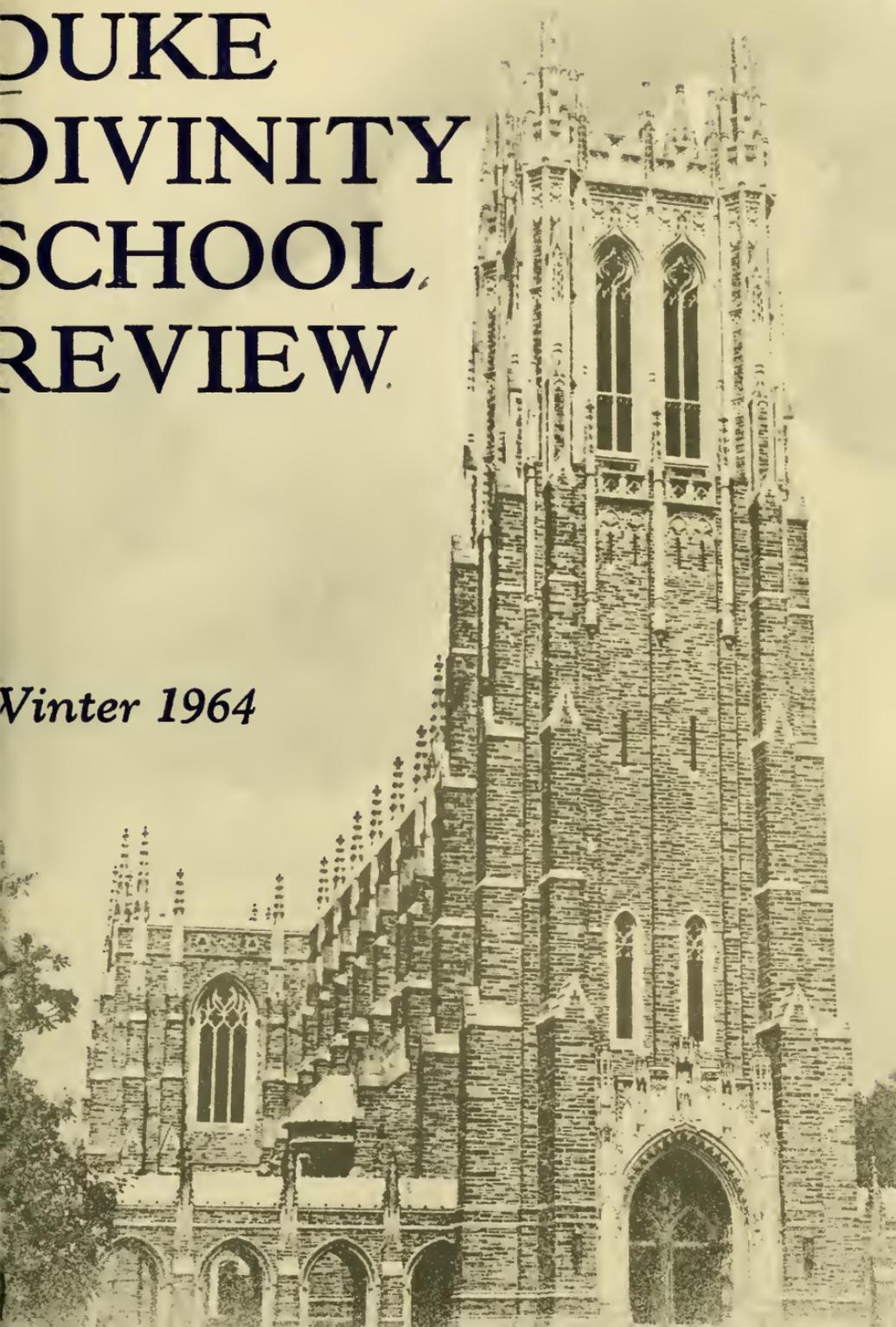


THE
DUKE
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REVIEW.

Winter 1964



For Grace to Quarrel

For glimpses of beauty, for hours of truth, for tastes of justice and the feel of freedom, for music and mirth, for love and laughter, Lord, we love Thy world, this nation, and this place.

Because we love the world, we pray now, O Father, for grace to quarrel with it, O Thou Whose lover's quarrel with the world is the history of the world. Grant us grace to quarrel with the worship of success and power, with the assumption that people are less important than the jobs they hold. Grant us grace to quarrel with a mass culture that tends not to satisfy but to exploit the wants of people; to quarrel with those who pledge allegiance to one race rather than the human race; and with those who prefer to condemn communism rather than to practice Christianity. Lord, grant us grace to quarrel with all that profanes and trivializes and separates men.

Number us, we beseech Thee, in the ranks of those who went forth from this university longing only for those things for which Thou dost make us long; men for whom the complexity of issues only served to renew their zeal to deal with them; men who alleviated pain by sharing it; and men who were always willing to risk something big for something good.

So may we leave in the world a little more truth, a little more justice, a little more beauty than would have been there had we not loved the world enough to quarrel with it for what it is not but could be. O God, take our minds and think through them; take our lips and speak through them; and take our hearts and set them on fire. Amen.

William Sloane Coffin, Jr.
Chaplain, Yale University

[This prayer was offered at the 1962 Yale Commencement exercises, when President John F. Kennedy received an honorary degree. It is reprinted from *The Christian Century* of July 25, 1962, by permission of the author.]

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NOTICE: THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL BULLETIN becomes the REVIEW at the request of the University Administration, to avoid confusion with all of the catalogues, which are called Bulletins. In the Spring issue of this REVIEW the Editorial Committee hopes to include an article dealing with the role of the Church in the current racial crisis. Readers who have had significant experiences (positive or negative) or particular success in changing attitudes in local congregations are invited to report these events and observations by March 20 to The Editor, Duke Divinity School Review, Box 5373, Duke Station, Durham, N.C. No personal references or direct quotations will be used without prior permission from the correspondent.—Eds.

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Reflections on Vatican II, The Second Session

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I. The Scene

In the basilica of St. Peter's on December 2, 1963, slightly before noon, the elegantly bearded Eugene Tisserant—Cardinal Dean of the Sacred College and chief presiding officer of the Holy Synod—arose at the President's table in front of the Bernini baldaquino to dismiss the seventy-ninth General Congregation of the Second Vatican Council. As he had done on each previous day, Tisserant read the Angelus in Latin so fluent and clipped that the assembled fathers could only join him by floundering after him. When they had trailed him to the 'Amen,' the business of the Council's second session was terminated, and the purple-gowned throng, passing through the pillared atrium, spilled forth into the great circular piazza of St. Peter's.

In the second session there had been forty-three General Congregations devoted to business. In addition (on September 29), there had been the opening ceremony with its much anticipated inaugural allocution by the new Pope. This had not been disappointing. Not again until December third was the Pope publicly visible at the Council. That day he presided at the celebration of the Fourth centenary of the consummation of the Council of Trent. The event was marked by an important address by Cardinal Urbani, Archbishop of Venice. On the following and final day, December fourth, the Pope again presided with a fair show of papal splendor. There was mass, as on every other day, and the enthronement of the Gospel. There was the final voting, the papal promulgation of the two perfected decrees of the Council—that on the Sacred Liturgy and that on Media of Communication. Finally, there was the summarizing address of Paul VI into which he inserted the surprise announcement of his proposed pilgrimage to the Holy Land. There was the papal benediction and withdrawal. Then, for the last time, cardinals and bishops—white-coped for the day—poured out of the basilica into St. Peter's square. Throughout the entire Council the observers, who had been accorded unbounded courtesy in all things, had witnessed all proceedings from the best seats in the house.

With what measure of satisfaction the Council fathers turned homeward a second time can only be a matter of surmise. It is fairly plain that all were weary, chastened, and yet hopeful. In two sessions, totaling seventy-nine General Congregations, only two schema of the originally prepared seventeen had been perfected. During the second session three others of central importance had been extensively debated. The fathers had listened to 596 speeches on the part of colleagues. They had heard approximately 24 reports from Council commissioners, charged with preparation, emendation, and re-drafting of decrees. Collectively, they had written thousands of proposed emendations for schemata which in turn had to be reviewed, assessed, and incorporated or rejected by the appropriate drafting committees.

Eighty-nine secret ballots had been taken respecting the substance of decrees, not counting nine votes of cloture on further discussion. Each morning at 8:30 the Council fathers had celebrated mass. They had prayed together, endured together, hoped together, jostled one another in the press of the coffee bars—"Bar-rabbas" or "Bar Jonah." Now they would go home, some together, others singly to remote corners of the earth. They would resume their essential role in far-flung places as pastors of pastors and shepherds of souls. And most, I think, would face with renewed spirit and devotion the varying exigencies which the Catholic Church confronts in widely differing parts of the world.

There is no doubt in my mind that the devout and compassionate concern of John XXIII for the inner renewal of the Catholic Church has both inspired and released a latent and ripening response on the part of the Church's episcopal leadership, and that from widely differing areas of the world. Not unanimously but predominantly the mood of the Council is one of self-searching. Pastoral concern for the salvation of mankind seems to have replaced dogmatic arrogance or fearful self-defensiveness. There is a leaven of openness at work in the midst and a growing and devout concern for the recovery of essential Christian community, first among brethren within the Church and, secondly, with brethren outside the Catholic fold. It is this leaven and this predominant but not uncontested mood and spirit which, I believe, promises to make the Second Vatican Council, in the end, a fruitful as well as fateful milestone in the history of ecumenical Christianity.

It must, however, be fully admitted that the clear and explicit meaning, import and character of the event called the Second Vatican Council is only adumbrated and, at the moment, is far from manifest.

Signs and signposts there are—admitting one must confess of varying interpretation—but the fact is the Council is not over, and until its final decree is promulgated and the 2400 fathers have dispersed to implement in their several places both the positive and permissive legislation of the Council, we shall scarcely be possessed of either the data or the historical perspective required to apprehend, much less to evaluate, the meaning and significance of the Council for present-day Christendom or even for the Catholic Church. In a certain sense Archbishop Leo Binz of St. Paul, in a pastoral letter to his people, is right in suggesting that the meaning and significance of the Council rests with the young who “will live the Council in the coming years.”

In any case, the Council will reconvene September 14, 1964, and very much is in flux concerning the substantive content of decrees yet to be perfected or discussed. At this juncture no one, not even the Pope, can foretell what will finally prevail as the thrust and growing edge of this enormous conciliar effort. I say this not alone on the ground that John XXIII, in his concern for bringing the Church up-to-date, intentionally called a Council as a way of breaking the Church open to the renewing and reforming influence of the Holy Spirit. I say it because, as a Protestant, I believe that the Holy Spirit has unpredictable surprises for those who really submit themselves to His working. And unless I am deceived there is impressive evidence in the Roman Church today of uncommon openness to the Holy Spirit’s working. In addition, there is a very threatening secularized world confronting the Roman Church, as it confronts all churches. In a stagnant condition, no church can fulfill its mission to this world, or perhaps even survive.

Fully sensible of this and other perils, John XXIII, with uncommon insight and courage, declared for *aggiornamento*, not as accommodation to the modern world but as renewal for mission. He knew that what brings the church “up-to-date” is never conformism or face-lifting but recovery of the Church’s own inner meaning and essential life. Animated more by pastoral concern and love of men and less by considerations of dogmatic and scholastic refinement, he was able to perceive and declare that renewal might entail alteration, not of the substance of the Church’s teaching and life, but the form and mode of its historic expression. Explicitly, John XXIII had declared in his opening address to the Second Vatican Council: “The substance of the ancient doctrine, of the *depositum fidei*, is one thing; the way in which it is expressed is another.”

The full import of this unprecedented papal declaration may long

be debated. It confirmed the tradition-bound conservatives of the Curia in their suspicions of Pope John and hardened them in resistance that continues today. Nevertheless, Pope John's declarations broke open a dam of self-defensive conservatism behind which the living waters of faith were artificially impounded and becoming stagnant. It was stagnation which so oppressed the Pope. More than any modern Pope he had seen and experienced the restless material and spiritual agonies of the modern world. More than any he could see the sterile impotence and irrelevance of arthritic ecclesiasticism to the perplexed and tortured human situation all about him. From Saint John the Evangelist he had learned that "perfect love casteth out fear"; so he opened windows. He opened the sluice-gates and let the waters flow. The situation remains fluid with the Council today because the waters that were unloosed as yet remain incompletely channeled. This is what gives such keepers of the impounded waters as Cardinals Ottaviani, Ruffini, Siri, and Marella the awful sense of being swept away in the flood. Their instinct is to close the sluice-gates or shore up the bursted dam. And, I have no doubt they sincerely believe they'll be damned if they don't!

Doubtless we shall be well-advised to treat this metaphor of the flood, like other metaphors, with proper caution. It is only a manner of generalizing a state of affairs of which there is sundry cumulative evidence for those who attentively followed the speeches of the Council. Granting to the metaphor, however, some measure of truth-value, I think it possible to understand better not only the forward movement and subsequent impasse of Vatican's second session, just concluded, but also the extremely dynamic, fateful and difficult assignment inherited by Paul VI from his daring, beloved, and evocative predecessor.

II. Some Non-Theological Factors

As I read the situation, linear and inter-linear, Paul VI is a man called to guide unleashed waters into new and serviceable channels that do not too much alter the received dogmatic and ecclesiastical structure of the Roman Church. Serviceable channels are those capable of conserving essential Roman Christianity while better fitting, at the same time, its doctrinal, pastoral and liturgical expressions for fulfillment of its mission to the modern world. This calls for statesmanship of the first magnitude in the reigning Pope, assuming, as I do, that he has the will and the purpose to pursue the end in view. For the Pope is caught between insurgent extremes at either end of

the continuum. His eventual success will depend upon obtaining the articulate support of the moderate and preponderant center.

During the second session of the Vatican Council, Paul VI discharged with magnificent self-discipline the enormously difficult role of being the Supreme Pontiff while carrying out under the shadow of his highly revered predecessor the program of his predecessor. With something like filial piety, he restated in his inaugural address to the second session, and with the beauty of intellectual clarity, his own version of the program of John XXIII. The re-affirmed objectives he named as: the Church's self-awareness or self-knowledge; her renewal; the coming together of all Christians in unity; and the dialogue of the Church with the modern world. The controlling motif of the address was its Christo-centricity: "Let no other light illumine this Council," the Pope urged, "than Christ the light of the world."

As I listened to his messages and carefully watched his face and manner, I was assured of the authenticity of his piety and the integrity of his mind and word. I was aware that he carried his conferred eminence with something like embarrassed modesty but, nevertheless, with resolution to represent in his person, word and deed the Supreme Pontificate. But it was a burden for him that called for more than human resources. It was not that he said so, but his face said so as he steeled himself for the requisite repose in the midst of pretentious ceremonial splendors.

Everything indicates that Paul VI is a man of disciplined intelligence whose avowed platform follows closely upon that of his beloved predecessor but who with a scholar's temperament and without the transparent personal magnetism of John XXIII or his extraordinary prestige inherited the tough and treacherous task of seeing the program through. He is destined to see it through, I believe, as the focal point of powerful contending forces both from within and without the Church.

As to forces within the Church, it is quite likely that the reactionary and conservative group within the Curia did succeed, by sundry maneuvers in obstructing progress at the second session, especially in its closing weeks and days. After the historic vote of October 30, establishing by a strong majority the principle of "collegiality," the "freeze," perhaps, was on. It was commonly acknowledged that Ottaviani, chairman of the Theological Commission that was charged with indispensable business for the Council, called few meetings, and, when ordered to get the Commission to work by the Pope, consumed valuable time interposing an array of procedural questions that pre-

vented attention to substantive business relating to the emendation of the schema *On the Church*. When the Holy Office was publicly indicted by Cardinal Frings of Cologne for scandalous procedures, Ottaviani's reply in the Council was unconcealed exhibition of anger and veiled threat, embarrassing for its unseemliness in Council.

Respecting the slowing down of Council action, it is true that the moderators of the Council, whose good faith can scarcely be doubted, did not put to vote the question of including for formal debate Chapters 4 and 5 of the schema *On Ecumenism*. As you know, these deal with the Jews and "religious liberty." In fairness to the facts, however, it is not to be overlooked that the Council was running out of time and that both pace and procedure would probably not have allowed unhurried deliberation and decision on these critically important issues. This, indeed, Cardinal Bea admitted on the final day of business. While he confessed to disappointment that a vote was not taken to make the chapters a basis of discussion, he conceded to the moderators a wisdom in giving full rein to debate on the first three chapters. At the same time, most adroitly, he served notice to any subversionists that the Secretariat would persist in its proposals regarding Chapters 4 and 5 and quoted the proverb: "What is put off is not put away."

Nevertheless, these and other circumstances have occasioned expressions of disappointment and criticism on the part of some observers and publicists. I cannot agree with the reasoning of the Catholic writer of the *Time* article for December 6, caricaturing the second session of the Council as "a parliament of stalemate, compromise, and delay." There was delay, but not stalemate; and, as for compromise, only the disappointed idealist anticipates that his reforming program should have received *carte blanche*. Also, I would regard it as naïve for any Protestant observer to go to the Vatican Council with "buoyant optimism." The history of Councils affords slight basis for such expectancy, and I would think that both the writer of the *Time* article and the erstwhile "buoyant optimist"—both of whom I knew at the Council—exhibit scant understanding of ecclesiastical power structures and the hard realities of political and administrative maneuver. These are unavoidable in the accomplishment even of the Lord's business when confronted by built-in forces of resistance within the Church. As I see it, there was moderate and commendable progress at the second session of the Vatican Council together with the decisive exposure of vectors of future development that are unfulfilled but promising.

In the midst of it all, the new Pope was faced with the hard task of establishing his leadership of Church and Council without objectionable exercise of authority. He had the delicate job of deferring to his predecessor and his predecessor's program of Church renewal—both of which he conscientiously desired to do—while at the same time, he passed out from under the shadow of his predecessor and acquired stature, the right to leadership, and created his own image as Supreme Pontiff. All this had to be done quickly and in the limelight of the assembly of the world's Catholic hierarchy. In that context, he could neither attempt too much nor too little. Furthermore, he had to establish his leadership while confronted with the embarrassment of Curial obstructionism which got into the open in the Council, but could not openly be man-handled in the presence of the Council. Indeed, it could not, I believe, be immediately handled at all because of serious problems in and formidable pressures from the external political arena. On this I will only say that Italy has recently been and is still passing through a precarious political crisis of gravity for the Vatican State and also for Western Europe.

I am suggesting, then, that the great ecclesiastical and spiritual impulse in the Catholic Church represented by the II Vatican Council cannot now be viewed in isolation from the environing political context and that, accordingly, its accomplishments to date cannot be measured or evaluated simply in terms of the potency or impotency of resident ecclesiastical impulses within the Church itself. The program of renewal to which the majority of the Council recurrently shows itself committed by its voting, and to which Paul VI is conscientiously pledged by avowed declaration, encounters not only the adept and entrenched resistance of some powerful Curial forces but also the ingenious capacity of those reactionary forces to contrive to marshal more than their own weight of resistance. And this weight is brought to bear most directly upon the Papacy.

III. Council Intermission and Papal Task

It is against this background, as I interpret the matter, that we heard the surprise announcement from Pope Paul, on the final day of the Council, of his intended pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Some things that I surmised then have been subsequently verified by actual events. Most obviously, the Holy Land, particularly the sacred scenes of Christ's sacrificial death, would afford the likeliest spot in all the world for a meeting with high representatives of Eastern Orthodoxy. One immediately surmised that there would be a meeting

necessarily with the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem. As it turned out, the Pope's journey to Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives would be rewarded by a meeting with the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, the spiritual primate of the Orthodox Church. The Pope, in his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, went to the one place in all the world where neither he nor his Orthodox peer would need condescend to the other in going and in meeting. Orthodoxy could not go to Rome to a Council and had not gone. But both Rome and Orthodoxy could accept the humiliation of meeting the other in the place of the Lord's humiliation. This meeting is of the highest historic significance and Paul VI has proved that he could contrive what no Pope has been moved to contrive in a thousand years. This I submit is uncommon Christian statesmanship with promise of fruits unknown.

Secondly, it was plain that a pilgrimage to the land of Jesus Christ was an affirmation of the primacy and lordship of Christ and the dependent subordination of Peter as the "servant of servants." No Pope had gone to the place of Christ's life, death, and resurrection. Through the centuries the Roman Church had asserted the primacy of the See of Peter. In asserting its primacy, it had often assumed its self-sufficiency. In its claim to the "keys" it had often succumbed to what Bishop DeSmedt of Bruges, in the first session of the II Vatican Council, deprecated as "triumphalism." At Nazareth the Pope did not fail to extol Mary and sacredness of family life, but he gave the greatest part of his time and energy, as on the Via Dolorosa, to scenes of Christ's ministry, his teaching, and sacrifice. I leave you to match these facts with subsequent pronouncements, but do not forget two things: Do not forget the Christo-centricity of the Pope's inaugural allocution and do not forget that, by a somewhat slender majority on October 29, the Council fathers voted to include a statement on Mary, the mother of the Church, within the schema *De Ecclesia* rather than constitute a separate schema on Mariology. The Pope did not ignore Mary, but in his trip to the Holy Land it was Christ he honored centrally.

Thirdly, in order to visit the sacred places of Jesus' life and ministry, it was necessary to go to the Jews and then to the Moslems and, among them, to Arab Christians. It was necessary to cross and recross the bitterly disputed boundaries which none are allowed to cross. But the Pope was allowed to cross and recross. From both warring sides he received gracious greetings and returned them in kind. From the Holy Land he sent personal messages to the heads of those confessional groups from which observers to the Vatican

Council had come. It was a greeting from the Pope on pilgrimage in the land of our common faith. In that land the Pope is a common debtor with all Christian believers, Protestant or Orthodox alike.

But let us, in the fourth place, not obscure another main point. The Pope was warmly received by Arabs and then by Jews. In this connection, let us remember that Chapter 4 of *De Oecumenismo* is an exculpation of the Jewish people in reference to Christ's death, the first such official pronouncement by any part of Christendom. In Council debate, it was openly opposed by certain fathers representing the Eastern rite churches in communion with Rome as having danger for Arab Christians in Moslem lands. Perhaps we should consider whether the Pope, in going to both Jews and Moslems, was preparing the way for a right interpretation of this momentarily delayed conciliar pronouncement. I think so, and by visit to the Jews he was doing what he could in the face of persecutions still alive and seemingly reactivated in Russia.

But, fifthly, there is still another implication of this papal pilgrimage. From another standpoint, the pilgrimage was a spectacular reminder to Latin, and especially to conservative Italian Catholicism, that Catholic Christianity is not exclusively or primarily Roman at all, that it rests upon Jesus Christ, not upon the See of Peter, and that it had its origin far away on soil made sacred by the Son of God. I venture to offer the surmise, which only the future can confirm or refute, that, basically and fundamentally, Paul VI went to the Holy Land to enforce the internationalization of Catholicism, the Papacy, and the Curia. He went to further advance what John XXIII strove to do, namely, to emancipate the Church from the ingrown and inbuilt domination of the Latin Curial mentality and its oppressive control. To do this Paul VI must become more than the Roman primate and patriarch; he must become independent enough of the Vatican to properly claim leadership of the world Catholic Church. For it is a Church whose episcopal leadership will not much longer accept unresistingly the hegemony of a group of unreformed, socially unenlightened, and outdated Italian provincials.

This, I think, is what the Pope also knows. He knows that this is part of the meaning of the overwhelmingly favorable vote for the "collegiality" of the episcopate. He knows also that Curial reactionaries tried to steal and subvert the import and fact of this vote after its adoption October 30, 1963. He knows that this will not be tolerated by the majority of the Fathers.

The Pope has work to do in the next few months before the

reconvening of the Council September 14. He went abroad to strengthen his hand and clarify his pontifical image with his own Roman people to ready himself for the showdown. We are in point of fact, on these hypotheses, at a turning point in the history of Roman Catholicism.

Finally, the Pope knows, I think, that ecumenical discussion between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism or Orthodoxy cannot become serious so long as the authority and authenticity of the Roman See is compromised by a Latin or Italian regional bureaucracy. Catholic Christianity can no longer endure such provincialism. Inevitably, the renewal of the Church means its *de facto* internationalization as the pre-condition of *bona fide* ecumenicity. Just prior to the second session Paul VI had made important policy statements in this direction. But to accomplish these things is the work of a master statesman who must also be a Christian. It remains to be seen whether Paul VI will be able to enlist the resources of the II Vatican Council that he distinctly needs. It remains to be seen whether the Council fathers, in their turn, will be pliant and answerable to the leadings of the Holy Spirit. I do believe the signs of the Spirit's working are visible and that they are signs of promise.

IV. Ecumenical Achievement and Prospect

The author of the controversial volume *Letters from Vatican City* narrates a widely circulated story about Pope John's explanation, to a visiting cardinal, of his call for a Council. The Pope simply went to the nearest window, opened it wide, and let in fresh air. There is hardly any doubt of a new circulation of air in the Roman Church and, further, that unprecedented gusts of ecumenical wind are blowing. Evidences of this are various. At the Montreal Conference on Faith and Order this past summer, on an epoch-making evening, Paul Emile Cardinal Leger was host to an inter-faith convocation of common praise, prayer and ecumenical address that left some of the sophisticated gasping. After the meeting, the High Commissioner of Canada's Salvation Army told me that the icy cold of Roman priests toward the persons and work of his people had perceptibly thawed in recent months.

It is this widely recognized atmospheric change, replacing a long prevailing cold front, that has fostered the somewhat inaccurate notion among non-Catholics that the main purpose of Vatican II is Christian unity. The primary purpose is, more exactly, the "renewal"

and even "reformation" of the Catholic Church to the end of fulfilling more perfectly her pastoral and redemptive ministry to a demoralized and unchristianized modern world. On one occasion Pope John is reported to have commented: "If after this is accomplished, our separated brethren wish to realize a common desire for unity, they will find the way open to a meeting and a return to the Church." The word "return" may not indicate the whole of Pope John's ecumenical thinking, but the stress upon "renewal" does indicate his understanding of the order of priorities. The Catholic Church must set its own house in order first, and, in point of fact, this principle finds emphatic statement in the schema *On Ecumenism*, where even the word "conversion" is mentioned as preliminary to honest search for unity by Catholics. In his inaugural allocution Paul VI underscored the point: "Only . . . after the Church has perfected the work of inner renewal, will she be able to show herself to the whole world and say: 'He who sees me sees also the Father.'"

Without trying to measure or expound the range of Pope John's ecumenical understanding, which, in him, rooted in Christian charity and experience-ripened Christian fraternity that crossed denominational lines, two things he did to promote ecumenicity must be noted. He created the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity and placed the German theologian Augustine Cardinal Bea at its head and, secondly, through the Secretariat, he invited non-Catholic Christians to participate in the Holy Synod. They were to come not as participants in official debate nor with voting privileges but as fraternal delegates or observers. They were to be privy to all the public events of the Council and recipients of all documents received *sub secreto* by the Council fathers. And they were to be invited to make commentary, through the Secretariat, on any and all subject matter submitted for deliberation and debate in the Holy Synod.

It is no doubt out of place here to enumerate endless courtesies and most thoughtful provisions afforded the observers by the able staff of the Secretariat under the direction of its notable chief officer, Monsignor J. Willebrands. Common courtesy, however, not only requires public acknowledgment but also serves to point out two important ecumenical facts about the Council. They are that, on the one hand, Vatican II itself became the context of vital and authentic ecumenical interchange and fellowship; and, on the other hand, the regular and continuing attendance of the observers had a galvanizing and, I believe, curative effect upon the Council itself. Both of these

outcomes, I well believe, were anticipated by Pope John and his counselors.

If the windows of the Catholic Church needed opening for circulation of fresh air, it would be even better if fresh air could be imported. If there were mentally air-tight Curialists who abhorred and feared Protestants, what was better than to bring the stereotyped dreadful creatures where they could be seen and, possibly, spoken to in passing? It might be worth seeing whether contempt and disdain for non-Catholics, who had the effrontery to call themselves Christians, could survive continuous observation of them across the main aisle of the aula and recurring casual meetings and greetings in the to and fro of daily encounter.

As for the galvanizing and curative effect of the continuing presence of the observers, just imagine what would be the effect upon the meeting of an Annual or General Conference if a body of fraternal delegates of several denominations, including Catholics, were corporately provided a box and invited to observe and audit the discussion and debate of Methodist churchmen dealing with the most fundamental questions of church, ministry, worship, and social concerns, with each auditor fully equipped to hear and evaluate critically every utterance!

I give you the answer briefly: old shibboleths become clanging symbols, clichés are palpably thread-bare, sectarian animosities are restrained or silently rebuffed. Provincialisms are better seen for what they are even by their protagonists, and irresponsible partisanship somehow stands revealed for what it is. The result is something like candor, self-imposed restraint, self-critical awareness and probity. Enforced is the necessity of being cogent rather than noisy, persuasive rather than emotive, and coherent rather than grandly unctuous. The case is argued on its merits, and where there is profound difference and disagreement, tactful but honest dissent is openly acknowledged rather than covertly rationalized.

I suggest that in very fact, not uniformly, perhaps, but in quite a perceptible measure, this was a consequence of the continuing presence of the observers within the Council precincts. It was a kind of silent encounter whose fruits, while they may never be measured, will surely figure causatively in whatever ecumenical advances are made by Vatican II. John XXIII had done the most that he could to simulate, if not fully to realize, the conditions of a truly ecumenical Council of Christendom. This of itself, as I perceive it, is among the important ecumenical facts of our time.

V. *De Oecumenismo and Current Catholic Ecumenicity*

The schema *On Ecumenism* was laid open for Council discussion by Cardinal Cicognani and Archbishop Martin of Rouen, November 18th. Therewith, the emphasis on Christian unity, inaugurated by John XXIII and reaffirmed by Paul VI, was given articulate voice and, at least, a preliminary substantial form. *De Oecumenismo* had been prepared by the Secretariat for Christian Unity, and some members of the Secretariat, by their own testimony, had anticipated rigorous criticism in the forum of the Council. However, save for the outcries and somber warnings of a few die-hards, it was adopted for discussion by what Cardinal Bea interpreted as moral unanimity, that is, the first three chapters dealing with the principles and practice of Catholic ecumenism and a chapter on separated Christians.

The chapter on the Jewish people in relation to Christ's death and that on "religious liberty" were not formally adopted for discussion, as we have seen. While that on "religious liberty" may be regarded, at least by non-Catholics, as a necessary and integral part of any significant platform of Catholic ecumenicity, nevertheless the first three chapters set forth the basic principles and chart the ecumenical course. In passing, it is worthy of record that the American and British hierarchies solidly, even fervently, supported the chapter on "religious liberty." Its language, I might say, is often strikingly and, to me, amusingly like that of the seventeenth-century Puritans.

What little I can say about *De Oecumenismo* should, in all fairness, be qualified by the warning that it does not embrace in fact all the fruitage of the Council which contributes to Christian unity or promotes that cause. Achievements to date, conducive to Christian unity, would properly include important advances in liturgical reform, already promulgated, together with developments in the doctrine of the church, bearing upon both "collegiality" and Mariology. These cannot helpfully be discussed here, although they are verily integral to the total ecumenical thrust within the Roman Church. However, it remains true that the schema on ecumenism must carry the heavy responsibility of articulating the rationale of Christian unity as currently understood and expressed by the Catholic Church.

This is a real chore and a heavy burden and a tricky assignment for the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity. For it is only recently created and without the status and prestige of far more venerable offices of the Roman Curia. It is a new-comer, charged with implementing the fervent vision of Christian unity unveiled by John XXIII, but forced to plot an uncharted way between the Scylla

of entrenched traditionalism and the Charybdis of fermenting enthusiasm. Thus, whatever we conclude about the schema in its present form, and it is under revision now, we must acknowledge the hazards attending its composition. It was prepared for the highest Council of the Church at a time when the ecumenical impulse within the Roman Church was nascent and but recently released and could not be counted upon to have invaded the consciousness of the whole episcopate as an urgent claim much less to have permeated the constituency.

I am, therefore, not surprised that the chapter on principles is, from the Protestant standpoint, disappointingly conservative or that the chapter on Catholic practice of ecumenicity is encouragingly progressive. It is, further, no occasion of real surprise that, in the third chapter, the Roman Church reveals its consciousness of greater historic, doctrinal, and liturgical affinity with Eastern Orthodoxy than with the Protestant West. Both the schema and the Pope's recent pilgrimage rather plainly indicate that Roman efforts toward Christian unity in the immediate future will be forthright attempts at *rapprochement* with Orthodoxy. To this end, I would say that the solid and definitive establishment of the "collegiality" of the episcopate, correcting the imbalance of papal absolutism—permitted by Vatican I and fostered by the Curia—is simply indispensable as a condition *sine qua non* of any reconciliation with the East.

In the long thoughts of John XXIII, there had to be Vatican II to complement and modify Vatican I. Collegiality is the core issue; and I see in Paul VI's word and action nothing to countermand and almost everything to vindicate and confirm this movement. Reconciliation with Orthodoxy is most probably the immediate objective, or one might say, the "big push" of Roman ecumenicity. Great, then, was the disappointment when only Protestant confessional or independent Eastern rite churches patronized the Council, and when the Orthodox appeared belatedly only in the persons of two observers from the Russian Orthodox Church.

This interpretation may not be confirmable by the testimony of any Roman ecclesiastic. The American hierarchy would be the last to know it or to confirm it. It is a proffered hypothesis which only events will confirm or confute; and it need not in any way suggest that the Roman Church is indifferent to unity as related to the Protestant West. It only suggests that Rome understands quite well the range of probabilities in things ecumenical and, quite understandably, designs to pursue the likeliest. In this interpretation of the situation,

there is, obviously, import of moment for the structure and strategy of the World Council of Churches. The powerful ecumenical thrust of Catholicism toward the East, if even half successful, could easily upset the balance of forces in the current World Ecumenical Movement as we have known it.

As we find them stated in *De Oecumenismo*, the principles of Catholic ecumenism are fairly plain. Ecumenism is the end-product of the love of God whereby he sent his Son into the world for the redemption of human kind. Out of the redemptive ministry, death, and resurrection of the Son was raised up the Church, the people of God of the New Covenant and possessed of "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." Christ's Holy Church was built upon the foundation of the Apostles. The universal mandate of teaching, governing, and sanctifying was accorded to the "college" of the Twelve over which Peter was chosen to preside, confirming them in faith, and feeding the entire flock in perfect unity. In short, ecumenicity is wholeness and unity of the historic and undivided Catholic Church.

Christ prayed for the unity of his Church, "That they all may be one." But there have been schisms or separations that deface the unity of Christ's Church. Those separated are deprived of the plenitude of grace and truth that has been entrusted to the Catholic Church. Therefore, the ecumenical mandate is to cleanse the Church of all that impedes the adherence of the separated brethren in order to share more fully the treasures of truth and grace entrusted to her by Christ. The ecumenical task is imperative and a mandate upon all clergy, laity, and religious. Ecumenicity defines the *telos* of the Church. It is the unity of all the faithful in the Holy Catholic Church, considered as fulfillment of the purpose and redemptive love of God. Accordingly, exclusiveness, polemic, and defensiveness must be replaced by inclusiveness, inner renewal, and openness.

There is not any doubt that John XXIII and his dedicated followers have, in great part, accomplished this revolution already and that, within the compass of these principles, the Roman Church is already ecumenically on a great offensive push. Obviously, this is not quite what we have understood by ecumenicity in circles of the World Council or Faith and Order, at least it is not what the Protestant participants have understood. We have thought of unity against the background of a different conception of disunity. We have thought of our present dividedness as just that, namely, separation *among* something like equals. But not so *De Oecumenismo*: it conceives dividedness as separation from the authentic parent body—

the Catholic Church—full of the plenitude of grace and truth. And a part of her dis-grace is that her rightful children are separated from her. And this is now admitted to be, in some part, her own fault and a fault that needs and is in process of removal by the II Vatican Council. Thus, it is also a basic principle that renewal is preliminary and indispensable to reunion or unity.

Before referring to Catholic practice of ecumenism, one further salient principle needs mention. It is that duly baptized separated brethren, while they may not enjoy perfect communion with the Church, are bound to her by *some kind of communion*. This half-way bond is, moreover, a fraternal bond. It justifies the recognition of many signs of the Spirit's working outside the Church. It justifies also, perhaps, the following recommended ecumenical practices, *viz*: study of the religious life, culture and doctrine of non-Catholics; theological dialogue; ecumenical instruction for priests, missionaries and religious; common prayer in company with the separated brethren; cooperation with them in social amelioration and humanitarian action.

As one morning Gustave Weigel, now of blessed memory, translated these passages for some observers at the Pensione Castel San Angelo, someone—I think it was Albert Outler—expressed disappointment. To this Father Weigel replied, "There is progress here all the same!" There *is* progress when we compare this openness with former Roman exclusiveness. But I am disposed to wonder whether the composers of the schema ventured too little and too timidly. In the forum of the Council few voices were raised in warning against the dangers of such a modest measure of community with non-Catholics. True, the voice of Cardinal Ruffini was raised again and a few others, but the strenuous criticism anticipated did not materialize in reference to ecumenical practices allowed or commended. Voices were raised, sometimes, urging recognition of greater dignity for the churches of the separated brethren.

In conclusion, I propose the following alternative hypotheses, the respective merit or truth of which only time can verify or correct: On the one hand, what we find in the first recension of the schema on ecumenism may be a tentative probing maneuver to discover what latitude of movement there is within the episcopate for positive ecumenical advances, what are the pockets of resistance, and the maximum leeway or expectancy. In short, we have a trial balloon from which the Secretariat may receive guidance for a more constructive

and daring venture. This is a likely possibility in view of the great sagacity of the Secretariat's leadership.

On the other hand, it simply may be true that the existing Roman Catholic vision of ecumenicity is no wider or longer than the time-worn thesis that Christian unity is union *with* the Roman Church as disunity is separation *from* the Roman Church. It may be that the ecumenical effort of Rome is a general house-cleaning as a needful inducement to come home. This is really all the schema in its present form holds out. And this, it may be, will prove enough to initiate stages of reconciliation with Eastern Orthodoxy, provided that, in the schema on the Church, the full import of episcopal "collegiality" is confirmed and sharpened to the point that the Papacy becomes only the chief *praesidium* and focus of unity in the Church. At least theoretically, reconciliation with Orthodoxy may be possible when the Pope is conceded to be *primus inter pares*, first among equals.

I do not venture to declare whether the principle of "collegiality" has in it such potentiality. I am sure that to understand and follow the present ecumenical drift of the Council requires keeping "collegiality" and the expressed principles of ecumenism in complementary relationship. If these can be made to dovetail, then reconciliation with Eastern Orthodoxy will be the direct and practical out-working and program of the aftermath of the Council and of Pope John's revolution of modern Catholicism.

A Parish Priest Reports to His People on Vatican II

FATHER VINCENT A. YZERMANS*

I would like very much to consider this address as a tribute to the late, beloved Father Gustave Weigel. You do not know, but I am proud to know, that he was a very close friend of mine. You do know, however, that he was the leading Catholic representative of the ecumenical movement in the United States. In 1962 he was the first Catholic priest to receive an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Yale University. On that occasion he was cited for "breaking through the Reformation wall and pioneering in Catholic-Protestant dialogue."

Permit me, then, to address you largely with the words of Father Weigel and genuinely, I hope and pray, in the spirit of Father Weigel. I believe that all of us can do nothing better today and tomorrow than to carry on the Catholic-Protestant dialogue in his spirit.

Before we begin, however, we should pause to ask ourselves the question, "What precisely was the spirit of Father Weigel?" The answer is found in the interview Bishop Lambert Hoch of Sioux Falls had with him on the closing day of the second session of the Second Vatican Council. On that occasion the Bishop and the brilliant Jesuit theologian were discussing the great personalities of the Council. Father Weigel revealed the conviction of his own spirit when he answered with the words we have taken as our opening text: "Our interest must be," he said last December 3—one month before his death—"the people of the world today, ordinary people in ordinary

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parishes." I firmly believe the secret of Father Weigel's uncommon touch was that he always—with Presidents and Cardinals and scholars and my own humble parents—always possessed the common touch. He loved people and always worked on behalf of common people. Let this be for all of us the heritage and the mandate of Father Weigel: "Our interest must be the people of the world today, ordinary people in ordinary parishes."

In the light of that conviction we can proceed to the question before us today: What are the results of the Second Vatican Council to date? We must admit that the results are as intangible as they are incalculable. Who can measure the results of the Spirit at work on the souls of those who are divinely commissioned to carry out the work of the same Holy Spirit? This is a mysterious, divine operation, and every human attempt at evaluation is assured of nothing more than oversimplification, exaggeration or miscalculation. As a reporter of the Council and a consultant to the Council, I am unfortunately overcome by the limitations of human nature. All I can present is a personal observation which, like all things human, is circumscribed by the limitations of my own personality. This, I readily admit, is no more than a personal reflection, colored by my own associations and interpretations. It is, however, and so I like to believe, an interpretation shared by the majority of the Fathers of the Council. It is such, and again I like to think, because as Father Weigel so graciously said in the introduction to my book on the Council: "His Italian was weak but he overcame this deficiency through hard work with other languages." Father Weigel was always graciously kind, and this, I believe, is the first and greatest lesson he leaves us: Truth, which is cold and hard and fast, can always be tempered by gracious Christian charity.

If asked, then, what are the results of the Council to date, I would single out three developments which are, in my opinion, much more important than the actual recorded achievements. You know, I am sure, that the liturgy constitution has been passed by an overwhelming majority, as also the constitution on mass communications. You know, too, that the debate is currently going on concerning the Christian's relation to the Jew and the Church's relation to religious liberty. During the Council's session these and similar discussions seemed of extraordinary importance. It is only now, returning from the Council, that such discussions fall into their proper perspective. For that reason, I would much prefer to discuss with you three much

more fundamental results of the Council than the ones we have read about in the daily papers.

1. *The "open door" policy.*

The Council has dramatically shown the world the Church's desire to lift herself out of the ghetto of provincialism, isolationism and reactionism. Pope John first uttered, and Pope Paul seconded, the Church's desire to come to grips with the modern world. The world's Catholic bishops cast their lot in favor of this "open door" policy. The Council was a visible expression of this desire to put the Church into the world and the world into the Church.

When it comes to defining the nature of this "open door" policy, it is quite a different matter. It is not so much a code of law as an attitude of life. It includes freedom, creativity, individuality and all the other characteristics which the free world today holds dear. The "open door" of Pope John and Pope Paul is one that echoes the sentiments of Saint Paul when he said Christians should embrace whatsoever things are pure, just, and of good report. The "open door" is the current Catholic reaction to the "closed door" policy of the past four hundred years.

This, I admit, is difficult to pinpoint. It is a spirit, a spirit quite different from the suffocating oppression of religious tyranny that has been practiced by most religious denominations in the past four hundred years. This spirit demands a humility and submission to the great Holy Spirit, Who has been too often neglected by the Christian churches of the past four hundred years. In a word, it means the voice of prophecy has been freed, making the administrative processes of the churches more dependent upon the freedom of the Holy Spirit than they have been in the past.

This "open door" policy also implies an act of trust and confidence in the Holy Spirit which has, I submit to you, not been too frequently practiced by Catholic and Protestant leaders in the past. To be willing to follow where the Spirit leads implies an Act of Hope that has often become foreign to Christian souls of the past four hundred and nine hundred years. As Pope Paul said in Bethlehem last week: "Today the will of Christ is pressing upon us and obliging us to do all that we can, with love and wisdom, to bring to all Christians the supreme blessing and honor of a United Church."

One American bishop put it very well at the end of the second session of the Council when he said, "The spirit that the Council has adopted is much greater than the Council itself." From that remark

all of us can take our cue. The "open door" policy of the Council—as well as the "open door" policy of the World Council of Churches—imposes upon all of us the obligation to follow, and not dictate, the lead of the Holy Spirit. This conviction was expressed by Father Weigel when he said, "The present intent of ecumenism is not to make one church. That will come in God's own way. But it is to establish a common Christian charity and friendship." Of all the Christian virtues, confidence in God is, perhaps, the most dangerous. It leads us where we do not know, and no human being particularly enjoys being left in a state of suspense.

Long before Pope John inaugurated the "open door" policy Father Weigel attended ecumenical gatherings as "religious journalist" or "unofficial observer." Already then he placed his confidence in the Holy Spirit, willing to be led where the Paraclete would lead. In this era of the "open door" all of us, be we Catholic or Protestant, can do nothing better than to place ourselves under the aegis of the Holy Spirit and allow ourselves to be led where the Holy Spirit will lead us.

2. The American Religious Experience

Today the world knows that the American bishops spent a great deal of time and effort in promoting a conciliar statement on religious liberty. Our national experience has proven to all of us the blessings of religious liberty. The American hierarchy sincerely hoped that this session of the Council would produce just such a statement.

They did not, however, reckon with the powerful influence of a Spanish hierarchy dominated by a Catholic dictator nor an Italian hierarchy influenced by a twenty-five percent communist vote. These factors and others promoted a grand stalemate during the closing days of the second session. The stalemate, however, was in no way an indication of the sentiments of the majority of the Catholic bishops of the world. It is, I believe, worth indicating that this procedural maneuver did more to harm the cause of the arch-conservatives than to help it. I would bet my "bottom dollar" that the next session of the Council will see the statement on religious liberty pass with flying colors.

For you and for me this may seem a very small matter. On the contrary, it is a most important matter. It is, in fact, the delineation of the freedom that the Council has espoused for herself magnified on a world-wide scale. It is, to put it another way, the practical ramification of the freedom that the Council has claimed for itself applied to the political and religious spheres. It is, if you permit at the expense

of repetition, the uppermost concern of "the people of the world today, the ordinary people in ordinary parishes."

This preoccupation of the American hierarchy and the Council was, much earlier, the preoccupation of Father Weigel. At the height of the presidential campaign of 1960, Father Weigel fearlessly voiced the sentiments of the vast majority of Catholic leaders. In a famous address delivered in the nation's capital Father Weigel uttered the deep conviction of all American Catholics. "Officially and really," he said, "American Catholics do not want now or in the future a law which would make Catholicism the favored religion of this land. They do not want the religious freedom of American non-Catholics to be curtailed in any way. They sincerely want the present First Amendment to be retained and become even more effective."

It is a tribute to the ordinary genius of Father Weigel that the sentiments he then espoused were adopted by the American hierarchy at the Second Vatican Council. The greatest testimonial the Council can give to his spirit is the adoption of a conciliar decree to this effect.

3. *The Importance of Personal Relationships*

The Second Vatican Council was, without a doubt, a grand spectacle. It embodies, perhaps, the greatest religious ceremonial of the twentieth century. But all the fanfare and color and pageantry could not measure up to the importance of personal relationships. No one saw this better than Father Weigel. During the last session I know he excused himself from pleasant outings on at least four occasions in order to dedicate himself more intently to the friendships he had developed with the observer delegates of the other Christian churches. I also experienced this peculiar situation, where non-Catholic leaders came to have a greater claim in charity upon me than Catholic leaders.

Permit me, for the record if nothing else, a single personal observation which I am sure Father Weigel could multiply a hundred times. Dr. Robert Cushman, an observer of the Methodist Church and Dean of the Divinity School of Duke University, lived at the same hotel as I. After the first few weeks we became very close friends, he coming to join me when I had dinner guests and I joining him when he had dinner guests. Last week I received a letter from him in which he said, among other things: "I do want you to know how very deeply Barbara (his wife) and I appreciate the friendship which you showed us in our time together and your many courtesies and your uncommon hospitality in including us in several dinner occasions, affording us important opportunities for acquaintance and conversation with Council partici-

pants." What Dr. Cushman wrote to me I could have written to him with the same degree of honesty and truth.

No one, perhaps, experienced so greatly this interchange and appreciation of personal relationships as Father Weigel. When I interviewed him during the second session he told the following story:

"They tell a very funny story that happened yesterday (October 28). When they were preparing for the Mass in commemoration of the anniversary of the election of Pope John, the master-of-ceremonies rushed in to the Secretariat of Unity's desk and wanted to know how many of the observers were going to Communion. He was most excited and the unity secretary said to him, 'They are not going to Communion.'

" 'Oh yes,' said the master-of-ceremonies, confusing the Protestant observers with the Catholic lay auditors, 'I was told last night that they are going. I want to know how many hosts to put on the paten.'

"Overhearing the exchange, a photographer of the Council said, 'Well, if they are going to Communion, the Council is ended!' The photographer," said Father Weigel, "was pretty sharp."

I relate this story for two reasons. Father Weigel was deeply convinced of the importance of personal relationships. He knew that the ecumenical movement would thrive only to the degree that we come to know each other. He did not like the Italians, precisely because he knew they would never be able to engage in—much less comprehend—the ecumenical dialogue. They feel that as soon as Protestant and Catholic sit down to talk "conversion" is near at hand. "Conversion," Father Weigel frequently said, "is a dirty word in the ecumenical world." We are now just beginning to sit down and talk together. Conversion is the furthest thing from our minds. In all honesty we presently subscribe to the words Father Weigel uttered at the University of Minnesota in 1961: "The Christian Unity movement is warming up, but no one should take his coat off."

Father Weigel was a realist, and we also should be realists. We do not, we cannot expect miracles. It is enough for us at the present time to engage in friendly, brotherly and Christian conversation. It might well be in the design of Divine Providence that another generation will come to reap the harvest we sow today. To repeat what we already said, this demands an act of hope, or confidence, on our part to allow the Holy Spirit to lead us where He wills.

Conclusion

I know I did not speak directly on the subject you expected to hear. It is so easy to repeat scuttlebut and yet so difficult to reflect

on an event and make it relevant to reality. The latter I have tried to do.

I remember well interviewing Father Weigel on the closing day of the first session of the Council. At the end of that interview I asked him, "What do you think will happen during the second session of the Council?"

He replied, "Father, first: I dislike speculation. Second: I abhor prophecy." I personally like to think that Father Weigel today needs neither speculation nor prophecy. All is now brilliantly clear to him in the Glory of God.

Nonetheless, he has left us a legacy. In his interview with Bishop Hoch at the end of the Council's second session Father Weigel said: "This is precisely the value of the ecumenical movement. Little by little we are getting to understand each other, understanding our minds, our ways of thinking. No one wants to lose patience. God's Will cannot be accomplished overnight. Thank God we are at least—and finally—getting to know each other!"

This, I submit to you, is the legacy of Father Weigel which is also the message of the Second Vatican Council to the World. That legacy can best be expressed in the words I used by way of introduction: "Our interest must be the people of the world today, ordinary people in ordinary parishes."

Called to Minister?

On the weekend of November 1-3, 1963, ninety students from colleges and universities in North and South Carolina met at Duke University for a Conference on the Ministry. Centered around the theme, "Called to Minister . . . in a World in Revolution," the conferees heard addresses and participated in discussions concerning the problems, possibilities and challenges of ministry through the church in today's world.

This Conference was the fruition of conversation which began almost two years ago in joint meetings of the Duke University Department of Religion and Religious Life Staff. The decline in pre-ministerial enrollment at Duke, reflecting the national decline in ministerial recruitment, occasioned a study of the situation and a concern to make a positive contribution towards remedying it. A number of possible reasons for the decline were noted, including among them such things as:

1) the decline of the so-called "religious revival" of the 1950's and a reaction among students against the shallowness of the revival;

2) the increased secularization of a society, along with corresponding secularization of the church in terms of a concern for institutional success and a preoccupation with doing rather than being;

3) the arch-conservatism often exhibited by church people in social and economic questions;

4) a feeling among students that such things as the Peace Corps, social service organizations, and politics offer more opportunity to be of genuine service than the ordained ministry; and,

5) a taking seriously by concerned students of the ministry of the laity as affording an equally valid, if not more important, means of participation in the mission of the church than the ordained clergy.

Out of this study of the problem, the group decided that one way of helping to remedy it was to provide an opportunity for students to come together for a weekend conference which was to be ecumenical and interracial. Such a conference, it was hoped, would not side-step or gloss over such issues as those mentioned above, but in facing them honestly would also attempt to make clear the challenge and possibilities for significant ministry as ordained clergy in the church. The purpose of the conference was to be three-fold:

1) to confront college students who have definite capacities for leadership in some ministry of the church, but who have not considered the ministry, with the opportunities and possibilities for Christian ministry;

2) to provide assistance in vocational clarification for students already considering the ministry, but who are as yet undecided; and,

3) to give opportunity to students who have decided for the ministry with the church to gain a clearer understanding of the task of the minister and of the various special ministries open to them.

