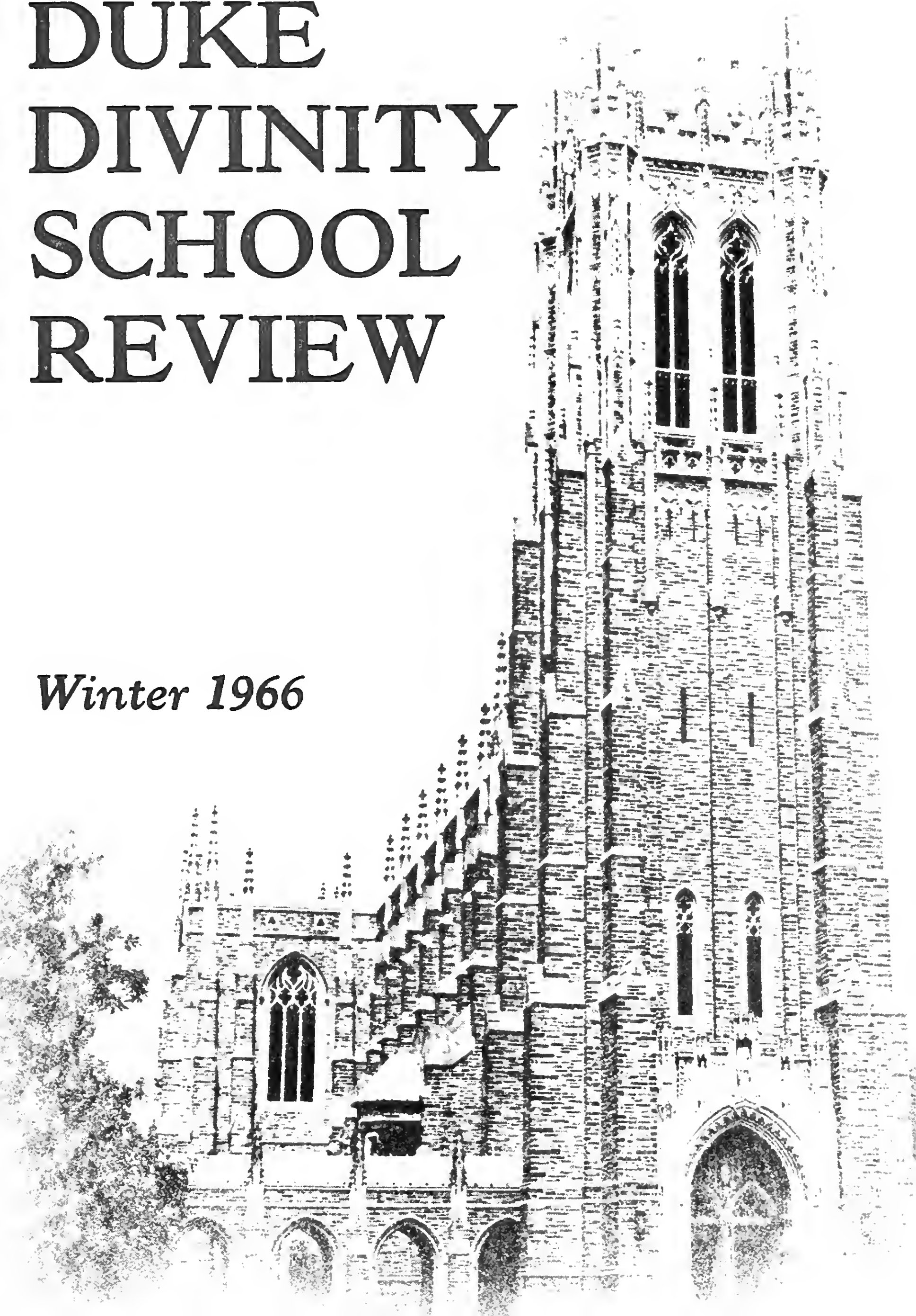
THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Winter 1966



A Prayer of Dedication

O teach us to know Thee our God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent; and enable us to do Thy will on earth as it is done in heaven. Give us to fear Thee and to love Thee, to trust and delight in Thee, and to cleave to Thee with full purpose of heart, that no temptations may draw us or drive us from Thee; but that all Thy dispensations to us, and Thy dealings with us, may be the messengers of Thy love to our souls. Quicken us, O Lord, in our dullness, that we may not serve Thee in a lifeless and listless manner, but may abound in Thy work, and be "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." And make us faithful in all our intercourse with our neighbour, that we may be ready to do good and bear evil; that we may be just and kind, merciful and meek, peaceable and patient, sober and temperate, humble and self-denying, inoffensive and useful in the world; that so glorifying Thee here, we may be glorified with Thee in Thy heavenly kingdom. *Amen.*

From *A Collection of Prayers for Families,* by John Wesley (1744).

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Bicentennial of American Methodism

Volume 31 Winter 1966 Number 1

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Sam's Creek Revisited

Howard C. Wilkinson, '42
Chaplain to Duke University

. . . The occasion for this sermon* is the celebration in this year, 1966, of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the first Methodist Church in the United States. In 1766 (if not earlier) Robert Strawbridge came from Ireland, organized a congregation of fifteen Methodists, and built them a log church on Sam's Creek, in Maryland, now less than an hour's drive north of the nation's capital.

That, then, is the occasion. What of the explanation? Why, in an interdenominational Chapel, would we have a sermon dealing with a particular denomination? Precisely because this Chapel *is* interdenominational, not non-denominational. Its congregation, its choir, its ushers, its musicians, ministers, preachers, hostesses, maid and janitor are members of particular, denominational churches. From time to time we single out a certain denomination for special attention, so that all of us might be aware of the contribution which that member is making to the whole body of Christ. For example, on October 24, 1965, from this pulpit the Methodist Dean of the Duke Divinity School fired a "21-gun" homiletical salute to the reformation taking place now within the Roman Catholic Church. And so it goes.

I

But there is exceptional justification for taking a look at the Methodist Church on the occasion of its second centennial. I think of three reasons. The first is that Mr. James B. Duke, who founded this University, was himself a Methodist, and he credited the Methodist Church with giving him the inspiration, vision and encouragement which led to this magnificent deed.

There are many evidences of the influence of Methodism upon Mr. Duke, but let me summarize the matter by quoting a portion of an address given by the late Judge William R. Perkins, the father of the present Chairman of the Duke Endowment. Judge Perkins

*A sermon preached in Duke Chapel on January 16, 1966, and printed in *The North Carolina Christian Advocate*, February 10, 1966.

knew Mr. Duke well; he was the personal legal Counsel of Mr. Duke, and in this address, delivered four years after Mr. Duke's death, he explained the motives and purposes which the benefactor had in setting up the Endowment. Here are his words:

> . . . according to Mr. Duke's plan . . . the objects of the Endowment may be conveniently classified as religion, hospitalization and education . . . To appreciate the provisions for religion one must realize that Mr. Duke was a Methodist of the rural district type and such had been his father and his grandfather before him. And a first rate type it was and is. The Circuit Rider had entered deep into the warp and woof of their lives . . . Mr. Duke often remarked: 'My old daddy always said that if he amounted to anything in life it was due to the Methodist circuit riders,' to which he [James B. Duke] invariably added: 'If I amount to anything in this world I owe it to my daddy and the Methodist Church.'

The second factor has to do with the financial support which the Methodist Church has voluntarily given to the University through the years. The Church does not own the University; it is privately owned by its Board of Trustees. The Church does not control or hold veto power over the Duke administration. No bishop, nor all the bishops together; no church board, nor all the boards acting in concert, can countermand the actions of the President of Duke University or the Board of Trustees. Yet the church which began on Sam's Creek gives Duke University a substantial sum of money each year for faculty salaries and the erection of new buildings. The current rate of giving is in excess of $200,000 each year.

The third and final reason for a special look at Methodism here has to do with the so-called "Fifth Decade" planning. It is no secret that this University is now engaged in the greatest development program in its entire history thus far. After years of careful evaluation and projection by groups of faculty, administration, trustees, students and alumni, a goal was fixed and an ambitious campaign was launched. The immediate and crucial objective was announced as the securing of $102,876,000 from anyone and everyone in the United States who will contribute.

This was not a campaign thrust upon the University by any outside group. It was, so to speak, an inside job. Something else was an "inside job": the selection of the men upon whom the University would depend to lead us to victory. Without any other criterion than that of proven ability and demonstrated interest in Duke University, the University itself selected six men who would head the over-all campaign and its five sub-divisions. There was no deliberate

attempt to pick Methodists. Yet five of these six men whom the University chose happen to be Methodist!

Therefore, in summary, we believe that, at Duke, there is special justification for a focus upon the 200th anniversary of the Methodist Church in America, because Methodism played a decisive role in the University's founding, it continues to give something more than token financial support, and most of the key leaders in our great "Fifth Decade" campaign receive their spiritual nourishment in the Methodist Church today.

