and forgiveness, and the awareness that we are saved by grace alone. While these two movements are distinguished in Wesley's thought, he strongly insists that they cannot be finally divided; that "at the same time that we are justified, yea, in that very moment, sanctification begins."²⁸ In other words, in the same moment that God makes His forgiveness known to the sinner, He restores him to sonship.] It should be plain that there is no quarrel between Wesley and the Reformers where the justifying act itself is concerned: for all three, it is God's act of pardon and acceptance.²⁹ The difference occurs at the point at which Wesley insists that the act is *both* immediate and gradual, whereas interpreters of Luther and Calvin, while they have said both, have generally insisted that it must be *either-or*.

The clearest clue to this dialectic is likely to be found in John Wesley's own words:

[Though it be allowed, that justification and the new birth are, in point of time, inseparable from each other, yet they are easily distinguished, as being not the same, but things of a widely different nature. *Justification implies only a relative, the new birth a real, change.* God in justifying us does something *for us*; in begetting us again, He does the work *in us*. The former changes our outward relation to God, so that of enemies we become children; by the latter our inmost souls are changed, so that of sinners we become saints. The one restores us to the *favour*, the other to the *image*, of God. The one is taking away the *guilt*, the other the

27. *Ibid.*, V, p. 56 (italics mine).

28. *Ibid.*, V, p. 55.

29. *Ibid.*, V, p. 57.

taking away the *power*, of sin: so that, although they are joined together in point of time, yet are they of wholly distinct natures.³⁰

At the same moment that we are justified, we experience the new birth. [Both a *relative* and a *real* change occur in the *same moment*. Perhaps it would help to say that, whereas for Luther justification connotes the whole content of salvation, for Wesley salvation is a process of which justification is a primary and basic stage.³¹]

Wesley certainly approached Roman Catholicism from the point of view of this doctrine of "double justification," where grace is not "given all at once . . . but from moment to moment."³² This was perhaps unavoidable when Wesley adopted the classical view of *Christus Victor*.³³

Yet, to the end of his work, he guarded himself by insisting that there is no natural preparation for the entry of the Creator Spiritus; and Charles Wesley's hymn accurately reflects this essential tenet of his brother:

We cannot think a gracious thought,
 We cannot feel a good desire,
 Till Thou, who call'st a world from nought,
 The power into our hearts inspire:
 The promised Intercessor give,
 And let us now Thyself receive.³⁴

V. MAN'S RESPONSE

We must ask now, what is man's part in all of this, what is the nature of human response, and how does man come to be repentant in Wesley's theology?

John Wesley's answer to these questions begins with rejection of the notion that, though justification is executed in man's behalf, it is done independently of his response. If God were to save men by His power alone, by His irresistible decree, this would, in Wesley's judgment, "imply no wisdom at all. But his wisdom is shown by saving man in such a manner as not to destroy his nature, not to

30. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 233-4 (italics mine).

31. Cf. Harold Lindstrom, *Wesley and Sanctification* (Epworth Press, 1946), p. 84f.

32. *Works, op. cit.*, V, p. 164.

33. See, for example, Wesley's sermon on "The End of Christ's Coming." *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 367-77. The text is I John 3:8, "For this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil."

34. *The Methodist Hymn-Book*, No. 534, v. 2.

take away the liberty which he has given him.”³⁵ The reason for this is clear enough to Wesley:

Where there is no liberty there can be no moral good or evil, no virtue or vice . . . fire burns us, yet it is not evil. There is no virtue, but where an intelligent being knows, loves, and chooses what is good; nor is there any vice but where a being knows, loves, and chooses what is evil.³⁶

This much, at least, is strongly anticipative of such theologians in our own time as Emil Brunner and William Temple, both of whom have strenuously insisted that man cannot, by moral and ecclesiastical works, save himself in any degree whatever; yet, they also maintain (as did Wesley) that man is the sole determinative factor in the decision for his own justification.

(Faith is offered man as the free gift of a gracious God; but to this, man must actively respond by opening himself to the possibility of receiving that gift.) We cannot say, then, that in Wesley's conception grace is either solely an apportionment by God or merely an appropriation by man. Indeed, in the last analysis, it is both. To God alone is ascribed the power and the glory manifested in man's justification; but to man alone is reserved (by God!) the right of decision, made possible by prevenient grace, to accept or to reject God's offer. So, Wesley argues in the 1770 *Minutes*:

We have received it as a maxim, that 'a man is to do nothing in order to justification.' Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favour with God, should 'cease from evil, and learn to do well' . . .³⁷

Obviously contrary to Luther and Calvin, Wesley stressed that repentance and works "meet for repentance" are the precondition of justifying grace. But he guarded himself from both Antinomianism and Pelagianism.

God does undoubtedly command us both to repent, and to bring forth fruits meet for repentance; which if we willingly neglect, we cannot reasonably expect to be justified at all: therefore both repentance, and fruits meet for repentance, are, in some sense, necessary to justification. But they are not necessary in the *same sense* with faith, nor in the *same degree*; for those fruits are only necessary *conditionally*; if there be time and opportunity for them. Otherwise a man may be justified without them . . . but he cannot be justified without faith; this is impossible . . . repentance and its fruits are only *remotely* necessary; necessary in order to faith; whereas faith is *immediately* and *directly* necessary to justification.³⁸

35. *Works, op. cit.*, VI, p. 326.

36. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 270.

37. *Minutes of The Methodist Conferences, from the first, held in London, by the late Rev. John Wesley, A. M.* (London: The Conference Office, 1812), p. 96.

38. *Works*, VI, p. 48.

[The nature of the human response, then, is simply to reach out and claim the gift of faith, but always with the acknowledgment that grace is the enabling source of this freely active response.] John Wesley's reasoning was that if God is working in you, as indeed He is, there is no excuse for your not working, too; rather, it is imperative that you do so.³⁹ He did not attempt to explain precisely how this comes about, except to say that God provides some power by which man is enlightened and may accordingly see his true state, acknowledge God's judgment, and confess his utter helplessness.⁴⁰ But this enlightenment is sufficient to bring man to repentance; and this is the first step in the process of justification. The second follows in the form of positive belief in the truth of the gospel. Throughout, however, Wesley rejects any notion of mere "partnership" with God and insists upon the continually initiating and empowering activity of God's grace which makes man's genuinely free response (in faith or unfaith) a real possibility.

VI. CONCLUSION

It was stated at the outset of this essay that Methodist theology in the twentieth century, at least in America, has largely lost or neglected the full appreciation of Wesley's doctrine of justification *sola gratia*. A certain historical framework for this development is reflected in the decline in emphasis on God's grace and a corresponding elevation of concern for practical holiness achieved through moralistic ethics. With roots in the nineteenth century, this temperament has survived with great influence in our own time. If the theses of this paper are tenable, perhaps Methodists will wish to reorient their theology and its expression in ethical conduct—away from notions that the Christian life is a work of man to be achieved either through observance of some ethical code or by attempting, in their own lives, to imitate Christ; and toward the view that we are saved by grace *alone* through faith in God's reconciling activity in Jesus Christ. [This does not, of course, suggest that a Methodist is to be a quietist; it means only that one acknowledges deeds of righteousness to be the fruit and fulfillment of grace, and not its cause or condition.]

39. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 509 and pp. 512-3.

40. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 102-3.

The Wesleyan Doctrine of the Lord's Supper

EGIL GRISLIS

It is a profound warning which we encounter in a treatise entitled *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice*, originally written by Daniel Brevint, and abridged by John Wesley:

. . . let all who have either piety towards God, or any care of their own souls, so manage their devotions as to avoid superstition on the one hand, and profaneness on the other. [1,2]

In reference to the Lord's Supper it means that it is always necessary to think through very carefully what role we attribute to the eucharistic elements. If we observe the Lord's Supper with an unreflective devotion, believing that the elements are somehow miraculously filled with grace, which can be tapped by everyone who partakes, then we have replaced a redemptive relationship to God with a concern that is essentially more magical than religious. On the other hand, if we become so negativistic in our attitude to the elements that we deny them any significant function at all, then we should not really be surprised when adult members stay away from communion services and children treat them as "refreshments" or as an occasion where "we get the drinks," as a little boy informed me a few months ago.

Yet the problem need not be viewed as insoluble. In the broad Protestant tradition, as well as in Methodism in particular, there are rich resources that may help to deal with the issue at hand. Thus we may note Luther's profound observation that according to the Scriptures God is never encountered directly, but confronts men by way of a burning bush, through a cloud of smoke or fire, in a thunderstorm, etc. And most sublimely such a divine use of media is seen in God's ultimate self-disclosure in Jesus Christ. Here God accommodates Himself to the limited human capacities of perception and confronts men as another man—as the incarnate Christ—through the means of human speech and actions, through a human life which at the same time is nevertheless the life of the Son of God. Similarly we can say of the sacraments that they serve as a veil through which the holy God speaks to unholy men. They are not merely religious reminders or illustrations, but actually transmit the reality which

they signify. For example, suggests Luther, take the citizenship papers given to an individual in a medieval town. The paper is indeed but paper, and yet it conveys the citizenship of this town to the individual to whom the document has been granted. Or, look at a seal attached to a legal document. Although the seal is but a symbol, it is nevertheless efficacious since it actually establishes the validity of the document. Of course, such illustrations have their own obvious limitations, as they do not stress the need for faith which Luther included in his description of the profitable use of the sacramental elements. Even so, they are not useless suggestions.

Very similar is the approach of John Calvin. He also points to the sacraments as efficacious signs whose purpose is to visibly affirm to the believer the truth of the redemption offered in Christ. Calvin admits that, strictly speaking, God does not need the sacraments to reach men. But we need them. Our thinking always takes place with images borrowed from the material universe. We are no pure spirits who could communicate with each other apart from the use of earthbound means. To such human exigency God mercifully accommodates himself and speaks to us in a language which we can understand, *viz.*, through signs that are a part of the material universe. That God should thus use material means for genuinely spiritual goals does not at all surprise Calvin. After all, the material universe is God's own handiwork, and he can use it as he sees fit. As C. S. Lewis has said in this century, "God likes matter; he invented it."

Now such a perspective eventually becomes a part of the Anglican tradition, as in the explicit viewpoint appropriated by John and Charles Wesley. In a sermon entitled "The Means of Grace" John Wesley explains how he views this term:

By "means of grace," I understand outward signs, words, or actions, ordained of God, and appointed for this end, to be the ordinary channels whereby He might convey to men, preventing, justifying, or sanctifying grace. [Standard Sermons, ed. by Sudgen, I,242]

At the root of this definition is the profound observation that God Himself has abundantly suggested in His Word that there are several ways through which we may seek to encounter Him. They include going to church, partaking of the Lord's Supper, fasting, praying, Scripture reading, doing good works, etc. Strictly speaking, grace is obtained not *from* but *through* such endeavors.

Charles Wesley brings out this insight very clearly in one of his eucharistic hymns. While the actual power of redemption proceeds from God, He nevertheless applies it through even the "meanest

things". [Nr. 61] When the sea is struck by the rod of Moses, "The parting sea confess'd its God;" when the ark of the Lord surrounds a city and "the ram's-horn trumpet" is blown, "The city boasts its height no more." Likewise, it is at the command of God that the waters of the Jordan river can heal leprosy.

Or oil the medicine shall supply,
Or clothes, or shadows passing by,
If so Thy sovereign will ordains.

And the main point is precisely this:

Yet not from these the power proceeds,
Trumpets, or rods, or clothes, or shades
Thy only arm the work hath done;
If instruments Thy wisdom choose,
Thy grace confers their saving use,
Salvation is from God alone.

Moreover, when grace is appropriated, then it is never merited, but always given as an undeserved gift. John Wesley is very clear about this, and draws the necessary consequences. Namely, he suggests that we can never tell in advance in which particular approach it will be pleasing for God to redeem us. Hence we must use all the various means of grace, hoping and praying, trusting in God's mercy, but never knowing in advance the moment when redemptive mercy will be actually shown to us.

The occasion to state their views with such precision came to the Wesleys unsolicited and first caused great agony. From within one segment of Moravianism there arose an undue emphasis on religious quietism—a movement that was as sincere as it was ultimately paralyzing to religious life. The representatives of this quietism, known as "Stillness," over-emphasized and hence distorted the affirmation that ultimately it is God Himself who initiates the giving of grace. Therefore they counselled that the proper attitude of the seeker was complete inactivity and passive waiting for grace. This meant that the seeker was not to partake of any means of grace. For a moment even Charles Wesley wavered, yet John stood firm. It seems that of crucial importance for John Wesley's opposition to the Stillness movement was the experience of his mother, who had been led into a most profound religious experience precisely when partaking at the Lord's Supper. Other members of the early societies had had similar experiences. Such facts persuaded John Wesley to proclaim boldly:

But experience shows the gross falsehood of that assertion that the

Lord's Supper is not a converting ordinance. Ye are the witnesses. For many now present know, the very first beginning of your conversion to God (perhaps, in some, the first deep conviction) was wrought at the Lord's Supper. Now, one single instance of this kind overthrows the whole assertion. [Journal, ed. by Curnock, II,361]

Yet to state this did not mean to imply that those who had been already converted were in no need to partake of the Lord's Supper. Rather, John Wesley intended to point out that through the means of grace God proffers to men precisely the kind of grace they needed at the given juncture of their lives—"either preventing, or justifying, or sanctifying grace, according to their several necessities."

It should also be noted that it is at this point that John Wesley deepens the traditional understanding of the means of grace. The sixteenth century reformers had wanted to prevent unworthy partaking of the Lord's Supper, and hence admitted only believers. Wesley agreed that unworthy partaking would indeed bring divine judgment on the communicant, yet he defined the situation more carefully. He called attention to the fact that there were several degrees of faith, and insisted that even the lowest degree of faith was sufficient. In stating this, he did not mince words:

. . . no fitness is required at the time of communicating, but a sense of our state, of our utter sinfulness and helplessness; every one who knows he is fit for hell, being just fit to come to Christ, in this as well as all other ways of his appointment. [Journal, II,362]

The wisdom of such a qualification is obvious. The scoffer does not ever view himself as "fit for hell." Only the seeker does, and hence he who despairs, desires, and needs comfort is to be admitted. If such a seeker were to be kept away from the Lord's Supper, although affirming a doctrine of the means of grace in theory, one would be denying it in actual practice. This John Wesley was not prepared to do.

Finally we must turn more specifically to the Wesleyan understanding of the term "grace," and indicate what is actually meant when we speak about grace as a redemptive power that is received through the means of the Lord's Supper. Here we must first observe that since the Reformation Protestants have usually emphasized that grace is most clearly understood when interpreted in relational terms. All of us are familiar with Melancthon's famous dictum that "grace is not a drug, but God's friendly attitude toward us." Grace is not a "thing," it is not some kind of a divine vitamin for our souls, but a relationship to "someone," *viz.*, God Himself as He is revealed to us in Jesus Christ. Yet even this could be misunder-

stood unless we were to say that traditionally the relationship of grace is thought of in terms of an encounter. Thus looking to the New Testament we note that the relationship of the redemptive encounter between Jesus and his disciples was not terminated with the ascension. It is transformed, to be sure, yet continues through the mediating work of the Holy Spirit. And so it is with us today. Our knowledge of Jesus is not limited to mere learning about Him from the New Testament. It also includes experiencing Him through the activity of the Holy Spirit. At the same time, we must further note that this experience that we are now speaking about is most dynamic. It does not permit us to remain what we have been, but transforms us in the very depth of our being. The Holy Spirit begins and continues a divine healing process of our souls. Furthermore, we must observe that our present experience of redemption has a future dimension as well. It awakens within us a firm hope for a final redemption and eternal life in the heavenly Kingdom.

This means that an adequate doctrine of the Lord's Supper, viewing it as a means of grace, must be able to give a thorough account of the three dimensions of grace that we have just outlined, *viz.*, past, present, and future. Now this is precisely what the Wesleys undertook to accomplish. They outlined the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in terms of memorial, presence, and sacrifice, seeing these not as three separate interpretations, but as one and the same interpretation undertaken in three distinctive perspectives.

Before we turn to them in more detail, I should indicate that the Wesleys are less original in doctrine than in actual presentation. Doctrinally their positive agreement with the Church of England of their day is impressive, yet not total. What this means we can observe most clearly if we undertake to compare the original version of Brevint's treatise with John Wesley's abridgment. Then we see that John Wesley is doing more than merely abbreviating. Wherever he comes upon an expression that might be misunderstood as if affirming that the elements are intrinsically operative, he will re-write Brevint considerably. And this is not basically unfair to Brevint, because Brevint himself did not believe in the intrinsic efficacy of the elements. But at times he did use what to John Wesley looked like careless expressions which could be misunderstood. These John Wesley now removes. Hence the abridged version of Brevint which John Wesley published is a very good source for John Wesley's own position, especially since he published the abridgment together with the *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, which follow the revised

Brevint very closely. Both of these are the major, though not the only, foundations for the presentation that now follows.

— The devotional value of the Lord's Supper as *memorial* is almost unique. The elements themselves as well as their eucharistic use serve as intense representations of the atoning sacrifice of our Lord. By meditating the communicant discovers that the elements speak to him in depth and detail and evoke a response of greatest intensity:

My Lord and my God, I behold in this Bread, made of corn that was cut down, beaten, ground, and bruised by men, all the heavy blows and plagues and pains which Thou didst suffer from Thy murderers. I behold in this Bread, dried and baked with fire, the fiery wrath which Thou didst suffer from above! My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Him? The violence of wicked men first hath made Him a *Martyr*; then the fire of heaven hath made Him a *Burnt-Sacrifice*; and, lo, He has become to me the *Bread of Life*! [II,9]

The eucharistic hymn Nr. 18 puts the same insight in this way:

Lift your eyes of faith, and look
 On the signs He did ordain!
 Thus the Bread of Life was broke,
 Thus the Lamb of God was slain,
 Thus was shed on *Calvary*
 His last drop of blood for me!
 See the slaughter'd Sacrifice,
 See the altar stain'd with blood!
 Crucified before our eyes
 Faith discerns the dying God,
 Dying that our souls might live,
 Gasping at His death, Forgive!

Very aptly, J. Ernest Rattenbury has referred to the memorial view of the Lord's Supper as the "Protestant crucifix." The eucharistic bread and wine serve to recall to our minds the meaning of our Lord's death, and then, by the impact of this memory, to lead us to repentance and faith. Hence the memorial is not merely the description of a grizzly murder, but also a saving recollection of God's most merciful act of atonement. And experientially the admission of our actual participation in the murder becomes a way of our participation in the atonement as well. Thus the twin emphases of repentance and thankful joy are distinguishable but not separable. Therefore in several hymns we may note the focussing on repentance, as in hymn Nr. 23:

Hearts of stone, relent, relent,
 Break, by Jesu's cross subdued;
 See His body mangled, rent,

Cover'd with a gore of blood!
 Sinful soul, what hast thou done?
 Murder'd God's eternal Son!

Yet another hymn will find it appropriate to proclaim the fact of victory and joy—not only for Christ but for ourselves as well, as Nr. 12:

Thee, Redeemer of mankind,
 Gladly now we call to mind,
 Thankfully Thy grace approve,
 Take the tokens of Thy love.

When such a memorial is practiced devoutly and discerningly, it necessarily becomes more than a memorial, viz., a presence as well. The Lord who died on Calvary has risen from the dead and is still living, and still interceding for us, as the Epistle to the Hebrews well portrays it. Hence the faith that has been evoked through the memorial is directed not to an event that took place two thousand years ago, but to the living Lord. As such, our faith is not only our believing and trusting, but also our Lord's dynamic lifting up of our hearts to Him. Moved in the depths of our very being, we cannot help but profess:

I want and seek my Saviour Himself, and I haste to this Sacrament for the same purpose that SS. *Peter* and *John* hastened to His sepulchre—because I hope to find Him there. [IV,1]

The Wesleys had no doubts at all that such hastening would be anything but disappointing. They explicitly denied that the Lord's Supper could be a "bare" memorial only [II,7; IV,1; IV,3], i.e. that Christ could be absent from the believer at the Lord's Supper. At the same time, they took great care that the eucharistic presence of Jesus Christ would be spelled out with the necessary precision. Namely, we are not to teach that Christ would be literally enclosed within the elements. This is made very, very clear:

No local Deity
 We worship, Lord, in Thee. [Nr. 63:2]

Gross misconceit be far away!
 Through faith we on His body feed; [Nr. 71:3]

Although we are speaking about the body and blood of our Lord, and even the eating and drinking of it, we cannot mean such expressions literally. They are clearly metaphorical—yet certainly not meaningless. But what, then, is their meaning? Here the answer must be given on several levels. If considered ultimately, we must

admit that to give an answer is impossible since miracles can never be explained :

God is incomprehensible
 Shall man presume to know ;
 Fully search Him out, or tell
 His wondrous ways below ?
 Him in all His ways we find ;
How the means transmit the power—
 Here He leaves our thoughts behind,
 And faith inquires no more. [Nr. 59:1 ; cf Nr. 57]

Yet such an admission of the inability to explain the exact manner of Christ's presence is already a positive step as well. It records that we *are* confronted here with a miracle. And this miracle although subjectively experienced has an objective basis. In the heart of the believer the presence of Jesus is believed and felt :

Our hearts we open wide,
 To make the Saviour room ;
 And lo ! the Lamb, the Crucified,
 The sinner's Friend, is come !
 His presence makes the feast ;
 And now our bosoms feel
 The glory not to be exprest,
 The joy unspeakable. [Nr. 81 :2]

That such could be the experience of the heart, however, is due to the mediating role of the Holy Spirit. Let me note that the Anglican background of the Wesleys can be very well recognized in their repeated references to the New Testament story about the woman with the issue of blood as an example for the eucharistic mystery. This passage suggests at least a partial explanation of what happens in the Lord's Supper. The believer can only touch the "sacramental clothes" of Jesus Christ. Yet in doing so he has touched more ; the subjectively experienced redeeming power of Christ is objectively given to him :

Sinner, with awe draw near,
 And find thy Saviour here,
 In His ordinances still,
 Touch His sacramental clothes ;
 Present in His power to heal,
 Virtue from His body flows. [Nr.39:1]

And "virtue" of course here does not mean merely moral example. It is an archaic expression today, but when the poem was written it was a helpful synonym for "His power to heal" the sinful

soul. This is precisely what happens in the Lord's Supper and why John Wesley could call it a "converting ordinance."

At the same time, we need to recall that we just said that the attempt to describe divine grace in terms of "power" is by necessity only a partial explanation of the miracle. The reason for this is rather obvious—the term "power" is impersonal, while the encounter with Jesus Christ is personal. Therefore Wesley does not limit himself to this one example, but repeatedly speaks of the presence of Christ in most personal and devoutly intimate terms. The following are only a few examples:

Dying Friend of sinners, hear us,
Humbly at Thy cross who lie,
In Thine ordinance be near us. [Nr. 15:1]

O Thou who this mysterious bread
Didst in *Emmaus* break,
Return, herewith our souls to feed,
And to Thy followers speak. [Nr. 29:1]

Jesu, dear, redeeming Lord,
Magnify Thy dying word;
In Thy ordinance appear,
Come, and meet Thy followers here.

In the rite Thou hast enjoin'd
Let us now our Saviour find,
Drink Thy blood for sinners shed,
Taste Thee in the broken bread. [Nr. 33:1,2]

So profound is this experience that because of it the believers while still living on this earth already know what heaven is like:

How glorious is the life above,
Which in this ordinance we *taste*;
That fulness of celestial love,
That joy which shall for ever last! [Nr. 101:1]

Most important here is the realization that the basis of this anticipation of heaven is the present experience in which Christ is encountered not at a distance but in closest union with Him. As another hymn describes it:

Communion closer far I feel,
And deeper drink th' atoning blood;
The joy is more unspeakable,
And yields me larger draughts of God,
Till nature faints beneath the power,
And faith fill'd up can hold no more. [Nr. 54:5]

Here "He is ours, and we are His" [Nr. 13:2], united in "closest love" [Nr. 60:1], claimed by Christ "For Thy constant dwelling." [Nr. 78:10]

It is on the basis of such emphases in the thought of the Wesleys that we are able to speak about the Lord's Supper as a *sacrifice*. As pointed out before, references to the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice do not, strictly speaking, introduce a new subject matter. It only serves as a different perspective to underscore the rich meaning of the Lord's Supper.

One of the most valuable insights for understanding the Wesleyan view of the eucharistic sacrifice is the following statement:

. . . Christians are not crucified in the same manner as Christ was; yet because they cast themselves upon His Cross and sufferings as the only means of atonement for their sins, and salvation for their souls; because of the grief they suffer to think of the Son of God as thus dying, dying only for their sake, which is as a sword both to pierce their hearts and pierce and crucify their sins; and because their whole body of sin being thus crucified, there remains no life in them, but what is offered up to God's service. [VII,7]

John Wesley recognizes, of course, that by such a sacrifice we do not enhance the work of atonement. Therefore we must affirm that "we contribute nothing but sin." [VII,8] Our sacrifice is not required in order to enrich the atonement, but is a way by which we are enabled to partake in the benefits of the atonement. As the Christian continually offers to God himself and all that is his, including his material possession, he leads a life that anticipates and is filled with the savor of the heavenly life. In giving all, he receives all.

Because the Wesleys had such a profound view of the Lord's Supper, it should not come as a surprise to us that John Wesley could write a famous sermon entitled "The Duty of Constant Communion." When he printed this sermon in 1788, fifty-five years after it was first preached, he affirmed that his views had not changed. The two main points of this sermon we should note. First, Wesley believed that it was not optional for the Christian to decide whether or not to go to communion. Jesus Christ had commanded it, and His commands are to be obeyed. Secondly, Wesley noted that the benefits of communing are great indeed, *viz.*, "the forgiveness of our past sins, the present strengthening and refreshing of our souls." John Wesley himself practiced what he preached. According to John C. Bowmer's careful counting, John Wesley himself communed "an average of once every four or five days." [p. 55] And, naturally,

John Wesley also insisted that others practice what he preached. His statement to "Our Brethren in America," written in 1784, contains the following: "I also advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's Day." [Letters VII,239] Likewise, several cases are known where John Wesley insisted that those who obstinately persist in the neglect of the Lord's Supper cannot continue in the Methodist Societies. [Letters VIII,41; III,114]

A final word perhaps should be devoted to a brief attempt at indicating the relation of the Wesleys to the major reformers. Most directly the Wesleys are connected, of course, with the Anglican tradition. Yet when this is stated, then we also must hasten to add that the Anglican tradition is a very rich one. Although historically closest to John Calvin, it has constantly relied on insights obtained from the Early Church and hence has developed a love for rich metaphors (cf. the great similarity between Charles Wesley and St. Ignatius of Antioch in their use of the terms "body" and "blood"!), a sustained emphasis on the personal presence of Christ, and a habit of describing this in terms of the redemptive power of grace as the work of the Holy Spirit.

In comparison with Ulrich Zwingli, we recognize great similarities as well as differences. Similar is the clear emphasis on the Lord's Supper as a memorial. Different is the refusal to emphasize memorial exclusively, and radically different is the affirmation that the Lord's Supper is a means of grace, which Zwingli denied flatly.

As for comparisons to Luther, the following should be observed. The Anglican tradition as a whole has never really attempted to understand Luther. And here the Wesleys are no exception. Since the days of the Marian Exiles, the great thinkers [e.g. Jewel, Whitgift, Hooker] of the Church of England officially took the side of Zwingli, but *in fact* denied the content of Zwingli's eucharistic thought, adopting instead a sort of Calvinism enriched by the views of the Early Church. As a result, to the members of the Church of England, the term "consubstantiation" has always been, even at best, a suspected word. The same is true about most of the eucharistic categories of thought that Luther set forth, the only significant exception being his understanding of the means of grace.

Yet one should never conclude a discussion of the Wesleyan eucharistic theology by mere comparisons. This could lead us to overlook the very unique and significant contribution which was made by Charles Wesley, viz., his *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (I assume that he wrote most if not all of them). If good theology is written by the total being of the theologian, his mind joined with his

heart, then there is a special value in going beyond the form of a strict theological discourse, and breaking out in songs of praise. Then poetry is not only a respectable medium, but in fact a necessary one for a rich concern with the meaning of the Lord's Supper. My personal observation—which I make as a non-Methodist—is that no other Protestant denomination has in its possession even a remotely similar treasure of eucharistic poetry. It may well be that in this age of ecumenical concerns one of the several great contributions that Methodism could make toward a richer Protestantism would be to call better attention to these eucharistic hymns.

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The Christian's Life: Wesley's Alternative to Luther and Calvin

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It is often assumed that if there is one doctrine or point of faith on which all Protestants (our Reformed brethren having to condescend to such inexact description) agree as with one heart and mind, it is the doctrine of justification by faith and the consequential interpretation of the Christian life. Such assumptions are, of course, not entirely unfounded if they are based on the observation of our contemporary theological situation or on the obvious lack of concern for the intricacies of theological hair-splitting which is typical of laymen as well as learned in our time. In an era such as ours, when the use of theological slogans quite superficially is being identified with theological insight and when people frequently get away with subsurface theological vagueness behind a *facade* of generally acceptable terminology, it appears to be easier than ever to strike out the "minor" differences between the various Protestant and Reformed traditions and affirm that "in reality" and "in point of fact" we are all one.

Such latitudinarianism, however, is not theologically helpful. In fact, it is not at all conducive to a deeper theological penetration to assume that since Luther and Calvin, Denck and Menno, Knox and Wesley spoke of the Christian as standing in relation to God under the sign of justification by grace through faith, they all meant exactly the same thing, and that the nuances in emphasis and differences in stress which are there are to be "demythologized" as embarrassing reminders of the personal or contemporary eccentricities in which they were caught. On the contrary, it would rather sharpen our perspective and make our Protestant/Reformed tradition richer in meaning if we would seek to clarify how these men differed even at the points where they were most closely at one.

Such an endeavor would not necessarily be an exercise in theological bigotry, inevitably resulting in a further fragmentization of our precarious Protestant unity. It might instead add meaning to our divisions and clear the perspective for seeing the real values behind these divisions. We would discover, perhaps, that the commonplace agreement which we seem to have found in the interpretation of justification and the Christian life is not fully representative

of the men from whom our common tradition springs. We might even come to see that the various founders made some distinctive and significant contributions to theology.

In the following we shall look quite shortly at the interpretations of the Christian life that can be found in Luther, Calvin, and Wesley. It is not our purpose, of course, simply to set certain formulations and interpretations in sharp contrast to each other, and to pronounce dogmatically which is the right one. Rather, our intention is to see if there are any distinctive emphases here and there which would indicate some significant difference in the understanding of the Christian life. We may have to take a stand at the end as to which of these interpretations strikes us as more meaningful to the individual believer and most consistent with the characteristic affirmations of the Christian faith, but in taking a stand in this respect we shall need to remember that any such position is subject to counter-argumentation and correction.

It is necessary, for the sake of clarity, to define first the perspective under which we shall look at the three men's thought. There are many and various possibilities. We could, for instance, choose a single point as criterion for the evaluation of the various interpretations of the Christian life. It might be a theological principle, such as the *agape*-concept, or an experiential criterion, such as the dramatic experience of conversion. Or it might be a more "practical" standard, such as the imitation of Christ. The problem with such an approach, however, is that it tends to be dogmatic and stale, because the nature of Christianity and the essence of the Christian life are expressed in a single, predefined point. This in itself is a preposterous assumption to start off with, of course, and anyone who wants to follow such a procedure should be prepared to be called on the carpet to defend the criterion within which he sees the essence of Christianity determined.

The same is essentially the case if one chooses to set up a dialectic contrast or a polarity principle as criterion. When a man's thought is evaluated and classified in relation to which of two opposing 'poles' is found predominant in his theological pronouncements, and one of the poles is seen to be the true Christian emphasis while the other pole represents its opposite, one is still liable to the charge that one has predefined in a dogmatic way what true faith and doctrine is. Such perspectives are evident in Anders Nygren's *agape* and *eros* dualism,¹ in Gustaf Aulen's contrast of theocentricity and egocen-

1. See Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, Westminster, 1953.

tricity,² and in Karl Barth's drastic distinction of theocentricity and anthropocentricity.³ Each of these theologians seems to be eminently able to evaluate his subjects and place men in separate categories—and usually there are only two groups, “in” or “out”. However, they place themselves in great difficulties when they have to defend their own theological perspectives.

A much better approach to investigations of this sort is to take a perspective which is “open” or to formulate a methodological principle which is purely formal and which does not in itself define what the essential Christian position is, but which leaves room for a spectrum of positions and clarifies in what sense the various positions are related to each other. Such principles might be drawn from Ernst Troeltsch's church/world polarity,⁴ by which the various systems of thought are identified as “church-type”, “sect-type”, or “mystical”, or from H. Richard Niebuhr's Christ/culture typology,⁵ in which two extreme positions, namely complete rejection of culture on the part of the Christian on the one hand and perfect identification on the other hand, are interspersed with the mediating positions of “Christ above culture”, “Christ and culture in paradox”, and “Christ converting culture”. The difficulty with such perspectives, however, is that they easily tend to become “one-dimensional”, taking into account only those elements within a man's or a movement's total thought which have a bearing within this one dimension. Such a perspective, consequently, can very easily result in a complete misrepresentation of a man's view as a whole, although it may give a fairly accurate classification of one dimension of it.

In order to avoid such unhappy consequences here, we shall choose an approach which might be called “three-dimensional”, by which we shall look at the theology of Luther, Calvin, and Wesley within the framework of three different dimensions, dealing with three different relationships. Our central focus falls on the understanding of the Christian life, *i.e.* the Christian's interpretation of his own personal existence under God. If one analyzes the various elements which enter into such an interpretation of life, one discovers that the Christian stands within a threefold tension: He stands in the tension between time and eternity, the thisworldly and the other-

2. Gustaf Aulen, *The Faith of the Christian Church*, Muhlenberg, 1960, pp. 19 ff.

3. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, Vol. I, I, T. & T. Clark, 1960, pp. 19 ff., 143 ff., 226 ff.; especially pp. 241, 245 ff.

4. See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, Macmillan, 1931.

5. See H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, Harper, 1951.

worldly, or as it might be expressed in traditional terms, between earth and heaven. Again, he finds himself in the tension of motive and action, the inward and the outward, or as theologians usually call it, of faith and works. And thirdly, he is caught up in the tension of the sacred and the secular, the religious community and society in general, or as it is usually described, the church and the world. It is our assumption that each individual Christian believer will inevitably have to seek some sort of balance within this three-dimensional dialectic of tension, and that the character of his life will be determined by the way he defines his situation within these three dimensions.

How do Luther, Calvin and Wesley define the situation of the Christian within the dimension of the thisworldly and the otherworldly, in the dialectic of earth and heaven?⁶

For Luther, the Christian's life in this world involves him in an ambiguous situation. On the one hand, Luther is concerned to point out that the world is a fallen and sinful world, caught in the grasp of the devil and sin and death, standing in moral and spiritual opposition to God's will, and therefore liable to God's judgment and wrath. Natural man, and in Luther's opinion man is always "natural" so long as he is in the body, lives in this world as a helpless slave under the laws of lust and sin and death; and with the holy commands of God presented to him in the law, he knows his position to be ever more hopeless and desperate. However, and this marks the other side to Luther's view, when faith is given to man and he believes God's grace, he has already passed through the moment of judgment and is counted for righteous quite apart from and in spite of his involvement in a world separated from God. Henceforth he can live his life in the assurance of faith. The fact that he is caught up in the evil orders of the world does not disparage the fact of his justified state. In fact, the man of faith, who lives in trust to God, can almost feel "at home" in the world; as *simul iustus et peccator* he belongs to both world and heaven at the same time. His soul and spirit live in trust and faith to God; his flesh and body are of necessity a part of the sinful and corrupt order. It cannot be otherwise, for the corrupt and sinful order is an integral part of him. There is no possible transformation of this double involvement of the Christian until at the end of his life his soul is released from the power of the flesh.

6. Due to limitation of space, the following delineations will not be fully footnoted and documented. We feel justified in omitting this because our purpose here is to suggest a perspective, not to present research facts.

For the time being, however, the Christian lives his life in the realm of sin, trusting only in God's good grace for righteousness.

It is not necessary to make a deep incision into Luther's thought before discovering the nerve of his understanding. In his strong emphasis on justification by grace through faith alone, Luther has not guarded himself closely enough against its more undesirable consequences. His view of the Christian's situation in the dialectic of the thisworldly and the otherworldly shows a doublesided involvement, but the dialectical tension in the situation is really released in the sense that the Christian seems to accommodate himself to the necessities of this present order of things. The believer actually accepts the world as the inevitable and evil context of his earthly life, and so his citizenship which is in heaven is momentarily capitulated to his citizenship on earth, or at least indefinitely suspended until he is delivered from his earthly bondage. It is easily understood, on this background, why eschatology is not a strong motif in Luther's thought.

When we come to Calvin, however, the picture becomes a different one. Here, the sharp dialectical tension between earth and heaven, the thisworldly and the otherworldly, is clearly recognized, but the Christian—according to Calvin—takes his stand within this dimension on the side of the eternal, showing a definite attitude of depreciation for the present life. In fact, says Calvin, one will not have a serious appreciation for the eternal life until one has learned to despise the present life. It is not, of course, Calvin's view that the Christian should turn against his Creator in ingratitude for his gift of life. Our hatred to the world, rather, and Calvin uses the word "hatred", should only be there in so far as the world involves us in sin. The golden rule for our relationship to the world and the necessities of life in it should be "to use the world as if one used it not."

It is immediately apparent that, while Luther shows a tendency to have the Christian accommodate himself to the necessities of life in an evil world order, Calvin places the Christian in sharp opposition to this present world. The presupposition for Calvin's clear otherworldly emphasis is obviously the view that the world in itself is evil and of necessity involves us in sin. The Christian, therefore, should do what he can to guard himself against the evil influences of this world by using the world, in Calvin's terms, "as little as possible", curbing luxury, guarding against the lusts of the flesh, cutting off all show of superfluous abundance.

Now, where does Wesley stand on the question of the Christian's relationship to earth and heaven, the thisworldly and the other-

worldly? The presuppositions on which Wesley's view of the world is based are to be found in his clear emphasis on the doctrines of creation and fall, as well as his concept of the cosmic significance of redemption and prevenient grace. The world, to Wesley, is a work of God both in its creation and in its recreation, and there are forces at work in this world which are more than adequate to outweigh the tragic consequence of the fall. Life in this world, then, is not necessarily a life in separation from God and in bondage under the power of evil. There is a possibility to fight the evil in the power of Christ and to live here a life in victory and freedom. Life "in the flesh" does not immediately and necessarily mean a "fleshly" life, for there are forces at work in the believer by which the "fleshly" aspects of his life "in the flesh" can be overcome. The Christian, therefore, does not need to capitulate to the world so as to accommodate himself to a dual life, worldly from the perspective of the world, righteous from the perspective of faith. Neither does he need to flee from the world and concentrate on the expectation of the world to come, fixing the time of his deliverance in some indefinite future. He can already now taste the power and the blessing of life eternal.