A committee was appointed to make plans for a conference. An already existing conference for Negro students, sponsored by the Fund for Theological Education and the Duke Divinity School, was incorporated into the larger conference, and additional funds were secured by a generous grant from the Hanes Hosiery Mills Foundation of Winston-Salem.

The Conference received enthusiastic support from college and university officials, campus ministers and denominational leaders throughout the region who were asked to nominate prospective conferees. Out of approximately one hundred fifty invitations extended, there were ninety acceptances, representing thirty colleges and eleven denominations. All conferees were guests of the Conference. Their only expense was transportation.

Major addresses during the weekend were given by Dr. Robert Spike, Executive Director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. Speaking on "The Church in Today's World" and "The New Shape of the Ministry," Dr. Spike discussed, first, new factors in the American cultural, economic, and social scene of which the church must be cognizant if it is to be mission in this situation. In the second address he turned to the role of the ordained clergy as being the first minister among the many ministers of the church; as being the "opener and questioner" who must shatter the phony pretense in all society, especially in religion, in order to enable men to a full humanity; and as being the bearer of a sacred tale which he "injects" in order to communicate.

In addition to Dr. Spike's addresses, there were panel discussions and seminars led by members of the Duke faculty and area ministers, an address by Dr. Shelby Rooks, Associate Director of the Fund for Theological Education, a dialogue on "Ministry in a Period of Rapid Social Change," by the Revs. W. W. Finlator and Oscar McCloud of Raleigh, and an address on "What is a Call to the Ministry?" (see below) by Dr. W. D. White of the Department of Religion. From many angles, doctrinally, historically, functionally, these leaders attempted to approach the question of ministry to clarify the issues involved and to present the challenge of the ministry to the participants.

Did the Conference succeed in its purpose? That question cannot

be answered fully at this time; however, students attending expressed genuine appreciation for the opportunity to attend as well as suggestions for improvements in future conferences. Over half of those attending indicated that the Conference was useful in vocational clarification. As one young man expressed it, "The Christian ministry needs the best men available to be the leaders of tomorrow, and I think Duke University has taken a positive step in knocking some of us off the fence of uncertainty." The planning committee and the leaders were deeply gratified with the quality of those in attendance. In his concluding remarks, Dr. Spike expressed genuine confidence in the future of the church's ministry if the quality of men present at the Conference was any indication of the quality of the clergy who will lead the church in the years ahead.

What is the future of this Conference? The sponsoring foundations were quite pleased with the initial Conference and have promised their support for a continuation of this venture. The planning committee is already at work on a second Conference to be held in the Fall of 1964. In some small way, we hope that God is using us and the Conferences as He works to renew the church, and through the church, to 'make all things new.'

Jackson W. Carroll, Jr., '56
Chaplain to Methodist Students

What Is a Call to the Ministry?

W. D. WHITE

Department of Religion, Duke University

In the particular pleasures which we have had together in these brief sessions, one persistent note has recurred in various comments and questions. That note has been the plea for a more clearly defined and concretely stated idea of what constitutes a call to the Christian ministry. That is, I have sensed throughout our study and thought together that this particular question, "what is a call?" or more specifically, "how do I know if I am called?", is the burning concern for many of us personally. And when we consider how in actual fact most young Christian men do decide upon vocations and professions, we see that the confusion in our minds but reflects the confusion in the Church itself on this whole issue. I confess to you that in preparing this address I myself have been "pushed" severely in finding a way to talk about it: a way that is at once theologically sound, that

is faithful to the witness of Scripture and the historic mind of the Church; a way that takes the full force of the modern cultural dilemma squarely; a way that is consistent with our present psychological and sociological knowledge; and a way that at the same time would "make sense" to intelligent undergraduates such as you.

Perhaps we should say at the outset that no clear-cut formulas or prescriptions will be forthcoming from this discussion this morning. And I know that you do not expect this. Yet we must insist that to expect such clear definitions would be in the very nature of the case unrealistic; to think in terms of some clear hand-writing on the wall, or some unequivocal voice from the blue, would be to falsify the whole problem. For human life itself never lends itself to such clear-cut articulation. The very desire for such certainty, such security, is a search for a will-of-the-wisp; for all of our existence is shot through with uncertainty, with the unpredictable, with ambiguity and ambivalence. Though one might indeed speak in some sense of the certitude which he knows in the Christian faith, if he is thoughtful he will also understand that ancient prayer, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief." For the sea of faith is surrounded by the abyss of unfaith, and the Christian life is not so much security as it is openness to God's providence. So let us put aside any desire, certainly any demand, for easy certitude in dealing with the question of whether we are called into the Christian ministry.

Yet, even when we recognize that there is no simple formula for answering basic questions of life, these questions nevertheless remain and must be met. And the basic question we are here looking at is: "What is a call to the Christian ministry?" This might be translated in our situation to the more compelling question, "Am I being called into the Christian ministry?" From the very first we must recognize that to speak of living my life and doing my work as response to a divine call presupposes that I understand myself as a creature of God, as the object of His providence, as subject to His judgment, and as the receiver of His command. None of these things is self-evident; nothing about me tells me this about myself, that this is my situation; nothing in the world of nature will teach me this. I discover myself as a creature of God, who receives God's summons, who is the object of God's providence and the subject of His judgments, when it is revealed to me through the witness of Scripture in the life of the community of God's people, the Church. That is, we cannot begin to speak with any seriousness about a call to the Christian ministry until we learn what it is to be a Christian, until we understand what the Church really is; until from this understanding we see

ourselves as creatures of God, whose function it is to serve God in obedience and man in love. Only when we see that we are called first to be "in Christ," to stand under his Lordship, to identify our life and our death and our hope for living again with him, with his life and death and living again; only when we see that we are called to be "in Christ" in this sense, as participants in the community of faith, in the company of redeemed sinners, in the Body of Christ, the Church, which is the particular locus for and expression of God's life in the world; only when our life is joined to God's life in the Church can we understand the basis for speaking in terms of a call at all.

If we see the Church merely as a voluntary coming-together of like-minded people who share a common history and who wish in association to buttress one another's piety and to join forces in humanitarian enterprises; if we see the Church simply as a pious extension of the better (and indeed sometimes the worse) elements of our society; if we see the Church only as a sociological institution, however nobly defined; if we *fail* to see the Church as continuing in and through its own life the ministry of our Lord, then we cannot with any seriousness talk in terms of a call to the Christian ministry. But when we see the Church as the bearer of and the witness to God's life and activity in the world; when we see the Church as the Body of Christ extending in time and space his ministry; when we see the Church as the peculiar place for discovering ourselves as God's creatures whom He seeks in love to redeem and fulfill; when we understand the Church in such terms as these, then we can begin to understand something of the glory and the terror of being called into its ministry!

When we do so understand ourselves as Christian men in the Christian Church, we are immediately brought to face the possibility that we might indeed be so called. For God has always summoned certain ones amongst His people to be ministers. In His general call to all men to be Christian, God has also always used ministers to gather and establish the Church, to lead and maintain it, to be witnesses to and proclaimers of His Word to men. Indeed, some of the dramatic religious experiences of the Bible show man's knowledge of God expressing itself fundamentally as knowledge of one's calling, one's vocation or work. The burning bush episode of Exodus 3, for example, suggests that Moses came to know God when he was met by God's summons to a specific task. Whatever interest attaches to the bush which burns and is not consumed, whatever the "personality" of God there hidden and revealed, the most significant thing is the call of God: "Moses, come now, I send you to Pharaoh that you

may bring forth my people out of Egypt.” So likewise with Isaiah in the Temple in the year King Uzziah died, when the prophet saw the Lord high and lifted up and exclaimed: “Woe is me for I am a man of unclean lips living in the midst of a people of unclean lips.” Isaiah’s knowledge of God’s holiness and of his own sinfulness comes in that experience in which God asks, “Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?”, to which Isaiah answers, “Here am I; send me.” So also with Jeremiah, whose commission comes with equal clarity in the words of a divine call: “I appointed you a prophet to the nations; to all to whom I send you, you shall go.” Nor is this Old Testament pattern foreign to the New Testament. For such was the word of command which the Lord spoke to Paul at his conversion on the Damascus road: “Rise and enter the city, and you will be told what to do.” Here in these several incidents we see man’s knowledge of God coming to clarity when he obeys the command of God, Who calls him and sends him to do a specific task or work. It is as if God’s way with us, certainly with some particularly chosen ones, is to confront us in our immediate lives with a job to be done; to stop us and say: “Here is the way! Walk in it. This is your work. Go, and do it!”¹

To take seriously our life as Christian men, and to participate actively in the life of the Church (in which Christ continues his ministry amongst us), is therefore to leave ourselves open to the expectation that God will meet us and call us to His specific task for us. This meeting and this call open us to new and unexpected possibilities. To live in the light of this possibility and this expectation is to deny that we can find in ourselves and for ourselves the direction and purpose of our being and existence. It is to deny that man as creature carries within himself the innate definition of what fullness of life is; it is to deny that by looking deep within, he can discover some intrinsic meaning and purpose in his life. To speak of following God’s calling is therefore to reject the view that the object of the Christian life is “self-fulfillment” or “self-realization” as these are popularly understood. Jesus made this very clear, it seems to me, when he said, “He who saves his life will lose it.” This is also the clear intent of that pervasive New Testament understanding which places the whole emphasis, not upon filling oneself, but upon emptying oneself as servant of man and slave to Jesus Christ.

To see God’s call as a summons to service rather than to self-

1. This idea is developed by G. Ernest Wright in his book (with Reginald H. Fuller) *The Book of the Acts of God* (Anchor Books Edition, 1960) pp. 21-22.

fulfillment would also mean the rejection of the popular notion, often held even by Christians, that the whole business of life is a matter of fortune or chance. As a creature of God, who is an object of God's providence, and who hears His call, it is not possible for one to think that anything that happens is a mere fortuitous occurrence. For the Christian, no "happening" can be viewed lightly as mere chance, for behind all that is stands the providence of God; and in all that is, God's providence is at work. This means, furthermore, that in remaining open to hearing God's call in a life that is never directed by mere chance, the Christian man is also open to a life of freedom. The very conception of a call to a particular task rejects the view that man is "determined" in any final sense. While recognizing its significance, it nevertheless rejects the finality (for example) of the external world and its limits. That is, to think in terms of God's call rejects the finality of the particularities of a man's historical existence as this man living at this time and this place; the fact that he belongs to this race, and is the son of this father bearing this particular name, that he grew up and was formed by this particular tradition of the Church—all these things which come to him as the "givens" of his historical existence, and over which he has no control, and concerning which he has had no choice. The very conception of a call that comes to me in such a context also means that my life and work are not finally determined by all these factors. God's call to me is the source and the beginning of my freedom, a freedom which is realized and grasped in obedience to the call of God. As Barth puts it, man is summoned by God "to his own new and daring decision and deed, in primary responsibility to God, and only secondary responsibility to his situation."² A man's external history, while setting certain limits and defining certain possibilities, is nonetheless not finally determinative for his existence under God's call.

In a similar way, neither is one's "internal history" finally decisive. Just as every man has an external history, so every man has an internal history. That is, each of us has his own individuality, his own particular personal aptitudes. Every man has his own strengths; he cannot do many things which others do. But he can do some things, perhaps many things, that others cannot do, or do in his own way. He has his own particular intelligence, his own psychic structure and history, his particular personality strengths and weaknesses.

2. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Vol. III, Part Four, "The Doctrine of Creation," English Edition, 1961) p. 622. Section 56, "Freedom in Limitation," pp. 565-647, has been used freely in the remainder of this discourse.

In a very real sense he has not chosen all this, and he cannot finally control it. Although he might expand and enlarge it, or restrict and compress it, it nevertheless seems to have some imperishable characteristics that persist in every change of form. Hence a man cannot ignore his internal history; he cannot and must not try to "jump out of his own skin" any more than to jump out of his history. What a Christian must understand is that more or other than he is God does not require—that is, not in this moment. At this moment, God does not require us to be more or other than precisely what we are. But this much God does require of every Christian; God does require of every Christian man *himself*, in his own differentiated, personal aptitudes of strength and of weakness. As in the case of a man's historical existence, so also with reference to his own personal aptitudes—God's call is spoken to us precisely where we are and in whatever condition we are. And God's call is spoken to us in a way that, while dependent neither upon our external history nor our internal aptitudes, is nevertheless related to each of these. In being obedient to God's call, we are also being faithful to the external and internal possibilities and limitations which His own providential activity has given us in His creation of us as we are, in a world which He has also created.

What this boils down to is that one must not wait for certain conditions in his external history for God to speak His word of call; one must not demand certain internal aptitudes and excellencies before hearing God's call. For God knows our external history (since after all, in its being past, it is finally committed to Him); and God also knows our internal limitations, much indeed more than we know them ourselves. God knows these, for these also are the areas of His own creative work and redemptive providence; and it is precisely in His knowledge of all this that He speaks to us a word of command, a call to a work and a place. Hence there is no basis for a Christian man to engage in valuations and devaluations of himself or of others. God's divine call comes to each of us in the given historical context of our own existence, and it comes to us in the particularity of our own personal strengths and weaknesses. Our external history and our personal internal limitations are opened up to new future freedom when in the moment of God's call we hear and begin to obey. Only *here* can we begin; and we can only *begin* here. For God's call is open-ended; it is never "once for all" in the static sense that having once heard we no longer need to listen. For in hearing and obeying in this moment, we are preparing ourselves to hear and obey again

and again when God's divine call comes to us in the particularities of each new day. Hence the freedom of the Christian man to push toward the very frontiers of God's intentionality! Hence the continuing youthfulness of Christians, old and young alike, who are open to the freeing command of God's call, and who remain open, as in every age they attend to the questions and claims and demands of the moment. As Barth puts it: "The command of God accompanies man upon his way in the changing conditions of life."³ It is the peculiar freedom of the Christian to be open in all stages to this command; to move from the past into the freedom of the divine call is to remain youthful at any age.

But the question which immediately faces us—and which is crying out for a more practical solution than I have thus far advanced—is precisely how can I know that I am obedient to God's call when I decide for the more or less clearly circumscribed sphere of operations of a Christian minister. How can I know that this is God's will? Here again, it must be reiterated that there is no easy prescription. What a Christian can do, indeed must do, is *wait* and *listen* in fear and trembling, in gratitude and expectation. He must listen to the witness of God's providential activity in the creation. He must listen to his own external history, to the voices that have made him alive to the Christian faith, that have given him in his own history a concern for service to others, that have brought him to see that the Church is finally God's way of redeeming man. He must listen also to his own internal aptitudes; he must find out as much as possible about his abilities, his openness and maturity as a person, his willingness to serve, his ability to be free and mature in relationships; he must even go to the bureau of testing and guidance for that small bit of witness which can be found there! (Only a pagan society could go there "to find out what to do with my life!") He must listen also to what God is speaking to him through the witness of the community of faith, the Church. When the Church extends special interest to him; when the Church in its ministers and people encourage him and claim him and say, "You are the kind of young man we need," or "We are praying that you will become a minister of Christ"—when the Church speaks in any of these ways, he must listen to this claim and this witness of the Church. He must also listen to the witness of Scripture as it makes claims upon his life; he can do this only if he studies it with seriousness and openness. And finally, he must listen to the internal witness of the Holy Spirit as he seeks to open up from within

3. *Ibid.*, p. 610.

a definite urge, an urgency that will not down, a persistent and gnawing awareness that does not sleep.

If the Christian is to hear and obey God's call, he must not only listen to all these; he must also set himself against listening to other voices. He must resist what is merely enticing, or interesting, or in so many ways indeed attractive and promising. He must resist what appears secure; that is, insofar as its attraction is merely in its security. For the choice is decided finally by obedience to the summons to *this* opportunity, by the clear knowledge that here is a "compelling necessity" (as Barth puts it), a question to answer, a gap to fill; that here is a service to perform. Obedient decision responds to the claim to service which one can give. Likewise, from *within*, the Christian in obedience to a call must stand under constraint. "From within also he must have a permission that does not lack the stamp of a command" is the way Barth says it.⁴ This is of course something quite other than mere inward desire; for desire vacillates, and changes from age to age. "The inward compulsion must have the stamp of a command if it is to be worth anything."⁵ We choose a circle of operations in obedience only when we ask, "What is the external need that compels me?" and also ask, "What is the internal compulsion that commands me?" And when we go against *neither* of these, when we *choose these* over convenience or whatever is promising or enticing or interesting, then we can freely choose in the conviction that we are obedient to the divine summons. When we see ourselves with clarity in this light, then we can respond with great joy to the call to become ministers of the Word in obedience to God and in love to man!

4. *Ibid.* p. 635.

5. *Ibid.*

Conscience and Grace

HARMON L. SMITH

At approximately 9:45 p.m. on January 3, 1964, deputies from the Orange County sheriff's office arrested ten persons who were huddled, wet and cold, in front of a restaurant three miles south of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. I was one of five Duke University professors taken into custody. After a night in the Orange County jail, we were released on a trespass bond. Unless I explain that some of our party were Negroes, this incident may seem incomprehensible. But together we were a group of nameless, faceless things.

What happened to us that night is relatively peripheral to my interests here. An accurate, if rather sketchy, account of the events of that evening was carried by the Associated Press. "What was it like?" is, in the last analysis, really subordinate to "Why did you do it?" And it is with respect to this latter question that I wish to share with you, upon invitation from the editor of the REVIEW, some of my observations, however provisional and incomplete. I want to speak here, then, as one Christian to another—and perhaps to others who would not share my fundamental commitment to the Christian Gospel but who, like myself, find the process of decision-making to be one of real anguish and deep searching and, finally, genuine exhilaration and satisfaction. I do not intend this, of course, to be an *apologia pro vita sua*, although what I have to say will unavoidably convey its existential relevance for me. Rather, I would prefer merely to share, as best I can, some of the agonizing considerations which constrained me to participate in this activity. And if that exposing process elicits a corresponding self-examination by the reader, then my investment here is returned to me with interest.

How and why, then, did I come to make this decision? To begin with, let me say that there were good reasons for *not* accepting the invitation to "sit-in." There was, as there continues to be, real dubiety as to whether the project would carry any significant weight in changing the racially exclusive practices of the town and surrounding area. Inasmuch as this kind of demonstration has become somewhat commonplace for many citizens, black and white alike, it was also far from certain that such a witness as this would attract public attention in any salutary fashion and lead to more general and widespread community sanctions against discriminatory policies. More-

over, there was some ground for suspecting that continued direct action, even though non-violent, would only entrench the resistance against change in public accommodations policies. In addition, there were other negative considerations; among them the facts that participation in this instance meant going outside one's own community and into another, that one was likely to be associated with a certain organization in a particular circumstance with which he would not normally choose to be identified, that trusted friends and advisors might misconstrue what this activity signified, and finally that one would forfeit control over certain subsequent personal choices when he committed himself to the fundamental principle. Far from being the least of all the reasons *not* to participate was the crowning awareness, in the face of such deliberate and profound ambiguity, that one likely could not establish a set of rational criteria in support of this action which would be universally acknowledged by men of reason and integrity. If this action were to be justified, it could appeal to rational considerations only in a somewhat inconclusive fashion.

These were, I believe, the dominant negative considerations which occurred to me; although it will be recognized that several of these factors are rather generally formulated in order to embrace quite a number of specific objections. But these, of course, were not all that required attention in coming to a considered decision. There were also several positive and constructive considerations for *accepting* the invitation to join the demonstration, and they too should be briefly noted.

Among the affirmative reasons, there was the tangential awareness of the good purpose to be served by retaining and strengthening one's personal relationships with civil rights organizations, in which one might exercise needed influence. If it is true that, particularly at the local level, these groups show signs of limited perspective and inadequate leadership, then it follows that trained and experienced persons who are concerned with the problem should offer their services. I might add that there were needles of conscience which pricked me to remember that I had talked much about human dignity and civil rights but acted little. And finally, among these secondary concerns, there was the hope that this kind of activity would allow me personally to transform the image of the white liberal and in that process contribute to an improvement of the general image of the church and its clergy in the eyes of both Negroes and whites.

More prominent among the positive reasons *for* joining this kind of demonstration in this particular moment were considerations for the witness itself. White Southerners have, in general, resented "in-

vations" by Northern civil rights demonstrators. Southern churchmen, moreover, have not been conspicuous for their direct action in this crisis. Would it strengthen a Christian witness for racial justice for whites to join with Negroes, for adults to join with youth, for religious to join with secular, for teachers to join with students, for clergy to join with laymen? My own answer was (and is) affirmative. The participation of mature, rational, sensible, deliberate men (if I may make such claims) would serve to show those who needed to be shown that the struggle for civil rights and human dignity is of a higher order than the juvenile and adolescent party-raid mentality which is so often presumed of the young people leading this movement. It was, in the final analysis, these latter considerations which I adopted as the rational ground for my decision to risk civil disobedience for the sake of protesting the indignity of racial injustice.

Of course, the presupposition for coming even to this point in one's personal deliberations is that the cause in question is essentially just and that it merits, in some concrete and specific way, one's support and involvement. There was, in my mind and heart, no question about whether I was committed to this cause; the question was how far my commitment would carry me. This, then, constituted a rational reason for participation: that an adult, in his person and office, would lend to this situation a responsible dignity perhaps not otherwise available to it.

Together with this objective and reasonable motive, however, there was a consideration more profoundly personal and existential. Here one begins to encounter serious difficulty in articulating what is meant, for the reason that a confrontation with the demand to be obedient to God is precisely that, and not strictly analogous to any other human experience. Nevertheless, it may be sufficient to say in traditional and symbolic language only that in this moment one understands himself to be addressed by a "heavenly vision" and knows himself constrained, by what may be described as a supra-rational encounter, to be obedient. One could of course, multiply instances in Christian history when others have acted from a similar motivation. I merely testify here to its continuing presence in the decision-making process of a Christian who also undertakes to employ all of the rational and calculable data at his disposal.

Indeed, I really mean to do more than merely "testify" to it—I mean to indicate that it is this encounter which sealed and ratified my commitment in this crisis. After pondering all of the ponderables, one is eventually faced with the meaning of ethical language like "good" and "right" and, correspondingly, with the very character of theo-

logical ethics. In this particular situation, as I have attempted to indicate, one had the possibility of rational alternatives in terms of diametrically opposite choices. One could choose to act or not to act and, in either case, for rationally substantial reasons.

But at no time have I meant to suggest that one is *obliged*, by rational deliberation upon empirical data or even philosophical speculation, to choose either one or the other course. I am quite prepared to say that others faced with this decision in the context of these circumstances may rightly have chosen *not* to participate. This is so for the reason that ethical philosophy, at the level of formulating ethical action, cannot be restricted to a mere definition of the "good" or the "right" as something which indicatively exists in the action. Moreover, neither is the "good" or the "right" rationally definable, as for example in terms of utilitarian calculations, nor on the other hand is it sufficient to understand these values as merely emotive categories. In the end, responsible Christian moral action derives from what is perceived to be the will of God. And the difference, at this point, between "indicative" and "imperative" ethics is simply that God exists and that what He wills is morally binding upon us.

This perspective may be illuminated by asking whether this incident of which I have written was not really beneath one's person and dignity. What a preposterous time and place (and even immediate cause) for such a witness; could one not find a better occasion, more congenial, less ambiguous, with more promise of concrete accomplishment? In sum, could one not find a more nearly perfect context for more nearly ideal action? The answer to these questions must, for the Christian, be conceived in the last analysis in terms of the address of the Word. One must do the Word when he hears it or the hearing itself is forgotten. God speaks to me in a concrete situation. This is the scandal of particularity which plagues the rationality of faith.

But it is a real scandal, nevertheless, for the reason that even this kind of obedience does not result in moral action, as the witness to value, which may be said to be unequivocally good. This fact of our creatureliness becomes plain when one recognizes that in doing good to some he invariably does harm to others, even though the harm done may be genuinely unintentional in the sense that it is indirect and omissive in character. One cannot serve two masters, even when both are relatively "good," with fidelity and equity.

In the end, therefore, ethical casuistry has no ultimate place in the Christian's decision-making process. God demands witness to values; He does not require the performance of acts whose authenticity and goodness can be determined antecedently and without reference to a

given moral context. To say otherwise is to endorse one or another ethical legalism. The scandal of particularity, then, is simply that God addresses one in concrete but ambiguous moments and demands witness to what He wills. To fail to respond, to be disobedient to the "heavenly vision," is in the long run of things to accept the self-delusion of those who languish without prospect of comfort in the recurring inquiry: "Lord, when did we see thee thirsty, or hungry, or naked, or in prison?"

Now that all this is said and the act done, what possible justification can be claimed for behavior which is admittedly ambiguous and tentative and provisional and even experimental? For that matter, how can one avoid a kind of moral paralysis in the face of ultimately uncertain and equivocal motives, intentions, methods, and consequences? For a Protestant Christian the answer to both of these questions is neither new nor novel: justification, *especially* in the face of ethical ambiguity, is by grace alone. There is no other way. One commits his whole heart in *this* moment, in *this* time and place, to *this* value, in clear if limited awareness of the ambiguity of the situation and the provisional and tentative character of his act, to what he understands to be God's will. Ultimately as well as immediately, here he stands; he can do no other and be responsible both to the context of decision and to the God Whose existence and grace he witnesses to in his choice and conduct.

The Wisdom and Witness of the Cross

THOMAS A. LANGFORD

In Dostoyevsky's novel, *The Idiot*, Ganya cries at one point, "I don't want to be ridiculous, above all, I don't want to be ridiculous!" Of course, he is ridiculous, indeed, an idiot—because he prizes things his peers despise and he holds with little regard the values his fellows prize. Consequently, those who share the values of the crowd cry as they look at such a one—one who does not think as they do—"He's an idiot." But those who look with eyes which see that life is more than meat and the body is more than raiment say, "He is a wise man whom the world accounts a fool."

How difficult it is to determine what true wisdom is! How varied are man's evaluations of what is of supreme importance, what norms he should live by and what ends he should live for. Is it not a source of amazement that even people who claim to be wise can evaluate life so differently? Men stand face to face and call each other fools. Because of man's proclivity to take himself as an ultimate value, the cynic is tempted to say, "A fool is anyone who does not agree with me." But some are willing to point to other norms, such as the Psalmist who claims, the fool is the one who has said in his heart, there is no God (Ps. 14:1, 53:1).

The Bible consistently praises wisdom and enjoins understanding. "How much better it is to get wisdom than gold," writes the wise man in Proverbs 16:16; and again, "Happy is the man who findeth wisdom" (Prov. 3:13). But there obviously are various types of wisdom. Paul accounts the wisdom of this world to be foolishness because: "The world by wisdom knew not God" (I Cor. 1:21). The very thing that could be of help in finding true understanding the world despises, "for the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness." (I Cor. 1:18).

The truth of the matter is, Paul states, The "natural man does not understand the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned" (I Cor. 2:14). Or as the New English Bible puts it, "A man *gifted with the Spirit* can judge the worth of everything."

Now the audacity of the Christian faith: Christ is the Truth!

What can such a claim mean? That Mr. "Worldly Wise," as Bunyan calls him, has poor science? That the most faithful believer is the best physicist? That the one who most loves God is most able to solve the problems of cancer or international relations? One needs only to look around him—assuming that there are some here who are gifted with the Spirit, and there are—to know this is not so, in spite of the pronouncements of teachers and students alike on all of the world's problems.

What is the truth of Christ? What is the wisdom of the Way? What is the knowledge which is gifted us by the Spirit? Paul says it is something revealed by the cross. But what does the cross reveal?

Is it not, on the one hand, a clear-eyed awareness of what we are: men devoid of God, men who live in a cactus-land, who walk lonely paths and cry aloud for life? We face the anxiety of death and would know its meaning. We experience guilt and would know its release. We experience meaninglessness and would know its answer.

One only need live for one week on a college campus, or anywhere else, to know how desperate man's need is. Last Saturday night a student was in my home; he was talking about things in general, and then he asked, "What do you say to a student who says: 'I am perfectly happy living for myself and for the satisfaction of my desires. I want nothing else and see no reason to talk of any other values?'" I looked at him and asked, "Are you the student?" And he said, "Yes . . . what would you say to me?" What wisdom do we have to share?

Three days later a girl came into the office, she was hurt . . . almost completely broken. Her world had crumbled. Her hopes, her past, all seemed to be dissolving. For a long time she sat unable to speak, then finally she asked, "Can you say anything that would help me?" What wisdom do we have to share?

The next day a boy came by. His vocational plans were ruined. He had spent three years in college preparing for a job that he could never have. "I just need to talk, to share my problem with someone," he said; "I need help." What wisdom do we have to share?

Is this wisdom somehow supplied by the cross?

While we were yet sinners (men of guilt), Christ died for us. While we were yet searchers for meaning, the meaning of life was given. While we were yet men of anxiety, a new courage was provided.

The cross is a symbol that in our suffering, in our place of anxiety

and doubt, there is one who is with us. God has taken our side. He has forgiven, accepted and renewed men. Into this parched place a fount has sprung forth. To a famished people bread is offered. To Godless souls a new life is given.

This is the truth of Christ. It is a qualitative truth. It is a truth that in Christ we live, in the Holy Spirit we move, in God we have our being. For He is all in all and to know Him is to have life and to be unafraid to meet today and to face tomorrow.

But how is this wisdom communicated? How is it shared? Certainly we must speak of Christ and His cross. But it is possible to speak this word without revealing its full depth of meaning. We often speak of this One so glibly that we make even more difficult Christ's function as the medium of God's saving grace.

In J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in The Rye*, that perceptive description of today's teen-ager, one hears the profaning of the name of God at every turn. The words Jesus and Christ are used *ad nauseam*. Is Salinger only descriptively recounting what our youth actually do? In part, yes. But more profoundly, I think, he is attempting to point to the fact that the answer for man's search for meaningful relation is immediately before him, indeed on his lips, but people cannot speak this word with the profundity that changes life. In an earlier short story, "For Esmé with Love and Squalor," Salinger has a victim of "war-nerves" saved "emotionally" by an act of genuine concern on the part of a once-met girl. And in *Franny and Zooey* he depicts a young college girl obsessed with the necessity of learning to pray without ceasing. In a novel about a Russian holy man she has read of the "Jesus Prayer," "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me." She is depressed because she recognizes that life is shallow—indeed, void—without such a relationship, and yet she has not learned to live in this relationship. It is only when she learns that every concrete person, every concrete meeting, is the opportunity for living this prayer, for knowing this relationship, that she is able to revive and able once again to face life.

There is the need of redemptive relationships and actions. And the cross is such an act and such a relationship from God's side. But how do we, who profess to be followers of the cross, *share* its meaning with others? How do we become bearers and sharers of the cross? How do we become capable of imparting its life? Is it not by taking with us what we find at the cross? What does it mean to carry the cross? Does it mean to take to the next man and every

man the love, the compassion, the sympathetic concern of the crucified Lord?

We can never be smug about our wisdom. We cannot be proud of being in the truth. The cross undercuts all pride. We do not possess the truth. It is not ours to give. But if we are possessed by the truth, and live in the truth, then, perhaps, we can exemplify its message to the world.

I asked earlier, What do you say to the one who wants to know the meaning of life? Certainly we should say something—perhaps point to the cross. But far more important than what we say is what we are.

Are we cruciform? Do we carry the hurt of the world in our hearts? Do we bleed and anguish over the brokenness of our neighbor? Do we give ourselves and then give again—and again? Are we bearers of the stigmata—in our hearts, in our actions, in our attitudes? We need ministers who are willing to be broken—whose lives are sacrificial offerings—who themselves become suffering servants. To this we are called.

The Dean's Discourse

Intimate Perspectives on Vatican Council II

Since the Editor, Dr. Lacy, has generously requested from me an article on the Second Vatican Council for the current issue, I will let that serve for such substantive reporting as short notice allows and add here a few personal notes that may possibly be of interest. Because of decanal duties here at Duke, touching especially the visitation of the Judicial Council to the campus in early October, Mrs. Cushman and I did not reach Rome until the Council had already been in session nearly four weeks. We did, however, arrive some days in advance of the climactic five-fold vote of October 30th on "collegiality" of the episcopacy and the diaconate. Nevertheless, I did not witness the impressive opening ceremony with the inaugural address of Paul VI, which constituted his debut, as Supreme Pontiff, before the Council. Neither was I present for the audience of the observers with the Pope. However I did observe Paul VI several times and at very close range, especially on occasion of his taking possession of the Church of St. John Lateran in early November.

My first strong impression was not the magnificence of St. Peter's basilica, as the forum of the Council, nor the vast multitude of abbots, bishops and cardinals in colorful ecclesiastical regalia; it was rather the perfectly human and natural kindness by which the staff of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity provided for a late-comer directions, credentials, documents and explanations needed for his orientation and prompt introduction to the Council business.

Father G. Long, of the staff of the Secretariat and a native of New York, who had been an observer at Montreal in our section on worship at the Faith and Order Conference, was my inductor to the ways of the Council. Father Thomas Stransky, a mid-westermer, and Monsignor John Willebrands, secretary general, were most cordial in their welcome. Ceaseless extension of courtesies and careful and imaginative provision for the needs, comfort, and entertainment of the observers was truly remarkable. Translations of the proceedings of each day with synopses of all addresses of the bishops to the Council were regularly available on the succeeding day. All schemata under discussion, commission reports, printed emendations, papal encyclicals, special addresses, were made available in Latin and, some, in translation. Receptions were many and distinguished, such as that given by the Italian Ambassador to the Vatican.

Unforgettable for Mrs. Cushman and myself was the excursion trip with the observer party and Secretariat staff to Montecassino, Rocca Papa, the birthplace of Aquinas and, above all, Casamari, a Cistercian monastery where women ate at table in the eleventh-century refectory for the first time in history. It was an eight-course Italian dinner (*con molto vino*) with young monks as waiters and choristers and, for all the world, reminding me of my own seminary students. I chanced to leave the refectory last with the Abbot General of the Benedictine Order, whom the young monks adored. They bowed to receive his playful jest and fatherly blessing, and they thronged about me to shake my hand and receive what poor thanks I could muster in pitiful Italian. I shall not forget the childlike openness of their eager manly faces that seemed to me uncommonly devoid of worldly care.

Unlike the First Vatican Council (1869-70), which conducted its business within the north transept of St. Peter's basilica, this Council required the length of the whole nave where, in a continuous line of tribunes, the bishops were seated according to rank and seniority. The tribunes of the cardinals and that of the patriarchs of the Eastern rite churches were nearest front. The table of cardinal presidents stood before the papal altar and in front of it the table of the four moderators.

Each day the Council fathers arrived on foot, in cars, or in chartered buses. By 8 a.m. the purple-garbed throng began to arrive, gather briefly in groups before the gates and gradually enter and take their places. A bell would ring promptly at 8:30. Mass would be celebrated in the Latin or some Eastern rite, the latter usually most impressive. Then there would be the enthronement of the Gospel. Cardinal Dean Tisserant would recite the morning prayer accompanied by the fathers, and business would begin after announcements by the deceptively genial but very adroit General Secretary, Pericles Felici. Speeches were limited to ten minutes, and the moderator could be very abrupt.

In the box under St. Longinus' statue the observers would be seated, many of them in clusters about an interpreter. Dr. Douglas Horton always sat in the same place facing the tribune rail looking over the table of the Secretary General below him, and always with his back to the rail was Monsignor Henry F. Davis, indefatigable and precise interpreter, an English Catholic with a delightful twinkle. I usually arranged my seat, along with Douglas Steere, Robert M. Brown, Albert Outler, Bishop John Moorman of Ripon and others, around Gustave Weigel, the distinguished American Catholic theo-

logian, whose resonant voice in translation may well have been helpful to observers in the box who disdained an interpreter. Sometimes I would sit with gentle Father Maurice Bévenot of Oxford, whose disarming goodwill was transparent as it was delightful.

But Father Gustave Weigel is gone from us. When I asked him whether he would attend the Council another fall, he replied in the negative. With his accustomed candor he said, "This thing wears me out." One morning as we left St. Peter's he staggered. I grasped his arm, and, after leaning briefly against a post, he spoke of some problem of the inner ear that the doctors said was bothersome but not fatal. He had agreed to come next fall to Duke as James A. Gray Lecturer, but he has been summoned to the Greater Council Hall. We have lost a keen theologian and an ecumenical thinker of stature; we have also lost a rare humane spirit from our midst, a man of simplicity and simple kindness for whom "humbug" in religion was as contemptuous as it was foreign. When the printed encyclical of Paul VI, *Summa Dei Verbum*, was given to the observers one morning, I handed my copy to Father Weigel for his signature. He handed it back with the postscript, *cum amore*. I honor his memory, but equally I lament his loss to the cause of Christian unity.

Many were the acquaintances renewed and begun at Vatican II among non-Catholic observers of Faith and Order or Catholic churchmen. With Bishop F. J. Schenk of Duluth I rode the bus from the Grand Hotel. There was the vital Bishop Stephen Leven of Texas, who consulted with the American Protestant observers. There was Paul Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta, who gave a sterling address at Junaluska last summer. Through Father Vincent A. Yzermans of St. Cloud, Minnesota, both Mrs. Cushman and I became acquainted with several persons of note including historian Father Colman Barry, St. John's Abbey, Minnesota; theologian Hans Küng of Tübingen; journalist Robert Kaiser; genial Bishop Lambert Hoch of Sioux Falls; Archbishop H. Henry of Korea—thirty years a missionary—who tried to find me a bishop's cap; Dr. Gerhard Fittkau, Catholic theologian of Essen, Germany; and the Most Reverend Leo F. Dworschak, a true bishop of souls from Fargo, North Dakota, who not only entertained us royally but graciously invited me to record an interview with him for subsequent broadcast for his diocese. It was a pleasure to be sought out by Bishop Vincent Waters, our neighbor of nearby Raleigh, and by Abbot Walter A. Coggin of Belmont

Abbey, who came to the observers' box to bear greetings from mutual friends in Gastonia.

Name dropping is not my intention here; it is rather to convey the ecumenical tone of the Council in these intimate perspectives and to note the Christian fraternity conspicuously extended to all observers and to indicate in a graphic way the measure and reality of interchange and Christian fellowship that was opened by our hosts. It is this warmth of fellowship upon which the future of ecumenical dialogue will greatly depend and in the context of which alone it can have some measure of promise. The first step in all of it is the mutual recognition that, though separated by many formidable traditional barriers, Catholics and non-Catholics can be Christian brothers nevertheless.

DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL SUMMER CLINICS

July 20-31, 1964

Three clinics, running concurrently, will be conducted at the Duke Divinity School, July 20-31. These are designed for B.D. graduates who are willing to participate in two weeks of intensive training. A minister may enroll in *only one* clinic. Registration is open to ministers of all denominations. No academic credit is given.

PREACHING: The clinic will concern itself mainly with principles of sermon construction and delivery, giving ample opportunity for the participants to preach for critique. Matters of common concern for preachers will be discussed in plenary sessions. (Dr. Thor Hall, Director)

PASTORAL

CARE:

The clinic in Pastoral Care has as its focus the Christian faith and its expression of and ministry to selfhood. 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 Rural Church Clinic will consist of intensive training, study, and planning in the area of the church's responsibilities in the town and country community, giving particular emphasis to the development of an indigenous leadership. (Dr. M. Wilson Nesbitt, Director)

For full information write to: Summer Clinics, Duke Divinity School, Box 4814, Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina.

Costs: Registration Fee \$10.00; Tuition \$40.00; Room and Board. All participants are eligible to apply for Tuition Grants. In addition, Methodist Ministers in North Carolina may inquire about special grants provided by agencies of the Annual Conference to cover costs.

FOCUS ON FACULTY

WILLIAM H. POTEAT, Associate Professor of Christianity and Culture:

Autobiographies—even those of a mere one thousand words—are not for everyone; nor do they come forth at just anytime and upon demand.

If one has been identifiably at the center of events of great public moment or of great private gravity, perhaps one then has an autobiographical entry to make.

And, too, there are moments in the life of men of extraordinary sensibility or moments in even ordinary lives which evoke a grasp for remembering—often of terrifying succinctness, like a darkened landscape illumined for an instant by a lightning flash, portending one knows not what—of the meaning of that life at just that very moment. It may be Dante, encountering Beatrice for the first time at the Ponte Trinita; or, in the middle of life, discovering he is lost in a darkling wood. It may be Graham Greene, discovering one summer, while yet a child, that he had learned to read, had thereby forever lost his innocence and hence would come, in time, to begin to discover through the reading of a novel, *The Viper of Milan*, that “human nature is not black and white but black and gray” and that a sense of doom lies over all success—and summarizing this his very personal Fall, saying: “I read all that in the *Viper of Milan* and looked round and saw it was so.”

Out of these sudden invasions from across some alien frontier (which may in fact be a passage to our homeland) there issue, too, on occasion, certain autobiographical notices.

But I am not now—in the middle of life, at year’s end, so comforted am I by Winter’s low metabolism that even cruel April (“breeding lilacs out of the dead land”), the month when I was born, seems just now less even than the shadow of a presentiment—I am not heavy with autobiography. In its stead I offer an intimacy such as is immodest of me and unseemly for the pages of the REVIEW—for it is our *biographies* not our *autobiographies* which probably ought and generally do appear in such places, even though, indeed, especially if, we have written them ourselves.

Byron Bunch, as Faulkner tells of him in *Light in August*, has been so deeply invaded by a vocation (can we call it love?) at the sight of Lena Grove, great with child, and searching for her worthless lover, that springs of being within him of which he could not have dreamt before begin to stir and, as even he perhaps already dimly fears, may one day burst open his drab but self-sufficient world.

Having seen to it that Lena's lover is escorted by the sheriff to the cabin where the mother and new-born child are sleeping, his work done, his personal loss consummated, Byron, with his mule, watches from a hillside as is concluded there before him a drama to which he can neither wholly give himself up in love nor from which he can fully turn away without anguish—for here, for him, is the dread of love, a sympathetic antipathy and an antipathetic sympathy.

Of these things Faulkner says:

"The mild red road goes on beneath the slanting and peaceful afternoon, mounting a hill. 'Well, I can bear a hill,' he thinks. 'I can bear a hill, a man can.' It is peaceful and still, familiar with seven years. 'It seems like a man can just about bear anything. He can even bear the thinking how some things is just more than he can bear. He can even bear it that if he could just give down and cry, he wouldn't do it. He can even bear it to not look back, even when he knows that looking back or not looking back won't do him any good.'"

Whenever I read this novel and this passage—and I read them often—these words and Byron Bunch and his mule on the mild red road strike such soundings in me, that I know by now—quite well—that Faulkner has been more eloquent about me than I would wish, even if I could, to be about myself. For Byron Bunch is I.

And to tell you this is to tell you, quite obliquely to be sure, the perhaps bed-rock thing about myself. It is also a measure of my remove from repentance. For though I recognize Byron's pride for the despair it is—the despair of despairingly willing to be oneself, I do not for a moment believe that owning up to this is the same thing as faith; and therefore I cannot regard this intimate disclosure as anything but an act of pride, compounded by the proud sophistication with which it is herewith accomplished.

For me, for the time being, the time is unredeemed. I am unrepentant—with Byron Bunch and his mule on a Yoknapatawpha hillside; and with William Faulkner, under his Oxford apple tree.

* * * * *

The fact that I have said that all of this about myself is so, makes all of it to be somewhat less than so.

CHARLES ROBINSON, Assistant Professor of Philosophical Theology :

Theological generalities aside—in my particular case, birth and fall were concomitant. The stock market fell and I came in on the rebound. The place was Los Angeles; the year, 1929. As I made my entrance into the world, good times made their exit. Such philosophical categories as that of causality have always given me difficulty. Statistical correlation is nevertheless evident.

Evident also is the reassuring fact that an inauspicious if not downright discouraging beginning offers at least one almost definitionally-certain advantage: nearly any happening may thereafter pass as some sort of progress. This positive thought was probably firmly embedded in my mind (no doubt subconsciously) as I quickly determined, with resolute *Entschlossenheit*, to enter a new decade. I succeeded admirably in carrying out that decision. After that, however, things did not always go quite as well.

For the family of a man too out-of-step with the times and too proud to eat from the governmental hand, "life in these United States" was about as secure and stable during the 30's as Heraclitus' flux without benefit of logos. Symptomatic was the fact that during my nine months' pregnancy of first grade education, my family lived at four places in two states, Kansas and Illinois.

A passion for truth; personal experience as the channel of knowledge; the real as in large measure the negative; beauty and joy as but whimsically ephemeral; a courage more stoic than Christian; a pictured God with the one live option of hell; a strangely detached curiosity to see the outcome: such was my ambiguous progress over the near *tabula rasa* with which allegedly I entered the decade. I have never understood those who fondly wish to return to childhood. But, on the Creator's behalf, I must confess, I have not yet fully figured out a way to do without it in the beginning.

The decade of my adolescence (I congratulate those whose stint was shorter) brought the blessings of war. To me they were considerable. While masses of humanity groaned and died, I gained a vision—albeit an egomaniac one—of the possibility that the fundamental conditions of life just might be good. New was the experience of knowing, or at least thinking one knew, where tomorrow's bread would be coming from. New was Phoenix and the grand givenness of the West, the stark transcendence of sheer geography. New too was the fantastic optimism of the will-to-power tasting its dimensions and limitations, human and divine.

Out of the repeated bankruptcy of my efforts to will Pelagius' will after him, and the ensuing despair, came a disciplined confidence in God's adequacy, a slowly growing conviction that He had some particular notions of how He wanted to dispose of me, and finally, at a Methodist camp the summer after my freshman college year, a commitment to undertake vocational preparation for seminary teaching.

With diploma in hand—a B.S. in psychology from Arizona State at Tempe—I was in 1950 on the boundary of the possibility of some kind of manhood. My understanding of God, the world, and myself was in many ways basically inadequate. I had, as they say, "a lot yet to learn." But one thing, at least, I had already learned: God's one live option for me was Heaven—however problematic the route.

The "route" for the next five years ran through Dallas, where I learned less inside school and book than outside. A swing-shift job at Chance-Vought Aircraft between Dallas and Ft. Worth, which took 11 hours out of 24, was part of the "outside." The "inside" of a B.D. education at S.M.U. "might have been"—those saddest words on tongue or pen—rich and profound. In fact, for me it was not, because the "outside" demands with which I got myself ever more deeply involved never gave it any real chance. Yet there were moments within Perkins' Georgian halls and there were men—I shall not soon forget Outler, Gealy, Mahan, and others—mediating visions of new worlds.

Duke is probably not the educational kingdom of God. (Indeed, if there is such an entity I can claim no more than the status of agnostic seeker.) However, it was here that I began for the first time to learn what a good formal education process is. It is certainly at least this: having and/or taking plenty of concentrated TIME to study, listen, and think. I got off to a rather late start and it is by no means a foregone conclusion that I shall ever "catch up." But for some time now I am having fun trying.

In 1958 I finished my dissertation (I give you the title, lest my work have been utterly in vain: "A Critical Analysis of Heidegger's Ontology in *Sein und Zeit*"—impressive?), got my union card (it was supposed to be genuine sheepskin, or something), and took off exuberantly to teach at one of the 400 or so "Wesleyans" in the country (you had better single out this one, since both Cushman and Beach hail from there). I am afraid I cannot claim any roaring success for my encounters with the secular undergraduate educational world as incarnate in Middletown, Connecticut. I suppose I can say that I have a better grasp of the views and problems of the contem-

porary secular world as a result of that experience. (And I would certainly be out of style if I did not claim that much.)

For the "summing-it-up," I would say that the third decade of me produced a kind of on-the-way adulthood. (Sorry if this is hubris!) Part of this conception is the emergent conviction that the only road I see—either in my own life or in the Gospel—to Heaven runs through hell. (And if you think this is pessimism you have made at least one error today.)

What about the fourth decade? Well, please do not rush me yet. I would just as soon live it first. But I can say that I am now in my third year of teaching here at good ol' dook, and I am "right proud to be here"—as they say in these parts.

I can also say (*Ich kann nicht anders*) that I have added another not entirely unimportant item to my knowledge: mutual joy in love can become a reality, even in this world. Her name is Muriel. She is a Pennsylvania Dutch gal. And we were married last July 13.

The future? Well, if you figure out how to synthesize Plato, Paul (the Apostle), St. Thomas, Kierkegaard, and Husserl, while at the same time incorporating the insights of the sciences and being true to the historical (that is right: *historisch* as well as *geschichtlich*) Jesus, let me know how it is done. Preferably in 25 words or less.

I guess my secret is out. I am *metaphysisch* and *weltanschaulich*. Isn't it awful?

A Miscellany of American Christianity: Essays in Honor of H. Shelton Smith.
Edited by Stuart C. Henry. Duke University. 1963. 390 pp. \$10.

Roger Williams, writing a book of meditations for his wife, presented it to her as "an handful of flowers made up in a little posy." When a baker's dozen of contributors join in making up the bouquet, the resulting pleasure can be even more widely shared. H. Shelton Smith, fully deserving all encomium here bestowed, has been rich in the students he has known and transformed. By these same students, he too—as he would be the first to admit—has been transformed in more than thirty years of fruitful pedagogy at Duke University. Further, through his lucid writings, his gracious counsel, his benign leadership in the profession, he has also changed and strengthened countless who have not known the privilege of his classroom and his daily presence.

In the tasteful tribute that opens the volume, Albert C. Outler, speaking out of his long years of acquaintance and friendship with Shelton Smith, remarks that few men are permitted to see major dreams realized so fully in their own lifetime. Three goals, set and attained by Professor Smith, help provide a measure for the man: 1) to develop an academically sound doctoral program in religion at a southern university; 2) to replace militant denominationalism with ecumenical vision in North Carolina; and, 3) to establish the autonomy and respectability of American Christianity as a field for scholarly investigation. Any one of these is a major achievement; the three together constitute a triumph.

The volume has been ably edited by Stuart C. Henry, associate professor of American Christianity at Duke. He has chosen well, selecting men at home in American history no less than in American religion. Both content and style deserve general commendation. Only one criticism of the volume as a whole: it lacks a definitive bibliography of Professor Smith. While Mr. Outler's appreciative memoir seeks in part to provide this, its very form necessarily restricts the author to books alone. In considering the *Festschriften* themselves, a more or less arbitrary grouping is made: biographic, episodic, thematic. If the attention given to the individual chapters seems critical, this is because I assume that a careful, conscientious, never-satisfied teacher will consider himself better served thereby.

1. Biographic

The largest number of essays in the book may be assumed under this general heading, though none of the writers is attempting—in so narrow a compass—to delineate the full course of a man's life. Walter W. Benjamin draws attention to a bright facet in the career of Bishop Francis J. McConnell: the great steel strike of 1919-1920. A denomination which long has taken seriously its social mission comes off well in the bishop's demonstration of courage, strength and integrity. To read of the seven-day week, the twelve-hour day is to suppose that one is hearing of another century, not merely the previous generation. McConnell became part of that noble assembly known then, as now, as "outside agitators." And it was presumed then, as now, that no problems existed except as they were artificially created from the outside. So gentle epithets such as "Bolshevism," "revolution," "sovietism," "con-

spiracy," and "radicalism" were hurled freely at the strike, the strikers, and even at those who dispassionately sought to examine the merits of the case. It is an intriguing episode, worthy of recall. Mr. Benjamin's interjection of his own bias against neo-orthodoxy is irrelevant and unnecessary.

Paul Leslie Garber offers a "centennial appraisal" of James Henley Thornwell. An apologist for the southern church and southern culture, Thornwell was a vigorous Presbyterian preacher and professor at Columbia Theological Seminary. Mr. Garber fails to demonstrate a flow or development in Thornwell's thought, as in his move from non-secessionist to secessionist views. Though lengthy enough to provide this kind of evolution, the essay lacks sufficient clarity of organization to do so. As for Thornwell himself, often on the defensive and more often wrong, he was apparently spared any agony of indecision or uncertainty. In the words of his nineteenth-century biographer, "whenever he found a 'thus saith the Lord,' he ceased to reason, and began to worship."

Barney L. Jones presents Presbyterian John Caldwell in his role as critic of the Great Awakening. With some fresh documents at his disposal, Mr. Jones weighs the charges that Samuel Davies and John Moorhead leveled against Caldwell's character and ministry. The documentation is thorough, the digestion meagre, and the conclusion, regrettably though perhaps unavoidably, inconclusive.