What conclusion should we draw from this? What does it all mean? That Methodist students at Duke should be given better grades in Chemistry than Baptist students? That Methodists should be given preferred seats at home basketball games? That Methodist professors should receive higher salaries than Presbyterians? That Methodist Fords should be given better campus parking places than Episcopalian Cadillacs?

Merely to express these questions in words is to reveal the impossibility and the undesirability of preferential treatment of Methodism on this intentionally interdenominational campus. What, then, should we conclude from the fact that the Methodist Church has played, and will continue to play a decisive role in the fortunes of the University? The only conclusion which I care to press here is that the students and faculty who have benefited and will benefit so largely from the influence of American Methodism should take a bit of time to become knowledgeable about that church. I suggest that enough time be spent in study that is free from negative bias, at least to dispel the worst mis-conceptions which some people have of Methodism. The *actual* shortcomings and the *genuine* weaknesses of Methodist people and of the Methodist Church are bad enough! They do not need to be made to appear worse than they are by distortion and outright fabrication.

II

Let me briefly indicate, therefore, a few areas in which American Methodism has made distinct contributions.

The first characteristic which I shall mention is Methodism's interest in education, including higher education. John Wesley once declared, "The Methodists may be poor, but there is no need they should be ignorant." Francis Asbury, the greatest leader of early American Methodism, agreed with Wesley on this point, and he began by educating himself at great sacrifice. Indeed, he drafted

plans for a Methodist school only fourteen years after Strawbridge organized the first congregation on Sam's Creek.

By the time the American Methodists were ready to hold their first General Conference, Asbury together with Dr. Thomas Coke (an Oxford graduate) had already laid plans for a college and had collected some money for it. At the end of the first of these two centuries it was reported that American Methodism had founded nearly 300 schools and colleges. (Cf. Paul N. Garber, *The Romance of American Methodism,* Chap. 8)

You may be interested to know the names of some of today's leading universities which owe their existence to American Methodism: the University of Southern California, Vanderbilt University, Syracuse, Northwestern, Boston, Emory, Duke, S. M. U., Wesleyan, the University of Denver, Lawrence University, Southwestern University, and a host of other universities and colleges, some of which rank very high in national ratings.

Since the membership of the Methodist Church is only about five per cent of the total population of the nation, it is easy to see that this denomination has provided a disproportionately large share of the opportunities for higher education in this country. But having founded these institutions, and having given them a measure of financial support, the Methodist Church has by and large adopted an attitude of trust and cooperation toward them, and it has not sought to dictate their policies, leaving rather to the trustees and administration the complex decisions which must be made from week to week and from day to day. Indeed, some of the universities and colleges which were given birth by American Methodism now have no official kinship at all with their parent.

III

This is in harmony with another distinguishing characteristic of the denomination. I speak now of a policy which Wesley described by the phrase, "think and let think." Hard and fast credal statements have never been a part of Methodism, nor have neatly refined theological postulations been the basis of membership. The governing principle has been, "think and let think." I say this has been the governing principle, not the unanimous behavior! Here and there one will encounter a misplaced Methodist with a barnacled brain, who is willing neither to think nor to "let think." For him, the very thought of thinking is unthinkable! In general, however, the Meth-

odist Church has allowed and encouraged great latitude on matters of doctrine and practice.

It is important to remember at this point that the emphasis is upon tolerance rather than indifference! The Methodist Church believes doctrines are extremely important, and that every Christian should earnestly strive to know the truth of God. But when one has a faith which he cherishes more than life itself, he is in the best position to understand how much another man's beliefs can mean to him, and therefore he can be tolerant.

Methodism insists that all its ministers be thoroughly grounded in biblical studies, in theology, and in the application of the Bible and theology to the secular life of man. Some of the nation's most outstanding theologians and Bible scholars are Methodists. . . .

IV

A third characteristic of American Methodism is its historic insistence that the Gospel of Jesus Christ has inescapable implications for the social relations of mankind. Private piety is necessary, but by itself is not enough. No area of secular life has been exempt from the scrutiny and interference of some Methodist bishop or board. Often these activities have encountered their strongest opposition from within the denomination itself, but the Church has forged ahead.

A Methodist bishop marches from Selma to Montgomery. A group of Methodist churches unite with Baptists to throw whisky stores out of a county. A Methodist preacher is using his pulpit to expose rampant corruption in the local city government. Another Methodist preacher is threatened with contempt of court proceedings because he criticized a judge for his persistent refusal to sentence proven racketeers. A Methodist missionary is ejected from an African colonial post because he declared that colonial exploitation should give way to democracy, that there should not be taxation without representation.

Not all Methodists have agreed on any one social application of the Gospel, but there is practically unanimous agreement on the one theme which runs through all these activities: the insistence that God cannot be shut up inside the walls of the church, and that His will touches all of life. Because of this emphasis, Methodists have sometimes been accused of being activists and do-gooders. They have been charged with leaving off the preaching of the Gospel in favor of meddling in matters which were none of their business.

Only God knows for certain whether some of these accusations have been partially true. But Methodism has always felt that any preaching which ignores the secular is not a preaching of the Christian Gospel. It has contended that it must, in God's name, get involved wherever human needs are at stake. It has been willing to experiment, to try and fail, to try again another way. The Methodist missionary program experimented with short-term missionary projects, and the pattern was later borrowed by the Peace Corps. The Methodist Church tried financing an interdenominational chaplaincy in the Duke Hospital, and this idea is catching on. The Church's Division of Higher Education gave Duke a $25,000 grant to support some Latin American ventures. Project Nicaragua has been partially supported by that grant. The point is that the denomination is willing to experiment, to try new ways to make the love of God real in His world. It may fail. It may be criticized. But it will keep trying.

V

Last, but certainly not least, American Methodism has been characterized by an emphasis upon the importance of every person's having a vital relationship to the living God. Nothing will take the place of that. Methodists have taught that correctness of form in public worship is an unacceptable substitute. Methodists have insisted that orthodoxy of creed and intellectual belief is not an acceptable alternative to a personal relationship with a personal God. Therefore the great thrust of Methodist witness has been in a different direction from Deism, formalism, institutionalism and coldness in religion. The representative Methodist from the beginning at Sam's Creek has had a warm-hearted religious faith which proclaims God as Father and Jesus Christ as the living Lord. The God-is-dead churchmen have not found fertile soil in Methodist vineyards.

Dr. J. Robert Nelson, a distinguished Methodist theologian, who formerly was Director of the Wesley Foundation at Chapel Hill, represented most Methodists in an article he recently published in *The Christian Century*. He noted that the three professors who are conducting a prolonged funeral of God profess an attraction to Jesus, yet their descriptions of Jesus are conflicting and largely fanciful. He declares, ". . . none is the real Jesus of biblical witness and Christian faith. Apart from the living God whom Jesus called 'Father' and whom He represents in person, word and deed, there is just no real

Jesus Christ who can be known or addressed by a faith properly called Christian." (*Christian Century*, November 17, 1965)

This living God, through Jesus Christ, beckons all men to draw near to Him. He does not compel them to come, and some do not. Methodist theology has held that some men will not be saved, exclusively because they decline to accept the free gift of grace which God offered them through His Son. And it has held that some men *will* be saved, exclusively because they accept the free gift of grace.

Methodists almost unanimously have rejected the un-biblical narcotic that *all* will be saved, regardless. Methodist preachers and teachers have taught that nobody is going to be forcibly dragged into the Kingdom of God, while kicking and screaming in rebellion against it. All may come; none will be compelled; none is predestined either to salvation or to perdition, but anyone who chooses the salvation freely offered in Jesus Christ will be accepted.

For the past 200 years one of the favorite texts for sermons in Methodist pulpits across America has been this one:

> "I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely . . . And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." (Revelation 21:6; 22:17)

Wesley and Antinomianism

Earl P. Crow, Jr., '57
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Theology, as the language of God, is an absolute and unconditioned revelation of reality; but as the language of man, it is a relative and conditioned proclamation of faith. It is axiomatic that a theologian cannot be properly understood in abstract, apart from the influences which constitute his environment. This maxim is particularly applicable to John Wesley, who was a pragmatic evangelist rather than a systematic dogmatician, and whose theology was formed within the context of controversy. The thesis of this paper is that the fear of Antinomianism so dominated Wesley's thought and conditioned his theology that he rejected the Reformation theology of Luther, as manifested in Count Zinzendorf's Moravians, and of Calvin, as disclosed in the contemporary Calvinists, and adopted the theological position of the *via media,* of the more catholic Church of England.