It is significant to note that when Wesley speaks of "the world" he does not refer to the outward frame of things, setting the earth and everything upon it in necessary conflict with heaven. He says, rather, that it is the inhabitants of the earth, godless and sinful men, who make the visible world have an evil quality. The Christian, then, should not disclaim the world as such, but rather stay away from the worldly spirit which is in those who belong to this world only. It is in this perspective that Wesley says the world is far from being the soul's rightful home. A soul which is conformed to this world, that is to the spirit which is in those who are taken in by this world, is *eo ipso* not a Christian soul. For this spirit of the worldly is lustful, fallen, corrupt. The Christian soul, whose direction is Godward, will not conform to the spirit of the worldly. His standard is set higher, his soul has a new principle within. The spirit which is at work in him is God's Spirit, transforming him from the likeness of the world to the glory of the likeness of God.

There is, then, no hysteria in Wesley's thought with regard to the material world and the bodily life. The evil does not sit in the things visible, but in the hearts of men. The material may become an "occasion" for sin; it may represent a temptation which leads men to fall. But this is only because of the desires and lusts and pride and presumption that are embedded in the heart of unholy men. For

those who desire nothing but God, who have the single eye to God's will and glory, the earth is God's and life on it is meaningful.

One further observation should be made in this connection. One finds little direct stress in Wesley's thought on eschatology and the world to come. He does proclaim the final judgment as a time of reckoning, and he charges his hearers to live responsibly while they are in the flesh, because they shall be judged according to that which they did in the flesh. However, the eternal is set in tension to the present, not in terms of chronological sequence, but rather—as one would expect it to be expressed in the 1960's—in an existential dialectic. Thus it becomes apparent that while Luther, as we have indicated, shows a tendency toward accommodation to the world in terms of a dualism in the interpretation of the believer's situation; and Calvin tends to stress a rejection of the world, seeking to lead the Christian away from involvement in the world by way of a clear otherworldly emphasis; Wesley seems to have found a way to hold earth and heaven together in an attitude which might be termed "innerworldly otherworldliness" and which places the Christian in a dialectic which is meaningful in both directions, both in relation to the world and in relation to heaven. Thus, the tension which the Christian experiences in the dimension of the thisworldly and the otherworldly is not released in Wesley's thought in favor of a dualistic accommodation; nor is it upset by a disproportionate emphasis on one of the contrasting poles. Wesley has managed to keep the tension unweakened and in balance. And this is a significant contribution to Christian theology.

Going on to consider the second dimension which we have formulated, in which the Christian believer stands in a relationship of tension, namely the dimension of motive and action, the inward and the outward, or of faith and works, we find Luther to offer us another ambiguous picture. The key to his view, it would seem, is to be found in his own experience of guilt, moral inability, and fear of God's righteous wrath. In this situation, Luther discovered for himself the utter vanity of all his works, his strivings, and his aspirations. In his agonizingly deep-plowing spiritual upheaval, Luther finally saw that his works availed to nothing, but that righteousness was revealed in Christ for those who believe, namely the righteousness of God, given to the sinner by grace through faith. This, for Luther, relieved the believer from the "curving of the self in upon itself", in which he was formerly striving to establish his own righteousness. Instead, says Luther, God reveals his righteousness upon man without works, by faith alone. Thus man is free. However, out

of this inner freedom and assurance of forgiveness, there springs, says Luther, and we shall mark this well, a new kind of works, works of gratitude and love in response to God's goodness and mercy.

From this perspective one should expect to find in Luther a fully dialectical tension of faith and works, the inward and the outward. The fact is, however, that Luther's concern focuses more on the inward motivation than on the outward manifestations and works. It is not the *what* of the Christian's outward actions which is important. The *how* is, and the motivation which characterizes the *how* is hidden within. Outwardly, there is actually nothing peculiar about a Christian. He does all the ordinary things that men do in quite an ordinary way; his being a Christian is essentially an inward and secret thing. In fact, what he is or is not outwardly has no immediate bearing on what he is inwardly, in his faith-relationship to God.

At this point it becomes apparent that the full dialectic of faith and works is impinged upon by Luther. There is, certainly, a clear and consistent emphasis on the inward aspect of the Christian life, but the corresponding concern for its outward aspects is not as prominent. We find, in fact, an unusually strong tendency in Luther to urge a constant self-examination so as to see whether one's faith and trust are "right". This stress on right trust, or "right cleaving of the heart", is so great that Luther actually stands in danger of making faith into trust in one's own trust. Furthermore, from the emphasis on examining the heart, the step is dangerously short to the position that it is of first importance also that a man's head be right. And Luther does put stress on having a "right faith" and a "right doctrine".

One contributing factor in the breakdown of the full dialectic of faith and work in Luther's views is his interpretation of the Christian's state as *simul iustus et peccator*. The underlying presuppositions for such an interpretation are to be found, of course, in Luther's conception of justification and sanctification. Whether Luther's view of justification is "synthetic" and forensic, as some interpreters say, or it is "analytic" and gradual, as other scholars claim, it is difficult to find in his delineations any definite and significant difference between justification and sanctification. At any rate, Luther's view of sanctification is never allowed to tear loose from its anchorage within the principal view of the Christian as *simul iustus et peccator*. And so, it is apparent that not even sanctification, in Luther's view, means that the power of the devil in the flesh is broken, and that the outward aspects of the believer's life show a direct correlation with the new life principle governing the regenerated

and restored soul. From this perspective it is quite right, as has been pointed out, especially by Roman Catholic scholars, that Luther's doctrine of the believer's state in terms of *simul iustus et peccator* means the death-sentence to Christian ethics. For in Luther's view the Christian's works, even the works of gratitude and love to God, are subject to the rule of the Old Adam in the flesh.

When one moves on from the ambiguities in Luther's views within the dimension of the inward and the outward to consider Calvin's position, one immediately becomes aware of a much clearer emphasis in both directions. There seems, at least at first glance, to be both unweakened tension and even balance within the dialectic of faith and works.

Calvin is obviously in line with all Reformation thought in his emphasis on man's fall and utter inability to free himself from the plight of his sin. There is no room for work-righteousness in Calvin. With regard to the Kingdom of God and spiritual discernment men are, he says, "blinder than moles". Man must be saved, justified, and created anew solely by the grace of God as set forth in Christ. Calvin's view of justification, however, has a slightly different slant than we find in Luther and Wesley. For Calvin, faith is closer to obedience than to trust. Justification, then, is not so much a synthetic or forensic event, by which man's relationship to God is ultimately and finally settled in terms of imputed righteousness; it rather marks an initial change in man's God-relationship, by which he becomes aware that he is reconciled to God in that God has shown himself through Christ to be man's gracious Father. This new realization is, in Calvin's view, the beginning of salvation. It becomes the starting-point of a new life of obedience, in which justification is gradually transfused into the breast of man and passes on into his conduct, transforming man into the likeness of its own image and nature.

At this point we shall want to note Calvin's tremendous emphasis on the law of God as having its principal and proper use for believers, in whose hearts the spirit of God reigns. When Calvin sets forth the "true Scripture method" by which a pious man may be taught how to frame his life right, he states as the foundation principle that we must be holy because God is holy. He does not, of course, mean to say that it is by the merit of holiness that we come into communion with God. Rather, we ought first to cleave to Him in order that we, pervaded with *His* holiness, may follow where He calls us. However, this holiness can only come to us by constant struggle, by

self-renunciation and self-denial, by eradicating all ambition and doing good to all without exception.

We need have no doubt, then, that Calvin upholds a dialectic tension within the dimension of faith and works, the inward and the outward. What can be discussed, however, is whether or not one or the other elements of this dialectic receives such emphasis as to upset the ideal balance. It seems as if the element of inwardness, motivation, and faith, or the concern for the inner recreation and renewal of man, is left with a somewhat weaker stress in Calvin's thought than what is given to the outward obedience to God's law in words, deeds and attitudes. One recognizes that it is difficult to speak of "inwardness" and "outwardness" in this connection, for the law, according to Calvin, is calling for obedience in inward motivations as well as in outward actions. However, it appears quite safe to say that Calvin is characterized by his emphasis on the active works of the law manifest in the obedience of one's life rather than the trustful passivity of faith fulfilled in the inward communion of the spirit with God. The question might thus be raised whether Calvin's view at this point retains a full and well-balanced dialectic tension of faith and works.

When one moves on to consider Wesley's views within this dimension, one is immediately struck by his obvious and almost instinctive ability to hold motive and action, the inward and the outward, faith and works together in a balanced and creative tension. To him, the one-sided extremities of the antinomians were as repulsive as the opposite misunderstandings of the legalists and moralists. Faith without works is dead indeed, and works without faith are of no value whatever. God is the one who brings justification to the soul by grace through faith, but in justification there is at the same time a regeneration into a new spirit and a new life. This new creation in the inner man will lead to the sanctification of man in his outward works also; the essence of sanctification, "the perfection in love", is an actual and present possibility both in the inward relationship to God and the outward relationship to men.

It belongs to Wesley's view of the power of God for salvation and sanctification that he believed God able to do this work in the flash of a moment. However, God does not force Himself upon man. Only to the degree that a man believes and yields to God's grace can it become saving and sanctifying grace. There is, therefore, no room for a one-sided quietistic passivism in Wesley's view. Neither did he represent an optimistic progressivism, seeing the believer as working himself constantly upward toward full likeness with Christ.

There is, in fact, no unrealistic perfectionism in Wesley's thought. His interpretation of sanctification as the perfection of intention, a circumcision of the heart, or perfection in love, the inward transformation which will be evidenced by a corresponding outward transformation, does not exclude the fact of sin in the believer. Such sin may occur, as a result of bodily weakness, lack of insight, failure in judgment, etc. Only by reference to Wesley's own definition of sin as the conscious and willing opposition to God's will or as a willful breaking of a known divine law, can the Christian be said to be free of sin. And this, only so long as he stands in faith and remains in a full commitment to God.

We find, then, that Wesley is as much concerned with the inner experience as with the outward living and *vice versa*. The full dialectic of this dimension of the Christian life comes to expression in his dual emphasis on conversion and discipline, as well as in his double stress on the initiative of God and the free responsibility of man. Again, it is obvious that in his proclamation of free grace Wesley does not dispense with the law; nor does he emphasize the law to the effect that his full evangelical concept of free grace is compromised.

At this point one is becoming aware of a striking difference between Luther, Calvin, and Wesley. For Luther, justification involves a change in man's position under God. Instead of living under the cloud of God's judgment the believer is now covered under the shelter of grace and forgiveness. Man will always stand in the place of judgment, for he is necessarily and helplessly involved in sin. However, in this situation of judgment Christ covers him, so that by the atoning grace of Christ the believer is justified, that is, "held for righteous", treated *as if* he were righteous. As a matter of fact, however, he is always a sinner, having no righteousness at all which can be ascribed as his own. For Wesley, on the other hand, justification does not merely remove the burden of man's guilt and shelter him from God's wrath; it also takes hold of man's inner being so as to change his motives and desires and make him a new man altogether. He is not only forgiven; he is reborn, restored to the life which he was intended to live; and with this new life principle not only his inward experience but also his outward living are in correspondence.

In Calvin's view, the moment of justification and forgiveness marks the starting-point of a long and hard struggle in which man strives to reach greater and greater conformation with the commands and directives of the Almighty. The Christian can never be said to have "arrived". His reconciliation to God does not immediately

result in a complete reformation of the inner and outer life of man; this is largely his own task as he lives in grateful response to the initial and continuing forgiveness of God and in complete obedience to the new law within the gospel. Along the way he is, of course, upheld by God's constant grace and sustained by the sure promises of the Almighty. But, it seems that the "teleological" aspects of Christian ethics dominate Calvin's view. Wesley, on the other hand, gives a clearer "deontological" character to his delineation of the Christian life. For Calvin, the emphasis falls more on the responsibility of the believer to conform his life to God's will as expressed in the law and the gospel, while for Wesley the dominating theme seems to be the grand work of God by which man's life is transformed from its core so as to produce these fruits of obedience and virtue. The difference here might well be seen to be minor. It may, when all things are said, boil down to nothing but a difference in emphasis. Yet it is of basic importance to our contemporary theological situation that these differences are understood.

We come now to consider the third dimension within which, as we have said, the Christian stands in a dialectic tension, namely the dimension of the sacred and the secular, the religious community and society in general, or—as it is usually described—the church and the world. Once again we find Luther to be guilty of lessening the full dialectic tension involved, this time by way of a dualism within which the Christian man accommodates himself to living in two different and disparate spheres. It is true, Luther does see that the Christian is "called out" of the world, and that, as he is revived in the inner springs of his action, he is called upon to act Christianly within society in general. But if one investigates closer, one will find that the Christian in society is to act, essentially and in most respects, in accordance with the laws and rules which govern that society, and not to seek to live there according to the gospel. For magistrates and authorities in the administration of their various offices, the commands of the Christian law and the directives of the gospel of Christ do not apply; these directives give no guidance in regard to the techniques of government and the practice of professions within the social, economic, and political field. They belong to quite another sphere, and one should not attempt to transfer their standards to a sphere needing a different kind of standard. This would mean to make the gospel into a new law, and nothing could be more repulsive to Luther.

Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms, the temporal and the spiritual realms, will only with great difficulty avoid the charge of

dualistic compartmentalization. The only factor which may alleviate such a charge is that the Christian, in Luther's view, stands under the single command of obedience to God within both realms. However, when the lines are drawn out more sharply, one finds in Luther a lack of emphasis on the social responsibilities of the Christian *as a Christian* and on the responsibilities of the Christian community *as such* toward the larger community of men. In fact, a Christian, according to Luther, finds the meaning of life in doing all the things of the spirit, described in Scripture, as well as all the ordinary things of this life, those demanded by the society in which he lives. Any kind of vocation, then, is a Christian vocation if it is carried out by a man who lives in constant repentance and trust in God. The Christian, in other words, is a man who lives in the realm of sin under the sign of grace.

One need not argue much further to show that the full dialectic tension between being "called out" and being "sent out" is broken down within Luther's thought at this point. The presupposition for Luther's view is obviously his acceptance of the idea of the *corpus Christianum*. On its basis the two kingdoms become "the two swords", representing God's rule in two equally important ways. Those engaged in the matters of the community at large are as equally the servants of the Almighty as are those who stand in the service of the community of faith. The *corpus Christianum* is all-inclusive and all-encompassing, and the two swords, however different, are both swung by the will of God.

In evaluating Luther's view, then, it must be said that he seems again to have released the tension involved in the dialectic of the Christian life, this time in the dimension of the sacred and the secular, the church and the world. He actually makes it impossible to speak meaningfully of the Christian church as "the new community", a remade humanity that has been drawn out of the world, made one under a new life principle, and then planted back within the world as a leaven in the larger dough.

When one approaches Calvin with the question of the relation of the sacred and the secular, the community of faith and the community in general, one finds that he is somewhat clearer, in comparison to Luther, in the recognition of the dialectic tension involved and that he does not intend to resolve the tension nor destroy the dialectic. However, it appears that the full balance of his view within this dimension is impinged upon by the strong otherworldly emphases which we have noted above. Calvin accepts as a basic presupposition the essential difference between the two "governments",

the Kingdom of God and the civil realm, and in delineating their specific character he holds them strictly apart, both with respect to authority and function. The Christian, who stands under the authority of God, is a part of both communities. His obedience to God directs his life both in the spiritual realm, the Kingdom of God, and in the civil realm, the human society. Thus it appears that the dialectical tension is intact at this point. When one scrutinizes more closely what Calvin says about the civil government, however, it appears that its function is purely negative. It is established, says Calvin, for the sake of evil in the world, and it serves merely as a dam for the flood-wave of sin. There can be no question of trying to build a Kingdom of God on earth. The larger community of men will never conform to the standards of the Kingdom. The Kingdom of God will come and extinguish the present life, and then the civil government will be entirely superfluous. Thus, it is only in the meantime, so long as it is necessary, that men are under the authority of a civil government which makes claims and provisions, uses force and exhortations to bring about a righteousness necessary for the good of society.

In summation, despite Calvin's role as leader of the Genevan theocracy, it is quite apparent that he did not intend to offer a real alternative of social, political, or economic ethics. His emphasis fell, after all, on the community of believers, and the otherworldly tendency which we found in the dimension of the thisworldly and the otherworldly seems to have sifted across to influence his view of the church in its relation to the world and his interpretation of the community in general, its government and its future.

Going on, finally, to Wesley's view of the Christian's life within the dimension of the secular and the sacred, the church and the world, one finds what might easily be characterized as a strong and vehement emphasis on the Christian's involvement in both directions. On the one hand, one cannot possibly miss his great concern for the inner strength and integrity of the community of believers. The Christian was clearly seen to be called out from the mass of people, set apart within a "society" and a "class" which would nurture and strengthen his faith and commitment and foster in him the desire for a holy life. For Wesley, Scriptural holiness would mean a shunning of the unholy, whether unholy things or unholy men. There is a definite and distinct separation between Christians and others; the believer is informed by an entirely different life principle, and he will constantly be on guard against the danger of conforming to the standards of the world.

On the other hand, however, there is in Wesley an unequivocal emphasis on the responsibility of the Christian individually and the church corporately toward the community in general. The separation from the world was not a flight from responsibility. Nor was it possible for Wesley to find satisfaction in a dualistic conception of "the two swords." The *corpus Christianum* meant for him not a rationale for turning the responsibility for man's common life over to those whose vocation it was to govern and administer society; it became, rather, the basis for stressing the social, economic, educational, cultural, political, and humanitarian responsibilities resting on the Christian believer and the Christian community as such. His referring to the traditional description of the two realms as "the two swords" did not mean for Wesley that there is any fundamental difference in the principles guiding the arms that swing the swords; it was rather a way of expressing that although the swords are different their ultimate purposes are the same. Wesley did not speculate in terms of political power and social influence, however. The reformation of society would spring from the reformation of men. It is from the religious community that the new community of the world shall spring. The Christian society was to be as a leaven set "to spread Scriptural holiness throughout the land." It would serve, in many respects, as a "society for the reformation of manners." From it would spring both judgment and guidance in matters of moral and spiritual import.

It should be pointed out, in all fairness, that Wesley's own political conservatism and aristocratic class-consciousness need not be held too sharply against him as a discredit to his concerns. After all, any man is a child of his time and training in the attitudes he takes to the detailed problems of social, economic, and political denomination. The Christian gospel does not prescribe a specific Christian view in these matters, except as it lays the foundations for answering the moral and spiritual questions involved. And so, even though one may not agree with Wesley's approach to the various aspects of life within the community at large, still his sense of Christian social responsibility, his courageous moral pronouncements, his practical humanitarian initiative, and his strong personal example will nevertheless impress one as quite remarkable. The dialectic tension between being "called out", set apart as a sacred community, and being "sent out", charged with the task of reforming the community at large, is kept strong and undiminished in Wesley's thought. And this, one might say, is again an important theological contribution.

We began this study, a long while ago, by referring to the easy

superficiality with which we refer to our common Protestant Reformed tradition. Perhaps it would be helpful to our understanding of the richness of this tradition if we did manage to point out, without ill feelings and bickering, the points at which the founders of this tradition did differ and on which we must still take a strong stand. Perhaps even, in being true to what we see as the significant contribution of our particular branch of this tradition, we may be able to accept the values which have been brought into the common Protestant/Reformed tradition from other branches of it.

In any case, there is no need for the people called Methodists to hide behind a figleaf of common Protestant denominators. If we took the trouble of investigating our closets we might come out with a theological garb which is both sensible and respectable.

Toward the Renewal of Faith and Nurture - I

McMURRY S. RICHEY

When the historian of American Christianity surveys the course of Protestant religious education in the first third of this century, he may well take a cue from two major addresses in the 1903 constituting convention of the Religious Education Association in Chicago. One was by a professor of philosophy and psychology who became the leading philosopher of religious education—George Albert Coe. Speaking on “Religious Education as a Part of General Education,” Coe declared that “analysis of human consciousness . . . reveals the idea of God as implicit in the whole of our conscious life . . . that religion is an essential factor in human personality, and that, therefore, a place must be found for religious education within general education.”¹ But such common ground meant also for Coe that “All the results of modern progress in educational philosophy, methods, and organization belong to the home and the church as much as to the state schools.”² Another principal address was by John Dewey, foremost philosopher of progressive education, on “Religious Education as Conditioned by Modern Psychology and Pedagogy.”³ These two titles, by the key thinkers in religious and secular education, presaged increasing assimilation of liberal religious nurture to progressive educational philosophy in the emergence of “progressive religious education,” the influential left wing of a varied and burgeoning American movement of the next three decades.⁴

The same historian, proceeding to the middle period of the century, may find the further course of religious education as aptly epitomized by three titles from yet another spokesman, H. Shelton Smith: “Let Religious Educators Reckon with Barthians” (1933),⁵

[The first of two essays on the contribution of H. Shelton Smith to contemporary Christian Education.]

1. *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the Religious Education Association* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 46-47.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-65.

4. See H. Shelton Smith, “Christian Education,” in Arnold S. Nash, editor, *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century: Whence and Whither?* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), pp. 229 ff.

5. *Religious Education*, XXIX, No. 1 (January, 1934), pp. 45-50.

"Theological Reconstruction in Religious Education" (1939),⁶ and "Evangelical Christian Nurture" (1948).⁷ These titles are indices to phases of theological soul-searching and the beginnings of renewal of Christian education in this middle period. If Coe and Dewey were the acknowledged masters of the progressive movements, Smith is the pivotal figure in this *metanoia* of religious education. It is the purpose of this article and its sequel to signalize the role of H. Shelton Smith in this continuing movement of theological critique, reconstruction, and renewal of Christian nurture.

One of his former colleagues at Duke University, Professor Albert C. Outler, has interpreted the contribution of Shelton Smith in terms of the realization of his three great dreams or purposes: the establishment of a new center of graduate study in religion; the fostering of ecumenical study and ecumenicity in the churches; and the development of scholarship in American Christianity as a major academic field. But surely no less close to Shelton Smith's heart has been a *fourth* purpose, heralded in those articles, trenchantly expressed in his first book, and continuing over two decades since: *the renewal of an authentically Christian nurture*. That he was chief spokesman in the critical phase of that renewal is generally acknowledged; that he sought to preserve gains of liberal theology and progressive educational thought in the course of theological reconstruction is less widely recognized; that he pointed the way for constructive advance, and contributed to it, is often denied; that others have moved far along that way toward the renewal of Christian nurture—the realization of Shelton Smith's fourth major purpose—may come as unexpectedly good news to those unfamiliar with this aspect of our continuing theological renaissance. It would seem appropriate to take special notice of these facts at this time of Dr. Smith's retirement as the honored James B. Duke Professor of American Religious Thought, and especially appropriate that the principal figure in the development of the history of American religious thought as an academic discipline be accorded a chapter of his own—a chapter on his contribution to that other discipline of Christian education from which his historical studies grew.

RECKONING WITH BARTHIANS

When Shelton Smith adjured his colleagues in the 1933 Religious Education Association convention to "reckon with Barthians," he

6. *Christendom*, IV, No. 4 (Autumn, 1939), pp. 565-574.

7. *Religion in Life*, XVII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 549-558.

was bearing witness to his own conversion in theological allegiance. When he had left Yale University with a Ph.D. in 1923, to direct leadership education for the newly formed International Council of Religious Education, he was closer to Dewey and Coe than to his more moderate liberal mentors such as theologian Douglas Clyde Macintosh and religious educator Luther A. Weigle.⁸ As he joined the faculty of Teachers' College, Columbia University, in 1928, taking the chair of philosophy of religious education vacated by Coe's retirement, he eagerly made use of Henry Nelson Wieman's *Religious Experience and Scientific Method*⁹ and *The Wrestle of Religion with Truth*,¹⁰ along with Dewey's *Democracy and Education*.¹¹ When he returned the next year to Yale Divinity School as associate professor of religious education, he had moved far from Weigle in the direction of naturalistic humanism.

But his ardent progressivism was already being undermined. He had gone to Teachers' College under contract with the Abingdon Press for a book on the philosophy of leadership development. There and at Yale he wrote half or more of the book but could not see it through; he finally destroyed the manuscript and cancelled the contract in dissatisfaction with his views. Two kinds of reading were preparing the way for a change. Weigle and Coe had pointed him to Horace Bushnell; but Smith pushed beyond Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* to his theological works, and beyond these to Hopkins, Jonathan Edwards, and the Puritans, makers of American thought far different from Coe's or Dewey's. He read also, though "fightingly," Douglas Horton's translation of Karl Barth, *The Word of God and the Word of Man*,¹² and Emil Brunner, *The Theology of Crisis*.¹³

His own theological crisis came in 1931 while he was teaching at Union Theological Seminary, New York, in a joint Union-Yale summer session. The shock of recognition came from a new book—

8. These data and interpretations, and those to follow, come from personal conversations with H. Shelton Smith—and without even a warning that what he said might be "used against him"! His thorough assimilation of experimentalist methodology may be seen in two articles of these early years with the International Council and at Teachers' College: "Laboratory Foundations of Leadership Training," *Religious Education*, XXII, No. 1 (January, 1927), pp. 37-40; and "How One Church Faced Its Educational Task," *Religious Education*, XXIV, No. 1 (January, 1929), pp. 75-79.

9. Macmillan, 1927.

10. Macmillan, 1928.

11. Macmillan, 1916.

12. Pilgrim Press, 1928.

13. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927.

Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism, by John L. Childs,¹⁴ a faithful disciple of John Dewey. Childs made more explicit than had Dewey the metaphysics of empirical naturalism implied in the experimentalist educational methods which religious educators had adopted, and sought to disengage such methodology from traditional philosophical and theological world views which experimentalism had repudiated.¹⁵ This clear and forthright disavowal of residual theological elements in progressive religious education provoked Shelton Smith to walk down the hall at Union and declare to his Yale colleague, Robert L. Calhoun, "If this is what it comes to, then I've got to do it all over." The time had come for him to reckon with Barth, but also with the history of American thought to see where it had gone astray, and with the ethos of the South to which he returned in moving to Duke University that fall.

When he was assigned to represent the Barthian theology before the Religious Education Association two years later, he was expected to do so not as a recognized proponent but as a sort of *advocatus diaboli* among confident fellow liberal progressives. But Smith had meanwhile imbibed the heady theological wine of Barth's *Romans*, and more of Emil Brunner, as well as interpretations of Barth by Pauck and McConnachie;¹⁶ and Barth had spoken to his condition. With what force and fervor he must have proclaimed Barth's critique of his own former liberalism, his students can vividly imagine. "Religious educators must reckon with Barthianism," he declared, not only because of its theological popularity, vitality, and truth, but because of its direct challenge to religious education. Barthians were accusing religious educators of "being on the wrong theological track," and religious education of working on presuppositions inconsistent with New Testament teaching. Although Barth stressed the importance of Christian education, his "evangelical pedagogics" ran "at cross-currents with liberal religious education in America." "Religious educators may not welcome the sharp shafts of Barthian criticism," warned Smith. "Nevertheless, all is not well with religious education. This is no time to shut our eyes to light

14. Century Company, 1931.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46, 49.

16. His published address, in *Religious Education*, January, 1934, cites Barth's *Word of God and Word of Man* and Brunner's *Theology of Crisis* (already noted above); Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, translated by E. C. Hoskyns (Oxford University Press, 1933); Emil Brunner, *The Word and the World* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931); John McConnachie, *The Barthian Theology and the Man of Today* (Harper & Brothers, 1933); and Wilhelm Pauck, *Karl Barth, Prophet of a New Christianity?* (Harper & Brothers, 1931).

from any source. The first evidence of decay in any movement is at the point where its protagonists resent or ignore criticism."¹⁷

Those "sharp shafts of Barthian criticism" were aimed at the very vitals of liberal thought. "Nothing is more important to Barthians than to rescue religion from the slough of Humanist subjectivism," Smith could say with obviously confessional reference:

Under the combined influences of philosophical idealism, historicism, evolutionism, and psychologism, God has, they think, been progressively dethroned while man has progressively elevated himself until he has superseded God. For theocentric culture, liberalism has substituted anthropocentric culture; for the rule of God, the rule of man. Under this process, religion has experienced a steady loss of all the characteristic theocentric content of the Christian faith.¹⁸

Barthians therefore "vigorously reject" the doctrines of immanence which imply the continuity of human nature with the divine, exalt the potential goodness of man and his culture, and allow discovery of religious truth through empirical method. Over against all this Smith urged the Barthian insistence on the discontinuity of man with God ("Men are men, and God is God," said Barth); the utter unrighteousness and depravity of man the creature; the absolute necessity of supernatural revelation; the centrality of the Bible:

Knowledge that is revelational, redemptive, saving, must come to man from without, from the holy Other. God's chosen way to reveal himself is through Christ, the Eternal Word. The process of the revelation involves divine invasion of the human. . . . It is in the Bible that Christ is revealed as God's Word. It follows that theology is first and last Biblical theology.¹⁹

Moreover Barthians, far from ignoring religious education, were actively working out the implications of their theology for an "evangelical pedagogics." Some of its main principles, as Smith outlined them, were so antithetical to progressive religious education, and so determinative of later Christian education, as to deserve extended quotation here:

First of all, teaching, like preaching, centers in the 'ministry of the Word.' The teacher's one objective is to bring the child into contact with the Word of God, which is Jesus Christ as revealed in the Bible. The norm of Christian education is Christ as witnessed to in the Bible. The Bible, not 'life situations,' constitutes the subject-matter of the curriculum.

17. "Let Religious Educators Reckon with Barthians," *Religious Education*, XXIX, No. 1 (January, 1934), pp. 45, 46.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Acting under the principle that 'the Bible is its own best interpreter,' the teacher will trust 'to the power of the Word itself to carry its message home, rather than to his own expositions.'

Barthian pedagogy, in the second place, rejects unreservedly the view that man is essentially, natively good. Instead it teaches that man is evil, basically wrong, and in need of salvation. The conversion of man cannot, Barthians claim, be brought about by polishing up the *old* man; nothing less than a *new* nature will lift him from the depths of creaturehood.

In the third place Barthian educators reject the false principle of human autonomy. Deriving from Descartes, it is this principle that underlies the doctrines of 'self-expression,' the evil of which can easily be seen in certain forms of progressive education. It leads also, to the sort of individualistic tendencies under which man ultimately rejects all authority. 'A true Christian pedagogics,' says McConnachie, 'must start not from man and his values, but from God and his Word, in Jesus Christ.'

A fourth feature is that, although Barthians stress the necessity of Christian education, they nevertheless warn teachers that they cannot communicate the Christian Revelation to their pupils. This truth, the truth that is God's Word, is not within their power to give. . . . Yet in some unexplained way the teacher must be 'the bridge' by which the child comes in contact with God.²⁰

That Shelton Smith went beyond this presentation of the Barthian message to add his own evaluation, and especially some strong reservations, was probably lost on hearers who reacted strongly to the kerygmatic offense he had conveyed. He did welcome as a "long-needed service" the Barthian protest against "easy-going liberalism" (citing liberal tenets so exaggeratedly that even progressive hearers must have shared the Barthian rejection of some of them); and he welcomed the correction of extreme immanentism through stress on the divine otherness. But he had misgivings over such emphasis on the transcendence of God "that whatever man, as man, can know is by this fact not God." This entailed "religious agnosticism," he objected, or else a "dogmatic supernaturalism" as the only way out of "extreme epistemological dualism." If the humanity of Jesus is not revelatory, but only Christ the Word given to faith, the historical Jesus may be reduced to "a mere ghostly appearance"; whereas for Smith the desideratum was more, rather than less, knowledge about the Jesus of history. Moreover, if in spite of the acknowledged relativisms of Biblical history the Bible is held to contain "an abso-

20. *Ibid.*, p. 49. The internal citations are from McConnachie, *op. cit.*, pp. 183ff.

lute, inerrant, once-for-all delivered Word" perceptible only to faith, a revival of "Biblical authoritarianism" may result.²¹

It is important to note these expressed misgivings over extreme Barthian tendencies, for they represent persisting liberal elements in Shelton Smith's thought sometimes missed by his critics. But even their expression in such standard liberal epithets as "dogmatic supernaturalism" and "authoritarianism" could not offset the impression that he had turned Barthian (an impression no doubt enhanced by his well-known ability to identify with a viewpoint and present it so compellingly as to seem its unqualified advocate). He suddenly seemed not only an apostate but an enemy of religious education: he had brought a Trojan horse full of Barthian strictures into the very citadel of the movement.²²

During his early years at Duke, Shelton Smith continued to "reckon with Barthians"—he read voraciously in the new literature of the theological revolution, worked at his own critical theology, and brought it to bear on religious educational philosophy. But he plunged also into related study and teaching the logic of which made him a professor of Christian ethics and later of American religious thought. Prepared by progressive thought to view religion in relation to culture, and religious education in social reconstruction, he assiduously probed the recent and further past in American history and thought; and he began to see the educational task of social reconstruction in terms of a more profoundly theological ethic. Thus long before his changes in professional title or field, it was in Shelton Smith's "religious education" courses that his students became acquainted with current theology, Christian ethics, and American religious thought.²³

21. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

22. Many hearers did "resent or ignore criticism." As Dr. Smith recently recalled the event, George A. Coe was near and extremely attentive during the address, others manifestly resistant and disturbed. Vigorous discussion followed. In the ensuing meeting of the Board of Directors, Smith found himself alone in arguing that this was the way of movement toward truth for progressives. When he followed Coe down the stairs afterward, Coe turned, took him by the lapels, and said with tears in his eyes, "Shelton Smith, I sorrow for you as for a son. But you'll come back."

23. This former student (1936-39) recalls first reading Barth, Brunner, the Niebuhrs, Tillich, Bultmann, C. H. Dodd, and Oxford Conference literature, in such "religious education" courses.

Dr. Smith's course listings in the 1932 catalog of the School of Religion of Duke University included: "An Educational Approach to Religion," "Religious Education in Social Reconstruction," "Religious Education and American Civilization," "Character Education and the State," and "Philosophy of Religious Education." While these were in typically progressive idiom, it is noteworthy that the second course evolved into a 1937 listing as "Ethical Theory of Chris-

THE GOSPEL VERSUS NATURALISM AND LIBERAL THEOLOGY:
AN INSIDER'S CRITIQUE

His own maturing theological critique of religious education—as distinguished from his 1933 presentation of Barthian views—appears in two published addresses given in 1936. One deals with religious naturalism, the other with liberal theology; thus together they represent his developed reaction to both strands of the progressive religious education of which he had been a loyal disciple and spokesman.

The first, "Is Religious Naturalism Enough?"²⁴ was read before the Religious Education Association in Pittsburgh in 1936, in critical review of Stewart G. Cole's paper on "The Church and Religious Naturalism."²⁵ "Religious educators must find a more dynamic religion for the emerging age," declared Professor Smith, "or resign themselves to the inevitable eclipse of their movement in the American churches."²⁶ As the communicator of liberal religious culture, religious education now shared the crisis of that "unrealistic religion" in a time of fundamental social change. Cole had presented religious naturalism as the way for the contemporary church to "recreate human society on a religious level," and had claimed continuity with a supposedly pre-supernaturalistic, this-worldly religion of Jesus and Judaism—as distinguished from the distorting supernaturalism of Paul and Hellenism.²⁷

Shelton Smith challenged this proposal of religious naturalism as the religion for the new day. He held that it mistakenly obscured and renounced the intrinsic supernaturalism of Hebraic-Christian faith. In the name of social reform it rejected a salvation of "transcendent revelation, grace, and deliverance," substituting "a gospel of good works" for "a gospel of good news in Christ," and reducing

tian Education," and the third grew into his 1935 course on "Religious Thought in the Rise of American Culture," main precursor to his later field of concentration and greatest productivity.

It was in the 1938 catalog that his title was changed from "Professor of Religious Education" to "Professor of Christian Ethics and Religious Education." The same catalog added three courses for him in the Philosophy of Religion department: "Christian Ethics," "Christian Conceptions of the Moral Life and Its Problems," and "Seminar. Bushnell, Channing, Emerson." See the *Bulletin of the School of Religion of Duke University, 1932-1938, passim*. Further changes of courses and professional title will be noted later.

24. *Religious Education*, XXXI, No. 2 (April 1936), pp. 107-111.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-106. Cole's paper was a report growing out of a discussion group fostered by the Program and Research Committee of the Religious Education Association, on "The Nature and Function of Religion."

26. Smith, "Is Religious Naturalism Enough?" p. 107.

27. Cole, "The Church and Religious Naturalism," pp. 102ff.

Christian salvation to "a scheme of 'living creatively.'" Not because he was opposed to the social objective of Christianity, but because it was "so imperative for the contemporary church," Smith insisted that its realization required more than "human social activism": "Christian salvation is fundamentally a divine-human process, not something man achieves merely by moralistic means." Moreover, religious naturalism falsely assumed that "a transcendental type of religion cuts the nerve of ethical effort"; rather, declared Professor Smith, "only high religion with a redemptive cross at its center has afforded society its revolutionary gospel."²⁸ Finally, he charged that religious naturalism's view of religious experience as operating entirely within social life, as a quality of experience or valuation, left the meaning of "religion" or "spiritual" quite indeterminate, and led to subjectivism and secularism: "The more we spiritualize American culture," he warned, "the more denatured Christianity will become." Religious naturalism, then, was not enough for the new day. What was needed, he urged, was "high religion . . . relevant to a dynamic society."²⁹

The theological lineaments of such a needed "high religion" were more explicit in his address to the General Council of Congregational-Christian Churches in 1936, on "The Gospel for an Age of Good Works."³⁰ Here he confronted not the more radical religious educators and their naturalism but the liberal leaders of the churches and their attenuated theology. Again he impaled with sharply critical phrase the optimistic, anthropocentric faith which the churches had substituted for orthodoxy. It was a "boom-faith" of this-worldly religion and social activism, with expectations of a "democratic Utopia" and "great drives, building campaigns, mass crusades . . . good works . . . to bring in the Kingdom." But its "romantic schemes of social salvation" were manifestly impotent in a world of social and political reaction, war clouds, world anarchy, paganism on parade. "A new

28. Smith, "Is Religious Naturalism Enough?" pp. 107-109.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-111. George A. Coe commented wryly on Shelton Smith's paper: "It is easy to talk about these things in high generalizations—atonement, salvation by faith instead of works, and all that kind of thing—I do not know what it means particularly. I do not see the fruitage." He wished the twenty million people on relief could hear the discussion and assess this "broken-down religion." "I was reared in the sort of religion which Professor Smith described," he said. "I saw it break down every single time. . . . It has had time enough and opportunity enough to show what it can do. We know it has failed already." *Ibid.*, p. 116. In effect Coe was saying, "*tu quoque*."