James L. McAllister's sketch of Princeton's John Witherspoon is ably done. Witherspoon, doing much more than preserving the clerical image by signing the Declaration of Independence, served in the Continental Congress for nearly five years; he effectively espoused the young nation's cause; he molded an institution so that it became a major training center for men in public affairs. As Mr. McAllister notes, "Philosophically he established Princeton as the bastion of the Scottish Common Sense philosophy in America. Politically, he presided over a foremost school for statesmen in the new American republic." One of the attractions of this excellent essay is that its author provides more than a two-dimensional portrait. He is careful to give Witherspoon his due, but equally careful to recognize his intellectual limitations, his lack of originality, his frequent inconsistency.

"Bronson Alcott: Emerson's 'Tedious Archangel'" by H. Burnell Pannill is brief but effective. Alcott's intuitive epistemology, "the fulcrum upon which [his] life and thought . . . lay balanced," is presented in a succinct clarity that Alcott could well envy. The decade, 1835-1845, is the focus of attention, when Alcott's "reforming zeal was at its strongest and his failures most bitter." Of the failures, none was more poignant than the utopian effort at Fruitlands. The utter collapse of this and many another Romantic venture of the nineteenth century says something about the limitations of the Romanticist's view of man and nature. Calvinists, at least, would be likely to remember that some one had to take care of the garbage.

Coming into prominence as New England's Awakening declined, Jonathan Mayhew is the object of McMurry S. Richey's attention. The author provides an excellent summary of Mayhew's relationship to, or his distinction from, contemporary "evangelical rationalists," "ethical intuitionists," and others. In the space allotted, too much time is given to background; there is, moreover, too much routine exegesis, not really enough imaginative synthesis.

The final essay in this group is Thomas A. Schafer's examination of Solomon Stoddard's doctrine of conversion. The topic has obvious significance for what lay immediately ahead of Stoddard's career: New England's Great Awakening. Working directly from the sources' mouth, Mr. Schafer convincingly constructs the "bridge from Puritan piety to revival religion" that he finds sketched in Stoddard's writings. Emphasis on the critical period from awakening to assurance, preaching to elicit conviction—even terror, an

unmistakable preparation for grace climaxed by an unforgettable reception of grace—these are among the elements common to Stoddard and to those (including his grandson, Jonathan Edwards) who followed him.

2. Episodic

Three chapters considered here treat, respectively, perfectionism, the frontier, and witchcraft. "The Communitarian Quest for Perfection" by John W. Chandler includes a quite competent summary of the Shakers and the Oneida community, along with a look at the bubbling environment from which they gushed. The author quotes Emerson's perceptive and perhaps self-deprecating comment to Carlyle: "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waist coat pocket." Under the headings of property, sex relations, and confession, Mr. Chandler seeks "to make clear how the communitarians implemented practically their conviction that the holy community . . . ought to provide optimum conditions for producing personal satisfaction." The strength of this essay lies in its effort to relate the "numberless projects" to the main stream of nineteenth century American culture.

Gordon Esley Finnie's "Some Aspects of Religion on the American Frontier" is term-paperish and thin. The examination is largely limited to the career of a single Methodist minister, George Brown, himself born on the Virginia frontier in 1792. Where generalizations about the whole frontier are made, their validity is questionable. "Camp meetings were orgies of religious emotion." Or, "the religious life of the individual from birth to the grave was characterized by one intense emotional experience after another."

The editor, Stuart Henry, contributed a chapter of his own on "Puritan Character in the Witchcraft Episode of Salem." Salem's witch hunters have been outdone, in academic circles, only by those pseudo-historians who have hunted witch hunters under every Puritan bed. No doubt the Puritans make us uncomfortable, and if we can prove them all superstitious, malicious miscreants, we're safe. This is *not* Mr. Henry's approach. He is concerned, rather, "to show that there were certain admirable traits which the Puritans exhibited in the shocking episode . . ." This is itself admirable and worth doing. With excellent buttressing from the sources, the author makes a case that is generally convincing. The case could be strengthened by 1) a more careful distinction between demonology and any belief in the wrath of God; 2) noting the pervasiveness of witchcraft in Europe no less than in England; and, 3) making clear that the Puritans, and only the Puritans, abandoned the admissibility of spectral evidence. The conclusion, pages 166-167, is judicious and of prime significance; it deserves to be read by all who are still tempted to repeat the tiresome clichés about America's Puritans.

3. Thematic

Finally, two essays address themselves to special themes: ontology and architecture. In "Ontology and Christology: The Apologetic Theology of Paul Tillich," John Pemberton presents the volume's most philosophical essay. If a monograph so titled seems inappropriate in a book honoring an historian, such doubts are disposed of quickly. Tillich tells us that "at some point, Christology meets the concept of history, and at some point the analysis of the nature of history inevitably leads to the question of Christology." Tillich, recognizing that theology must ever function in a changing temporal situation, must ever address itself to each new generation, seeks to preserve the continuity between Christianity and culture. Theology must be an "answering theology"; that is, it must speak to the earnest questions which men are asking. A pressing problem in our own day is that theology keeps offering answers to questions that nobody is asking. Tillich, Mr. Pemberton assures

us, at least knows the right questions and recognizes that they demand some sort of answer. The essay is designed to show specifically why Barthian criticism of nineteenth century liberalism is not applicable to Tillich's theology. Thus one may reject Schleiermacher's brand of apologetics without rejecting the whole notion of apologetics. It is Tillich's achievement, the author argues, to have produced "an apologetic theology that is confessional and not accommodating." Theology must be existential in the sense that it has to deal with questions posed by man's existence; but the answers to those questions lie in the realm of ontology, not anthropology.

James F. White's "Theology and Architecture in America" briefly considers "three leaders" in the Gothic revival: John Henry Hopkins, Ralph Adams Cram, and Von Ogden Vogt. The topic is rich with promise, deserving more critical attention than it has received. Architecture reflects theology and worship; it may in turn sometimes be reflected in them. Especially in the section on Vogt the close relationship between architecture and worship is analyzed. One might have expected some reference to Donald Drew Egbert's well-illustrated essay, "Religious Expression in American Architecture," in the second volume of Princeton's Religion in American Life series: *Religious Perspectives in American Culture* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 361-411. Those seriously interested in this subject should also see (in the same series) Nelson R. Burr, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, pp. 756-791.

All in all, this volume of thirteen essays is a handsome "little posy." Those giving it have the pleasure that comes from offering worthy gifts. He who receives it has the pleasure that comes from a stewardship discharged with signal honor.

Edwin S. Gaustad
Professor of Humanities
University of Redlands

William Grimshaw, 1708-1763. Frank Baker. Epworth. 1963. 274 pp. 45 shillings (\$6.30).

It would be anomalous if the renewed scholarly concern with John and Charles Wesley continued to neglect key co-workers whom the Wesleys highly esteemed. Only recently was George Whitefield freshly brought to print in Professor Stuart C. Henry's biographical study (*George Whitefield—Way-faring Witness*, Abingdon, 1957). John William Fletcher of Madeley, whom Wesley late in life chose for his successor but who died before Wesley, deserves a full-length study (we would hope Professor David C. Shipley might publish his). Now Professor Baker definitively represents the life and ministry of William Grimshaw of Haworth, such an important figure in early Methodism that Wesley earlier designated him as next in command to himself and Charles.

This is a major contribution to Methodist history and biography. It is manifest that Grimshaw deserves such attention. Obscured perhaps by the greater figures of the Wesleys, perhaps by anecdote and caricature, unpublished writings, and early death, Grimshaw has been too little known and appreciated. Frank Baker devoted his Ph.D. dissertation to recovering and presenting the man and his unique role in the evangelical revival—not only of Methodism but also of Anglicanism and Dissent. Leaving much of his prodigious research for scholars to consult in his dissertation, Dr. Baker here presents the essentials of that study in scholarly yet lively, popular form.

Grimshaw is portrayed against the background of his forebears and their historical and geographical setting (near Frank Baker's own part of northern England). We see him as an indifferent student, as a young curate of dubious devotion, as a husband and father, twice married and bereaved, as a spiritually

awakened struggler against the world, the flesh, and the devil, as a joyous discoverer of evangelical freedom and full assurance, yet a rigorously disciplined warrior with troublesome temptation, as both ardent evangelist and imposer of repressive puritanism, as wide-ranging itinerant preacher yet faithful parish clergyman to whose ministry thousands responded.

Even before joining forces with Wesley in 1747, Grimshaw and Haworth were involved in the evangelical revival, with much of its typical spiritual experience, theology, and pastoral practice. Becoming a Methodist leader, he continued to care for his parish and nearby societies, but extended his itinerary far beyond Haworth, preaching a dozen to twenty or more sermons a week, exercising pastoral care and discipline over Methodist societies of other northern counties, overseeing numerous Methodist lay preachers, writing pastoral letters to other Methodists, figuring importantly in Methodist Conferences. He also maintained close relationships with various other evangelical groups and leaders and was influential in the renewal and development of the Baptists and other Dissenters. Yet he remained loyal to the Established Church, acted decisively in preventing Methodism from separating during his lifetime, and was, according to Dr. Baker, "the chief forerunner of the evangelical revival in the Church of England" (p. 7).

To be introduced thus to William Grimshaw by Frank Baker is not only to become better acquainted with a remarkable early Methodist leader and the movements in which he figured; it is also a fascinating excursion back into the mind and heart, the home, neighborhood, and hamlet, the faith and superstition, the sufferings and spiritual triumphs, of eighteenth century England. Grimshaw was not the thinker, writer, scholar, or evangelical statesman that Wesley was, and is not so relevant as Wesley to our day; but, as more a man of his own time, he makes us the more conscious of its character and its distance from our time, including, unhappily, the difference in devotion. The student of Wesley will find this book enormously illuminating in its portrayal of men and movements often neglected in the usual focusing on Wesley, yet important for proper understanding of Wesley himself. Frank Baker ferrets out the details of persons and places with the meticulous search of the legendary British sleuth, the knowledgeable surmises of a village gossip, and the ardent scholarship of a veteran Wesleyan historian and archivist. Even when these references are a bit unfamiliar and numerous for American readers, we may appreciate their presentation in a nice balance of scholarly thoroughness and popular readability.

It is gratifying indeed to have a Duke University dateline at the close of the Preface, since it represents the presence of Frank Baker and the Frank Baker Collection (over 17,000 items!) of Wesleyana and British Methodism at Duke, where his teaching, research, and library make this the best Wesley research center outside of Britain. It will be Dr. Baker's careful, exhaustive basic bibliographical work that will eventually make possible the new edition of Wesley's works under sponsorship of Duke and several other Methodist theological schools.—McMurry S. Richey.

The Hebrew Scriptures, An Introduction to Their Literature and Religious Ideas. Samuel Sandmel. Knopf. 1963. xviii, 552, xviii pp. \$6.25.

Dr. Sandmel, Provost of Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, is an able Jewish scholar who has made the New Testament one of his special fields of interest. He is already well known for his two books, *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (1956) and *The Genius of Paul* (1958). Now he attempts an introduction to the Old Testament. The result is clever, even brilliant in spots, also challenging and unorthodox. The order of presentation is unusual: (1) Prophets, exilic and post-exilic, including Daniel; (2) Hagiographa, in part; (3) Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic histories; (4) more Hagiographa, *viz.* Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, Ruth, Jonah (from the Minor Prophets), and Esther. The volume concludes with appended chapters on Archaeology and the Old Testament (which is called by its Jewish name "Tanak"), the Sacred Calendar and the Priesthood, and the Significance of the Tanak in Judaism and in Christianity.

The author sets forth his point of view in an introductory chapter. "The Tanak is a very difficult book," which may be frustrating to the untutored reader; hence, the need for tutorial help. The author rejects allegory and is concerned only with the literal meaning of Scripture. He rejects rationalization of miracle stories, making it plain that both Old and New Testaments contain miracle stories, and that the miracles must be accepted or rejected as such. Harsh and unpleasant passages are to be dealt with frankly, not glossed over. Historical blunders must be recognized, for the Biblical writers "were not research historians." There are obvious redactions and interpolations. In other words, "This book is unabashedly a book of Higher Criticism."

After a few historical and literary

preliminaries, study of the individual books begins, in the arrangement mentioned above. A few of the positions taken may be noted. Amos delivered only one address, in Bethel, just before dawn, on the occasion of the fall festival (following Julian Morgenstern, to whom the book is dedicated). Amos, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah were against ritual on principle. The message of Hosea is just as stern as that of Amos. The book of Isaiah was written by many authors in many ages. Isaiah 9:1-7 and 11:1-9 belong to a time later than the original Isaiah. The prophetic career of Jeremiah did not begin until about 605 B.C. The strange features of the book of Ezekiel are due to the use of symbolism, not to mental illness on the part of the prophet. Post-exilic prophecy is radically different from pre-exilic prophecy. In Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar is really Antiochus Epiphanes.

In the Pentateuch, the standard literary analysis, using the symbols J, E, D, and P, is not to be lightly thrown away, but is to be accepted as a point of departure for further refinements and new discoveries. The emphasis of certain Scandinavian scholars on oral tradition is extreme and cannot be accepted. Attempts to overemphasize the historicity of the Pentateuch should be questioned. The primary emphasis of the Pentateuch was theological, not historical. The "history" of the Chronicler is to be understood as "interpretative theology" and has considerable value in this respect. The value of archeology in Bible study is sometimes overrated. Archeology may confirm certain historical events and throw light on others, but it hardly touches the theological and religious faith which is the very basis of the Biblical writings.

Since this is such an interesting and excellent book in many respects, it is a pity that it seems to have been hastily put together and carelessly edited. In several places the Scriptural references are garbled (as on p. 82, n. 2) and in other places the text is in confusion and one can only guess at the meaning; *e.g.*, on p. 89, the

usual translation of *Shear Yashub* is not "a saving remnant," nor does *yashub* mean "saved," as the text seems to say. Clearly, the second edition of this book should be a *revised* edition.—W. F. Stinespring.

The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus. Norman Perrin. Westminster. 1963. 215 pp. \$4.50.

The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus. Goestra Lundstroem. (Translated by Joan Bulman.) John Knox. 1963. xiv + 300 pp. \$7.50.

One of the most important questions in New Testament study is: What did Jesus mean by the term, "The Kingdom of God?" The answer to this question holds the key to understanding Jesus, His teaching and His Person, and much scholarly ink has been spilled over this issue.

That this is true is reflected in the fact that two books of the same title have appeared recently setting forth the various views which have been proposed by New Testament scholars on this topic from the early nineteenth century to the present time. Even though the two works do overlap at various points, each has its own emphases which give a certain freshness to each work.

Perrin begins his discussion with Schleiermacher and culminates his initial presentation with Albert Schweitzer and his *konsequente Eschatologie* (futuristic eschatology). The remainder of the work deals with the "Subsequent Discussion" under the following headings: The Transformation of Apocalyptic, The Denial and Triumph of Apocalyptic, C. H. Dodd and "Realized Eschatology," The Kingdom as Both Present and Future, T. W. Manson and the "Son of Man," Rudolf Bultmann and His School on the Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, Jesus and the Parousia, The American View of Jesus as a Prophet.

In the final chapter the author pre-

sents the present state of the discussion and some questions for further discussion. Here Perrin suggests some ideas of his own which are thought-provoking. Especially interesting is the wholly eschatological interpretation of the Lord's Prayer as it reflects the "tension between the present and the future in the teaching of Jesus." According to the author this tension is a matter of "personal experience." (pp. 191-198)

The work by Lundstroem is arranged in much the same way as Perrin's work. The discussion is handled chronologically from Ritschl to 1906; from this point the arrangement is primarily topical. Here we find some very interesting chapters entitled: "Interpretation by Systematic Theology," "Philosophical Modifications of the Kingdom of God," "Interpretation of the Kingdom of God on the Basis of Bible Realism."

The footnotes are excellent in both works, and Lundstroem includes an invaluable bibliography of both English and foreign works (something which the reader misses in Perrin's book). One correction which should be pointed out (apart from minor typographical errors) is the incorrect attributing of the work, *Christ's View of the Kingdom of God*, to T. W. Manson (p. 289); the author of this work was William Manson.

Both of these works were doctoral theses, and both are recommended for all students of the New Testament. Both are stimulating and interesting. Lundstroem reads more easily, even in translation, and is recommended to be read first. This work includes the views of more scholars (including the Scandinavian school) than does Perrin's book, but this can be an asset or a liability depending on one's viewpoint. Perrin discusses fewer persons but penetrates more deeply especially with regard to R. Bultmann's place in the total discussion.

Here are two significant works on a significant topic in New Testament interpretation. One need not be afraid that the reading of both works will result in great reduplication; one's

total outlook on this important topic will be enlarged by the reading of both.—James M. Efrid.

Man in the New Testament. Werner Georg Kuemmel. (Translated by John J. Vincent.) Revised and enlarged. Westminster. 1963. 100 pp. \$2.95.

The value of this small work is not to be measured by its size. Here is an attempt to give a fresh examination of the concept of man in the New Testament primarily by examining three of the most important sections of New Testament teaching, namely the preaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, Paul, and John.

"Jesus does not see man either as naturally related to God, or in the dichotomy between nature and spirit. He sees man as an active person, standing over against God but failing to fulfill his task which is the service of God." (p. 36) Kuemmel finds that this is essentially the view of the entire New Testament. This conclusion is reached by a careful consideration of key passages.

This work is to be commended for its insight, its depth, its scholarly presentation, and its brevity.—James M. Efrid.

The Responsible Self: an Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy. H. Richard Niebuhr. Harper & Row. 1963. 181 pp. \$3.50.

This rich and wise volume from the pen of the late Professor H. Richard Niebuhr will surely take its place as one of his best. Based on lectures at the University of Glasgow and in this country, these pages represent the fruition of Professor Niebuhr's reflection on ethical and theological themes on which he had pondered so carefully through the years.

Former students of Niebuhr will recognize favorite theses here, rethought and restated, and his characteristic way of worrying a conclusion out of confusion into intelligibility by turning it this way and that, dialecti-

cal thinking where the power of integrity is wrought out of travail. His way of stating the case is always characteristically confessional rather than polemical.

Niebuhr's starting point is the mystery of self-hood. He does not begin with theological dogma, but with "secular" man, pondering his personal existence. Exploration of this theme leads Niebuhr to a radically monotheistic conclusion, to be sure, to account adequately for responsibility, but along the way he keeps company with many "secular" thinkers who would be put off by dogmatic theology.

He sets forth no systematic Christian ethics, no cataloguing of private or public responsibilities of the Christian man. Rather he sets forth a "way of thinking," an approach to ethics. In the stead of either of the two traditional ways of ethics, the end-directed (teleological) ethics of idealism or a law-abiding ethics of duty (deontological), Niebuhr finds more rewarding a "response" ethics of the "fitting." The great question here for the Christian man becomes: how is Reality acting upon me, and how may my action be suited to the action of God? The truly responsible self is the one who is both responsive and accountable to the neighbor and to the One transcendent of society.

There are many treasures here, things new and old. One of the most impressive, for this reviewer, is the case he makes in explaining responsibility against both a private individualism and a closed social environmentalism, by his referent to an ultimate One, a "different drummer" with whom the responsible self keeps pace.

An extended appendix pursues the theme of the meaning of Christ for Christian responsibility. Niebuhr on principle avoided statements of any "official" Christology, but here are suggested many familiar and flush themes about Christ as the paradigm of responsibility.

Professor James Gustafson, an intimate colleague of Niebuhr's, has

added to the merit of the volume by supplying a clear 40-page Introduction to his thought, setting out the dominant concerns of Niebuhr's intellectual career in as succinct and perceptive a fashion as anywhere known to this reader.—Waldo Beach.

The Precarious Vision. Peter Berger. Doubleday. 1961. 238 pp. \$3.95.

Peter Berger is perhaps best known to the reading public as author of *The Noise of Solemn Assemblies*, but he deserves to be read with equal attention in the volume reviewed here. Indeed, one would wish to argue that, in some significant ways, this present book is the more substantial of the two. For one thing, *The Precarious Vision* takes a rather well-balanced look at a broader range of social data; for another, it undertakes to be therapeutic as well as diagnostic.

The burden of this essay is two-fold. It attempts first to show by careful (and, more often than not, convincing) analysis that the generality of social phenomena, which we casually observe to be static and objective, are really quite dynamic and, in a profound sense, "fictitious." Americans, unlike persons in some other parts of the world, have been so thoroughly insulated from the shocks of political and economic and social revolution that they have failed to comprehend the very precarious character of their social existence and hence frequently have mistaken the façade of culture for its reality. A more authentic understanding of our societal life will reveal that such terms as "Methodist," or "democrat," or "middle-class" refer at best only to roles acted out (with more or less delusion and pretension) on the stage of social existence. Berger's book is, in the first instance then, a protest against the dehumanizing and demoralizing fictions of contemporary American society.

The second, and corresponding concern of this work is with whether Christian faith affords any viable al-

ternative to the fictitiousness of most of our social existence. And here Berger reads like a good mystery: you are fairly certain that the hero will "get his man," but the involved method of sleuthing and solving may be completely disarming. Of course, Christian faith offers a lively possibility for authentic human existence; but this is not to be understood as the basis of a new morality, or law, or a Christian society or Christian economics, or any other order which can be "ratified in the sign of the cross." Instead, Berger's plea is for a "Christian humanism" (strongly reminiscent of Maritain and greatly dependent upon Bonhoeffer) which sees the Christian not as some kind of *homo religiosus* but as "a man simply being a man," as a man like other men "caught in the ambiguities and relativities of the human condition" who simply lives out of God's love in faith.

One would wish to give strong support to Berger's insistence that Christian ethics be oriented, both in its conceptions and in its imperatives, toward men rather than institutions; and, further, to admit with him that we have, as Christian moralists, too often been residents of an anti-humanist camp. But the way is muddied by an optimistic anthropology, the nature of which is not nearly so transparently clear as its destiny. It is here that the book serves us less well than at some other points, for however much affinity may be claimed between the understandings of man derived from Christian faith (contingency of being) and the social-scientific enterprise (precariousness of identity), it remains true that the answer to "who am I?" derives in certain crucial ways from the prior answer to "where am I going?"—Harmon L. Smith.

Institutionalism and Church Unity.

Edited by Nils Ehrenstrom and Walter G. Muelder. Association. 1963. 378 pp. \$6.50.

This symposium was prepared by the Study Commission on Institutionalism under the World Council's

Commission on Faith and Order. It sets out—and makes a valiant effort—to bridge the familiar chasm between sociology and theology, between the Church as institution and the Church as *koinonia*. In this reviewer's opinion, it never quite succeeds. The emphasis is generally sociological—rightly so, since the Commission was assigned to deal with the Church as institution and with institutions in the Church. But the study assumes, without ever quite demonstrating, that having the Church as both subject and object automatically makes the enterprise theological.

The dualistic approach produces linguistic difficulties as well. Since most of the contributors are "religious sociologists" or social ethicists, their language is more nearly sociological than theological. But there is just enough sociological jargon to confuse the layman or uninitiated pastor, and enough theological jargon to alienate sociologists. Furthermore, the technical nature of this study precludes the desired "self-criticism of churches" by most congregations.

As a reference work, the volume contains useful sketches of the organization and structure of major church unions. Joseph Allen of Southern Methodist University examines American Methodist reunification in terms of power structures and institutional interests (bishops and laity, General Conference and Jurisdictions, the Judicial Council and local segregation). Other contributors do the same for Baptist-Disciple negotiations, the United Church of Christ, the Church of South India, the Japanese Kyodan, etc. But those who are looking for effective communication between the ecumenical hierarchy and the local church will have to look further than this.—Creighton Lacy.

Where in the World? Colin W. Williams. National Council of Churches. 1963. 116 pp. \$.75.

In the midst of debate about the renewal of the Church—frenetic criti-

cism and sober reappraisal—this progress report on a long-range study authorized by the World Council of Churches should facilitate discussion in the local church. The preface quotes the Evanston Assembly Report as saying: "Without radical changes of structure and organization, our existing Churches will never become missionary Churches, which they must if the Gospel is to be heard in the world." But it goes on to reassure the reluctant pastor that "one purpose of this study is to seek to prevent any deepening of the tendency to think that we must quietly bypass most local congregations in the movement to renewal."

The term "missionary" is used, of course, in the broadest sense of "servanthood within the world." Yet the question must be asked, as it is in this brief guide, "whether the present organization of the Church in local congregations is serving that mission or hindering it." In an age of rapid social change, are we bound by "morphological fundamentalism" or an "edifice complex" which separates rather than unites? We have been rightly fearful of conforming the Gospel, but we have failed to "see the New Testament as witnessing to a Church which *takes form in the world in response to the structures of the world's need.*" What irony that we must listen to Christians in East Germany repenting for "the loveless lives of Christians who participate in the Lord's Supper."

With some justification we often criticize the ecumenical hierarchy for speaking in tongues far beyond the grasp of local church members. Here is a radical but challenging presentation which should be used very widely at the "grass roots." It puts in unmistakable language with inescapable discussion questions the meaning of Christ's Lordship over the Church and the world. (And the price, financially at least, is not beyond the reach of anyone.)—Creighton Lacy.

Spring Calendar

Friends in the Durham region are cordially invited to attend any of the lectures or other public events during the current semester. Each of these will be at 11 o'clock in York Chapel unless otherwise listed. (February dates are included by way of past announcement.)

February 5—Dean Robert E. Cushman, on the Second Vatican Council.

February 19—Mr. Henry A. Lacy, executive Secretary for Southern Asia, Methodist Board of Missions (Mission Symposium Lecture).

February 26—Professor William F. Stinespring (Faculty Lecture).

March 4—Mr. S. P. Gaskins, American Bible Society.

March 11—Principal G. Henton Davies, Regent Park College, Oxford.

April 8—Dr. Darrell Randall, Chairman of the Africa Area Studies Program, School for International Service, American University.

April 9-12—Conference on "Christianity and Social Revolution in Newly Developing Nations."

April 9—Miss Barbara Ward, noted British author and economist: "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" (Page Auditorium, 8 p.m.).

April 10—Rev. Paul Abrecht, Executive Secretary of the Department of Church and Society, World Council of Churches: "The Response of Christians and Churches to the Revolution" (Page, 9:30 a.m.). Mr. Nicholas Anim of Ghana and Mr. Mariga Wangombe of Kenya: "Christianity and Social Revolution in Africa" (Page Auditorium, 2 p.m.).

Professor M. Richard Shaull, Princeton Theological Seminary: "Christianity and Social Revolution in Latin America" (Page, 8 p.m.).

April 11—Dr. John Scott Everton, Vice-President of Education and World Affairs, former U.S. Ambassador to Burma: "Educational Dimensions of Social Revolution" (Page Auditorium, 9:30 a.m.).

Dr. David M. Stowe, Executive Secretary of the Division of Foreign Missions, National Council of Churches: "The Christian Mission in Social Revolution" (Page Auditorium, 2 p.m.).

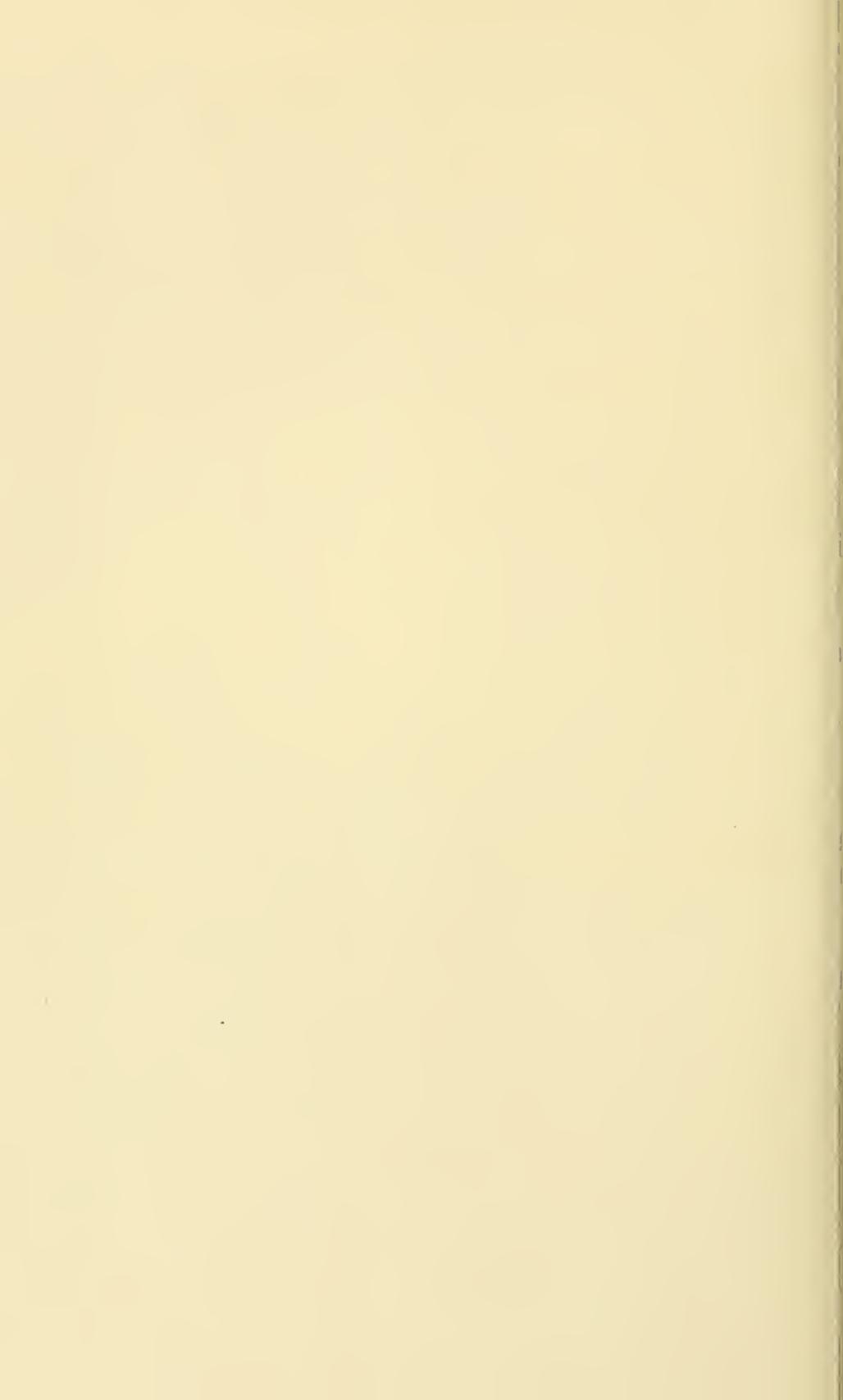
Dr. Byron L. Johnson, Consultant to the Agency for International Development, former Congressman from Colorado: "Christian Responsibility for International Development" (Alice M. Baldwin Auditorium, East Campus, 8 p.m.).

April 12—President Samuel Proctor of Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro, former Associate Director of the Peace Corps: "The Wrong Time to Be Silent" (Duke Chapel, 11 a.m.).

May 6—President Douglas Knight.

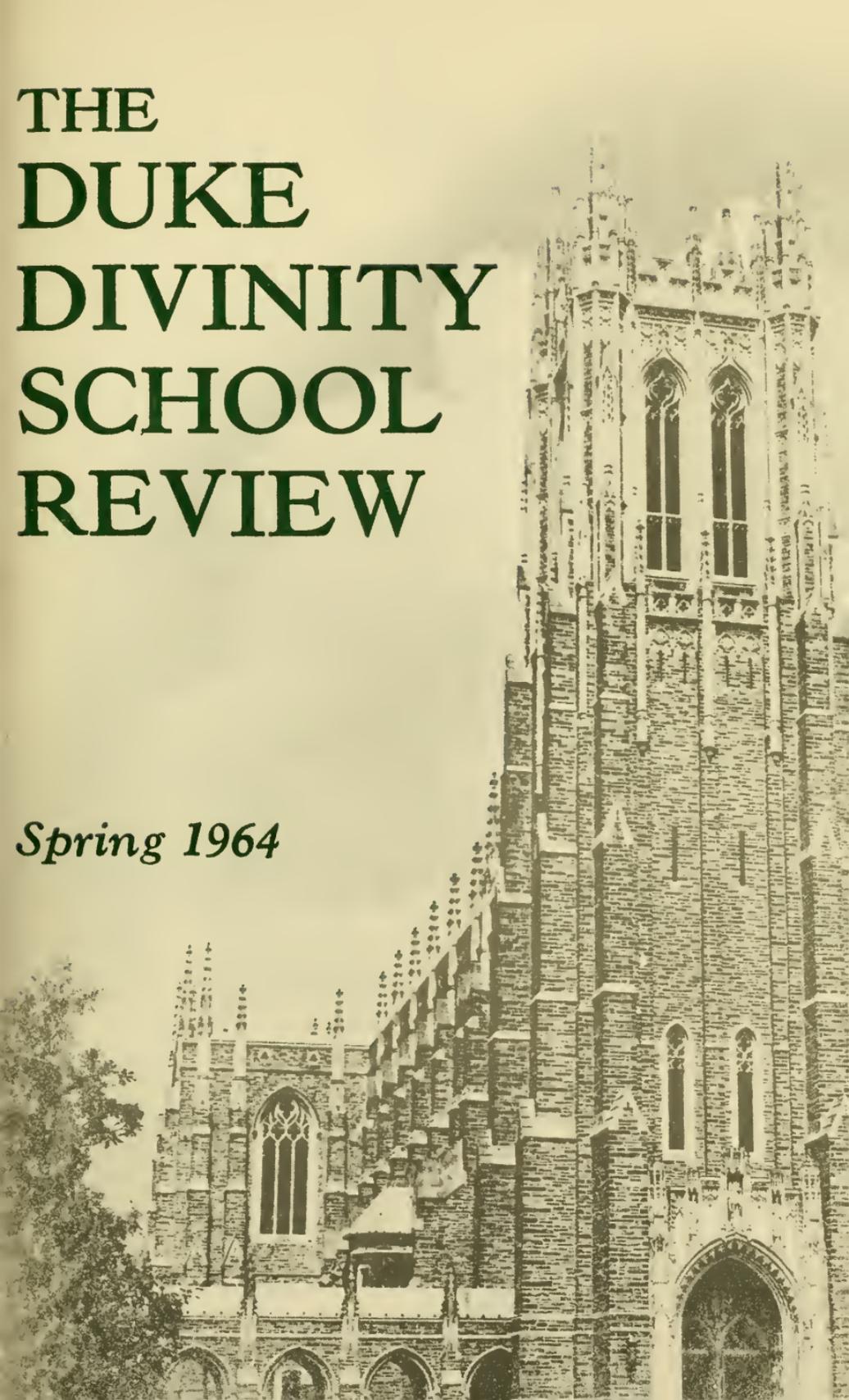
May 13—Closing Convocation (10:10 a.m.).

May 31—Divinity School Baccalaureate Service (7:45 p.m.).



THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Spring 1964



A Prayer for Our Colleagues

Bidding: Now let us pray for our teachers and colleagues who are undergoing trial of their faith in court of law. . . .

Almighty God, Who didst send Thy Son into the world to lead us into the way of righteousness, bestow Thy blessing and strength upon these our colleagues, who because of their witness for Thee are now being tested by fiery trial.

Give them great gifts and great holiness, that wisely and charitably, diligently and lovingly, prudently and acceptably, they may be guides to the blind, comforters to the confused and weary. May they boldly rebuke sin, patiently suffer for the truth, and be exemplary in their lives and actions.

Amidst enmity and rejection, sustain them by Thy loving presence, and may they love their neighbors as themselves.

Amidst the tensions of prolonged uncertainty, may they be renewed daily and hourly in the strength of Thy Holy Spirit, the Comforter.

In the disruption of their ordered lives and work, let them rest tranquilly in Thee, in Whom alone is our peace.

Grant to their families courage and patience to await Thy will, confident that they and we remain securely in Thy loving care.

Save them, their families, and all of us from bitterness and from factionalism, that despite the confusion of conflicting claims they and we may have a part in the fulfillment of Thy larger purposes.

Grant unto us all a gallant spirit, let our loads be lightened by being shared, and let our prayers, which we now offer to Thee, become a means of our sharing with Thee in Thy ministry of reconciliation.

Now we commit all these for whom we pray, and ourselves, to Thine almighty care. And unto Thee, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, we offer praise and honor, trust and obedience, now and evermore. Amen.

John J. Rudin, II

York Chapel
March 13, 1964

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From the Courthouse Steps....

Hillsboro, N. C.

April 17, 1964

Those who are concerned with the witness of the Word in the world will appreciate the fact that this editorial note is being written of necessity on the courthouse steps. Necessity of time because a printing deadline has arrived. Necessity of place because our friend and faculty colleague, Harmon Smith, is being tried on charges of trespass in a civil rights demonstration. (Fifteen minutes after those words were written, the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and the judge imposed a sentence of ninety days in jail, plus costs.)

Yesterday—to the confusion of the jury, with the reluctant consent of the judge to “corroborative evidence,” and over the strenuous objection of the prosecuting solicitor, who first introduced phrases out of context—Dr. Smith’s article on “Conscience and Grace” (DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW, Winter 1964, pp. 37-41) was read in its entirety into the court record. It is because the Editor and other members of the faculty feel strongly that such a moving testimony to Christian decision-making should not be left to stand alone, that we offer in this issue a variety of comments and expressions of support.

This is not the place to review the legal issues involved, or the prejudicial attitudes which have been so obvious behind the judicial forms in these trials. It is appropriate, however, to report to our readers the factual situation to date. In five weeks of Superior Court sessions, during which the defendants spent most of their time in the courtroom lest they be cited for contempt or forfeiture of bond, five Duke professors and one from the University of North Carolina have been tried. Two cases have ended in a “hung jury,” a mistrial. Those convicted have received varying sentences, ranging up to the one today—all active penalties, even though every other prison sentence which this observer heard in five weeks (except for escaped convicts) was conditionally suspended! Each case has been appealed. One retrial remains to be handled by the court, along with over 1000 student demonstration cases from Chapel Hill.

This is not the place to argue the ethical issues involved, or the motivations and reactions—differing widely—among the defendants.

A majority of jurors apparently find our colleagues guilty of violating the trespass statute, despite their consistent testimony that—in addition to being brutally assaulted—they were never given the requisite orders to leave. Others clearly believe that the avowed willingness—“*if necessary!*”—to “*risk* civil disobedience for the sake of protesting the indignity of racial injustice” is equivalent to breaking the law. Some friends and supporters wish that even greater stress had been placed on the dubious application of the trespass law in public accommodations (recently upheld by the North Carolina Supreme Court but denied by the Delaware Supreme Court and pending in the United States Supreme Court). Still others, fully sympathetic with the cause of civil rights, would argue that a more direct and unequivocal witness might have been made by pleading guilty and accepting the consequences without contest. Some of us, consciously or unconsciously, feel a pang of guilt that we have not displayed such costly courage for our convictions.

Each of these positions—plus many more—can probably be found within the Divinity School faculty. But all who know and love and trust Frederick Herzog and Harmon Smith—and those who have come to know and love and trust their co-defendants during this ordeal—can join in Christian sympathy. We can share in pride that they at least have not been disobedient to the “heavenly vision.” Divinity students have raised approximately two hundred dollars for their “convicted” professors. Scores of friends all over the country, many of them frankly critical of the tactics used, have donated over two thousand dollars to a defense fund for the five Duke defendants. The bonds of Christian fellowship are far more valuable than those which have had to be signed in court.

At its meeting on January 13 the Divinity School Faculty unanimously adopted the following resolution: “That as professional colleagues we recognize the recent action of Messrs. Harmon Smith and Frederick Herzog in their support of Human Rights; that we commend the ultimate cause and objective which their personal action seeks to propagate; that we support their right as individual citizens so to act in their good conscience; that we are one with them in Christian love and in the prayer for the fulfillment of Human Rights in our American society.”

The statement is inadequate—as all formal statements are inadequate—to express the personal faith and Christian support extended to our associates. It applies in spirit to the other defendants as well—a Methodist minister, a Quaker zoologist, and an Episcopal mathema-

tician. The conscience which leads men to suffer indignity for the sake of others' dignity, imprisonment for the sake of others' freedom, speaks in many ways. So does the grace which God gives in gardens of Gethsemane. We who have been privileged to witness both conscience and grace at work in our very midst praise God for His sustaining power thus far on a painful pilgrimage. And we reaffirm to our colleagues the continuing confidence and affection of those who stand on the courthouse steps.

Creighton Lacy

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Risk and Grace

I. *A Memorandum to a Colleague*

This is a note of appreciation for your recent insightful use of the word risk. You will recall that you placed it in a key sentence in the article on "Conscience and Grace", which explicates your reasons for participation in the incident which resulted in your arrest and trial on a charge of trespass. After listing both negative and positive reasons, you carefully enunciated the "considerations . . . adopted as the ground for my decision to risk civil disobedience for the sake of protesting the indignity of racial injustice." Later, while you were on the witness stand, you found it appropriate, indeed necessary, to quote the sentence and to explain that the decision "to risk" civil disobedience was not necessarily a decision to plan and execute an act of civil disobedience. The verdict of the jury does not indicate that your distinction was understood and accepted, but you successfully provoked new and more profound interest in the meaning of risk-taking in this period of social revolution.

Some of the hazards of your situation have been obvious. You have been misquoted and misinterpreted. Some friends have judged you to be misguided; others have considered you impulsive and adventure-loving. Few have regarded this episode as a threat to your professional status; indeed the possibility of enhancement is believed to be real. One surprising element stands out. The risk you and others have taken is proving to be a means of grace. Through this incident, you have provided a well-timed and needed witness concerning the "unmerited love and favor of God to man." Perhaps you will concur with this paraphrase of a Pauline statement: "Where risk abounded, God's grace did much more abound." In addition to the

testimony of your personal awareness of God's grace in recent weeks, you have prompted others to revise their understandings of risk-taking and to sense at least the possibility of an encounter with God's love and favor in moments of threatened danger or loss.

II. *A Memorandum to the Thoughtful Reader*

This is an invitation to move beyond considerations of the inevitability of risk in human experience to reflections upon some contributions an experience of risk-taking can make to individuals and groups. Feelings of dread are unavoidable, but they are not necessarily predominant. Exhilaration of spirit and alertness of mind are often intensified by an event which requires taking a chance. An example may be seen in the courtroom when the prosecutor and the professor are engaged in dramatic verbal exchanges regarding the truth. There is risk on both sides. The "whole truth" probably never comes forth, but the attitudes toward truth are not casual. What would be the results if all inquiries into truth—all research, all testing of theory and review of information, all exercises of classroom, laboratory, and library—were conducted with a sense of urgency and an awareness of risk, even when the routines are dull, comparable to the atmosphere of the courtroom?

III. *A Memorandum to Fellow Citizens*

This is a reminder that historically we are indebted to leaders who are willing to take risks, involving both themselves as individuals and the nation as a whole. The signers of the Declaration of Independence engaged in an act of disobedience. They were willing to chance failure at the time and the condemnation of all future centuries. The late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, boldly announced his policy of leading the nation to the brink of war. In every generation we have found it necessary and wise at the national level to involve ourselves in grave risks. Do you agree that through repetitions of this policy our nation has become great?

IV. *A Memorandum to Churchmen*

This is a question for consideration: Does an experience of risk such as the one involving theological professors in the civil rights movement have sacramental connotations? We are prone to dwell upon the obvious interpretations. The professors have jeopardized their popularity, if not their acceptability. Their actions have not been widely acclaimed as either effective or wise and well-timed projects in the cause they wished to aid. They have perhaps encouraged their

opponents to offer more stubborn resistance. But what more should be considered? Is the readiness on the part of rational, mature and responsible men to become involved in the civil rights movement an outward sign of the workings of God's grace in their lives? One of them has forthrightly declared that his act can be justified by grace alone. Another has announced his conviction that "the Word never becomes effective until it becomes flesh." Is this "an outward sign of an inward and spiritual grace"? The outward sign has unacceptable meanings and connotations to the courts and to many citizens. For the Christian, the possibility of the presence of the Holy Spirit in every moment of this incident cannot be set aside.

W. A. Kale

* * * * *

The Sin of Segregation

He was a burly and sullen looking sergeant with a dozen of those flat and shiny medals that Russians generously bestowed on their heroes during World War II. In searching through a Latvian farm house he came upon a newspaper that had a cartoon which caught his attention. The caption, written in Latvian, he could not understand; it read, "Stalin, the great caretaker of the world." But the cartoon he understood. It showed Stalin taking care of the world with a long knife in one hand, and a noose in the other. Blood was dripping from both. The Russian sergeant stared at the cartoon—and suddenly he wept aloud. A man who had been through many battles, whose face was tough, whose soul knew no fear, such a man wept in anguish when he recognized his idol ridiculed.

I saw this almost twenty years ago during my refugee days and some time before I was able to make my way west and to freedom. I think that the memory of this weeping sergeant will never leave me because it reminds me that the world lives and dies by ideals even when they happen to be wrong ideals. Moreover, the event serves to recall the agony which must come upon anyone who is forced to watch the light of freedom blotted out—the agony of living under idolaters. I still remember how within my own family we used to listen to broadcasts from London. This was not permitted under either the Communist or the Nazi occupations, but we still did it in order to catch a fresh breath of air. I am not certain that we would have been able to survive the insane fanaticism of totalitarianism had

we not been able to remind ourselves that somewhere in the world there still was freedom where the truth could be spoken aloud. In the madness of those days, the West was more than a geographical direction. It was for us then, as it is still for millions today, the only hope which makes life bearable.

As Christians we cherish the Western democratic way of life precisely because we believe that a democracy embodies a very significant measure of Christian idealism: a deep respect for the equality of all men and their inalienable right for freedom. And we know that such a heritage is never automatically retained. It must be repossessed anew as new situations require a fresh application of the age-old insights. Hence—to look at a recent example that has assumed rather wide proportions—the discussion about Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* is not merely an attempt either to accuse or excuse the late Pope Pius XII for not interfering with the Nazi slaughter of six million Jews. What is ultimately under scrutiny is the conscience of a very large segment of the Western world, which had chosen silence and non-interference toward the evil it could not immediately eradicate.

Perhaps we can say that the fact that such an inquiry is undertaken is in itself salutary. Perhaps it is irrelevant how we judge past events as long as we obtain from them the proper lesson for future decisions. Perhaps—but the world in which we live still seeks to judge the past and to record its judgment. And therefore, regardless of whatever the ultimate evaluation of Pius XII will be, as one of the uncanny suspicions that will go down in history there will be the insight so eloquently formulated by a reader of *The New York Times Book Review* (March 22, 1964, page 35):

Pope Pius's failure is not that he did not save the Jews, which he probably could not have done, but that by failing to speak out he bypassed the magnificent opportunity to rouse untold numbers of passive Christians to testify to their faith in the values of the New Testament, and thereby save their souls.

What is true of the pope in regard to saving the Jews may by analogy also be true of the Southern churchmen in regard to the racial situation. Even if we should suppose that we cannot persuade the segregationist that his views are directly opposite to the teachings and examples of Jesus Christ, or, in the same way, even if it were true that we could not be directly instrumental in bringing about the integration of our churches—the inability to act successfully does not excuse us from acting at all. The truth of the matter is, of course,

that at present we simply do not know whether or not our attempts at persuasion would be successful. We have not really tried it out on any wide scale! Instead, we have practiced what in German is called "the policy of the ostrich". This is at least how outsiders view us. In *The New York Times Magazine* (April 5, 1964) there appeared an article entitled, "Silent White Ministers of the South". The main point of the article is as clear as it is agonizing: "The truth is evident: On the issue of race, the white Southern minister refuses to lead. He follows and parrots the feelings of his congregation." Moreover, to the author of this article it seemed that the majority of white Southern ministers could not even be charged with a militant belief in segregation. They had rather merely followed the course of least resistance.

'Give him a couple of years to get his highfalutin' seminary ideas out of his head, let him get his family started, give him a decent salary and a nice parsonage, and a membership in the local country club, and he's got a good living and knows it,' said a prominent businessman and church leader in one town. 'And when it comes to dealing with the colored folks, he's as likely to be as conservative as any of us.'

In so far as such a portrayal of the South is accurate, the irony of the situation is obvious. For decades it has been the standard Communist propaganda that Christian ministers do not really believe what they preach, and serve their cause only when it pays well. Likewise, it has also been a standard item of Communist propaganda that the West is only seemingly free, while in reality the Negro and other minorities are denied their basic rights. Yet today in the most outspokenly Protestant and democratic region of the Western world, where church attendance is at a peak, we discover ourselves caught as living proofs for the wrong side. With the eyes of the entire world upon us, as the life-and-death struggle between the Free World and Communism goes on, we ministers of the Gospel are singled out as proofs of irrelevance or cowardice—or both. It does not help that we thunder away from our pulpits against the evils of Communism. Our deeds speak louder and overshadow our words. When our Lord and Master is blasphemed by the patterns of segregation, we preserve our composure and silence.

What hurts me is that I cannot even reply to the Northern magazine that it should investigate its own words and deeds and see whether there is not perchance some slight discrepancy between the two. Having lived in the North and served in an up-state New York parish, I think I might have some concrete data at hand. But such a

reply is of no avail. And even New York City does not claim to be a very Christian one, at least not statistically, as its Protestant population is relatively small. We, however, are in the majority, with Protestant Christianity in high repute. Therefore we must look at ourselves as we are without trying to excuse ourselves by accusing others. We must ask ourselves: is there anything at all hopeful about us?

In the last forty years Communism has risen to world prominence. It has conquered more than one-fifth of the earth. Except for the United States, it might have conquered the entire earth. Frightening as this may be, our nation is the last halt before the abyss. And we do not really know whether we will be able to prove wrong the prophecy of Khrushchev that he will bury us. Or do we? As I see it, the answer is an answer of faith. Men are not created for slavery but for freedom. Within the human breast there is an extinguishable thirst for self-respect and human dignity. All men long for this.

We may look for a moment at the new nations of Africa. Against great odds, slowly but certainly they are reaching out for independence. Their steps may be faltering, as those of a child, yet the child is a giant and knows it. There is no human power that could any more bring back the bygone age of colonialism! Thus the present power balance between Communism and the United States is not a static one. It belongs to the future to tell whether the new nations will turn to us or succumb to the lure of Communism, and thus help to extinguish the light of freedom forever. This is why I say that the future victory is a matter of faith—our faith or theirs. Having seen at close range the fruits of Communist fanaticism, I am not inclined to belittle it. But much less am I inclined to belittle the power of Christ. He can redeem even a segregated land.

But are there any signs of such a redemption? Admittedly, they are not very obvious. On Sundays at 11 a.m. we still have the most segregated hour. But statistics show only what has happened, and not what is about to happen. Statistics cannot measure the long germinating processes of grace within the human heart. It cannot predict how many men will eventually speak out in fearless courage and break this ungodly silence that plagues us all.

On a relatively smaller scale, the turning point may well have already taken place. I am referring to the five Duke University professors who for the sake of their consciences dared to witness to the

truth as they saw it. The editor of this REVIEW has already reported to you what has happened to them up to this point.

How the higher courts will ultimately evaluate their case still lies in the future. All we may surmise is that an arduous and expensive road lies ahead.

At the same time, there are several observations that can be made about the present significance of the recent events.

In the first place, it is now patently obvious that not all Southern Christians are insensitive to the heinous sin of segregation. The willingness to spend two or three months on a road gang among common criminals is a clear gauge of the level of agony that the Christian conscience must feel about the unjust mores of a society.

Secondly, it is worth noting that the extraordinary witness comes from very levelheaded and highly respected men. They have been very successful within their various callings. Three of them are ordained ministers. They have taken their stand without a false eagerness for martyrdom and in full awareness of the ambiguities of all human decisions.

Thirdly, those who care to know are hereby reassured that the Christian faith can still produce heroes—stalwart men whose ultimate allegiance is to Christ Jesus. And those who would rather not hear about such a stance are hereby reminded that religion is a very serious business. It can save sinners and damn hypocrites. It is a narrow road which leads to life eternal. And it differs from the wide and the popular road which leads to everlasting death.

Egil Grislis

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'He Was Reckoned with Transgressors'

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

"For I say unto you that this which is written must be fulfilled in me, And he was reckoned with transgressors." (Luke 22:37)

That Jesus Christ stands at the summit of imaginable goodness few would deny. Yet it is a plain fact of history that, in his day, he was reckoned with transgressors. Furthermore, he was so regarded by the most respected and influential leaders of his society. This realization is shocking enough, but I wonder how startled we might be to contemplate the possibility—indeed the likelihood—that, were Christ among us today, he would still be reckoned as transgressor—even by church people. For is there not a good possibility that Christ would be reckoned among transgressors in any society that incriminates conscientious defenders of frustrated human rights who can only make such defense at the risk of challenging existing laws or the propriety of their application?