Anglo-Catholic theology had no one final authority such as Luther, Calvin, or the Council of Trent, but it did possess an underlying consistency which may be described as the *via media.* Henry VIII rebelled against Rome's refusal to grant an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon; nevertheless, he remained a confirmed Catholic. But the influence of the theology from Geneva precipitated the emergence of an anti-episcopal party within Anglicanism. Thus, the Church of England took the middle road between these two continental influences, between Roman Catholicism and the Puritanical Reformers; and the *via media* became the essential factor of continuity in the Church's theology.

The doctrine of the Church of England received its classical exposition in George Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica* of 1699, but the foundation of Anglo-Catholic theology was laid in the preceding century by Richard Hooker.

In combating the disparagement of reason and the doctrine of election prevalent in contemporary Augustinianism and Puritanism, Hooker inclined toward Catholicism, imbibing the Aristotelian philosophy which recognized the efficacy of secondary causes. Although he grounded justification entirely upon Christ's meritorious

atonement received by faith, he contended that good works are indispensable to sanctification, so that "unless we work, we have it not".[1]

Strong anti-Calvinist sentiments were also expressed by Richard Montague, who, in a reply to Matthew Kellison's *A Gag for the New Gospel,* published *No, A New Gag for an Old Goose,* in which he denied the foreign reformed churches to be a part of the Catholic Church. He received the protection of James I and in 1625 published *Appello Caesarem,* repudiating both Romanism and Calvinism. In 1633, during the reign of Charles I, William Laud, a High Church Anglican, succeeded the Calvinist Primate, Abbot, as Archbishop of Canterbury and, like Lancelot Andrews at Cambridge, sought to purge Oxford of Calvinism. Laud was educated in the Aristotelian tradition of the Schoolmen and, in 1604, wrote a refutation of Calvinism for his B.D. thesis. In his 1639 *Conference With Fisher* he followed Hooker, endeavoring to show the Church of England midway between the continental Reformers and Roman Catholicism. In 1661, the Bishop of London, Gilbert Sheldon, presided over the revision of the Prayer Book at Savoy. The Puritan Party was led by Richard Baxter, but his influence was minimal against John Cosin, Robert Sanderman, William Sancroft, Matthew Wren, and Peter Gunning; and the new Prayer Book of 1662 secured the Laudian position against Puritanism.

During the pre-Wesleyan days of the seventeenth century, the doctrine of the *via media* received additional support from such eminent divines as James Ussher, Henry Hammond, John Pearson, and Jeremy Taylor, who in his *Holy Living and Holy Dying* of 1651 defined justifying faith as "faith keeping the commandments of God."

Ralph Cudworth, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, contended that man is Christian only in so far as he readily complies with Christ's commandments. Isaac Barrow, chaplain to Charles II, in *A Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy* (1680), attacked the malpractices of popes and condemned the scholasticism of the Council of Trent; yet, in his sermon, "The Doctrine of Universal Redemption Asserted and Explained", he was strongly anti-Calvinist. William Beveridge, whose *Thoughts on Religion* Wesley included in his *Christian Library,* sought to combine the indispensability of holiness and good works with salvation through the merit of Christ alone.

But it was Bishop George Bull of St. David's who gave Anglo-

1. *The Works of Richard Hooker,* Ed. by John Gauden (London: Printed by J. Best, 1662), pp. 242-45.

Catholic theology its classical exposition. Having encountered considerable Antinomianism in his first parish (St. George's near Bristol) in 1699, he published his *Harmonia Apostolica*, endeavoring to establish a balanced relationship between faith and works and to reconcile the soteriological sentiments of St. Paul and St. James. His theology of the *via media* was characteristic of the position of the Church of England at the beginning of the eighteenth century and of the theological atmosphere in which Wesley was nurtured.

It would be difficult to avoid, or to exaggerate, the impression made upon Wesley by his parents, who were both competent theologians and converts to the Establishment. Samuel Wesley, in 1693, while writing *A Letter Concerning the Education of the Dissenters in Their Private Academies*, was convinced of the error of his own position and that same year joined the Church of England. Tyerman described Samuel Wesley as "a moderate Arminian." His own writings reveal him as a rather severe anti-Calvinist, renouncing the doctrine of Absolute Predestination and asserting man's freedom and capability, through Divine grace, to keep the commandments of God. So profound was the influence of the father upon the son that John Wesley continually sought his counsel upon matters of import, and, although their mode of expression sometimes differed, their theology was substantially the same.

Wesley's mother, Susannah, also had Dissenting parents, but later in life, after examining for herself the controversy between Establishment and Nonconformity, she, like Samuel, joined the Church of England. It was she who educated the children, and her tuition encompassed not only secular subjects, but instruction in the scriptures and the collects and catechism of the Church. The stress which John Wesley later placed upon holiness can be traced directly to Susannah; for, although she distinguished between mere outward morality and inward Christian obedience, she taught her children that they could be saved only "by universal obedience, by keeping all the commandments of God".[2] Her contribution to the thought of her son John can readily be traced through their correspondence. Thus, Wesley was born of Anglican parents, confirmed in the Anglican Church, and all his life adhered to the theology of Anglicanism.

But Wesley was continually encountering Reformed doctrine, and had it not been for his fear of Antinomianism it is conceivable that he might have assumed a theological posture closer to the Reformers

2. *The Works of John Wesley*, Authorized Edition, (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872), I, 98.

than he did. Following his flirtation with, and rejection of, the mystical writers, including his valued friend, William Law, Wesley was momentarily convinced of the truth as expounded by a group of missionary Moravians.

When reform erupted in Saxony, the Moravian Brethren, already a constituted Protestant body, sent messengers to assure Luther of their sympathy and support; and, when religious persecution forced them to leave their native Moravia, they found refuge on the estate of the German Lutheran Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Their theology was basically Lutheran.

Wesley first encountered the Brethren during his journey to Georgia, and later, under the guidance of Peter Boehler, came to his "heart warming" experience. While visiting the Brethren in Germany, during the summer of 1738, Wesley recorded that he had encountered "living proofs of the power of faith; persons saved from inward as well as outward sin,"[3] but, according to his friend, James Hutton, his visit with the Pietist leader Augustus Francke, plus the fact that he had been barred from the Brethren's Communion, had dulled his enthusiasm for the Germans even before this return to England.[4] When in 1739 the preaching of Philip Henry Molther aroused the antinomian controversy at the Fetter Lane Society, Wesley's reaction was decisive. He condemned the tendency toward mystical quietism, describing this "grand delusion" as "an enthusiastic doctrine of devils", and exhorted his followers to participate in the ordinances of Christ and practice the performance of good works.[5]

It is extremely doubtful that Molther ever held the views imputed to him by Wesley. His background as the son of a Lutheran minister, his education at the University of Jena, the fact that he was a tutor to Count Zinzendorf's son, his continued service to the Moravian Church, his election as a Bishop of the Church in 1775, his private letters and his hymns, the fact that he claimed to have received the full assurance of faith while partaking of the sacrament, the testimony of Peter Boehler on his behalf, and the opinion of Charles Wesley that Molther had been misunderstood, all absolve him of Wesley's charges.

The controversy has traditionally been explained by Moravians in terms of Wesley's jealousy of Molther and by Methodists in terms of Moravian Antinomianism, but the problem was far too complicated

3. *Ibid.*, I, 110.

4. Moravian Church House, London, *MS: The History of the Renewed Brethern's Church*, II, 649.

5. Wesley, *Works*, I, 275.

to be resolved in such elementary conclusions. The conflict between Wesley and Molther paralleled that which existed between the Moravian Brethren and German Pietists, involving two divergent views of righteousness. The Brethren inclined toward Luther and contended for the concept of Christ's imputed righteousness, whereas Wesley followed Pietism in maintaining the necessity of a personal, inherent righteousness.

The doctrine of imputed righteousness had its foundation in the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone; and, according to Hutton, Wesley accused the Brethren of following Luther without discrimination, dwelling exclusively upon the doctrine of faith and neglecting the Law and zeal for sanctification.[6] It is revealing that although Wesley included *The Life of John Calvin, The Life of Philip Melanchthon*, and *The History of Martin Luther* in his *Christian Library,* he regarded none of the Reformers' works highly enough to include them. In fact, Wesley was quite critical of Luther, describing him as "shallow", "confused", and blasphemously antinomian.[7]

The intercourse between the Moravians and Methodists was terminated in September of 1741, when Wesley met with Count Zinzendorf and, having discussed the notions of imputed and inherent righteousness, was fully persuaded that Zinzendorf was antinomian. Wesley held tenaciously to the tenet of personal righteousness. He wrote:

> The righteousness of Christ is doubtless necessary for every soul that enters glory; but so is personal holiness too, for every child of man . . . The former is necessary to entitle us to heaven; the latter to qualify us for it.[8]

Wesley's relationship with the Brethren afforded an important link with Lutheran thought, but the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, as it found expression in the Moravian emphasis upon imputed righteousness, offended Wesley's sense of the indispensability of good works and gave rise to an amplified affirmation of the Law of God.