30. *Advance*, CXXVIII, No. 13 (October 1936), pp. 579-581.

sense of futility creeps upon the modern church," said Shelton Smith.³¹

In place of its failing liberalism this changing, perilous age needed a gospel of reconciliation, he proclaimed, with the basic thesis that "God is the Central Reality to whom man must be reconciled or perish." His studies of American thought showed how it had moved away from the Puritan central theme of "God's directive sovereignty" in human history toward the exaltation of autonomous man: "The inability of man in the 18th century was replaced by the inability of God in the 19th," with twentieth-century man even bidding not just to predict but to control the future.³² The gospel of reconciliation not only re-asserted the transcendence of God; it required revision of the "current religious theory of man."

In rejecting the doctrine of Original Sin, we became the victim of a culture that regarded evil as mainly the vestigial remains of an anti-social civilization. Ridding ourselves of the Devil, we assumed that the demonic forces of life would be eradicated by the humanizing processes of an evolving culture.³³

Thus America's growing "collective socio-economic evil," imperialism, and social conflict, gave the lie to notions like Coe's that society was gradually "working out the beast" in human nature. What was needed was a more realistic look at man's sin, and a gospel of repentance meaningful only as such sin was acknowledged: "The Christian gospel is the gospel of salvation only to sinners."³⁴ Finally, against the prevailing religion of salvation by good works, by devotion to values or causes or God, he affirmed a gospel of "good news, not good works," of "God's strategy of radical deliverance in the direct action of the Cross," the expression of divine grace in spite of human sins.³⁵

If Shelton Smith's earlier "Barthian" message seems to resound in this proclamation of the sovereignty of God, the sinfulness of man, and the gospel of reconciliation in the Cross of Christ, these themes were now articulated as his own, and with more pointed reference to the American scene. And if he viewed the failure of an outmoded liberal faith in terms of its irrelevance to changing culture, as he had in challenging religious naturalism, now in his own ecclesiastical setting he could interpret to fellow churchmen historically their own

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 579f.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 580.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 580f.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 581.

35. *Ibid.*

Puritan theological heritage and its deterioration. Indeed the impression is inescapable that it was this New England theological tradition rather than the Barthian word from the Continent that now largely informed his theological recovery and reconstruction. John L. Childs had shocked him into awareness of the conflict between his empirical naturalism as a progressive educator and the evangelical theology of his own early years and historic tradition. Barth and Brunner had powerfully recalled him to the Biblical faith and shaped his first critique of his own liberalism. But his subsequent re-examination of American thought had renewed him in that stream, informed his message with the Puritan themes, and made him withal the more pertinent and concerned critic, as an insider to the decline of that heritage. From this point onward his contribution to the critical reconstruction of a theology of Christian nurture may no longer be characterized as "Barthian."

RECKONING WITH HISTORY:
FOR THEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

These tendencies in Shelton Smith's thought were more fully expressed in his important 1939 article on "Theological Reconstruction in Religious Education."³⁶ This succinct, considered essay anticipated the main themes—with certain notable omissions—of his forthcoming *Faith and Nurture*, which was then in one of its several stages of being written and drastically rewritten.³⁷ The article is especially noteworthy here, in the first place, for its historical homework on liberal theology and religious education. Its key opening sentence is another key to the major development in Shelton Smith's scholarly career—to his movement from religious education into the history of American religious thought: "The theological roots of contemporary liberal religious education run far back into the history of American Christianity."³⁸

Historical investigation of those theological roots illuminated

36. *Christendom*, IV, No. 4 (Autumn 1939), pp. 565-574. It is worth noting that the immediately preceding article in that issue of *Christendom* was a typical expression by George A. Coe, on "Democracy Also Confronts the Church" (pp. 555-564). This same year liberal progressive William Clayton Bower was leading the 1939 Oberlin Convention of the Religious Education Association in discussion of "Points of Tension between Progressive Religious Education and Current Theological Trends," *Religious Education*, XXXIV (1939), pp. 69-73 (propositions and queries for discussion) and 164-172 (Bower's paper, critically resistant to such theological trends).

37. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941.

38. "Theological Reconstruction in Religious Education," p. 565.

for him the understandable inception but inordinate later development of certain liberal tendencies which he had himself espoused and now was re-evaluating critically. But in his treatment of early American liberalism, it was almost as if to understand was to forgive: at least hindsight allows us to discern between his critical lines his covert admiration for stalwart liberals among the cloud of witnesses he invoked—particularly Jonathan Mayhew and Charles Chauncy of the eighteenth century, and Bushnell, William E. Channing, and Theodore Parker of the nineteenth.

As in his "Barthian" message, he dealt critically with liberalism's extreme immanentism, romantic view of man, and substitution of human initiative for divine. But he viewed the rise of American liberal theology as a justifiable reaction to a disintegrating New England Theology, as "a strong and legitimate protest against an extreme emphasis upon divine transcendence . . . based upon a rigidly dualistic theology."³⁹ The consequent corrective emphasis on continuity as against discontinuity, on unity as against dualism, eventually led to over-emphasis on immanence at the expense of transcendence. Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* and *Nature and the Supernatural* eminently exemplified the value of such a corrective for religious nurture. But two factors especially, according to Smith, fostered later liberalism's "exaggerated immanentism": evolutionary doctrines of a "world-process . . . construed in terms of unity, continuity, and growth," with "the creative reality of this world-process . . . working upon the process from within rather than from without"; and the development of social democracy, with its substitution of "divine right of the people" for "divine right of kings," the divine indwelling in all men, and eventually the social gospel's identification of democracy with the Kingdom of God. Religious education, as Shelton Smith illustrated regretfully, remained "deeply rooted in this one-sided immanentism," and shared its loss of "radical tension . . . between the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of a secular civilization."⁴⁰

Liberalism's doctrine of man, which was "too romantic to square with the understanding of Christian faith and too unrealistic to fit the actual facts of personal and social experience," was also historically understandable as originally a reaction against orthodoxy's "erroneous doctrine" of total depravity. "Humanitarian rationalists" like Mayhew and Chauncy prepared the way for the more radical ideas of Channing and Parker as to "man's essential divinity." Al-

39. *Ibid.*, p. 568.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 569-570.

though Bushnell was more realistic, acknowledging the problem of sin and depravity, his view of the immanent grace of God in the Christian family as a "countervailing force against sin" in the child's life led him to underemphasize "the tenacious and tragic character of sin," and hence in effect to support the romantic trend. His disciples went much further in rejecting total depravity and affirming man's essential goodness in practical agreement with the "left-wing liberals of the Channing-Parker tradition." Consequently the later literature of liberal religious education virtually ignored the idea of sin. With their understanding of human nature derived from psychology and sociology rather than theology, the religious educators interpreted any residual problem of human evil with social rather than theocentric reference, and without Christian realism as to "its ultimate root in the depth of the human heart."⁴¹

Closely related to these liberal motifs of immanentism and human goodness was the religious educators' view of religious regeneration in terms of human initiative, obscuring "the radical meaning of the evangel of the Divine Initiative." Shelton Smith could side with nineteenth century liberals in their revolt against some orthodox theologians' reduction of man to almost "an automaton in the hands of an arbitrary God. It failed to do justice either to the moral character of God or to the moral dignity of man." But the liberal reaction went too far and eventuated in "an anthropocentric and moralistic theory of Christian salvation." Religious education, grounded in psychology and sociology, went even further in its orientation toward the human subject rather than the Divine Object. With its methodology borrowed from secular experimentalism, it was preoccupied with human "quest," "creativity," and "self-realization" rather than Christian redemption.⁴²

These critical yet sympathetic analyses of the development of American liberal theology and religious education not only exemplify Shelton Smith's historical probing, and illuminate thereby the decline of religious education and its need for reconstruction; they also afford important insights into his own theological position. It is difficult to avoid the judgment that his former associates were prematurely reading him out of the liberal ranks. His obvious identification with the motives of early liberal revolt against rigid orthodoxy presaged his still (today) continuing resistance to such doctrinal rigidity, whether orthodox, fundamentalist, or neo-orthodox. He repeatedly distinguished between the more radical "rationalistic liberalism" and

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 571-572.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 573-574.

the more conservative "evangelical liberalism" of Bushnell and his disciples, apparently associating himself now with the latter lineage (though not without ambivalent regard for his more radical forebears). He evidently perceived himself still as a sympathetic though severe critic within the fold, in spite of the militantly defensive who "lump together all those who deviate from the pathway of liberalism and label them as Barthians."⁴³ It was with deference that he dissented from former liberal progressive colleagues. But their refusal to acknowledge the need for fundamental theological reconstruction, and his very concern for realistic religious nurture, forced him to be critic: "the fact must be faced," he said, "that liberal religious education has come to the end of an era. It has exhausted the substance of the older liberalism."⁴⁴

It was reconstruction rather than destruction that Shelton Smith was calling for. "Liberalism as a general attitude toward the quest for truth is not dead, and must be kept alive," he affirmed.

But liberalism as a creed is certainly in a state of suspended animation. The longer religious education remains rooted in this creed, the less vital will it be as a reconstructive force in the religious life of the church of tomorrow. Liberal religious education is therefore entering upon a stage of theological crisis. It can only overcome the crisis by passing through realistic reconstruction.⁴⁵

However—and here he challenged religious educators, as he had in vain in the session of the Board of Directors of the Religious Education Association after his 1933 address—"this should not disturb liberals. For the idea of changing categories of thought has been a basic article of their creed. They have also fostered the aggressive spirit."⁴⁶

In this article it should have been clear, if it had not been before, that besides maintaining "liberalism as a general attitude toward the quest for truth," his intended theological reconstruction of religious education would maintain also an essential element in every liberal creed: namely, the recognition of the dignity, freedom, and responsibility of man. But it was only man in relation to his sovereign Lord who could rightly be the bearer of such meanings. The early liberal revolts against an "orthodoxy" that denied these were in part a demand for a truer orthodoxy which would keep in rightful tension both sides of the divine-human encounter. And if orthodoxy was heretical when it over-stressed the divine sovereignty to the impoverishment of the human, liberalism was even more dangerously

43. *Ibid.*, p. 567.

45. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

wrong when it exalted man to the obscuring of the claim and gift of God. Shelton Smith's program of theological reconstruction, as represented in his concluding statements respecting each of the three liberal motifs he had criticized, would require maintaining both the divine and human elements in proper tension. To quote these conclusions will suffice.

After criticizing religious education for its "one-sided immanentism," he said:

This does not mean that it should renounce those elements of truth that the doctrine of divine immanence, at its best, has contained. As a matter of fact, religious education may be imperiled either by a false immanentism or by a false transcendentalism. Liberalism rose up against a false other-worldly immanentism. Religious education must recover the vital meaning of a transcendent Kingdom without losing the essential truth of an immanent Kingdom.⁴⁷

In regard to the liberal doctrine of man:

In its revolt against orthodoxy's one-sided doctrine of the total depravity of man, liberalism developed an equally one-sided doctrine of the natural goodness of man. Neither of these interpretations of man offers an adequate basis upon which to build a realistic Christian doctrine of man. Both must be transcended by a theory of man which avoids the Scylla of unqualified depravity on the one hand, and the Charybdis of unqualified romanticism on the other.⁴⁸

On human versus divine initiative:

It is the Christian faith that God is the ultimate center and the initiating course of man's redemption. It is also the Christian faith that man can be redeemed only by actively responding to the will of God. How to combine this two-fold truth in a realistic doctrine of Christian redemption is a problem that offers no easy solution, but the denial of either aspect is a heresy which must be rejected in a true conception of Christian nurture.⁴⁹

These doctrines would be given fuller historical analysis and theological reconstruction in the major book which lay ahead, *Faith and Nurture*. In that book and a later series of unpublished lectures, Shelton Smith would give critical and constructive consideration also to another theme essential to Christian education but not treated in the preceding articles: the doctrine of the Church. And in that book and a subsequent article, he would deal more adequately with "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture."⁵⁰ In a sequel we hope to discuss these contributions of Professor Smith to the renewal of faith and nurture.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 570.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 573.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

50. *Religion in Life*, XII, No. 1 (Winter, 1942-43), pp. 31-40.

The New Testament in Relation to History

KENNETH W. CLARK

The Christian Bible has its roots in history. Christianity shares with Judaism the history within the Hebrew Bible as well as the history of its interpretation and use. Unique with Christianity is the history of the New Testament, and the record therein which concerns especially the initial century of Christian experience. Such statements may appear to be simple truisms, and yet they may serve as reminder of a premise which today is largely disregarded, if not directly repudiated, and which at best receives only lip service from many Christian interpreters.

The acknowledgment or the claim that the Biblical record rests on a historical basis does depend upon an effectual conception of the relation which spiritual exaltation bears to historical events. Conversely, interpretation of the scriptural record depends upon one's conception of the spiritual experience recorded as history. Upon this subject there have been many extensive and profound studies, with considerable variety of explication. It therefore requires both the sense of an essential modesty and the compulsion of a clear conviction to attempt here a summary articulation on the relationship between the New Testament and history.

I. HISTORY

The first requirement is to consider our concept of history. The term derives from Greek, of course, where the common meaning is "an account" or "a story". More accurately, it means "the written account of one's inquiries". Extended meanings refer to the inquiry itself, or to a systematic observation, and also to the knowledge or information derived from such investigation. In common English usage, history is the narrative of events or, more particularly, the systematic written account of events. By extended usage it means the events which compose such an account, or even the branch of knowledge that records and explains past events. It can be only a secondary definition of the term that makes it equivalent to "the

[The annual Faculty Lecture given in York Chapel on February 20, 1963, by the Professor of New Testament, who has been at Duke since 1931.]

world" or "the human scene", as when we speak of contemporary events as occurring "in history". Contemporary events are not yet historical and may not be retained as history.

We may begin by affirming that history is at least the record of the past, a record that is usually written but may also be recorded in the memoritor tradition. It may be transmitted and preserved either by reading or by listening. We are not saying that history consists of all that is past. This is a popular idea, as when one easily declares of an irretrievable occurrence that it has now become history. It becomes history only when it is established in the record of the past. What is unrecorded and forgotten is lost to history, and this is true of most of what happens. Therefore most occurrences do not survive as history, and this observation relates to much early Christian activity of which we have no knowledge. Although history is not equivalent to the entire past, it is only the past that can compose history. Furthermore, the history grasped by each of us is different and so the history that influences each of us is different. History is selective, not exhaustive. So also is the Biblical record, as is explicitly illustrated by the Synoptic Gospel accounts.

If history is the record of what has occurred, all history is human history; that is, it is the story about humans and by humans—assuming, as we do, that only man has the mentality and the language which can produce the recollection and the recounting of his experience. God does not write history, whatever His relation to history really is. God does not have a history Himself, or of Himself; that is, if we conceive of God as absolute and perfect (which is essentially the definition of the term). God is unchangeable and unchanged, although man's experience of God involves change. The history of this changing experience is human history, not divine history. Man must stand "in history", but God does not. It is man's experience of God that is historical, and then only when it becomes part of the selective memory. This is the character of Scripture. The distinction of Scripture as religious history is twofold: it is concerned with man's relation to supernatural power, and it affirms access to assured truth about this relationship.

We may speak of God as standing outside history, by which we mean that God is not affected by, nor part of, human history. Some object to the view that God stands outside history because they insist that God is concerned for man within the historical process. Karl Barth deduces such a concern from the personal viewpoint when he writes: "God would not be God for me if he were only

eternal in himself, if he had no time for me." (*Kirkliche Dogmatik*, III/2,630.)¹ But transcendence does not mean isolation, since it is man himself who conceives of divine transcendence and man who is transcended. Even if we do describe God as having a concern for man within the historical process (which is an anthropo-sympathetic metaphor), this does not require that we consider God Himself as standing within history. Some would modify the proper definition of history, in order to include God within history. Such a modification is an unnecessary and gratuitous accommodation of the term.

Since history must be recorded by men, it can be the record only about men. History cannot record the experience of the lower animals since this is inaccessible to man. If man attempts an account of the experience of animals or plants, he must impute to them the characteristics of man. Properly speaking, there is no natural history apart from man. There is only man's interpretation of the character of nature as man has experienced it. Nor can history record a "life" of God Who is ineffable and unavailable to our knowledge. If man would interpret the "life" of God, he must assign to God human attributes—not merely the physical, but also the mental and the emotional—as though God like man lived within history and within the limits of humanity. We tend to think of God as strong, as rational, as seeing and hearing and speaking, as loving and being angry, as expressing mercy and condemnation. Rare is the mystic who in contemplation may attain the concept of the pure Being of God.

However, man may find that he has the capacity to recount in the record an ecstatic encounter with God—not merely man's reasoned conclusion or superstitious assumption, but a mystical meeting. Such an encounter is apocalyptic and catastrophic, however quietly it may occur. This does not mean that God Himself is "in history", but rather that a man's exalted experience has been interpreted and recorded as a man can understand it. History is not the record merely of human activity, for history includes also man's experience in mind and spirit. But the record of this is still human history. The Eternal abides as ever in transcendent holiness, alone but not aloof, apart and yet not beyond encounter. God Himself does not "enter history", although man encounters Him in potentially historical experience. This is clearly a dualistic view with explicit acceptance of the traditional

1. Quoted by Roger Shinn, *Christianity and the Problem of History* (1953), p. 210.

concept of the supernatural. It prefers the contemplation of the transcendent God to a technical monism or a dialectical pendulum. In the monistic scheme of Plotinus, Paul Elmer More explained the connection between the creative power and creation thus: "The golden chain has snapped and metaphysics has entered upon its agony." It is a monistic philosophy also that unites creator and creation by the declaration that God has "entered history." This is no less monistic than the view of the old liberalism that something of God is in every man.

The Gospel of John best presents the dualistic conception, for here supernatural being and the realm of the historical never merge. There is no snapping of the chain to produce a monistic continuity. They stand apart in parallel planes although occasional sallies bring the divine Jesus and an earthly personage to meet. The discourses contain no true conversation, as divine pronouncements go without comprehension. It is not God who becomes flesh but rather the Logos. Although we are left to conclude that the Logos is really Jesus, Jesus is presented as a divinity whose thought and words surpass the understanding of mortals, even the disciples. Horton Davies speaks of "the intersection of eternity with history" (which must mean, with man as creature). The divine impinges upon humankind but is not confused with it.

History is a record not only of human activity but also of the intellectual experience of man and of his spiritual experience. Man as a creature in the historical setting is possessed of a spiritual capacity to experience the sense of God's presence. Because this happens to a *man*, the experience and the report of the divine presence are historical, although the divine Being remains beyond history. The vision of Ezekiel (ch. 1) was a momentary awareness of the God beyond history, but the experience of the vision itself belongs to the historical. The picturesque imagery of John the Apocalypticist all lies within the historical, and yet it describes an encounter with the divine beyond history. History is the record not only of man's evil but also of his exaltation, not only of his normal thought but also of his ecstasy.

The Greek philosopher, who described man as body and soul (*σῶμα* and *ψυχή*), respected the latter psychical quality as capable of the noblest expression. It is an error of Christian prejudice to allege that the ancient Greek pagan possessed nothing comparable to the Pauline "spirit" or *πνεῦμα*. The Greek conceived of "soul" (*ψυχή*) as including the noblest spiritual capacity and yet being a proper

element of human personality. The history of pagan religion recounts moments of ecstasy which attest to man's belief in his capacity to encounter deity. Whichever term is used, *ψυχή* or *πνεῦμα*, a man's sense of the presence of God lies within the historical community. Oscar Cullman has written that God's self-revelation unfolded in history and reveals the Biblical message of redemption to be essentially historical. In this we concur, understanding however that the term "self-revelation" refers not to a history of God but rather to the human record of man's spiritual experience.

History is always written by men, whatever element of inspiration may be claimed or acknowledged. Therefore the selectivity of history is the choice of the historian, and the treatment of his selections is also his own. Therefore, history cannot escape the quality of the historian's interpretation, whether of simple objective event or of complex subjective experience. It cannot escape the quality of the historian's own life. The perception which he achieves in understanding human life must determine the quality and authenticity of his record. This would be true of the evangelists as well as of later commentators. Amos Wilder observes that "we are led to delineate the past (as the future), each in terms of his own contemporary urgency. The unhappy result of this perennial practice is that in every decade we instruct Christ as to what he was and is, instead of allowing ourselves to be instructed by him."² This reminds us that history has three successive manifestations: first, the event occurs; subsequently it is recorded; and continually thereafter it is subjected to interpretative reading. Yet in all these phases history is an instrument of man, with a variable degree of authenticity.

When the historian is a people, or the succession of leaders of men, the history gains a quality of authenticity and assurance. When the record is an ethnic digest of experience through many generations (as in the case of the Biblical documents) it has the insight of multiple inspiration. When the record consists of successive accounts from different human vantage points (as in the case of the Gospels) its variant interpretations of a common theme inspire the greater trust. To record for others a divine encounter is the most difficult history of all experience; therefore, however brilliant the mind and spirit of an individual historian, he is better as a historian when in collaboration with the continuing experience of men.

2. Amos Wilder, *Theology and Modern Literature* (1958), p. 94.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT

The New Testament is not primarily history and contains no explicit history book. The usual "Introductions" to the Bible speak of the "historical books" of the Old Testament. So also the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles are commonly treated as books of history or biography. But it should be insisted that there is no history book in the New Testament, in the ordinary meaning of the term. Yet history is the record not only of objective happenings but also of man's understanding of and response to these happenings. The historical account reports not only the physical action but also the intellectual, the emotional, and the spiritual experience, since all of these aspects comprise the event.

In order to interpret the historical record within the New Testament it is necessary to understand its relation to that which is beyond history. We can never appropriate what lies beyond history, for the limitations of history are also the limitations of man. Yet human life as described in history can approach the horizon of the beyond-history, in worship and contemplation, in prayer and meditation, and in devotion and dedication. But God does not "enter history" (as today's popular phrase has it). If God has ever been "in history", He was already found in history prior to the day of Jesus of Nazareth. Before Jesus, God was known to man through Moses, Abraham, Amos, Micah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, and many another mediator. In the Gospel of John (10:30) Jesus remarks, "We are one, I and the Father." This does not mean that God has "entered history" or even that He has become incarnate in a man. It refers to the metaphysical, conceptual unity of God and His Son. But God has not lost His unique state as the "wholly other". This evangelist more often describes the relationship between God and Jesus in mystical terms (as a few verses later, in 10:38): "The Father is in me and I am in the Father." (So also in 14:11 and 17:21.)

The ultimate eternal rule of God, as predicated in the New Testament, is not the attainment of history, nor is it fulfilled within the historical. God's rule as represented in the New Testament is not dependent upon the historical. Indeed, it is indicated instead that the rule of God is to supplant the historical. The life of man recorded in history does not represent a procession toward achieving obedience to the divine will. Rather, it is the ultimate rule of God which casts significance—in approval or in condemnation—upon the conduct of man in the events of history. This is the key to the interpretation of the New Testament.

It is obvious that the modern historian of early Christian times must consult the New Testament books (among others) for source materials for his history, because they provide some incidental data of an objective character. However, the so-called historical books are actually theological books, whose intention and purpose are to explain God, His will and His creation, His purpose and ultimate eternal rule. But all of this lies in a historical setting.

There is a current fashion of explaining Scriptural accounts in terms of divine action, so that many now employ such phrases as "The Book of the Acts of God" or "God Who Acts". These phrases are readily recognized as book titles used by G. Ernest Wright, but they have become popular in theological circles, quite apart from these volumes. The Scriptures are not an account of God's action but rather of His Being. The Bible is not a historical account but a theological account which is concerned with the character of God rather than His "progress". It is fundamentally concerned with ontology and teleology, and only secondarily with ethics, sociology and politics. God does not act; God *is*. The eternal God who is the same yesterday, today and forever, is not a busy God, but rather the God of power and truth and holiness. The "activity" which an interpreter speaks of lies within the world of man, within history, and is the stuff of which history is made—by man. Although man may feel emancipated from the concept of anthropomorphism, his interpretation of the divine God acting within history may still be anthropoenergetic.

The account of Moses receiving the Law (Ex. 20, 34) is highly dramatic, and his conference with God is awesome. But the precepts which God sets forth to Moses are the reflection of His absolute character. The behavior required of man toward God and toward his fellowmen is in harmony with man's recognition of the character of God. Uniqueness is an essential quality of God, and requires man's sole devotion and habitual reverence. Moral integrity is the character of God, and requires man's absolute observance of honor, love, fidelity, honesty and truth. The very Being of God, without lips or stylus in hand, constitutes His communication and His revelation to the historical community. The Bible might well be called The Book of the Essence of God. It is because of the character of God that the historian conceives of Him as acting in the human events of history. This so-called "action" demonstrates His Being. God *is*; man acts. As religious man has described creation, it is God's word and not a deed which effects it. If it be insisted that speaking is an act, according to

man's anthropomorphic figure, it may be further realized that the "word" of creation is man's metaphor for the Being of God Whose power to create is essential.

The historian may depict God's "activity" as conforming with His divine purpose; that is, God's activity rather than man's conduct, in the events that become history. But God does not act in history, nor does He act in his transcendence. Action is a human concept, in historical experience. Whereas man's historicity conforms with change and activity, God's transcendence conforms with permanent and immutable Being. The "activity" of God is picturesque imagery derived from human conduct in history. It can be only figurative language when the interpreter alludes to God as "He Who acts."

III. INTERPRETATION

The Christian view of history must be understood in the light of essential elements of the Christian faith. In turn, the Christian view of history should be applicable to interpretation of the New Testament and also receive its confirmation therein. Let us therefore recall a few basic New Testament concepts contained in many a familiar passage, to observe the harmony between their interpretation and the view of history outlined above. It has not been a common practice to elucidate such interpretation with conscious attention to a basic concept of history, and the conjunction here of these two factors should have the result of mutual confirmation.

For one thing, it is evident that the New Testament writers have used many terms and titles to explain the person of Jesus of Nazareth. Each of these terms implies the divine authority and power of the truth he speaks and the deeds he performs. Son of God, Son of Man, Messiah, Logos, the Prophet, and scores of others—each one postulates the believer's assurance that the historical Jesus of Nazareth personifies the spirit of the transcendent God. The later concept of incarnation is a figure of speech (in a Latin term) depicting a physical relationship. The language of the New Testament, however, is always indirect, as when it affirms generation by the spirit, incarnation of the Logos, descent of a dove, or a voice from the clouds of heaven. It is basic in the Gospel record to believe that Jesus had special access to God, and yet the New Testament maintains the distinction between the Father God and the Son of God. Although Jesus once affirms in the Gospel of John (10:30): "I and the Father are one," throughout this same Gospel the dominant con-

ception is of two distinct persons. The theology of the Fourth Gospel does not require or even permit that we affirm that God "entered history", for while the exalted figure of Christ in this Gospel is the personification of God's truth and power, he is not God "in history". The artistry of figurative language and the philosophical definition must not be confused.

Now with respect to another subject, we note that the authors of New Testament books were most careful of their description of the phenomenon of revelation. The revelatory experience was the key to an understanding of the relation between the supernatural and the natural, between the transcendent God and the community of men. The instance of revelation, Horton Davies' "intersection of eternity with history", is described in the New Testament in numerous ways and is always conceived in dualistic imagery. Sometimes it is declared that heaven opened for a marvelous instant of communication (Mk. 1:10, Mt. 3:16, Lk. 3:21). The appearance of an angelic messenger from heaven is frequently represented (Lk. 1:11, Jn. 12:29, *et passim*), sometimes specifically named (Gabriel in Lk. 1:26), sometimes in dream (Mt. 1:20) or in vision (Lk. 24:23) or in ecstasy (Rev. 1:10). It may be reported that the divine holy spirit emerged from heaven, incorporeally (Mk. 1:10, Mt. 3:16) or perhaps as a dove (Lk. 3:22), silently or perhaps as a voice, heard privately (Mk. 1:11, Lk. 3:22) or publicly (Mt. 3:17). The voice may speak an explicit message (*passim*) or may be likened to thunder (Jn. 12:29) or a torrent of water (Rev. 1:15, 14:2). Again, presence of the supernatural may be recognized in a brilliant light, strong as the sun (Mt. 17:2), even at noonday blindingly bright (Acts 22:6, 11), or perhaps emerging from a bright cloud (Mt. 17:5). Such a brilliant light of divine presence is often called the "glory" of God (Lk. 2:9, Jn. 1:14). Another revelatory image is that of brilliantly white garments (Mk. 16:5; Lk. 9:29, 24:4; Jn. 20:12; Acts 1:10), extending to the ground (Mk. 16:5),³ white as light itself (Mt. 17:2), exceeding the bleaching of an earthly fuller (Mk. 9:3), snow-white and brilliant as lightning (Mt. 28:3). Divine impartation is sometimes described also as fire (Acts 2:3, II Thes. 1:7). Often several of these marks of the supernatural are combined, as in the baptism of Jesus, the transfiguration, the conversion of Paul, and the apocalyptic angel (Rev. 10:1-3) dressed in a cloud with a rainbow over his head and his face like the sun and his legs as fiery pillars while

3. The "stole" is particularly a long, flowing garment (cf. Mk. 12:38, Lk. 20:46).

he had the roar of a lion. Such is the picturesque imagery throughout the New Testament by which is described God's communication with man. It is always represented as a special encounter, in which the supernatural impinges upon human experience. God does not "enter history", although man within the historical community is divinely vibrant in such an exalted moment.

The incarnation of the Logos (Jn. 1:14) is but one among numerous explanations in the New Testament, by which is affirmed the relation of the historical Jesus to the supernatural. The same idea is set forth repeatedly from annunciation to resurrection. The concept of divine generation is presented with philosophical restraint and skillful delicacy, especially by Luke. The procreation is not attributed directly to God, but rather to holy spirit and to a power that casts its shadow over the young woman. The power is that of the Most-High, not mentioned by name, and there is a double mediation through the shadow of the power of the Most-High (Lk. 1:35). So carefully does the evangelist decline any concept of God entering history, and refrain likewise from any crude literalism. Again, Jesus' affinity with the divine is attested in the story of Elizabeth's visit with Mary, in which even before their births John recognizes the presence of "the Lord". Once again, at the time of the birth the evangelist appeals to natural portents to affirm the divine affinity of the infant Jesus (Mt. 2, Lk. 2:11ff.). Here a large host of angelic visitants from heaven chorus a confirmation of the angel's announcement that God's anointed savior has been born.

With these several instances of divine initiation centering about the birth, it may escape and surprise us that the same phenomenon recurs several times in the later life of Jesus. On the occasion of the baptism he was designated by the voice from heaven as beloved son, and *at that time* the spirit of God came upon him (Mk. 1:10, Mt. 3:16, Lk. 3:22). The Old Latin version and Codex D interpret the occasion by extending this announcement by the voice (Lk. 3:22): "I have generated you today." The entire announcement is drawn from Psalm 2:7, where God is speaking to an earthly king. The same language (without the Latin gloss) is again used in the account of the transfiguration (Mk. 9:7, Mt. 17:5, Lk. 9:34 f.). And in connection with the resurrection, Paul again cites the divine word in the Psalm (Acts 13:33): "You are my son; I have generated you today." Hence it is evident that throughout the first century the Christian record accounted for the inception of divinity in Jesus in several notable events between annunciation and ascension. The

choice of event implied a choice of theological view: the historical personage was divine throughout his earthly life, or he was divine only during the brief active mission, or he became divine only after the historical span of life.⁴ However, the several events in the New Testament record do not imply a deliberate theological debate so early. Rather they simply serve to reinforce one another in attesting that in Jesus the transcendent God held communication with the historical community.

The central concept in the New Testament is the Kingdom of God, and we may well consider how its presentation in the record accords with the theological view here set forth. According to its very name it is God's kingdom, not partially nor expectantly but wholly. It is therefore divine and supernatural, perfect and ultimate—hence a true and final *eschaton*. God's kingdom is not derived from this world (cf. Jn. 18:36). It is not represented as existing in this world of history with its changing conditions. Rather, it was expected to displace and succeed the contemporary scene. It is not represented as an improvement or a reformation or a correction of the historical community, most of whose members would have no part in it, since judgment would bring them to condemnation and exclusion. It is not represented as mass salvation but rather as the fulfillment of God's reign on the transformed earth. The conditions of the historical community of change would be superseded.

Two separate conversations reported in the New Testament illustrate this belief. One of these presents the request of the brothers James and John (Mk. 10:35), or perhaps of their mother for them (Mt. 20:21), that they share with Jesus seats of authority in his glory (which Matthew understands to mean, his kingdom). Jesus observes that the function of ruling (even as a benefactor, Lk. 22:25) pertains to the existing political economy. He explains that the request of the brothers, on the other hand, is irrelevant within the kingdom where ambition is as service and pre-eminence is as voluntary enslavement. So also the parallel passage in Luke (22:26) dissolves, within the kingdom, the societal relation of respectful youth and venerable authority.

The other passage applicable here is the situation of the seven brothers who successively married the same woman, leading to the question: "Whose wife will she be in the resurrection?" (Mk. 12:18 ff., Mt. 22:23 ff., Lk. 20:27 ff.) Jesus replies that the

4. The Docetic viewpoint is theologically related, but is not relevant to our statement.

marital relation will no longer pertain, since these persons will exist as angels do. Luke specifically adds that they will all be sons of God, and cannot die. The further implication is that in the Kingdom there is no birth and no growth. Such a situation is clearly extra-historical. The Apocalyptist (Rev. 10:6) declares that there will be no more time. In this statement the word *χρόνος* has been translated in some recent versions as "delay". This seems like a modern *tour de force* which, in any case, does not escape from the same eschatological meaning, for, when the seventh angel then sounded his trumpet (Rev. 12:15), voices in heaven pronounced the ultimate transformation: "The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord."

There is no need to feel uncomfortable in the face of such vivid and dramatic imagery. It rests agreeably in the concept of history which we have consistently observed. Its basic sense is by no means alien to the Christian faith in any age. Commenting on Mt. 22:30, F. C. Grant observes quite simply and helpfully that "conditions in the age to come cannot be compared with our present life." The Kingdom of God, as portrayed in the New Testament, is not historical but rather it is beyond history. Its fulfillment lies not within history, and it does not bear the characteristics of the historical. It does not grow, it does not develop, it is not built, man has not planned it and man will never create it. The historical community as such will never be the Kingdom of God.

To recognize that the Kingdom of God is such an ideal is not a philosophy of pessimism, nor does it release man from moral responsibility. The moral qualities of the Kingdom which is beyond history nevertheless pertain to the historical community. They are a proper ideal within the character of man, and also an obligation upon man here and now. Indeed, this is the heart of the proclamation by Jesus concerning the Kingdom's imminence. It is not merely an announcement of the divine intention beyond history, but of the divine requirement within the ever present historical community. Observe this note in the teaching of Jesus, in paraphrase of certain of the Beatitudes:

The person emancipated from materialism has access to the Kingdom.

The person of gentle spirit will have place in the Kingdom.

The person who treats others in mercy will have God's mercy.

The person who has purity of heart will see God in the Kingdom.

The person creative of the peace of life will be acknowledged as God's son.

The person who persists in righteousness in the face of hostile consequences has access to the Kingdom.

These are all moral requirements in the historical community of man, and all are reflections of the perfect life of the Kingdom of God. Although the ideal Kingdom remains beyond history, its character of perfection extends its shadow upon the moral life of man. The two do not coalesce and yet they bear a mysterious affinity. The very prospect of the Kingdom holds a mystery like the power in a seed or in a lump of leaven. The power of seed and leaven lies within the historical, although this mysterious power be attributed to the transcendent Creator. The moral qualities of man and their expression also lie within the historical, although again his will and power to attain righteousness be attributed to the perfect Being of God.

The best and the highest of human conduct in the moral community is not to be confused with the Kingdom of God. We are not now living in the Kingdom of God. Jesus did not "bring the Kingdom with him", nor is it "in operation" among us, as some have phrased it. Man has not "realized eschatology". Whatever he has realized, either mankind or any individual man, it is not the *eschaton*. While man is a creature capable of righteous conduct in the historical community, we are not for this reason required to assert that he thus lives within the Kingdom. It should be obvious that the Kingdom has not been realized in the eschatological sense. The passages often appealed to as evidence of its coming are of eschatological imagery: Satan fallen from heaven (Lk. 10:18) and Jesus casting out demons (Mt. 12:28). That the Kingdom of God actually came in an eschatological sense is the least plausible contention. Another passage often cited (Lk. 16:16, cf. Mt. 11:2) refers to violence toward the Kingdom since the time of John the Baptist (note that the shift from Torah to the Kingdom is attributed to John, and not to Jesus). Torah and the Kingdom are contrasted only in the sense that men rely on them for salvation. To consider the Kingdom as being present since John, in an eschatological sense, is contrary to Luke's basic reference to its expectation, and therefore it must be understood proleptically.

The most plausible sense in which the Kingdom may be thought to be realized within the historical community appears in the thought of Paul rather than of Jesus. It was Paul who first applied the figure of a first instalment, relating to God's promise of life in the Kingdom.

He wrote to the Corinthian Christians (II Cor. 1:22): "God has put a seal on us and has given us the first instalment of the spirit within our hearts." This meant to him (II Cor. 5:17) that "the man in Christ is from now a new creation." Later he wrote to the Colossian Christians (Col. 3:9-10): "You have stripped off the old man . . . and clothed yourself in the new man . . . 'in the image of the creator' (Gen. 1:26)." "You have died and your life has been concealed in God with Christ." (Col. 3:3) This is the strongest expression in the New Testament on the attainment of the divine life within the historical community. It is mystical rather than eschatological language. However, along with it Paul combined the traditional eschatology looking to the future, as he added (to the Colossians, 3:4): "When Christ appears . . . you too will then appear with him in glory." He explained to the Philippians (3:20): "Our country is in heaven, whence we await a savior—the Lord Jesus Christ." Even for Paul the *eschaton* has not been realized. The Pauline view recurs in later New Testament writings (e.g. I Jn. 3:2): "We are God's children now . . . we know that when he appears we shall be like him because we shall look upon him." Again in John 6:47: "Whoever believes already possesses eternal life."