For both society and its challengers there is an ancient and ugly dilemma here of which either the change of society and its laws is one horn or the Cross is the other. For, where justice is obstructed in society, how shall men evade either of two options? Either they must change the laws to emancipate a larger good that is presently suppressed or they confront a sober alternative: like the Pharisees and the Scribes, they must crucify, in one manner or another, the defenders of justice outraged and human good presently imprisoned. Exactly this is the tough and somber logic of the New Testament. It is the logic of the Cross, and it is recurrently exemplified in history. Let us look at this logic, always remembering Jesus' prayer from the Cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

In Lent and Holy Week Christians are deeply sensible of the foreboding shadows of the Cross. Then Easter comes and shadows give place to the brightness of the resurrection. And quickly, too quickly, the appalling Cross becomes transfigured. It is transformed into the sign of indefectible goodness and love and eternal promise.

[This sermon—printed by urgent request of the Editor and many others who heard it—was preached in Duke Chapel on Sunday, April 19, 1964.]

Whereas it was a thing of ultimate despair, it now becomes the sign of God's power and victory over man's unrighteousness. And, shortly, the transfiguration of the Cross is heralded in the first sermon of the Apostle Peter: "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified." Plainly, Peter meant to say: in your eyes he was reckoned among transgressors; in God's eyes, he is Lord and Christ. In your eyes, he was despised and rejected; in God's eyes, he is the Son of the Father.

Here indeed is recorded a revolution of perspective! It marks the beginning of the Christian Church. In all truth, the transfiguration of the Cross roots in the early Christian insight of faith that God has turned man's most despicable deed to the occasion of his most redemptive act. Man's most hideous rejection of God was and is, on its other side, God's ultimate acceptance of man even in his total unworthiness. Thus, in the Cross, St. Paul found the unsearchable riches of God's forgiving grace. Thus, he gloried in the Cross alone. In it, he affirmed, was to be found the refutation of the world's wisdom. In the Cross was made visible a foolishness of God that is wiser than men and an apparent weakness of God that is stronger than men (1 Cor. 1:25f). Thus, unabashed and boldly, Paul preached Christ crucified, though it was to the Jews (who reckoned Jesus with transgressors) a stumbling block and to the Greeks foolishness. Against the appearances, roundly Paul affirms the paradox: "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of Christ, my Lord!"

No doubt we have become too remote in time and understanding to comprehend so astounding a Gospel! Paradox loses its force as conventionalized belief induces believers to slight and pass over the original shame and infamy of the Cross. In any case, we are prone to pass quickly to the dawning realization of its vindicated glory in the maturing faith of the early Church. Most of us are scarcely conscious of the transition from the infamy to the glory of the Cross in the mind of the primitive Christians. On Golgotha, the disciples were stunned into silent hopelessness by the infamy of the Cross—that is, Christ reckoned with transgressors. But, with Easter and Pentecost, they acquired unshakable assurance of the glory of the Cross; and, in that assurance, they and their successors ventured even martyrdom in fidelity to their Lord. And, in the same sign, the Cross, they conquered.

We are heirs of their victory—the conquest of the ancient heathen world by the Christian faith. It was a victory, however, not without

its heavy cost. It secured the glory of the Cross and obscured its infamy. Gradually men came to see only Christ victorious not Christ humiliated. The Cross became the sign of Christ's victory in which men were glad to include themselves. Insofar as it remained the sign of his humiliation, men tended to exempt themselves.

So the paradox of the Cross with which St. Paul astonished the ancient world faded. Recollection dimmed that Christ had been reckoned with transgressors. Today it is almost forgotten. All but unknown it is that the matchless doer of the Law—fulfiller of the "Great Commandment"—died under condemnation of the law. What a contradiction! What absurdity is this that fulfillment of the Law should receive the condemnation of the law! Is the infamy of the Cross in this, that otherwise righteous people invoke and misuse the law to overthrow and subvert the essential aim and spirit of the Law? Nothing, I think, would do more to recover health and authenticity to complacent, blinded, and compromised church-religion of our land than honest facing up to the real infamy of the Cross. It is time we knew for a certainty that the Cross is no more the perfect sign of God's forgiveness than it is the matchless mirror of what men need forgiveness for—and above all, for the sin of hypocrisy.

II

What, then, more narrowly, is the infamy of the Cross? From long habit of thought, we are prone to view the infamy of the Cross as the spiteful and politic murder of the most righteous of men. The eighteenth century rationalists of the Enlightenment insisted upon it, and there is truth in it. Or, again, we conceive the infamy of the Cross as Israel's blinded rejection of its own expected Messiah. In Christian perspective, this also is true. Yet, again, we see the infamy of the Cross as the fear-ridden and jealous deed of benighted religious bigots frantic to safeguard their ecclesiastical and political empire. In considerable measure, this also is true. Or, generalizing once more in Christian perspective, we may think of the infamy of the Cross as the apogee of man's rebellious rejection of God in the person of his Son. Christian faith holds this true. But there is a more subtle and also a more basic infamy we are prone to ignore and ought never to miss.

Consider, then, what it really means that the Lord of the Christian Church was executed among condemned criminals. The gospel writers are unanimous: "And with him they crucify two robbers." Do not presume to accord the crucified one of that day the exaltation of the

ages of faith. Consider him on that day unattested by the faith of centuries, crucified between robbers! Was it only an ugly coincidence? To be sure, there was execution to be done that day and the time-saving efficiency of Roman justice doubtless suggested economy of effort. But do not attribute to the mocking soldiers, the curious populace, and the blinded leaders the eyes either of love or of faith to accord special significance to the central figure. Our eyes are Christologically focused and enlightened by faith, but not theirs. They had not yet come to garnish the tomb of the prophet!

And just this the gospel writers wish to affirm—the hard brutal fact, the infamy of the Cross. It was this: “He was reckoned with transgressors.” The Cross consummated in irrevocable deed the long-standing and hardening judgment of Jesus’ persecutors that he was in fact a destroyer of the law and a subverter of the religion of Moses. We say it was an error, a heinous case of mistaken identity. But it was the judgment of the only jury Jesus had. It was the sentence of the leaders of Judaism. And, in the face of it, for Paul boldly, even defiantly, to preach Christ crucified was incredible presumption and unbelievable paradox. It required a revolution of perspective so radical and powerful that it could turn the hinge of history and create both the Christian conscience and the Christian era.

But we, with our ready-made heroic and triumphal view of Christ, slight the awful awareness of the early Church that Jesus was executed under the law as a condemned perverter of the people: a revolutionary, an agitator, an enemy of the tradition of the elders, and a gainsayer of the Law of Moses. Today, we honor neither their understanding of that Law nor their mistaken identification of Jesus. Today, we know that the scribes could not hear nor understand when Jesus said he came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it. We know that he did fulfill it by undeviating love to God and unfaltering love of neighbor. But the Scribes and Pharisees did not so understand the Law, and the laws, as they read them, obscured and prevented their knowing who their neighbors were—just as our laws, especially the trespass law, assists us to mis-identify our neighbors.

So the Scribes and the Pharisees summed up their indictment of Jesus in their words to Pilate: “We have a law, and by that law he ought to die.” It was that serious! We have no warrant for discrediting or discounting the scribes’ zeal for the Law, as they understood it, or their outrage in Jesus’ breach of it. By his indifference to some parts of the Law, it seemed to them that he threatened the integrity of the whole legal fabric of Judaism. That Jesus ignored

the rules of the Sabbath by travel and healing was scandalous violation of the inviolable Law; so also that he ignored ceremonial rules of diet and cleanliness; that his disciples satisfied hunger by grain plucked from the fields on the Sabbath; that Jesus fraternized and dined with publicans and sinners. This was libertinism and desegregation! The despised publicans and sinners should remain despised. It was the letter of the law. And at the root of it all was the profanity of Jesus' claim that love of neighbor—even of the despised Samaritan—and human well-being are prior claims to men's loyalty exceeding in urgency many others of the Law of Moses. This was blasphemy, the equivalent of treason in the theocratic society of Jesus' day! To the scribes and Pharisees, Jesus was a transgressor of great peril to the people, and by their law he ought to die.

They could not take in Jesus' criticism: "Ye tithe mint, anise, and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, and faith . . . ye blind guides that strain the gnat and swallow the camel!" The Pharisees and lawyers could not get the message. Jesus' basic premise quite escaped them. And that premise was this: that every particular law, together with its application, is judged, vindicated, or found wanting by reference to the standard of the essential Law. What laws therefore do not implement or express the Great Commandment—unalloyed love of God and love of man—are indifferent, at times may be ignored, at others actually breached in answerability to the Great Commandment, the essential Law. Accordingly, Jesus taught that God judges men, not by their legal righteousness, but by their *intention* and by their *fruits*, and both intention and fruits by the standard of the Great Commandment.

This is how our Lord lived. Implicit in it is the logic of the Cross. That logic only became explicit when he was reckoned with transgressors. Today, in our society, we face a like situation and a similar logic. Are all laws, at all times, equally to be honored whether they serve human good and civil justice or not? It may surprise you when I say that Jesus did not so believe respecting the law of his day and did not so act, that is, if we may trust the New Testament record. He subordinated particular laws to the standard of the Great Commandment—"thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind . . . and thy neighbor as thyself." Laws or tradition which failed by this standard, or, in their application, were no vehicles of its spirit and purpose, Jesus set aside in fidelity to the purer meaning of the Law. The tradition of men he

subordinated to the Word of God (Mk. 7:13). For this he was crucified; he was reckoned with transgressors.

III

But, now, what verdict do we render concerning Christ in our enlightened age? I do not mean the verdict of our lips but of our lives. In our churches we own him as Lord, we say; and our society professes, ungrudgingly, to place him upon the moral pinnacle of history. But do we know what we do? For, in our preference for the glory of the Cross, we often hide from ourselves the infamy of the Cross. There is even some evidence that, while we Christians hail him as Lord, we continue to crucify him as transgressor. And this is the basic self-contradiction, pathetic incoherence, and consequent hypocrisy of American Christianity and culture. The contradiction permeates our churches and erodes the social fabric as a moral disease.

For what else can be said of those that hail Jesus as Lord and willfully oppose the enactment of legislation that would better assure equal dignity and rights for their neighbors? I do not mean merely the calculated obstructionism of the Senate but the electorate to which lawmakers do defer. What else, if not a moral disease, is this cunning employment of our legal system to perpetuate segregation in the schools and to utilize the trespass laws for the continuing abridgment of human rights? I know we have made progress. But inalienable rights are abridged—the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And, surely, happiness or life-fulfillment is incompatible with “second-class citizenship” enforced by law or not assured by law. If enforced by law, then law comes to be in contradiction with itself. Painfully, it manifests a dreadful contradiction within the soul of the “in-group”, the unenlightened majority.

Can we not see that it is this employment of particular laws to obstruct the purpose and intent of the sovereign Law of our land that is the sign of spiritual sickness among us? Potentially, it is a mortal illness for both Church and nation. Our Lord said, a house divided against itself cannot stand. The human soul divided against itself is guilt ridden, demon possessed, and verging always on madness. Churchmen will hardly recover inner unity and the peace that passes understanding until we accept the infamy of the Cross as preliminary to the glory of the Cross. Christians can neither know nor participate in the victory of the Cross until they acknowledge Christ condemned under the law in fidelity to the sovereign purpose of the Law. This is the infamy of the Cross. And, on its other side, it is Jesus’

attack upon both religion and culture. All ye shall be offended in me, he said. And they were offended!

Once again we ask, what difference is there between the society that reckoned Christ among transgressors and ours which also invokes sundry legalities to frustrate the sovereign purpose of the Law? The Pharisees invoked laws of the sabbath, cleanliness, diet, and ethnic exclusiveness to void the Great Commandment. "You void the word of God by your tradition," Jesus charged (Mk. 7:13). What shall we say of churches which invoke laws of trespass and breach of peace to eject from the place of worship ministers and bishops of their own denomination because there are colored brethren among them? Plainly, it is the peace of God which is breached, and the trespass is the profanation of the Divine sanctity!

How, then, can we escape the fact that, in our society also, Christ would be reckoned with transgressors? In a charge to a jury recently a judge instructed in such words as these: In rendering your verdict you are to understand that it does not matter how laudable the intention of an act, it is the sole business of the jury to decide whether the law has or has not been breached by the defendant. I could not but recall that, on this same premise, our Lord was convicted of perverting the people and was crucified. This was inevitable because his intention and motive were ignored, or if not ignored then misunderstood and resented. The infamy of the Cross is this, and it is potential in every legalistic society: Jesus ignored particular laws and breached others in absolute devotion to the sovereign principle of the Law—the Great Commandment.

The scandal of the Cross is possible in any and every society that does not maintain a living and organic union between the essential and sovereign Law and the plurality of particular laws. Or, the Cross is potential whenever society declines to enact and apply particular laws in accordance with the spirit and purpose of its sovereign Law. The "sovereign Law" is any society's avowed declaration of the common good. In a society where the laws are out of joint with the sovereign Law these consequences will follow: Society will be at odds with itself morally; it will tolerate injustice and inequality; it will inevitably persecute the morally enlightened; and it will be ripe for revolution; and, at length, it will "garnish the tombs of the righteous" saying, "if we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets!"

For Christians the sovereign rule of life is the Great Commandment. By fidelity to it, Christ was reckoned with transgressors. The

pitiful weakness and incoherence of the churches is that they will have the crown without the cross. The infamy of the Cross terrifies into silence their careful respectability.

For America, the sovereign law is the word of the great Declaration that men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness or life fulfillment. To frustrate the realization of these commanding principles by misapplication of laws or willful failure to enact enabling laws is the nation's self-stultification. It is the real and most perilous form of civil disobedience.

But it was Christ who was reckoned with transgressors in those callous and ugly days, not the Pharisees and the lawyers. He was, in fact, crucified for theocratic disobedience. For some time now we have regarded this reckoning as a case of mistaken identity. Indeed, we have reversed the verdict and long since convicted his jury. But we are blind about ourselves; and, in our blindness, we do not see that Christ is still in our midst and that, all unwittingly, we still reckon him with transgressors. For surely the Cross is in our midst whenever God's will is perversely ignored and obstructed and while men are persecuted for righteousness sake. In our disobedience and hypocrisy, we may yet, by God's grace, repent and hope that, from the infamous Cross, our Lord still prays on our behalf: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." Amen.

Temple Research in Jerusalem

WILLIAM F. STINESPRING

From the beginning of the modern age, Christian scholarship has shown a deep interest in the temple and the temple area in Jerusalem. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* in its article "Temple" in Volume IV, published in 1902, lists a work by two Italians from 1605; one by a Dutchman from 1643; another by a Frenchman from 1720; still another by a German from 1809; one by a Britisher from 1825; and so on.

From this time forward, as the possibility of travel and personal visitation at the site increased, the literature likewise increased, to something like flood proportions, so great was the interest of the western world in the subject. Much of this literature now seems useless and some of it downright foolish. But there were notable exceptions, and a few of these must be mentioned.

The exploratory visit in 1838 of Professor Edward Robinson of Union Theological Seminary of New York resulted in the publication in 1841 of the famous two-volume work entitled *Biblical Researches in Palestine*. This work marked the beginning of Palestinian archaeology as a scientific pursuit. Among very many other things, it contained an accurate description of the temple area, and especially of the outside of the walls enclosing it, supplemented with keen historical observations based largely on a vast knowledge of Flavius Josephus. Robinson connected the huge stones in these walls with the Biblical period, although he was not sure whether the stones were Herodian or Solomonic. That clarification was to come later.

In the west wall of the temple area near the southwest corner, he observed some projecting stones, "which at first sight seemed to be the effect of a bursting of the wall from some mighty shock or earthquake." When he mentioned this phenomenon that evening to a friend, Mr. Whiting, who lived in the city, the friend incidentally remarked that the stones appeared to have belonged to a large arch. Robinson thereupon thought of Josephus's description of a bridge connecting the temple area of Herod with the western hill of the city

[The annual Faculty Lecture given in York Chapel on February 26, 1964, by the Professor of Old Testament and Semitics, who has been at Duke since 1936.]

and became so excited that he could hardly wait to return to the spot. The next day he returned, confirmed the arch idea and made the identification, in his own mind, with the Josephus passage. Though there are still doubts about the exactitude of the identification, the projecting stones to this day are called "Robinson's Arch." The prickly pears or cacti that impeded Robinson's path have now been cleared away and every tourist is led to see his arch.

Very worthy of mention is *La Temple de Jérusalem* by Melchior de Vogüé, Paris 1864, based on exploratory visits in 1852 and 1862. This large folio volume, with 142 pages of illustrated text and 37 hand-engraved plates, 12 of them in color, is one of the most magnificent books ever published anywhere on any subject. This whole hour could easily be spent in a review of this work. Suffice it to say here and now that the greatest historical contribution of de Vogüé was to enunciate what I like to call the Herodian thesis: namely, that what we can see in Jerusalem today around and below the present Muslim holy place are parts of the substructure of Herod's temple area, the temple area of the New Testament, with little or nothing remaining from the Old Testament temples of Solomon and Zerubbabel, except perhaps the Sacred Rock itself.

Our next concern is the so-called Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, 1864-65, by Captain (later Sir) Charles Wilson. This survey came about through the generosity of a philanthropically minded British lady, Miss Burdett Coutts, who made a subvention for a study of Jerusalem looking towards an improvement in the water supply and sanitary facilities of the city, which had acquired a bad reputation for unhealthfulness. Captain Wilson of the Royal Engineers was put in charge of the project, which, with the aid of a small staff of assistants, was completed in a little over one year. Unfortunately, the survey, though competently done, did not accomplish its primary purpose. For to this very day, one hundred years later, the water supply of Jerusalem is still inadequate, though sanitary conditions in general have greatly improved in recent years, owing to the introduction of modern medical and public-health techniques.

The results for archaeology, however, were well-nigh revolutionary. We can list only a few: (1) a map of Jerusalem that is still the basis of the cartography of the city, plus a more accurate plan of the temple area than had hitherto been available; (2) the exact determination of levels above the Mediterranean Sea in various parts of the city as it then was, and, more important still, the determination in a number of areas of the depth of bedrock below the existing

surface; (3) the discovery and description of the great arch under the present main entrance to the temple area on the west; this arch, ever since called Wilson's Arch, being of about the same size as Robinson's, but unlike Robinson's being almost perfectly preserved; in Wilson's own words, "one of the most perfect and magnificent remains in Jerusalem." It is at this place, rather than at Robinson's Arch, that we are to look for Josephus's bridge over the Tyropoeon Valley, the valley lying between the eastern or temple hill and the western hill or residential area of the ancient city, the valley so important for understanding the topography of New Testament Jerusalem.

Captain Wilson's business was not to conduct archaeological excavations, but he could not restrain his curiosity about the difference between ancient levels and modern levels, especially in the Tyropoeon Valley, lying along the western wall of the temple area in the southeastern part of the city. He descended into a deep well just west of the temple area and north of the arch called by his name to look for bedrock. He found it—80 feet below the modern surface. Then he attempted to excavate near Robinson's Arch. He got down 40 feet; still no bedrock; "but," he says, "having no means of keeping the loose rubbish back, the Arab workmen became frightened, and refused to go on; and, to our great regret, we had to fill up the excavation." But in a few other places he had more success, and his survey is the basis of all scientific exploration of the city.

While Wilson was still in Jerusalem, the Palestine Exploration Fund was organized in London on June 22, 1865. Upon Wilson's return later in the year he was immediately hired by the Fund and sent out again, though not to Jerusalem, but to make a general survey of Palestine with a view to future archaeological work.

This expedition was considered only preliminary. The real work of the Fund began when another captain of the Royal Engineers, Charles Warren, was engaged in November 1866 for the specific purpose of examining "the ruins and *débris* of Jerusalem." Captain (later Sir) Charles Warren worked almost continuously from near the beginning of 1867 (February 17th) to the spring of 1870. His achievements were notable and Warren is probably still the greatest name in Jerusalem research. We are concerned here only with what he did around the temple area. I wish I had time to relate some of the enormous hardships and difficulties which he met and overcame. They would make a fascinating story in themselves.

Warren took up where Wilson had left off in the Tyropoeon Val-

ley. He sank a series of shafts down to bedrock and proved not only that in ancient times this valley was deeper than now, but showed how much deeper by establishing bedrock levels along with modern ground levels. In general, the *débris* was shown to be from 30 to 85 feet in depth. This work was done nearly a century ago, but conditions are about the same today. For example, the pavement at the Wailing Wall is 74 feet above the ancient level. The true bottom of the Kidron Valley is 40 feet below where the bottom is now. In one place the *débris* was found to be 130 feet deep. Again, one may say in general that the once deep Tyropoeon Valley is now so silted up that many people walk through it lengthwise or across it without even noticing the slight depression that still exists. And they wonder why the lengthwise street is called Valley Street, as it actually is to this day. Josephus, of course, told us much about this valley; but it was Wilson and especially Warren who told us how right the ancient historian was.

For our purposes today the work of Warren at Wilson's Arch is most important and we must conclude this section of our paper with some remarks on this work.

Wilson's Arch lies about 20 feet below the present double gate of the main entrance on the west side of the temple area. At this point the main east-west street of today is 80 feet above bedrock. The great arch, with a span of 42 feet and a width of 43 feet, is made up of 23 courses of stones of equal thickness. The stones are not quite so large as those in the ruined Robinson's Arch, but their perfect state of preservation is remarkable. Here, as at Robinson's Arch farther to the south, the stones of the first three courses are a part of the enclosing wall of the temple area, and hence must be Herodian in date.

At $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the spring of the arch a disused modern pool was found. Warren began sinking a shaft under the east end of the arch by breaking through the thick concrete of this pool. 24 feet farther down he came upon a mass of broken masonry, apparently the drafted stones and voussoirs of an earlier arch at the same place. With great difficulty he drove through this mass of stones and finally reached bedrock, 80 feet down, as already mentioned. He also sank a shaft under the west end of the arch and excavated around the western pier. In the search for bedrock he struck water, but managed to ladle it out and go on. With the poorest equipment he did incredible things.

Warren did not discover Wilson's Arch. He did discover the

older fallen arch under the one now in place. This discovery raises the problem of the respective dates of the two arches at this spot. More on that in a moment.

Warren discovered some other things here—remarkable things. I refer to what he called the Causeway Vaults, the Secret Passage, and the Masonic Hall in *Underground Jerusalem*, to use the title of a book later published by him. The beginning of these discoveries came on January 18, 1868. The explorer accidentally broke into a vaulted room underground a little west of Wilson's Arch. This turned out to be the first of a series of such vaults leading westward, each with a low exit leading into the next room. More amazing still, there were two series of rooms leading westward side by side. Together they are about $44\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, or about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet wider than Wilson's Arch. Bear in mind that their floors are about twenty feet below the modern street, which is the main east-and-west street leading from the temple area to the Jaffa Gate.

Warren traced the northern row of rooms for about 200 feet. When he started to explore the southern row, he found it interrupted by a much larger chamber constructed of finer masonry and with a great column sticking up from the center. This imposing chamber lay at a lower level, its vault just below the floor level of the other rooms. Here again we see evidence of at least two different historical periods, as at Wilson's Arch just to the east.

Warren named the great chamber the Masonic Hall. A Dutch Jesuit scholar, Father Simons, in his fine book on Jerusalem, seems unable to explain the name. Probably a Jesuit would not know about the Freemasons. He would not know that underground Jerusalem is most dear to the Masons as the place where their order was founded by King Solomon. Obviously he did not know that Warren was an enthusiastic and loyal Mason who had shortly after his arrival initiated the opening of a lodge at Jerusalem in Solomon's Quarries, so-called, the most hallowed spot on earth to Masons. Nor did Father Simons know that Masonic lodges in England were among the heaviest financial contributors to Warren's work.

When Warren resumed the exploration of the southern row of rooms, he found a low exit to the south in the second room beyond the Masonic Hall. Going through the exit, he found himself in a long vaulted corridor, which he explored for about 200 feet; there he and his party met a dead end, but were able to break through a small door in the south wall to find themselves in a room used as a donkey stable. The owner of the stable, seeing these grime-covered men emerging

suddenly from beneath one of his walls, thought the intruders were from the nether regions and was frightened almost to death.

When the east end of the corridor was explored, it was found to come to a dead end before reaching a point near Wilson's Arch. Warren dubbed this corridor, lying just south of and parallel to the two rows of vaulted rooms, the Secret Passage, because of the tradition related by a medieval Arab author that David had built such a passage all the way from the temple area to the Citadel on the western edge of the city. The attribution to David is valueless, but it is entirely possible that Herod constructed such a passage for communication between temple and citadel in time of siege. The dead ends now existing would be due to the intrusion of the foundations of medieval or modern buildings.

A further word about the dating of this whole amazing underground complex is here in order.

As we have already stated, Robinson hastily identified the fragment of arch that bears his name with the bridge over the Tyropoeon Valley described by Josephus as connecting the temple with the upper or western part of the city at a point near the so-called Xystus, or gymnasium. Now the approximate location of the Xystus is known: it is more nearly opposite Wilson's Arch than Robinson's. Hence a controversy about the location of the Tyropoeon Bridge was raging and Warren sought to settle the matter by excavation. He sank vertical shafts and ran horizontal galleries in the vicinity of Robinson's Arch. He found no evidence of an earlier arch beneath the known one, and he found no evidence of other arches that could have been linked with the known one to form a series that would support a bridge. Above ground there was and is no real evidence of a gate into the temple area at this point. He could only conclude that the one span of Robinson's Arch supported some unknown and unrecorded structure projecting a short distance westward from the temple area, near the southern end. And that is about where the matter remains today, 96 years later. Warren's more positive conclusion is also valid today. Let me quote his own words: ". . . if this was not the bridge stretching across the valley, and it is not, where was that bridge? It could be no other than that at Wilson's Arch."

Let us return, therefore, to Wilson's Arch for a moment to consider the possible dating of the two historical periods indicated there by the two arches, the one intact below the present street, the other collapsed and buried at a still lower level. Warren guessed that the older, buried arch was of the time of Herod; he was probably right

about this, judging from the marginal drafts on the stones. But he said that Wilson's Arch itself is "probably of the fourth or fifth century" (*Underground Jerusalem*, 1876, p. 369). At first he had even said "not earlier than the fifth or sixth century" (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 1871, p. 64). Wilson published in 1880 a commentary on Warren's work, interpreting Warren's opinion as referring to a rebuilding by Constantine (reigned 324-337) or Justinian (reigned 527-565), and at the same time expressing doubt about the dating (*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1880), without offering an opinion of his own. Simons (*Jerusalem in the Old Testament*, 1952, p. 427) merely says vaguely that the present Wilson's Arch is "of Roman or Byzantine date." H. Vincent, however, dares to be a little more specific and suggests that Wilson's Arch as it now stands may belong to the reconstruction of the city by Hadrian (*Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, 1954-56, pp. 61, 552) in the second century.

What about the date of the Causeway Vaults? Here the problem is more complicated, since these rooms were probably not intended to be seen above ground as was Wilson's Arch; masonry intended for underground use is less distinctive in any age. The vaults proper, that is, the roofs of the rooms, are more or less on a level with the vault of Wilson's Arch, though they show signs of rebuilding. Warren thought he detected signs of four different periods and he was frankly puzzled. He planned to investigate further, but was prevented, as we shall see. One can only guess that these chambers had a relation to the Tyropoeon Bridge, and hence that their earliest period was pre-Herodian, their main period Herodian, and their latest period post-Herodian. The same might be said of the Secret Passage, except that there is no evidence of an earlier period here as there is in some of the rooms, and one can more easily imagine the hand of Herod and no one else involved in this sort of underground construction.

As to the Masonic Hall, Warren noted that it lies at a lower level than any other of the rooms. He was greatly impressed by the quality of its construction and he considered it the oldest piece of masonry he had seen in Jerusalem, with the exception of certain parts of the wall around the temple area, which he wrongly thought to be Solomonic. As a matter of fact, because of its depth, the Masonic Hall may be the earliest structure in the vicinity. Wilson saw this in his commentary of 1880 and suggested a Maccabean date; and there the matter rests at the present time, except for the additional opinion of Vincent, the most recent writer on the subject

(1954) that the Masonic Hall is the most remarkable edifice in all this complex.

Warren knew that more excavation and more study were needed to unravel the many problems of these complicated structures; but he had been having trouble with the Pasha, or district governor, of Jerusalem, the official representative of the Turkish government in the area. Though Warren had a vizierial letter, or permit, from the Turkish government, the Pasha was afraid that the archaeologist would excavate under the temple area itself and thus stir up Muslim religious sensitivities so as to unleash a bloody riot or other trouble that would endanger his hold on a lucrative political position. So, in the summer of 1868, while Warren was temporarily away on a visit to Jericho, the Pasha had the easy entrance, which the archaeologist had opened, blocked up with solid masonry and he issued an order forbidding further work in the area. Warren commented that they "were thus stopped in the midst of the solution of a most intricate problem" (*Underground Jerusalem*, p. 395). Wilson commented in 1880, "the shafts within the vaults have never been closed, but it may be many years before any one is able to resume the excavations." Many years indeed, for in 1952 Simons complained: "Presumably the Pasha's wall is still there, waiting to be removed by a yet greater diplomat than Charles Warren" (*Jer. in the O. T.*, p. 365).

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With this review of previous exploration in underground Jerusalem in your minds, I can now pass on to a description of my own brief experience, less than a year ago, at this sacred and fascinating spot. Little did I realize, even after beginning my work, that an opportunity might come to walk in the footsteps of Warren and even to dream of resuming his work, so suddenly abandoned in 1868, and ever since considered so impossible to resume.

But I must first tell how one goes about temple research in Jerusalem, and speak briefly of two other projects, thus leaving the best to the last.

The temple area is now a shrine of Islam, its third most holy place. Father Simons complains that no archaeological work can be done there because "with almost barbaric jealousy Islam is on its guard against such a profanation of its most holy place of worship after Mecca and Medina. *Not even Warren's experiment, though it was practically limited to the exterior of the enclosure, can be repeated or completed*" (emphasis added). This was said in 1952, when

present conditions were already in effect. I do not agree with it, or at least not with the tone of it. I respect and admire the Muslims' sense of the holiness of this place and I am thankful for their zealous (not jealous) guardianship. Their architectural masterpiece, the Dome of the Rock, completed in A.D. 691, nearly 1300 years ago, now stands at the place or near the place where the Biblical temples stood. I am mindful of the hard-earned contributions of humble Muslims in many lands to the upkeep and repair of this beautiful building. At this moment a major renovation is in progress, made necessary by the age of the structure and by shellfire in the war of 1948-50. May God grant that unholy men with their unholy weapons do not destroy this holy place or Noble Sanctuary, as its keepers call it!

With these thoughts in mind, then, I did not rush into the Noble Sanctuary demanding rights and leveling criticisms. Knowing the value of proper communication and the Arabs' love of their language, I began refreshing my Arabic some time before departure and continued every day on shipboard. Upon arrival I procured the services of a Christian Arab teacher of Arabic at St. George's School, the school of the Anglican mission in Jerusalem. Every day I bought and tried to read *Falastin*, the newspaper that I had learned to know and respect thirty years ago.

It was suggested by someone at the School, the American School of Oriental Research, where we had lived and worked from 1932 to 1935, and where we were living and working again, that Aref el-Aref might help me. I did not know he was still alive. I had met him at the School in 1934, while he was district governor of Beersheba. He had already in those days made a name for himself as an author of regional history as well as a competent administrator. After the war and its tragic consequences he had served as mayor of Jerusalem. Now he was retired and engaged in writing a series of books on the Palestine War and the Palestine Tragedy. My wife and I called on him to enlist his help in making the proper approach to the authorities at the Noble Sanctuary. He readily agreed, pointing out that he had written a history of the Sanctuary, also the guidebook currently being furnished to visitors to the area, and hence was well known to the authorities at the Sanctuary, which is owned and operated by a private religious foundation, entirely independent of the government. In return for Mr. Aref's services, I was to help him with matters pertaining to the Christian Bible, which, as a Muslim he could not readily understand, but which he knew had played a part in the

tragedy of his country. I was also to procure for him a U. S. Government report which was available to me but not to him.

To make a long story short, Mr. Aref introduced me properly to the officers of the foundation, from whom a letter was obtained permitting me free access to the sanctuary area at all times except the noon hour of worship on Fridays. Not only so, but my wife was to be permitted to accompany me as photographer and to photograph more or less anything she or I desired. I might add that at the first few times of entry I showed the letter to the gatekeeper and entered into friendly conversation with him. After that, we were privileged characters, entering freely without question and always greeted with a smile and a word of welcome. A far cry indeed from the "almost barbaric jealousy" imagined by Simons. One must go to people and get on their side of the fence; things look different from there.

Our first work was at the northern end of the sanctuary area. Lieut. (later Colonel) Claude R. Conder, another member of the British Royal Engineers and the successor of Warren as the field director of the Palestine Exploration Fund, had proposed a modification of the Herodian thesis of de Vogüé, thus: that the present sanctuary area is coterminous with the temple area of Herod except on the north, where there has been an extension of some 330 feet in a total length of about 1550 feet. From the literature, I did not doubt the correctness of this hypothesis; I merely wished to check it on the spot for my own satisfaction, and in the process to observe, in the northwest corner, the site of the ancient fortress called Antonia, traditionally the Praetorium or judgment hall where Christ was condemned to death, and certainly the barracks on the steps to which St. Paul stood and proclaimed to the raging mob the moving story of his conversion (Acts 21:40-22:49).

Our observations easily confirmed Conder's theory. There is no great wall on the north as on the other sides. This northern sector is not paved at all, as is some of the southern and western parts of the area. The eastern side of this northern sector has been leveled by filling in the shallow valley that cut diagonally across it in Herod's day. By contrast, the western side has been leveled by cutting down to ground level great rocks that once projected above ground. One sees smoothed off rock surfaces alternating with beaten earth. The great rock with sloping sides on which the fortress stood now shows a perpendicular escarpment facing the sanctuary area and forming part of its northern boundary. Thus the sanctuary area has now encroached upon a part of the rock that once supported the Antonia

fortress, whereas in New Testament times there was between the fortress and the temple area a gap, partly filled in by the connecting stairway on which Paul stood as the soldiers were taking him up to the fortress to save him from the fury of the mob. The great escarpment facing the sanctuary and the plainly visible leveled-off rocks between the escarpment and the central platform of the sanctuary made for good picture-taking and easy archaeological interpretation.

Our next project was not quite so easy. I had decided to work at the problem of whether the Sacred Rock, now within the Muslim shrine called after it the Dome of the Rock, was (1) within or under the temple of Herod and the temple of Solomon, or whether the rock was (2) in front of (east of) the temple serving as the base of the altar of sacrifice. A fierce argument rages among the scholars and the disciples of scholars on this matter. Most of those holding the former theory locate the rock under the holy of holies. I had already pointed out in my article on the temple in the *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* that both the holy of holies and the altar of sacrifice were only 20 cubits (about 33 feet) square, while the Rock measures about 58 feet from north to south and about 44 feet from east to west. If the Rock were larger than the altar, it could have served as the base of the altar without difficulty in the open court in front of the temple if we accept the altar theory; but according to one form of the other theory, the holy of holies was elevated above the floor of the rest of the temple to accommodate the rock, and hence the rock would have needed to be within the building. It seems to me that other writers have not been sufficiently concerned about the problem of getting the 58-foot north-south span of rock within the 33 feet between the two side walls of the temple. It has also been argued that if the temple were far enough east to be over the Rock, there would not have remained enough room still farther east to accommodate the extensive forecourts of Herod's temple as described by Josephus, because of the deep declivity leading to the Kidron Valley.

My first concern was not about room for the courts on the east of the Rock, but about room on the west for the temple itself if it stood behind (west of) the Rock on the small space between the Rock and Tyropoeon Valley. So, in spite of a certain amount of evidence for this position and its espousal by a few eminent scholars such as Dalman and Vincent, I had come to doubt it and wished to examine its physical possibility or impossibility before coming to an hypothesis of my own about the relation of the rock to the temple. It was thus that I became more than ever a disciple of Wilson and Warren, be-

cause they had revealed to us by scientific method the depth of the Tyropoeon; and I felt sure that the ancient Biblical temples could not have had their rear or western ends hanging out over the precipice of this valley.

Now today a great paved platform about twelve feet high surrounds the Dome of the Rock with the Rock within it. The western edge of this platform obviously, to me at least, marks the place where the precipice or declivity of the Tyropoeon began in ancient times. Josephus tells us that the distance from the altar to the vestibule of Herod's temple was 22 cubits and that the outside length of the temple building itself was 100 cubits. Thus there was a distance of 122 cubits or 204 feet from the rock to the rear of the temple, and we should allow another 20 feet for the inner court that went all the way around the temple building. But the distance today from the west edge of the rock to the west edge of the platform is only about 177 feet. Thus there would have been an overhang of from 20 to 40 feet over a declivity of at least 20 feet, the distance today of levels between the top of the rock and the courtyard on the west. Not only so, but another 200 feet west of the rear of the temple and one is over the bottom of the Tyropoeon Valley, 100 feet below the surface of the Sacred Rock. To make a long story short once more, we pondered over and photographed the narrow space between the rock and the western edge of the platform and the narrow space between the platform and the outer wall on the west. We studied and photographed from above, from below, and from all around; and I convinced myself that the temple could not have stood behind (west of) the rock. It must have stood *over* the rock in some fashion, but just how I have yet to work out, since I have rejected the idea of the rock being *within* the holy of holies on the grounds of physical impossibility, as stated above.

Two only of our various projects have been described. We observed and photographed in and around the Noble Sanctuary, north, east, south, and west, inside and outside the walls, and even underground in the vaults below the southeast corner of the area, the so-called Solomon's Stables, which have nothing to do with Solomon, but were actually used as stables by the Crusaders. We even had the small adventure of being locked in the vaults of Solomon's Stables one day by a forgetful police officer, who soon remembered, however, and returned in haste to release us, very fearful that we would report him to his superiors. Needless to say, we did not.

The opportunity referred to above came about the first of June.

We had been in Jerusalem three months and were putting the finishing touches on our studies of the rock, the walls, the gates and the ground levels. Word came that Miss Negua Husseini, Research and Public Relations Officer of the Jordan Department of Antiquities, wanted to see me with regard to Robinson's Arch. Miss Husseini, an attractive member of one of the first families of Jerusalem and a recent graduate of the American University of Beirut in archaeology, was at that time the only woman serving as an official of the antiquities department in Jerusalem. We had met her at a reception shortly after our arrival. My wife and I went over to her office, thinking that she wanted to get some bibliographical advice on the problem of the purpose of Robinson's Arch, or something of that sort. We soon found that it was Wilson's Arch in which she was interested, that apparently no one then living in Jerusalem had seen it and no one knew how to find it; hence she had been making some quiet investigations and had discovered an underground passage which she thought might lead to it. She inquired if we would like to bring a couple of students from the American School and join her and her archaeological assistants in exploring the passage in question. She warned us that we would need to wear old clothing that could be discarded because of possible contact with sewage. I immediately thought of how many times the word "sewage" occurred in Warren's descriptions of his explorations in underground Jerusalem; but I said nothing of that and we readily agreed to go.

A few days later we reported by appointment to Miss Husseini at her office in the Museum. She led us to the Old City and to the main east-west street (called David Street by westerners). At a point some 300 feet west of the main entrance to the sanctuary, we stood before the door of a private residence on the south side of the street. Miss Husseini told us to wait. She knocked on the door, and after a long pause, a small crack of the door was opened and the face of a woman could be dimly seen through the crack. Miss Husseini exchanged a few words with the woman, the door opened just a bit more and Miss Husseini slipped in, leaving the rest of us outside wondering. We Westerners began to realize that this discovery, whatever it was, could only have been made in this very modern age when a Muslim woman could hold an official position in a government office with authority over men, even men of twice her age or more. For the discovery necessitated going through a private Muslim home at hours when the head of the house was away at work. A Muslim home, and especially the bedrooms and other quarters where the women and chil-

dren stay, is *hareem*, that is sacrosanct and inviolable; and no man from outside, and especially no foreigner of any kind, is ever allowed to enter, except under exceptional circumstances. The exceptional circumstances were created by Miss Husseini. A Muslim woman herself, and theoretically a member of her father's *hareem*, she could go into these homes and persuade the wife and mother to admit a party of archaeologists in the name of science and to the glory of Jerusalem and the Arab Nation before the eyes of the world.

In a little while, Jordan's first female antiquities officer reappeared and beckoned us to enter. Her two assistants, trusty, mature men, the two students of the American School (one male, one female), and my wife and I entered the cramped and dingy home. We saw the mother, we saw children, we saw bedrooms, but paid little attention. We followed our guide and her assistants to the kitchen and a small door in the wall. Going through this, we descended a rather long stone stairway leading down to a sort of subbasement. We had to watch our steps because garbage had been thrown on the stairway. Once down in the subbasement, we saw a rough opening in the northern wall. Going through this we found ourselves in an arched passageway lined with masonry of good quality. The passageway led eastward, apparently directly under the modern street but about 20 feet below it. We had advanced only a short distance when the smell became overpowering and we stood before a small pool of horribly black and incredibly foul sewage. The pool had been formed by the drippings from a leaky sewer just above. On their previous trip, the people from the Department of Antiquities had thrown some large stones into the shallow pool of sewage, hoping to use them as stepping-stones for the present trip. Thus our feet might have made it through the cesspool this time, but our noses could not. We decided to withdraw and come back later armed with gas masks, better lights, and even worse clothing.

In the meantime, we had a discussion about the identity of the passage which we had only begun to explore. The people from the Department thought that they had discovered a hitherto unknown passage that led to Wilson's Arch. I contended that we had only rediscovered Warren's Secret Passage which now comes to a dead end before reaching Wilson's Arch, though it once went all the way.

The only way this argument could be settled was by getting through the sewer gas and the cesspool to the east end of the passage, wherever it led. So we prepared carefully, especially to protect ourselves from foul odors and gases, and went again. We got through

the sewage barrier and saw a low door on the left leading apparently to another chamber or passage north of the one we were in. But we pressed on in the main passage and before long came to the dead end which I had predicted. Turning back, we crawled through the entrance to the north into an arched chamber. Since some of our party were waiting for us on the other side of the sewage barrier to give an alarm if we did not return, we did not explore farther, but rejoined the others. It soon became apparent that my accurate prediction of exactly what was going to happen and did happen had made a great impression on the people from the Department of Antiquities. At the moment I was *the* authority on underground Jerusalem and there was no more argument against the identification of what we had explored as Warren's Secret Passage. It was also clear that the chamber to the north which we had entered was one of the row of rooms making up the southern part of the Causeway Vaults, also explored by Warren as described in the earlier part of this paper.

The Antiquities Department was now concerned to find Wilson's Arch, with a view first to further study and ultimately to opening it to the public as an archaeological monument and tourist attraction. I was consulted as to how this could be done. I said we must find the Pasha's Wall, which had blocked the progress of Warren in 1868, and of which Simons had said it would take a greater diplomat than Warren to remove. Workers of the Department were sent downtown to look for it. They had no success, reporting that the whole area was now built over with private houses, making exploration extremely difficult, especially for men. So I suggested that we try at least to see the Arch by the back way, so to speak, by crawling through the vaults underneath the former Turkish court house between the main entrance to the sanctuary, under which the Arch lies, and the Wailing Wall some distance to the south. Wilson and Warren have left us descriptions of how the Arch may be approached and seen in this manner.

So we went down to spy out the land, so to speak, in the garden just north of the Wailing Wall. We found that it was no longer public property, but was occupied by a family. In short, it was another *hareem*. So, as before, Miss Husseini knocked, was admitted, and stayed in a long time. Finally, she emerged and said the rest of us could enter. We found that the entrance to the vaults, which are comparatively modern, and hence are at a high level, was from a ledge about 20 feet high, so that a ladder would be needed. There was no ladder available on the spot and no one in the household had ever

explored above and beyond that ledge. We got permission to send in a ladder and to be allowed to return. We did return, wearing our old clothing, and equipped with strong lights.

Since all this was my idea, and it was up to me to decide whether there was any point in this particular expedition, I was given the opportunity of being the first to ascend the ladder and start exploring. If I saw anything that looked interesting, I was to return to the ledge at the top of the ladder and invite the others to come on up. Up I went, but found it somewhat difficult to get from the top of the ladder on to the ledge, for the ladder was too short and the ledge was not a ledge of stone but of loose earth. I finally made it and started north with the great sanctuary wall on my right. At the lower left-hand corner of the wall in front of me I saw an opening through which a man could crawl. I crawled, and found myself in another chamber with a similar wall and a similar hole through which one could crawl. Since it seemed likely that one could go on and on like this, I returned to the ledge and told the others to come up. Someone had to stay behind to hold the ladder for the last person to go up and to sound the alarm if the party did not return in a reasonable time. This honor fell to my wife, who bravely sacrificed a chance to see Wilson's Arch to the good of the cause.

Again to make a long story short, we went through a series of rooms in the manner described and soon stood on the brink of the great cemented pit under Wilson's Arch which had been used as a pool in modern times as already noted. And there before us was the great arch, perfect in every detail, every stone in place, in sharp contrast to Robinson's Arch, of which only a ruined fragment remains. Even Warren's last shaft, still open as he had left it 96 years ago, could be plainly seen. What a grand archaeological monument and tourist attraction this would make indeed!

We could not go down under the arch without special equipment because of the steep bank of the pool. So after gazing in rapturous awe for a while, we started to withdraw and look around. We found the entrance which Warren had made from the court-house vaults to the Causeway Vaults and went through the southern row of rooms in these vaults until we came to the one from which we could look down at the Masonic Hall. Having seen this, our archaeological hearts were full, for now we had seen Wilson's Arch, the Causeway Vaults, the Secret Passage, and the Masonic Hall. That was enough for the time being and we went back to the ladder. The descent was dangerous, but finally all were down safely. I might add that the sewer

did not trouble us this time. This day we were above it and east of it, though a strong whiff from time to time reminded us that underground Jerusalem was today much the same as in the days of Wilson and Warren.

What did we say back in Miss Husseini's office? We agreed that this backstage method of seeing Wilson's Arch and its contiguous structures would serve for an occasional visit by a small party of archaeologists, but could not be used for bringing in a large gang of workmen to excavate the area and lay open the arch to public view. Clearly, the Pasha's Wall must be found and removed. What was needed was no longer a greater diplomat than Charles Warren, as Simons said. The enlightened views of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities had taken care of that problem. What was needed was first to find the Pasha's Wall and then to organize an archaeological expedition sponsored jointly by the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and some great university, such as Duke.

Our time was about up. July had come, and we were to leave on the ninth of that month. There was time for only one more trip of a few hours one morning to search again for the Pasha's Wall from the outside. We made the trip but found nothing. Our next move would have been to go again through the backstage route, get ourselves let down by ropes into the old pool, now dry, and search for the Pasha's Wall from the inside. We had to leave before this could be done. Even so, our last month (the month of June, 1963) was a fabulous one, almost as fabulous as our trip to Egypt in April. Can you wonder that I should like to go back? Do you recall Simons' words? I quote them again: "Not even *Warren's* experiment, though it was practically limited to the exterior of the [temple] enclosure, can be repeated or completed." This statement may have been true in 1952. I do not think it true today and I should like to be the one to disprove it.

Toward the Renewal of Faith and Nurture—II

McMURRY S. RICHEY

Introductory Note

This is a sequel to my article in *THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL BULLETIN*, XXVIII, No. 2 (May 1963), pp. 127-141. The purpose of these articles is to illuminate the unique role of H. Shelton Smith in the theological critique, reconstruction, and renewal of Christian nurture.

Readers of my former article are due a red-faced confession and correction! Because it was one of several surreptitious enterprises of colleagues preparing to honor Shelton Smith on the occasion of his "retirement" from teaching at Duke, I was obliged to extract some of my information from him without his knowing what I was doing. When I put two and two together from some of our personal conversations, I came up with at least one wrong answer which calls for correction:

I mistakenly inferred that his article, "Let Religious Educators Reckon with Barthians," was a late 1933 address to the Religious Education Association. Rather, it was simply (!) a January 1934 published article; and my references to Dr. Smith's provocative address on pp. 130, 132, 133 and 140, especially footnote 22 on p. 133, should refer to his 1936 paper, "Is Religious Naturalism Enough?" It was the latter that stirred up the hornets' nest of the Religious Education Association. (But why was he not already labelled as an apostate after the 1934 article? Was it for lack of his impelling oratory to drive home the critique?)

Originally I planned for two articles; but the happy event of securing from Shelton Smith several bulging files of letters, reviews, and unpublished lectures, has forced me to delay and expand these studies, leaving it to a later one to develop further his positive contributions to reconstruction of Christian nurture, and the ways in which his desiderata are being worked out (to some extent) in contemporary books and curricula.

A Jeremiah Among the Religious Educators

With the publication of H. Shelton Smith's *Faith and Nurture* in 1941,¹ any progressive religious educators who had managed to ignore his earlier peremptory challenges² to their liberal faith must

1. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, and given especially wide currency as the Religious Book Club selection for November, 1941.

2. See H. Shelton Smith, "Let Religious Educators Reckon with Barthians," *Religious Education*, XXIX, No. 1 (January 1934), pp. 45-50; "Is Religious Naturalism Enough?" *Religious Education*, XXXI, No. 2 (April 1936), pp. 107-111; "The Gospel for an Age of Good Works," *Advance*, CXXVIII, No. 13 (October 1936), pp. 579-581; and "Theological Reconstruction in Religious Education," *Christendom*, IV, No. 4 (Autumn 1939), pp. 565-574. All of these were discussed in my preceding article.

have been forced at last to reckon with this disturber of their ideological concord. For Shelton Smith had become a Jeremiah among them. Member of their priestly caste,³ disciple of Coe and Dewey,⁴ he had turned and become their prophetic critic, as if called "to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to overthrow" their cultus of religious education. At least this is how some of the hierarchy of the moment perceived him. If, like Jeremiah,⁵ he was summoned also "to build and to plant," to show faith in the redeemed future, to suggest "waymarks" and "guideposts" and to point toward an "evangelical Christian nurture,"⁶ the negative aspects of his criticism were then too threatening to allow adequate recognition of such constructive promise. Because retrospect affords us better insight into the latter, and a view of some of religious education's subsequent "fruits meet for repentance," we shall be able later to emphasize Shelton Smith's positive contributions to the renewal of faith and nurture.⁷

In anticipation of such later emphasis on the constructive service of *Faith and Nurture*, we should take account here, as evidently some critics did not, of the author's own expressed purposes in the issuance of this manifesto. As in his earlier articles, he was profoundly concerned for the salvation of Christian nurture from further deterioration. As he saw it, Protestant religious education faced a "crucial decision" between theological reconstruction in accord with post-liberal "realistic theology," and eventual collapse or decline through continued involvement with an outmoded liberal faith.⁸ There need be neither "iconoclastic rejection of religious liberalism" nor uncritical adoption of the new theology, which also had its defects;

3. As a former Director of Leadership Education for the International Council of Religious Education, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Religious Education Association.

4. Before his reversal in 1931; see my preceding article, p. 129.

5. Jeremiah 1:10; 31:21; 31:31ff., R.S.V.

6. Title of a later article: "Evangelical Christian Nurture," *Religion in Life*, XVII, No. 4 (Autumn 1948), pp. 549-558.

7. In a projected sequel to this article. See my preceding article, p. 128: "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 . . . may come as unexpectedly good news to those unfamiliar with this aspect of our continuing theological renaissance."