Wesley's association and controversy with the Moravians also formed the background for his subsequent conflict with Calvinism, for the notion of imputed righteousness, which Wesley considered

6. David Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1856), p. 54. Taken from "Hutton's Account of the Fetter Lane Break".
7. Wesley, *Works,* I, 315-16.
8. *Ibid.,* VII, 314.

antinomian, was accentuated by the Calvinistic doctrines of Predestination, Election, and Reprobation. The Calvinist contest continued over some thirty-five or forty years, during which time Wesley broke with his friends, George Whitefield, William Seward, John Cennick, Joseph Humphreys, and Howell Harris. The Minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1770 stated:

We have received it as a maxim, that a man is to do nothing in order to justification: Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favor with God, should cease from evil, and learn to do well: Whoever repents, should do works meet for repentance, and if this is not in order to find favor, what does he do them for? Who of us is now accepted of God? He that now believes in Christ with a loving, obedient heart. But who among those who never heard of Christ? He that, according to the light he has, feareth God and worketh righteousness. Is not this salvation by works? Not by the merit of works, but by works as a condition. As to merit itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid: We are rewarded according to our works. . . .Does not talking of a justified or sanctified state tend to mislead men? Almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in one moment? Whereas we are every hour and every moment, pleasing or displeasing God, according to our works; . . .[9]

The appearance of these doctrinal propositions incited a turbulent reaction among the contemporary theologians, particularly those in connection with the Countess of Huntingdon. A literary deluge followed as 'Calvinistic' and 'Arminian' Methodists joined in controversy. The Calvinist clan was led by John Berridge, Richard and Rowland Hill, and Augustus Toplady; and their opposition consisted mainly of Wesley, Thomas Olivers, and John Fletcher. From Fletcher's prolific pen came the well-known *Checks to Antinomianism,* in which he attempted to vindicate the 1770 Minutes against the Calvinistic charges of Pelagianism and justification by works. His thought culminated in his *An Equal Check to Pharisaism and Antinomianism,* a work consisting of three essays entitled: first, "An Historical Essay Upon the Importance and Harmony of the Two Gospel Precepts, Believe and Obey, and Upon the Fatal Consequences Which Flow From Parting Faith and Works"; second, "A Scriptural Essay on the Astonishing Rewardableness of Works According to the Covenant of Grace"; and third, "An Essay on Truth, Being a Rational Vindication of the Doctrine of Salvation by Faith." Fletcher's aim was the same as Bull's some seventy-five years before . . . to establish a harmony between faith and works, to proclaim justifica-

9. *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences 1744-1798.* (London: Printed by Thomas Cordeux, 1812). I, 96-97.

tion by faith, and at the same time, preserve the indispensability of good works.

Wesley's prime concern in his conflict with Calvinism appears to have been to sustain the concept of man's freedom; and, in his 1774 *Thoughts Upon Necessity*, he charged that Necessarianism neutralized any distinction between good and evil. He insisted upon man's moral responsibility and maintained that in order to preserve this responsibility man must be free. Unlike the continental Reformers, he was unable to reconcile the imputation of original sin and moral impotence with the justice of God; and, being persuaded that the condemnation of all men for Adam's sin impugned both the justice and mercy of God, he, like Ussher and Cudworth, asserted that through the atoning work of Christ preventing grace is communicated to all men for the recovery of that which they lost in the Adamic fall. Thus, Wesley felt that God's prevenient grace affords man freedom as well as acquitting him of Adam's transgression. He carefully avoided Pelagianism by renouncing natural free will and insisting that the freedom which man possesses "is a measure of freedom supernaturally restored".[10] Nevertheless, it may be noted that the universal nature of prevenient grace, in Wesley's thought, produced a practical effect in man's potentialities which is identical with Pelagianism.

In opposing Antinomianism, Wesley preached a two-fold concept of justification, comprised of initial acceptance and final salvation. He described initial justification as restoration to the favor of God and asserted its sole meritorious cause to be the death and righteousness of Christ; yet, like Hooker, he acknowledged the efficacy of secondary causes and affirmed that justification, although merited solely by Christ, is conditional. He declared the sole condition of initial justification to be faith, and accepted the Church of England's definition of saving faith as "a sure trust and confidence, which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he is reconciled to the favor of God."

But Wesley's experience with the antinomian stillness at the Fetter Lane Society led him to concede that repentance and works of repentance are also necessarily antecedent to justifying faith. He refused to term works of repentance a condition of justification, insisting that since they do not spring from faith they cannot properly be termed good works. Rather, he interpreted repentance and works of repentance as conditionally necessary to justification, to be per-

10. Wesley, *Works*, X, 229-30; XII, 453.

formed according to time and opportunity. Wesley's almost scholastic concern with the relationship between repentance and faith is reminiscent of the sixteenth-century controversy involving Melanchthon, Agricola, and Luther, in which Luther attempting to effect a compromise allowed repentance to be antecedent to justifying faith, but insisted that it is founded upon a prior general faith. In direct contrast with Wesley, Calvin interpreted repentance as an actual turning to God by faith and concluded that faith is antecedent to, and the ground of, repentance. Calvin regarded man as justified literally by faith alone, with repentance and works of repentance flowing from faith. Wesley, although he employed the term justification by faith alone, insisted that repentance and works of repentance, where there is time and opportunity, necessarily precede faith, thereby constituting faith dependent upon repentance. It must follow, therefore, for Wesley, that justification is conditioned upon repentance and faith, and works of repentance where there is opportunity, and that by the term justification by faith alone, he merely implied "that without faith we cannot be justified" and "as soon as anyone has true faith, in that moment," since repentance has necessarily preceded faith, "he is justified".[11]

Wesley's grand protest against Antinomianism at the 1770 Methodist Conference manifested a more radical interpretation of the necessity of good works for initial justification. He expressed his doubt that God ever justified anyone who "neither feared God nor wrought righteousness," and explicitly asserted that "whoever desires to find favor with God, should cease from evil, and learn to do well" and that "whoever repents, should do works meet for repentance . . . in order to find favor".[12]

In the 1770 Minutes Wesley also affirmed that those who were ignorant of Christ would be justified by fearing God and performing works of righteousness according to the grace they were granted. This concept of salvation through "sincere obedience", which Wesley first learned from William Law's *Serious Call,* was expressed by the Anglican Ralph Cudworth and was integral to Fletcher's doctrine of dispensations in his *Checks to Antinomianism.* Wesley extended this principle to the point of renouncing the doctrine of justification by faith to be "the grand doctrine by which the Church stands or falls," and declaring it to be time to "lay aside big words which have no determinate meaning" and "return to the plain word, he that feareth

11. *Ibid,* VIII, 47.
12. *Minutes of Methodist Conference*, 1770.

God, and worketh righteousness is accepted. . . ".[13] Wesley's fear of Antinomianism was manifested in the Minutes by his reluctance to speak of a justified state, and apparently he ceased preaching justification by faith as a converting doctrine, for on March 23, 1777, he recorded:

I preached at St. Ewin's Church, but not upon justification by faith. I do not find this to be a profitable subject to an unawakened congregation.[14]

The doctrine of a second justification was a manifestation of Wesley's fear that speaking of a justified state might lead men to an antinomian trust in what was done in one moment. He repudiated the Calvinistic concepts of finished salvation and infallible perseverance and asserted that in order to attain final salvation man must achieve perfection or sanctification (the words are virtually interchangeable in Wesleyan usage). This sanctification Wesley affirmed to be conditioned upon faith, both for its commencement and for its sustenance; yet, he maintained "words of piety" and "words of mercy" to be indispensable.[15] Thus, although he founded initial justification upon "such a faith as, working by love, produces all obedience and holiness", preceded by repentance and works of repentance where there is time and opportunity, he grounded second justification, or final salvation, upon both faith and works. The Methodist Conference of 1744 established the necessity of good works for second justification, as did the Minutes of 1770. In his *Remarks on Hill's Farrago Double Distilled*, Wesley stated that "final salvation is by works as a condition", and in *A Farther Appeal* he wrote:

With regard to the condition of salvation, it may be remembered that I allow, not only faith, but likewise holiness or universal obedience to be the ordinary condition of final salvation. . .[16]

John Wesley was indeed an Anglican, in the tradition of Hooker, Ussher, Laud, and Bull. The ultimate concern which is evident throughout the maze of Wesleyan refinements upon justification and sanctification is the desire to maintain the absolute necessity of inherent righteousness and holiness within the context of salvation by faith. Adopting the theology he had learned from his parents, Wesley rejected as antinomian the notion of imputed righteousness prominent in both the Moravians and Calvinists, and endeavored to motivate

13. *Wesley, Works,* III, 308.
14. *Ibid.*, IV, 95.
15. *Ibid.*, VI, 51; VIII, 286.
16. *Ibid.*, VIII, 68.

men to holiness by the doctrine of perfection enforced with the sanctions of reward and punishment.