The *eschaton* consists of two elements. One is the pattern of events that bring the end, and clearly this has never been realized. Man has not come to dwell within the conditions predicted for the *eschaton*. The other aspect is the quality of the obedient life characteristic of the Kingdom. This is a quality already entrusted to the "new man" within the historical community. This quality is already potential, and has always been potential; this is explicit in the New Testament. The summons to Kingdom character within the historical community was the heart of the message of Jesus. Anticipation of the life of the Kingdom of God meant actual obedience at once.

The distinction of Jesus of Nazareth lies in this, that he perceived the pure concept of holiness and righteousness of the Kingdom, under God whose power lay in his perfect Being; and at the same time, as a historical personage he proclaimed to his contemporaries the requirement of the Kingdom's holy life here and now in daily relationships among men. He held up for emulation not the merely "good life", not the merely "good man", but specifically the perfect character as of God's Kingdom. Yet in his teaching he retained the clear distinction between the ideal Kingdom and the temporal community.

The eternality of Jesus Christ emerges from his persistent proclamation and example of the eternal Kingdom of God. His resurrection constitutes the affirmation of the commanding truth and penetrating insight of his earthly concept of the heavenly society. Jesus of Nazareth attracts our worship not because he was himself a good man, or a winsome man, or even a wise man, but because within the historical setting he prophetically delineated the divine potentialities of mortals in terms of their divine conduct while yet within the human society.

Our purpose here has been to express in the common idiom an interpreter's working view of history. We seek a conception in which all the parts inhere harmoniously. It must also be a functional conception, that will enable us to employ the New Testament for an understanding of the divine word in history—without violating the transcendent holiness of God or disclaiming the spiritual gift to man within the historical community.

The Dean's Discourse

Professor H. Shelton Smith will retire as James B. Duke Professor of American Religious Thought at the end of this academic year. Alumni, I am sure, will join the faculty of the Divinity School in accepting this fact with as large a measure of sadness as of deep appreciation for the thirty-two years of distinguished service that Dr. Smith has given to the Divinity School and to Duke University.

Dr. Smith's teaching career began at Columbia University in 1928. He was Associate Professor of Religious Education at Yale Divinity School in the years 1929-31, and at the request of the late President William Preston Few, in the deanship of Dr. Elbert Russell, joined the faculty of the Divinity School in 1931. Alumni of those days will recall that he began his teaching in Philosophy of Religion and Christian Ethics. Some years later he redirected his studies into the field of American Religious Thought. So extensive have been his researches and distinguished his teaching that he has brought his subject-matter to a prominence at Duke University perhaps unequaled elsewhere.

It is no doubt fitting that the year of his retirement should see the completion of a monumental work entitled *American Christianity*, the second volume of which has just been published by Scribner's. This two-volume work may rightly claim to be a landmark in the study of American Christianity and theology and is a "historical interpretation with representative documents" covering the whole range of American ecclesiastical history from 1607 to 1960. (see review)

It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Smith's famous volume *Christian Nurture* (1941) in many ways was a landmark in the literature of Christian Education and continues to be used to this day for its prophetic and searching analysis of the religious education movement of the 'twenties and 'thirties. Dr. Smith's publications, extensive as they are, are hopefully still incomplete; and he is presently preparing a volume for the Library of Protestant Thought on the theological contribution of the distinguished 19th century theologian, Horace Bushnell. We may hope for the eventual appearance of a work on American theology, which will embody in revised form materials students have been introduced to in Dr. Smith's two main-line courses on colonial and 19th century American theology.

One could elaborate literary and scholarly accomplishments which have made Shelton Smith the "Dean" of American historical theology,

but it is the man—the inimitable, irrepressible, and exciting teacher—that alumni and colleagues will remember with endless gratitude and respect.

Recognition of Dr. Smith's signally important contribution to graduate studies in religion—the first to be established in the South in a major university—came to him in being named James B. Duke Professor of American Religious Thought in 1953. As far back as 1935 Dr. Smith envisaged the development of a program of graduate studies leading to the Ph.D degree. There are now well over a hundred alumni of this program who are teaching in strategic universities and colleges of the United States and abroad. Dr. Smith was as exacting in imposing and maintaining standards as he was able in the administration and the securing of financial support for this instructional undertaking. Through his initiative and the philanthropy of Mr. Kearns, there was established the Gurney Harriss Kearns Foundation in support of graduate education in religion. Of this Foundation there have been more than sixty Kearns Fellows who are now in academic service over the country. In no small part, it is the graduate program, based upon the instructional staff of the Divinity School, which has enabled the Divinity School to attain standards of scholarship in thirty-seven short years that contribute to its established place of distinction among the university theological schools of America. For this, Duke University, the Divinity School and its alumni are, in a weighty measure, indebted to the vision and educational statesmanship of Professor Smith.

Wise counselor, friend of students, encourager of his younger colleagues, always dedicated to the attainment of superior standards in theological education, Dr. Smith has devoted endless effort and hours to the furtherance of the interests of the Divinity School and religious instruction in Duke University. Those who have known him most intimately are aware of his selfless commitment to noble causes which have sometimes won him the reputation of social radical. Deeply committed to the vision of ecumenical churchmanship, he has meanwhile been a leader in the establishment and furtherance of the work of the North Carolina Council of Churches and, betimes, he has been able to maintain active membership in such learned societies as the American Society for Church History and the American Theological Society, in both of which he has served as the national president. Several distinguished lectureships have been his, but, if I may venture a personal observation, his work has been distinguished by his fidelity to the details and rigors of institutional direction, conception,

and administration, which have made his work as solid in the fabric of the educational processes at Duke as are the stones of the great Chapel. He has been a builder with insight, enthusiasm, never-failing faith, and tireless dedication to those tasks which destiny has laid upon him. One should not fail to mention that he has been invariably assisted by the competent and deeply dedicated support of his wife, Alma Lee Bowden Smith, a gracious lady of infallible sensitivity and discretion who has been his helpmate through the years.

We shall profoundly miss the continuous, discriminating and alert guidance that has characterized the professional service of H. Shelton Smith, but we shall be able to say without equivocation that he has richly deserved the relaxation of responsibilities which his retirement will assure.

—ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

Focus on Faculty

HANS J. HILLERBRAND, *Modern European Christianity*:

It is, perhaps, symptomatic for my present state as a German teaching in America that I was born, thirty-one years ago, in a small village in the Saar region along the border between Germany and France. My father was of Bavarian peasant stock, my mother of Palatinate middle-class background—two somewhat diverging cultural streams finding an intriguing synthesis in my parental home.

My father was the only one of twelve children who had left, much against his parents' wishes and without their support, the parental village, had gone to university, and had pursued graduate studies in pharmacology. My parents moved often, both voluntarily and involuntarily. The former was a result of opportunities for my father's professional advancement; the latter because of governmental restrictions imposed upon my father. He paid dearly for his critical attitude toward the Third Reich. One of my earliest recollections is the Sunday morning when the Gestapo came to arrest my father.

Fortunately, I have not yet attained that august stage of latter-day autobiographical reflection which would allow me to penetrate the importance of my childhood years. I can only report that these years must have been typical. Like others of my generation I found World War II a nightmare, even more so the bitter awakening afterwards, when it became obvious that the goodwill and idealism of many of my countrymen had been misused for a diabolical end.

I graduated from high school in 1951, in many ways a characteristic product of an educational system which for those on the outside—notably Admiral Rickover—is the most perfect way, for those on the inside, however, a rigid system in which a dear price is paid for scholarly excellence. The year of my graduation I received a U.S. government scholarship for study at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. It is still an enigma to me how I—a Lutheran—was selected to go to Goshen, a small but outstanding Mennonite liberal arts college. My acquaintance with Mennonites had been, up to this point, confined to a few casual data from history books. I myself would have much preferred to go elsewhere—my vocational goal in those days was to study international law—but I had no choice. It so happened—the philosophical determinist will be pleased—that I found at Goshen both my scholarly predilection—16th century Protestant radicalism—and my wife, Bonnie, whom I married in

1954. My eagerness to provide German lessons for a struggling co-ed probably marked the beginning of what ended in matrimonial bliss. My mother's death in 1953 made it necessary for me to return to Germany to assume responsibility for my nine-year-old brother. Then came several years at the University of Erlangen and a doctoral examination, *magna cum laude*, in 1957. My major work was done under Professor Hans Joachim Schoeps—lately known in this country through his fine monograph on Paul.

In 1957 I was asked to teach modern European history at Goshen College. Since my wife's home was Goshen and the invitation was expressly temporary, it was easily accepted—with every intention of returning to Germany. One year turned into two, however, and in 1959 I accepted an invitation to join the Duke faculty in the field of Reformation church history. And here I still am. Two boys—the word should be capitalized for emphasis—Eric Thomas and Carl Michael, now four and two years of age, have enlarged our family. Enlarged also is our conformity to suburban American mores—including the mortgage on our dwelling. Decreased are, alas, the exuberance of youth and the assurance of all the answers. Naturally enough, the *Heimweh* for my native land is at times great. It is good, however, to be here in America and at Duke, participating in higher education, and adding to the formidable contingent of eight former or present “foreigners” on the Divinity School faculty. Perhaps Duke has the best of two worlds.

My scholarly interest is in the 16th century, particularly the radical reform movements which accompanied the major Reformation. Most of my research and writing has been in this area. I owe my interest in the Left Wing of the Reformation to the late Harold S. Bender, a remarkable scholar, a Christian gentleman, and a fatherly friend. My doctoral dissertation analyzed the political ethics of 16th century Anabaptism. This brought me to a position of “non-resistance” which, not quite identical with what is customarily known as “pacifism”, appears to me, as a Christian and as a historian, to be the most satisfactory attitude toward the power struggle of men and nations.

It is perhaps, not inappropriate to state that I approach my academic and scholarly responsibilities as a historian. By this term I do not mean to denote a delimitation of interest—say, a preference for what is customarily referred to as institutional history with its names and dates over against the theological and intellectual development, for any stress on the one at the expense of the other will

result in distortion. Rather I mean to refer to a method of approach. The historian, I believe, must not only reconstruct the past in terms of Ranke's famous dictum, "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*," but must also creatively appropriate it. This calls for the exercise of historical responsibility, or to use Troeltsch's famous statement, for the "overcoming of history by history". The past, whatever its undisputed values, must never be transplanted *in toto* into our own time, but always be related meaningfully, that is creatively, to the present age. Thus, orthodoxy of whatever variety, despite its obvious historical concern, is inadequate; it fails to exercise true historical responsibility. What is more, it fails to be cognizant of the impossibility of its historical re-creation. After all, for example, between the twentieth and the sixteenth century lie three hundred exceedingly incisive years. The position of the adjective in Servetus' last sentence, "Jesus, Son of the eternal God, deliver me," is no longer the *status confessionis* which brings a man to the stake—nor does contemporary theology trace hailstorms, broken arms, sterility, bad beer, etc. to the devil, as did Martin Luther. *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*—says quite appropriately the Roman proverb. None of us can jump over his historical shadow, though some, blinded by the sun, would try to do so.

Since Christianity is a historical phenomenon, I believe the historian exceptionally qualified to study and to interpret it. The theologian, we do well to remember, views the past, and especially the Christian past, as more than a corpse whose former life must be reconstructed; it is for him, quite on the contrary, immediate expression of the divine. The exposition of a historical problem is therefore at once the exposition of one's own position, an attack upon a historical position at once an attack upon oneself, indeed upon God. True historical *Verstehen*, in its creative appropriation of the past, will avoid this pitfall.

It should be obvious from what has been said that I consider Harnack, Troeltsch, Dilthey, and the lesser known Walter Köhler to be my mentors, even though this puts me—perhaps for a historian not inappropriately so—into the nineteenth century. Indeed, I am persuaded that the valid contribution of this nowadays disparaged, nineteenth century—namely, the pre-eminence of historical reflection, thus the awareness of the historic character of Christianity, and thereby the ability for self-criticism and relevant relationship to contemporary culture—will before long reassert itself.

American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents. H. Shelton Smith, Robert T. Handy, and Lefferts A. Loetscher. Volume II, 1820-1960. Scribner's. 1963. 634 pp. \$10.

The appearance of the second volume of documents selected and interpreted in such fashion that they both chronicle and elucidate the story of religion in America is a welcome addition to the earlier work of Professors Smith, Handy, and Loetscher, which was published in 1960. The present offering maintains in every way, and in some respects surpasses, the high standards of scholarship and taste which characterized the study of the 1607-1820 period. Moreover, the continuity between the two volumes is cogent and uncontrived. Here, in convenient format and attractive presentation, is a treasure of source material for the study of American Christianity, essential for the scholar and vastly entertaining for the intelligent reader.

The dimension of the task undertaken in the present work is considerably greater than that which earlier confronted the authors. It is, after all, easier to analyze another age with accuracy and objectivity than to perform the same service for one's own generation. Happily, the difficulties in this respect have been overcome. Volume II begins with documents which define and dramatize a revivalism so vigorous that its permeation of American culture could dominate the national scene with a unique brand of evangelical Protestantism. Working through resurgent traditions from the past, and giving adequate attention to new, conflicting, and variant expressions of the religious life and thought, the authors have organized the carefully chosen documents so that the expanding Christian community in America is described in terms of a recognizable pattern and progress. The growth and democratization of the church appears in a setting of multiplying sects and new affirmations of the faith. An increasingly significant Roman Catholicism receives due attention; transcendentalism is given three-dimensional treatment as theological, philosophical, and social phenomenon; the tangled relation between slavery and religion is lucidly set forth; and the nascent social conscience which quickened and occasioned the emergence of a new shape in religious life is identified and expounded with sensitive insight. The volume

moves logically and climactically to the final section, entitled "Re-valuing the Heritage," in which turn-of-century liberalism and social Christianity examined with sober second sight continue to sustain a vital, if altered, relation to the central tradition of Christianity. The ecumenical goal is plain in value and essence, if incomplete in experience, in the final division. There is, perhaps, an unconscious parable in the fact that Volume I begins with discussion of diverse churchly traditions transplanted to a new wilderness, but that Volume II concludes with a commendation and possibility through "growth . . . in love" of "new ways of search and exploration" in the area of "common Christian concern."

Throughout the work there is the steadfast refusal to romanticize or distort material which easily lends itself to the sensational. Rather there is such wise and objective comment and arrangement of documents that even the most diverse appear as aspects of a deeper and driving force in religious life of America which seems motivated by a compelling desire for a community of faith, secured by an authority acceptable in experience.

As in the case of the earlier volume, there is much to recommend the mechanical and technical aspects of the publication. Special attention, however, is due Dr. Doralyn Hickey for an Index which is obviously the work of a scholar of imagination and competence. Again, we remain, as indeed students of American Christianity for some years will, deeply in the debt of Professors Smith, Handy, and Loetscher for a work of superior quality.

—STUART HENRY

Representative Verse of Charles Wesley. Selected and Edited with an Introduction by Frank Baker. Abingdon. 1962. 413 pp. \$11.

When he described his brother's poems in the Preface to the 1780 *Collection of Hymns*, John Wesley placed them—better than he knew—squarely in the center of the English literary tradition. His opening remarks "with regard to the *poetry*" by using terms from Pope's *Essay on Criticism* (ll. 346-7) sought to prove that the *Collection* was in truth "a poet's song."

Here is no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives. Here is nothing turgid or bombast on the one hand, nor low and creeping on the other.

These words summon the authority of Pope's *Essay* (published in

711) as if to forestall criticism from the late Augustans. John Wesley continued:

Here are no *cant* expressions, no words without meaning . . . Here are (allow me to say) both the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English Language: and at the same time the utmost simplicity and plainness, suited to every capacity.

Here are expressions and words which anticipate with uncanny accuracy another major critical document by a major English poet: Wordsworth's Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (published in 1800). Purity, strength, simplicity, and plainness are the very virtues that are extolled in that Preface and that would have elicited praise from the early Romantics. (The one word "elegance" reminds us that we are still in the eighteenth century.) It has long been recognized that the sentiments and attitudes of the theological movements represented by Methodism and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion were of primary concern in preparing men's minds for the literary evolution of the turn of the century. The present anthology enforces the further recognition that Charles Wesley, in order to record the phenomena of new religious experience in the new theological movements, had developed a new literary style. Charles Wesley's pure, strong, simple, and plain diction awakened an audience of "every capacity" suited and prepared for Wordsworth's poetry. As Charles Wesley had his "heart-warming" experience, so William Wordsworth experienced "sensations sweet, Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart."

Professor Baker's anthology of the *Representative Verse of Charles Wesley* performs an invaluable service to students of theology, hymnody, and poetry. The volume—in addition to the verses themselves—includes an Introduction of fifty closely printed pages, a *catalogue raisonné* of the Principal Sources of the anthology (68 printed works and 48 manuscripts), Notes on Wesley's Metres, and two Indices. The volume is a model of scholarship, conceived by love and controlled by learning.

The anthology consists of 112 Hymns, 118 Sacred Poems, and 105 Miscellaneous Poems. These divisions are those set up by Wesley himself, but they are not exact. For the First Part Professor Baker defines a hymn as a communal, religious lyric, regular in metre and in structure and written to be sung (an admirable definition for an evasive genre). For each hymn he provides a collation

of its appearances in the six Wesley hymn-books, in their (English successors down to the *Methodist Hymn-Book* (1933), and in Whitefield's *Hymns* (1753), Madan's *Collections* (1760, 1763), and in *Hymns A. and M.* from 1861 to 1958. The popularity of each selection can thus be exactly charted in Wesleyan and Anglican hymnody. (It is surely disgraceful to ask that a collator add one more volume to the unutterable dolor of his collation, but American students would have been well served by the inclusion of *The Methodist Hymnal* in the streams of tradition.) It is interesting to note that of the 111 hymns, about 80 are still among the 243 Charles Wesley hymns in the *Hymn-Book*, the others having dropped out of the communal tradition along the way. One hymn never dropped into it, as it is here printed for the first time from manuscript. Textual variants are given in footnotes. The hymns are arranged chronologically by the volumes in which they first appeared and numerically within those volumes: it is an orderly scheme.

The same process is followed by the Sacred Poems and the Miscellaneous Poems, though the collation is less extensive, as these poems have been published less often than the Hymns. Indeed, some 15 of the Sacred Poems and about 50 of the Miscellaneous Poems are here printed for the first time. The recovery of these representative poems is in itself a major contribution of the present volume. Each of the 335 poems in the anthology is accompanied by a brief metrical designation, which is explained at length in the final chapter. When a poem has literary, metrical, personal, social, or religious references of particular interest, a headnote supplies the relevant information.

It is, of course, good to have included here these well-known Hymns, and it is useful to be able to trace their frequency or their variants; but it is for the Sacred and Miscellaneous Poems that the reader will be chiefly grateful. The chronological ordering of the poems in the last Part provides in addition a poetic biography of the author and much information about his friends and his family. Several poems treat Charles' courtship of Sarah Gwynne; others display his concern for his children—unborn, sick, dying—and for his wife "near the time of her travail"; still others are addressed to John Wesley and George Whitefield. There are the usual occasional verses: poem on the King's birthday, on the Prince of Wales, for the King of Prussia, on Handel's birthday, on the King of Poland, and for the Prime Minister, to mention only a few. There is a baker's dozen of poems on the American Revolution and American "Independence"

voicing Wesley's disgust at the loss of the colonies and his concern at the diminishing authority of the Crown.

Perhaps most interesting are the five poems on John Wesley's ordaining of Dr. Thomas Coke as "superintendent" of the Methodists in America; Charles' dismay at John's secret action is clearly shown in these poems, of which only two are generally known. The verses "On his Son Becoming a Roman Catholic" are the most forceful in the Miscellaneous Poems. The anthology concludes with an Elegiac Ode, the only poem of this form in all of Wesley's verse; Duke students will share Dr. Baker's enthusiasm on the discovery of this poem in the Hendrix manuscripts at Duke. The Miscellaneous Poems disclose a poet continually concerned and continually writing about his friends, the Methodist movement, the Church, and the Government.

The Introduction is an excellent study of the poetry of Charles Wesley, and Baker is to be commended for his sensitive analysis of the craft of the poet. He calls attention to an important writer of the eighteenth century; no other critic has provided so well-informed and detailed a study. After the forbidding news that Charles Wesley wrote 180,000 lines of verse (Shakespeare wrote slightly over 100,000), the Introduction describes Charles' classical training and spiritual impetus which transformed his proclivity to write much into an ability to write well. Baker then analyzes the poet's vocabulary, pointing out its essentially Anglo-Saxon quality, but noting the occasional learned word. In this practice, Wesley compares with the sacred poets of the seventeenth century, notably Vaughan. The Introduction includes also extended accounts of Wesley's use of literary allusions and the various rhetorical devices of the classical tradition. Baker notes the rarity of enjambment, attributable probably to the uncertainty of singing a run-on line in communal worship. He points also to parison and chiasmus, in both of which Wesley might have copied his skill from that of Pope. Baker comments in the Introduction also on Metre and its Modulations, on Rhymes, and on the technical Problems of Classification, Selection, and Authorship. One would like to have some analyses of poems in their entirety, but this kind of explication is attempted only briefly for two hymns (Nos. 74 and 25).

Baker makes high claims for Wesley's metrical genius: "both his inventiveness and his mastery in lyrical form were without parallel in the verse of [his] century, and perhaps only paralleled by Shelley in the century that followed." The statement is quite correct as it

goes, but perhaps it goes in the wrong direction. If one looks back to another hymn writer, George Herbert, whose works both Wesley certainly knew, he will find the standard by which to judge inventiveness and mastery in the lyric. It is hard to compare Herbert's 127 stanzaic poems with Wesley's approximately 9,000; but one may take the metrically random sampling in Part II, 117 poems, a roughly comparable. For these 117 poems Wesley used 71 different metres; for his 127 poems Herbert used 111. Herbert shows the versatility for his genius most clearly in his quatrains; in 335 poems Wesley used 12 different quatrain metres; in 127 poems Herbert used 29. Baker analyses the metrical structure of the lines with great care. He points to the "mixed metres" of Wesley as "among the most characteristic contributions of Charles Wesley to English verse these mixed metres—this reviewer is unconvinced that they are correctly named—provide lines which begin and end with strong syllables, contributing to vigorous and musical stanzas.

"When Poetry thus keeps its place, as the handmaid of Piety, John Wesley wrote, "it shall attain, not a poor perishable wreath but a crown that fadeth not away." Baker's volume invites critics of English literature to reconsider their judgment of Charles Wesley and perhaps even to award him that poor perishable laurel.

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS
Associate Professor of English
Duke University

DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL CLINICS

July 22-August 2, 1963

Three clinics, running concurrently, will be conducted at the Duke Divinity School, July 22-August 2. These are designed for ministers who are willing to participate in two weeks of intensive training. A minister may enroll in only *one clinic*.

PREACHING: This clinic has as its focus "preaching": preached and criticized sermons; lectures on the theory of preaching and the place of the sermon in corporate worship; and round-table discussions on various matters of common interest to a preacher. (Dr. James T. Cleland, Director)

PASTORAL

CARE:

The clinic in Pastoral Care has as its focus the expression of the Christian faith through the ministry to the person. Through lectures, group discussions, and hospital visitation experiences, explorations are made of the meaning of selfhood, the self in crisis, and the ministry to those caught in the crisis of illness. (Dr. Richard A. Goodling, Director.)

RURAL

CHURCH: "The Church Serving the Rural Community" will be the focus around which lectures, discussions, group projects, and study will center. (Dr. M. Wilson Nesbitt, Director)

Special lecturer to the Clinics will be Dr. W. Mark Depp, Minister Emeritus of Centenary Methodist Church, Winston-Salem, N. C., who will speak on "A Preacher Preaching to Preachers." For full information on each clinic write to the Director of the clinic in which you are interested. (Duke Divinity School, Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina.)

Scholarships covering registration fee, room and board are available through the Office of the Rural Church of the Divinity School for rural Methodist pastors in North Carolina attending any one of the three clinics.

COST: Registration Fee—\$10.00

Room—*Double per week*

\$5.50 own linen

\$10.00 with linen

Single per week

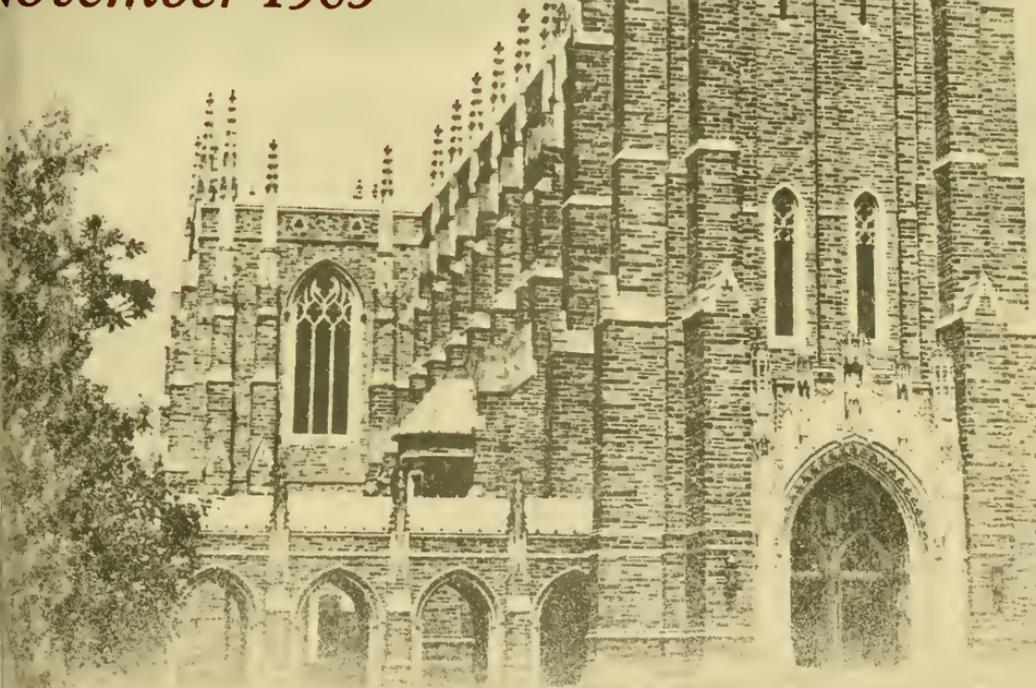
\$7.00 own linen

\$15.00 with linen

Meals—Cafeteria

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL BULLETIN

November 1963



A Prayer

Almighty God, in Whom we live and move and have our being, Who calls us by faith to see Thy hand in all of life: hear now the gratitude of our hearts for all Thou hast prepared for us. Not only have we been created by Thy hands, but by Thy hands are we redeemed and sustained with loving kindness and tender mercy. Not only dost Thou bring us life, but Thou desirest for us the truly full and abundant life.

But as we open ourselves to this sense of gratitude, we are also moved to confess our misuse of Thy gifts. Thou hast given us our full share of the inheritance, but we would squander it in a far country. We have been given freedom of thought and decision, but we often disregard the disciplined life and choose foolishly. We have been made for fellowship but are not always our brother's keeper. Thou hast offered us discipleship, but we volunteer to send someone else and then will not heed him. Thou hast called us to build the city of God; instead we neglect our daily tasks and allow the timbers to rot and the tools to lie rusting.

So we need these moments of confession to be called back to Thee. And we realize that it is our unwillingness to confess rather than Thy unwillingness to receive which stands in the way of our renewal.

Save us from the abuse of freedom, from the exploitation or neglect of others, from every unwillingness to assume the life of discipleship.

Save us through these moments of meditation, through the wise counsel and loving concern of others, through worship, through the preached word, through the sacraments, through all the means of grace. But above all, save us through Him Who gave His life that our lives might be saved from aimlessness and sin.

Save us for love of our fellow man and love of Thee. Amen.

York Chapel
October 8, 1963

—Richard Goodling

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How Can They Hear Without A Well-Trained Preacher

DEAN ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

[Opening Convocation Sermon, York Chapel, September 19, 1963]

The rugged Peter Cartwright, after more than fifty years as a Methodist itinerant preacher, published his memoirs in 1857. In his youth he had known Francis Asbury. He had known the austerities of the American frontier in its westward movement to the Mississippi. He had pursued his ministry in the heat of summer and the cold of winter. Without food or shelter he had camped numberless nights in forest or field. Veteran of the most famous frontier camp meetings of the early nineteenth century, he had preached powerfully the name of Christ. He had been God's instrument of salvation to thousands of souls. He served with no formal education. His books, his constant companions, were the Bible, the Hymnbook, and the Discipline. Now in 1857 he contrasted the straitened circumstances of the past with the more comfortable lot and superior education of the rising generation of preachers and allowed that he was "confoundedly" perplexed why they accomplish no more, and preach no better, than they do—seeing that their advantages over their predecessors are many times multiplied.

We may as well admit that Peter Cartwright's perplexity is still with us, is still pertinent. Even if we allow for the understandable pride of an aged veteran of many successful campaigns, we have to face the recurring fact that superior culture and education do not of themselves assure effectual propagation of the Gospel. These things in themselves do not make powerful witnesses of the Word of God. They do not even make wise and good shepherds of the flock in the absence of a divine enthusiasm and a sense of high urgency. We may as well face it: education is no substitute for genius, cultivation does not compensate for want of entire commitment, and academic proficiency is no substitute for the Holy Ghost.

We have to say that Peter Cartwright was touched with genius, deeply committed, and inspired by power not his own that makes for righteousness. And it is this, we may as well admit at the start, that gives the lie to our topic, "How can they hear without a well-trained

preacher?" They can and do hear without such a preacher if he is, nevertheless, a man of sense, under the disciplined authority of Christ, and empowered by a divine sufficiency greater and more reliable than his own.

A few weeks ago in a remote town of northern Vermont I picked up a book of sermons, by distinguished Methodist preachers, published in the year 1853. There were sermons by Nathan Bangs, Wilbur Fisk, and other worthies of the early nineteenth century. In a remarkable preface on the nature and state of the Methodist ministry of that age, the editor said that, although the Methodist ministry might not as a whole equal the ministry of some other denominations in educational and learned attainment, nevertheless it was hopefully advancing in this respect. But whatever disadvantage the Methodist ministry suffered by comparison in the matter of formal learning, it was undergirded by its reliance upon the reality of a heavenly calling and the urgency and divine compulsion of its witness. Everyone would agree, said the editor, that John Wesley was a scholar of large erudition who would have attained distinction as a cleric. But Wesley became a "master in Israel" when he was touched and kindled by a "divine enthusiasm" and sustained in it by the joy of salvation and the power of God.

There is truth in this observation even if, in it, there is danger of over-simplification. Since 1853 this truth has too often been used to justify anti-intellectualism in the Church and depreciation of educational standards for the ministry. But before we attend to its abuses and fallacious uses, we may as well face the fact that the ministry of the Word of God cannot depend alone upon well-trained and educated talent.

I have no doubt that Samuel Taylor Coleridge, while doubtless recalling Plato's *Phaedrus*, had well in mind the ferment of the eighteenth century revival in England under Wesley and the evangelicals when he declared: "Nothing is accomplished without enthusiasm." This was to fly in the face of conventional sober opinion of that age. But the enthusiasm to which Coleridge referred is not mere human excitement of strenuous endeavor. It is human life transfigured and radiant with a divine fire and a God-intoxicated purpose. The truth expressed in the editor's preface to the sermons of 1853 is simply that, for the effectual propagation of the Gospel, mere human nature, however competent and informed, is not enough. But the converse does not follow, however popular the fallacy among us, that the disciplined and educated mind is of little consequence to the effectual ministry of the Word.

The pages of church history (although not Dr. Petry's!) may often foster the impression that Christianity is empowered, restored, and renewed more nearly by her saints than by her scholars. But it is when saintliness comes to dwell with disciplined intelligence in a single man that God finds his most serviceable instrument and useful servant. It was so with Paul, with Augustine, with Anselm, with Luther, with John Wesley, and a host of others. Thus, just as nothing is accomplished without enthusiasm, so also enthusiasm is often blind, unstable, and quixotic without the discipline of an educated mind. For genius, it may well be, all rules fail; but, of the ranks of the ministry as of the race, we do not, I believe, presuppose genius.

Wesley had genius, he also was a disciplined mind; he became the pre-eminent apostle of eighteenth century Christianity when his disciplined powers were harnessed to the power of God. He became a "master in Israel" when his disciplined mind and spirit and his singular moral earnestness were irradiated by a divine vision and empowered by the Holy Spirit. God can do much with lesser powers and with minds of lesser magnitude and cultivation; but God can do more where he has more to do with.

II

Now, then, the topic, "How can they hear without a well-trained preacher?" takes on somewhat greater plausibility. It is true that nothing is accomplished without enthusiasm. It is true that Christian enthusiasm is the inner renewal and operation of God's Holy Spirit. It is true that, without this, our ministry is full of noise and motion but lacks substance. But it is also true that God possesses many vessels and that some vessels are more serviceable for his redemptive purpose than others. It is entirely possible that, presupposing the divine indwelling, the more serviceable vessels are those shaped, molded and fashioned by disciplined intelligence. A competent man without God is no minister. An incompetent man, in like circumstance, is even less so. But a competent man under the authority of God and empowered by him is a fit vessel of honor, a powerful executor of God's purpose.

III

With these things as background, there are three matters that deserve explicit consideration, I believe, by students and teachers of The Divinity School. First, there was a time of the expanding American frontier when formal education and cultivated learning were

distinctly less important to the effectual ministry of the Word of God than is the case today. Secondly, a well-trained ministry can be properly defined only in correlation with the general nature and complexion of the surrounding culture. This means that a well-trained ministry has to be redefined in every age or era. Thirdly, a well-trained minister is not simply a formally educated one, although he is not less than that today—in our place and time.

(1) Consider, then, for a moment, the kind of ministry that might have been adequate on the nineteenth century expanding American frontier—the frontier of Peter Cartwright and others. In that day a people were in migration save for the settled region east of the Appalachians and the coastal fringe. Families were on the move. It was fitting that the Methodist minister should be an itinerant, a traveling preacher. He carried the Gospel to widely scattered homes, hamlets and new-born villages. Life was elemental, and the issues of life were clear and plain. The preacher, in his brief visitations, had time only to baptize, marry, and, on occasion, bury. He could exhort a family or gathered group about the elemental truths of the Gospel and the simple certainties of the Ten Commandments. Life was hazardous, resources were few, the pressing need of decision for or against the word of salvation was daily present to the minds of the migrant settlers. Life was given today, but heaven or hell were not remote possibilities of the morrow. The preacher properly enforced the obvious. To do so effectually, he did not need much more than literacy, his Bible or his Hymnbook, and a shared sense of the urgency of present decision. Life was always on the brink of eternity. There was no leisure or need for refinement of the message. The great central truths were applied. It mattered not, as Peter Cartwright said, how the king's English might be "murdered every lick." To be understood, the preacher needed no better English than his hearer; indeed, his message was better heard in their own idiom. And the preacher used it with a flourish and in the strong colors of Scripture, rendered in his own simplified epigrams.

But what was the substance of this Gospel? The message might enforce personal morality and did, but, fundamentally, it had but one central question and theme: *Is the individual saved by grace and an heir to eternal life?* This is an important question, even a crucial one; but it implies a somewhat restricted and limited comprehension of the whole range and import of the Christian Gospel. Extremely individualistic in its conception of salvation, it has little or no comprehension of the Church as a community of faith and nurture, the Christian life as service to God and man, or the outreach of Christian

responsibility for reordering and reshaping the fabric of human life and culture. It is, in fact, the Protestant version of neo-Platonism, "a flight of the alone to the alone." It is naively self-centered and tintured, if not tainted, by an other-worldly bent to self-salvation. And this, I think, has not released its stultifying hold upon American Protestant Christianity to this day. It is to this tenacious and surviving tradition in American evangelical Protestantism that we must attribute a widespread unawareness on the part of church people that salvation shows forth its fruits in the manner of our lives and is not merely a fire-escape for eternity. It is this inherited self-centered and hyper-individualistic conception of salvation, preached with power, pertinency, and good intent on the nineteenth century expanding American frontier, and by inadequately trained Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist itinerant preachers, which has helped to make the Gospel look irrelevant for the issues and critical cultural problems of our day. Indeed, it contributed to an irrelevance of Gospel for life during all the days since 1844 or 1860.

It is high time to banish the myth that the average preacher of the nineteenth century frontier was adequately trained. He was effectual, perhaps too effectual, with his fragmented and restricted grasp of the Gospel. With sincere, consecrated, but limited understanding, he enforced only one thing: that men are heirs of eternal life. He did not sufficiently enforce the believer's immediate responsibility for the life that now is. He did not understand that salvation has a present and urgent social and historical implication, and that this constitutes a vocation for every believer. The frontier preacher was conspicuously effectual in promoting the *first* commandment. He was myopic, perhaps excusably so, about the *second* commandment. It is perhaps our especial reproach in the Church today that we have not so much inherited his enthusiasm for the first commandment as we have inherited his deficient concern for the second.

We might indicate in another way the defect in nineteenth century evangelical preaching. Peter Cartwright, manful and self-less apostle to the expanding West, was powerful for the Lord and magnificent in his denunciation of sin and call to repentance. His fault was that his notion of sin was over-simplified and, accordingly, also his notion of the full range of its cure. It took another full generation and longer for some to realize that sin has vast social ramifications and not simply personal and eschatological consequences. Accordingly, individualistic salvation, however pertinent to the immediate issues of life on the frontier, was, on the whole, socially irresponsible; and, I might add, irresponsible in a way that Wesley's religion was not.

(2) This brings us to the second proposition, this, namely, that a well-trained ministry can be properly defined only in correlation with the general nature of the surrounding culture. What I mean may be stated simply. It is this, that, whether a ministry is well-trained depends upon its capacity to make the Gospel *relevant* (that blessed word!) to the human situation in which the Gospel is proclaimed. Unless the Gospel is presented as relevant, our contemporary experience sufficiently proves that it will not be heard. It will not be heeded; and, accordingly, it will not be saving truth to those to whom it is beamed. It is the irrelevance of the average message and ministry for the human situation today that renders it sometimes boring to its practitioners and ineffectual to its patients.

To be sure, a ministry is not well-trained unless it is soundly informed in the Biblical faith. It is not well trained unless it grasps the central pillars of the whole Gospel. It is not well-trained unless it is instilled with familiar knowledge of the long course of Christian life-history—its recurring pitfalls and errors, but also its triumphs and its glories. A ministry is not well-trained unless it comprehends the centrality of Christian worship in which the drama of man's redemption in Christ is re-enacted in word, sacrament and song and through which successive generations participate in and appropriate that redemption. A ministry is not well-trained unless it knows and honors the canons and discipline of the church. But a ministry can be ever so well-trained in these respects, and others like them, and be woefully ignorant of the human situation, the peculiar crisis of the human spirit and culture in successive eras in which it undertakes to proclaim the saving Word.