8. *Faith and Nurture*, p. vii.

rather there should be "penetrating and persistent criticism" of both and willingness to learn from either.⁹

Dr. Smith acknowledged that the book might seem primarily negative as a critical analysis of liberal faith, but he maintained that its total argument focused "not only upon elements of weakness in religious liberalism, but also upon lines of constructive advance." Nevertheless the crisis in Protestant nurture called "less for construction than for unsparing criticism. For until religious educators recognize more fully the grave limitations of the underlying theology of liberal nurture, there can be little hope of any serious effort at positive reconstruction."¹⁰ Thus a modern Jeremiah was constrained "to pluck up and to break down" in order "to build and to plant," as if the Lord called him to prophecy again "wherein my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed out cisterns for themselves, broken cisterns, that can hold no water."¹¹

The Legacy of Nineteenth-Century Liberal Theology

The tone and substance of *Faith and Nurture* as a critique of liberal theological elements in Protestant religious educational philosophy are not materially different from those of Shelton Smith's previous polemics. The 1939 article on "Theological Reconstruction in Religious Education" had succinctly crystallized the essence of earlier stages of this book. The completed book renews the criticism of liberal theology, not for its method of seeking truth and its concern for relevance—which the author would still zealously defend—but for its arrested form in an outmoded, now unrealistic nineteenth-century credo. "Viewed in historical perspective," he reiterated, "present-day nurture is essentially the child of the religious faith of the late nineteenth century. Its most characteristic theological ideas had attained cultural maturity in American Protestantism before the advent of the first World War."¹² In the article he had already analyzed the historical emergence and the present values and disvalues of certain elements of that liberal faith—its one-sided immanentist theology, its romantic anthropology, its reliance on human rather than divine initiative in religious regeneration—and had urged needed theological correctives from the standpoint of post-liberal

9. *Ibid.*, p. viii.

10. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

11. Jeremiah 1:10; 2:13, R.S.V.

12. *Faith and Nurture*, p. viii.

theology.¹³ Now in *Faith and Nurture* he could devote a full chapter to each of these, exploring implications, giving fuller historical documentation, and citing current instances.¹⁴ It was this last kind of specification that would provoke most vigorous reaction from criticized colleagues in the movement.

The liberal theology in which Shelton Smith sought the chief roots of religious education was not the older legacy of the Age of Reason in colonial America, nor yet the immediate influence of more recent European liberalisms (however indirectly related to these), but a more indigenous development from the New England Theology (Edwardian Calvinism) as variously modified by such minds as William E. Channing, Theodore Parker, and Horace Bushnell.¹⁵ Its major themes which "moulded decisively" the theology of Christian nurture emphasized (1) divine immanence, (2) growth, (3) the goodness of man, and (4) the historical Jesus.¹⁶ The second and fourth of these, not identified and discussed earlier, require brief notice here.

Dr. Smith discovered the idea of growth to be characteristic of religious liberalism under three aspects: "(1) growth of religion in the individual; (2) growth of religion in the race; and (3) growth as a mode of achieving individual and social change."¹⁷ Thus Bushnell emphasized the Christian growth of the child, the moral and religious growth of the race, and gradual social progress; Parker, more radically, proclaimed progressive revelation and a continuously growing religion; Darwinian evolutionary theory powerfully supported theological views of gradual religious change of individuals and society; and G. Stanley Hall's genetic psychology affirmed the recapitulation theory of the child's mental, moral and religious growth.¹⁸ It was not surprising, concluded Dr. Smith, "that the idea of growth became one of the most conspicuous emphases in the rise of twentieth-century education, whether secular or religious. It was this idea, perhaps as no other, that brought modern education and liberal Christianity into fruitful cooperation."¹⁹

13. See my preceding article, pp. 137-141.

14. See Chapter II, "Beyond the Social-Gospel Idea of the Kingdom of God"; Chapter III, "Man in Christian Perspective"; and Chapter IV, "Faith in the Divine Initiative."

15. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 4-5.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-26.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

While the emphasis on the historical Jesus was more obviously related to European liberal influences, Smith focused on its characteristically American expressions. He found in Thomas Jefferson, Channing, and Parker early reductions of orthodox Christology to the idea of a morally exemplary Jesus, superlative yet imitable, genius yet a man among men.²⁰ Of greater interest to him was Bushnell's long, original effort to retain and to give new life and relevance to orthodox doctrines of the person and work of Christ; but Smith saw even Bushnell's mediating reinterpretations as contributing to the "trend toward an attenuated Christology."²¹ With the further influence of Schleiermacher and Ritschl, American liberal theology appeared more Christocentric but belied that appearance with an idea of Jesus as "little more than the ethical prophet of Nazareth."²²

The liberal theological developments were especially significant for religious education, Shelton Smith affirmed, because "just here lie the roots of the assumptions and guiding notions which became the stock-in-trade for the theories of the religious educators of the twentieth century. . . . For at no point did liberalism come to more marked expression than in the twentieth-century movement of religious education."²³ To demonstrate this he examined the earlier writings of George A. Coe as the most influential philosopher of religious education. In two of Coe's early works,²⁴ products of the period before his philosophy of personal idealism yielded to the influences of John Dewey's pragmatic naturalism, Smith found full expression of the doctrine of divine immanence, the concept of growth, the idea of the goodness of man, and the liberal view of the historical Jesus.²⁵ He concluded:

In light of this analysis of Coe's early thought, it is manifest that the contemporary movement of Protestant nurture emerged as an integral part of liberal theological thought. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the theory of religious education has passed through many different phases, as new knowledge has been made available through further research and experimentation. Furthermore, as we shall see, public education in its progressive phase has had a fundamental part in the development of religious nurture. Yet running throughout this entire period of

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-24.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 25f.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 26f.

24. *The Religion of a Mature Mind* (Fleming H. Revell, 1902), and *Education in Religion and Morals* (Fleming H. Revell, 1904).

25. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 27-30.

development one can find these same four tendencies of liberal religious thought.²⁶

It was this congeries of "basically outmoded" ideas, rather than liberalism as a method, which Dr. Smith would critically reconsider and revise, and along with them, the liberal Protestant nurture rooted in them.²⁷

The Influence of Progressive Education and Religious Naturalism

Shelton Smith saw progressive religious education as having two main roots, one in the liberal religion on which the preceding analysis was focused, the other in modern educational philosophy.²⁸ It may be recalled that his original revolt from progressive religious educational thought back in 1931 was precipitated by the reading of John L. Childs' book on *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*, which made him more keenly aware of the character of the empirical naturalism which he had absorbed, and of its fundamental conflict with the Christian faith he still would teach.²⁹ It may be remembered also that his provocative address to the Religious Education Association in 1936, when he openly broke with the progressive ideology and its advocates, was primarily an attack on religious naturalism, which some religious educators were proclaiming as the way ahead in religious education.³⁰ It is not surprising, then, that in *Faith and Nurture* his severest strictures on religious education were not at the point of "outmoded" liberal theology—which he called to repent and be converted to a new theocentric realism—but at the point of the subtle assimilation of liberal theology and nurture to naturalistic educational theory and its close relative, religious naturalism. The book bristles with this kind of criticism, relentless and sharp, informed with the insight of a former devotee and inspired with the zeal of a convert. Three lines of such attack may be identified briefly.

One key instance of this severer reaction to the assimilation of liberal nurture to more naturalistic educational philosophy may be seen in his criticism of the social theory of religious education for its deficient understanding of the Kingdom of God. Smith regarded religious education as a prime expression of social gospel teaching,

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 30f.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 173.

29. Childs' book was published by The Century Company, 1931. See my preceding article, pp. 129-130, for an account of Dr. Smith's "revolt."

30. See the same article, pp. 134f., and my "Introductory Note" above.

which repudiated other-worldly and individualistic views of the Kingdom of God in favor of earthly and social interpretations—an ideal social order, a universal democracy.³¹ George A. Coe, again the pre-eminent example, affirmed for Protestantism “a distinctive religious principle, that of a divine-human industrial democracy.”³² The goal of Christian nurture then became, in Coe’s now well-known words, “Growth of the young toward and into mature and efficient devotion to the democracy of God, and happy self-realization therein.”³³ This “democracy of God” was a universal fellowship, a divine-human society ruled by ethical love.³⁴

Dr. Smith acknowledged the cultural origins and validity of such democratic ideals: “A growing democratic experience in Church and State expressed itself most naturally in a democratic doctrine of the Kingdom and of Christian nurture.” He acknowledged also that “this idea of the Kingdom of God has profoundly influenced the nature, presuppositions, and content of modern Christian nurture. . . . [and] enriched the educational content of the contemporary Church at many points. . . .” Moreover, he insisted that such “gains should be cherished and stubbornly defended against those who would destroy democratic values in both the Church and the State.”³⁵ But the democratic social theory of religious education, Smith charged, tended to subvert its own values by reducing the Kingdom of God to an “anthropocentric kingdom.” Even though Coe’s “personality principle” of respect for personality presupposed the immanence of God, and therefore fellowship with the divine in and through human fellowship, his emphasis on the supreme value of persons obscured the “theocentric nature of the Kingdom.”³⁶

It was the accommodation of religious education to public educational theory, however, that Smith held more responsible for this substitution of the kingdom of man for the Kingdom of God. The Religious Education Association, in seeking to unite educational and religious forces for the common good, had helped to foster such assimilation. If Shailer Mathews had exaggerated in saying “that re-

31. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 33-35.

32. Coe, *A Social Theory of Religious Education* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), p. viii (quoted in *Faith and Nurture*, p. 35).

33. Coe, *op. cit.*, p. 55 (quoted in *Faith and Nurture*, p. 36). Quoted thus apart from its context in Coe’s vigorous advocacy of social reform, this dictum has a bland aspect not really true to Coe’s thought. Coe was as outspoken a social prophet as H. Shelton Smith!

34. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 36.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

ligious education had become little more than public education fitted out in a Prince Albert coat," it still was true "that religious educators have been deeply influenced by the general theory of the state school . . . particularly . . . those who have sought to blend the democratic theory of education and the democratic theory of the Kingdom of God."³⁷ Especially influential were John Dewey's "humanitarian theory of democracy" and George H. Mead's naturalistic interpretation of the origin and development of selfhood within natural-social processes.³⁸ The resulting democratic, anthropocentric religious education—as typified by Coe and William Clayton Bower, for instance—tended to accord final value to persons, instead of acknowledging their creaturely contingency and the divine ground of their meaning and value; it tended to reduce the divine sovereignty to immanence in social processes, and to reduce religion to human discovery and valuing, and values to subjective social emergents; it tended thus to dissolve the tension between the Kingdom of God and human society, and to espouse a romantic social ethic of evolutionary progress toward a reconstructed, idealized society, in effect a kingdom of man. This was the burden of Shelton Smith's complaint.³⁹ Religious education had forsaken the fountain of living waters, and hewed out broken cisterns.

A second and closely related instance of Dr. Smith's sharper polemic against naturalistic influences in liberal nurture may be seen in his critique of the understanding of man in progressive religious education. It is instructive to note that this criticism is in the context of a positive affirmation of a post-liberal (some would say neo-orthodox) theological anthropology for Christian nurture. If not an original, it was a constructive contribution; and those who decried *Faith and Nurture* as lacking in positive statement either did not take this doctrine seriously enough, or perhaps were too defensive under criticism, to recognize its significance and relevance.

The categories and content of his doctrine were essentially similar to those of Emil Brunner, Reinhold Niebuhr, and the Oxford Conference volume on Man.⁴⁰ For Christian nurture, he held, man must

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41. Dr. Smith referred to an article by Shailer Mathews, "Let Religious Education Beware!" in *The Christian Century*, XLIV (1927), pp. 362-368.

38. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 41-44.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-66, *passim*.

40. See Emil Brunner, *Man in Revolt* (English translation, The Westminster Press, 1939); Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, Volume I, *Human Nature* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), and T. E. Jessop et al., *The*

be understood in theocentric reference, as a "theonomous being," created in the image of God. Such creaturehood is only partially understandable in empirical terms, for man's origin is ultimately in God's creative action. His worth and the worth of his fellows are not intrinsic or autonomous but derived from their transcendent source. His individuality is grounded in God's concern with each man and each man's dependence on and responsibility to God. His community has its nature and dynamic likewise in God, in relation to whom all are interdependent children. Finally, he is both image of God and perverter of that image in disobedience, and his sin is not only against his fellows but against God.⁴¹

By these theological specifications for a doctrine of man for Christian nurture, religious education manifestly fell far short. Liberal theology and nurture had found in "reverence for personality" the best key to understanding of man, history, and God. But all its consequent preoccupation with "the nature, experience, and activity of persons" had yielded religious education an inadequate, unrealistic, sub-Christian anthropology. Shelton Smith attributed this in part to the domination of religious education by psychology, sociology, and anthropology, which by their focus on the empirical tended to obscure or deny man's richer meanings, especially his ultimate ground in God.⁴² This reductionist tendency was strongly reinforced by the influence of religious naturalism on religious education. In contrast to the Christian view of man as creature of God, for example, was John Dewey's interpretation of man's emergence "in terms of empirical natural forces operating in and through the process of organic and cultural evolution."⁴³ In Dewey's humanistic naturalism "God" meant not creative, ultimate Being but "the unity of all ideal ends arousing us to desire and action," or the "active relation between ideal and actual."⁴⁴ Smith found little more in common with the similar views of Edward Scribner Ames, or the "theistic naturalism" of Henry Nelson Wieman, or the religious educational philosophy of their disciple William C. Bower :

As in the case of naturalists in general, Bower views religion as a functional process in which persons seek a twofold integration : (a) integration

Christian Understanding of Man (Allen & Unwin, 1938), especially the essays by Robert L. Calhoun and Emil Brunner.

41. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 69-97, *passim*.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-69.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

44. John Dewey, *A Common Faith* (New Haven, 1934), pp. 42, 51 (as quoted in *Faith and Nurture*, p. 73).

within the self and (b) integration with the environing world. The human self is the outgrowth of the interaction of growing selves. What, then, is the nature of the ultimate ground of this twofold process of emerging life? It is 'that behavior of the universe which most religious persons represent to themselves in terms of God.' More recently Bower has used the term God to signify the creative aspect of 'ultimate and comprehending values.' But if, as Bower maintains, the 'kingdom of values is within the self,' it is clear that value is essentially subjective; and on this view the term God can denote no really objective ground of human existence.⁴⁵

Smith was ready to acknowledge that the empirical perspective of these naturalists, drawing on the sciences, had "shed much light on the growth and behavior of human personality. Any perspective of man that fails to take due account of the tested findings of empirical observation and research must be considered incomplete," he warned, with special reference to Fundamentalist orthodoxy.⁴⁶ But his indictment still stood against religious naturalism for denying the Christian faith "that man owes his ultimate origin to the creative word of the living God, in relation to whom man exists as responsible creature to Sovereign Creator."⁴⁷ To this indictment he would add (and we must omit) related charges of comparable gravamen in reference to the failure of religious naturalism on each of the other main points of his doctrine of man—"the Christian ground of human value," "the root of Christian individuality and community," the tragic and troublesome sinfulness of the children of God.⁴⁸

A third instance of Shelton Smith's polemic against naturalistic educational theory and religious naturalism may be seen in his direct, sustained attack on Dewey's (and John L. Childs' and others') "positive creed of life implicit in democracy and in science"⁴⁹—the anthropocentric "religion of experimental democracy" as represented especially in the philosophy of public education. The issue was joined in the conflicting efforts of the churches to introduce, and of the naturalistic educators to prevent, the teaching of religion in the public schools. The main thrust of Dr. Smith's argument appears in his conclusion:

45. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 75-76. Internal quotations are from William C. Bower, *Religion and the Good Life* (New York, 1933), pp. 45, 217, and his *The Living Bible* (New York, 1936), p. 28.

46. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 76.

47. *Loc. cit.*

48. The topics of Chapter Three, "Man in Christian Perspective."

49. John Dewey, "Religion and Our Schools," *The Hibbert Journal*, VI (1907-1908), pp. 796-809 (as cited in *Faith and Nurture*, p. 175).

This survey of experimentalist thought serves thus to bring out two things. . . . First, it shows that the religion implicit in progressive democratic education is decisively at variance with that type of religious faith which underlies the doctrine of Christian nurture. Insofar, therefore, as the religious faith of experimentalism has penetrated the theory of Christian nurture it has served to distort and emasculate it. . . . [I]t can be seen that one basic source of the secularization of liberal Protestant nurture is modern educational philosophy. Second, this survey reveals the fact that a paramount question now presents itself to the American people in respect of the relation of Hebrew-Christian faith to the public school. The question is not, as many have supposed, Shall the public school teach a religion? For, according to our survey, religion of a kind is already in the state school. It is that sort which we have called anthropocentric religion, and which Dewey in 1908 implied in the phrase, 'the positive creed of life implicit in democracy and science.' . . . Thus the paramount question is this: What kind of religion shall the public school teach—the religion of the churches or the religion of humanistic experimentalism? Sooner or later this must become the focal point of a crucial battle. On its outcome largely hangs the fate of democratic culture in America.⁵⁰

It was as if to say that the choice is between two ways, the way of an ancient sophist, or the way of an ancient prophet. For Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things; of things that are, that they are; of things that are not, that they are not"; whereas Jeremiah confessed, "I know, O Lord, that the way of man is not in himself, that it is not in man who walks to direct his steps."⁵¹

* * * *

Postscript

To conclude this article here leaves for a sequel the discussion of two major themes of *Faith and Nurture* which were also topics for later articles and lectures by Shelton Smith. One of these themes is represented by the title of his article on "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture."⁵² The topic was dealt with partially in *Faith and Nurture* but developed more fully in one of a series of lectures given at Eden Theological Seminary and Pacific School of Religion in 1942 and again at Austin Presbyterian Seminary in 1947.⁵³ The

50. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 201-202.

51. Jeremiah 10:23, R.S.V.

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

53. See Chapter Four, "Faith in the Divine Initiative." The lectures were on the general topic, "Faith and Nurture in Contemporary Protestant Thought." Lecture titles were, "The Dilemma of the Progressive Movement in Protestant Nurture," "Christian Nurture and Human Existence," "The Place of Christ in Christian Nurture," "The Church: Community of Faith and Nurture." The first two lectures correspond in part to Chapters One, Three, and Six of *Faith and Nurture*.

other main theme is represented by the chapter in *Faith and Nurture* on "The Church: Community of Christian Nurture," and also by one of the seminary lectures with the same title. Much later, in 1954, before the Presbyterian Assembly's Training School in Richmond, Virginia, Dr. Smith gave a series of nine lectures on "The Christian Faith and Its Communication," with the doctrine of the Church as the organizing motif of the series. When these themes are examined in a subsequent article, notice may be taken also of some of the response to *Faith and Nurture*, as registered in letters, reviews, and books. In the meantime, a closing word will serve to put a temporary lid on this portion of these articles:

Faith and Nurture is not only the pivotal book of its time for religious education; it is also in at least three ways an important contribution to what was to become Shelton Smith's major academic discipline, American religious thought. In the first place, it offers a distinctive analysis of the genesis and development of nineteenth-century American liberal theology. Secondly, it illuminates progressive religious education as a significant strand in twentieth-century American liberalism. Thirdly, it was a major literary step toward Professor Smith's later career as dean of historians of American religious thought. Indeed, it may be thought of as an earnest of his later books, which pursue further his long-time concerns represented in this first book: his *Changing Conceptions of Original Sin: A Study in American Theology Since 1750*;⁵⁴ the two definitive volumes, prepared with Robert T. Handy and Lefferts A. Loetscher, *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents*;⁵⁵ and the forthcoming Library of Protestant Thought volume on *Horace Bushnell*.⁵⁶ May there be more to come!

54. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955.

55. Charles Scribner's Sons, Volume I, 1607-1820, published 1960; Volume II, 1820-1960, published 1963.

56. To be published by Oxford University Press.

The Call to Salvation

Some Perspectives for Contemporary Preaching.

THOR HALL

The first lecture of this series presented what could be called "the two-nature theory of preaching." It consisted of a twofold perspective on the preaching event: one, an empirical, factual, "common" interpretation, which sees preaching as having the nature of a human event, participating in the limitations of human reason, being part and parcel of human finiteness and creatureliness; the other, a religious, spiritual, "faithful" interpretation, which understands preaching as having the meaning of a divine event, participating in—and representing an extension of—the redemptive act of God in Christ. I called the one perspective empirical and factual in order to indicate that it does represent a valid and necessary approach to the understanding of the preaching event, and I called the other perspective religious and "faithful" so as to indicate both that it is different from the first perspective and that it represents a theological interpretation of the preaching event. We shall need both perspectives in order to understand what preaching really is, but we need also to keep these perspectives separate and distinct, so that we can keep from confusing the human and the divine as they both play a part in our preaching.

In this lecture I shall pursue the theological perspective and speak of preaching as it is understood by most Christians, as "God's Word through human words." The topic is formulated from this perspective. It sees preaching as having to do with salvation. Yet my concern is not so much with the content of salvation as with the way we present this message. The purpose is not to compete with the theologian in the interpretation of the meaning of the doctrines involved, but to stay consistently within the limits of homiletics, discussing the principles involved in the preaching of salvation. But as I said, the discussion of these principles will be approached from a *theological* perspective rather than an empirical or practical one.

There can be no doubt in the mind of evangelical Protestants that the task of preaching involves not only the proclamation of an objective saving event manifest once-and-for-all in Christ Jesus, but also the "gospel call," the invitation to receive this salvation as the ground

[This is the second of two lectures on "The Preaching of Salvation," delivered at the Divinity School Seminars, January 21 and 24, 1964.]

for a new relationship to God primarily, and to fellow man and surrounding nature secondarily, on the part of the individual. There are several important Scriptural traditions supporting this double aspect of the preaching task. Let me mention just two.

In Luke 24: 44ff, the evangelist has recorded a story relating to the post-resurrection commissioning of the disciples as apostles of Christ to the whole world. The actual commissioning formula refers quite clearly to the task of preaching, and its description of the content of preaching contains a double set of concepts, two of which point to the once-for-all event of the Christ, while the other two refer to the existential appropriation of this event by the individual believer:

Then he opened their minds to understand the Scriptures, and said to them: 'Thus it is written, that the Christ should *suffer* and on the third day *rise* from the dead, and that *repentance* and *forgiveness* of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things.' (Luke 24: 45-48, italics added)

Another reference to the same double focus of the preaching task is found in 2 Corinthians 5, where Paul develops his doctrine of "the ministry of reconciliation." In the course of the discussion, Paul makes clear that this ministry includes both a "message" and an "appeal" or, in our terminology here, a "proclamation" and a "call": All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us a ministry of reconciliation; that is, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the *message* of reconciliation. So we are *ambassadors* for Christ, God making his *appeal* through us. We *beseech* you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God. (2 Cor. 5: 18-20, italics added)

Historically and traditionally, this double-sidedness in the preaching of salvation has represented the real significance and the inner strength of the evangelical Protestant ministry. Not only have preachers found themselves standing at the crossroads of life, pointing in the direction of the cross, attempting to call attention to the saving drama, enacted on that cruel, off-the-broad-way stage; they have been at their best when, in the contemporaneity of their historical setting, they found themselves standing on the main square of human concerns, actually *offering* the saving grace on behalf of Christ, to any and all, for free.

Pure proclamation, the kerygmatic cry, *can* conceivably become an impersonal and "official" function. It can become so engrossed in the objective event that it lacks the understanding of its personal appropriation. Preaching *can* easily degenerate into an exercise in story-telling; it can become so intent upon pointing to the one decisive

event in the salvation history of the world that it forgets that salvation is a very present reality, and that the preaching and hearing of it is itself involved in the grand scheme of salvation. He is the *true* evangelical preacher who knows that salvation is an act of God, but who also recognizes that in the event of preaching this salvation is near and real. He can *proclaim* salvation with conviction and clarity, and he can issue the *call* to salvation with integrity and assurance; and if there is anything we should desire to see more of in contemporary preaching, it is conviction and clarity, integrity and assurance.

Let me transport your thoughts, however, from this positive consideration of the double direction of preaching, to a more realistic appraisal of the homiletical aspects of the call to salvation. If it can be said that this more subjective-existential approach to preaching represents the genius of evangelical Protestantism, it is also true to say that this genius constitutes a grave temptation to any proud possessor of it. For when the preaching event is said to participate in the reality and continuity of the redemptive event, the preacher will easily come to consider it the decisive event in the life of the individual believer. He may even come to think of it as the only event that really matters. And when this happens, the "witness," who originally found his fulfillment in pointing *away from* himself to Him whose Word he witnessed to, becomes pre-occupied with himself and turns away from his task in life to ponder over his own scrapbooks and prepare to write his autobiography. The dangers and temptations are *legio* for those who preach the gospel, even without this inborn propensity to pride and presumptuousness which is involved in understanding preaching as the extension of the saving event itself. It does not take particularly sharp eyesight to find manifestations of such presumptuousness in the history of the church. The surprising thing, of course, is that the log is so well settled in our own eye, even while we are searching for the speck in our brother's.

If you can hold on to this metaphor another moment, I can formulate the main purpose of this paper in reference to it. I desire, quite simply, to uncover a few of the "logs" that are lodged in our own eyes in connection with our preaching, particularly in the "call" to salvation or the "appeal" for reconciliation. If anything, this lecture is a confessional statement, representing both a confession of sin and a confession of faith. I do not desire to judge or to hurt. I am only anxious that we should understand the preaching task in all its magnitude and its awfulness. And for that reason I am willing to lay myself open before you, seeking only the recommendation of your conscience.

I

First, then, I am obliged to say that, as Protestant ministers, we shall need to watch out for a tendency to want to control the grace of God. In this direct and somewhat uncouth formulation it is immediately obvious, at least to evangelical Protestants, that such a tendency or desire would be both preposterous and absurd. Our first reaction is quite naturally that no Protestant minister would ever fall into such an elementary error. Protestantism, as an historical fact, actually arose out of a reaction to such and similar errors on the part of the Roman Church. The Reformation affirmed, with conviction and vigor, that no human being, be it priest or saint, king or judge, could make claims to the status of a necessary and indispensable intermediary between the individual believer and the Lord Almighty. The believer needs no other mediator than Christ; and Christ is available among men of faith through the Word and the Spirit without respect to status or calling, position or rank. No human priesthood or mediation is essential to membership in the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom is established by God's decree; whoever hears the decree and enters into the Kingdom by faith becomes a citizen in direct obedience to its King. This is 'the priesthood of all believers,' a doctrine of many facets, but none so clear-cut as that which says: No man ever controls the grace of God for another.

But *we* do not claim such a position, do we? One wonders.

One wonders, for example, when we preach about the church rather than preach the gospel; or when we urge upon people the realization of the values of church membership and church activities rather than lead them into the first fact of spiritual existence, the spiritual communion with Christ in the faith, if we are not actually setting up the church—in an innocent and tacit kind of way—as a necessary intermediary, or at least a useful guarantor, for the personal assurance that we are acceptable to God. Why is it that the traditional doctrine of the "invisible" church is again brought to the forefront in certain Protestant circles? Might it be because we have come to feel that it is essentially *wrong* to make the "visible" church, however necessary and important it is as the incarnation of the Kingdom of God, significant and meaningful in itself? Or why, on the other hand, is it that so many people express an understanding for and a desire to belong to the visible fellowship of the church, but have no corresponding understanding for or desire to belong in a personal way to God? Might it be that we have slipped back into the pre-Reformation concept of the church as having the keys to the Kingdom, not now as much in a negative sense, saying that there is no salvation

outside the church, but more positively, letting it be known that we consider those who belong to the church "right" in their relationship to the Kingdom? I am merely asking, but the questions are serious.

Yet even more serious considerations belong under this heading. I am thinking of the attitude, so generally exhibited by us ministers, which seems to presuppose that only that which we see and know to happen in a preaching situation is really and truly taking place. This attitude takes all sorts of expressions: An evangelist identifies the "decision for Christ" with stepping down to the front of the auditorium where he—the evangelist—will pray with the inquirers. A minister asks his members who desire to recommit themselves to Christ to come forward and shake his—the minister's—hand. A songleader asks the people who really mean what they are singing to stand in the congregation and join in his chorus. A radio announcer lets the people know that the way to assure that the blessing they have received will really stay with them is to write a note—and include a note—to the preacher at such and such an address. There is no doubt that most of these activities can be defended and rationalized as psychologically or organizationally necessary and in many other ways desirable and valuable, but the main question in this connection is the theological one: Are we giving people occasion to believe that the grace of God is dependent upon the visible church for its operation, on the ordained minister for its channelling, and on the believer's relationship to the visible church and the ordained minister for its appropriation? In that case, are we not actually setting up the church as the *primary* fact in the religious experience of a believer, relegating the personal relationship to Christ to a place *secondary*, consequential, or derivative in comparison to the relationship to the church?

The basic question, penetrating this whole situation and making it a transparent, ready to be projected by the light of truth, is this: Do we believe in the primacy of the free grace of God, or do we in any way limit the operation and efficacy of grace to where we as ministers, or the visible church as a channel, have made ourselves indispensable as mediators?

In a sense, this alternative is not, of course, a clear-cut either/or. There is a certain sense in which the preacher *is* seen to be indispensable. There is a curious—and dangerous—dialectic involved in the preacher's place within the economy of redemption. As St. Paul sees it:

How are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without a preacher? (Romans 10: 14)

Is this not proof enough that the gospel of Christ *is* mediated to the world by the preacher, and that he, therefore, has a necessary role to play in the salvation of souls? Certainly. But now the question is, what *kind of role?* Let us read on in Paul's description (his *deductio salutis*, you might say):

How are they to hear without a preacher? And how can men preach unless they are sent? As it is written, 'How beautiful are the feet of those who preach good news.' . . . So, faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes by the preaching of Christ. (Romans 10: 15-17)

Does this not say that the indispensability of the preacher is that of a servant, a messenger, "one sent," but that it gives him no ground to claim that the message itself is within his control?

Let me sum up this point by stating as clearly as I can what may be called "the dialectic of preaching," namely the dialectic of greatness and humility in the role of the preacher: Our call to preach the gospel is a call to proclaim the good news, to spread the Word, to sow the seed, to call to repentance and invite to salvation. But the good news is not our property, and the salvation we invite to is not ours to dispense. The preacher brings a message and proclaims a Word which is fundamental and invaluable in the salvation history of the world and of the individual soul to which he addresses himself; but when the Word is brought and the message is delivered, he should be willing to step aside and be forgotten. He should never point to himself as a necessary link between the Savior and the soul. He is to call people into the experience of salvation, but he does not control this experience. Of course not! He is the servant of the Word, not the master of it!

II

There is a second concern that I am eager to put before you here regarding the preaching of a call to salvation, namely the tendency to focus attention on the subjective elements of the experience of salvation and forget that salvation, *all* salvation, whether cosmic or individual, in the Christian way of looking at it, springs from the one and only source of salvation, Jesus Christ, the Savior. Again I am seeking to formulate in language something which is more of an implicit orientation in our time than an open and confessed pattern. But the tendency is there clearly enough.

There is a strong and recurring emphasis in the church of this day on the need for a "redemptive" ministry. We must make our message a "redemptive" word, we say; the community of the church must become a "redemptive" community. We listen, and the words

sound true. But when one listens a little longer and asks oneself what the *meaning* of this "redemptive" ministry might be, the impression is strong and convicting that it simply means a ministry *patterned after* Christ's redemptive ministry. In our interpersonal relationships and in situations of social tension, we are to speak and act in the style of speaking and acting exhibited by Christ in similar situations. The "ministry of reconciliation" becomes nothing but *our* trying to be reconciling among people, as Christ also was. Thus the Christian ministry is conceived of in terms of *discipleship* rather than *apostleship*. And what is its message? Here is a recent example:

It is in the interpersonal relationship between mutually accepting individuals within the community of the church that the experience of the forgiveness of God becomes real and meaningful to individuals.

Without being unfair to those who seek new ways to express old facts, the question nevertheless forces itself upon us: Are we not desperately trying to invent a redemptive word *of our own* instead of witnessing to the redemptive Word spoken and acted once-for-all in Christ Jesus, *the Redeemer*? Instead of calling individuals into the experience of divine redemption as a very definitive act accomplished by God on our behalf, an experience from which there will flow a new style of life which might be described as "redemptive" and "forgiving," are we not simply trying to lead people into practicing the principles of redemptiveness and forgiveness and thus become their own redeemers? If the call to salvation takes on this kind of task, does it not inevitably lead to subjectivistic moralism, emphasizing that redemption means simply to learn how to live redemptively? If redemption is identified as a learning process, what is there to guard us from subjectivistic mysticism, more intent upon establishing some subjective ground for the assurance of salvation *within* us than on appropriating by faith and trust the objective saving act of God accomplished in Christ *without* us? If redemption is reduced from objective fact to subjective possibility, is not faith at the same time reduced to subjectivistic futurism, which in the present will take the form of agnosticism or even skepticism?

Or, similarly, do not those who have reacted to the individualism of an earlier evangelicalism, and who reformulate the message of redemption in terms of "communal catharsis," *i.e.* deliverance from fear and anxiety by the experience of the communal spirit of acceptance within the true fellowship, show essentially the same orientation, attempting to substitute a new and more "existential" focal point for faith in personal salvation instead of the traditional orientation around

the cross of Christ and the personal appropriation of the work of the One who died and who rose to live for ever? Principally speaking: Ought forgiveness and redemption to be made into general principles of interpersonal acceptance and goodwill without *first* being explained in terms of Christ's objective gift to us?

Again I am asking questions rather than suggesting answers; but asking such questions is agonizing enough, especially since the tendencies one is questioning represent some of the most serious attempts to make the redemptive purposes of God relevant to life in the twentieth century. It is imperative, nevertheless, that such questions be raised among us, for if the attempt to make the gospel relevant rests on the presupposition that its distinctive features must necessarily be compromised, then the result may well be that the "scandal" of the gospel is reduced, but the gospel itself has been scandalized. And no individual, no group, no era, is better served by a preaching which presents a sensible gospel in a relevant form—but a gospel which is distorted.

Now, "distorted" is, of course, a strong word, and one should not throw it around without great care and responsible purposes. There is, however, clear evidence in our time even of such open distortion of the Christian gospel. I am thinking of the extreme, subjectivistic fideism which represents nothing but a belief in faith or a trust in prayer: The "call to salvation" in such circles is in reality only a call to assume a certain attitude to life. This attitude has been found to have significant influence on one's state of mind, one's general happiness and health, as well as one's success in life and one's influence for good. And so it is most assuredly a useful approach to life, one which each man should seek for himself: Try prayer! Use your faith! You will be surprised to find what difference worship makes!

In this kind of preaching we are obviously not just dealing with *tendencies* toward subjectivism; this is religion "turned in upon itself," faith engaged in devoted navel-staring. We shall need to unveil its true nature as being diametrically opposite to true Christian faith, having—in fact—no resemblance to this faith at all. The faith of a Christian is not turned in upon itself; it is directed toward God Almighty. The Christian faith does not focus the attention on what man himself does or the way he contributes to his salvation; it rests its eye on what God has done, what He does, and what He promises to do. Its orientation is not around its own value or upon what man himself can accomplish with its help, but rather around Christ, in whom God accomplished His saving purposes for mankind without

man's help, and who is even now present and at work in the world and in the man of faith.

On the background of this understanding of the Christian faith we find that the true "gospel call," the evangelical "call to salvation," does not merely stop with the reminder that man *needs* to be saved. Such a message could be brought by any man, within any faith. Nor does this Christian message consist simply in pointing man in the direction of a possible way to salvation. The genius of the Christian faith is its glad affirmation that salvation is sure; its foundation is already laid; the work is already accomplished. The call to salvation takes the form of a clear apostolic testimony to Christ, and Christ alone, as the foundation for our salvation, and the invitation is issued to all and everyone on behalf of God himself: Return to him who is your salvation; make him your own in faith! Here is salvation preached as a *fact*, and not merely as a possibility. Here is redemption offered as a very present gift and experience, and not merely as a promise and a hope.

Thus we find that even that aspect of the total message of salvation which we have called the "subjective" aspect, that facet of our preaching which concerns itself with bringing our hearer to the experience of all "the benefits of his death and passion," has "objective" orientation. The evangelical preacher does not for a moment take his eye off the ground and source of salvation: In all he does he preaches Christ, the Savior of the world, *our* Savior; Christ *pro nobis* objectively; Christ *in nobis* subjectively.

III

I shall mention only one more concern which is of central importance for our understanding of the task of preaching the "call to salvation," namely the need for re-establishing the evangelical Protestant understanding of faith. Faith is quite consistently preached as the Christian "way" to salvation, "justification by faith and not by works" being the most familiar formula among all Protestants. But this compressed phrase, "justification by faith and not by works," indicates itself the one great problem involved in much contemporary understanding of faith. The tendency is there, and more than implicitly so, to regard faith as a different kind of work, *i.e.* as an *acceptable* kind of human activity relating to salvation, as over against the *unacceptable* kind. Just looking at the phrase itself, one does not really sense the dramatic distinction between faith and works, a distinction which traditionally made these concepts useful as descriptions of two qualitatively different religious commitments. Setting them up

as alternative "ways of salvation," one of which is the true way, while the other is the false way, does not in itself preclude the possibility that both are essentially and actually conceived of in very similar ways.

There is, on the one hand, the possibility that faith and works can both be regarded as ways by which the believer fulfills the requirement for salvation and places himself in the category of being acceptable to God. Thus, in spite of the fact that evangelical Christianity confesses that only faith is acceptable, while works are unacceptable, one might still think of faith as a way by which man qualifies himself for divine grace to be given him. There is, on the other hand, the possibility that faith and works may both be seen as responses by which the believer seeks to express the commitment which he has made in the encounter with God. The fearful seeker after righteousness, who feels the commands of God lie heavily upon his heart, and who seeks in all things to do God's will and work off the guilt of past mistakes, is himself a believer of sorts. He believes in God, in the right of God to challenge his life, and in the ultimate responsibility of man living under the rule of God. And he responds with the best he has, his commitment to do God's will. The humble hearer of the gospel, who has heard the gospel of God's righteousness as manifested in Christ, and who knows this message to be the ground of a new life and a promise of an eternal future, also responds with the best that his life contains at the moment, sorrow for sin, repentance, willingness to accept the Lordship of Christ, "faith." Traditionally these two types of response or commitment have been described as "the faith of a servant" and "the faith of a son," but this does not really preclude the possibility that, conceived in the way described here, works and faith may serve to fulfill essentially the same function in the believer's relationship to God: Both may be seen as requirements to be fulfilled by man in order for God to respond in grace, or they may be seen as expressions by which man responds to the experience of an encounter with God. In both cases there is the danger that the qualitative distinction of faith and works, as representing diametrically opposite types of God/man relationships, will be lost.

If you find this point a bit confusing, it may comfort you to know that it was made that way for a purpose. The moral of the story is quite simply this: We need to sharpen up our concepts. Faith is not really to be spoken of as man's "way" to salvation at all; for in so doing one is still caught in the old understanding of salvation as the result of some human qualification. The "new way" of salvation, that which is presented as the "gospel" and which took the place of the old cove-

nant of works, is a covenant of *grace*, a way of salvation by which God comes to man where he is, in spite of his sin, enclosing him—even in his rebellion and open opposition to God—in grace long before he even has faith. The right expression of the Protestant gospel, then, is found in the full phrase of our tradition, “justification *by grace*, through faith.” The new way of salvation is the *way of grace*, and the true nature of grace is that it is unqualified, unsolicited, unearned. One cannot deserve grace, for what one deserves is not grace. One cannot even qualify for one’s reception of grace, for grace—according to its own nature—prevenes every qualification and every reception; grace actually creates its own qualifications and fulfills all of its requirements within itself.

What, finally, will this concept of grace do to our understanding of personal faith? First, it will make the preaching of faith as a *requirement* for salvation obsolete. And that is good! Secondly, it will make the dogmatic stress on the delimitation and formulation of a “*right faith*” impossible. And that is equally good! Thirdly, it will throw us back to the necessity of re-discovering the nature of faith as pure passivity, sheer receptivity, and simple responsiveness to God’s saving grace. And that is good indeed! For it is here that contemporary man is in most desperate need of help. He needs to know what it is to let go of himself, to let his sin as well as his sanctity be swallowed up in the grace, mercy, and love of God. Our task as preachers is to call him into such an experience, an experience of losing himself in finding the salvation which is offered him as a *gift*, free, present, uncontrolled.

We do indeed have a Word to contemporary man!

Ambiguity and Faith

ORVAL WINTERMUTE

Our Gospel for Passion Sunday (John 8:46-59) provides us with a classic sample of Johannine literature, and as such it speaks on many different levels. In our effort to understand it, however, let us begin by considering the most obvious meaning of the text.

In the simplest terms it is a story of a debate between Jesus and the Jews. Yet *debate* is much too mild a word to convey the force of the strife depicted here. It was not the sort of intellectual dialogue that might be overheard in the halls of our Divinity School or read from the pages of *Response*. Rather it was more akin to the no-holds-barred, serious type of encounter that is taking place in the courtroom at Hillsboro, or among our Christian brethren who strive to bear witness in the face of a foreign, totalitarian state which is hostile to the Gospel. The stakes were high. The security of the Jews was being threatened. There was not the slightest doubt about their "existential commitment"; they were ready to stone the man who opposed their "way of life".

Jesus spoke boldly—he called them liars to their face. Jesus spoke openly—he told them that the Father would glorify him. Jesus spoke authoritatively—he told them that if they would keep his word they would not see death. But in the end, Jesus hid himself, and the Gospel was driven underground. This is the treatment our Lord received. Shall we expect the servants to fare better than their master? Let this text speak to us as a consolation for tired and unheard preachers. Let us cherish it as our own tract for hard times.

One of the most helpful insights to be gained from this passage is the clear instruction that the Gospel has always been ambiguous. This is the insight which is most urgently needed here in North Carolina today. You men who go out to serve churches in what impious men have termed the "Bible Belt" are most fortunate. You will inherit churches filled with good people, but often they are people in serious danger of relying too heavily upon the obvious certainties which all men of good will believe and too little upon the strength of faith. Generations of preachers have done their job well. They have made the New Testament clear and simple, but tragically they

have made it appear quite unambiguous as well. It is perfectly obvious to people in this part of the country that Jesus should have gone to Calvary, but it is not at all clear that we should risk destroying the local church by seating Negroes. It is perfectly obvious that Jesus was right when he entered the temple and violated the rights of private property by overturning the tables of the money changers, but it is not at all clear that university professors have the right to trespass against private property in his name. Amen and amen, it is not clear that university professors have this right, but the truth which our text teaches is the fact that right ways were never clear.

Jesus spoke, and good people were threatened. Their obvious security as children of Abraham and hence as children of God was challenged. They were threatened by a man who had no higher claim to certainty than the strange assurance that the Father would glorify him. He called the good people liars, and the good people sought to stone him, so he hid.

When a truly secular man reads this scripture, even in the twentieth century, it is still not obvious that Jesus was right and the good people wrong. To the secular man all of Jesus' talk about being glorified is meaningless; the promise that one who keeps the word of Jesus will not see death is absurd; and the claim that "before Abraham was, I am" is sheer madness.

Fortunately, however, the author of the Fourth Gospel does not leave us there, since anyone who wishes to come to terms with this writer must soon realize that every sentence, every phrase, was written in the light of a powerful resurrection faith. And that is the way it must be read. When we return to our text with faith in a resurrected Lord, then it is only natural that he should speak of his glorification, since the Father did glorify him. It is now reasonable that this man who defeated death would have authority to assure his followers that they would not see death. Nor is it any longer madness for an exalted Lord who stands at the right hand of God to say, "Before Abraham was, I am." Faith alone makes the meaningless meaningful, the absurd reasonable, and the ambiguous clear.

By faith we can see even more subtle nuances of meaning in our text. It becomes clear to us that Jesus was thinking in terms of two kingdoms: the kingdom of truth, which is God's, and the kingdom of the lie, which is Satan's. Jesus' opponents, by contrast, were thinking of two peoples: the Jews, God's own people, and the Gentiles, those who had no place among the elect. Jesus told the Jews that they could not belong to God because they were liars. They replied that Jesus

could not belong to God because he was a Samaritan. By faith we know that it was Jesus who saw the matter aright.

Through faith in Jesus' resurrection, even the slightest symbol used in John may take on meaning. Jesus told his opponents that those who kept his word would not see death, and as the Jews replied they revealed their own bankrupt faith by claiming that Abraham and all the prophets were dead. The Jews said that, about the very source of their own confidence—all dead. Jesus never made that claim. In fact, the synoptics report one occasion when Jesus argued strongly that the patriarchs were yet alive.

This is a sample of the way in which faith changes things, the way in which it makes things clear. But lest we lose in this clarity our parable for modern times, we should never forget that it was not quite so clear for Jesus. Our Lord himself was forced to live by a resurrection faith—before the resurrection. And a small part of a similar role survives for us today.

Jesus was superior to the Jews in many ways, but one way to describe the difference is to contrast with his their source of *certainty*. In ambiguous times, the Jews found their certainty of being sons of God in the obvious, unambiguous life of Abraham and the nation which descended from him in a clear and obvious fashion. In ambiguous times Jesus knew his certainty of being the son of God through a miraculous faith, a faith which must always appear to outsiders to be a bit ambiguous, a sort of pre-resurrection resurrection faith.

I have said that we too inherit a part of this role. Strengthened by the resurrection faith, we have courage to live by faith. Our acceptance of faith strengthens our faith, and yet we remain, all of us, far weaker men than Saint Paul, still trapped by the same ambiguity which he knew. "For now we see in a mirror dimly . . ."

When the members of the faculty hasten to support those among us who have run afoul of the law, ministers, seminary students, and laymen alike may wonder how we can be so *certain* that the action of our colleagues was right. The answer is that we are not certain. If we were *certain*, I would be encouraging you with all my might to follow exactly the same pattern of action tomorrow. You must understand that we are not applauding their *certainty*, for even they realize the ambiguity of their actions. We rejoice rather in their *faith*. In an age when men seek comfort, security, and certainty, we yearn for heroes of faith. When we find them, whatever their particular witness may be, our own faith is strengthened—and our commitment.

The Dean's Discourse

This will have been a year of conferences *in extremis*. Before departing for the General Conference in Pittsburgh, at which I am honored to be a delegate by election of the North Carolina Conference, I am disposed to offer a few words relative to some affairs affecting some faculty of Duke University and, in particular, two members of the Divinity School faculty found guilty of trespass in connection with sit-in demonstrations at Chapel Hill.

One can always raise questions concerning the wisdom of particular demonstrations. I am hereinafter reproducing a statement prepared as a letter to the editor of a Durham paper and appearing over my name, April 13, 1964. I simply add that I was not advised of the decision of the men prior to the sit-in demonstrations in question, but am fully informed of all circumstances and events following the fact. There is no doubt in my mind that the conditions of trespass were not fulfilled in this case, and reasonable doubt should have been sufficient to have assured acquittal. The juries determined otherwise in four out of five cases.

To my surprise the editor of the REVIEW requested the right to publish a sermon entitled, "He Was Reckoned Among Transgressors", delivered in Duke Chapel, Sunday, April 19. This sermon may somewhat more fully elaborate the grounds of my reflections upon the issues at stake both here and in the country at large.

My published letter appeared as follows:

"The history of America strongly suggests that laws are good laws when they are vehicles of 'liberty and justice for all'. When existing laws become inadequate vehicles of justice for all segments of society, they must be changed or complemented by laws that are better vehicles. Again, when existing laws, such as the trespass laws, are invoked so as to frustrate equality of human rights in the use of public facilities, then justice itself is outraged and a change of legal structure is required to assure justice.

"The shape of our time requires a change of our legal structure to make it a better vehicle of 'liberty and justice for all'. Obstruction here is the plainest hypocrisy. When change is inflexibly resisted by a majority to the disadvantage of a minority, the change will come either by the enlightenment of the majority or by revolution. Both the pressures of the minority and the irresistible moral force of Justice itself will enforce a change.

"In a democracy it would be hoped that change would come

through the moral enlightenment of the majority. If it does not, there is oppression; and democracy verges upon bankruptcy. On the other hand, if democracy is morally informed, it will secure change by laws and avoid either being party to oppression or victim of revolution.

“What we lately witnessed at Hillsboro is, however ambiguously, the encounter of the irresistible moral force of Justice with the apparently immovable inertia of social custom enforced by the trespass law. The question whether the trespass law was violated at Chapel Hill is secondary to the question whether the trespass law shall be allowed to cover for and obscure an abridgment of fundamental (and Constitutional) human rights.

“That the trespass law was violated was the verdict of the juries at Hillsboro. That the enforcement of the trespass law by punitive justice will ensure respect for the law may surely be doubted. Inflexible resistance to change, or refusal to provide laws that ensure human rights under law, will continue to excite both the righteous indignation of the morally enlightened and the unrest of the oppressed.

“Ignorantly to villify moral enlightenment, as did *The Durham Sun* editorial (entitled ‘Lying Martyrs’) on March 19, is to subvert and obstruct the only source of wholesome self-reformation in a democracy. Likewise, to enforce the existing law by punitive justice without providing for juster laws is the self-destroying function and awful destiny of a society that refuses to change. This was the real and agonizing burden of the sentences at Hillsboro.

“Before us now is the fateful question whether new ‘civil rights’ legislation will relieve the tension between the cry for equal justice and a system of law and custom that cannot and, seemingly, will not ensure it. Laws that entrench or protect inequality before the law will be changed either by the moral enlightenment of the majority or by revolution. Such is both the dynamics of society and the dynamics of the Moral Order.

“Positive laws conserve social order only when they are vehicles of equal justice for all. In this respect and in this measure, their sanctity is their utility. It follows that no positive law is an absolute, although legal ‘positivists’ take it as if it were. For the Christian, no positive law is an absolute, and among other reasons, because it is always an imperfect vehicle of Divine Justice. Judged by the New Testament, the Christian cannot, therefore, always evade the

dilemma implied in the Petrine resolution: 'We must obey God rather than man.'

"This highlights the dilemma of both the professors and the court at Hillsboro. Neither, I think, really believes that the trespass law is an absolute if its application abridges fundamental human rights. So the professors are committed to a 'higher law' that presently does not exist, and the court to a law that *exists* but is a wholly deficient vehicle of justice. Neither professors nor judge really has any alternative and no resolution of their dilemma because the existing legal structure is inadequate as a vehicle for the justice that is sought by both but is presently outraged."

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

Jesus and Christian Origins: A Commentary on Modern Viewpoints. Hugh Anderson. Oxford. 1964. Pp. i-xii, 1-368. \$7.

Professor Anderson has given to his work the subtitle of a commentary. And a first-rate commentary it is. Written in a forceful style, which is sometimes even eloquent, it is marked by clarity of presentation and a comprehensive grasp of the pertinent literature. Above all, the charity of spirit with which Dr. Anderson describes various views at no point blunts his critical austerity and acumen. The result is a volume which fulfills its purpose most admirably. I know of no other work which offers so balanced a picture of and so sure a way through the maze of recent discussion on its theme.

That theme is, possibly, the most burning in recent scholarly discussion of the New Testament. Anderson rightly recognizes that when we take up the subject of the beginnings of Christianity, Jesus Christ himself "is the great converging point" (p. 16), and that the bridging of the gulf between Jesus and the Church becomes for us the primary task. This is so because the liberal quest of the nineteenth century drove a wedge between the historical Jesus and the Christ of the *kerygma*. "The impression we now get in retrospect is that, having differentiated between the man Jesus *and* the Christ, and having envisaged the need to choose between Jesus *or* the Christ, the nineteenth-century scholars voted wholeheartedly for Jesus. In our own century the vote has swung. There has been something of a landslide away from the historical Jesus to the Christ of the Church's *kerygma*, the Christ of the Church's faith, as the center of theological interest" (p. 18). It is with this landslide that the bulk of Dr. Anderson's work is concerned.

The first chapter describes how the landslide, a premonition of which we find in Kähler, was given impetus by the work of Schweitzer on *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. Schweitzer did not reject the historical critical method of the nineteenth century, but insisted that it was not carried through rigorously enough. But Schweitzer's own presentation of Christ is marked by *Schwärmerei*: he was compelled to turn away from the historical Jesus, as an alien, and to rest merely in the Spirit which he embodied. His successors, Werner and Buri, carried Schweitzer's position to its logical conclusion and pleaded for the interpretation of Christianity as a mere philosophy. Jesus became for them an embarrassment. Barth and Bultmann found him also, if not a dispensable embarrassment, an awkward enigma. Both became suspicious of any attempt at getting to the facts which lie behind the text of Scripture, and reveal an indifference to the "pastness" of Jesus. His meaning in the present, not his actuality in the past, became important. In all this Barth and Bultmann were emboldened by, or rather found added justification in, certain contemporary forces—form-criticism, which seemed to reduce Jesus, in any case, to an insubstantial shadow; a general reaction against historicism led by Dilthey, Weber, Collingwood and others, which emphasized the importance of subjectivity; and, finally, the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, which tended to see in Jesus, not so much a tangible, historical figure as another Mystery-figure. All things seemed to conspire to make it clear to Barth and Bultmann that it is not necessary for faith to see a recognizable, human, Galilean face nor to

hear a familiar Galilean voice. Anderson states all this in a most satisfactory way, and his criticisms of Barth and Bultmann are telling.