It must be concluded that in opposition to what he feared were the antinomian tenets of Moravianism and Calvinism, Wesley adopted the theology of the Church of England "as it stands opposite to the doctrine of the Antinomians, on the one hand, and to that of justification by works on the other."[17] He rejected the Reformation theology, which represented justification as synonymous with final salvation . . . an act of God performed once and for all time, and accepted the Anglo-Catholic *via media,* which portrayed justification as the point of conversion from which man is enabled to cooperate with God's grace, live righteously, and thereby finally receive the just reward of salvation. In 1765 Wesley wrote:

> God thrust us out utterly against our will, to raise a holy people. When Satan could no otherwise prevent this, he threw Calvinism in our way, and then Antinomianism, which struck at the root of both inward and outward holiness.[18]

17. *Ibid.,* VIII, 51.
18. *Minutes of Methodist Conference,* 1765.

John Wesley and Jonathan Edwards

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Although John Wesley and Jonathan Edwards were contemporaries and both were involved in great revival movements, they never met and, curiously, never engaged in any direct correspondence. The two men did have knowledge of each other's work and ideas, however, obtained either through the mediation of other men or through published writings. The evidence relating to Edwards' knowledge of Wesley is minimal, but is, nevertheless, sufficient to allow some guarded speculations as to the nature of his views regarding Wesley. On the other hand, the materials for determining Wesley's attitude towards Edwards are more extensive, and reveal some significant points concerning Wesley's life and thought.

A Bibliographical Survey

Wesley was familiar with Edwards' role in the "Great Awakening" in New England, and with much of his written work. He not only read a large number of Edwards' writings, but published in abridged form no less than five of his major works. Included in the five abridgements were the four treatises comprising Edwards' reports and reflections on the New England revival. The first of Edwards' "revival treatises" was *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*, written in 1736, containing specific accounts and descriptions of those "being wrought upon" by the Holy Spirit.[1] The final treatise was the exhaustive discussion of the nature and marks of true religion in *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746).[2] Between the publication of these treatises, Edwards wrote

1. Jonathan Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton and the Neighboring Towns and Villages of New Hampshire in New England* (London, 1737). Hereafter cited as the *Faithful Narrative*.

2. Jonathan Edwards, *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, edited by John Smith (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959). Hereafter cited as *Religious Affections*.

two other works on the revival. In 1741 there appeared *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God,* followed the next year by *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England.*[3] Wesley's abridgments of these four treatises were printed a collective total of nine times during his lifetime.[4]

In addition to the writings concerning the revival, Wesley published one other major work of Edwards. This was the biographical account of David Brainerd, missionary to the Housatonnuck Indians in New Jersey and Edwards' son-in-law. The biography was published by Edwards in 1749, after Brainerd's premature death. It consisted primarily of excerpts taken from Brainerd's papers and journals, with some "Reflections and Observations" by Edwards concerning the excellency of Brainerd's personal piety and love of God.[5] In December, 1749, Wesley recorded in his *Journal,*

> On Saturday 9, I read the surprising "Extract of Mr. Brainerd's Journal." Surely God hath once more 'given to the Gentiles repentance unto life.'[6]

Wesley was greatly moved by the quality of the life and work of Brainerd, and the memory of Brainerd's exemplary piety remained with him throughout the rest of his life. He frequently referred to Brainerd's life as an appropriate example for all ministers. In the minutes of the conversations between Wesley and his preachers, in reply to the question, "What can be done in order to revive the work of God where it is decayed?", Wesley answers, in part, as follows:

> Let every preacher read carefully over the "Life of David Brainerd." Let us be followers of him, as he was of Christ, in absolute self-devotion, in total deadness to the world, and in fervent love to God and man. Let

3. Hereafter cited as *Distinguishing Marks* and *Some Thoughts.*

4. Wesley published the *Faithful Narrative* in 1744; the second edition appeared in 1755; *Distinguishing Marks* was also published in 1744, with a second edition in 1755. His abridgment of *Some Thoughts* appeared in 1745. All three works were subsequently published in Wesley's *Collected Works* (London, William Pine, 1773), Vol. 17, pp. 110-385. The *Extract from a Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* was first published in the *Collected Works,* Vol. 23, pp. 177-279; the second edition appeared in 1801 after Wesley's death.

5. Jonathan Edwards, *An Account of the Life of the Late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd, Minister of the Gospel, Missionary to the Indians, from the Honourable Society in Scotland, for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and Pastor of a Church of Christian Indians in New Jersey* (Worcester, 1793), pp. 311 ff.

6. Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley* (London, Epworth Press, 1960), Vol. III, p. 449. Hereafter cited as *Journal.*

us but secure this point, and the world and the devil must fall under our feet.[7]

Wesley's abridged version of the biography appeared in 1768 under the title *An Extract of the Life of the Late Rev. Mr. David Brainerd, Missionary to Indians.*[8]

These five items complete the number of Edwardsean writings that Wesley abridged and published.[9] It is clear that Wesley also knew Edwards' treatise, *Freedom of the Will,* taking opportunity to respond to it critically on two occasions, but he did not publish an abridgment of it due, as we shall see, to reasons of theological disagreement.[10] We should note, however, that Wesley did publish a larger number of separate works of Edwards than of any other man, giving some indication of the respect he held for Edwards, and especially of the value he saw in Edwards' works on the revival.[11] This respect is further exemplified by the fact that Wesley was quick to suggest the including of Edwards in an "ecumenical" prayer union, organized by several ministers in Scotland "to promote more abundant application to a duty that is perpetually binding, that our Lord's kingdom may come."[12] Edwards ought to be included be-

7. Thomas Jackson (ed.), *The Works of John Wesley* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan Publishing House, n.d.), VIII, p. 328. Hereafter cited as *Works.* In spite of his appreciation of Brainerd, Wesley was nevertheless critical of what he thought was Brainerd's superior attitude about himself and his work. *Cf., Journal,* III, p. 449.

8. London, 1768. Second Edition, London, 1771. The *Extract* was also published in Wesley's *Collected Works* (London, William Pine, 1772), Vol. 12, pp. 27-309, and Vol. 13, pp. 3-36.

9. Richard Green (*The Works of John and Charles Wesley,* London, 1906, p. 288), ascribes a sermon titled "God is Love," published in abridged form in the *Arminian Magazine,* January-July, 1785, to Jonathan Edwards. The sermon, however, does not appear in any of Edwards' published works, and cannot be conclusively attributed to Edwards.

10. Jonathan Edwards, *Freedom of the Will,* edited by Paul Ramsey (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1957). Hereafter cited by title.

11. *Cf.,* Frank Baker, "The Beginnings of American Methodism," *Methodist History,* Vol. II, #1, October, 1963, 1-15.

12. The "prayer concert" was initiated in October, 1744, by the Rev. James Robe of Kilsyth in Scotland, and soon gained support in that country. Wesley learned of the proposal for prayer and praise in March, 1745, through a letter from James Erskine, a friend of Mr. Robe. Wesley immediately suggested the concurrence of Edwards and Gilbert Tennant in America. On August 26, 1746, a memorial was sent to New England requesting the people there "to join in . . . this method of united prayer, and in endeavoring to promote it." The text of the memorial appears in S. E. Dwight (ed.), *The Works of President Edwards* (New York, 1829-30), Vol. III, pp. 457-459.

cause the revival in New England, wrote Wesley, "is evidently one work with what we have seen here."[13]

It is apparent, therefore, that Wesley held Edwards in high regard and was more than passingly familiar with his literary work. Further, in making all of his writings on the revival available in abridged form, it is clear that Wesley found in Edwards much that he considered worthy of the attention of those involved in the revival in England. On the basis of these abridgments, particularly those of the revival treatises, together with other writings of Wesley, we are able more precisely to determine the nature of Wesley's relationship to Edwards.

Wesley and the Revival Treatises

The first of Edwards' works that Wesley encountered was the *Faithful Narrative.* In this work Edwards reported on the awakenings as he had observed them, describing the way in which conversions usually occurred. On the basis of his observations, Edwards ventured some conclusions about the nature of conversion. It is an inward work of God, changing the heart of a man and "infusing life" into his dead soul.[14] Because it is an inward matter, it is neither proper nor possible for one man to make a judgment about the validity of the conversion of another.[15] But true conversion, claimed Edwards, appears to include certain general characteristics, such as new inward awareness and conviction of the truth of the Gospel, new insight into the scriptures, and an inward love to God and Christ.[16] Edwards seems to suggest that these inward experiences might be taken as marks of grace for the testing of the authenticity of one's own conversion.[17] However, the use of these marks in the matter of self-appraisal should be exercised with caution, because the degree of these experiences varies with individuals. Edwards observed that there is a "great difference among those that are converted as to the degree of hope and satisfaction that they have concerning their own state."[18] Many profess a high degree of assurance, but most of the converts are weaker in their convictions and "are frequently

13. John Telford (ed.), *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley* (London, The Epworth Press, 1960), Vol. II, p. 33. Hereafter cited as *Letters.*

14. *Cf., Faithful Narrative,* pp. 64-65.