When this is the case, the message of Christ's Church cannot be heard by those enmeshed in the labyrinthine ways of the world; and the saving relevance and potential power of the Gospel is grievously blunted and spent. Often, it is cloistered and smothered in pious routines. Plagued by ineffectuality, it frequently happens in church and churchmanship that motions accelerate and become hectic, programs multiply and, with them, the machinery of their implementation. And, shortly, the community of faith becomes more and more the institutional organism that is greatly pre-occupied with its own self-maintenance. It is not wholly true, but it is partly true that, in the measure the Christian message has been ineffectual, the expedient course has been to make administrators of the ministry in place of authentic servants of the Word and godly shepherds of the flock. If the ministry does not know what to say, it is not completely frustrated if it has much to do.

A well-trained ministry, then, is not only one that stands firm in the great truths of Christian faith and life and understands them, but also is so possessed of a comprehension of their import for the changing but recurrent needs of men that it is inspired and impelled to relate the faith savingly to the character of human need and, conversely, human need to the saving power of the Gospel. This is correlation; this also is relevance; and this is power.

As we engage in the work of theological education, then, we should understand that a well-trained ministry is one that keeps in focus both the Gospel *and* the world. Not the one in independence of the other, but, just exactly, the one in the light of the other. St. John's Gospel is testimony enough that we do not comprehend the darkness of the world save in the light of the Gospel, nor do we fully grasp the import and power of the Gospel until it illuminates the darkness of the world. The one without the other yields but half the truth and partial vision and understanding.

(3) Now, finally, consider the third proposition: a well-trained minister is not simply a formally educated one, although he is not less than that. Formal education means many things. In our time it means high school and four years of college. Increasingly it means, for large numbers of our people, graduate education beyond the college years. At the least, it means the liberal arts, the sciences, and a decent command of the language. Formal education should imply the ability to say what one means and to participate in intelligible and responsible discourse. Considering the present level of social intercourse in our society, almost no one would contend that the ministry should be sub-standard in its capacity for telling communication. Conversely, some would contend that the minister must be as competent in his subject-matter as the doctor or lawyer may be in his. There is much to commend this view; some would insist upon it.

One thing surely is true, that the minister of the Gospel cannot command a respectful hearing from those who recognize in his message and work lack of discipline and bungling improvisation of the half-baked amateur. If the minister cannot think straight, the congregation will soon find it out. If he cannot interpret scripture with the sure-footedness of one who has searched his text and ripened in understanding, he has bared his shame in public. Whatever the magnitude of his light, it is the minister's fateful lot to exhibit such light as he has for all to see. And his goodwill and sincerity will not long substitute for the authority of authentic understanding of both the Gospel and the world.

The authority and authenticity of this competence may well be

attained outside the schools and without formal instruction by genius or even by resolute purpose and diligence; but it must be had. It must be acquired; it must be evident today. Unless it is, the pulpit loses its force, ceases to be edifying, and becomes the occasion for congregational disappointment, disillusion, boredom, and finally disappearance. And let's face it: much preaching today can be and is tragically dull. And on this point two things may be said:

The first is the old but true saying: "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." It is the appearance without the substance. It is reliance upon the half without the whole. It is discipline undertaken but not completed. It is the tedium of unfulfilled plodding without the joy and security of mastery. And, above all, it is the presumption of the half-informed. So I would say in the first place, that the pulpit is apt to remain dull until half-accomplishment is replaced by mastery. And this is a word to us in the theological school—to entering Juniors or to rising Seniors.

But, secondly, and here we return to the earlier admission of this address—to the truth in Peter Cartwright's complaint of 1857—the pulpit is apt to be dull unless there sounds forth the authentic ring of a God-empowered Christian faith. A well-trained preacher is not alone disciplined through the instruction of men and culture but also through the soul-shaking discipline of God. This discipline, which begins in repentance and forgiveness of sins, leads on to wholeness and newness of life—to faith, to hope, and to love. So it is true that, if we speak with "the tongues of men and of angels," and if we possess all knowledge, but have not these divine things, we are not likely to be great either in the ministry or in the Kingdom of God. In the well-trained minister there is added to knowledge godliness. And this is not an achievement but a gift to those who will receive and nurture it. It is just exactly the disciplining of God. In this light, the question is pertinent: How *can* they hear without a well-trained minister?

Shelton Smith 'Retires'

"For all the years nothing has ever given me more genuine satisfaction than to have a student say, 'Is that really so?'" Thus did Shelton Smith, on the eve of his retirement from Duke Divinity School reveal his humility, his simplicity, and his philosophy of education. One hundred and fifty friends and colleagues and doctoral graduates from the Department of Religion had gathered in the University Ballroom on May 20, to honor Professor and Mrs. Smith. The Invocation was given by Professor Franklin Young (Ph.D. '44) of Princeton.

Presiding over a Platonic "Symposium," Dean Robert E. Cushman introduced a succession of tribute-bearers. (Those who would assay the respective roles are referred to the original text.) As Phaedrus, Professor Thomas A. Schafer (Ph.D. '51) of McCormick Theological Seminary spoke for one hundred and eleven alumni of the Graduate Program in Religion, which Shelton Smith inaugurated and directed for twenty-five years. Dr. Schafer referred to his mentor as "a teacher who excited our curiosity . . . a hardheaded director of graduate dissertations who would put up with no foolishness . . . and a beloved colleague who could put up with a good bit of foolishness." From the rough and tumble of the classroom, he said, many students earned proud scars of intellectual battle because "Shelton never condescends when he is talking to students."

Professor Albert Outler of Perkins School of Theology was introduced as Pausanias, to speak for Dr. Smith's faculty colleagues over the years. "He (Shelton) has been on the frontier or across the frontier of every major theological movement of his generation," Dr. Outler declared. "More than any other single man in this country he has contributed to the making of American Church History, which had been an appendage to European Church History." For the Graduate Program in Religion, Professor Waldo Beach spoke as Eryximachus—and as Dr. Smith's successor in the directorship. Not only was Shelton Smith responsible for making Duke the first institution in the South to offer a doctorate in Religion, but more of its graduates (from Eastern Orthodox to Quaker) are now in actual teaching service than from any other department of the University.

Presented by the Dean as Aristophanes, Provost R. Taylor Cole, on behalf of the Duke University administration, reviewed Professor

Smith's distinguished career: from his birth in North Carolina; through Elon College, the American Expeditionary Force in France, and Yale University; to teaching posts at Columbia, Yale and Duke. As President of the American Society of Church History in 1957 and of the American Theological Society in 1958, Shelton Smith has been "the Dean of studies in American Christianity," the Provost remarked. Furthermore, one of the first James B. Duke Professors, he has been throughout his thirty-two years at Duke "a University statesman."

In 1935 Mr. Gurney Harriss Kearns underwrote the Graduate Program in Religion by establishing a foundation in his name to provide fellowships and seminars. Mr. Kearns died last year, but his widow, daughter, son and daughter-in-law attended the banquet to honor the Smiths. In paying his family's tribute, Mr. Amos Kearns noted of Professor Smith that, above all, "in actual life he practiced the great ideals he taught."

At this point, Dean Cushman admitted, the Platonic cast broke down, but the symposium continued. Mrs. Cushman reviewed the many attributes of an indispensable helpmate, Alma Lee Bowden Smith: as busy worker in the Hospital Auxiliary, as avid stamp collector, as bookkeeper extraordinary, as Y.W.C.A. volunteer, as friend of new faculty members, as advisor to the Concilium wives. Mrs. Cushman then presented a jewelled pin as a gift from the faculty wives to Mrs. Smith, expressing appreciation to Shelton also for "his wisdom in choosing a wife and the wisdom of the wife he chose."

Professor H. Burnell Pannill (Ph.D. '52) of Randolph-Macon College presented a bound collection of over one hundred letters from doctoral graduates. Many former students, however, had come from considerable distance to honor Shelton Smith in person; these included Professor Walter Benjamin (Ph.D. '57) from Morningside College, Iowa, and Professor Elbert Wethington (Ph.D. '49), who had arrived just that morning from Union Theological Seminary, Manila, the Philippines. On behalf of these same Graduate Program alumni, and other friends and relatives, Dean Barney L. Jones (Ph.D. '58) unveiled a portrait of Professor Smith, painted with such remarkable fidelity by Irene Price that it deserves (as Dean Jones commented) a new Religion Building in which to hang. The portrait was accepted, for the University, by Professor McMurry S. Richey (Ph.D. '54) of the Divinity School faculty.

Arrangements for the banquet and the presentations rested largely on the shoulders of Professor Stuart Henry (Ph.D. '55), Shelton

Smith's student, understudy, and colleague. For some two years Dr. Henry, assisted by Professors Jones and Richey, has been planning and editing a *Festschrift*, which he bestowed at this time. Entitled *A Miscellany of American Christianity: Essays in Honor of H. Shelton Smith*, the volume contains scholarly articles by twelve of his former students and one colleague (see review in next issue). Dr. Smith has since declared that this collection surprised and touched him most profoundly, not only as a testimony of friends (which the whole evening represented), but also as a worthy demonstration of what the Graduate Program in Religion at Duke has produced.

Returning to his symposium language, Dean Cushman called on Professor Smith as "Socrates, John the Baptist, and the Ancient Mariner." In simple, humble fashion the guest of honor denied that he was "the person you have talked about—maybe in the Resurrection morning, after purification." But he went on to express his gratitude to all to whom he feels himself a debtor. "To my students here and elsewhere," students who would "go study awhile," as he demanded, and sometimes proved him wrong. "Professors are only older learners," Shelton Smith asserted, "and when we cease to know that, we cease to be teachers."

"I owe an incalculable debt to my colleagues, past and present," in the Divinity School and in other branches and departments of the University, for "in the final analysis we rise or fall together." "To administrators, past and present . . . those who made it possible for me to start the graduate work and then to build on the stones." To Gurney Harriss Kearns, whose first fellowship aid for the Ph.D. in Religion has been extended to sixty-six men and women. Shelton then voiced his gratitude "for what you have done in honoring my companion, Alma Smith. She has always been in the wings, waiting. . . . I have never had a problem that I have not talked over with her . . . and more often than not she offered the solution to the problem and I got the credit for it."

In conclusion, "Socrates" Shelton Smith insisted that this stirring celebration was "not for me personally; it is finally for a cause for which you, one and all, are living." His former students, colleagues, and friends gave Shelton Smith a standing ovation; for once in his life he was no more than half right. —C.L.

Professor Hilrie Shelton Smith

["An Appreciation," voted by the Faculty, May 31, 1963]

On May 20, 1963, we celebrated the climax of Professor Hilrie Shelton Smith's distinguished teaching career at Duke University. Many colleagues, former students, and other friends joined in a festive occasion to signalize his retirement with the unveiling of his portrait, the presentation of a *Festschrift*, utterances of tribute and affection, and the gift of a volume of letters from those whose doctoral studies he had directed. After these expressions of high esteem and appreciation, and the several published articles outlining his contributions and achievements, it remains for us simply to add a brief official recognition in this final faculty meeting of the year and of his academic tenure.

Dr. Smith joined the faculty of the School of Religion of Duke University in 1931 as Professor of Religious Education. He had previously served as Director of Leadership Education of the International Council of Religious Education, as Associate Professor of Philosophy of Religious Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and as Associate Professor of Religious Education at Yale Divinity School. During his first decade at Duke, Professor Smith inaugurated doctoral studies in Religion, extended his teaching to include Christian Ethics and Philosophy of Religion, and began the reconstitution of his field which issued in his later appointment as the first Professor of American Religious Thought, with the added distinction subsequently of the James B. Duke Professorship. He was the Director of Graduate Studies in Religion from 1935 until 1959. His long-time leadership in the American Society of Church History and the American Theological Society was consummated with the presidency of both in successive years. Early in his career he was honored with the D.D. (Defiance, 1926) and Litt.D. (Elon, 1940). His major publications include *Faith and Nurture* (1941); *Changing Conceptions of Original Sin: A Study in American Theology Since 1750* (1955); and (with Robert T. Handy and Lefferts A. Loetscher) the two-volume *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents* (1960, 1963). To these books should be added numerous important articles, several noteworthy theological lectureships, and the books on Bushnell and on Men and Movements in American Thought yet to come, as the

relinquishing of classroom time makes way for the harvesting of years of research and teaching.

Even such a brief listing of selected data is impressive, but they are only the skeletal facts, which his colleagues and students will appreciatively flesh out with the more impressive facts of what he has meant to the Divinity School, the University, the Church, the larger community, and the scholarly world. In a few words we can but highlight a few of these special contributions. Consider, for example: . . . his uniquely strategic role in the theological criticism and reconstruction of Christian nurture, the effects and significance of which are still crucial long after he shifted his academic focus; . . . his pioneering work and continuing leadership in the development of American Christianity as an academic discipline, and the stimulation of widespread attention to this field; . . . his part in the strengthening of the Divinity School faculty and program both directly and through the reinforcing strength of the related Graduate Department of Religion; . . . his vision and leadership in the development of that Graduate Department itself, in the securing of needed financial undergirding of the program, and in relating the department and the Divinity School to the academic life and leadership of the University; . . . his key role in University faculty and administrative affairs and the determination of policy and leadership personnel; . . . his teaching, guiding, and sending forth hundreds of Divinity and Graduate students who share the stimulus and illumination of his teaching with others throughout the Church and in an increasingly wide distribution of teaching and educational administrative posts; . . . his pioneering ecumenical statesmanship as the father of the North Carolina Council of Churches, its first President, a continuing leader even now, and a perennial spokesman for ecumenicity in the Divinity School itself; . . . his long-time prophetic leadership in the causes of social justice, rendering service to state and region, but also to the Divinity School itself and the larger academic community; . . . and, above all, what he has meant to his students and colleagues as a warm and generous friend, a devoted Christian leader, and an unforgettably superb teacher and guide. . . .

Words fail, but appreciation grows; and now as the Faculty of the Divinity School of Duke University we would express our esteem, affection, and gratitude to our beloved senior colleague, H. Shelton Smith, and to his equally esteemed Alma; and we hope that his so-called "retirement" will afford us even more of his friendly fellowship, stimulating scholarship, and continuing leadership in theological education and the ecumenical Church.

The Ministry of Reconciliation

H. SHELTON SMITH

[Divinity School Baccalaureate Sermon, York Chapel, June 2, 1963]

The dominant feature of the present age is human strife. Despite the increasing channels of inter-communication, nation strives against nation, race against race, and class against class. The old romantic dream of a universal parliament of man has given place to a wistful realism which predicts endless years of man's inhumanity to man. We of the older generation now find it hard to believe that in 1917-18 we glibly echoed the popular slogan, "war to end war."

Since we are surrounded by events of gigantic evil, we must not be surprised if a despondent mood sometimes overwhelms us. Indeed, if one does not now and then say, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," he may well doubt whether he has plumbed the full depth of the world crisis.

Yet, the true ambassador of Jesus Christ does not finally despair, for he knows that while sin abounds, grace much more abounds. Being called of God, he will faithfully and hopefully fulfill his ministry. "God was in Christ," says Saint Paul, "reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation." (2 Cor. 5:19). This message of reconciliation I commend especially to you of the graduating class.

I

As you enter upon your personal ministry, you take with you the Book that is no stranger to the ways of human wickedness. From Genesis to Revelation, from the Garden of Eden to the Isle of Patmos, this Book is literally crammed with events showing what dire calamities fell upon those who sold themselves under sin. Again and again, in those agonizing times, God's lonely prophets were so cast down by the burden of evil that they cried out:

"There is no just man, not one;
No one who understands, no one who seeks God.
All have swerved aside, all alike have become debased;
There is no one to show kindness; no, not one."
(Rom. 3:11-12).

Nevertheless, these servants of the Most High were not defeatists. Nor will you succumb to defeatism if your faith is ultimately anchored in God.

Inasmuch as you are destined to encounter human problems of explosive magnitude, you will need to put on the whole armor of God. The ministry of reconciliation is no soft or sentimental performance; it calls for the highest intelligence, and it demands a resolute will to obey God rather than man.

II

First of all, then, let us fix firmly in our minds what is basically required in the ministry of reconciliation. This ministry begins with the irreversible conviction that unredeemed man is, without exception, radically estranged from God as revealed in Jesus Christ. If the minister ever abandons this fundamental conviction, he will inevitably undermine the Christian gospel. Secondly, the ministry of reconciliation denies that the estranged creature can ever, under any condition whatsoever, restore his broken relationship to Almighty God. The gospel can become Good News only if the unreconciled creature comes to that state of mind in which he unreservedly says, "Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?" Finally, the ministry of reconciliation culminates in the sure confidence that "If any one is in Christ, he is a new being." Our whole ministry finds its ultimate harvest in God's new creation in Christ. All that finally matters is *new being*, and unless new being is the end-product of our apostolate, our ministry has no harvest, and might as well not have been.

III

If all this be so, then the minister must clearly understand what it means to be a truly new being from the Christian standpoint. A false or truncated view at this point will distort or impoverish one's whole ministry.

In this company a detailed discussion of the marks of the new being seems unnecessary, but I do want to insist that Jesus gave the indispensable mark when he said: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the great and first commandment. And the second is like it; You shall love your neighbor as yourself." (Matt. 22:37-38).

This two-fold commandment cuts like a surgeon's knife straight into the heart of what is involved in being a new creature. It says, for example, that new being is determined by what one loves, by what one sets his heart upon. By implication, it says also that the root of the old being is self-love, self-centeredness. Note next that love to God and love to neighbor are inseparable in Christian expe-

rience. Indeed, not only are the two loves inseparable, but the concrete test of love to God is love to neighbor. Thus we read in First John, "If any one says, 'I love God,' and hates his brother, he is a liar; for he who does not love his brother whom he has seen, cannot love God whom he has not seen." (1 John 4:20).

This same truth was clearly manifest in the teaching of Jesus, as when he declared: "If you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift." (Matt. 5:24-24). One finds this identical principle expressed in our service of Holy Communion: "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbors, . . . draw near with faith, and take this holy sacrament to your comfort."

Now all this bears crucially upon the reconciling work of God in Christ. In effect, it signifies that being in Christ is necessarily being in community, being in fellowship. Thus restoration to God involves restoration to fellowship with all sons of God. No one has put this matter more forcefully than the great apostle of reconciliation, who said: "God, who is rich in mercy, out of the great love with which he loved us, even when we were dead through our trespasses, made us *alive together with Christ*. . . . In Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ." (Eph. 2:4-5, 13) "For in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God through faith. . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." (Gal. 3:26, 28).

It is impossible to read that Biblical message in depth without recognizing that, in being made sons of God through Jesus Christ, we are made also members of one community, a community without racial, social, sectarian, or national frontiers. God has made us alive together with Christ, and what God has joined together let no man put asunder.

IV

This, then, is the ministry with which you, my fellow servants, have been entrusted by the grace of God. What will you do with this trust in a world that is so grievously torn by the sin and folly of the unreconciled?

I must confess that we of the older generation bear much guilt for the situation that you inherit. Had we fulfilled our own personal ministry more adequately, we might have bequeathed to you a purer

church and a more hopeful human situation. But, alas, we are leaving to you a world full of trials and tribulations, a world seething with hate and suspicion. Look at two examples.

The world's two most powerful nations rattle their nuclear bombs at each other, and neither will trust the other enough to agree to a complete ban upon nuclear testing. This situation impelled the slowly dying Christian seer, Pope John XXIII, to lift up his voice in a noble and passionate encyclical ("Pacem in Terris"), imploring nations to convert the cold war into processes of peaceful conciliation before it is too late. Whether arrogantly egocentric nations will or can finally escape a global Hiroshima is hidden in the mystery of Him who said, "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end." (Rev. 22:12)

Meanwhile, we Americans are involved in a domestic crisis without parallel in a century. The old demonic dogma of white supremacy is at last crumbling, yet die-hard racists are throwing up every conceivable roadblock against those who rightly demand equal justice and equal freedom to live a full life in human dignity. It is almost incredible that a civilized community would allow a white bully to crush his neighbor under foot merely because of the color of his skin. Yet that recently happened in Birmingham.

But let us ministers beware of casting stones at men of such savagery, for the very churches which we shall shepherd are deeply infected with the very same poisonous racism. The ecclesiastical bulletin board will exhibit the big illuminated word, WELCOME, but rare is the white church that will truly welcome fellow Christians if their skin is dark.

Consequently we hand down to you of the younger generation unsolved problems of staggering magnitude. In the words of our Lord, let me ask you: "Are you able to drink the cup?" Pray, do not answer "yes" too glibly, as did the impulsive Peter. For there is a heavy price to pay if you, without fear or favor, preach the whole gospel of Christian reconciliation. It will cost you nothing merely to sing of "the old rugged cross," but if you take up the cross of Christ and follow him all the way to Calvary, you will surely feel the thorns that pierced his head and the spikes that nailed him to the tree.

Nonetheless, in this parting message I sincerely bid you, my beloved in God, take up the cross and follow the Crucified and Risen Lord throughout your ministry, for it is through him that the world is to be reconciled to God.

Student Recruitment

O. KELLY INGRAM, Dean of Students

Recruitment of students for a seminary is part of the larger task of recruitment for theological education in general which, in turn, is part of the still larger task of ministerial recruitment. All three are interrelated and interdependent. Before one can be recruited for a seminary, he must be won to the opinion that theological education in general is worthwhile, and, before he can be brought to this opinion, he must be committed, however tentatively and tenuously, to some form of the ministry as a vocation. A seminary recruitment program concerns itself primarily with recruiting men for its student body, but it does not do so unmindful of the decisions which precede a man's choice of seminary, and, in some instances, seminary representatives are called on to counsel with men wrestling with those prior questions.

The purpose of a recruitment program

In general the purpose of a seminary recruitment program is to encourage qualified students to apply for admission. This purpose can be further elaborated by stating that the aim is to attract a cosmopolitan student body, representative in terms of race, region, nationality and denomination, as well as students of exceptional promise of usefulness in the ministry.

I. A qualified student personnel

The recruitment program seeks to attract students who qualify for theological education in terms of academic ability, possession of the gifts and graces requisite to a useful ministry, and the character and condition commensurate with an unobstructed ministry. In most seminaries qualification is largely determined by the extent of the applicant's preparedness to participate in the seminary academic program, as demonstrated by his having earned an A.B. degree or its equivalent in a four-year college or university accredited by the recognized regional accrediting agency and by his having achieved a grade average above a minimum quality-point-ratio.

Among other things, in the recruitment program at Duke Divinity School we seek persons who can be academically successful. We now have empirical data to guide the selection process, thanks to Dr.

Robert Colver of the Duke University Bureau of Testing and Guidance, who has made a study of the Divinity School student personnel of the years 1957-1961. We discovered the following predictors of academic success:

1. Scores made on the Otis Mental Ability test are predictive of academic performance in terms of quality-point-ratio. Our study reveals that students who averaged "D" in the first year of theological study had scored an average of ten points lower on the intelligence test than those who averaged "B", with those who averaged "C" scoring between the "D" students and the "B" students.

2. The Pd (psychopathic deviate) scale on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory seems to pick out at least one group of potentially poor students, for the higher the psychopathic deviation the lower the grade average. This does not mean that the student presenting a normal scale will succeed, but it indicates that it is unlikely that the deviant will succeed. It is interesting to speculate on the basis of this fact: What is a psychopathic deviate? He is an individualist who is very much at odds with society as demonstrated in one or more ways. He may have difficulty managing his hostile feelings, for instance, so that he finds himself at war with his natural enemy, the authority figure, in this case, the professor. Or he may be the "anarchist" who is essentially lawless and who has difficulty submitting to the disciplines of successful socialized existence, including those disciplines involved in study, writing and rationalization. In either case, our experience, quite apart from the predictive value of the Pd scale, has taught us that such students ordinarily are less likely to perform well than the more socialized students.

3. We grouped students according to their home addresses into those from North Carolina, those from the Southeastern Jurisdiction exclusive of North Carolina, and those from outside the Jurisdiction, to see if there were sectional differences. The students from North Carolina scored lowest in English mechanics and effectiveness of expression, but there was no appreciable difference between the group from the Southeast, exclusive of North Carolina, and the group from beyond that region. In terms of performance in the Divinity School, students from the Southeast, exclusive of North Carolina, produced the highest QPRI (quality-point-ratio, first year), with the non-Southeastern students in second place and North Carolina students third. However, once we equated for intelligence, we found no significant sectional difference.

4. Next, students were grouped according to the type of undergraduate college or university they attended, public-supported, Meth-

odist or other denomination. The graduates of public colleges scored higher in intelligence and on reading, with those from Methodist schools in second position and those from other denominational schools in third. There was no indication that the type of school made any significant difference after we equated for intelligence.

5. Seminaries have been reconsidering the Pre-Seminary Curriculum, but our study indicates that it makes little difference what curriculum a student pursues in undergraduate school so far as his grade performance in seminary is concerned. In fact, the kind of college degree is not predictive, for students holding the B.S. degree and other degrees seem to do as well as students who have an A.B.

6. More specifically, it does not seem to matter what one's college major was, for religion, history and English majors all performed equally well in their first year in seminary. Incidentally, it was observed that English majors scored highest on mechanics and effectiveness of expression as well as reading. The religion majors scored lowest, which may indicate that many undergraduate departments of religion are less than rigorous in their grading policies or tend to attract weaker students. Yet, on the other hand, the religion majors perform as well in Divinity School as the English and history majors, so that the superior grammar and reading scores may be more indicative of the English majors' preference for English than of their general scholastic aptitude.

7. Some have suspected that better students reflect the cultural advantage of the homes from which they come, but our study of the fathers' occupations shows no correlation between position in the social spectrum and academic performance. There is, to be sure, a slight difference in mechanics of expression, with those performing best whose fathers are professional men, followed by the offspring of clerical and sales workers, then managers and proprietors, and last, as expected, the children of laborers and operatives. Our study shows little difference of intelligence among these groups.

8. It was reassuring to see that one of the most reliable predictors of successful performance in the Divinity School is the condition under which the Committee on Admissions admits students. The committee was fairly accurate in spotting the less promising students. Those students accepted without question enjoyed a QPRI of 2.5, those about whom there was some question a QPRI of 2.4, and those admitted on probation a QPRI of 2.2, a significant difference. This is not surprising, however, for the academic condition under which a student is admitted is determined by his undergraduate grades which are widely considered to be the best predictors of his work on the

graduate level. In other words, here we are dealing with grade-making ability which is not the same as anything else that we know of, certainly not intelligence, for when we equated for intelligence, the probationary students still performed more poorly. The moral seems to be that, if we were only looking for students who will make good grades, we should seek the best transcripts we can find.

9. The study revealed that married students had lower IQ's and lower QPRI's than single students. The married students whose wives worked, however, leaving them free to devote themselves to their studies had both higher IQ's and higher QPRI's than the married student pastors. Even after we equated for intelligence the married student pastors showed lower QPRI's.

10. There is a demonstrable difference in intelligence among the students when they are grouped as student pastors, students on the summer and/or winter field work, and students engaged in no related activity. While those students who engage in no type of field work show higher intelligence quotients, those who engage in field work produce the highest QPRI's. The student pastors are lowest in both intelligence and academic performance in Divinity School.

To summarize this study, we can say that the following are predictive of successful academic performance in the Divinity School: Otis Mental Ability Test scores, the M. M. P. I. Pd scale (negatively), the scores on mechanics and effectiveness of expression, and the conditions under which students are admitted as determined by the Committee on Admissions. [From an unpublished study made by Robert Colver and O. Kelly Ingram.]

Gifts and graces, character and condition

It is clear that there is a high correlation among intelligence quotients, previous grades, and grades a student will make in seminary; and seminaries can hardly afford to reject the students of obvious grade-making ability—*provided they possess other qualifications requisite to an effective ministry*. What may not be quite so clear is the fact that many students of only average grade-making ability deserve the opportunity to get a theological education because they demonstrate promise of usefulness in the ministry. As a matter of fact, if the seminary must choose between the academically brilliant student who is endowed with few or none of the gifts and graces and the student of only average scholastic aptitude who is blessed with gifts and graces, it is bound by its basic purpose to admit the latter.

Leslie R. Severinghaus, discussing the admissions policies of colleges, has issued a word of caution: "What we need is a philosophy

of admissions that takes a long look ahead to the ultimate performance in society of those candidates whose pursuit and understanding of excellence will eventually leave far behind the intense, cloistered brilliance of the scholar and the aggressive, ambitious, self-centered drive of the supreme egotist. . . . To be over-persuaded by brains and performance in admitting students is to sacrifice some of the excellence that no educational community can afford to be without."¹ Actually, what we have discovered is that any intelligent person can do satisfactory academic work in seminary. But will he be happy there? Will he continue in the course or drop out? Will his interest be so academic as to detract from the group's commitment to what is being studied? Will he enter the ministry after graduation? If so, will he be effective? These are all questions we can ignore only at the price of continuing the highest mortality rate among institutions of higher education and of seeing only a fraction of our admittees enter the ministry. All of this is to say that seminaries must ask whether the applicant possesses the gifts and graces requisite to a useful ministry, and the character and condition commensurate with an unobstructed ministry.

In our selection of students for admission at Duke we are not ignoring the question of gifts, graces, character and condition. In our request for references we carefully inquire concerning these matters. And our informants are fairly reliable in calling attention to the more obvious handicaps and character deficiencies. In the case of defects more inward and less subject to ready notation, references are less helpful. A major professor does not risk contradiction when he calls attention to the fact that an applicant has six fingers on his right hand (if he has). This can be readily confirmed. To inform us that a student is a self-centered egotist who will probably use the pulpit to preen his pride before captive admirers is to make a judgment not so easily substantiated, but the helpfulness of which is proportionate to its subjectivity. In other words, we are dependent upon the subjective judgment of pastors, ecclesiastical officials, and persons who have taught or been associated with applicants. It is hardly necessary to observe that the appraisal of gifts and graces prior to admission is less than exact, and even when it is clear that a student lacks qualification, there is often the hope that he may acquire it subsequent to admission. The net result is inadequate screening, and the admission of students who should not be encouraged to prepare for the ministry.

1. Leslie R. Severinghaus, "A Philosophy for College Admissions," *Journal of the Association of College Admissions Counselors*, Vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 5-7.

It is possible that we may find some of the correlates of acceptable ministerial candidacy in the new Theological School Inventory which yields three types of scales. The motivation scales indicate the extent to which the student was attracted to ministry by each of the following: the encouragement of others, intellectual curiosity, the leadership role, evangelistic zeal, desire for social reform, and wish to help persons. The scales in the second group assess the nature of the student's "call" in terms of the definiteness of his decision, his natural leading (roughly, rational considerations), his special leading (the immediate action of the Divine upon consciousness), and the satisfactoriness of the "call" however conceived. There is a final scale, "flexibility", which shows readiness to enter the give-and-take of academic life. We have had enough experience with the Inventory to know that it will be a helpful instrument in the hands of the vocational counselor, but it remains to be seen what its scales imply, if anything, for the recruitment of a qualified student personnel.

II. A seminary seeks to attract a cosmopolitan student body, widely representative in terms of race, region, denomination, and nationality.

Like the church, the seminary needs to bring together a heterogeneous group who find their homogeneity in Christ. Differences can heighten interest, downgrade sectional peculiarities, and underscore the values which Christians have in common with one another. That we seek to bring in students from other regions is no betrayal of Duke's responsibility to the Southeast. On the contrary, it is in fulfillment of that responsibility. We apologize to neither group, for the interests of both are served. There is reason to affirm that the breaking down of the regional character of their student bodies should be a prime objective of all seminary recruitment programs.

A cosmopolitan student body

With the possible exception of those labelled "interdenominational," all seminaries need to de-regionalize. At Duke, for instance, during the year 1961-62, 121 or 41.5% of the student body came from North Carolina, 244 or 73% from the Southeastern Jurisdiction. Another 42 or 12% came from those states contiguous to the Southeastern Jurisdiction. Only 45 or 13% came from states beyond the region. The following table shows the geographical areas from which our students have come (1957-1961):

<i>RESIDENCY</i>	<i>NUMBER</i>	<i>PER CENT</i>
North Carolina	147	34.43
Southeastern Jurisdiction, except North Carolina	173	40.51
U. S., except S. E. J.	99	23.18
Non-U. S.	8	1.87

[From an unpublished study by Robert Colver and O. K. Ingram.]

We have been heartened by the progress being made in the direction of de-regionalizing. Beginning with the academic year of 1959-60 the tide began to turn, and each year since has seen the proportion from the states beyond the Jurisdiction increase at the rate of 3%.

We are fortunate in that Duke has much to commend it to students outside the region: a faculty that, on balance, compares favorably with the best; a campus of unparalleled beauty; and the second largest Methodist theological library (fifth among all seminaries) connected with the fifteenth largest university library in the nation. Not to be ignored is our generous financial aid program, although we cannot afford complacency in this regard, for each year brings greater student dependence upon the school, and we have some deplorable gaps in our scholarship and financial aid program.

Racial diversity

Racially, Duke has been integrated all along, except for Negroes, who are now being accepted. The fact is, however, that qualified Negro ministerial students are very scarce, and, when they are found, few of them are willing to come to Duke. One can guess at the reasons why Negroes hesitate to come to Duke. In some instances it may be fear of failure on the part of students from all-Negro colleges where the scholastic standards are often lower. Also, there is the fact that well-qualified Negro students can get full scholarships and full living expenses in northern seminaries in communities that have not been *legally* segregated. We are making overtures to Negro students through our Conference on the Ministry, under the auspices of The Rockefeller Fund for Theological Education, to which several dozen students from Negro colleges are invited each fall, and by recruiting on the campuses of Negro colleges.

We have had little difficulty attracting Oriental students, but the best qualified Oriental students have enjoyed support as Crusade Scholars and have more often been directed by the Methodist Board of Missions to historically integrated schools. Since Duke is now

integrated, we are assured the policy is no longer in effect. Agreement has been reached with the Crusade Scholarship Committee under which they will screen foreign applicants for us as well as send to us our quota of Crusade Scholars.

Denominational heterogeneity

Denominational heterogeneity is desirable but difficult to achieve. As our catalogue states, "Bound by ties of history and obligation to The Methodist Church, the Divinity School is ecumenical in its interests and outlook. . . . Students of the several denominations are admitted on an equal basis." We take this position to be not only objectively sound but also typically Methodist. During the period 1957-1961, 90.16% of our students were Methodist. There are two reasons why no greater number of non-Methodist students come to Duke. (1) Pressures are brought to bear to direct them to schools of their own denomination. (2) While Duke is in fact ecumenical in its pedagogy, it makes no secret of its Methodist relationship, and many of those students who might get up enough courage to attend a seminary not of their own denomination are not willing to attend a seminary of another denomination. They go to the inter-denominational seminaries. Meanwhile we shall continue to offer Duke's opportunities to qualified students regardless of their denominational affiliation in the conviction that an unrelieved parochialism is as deadly for the academic community as a constricted regionalism.

III. Students of exceptional promise

The quality of education in any school is largely determined by two primary factors; namely, the teaching ability of the faculty and the teachability of the students. Therefore, schools should be anxious to enroll highly promising students as well as to assemble a competent teaching staff.

Duke has the reputation of attracting superior students, and that reputation, in turn, has encouraged many of the better qualified ministerial candidates to choose Duke. To attract persons of exceptional scholastic aptitude, the Merit Scholarship program has been developed. Twenty-five senior colleges are selected each year in which departments of religion are invited to nominate for such awards their most promising students. The Merit Scholarship presently amounts to \$500 in addition to full remission of tuition, plus priority in the selection of entering students for summer field work previous to entering seminary.

The Recruitment Outlook

Last year I returned from a tour of twelve schools in the Middle Atlantic States and reported that those schools have only half as many pre-ministerial students today as they had five years ago. Trinity College of Duke University reports an even more drastic decline. It appears that, as a school's academic standards rise, the number of its ministerial students goes down. For instance, Albion, Allegheny, DePauw and Dickinson, all first rate schools, have relatively few "pretheologs," although the locations of these schools may have something to do with the number of church vocations scholars enrolled.

There is, apparently, little doubt that there is a shortage of young persons contemplating religious vocations, but there is some debate over just how acute the shortage is. In April of 1961 seminaries reported a drop of 5.3 per cent during the previous five years. However, last year the report was that enrollments were up two per cent over the previous year. Again, there is reportedly a decline in the number of pre-theology students in college, yet the latest report coming from the Director of Ministerial Recruitment of The Methodist Church is that, while there were 133 fewer pre-ministerial students in Methodist colleges in 1962 than in 1961, there were almost 400 more in Wesley Foundations in 1962 than in 1961. Assuming no change in the figures for Methodist universities for which there is no report, there should have been 267 more pre-ministerial students in 1962-63 than in 1961-62. Two things should be kept in mind, however: first, figures are probably not dependable, and second, one should not equate pre-ministerial students with those who ultimately enroll in seminary. Some who are not willing to be counted as "pre-minnies" will be applying for admission to seminaries, and many more who list themselves in that category today will not apply at the time of their graduation.

There may be just as many pre-theological and theological students today as before, but the population is not standing still. It is increasing, and neither Protestant membership nor ministerial recruitment is keeping up with the population. In 1960 it was reported that since 1956 there had been an increase in general population of 9%, an increase in Protestant church membership of 5%, and a decrease of 5% in the enrollment in theological schools. It would seem, then, that in 1960 enrollment was about 15% behind general population. Or, to put it in another way, The Methodist Church estimates that it needs 1200 new ministers each year to meet minimum needs, whereas Methodist seminaries are producing 880 B.D.'s per year.

Why the Shortage?

It is hardly correct to attribute the shortage of men for the ministry to any one simple cause. Campus ministers report that religion continues to be a pressing concern for students, but that there is a disenchantment with the efficacy of the institutional church and its ministers. Students often suspect that the church is not actually coming to grips with the central theological issues which confront mankind. Some students, in the intensity of their desire to deal meaningfully and effectively with ultimate questions, have embarked upon preparation for church vocations only to quit in disgust when they discovered, so they thought, that the church is not addressing itself to those paramount concerns.

Related to the displeasure students experience at the failure of the church to deal with its assumed stock-in-trade is their protest that what the church is saying is not relevant to the towering problems of life in the complexities of mass society in the nuclear age. Indeed, there is frequently disillusionment that the church has come to be the creature of a culture rather than the creator of culture. In the backwash of this rejection of the church as the arena for the expression of their concerns there is the availability of the Peace Corps, in which young people feel they can live their altruism and idealism without involving themselves in the agonizing contradictions they sense in the ministry. Or they have their consciences relieved by being told that the laity is a Christian ministry just as the clergy, so they can have credit for a Christian vocation without having to tread upon the razor's edge which professionals seem to travel.