The flight from history was not without its opponents. Anderson shows how the quest of the historical Jesus has been continued in Germany in the work of Stauffer, in America in the Chicago school, the sociological-historical emphasis of which is sympathetically treated, and in British scholarship, which like most things British has pursued the middle way (sometimes a muddled way). Anderson recognizes the strength and weakness of historicism as represented in all these directions. He particularly notes, however, that British scholarship as exemplified by T. W. Manson and others, in its concentration on the life of Jesus, has neglected the Resurrection (is this true of earlier British scholars, like the Cambridge three?) and has been unable, because of this, to face the complexity of the Gospel tradition, where all is seen in the light of the Resurrection and, therefore, transformed, so that event and meaning become intertwined.

The recognition that the life of Jesus is not directly presented in the Gospels but only in terms of the Resurrection, which has transformed it for the disciples, made acute the problem of the relation between the Jesus of History and the Christ of Faith. T. W. Manson and other British and American scholars were partly right in asserting that the Gospels were testimony to Jesus, not primarily to the Faith of the Church (pp. 91ff.), but they had simplified the matter excessively. And John Knox reacted rightly against such a simplification by insisting that it is only in and through the Church that Jesus can be known at all. But Anderson insists that Knox is in danger of losing Jesus in the community. However much Jesus and his Church are one, Jesus is Head of the Church, his work stands finished over against the Church (pp. 111ff.); the latter must never be allowed to usurp the place of Christ himself. After dealing with the reaction against historicism in Knox, Anderson turns to Jeremias, R. H. Fuller and Cullmann, all of whom seek to retain the significance of the historical Jesus, while seeking to recognize the degree to which there was a continuity between Jesus and the Church's faith in him. Anderson accepts Barr's lexicographical criticism of Cullmann, but points out that Cullmann's eschatological interpretation of the New Testament does not rest merely or even mainly on lexicographical data. This has recently been reaffirmed by Cullmann himself.

Following on all this rich fare, Anderson sets out the factors leading to the New Quest. He introduces this by a very illuminating comparison of T. W. Manson's *Teaching of Jesus* and Bornkamm's *Jesus of Nazareth*: the former concentrated on the self-consciousness of Jesus, which was assumed to be ascertainable by the historical-critical method; the latter avoids all discussion of this, all texts suggesting a Messianic awareness or the Unique Sonship of Jesus being regarded as part of the confession of the Church, not pointers to Jesus himself. Bornkamm concentrates on the ethical teaching of Jesus, the parables, but, like Manson and Van Unnik, whose work Anderson draws upon appreciatively, the German scholar also holds that the interpretation put upon Jesus by the *kerygma* is already inherent in Jesus' own words (p. 167). This is not enough for Anderson. He welcomes the theocentricity of Bornkamm and his rejection of any preoccupation with what Jesus himself thought, with his personality. But he urges that the New Quest, as revealed in J. M. Robinson and Bornkamm, does justice to Jesus as the Word bearer but not to Jesus himself as the Word made flesh (pp. 174ff.). He finds Fuchs for this reason more congenial than Bornkamm, because Fuchs does deal with the conduct and not merely with the words of Jesus (p. 179). Hospitable as Anderson is to the New Quest, he is uneasy about what he calls "the merger of historical research and existential openness" that he finds in it (pp. 182ff.). He does not

think that the New Quest has provided the solution to the problem of the relation between "faith and history".

Does Anderson, then, merely lead us to a dead end? He assures us that this is not so. Having issued his *caveat* about the New Quest, he makes a rebound to the figure who first set going the landslide with which he has been dealing—Kähler. He takes seriously Kähler's affirmation that the Gospels are first and foremost Easter confessions of faith. The clue to their understanding is the Resurrection. "Between Jesus and the primitive Christian community stand the decisive events of his death and Resurrection" (p. 184). From this page on Anderson's work is far more than a commentary: it becomes a statement of his own understanding of the Resurrection and of the Earthly Suffering and Heavenly Glory of Christ. He continues his exhaustive treatment of the views of other scholars but puts forth his own understanding of the data. He deals with the divergences between the various Gospels—Matthew and Mark recording Galilean and Luke Jerusalem appearances of the Risen Lord. The various treatments of the Resurrection are surveyed—the slanderous, naturalistic, spiritualistic, psychic, and psychological. Bultmann's view that the Risen Christ is simply the preached Christ is rejected (though appreciatively, pp. 2-6). Bultmann's Risen Jesus remains unclear. Following Van Unnik, Anderson insists that the Risen Christ of the Church's faith and the historical Jesus are continuous. This he urges in a treatment of 1 Cor. 15:3-8 and the various resurrection accounts in the Gospels. The Resurrection sets forth "the form of the past" (here Anderson endorses Tillich's Theory of Restitution), the fulfilment of God's purpose in Christ, and a call to discipleship and mission. This means that continuity with Jesus is preserved in the Resurrection. And, finally, in chapter VI, Anderson surveys the majority of the New Testament documents to show how the lineaments of the obedience of Jesus are everywhere traceable. Behind and in the Resurrection the suffering figure emerges clearly: the Resurrection takes us back to Jesus Himself.

Such a hurried survey of Anderson's thesis cannot do justice to his work. There is so much in it with which to agree that this review might well end without a note of criticism. There are only a few points where questions might be asked. The treatment of Reitzenstein (pp. 40ff.) might have been still more radical, especially in view of the recent work by Colpe. Without verifying Dodd's article on the Framework of Mark, one is tempted to ask whether at any point he writes of a "*document*" giving a kerygmatic outline: was not the outline a commonplace of preaching as Dodd understood it (see p. 81)? Anderson deals more kindly than it deserves, perhaps, with Lohmeyer's theory of a Galilean Christianity. The Resurrection is all that the author asserts, but perhaps emphasis should also have been placed upon it as "an experience of forgiveness". And, finally, the volume, as I am sure Dr. Anderson accepts, still leaves the question it poses tantalizingly awkward. He has rejected the "*Dass*" of Bultmann as inadequate: has Dr. Anderson's fear of "historicism" led him to settle for "just a little more" than the "*Dass*" and not allowed him to be more bold in asserting, still more clearly, the lineaments of the face that meets us in the Gospel and the echo—and sometimes the tones—of that voice? When he has so courageously seized the nettle of recent New Testament scholarship, such a question is ungracious. This review must end on a note of unqualified gratitude.

But perhaps, since this REVIEW is likely to be handled by many of my former colleagues and students, whom I delight to recall, the editor may allow me to use the very last lines to greet them all through these pages—*eis tēn emēn anamnēsin*.

W. D. Davies
Union Theological Seminary

Buddhism and Christianity, Some Bridges of Understanding. Winston L. King. Westminster. 1962. 240 pp. \$5.

More than once I have heard Billy Graham (on my car radio) refer to the Buddha and his message of salvation in terms which indicated not only the desperate need for a book such as this but also how close the problems it discusses are to the work of the parish minister. It is primarily for those with some knowledge of Buddhist history and thought (here restricted to Southern, or Theravadin, Buddhism), but even for the uninformed it would be rewarding to read in that it represents Professor King's thoughtful grappling with questions basic to all concerned Christians.

King states that "the approach hopefully espoused here is that of sympathetic interpenetration," and his study reflects the two years spent as visiting professor at the International Institute for Advanced Buddhist Studies in Rangoon. He approaches from the point of view of comparative theology such topics as the nature of deity in Christianity and Buddhism, Christian and Buddhist love, the problem of guilt, prayer and meditation, and grace and faith.

The very freshness and independence of the author's approach, which are meritorious, will evoke both agreement and dissent from the reader. In the negative vein, for instance, in chapter II, "God in Four Parts," King attempts to isolate from Buddhist doctrine equivalents of the biblical God, yet my desire to sympathize with his findings was not strengthened by his statement (p. 54): "Thus with the two exceptions of an initial creation and a final climactic Kingdom of God, dharma-karma seems almost to equal God in its governance of the universe." It is obvious that King would be the first to recognize limitations inherent in his approach, however, and he is to be complimented, both for his honesty, and for this contribution to the building of bridges of understanding.

—David G. Bradley.

Constructive Aspects of Anxiety. Edited by Seward Hiltner and Karl Menninger. Abingdon. 1963. 173 pp. \$3.50.

This excellent little volume deals with that which many consider to be the dominant symptom of this age. It would, of course, be extremely parochial to consider anxiety a twentieth-century exclusive. Rather, contemporary man is able to ask more searching questions and draw upon psychiatric and theological resources to propose more meaningful answers than previous generations. Anxiety may well be that which serves to measure a man: What is the context in which his experiences of anxiety appear; what meanings does he assign to his experiences; what is the quality of the responses he makes to it?

This book is based upon six papers presented at the 1960 Gallahue Conference at the Menninger Foundation and a seventh paper plus an epilogue written after the Conference. The chapters make uniformly solid contributions and succeed to a remarkable degree in drawing together psychiatric and theological interpretations. Consistently held throughout, with variations, is the understanding of anxiety as the signal which reminds the person of his helplessness without love and protection. Particularly outstanding are Hiltner's chapter on theological theories of anxiety and their relation to psychiatric theories, Albert Outler's chapter on anxiety and grace in the Augustinian perspective, and a most significant chapter by Paul W. Pruyser written after the conference which makes a distinction between affective and cognitive approaches to an understanding of anxiety, thereby bringing into focus contrasting psychiatric and theological analyses. In this context, the creative aspects of anxiety are related, generally, to the cognitive effects and the destructive aspects of anxiety to the emotions or affects. Other chapters survey Freudian and psychiatric theories of anxiety and the positive aspects of anx-

ious desire and anxious striving within Christian thought.

Proper balance is maintained between clinical and speculative data but, regrettably, the solid contribution of experimental psychology is overlooked. One looks in vain for empirical research data and the conclusions of learning theorists. Nevertheless, this is a valuable resource book that deserves a place in the minister's library, although ministers who own Rollo May's *The Meaning of Anxiety* may wish merely to update and supplement that book with notes from this one.—R. A. Goodling.

The Later Heidegger and Theology.

Edited by James M. Robinson and John B. Cobb, Jr. Harper. 1963. xii, 212 pp.

This book is the first volume of a series called *New Frontiers in Theology*, which is supposed to cover discussions between German and American theologians. The dust jacket explains the purpose as follows: "This new publishing project gives promise of transforming the role of American theology in world-wide Christian thought. Up to now, because of the time-lag in translation, American theology has had to assimilate frozen conclusions received from Europe. By arranging direct conversations between the Continent and America, the editors are enabling Americans to make greater contributions in the development of theological thought."

The title of the first volume, *The Later Heidegger and Theology*, gives a fair idea of its contents. It should be noted, however, that the later Heidegger has never contributed a specific publication on the issue discussed. Thus the volume represents merely the attempt of a number of younger theologians to assess the value of the philosophy of the later Heidegger for theology.

The matrix of the thought around which this symposium is organized is provided by Heinrich Ott in an essay entitled "What is Systematic The-

ology?" In 1959 Ott published a book on the later Heidegger, *Denken und Sein*. The theological discussion preceding its appearance and the debate it triggered, together with an ample exposition of important facets of the later Heidegger's thought, are reviewed by James M. Robinson (pp. 3-76). Ott's essay, which he presented at a meeting of the theologians where Heidegger himself was present, follows. In the next part of the book called "American Discussion" three American theologians, Arnold B. Come, Carl Michalson and Schubert M. Ogden critically analyze the views Ott expounds in his essay. In a concluding part John B. Cobb, Jr., the co-editor of the book, critically reviews the significance of the preceding discussion relative to the question: "Is the Later Heidegger Relevant for Theology?" Heinrich Ott responds to it all with concluding comments.

The appearance of the volume is significant as a harbinger of a "new wave" of theological thought. In recent decades demythologizing raised the question of the place of outmoded images in the Christian message. The so-called New Quest of the Historical Jesus pressed the issue of the history of the person to which these images refer. Now the inquiry seems to turn toward the One to whom this person witnessed: God. Ott suggests that we must take a new look at the nature of theology as a whole: "If the hermeneutical problem has been proposed for discussion with new urgency in our time, then this brings up for discussion again the nature of theology itself." (p. 79) We ask anew how we can best understand the specific nature of theology. Whereas exegesis is "primarily concerned with the text as such" (p. 81), systematic theology is the "reflection upon the hermeneutical in theology as a whole." (p. 82) It is in a systematic reflection that a decision is made as to the object of theological thought: "The Christian does not 'believe' in a plurality of things, does not hold as true various saving facts. . . . Faith is a

single and indivisible act, and correspondingly the subject matter, the 'object' of faith is a single indivisible reality, namely God himself." (p. 90) The research of theology is to be determined by the understanding of the oneness of God.

The specific purpose of Ott's essay, however, is to show that a concept of systematic theology is possible which "corresponds precisely to Heidegger's thinking." (p. 109) Heidegger supposedly proves that a kind of thinking is possible that is neither metaphysics nor science and yet quite proper thinking. "Metaphysics (and with it all subjectivistic, objectifying, especially scientific thinking that grows out of it) confines itself to the beings. It thinks them as beings by formulating them in concepts and thus, as it were, fixating them." (p. 107) "Primal thinking" is the phrase that captures best what Ott has in mind. It corresponds to the thinking of the poet.

The systematic theology Ott is trying to introduce is succinctly characterized by Michalson: "It is based neither upon the *being* of God, which is the Barthian trend, nor upon *hermeneutic* as the analysis of human existence, but upon *hermeneutic* as the analysis of being." (p. 140) Michalson feels that Ott is wrong and pleads for a systematic theology that takes "the shape not of an ontological but of an historical hermeneutic." (p. 156)

Arnold B. Come raises a point in the debate which in my opinion should have been more seriously considered. For Heidegger, "Being unveils itself. The being of beings happens in the primal thinking of man. Between being and thinking-man there is an unbroken continuity and identity, no matter how being transcends men. In a similar fashion, Schleiermacher sees the revelation of God as identical with man's sense of dependence. And Bultmann sees revelation taking its primary form in man's new self-understanding. So, rightly or wrongly, Schleiermacher has been accused of pantheism, and Bultmann of reducing theology to anthropology" (p. 130).

If the nature of theology is to be examined anew the concern for the oneness of God must be expanded to include the question of the being of God and his relationship to man. Instead of turning to this problem in his final comments in any significant way Ott analyses the hermeneutical significance of the church. The oneness of God and the way the church conceives of it is still a "safe" subject, however, as compared with the fundamental hermeneutical questions raised by Schleiermacher and Bultmann. The nature of theological thought does not completely depend upon the relationship of the theologian to God's self-revelation. The personal equation cannot be eliminated in theological understanding. I doubt that the later Heidegger can illuminate the significance of the personal equation any more than the earlier Heidegger. Even so, the primal thinking involved needs to be examined in every generation anew.

Michalson reports: "The discussion that followed the oral delivery of Ott's paper was so preoccupied with reference to being that Heidegger himself took the floor to ask, 'What has all this to do with Jesus Christ?' He was not being pious. He was suggesting that for a theologian there may be only one thing worse than forgetfulness of being, and that is forgetfulness of history" (p. 146). I do not pretend to know exactly what Heidegger intended to say by this remark. He hardly could have meant to suggest that the theologian dare not ask the question of being. Perhaps he intended to indicate that he was not confronted with a meaningful discussion of being as it relates to Jesus Christ. Regardless of how the philosopher feels about it, however, the theologian can escape examining the ontological structure of man as little as he can avoid pondering the historical dimension of his faith. The next step in the hermeneutical debate about the nature of theology should be a more careful examination of this on-

tological structure.—Frederick Herzog.

The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible with special attention to the Book of Isaiah. William Hugh Brownlee. Oxford. 1964. \$7.50.

It is difficult for one who has only once met Professor Brownlee to present his latest book to the readers of this REVIEW, who know him far better. They will recognize their teacher, and perhaps all that need be said is that he has published a book. If his former works were of too technical a nature for them, this one is aimed (he says) at the non-specialist.

But though the most effective review that history knows was the Angel's "Take, read!" to St. Augustine, that much no longer satisfies the canons of the modern Book Review, and we must go further. Books on the Dead Sea Scrolls are not rare, so why another? The answer lies in showing where this one differs from others available. The title is already revealing and, if we may neglect two chapters "The Meaning of the Scrolls for the New Testament" and "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Uniqueness of Christ", we can characterize the book as devoted to a study of facets of Old Testament study for which the Scrolls are or should be relevant—not all facets but a large number, with examples chosen from Brownlee's own work and from that of others to illustrate the sort of help that the Scrolls can give scholarship in understanding the original meaning of the Hebrew Bible and the history of its interpretation.

In geography Brownlee shows how these new texts contribute towards the identification of Biblical sites, and even may correct the Biblical tradition at certain points (p. 54). As for the canon, he shows how, if this branch of pre-Christian Judaism represented by the Qumrân sect had any idea of canonicity, it is one hard to define; we can probably only say which books

were most influential among them. Certainly we cannot detect any objective criteria for establishing whether a book was canonical at Qumrân.

One of the two longer chapters in the first part discusses the new light shed on the Old Testament text. The Scrolls sometimes give us better and theologically different readings for Old Testament passages, but that is not their main contribution. It can be now demonstrated that for certain Pentateuchal and Historical books two or more Hebrew recensions once existed, the Septuagint being a translation of a different Hebrew text from that now current, rather than an exegetically modified paraphrase. Often this tradition is now attested at a far earlier date than the Massoretic, and the relative authenticity of these two recensions becomes an urgent question.

In discussing the Prophets Brownlee presents to a wider audience some of the results of his work on the text of the *Commentary on Habakkuk*, which was found at the same time as the Isaiah Scroll. In general, although in the Prophets the Scrolls offer divergent readings, we cannot speak of differences of recension between the ancient witnesses as we could for the earlier books. Significantly, in the one case (Jeremiah) where such divergence occurs, Qumrân attests that both recensions were known there. In discussing the last section of the Old Testament, the Writings, Brownlee illustrates, among other things, how the Psalter sometimes is found with differences in order and contents (which suggests the existence of three separate recensions of the Psalter), and how the dates of Qumrân Psalm Scrolls may contribute to the question of the date of the latest Biblical Psalms. The Book of Daniel (or rather the *Prayer of Nabonidus*) is called upon to demonstrate Qumrân's most certain contribution to Higher Criticism. It was long suspected that the tale of Nebuchadnezzar's madness bore some relationship to Nabonidus' voluntary exile

at Tema: now a Qumrân apocryphon either preserves or reflects the postulated earlier form of the tale.

Another substantial chapter discusses how the non-Biblical documents from Qumrân also improve our understanding of the OT. One example shows how historical Midrash was composed, whereby early stories were retold in the light of new theological principles, or in order to obviate difficulties in the account. Other examples show how the history of Israel's theology can be better understood: the clear Essene systems of modified dualism and of an eschatological trio of Prophet, Priestly Messiah and Kingly Messiah, help us to detect their own antecedents in post-exilic parts of the OT, as well as their development and modification in the New.

The second part of the book, "*The Significance of the Complete Isaiah Scroll*," represents a more novel undertaking among books about the Scrolls. Brownlee takes a second century B.C. Roll of Isaiah from the First Cave to be discovered at Qumrân and illustrates, from it and the ancient versions, how in some places a more original form of the text can be recovered (and how English translations as represented by RSV have been or should be modified) and how in other places we may detect the sectarianism of Qumrân interpreting the text of Isaiah, sometimes even modifying it in the light of their own theological system.

This is the more interesting section to the reviewer. Others will have to say whether the author has managed to explain things enough for his non-technical audience. This reviewer would merely comment that, in view of the audience, only widely accepted examples should have been used. Brownlee has long worked on the textual significance of this Scroll; while some of his own proposals have been widely accepted others are still disputable; and one may wonder whether anyone is advantaged by the presenta-

tion of the latter in this form? This is of course the fault of the pioneer, and very understandable: sometimes the footnotes begin to appeal to articles in the less widely used languages, and then one suspects that Brownlee has forgotten his stated audience and is arguing with his colleagues! But after this *caveat*, read on, and certainly your understanding of Isaiah will be enriched. Even when the meaning for which Brownlee pleads be not granted, you will often get an interesting lesson in Biblical theology for your pains. . . .

—John Strugnell.

The Earliest Records of Jesus. Francis Wright Beare. Abingdon. 1963. 254 pp. \$6.50.

Dr. Beare is well known as the Professor of New Testament Studies in Trinity College, Toronto. This volume is of unusual character, designed as a companion to the popular synoptic harmony of Buck-Cross. It consists of a practical analysis and brief commentary on the successive sections of text in the harmony. The commentary is a guide to the sense of the gospel text rather than a theological interpretation. The book has been written by an excellent Greek scholar for the non-Greek student, to exhibit clearly the synoptic relationships, the gospel characteristics, and the literary distinctions of Matthew and Mark and Luke.

Scholarly interest attaches especially to the short Introduction, which expresses or implies certain critical positions. For example, Beare insists (as do most others) that the gospels were "undoubtedly composed in Greek," and that there is "no sound basis for the hypothesis that they are translations of Aramaic originals." His references to dating are less clear and less sure. The date for Mark, as the earliest of these gospels, is the traditional A.D. 70. But Matthew, he judges, may be about A.D. 100, while Luke-Acts could be "as late as"

150. The recently published Bodmer papyrus of Luke written about A.D. 200 in upper Egypt would tend to support the usual dating before A.D. 100.

Special interest in the history versus theology debate is aroused when Beare affirms that it is "impossible . . . to discover a 'Jesus of history' underneath the Christ of the Church's faith"; and that such would be "of no great use". "There is no Jesus known to history except . . . the Christ, the Son of God." Yet on the same page we may read that for "biographical or historical value" these writings "are of priceless significance". "The writers proclaim the gospel message by telling the story of Jesus." In Mark "Jesus is a man of action" in "a document of martyrdom". Luke (*sic* Dante) is "the scribe of the gentleness of Christ". Professor Beare's resolution of such divergent viewpoints is suggested, however, when he announces that "for the Church, there was no distinction between the Jesus . . . on earth, and the Lord . . . from heaven." And for us, today?—Kenneth W. Clark.

John Wesley's English: A Study of His Literary Style. George Lawton. Allen & Unwin, 1962. 320 pp. 30s (about \$5).

Our understanding of John Wesley's contribution to the life and thought of the church has been greatly aided during the last thirty years by many special studies, including a few which have dealt with some aspects of his use of the English language. None has previously appeared, however, based on such a meticulous examination of his vocabulary. In preparation for it a miniature concordance of Wesley's *Works* was prepared, and good use has been made of this material.

Wesley was interested in words as such, as well as in words as the tools of his calling. Mr. Lawton discusses him as a lexicographer, as a letter-writer, as author and publisher, and as a preacher. His literary craftsmanship is analyzed. There are chapters

on Wesley's theory and practice in the choice of words, the use of adjectives, of figures of speech, of scriptural idiom, of colloquialism, of aphorisms. Mr. Lawton's exhaustive work makes it quite clear that although Wesley's remarkable command of language was bent to his supreme task of evangelism by voice and by pen, it was by no means so plain nor so parsimonious as most people have maintained—not excepting Wesley himself.

This is a very erudite work, and in such a mass of detail an occasional error is almost inevitable. I was somewhat surprised, however, to find here also the common misquotation of one of Wesley's favorite phrases. Mr. Lawton says (p. 17): "Many times Wesley alludes to himself as a 'brand plucked from the burning'." This double-entendre recalls his rescue from the fire at Epworth Rectory as a child and his conversion." One reference is given, where in fact Wesley correctly uses the phraseology of the King James Version for this quotation from Zechariah 3:2, "Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" So far as I can remember or trace Wesley sometimes uses "burning", sometimes "fire", but invariably "out of", not "from"—as on that memorable occasion on 26th November, 1753, when he composed his own epitaph. A small point, but it was apparently of some importance to Wesley, who was frequently meticulous in his choice of words. This is a minor flaw indeed, however, in a volume which is essential reading for the serious student of Wesley, especially for the literary critic, and has much of value for all who want to improve their understanding of Wesley's personality and message or, like him, to discover the most effective means of propagating the gospel.—Frank Baker.

The History of American Methodism.
Edited by Emory Stevens Bucke.
Abingdon. 1964. Pp. xviii, 721; x,
750, x, 669. \$27.50.

The production of this three-volume

set is another major event in Methodist publishing, and offers what will undoubtedly be regarded as an essential work for anyone who wishes both to know and to understand the varied history of American Methodism over the past two centuries. It is quite impossible to convey an adequate summary of its contents or of its varied worth in the space allotted for this review, which was originally three times as long and had still only begun to survey the territory and to scratch the surface here and there in order to uncover some of the treasures buried therein.

Something like this has been needed for over a century, and the need has become progressively more urgent. To say that it is here perfectly filled would be more than the truth, but to call it a magnificent attempt is less than the truth. The editorial board set out "to produce honest history and at the same time maintain a level of interest that will be meaningful to the general reader", and in this they have certainly succeeded. Each writer was urged to be scrupulously careful in checking and presenting documents, to make no guesses, and to **stick to his** history rather than to his hobby-horse. The editorial planning was almost all that could be desired. It is, however, a composite work, and suffers from the weakness as well as the strength inevitable in such a history. While it is true that "many hands make light work" (and that experts can shed light unsuspected by the general historian) it is also sadly true that "too many cooks spoil the broth."

This broth is far from spoiled. Over forty writers (not all Methodists) were employed on the undertaking, but this is not one too many. Most of these were responsible for one of the major chapters, though some of the chapters were sub-divided, and some writers prepared more than one section. The general effect is of an organized series of independent monographs, averaging about 25,000 words each, and ranging as high as 35,000. A few are brilliant,

some are slightly dull, but all are competent.

The work is in five chronological divisions: "The Colonial Period, 1736-1785", "A New Church in a New Nation, 1785-1844", "A Divided Church in a Divided Nation, 1844-76", "A Flourishing Church in a Prospering Nation, 1876-1919", and "A Maturing Church in a Maturing Nation, 1919-1960". Of these the first is by far the smallest, comprising 12% of the whole, and the third by far the largest (28%), while the two parts devoted to the last ninety years occupy about 38% of the whole work.

Each of the five parts is introduced not only by a neat line-drawing symbolizing its mood, but by a brief essay setting the stage by means of a summary of the historical, religious, cultural, social, and political background and cross-currents of the period under review. Although each author of these literary chairman's remarks has apparently been allowed to take his own line (and each introduction does in fact follow a slightly different pattern) the standard is always high and the emphasis uniformly on the theme implicit in the title for that part. The plan followed within each part is also chronological, though only rigidly so in the first. As Methodism expands and becomes more complex it becomes the more necessary to study themes rather than periods, and the editorial board has sometimes accepted (or perhaps planned) the discussion of a theme far beyond the chronological limits laid down by the appropriate period.

Of the individual contributions it is debatable whether in a brief review like this anything at all should be said. Merely to list the titles and the authors and to add a grade such as A, B, or possibly C (there are no D's) would fill more than the remainder of the allotted space. I will venture to name a handful only, without any claim that they are the best, and with no implied criticism of the rest. Our own Stuart Henry is one of the non-Methodists

represented, offering an attractively written survey of the founding of Georgia, the mixed reception of the Wesleys there, and the wider evangelism of George Whitefield. The chapter on "Methodism and the Revolution" by Coen G. Pierson is one of the best, presenting in crisp English the fruits of extensive research thoroughly digested. "The Message of Early American Methodism" by Leland Scott is both enlightening and entertaining. Bishop Nolan B. Harmon writes with wit and wisdom on the history of church organization. The story of the Methodist Episcopal Church after the Civil War is brilliantly told by Walter W. Benjamin, whose section on "The Age of Methodist Affluence" is especially entertaining. The longest monograph is by Robert Moats Miller of the University of North Carolina, a masterly summary of "Methodism and American Society, 1900-1939". One of the shortest is an assessment by Jaroslav J. Pelikan of "Methodism's Contribution to America". (P.S. Mr. Editor, please assure my many friends whose work I have not specifically mentioned that I nevertheless enjoyed and value it. I do hope they won't strike my name from their prayer-lists!)

Only one appendix is supplied, a too-brief sketch of American Methodist hymnody. Many others probably suggested themselves to the editorial board, such as summary tables of Methodist statistics or of General Conferences, but the urgent needs at least have been supplied in an adequate bibliography and a full index in each of the three volumes, and necessary footnotes placed where they should be placed—in the public eye at the foot of the page rather than buried in an unmarked grave.

The *History* has been greatly enriched by carefully chosen illustrations, and although it would have been pleasant to have had more and to have found them associated with the appropriate text rather than gathered into a section in the middle of each

volume, we must not be unreasonable or greedy, realizing that this would have increased the price by several dollars. It is indeed one of those happy Methodist miracles that these three volumes have been so carefully prepared and so efficiently produced at so low a price, and for this not only our own country and our own generation must remain grateful, but others over the seas and over the years.—Frank Baker.

Ethics in a Christian Context. Paul Lehmann. Harper and Row. 1963. 384 pp. \$5.

When Professor Paul Lehmann contributed an essay on "The Foundation and Pattern of Christian Behavior" to *Christian Faith and Social Action*, now ten years ago, he gave promise of producing a much more comprehensive and systematic account of "contextual" ethics. *Ethics in a Christian Context* is, in part, that larger statement. It is intended by the author that this work will be supplemented by additional volumes detailing the process and issue of Christian decision-making as this is undertaken from an "indicative" rather than "imperative" moral posture.

One finds it very difficult to say, with much precision, what constitutes the message of this book. This is partly accounted for by the limitations imposed upon the length of this review. But it is also the case because of the sometimes forced and often turgid literary style of the work itself. The volume is concerned primarily with ethical methodology, and the need for cogent and lucid exposition of the text is therefore the more critical.

But what of the content of the volume? Principally, Lehmann is concerned to set the question of Christian conduct within the context of Christian faith. How this is to be accomplished constitutes the major concern of the essay. "Christian ethics . . .

is oriented toward revelation and not toward morality" (p. 45). In this assertion, it is suggested that the problem of Christian ethics is "not *knowing* that one is to do the will of God but *doing* the will of God which one knows" (p. 75). How does one "know" what that will is and what a believer in Jesus Christ and a member of his church is to do? The answer seems to be, rather more formal than material, that one relates behavior and belief through participation in the body of Christ, the *koinonia*, which is that community in which "witness to revelation and *response* . . . in the Spirit coincide" (p. 51).

The *koinonia* is thus the "Christian context" and it is here that one "comes in sight of and finds oneself involved in what God is doing in the world. What God is doing in the world is setting up and carrying out the conditions for what it takes to keep human life human" (p. 124). How does one apprehend God's activity which determines what he (the Christian person) is to do in the world? "Such knowledge comes by insight, not by calculation" (p. 141). The same epistemological position supports also Lehmann's definition of the character of Christian conduct: "In this new order behavior is bereft of every prudential calculation, every motivational concern. Instead, it is endowed with that purity of heart which, in Kierkegaard's phrase, 'is to will one thing', and in Jesus' phrase is 'to see God'" (p. 123). Or, again, the believer is one whose conduct is characterized by "behavior expressive of confidence and hope as against anxiety and despair, of behaving with abandon rather than with calculation. . . ." (p. 120).

There is no doubt that Professor Lehmann is the foremost American advocate of this view of Christian ethics. But what he has to say in this book is strongly reminiscent of a strain in German theology, now long and illustrious, dating at least from Schleiermacher to Barth and Bonhoeffer. The rather complete rejection not only of

ethical absolutes (which, so far as I am aware, are no longer serious options for most modern moralists) but also of general ethical principles and the entire range of moral and philosophical theology comes, therefore, as no great surprise. What is cause for some wonder is the considerably less than satisfactory fashion in which the author deals with and dismisses these resources as useless and meaningless contributions to Christian ethical inquiry. Indeed, the presupposition upon which this summary rejection is premised is itself open to serious question: can one say, except at the most profound risk, that God's work in the world is either limited to or even chiefly concerned with the Christian *koinonia*, and is that work nowhere else apparent than in this fellowship?

A corollary question may be raised at another level of ethical discourse: has the development of such a "koinonia ethics" contributed to a real solution to the problem of a double moral standard for Christian and non-believer or have the exclusive claims made on behalf of the *koinonia* served to make more intensely separable these moral postures? Further, we are left in this book without instruction as to "what" we are to do after we learn "that" we are to do God's will. It is surely uncertain that we can properly defer assessment of this volume, with respect to such questions, until subsequent writing shows how this methodology works itself out in the (frequently) gutty and sweaty details of concrete action.

There is no doubt that in providing us with his mature reflections upon these important questions Professor Lehmann has provided us with insightful and critical commentary far beyond the scope of this review to report or comment upon, and for this we are grateful. What is chiefly to be regretted is that his statement will, in the long run of things, likely serve intramurally polemical rather than constructive goals, and that the gulfs between revelation and reason, faith and order,

indicative and imperative, value and duty, Christian and non-Christian, and all the rest, are not bridged but made only wider and more turbulent.—Harmon L. Smith.

Teaching Our Faith in God. L. Harold DeWolf. Abingdon. 1963. 179 pp. \$3.75.

This eminent Methodist professor of theology, veteran also of more than forty years of teaching children, youth, and adults in Sunday school, holds Christian education to be central in the life and work of the church. He believes strongly, moreover, that Christian education and theology need each other. Theology needs the service of Christian education in clarifying its language and teaching its message. Christian education as surely needs theology: for better understanding of the Christian message in its current and relevant expression, but also for guidance as to human nature, the nurturing church, and the goals and methods of Christian teaching. This book offers such guidance in the form of an examination of basic Christian doctrines both for their content and for their implications for Christian education.

This does not imply a content-centered education, however, nor yet a life-centered, group-centered, or even church-centered (party labels all)—rather, the comprehension of these inadequate approaches in a higher perspective. “The central and all-inclusive task of Christian education,” says Dr. DeWolf, “is teaching our faith in God” (p. 23). Examining New Testament meanings of “faith”—faithfulness, trust, total commitment, believing, doctrine believed—he sees the goal of Christian education as establishing and nurturing persons “in faithful relationship to God. The true purpose of the teacher is not merely to implant a body of doctrines in the pupil’s mind, nor even to win his acceptance of them as true. It is to win the total commitment of his life to

God in grateful, obedient, trusting service.” But this “*commitment of faith* is possible only when the pupil has heard the *message of faith*” (p. 28); hence the responsibility of the church to know and communicate its message clearly. This work of Christian education is itself fundamentally an expression of faith in God, more especially in God as Holy Spirit (pp. 23, 37).

The major part of the book is a presentation of the Christian faith, with emphasis on the doctrine of the Trinity as a needed theological corrective of distortions, as a summary of the Biblical message, and as a guide for Christian teaching through the ages and today. Briefer treatments follow on the doctrines of man, the Church, and the mission of the Church in the world. Laymen should find this a helpful theological guide, with the brief but illuminating Biblical, historical, and current references and keen insights into meanings for Christian education. Ministers and theologians may welcome the theological review and value the educational insights even more.

DeWolf insists that theology not leave to educational psychology alone the determination of sequence of instruction (content to be taught at various age levels). The whole Christian faith is relevant to and should be shared with each age, even little children. Before ideas or words are intelligible, the realities they represent may be, and may be communicated in nonverbal, nonideational ways. Acquaintance with God is more basic than ideas about God: “It would be an absurd presumption to try instructing anyone, of any age, about God if we could not believe that God himself had spoken to the student before us” (p. 48). There remain, of course, appropriately different ways of presenting the whole Christian message for different ages; and the author’s further suggestions are theologically and pedagogically helpful.

Professor DeWolf’s work is clear, well-organized and outlined, and a

warmly authentic expression of Christian faith. It tends more than we prefer, but less than we expected, toward the natural theology, theistic arguments, moral law, optimism about man, and under-emphasis on revelation, of the philosophy of personal idealism; but it is balanced, central, irenic—possibly too much so for realism about sinful resistance to God and Christian faith, yet possibly justified by the author's experience with the Teacher who overcomes such resistance. It is gratifying that the "Advanced Studies" for Methodist adults in June will feature this fine book.—McMurry S. Richey.

Harper's Bible Commentary. William Neil. Harper and Row, 1962. 544 pp. \$5.95.

Is it fair to the author or to the prospective reader for a reviewer to comment on a book which he has not read *in toto*? I hope so, because thus far I have not worked through all the 544 pages of this volume. Yet I want to review it so appreciatively that you will buy it.

William Neil, a sound biblical scholar, has written a smoothly flowing and continuously interesting commentary on both Testaments, including the Apocrypha for good measure. It is primarily a homiletical exposition, for the man in the pew as well as the man in the pulpit. Neil has this to say of his commentary:

The reader of this commentary will therefore find none of the

usual separate essays on topics such as biblical chronology or the synoptic problem, nor indeed detailed treatment of vexed questions of authorship, variant readings and so on. Instead he will find an attempt to provide a running commentary from *Genesis* to *Revelations* which is based on the assumption that the biblical writers were primarily theologians and not anthropologists, scientists or even historians, that the Old and New Testaments are part of one and the same revelation and that they cannot be understood apart from one another (p. 6).

There is no attempt to give equal value to every verse or passage. The exposition of the Ten Commandments covers twelve pages, while the Sermon on the Mount is elucidated in three. Seven pages are sufficient for the Psalms! But Neil writes more *on* Philemon than Paul did *to* Philemon in the original letter. He puts the weight where he thinks it should go. Why not? It's his book.

The subject slogans at the heads of some pages hand us sermonic topics: Murderers All (Gen. 4:1-5); A Wanderer's Way (Eccles.); No Compromise (Dan. 1-3); The Birthpangs of the Church (Acts); The Angry Letter (2 Cor. 10:1-13:14); The Epilogue to the Divine Drama (Rev.).

This is an exciting volume written in a disciplined and stimulating style which maintains and develops one's interest.—James T. Cleland.

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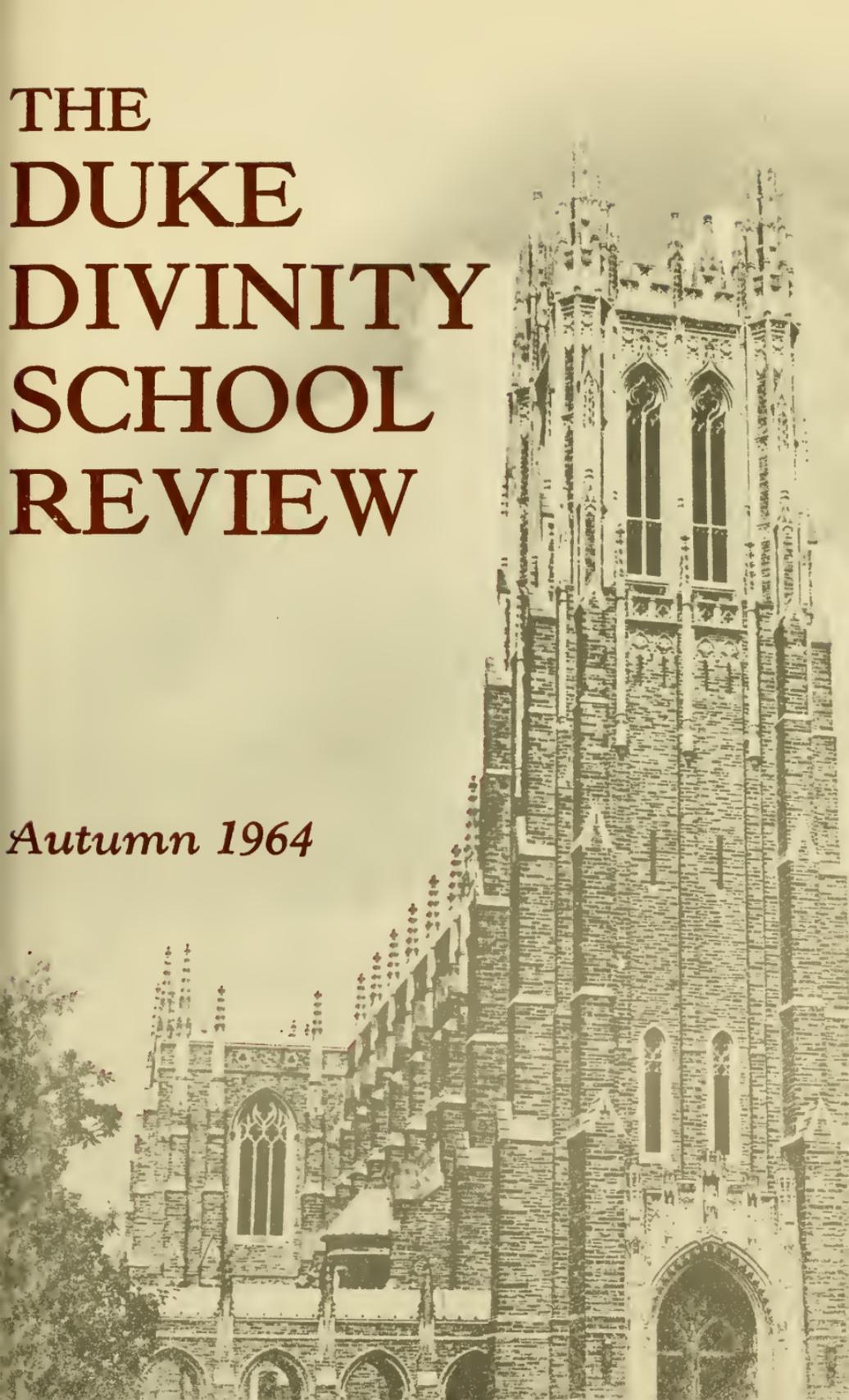
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THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Autumn 1964



'Pacem in Terris'

... Let us, then, pray with all fervor for this peace which our divine Redeemer came to bring us. May He banish from the souls of men whatever might endanger peace. May He transform all men into witnesses of truth, justice and brotherly love. May He illumine with His light the minds of rulers so that, besides caring for the proper material welfare of their people, they may also guarantee them the fairest gift of peace.

Finally, may Christ inflame the desires of all men to break through the barriers which divide them, to strengthen the bonds of mutual love, to learn to understand one another and to pardon those who have done them wrong. Through His power and inspiration may all peoples welcome each other to their hearts as brothers, and may the peace they long for ever flower and ever reign among them. . . .

April 11, 1963

POPE JOHN XXIII

Papal Encyclical

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'Issues Which the Church Must Face'

BISHOP EARL G. HUNT, JR.
Charlotte Area, The Methodist Church

This is a strange age, one in which it would be easy and perhaps comfortable to subscribe to some form of apocalypticism. We are uneasily conscious of great movements whose currents are as difficult to trace as those of hidden subterranean streams. We have read the prophets of Christianity's downfall, like the gentle Santayana who said nearly forty years ago, "Romantic Christendom—picturesque, passionate, unhappy episode—may be coming to an end. Such a catastrophe would be no reason for despair. Nothing lasts forever."

It is so customary for Methodist preachers to deal glibly in statistics, programs, and inconsequential dialectics that they often have little mental energy left to appraise with sober judgment the signs of their times. At the risk of seeming presumptuous, and with assurances of my own deep humility and trembling uncertainty as I make my attempt, I wish to try to focus our minds upon certain broad background problems and facts that appear to be shaping and conditioning our present religious climate, remembering how Shaw said to Canterbury, "I rate a man or a church not by the reasons they give for things, but by the things for which they give reasons."

I

The first and fundamental issue confronting churchmen today is that of *vast and almost incredible change*. In his *La Grande Chartreuse*, Matthew Arnold used this language:

Between two worlds—one dead,
The other powerless to be born.

But his rhetoric is too mild to describe the revolutionary turbulence of our day. Perhaps a better commentary on this moment in history is the sentence spoken by the Angel Gabriel to "De Lawd" in *Green Pastures*: "Everything nailed down is a-comin' loose!"

[This address was delivered at the Divinity School Convocation, October 27, 1964.]

For example, there is *the economic and political emergence of Asia and Africa*. This is a part of the new nationalism which has brought approximately thirty new nations involving more than 700 millions of people upon the international scene since 1946. For the last two hundred years this has been essentially a white man's world, but these new nations, by and large, are not nations of white men. Nearly three years ago I was a guest in the delegates' dining-room of the United Nations in New York. My host was the man who at that time was the British Ambassador to the United Nations. We sat at a table near an entrance door, and during our luncheon together we were interrupted thirteen times by delegates who stopped to greet Sir Hugh Foot. Each time, as I acknowledged the introduction he graciously performed, I found myself remembering a book I had read as a college student years before—Oswald Spengler's volume entitled *The Decline of the West*—and realizing that its thesis was being enacted before my eyes that noontime. These were men and women wearing non-Western attire. They spoke for the most part flawless English, but with a delectable medley of accents representing almost every part of Africa and Asia. They were not people of white skin; they were people of color. One of the new facts with which we must become conversant today is that the white man and the colored man must share leadership in the world, and an organically related fact could well be that civilization's initiative may conceivably pass from the Western to the Eastern world. The domestic corollary to all of this is, of course, the current civil rights struggle.

Again, there is the matter of an *over-populated earth*. The demographers tell us that in the year 10,000 B.C. there were a million people living on this planet. In the days of Jesus there were between two hundred and three hundred million inhabitants of the earth. In the period when the colonies of Plymouth and Jamestown were established, there were probably as many as six hundred million people in the world. In 1945 A.D. we had reached a world population aggregate of two billion, six hundred million. In 1961 the statisticians in the United Nations told us that we had passed the four billion mark. They are saying further that within the lifetime of the younger generation we will have as many as seven billion men and women and boys and girls living upon this planet, and those of us who are citizens of the United States are being told that in our own time we may have to face the frightening task of providing food, housing, medical care, education and government for as many as 450 million people in our own land. These facts help us to understand

why matters like birth control and gerontology have become items of vast concern in our day and world.

Once more, any contemplation of contemporary change makes us conscious of a new *religious pluralism*. Phrases like "Christian nation," "Christian civilization" and "Christian society" no longer seem as appropriate as they did a generation ago. Part of this development may be attributed to greater honesty on the part of today's phrase-makers, but this is not all of it. Time is separating us more and more from our vigorous Protestant beginnings, and has given rise to a cluster of factors like population growth and mobility, the development of communications media, urbanism, et cetera—all of which have upset the tradition of Protestant prominence.

And so Protestantism's dream of empire seems to have been shattered and its culture plunged into a recession. One incisive thinker of our current times speaks of it in this fashion: "Once there were trumpets; now there is only the muffled drum of the rear guard. Once there was volume; now there is a long diminuendo."

Practical results emerging from the fact of religious pluralism are numerous and they include (1) far-reaching judicial decisions; (2) a mass of pending or threatened legislative measures; (3) sweeping revisions in the philosophy of missions; (4) the burgeoning influence of the ecumenical movement as a means of presenting a united front for the forces of Christ in the presence of a resurgence of vitality on the part of Islam, Buddhism and other great religions; and (5) a consciousness within the Church that new definitions must be sought and old strategies restyled.

One of the changes of gravest concern to men of faith is the *moral revolution*. This has been a day of "price-fixing" by industrial complexes of national reputation, a day of "big-time" dishonesty in intercollegiate athletics, a day of an almost unbelievable scandal in nationally televised "quiz" shows, a day of the nearly wholesale abandonment of Honor Systems on college and university campuses and a day when the practice of gambling is struggling to attain legal dignity. Moreover, it has been a time of striking deterioration in standards of sex conduct, as was pointed out in a frightening way eight years ago by Professor Sorokin of Harvard in his little book, *The American Sex Revolution*. In its pages, the distinguished if controversial sociologist uses such phrases as "growing sex addiction," "proliferating promiscuity" and "dangerous listless drift" to suggest the dimensions of our nation's problem in this delicate area. Since then, an extensive literature of protest has appeared, particu-

larly through the religious press, to emphasize the seriousness of the situation.

But beyond these more obvious manifestations of a moral revolution, an underlying fact in contemporary thought-life is even more disturbing. Perhaps because of the current popular tendency to deify the idea of freedom for the individual, and perhaps because of ethical vagueness emanating from the essentially insubstantial Bultmannian insistence upon religion as a concept or an idea, apart from historical roots, there has been widespread philosophical *departure from a sense of the transcendent basis of morality*. Right and wrong, if they derive no longer from God, become variables instead of constants in the moral world. Implicit in this trend is surely potential catastrophe for every basic position in Christian ethics.

Change—vast and incredible change! This is the hallmark of our age, the controlling climate in which we as ministers and men of faith must witness and labor. There are, I think, two primary responsibilities we must face in such a time.

The first is purely and simply the responsibility for awareness of this change, full and devastating awareness of it, in spite of our habitually cloistered and often unrealistic existences. The second is the responsibility for structuring an effective strategy by which we may be able to convince the laity of the Church that social and political problems have their inevitable religious connotations and are therefore legitimate areas for Christian thought, speech and action.

II

The second issue I see on the horizon today is the *Ecumenical Movement*. Archbishop Temple, you remember, said that this is the great new fact of our age. It began in the relatively peaceful yesterday of the nineteenth century, as the world was beginning to shrink, and it has grown to serious proportions in the stormier era of the twentieth century. It has had many distinguished proponents, including men like Mott, Temple, Dibelius and Oxnam. Four decades ago, Dr. George W. Truett, the famous Baptist, stood on the steps of the Capitol in Washington and said:

We hold that all people who believe in Christ as their personal Saviour are our brothers in the common salvation, whether they be in the Catholic communion, in the Protestant communion, in any other communion, or in no communion.

More recently, one of history's memorable personalities, Pope John XXIII (of whom Dr. Albert Outler has said, "He was so human, he

could have written the script for 'Bonanza'.") began to strike down centuries-old barriers to Catholic-Protestant fraternity, and so gave impetus to the spirit of cooperation among non-Catholics. Only a few weeks ago, Richard Cardinal Cushing and Dr. Billy Graham made inter-faith history with their statements and meeting during the Graham Crusade in Boston. In this period of the Gray Lectures, Father Diekmann, with his incisive thought, his ecumenical outlook and his contagious Christian spirit, has beautifully and impressively augmented all that we have known or thought about hopeful Catholic-Protestant relations.

Beyond the glamor, the pageantry, the expectancy and the adventure of the Ecumenical Movement, there are certain basic and almost elementary statements which ought to be noted:

- (1) A vigorous manifestation of the ecumenical spirit is indicated if Christendom is to survive, humanly speaking, in a world of secularism and downright hedonism.
- (2) The ecumenical spirit today, in spite of the most recalcitrant among us, is a blessed fact.
- (3) We must find valid ways to conserve the unique and constructive distinctions of the different communions in the process.
- (4) Lines of ultimate concession must be carefully drawn, lest Christianity be in the end tragically diluted. (Fletcher's new biography of William Temple makes it abundantly clear that even the great Anglican felt it may be possible to pay too great a price for ecumenicity!)
- (5) The peril of bigness—sheer bigness—is very real. (There are many illustrations. The good cook, for example, knows that a food's delicate flavors are often sacrificed when quantity is increased.)
- (6) The place to begin in the implementation of the ecumenical mood is the local community, and the effective sponsors of the effort must be the Christians, ordained and unordained, who preach or labor there.

III

The Quaker philosopher, Elton Trueblood, would take issue with Archbishop Temple about the Ecumenical Movement's priority rating among new facts in our day, and would insist—as indeed he does in his volume entitled *The Yoke of Christ*—that the really great new fact of our time is “the powerful drive toward the development of a universal ministry”—or, put another way, the new emphasis upon the laity.

Actually, this is far from being a twentieth-century concept. The work of religion, from time immemorial, has rested significantly in the hands of lay leadership. Abraham, Moses, Amos of Tekoa, Isaiah

in the Temple, Peter, James, John, Luke the Physician, and Paul of monumental intellect were all lay people in the sense that none was a priest or an official ecclesiastic. And, more than fifteen years ago, Dr. Fosdick reminded us that Christ himself was a layman. Martin Luther, centuries earlier, espoused the idea of the efficacy of lay witnessing when he said, "Even the milk-maid can milk cows to the glory of God." And, to bring the matter more nearly down to date, the work of the Church in the past century has had a galaxy of important lay names associated with it: Henry Drummond, C. T. Studd, Dwight L. Moody, John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, Hudson Taylor, K. T. Paul of India, Sherwood Eddy, to mention only a few.