15. *Ibid.,* p. 62.

16. *Ibid.,* pp. 69-70. 73-74.

17. *Ibid.,* p. 62.

18. *Ibid.,* p. 82.

exercised with scruples and fears concerning their condition."[19] Especially are they bothered by the corruption they know remains in their hearts, by the indwelling sins of pride, envy, and revenge, and by "wandering thoughts in the time of public praise and worship."[20] This remaining sense of defilement and lack of assurance, however, are not necessary signs, according to Edwards, that their conversion is not a true one. Indeed usually, after a time, the Spirit of God renews his gracious influences and "doubting and darkness soon vanish away."[21]

Wesley read Edwards' account of the conversions in New England within five months after his experience of faith at Aldersgate Street. On October 9, 1738, while journeying from London, Wesley recorded these words.

> I set out for Oxford. In walking I read the truly surprising narrative of the conversions lately wrought in and about the town of Northampton, in New England. Surely, 'this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'[22]

This reading of the *Faithful Narrative* made a significant personal impression on Wesley, contributing to an occasion of perplexity and self-examination in relation to the strength and validity of his own faith. What are the signs by which one may test the authenticity of his faith? Wesley perceives that a man who has true faith must be, in the words of St. Paul, a "new creature." Applying this principle to himself, Wesley finds that he is, indeed, a new man in some respects while lacking in others. He does seek true happiness in God rather than in earthly things, and he has come to view holiness as a reality of the heart rather than the performance of outward deeds. Both his conversation and his actions, Wesley believes, are appropriate to his ministerial office and are directed to the glory of God. In these ways, Wesley sees himself as a new man. In other respects, however, he finds himself wanting. He still does not have his desires totally directed towards heavenly things, although he does feel he has made, and is making, progress. Furthermore, while there is some measure of "peace, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, temperance" in his life, other important qualities are missing.

> I cannot find in myself the love of God, or of Christ. Hence my deadness and wanderings in public prayer: Hence it is, that even in the Holy Communion I have frequently no more than a cold attention. Again: I have

19. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
22. *Journal*, II, pp. 83-84.

not that joy in the Holy Ghost; no settled lasting joy. Nor have I such a peace as excludes the possibility either of fear or doubt.[23]

For Wesley, such doubts and fears are evidence of the weakness of faith. Faith, he believes, brings inward assurance and joy, dispelling doubt and uneasiness.[24] On the basis of this self-analysis Wesley concludes that while he does not yet have the "full assurance of faith," he does have some measure of faith that he is forgiven and reconciled to God through Jesus Christ.[25] He sees himself as one of the "babes in Christ", whose faith is authentic but weak, and in need of increase.[26]

This episode indicates two important aspects in Wesley's life and thought as regards his relationship with Edwards. It illustrates, first of all, the fact that Wesley's awakening at Aldersgate, important though it was, was not, as has frequently been claimed, the all-decisive religious experience in his life. Wesley's encounter with the *Faithful Narrative* provides evidence of his struggle, even after Aldersgate, for the certainty of faith. Edwards' account of the conversions in New England helped stimulate a self-examination which brought Wesley both comfort and disquietude concerning his spiritual state, and helped maintain him in the quest for assurance which had begun earlier and would continue into the spring of 1739.[27]

In addition to maintaining and stimulating Wesley's quest for the fullness and assurance of faith, the *Faithful Narrative* helped raise the question of proper marks for determining true faith and conversion. Both Wesley and Edwards, as we have seen, were concerned for marks of faith and conversion, and both were agreed that true marks were primarily matters of inward feeling and conviction. The explicit delineation of these marks, however, was of interest to Wesley, initially for the purpose of his own assurance, and later for the benefit of those claiming religious awakening through his preaching. It was largely the concern for valid marks which led Wesley, in 1744, during the early years of the revival, to publish his abridgment of the *Faithful Narrative.* Edwards' general characteristics would be helpful and instructive guides for Wesley's converts.[28]

23. *Ibid.*, II, p. 91.
24. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 414-415; II, 91.
25. *Ibid.*, II, p. 91.
26. *Ibid.*, I, p. 482.
27. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 89 ff., 125.
28. It is worth noting that the *Faithful Narrative* still retained a place of importance for Wesley late in his life. Letters written at this time recommend the work in defense of what some believed to be only emotional excesses. See *Letters*, VII, pp. 207, 352.

The *Distinguishing Marks* was edited and published by Wesley in the same year, and for the same reason, as the *Faithful Narrative* (1744). In the *Distinguishing Marks,* Edwards elaborated on the notion of marks or signs by which conversion may be judged regarding its authenticity as a work of the Spirit. There was a change, however, in Edwards' view of the value of signs. The Scriptures, he affirmed, provide us with true and certain marks of the work of the Spirit "by which we may proceed safely in judging of any operation we find in *ourselves, or see in others.*"[29] It is possible and necessary, for the well-being of the church, to distinguish between true and false conversion. Edwards rejected such things as "groanings" and "tremblings", or the making a "great deal of noise" about religion, as acceptable criteria for judging either the truth or falsity of conversion.[30] He pointed instead to a greater esteem for Jesus as Savior and Lord, to the turning away from sin and worldly lusts and a turning toward God and man in a spirit of love, to a continuing concern for truth and a higher regard for the divinity and truth of the Holy Scripture as true marks of the work of the Holy Spirit.[31] If these marks are present in a man, we may be assured that he is truly converted. On the basis of the prevalence of these marks, moreover, Edwards declared that the New England awakenings were "undoubtedly, in the general, from the Spirit of God".[32]

While Wesley's abridgment of the *Distinguishing Marks* reduced the work by nearly one-half its original length, Edwards' views about the possibility and necessity of marks of conversion, and about what are and what are not proper signs for judging conversion were kept by Wesley without significant alteration. Wesley saw in Edwards' "marks" scriptural criteria for authenticating and justifying those phenomena of conversion that were occurring under his leadership. These marks he made available to his own hearers and professed converts. A contemporary source claims that Wesley (and Whitefield) "earnestly recommended" Edwards' treatise "to the serious perusal of all Christians of all denominations, especially to ministers".[33]

Wesley found assistance of a different nature in *Some Thoughts,* Edwards' third treatise on the revival. There were many people in England and America who were critical of the awakenings, seeing

29. S. E. Dwight (ed.), *The Works of President Edwards* (New York, 1829-30), III, p. 560 (italics mine). Hereafter cited by title.
30. *Ibid.,* III, pp. 562-567.
31. *Ibid.,* III, pp. 580-584.
32. *Ibid.,* III, p. 588.
33. *Cf.,* Richard Green, *op. cit.,* p. 29.

in them the spectre of "enthusiasm". In England, criticism was frequently accompanied by overt harassment and persecution.[34] *Some Thoughts* was Edwards' defense of the American revival against its critics. He answered the charges of enthusiasm by insisting that we ought to judge in religious matters by the testimony of Scripture alone, and not by our own predetermined notions of religion as a calm and dispassionate matter, free from any inward or outward affectations. According to Scripture, claimed Edwards, true religion is seated in the heart or soul of man, and consists in affections of the will, a faculty of the soul.[35] Religious affections are those exercises of the will as it is inclined in high degrees of love towards God.[36] Such affections of the will sometimes gives rise to extraordinary external manifestations which, within limits, are "natural, necessary, and beautiful," and of "great benefit to promote religion".[37] Edwards recognized, however, that emotional excesses were present in the revival. Frequently, instances of professed conversion were accompanied by undue outward bodily effects. Edwards did not condone these things, but he did claim that such effects in themselves provided no conclusive evidence of the presence or absence of the Spirit, and thus were not proper criteria for judging either the truth or falsity of religion. They may be a manifestation of the work of the Spirit, or they may be an excitation of the "animal spirits" in man. Other criteria are necessary for determining a work of the Spirit with certainty, and these, as he had shown in the *Distinguishing Marks,* are provided in Scripture.[38] Edwards answered his critics by repudiating their basis of judgment. On scriptural grounds Edwards believed that the revival was undoubtedly a "glorious work of God" and ought to have the support rather than the condemnation of men.[39] Wesley saw in Edwards' defense of the revival a helpful rejoinder to his own critics and persecutors.