But there is more than a revulsion at the church's failure to be what it ought to be behind the shortage of men for the ministry. Otherwise, men would be entering church vocations to reform the church, if for no other reason. There is also the fact that our children are growing up in a culture whose basic commitments are other than Christian. Many of them come to the time of making their vocational decisions with life commitments which necessarily lead them to secular pursuits. They are not dissuaded from the ministry because of disillusionment with the church. Church and religious vocations just have no relevance for their primary interests in life. To be sure, the church must share part of the blame for the non-Christian world in which children grow up. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the church since World War II has had access to the great majority of the American people and has failed to nurture in them those commitments which would lead young people to give lively consideration to church vocations.

There may also be some truth in the sociological explanation occasionally advanced, that people choose those vocations which offer them the most rapid upward mobility in the social scale. The church in other generations has been composed largely of the lower classes and lower-middle class, from which it could attract young men who could move very quickly into the upper-middle class by becoming professional persons. But now the church is identified with the middle class and has moved away from the lower class which has traditionally supplied its ministry. In this new constituency a smaller percentage find in the ministry an expeditious advancement in status. Furthermore, America is becoming increasingly a middle class nation, and there are fewer in the lower classes to begin with.

If there is truth in this view, and the empirical data seem to support it as a general thesis, the remedy could be to take the church back to the lower classes (which should be done, regardless of recruitment needs). However, there may be just as clear a call to recognize the operation of this sociological tendency and consciously to attempt to recruit upper-middle class young people in defiance of the tendency. Indeed, there is evidence that the church is ministering to neither end of the social spectrum with any great success, and ministers from the upper-middle class are more likely to have entree to the upper class mind than those from the lower echelons.

While the identification of the church with a particular social stratum no doubt aggravates the recruitment problem, the causes cited earlier are probably more dynamic. The shortage is due primarily to the secularized commitments of youth, for which the church is not blameless. The next most significant cause is disillusionment with the church as the community for the living of a genuinely Christian life. There is reason to believe that the first is the reason why fewer young people are considering church vocations, and the second is the reason why many begin preparing for ministry and later drop out.

This consideration of why so few young people offer themselves for church vocations brings us back to our original statement. There is an inter-relation between recruitment for the ministry and recruitment for seminary. The first is the task of the church assisted by the seminaries and must be done before the seminaries can do the second. Ministerial recruitment lags because of the failure of the church to do its job, but the seminaries are in no position to cast the first stone. They trained many of the leaders of the church. The task before seminaries and the church is not to blame each other, but together to seek remedies for the church's lost genius that she might be refashioned into that community in which the Holy Spirit moves to quicken persons to lives of Christian ministry.

'Honest Before God'

Last March Bishop John A. T. Robinson brought out a popular statement of the Christian faith entitled *Honest To God*; within a month four printings were needed to fill the demand for the provocative book. The contagion of popularity has spread rapidly. On the continent, in Canada and in the United States the book has been widely read and discussed. At Duke, Mr. Jeremy North of the Gothic Book Store reports that the only paperback more popular in recent years was William Golding's *Lord of The Flies*.

To review and respond to Robinson's challenging presentation, we have invited three persons from different academic disciplines who are also of quite diverse religious commitment. Dr. Thomas H. Cordle is Associate Professor of French. His study of existentialist literature represents his personal convictions, and we have invited this friendly eristic to speak as one who does not profess the Christian faith. Dr. William P. Yohe, Associate Professor of Economics, is an active Episcopal layman, who has been asked to respond because of his interest in theology and his concern for the practical life of the church. He is now using this book in his Church School class. To both of these colleagues who have performed a work of supererogation in writing these reviews we express our special appreciation. In addition, Dr. Frederick Herzog, who shares the methodological concerns of Robinson, writes as a systematic theologian. We hope that this discussion might be both stimulating and suggestive for our readers' use of this book. —Thomas A. Langford.

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Thomas H. Cordle, Associate Professor of French:

If Christianity is to survive, let alone recapture 'secular' man, there is no time to lose in detaching it from this scheme of thought [supranaturalism], from this particular theology or *logos* about *theos*, and thinking hard about what we should put in its place. (p. 43)

. . . I believe we are being called, over the years ahead, to far more than a restating of traditional orthodoxy in modern terms. Indeed, if our defence of the Faith is limited to this, we shall find in all likelihood that we have lost out to all but a tiny religious remnant. (p. 7)

The problem that Bishop Robinson wishes to confront is summarized in these two statements. It is pre-eminently a problem of

discourse. It is not the only such problem in our time, and it is certainly not the most pressing one. It does need to be resolved, however, because its repercussions may be felt beyond the limits of the ecclesiastical bodies that are primarily concerned with it, and because all problems of discourse in a given moment tend to resemble each other, and the resolution of one may substantially assist in the solution of others.

The survival of Christianity is in any event not the issue. From the historian's point of view (which is an appropriate one from which to estimate the survival-potential of any idea or ideal being) Christianity is a culture, a massive and more or less coherent body of ideas, forms, attitudes, and gestures. Christianity is the culture of Europe and of populations of European origin wherever they are to be found. It is a culture still vigorous enough to subvert significant elements of other great cultures (India, China, Japan) and to supplant lesser ones (Middle and South Africa, Oceania). What alien culture offers a comparable threat to Christianity? In all seriousness, none.

Barring the possibility of a physical conquest accompanied by the imposition of alien forms and ideas, and the more remote one of accidental destruction of all libraries, museums, and archives, it is practically inconceivable that in five hundred, or even a thousand, years the forms of Western thought and expression would not still be quite recognizably Christian. If we thought more about the cultural manifestations of Christianity and less about its ritual and doctrinal aspects, the question of its survival would not, and could not, be raised in such an urgent tone.

These initial observations are pertinent to a commentary on Bishop Robinson's essay, because in his groping for a new discourse (he calls it: "feeling toward a new set of presuppositions") there is a tacit, though reluctant, acknowledgment that viable Christianity is no longer expressed in the "traditional orthodoxy" but is rather located in the mental structures of the inheritors of Christendom. His avowed sympathy with "non-Christians," "humanists," and "atheists" is one minor evidence that suggests this conclusion. (Though he does say precisely: "one's intelligent non-Christian friends," which may make "intelligence" and "friendship" pre-requisites of the acknowledgment.) A far weightier evidence is his receptiveness to the thought of several "radical" theologians of the day. Dietrich Bonhoeffer's appeal for "a form of Christianity that does not depend on the premise of religion" (p. 23); the decision of Rudolf Bultmann and Paul Tillich to eradicate supranaturalism from the the-

ological discourse and to substitute for it historicism and anthropology (Bultmann) or phenomenological analysis and "elucidation of existence" (Tillich); John Macmurray's prescription for a religion of social action: all of these occupy Dr. Robinson's attention in the first three chapters of his book. In each instance the theologian has seized upon some vital form of thought in the non-religious culture and has sought to restructure in its image and in approximately its terms the traditional objects of religious discourse. What his work then proposes to the clergy is a new style of preaching that departs from the culture and goes to the Scriptures, interpreting the latter in the light of the former.

Dr. Robinson's essay is a fair sample of a first attempt to utilize this new rhetoric. He cautions at the outset that his argument will probably appear in retrospect "to have erred in not being nearly radical enough" (p. 10); and further on he adds: "I cannot claim to have understood all that I am trying to transmit" (p. 21). These warnings are certainly due his readers, because as he progresses the initial presupposition of an atheistic, non-religious Christianity is smothered by the conventional language of Christian apologetic. For example:

Liturgy and worship would, on the face of it seem to be concerned essentially with what takes place in a consecrated building, with the holy rather than the common, with 'religion' rather than 'life'. They belong to, and indeed virtually constitute, that area or department of experience which appeals to 'the religious type', to those who 'like that sort of thing' or 'get something out of it'. Worship and church-going except as an expression of an interest in religion would not seem to most people to be meaningful.

And yet the sacrament which forms the heart of Christian worship is the standing denial of all this. It is the assertion of 'the "beyond" *in the midst of life*', the holy *in* the common. . . . *Holy* Communion is communion, community-life, *in sacris*, in depth, at the level at which we are not merely in human fellowship but 'in Christ', not merely in love but in Love, united with the ground and restorer of our whole being. (pp. 85-86)

How Dr. Robinson could think of this utterance as "non-religious" is quite incomprehensible. The language itself in the second paragraph, with its extraordinary virtuosity of typographical effects, is hieratic. The mere removal of the holy from the "heights" to the "depths" does not in the least change its character. The question implied in the beginning of the essay was rather whether the notion, or the "sense," of holiness is indispensable to Christianity.

Another example :

For unless the *ousia*, the being, of things deep down is Love, of the quality disclosed in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, then the Christian could have little confidence in affirming the ultimate personal character of reality. And this—not his religiosity, nor his belief in the existence of a Person in heaven—is what finally distinguishes him from the humanist and the atheist. (pp. 128-129)

The substitution of “Love” for “a Person in heaven” has contributed nothing but greater obscurity and abstractness to this reasoning. Dr. Robinson earlier declared himself willing to follow Tillich’s counsel and ban the word “God” from theological discourse for a generation. It might be even wiser to ban “Love” (and perhaps “love” too) for a time. (The quoted statement, be it said in passing, seems also to place a certain restraint on Dr. Robinson’s “sympathies” with atheists and humanists.)

In yet another place we find :

To demythologize—as Bultmann would readily concede—is not to suppose that we can dispense with all myth or symbol. It is to cut our dependence upon one particular mythology—of what Tillich calls the ‘superworld of divine objects’—which is in peril of becoming a source of incredulity rather than an aid to faith. Any alternative language—e.g. of depth—is bound to be equally symbolic. But it may speak more ‘profoundly’ to the soul of modern man. (p. 132)

This is one of several examples of the imprecise and self-deluding use of the word “myth.” The myth that we recognize as such has already passed over into the realms of art and history where belief is not an issue. The myth that functions as a paradigm of existence, that is “truth,” is rarely identified as “myth” even by the most self-conscious individuals of the culture. We are too busy believing it and living it to talk about its style and its mediating value.

In still another passage Dr. Robinson offers a stunning example of the “superfetatory” use of the language of traditional orthodoxy. (He is talking about Tillich’s “new theonomy”):

In ethics this means accepting as the basis of moral judgments the actual concrete relationship in all its particularity, refusing to subordinate it to any universal norm or to treat it merely as a case, but yet, in the depth of that unique relationship, meeting and responding to the claims of the sacred, the holy and the absolutely unconditional. (p. 114)

The unmediated existential situation, pressing, risky, unavoidable, is suddenly invaded by the “claims” of sacredness! The ethic in question functions in terms of the particulars of the situation. If something that might be called sacred and holy is one of these, it will of

course figure in the decision. If it is not there in its particularity, it can be introduced into the situation only by the enforcement of a morality founded on the principle of "the absolutely unconditional"—a morality that would inevitably require casuistry. In either case *one* of Dr. Robinson's two propositions is superfluous.

His conclusion on the "new morality" is worth adding:

This 'new morality' is, of course, none other than the old morality, just as the new commandment is the old, yet ever fresh, commandment of love. (p. 119)

Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

In all fairness it should be said that Dr. Robinson is not the inventor of this technique of overlaying one discourse with another, essentially antithetical, one. Similar efforts to accommodate the language of the sacred books to those of the secular culture have produced one of the most abundant genres of modern Western literature. The writers who inspired Dr. Robinson's essay are specialists in this domain, and none is more accomplished in the forging of ambiguous style than Professor Tillich, whose metaphor "the ground of our being" and its derivatives of "depth" and "ultimacy" are the leit-motifs of Dr. Robinson's thought. Professor Tillich departs from the language used by Martin Heidegger to elucidate being (that which is common to all the phenomena in so far as they *are*, and which is characterized above all by disclosedness and ubiquitousness). By punning on the German word *Grund* (reason; principle) he is able to "bury" the idea of being and make it obscure and inaccessible. Then by adding the possessive adjective "our" he personalizes it and lays claim to it. After that he qualifies it as "infinite" and "inexhaustible" (which is perhaps a rash assertion, since the "nothingness" that might be there instead of being is already appearing in the negative prefixes). Then he says that "the infinite and inexhaustible ground and depth of our being is God"; only one must not say or think the word "God" because it evokes an "abandoned" order of divine objects.

What is really at stake for the Bishop of Woolwich is not the survival of Christianity but the survival of ecclesiastical authority and of the institutions and practices in which it is manifested. He can tentatively foresee the end of theism and of religiousness but must still defend the liturgy, the "mythology," the practices of worship and prayer. He can propose "that the Church must become genuinely and increasingly lay . . ."; but he adds: "This does not mean its becom-

ing a lay movement, in the sense of abolishing its sacramental ministers (even Bonhoeffer's most radical vision did not include that)." (p. 137)

The problem that Dr. Robinson is dealing with is one aspect of the history of Christianity: the progressive transference of authority within the culture from the priesthood to secular thinkers. This process has been in force for at least a third of the life of the culture. It has produced conflicts and crises, reforms and repressions. The present phase is neither spectacular nor anywhere near final. The priests and doctors of the church are merely going through a period of self-examination which will probably result in a thorough renovation of their discourse. (I should hate to think that it would not produce a more convincingly revolutionary work than this one.)

In the meantime the greater questions that were hinted at in the opening chapters of Honest to God are still there: In what forms will we be able to recognize Christianity five hundred years hence? Are theism, religion, mythology, and doctrine among these? Is the priesthood currently involved in a "mutation"; and if it is, what is the foreseeable end of the process?

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William P. Yohe, Associate Professor of Economics:

Strictly speaking, this is neither a review of nor any sort of reply to the Bishop of Woolwich's controversial book. It would be rather presumptuous for one whose formal training is in economics to attempt a critical evaluation of what is essentially a popular treatise in "modernist" theology. On the other hand, it may be of interest for an Episcopal layman to record his impressions of the book's significance and its relation to common Anglican thought.

Viewed as a whole, the book does not appear to be very novel or original. Although few Anglican authors are actually cited, one continually encounters ideas reminiscent of those met elsewhere, especially in the writings of Bishop Pike, who receives but a single reference. The book also is not really very sensationalistic, unless, as has evidently been the case in the protracted controversy in the English newspapers, statements are taken out of context. Thus, what have been largely semantic prejudices have been made to sound like heretical statements. Further, it may be argued (and will be below) that the appropriate context is the entire book and that no chapter, page, or sentence ought to have to stand by itself.

The book is not particularly well organized or well-written.

Somewhat more than the first half consists mainly of strings of long and difficult quotations, mostly from Tillich and Bonhoeffer and not too well woven together. This fact undoubtedly has caused many readers to give up in despair. (Theologians, who are, perhaps, more used to this style of writing than even economists, do not seem to have been disturbed by this.)

As has been implied, the argument of the book does not really bloom until late. The point of much of the book did not become entirely apparent, to this reader, at least, until midway through the last chapter, when Bishop Robinson declares (p. 133):

“. . . Without the constant discipline of theological thought, asking what we really mean by the symbols, purging out the dead myths, and being utterly honest before God with ourselves and the world, the Church can quickly become obscurantist and its faith and conduct and worship increasingly formal and hollow. That is why the cast of our theology, the mould of our belief, is in the long run so important. . . .”

It is in this crucial passage that the message finally comes through.

With all its weaknesses, the book is important for several reasons. For one thing, as professors of religion and even Sunday school teachers are finding out, the book has acquired sufficient notoriety that students actually want to read and discuss it, which is rare, indeed, for a work at all close to the mainstream of Christian thought. So it has stimulated thought about important issues of faith and practice, while providing laymen with a fairly intelligible glimpse of contemporary theology. The book has also stimulated the production of considerable prose in reply. The first book-length commentary, *For Christ's Sake*, has already been published. This title, too, reflects the effective use of the profanatory double entendre. Unfortunately, most of the appropriate remaining expressions would be of a damnatory nature.

Just as important, perhaps, is the book's role in demonstrating the ability of Anglicanism to tolerate, to weather, and often to gain from what many regard as violently disturbing notions, especially coming from a bishop. This is hardly the first time that a bishop of the Church of England has aired not wholly popular views. It is interesting to observe that, while not verified by actual count, the reviews of the book by Anglicans appear to be much more favorable than those by non-Anglicans, both in England and in the United States. The dominant Anglican position seems to correspond closely to that taken by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who devoted an en-

tire chapter in a recent book to a reply to Bishop Robinson.¹ Dr. Ramsey devotes most of his time to a sympathetic exposition of the ideas in *Honest to God*. Everywhere, however, this exposition is tempered with an appeal for moderation, well summarized in the closing paragraphs (pp. 18-19):

“. . . It has been characteristic of our Anglican portion of the Holy Catholic Church to learn from episodes of human thought without becoming in bondage to them . . . [and to emerge as] people who see their old faith in a new depth.”

As well as witness to Anglican tolerance, the book itself is very much Anglican in spirit. Where the first half sets forth the challenges of modern theology and secular life, the last half attempts to reconcile both with scripture, with Church tradition, and with sacramental worship. The chapter on “Worldly Holiness” makes its predecessors well worth the forbearance. His discussion of the Holy Communion, which he describes (p. 86) as “the assertion of ‘the beyond’ in the midst of our life,’ the holy in the common [,] . . . the point at which the common, the communal, becomes the carrier of the unconditional,” is, perhaps, the book’s crescendo to Anglican ears. His views here are more than casually tangent to those of the rather remarkable Roman Catholic reform group, the Community of St. Severin in Paris.² The same chapter contains his widely praised discussion of prayer.

The accusation has been made that in the final chapters Bishop Robinson is trying to have his cake and eat it. This is really a criticism of the fundamental Anglican approach to fulfilling its mission in the Church as a bridge between the old and the new, the conservative and the liberal, the holy and the worldly. At times this is manifest as a sort of calculated ambivalence. It is most exciting when it rediscovers in the Gospels and in the historic Church answers to the dilemmas facing “post-Christian man.” However imperfect, *Honest to God* is an important reflection of this mission.

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Frederick Herzog, Associate Professor of Systematic Theology:

Bishop Robinson’s point is simple. Modern man’s view of himself and the world differs from the Biblical view. God can no longer

1. The chapter, taken from *Image Old and New* by Michael Ramsey (S.P.C.K., 1963), has been reprinted as a pamphlet by The Forward Movement Publications, Cincinnati, Ohio.

2. See *Christians Around the Altar: The Mass as the Sacrament of Unity* (Fides Publishers Association, 1961), especially pp. 57-63.

be found "up there" or "out there." No empty spaces are left where God could still dwell. We must look for him in the midst of life, especially the secular world. Those elements of the mythological worldview of the Bible which modern man can no longer accept have to be interpreted in images germane to his experience. The Christian message therefore must be demythologized (Bultmann) or deliteralized (Tillich) and perhaps even dereligionized (Bonhoeffer).¹ The contribution of the book lies in its popularizing of these modern methods of interpretation. Now laymen can find out what theologians have been talking about in the past two decades.

Few will disagree that many Christians today are experiencing a "reluctant revolution" (p. 27) in their concept of God. But while stressing this point time and again Robinson seems to be oblivious of the revolution that already took place in Jesus of Nazareth. More radical than the problem of whether demythologizing, deliteralizing and dereligionizing make the Gospel more relevant is the question of whether the Gospel is true.

Robinson wants to be radical (p. 9). He is not "radical enough" (p. 10)—on a point hardly in his purview when he feared that he might not be sufficiently radical. He says the true radical is "the man who continually subjects the Church to the judgment of the Kingdom, to the claims of God in the increasingly non-religious world which the Church exists to serve" (p. 140). Where is the judgment of the Kingdom or the claim of God to be found if not in Jesus of Nazareth? But it is a radical offense for human understanding that it should find God in a life terminated on a cross. *Honest to God* hardly makes us face the difficulty of coming to grips with this strange God.

The book gives the impression that understanding the Christian faith will be easy, if we but give up the wrong images of God. And what should be the proper image of God? Depth, the depth of personal relationships, the depth of all experience. I, too, noticed that Robinson can call Christ "a window into God at work" (p. 71) or

1. Robinson does not make Bonhoeffer's interpretation work to any appreciable degree. The fault lies mainly in his attempt to join it with the more religious interpretation of Tillich. As to his specific use of Tillich, I feel that he leaves out a careful analysis of man's ontological structure which is irreplaceable in terms of Tillich's system if one wants to appreciate God as the ground of being. From Bultmann Robinson dissociates himself sufficiently enough that one is entitled to say that the basic theological presuppositions of *Honest to God* are derived from Tillich. I regret that Robinson has been more eclectic with Tillich's presuppositions than appears to have been necessary. Had he applied Tillich more comprehensively and consistently some parts of *Honest to God* might have been less ambiguous.

that he quotes Butterfield: "Hold to Christ, and for the rest be totally uncommitted." (p. 140) But I wonder what difference it makes in his view of God as the depth of personal relationships. Can one directly detect in personal relationships God in Christ?

In the heading of the second chapter Robinson asks: "The End of Theism?" (p. 29) In Jesus' day the Jews asked at least as radical a question: The End of Monotheism? The primary problem the Christian has always faced is not whether he should think of God in supernatural terms, but whether he can think of God in terms of Jesus. The Jews understood quite well what was at stake: "We stone you for no good work but for blasphemy; because you, being a man, make yourself God." (Jn. 10:33) Encounter with God in Jesus Christ is one thing, confrontation with depth another. Both might be related. But which one will make us truly face up to God?

Robinson believes that "in a real sense Feuerbach was right in wanting to translate 'theology' into 'anthropology.'" (p. 50) It were better if Robinson would show more discretion on this point. Our task is not to find God in man in general, but in the Cross. Robinson claims: "God, the unconditional, is to be found only in, with *and under* the conditioned relationships of this life: for he *is* their depth and ultimate significance. . . . The Son of Man can be known only in unconditional relationship to the son of man, to the one whose sole claim upon us is his common humanity. Whether one has 'known' God is tested by one question only, 'How deeply have you loved?'" (pp. 60f.) What if it were the other way around? If whether one has known God were first of all tested by the question: Do you know how deeply you have been loved?

Things get to be rather difficult for theological theory-building at this point. Here the hard questions have to be asked. What do we mean by God's love? Why should we need God's love at all? In Robinson the historical dimension of knowing God's love in Christ does not appear to have been thought through clearly, especially as it relates to the ontological structure of man's knowledge of God.

When Robinson speaks of the possibility of knowing God's love he turns too quickly to the secular. God's love "was manifested supremely on the Cross, but it is met wherever Christ is shown forth in 'an entirely different mode of living-in-relationship from anything known in the world.' For there, in however 'secular a form,' is the atonement and the resurrection." (p. 82) It is difficult to find a secular form of atonement that can communicate the meaning of God's Cross because it is difficult to find a duplication of Jesus Christ.

I am far from denying that the encounter with God in the secular

is important. Even less am I inclined to deny that modern man should be able to relate God as an image to his worldview. But whether we hold a modern worldview or not there is no other place than the Cross where we can find the "power to comprehend with all the saints what is the . . . height and depth" (Eph. 3:18). In the Cross can we truly know what "depth" is. He who finds God in the rejected sufferer of the Cross also finds him in the midst of life. He who knows the compassion that abides in spite of rejection can know the truth of the Gospel. Human relationships are brittle. They can become firm by our contemplation of the compassion manifest on the Cross. As long as we do not see that God is also where personal relationships terminate, in the loneliness of death, we still have too glamorous an image of God. We know that the Gospel is true when we can also face life and death—alone.

If a man can be for others it is because he can be alone with God. In the end it is immaterial whether God is height or depth. He is compassion, fellow-suffering. Robinson knows that, too. It does not become central in his thinking, however. The only intrinsic evil is not "lack of love" (p. 118), but lack of knowing that one is loved by God. "God so loved the world. . . ." Indeed the secular world! But Robinson's book, I fear, is inviting us to a wild goose chase after God's love in the secular world before we have really faced up to the difficulty of grasping God's love on a cross. The real revolution has been replaced by the secular kick, honest to God.

Art and the Message of the Church: In Christian History and in Contemporary Life

RAY C. PETRY

- Nathan, W. L. *Art and the Message of the Church*. Westminster. 1961. 208 pp. 25 illus. \$5. (N)
- Getlein, Frank and Dorothy. *Christianity in Modern Art*. Bruce. 1961. 227 pp. 135 illus. \$5. (G)
- Gislebertus: *Sculptor of Autun*, ed. by D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki. Orion. 1961. 180 pp. Copious illus. \$13.50.
- Stoddard, W. S. *Adventure in Architecture: Building the New Saint John's*. Text and Pictures by Stoddard. Plans by Marcel Breuer. Longmans, Green. 1958. 127 pp. 91 illus. \$8.50.
- Sir Basil Spence. "The Cathedral Church of Saint Michael, Coventry," *Architectural Record*, VIII (Aug., 1962), Color Cover and pp. 101-110. Profusely illus. (AR)
- Sir Basil Spence. *Phoenix at Coventry: The Building of a Cathedral*. Harper & Row. 141 pp. 45 illus., 11 in color. \$6.95. [A fascinating volume not seen until after this article was set in type].
- "A Modern Coventry Rises," *New York Times Magazine* (May, 1962), 26 ff., illus. (NYT)
- Britten, Benjamin. "Noye's Fludde": The Chester Miracle Play Set to Music. London (English Decca), Mono 5697, Stereo, OS 25331. \$5./\$6.
- "The Play of Daniel," presented by Noah Greenberg, the New York Pro Musica *et al.* (American) Decca record album, DL 9402/Stereo 79402/Stereo Tape St. 79402. \$5./\$6.

This strange combination of books, pictures, and records serves a common purpose. Singly and together these materials document the church's history of mingled interest and neglect concerning the role of the arts. They focus a penetrating critique of the Christian failure to capitalize contemporary art and artists. What suffers is the propagation of the historic Christian message. Yet, they also

testify that the church is reaching a new awareness. She is beginning to review the place of art in her past. Timidly, but surely, she is inquiring of the creative arts as to her present and future.

Nathan is especially helpful in his brief but cogent review of how Christianity has elicited and leaned upon the creative artist in the past. He is painfully sensitive and makes us alert also to the aloofness with which the Christian church greets modern art. Speaking literally from the grave (he died before he saw the proofs of his book), the author shows what Christianity can and must do in and through art, if both art and the church are to be saved. The Protestant perspective of Nathan and the Roman Catholic purview of the Getleins register a like concern and a common hope. Both books stress the church's relative disregard for the contemporary arts and its penitential reawakening to a need for their ministry.

Gislebertus, a sculptor who lived and died in the twelfth century, speaks to every age concerning the evanescence of sheer modernity. He witnesses the timeless value of all art that is true to the needs of its own day.

Stoddard pictures magnificently the bonus paid for a wise appropriation of history. This wisdom issues in an informed appreciation for the way in which the church was served by architecture in the past. Such acceptance of a historic legacy liberates that same church to employ the fullest innovations of modern art. Art and the church are both freed, not *from* history but *by* history, to serve the total present and future.

The New York Times (as well as recent telecasts) and *The Architectural Record* focus the death and rebirth of Coventry Cathedral. Described here is a medieval ruin left standing as an integral portion of a newly built church. Nothing is more modern, nor more a part of a living tradition, than the memory of death's inevitability and the yearning for an overcoming life that will transcend such death. We fear that we shall trip on our umbilical past and miss our hazardous future.

The recording of Britten's composition, "Noye's Fludde," brings a medieval miracle play in the Chester cycle up to date. Stravinsky, a ballet group, and TV, also, sought to up-date the Bible and the Middle Ages. Their "flood" oozed off with too much Stravinsky and a steady flow of telecasters' garrulity. Britten makes no such mistake. As usual, he takes liberties with everything and everybody. In the end, however, it is not Britten who is glorified, but the endless resourcefulness of Biblical themes, the anachronistic ebullience of medi-

eval lay piety, the singing of English hymns in church, and the irrepressible liveliness of universal childhood not rehearsed to death. Youngsters play all the animal parts, and it is the animals who sing the *Kyrie eleison*. Mrs. Noah and her "gossips" are a problem. Play the record and you will learn what kind(s). God's voice is reverently projected. Noah realistically reports, "this is hot," when his recalcitrant wife slaps his well-reddened face. God and men were both real to medieval people; and that is the way Britten has them act in church—where, by the way, they are handsomely recorded.

Only a little while before Britten's work was first given in Orford Church, 1958, the twelfth-century "Play of Daniel" was disinterred from old manuscripts. It was authentically presented by the New York Pro Musica and the medieval section of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 1957. Later it, too, was played and sung in a church. Like Britten's work, it is well recorded in mono and stereo. As in Gislebertus' Sculpture, this musical drama breathes life from the twelfth century into our smog-bemused modernity. Both the sculpture and the play reveal how contemporary the past is and how historic are the yearnings of modern man.

Nathan suggests what we must be grateful for—what to re-employ in new forms and what to discard as having finally served its time—before we can do what the present and the future require of us now. There must be a constant interplay of corporate worship and personal devotion, the historic legacy and modern innovation, plus the inner action that only contemplation can bestow, as well as the overt act that must be balanced with creative waiting. All these are treated in Nathan's very wise book.

The Getleins feature an astute running commentary on painting, architecture, sculpture, tapestry, and other crafts. Their reproductions are superb and numerous.

May we now take a brief, impressionistic look at what, more specifically, one may find in the above bibliography and discography. The review follows the main artistic categories.

Architecture. Nathan's discussion of architecture in relation to the church's historic message and its present opportunity is gravely discerning. The Getleins are both devastating and eloquently hopeful in Chap. V: "A Castle in Spain" and in Chap. VIII: "Some New Churches in Europe"; also in Chap. XIII: "Hope Springs." For things so old that they are forever new, see some of the French and German post-war churches in Chap. VIII. Don't overlook the "bush church" designed by Benadotte von Sury for Kisubi, Uganda.

Africans nurtured in bush huts might not have cuddled up to medieval Gothic. But honest architecture, as modern as your next breath, has reproduced African tradition without "copying" anything (G, no. 61-62, pp. 127-128). Observe, also, the Getleins' tribute to St. John's Benedictine Abbey Church in Collegeville, Minnesota, as "the most significant achievement of American modern ecclesiastical architecture . . ." (G, p. 218, nos. 131-135).

Stoddard's is a beautiful book about a truly unique experiment. His plates show the evolution of this new-from-the-ground-up architecture. At Collegeville, one of the greatest living architects, Marcel Breuer, answered the mandate of a Christian community, at once lay and clerical, monastic and secular, collegiate and parish, to help build edifices true to both past and present. Those not too proud to learn from Roman Catholics, not too busy to consult the Divinity School Library, and not unwilling to read a bit of French (mainly in pictures) may see how the church was finally built and dedicated August 24, 1961 (*Art. D'Église*, no. 117 [4/1961], 96-107. Compare, no. 106 [1/1958], 144-154). What a shaking experience in contemplation and action, person and community, history and modernity! Note, especially, how the "bell banner" replaces the conventional tower but retains cross and bells; how at the same time this strange baffleboard reflects light into a honey-comb structure and thence, ultimately, upon the altar. Be amazed at the temerity of these Roman Catholic brethren in bringing the altar into the center for laymen and clerics, monks and nuns, college students and country people.

There is a somewhat comparable Protestant (Lutheran) attempt to secure a purposeful unity in Christian preparation for the ministry. It was advanced by means of a new campus built in modern architecture according to long-term planning. For its description the serious student may write Concordia Senior College, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Dedication brochures recapitulating Lutheran collaboration with the famed architect Eero Saarinen and the Senior College Board of Control, and giving the Dedicatory Order of Service, May 30, 1958, are revelation in texts and attractive pictures. Here, outside Fort Wayne, the doctrinally conservative Missouri Synod gathers 450 of the most promising students from its junior colleges for two years of senior college and pre-seminary internship. They follow intimate daily routines of worship, study, and recreation in a campus built especially for them. The buildings are as pertinent to modern life as they are reminiscent of a north-European village. All these cottages with low pitched roofs bow to a high pitched chapel and free

standing bell tower. Yesterday, today, and tomorrow seem truly to meet and fraternize here as they do in specially designed small seminars, in unique library and refectory units, and, indeed, throughout. The ancient iconography and the eschatological design of God's Kingdom, operating through the church upon society, are here reflected in glowing murals and in other art forms of modern devising. Boys living in cottage dormitories close by the chapel roof must dream indeed of the historic ministry that is theirs, now! If they were to come upon St. Peter angling in a campus lake, what metaphors they could mix with the "big fisherman." How they could enlighten him on modern pastoral care! Who could tell him better than they where the "big fish" are, and how the "little people" await the seminarian's every word!

As for Coventry Cathedral, who can assess it fairly? British and American critics, from the street and in architects' offices, have variously cursed this "pink power station" and blessed this "fusion of continuity and creativity." Here, architecture, sculpture, tapestry, glass, wood, stone, color, light, and shade are in mortal struggle for men's immortal souls. This the English believed when, on November 14, 1940, German bombs gutted the old cathedral Church of Saint Michael, built c. 1375-1433. Did they believe it less when, at its consecration May 25, 1962, this old-new Coventry heard the reverberations of Benjamin Britten's "War Requiem" as sung by English, Russian, and German soloists accompanied by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra? (Recorded, Lon. Mono 4255/St. 1255/St. Tape LOH 90067.) May not Coventry's exquisite Chapel of Unity actually help in time to rejoin the hearts of men, nations, and churches?

Sculpture. On the occasion of some homecoming to the Duke Library shelves, have a look at Gislebertus. Dare you study his Last Judgment tympanum and not realize anew how fully the Christian minister stands, together with his people, under the merciful judgment of the Eternal? You never have seen the Holy Family as open-mouthed in exhaustion and yet as realistically dogged as this sculptor portrays them on the way to Egypt. Plan to be in at the death with God, Cain, and Abel. See Noah's Ark provisioned and the passengers taken abroad. Attend a cock fight (Autun, not New Orleans). Watch the apostles Peter and Paul while they in turn watch Simon the Great Winged Promoter blast off and crash. Take in a medieval ball game between a man and a woman—both in informal attire. Does it strike you that such art transcends the categories of medieval

and modern? The individual and the community are at it here, with a vengeance. Worship and action? Where does one leave off and the other begin? How do you denominate people as being antiquated or contemporary when their humanity is undraped and their phobias are showing? Ask Gislebertus.

What of Epstein's Coventry statute of St. Michael slaying the devil? (AR, pp. 101-102 & NYT, 27). What's old and new here? Compare a quite different Epstein in his delicate handling of "expectancy," in his lovely "Visitation"—non-Caucasion, I believe (G, no. 68, p. 138). Can prayer itself be more sacred than Umlauf's "Man Facing Eternity" (N, Plate 23)? Who can resist Käthe Kollwitz's "Resting in the Peace of His Hands" (N, Pl. 24)? Have you ever seen anything more joyous than Henry Moore's "Rocking Chair" [Madonna and Child] (G, no. 73, p. 144)? How shall we endure T. L. Johnson's "American Pieta"? Is it going too far to associate the "Pieta" theme with a black family's mourning over a son, husband, and father just lynched (N, Pl. 25)?

Painting, Etching, etc. Try Rembrandt's etching, "Abraham's Sacrifice" (N, Pl. 12), or perhaps his "Head of Christ" (N, Pl. 13). How could timely art be more timeless! Not historic enough? Perhaps not modern? Very well, have a look at William Blake's "When the Morning Stars Sang Together" (N, Pl. 16). The "joy," at least, is as scriptural as it is universal.

Perhaps a contrast is called for between "prettified," saccharine art, where nothing hurts or really lives, with the mood of redemptive art (ancient, medieval, or modern) that slays and heals. Ponder the sweet vapidity of Hofmann's "Christ in the Temple" (G, no. 1, pp. 24-27). Then risk a glimpse at K. Schmidt-Rottluff's "Pharisees" (G, no. 3, p. 28). These are fellows we have all seen, at times, in our own mirrors. Or take a modern genius, Salvador Dali, who has great gifts often superbly realized (see G, chap. VI) and an uncommon capacity for prostituting his art. Look at one of his phoniest, most sweetly banal vulgarities, "The Sacrament of the Last Supper" (G, no. 34, p. 77). Go back, now, to Emil Nolde's honest and arresting "The Last Supper" (G, no. 6, p. 32). There is nothing sweet or pretty here, including the colors. Here, however, Christ's face and hands and those of his disciples make this agonizing community of spirit universally real. In his "Christ Among the Children" (G, no. 7), Nolde permits only an oblique view of Christ's face. But from his back, and from the impish laughter on the children's faces, as also from their arms reaching for him, and about his neck, the Jesus who

is Lord comes radiantly through to us. Umberto Romano's "Ecce Homo" (N, Pl. 20) is terrible to look upon, as is Graham Sutherland's "The Crucifixion" (N, Pl. 19). But look upon them we must, if Christian integrity is to be redemptively renewable at the hands of revelatory art.

Tapestry and Other Crafts. At Coventry, the enormous tapestry of "Christ in Majesty" (74 x 40 ft.) hangs behind and above the altar. Designed by Graham Sutherland and woven in France, the powerful figure will offend some and edify others (AR, color cover, & p. 106; also NYT, p. 26). John Hutton's engraved glass screens of angels and saints (NYT, p. 26 & AR, p. 108) are like nothing else, except all the other strange things in Christian history. They and John Piper's tapestry window (80 x 40 ft. AR, p. 109) "in bold primary colors to signify youth," as well as "the avenues of thorns" forming canopies over the choir stalls (AR, pp. 106-107, & NYT, 26), were not made to please or repel people, but to place in related focus the affairs of this life and the after life. All of this adds up to worship and action, human beings in society, history and the present day—under the eye of the creating and sustaining Father God. The marble mosaic of Einar Forseth in the floor of the Chapel of Unity (AR, pp. 102-105, & NYT, p. 27) emblazons its own ecumenical message beyond all misunderstanding.

For other glories of mosaic, tapestry, silk work, and much more, see such gems as Sr. Thomasita's "Joyful Mysteries" and "Mary, Queen of Heaven" (G, nos. 39-40, p. 97), "The Visitation," by Josephine Le Mieux (G, no. 42, p. 99), Else Mogelin's "Wise and Foolish Virgins" and L. Le Brocquy's "Eden" (G, nos. 47-48, p. 105). In "Eden," not a nude is in sight, but the appplecores and the slitherings of the serpent everywhere proclaim to eyes, nose, and ears that an authentic "Fall" is in full progress.

Seeing such truly great, modern art one wonders what people who can't read such scriptures as these will make of Holy Writ. Surely, there is little hope of the Kingdom for us if there is no spiritual imagination within us.