The new recrudescence of emphasis upon the laity, to which people like Trueblood have made reference, constitutes, if not a fresh fact in our time, still one of the surest signs of hope for the Church in this early afternoon of the twentieth century. Put in its simplest terms, it means that the great enterprises of Christendom will have multiplied laborers in their vineyards. It also means that refreshingly different approaches and techniques will enrich these enterprises.

All of this imposes upon us as ministers an urgent new task of training our laymen to meet the demands of discipleship in this complex day. Fortunately we live in an era of mushrooming adult education, when the success of efforts like the Great Books Movement has been dramatic. We can confidently predict that the ecclesiastical counterpart of such programs would also meet with extremely promising results. Enterprises like Gordon Cosby's controversial Church of the Saviour in Washington, D. C. are built largely upon the principle of dedicated educational effort, and their effectiveness has amazed even their critics. Perhaps a series of classes for laymen on such themes as "A Philosophy of Religion," "Doctrines of Our Faith," "The History of the Church," "The Christian Classics" and "Great Issues Before Christians Today" would have a surprising number of takers, particularly if such classes could be carefully explained, appealingly promoted and thrillingly taught.

In this connection the following points ought to be considered:

- (1) We must sincerely and gratefully recognize the significant role of the layman in the Church, including, for Methodists, the Annual Conference, and we must communicate this recognition to him.
- (2) We must labor to help laymen who are not technically trained in Biblical, theological and ecclesiastical matters to grasp the *full sweep* of religious responsibility in a day like ours.

- (3) We must emphasize properly for the layman the Divine meaning of vocation, *without endangering the uniqueness or the legitimate stature of the ordained ministry.*
- (4) We must keep the call to preach sufficiently apart from and above the broader emphasis on vocation to enable us to protect the historic concept of the ministry, and also to recruit in adequate quality and quantity pulpit leadership for the immediate tomorrows.
- (5) We must protect the Church in which laymen hopefully have assumed new prominence and new influence from those periodic political, economic, social and even religious pressures to which laymen, perhaps more than ministers, are potential prey. These pressures sometimes call for an equation of the demands of the Christian Gospel in the socio-political world with the intrusions of alien and despicable philosophies—evidence either of colossal ignorance or of deliberate obstinacy where applying principles of justice and brotherhood are concerned. From such apostasy the Church must be delivered.

IV

Any description of the contemporary situation must include reference to its *theological fluidity*. Even casual contact with current writings produces the impression that old categories like "liberal," "conservative," "modernist," "fundamentalist"—and now "neo-orthodox"—are conspicuously obsolete—unless the literature and oratory of the 1964 political campaigns give some of them currency again! But one cannot sustain an impression that those earlier categories, at this point, have actually been replaced by new ones. Theology is groping for new boundary lines, new meanings, and the process is still in the confusion of an exploratory phase.

There are apparently no great original American theological voices today. There is still the voice of Niebuhr, for which we have gratitude, but there are moments when it seems to sound like an echo and—in these days of his semi-retirement—a whispered echo at that. We seem to be sitting and listening in some great philosophical concert hall where a chorus of European theological voices are singing their stimulating, exciting, but often doleful music, more frequently in dissonance than in harmony. The soloists have been artists named Barth, Brunner, Berdyaev, Tillich, Bultmann (and in the case of Bultmann, one senses that the unbelieving Heidegger has stood just off-stage, score in hand, to prompt, smiling at the singer who has sought to make theology out of his philosophy).

But the astute observer of the modern scene wonders if these are the real theologians of our age? Or if the actually influential

ones may not be a coterie of irreverent amateurs wearing casuals rather than clericals—men like Albert Camus, Jean Paul Sartre, Ernest Hemingway, Tennessee Williams and Hugh M. Hefner.

Certainly currently prevailing thought patterns involve a bold revival of antinomianism and hedonism, both impressively supported by the letters and arts of our day. Looming large in the background is that difficult to define and more difficult to evaluate philosophical formulation known as existentialism, with its tempting array of partial truths and its interpretive cloak of many colors.

The sophisticated theology—in the strictly lay opinion of this speaker—which has emerged to provide what we may hope is interim adjustment to these pressures of thought and conduct has seemed at times to deify the idea of human freedom and individuality to the point of risking moral relativism and inviting the virtual elimination of a positive ethic. Put in practical terms, the new theology, in its present form, may encounter difficulty in attempting to undergird a philosophy of missions, a program of evangelism, or a serious effort to apply principles of righteousness to solidly entrenched social evils.

But there are at least four hopeful signs to be identified:

- (1) The contemporary theological fluidity reveals a genuine effort to comprehend the characteristics and dimensions of the enemy.
- (2) It reveals also a determination to make theology relevant in our time. (Without agreeing with Bishop Pike in his recent attack upon Trinitarian doctrine, one can acknowledge that such is surely the motivation behind his thought.)
- (3) It makes clear a widespread desire to restore the Bible to a place of central influence in Christian thought.
- (4) There can be little doubt that a synthesis of theological positions adequate for our era of human history is in process, and may be expected to be achieved.

V

Very soon after we thought we were living in a day of religion's roseate renaissance, we found that a new period was dawning in which the Church, humanly speaking, was fighting grimly for its life. A wave of *anti-institutionalism* has swept our society, lingering disturbingly on college and university campuses, and even finding friendly response in segments of the ministry itself. This anti-institutionalism is a product of a combination of factors, including the restless, hypercritical cynicism, the militant and sometimes arrogant nationalism, and the exclamatory emphasis on individual freedom so strikingly characteristic of our age—but including also the

too-evident failure of the organized Church in many spheres, and the blunt honesty with which seriously conscientious Christians have lately faced that failure. Our criticism of the Church, beginning for tragically adequate cause and as a wholesome manifestation of the desire for renewal, has in very many instances overleaped boundary lines of charity and constructive judgment, and begun to operate like a slow malignancy in Christ's body.

As part of a religious lyceum program two years ago, Emory and Henry College invited a nationally distinguished existentialist theologian, an ordained clergyman, to speak in its Memorial Chapel. In the course of his address, he declared, "If religion is to have its chance in our time, we must destroy the Church as we know it now." The same year the president of the college was waited upon in his office by a committee of students eager to bring measures of emancipation to the beleaguered young men and women on that Methodist campus, and insistent that this would contribute to the spiritual health of the academic community. I asked for practical suggestions, and the first one I received was this: "Tear down the Chapel, which stands for churchly religion on the campus!"

There are preachers who live and live sumptuously by the hand of a church for which they never really have a good word to say—and who rarely, if ever, suffer pangs of conscience over ethical inconsistency because of this.

Our task is grave and urgent. It may include the following ideas:

- (1) We must help our more radical friends—often desperately sincere—to see that great ideas and doctrines will immediately suffer distortion and ultimately perish without the protective security of a proper institutional format.
- (2) We must help all of our people to recognize the enduring values of the institutional Church.
- (3) We must both learn and teach the gentle and fine art of *compassionate* criticism—the capacity to offer corrective suggestions in a context of appreciation and affection.
- (4) We must strive to cease thinking, speaking and programming according to stereotypes.
- (5) We must do the most difficult of all things—rededicate ourselves. (Escaping from the hobgoblins of salary, prestige and creature comfort poses the minister's most personal and complicated challenge.)
- (6) We must so prophesy in the pulpit that the institution's alleged liabilities will have their compensating assets in the vision and the voice of its preachers.

Let me linger here a final moment. Great preaching, whether in the age of Savonarola or Phillips Brooks, is the irresistible proclamation of an authentic message from God. Ours is more a generation of priests, counselors and ecclesiastical technologists than it is of preachers. Dr. Marty has a devastating word about the contemporary preacher: "When he speaks, he uses a kind of voice no one else uses. He never has anything really important to say. The vitalities of the plot move beyond and around him. He is the aging, silver-haired, mellifluous and unctuous fossil." Exaggerated? I wish I might be sure. Now hear instead the words of John Masefield in his "Ode at the Centenary of Harvard College—to John Harvard":

For when he preached, his earnestness would pierce
Beyond the bounded tenement of sense,
Into that living love, forever fierce,
Whose glory makes our stammering eloquence.

If we who proclaim Him could earn for ourselves, in crucibles of prayer and toil, that encomium, perhaps the objective of a renewed institutional Church would be in sight.

VI

These are the issues that haunt one Methodist preacher and frighten him to his knees as he examines his task. To return to George Santayana, the Spanish poet-philosopher, his biographer includes a pleasant little story from the brief period when he taught at Harvard. It was a spring morning and the professor was lecturing to a roomful of young men, pausing every little while to gaze wistfully out the windows at the greening grass, the budding trees and the occasional colorful flower peeping out among the shrubs. At last the spell of the springtime was too much for his poet's heart, and Mr. Santayana stopped his lecture, closed his notebook, gathered up his cane and hat and smiled at his class as he said, "I fear you must excuse me now, young gentlemen, for I have a date with an April morning!" Dare one voice suggest a simple fact? If, in our time, the Christian Faith is to have "a date with an April morning," it will be partly because we who belong to "the mighty ordination of the pierced hands" have taken the trouble to understand the issues that throng the horizon at this climactic moment in the history of the world and the life of the Church.

'Pulpit Is Prow'

R. WRIGHT SPEARS, '36

President of Columbia College, South Carolina

One of the best descriptions of the pulpit of the Christian church is set forth by Herman Melville in his classic novel, *Moby Dick*. Father Maple climbs to his lofty pulpit in the seaport community. No doubt this pulpit was built according to the specifications of the preacher, without stairs, but with a rope ladder alongside. Sailor-like, Maple completes his ascent and gathers up the rope ladder—"leaving him impregnable in his little Quebec." Then Melville expresses the confidence that the preacher, who enjoyed such a splendid reputation, could not be performing an act to attract attention or to gain notoriety. Rather, it must be that some important symbol of truth is to be noted. So the author asks: "Can it be, then, that by that act of physical isolation, he signifies his spiritual withdrawal for a time from all worldly ties and connexions?"

But the crux of the description follows: "What could be more full of meaning?—for the pulpit is ever this earth's foremost part; all else comes in its rear; the pulpit leads the world. From thence it is the storm of God's quick wrath is first decried, and the bow must bear the earliest brunt. From thence it is the God of breezes fair or foul is first invoked for favorable winds. Yes, the world's a ship on its passage out, and not a voyage complete; and the pulpit is its prow." (Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*, p. 24)

If the church today can be portrayed as a ship set in turbulent waters, surely the pulpit must be its prow—advancing fearlessly, plowing through storms, challenging the opposition, facing the elements, disturbing the complacent, clearing the way for truth and light! Are we not convinced that the message of the pulpit today must be so relevant, so powerful, so understood, that out of the complexity of the social maze through which we move there can be clarity and redemptive meaning for a waiting people? What, therefore, is to be the stance of the modern pulpit with vexing and disturbing social problems as the backdrop for our preaching? How is the power of the gospel of the Christ to be focused upon these crucial issues of our age?

A Stage of Sensitivity

Whatever else you say about the pulpit, are you not compelled to call it a stage of sensitivity? Perhaps it should be said that there is no instrument of God today which carries more responsibility or sensitivity than the Christian pulpit. The old Latin "*pulpitum*" was a scaffold, a stage, a platform; it was the area from which idea power raced out into society to confront problems and to find solutions. A modern *pulpitum* in Christianity moves ahead into the world, studying with radar-like perception the ills which plague the hearts of man. Of course some dare stand here with nonchalance, apparently ignoring the struggles and conflicts of humanity. They seem to be willing to depend upon modern detergents and scientific genius to free society of its pollutions. Why become involved? Why not give the people the simple gospel? Will not solutions to the great problems emerge normally? Why not take a position of neutrality and wait out the storm? At this point we remember the church custodian mentioned by Dr. Ralph Sockman. When asked how he got his job done with so many people telling him what to do he said: "I just throw my mind into neutral and go where I'm pushed."

But there is substantial evidence in history to indicate that the church's spokesmen, when most effective, have been involved. The preface to Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*, written a hundred and two years ago, for instance, challenged religion as well as literature:

So long as there shall exist, by reason of law or custom, any social condemnation which, in the face of civilization, creates hells upon the earth, and complicates a destiny that is divine with human fatality; so long as the problems of the age—ruin of woman by starvation, degradation of man by poverty, the dwarfing of childhood by physical or spiritual might, and so long as, in certain regions, social asphixia shall be possible; in other words, and yet from the more extended point of view, so long as misery remains on earth, books like this shall not be useless.

To translate this age-old statement into contemporary terms: So long as man's cruelty to his fellows is in evidence, the pulpit of sensitivity is one of God's necessary instruments! When there is racial strife prevalent, or the constant possibility of nuclear war, or moral decadence resulting from cheapness in regard for human life, the man in the pulpit cannot allow himself to become an apostle of acquiescence. He cannot be a penguin of progress. There is no neutral corner for him!

The problem of awareness is always upon us. Sometimes it seems much easier to look the other way than to use the pulpit as

an instrument of sensitivity. An English novel carries a passage which ought to cut deep into the conscience of the modern church, often desensitized by the sin of unawareness. Something terrible has happened in the community, and the author describes the rector: "The parson was distracted by this tragedy from his usual business of moderating the incidents of illegitimacy in the community, visiting the old ladies, and preparing a sermon each week that would pass muster with the more intelligent children of the parish." Has our ministry sometimes been so anemic, calloused, or naive that this description disturbs us?

The pulpit, at its best, is the stage of great sensitivity, even though a man may feel loneliness as he stands in it. Perhaps Walter Rauschenbusch had ministers in mind especially when he wrote:

Is it strange, then, that those who love God
Find their eyes hot with unshed tears for that they see?
That they feel themselves to be strangers
And homeless men upon the earth
Where the poor are wasted for gain,
And the ground is red with the blood of young men?
And the sun is dark with lies?

It seems appropriate to compare the pulpit with the latest scientific equipment to assist in the treatment of heart disease. This new device of medical science is capable of tracking a cardiac patient. It is beamed to the patient constantly, keeping him under surveillance at home, in the office, at his club, on the golf course. Any difficulty is recorded immediately on his chart. The patient can be called in at once, or the doctor can go to him. Surely an effective pulpit, equipped with the power of love and intelligence, will be beamed to society to record ills and to extend treatment needed urgently!

Such sensitivity allows the preacher through his pulpit to keep a finger on the pulse of humanity. It is as if he held a spiritual stethoscope to the heart of man. It is that quality which Matthew Arnold referred to in speaking of Goethe:

He took this suffering human race,
He read each wound, each weakness clear;
And struck his finger on the place
And said "Thou ailst here and here."

A Scaffold for Courage

The Christian pulpit is surely a scaffold for courage! Anyone who has tried to preach, even occasionally, on controversial issues feels the need for courage. There are no safety belts! One preach-

er, threatened by some of his opposition because of their violent disagreement with recent sermons and statements, was warned that he should not use the pulpit again. They said: "If you go into that pulpit next Sunday, you will be brought out, one way or another." Some of his friends gave support by suggesting that he ought to preach, and that he probably would be evicted, and perhaps cast into jail. This would be good, they reasoned, because this would make him a martyr, and what the cause needed most was a martyr. "But," said the preacher, "you don't understand. I don't think I want to be a martyr!" Actually, if the truth were known, not many of us want to be martyrs.

But this is not necessarily a call to martyrdom. It is a challenge for courageous preaching. Hear some words of Cecil Northcott: "Most of us will not be called upon to die physically in this era, perhaps, but many of us may be required to undergo the death of attitude and custom. Each time there is such a death, there is the opportunity for a resurrection after that death—an Easter of the spirit."

The real question is, "How do we preach effectively to a variety of people to be found in our congregation?" Some think us too radical; others feel we are far too conservative. To better understand those to whom we minister from the pulpit it is helpful to recall a statement of Nels Ferré in his *Finality of Faith*:

There are some people who so worship the past that they fail to make the needed adjustments in each present. . . . They try to freeze history. . . . Every great reform is mostly the reforming of the past, the reshaping of it. . . . Radicals are usually rootless although the literal meaning of the name 'radical' implies going to the roots of things. For most people radicals are those who want big changes fast, too fast for soundness and safety. In religion, too, we have conservatives who cling desperately to the past and countenance no change. . . . They are far more concerned with roots than fruits; they have little concern for new flowers. (Pp. 30-31)

In his preaching John Wesley gave us good balance in courage and common sense. In Bristol, England, a visitor to the first church erected especially for Mr. Wesley will find an interesting physical setting. The pulpit is high, aloof from the congregation. One enters the pulpit from the rear only. The communion rail is across the church, reaching from wall to wall, and separating the preacher from the worshippers. You may ask the custodian, usually a retired Methodist preacher, the reason for such construction. He replies that you must remember the topics upon which Mr. Wesley preached

often—slavery, the opium traffic, smuggling, exploitation of wealth, prison reform. The subjects were so controversial that he felt he should be barricaded from the people! Of course they might still throw fruit, but they could not rush him! Could it be that our spiritual father was indeed combining courage and common sense, regarding his pulpit as prow of a ship moving through rough waters?

Pulpits today, for the most part, hold no such physical danger. Surely I know of no church in which the chancel rail has been attached to opposite walls thus protecting the preacher from angry mobs. Of course it should be said in passing that some pastoral relations committees can be rather effective in getting at the preacher without a frontal attack. The significant fact here is that Mr. Wesley, by careful planning, devised ways to continue to share the strong gospel convictions to which he was devoted!

The lack of common sense, or propriety, in responding to those who think us too liberal is found a story of a young Presbyterian minister who was undergoing tough probing at the hands of an examining committee. The question put to this young man, thought to be far too liberal, was: "Would you be willing, young man, to be damned for the Kingdom of God?" He is reputed to have answered: "I would go further than that and be willing for this whole Presbytery to be damned." Obviously, there must be more tactful answers.

For the best preaching on this scaffold of courage where shall we turn for inspiration? Would you not go to Augustine for the spirit of love? To St. Francis of Assisi for tenderness? To Luther and Zwingli and Wesley for determination? And who could forget our Lord's superb dignity and calm judgment when confronted by a climate of tension?

Coming closer to the contemporary scene, we can keep in touch with the spirit of Ernest Fremont Tittle of Evanston, recalling how he preached constantly on the great issues of his time—never on the "mousy little topics." Do you recall that groups were urging his removal after he had served there for about one year? But so great was his love for his people, so well known was his agonizing with them in trouble, and so helpful his prayer life, that he not only won the battle of the pulpit but became the stalwart and permanent preacher of the years! On Dr. Tittle's tenth anniversary one fellow—no doubt one of the committee who would have moved him at the end of the first year—paused to say: "My, Dr. Tittle, how you have grown during these ten years!" Just then he caught himself and was big enough to make the correction: "What I mean is—how much *we* have grown!"

Those who have thought of the pulpit as prow have passed on to us something of the thrill of the ministry. They have shown the necessary combination of nerve and wisdom in dealing with controversy. Needless to say, the man who speaks on these delicate matters without adequate preparation, or without the spirit of love, has flouted a rule referred to by Carl Sandburg as the eleventh commandment: "Thou shall not commit nimcompoopery!"

Recall some of those stalwarts who have used courage on their preaching scaffold across the years. You find Harry Emerson Fosdick, when World War II was at its peak, and death seemed to be closing in upon us, putting this topic on his bulletin board: "It's a Great Time To Be Alive!" Or you may remember Henry Hitt Crane at Duke, year after year preaching pacifism when it was a very unpopular doctrine. What courage as he moved through opposition! You think with appreciation also of Dr. J. L. Hromadka of Prague, a controversial figure because he stands in a seminary under fire from East and West, stating his convictions: "We shall continue to oppose the passing on of nuclear and atomic weapons to other states.—We shall demand the liquidation of military bases.—It will be the task of our Assembly to say a word on this struggle. Not a self-justifying, coldly moralizing or polemic word, but in a creative way, with full comprehension and devotion as the great Yea of the Gospel illuminates and urges us to do."

With gratitude one remembers Bishop Francis J. McConnell, who used his pulpit so effectively in mediating disputes between management and labor during the early days of the labor movement in America. And we think of Edwin McNeil Poterat here in North Carolina, preaching penetratingly on the crucial issues—always in the framework of intelligent Christian love. Or Carlyle Marney of Charlotte, writing and speaking on the tensions among races—using an intelligence so strong and a love so profound that oppositions grow weak!

Doubtless some preachers take the position that a crisis period is no time for the church to proceed as the prow. Perhaps the church needs the same indictment which Ben Franklin used in referring to the King of France once. When Mr. Franklin wrote home, he said: "Under normal circumstances, he would have made a great king, but he inherited a revolution." Apparently the conclusion often is that we have inherited a revolution, so there is no opportunity for courageous preaching!

Immediately there come to mind those giants of the pulpit who seize a revolution as the opportunity for effective preaching. It may

be Dietrich Bonhoeffer, facing a crisis which involves "acting and being," bringing the gospel of power to bear upon a government bloated with evil. Or Hans Lilje in Germany, snatched from his pulpit, but performing in true Pauline fashion, and speaking to all the future: "At this moment I made a resolve. I determined to mobilize all my faculties of spiritual and mental resistance, in order that under no circumstances should I break down..." Again, you reach far back into the early Reformation and hear Martin Luther preaching a powerful one-sentence sermon: "I go to Worms, even if the shingles on the roof turn to angels in hell."

In recent days we have the unmistakable call to justice for all God's children from Robert McCracken of New York, Helmut Thielicke in Germany, Wallace Hamilton in the deep South, Bishop Gerald Kennedy on the West Coast. Who said the day of courageous preaching has passed?

Watch the artistry of these men standing at the prow! Their sermons can be compared often to the surgeon's scalpel as it cuts infected tissue from the human body. Or to the poet's ideals designed to lift humanity from despair. Such preaching has the precision of a scientist bringing to fruition a dream through long experiments. Or the humor and satire of the cartoonist as he dares man to look at himself. Surely it can have the power of the philosopher in calling humanity to examine great ideas. What diversity of talents is brought in focus by these preachers, and by many others who may not be known as widely as those named. It would appear that the pulpit is, in a real sense, the matrix of God's developing thought for man!

Podium of Prophecy

The Christian pulpit must exert its leadership as the podium of prophecy. Remember the prominence Melville gave it: "All else comes in its rear." Somehow this interpretive, prophetic instrument of God must assume its obligation to move ahead—to lean forward—for the word of authenticity. We expect no easy answers to the great social issues of our time. But can we not expect solutions of meaning hammered out on the anvil of agony? If the sparks of God's thought be blown to white heat in the minds and souls of those standing at this podium, can we not expect solutions forged in lasting metals of justice and righteousness and brotherhood?

The pulpit as an instrument of truth has no obligation to cater to the whims of some who demand a pastel religion today! Chris-

tianity has never been thought of as a pretty blend of beliefs in history, always compatible with the society in which it resides. Rather, has it not been a sacrament of sharing, a movement in search of God's word for life! Has it not been a thrust of eternal value and truth epitomized in Jesus, the Christ!

The prophetic voice at the center of the church continues to project that spirit of understanding which involves man's relationship to God and to his fellows. Dostoyevsky put it in a word: "To love a person is to see him as God intended him to be." Helmut Thielicke suggests that if our Father accepts a man as His son, surely we should accept that man as our brother.

In the highly sensitive areas of human relationships today is the church willing to retreat, allowing extremists to command the field of battle? Or is the church to take the offensive, using the pulpit as the podium of prophetic utterance it was designed to be? Many agonizing Christians are convinced that the church better have something to say and to do with respect to crucial issues! These matters concern all the children of God, and are at the center of humanity's dilemma. Have we lost the passion of early Methodism, concluding that our members are to find solutions to the great social problems in politics and government only?

Can you imagine Mr. Wesley ignoring the opium traffic, child labor, slavery, or the exploitation of wealth? Rather, did he not use these issues as focal points for the application of the gospel truth?

Recently a young layman, in opening a meeting on social concerns prayed: "O God, save us from timidity. Give us courage to rock the boat. In a day when the man or committee of the year is apt to be the champion of conformity, let us not conform! Remind us that we are called to discover new shapes of life together in the church, and new shapes of mission in the world. God, give us courage to disagree in love, and let Thy Holy Spirit cause true dialogue to occur. From this dialogue we pray for a generation of action to redeem the sick, the drunk, the hungry, the prisoners, and the demons in the gray flannel suits. Amen!" What an incisive and prophetic prayer! Would that preachers be inspired to pray a similar prayer each time we enter the pulpit!

In the musical comedy, *Camelot*, Arthur is, at one point, driven to despair because of dissension among the knights. The devilry of an adversary has succeeded in spreading distrust. Arthur has spoken fervently and firmly to them, but the opposition continues. Finally, a close counselor crosses the stage, puts a supportive arm around his shoulder and says: "Arthur, you've got to quit making

speeches and try something!" Could it be that those of us entrusted with the podium of prophecy have been satisfied to make speeches? Now we have to try something—real preaching, after attentive listening to the thought of God! The prophet has the thought for us: "Audiam, qui loquatur, in me Dominus Deus—I will listen to what God speaks."

The late Robert Frost spoke a word to speakers and poets which has real significance for men of the pulpit: "Speak out of experience. Be valid. Be relevant. Speak to the moment. It's not enough to scream."

Out of the agonies of our day can emerge the most meaningful evidence of great preaching—sensitivity, courage, and prophecy. At our college, earlier this year, a tragic fire destroyed much of our plant, including a beautiful chapel. By some strange phenomenon one corner of the chapel, where the pulpit stood, was protected from the falling timbers and belching flames. The surviving pulpit area, almost by miracle it would appear, contained two symbols—a box of candles for the worship center and a prayer book. These objects uncharred and still usable, seem to say to us that the Christian pulpit holds two indestructibles in a day of raging battles, great storms, and burning issues—light and truth! The pulpit is the prow!

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'Looking Unto Jesus'

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

Therefore let us also, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and perfecter of *our* faith . . . Hebrews 12:1.

I

All of us, faculty and students together, are conscious of a heightened sense of expectancy and satisfaction as we here unitedly enter upon the thirty-ninth academic year of our Divinity School. Our annual convocation as a community is always an invitation to reflection as well as rejoicing. It invites us to reflect upon the aims and purposes of the school, of students and faculty, and of our common and individual ministries.

From the perspective of the school community, we may be aware of ministries just beginning, ministries (especially of the older faculty) continuing; and ministries of retired or deceased colleagues now ended. And today our hearts give a responsive "Amen" to the words of the collect: "Grant, O Lord, that all our works being begun, may be continued and ended in Thee."

This succession of ministries, from the "catechumens" of the entering class to those who have ended their course and now rest from their labors, is a type, in miniature perhaps, of the Church in its history. And, as we are convoked today, many of us, especially the older faculty, are conscious of the succession of classes, of students, of generations of students, and of colleagues of other days, who devotedly built their lives into the fabric of this school. We are conscious also of a reciprocal giving and receiving whereby the school or the community likewise built itself, as an empowering influence, into the lives both of those who learned and those who taught. Above all, we are conscious today that the history of this school, as of other schools of like nature, is a history of mutual disciplining of student and faculty and also of mutual building up of one another in love and in understanding of the common faith—even Jesus Christ.

All this enables us to share vividly the perspective and the grati-

tude, the sense of elevation and moral undergirding voiced by the writer of Hebrews: we *are* "compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses." This is or may be a challenge, a galvanizing incentive, prompting us to lay aside every weight and the sin that doth so easily beset us all. This realization of our place in a noble succession may nerve and sustain our resolution to run with patience and perseverance the course that is set before us.

Every generation is called to faithfulness, to the fulfillment of its own particular vocation. And, surely, this is irrefutably true of every generation sensible of the Christian calling. In the metaphor of Hebrews, it is a course that is set before us. It is like a race with a goal at the end of the way. But it is an obstacle course, full of obstructions and pitfalls. Worse than that, it is a course where faith encounters positive evil—evil incarnate in hostile "principalities and powers," as St. Paul graphically declared. And, most shockingly of all, he even warned against the obstacle of "spiritual hosts of wickedness in heavenly places" (Eph. 6:13).

II

As we once again begin the year, as the "novitiates" begin their race and others continue on the way they have already begun, it is pertinent for all of us to remember that we are "compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses." This can be challenging and reinforcing. It is also salutary to remember that the witnesses in whose train we follow probably chart a hard way and a treacherous way. Our Lord called it "a strait way with a narrow gate." It calls for patience indeed, patience in fidelity. It calls for wisdom and courage. It calls for perseverance in adversity. But, most of all, I think, it calls for undistracted vision and a mastering love. It is for this reason, I believe, that the author of Hebrews—enjoining believers to run with patience the course that is set before them—places his hope of their success not so much in the company of those they keep in the race, but in fixing and holding their eye on the goal. What he is really saying is this, it seems to me: While you have the noble example of forerunners to inspire you, you too can run with patience and fidelity the course set before you *by* looking to Jesus, the author and perfecter of our faith.

If this is a valid exegesis, then, quite plainly, our text underscores the importance, perhaps the indispensability—for the runner and the race—of *undistracted vision* and *mastering love*. Furthermore, I think the passage is saying, the race is possible of completion, the course negotiable, *only* by virtue of undistracted vision and master-

ing love and that, without these, the company even of the faithful cloud of witnesses is not enough. The history of Christian faithfulness is instructive and inspiring, whether in this school or in the wider world of the historic and universal church—in recollection of the prophets, apostles and saints, ancient or modern. Therefrom we learn that Christian faithfulness is a hard-won, precious, and exalted prize, worthy of praise and emulation. But in emulating it we do not thereby avail ourselves of its own ground and enabling possibility. We do not probe the roots or ourselves attain the spring and impulse whence it came and was nurtured. That spring and impulse, that enabling possibility, seems to me to be—and increasingly—this same empowering unity of undistracted vision and mastering love. It is the vision of Christ and the love of him—Christ the mirror of God and the love of God.

III

Someone has said—and it may not immediately grasp you—that the condition of sainthood is an uncommon capacity of unswerving attention. We might call it the power of continuous recall, the unbroken recollection of one's life center and mastering purpose. But this is only the subjective side, the being mastered by and galvanized by a reality that controls our vision and engages our affection and, so, commands our will. When that reality is noble, it creates the moral rectitude of Socrates. When that reality is Jesus Christ, it creates Christians—whether they be celebrated or unknown and obscure. It makes Christians able to run with patience the course that is set before them—whether they be a Paul, or a Wesley, or a John XXIII, or a Laubach.

I say these things especially for the hearing of you of the entering class. I say them as reminders to returning students and to all who can hear on this opening day of our academic year. I say them not because I did not know them through the toilsome way of disciplined theological study and reflection, nor because you do not somewhat recognize them as ancient generalities of deposited Christian wisdom. I say them to you now because, in the long haul of the middle years and the steady up-hill pull of the course, I find them verified in experience. Perseverance is not a matter of endurance or of courage. On the contrary, the endurance and the courage of perseverance are the products of undistracted vision and mastering love. And, where vision becomes clouded and affection flags, the race is done or comes to a lame and sour finish. The start of the race cannot rightly begin without the mastering vision and the commanding love. Neither can

it be continued, much less perfected, without them; and blessed only is he who endures to the end, for he shall be saved. He will also be saving.

I warn you, therefore, about the bright light of the initial vision and the glad eagerness of the mastering initial affection. They impel and motivate the start. They are indispensable. They are a divine gift. But they are not only "a treasure in *earthen* vessels" (namely, in us), they are also subject to obstruction and occlusion because they are beset behind and before by competitors. Of these competitors it may be said their name is "legion." They are many and they are deceptive. They take multiple and diverse forms in every age, and each generation must pierce their disguise for its safety. They had certain forms for St. Paul, others for Luther and Bunyan, and they have updated and devious disguises for the would-be Christian wayfarer today.

IV

For the particular one that can concern us today, let us glance again at the Hebrews passage that has been our text—and, I hope, not just a "pretext"—in this meditation. I refer to the great cloud of witnesses by which, we are reminded, we are compassed round. Plainly the author finds not only inspiration but cause for rejoicing in this company. Plainly he is referring to the company of the faithful, to the community of the Church.

On this theme, community and the glory of it, I have a few things to say that may jar with the current euphoria about "community" in both theological or secular prose and may be dissonant and out-of-joint with this time of "togetherness." It may not be wholly true, as Whitehead suggested, that "religion is what a man does with his solitariness." But it is, I think, wholly true that when religion becomes exclusively communal, it is in danger of ceasing to be authentic religion. The reason is simple: it becomes more preoccupied with man's relation to man than with man's relation to God. It loses its consciousness of the Transcendent in human life. It becomes preoccupied with vision of and relatedness to the human other. The community becomes "the lonely crowd." Its members can only exist in the smile and esteem of the peer and the peer-group. Without this esteem and assurance the lonely crowd is discomfited, ill-at-ease, harboring neuroses.

For this situation, which finds expression everywhere and not the least in the present-day Church—whether Catholic or Protestant—we may invoke the earlier exegesis of the passage in Hebrews.

The author does not call attention to the company of witnesses because to emulate them and to unite with them assures perseverance in the race of Christian faith. Rather, he sees that we can only run with patience the course that is set before us by looking unto Jesus, who alone is the author and perfecter of our faith.

For us this means that God cannot make much use of the communal mentality that is always requiring from the peer-group a favorable answer to the question, "How'm I doing?" Such a mentality and such men are always measuring themselves by men rather than by God. Their vision is not only distracted; theologically speaking, it is occluded, and, in point of fact, their affections, rather than directed Godward, are turned in upon themselves. The more introverted their gaze and affection the more they defend the institutions upon which their security and self-esteem depend. They become organizational and institutional men.

I do not know about you, but I have diminishing respect for the communal man. I distrust a man who cannot be alone. No man is made apart from human community, but no man is trustworthy who is wholly made by it. It is the same with the Church as community. No man probably becomes a Christian quite apart from the Christian community. It is also true that no man remains one or fulfills the race that is set before him unless both his vision and his loyalty transcend the community.

This, in point of fact, is a variant way of putting the Protestant principle. It is the principle of which the Roman Church, through John XXIII, caught a vision and with which it is right now trying to settle accounts against the inertial forces of centuries. It is the residual right and need of the individual soul to be accountable before God alone. It is justification by faith only. It is the root and principle of conscience. And conscience is the distinctive human character of which communal man is, as present-day society shows, in fearful danger of being shorn. Communal man is untrustworthy because he takes his norms from the nods and approbations or the disapprobations of the crowd, the *consensus gentium*.

V

What corollaries may be drawn from these observations for our common life in this school I must and shall leave it to each to divine as he is disposed or able. This I will say: In the course that is set before you, you will grow weary in well-doing, you will hardly run with patience or persevere unto the end, unless beyond the group, the academic community, even the nurturing community of the Church,

you maintain, or again and again recover, an undistracted vision and an unfaltering loyalty to the Christ who surpasses every human goal and achievement and every passing disappointment and default. Only that vision and that empowering love will avail to see you to the end of the course upon which some of you now begin to travel. And, when you are tempted to contemplate how much you progress and how you look by comparison with the attainment or progress of others in the Christian way, then you will do wisely and well to recall our Lord's admonition when Peter was comparing his lot with that of the "beloved disciple." He was rebuked again and for the last time by his Lord—and we should take the rebuke to ourselves: "What is that to thee, follow thou me." Here is the single-minded purpose enjoined upon us—an undistracted vision of Christ and a mastering love of him.

'Christian Ministry to the Human Predicament'

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The topic assigned to me is "Christian Ministry in Our Time." I do not know that I have anything significant to say about this particular time. Perhaps this is one thing pride does to us: it causes us to think that our time is different, and therefore *we* are different. But the only thing really special about our time is that it is the time given to us. If the gospel is eternal truth, it is true for all times, and human nature remains essentially the same. To be sure, our human problems appear in somewhat differing forms, but they rise out of the fundamental facts of our human situation. If I were permitted to re-phrase my topic, it would be "Christian Ministry to the Human Predicament." Of course this is the time in which you and I must fulfill our ministry, so I hope that what I say will not be entirely irrelevant to the contemporary world. But if it is relevant, it will be so for the same reasons that the gospel has been relevant in each generation.

What I want to say can be put in one sentence, which we will

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then discuss in more detail: Christian ministry becomes most relevant at the point where the personal and social intersect. Or it may be expressed in a familiar symbol: the Cross, with its vertical upright suggesting a relationship between earth and heaven and its horizontal arms reaching out to the humanity around it.

What is unique about human beings is their personhood. This is suggested in the Genesis story of creation. Of all else that God made He spoke in the third person—that is, impersonally. “Let there be light,” and sun and moon and stars and earth and plants and animals. But to man God speaks in personal terms: “Thou shalt . . .” Man is the crown of creation because there is a personal relationship between him and his Maker. As Thomas Mann wrote, “In the depths of my heart I cherish the surmise that with these words, ‘Let there be,’ which summoned the cosmos from the night, when life was generated out of inorganic being, it was *man* who was foreseen . . .”

This insight is confirmed in the gospels. In Mark 13:1 we are told how the disciples coming out of the temple said to Jesus, “Look, Teacher, what wonderful stones and buildings!” But before that, inside the temple, the Master had watched a poor widow put two small coins in the offering and remarked that she had given more than all the other worshipers. The two incidents are separated by a chapter division, and so we may miss their connection, but they belong together. Each of them is, as it were, a picture of the Church, but taken with a different focus. Both the disciples and the Master said, “Look,” but they were looking at different things. The disciples were impressed by the size and splendor of the institution. The Master was moved to wonder by what happened within a person: the sacrificial love in a woman’s heart.

Or to take only one other instance: as Jesus and his company were leaving Jericho on the way to Jerusalem, a blind man by the roadside cried out for help. Those nearby tried to hush him. After all, the Master was going to the holy city to announce the advent of the Kingdom. He could hardly be expected to turn aside from this great crusade for one lone man. But he did. He heard, and stopped, and called the blind man to him. Someone has said that the only reason Jesus ever joined a crowd was for the opportunity it afforded of coming into vital touch with individual persons.

Some years ago, I read a book called *A Person-Minded Ministry*. I do not now recall anything that was in the book, but the title seems to me a fine description of what Christian ministry ought to be. Members of my official board once suggested that I try to enlist a

certain member for a job that needed to be filled, remarking that his wife and children belonged to another church and that giving him something to do might hold him in our congregation. I went to see him, and he spoke of his concern about his family being divided in their church experience. For the life of me I could not disagree with him. What is it we are concerned about: building up our membership and organization, or the needs of persons?

These persons—all of us—have two fundamental needs. The first is in the fact of our creatureliness. We did not make ourselves and we are not sufficient unto ourselves. Perhaps one change in the contemporary world is that our science and technology make it easier for us to hide our helplessness from ourselves. But men have always been adept at that: witness the parable of the Rich Fool. It reminds us that our limitations are inescapably manifest in death. We try to put this out of our minds, but it is of no real use. Even the doctor whose skill is devoted to preserving life knows that it is a losing battle. All he can do is fight a delaying action, and in the end he himself must die. But the parable is not simply a threat that death will come some day. It is a revelation that in the midst of life we are in death. There are limits beyond which we cannot go. We are men and not God. And the only rescue from our creatureliness is to know ourselves in the hand of God.

The second need of our nature is in our guilt. Writing out of his experience as physician and psychologist, Dr. Tournier declares, "A guilty conscience is the seasoning of our daily life." For me that is confirmed in both personal and pastoral experience. Consider only one evidence: that we habitually complain that we are so busy we have not time to do all we ought do—and this complaint is at least as characteristic of preachers as of anyone else. Sir Francis Galton, the anthropologist, remarked that "evangelical divines are very apt to pass their days in a gently complaining and fatigued spirit." If you do not recognize that description, you do not know many preachers. But the truth is that a just God does not call us to do anything he does not give us time to do. So we must be doing some things we ought not. Personally, I have stopped saying I am too busy, for the reason that I do not like to confess my sins publicly.

There is a tension and torture in our souls because we know we are not what we ought be. Here again, like Adam, we try to hide from that fact. Dr. Tournier dissects and discredits the stratagems we use to try to justify ourselves, and I shall not undertake that here. But none of them really work, for as Tennyson wrote, each of us

... ever bears about
 A silent court of justice in his breast,
 Himself the judge and jury, and himself
 The prisoner at the bar.

The only relief from our guilt is forgiveness. And since it is against him that we sin, only God can forgive.

It is persons who matter. But, as was suggested, men are persons only in relationship. It was when Adam was addressed by God that he became aware of his personal identity. But there is another dimension in the relationship. To the first man seeking to hide his shame the Lord God called, "Where art thou?" That is, where do you stand in relation to your Maker? But to Adam's son Cain another question was put, "Where is Abel, thy brother?" It is here also that God meets us and speaks to us: in our relations with our fellow men. A Harvard philosopher wrote that "religion is what a man does with his solitariness." But while there is some value in that definition, it is not the complete Biblical definition. There the question is what a man does with his *brother*. This is what Jesus said, "Inasmuch as you have done it to one of the least of these my brothers you have done it to me." It is in our fellow man and his need that we most inescapably come face to face with Jesus Christ. Is this not, indeed, the meaning of his coming? For incarnation means involvement in the body of humanity. Therefore the Church, which has been called "the continuation of the Incarnation," must be involved in the contemporary world—that is, in the actual world in which we live. Our ministry is not only to persons in their need of God, but also to persons in all their relationships with one another, for it is just here that our need of God is objectively revealed.

And it is just here that we are apt to raise a question. One recent graduate of the Divinity School says that the topic most discussed by students in their informal sessions was this: "Where can I make my ministry pertinent in today's world?" Underlying such a question, I think, is the feeling that the ministry of the Church is not pertinent to the pressing problems of our time. Such doubtings are not limited to divinity students. Last year I told the orientation group that I had in my files a folder on "The Role of the Church in the Racial Crisis." I decided to try to re-think for myself and perhaps for my people just what the Church should do in that situation, and for that purpose was collecting my thoughts and the thoughts of others. Well, the folder is still there, and I have to confess that I still do not know the answer. Doubtless this is true of my people also. In fact, I suspect that many of them feel that religion has no real relation to

the major concerns of their lives. It is, as Helmut Thielicke put it, a kind of *dessert*, which is nice to have, but after all one can get along without dessert if he has to. What matters is the main dish: my job, my professional standing, my social status.

And yet, if it is true that the essential facts about man are his creatureliness and his sinfulness, if all his other problems arise out of these, then the message of the Church is directed to the whole of his life. Though it may seem indirect, it is sometimes more relevant than we suppose. Last year a University of North Carolina sociologist made a study of how businessmen, desiring new industries and aware that companies are reluctant to locate plants in communities where there is racial conflict, are influenced by this consideration in their attitudes toward desegregation in the schools. His conclusion was that there was no significant correlation between the two factors. But he did discover, apparently unexpectedly, that there is another factor which more than any other encourages openness to change in race relations. This, to quote his words, is "religiosity—as measured by frequency of church attendance." Well, eleven o'clock on Sunday morning may still be "the most segregated hour in American life," but perhaps what happens during that hour is not so irrelevant as we have thought!

To be sure the Church—that is, we ourselves—are often unfaithful and therefore irrelevant. We become preoccupied with the success of the Church—or our own. We measure success by norms that are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the inner meaning of the gospel. Dick Sheppard, seeing the weakness and worldliness of the Church, was tempted like many of us to leave it but decided to "remain explosively within the Church." Sometimes, especially at a session of the annual conference, I feel as if I will literally explode.

When we speak of this protest within the Church we may use the phrase "prophetic preaching." But, remembering the prophets of the Bible, this seems to me to be claiming too much. I had rather use the word "integrity." A man tries to keep himself open to the Word of truth, and as he hears he says and does what he must. A biographer of William Law wrote, "Chiefly we know this about Law and his spiritual kin, that they stand in the world's story stout and grim and honorable, simply because they never counted anything little which was to them clearly defined in its being right or wrong." Integrity, I think, is humbly but staunchly trying to stand by what one believes is right.

But to do this requires an inner citadel of integrity which is not of our making. It is significant that Law, who gave up position and

possessions to stand by his convictions, is remembered not so much as a prophet as a man of prayer. On the day when I formally entered the ministry, a kinsman who was a saintly spirit as well as a great churchman expressed the hope that I would make it a practice to spend some time each day in private prayer. I have not followed that counsel as faithfully as I ought, but I have often had occasion to wish that I had. One of them was when I felt that I had to take a position that deeply disturbed a number of the most responsible and influential leaders in my church. I do not criticize them. They believed that I was doing the church real damage, and in one sense I may have been. I thought there were others who would approve my stand, but, not wishing to make it an open issue that would divide the church, I discussed it with none except those leaders. For some weeks, as they repeated their protest, I felt under attack and utterly alone. Then the bishop came to my rescue, saying unhesitatingly that a preacher must be free to follow his convictions. It would be difficult to communicate the sense of relief I felt.

But then I had to ask myself: what if the bishop had not been there, or had taken a different position? Was I sure enough of Another who was with me? Could I have said with Paul, "Though *all* men forsook me, the Lord stood with me and strengthened me?" Again and again I am forced back to this. Though I often complain and rebel against the Church, and though I am well aware of the inadequacy of "Christian ministry in our time"—especially that of my fellow ministers!—whenever I am honest with myself I have to ask, "Do I really put myself in His hands and trust Him to use me as He will?" Until I do that, how can I know what He might do with me and through me?

‘The People’s Book and Figures of Speech’

Jesus said ‘Feed my sheep (John 21:17) . . . let down your nets for a catch.’ (Luke 5:5). I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God . . . (Rev. 21:2)

Our theme this week is “The People’s Book and Mixed Figures of Speech.” Parishioners invariably tell their preacher that they are interested only in the simple gospel. The pastor would do well to “throw the Book at them.” The Bible alone has the complicated simplicity and the mixed up clarity adequate to the human predicament. No work surpasses it in the handling of mixed images and mixed motivations.

The Bible is not merely a treasury of literary allusions. It is a veritable anthology of living complexities. Anyone who thinks the Bible is simple is a simpleton. It is about as obvious as the mystery of redemption. When people talk of the simple gospel, they tend to think of pious platitudes that will cost no one anything. Actually, the Bible is an all-demanding book. Each person on whom the Lord looks pays a fearful price: the cost of examining one’s reason for being, and of meeting God’s full demand upon him. The requirement is simply awful; the issues are sublimely intricate.

Fools can quote the Bible without modifying their natural stupidity. Wise men sucked into the gospel’s brutal maw are rendered as silly as cackling hens. The simple fact is that human beings are complicated. The Bible is the divine owner’s manual for dealing with tricky, human innards. Only the Bible is adequate to the unmasking of human vanity and the exposure of trumped-up innocence.

The Book is not mainly a series of obvious declarations. It is chiefly a repertoire of real-life subtleties. These are couched in self-disclosing metaphors and mixed figures of speech. Intercept live current from any part of the Bible and you are pinned down by high voltage from all the rest of it. Biblical metaphors are as devious as the mole tunnels of human intention; as resourceful as the falconry of divinely redemptive love. The Bible is not primarily a set of ponderous convictions born of cumulative logic. It is much more like the shattering impact of sudden light generated by figures of speech. These impressions move in on us like unexpected visitors with ample time to stay awhile.

English teachers may properly warn us about the perils of mixed metaphors. But the New Testament, like the Old, doggedly "mixes it up" with all classes and conditions. The mixed ironies of life are depicted in mixed figures of speech. Out of the issues of life the mouth speaketh. Figures of speech are consonant with the human configuration. It is no accident that a girl's outlines may help fill in a boy's syllabus of errors. What we see in the mind's eye overleaps the innocent diversion of the physical moment. Tom Jones and Jenny convulse us with their gustatory attacks on chicken legs and juicy pears. But each personal assault is but a veiled pledge of mutual, erotic intent. Adam and Eve are at it again. Mixed figures of speech are indispensable to the simple truth.

The most basic metaphors in Jesus' spiritual imagery are three-fold. They present the gospel, *first*, in terms of the rural, pastoral scene, of seedtime and harvest, of bread and wine, of nervous roosters and jittery consciences. A *second* set of gospel metaphors exploits the language of maritime life. Our Lord discourses endlessly on boats and fishing, on sailors and the ship of salvation, of nets, of big fish, and of blundering fishermen. *Third* in the gospel repertoire is the metaphor of city life and of urban renewal, of earthly cities refurbished from the celestial, of home ports and safe harbors for storm-tossed voyagers.

The gospel is full of country people. Jesus is tempted to make bread out of stones. The homely language of barns, growing flowers, and tilled fields rises naturally to his lips. He has the country man's respect for infrequent rains and the horrors of drought. He knows the retreats of animals and birds. He is wise in the captious ways of razorbacks and the odors of pigsties. The habits of goats and of sheep are a part of his lore. He is a specialist in the doings of sheep, of their pitiful gullibility, their readiness to be led and misled. Shepherds he knows, and the ways of them. After all, they watched in the country while he was born in the town.

Snakes and doves alternate in his realistic imagery. Foot weariness and the necessity of bathing away the dusty roads are his portion. Reapers, shrewd farm women, sour fields, and the smell of fresh-cut lumber punctuate his earthy tales. Tired, thirsty, hungry crowds move him to pity. Population explosion, stray curs, always hungry children, and bleating lambs pull on his heartstrings. Bread is everywhere in his thoughts, nowhere in sufficiency. Crumbs are precious. Human skin is slick with sweat, or supple with oil, or cracked with despair, after the fashion of landsmen everywhere. And the sheep—always his mind returns to these silly, hurting, expendable beings.

He knows about migrant workers and labor gangs. Outside great estates men wait to be hired. Foremen police the vineyards. The sun beats down unabated. A fruitless fruit tree is more than Jesus can bear. Great burdens rest on weary shoulders. Vultures wheel in the hot sky. Tombs stink and split open. They house the de-mented.

Yes, Jesus knows the rural scene. But does he know fish and fishermen? Aye! he knows them so well that, in the centuries following, he is spiritually reincarnated as the big fish—*ichthus*, himself—Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.

Yes, Christ Jesus knows fish, the smell of them, the glinting light on them, the weight of them in a net. Where they hide, he also knows. None knows as he does, where to find them, where to put down the net for them.

And fishermen? He knows them like the back of his hand. He can pick them out anywhere. By the smell of them. By the stubbornness of them. By the call of the sea in them. By the look in their eyes. But the boat-haunting urge in them, where they go, on land and sea, he also knows. Who else would go to sleep with them at the helm, in a big blow? He trusts them.

But he is not a city man, you say. Is that so? Does he not know the stock exchange? Does he not know the city curs as well as the country hounds—all the two- and four-legged breeds of them? Internal revenue men and external produce men! He knows them all. Towns and cities he knows. He is aware of the street gangs. He knows the city kids' games, even as he knows the city smells, and the dank, fetid odors of urban duplicity. Leaves in the rain smell one way; rascals in a back alley smell another way; and polished crooks in well-ordered suites smell yet another way. He broods over Jerusalem. Urban planners finally do him in.

But city, country, and sea were co-mingled in him. His figures of speech mixed them all up. His sentences shot out like singing reels over a fishing hole. Every prayer lifted a stray lamb onto his shoulder. His death drew lightning on the Institute for Religious Research. His life, like his vocabulary, was a *mélange* of snake pits, fruit orchards, fish fries, tax collections, and harbor smells. He went into the wilderness, and the devil showed him a great city. He recruited fishermen as disciples, preached in towns, hulled fresh grain in the country, upset real estate deals, gave his thumb to young lambs. He traded views with street vendors, swapped genealogies with hostesses at urban garden parties, put a tag on a sparrow's tail out of the corner of his eye.

He mixed up people's lives and their calculations. He was himself the food of life and the distributor of it. He *was* the loaves and the fishes that he parceled out to the hungry. He was the shepherd of the sheep and the paschal lamb that was sacrificed. A sea of water gushed from his side. A stream of life flowed through his dehydrated, crucified corpse. It coursed down the main street of the city of eternal life. He was the head of the Church and the body of the Faithful. He was, and is, the central image of the People's Book, the cohesive symbol of its mixed figures of speech.

April 21-22, 1964

RAY C. PETRY

And a man of God came near and said to the king of Israel, "Thus says the Lord, 'Because the Syrians have said, "The Lord is a god of the hills but he is not a god of the valleys," therefore I will give all this great multitude into your hand, and you shall know that I am the Lord.'" (I Kings 20:28)

History shows that each people in the ancient world had their God. The Moabites followed Chemosh, the Philistines looked to Baal, and the Israelites worshipped Yahweh. The victory of one army in battle generally implied that the God of the conquering tribe was more powerful than its neighbor.