In his fourth and final work on the revival, *A Treatise Concerning*

34. *Cf.*, Wesley, *Works,* XIII, pp. 169-193.
35. *Works of President Edwards,* IV, p. 83.
36. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 83-86.
37. *Ibid.*, IV, 232.
38. In *Some Thoughts,* Edwards mentions certain proper criteria. "Scripture rules respect the state of the mind, and person's moral conduct, and voluntary behavior, and not the physical state of the body." Again, the following may be taken as valid signs of the Spirit's work: "A great increase of a spirit of seriousness and sober consideration of the things of the eternal world; a disposition to hearken to anything that is said of things of this nature . . . ; a disposition to make these things the subject of conversation; and a great disposition to hear the Word of God preached . . ." *Cf.*, *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 85, 105.
39. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 79, 118, 124 ff.

Religious Affections, Edwards turned his attention from the defense of the revival against its critics, to attempt to point with positive signs to the nature of true religion and to distinguish it from false, that is, from religion which consists of temporary emotional exercises and subsequent "falling away". In this work, Edwards directed his thoughts to those who professed conversion, offering proper signs by which they might "try" themselves to see if their religion was authentic. To accomplish this purpose, Edwards divided his work into three parts. In the first part, he argues that true religion does consist "in great part" in holy or "gracious affections". By gracious affections Edwards means the "vigorous and sensible exercises of the inclination of the will of the soul" towards God and the great truths of the Gospel.[40] He notes that the soul and body constitute a unity, so that any activity of the will of the soul also affects the body. Thus it is necessary to distinguish between passions and affections. The passions are outward exercises brought about through the overpowering of the mind by the animal spirits in man. Affections, on the other hand, are sensible activities which have their cause in the inclination of the will, but the will is so related to the human mind that it cannot be religiously inclined apart from the exercise of reason or understanding.[41] Gracious affections are not mere passions or rank enthusiasm, but activities of the will based upon perception and understanding.

There were some activities in the revival that raised some question in Edwards' mind as to their authenticity as true religious affections. He was, however, unwilling to dismiss them as having no possibility of being authentic. Thus, in the second part of the treatise, Edwards argues that such actions as rollings, shoutings, and screamings are not to be considered as certain signs for determining the character of religion. He retains the position taken in *Some Thoughts,* now directed to converts rather than critics, that external bodily effects are not adequate evidence for judging religion, and thus struck a blow at some of the notions of "popular" religion by denying that many of the signs accepted by people were conclusively valid. Better criteria than these were required if one were to distinguish adequately between true and false religion.[42]

The third section of the treatise contains Edwards' presentation of the marks of "spiritual and gracious affections" by which they may

40. *Religious Affections,* p. 96.
41. *Ibid.,* p. 98.
42. *Ibid.,* pp. 127 ff.

be distinguished from false affections. Since religion consists in large measure in affections, Edwards is here, in reality, offering signs descriptive of true religion. True affections arise from the inward operation of the Holy Spirit which gives to men a new sense of the reality of divine things and especially of the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In consequence, they are brought to an "evangelical humiliation", an awareness of their sinfulness and utter insufficiency, which militates against spiritual pride and self-exaltation.[43] Further, true affections are accompanied by a change in man's nature and life, a turning from sin to God and a growing into the spirit of love and meekness as exemplified in Jesus Christ.[44] When the affections are genuine, there is an increase in obedience to God's commands and in the Christian practice of love to God and man. Indeed, "Christian practice or a holy life" is the chief sign of gracious affections and true religion.[45] Edwards was attempting, in this treatise, to minimize the importance of outward emotional exercises, and to point to those signs, inward and outward, which are properly characteristic of true religion.[46]

Wesley's appreciation of Edwards' earlier writings on the revival did not extend unqualifiedly to the *Religious Affections.* He had, indeed, some significant criticisms of the treatise. Wesley apparently understood the work of Edwards' attempt to justify his support of the awakenings in the early stages of the revival when, in the "cooling-off" period, many of the supposed converts began to "fall away". In the "Preface" to his 1773 abridgment, Wesley says:

> The design of Mr. Edwards in the treatise, from which the following extract is made, seems to have been (chiefly, if not altogether) to serve his hypothesis. In three preceding tracts, he had given an account of a glorious work in New England; of abundance of sinners, of every sort and degree, who were in a short time converted to God. But in a few years, a considerable part of these "turned back as a dog to the vomit." What was the plain inference to be drawn from this? Why that a true believer may "make shipwreck of the faith." How then could he evade the force of this? Truly by eating his own words, and proving . . . that they were no believers at all.

In order to do this, continues Wesley,

> He heaps together so many curious, subtle, metaphysical distinctions, as are sufficient to puzzle the brain and confound the intellects, of all the

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 311 ff., 315.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-345.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 383, 426.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 87-88.

plain men and women in the universe; and to make them doubt of, if not wholly deny, all the work which God hath wrought in their souls.[47]

Wesley's objection concerns what he considers to be Edwards' hypothesis, namely, that those "converts" who became "backsliders" had never been true converts at all. That is to say, the real point of contention appears to be a suspicion on Wesley's part that an untenable aspect of Edwards' Calvinism was the informing presupposition of the treatise, namely, the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints and, behind that, the doctrine of God's eternal election and reprobation. True believers are the elect of God and therefore cannot completely fall from grace. Edwards did indeed declare, in a section deleted by Wesley, that a saint can never fall away entirely and "they that do fall away, and cease visibly to (walk in newness of life), 'tis a sign they never were risen with Christ."[48] In Wesley's view of the process of salvation, election was given on condition of faith, and it was possible for a justified and regenerate man to "make shipwreck of the faith." This did not mean, however, that he had never been a true believer.[49] Furthermore, it was possible for a backslider to recover and go on to salvation. The point is that Wesley would have no part of a doctrine of unconditional election or of its corollary, the doctrine of perseverance.[50]

In fairness to Edwards, it must be said that Wesley apparently misunderstood the purpose of the treatise. Edwards was not trying to explain the fact of backsliding in the revival on the basis of his doctrine of election. Rather, his purpose was to explicate valid signs for distinguishing between true and false religion. On the basis of these signs, he was able to conclude both that genuine conversions had

47. Wesley, *Works*, XIV, pp. 269-270.
48. *Religious Affections*, pp. 390-391.
49. Wesley, *Works*, X, pp. 242 ff, 284 ff, 297.
50. It is perhaps significant to note that Wesley usually deletes Edwards' words "true saints," or changes them to "true believers" or "true Christians," thus eliminating any indication of the untenable Calvinism he saw in the treatise. See, for example, Wesley, *Collected Works* (London, William Pine, 1773), 23, pp. 231, 259, 261. A brief example of Wesley's editing is instructive. The deletions from Edwards' text are in italics.

"*Every* A true Christian perseveres in this way of universal obedience, *and diligent and earnest service of God,* through all the various *kinds of* trials *that* he meets with, *to the end of life.* That *all true saints,* all those that obtain eternal life, *do thus* persevere in the practice of religion, and the service of God, is a doctrine so abundantly taught in the Scripture, that particularly to rehearse all the texts which imply it is needless, *would be endless.*" *Cf., Religious Affections,* pp. 388-389.

taken place, and that some conversions previously thought to be genuine had turned out to be false.[51]

If, however, Wesley had such strong objections to the treatise, it is legitimate to ask why he abridged and published it. Wesley himself enlightens us.

Out of this dangerous heap, wherein so much wholesome food is mixed with much deadly poison, I have selected many remarks and admonitions, which may be of great use to the children of God. May God write them in the hearts of all that desire to walk as Christ also walked.[52]

A study of Wesley's abridgment shows what he considered "wholesome food". He retains in large measure Edwards' notion that, according to scripture, true religion consists much in affection, particularly that of love towards God. Like Edwards, Wesley wants to avoid any unconditional approval of all affections as genuine and to establish signs for determining true affections. "There are false affections and there are true. A man's having much affection does not prove that he has religion: but his having no affection proves that he has not. The right way is not to reject all affections, nor to approve all, but to distinguish between them, approving some and rejecting others."[53] It was in Edwards' explication of the distinguishing signs of true religious affections that Wesley saw the greatest value of the treatise. These signs he made available for the use and instruction of the "children of God".