One could go on. One already has. It's time now to spin some records. I suggest "The Play of Daniel" and/or "Noye's Fludde"—Britten's. If any one can hear mice go into the ark, and come out the loudspeakers in stereo (the Orford Church youngsters), and not feel like praising God in church, he or she is hopeless. It is to be doubted that such a person exists.

Two Sermons in Advent

JOHN STRUGNELL

It is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand. (Romans 13: 11-12)

I. ON LUKE 1: 5-25.

It is the start of Advent, but, I am sad to say, it is no preacher who fills your pulpit. No golden-mouthed orator will dramatically portray for you the people that walked in darkness, no erudite theologian will analyze for you the metaphysical nature of the light that dawned upon them. You must content yourselves with a non-homiletician, a non-theologian, a layman, and (I can go yet one step lower) an exegete; and since he has your attention at this important moment in the Church's year, he will do the only thing of which he is capable: he will exegete. At this season it will be appropriate to look at the Gospel's account of the first Advent, of the events leading to that first Christmas, and for these two days I would meditate with you on some features of the two scenes of Annunciation, to the father of John the Baptist and to the Mother of our Lord.

Now in eight minutes we can hardly hope to expound twenty verses—at least not twenty verses as full of meaning as these; but we can look at the passage we have just heard as a whole, and ask ourselves what is its guiding idea. Let me warn you that this is no simple chapter of biography which bears its meaning on its surface, nor is it a tinselly fairytale in the style of "Good King Wenceslas"; this is the writing of a theologian who is reflecting on the course and meaning of the mystery of the Incarnation, and reflecting in a manner that is not ours. He is meditating on a tradition and its meaning in the light of Biblical revelation; by comparing the event with details of Old Israel's history and thought, he creates a new account where the two elements are blended into a new whole, a midrash; and to understand such a work we need to read it with sympathy for the writer's aim and with all attention to the Old Testament passages which he uses to color his picture.

The Evangelist is describing days of great marvels, the fullness of time, the inbreaking of salvation. Angels are on the wing, and the Holy Spirit, the gift of the last days, is in the air. The Gospel of the Nativity starts with an apparition of the angel Gabriel to Zachariah at the time of sacrifice, described in a manner reminiscent of Gabriel's apparition to Daniel at the time of the evening sacrifice. There are numerous signs that the writer had Daniel 9 in mind all through this account; it is unlikely then to be a coincidence that between the opening appearance of Gabriel in the Temple and the manifestation of our Lord in the Temple the interval, carefully indicated, is precisely seventy weeks—the standard eschatological period—and in that very chapter of Daniel Gabriel says, "Seventy weeks of years are decreed concerning your people and your holy city, to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin, to atone for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness and to anoint a holy of holies."

Now against this background, what is the writer teaching us about the Baptist? The Evangelist fashions his account as a series of diptychs, parallel but contrasted pictures: first we have, juxtaposed, pictures of the annunciation of the Baptist's conception and of that of our Lord; then come parallel scenes of the birth and presentation of the two children. By subtle touches he shows that the second Child has precedence over the first, and was surrounded by greater marvels. For instance, of one child it is said, "He will be great before the Lord"; of the other, "He will be great" absolutely. The one is a prophet, the other a king. The one prepares the way, the other has a kingdom that will be eternal.

But this formal structure does not take us far enough, and we would be wiser to listen to the angel. "He will turn many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God, and he will go before Him in the power and spirit of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, to make ready a people prepared for God;" and later "Thou, child, shalt be called prophet of the Most High, for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways." Now this language comes from Malachi's description of Levi (of whose family John the Baptist was), which then turns into a prophecy of the coming again of Elijah, before the day of the Lord. Listen to a few verses of Malachi: "He turned many from iniquity. . . . Behold I send my messenger to prepare the way before me. . . . Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes, and he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children, and the hearts of children to their fathers." If we read further in Malachi, we will find many more

features of the day of Yahweh that sound familiar, because they are used in the Gospel of the Nativity in reference to the Advent of our Lord. In this type of writing to call such a concentration of quotations chance is dangerous. But then what? We so often imagine a universal Jewish expectation of a Messiah of the house of David or of Levi, as if every Jewish girl asked herself eagerly, "Will my child be Messiah?" But remember that the universal expectation was basically for the day of the Lord; on what role the Messiah would play in that day, opinions differed. And here lies the significance of the use of Malachi to depict the task of John. Malachi makes no reference to a Davidic Messiah, all his expectation was for the manifestation of God. Elijah will return to prepare the hearts of men for that day, but his mission is to go before Yahweh, to prepare a way for God Himself. "Behold I send my messenger to prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom you seek will suddenly come to His Temple, the angel of the covenant in whom you delight, behold, he is coming."

This is what Malachi was waiting for, and with these same words John the Baptist's mission is described. But how is this mission fulfilled, how is this scripture appropriate to John? Some may have looked on the birth of John as the birth of the Messiah (a returning Elijah, the Levitical Messiah), but such views can for us only have historical interest—they were wrong. Some scholars see in him a herald of the Davidic Messiah (as indeed he is elsewhere in the Gospels), but then *this* scripture becomes irrelevant—it is announcing something different. Others maintain that John was indeed represented as the waymaker for Yahweh, the Elijah who would come before the great and terrible day of the Lord's appearing, and there is a large measure of truth here, but we must remember our diptychs and how this story is structured. If the annunciation, birth and presentation of the Baptist are depicted as parallel to but less than those of Jesus, then where does Mary's child fit in? Is *he* going to be the Messiah? But his coming has not been mentioned and the prophecy is silent about such a one! Again, our Evangelist will not give an unfulfilled prophecy; but when is it that Yahweh appears, the Lord suddenly comes to His temple? The only answer consistent with the contrasting pictures of the two figures, and the structure of the account, is this. In the fullness of time God has sent a messenger to prepare for His solemn manifestation on earth, in the Temple. It is to this manifestation in the Temple in Jerusalem that the whole story will lead. But how in fact does the story end? In the manifestation in the Temple of the second Child who is a light to lighten the Gentiles,

and the glory of the people Israel (and remember these are titles of God Himself). The day of the Lord Yahweh dawns with the day of the Lord Jesus. No matter what John thought, he prepared the way for God's appearing, *and God appeared* in His own way. Malachi prophesied the inauguration of the new times by God's appearing in the Temple. Heralded by a prophet, Jesus enters this Temple. The last times are here and the Glory of Yahweh dwells among His people. "The Lord whom ye seek will suddenly come to His Temple, the angel of the covenant in whom you delight, behold, he is coming."

But when all this is said, what does this mean for us? Grant perhaps that the Evangelist uses these queer subtleties, grant such a very high Christology in this primitive document, where the mighty act of God in giving the barren Elizabeth a son, the Baptist, prepares for a yet mightier act when God Himself will be born of a Virgin, but what for us who keep this season in memory of that first Advent and in preparation of our souls for the second? This is indeed theology, but it has its practical side. John is at the same time called the greatest of those born of woman, but smaller than the least in the Kingdom of God. He prepared a highway for his God, but yet in some way was not a member of that Kingdom of God which our Lord established. We who wait for the second Advent, though our condition is different, though in faith we are members of that Kingdom, still our task at all times is the same as was John's, to prepare for our returning Lord and God a people fit for Him. And remember; everyone to whom much has been given, of him will much be required.

Stir up our hearts, O Lord, to make ready the ways of Thine only-begotten Son, that at His coming we may be worthy to serve Thee with a pure heart. Amen.

Grant, we beseech Thee, that Thy household may walk in the way of salvation and, following the exhortations of Blessed John the Forerunner, may surely attain unto Him whom he foretold, Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness and put upon us the armour of light, now in the time of this mortal life in which Thy Son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day, when He shall come again in His glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead, we may rise to the life immortal; through Him who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. Amen.

II. ON LUKE 1 : 26-38.

Yesterday I attempted to expound the scene of the annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist, and although the subtle implications of the scriptures there used and the presence already in the Gospel of allusions to strangely developed doctrine may have left you astonished, you have accepted that this was exegesis, and have come back for more. Today again I ask your ecumenical attention for this exposition, in which I follow some of my fellow exegetes: but when I tell you that they are of a branch of the Church whose center is some 500 miles south of Geneva, and when you remember what text it is that we are to expound, then—as the children of this age say—fasten your seat belts.

But still as an exegete I ask your ecumenical attention.

Yesterday we saw how in the light of ancient prophecy the Evangelist depicts John the Baptist as the herald who was to prepare the coming of God in the last days. Today the Evangelist leaves Jerusalem for the moment—though the story will carry us back there for its culmination—and we go to humble Nazareth, to a lowly family of the House of David—for the Lord comes to us in great humility; this is part of the mystery of His Incarnation. The simple meaning of this account, rich though it be, need not delay us—how it was announced to a young woman that she was to be the mother of the Messiah, how she accepted the promise in faith, though confused how these things might be, and how her doubts were dispelled by the realization that to God, Who had given Elizabeth a child in her old age, all things were possible.

But once again the simple tale contains deep theology. We will see that the author is hinting at further things, he is reflecting on the mystery of this Child who is at the same time son of David and Son of the Most High. How can this be?—herein lie the roots of all Christology. What does it mean that Christ was born of a Virgin?—herein is contained all proper Mariology. Once again let us listen to the angel, as he says, “Hail, O favored one, the Lord is with you. Do not be afraid, Mary, for you have found favor with God. Behold, you will conceive in your womb and bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus.” What does this mean? The first word is universally mistranslated, “Hail,” whether by this the translators intend a wish, “Peace be with thee,” or a simple banal “Good morning.” If we consider the Hebrew which doubtless underlies this account, we note that the Greek word here corresponds to the command “Rejoice,” “Be glad” which is characteristic of the call to joy at Messiah’s

coming. Now listen to Zephaniah: "Rejoice, O daughter Zion, shout O Israel, the King of Israel the Lord is in thy midst. Fear not, O Zion, the Lord thy God is in thy midst, as a warrior who saves." Jerusalem is to rejoice because the Lord is coming to dwell in it as King and Saviour. Zephaniah prophesies this, and you can find similar notes in Joel and Zechariah. The daughter Jerusalem will rejoice when the end of time comes, when the Lord will dwell in Jerusalem. When the angel takes up this language as he promises to the blessed Virgin a Child, he is applying the renewed prophecy to the event, and depicting the event as the prophecy's true fulfillment. The daughter Zion, the personification of Israel, who receives the Messianic promise, is *here* in Mary. The prophecy, that in the last days Yahweh would dwell as King and Saviour in the midst of Jerusalem, is fulfilled, for in these last days Jesus, the Son of the Most High God, will come as King and Saviour and dwell in the midst of her. You see, the daughter Zion has become "her who is highly favored," and Yahweh is here in the person of the Son of the Most High. "*Rejoice, daughter Jerusalem, . . . the King of Israel the Lord is in thy midst.*"

"Rejoice, thou who hast received grace, the Lord is with thee."
"Fear not, O Zion, the Lord thy God is in thy midst."

"Fear not, O Mary, thou wilt conceive in thy womb . . . a son." Indeed those of you who know Hebrew (and who can conceive an angel using any other language?) will notice more subtle allusions. Zephaniah continues: "He is a warrior who saves." Gabriel continues: "His name shall be 'Yahweh saves'"—for that is what the name means: it is perhaps dangerous to play at the game of etymologies, but the Biblical writers sometimes did, and if we notice how, throughout the Annunciation, the *Benedictus*, the *Nunc dimittis*, and the angelic song itself the child is called Saviour, with phrases from old Israel's description of God her Saviour, we need not fear artificiality. As the angel Gabriel said to Mary, "Fear not, thou wilt bear a son, and call his name Jesus, He will be called Son of the Most High," so the angel of the Lord said later to the shepherds: "Fear not, this day is born to you, a saviour (Jesus) who is the Messiah, the Lord." Or again the phrase "conceive in thy womb" in the Greek is abnormal, a strange redundancy, but the redundant words, "in thy womb," allude precisely to the words in Zephaniah, "Yahweh is in thy midst"—the Hebrew phrase in all probability was the same. As Yahweh will be present in the midst of the daughter Zion, so in Jesus He is present in the very womb of Mary. You see with what realism the fulfillment of prophecy is sketched.

Yesterday we saw how already in the annunciation of the coming of John the Baptist there underlay a continual note that the prophecies of Yahweh's appearance would be fulfilled. The daughter Zion, the personified Israel, has shrunk to a remnant, but in the fulness of times this remnant, the eschatological daughter Zion, knows the joy of the Advent of the Lord and of His birth. But in this coming of Yahweh will be fulfilled also the prophecies of the coming of the Davidic Messiah. Here the meaning is clearer and we need look less deeply beneath the surface. Only compare the promise of Nathan to David with Gabriel's words, and you can see how these two expectations come together in one. Through Nathan God said: "I will be for him a father, and he will be for Me a son." Gabriel says: "He will be called Son of the Most High." Nathan prophesied: "I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever." Gabriel says: "The Lord God will give him the throne of David his father, and his kingdom will have no end." Other more human traits in Nathan's prophecy have been dropped, and the divine sonship has come to the fore, but what the Davidic Messiah had to do great David's greater son will do and more.

But Mary said: "How can this be?"—and although theologians have asked why she like Zechariah was not struck dumb for lack of faith, the very fact that they have written voluminous tomes on the Incarnation shows that Mary was asking a legitimate question—or should an angel smite the theologians dumb too? For she is asking the same question. How can God Almighty be here in a humble human child? How can God become incarnate? Once again the angel's answer must be understood from the Old Testament, but it points forward to some of the clearest descriptions of this mystery that we find in the New: "The Holy Spirit will come upon thee, the power of the Most High will overshadow thee; *therefore* the child to be born will be called Holy, the Son of God." The first phrase, "the Holy Spirit will come upon Thee," need not delay us—it refers to our Lord's conception by the Holy Ghost, as the parallel in the other Gospel of the Nativity clearly attests, and so the Apostles' Creed understood it. So Mary's question is in part answered—certainly with this aid she can conceive. But why will the Child be the Son of the Most High? Once again the angel's speech is colored by an allusion to the Old Testament, to the description of how the Lord was present in the Tabernacle while the people wandered in the wilderness. Exodus says, "The cloud overshadowed the Tent of Meeting, and the Glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle." The language of the first part of this verse is closely parallel to the angel's

word. As the Tent of Meeting was overshadowed by that cloud in which the Transcendent God dwells in Heaven, so the Virgin is overshadowed by the power of the Most High, a name for that same transcendent God. But while *in* the first Tabernacle there was the Glory of God, filling the place, now *in* the Virgin is He who will be born of her, Who will be called Holy, Son of God on High. God transcendent dwells in the Heavens; in His chosen place, the Glory of God is manifested on Earth.

From here we could go on to show the typology used by the rest of the Gospel of the Nativity. We would see Jesus, the Glory of Yahweh, Glory of the people Israel, proceed to His manifestation in the Temple. We would see Mary as the Ark of the Covenant, and the Tabernacle—this is already indicated here but the point is made crystal-clear in later passages, and here we have the roots of a Mariology that is ineluctably Biblical, and which like all good Mariologies, like the very argument that raged on the title Theotokos, Mother of God, is chiefly significant for what it tells us about our Lord. But instead, let us hold fast to this answer to Mary's question, how can God appear on earth in this Child? We answer, as He resided in the Ark in His Glory, so Jesus *is* His Glory, dwelling among us. Later John will say, "The Word became flesh and tabernacled among us, and we beheld His Glory," but already this primitive witness can say that, because here, in Jesus, is the Glory of God, we rightly call Him Holy, the Son of God.

And at this season all over the world the Church sings with Isaiah (a somewhat astonished Isaiah perhaps), "Zion is our strong city: God will appoint a Saviour within her for a wall and a bulwark. Open ye the gates, for God himself is with us—Allelujah."

We beseech Thee, O Lord, pour Thy grace into our hearts, that as we have known the Incarnation of Thy Son Jesus Christ by the Message of an Angel, so by His Cross and Passion we may be brought into the Glory of His Resurrection, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness and put upon us the armor of light, now in the time of this mortal life in which Thy Son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day, when He shall come again in His glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead, we may rise to the life immortal; through Him who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. Amen.

The Dean's Discourse

Beginning our work two days earlier this fall, we instituted a new orientation program for entering students. The two-day period involved lectures on theological education and the minister's calling and afforded, we believe, a better introduction than hitherto provided for the largest entering class the Divinity School has received. An entering group of 124 persons in the three degree programs was admitted; 96 of these are candidates for the B.D. degree.

This enrollment of entering students in the B.D. program entails a 23 per cent increase over the year 1962. It may indicate an encouraging trend toward larger enrollments of B.D. candidates across the nation, but the evidence is at the moment incomplete. If I were asked to account for the increase in enrollment in our own institution, I would attribute it in large part to the extensive recruitment efforts which we have undertaken over the past three years under the direction of myself and the Dean of Students, Professor O. Kelly Ingram. Our program of merit scholarships for entering students entailed the awarding of fifteen merit scholarships to superior students from as many colleges, as far east as Wesleyan University in Connecticut and as far west as the state of Texas.

I would remark in passing that the Th.M. program, under the competent leadership of Professor McMurry S. Richey, a one-year program beyond the B.D. degree, is proving thoroughly successful academically. Admissions this year to that program numbered seventeen. We expect to graduate nineteen in the spring of 1964.

We are this day welcoming the members of the Judicial Council of The Methodist Church to Duke University for their annual meeting, for which the Divinity School is gratified to act as host. One feature of the meeting of the Judicial Council is an open hearing in the courtroom of the Law School to which students of the Divinity School or other interested members of the University community are invited, through the courtesy of Dean E. R. Latty.

To our annual Divinity School Convocation and Pastors' School I am pleased to welcome the principal contributors: Professor Joseph Sittler of the Chicago Divinity School, to give the Gray Lectures; Dr. Chester A. Pennington of Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota, to be preacher to the Convocation; Bishops Nolan B. Harmon and Fred Pierce Corson, each to be Convocation Lecturers—Bishop Corson will report on the II Vatican Council

and also give an address on the World Methodist Council, of which he is president. It is a special pleasure to have Dr. A. Purnell Bailey, District Superintendent of the Richmond District, as our Alumni Lecturer for 1963. In view of my own enforced absence from the Convocation due to my assignment as Observer to the II Vatican Council in Rome, I wish to express my appreciation and satisfaction to the several contributors to our Convocation in this public manner.

Concerning the general state of the Divinity School, we are very much *in medias res*. A study of the work of the student government organization in relationship to the total Divinity School community is under way, with a view to reconstruction of our total community life on a more comprehensive basis so as to embrace in a more fully coordinated way the increasingly numerous groups and functional units, both faculty and students, within a working schema.

A milestone in the Divinity School expansion program was passed in May through the action of the University based upon a grant from the Duke Endowment enabling us to finance the first major phase of the expansion program, namely, the renovation of the existing Gray and Divinity Buildings. This renovation, beginning with the Gray Building, is scheduled to start in February of 1964 and hopefully to be completed, together with the Divinity School renovation, in the early fall. Plans for renovation and additional construction for the Divinity School Library are completed, and hopefully the beginning of construction may be anticipated during 1964. The educational program of the Divinity School greatly depends upon the fulfillment of these plans, concerning which I am confident there is live interest on the part of the alumni.

Were there opportunity, I should like to report on experiences of Professor Frederick L. Herzog and myself as delegates to the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order at Montreal this past summer. This was a conference, unofficially, of a great deal more ecumenical significance than I think has been acknowledged by the religious press. Indeed having been a delegate to the Lund Conference in 1952, I would say that in comparison Montreal indicated substantial gains toward genuinely constructive ecumenical spirit and conversation quite beyond the acknowledgedly more brilliant Lund Conference. Conspicuous at Montreal were gusts of the ecumenical wind blowing from and through the Roman Church.

As of October 11, 1963.

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN, DEAN

THOMAS A. LANGFORD, Assistant Professor and Lecturer in
Theology :

I had hoped that the need to write autobiographical sketches ended with the completion of the last application for school. Perhaps a secret reason for this wish was an awareness of the insignificance of the personal facts which I have to record. But another reason is my involvement in the present: the present is my home, and the past as well as the future are of much less significance, and often of indifference to me. However, to review what has gone before may be of importance if by it one comes to a clearer understanding of his "place" in the present.

In many ways I am probably the most indigenous person on the Divinity School faculty. I am a native North Carolinian. My home was in Charlotte; I graduated from Davidson College and then completed seminary and doctoral work at Duke. My own parochial background was reinforced by the fact that while in Divinity School I married Ann Marie Daniel, also a native North Carolinian, from Mocksville and Charlotte, who attended Greensboro College and Duke University. Now we have four "Tarheeli" (masculine plural), ages 10, 9, 6 and 2. Immediately following the completion of my residence work for the Ph.D., I began to teach in the Department of Religion here at Duke; and through the struggle of writing a dissertation, the brief "respite" of simply teaching, and the re-engaged struggle to publish a source book in Philosophy of Religion, I have remained at Duke. One can only hope that such a narrow limitation of geographical existence does not imply a narrowly limited vision or a lack of openness to knowledge or a human sympathy which is any less inclusive than the world.

Intellectually and spiritually—the two are not separable since the latter includes the former—my history, though intensely experienced, is not strikingly unusual. With Horace Bushnell, I can say that I never knew a time when I was not a Christian. I was from childhood a participant in the life of the church and found it meaningful; in addition, I had the fortunate circumstance of having the encouragement, and often the forbearance, not only of my home but also of a friend, a genuinely pious minister, and a deeply dedicated teacher.

However different the present is from the past, this aspect of one's past cannot be a matter of indifference.

My educational experience seems, in reflection, also to hinge upon persons. My development was enhanced by interaction with others. Perhaps the awareness and conviction that life is found only in encounter, in meeting with others, has been in large measure the contribution of my past; in any case, it does play a decisive role in my theological constructions as well as in my existential commitment to the present—for the present is presence—and the high valuation which I place upon the devotional life and human relationships.

In college, as an illustration of this theme, I was intellectually awakened and challenged by the study of philosophy, and this primarily because of its mediation by a particular teacher. The experience of meeting a challenging person with provocative ideas was profound. While, in retrospect, I do not think that I ever lost the sense of the validity of my earlier experience—for the relationship with God was vivid—I did raise fundamental questions about the most adequate way of interpreting my spiritual experience. It was with such questions that I entered seminary, a decision made during high school, and with such questions that I have grappled in succeeding years.

During these years a Christological interpretation of my experience returned as the most adequate mode of explanation, and traditional Christian formulations were grasped with new understanding as well as subserving the enhancement of the relationship of faith. I am, however, also convinced that the interpretation of the doctrines of the Christian faith must become inclusive enough to find complementary relations with other religious traditions. The major effort in my academic work is to explore the philosophical and religious implications of the meaning of relationships, between man and man and between man and God. Again, this interest arises from the experiential base mentioned above, but the issue, I am convinced, is a fundamental aspect of the Christian faith.

And now we are in the present. My teaching, which is both vocation and avocation for me, is divided between the Department of Religion and the Divinity School. While I enjoy both, there are special characteristics of each which make them distinct. Teaching in the Department of Religion makes me an integral part of the life of the university, and this means that I am daily faced with an apologetic situation. The students who take undergraduate religion courses represent the entire spectrum of religious attitudes from devout believers to "despisers" of religion, with a large middle group of

nominal or indifferent spectators. The interchange with these students and with colleagues, the opportunity to meet the "world" in an "extra-churchly" way, and engagement in intellectual, moral and spiritual discussions is a continuing source of vitality and a fundamental challenge to responsible vocational fulfilment.

My teaching in the Divinity School holds interest for me not only because it is, as all teaching, another opportunity for personal engagement, but also because of my commitment to and concern for the life and worship of the church. Because of numerous recent events I am increasingly convinced that candid self-criticism is a paramount responsibility of the church in our time. The Divinity School offers opportunity for a sharing in and a critical appraisal of the community of faith.

I teach theology to the university students and philosophy of religion to the Divinity School Students. This bringing of the word of grace to the world and critical self-appraisal to the church constitute the two foci of my teaching and of my life. In this task I find valued personal encounter: again I could mention family and friends and students. These persons constitute my present context. And it is enough. For in His providence God has given this place, this time, these people, and through and in addition to them all, He has given His presence.

M. WILSON NESBITT, Assistant Professor of the Work of the Rural Church:

Life has favored me, and I have little hope of repaying in full the debt of gratitude to church and society. One of the cherished compliments was the invitation to be a member of the faculty of the Duke Divinity School, an invitation that I accepted only after a great deal of encouragement, both divine and human. I came with fear and trepidation, for I was cognizant of the magnitude of the program and the multitude of responsibilities coupled with the challenge of a superior faculty and the demands of an unpredictable student body. How well aware I was of my own limitations—and even more so now—yet I feel much at home serving the rural church from this vantage point. For example, after my first faculty meeting, I was much more at ease, for this was more than a reasonable facsimile of an official board meeting.

Reflections require a confession that I did not start out to come this way. My parents were of Appalachia (within 25 miles of Asheville) and I was reared in a textile center (the setting of Liston

Pope's *Mill Hands and Preachers*). In high school a year was missed because of an eye ailment, during which time I had opportunity to reflect. Out of this came a pledge to follow divine leading, which I hoped would by-pass the ministry. The decision came slowly and with difficulty, but became more certain in the fullness of time. An outstanding influence in my youth was my father, a retail merchant, whose formal education was not beyond the grades but whose wisdom and dedication were highly respected. Quite clear are visions of his standing, often alone or in the minority, for fair play, honesty, truth, and Christian statemanship without fear of consequences. As a man of strong character and understanding spirit, he was called upon to help bear the burdens of the weak, to give solace to the troubled, and to be the arbitrator in domestic and community difficulties. His service in the church, though unpretentious, revealed both ability and stability. The depression years took their toll, first my father's business and then his life. This, in my junior year of college, placed on me family responsibilities. Much credit must be given to my mother and sisters, who assumed the responsibilities that I might continue my undergraduate work as finances and conditions permitted.

During the course of my extended college days, I served as a student pastor for three years, living in both textile and rural communities and sharing the results of unemployment, strikes, and counter strikes, and poor stewardship of soils and souls. During seminary days I waited on tables instead of serving a church, and here I was also privileged to observe the uninhibited from both community and campus.

Mary Elizabeth Drum and I waited until after seminary days and after summer Endowment work and then a whole week before we were united in holy matrimony to share in the itinerancy of the Methodist ministry. To her and our two children, Virginia Dale and Larry, must go thanks and praise. From parish to parish to connectional secretaryship to university they have moved, making difficult adjustments and sharing great responsibilities that I might in reality be a "traveling preacher" to serve church and school across the state.

Of the sixteen years in the local parish, fifteen were in the "rural" setting. During six of these I served on a part-time basis as Secretary of Town and Country Work in the Western North Carolina Conference. Then I was appointed to serve on a full time basis for four years just prior to coming to Duke. My inclination in this direction came not because of any notion that the church in the

“rural” community is *more* significant, but because it *is* significant and has been all too often by-passed, neglected, mistreated, and forsaken. The large number of small and rural churches is evidenced by the fact that in North Carolina only one-third of the Methodist churches have more than 200 members. Another one-third has between 100 and 199. The need in the rural church is much more theological than organizational. Out of our concepts of God, man, the mission of the church, etc. should grow our patterns of operation. To meet the need there must be men who are both competent and consecrated. Though many rural communities are declining in population, the agricultural revolution, with its vast and fast changes, increases our responsibility.

Of particular significance is the fact that the Divinity School is the agent of the University in the administration of the Rural Church Program under The Duke Endowment. Far more than providing financial assistance in building and maintenance programs for rural Methodist Churches in North Carolina, it affords opportunities of contact and fellowship between the Divinity School and the local church, the district, and the conference. Thus, as I reflect objectively, the church “in local community, conference, synod, association,” etc., and the church “in seminary” are joint heirs, with the common responsibility of both being and projecting the redemptive community. Herein lies an opportunity not only to discover the truths of our Christian heritage and to communicate these to the work-a-day world, but also to establish patterns that could become universal.

Likewise, this affords expansion of an ecumenical interest and participation. Not only in make-up, but also in tradition, the Duke Divinity School is concerned with ecumenicity. The North Carolina Rural Church Institute, organized and incorporated by leaders from the Duke Divinity School as well as from several denominations and community agencies, still functions in conjunction with the North Carolina Council of Churches but with a much broader membership. Ecumenical tasks, though rewarding, are demanding and difficult.

Among other convictions, I believe strongly that only by a spirit and program of cooperation, ecumenically and denominationally, will the church be equal to the challenge of discerning the truth and fulfilling its mission. Only as administrative details add to the possible fulfillment of the church’s mission do they take on meaning and become endurable.

Contemporarily, with ministers and professors, who keep me both inspired and humbled, I share a coveted fellowship which is bound by more than human ties.

LOOKS
at BOOKS

A Guide to the World's Religions.
David G. Bradley. Prentice-Hall
182 pp. Spectrum Paperbound,
\$1.95, Clothbound, \$3.95.

For a long time there has existed a real need for a compact, readable and accurate introduction to the study of the religions of the world which one could recommend with confidence to a layman or a beginning student. Professor Bradley's *A Guide to the World's Religions* meets this need in an admirable fashion. Although it is not a scholarly work in the technical sense, it reflects the results of contemporary scholarship and reveals the scholar's concern for precision and accuracy. This is what the interested layman wants and deserves but seldom gets.

Bradley offers first a brief introduction to the nature of religion and to man as a religious being, together with a chapter on primitive religion. Then follow chapters on the four major religions of the Bible lands, the four religions of the Indian subcontinent, and the three religions of East Asia. In each chapter we find descriptive accounts of the origins, cultural context, historical development, scriptures, and current status of the particular religion. Although the approach is factual, the author does not hesitate to pronounce relevant judgments and to make observations which invite further study and reflection by the reader. To focus attention on theological concerns and to facilitate some comparative study, Bradley employs the useful schematic device of organizing the beliefs of each religion in terms of seven basic categories: the cosmos, deity, nature of man, man's plight, salvation, conduct, and destiny. The treatment is deft and lively rather than mechanical, so that the layman should be able to grasp what is dis-

tingentive and important about each religion.

The book is well written and suggests much painstaking work. The chapters on Islam and Hinduism merit high praise for unusual clarity and insight in a work addressed to laymen. The chapter on the religion of primitive peoples was probably the least successful because of certain difficulties inherent in the materials. One would be unable to name anyone else who has been more successful in surmounting these difficulties in equally brief space.

Ministers and teachers will find this book useful in many different ways in study groups because it can be readily combined with the use of varied paperback materials. Bradley has anticipated these uses by including an extensive bibliography of paperbacks organized according to the chapters of his book. This enhances the value of a very good guide.—George L. Abernethy.

The Work of the Holy Spirit: a Study in Wesleyan Theology. Lycurgus M. Starkey, Jr. Abingdon. 1962. 176 pp.

Dr. Starkey, associate professor of church history at Saint Paul School of Theology, Methodist, at Kansas City, and formerly minister at Swope Park Methodist Church in the same city, writes both as preacher and teacher, and the book has a spiritual as well as an academic purpose. Two challenges in his preface deserve their place on the book-jacket: "Have we pushed the Holy Spirit from the mainstream of Christianity into the cults where the teaching has been identified with rampant emotionalism? Have the queer queered the Holy Spirit for the church so that we are no longer con-

cerned with the powerful presence of God with us in action now?"

Starkey rightly sees the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as the Cinderella of theology, and tends to equate Barthianism and existentialism as her ugly sisters. (Lest I unduly prejudice potential readers let me add that this imagery is mine, not his.) He sets out with enthusiasm and erudition both as a scholar to analyze Wesley's teaching on the work of the Holy Spirit, and as an evangelist to apply his findings to the spiritual needs of our day.

The material is carefully organized. After an introductory glance at the setting for Wesley's theological concerns—"The Holy Spirit in Christian Experience"—the author attempts a doctrinal definition in "The Nature of the Holy Spirit", and goes on to show how in Wesley's view the Holy Spirit was at work outside as well as inside the community of Christians, "The God of Nature and of Grace." (The title of this chapter comes from one of the Wesley hymns which are effectively used in several chapters.) Starkey then discusses three particular aspects of the work of the Holy Spirit: the assurance of salvation which so stirred up prejudice in Wesley's day ("The Witness of the Spirit"); "The Means Used by the Holy Spirit", namely, Church, Scriptures, Sacraments; and the ethical outworkings of the Holy Spirit in co-operation with the human will, "The Dynamic of the Christian Life." The two closing chapters deal with "Wesley's Doctrine in Historical Context", and "Wesley and the Contemporary Theological Enterprise." Each of the eight chapters is subdivided and summarized.

The volume is well documented, with many footnotes, a bibliography and an index. It suffers, however, from insufficient familiarity with some sources and undue reliance on others. On p. 87, for example, Starkey states that Wesley's translation of the New Testament "makes several marked improvements over the Authorized Version", apparently not knowing George

C. Cell's edition of *John Wesley's New Testament*, which notes over 12,000 deviations from the A.V.—though naturally the majority of these cannot be termed "marked improvements". Nevertheless the author does utilize one primary source too frequently neglected by students of Wesley's thought, his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament*. It cannot be claimed that Dr. Starkey has written the last work upon a subject which has both academic interest and spiritual relevance, but this is an important pioneer study of value to scholar and preacher alike.—Frank Baker.

The Light of The World: A Basic Image in Early Christian Thought.
Jaroslav Pelikan. Harper, 1962,
128 pp. \$2.50.

Pastors, like professors, politicians, and social reformers long to gather "our people", especially "our rural folks", into a patronizing embrace. Well, the Gray lectures were instituted for rural ministers and, eventually, for their people. This most recently published set is quite pertinent for rural Christians. Moreover, there is no patronizing here. The unstated assumption seems to be that there is no special immunity from scholarly thought, and no penalty in downgraded theology, reserved for country Christians. The lecturer, Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Yale, is a sound scholar. He scorns talking down to preachers as much as they should avoid despising their parishioners.

All down-to-earth people rely heavily on images. Listen to any farmer anticipating a good crop. You will hear an expert on images of thought and figures of speech. These deal not so much with horses and women, as with light, sun, and life. Farmers have little affection for the ground hog school of theology: that is, living indoors and underground during the day with outdoor forays at vespers and open air excursions on Sunday. Nor

do they subscribe to survival by fall-out shelter. "Fall out" is a morning call to do chores, not retirement before the death percentage that technologists have injected into God's light and life radiating atmosphere.

These lectures are naturals for self-respecting rural ministers—those primarily concerned with people interested in light and darkness, with dawn and noon-day sun, with seed and offspring, with a God who shines his way into men's hearts, and with children who play in the light. The chapters are as poetical as realistic theology must always be: God as Light, God's Darkening World, The Radiance of the Father, Salvation as Illumination, Children of the Light. The imagery of Bible language has always had a powerful hold on country people. Biblical figures of speech have spoken to them of stark yet healing reality. Farm people often have a surer grasp in relating the literal facts to the truth of life than theologians possess. Such sure-footed theology as we have here is worthy of rural scrutiny. The Greek Fathers and Athanasius, especially, hold up "The Light of the World" as an ancient Christian image that cannot be too often drawn upon by men on the trail of God in every age.

This concern of the Greek Christian Fathers with "The Light of the World" transcends the recent enthusiasm of the culture peddlers and picture magazines with the life of the ancient Greeks. Thanks to government sponsored peeps at the Mona Lisa and timely looks at *Life*, in its world orbit, people are all agog with art, syndicated theology, the little theater, and the science of the universe. Yet Christians in general, and the clergy in particular, often seem too preoccupied with solar energy and moon shots to reflect upon the theme of the New Delhi Conference.

The imagery of the Greek Fathers is as basic for modern man as it ever was for ancient Christians. Athanasius was more logical about light and darkness, and more realistic about sex and

sin, than Freud ever was. It is a pity that some rural preachers are as proud about being "up" on psycho-analysis as they are smug about being "down" on Alexandrian theology. Athanasius was no more and no less concerned about how light breaks on a sinner in a dark world than a country sinner is. Conceptions of "Logos" and "Cosmos" are still usable commodities for astronauts in orbit and for civilized man with a future now dark, now light. For some today, perchance, as for others long ago, "glory" and "radiance" may still be more apt as attributes of the Deity than as appurtenances of community debutantes and billboard cosmetics.

This book is clearly and well written. Foreign terms are transliterated and used in modern context. Notes at the back are without apology or jaunty show. They are in the pertinent languages, on the assumption that true pastors still study unto the Lord. There are first-rate indexes of ancient and modern authors, Biblical references, and Greek terms. Printing and binding are excellent. This is a teaching-learning book. If rural pastors are afraid of it, let them give it to earnest laymen. It is not above them—or they above it.—Ray C. Petry.

The Secret Life of the Good Samaritan and Other Stories. Robert John Versteeg. Abingdon. 1963. \$2.

In recent years the art of telling a story has suffered. This is probably a result of the rapid rise of the graphic arts and the extensive development of mechanical and electronic means of communications: "a picture is worth a thousand words," we glibly say. We forget that religion, since it involves the experiences of the divine-human encounter, is oftentimes most adequately expressed through a well-chosen story. The Hebrews did not "wax philosophical" nor did they develop any of the graphics; they told a story. Jesus' teachings are remem-

bered and understood because he wrapped them up in stories.

Robert J. Versteeg, Director of Speech and Dramatics at Louisburg College and a member of the North-east Ohio Conference of the Methodist Church, has turned his sensitive understandings of the human predicament and the church's dilemma into a little volume of parables entitled *The Secret Life of the Good Samaritan and Other Stories*. In these stories, written with unusual vitality, he diagnoses the frustrations of our materialistic existence, which wishes to appear, if not to become, spiritual. This is, at the heart, the source of the frustrations which come to us as individuals and as a church.

The minister, along with the instructor and the student, will find this winsome volume enjoyable—the almost “O’Henryish” turn of plot is a sure cure for boredom—but he will not find it shallow or superficially moralistic. The wallop of “Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh” and “Mausoleum” are enough to deprive any churchman of his complacency. The depth of character and the understanding of human-divine purposes expressed in “The Man Who Hated Halos”, “The Sword”, and the “Church of the Second Chance” are worth a three-hour course in pastoral care!

After he has read these stories, the reader will be surprised at how often his mind will revert to their plots and insights. They deepen one's understanding of himself, his neighbors, and his God.—Walter N. McDonald, '48, Department of Town and Country Work, Louisburg College, North Carolina.

Why Christianity of All Religions?
Hendrik Kraemer (translated by Hubert Hoskins). Westminster. 1962. 125 pp. \$2.75.