In the scripture read, the Syrian reasoning is understandable. In their eyes the God of the Israelites was "up," and as long as he stayed god only of the hills they would have things their way by fighting at a "lower level." Syrian superstition limited Yahweh to the hills, limited God to the high and lofty places of worship where smoke rising from hilltop altars was apparent.

But Yahweh would have none of it. Those who said he was not a god of the valleys soon met his power in muddy conflict far from smoking sacrifices. The valleys became the place of the Lord's vindication. "That they might know, I AM THE LORD."

I think a parallel can be drawn from this ancient tale to the twentieth century. We in modern times are not guilty of limiting God to the hilltops or the plains; instead, we tend to distort our understanding of the Divine with words.

Dr. Petry has been talking about the powerful imagery of the "Good Book" and the unabashed Biblical use of mixed figures of speech. Obviously his point is well taken that such earthly metaphor is part of our heritage.

However what we do as ministers with these picturesque insights into human nature is another problem. As spokesmen for this Book

and this heritage, we are confronted with a kind of linguistic dilemma every time we step into the pulpit. On one extreme we can follow those who cast away the imagery of ages past, or we can turn to the other extreme and side with those who cling overprotectively to rigid Biblical tradition.

If we choose the first alternative, for many of us God becomes primarily a deity of hilltop thoughts. We come to prefer to speak of the Divine in modern rational categories far from the pastoral, maritime, or even urban Biblical figures of speech. We are almost ashamed of the illogical naiveté of scripture. In fact, the longer we study, the more we tend to isolate, clarify, and logically express our faith as distinct *from* such figures. We want to be consistent. And if we find this impossible, we enjoy our paradoxical solutions with a kind of self-conscious relish.

While a certain measure of clarification within Biblical terminology is obviously necessary to the mature Christian, in our own way we are like the Syrians. For us, God is not "up" on the literal peaks above the crowded plains, but frozen verbally in forms and phrases more sophisticated than normal speech—in phrases far from the Biblical tradition. In our struggle to shake off what we feel to be the linguistic shackles of scripture by demythologizing, we lose the spontaneity of metaphor. In the interests of clarity, we destroy poetry.

It is very likely that the outcome of such radical demythologizing will become meaningless after one generation. Stripping down to the skeletal structure of faith is constructive only when real needs are met and real expendables disposed. The emancipation which *we* find from centuries of ecclesiastical gloss on Biblical motifs, and even from the figures of speech in scripture itself, may open *our* eyes. But this shunning of life-giving imagery will be less and less beneficial to those who follow us.

In the long run, these efforts which are now so useful to us undermine the very faith we cherish. For although they may lift our understanding of God out of the straight jacket of past mores and customs, they often limit the Gospel—limit it to philosophical terms unrelated to life and devoid of artistic meaning. With the Syrians, we falsely relegate God to the *intellectual* highlands.

Yet the other extreme is no solution either. To preserve *blindly* each metaphor created and expressed in a world foreign to modern ears can also be catastrophic. The danger here has been apparent to the church for centuries.

Men may hear the words of scripture but, because of differences in time and experience, fail to understand. The human plight and

hope may be timeless, but putting it into words is a recurring task. It is a task which Jesus, the Biblical writers, and the Church Fathers did not shirk. It is a task which takes precedence over logical consistency and sophisticated terminology.

In our world of supersonic speed, synthetics and stereo, often scripture passages, once so pregnant with meaning, lose their power. As much as *we* may rejoice in the imagery of Jesus and sense his compelling power over the Palestinian multitudes—let's face it—upon modern multitudes the impact is slight. The average man in the street, even the average church member, endures rather than absorbs his religious tradition. If the language used is not above his daily life in the philosophical sense, it is irrelevant because he doesn't "catch on" to the rich metaphors intended. God is a god of *ancient* hilltops by default.

Is there an escape from this dilemma? Is there a way to preach the Gospel relevant to modern experience and rich with the poetic depth of our Biblical tradition? I think there is. I believe there has to be!

The solution will take form in two areas. First, we need to be made aware that our tradition abounds in figures of speech and mixed metaphor. Certainly Dr. Petry has done this for us. But we cannot rest merely on this awareness.

Any English teacher will point out how effective verbal imagery depends upon a context of the familiar; when the context changes, the image must either adjust or become less meaningful. So our second task (the task of the preacher) is to take our cue from Biblical language and move on to speak in terms of modern myths. Never forsaking the marvelous symbols of our heritage, we must use analogy familiar to our mechanized age.

This is not easy. Because we are heirs to a faith historically grounded in a particular time and a particular place, our use of modern symbol will ever be colored by the past. We can never extricate ourselves from the pastoral, maritime and urban pictures of our spiritual ancestors.

Yet, just as classical Greek drama re-enacted familiar mythological plots by varying the linguistic form, so we must proclaim eternal and historical truths in an ever new manner. Not because the basic nature of man and God are any different, but precisely because they remain the same.

Man is still a creature molded by cultural forces. He understands in context and best comprehends the insights of faith exactly

in the same manner he always has—through mixed metaphor and illogical figure of speech.

I am convinced that to communicate to contemporary man, we must recognize that new human world views and modes of expression constitute a different context. Old needs cannot be met merely by relying on *exactly* the same old words.

However, the Biblical pattern of picture, symbol and myth is still the key. To measure off new intellectual categories devoid of these, or merely to dust off the old icons, is not enough. We need words for today as vital, as lively, as unselfconscious as those of old.

April 23, 1964

BARBARA ZIKMUND, '64

CALENDAR FOR THE YEAR

Jan. 18-19, 1965—Divinity School Seminars, West Market Street Church, Greensboro

Jan. 21-22, 1965—Divinity School Seminars, Hay Street Church, Fayetteville

Feb. 10, 1965—Prof. Hans Hillerbrand

Feb. 24, 1965—Christian Mission Symposium. Principal J. Russell Chandran, United Theological Seminary, Bangalore, India

April 21, 1965—Prof. Ray Petry, Faculty Lecture

May 12, 1965—Dean Barnes Woodhall, Medical School

Focus on Faculty

When asked to write an autobiographical sketch of myself for this REVIEW, I had serious reservations, for my life makes relatively dull reading in comparison with many of the men who have preceded me in this series. I was born in the United States of America and thus cannot give to the reader a comparison and/or critique of this country with some other. I was not born in some other area of this great nation and thus cannot give to the reader a comparison and/or critique of this region with some other. I was not reared in another faith and thus cannot give to the reader the story of my conversion. As long as I can remember, I have been a "child of the covenant."

The son of Christian parents (for whom I continually give thanks), I was thrust into this vale of tears on May 30, 1932, in the midst of the depression. I attended public school in Kannapolis, N. C., where I was born, received the A.B. degree in 1954 from Davidson College, the B.D. degree in 1958 from Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, and the Ph.D. degree from Duke University in 1962. During these years my life has been touched and enriched by dedicated teachers too numerous to mention by name. It is in large measure because of their profound influence on my life that I feel called to teach.

Because of the fact that most of my "story" would be a resumé of the intellectual, emotional, and economic struggles of these years, I have decided to present some of my observations of certain "dangerous tendencies" which seem to permeate our society. These thoughts have been framed by my own involvement in the world, and I must emphasize that the comments which follow are not directed at any one person, group, or institution.

The most disturbing of these, to my mind, is that while we talk of "academic freedom" and "tolerance" in our society today, in reality "academic freedom" or "tolerance" by the attitude of far too many is freedom to espouse the prevailing theological or political or economic or sociological "line." Anyone who does not conform to this "line" is ridiculed, his ideas spurned at best, or at worst he is labeled "non-Christian." There seems to be little respect for other contrary views, and personalities often become so involved that a difference of opinion means dissolution of friendships. If Christians—whether of conservative or liberal persuasion—cannot disagree with each other, face conflicting ideas and viewpoints, refrain from ridicule or name-calling, and remain brothers in Christ, what does this have to

say about our academic freedom and tolerance—or, more importantly, our sense of Christian *koinonia*?

As a person concerned with the teaching of the Bible, I contend that the Bible should be emphasized again as the center of the Christian faith not simply in theory but in practice. This collection of books is the primary way in which God seeks to reveal Himself to man, and historically speaking the great spiritual revivals of living religion in the church have been accompanied by a return to the Biblical revelation. This revelation, however, attempts to communicate with men not only through certain historical narrative, but also through imagery, poetry, and analogy. Could it be that our attempt to rid it of these latter features has obscured its message and robbed it of its power and appeal? This book was written in the language of the people—why not keep it that way?

One of the Biblical teachings which is most difficult for me to understand is the teaching concerning election. This remains for me an insoluble mystery. Let me illustrate by a personal reference. Why is it that my parents were not able to obtain college degrees? In fact, my father went to work at the ripe old age of eight years in a textile mill. Both of my parents have excellent minds (much better than mine, but that is not formidable opposition) and many talents. Why were they never afforded the opportunities which I have had? Or my wife, the former Joan Shelf also of Kannapolis, who has labored outside the home for many years now so that I could continue my education—she has many talents yet undeveloped because of this. A further consideration closely related for all of us is that of *our* place in *this* nation. Why us? Why here? These thoughts should cause us to give thanks to God for our privileges and to think deeply about our own election and the responsibilities which are thus laid upon us.

This leads to another of my observations; namely, that we seem to be losing a sense of the value and responsibility of the individual. While talking about individuality we place great pressures, direct and indirect, upon each person to conform to the group or organization to which he may belong. It is the group which is important; it is the group which will survive the individual; therefore each person must be made to conform to the group. I am advocating not non-conformity for the sake of non-conformity, nor that organizations are inherently bad, but that individuals are more important than impersonal groups or organizations. Along with this communal emphasis has gone a decrease in the sense of responsibility on the part of

the individual because he finds it easy to transfer his obligations and even his responsibility for sin to the group.

A factor with which we are faced today is the increasing complexity of the world. There is no simple answer which will suffice for our problems; we should not be so naive as to think that there is. It appears, however, that we actually have contributed to the confusion and the complexity of our time. We seem to think that complexity and obscurity are inevitable and essential and that they *assure* deeper thought and better answers. Thus the more obscure the writing or lecture or sermon the more profound it appears to be. Could it be that we, especially we preachers, are hiding behind a cloak of obscurity to refrain from facing some of the cold facts of the world in which we live?

If these comments have appeared to be short and somewhat unrelated, they were deliberately set forth in this way. It is hoped that these comments will not only serve as an introduction to some of my views, but will also stimulate the reader to do some thinking and observing (even if he disagrees)! After all, this is the purpose of teaching, and if there is anything which I love to do—it is to teach.

JAMES M. EFIRD

The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount. W. D. Davies. Cambridge University Press. 1964. i-xiv, 1-547 pp. \$12.50.

Many readers of this *Review* have sat in classes under Dr. Davies and would gladly pay tribute to his outstanding qualities as a teacher. We here at Duke can feel honored at the association we have with Dr. Davies. His already widespread reputation as one of the leading experts of our day in the Jewish background of the New Testament must surely be enhanced by this monumental study.

Marked throughout by the soundest scholarship, discreet at every point in its sifting of the available evidence, and delicately balanced in its judgments and conclusions, the work is obviously that of one who has an endless capacity for taking pains. If in places it seems to be cautious to a degree—the author himself senses this when, in his discussion of New Exodus and New Moses motifs in Matthew, he alludes to Montefiore's phrase about "applying critical hammers to the wings of a butterfly" (p. 74)—then that is an error in the right direction in an age when patient historical investigation is too readily and quickly surrendered to "theology."

The book as a whole is a very significant and timely contribution, for four main reasons.

First, it comes as a warning that we ought not to begin theologizing about the content of the Sermon on the Mount (SM) as if it were a set of "timeless principles" for the moral life, or accommodating it to modern ethical theorizing, until we have exhaustively investigated its "setting in life," the total range of circumstances in which it came into being. We must, that is, take full account of the concrete historical human factors involved in the mediation of the Word.

Second, in the last few decades we have witnessed a prevailing tendency among interpreters to make sweeping generalizations about what the New Testament is saying *in its entirety*, to assume too hastily its unity by subsuming everything in it under the watchwords of "kerygma," "existence," etc. At several strategic points Dr. Davies demonstrates the folly in this by uncovering for us the *variety* of understandings of the message of Jesus in different layers of the New Testament. For example, the sayings of Jesus in Q are "crisis" sayings of the most radical nature—here the ethical teaching of Jesus is understood as itself part of the "crisis" of his coming (p. 385). But in the M material of Matthew's Gospel a Christian gemaric element is discernible: M in fact reflects a more settled age of the Church when the radical demands of Q have been modified to the *regulatory*, to the halakhic prescriptions of a kind of "Christian rabbinism" within an emergent "neo-legalistic" society (p. 401). The same type of development takes place in the "incipient casuistry" to be found in Paul (p. 413). In contrast with this, another development occurs in the Epistle of James and the Johannine sources, where the ethical injunctions of Jesus are gathered up under one all-embracing norm or principle (pp. 401ff.). In the Fourth Gospel particularly everything is summed up in the commandment of love, rooted not so much in what Jesus said but in what he did, especially on the Cross.

Third, by attempting to do justice to "the Law" that is always woven up

with the Gospel, Dr. Davies offers a corrective to contemporary preoccupation with strictly kerygmatic and theological questions, informed by German-Lutheran notions of "justification by faith alone," and inclined to reduce the Words of Jesus simply to a call to decision so as to drain them of all importance for understanding Jesus himself or for the business of daily living.

Fourth, Dr. Davies' historical study, delineating as it does how the SM in its setting spans the arch between Grace and Law, is directly relevant to contemporary ecumenical discussion, inasmuch as it points to a healing dimension in the New Testament itself for that divisiveness which has arisen among the great historic communions of the Church on the matter of Gospel and Law (p. 440).

The author begins his work with a discussion of the Pentateuchal Motifs in the Gospel of Matthew. The pentateuchal approach to the Gospel, exemplified particularly by B. W. Bacon, is subjected to a searching scrutiny. Bacon had held that aside from the Prologue (Mat. 1-2) and the Epilogue (Mat. 26-28), the Gospel falls into five "books" each terminated by an almost identical formula, corresponding to the first five books of the Old Testament. Sighing for the removal of Bacon's ghost from Matthaean studies, Dr. Davies wisely, as we think, asserts that any version of the structure of the Gospel which treats the Birth narratives and the story of the Passion and Resurrection as mere "addenda" can only distort the true nature of Matthew's understanding of Jesus Christ. This very point is in fact a decisive feature of Davies' whole thesis—Matthew never intended the SM to be taken straightforwardly as a "*nova lex*," at least not in the sense that such a Law could be set in rigid antithesis to the Gospel; rather the SM is to be seen in the light of its immediate context and of the total context of the ministry of Jesus Christ. The SM occurs after 4:23-25, which depict Jesus' ministry of compassion, a ministry taken up once again in the miracles of chapters 8-9 immediately following the SM. "Before and after the demand of the SM stands the compassion of the Messiah. The infinite demand is embedded in infinite succour: they both belong together: his acts and his words are congruous" (pp. 433f.).

In agreement with the above is the fact that, over against the popular view that Matthew portrays Jesus simply as the New Moses, Davies says only a very reserved "Yes" to the question of the presence of New Exodus and New Moses motifs in Matthew. Mosaic traits alone cannot comprehensively account for the figure of the Matthaean Christ; instead the Matthaean Christ, who is also Son of Man and Emmanuel, may be said to have absorbed the Mosaic function (p. 93). The author here picks his steps gingerly through the intricacies of the debate about whether Matthew puts forward the SM as a completely new Law, antithetical to the Law of Moses, or as a new interpretation of the Mosaic Law, and the complexities of the debate itself prepare us for the conclusion that *there is a real ambiguity in the Gospel*—amid so much that is evocative of the New Law, the New Sinai and the New Moses, Matthew has yet not given explicit expression to any of these terms (p. 108).

At least one clue to this ambiguity is unfolded for us by Dr. Davies in the next chapter (III), dealing fairly extensively with the Jewish Messianic expectation in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Rabbinical Sources. What stands out from this study is the fluidity and tentativeness of that expectation: Jewish sources do not always seem to distinguish clearly between the Age to Come and the Messianic Age, nor do they put forward a single or fixed idea about the future role of the Torah in either of these periods (p. 188). The selfsame ambivalence of Jewish expectation has invaded the Evangelist's own presentation of the Messianic era, in which, like most early Christians, he felt himself to be living (p. 190).

In his fourth chapter, Davies proceeds to consideration of forces that may have influenced Matthew from outside the Church, Gnosticism, the Dead Sea Sect and the Rabbinism of Jamnia. From an examination of the relevant passages (Mat. 4:3f.; 5:16; 28:18; 7:15ff., 23; 13:41; 24:12 and notably 11:25-30), Davies administers the *coup de grace* to Schlatter's theory that the Gospel is characterized by an anti-Gnostic polemic. Davies' argument that the Gospel required no polemic incentive to call it forth, that Matthew's own essential understanding of the Christian message was enough for that, carries conviction (p. 199).

The estimate given on Matthew and Qumran is a very careful one: while the Matthaean world was related *in some way* to the sectarian, it is impossible to prove direct lines of connection. If anywhere, in the "ecclesiastical" data brought forward in Matthew 18, there is an echo of sectarian order and organization (p. 230). However, even here, as Davies correctly points out, it would be a mistake to exaggerate Matthew's "ecclesiasticism." With somewhat less reluctance, albeit still with considerable qualification, Davies traces glances at Qumran in certain sayings of Jesus that he takes to be genuine, e.g. the "salt saying" of 5:13 and part of the antithesis of 5:43ff. "You have heard that it hath been said: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy.'" The word about "loving the neighbor" is taken to refer back to Leviticus 19:18, but there is no mention there of "hating the enemy." It has therefore been urged that in Matthew 5:43-48 Jesus was actually rejecting the vindictiveness of the sectarians among whom hatred of the enemy was enjoined (DSD 1:7ff.).

Accordingly the situation reflected specifically in the SM is thus reconstructed by Davies. Much of the tradition on which the Evangelist drew for the SM had its roots in a dialogue between Jesus, the disciples and Qumran. But that material has been employed by Matthew in the dialogue which the Church of his day had to conduct with Pharisaism. "Material dealing with the confrontation with Qumran has become embedded in that dealing with Pharisaic Judaism and given a different relevance" (p. 255). But it is an open question whether the sayings of Jesus taken to allude in one way or another to Qumran actually do so. The "salt saying" of 5:13, for instance, can only precariously be construed as setting off the disciples as the true "salt" in contrast with the "salt" of the Dead Sea community. Again the injunction to "hate the enemy" in 5:43 is certainly nowhere to be found in so many words in the Old Testament. But need it imply a slur on Qumran vengeance? May not a Targum to this effect have risen on the basis of certain Psalms, especially Psalm 139:21-22: "Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee? and am I not grieved with those that rise up against thee? I hate them with perfect hatred: I count them mine enemies?" However, for the fact that the main external pressure on Matthew, in his structuring of the SM, was the Pharisaism of his own day, Davies presents a very strong case indeed in the intriguing picture he paints of the Pharisaic type of Rabbinic activity connected with Jamnia (pp. 256-315).

In all this wealth of treatment so far, which could not possibly be adequately dealt with here, there is little with which to disagree, and a great many fresh and illuminating insights for which to be thankful.

In the chapter on the setting of the SM in the early Church (V) we enter on even more exciting and perhaps more controversial ground. We can single out only two major points of the discussion at which questions may be raised with Dr. Davies. Has he, in opposition to such scholars as J. Jeremias and T. W. Manson, played down too much the possibly *catechetical* nature of Q, the SM and Matthew's Gospel? Perhaps so, if we admit that catechesis may be instruction in apologetic as much as in religion and morals (see C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament*, Harper, p. 91).

On the relationship between Matthew and Paul we readily endorse Davies' contention that Matthew is not anti-Pauline. The juxtaposition in the Gospel of "particularist" Jewish elements and "universalist" Gentle elements has long constituted a serious problem. The reviewer is in the company of those who, like Dr. Davies (and K. W. Clark), feel that the main weight of Matthew assuredly falls on the "universalist" side. The most satisfying answer to the presence of "particularist" sayings in the Gospel like 10:5f., 23; 15:24 is that, in fitting such into a "universalist" scheme, Matthew's eagerness to be faithful to his tradition has outweighed his desire for consistency (p. 330). Similarly the much discussed saying of 5:18 is best explained not as a stricture on Paulinism or antinomianism but as a rebuttal of Jewish charges that the standards set by Jesus were lower than those of Pharisaic Judaism (pp. 334ff.).

If Matthew is not un-Pauline, it is much less easy to show, on the other side, that Paul is not un-Matthaeian. Whereas Davies recognizes that, in terms of Paul's primary emphases, the Christian life is for him "life in the Spirit," and whereas he accepts the force of the contention of such critics as H. J. Schoeps and W. G. Kümmel that Paul does not feel himself to be a disciple of the historical Jesus, nor to be commissioned to hand on traditions about Jesus, but to proclaim the Christ, he nevertheless seeks to prove that there is an "incipient casuistry" in Paul (see especially I Cor. 1-7), a devotion to the "Law of the Messiah," not merely as to an "interior Law" but to a fixed tradition of the sayings of Jesus that has come down to him (pp. 341ff.). Much as we would like to accept a "legal" interest on Paul's part in "sayings of the Lord," we cannot easily forget that over against the many Pauline passages in which the Law is said to belong to the old eon, there are only *strikingly few* passages where appeal is made to the "Law" in exhortations to Paul's Christian readers, in short, two "Halakha" decisions of Jesus, one about divorce in I Cor. 7:10 and the other about the Church's support of its ministers in I Cor. 9:14. Otherwise, aside from the problematical "I have received from the Lord" of I Cor. 11:23, Logia of Jesus are very seldom quoted. Nor can we put very much weight on the argument that, though for Paul the Person and Words of Jesus had assumed the significance of a New Torah, they came to occupy a secondary place in his letters because of the historical circumstances of Paul's own ministry, set as it was in a conflict against Judaizers (p. 363), particularly since Davies also wishes to argue, in his treatment of the rise of Q, that "in its confrontation with Judaism the Church would have found the impressive ethical teaching of Jesus a powerful weapon" (p. 367). The whole question is, of course, exceedingly subtle and, to our mind, still undecided.

The theme of the last chapter is the *Sitz im Leben Jesu* of the SM. Noteworthy is it that, while some 306 pages have been given to a searching scrutiny of the environmental factors playing upon the Matthaeian Church, not more than 21 are given to the setting of the SM in the ministry of Jesus. Can we take this as an indication of the dilemma confronting historical scholarship in regard to Jesus-research in this post Form-criticism and post-Kerygma era? Significantly enough the main burden of the final chapter is not the establishment of criteria by which we may decide what sayings of the SM convey to us the *vox ipsissima* of Jesus, but the general affirmation that the tradition has been faithfully transmitted, and that there is no necessary antinomy between the eschatological Preaching and the rabbinic Teaching of Jesus.

Nevertheless we wholeheartedly concur with the basic premise of this chapter, that the Words of Jesus must not be detached from his Person—for the early Church his Words were an inseparable part of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. For Davies, therefore, the question of the authority and finality of

Jesus' ethical demand has behind it the prior question of *Who* he was that said these things. And driven back as we are by the absolute demand of God in the SM upon the mystery of the Person of Jesus, we can say of him, according to Davies, that "he passed beyond the light of Law and Prophet, to what we can only call an intuitive awareness of the will of God in its nakedness" (p. 432). We should compare the way taken by Davies here (and *pace* the Bultmann "Schule," should we not follow it once again with renewed boldness?) to that of exponents of the "new quest" like G. Bornkamm who, for fear of "psychologizing," really shuns the question of Who Jesus was, and finds the decisiveness of his Words to rest in the fact that *in these Words themselves* we encounter the unmediated presence of God.

By this scholarly work Dr. Davies has put us immeasurably in his debt. The book is magnificently documented—there are 15 Appendices, each an important study in its own right, an invaluable Bibliography, and 4 Indices. Both the author and his publishers are to be complimented on a remarkably fine and accurate production. Not too many errors were detectable on a first reading. The volume will surely be a fertile and indispensable source of reference for future work on the SM, on Matthew's Gospel, and indeed on the whole field of Christian origins, for a long time to come.

HUGH ANDERSON

The Doctrine of the Church. (Edited by Dow Kirkpatrick under the direction of the World Methodist Council.) Abingdon, 1964. 215 pp. \$3.

According to the publisher, this book is intended as "a thought-provoking symposium" rather than as a normative definition of Methodist ecclesiology. Such a definition, fortunately, does not exclude a very serious concern precisely with those more basic issues that would have to be understood if a Methodist ecclesiology were to be written.

Three contributions in particular merit a very special attention. In the order of presentation, first is Albert C. Outler's highly significant historical and systematic inquiry, "Do Methodists Have a Doctrine of the Church?" The answer that emerges is not so much concerned with a final definition, though that is suggested, but rather comes forth in the form of a very thoughtful consideration of those decisive issues that are involved in asking precisely this kind of a question within our century of ecumenicity.

Secondly, careful attention also ought to be paid to E. Gordon Rupp's "The Doctrine of the Church at the

Reformation." This is a very thorough and historically impeccable analysis of the varieties of ecclesiologies that existed in the era of the Reformation. (The one really bad printing mistake on page 76 has "Karl Stadt" instead of "Karlstadt.") The presentation felicitously avoids being a mere catalogue, and, while not claiming to be a prescription, it nevertheless does reflect upon and elucidate the major types of Protestant ecclesiological thought in a very dynamic way.

The third article that requires taking note is by Dean Robert E. Cushman, "Baptism and the Family of God." This article is familiar to some readers of this *Review*, who have had it available in H.T. 21 on the Desk Reserve. As many of them have said, this is, without a doubt, the most precise, insightful, and stimulating analysis of John Wesley's doctrine of baptism that has been written. More than that, it also offers constructive suggestions that ought to reach beyond the discussions within Methodism—or so, at least, it is thought by this Lutheran reviewer. Yes, it could not be said too emphatically that this statement on baptism ought to be read by everyone who is at all concerned with the doctrine of baptism.

Other articles likewise touch upon a score of interesting and relevant issues. Thus C. H. Dodd deals with "The Biblical Doctrine of the People of God," C. K. Barret interprets "The Ministry in the New Testament," Herbert J. Cook reflects upon the meaning of confirmation, Philip S. Watson outlines the scriptural foundations of ordination and the ministry, A. Raymond George presents the Wesleyan view of eucharistic sacrifice, Gerald O. McCulloh discusses the meaning of Methodist discipline, Frederic Greeves speaks about unity, and F. Thomas Trotter about "The Church and Modern Man."—Egil Grislis.

Systematic Theology. Vol. III. Paul Tillich. University of Chicago Press. 1963. 434 pp. \$7.50.

Morality and Beyond. Paul Tillich. Scribner's. 1963. 95 pp. \$2.95.

The Eternal Now. Paul Tillich. Scribner's. 1963. 185 pp. \$2.95.

The System and The Gospel, A Critique of Paul Tillich. Macmillan. 1963. 247 pp.

Paul Tillich: An Appraisal. J. Heywood Thomas. Westminster. 1963. 216 pp. \$4.50.

The past year was fruitful for those who are interested in the theology of Paul Tillich—three of his own books were published and two full-length studies of his thought were put on the market. We shall attempt to appraise the nature and value of this new body of material in this review.

It is rather fashionable these days to cryptically dismiss the work of Paul Tillich as a remnant of nineteenth-century German philosophy or as the product of a hopelessly obscure and logically confused thinker; even Tillich himself has wondered aloud whether he will be seriously studied ten years from now. The spirit of the times has changed, and the forces of opposition have set upon this theologian, who is probably the most

widely known and respected theological spokesman in America.

The tempest signs of critical assessment are welcome after an unseasonable calm when Tillich was admired, even idolized, but not often questioned. And while I am personally convinced of the rightness of some of the most fundamental criticisms, it should nevertheless be remembered that disagreements with parts or even the whole of his system should not blind one to the positive contributions which he has made. No man is without faults and Tillich is a man, not a god or a demon. But no man of Tillich's ability is without virtues and these also must be acknowledged.

The publication of the third volume of Tillich's *Systematic Theology* does not reveal any new methodological assumptions or principles, but who would expect it to? It does, however, explicate his system more fully, especially in regard to his understanding of the nature of history, the Holy Spirit and the Kingdom of God. And it may be claimed that this explication does clarify the question of Tillich's emphases concerning "finite freedom" or the integrity of the individual *per se*, and the tension between the dynamic and static aspects of his ontology.

Throughout the volume Tillich is at pains to make evident his wholistic view of reality, and whatever methodological scruples one may have about Tillich's interest in a system (see Hamilton) it must be acknowledged that his persistent refusal to allow reckless sundering of man from his total environment or the dissection of man himself remain valuable contributions. Tillich simply refuses to look at life in categories of levels or disconnected qualities; rather he insists upon the coinherence of reality from the inorganic dimension to the full expression of the Divine Spirit; throughout there is continuity and mutual participation. The particular understanding of philosophy which underlies this full-orbed conceptualization of life is open to serious question (as Thomas argues), but the

desirability of undertaking such an inclusive task and the courage revealed in accepting this task can only elicit approbation.

A second important theme in this volume is Tillich's reassertion of the ambiguous existence of man which gives rise to the search for unambiguous life. These terms express his long standing interest in analyzing the existential questions in order to proffer theological answers. To take this line of approach throws Tillich into the main stream of current theological discussion, for his argument is based upon the assumption of man as a religious creature, an assumption which has been seriously challenged by Barth, Bonhoeffer, *et al.* Consequently, this particular type of apologetic theology must be freshly evaluated, and Tillich's approach must now be justified not only because it is apologetic theology (as he sometimes seems to want to do), but on the basis of the type of apologetic theology it presents.

As a general description Tillich's system may be called pan-Spiritism, for he attempts to subsume all theological categories under the Divine Spirit. Here he reveals his basic Idealistic predisposition, which he inherited from Schelling. Systematically there is an imprecision, even a reversibility of language: God is no-thing and God is everything; power is the eternal possibility of being resisting non-being, or of non-being resisting being; the Christ is the Spirit, or the Spirit has the power of making any historical instrument the Christ. The language usage in itself makes Tillich's effort difficult to comprehend and to criticize. Nonetheless, the intention of his system is clear, for the Divine Spirit brings about a "perfect balance" or "essentialization" of all dialectical tensions; the process which moves from essence to existential estrangement to essentialization issues in what might be called dialectical monism or as he prefers "eschatological pan-en-theism."

Tillich's small book, *Morality and*

Beyond, is concerned with the same issues as his third volume, only now the focus is upon specifically ethical problems or, more precisely, the ontological ground of man's moral nature. Consistently, Tillich has insisted that ethics must constitute a part of any theological system, for Christian ethics is theologically rooted. In this new book, which in many ways repeats themes found earlier in *Love, Power and Justice* (along with the inclusion of two chapters from *The Protestant Era*) stresses the point that man must actualize his essential nature as finite freedom. This actualization (the choice of this word is not good because of its Aristotelian connotations, but it does indicate the need to bring man's participation in the power of being to the level of conscious awareness and acknowledgement) makes it possible for man to achieve genuine personhood—that is, it makes him aware of the possibility of expressing his courage to be even in the face of the threat of non-being.

The third book of Tillich's to be published this past year is a selection of his sermons entitled, *The Eternal Now*. Once again one is struck with Tillich's power as a preacher. His mastery of expressive language and his ability to suggest a great deal in a very small space are models from which other preachers could learn much. I have read these sermons slowly—one a day—and can testify to their ability to provoke fruitful reflection and to drive one once again to the source of faith.

But now we must turn from Tillich to his commentators.

The book by Kenneth Hamilton, *The System and The Gospel*, is very narrowly conceived, and his thesis would be more appropriate for an article than for a book. The thrust of Hamilton's critique may be summed up in one of his early statements: "His [Tillich's] speculative picture of the Universe stands logically before and above his interpretation of the Christian faith..." (p. 28). This critic is so impressed with Tillich's

insistence on *system* in theological construction that he sees all of the doctrinal material being forced into this inadequate mold. There is merit in this criticism, for Tillich's systematic intention as well as the limiting character of his philosophic base are imperialistic and do, to a large extent, control his interpretation. But insofar as system means an attempt to be consistent (and even of this Hamilton seems to be suspicious) Tillich's effort must be accepted not only as a valid but as a necessary aspect of theological construction. Father George Tavard has already shown in a more adequate way the potential tyranny of Tillich's approach, but he has also provided better balance in his criticism (*Paul Tillich and the Christian Message*). Systems may be the hob-goblins of small minds, as Emerson suggested, but the fear of system may also be unduly restrictive.

Much more important as a contribution to continuing Tillichian scholarship is the contribution of J. Heywood Thomas, *Paul Tillich: An Appraisal*. This monograph attempts both an explication and a probing of the crucial questions of Tillich's theology. Thomas is at once both sympathetic and devastating. Throughout there is an evident attempt to present Tillich's main themes honestly and appreciatively. But consistently Thomas places his finger on sensitive points in Tillich's corpus. The least satisfying part of the book, it seems to me, is the first section, where he questions Tillich's view of philosophy. While he rightly exposes the ambiguity of the language usage and the pervasive idealism, he does so from a restrictive philosophical perspective of his own which does not offer much of an alternative. Anyone who wants to continue in the Tillichian framework, whether it is in order to extend his philosophical theology or to work out the systematic doctrinal implications of Christian faith, must take seriously the questions Thomas raises and must be ready to give answer to his interrogations.

This is, in my opinion, the best full-length critical assessment of Tillich's theology available.

To have worked through this recent material on Tillich leaves me with ambiguous thoughts. On the one hand, I am keenly appreciative of the contributions which this man has made: his provocative power, his philosophic acumen, his theological sensitivity, his apologetic concern, his breadth of learning and his profundity of spirit are impressive. On the other hand, the liabilities of his philosophical framework and the redefinition of Christian doctrines seem to me to be so great that I cannot conceive of Tillich providing the foundation for theology either presently or in the immediate future.—Thomas A. Langford.

Revolutionary Theology in the Making, Barth-Thurneysen Correspondence, 1914-1925 (translated by James D. Smart). John Knox. 1964. 249 pp. \$5.

The sheer bulk, as well as the imaginative brilliance, of Karl Barth's *Church Dogmatics* makes it difficult indeed to imagine that its author really has any knowledge of or concern for the concrete and mostly mundane problems of preaching and parish. Yet this remarkable and highly interesting correspondence between Barth and Thurneysen should dispel all doubt about the context or concern of Barth's theology, for we see that it was born in the Church, out of the needs of the local parish, and that it has been dedicated to the service of the parish Church. In this volume—containing letters from young Pastor Barth to his ministerial colleague over the mountain, and an exchange of letters between Barth in his first professorship at Goettingen and Pastor Thurneysen, who has remained in the parish—we are offered the rare opportunity to witness from the inside how this Church theologian and his revolutionary theology were made.

The pastor-reader will be able to identify with young Barth's concern

for the effectiveness of his preaching, as when he comments concerning a Christmas sermon, that it "unfortunately, was feeble, though it seemed so fiery on paper" (p. 35). Many readers who have suffered through annual conferences and have perhaps wondered about the relevance of the services of worship by which the sessions are periodically punctuated will appreciate the resolution Barth presented to the synod of his Church: "The customary Synod service of worship is a Christian demonstration that is intrinsically incompatible with the spirit of the Synod as a purely administrative governing body.... It will in the future be omitted" (p. 34). This correspondence reveals that in spite of the handicaps of ecclesiastical incongruities Barth managed in an exemplary way to undergird his ministry with Biblical and theological study and to express it in the outreach of social and political concern—all the while attending to the duties of the parish. Thus, one day in September, 1917, he wrote of two deadlines that pressed upon him: the deadline for the submission of his *Romans* manuscript, and the deadline for "the movement to organize the workers," to which he had given an address the previous Saturday and which would be settled this evening, when "things either would stand or fall" (43 f.).

The later correspondence, from the period of Barth's Goettingen professorship, reflects more the problems of the young professor ("Oh! If only someone would give me time, time, time, to do everything, *properly*." (p. 93). His responses to the colleagues of his profession are interesting. Commenting on Bultmann as devotional leader, he describes him as "the night's orator and mystagogue" (p. 89). On one occasion he refers to Gogarten as "the possessor of a knowledge (of) whose source and content he was unable to give any kind of account" (p. 110). I would mention finally Barth's response to some repentant critics of his *Romans* commentary: "What should the righteous man think when all at once

he is 'appreciated' by such old rascals (certain former critics)?" (p. 94).

Barth appears already in this correspondence as the man he was to become—a man wholly dedicated to Church and theology, disciplined and serious yet, and above all, humane and humorous, always more excited about his visions than his victories, about theology than his theology. The style of Barth's writing is suitable and revealing—every bit as much as the content. Consider, for example, Barth's advice to himself in the face of theological controversy: "What matters above all: *in necessariis* not to give an inch, *in dubiis* to take no notice, *in omnibus* not to let my pipe go out" (p. 82).

This reader is aware of no better introduction to the spirit of Barth and the concerns of his theology, than this volume. Especially helpful is Thurneysen's introduction to Barth's early life and thought. No readers of the *Review* should pass this one by.—Robert T. Osborn.

John Wesley: A Theological Biography, Vol. I. Martin Schmidt (translated by Norman Goldhawk). Abingdon (The Epworth Press). 1963. 320 pp. \$6.50.

This is a straight-forward account by a trustworthy scholar. He is well suited to the difficult task of delineating a complex character without oversimplifying. A section on background is both lucidly informative and critically selective. The people and movements who help explain the direction Wesley took are in good focus. In all the chapters there is stalwart, unabashed documentation to the primary and secondary literature. Without this, necessary generalizations cannot stand. The author has distinctive vantage points for viewing Wesley in relation to a vast repertoire of German sources and the Lutheran Reformation, especially. He capitalizes these advantages without abusing them. The analysis and exact footnoting of sources is admirable. The content and bearing of specific

treatises that Wesley read are meticulously set forth—whether their provenance be English or German, Moravian or Roman Catholic, that of Pietism or Puritanism. The bibliography is perhaps unduly compressed. The result, in any case, is a genuine study book. It is well adapted to English readers by a resourceful translator.

Particular judgments and proportionate emphases may sometimes be questioned, as in any good book that advances purposeful, biographical objectives. The reader's independent reflection and possible hostile conclusions are not circumscribed. Students may complain, as some of mine have, that there is too little fresh insight on the Oxford years, and too much Lutheran slant on the conversion experience, or too many footnotes to non-English sources. Such criticisms from different quarters tend to cancel each other out. Wesley's spiritual progenitors were not all English and his parishes have not always talked "American."

The account of nurturing home and ancestry has an aura of dignity and realism. The author has taken pains to assess the spiritual as well as the physical blood lines that coursed through Wesley. This clearly marks the influence upon him of such widespread sources as Scougall, Spenser, *The Spectator*, Richard and William Morgan, Spenser and Francke, as well as the Spanish Roman Catholic mystic Lopez, not to mention Nitschmann, Boehler, and Zinzendorf.

The book systematically traverses childhood and youth, Oxford days, Georgia heartbreak and, finally, the "conversion." Different critics will variously assess the balance of sources and of the historical and theological interpretations here intertwined. The author keeps his pledge to write a "theological" biography. The one hundred concluding pages are a treasury of literary and historical tributaries put in a context of interacting cultural and spiritual resources. The author's main contribution—not al-

ways acceptable without challenge—is his interpreting Wesley from a Reformation and mainly Lutheran perspective. This he does out of genuine regard for Christian traditions as divergently specific as Roman Catholic mysticism and Moravian practicality. An example of this is the superb evaluation of the mystic Count de Renty as an influence upon Wesley. The biographer cogently argues with himself about what explains and at the same time deepens the enigma of Wesley's thought and doctrine. Even if, and when, one must demur at the author's line of deduction, one has the basis for a better inquiry into the ramifying truth. Sermons, letters, and diaries (not Wesley's alone) are effectively used. Wesley is taken seriously. One cannot indict the author for not employing humor more in depicting a leader who could have used it so profitably, yet who had so little of it. There is no sweet, slick condescension or modernization of Wesley as a psychiatric case study, no sentimental manipulation of him under the guise of pious appreciation. This book by a church historian is not only helpful to me, another church historian; I believe that it will also serve a wide range of scholars, teachers, students and general readers. May they welcome it, and the translation of the succeeding volume that is to follow shortly!—Ray C. Petry.

In the Steps of John Wesley. Frederick C. Gill. Abingdon. 1962. 240 pp. \$5.

Suppose that you are a Methodist minister who has begun to discover the extraordinary story of John Wesley's evangelical and reforming ministry, or the wisdom of Wesley's ecclesiastical statesmanship, or the rich legacy of Wesley's theological interpretation. You are increasingly interested in the man Wesley, and therefore in when he lived, where he went, what he did. You are given a sabbatical year (still supposing!) and ample funds for an extended visit to

Great Britain and an unhurried pilgrimage to the locations of Wesley's life and ministry. Already you have journeyed imaginatively with Wesley through the pages of his voluminous *Journal*, or mentally hopped around with his widely dispersed *Letters*, or followed his story patiently through Luke Tyerman's encyclopedic old three volumes on the *Life and Times of John Wesley* or John S. Simon's more recent *Five Studies of John Wesley*. Now you want a truly knowledgeable Wesley expert to travel with you and give those eighteenth century events and circumstances "a local habitation and a name."

You would not be able to take Duke's own Professor Frank Baker with you for a guide, because he could not spare the time from his enormous editorial undertaking of the new edition of Wesley's Works. You might then call on the Reverend Frederick C. Gill, and ask him to travel with you, pointing out the places, and the changes, recalling the personages and events, enriching them with the scholarly investigations and the local lore turned up by the Wesleyphiles of the years. What you heard might make up such a book as this, abounding in fascinating detail, copious illustrations, familiar and little-known anecdotes, with the framework of the *Journal* narratives and the full biographies. You would have a valuable biographical supplement, but more, a feeling for the times and people met in such a pilgrimage into the Wesley century.

Dr. Baker would review this book with a keen eye to its adequacy and accuracy, and might add to it from his own unsurpassed knowledge of Wesley. We can but commend it from the standpoint of an interested student of Wesley who would like to visit *some* of these places and imaginatively reconstruct *some* of those scenes. There are many names and other details an outsider may not know. But he can appreciate a faithful, sensitive effort to take us back in imagination to the actualities of the Wesley story. For the solidier theological presentations of Wesley, the

reader is urged to read two recent contributions: Martin Schmidt, *John Wesley: A Theological Biography*, Volume I (Abingdon, 1962), and even better, Albert C. Outler's new Library of Protestant Thought volume, *John Wesley* (Oxford, 1964).—McMurry S. Richey.

Teaching and Preaching the New Testament. Archibald M. Hunter. Westminster, 1963. 191 pp. \$3.75.

You who are Crossword Puzzle fans will understand me when I say that this book is an "olio" or a "pot-pourri." One is not surprised to find a volume of New Testament studies by Hunter, or a collection of sermons by him, or a pen-picture of a theologian from his critical and appreciative hand. He is a good scholar, a worthy preacher, and an interesting biographer. But what possessed him, or whom, to combine all three of his interests in one book? Yet, I am glad that this particular volume turned up. Because if you do not know Archie Hunter of Aberdeen, then here is a good way of becoming acquainted with him.

Part I, "New Testament Studies" is an assemblage of seven essays on such professional topics as "The New English Bible," "The Unfamiliar Sayings of Jesus," "The Style of St. Paul." Hunter is a good teacher, and he writes so as to be understood. Part II, "New Testament Preaching," is a selection of twelve sermons which reveal academic preaching with a pronounced pastoral emphasis, a valid simplicity of organization, and a flowing style. These sermons are short and to the point, to the point at which they were aimed. Part III, "A Theologian of New Testament Faith—P. T. Forsyth" is the substance of four lectures on this seminal thinker, whom Brunner called the greatest British theologian, and he did not mean English. Barth is reported to have said of him (1848-1921): "If Forsyth had not said what he said when he said it, I would have said he was quoting me" (p. 131). The theme of Forsyth's theology was

Christ, crucified and indwelling. His name, like Kierkegaard's, has come to life in the twentieth century.

Hunter is always the scholar but never the pedant; he is always the minister but never the cleric. Do you know this? If you *don't*, I am glad to introduce him to you, so that he may introduce himself in these three modes of his professional being.—James T. Cleland.

The Flaming Spirit: Meditations and Prayers of William L. Sullivan.

Edited by Max F. Daskam. Abingdon. 1961. 143 pp. \$3.

Pope Pius X issued an encyclical in 1907 condemning "modernism" in the Roman Catholic Church and demanding unquestioning allegiance to the historical and traditional interpretation of the faith. As a result, a young Paulist Father searched his soul and in 1909 left the Roman Church. He became a Unitarian in 1912 and, from 1929 to 1935, was pastor of the Germantown Unitarian Church in Philadelphia. He brought preaching gifts of an unusual order to that pulpit, for he read six languages and yet spoke like a story teller. Moreover, he carried with him an Irishman's love of the beloved community, so that these Unitarians found themselves members of a church and not participants in a debating society. Sullivan left an unfinished autobiography *Under Orders*, which is grand reading. Recently his assistant and colleague, with the aid of three of the members, edited a volume of Sullivan's meditations and prayers, and Bishop Gerald H. Kennedy wrote the Introduction.

Here are seventy-one meditations grouped under five headings: Sources of Faith; Discovering Faith; Practices of Faith; Celebrations of Faith; The Kingdom of Faith. Three more meditations make up an Epilogue. Sullivan writes thoughtfully, and assumes patient, meditative readers, because these are devotions for the mind. He writes succinctly, and asks of us reflection because the sentences

are freighted with meaning. He writes daringly, and requires in us a critical open-mindedness because he prefers truth to tradition. This is not a bed-side book. But it may well be a long-term tenant on the study desk.—James T. Cleland.

The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Education. Kendig Brubaker Cully, Editor. Westminster. 1963. 812 pp. \$6.

The assignment to review this massive, double-column tome might tempt one at first to take refuge in that hoary Twain-esque quip on reviewing the dictionary. Or it might prompt the quick and mistaken judgment that such an omnibus on religious education might be scattered and superficial in its treatments. But a cursory leafing through its pages would soon engage and surprise him with the variety of valuable articles by authoritative contributors in many fields—theological, historical, educational, psychological, philosophical, sociological, methodological. Our Professor James T. Cleland writes on Preaching, for example; Gibson Winter on the Suburban Church, Samuel Laeuchli on Sacrament, Claude Welch on Sanctification, Roger L. Shinn on Neo-orthodoxy, L. Harold DeWolf on Neo-liberalism, Robert T. Handy on the Sunday School Movement, Joseph Kitagawa on Sociology of Religion, Jesse H. Ziegler on Theological Education, Randolph C. Miller on Relationship Theology, William Hordern on Logical Analysis. What a range of topics and authorities!

Browsing or search more purposefully, one discovers articles on historical periods and persons (Roman Education, Robert Raikes, Pestalozzi); on Christian education in major denominations and other faiths, and in other countries; on educational methods (Team Teaching, Catechism, Role Playing); on major Christian education organizations (Religious Education Association, United Church Women, Division of Christian Education of the National

Council of Churches); on Television, Worship, Problem-Solving, Theories of Knowledge, Theories of Personality, Nature Study, Motivation, Student Christian Movement, Laboratory School, Group Dynamics, Koinonia, Growth, Guidance, and so on. What else do you want to know? It might be here!

Naturally the articles vary in type, length, and quality. Some do not work out the implications for Christian education as they might. Some may have a limited purview (for example, one on Family Worship takes little account of precedents in periods and denominations other than its author's). But the volume is preponderantly strong and well worth the minister's or DCE's or student's \$6.

Dr. Cully has for some years participated editorially in Westminster Press leadership in publication of competent volumes in Christian educational thought. Until recently Professor of Religious Education at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, he has now moved to a similar post in New York's Biblical Seminary. His wife (Iris V. Cully) is author, and co-author with her husband, of several noteworthy contributions in Christian education.—McMurry S. Richey.

The Ethics of Sex. Helmut Thielicke. Harper and Row. 1964. 338 pp. \$4.95.

It has been over ten years since English-reading churchmen have had a theologically systematic treatment of human sexuality and some of its cognate subjects. Now it comes from a German pastor-theologian who is already well-known in this country, through a half-dozen translated works, for his imaginative and vivid sermons. The volume here reviewed is one of four which comprise Thielicke's *Theologische Ethik*. (The other three are now being translated and are shortly to be published in English).

The title of this work is descrip-

tive enough of its content, inasmuch as the author deals, in turn, with the Biblical understanding of human sexual differentiation, the relationship between *eros* and *agapé* in human sexuality, and a theological interpretation of marriage. What the title may not explicitly convey is that, in a final section, Thielicke addresses himself to such related problems as contraception, abortion, artificial insemination, and homosexuality. Embracing such a breadth of interest, this book will rightly take its place on the shelf beside D. S. Bailey's *The Mystery of Love and Marriage* and Joseph Fletcher's *Morals and Medicine*.

By far the most exciting feature of the book is its method. Thielicke earnestly seeks to apply the now familiar insights of the hermeneutical study of Biblical texts to the vexing contemporary problems of human sexuality. This means that he is obliged to move constantly between the polarities of normative Biblical and theological affirmation and descriptive phenomenological study. Only in such a fashion, one is bound to agree, can Christian ethics mediate in a genuinely responsible way between God and the human situation.

This way of doing ethics, of course, leads to a kind of ethical casuistry; but Thielicke manages, for the most part, to avoid absolutizing his concrete conclusions and, always, to come seriously to grips with the refractory particulars with which sexual ethics is always confronted but seldom acknowledges.

One would wish to challenge some of the basic assumptions of the book, among them certain notions of sexual differentiation which are better supported by Romanticism and mythology than by modern psychiatric and physiological investigation. Also, one cannot accept uncritically the position that a nascent, germinating, human foetus is "sufficient to establish its status as a human being" or that euthanasia and artificial insemination by donor contradict the meaning of human life.

Nevertheless, Thieliicke has done us an uncommonly good service. Because of its (proper) emphasis upon the tentative and provisional character of moral decision, much of the ethics of liberalism has left us virtually paralyzed in the face of ambiguous and problematic situations. Thieliicke's hermeneutical approach appreciates the relativity of specific choices but demands, all the same, that one be committed concretely to something, here and now. This is not an altogether unexpected development from the author's dependence upon Bultmann's existential hermeneutic, and it is a welcome contribution both to ethical methodology and to moral casuistry. —Harmon L. Smith.

The Congregation in Mission. George Webber. Abingdon. 1964. 208 pp. \$3.50.

This book's sub-title, "emerging structures for the church in an urban world," describes much better than the title what George Webber wants to say. The congregation spoken of here is distinctly urban and inner city, and mission is understood chiefly in terms of problems and opportunities which are largely confined to metropolitan patterns of social grouping.

Pastors who share with Dr. Webber a sense of genuine urgency for new life in the church will welcome his latest work as a helpful resource. This is so because, whereas the details of the book may be almost unique to the author's own experience in the East Harlem Protestant Parish, the thesis with which he deals embraces a concern which is (or ought

to be) universally shared by Christians.

There are two fundamental realities with which congregations must become engaged: one is the Gospel, the other is the world. The Gospel, or the task of theological reflection and formulation, has received almost exclusive attention in our time. What is needed now is that the scales be balanced by similarly serious attention to the world in which the Gospel witnesses to its Lord. No one, I think, could take umbrage at this. Nevertheless, in the course of reading, one frequently paused to consider whether the attempted balancing did not actually create another imbalance, this time at the expense of a cogently formulated and systematically articulated theological affirmation. One often had the distinct impression, for example, that the moral sensibility of the congregation is rather more dependent upon its capacity to discern human need than upon some precursory faith commitment which, itself, is the precondition of such discernment.

Relating the lasting truth of the Gospel to the ever-changing world about it is the vexing problem that confronts the church in each successive generation. No one, least of all the author, would claim that this book (or any book) speaks the last word on the subject to our time. George Webber is, however, a navigator proven in the turbulence of the inner city, and this book, though not as venturesome and germinal as his earlier *God's Colony in Man's World*, will help us plot our course.—Harmon L. Smith.