It is now twenty-five years since the appearance of Kraemer's important and controversial volume, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian*

World. He followed this with several important books dealing with this same basic theme, e.g., *Religion and the Christian Faith* and *World Cultures and World Religions: the Coming Dialogue*. Kraemer's position, rooted in Continental Theology, has been to insist that the true and final revelation of God's purpose for man was made through Jesus Christ and that all other religious strivings of man, as expressed in the various religions of the world, are to be regarded as attempts of natural man to save himself.

In 1958 Kraemer delivered a lecture in The Hague with the above title and we find here the expansion of that lecture. In five short, closely reasoned chapters he analyses this crucial question and shows us how he has arrived at a working answer. He stresses the growing importance of this question in a world in revolution and asserts that no answer is acceptable which implies that all religions are but different ways of arriving at final truth. He then offers as his criterion of the truth by which all religions are to be judged the fact of Jesus Christ. Perhaps it is because I am a Paulinist that this is the only place where I take serious issue with Kraemer, for when we examine the nature of his Christ it turns out to be almost entirely the Christ of the Fourth Gospel—the Christ who is identical with God, and is therefore self-validating! Kraemer then applies his criterion to the world's religions, asserting that all human philosophies and religions must come under the judgment of his Christ. For him this means that all religions are in error, and that there can be no true or absolute religion, including Christianity. The true Christian, therefore, should be both committed and tolerant.

The author effectively refutes attempts of men, such as Toynbee, to substitute an “Absolute Reality” for the Christian God, and his demonstration of the validity of a subjective standard of truth is an important

emphasis. Readers at every level of competence in world religions will find this book both stimulating and helpful in the search to understand the relevance of the Gospel to men of other faiths.—D. G. Bradley.

Living Options in Protestant Theology.
James B. Cobb, Jr. Westminster.
1962. \$6.50.

This book is a valuable aid to the person who wants to become acquainted with many of the current alternative possibilities in contemporary theological construction. The work is a responsible review of the work of such diverse positions as that of E. L. Mascall, Boston Personalism, Emil Brunner, Karl Barth, Rudolf Bultmann, Paul Tillich and the Niebuhrs. I have found the descriptions accurate and informative, and containing unusual breadth in small compass. The criticisms offered of each position are internal, i.e. questions of logic, coherence and clarity are raised. In addition, there is a valuable and provocative conclusion, which indicates some of the author's own hopes for the development of a synthetic method for further theological work. In this conclusion he whets the appetite and places himself under debt to present such an approach for discussion and evaluation.

There are two limitations to the book which strike this reviewer. While internal criticism is authentic and lifts up the need for care and integrity in the evaluation of a position, the book would have more cohesion if there were also a normative critique from a vantage point which the author takes to be decisive. Secondly, while the author points to the need to provide a methodology based upon a process philosophy, he does not present anyone who has attempted this approach. Perhaps he would have had to choose an Englishman, e.g. William Temple, for such a position, or he could have used the indication given by D. D. Williams, Nels Ferré, or

even Charles Hartshorne, whom the author takes with great seriousness. It would at least have been helpful to present the present state of this approach as he wants to develop his own position upon it.

But these criticisms do not distract the basic adequacy of the description or the usefulness of the book for surveying major alternative possibilities for theological construction. It is recommended for those who want a short presentation of any of these positions or for those who are interested in the possibility of a theological system in contemporary Protestantism.—Thomas A. Langford.

Eastern Christendom. Nicholas Zernov.
Putnam's. 1961. 326 pp. \$7.50.

This is the second of a projected fifteen volumes in the *Putnam History of Religion* series under the general editorship of E. O. James. Three volumes have thus far been produced—*The Ancient Gods* by James, Zernov's work, and *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* by R. C. Zaehner—and together they promise a grand success for the series.

Nicholas Zernov is eminently qualified to write on Eastern Christendom, being himself a Russian Orthodox believer, Spalding Lecturer in the Eastern Orthodox Church, and an acknowledged authority of Orthodoxy. This work deals in seven of its eleven chapters with the history of the Eastern Church from Pentecost to the present time, and in the remaining four chapters with faith and doctrine, worship, the role of the laity, and sacred art, concluding with a statement on "The Christian East and the Contemporary World."

Zernov's presentation of the complex, historical growth of the Eastern Church in its several national branches is well ordered and lucid. Especially valuable is the chapter on the Ecumenical Councils with its penetrating discussion of the tragic Monophysite schism and the disin-

tegrating effects of the Chalcedonian Council upon the life of the Church. The analysis of the *Filioque* controversy and the East-West schism is much less satisfying; one would have desired a sharper delineation of the several theological issues which led to the split and which really maintain it to the present day. The chapters on the faith and practice of the Eastern Church are informative but scant. The brief mention of the central place of the *Philokalia* (Russian *Dobrotolubie*) and the Prayer of the Heart (the "Jesus Prayer") in Orthodox piety is distressing. Also disappointing is the discussion of Orthodox art. Zernov unhappily spends too much time considering the evolution of Eastern sacred art, rather than exploring in depth the sacramental nature of that art, especially of the ikon.

This work is really a history of Eastern Orthodoxy and as such is valuable. However, for the reader desiring a theological understanding of Orthodoxy, Bulgakov's *The Orthodox Church* and Lossky's *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* remain unsurpassed in beauty and depth. Nonetheless, considering the appalling, widespread ignorance of Orthodoxy among American Protestants, Zernov's very readable book is a welcomed addition to the literature available in English. An excellent bibliography and several pages of illustrative photographic plates complement the text.—H. P. Sullivan.

Toward the Understanding of St. Paul.
Donald J. Selby. Prentice-Hall, 1962.
355 pp. \$4.95.

Professor Selby of Catawba College introduces us to the life and thought of Paul in this clear, comprehensive and reliable study. There are no surprises or new departures in this book, but the author's style is pleasing and his judgments, when dealing with difficult and controversial aspects of the Apostle's career, are competent and balanced.

Selby devotes over two-thirds of his space to a description of the world of first-century Christianity and of Paul's life in it. Judaism in its many aspects, Hellenistic philosophies and religions, and the many facets of Paul's career are explored in a manner that permits this book to serve as a ready reference to Pauline studies.

The third part of the book, on Paul's message, contain a somewhat prosaic chapter summarizing the occasion and contents of the various Pauline letters (most likely Paul wrote Ephesians), and concludes with a chapter on the meaning of Christ for Paul. The references throughout the book are non-technical, restricted almost entirely to standard references in English. Typical key names frequently cited include H. J. Cadbury, A. Deissmann, E. J. Goodspeed, K. Lake and J. Weiss. It is annoying to find many books a half century or more old referred to as "recent", and to find the date of a reprint of such a book offered as though it were the date of the original publication. But if you want to read about Paul before Bultmann and all his gallant crew went to work on him this is the book for you. On the positive side this book is an excellent introduction to the historical study of Paul which not only should whet the reader's appetite to read further, but also indicates the directions such reading might take.—D. G. Bradley.

New Insights into Scriptures: Studying the Revised Standard Version.
J. Carter Swaim. Westminster, 1962.
206 pp. \$3.95.

This text has been written to extol the RSV, although the version has been available to all for more than a decade. The most significant part of it is found in the injunctions which constitute the twelve chapter titles. However, the matter under these titles is disappointing. The book is designed to serve as text in a leadership education course and was prepared by the director of the Department of English

Bible, of the NCCC. The intelligence of church leaders who enroll for such a course has been grossly underestimated, and the quality of the text is unworthy of them.—Kenneth W. Clark.

Biblical Archacology. Revised and Expanded Edition. G. Ernest Wright. Westminster, 1963. 291 pp. quarto. \$10.95.

Most welcome is this new edition of a book that many students wanted, but could not afford at \$15. The price reduction in this case does not mean reduction in quality. On the contrary, the pages are increased from 288, the illustrations and maps remain about the same, and the paper is better. This new, complete edition is not to be confused with the inadequate paperback "Abridged Edition."

The revisions include notices of the latest excavations at Megiddo and Hazor, of the author's campaigns at Shechem, and a more up-to-date bibliography. The Old Testament period predominates because of its longer span, but the New Testament period is handled very adequately. Since this sumptuous volume is the most reliable comprehensive treatment of the subject, a good guide to a modern approach to the Bible, doubtless many of our readers will avail themselves of the opportunity of acquiring it.—W. F. Stinespring.

People of the Covenant: An Introduction to the Old Testament. Henry Jackson Flanders, Jr., Robert Wilson Crapps and David Anthony Smith. Roland Press, 1963. 479 pp. \$6.

The book under review is the work of three professors at Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina. It is an excellent sample of the first rate scholarship that is being carried on within the Southern Baptist Convention. Despite the apparent victory of inhibiting, restrictive forces in the disgraceful political imbroglio which forced Ralph Elliot to leave Midwestern Theological Seminary be-

cause he refused to withdraw his book, *The Message of Genesis*, the majority of seriously educated churchmen are still committed to a type of scholarship which is honest, fearless, and worthy of respect.

The subtitle *An Introduction to the Old Testament* defines the general scope of the work. According to the authors, the "approach is historical and interpretative." It compares favorably with such works as Bernard Anderson's *Understanding the Old Testament* and Gottwald's *A Light to the Nations*.

One may wonder what part recent Baptist controversies have had in sharpening the language used by the authors as they pointedly distinguish between critical literary, historical findings and the theological import. The Yahwist, for example, uses popular etiological tales, but "for a purpose far more profound than to answer questions about origins." In a similar manner, "The religious meaning of Genesis 6-9 transcends the question often raised about the historical nature of the flood." Such careful language will help to avoid a number of rash assumptions whenever the book is used within the local churches.

In critical matters the authors have a tendency to lean upon German scholarship, a tendency which is always safe despite the fact that not everyone will agree in relating the Jacob-Shechem cycle to the 15th-14th century Aramean invasions or accept Kraus' interpretation of festivals.

Finally, the authors deserve high praise for their up-to-date bibliographies, which include such recent material as Hugh Anderson's *Historians of Israel* (2).—Orval Wintermute.

Studies in New Testament Ethics. William Lillie. Westminster. 1963. 189 pp. \$3.95.

Over the past few decades there has been an increasing interpenetration of scholarly disciplines within the broad field of religion. Not only are

relatively new areas of special study being introduced, but Biblical scholars are producing studies in theology and ethics, and systematic and moral theologians are re-searching the Scriptures and contributing Biblical theologies. Serious study of the Bible is achieving a new place, and with this fact there is renewed hope for meaningful and productive interdisciplinary dialogue.

William Lillie's *Studies in New Testament Ethics* is a useful contribution to this conversation. The author is a Church of Scotland clergyman and Lecturer in Biblical Study at the University of Aberdeen. Not altogether unexpectedly then, he writes with a distinct tendency toward the Reformed tradition.

The aim of the book is succinctly conveyed in its title (no mean virtue in itself these days!), and those who read it for help with certain contemporary problems will not only look in vain but also miss the point. The volume may be divided roughly into three parts, which deal, successively, with ethical theory in the New Testament, practical problems of public and private morality, and the central concepts (i.e., love and self-denial) of the New Testament. The most helpful sections are the first and last, if only because these questions have received less serious attention in recent years than such specific problems as wealth, work, family, and politics.

The great strength of Professor Lillie's work is that it takes very seriously and resolutely the relevance of the actual words of the New Testament for moral decision and action. Its chief weakness, correspondingly, is the frequent tendency to accept uncritically the sufficiency of a given passage (or set of passages) for an ambiguous and multiplex problem.—Harmon L. Smith.

Twentieth Century Religious Thought.

John MacQuarrie. Harper and Row. 1963. 415 pp. \$5.

This book by Professor MacQuarrie, now of Union Seminary in

New York, is a reference book which can be used helpfully as a guide to the major theologians and most of the lines of development in Western Christendom in the twentieth century. The author has prepared what amounts to an annotated bibliography on the major works of theologians and philosophers of this era. The book is impressive in its inclusiveness and its descriptive statements, though general, are accurate. No thesis is propounded, and the only unity of the book is to be found in the temporal proximity of the writers discussed. The critical remarks are at a minimum and for the most part are expressed in the form of questions. In sum, the book is useful for a quick appraisal of main emphases and as a guide to further reading.—Thomas A. Langford.

The Theology of Emil Brunner. Edited by Charles W. Kegley. Macmillan. 1962. 395 pp. \$7.50.

The third volume of The Library of Living Theology follows those on Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr with the same pattern of composition: autobiographical reflections, evaluation by peers as well as students and *Gesprächspartner*, and reaction to the evaluation by the author himself. The best one can say about the book is that it is a faithful guide to Brunner's thought. Especially students who are beginning to study Brunner's writings will want to turn to it for instruction.

As a contribution to present-day theological discussion the book is somewhat disappointing, though there is no lack of "stars" participating in the show. Among the seventeen contributors are Wilhelm Pauck, Reinhold Niebuhr, Anders Nygren and Paul Tillich. The disappointment lies mainly in Brunner's own reactions and consequently in the nature of the conversation.

In one or two instances I am simply flummoxed. Of Reinhold Niebuhr Brunner says: "On hardly any point of Christian dogmatics do I know the

exact thought of Reinhold Niebuhr. I am therefore greatly satisfied by his statement about my theology: I may say that Brunner's whole theological position is close to mine and that it is one to which I am more indebted than any other (Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Library of Living Theology*, Vol. II, p. 431). This corresponds to my feeling about him." (327f.) Although he does not know the exact thought of Niebuhr, he feels theologically close to him and indebted to him. Is this really what Brunner wants to say? Of Peter Vogelsanger Brunner claims that "in every theological path I have followed I feel that he always understood me completely." (339 italics mine) A miracle of understanding?

Brunner's reply to interpretation and criticism often lacks incisiveness. One example. Tillich's essay deals with questions of theological epistemology in Brunner. The basic criticism of Tillich boils down to his objection that Brunner stresses soteriological categories without seriously inquiring into their relationship to cosmological ones. Tillich points out a possible relationship between the logos-structure of reality and revelation. He rightly recalls "the radical Ritschlian gap between cosmological and soteriological concepts." (106) Anyone who works in the field of systematic theology knows how much Protestant theology still suffers from this gap. Much of Tillich's best work has been an attempt to bridge the gap. Regardless of whether one agrees with Tillich's solution, one must admit that he is wrestling with a real difficulty. In Brunner's answer I look in vain for some acknowledgment of the issue, the discussion of which would have been most illuminating.

Having briefly examined a point of more dogmatic significance, a reference to a problem of Christian ethics might be in place. On the issue of pacifism Brunner states (in the context of reviewing a contributor's thought): "The pacifism which thinks to be a necessary consequence of the gospel—now in the form of the de-

mand to *unilateral* nuclear disarmament—would necessarily have the effect that Christians, without knowing or even wanting it, would be spearheading the world-rulership plans of anti-Christian powers. That is why today there is nothing so necessary as clear thinking based on faith, and more exactly, clear political thinking based on Christian faith." (352) Can pacifism be shrugged off that easily? Can one argue its validity only in view of the most apparent effect it is likely to have? "Man looks on the outward appearance, but the Lord looks on the heart." (I Sam. 16:7)

We are still too close to Brunner to be able adequately to judge his lasting contribution. Right now he appears to be one of the "greats" of theology in our century. The present volume as a whole does not measure up to his stature.—Frederick Herzog.

Evangelical Theology: An Introduction. Karl Barth. Holt, Rinehart Winston. 1963. 206 pp.

In his foreword to the American edition of these lectures, the first five of which were delivered at the University of Chicago and at Princeton, Karl Barth muses as to whether his visit to the United States (at the age of 77) would have gone so pleasantly fifteen or thirty years before. Doubtless not, but at least the appearance of this warmly human, highly engaging theologian would have helped correct the images of the Barth of the 1918 *Commentary on Romans* and the angry *No!* This *Introduction* will serve as a graceful invitation to engage in theological work and may enlist one in further study under the tutelage of Barth's own *Church Dogmatics*. At its highest points this book unveils to the reader the possibility that he may have gone beyond thinking *about* theology to the act of thinking *theologically*.

Barth thinks of himself as a "normal human being" whose distinction is only that he has given himself to "a special emphasis on the question of

proper theology." (x) He presents his introduction to theology as "an alternative to the *mixophilosophicotheologia*" (easily translated!) which in variant forms attracts many moderns. He unfolds an *Evangelical Theology* the theme of which is the *God of the Gospel* attested in the Bible and in the theology of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Four sections develop the nature and practice of Evangelical Theology. The first treats the place of theology, which can be justified not on general principles alongside other sciences but only as it acts in accordance with its own object, the Word which God has spoken, still speaks, and will speak again in the history of Jesus Christ, the fulfillment of the history of Israel. Theology is the quest for truth. It holds to God's promise and for its truth and power is dependent wholly upon the Holy Spirit. "Only in the realm of the power of the Spirit can theology be realized as a humble, free, critical, and happy science of the God of the Gospel." (55)

The second section on "Theological Existence" is addressed to the question of how the theologian becomes involved with theology. "Wonder" seizes the man who comes under the spell of the object of theology. In his own concrete situation, with all of the human means at his disposal, he seeks in concern and commitment to trace the logic of grace and judgment in God's action and speech. He can have no presuppositions (in principle, though certainly he does in practice) but must proceed in faith. Faith is not a necessity but a permission, not a state or attribute but a history, not a possibility within man's determination but the promise and gift of God. As a man of belief and unbelief the theologian has hope not in himself but in the God of the Gospel who has shown himself to be merciful and gracious.

The third section deals with the threat to theology: the threat of solitude in which the theologian is separated from the community by virtue of the faith which unites him *with* the

community; the threat of doubt which is more serious because immanent within the work of theology; the threat of temptation, understood as the testing from God which occurs when God withdraws himself from the theological work of man. The watchword in all of this is "Endure and bear!" The theologian cannot escape the burden, but must accept all of this as part of his calling, a constant reminder that the "danger and distress of theology contain *hope*." Hope cannot be founded in the work of theology itself, but only in its object, the God of the Gospel revealed in Jesus Christ.

"Theological Work," the theme of the last section, is summed up in four words: prayer, study, service, and love. This work is human work, pursued in the company of the teachers of the church, past and present, checked and guided by the Biblical witnesses. It seeks to be obedient service of God, among and for men. As such, it is totally dependent upon God's free grace and so lives by prayer. Its function is to support the Church in its entire proclamation of the Word of God. Having developed the four sections in relation to the Holy Spirit, faith, hope and love, Barth concludes by focussing on the abiding reality of the love of the God of the Gospel, which calls for the obedient and joyful response of theological work.

The distilled essence of a lifetime of theological work finds moving expression in this volume. The humanity of the theologian is in evidence but it serves to point the reader continually to the object of theology, God who has shown himself to be man's God in Jesus Christ (we are admonished in these pages not to think of any theologian as more than a "little theologian"). In a time when theology tends to focus on "the nature of faith," "the meaning of the Christian faith," "the relevance of the Gospel" and "the problem of communication," it is like taking a cold shower to enter a realm of theological existence in which the persistent focus of attention is the

Gospel (rather than the Law), Jesus Christ (rather than Church, faith, "situation"), truth (rather than relevance), event (rather than idea), actuality (rather than questions about possibilities). American theologians, pastors, students will find this bracing—though perhaps with a shiver some may quickly withdraw and dry themselves off. But no one will contest the fact that this theologian takes the object of theology seriously—and consequently can take himself lightly, though with becoming self-respect as a theologian of the God of the Gospel.

Grover Foley, a recent student of Barth's at Basel, has provided an excellent translation. There is an interesting misspelling on page 126 ("rein").—Thomas McCollough.

The Vindication of Liberal Theology.
Henry P. Van Dusen. Scribner's.
1963. 192 pp. \$3.50.

The time is rapidly approaching when theologians who are not blindly wedded to orthodoxy or to neo-orthodoxy will want to take a new look at classical Protestant liberalism. A significant straw in the theological wind is Dr. Van Dusen's *Vindication . . .*, which he properly describes as "a tract for the times."

The slender volume is a spirited deliverance, stamped with the author's well-known virility when deeply excited. The heart of this vibrant tract was given as the Eugene W. Lyman Lecture at Sweet Briar College in 1962. The contents fall into three parts: (1) the ancestry of liberal theology, (2) a critique of the critics of liberalism, and (3) the centrality of Christ in classical liberalism. Dr. Van Dusen reaches the pinnacle of his enthusiasm in part three, and indeed the reader is caught up in his eloquent narrative.

In developing his theme, Van Dusen draws rather heavily upon some of his earlier writings, but he recasts those older materials in a fresh and challenging perspective. Any reader—and may there be many!—who delves

deeply into this fascinating polemic will surely be prompted to take a second hard look at the historical evolution and major contributions of theological liberalism.—H. Shelton Smith.

A Private and Public Faith. William Stringfellow. Eerdmans. 1962. 92 pp. \$3.

A young Episcopal layman and practicing attorney appeared before a recent ecumenical gathering, and when he had "spoken his mind" the delegates' response was reported to have ranged from almost ecstatic approval to abject disapprobation. Those who know Bill Stringfellow were not surprised. He is a man of no uncertain conviction who delights in nothing more than protesting (however self-assuredly) the egomania of much contemporary religiosity.

But Stringfellow is more than a mere protester, as this thin volume from him amply testifies. Although he is certainly a polemicist and candidly invites controversy and argument, these techniques are regarded by him as means only and not ends. Indeed, dispute and debate are intended mainly to expose the festering sores of American Protestant Christianity to the healing light and clean air of confession, repentance, pardon, and new health.

As the author views the current religious situation, the observation that strikes home with most force and clarity is that religion in our time is preoccupied, not with the Gospel, but with religion itself. It is introspective, subjective, indigenous, instinctive. It is self-serving to the point that it is unloving and lonely and a pathetic caricature of the faith whose name it bears. From this observation follow two corollary theses. The first is that American Protestantism has so completely capitulated to the cultural values of secular society as that it can no longer be identified, in any serious way, with Biblical Christianity. The second is that, having forsaken and lost the ground of its own being and

meaning, American Protestantism is largely irrelevant for the day-to-day lives of men and women in our time.

Does Stringfellow propose any remedy for this sickness? Yes, but one looks in vain for any kind of programmatic prescription which, after a few doses of this and an injection or two of that, will restore Protestant Christianity to health and vitality. In the end, Stringfellow's remedy is neither new nor novel but the ageless call of God's (sometimes seemingly irreverent and always irrepressible) prophets to their own generation to repent of sin and trust in the power and mercy and grace of God to be sufficient to every human need. The entire book is one effort to recall American Protestantism to the doctrines of justification *sola gratia* and the freedom of the Christian man.

There is currently a rash of serious self-criticism breaking out among churchmen, both lay and professional, and it would build only false expectation to say that this book will, for most of its readers, offer a soothing balm. To his own time, in its own Babylonian captivity, he refuses to say smooth things or prophesy illusions. Instead, he is often deliberately provocative, and sometimes deceptively profound. His book is the personal testimony of a serious lay theologian to the power of God to create new life from dry bones. Some will say that he hits too hard and too often, and sometimes below the belt; there will be others who will take heart and give thanks for one who dares to enter the ring with some of our current idols and slug it out with bare knuckles.—Harmon L. Smith.

Ethics, Crime, and Redemption.

Stanley J. Rowland, Jr. Westminster. 1963. 90 pp. \$1.25.

Church and State in Your Community.

Elwyn A. Smith. Westminster. 1963. 90 pp. \$1.25.

American Presbyterians, together with other major Protestant com-

munions, are showing an increasing concern for a theologically literate laity. The Layman's Theological Library already witnesses in a significant way to this interest. The two small books under review here are the latest volumes to appear in a more recent series for laymen, "Christian Perspective on Social Problems," published by The Westminster Press under the general editorship of G. S. Wilmore. The announced hope of this series is that it will offer "readable analyses of cultural problems from a theological perspective" to those laymen who wish to relate their faith to some of the difficult and perplexing problems of contemporary society.

Unhappily, Mr. Rowland's discussion of *Ethics, Crime, and Redemption* fails to realize that hope in certain very crucial dimensions. Indeed, the title is something of a misnomer; but, more than this, it reflects the general ambiguity of the volume which itself suffers greatly for lack of careful and precise organization and instruction. Moreover, the book depends so heavily upon "dramatic real-life episodes," as introductions to prescriptive analysis, that significant and constructive statements are largely prevented by internal limitations of illustrative materials. Perhaps due to this same dependency, one's impression is that the dominant analytic and interpretive mode is psychological rather than theological. This reader's assessment is that the book tends more to confuse than to clarify the issues of already manifold and ambiguous problems of public morality.

Professor Smith's volume, on the other hand, is a model of trenchant analysis and constructive proposal set down in a succinct and lucid style. The breadth of historical data which traces the development of the church-state problem through Christian history, the clear and untrammelled interpretation of the problem itself (albeit from the perspective of the Reformed tradition) as it relates to contemporary American political and religious life, and the concluding

chapters which move to a statement of "one man's view" of the dilemma combine to make this book exceedingly useful for its audience. John Bennett's *Christians and the State* is generally regarded as the most useful single volume in this area for professional theologians; and it may very well be that Elwyn Smith's *Church and State in Your Community* can serve as a suitable companion volume for serious study by lay theologians. —Harmon L. Smith.

Preaching to the Contemporary Mind.
Merrill R. Abbey. Abingdon, 1963.
192 pp. \$4.

Professor Abbey of Garrett Theological Seminary has presented what he calls the "cumulative experience" of two decades of dialogue with the college and university mind, an interlude of service to the bustling downtown of a major city, and a subsequent period of adventure in the seminary classroom. There are two questions which have been uppermost in his mind all this time: "How can I get inside these complex minds? How can the vital heart of the Christian message be conveyed to them where they are?" The answer which Dr. Abbey has found is set forth in a suggestive and honest fashion. It is the kind of book which carries the stamp of the imperative upon it: it just had to be written. And for many ministers it will carry the stamp of a similar imperative: it just has to be read. For these are questions that we shall have to raise and consider at some stage of our ministerial pilgrimage. Another thing is, of course, that we shall need to go on from there to much deeper matters. After all, the problem of communication involves much more than understanding our time and gaining a hearing.

But this is Dr. Abbey's main perspective, a limited one, and yet a very useful one. In trying to clear the ground for true communication, he points out that there is little value in preaching which does not strive to

understand the mind to which it addresses itself. The presupposition for relevance and effectiveness in preaching, he says, is an empathetic "meeting of minds." He even suggests the "how" of this empathetic meeting: The preacher must listen to the "voice of God" as well as to the "questions and assumptions of the people." Dr. Abbey charges that much contemporary preaching has split these two elements apart, some preachers gaining communication but losing "authority," others becoming authoritarian while losing the ability to communicate. The two must be held together, says the author: The preacher must "see a kindling vision with his inner eye," and then "body it forth in kindling form" so that it can "capture that place within the hearer's mind which makes it for him internal history (*i.e.* revelation)." Preaching, then, is not so much proclamation as "invitation to encounter."

Thus, Dr. Abbey has laid the groundwork for a theory of preaching which focuses on what he calls "the double analysis." Preaching is primarily textual with him, but the perspective is twofold; one asks both what is the actual meaning of the textual passage and what is its truth for life in our time. One must know both the text and the contemporary mind in order to do sound preaching. Effective contemporaneous preaching, therefore, can be defined as "dynamic encounter"; it consists in "joining issue with idolatry," "challenging the axioms of modern man."

This last suggestive expression forms the basis for a second part of Abbey's book in which he attempts to define more clearly the relation between the gospel and the modern mind. In chapters on faith and secularism, the gospel and the crisis in character, on freedom, and on world crisis, we see the pulpit being raised on the main square of contemporary concerns. And this is an admirable endeavor. But at the same time one finds it more difficult to accept what this preacher proposes to say: Is it

adequate to counter secularism by "stressing what secularism denies?" Does one really "challenge the axioms" of the secular mind by being dialectically bound to its categories of thought? Or, in dealing with the crisis in character, is it intellectually and psychologically honest to assume that a person who has lost his personal center in extreme other-direction will be freed from this problem when he comes to see himself created in the image of God? Is this not to assume that the problems of the contemporary mind are less complicated than they are? Or, in the area of freedom and threat to freedom, ought the fact that we have a *gospel* of freedom to proclaim to be made the basis for the exhortation that we should make the pulpit relevant by speaking as champions of political and civil liberties? Is this not to confuse preaching the Word of God with speaking the convictions of democracy? In the face of the current crisis, is it the point of wisdom to rely on the claim that the spiritual and the political "interpenetrate" in our "humanist-spiritual" tradition, or should not also *this* axiom be challenged? Is not a political system, even though it draws on Christian principles, still just a political system and not the Kingdom of God?

Having asked such questions, one has, of course, done little but reveal one's own theological bias. It should be considered as a compliment to Dr. Abbey's book that such and similar questions arise. The author has set a program for himself, and he is not afraid of taking a stand as he seeks to carry it out. The fact that one questions the way the program is carried out is not equinonymous with denying the value of the program. It only shows that the problem of communicating "the vital heart of the Christian message" is not solved simply by accepting a practical method for contemporaneous communication whether this is set forth in terms of a "double analysis" or a "bifocal theory of preaching." There are still some

principal matters which remain to be considered. And so, from Dr. Abbey's book one will again need to turn one's attention to theology, searching for the essential and characteristic elements of the Christian gospel, that which is to be communicated.—Thor Hall.

The English Hymn; Its Development and Use in Worship. Louis F. Benson. John Knox. 624 pp. \$6.50.

Every serious student of hymnology knows that his Bible is Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, recently re-issued and in process of revision for a proposed new edition. But not every student of hymnology—and certainly not everyone charged with responsibilities in the realm of Christian worship—knows that after Julian the indispensable work is the one before us. This is especially true in England, where so many outstanding works of American scholars are either unknown or unprocurable. It is a real joy to the present reviewer that this classic volume is now once more made available at a very reasonable price. While stories of famous hymns and studies of famous hymn-writers have their important place on the shelves of ministers of religion and directors of Christian worship, there should be at least one good survey of the whole history of English hymns. Now once more, "this is the one."

Dr. Benson outlines first the evolution of the English hymn from its roots in psalmody and devotional poetry, and then turns to a study of its liturgical use. Two valuable chapters are devoted to Isaac Watts' "renovation of psalmody," followed by two on the hymnody of the Methodist revival. The interwoven hymnody of the Evangelical revival on the Calvinistic wing of the movement, and within the Church of England untouched by the Methodist revival, forms the subject of the following chapter. One of the most valuable chapters comes next, a survey of evangelical hymnody in America. Dr. Benson then deals

with the more self-consciously literary hymns of the romantic revival both in England and America, and goes on to show the influences of the Oxford Revival on hymnody in both countries. A brief closing chapter deals with twentieth century hymnody.

This volume is tightly yet attractively written, and is based upon solid scholarship. It suffers from two inevitable drawbacks, however. First published in 1915, this monumental work has simply been reprinted. Therefore it cannot but ignore many important hymnological studies published during the past half-century, which entail the revision of many of Benson's statements, though his main positions are not invalidated. Similarly the description stops short at 1914. An appendix on the English hymn during the last fifty years would have been a great boon, but one realizes that this would have made the production of this much-needed reprint unduly expensive and complicated. We would prefer to retain what we here have than dream of what we might have had at some distant date and some impracticable price!—Frank Baker.

Perspective on Man: Literature and the Christian Tradition. Roland Mushat Frye. Westminster. 1961. 207 pp. \$4.50.

This is a book which I wish I had written. Better, it is a book which I wish I had been able to write. Probably every professor has a favorite course; mine is Pr. 185: "Expository Preaching—Non-Biblical." I would like to be a student in that course under Professor Frye, Professor of English and Dean of Graduate Studies in English at Emory University.

A quotation from Luther is the primer for this volume—a surprising, exciting, fitting statement: "I am persuaded that without knowledge of literature pure theology cannot at all endure. . . . Urge your young people to be diligent in the study of poetry and rhetoric" (13). And away we

go, through three parts containing five chapters in all.

Part I, "Literary Understanding and Biblical Truth," discusses the relevance of literary method to theological understanding. There are operative in the New Testament the same methods to be observed in some dramatic histories, resulting not in verisimilitude but in veracity. One goes right through the letter of a passage to the spirit of an author.

Part II, "The Literature of Clarification, compares and contrasts man in two different stances: his greatness (Chap. 2) and his limits (Chap. 3). Frye dismisses "glandular writing" and concentrates on three major literary concerns: beauty, understanding, and compassion. Then he asks the ultimate questions about meaningless and nature and the self. So he comes to enumerate man's limits: misery, death, the search for identity; failure and guilt.

It was inevitable that Part III should deal with "The Literature of Redemption." In Chapter 4, "The Patterns of Christian Redemption," Frye watches the necessary emergence of hope if man is to be sane, and the refusal of some to close with hope. He examines the idea of atonement with its underemphasis on man's work and its insistence on God's grace. Thus, and thus only, is man restored to right relations with God and with himself. Thus, and thus only, is man freed from the awful and awesome limitations of misery, death, failure and guilt. Once freed, man is ready to develop grace-fully: "The Patterns of Christian Growth" (Chap. 5). Growth in grace demands the tenacity, the singleness of purpose of a pilgrim, persevering despite bad memories, demonic assaults, and temptations to quit. The faithful reach the Heavenly City.

This developing thesis is, page after page, illustrated, illumined, made exciting, and made convincing by a remarkable catena of quotations from Bernard Shaw and Dante, from Goethe and Shakespeare; from Frost

and T. S. Eliot, from Sophocles and Milton, from Faulkner and Bunyan. Some authors are omitted! But there is a host of others, each with a single reference, like Mickey Spillane and C. S. Lewis. He knows the theologians, too, especially Bultmann, Calvin and Luther. The insights of literary craftsmen illumine the Word of God and/or the Word of the World.

In closing his Introduction, Frye quoted some words of Professor Charles Osgood, a distinguished predecessor in the Stone Lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary: "Secular literature cannot equal Holy Writ in power or authority or efficacy as a means of grace. Yet it may illustrate, reinforce, verify, and illuminate Holy Writ, . . . It may serve us as the sycamore tree served Zacchaeus, to gain a clearer sight of the Incarnate Truth." Amen.—James T. Cleland.

Worship in the New Testament Church. C.F.D. Moule. John Knox. 1961. 87 pp. \$1.75.

Worship in the New Testament. Gerhard Dellling. Translated by Percy Scott. Westminster. 1962. XIII 191 pp. \$4.75.

Here are two volumes, published within a year of each other, which underline the increasing interest in corporate worship and the consequent desire to discover what the New Testament had to say about the public services of the gathered community.

C.D.F. Moule of Cambridge University has contributed the ninth treatise in the series "Ecumenical Studies in Worship." His purpose is "to provide a sober presentation of the evidence for Christian corporate worship . . . within the New Testament period" (7). He does so in five brief chapters. First, he admits that Christian worship bears a relation to Jewish worship but that the contrast between the two is more significant than the similarity. This is the liturgical

aspect of the recurring question of continuity and discontinuity between Judaism and Christianity. Second, the longest chapter, is devoted to "The Fellowship Meal and Its Developments." After careful analysis of the pertinent Biblical passages, a tentative conclusion is drawn: "There appears to be sufficient evidence for believing that, from the earliest days, a sacrament such as came to be called the Holy Communion or Eucharist was celebrated, probably weekly, and usually in the context of a communal meal" (29). He is a canny scholar! After further examination of the New Testament, three assertions are made, following on the statement that "the evidence is slight and vague" (45). The fellowship meal is a sacrament; the bread and wine were used in direct relation to the death of Christ and to the union of believers with Him in it; the sacrament is in close relationship to the ordinary fellowship of the Christian community. Third, Baptism is discussed as "the way of entry into the Christian Church" (47). He flatly states that "as for the actual practice by Christians of infant baptism, there is no direct evidence for it in the New Testament" (50). Fourth, six pages are given to other types of worship: non-sacramental, marked by "chaotic informality" (63). There was always tension between the irruption of the Holy Spirit and the sense of responsibility in the congregation. Fifth, some attention is paid to "The Language of Worship." Careful and helpful studies are made of such phrases and words as *in the name of Christ, Amen, Anathema, Abba, Liturgy*. An Epilogue suggests that the outcome of this study of New Testament worship should be "service" in the double sense of an active, strenuous liturgy and a life lived for God's sake. Because all a Christian does should be worship.

How will you react to this book? The author knows: "It is too much to hope either that such conclusions as are reached will command the assent of all, or that the frequent failure to

reach positive conclusions at all will win the approval of many" (7). Maybe tradition is of more authority than New Testament study in the realm of corporate worship. This book has an irenically corrective value.

The other volume is by a German professor and, probably unfairly, the reviewer was reminded of the dictum that the German scholar goes down deeper, stays down longer, and comes up muddier than any other scholar. Dr. Delling went down deeply into the pages of the New Testament; he must have stayed down for years to work his way through the appended bibliography; but he did not surface muddily, just detailedly. Here are liturgical depth, theological insight, scholarly detail, and personal piety. No one is going to read Delling quickly, but he is going to stand on the reference shelf for repeated re-reading and regular consulting.

His basic question is: "What are the characteristic marks of primitive Christian worship? (xi). He tells us, in twelve chapters, with from four to nine footnotes on each page, and longer "footnotes" inserted in the middle of the text. (The type of the footnotes is such as to suggest that it was subsidized by a firm of oculists.) This is thoroughness, pressed-down and spilling over. He discusses what differentiates Christian worship from Jewish worship; the centrality of Jesus the Christ; the importance of the Spirit; the "structure" (if any) of the order; the occasional fixed forms; the creed, said and sung; the

meaning of the "Word"; the posture for, and the form of, prayer; the ceremonial acts; the types of ministry; the church as the community of the Spirit. What are some of his conclusions? New Testament worship is an anticipation of the heavenly service with the living Christ (xii). Few elements of Jewish worship survive in Christian worship (7,43). *Amen* belongs to the congregation (73).

Hymns have often the character of a confession of faith (88). There probably was no Old Testament lesson (92). The prayer of thanksgiving was important (123). There is no evidence of a special confession of sin by the congregation (125). Intercession was an essential element in congregational prayer (126). The Lord's Supper has three references: past, present, future (139). Infant baptism is not even mentioned!

What is Delling's conclusion? "Worship is an eschatological function of the Church; it is, in its very essence, the continuing decisive working-out of salvation-history, which ends in the eternal adoration of God" (182).

If we are interested in the New Testament content and emphases in worship, then these two volumes will fill up much, if not all, of our spare study-time for this winter—and winters to come. They will make us knowledgeable, maybe wise, often tentative, in our approach to the content and ritual of contemporary corporate worship.—James T. Cleland.