Wesley and Edwards' "Freedom of the Will"

Wesley's essay, "Thoughts Upon Necessity", published in 1774, contained a remonstrance against Edwards' treatise on free will.[54] He strongly objected to the deterministic position advocated by Edwards in relation to the decisions and actions of men. Edwards, Wesley believed, held that all the inclinations of the will are determined, first of all by the fact that the motives causing the will to be inclined in any given way arise from sense perceptions of objective reality over which man has no control.[55] Sensation provides the "raw-material" for our ideas and judgments which are themselves the

51. *Cf.*, *Religious Affections*, p. 80n.
52. Wesley, *Works*, XIV, p. 270.
53. Wesley, *Collected Works*, (London, William Pine, 1773), 23, p. 192; *Cf.*, *Religious Affections*, p. 121.
54. Wesley, *Works*, X, pp. 457-474; also pp. 474-480.
55. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 460, 475. *Cf.*, *Freedom of the Will*, pp. 137-148. Wesley repeatedly summarizes Edwards' position using quotation marks but these "digests" nowhere appear in Edwards in the form given by Wesley.

factors conditioning the choices of the will. Furthermore, the will, as a faculty of the soul, is so united to the body that its "passions" of "love and hate, joy and sorrow, desire and fear," and its actions are also determined.[56] The ultimate cause which determines the will, however, is God, "who united our souls to these bodies, placed us in the midst of these objects, and ordered that these sensations, judgments, passions, and actions should spring therefrom."[57] Wesley, it is true, recognized Edwards' claim that the actions of men are voluntary, "the fruit of their own will".[58] That is, men do will certain things, and are free to act in correspondence with their willing.[59] But Wesley would have none of this evasion, and raised the prior question of the cause of the choice of the will. On Edwards' supposition, Wesley asserted, the will of man is "irresistibly impelled" so that he "cannot help willing thus and thus," and for this reason the actions flowing from the will are also involuntary and determined.[60]

Even if Wesley missed many of the subtleties of Edwards' argument, he perceived accurately the main point of the treatise. Edwards' was concerned to show that all events, including moral actions, occur by necessity and that God stands behind all human volitions as their ultimate cause. As Paul Ramsey has pointed out, for Edwards, "either contingency and liberty of self-determination must be run out of the world, or God will be shut out."[61] If all events, volitions, and actions come into existence contingently and separately, then all order and purpose disappears from history. The governing providence of God is destroyed, and God becomes a kind of mechanic having "little else to do, but to mend broken links as well as he can, and be rectifying his disjointed frame and disordered movements, in the best manner the case will allow."[62] Edwards is clearly opposed to any notion of self-determination, and insists on a principle of universal necessary causation in relation to the inclination and consequent actions of the will.[63]

Such a principle was intolerable to Wesley for, among other things, it made God the author of sin. Beyond this, according to

56. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 460, 476, 479. *Cf.*, *Freedom of the Will*, pp. 137 ff.
57. *Ibid.*, X, p. 463. *Cf. Freedom of the Will*, pp. 156-162.
58. *Ibid.*, X, p. 467. *Cf.*, *Freedom of the Will*, pp. 163-167.
59. *Ibid.*, X, p. 467. *Cf.*, *Freedom of the Will*, p. 164.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 467.
61. *Freedom of the Will*, p. 9; *Cf.*, also, pp. 180-185, 239-269.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
63. *Cf.*, *Ibid.*, pp. 171-174, 181-183, 259-260.

Wesley, Edwards' deterministic notions also destroyed free choice, thus making moral goodness impossible. If a man wills and acts necessarily, being "irresistibly impelled", then he is not capable of true moral acts. To perform virtuous acts requires man's free inward consent and choice.[64] Further, determinism makes human actions neither rewardable nor punishable. Necessary goodness or evil merit respectively no praise or blame. In consequence, the whole notion of future rewards and punishments is abolished.[65] For all these reasons, Wesley felt compelled to repudiate Edwards' determinism.

In response to determinism, Wesley affirmed that man is not the prisoner of his sensations nor the pawn of his Creator, and that liberty was a part of his original endowment, together with the faculties of will and understanding.

God created man an intelligent being; and endued him with will as well as understanding. Indeed, it seems, without this, his understanding would have been given to no purpose. Neither would either will or understanding have answered any valuable purpose, if liberty had not been added to them, a power distinct from both; a power of choosing for himself, a self-determining principle. . . . Certain it is that no being can be accountable for its actions, which has not liberty, as well as will and understanding.[66]

The Wesleyan answer to the doctrine of determinism was the counter-affirmation of a principle of liberty given to man at his creation as the basis for the inclinations, choices, and actions of the will, and the ground of accountability. To justify this claim, Wesley argues that the ability to act with freedom in making judgments and choices, and acting upon them, is a common experience of all mankind.[67] The decisive argument, however, was based on Wesley's view of the nature of God as mercy and love. A God of love would not consign the "noblest of his creatures" to a chain of necessary evil and consequent condemnation without any hope of relief, but would provide man the possibility and means for avoiding evil and doing good.[68] By insisting on the gift of the faculty of liberty, Wesley placed himself in unquestionable opposition to the principle of universal necessary causation.

Although the question did not become explicit in his criticism of Edwards, we should note that Wesley's view of liberty had im-

64. Wesley, *Works,* X, pp. 463-464.
65. *Ibid.,* X, p. 464.
66. *Ibid.,* X, p. 468. *Cf.,* also, VII, 228.
67. *Ibid.,* X, 468.
68. *Ibid.,* X, p. 473.

portant implications for his understanding of the human predicament and the process of salvation. What Wesley said concerning human liberty must be understood as referring to a principle *fully operative only in pre-Fall man.* It was on the basis of his liberty that man originally and freely sinned, separating himself from God, losing his liberty in large measure, and corrupting his other faculties. In consequence of the Fall, all mankind is totally corrupt in nature, "empty of all good, and filled with all manner of evil".[69] This, according to Wesley, is the natural state of mankind, and in this condition man has no freedom to choose "anything that is truly good" or perform any moral actions. Because of original sin, the natural man has power to choose only evil.[70] However, because of his original freedom man himself, and not any Divine necessity, is responsible for his fallen condition and deserving of punishment for infidelity.

Wesley, like Edwards, emphasized the sovereignty of God's grace in human salvation. Unlike Edwards, however, he did not understand the sovereignty of grace in terms of predestination.[71] Grace alone is the source, says Wesley, and faith the condition of man's being justified and accepted by God.[72] Man has no *native* freedom or ability to make himself acceptable to God through good works or self-reformation. He does, however, have a limited freedom, given him by God in virtue of the atoning work of Christ.[73] "Natural free-will," says Wesley, "in the present state of mankind, I do not understand: I only assert, that there is a measure of free-will supernaturally restored to every man, together with that supernatural light which 'enlightens every man that cometh into the world.' "[74] This free will and the "light" which illumines his corrupt faculties are, in reality, gifts of the grace of the Holy Spirit working preveniently in man.[75] No man is "wholly void" of prevenient grace.[76] No man can choose not to have it, and in this sense grace is irresistible. However, it is possible for man to stifle grace and, indeed, the "generality of men" do quench it, either through stubborn resistance or failure to follow its promptings.[77]

69. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 63.
70. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 350, 392.
71. *Cf.*, *Freedom of the Will*, pp. 434-435.
72. Wesley, *Works*, V, p. 8.
73. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 73; VII, p. 188.
74. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 229-230.
75. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 44.
76. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 512.
77. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 44, 512.

Prevenient grace operates, in one respect, as "natural conscience" enabling man to distinguish between good and evil, and in consequence to know himself, his duty and his sinful state.[78] It is also the stimulus of man's initial desires to please God and to abandon evil ways.[79] Furthermore, prevenient grace restores to man sufficient freedom either to resist the operations of grace, or to concur with them.[80] But what does Wesley mean by "concurring"? Precisely what does prevenient grace enable man to do? The freedom bestowed by grace does not, it is true, enable man to choose God or to respond in saving faith to God. Prevenient grace does give man a knowledge of good and evil and, in so doing, gives also the ability to consider his own state in the light of that knowledge. Man's "measure of freedom" is, in reality, his conscience which functions as the possibility "of knowing himself; of discerning, both in general and in particular, his own tempers, thoughts, words, and actions," and their conformity with good or evil.[81] Beyond the ability to consider himself in the light of the testimonies of conscience, however, human freedom does not go. The man who in the freedom of grace considers his state will be led by grace to an awareness and conviction of sin, of his need for salvation, and will be brought to despair about his own abilities and efforts.[82] In such a state of despair man may cease to resist grace and thus, in David C. Shipley's phrase, through an "absence of opposition" be open to God's influence in his life.[83] As Robert E. Cushman has put it, "Despair is the neutralization of man's perverse volition wherewith human causality ceases to resist so that Divine causality effectually can begin to operate."[84]

For Wesley, therefore, salvation is entirely the work of God's grace, but not in any sense of a limited and eternal election. The grace of God is not for the elect only, but is "free in all and free for all",[85] preveniently at work in all men, providing knowledge of good and evil, all initial desires for God, and a measure of freedom, all of

78. *Ibid.*, X, p. 232; VII, pp. 187-188, 345.
79. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 509.
80. *Ibid.*, X, p. 231.
81. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 189-190; *Cf.*, also, V, p. 135.
82. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 104, 109-110.
83. David C. Shipley, "Methodist Arminianism in the Theology of John Fletcher" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1942), pp. 277 ff.
84. Robert E. Cushman, "Salvation for All: Wesley and Calvinism," in W. K. Anderson (ed.), *Methodism* (Nashville, Methodist Publishing House, 1947), p. 108.
85. Wesley, *Works*, VII, p. 373.

which can lead man to self-knowledge and the condition of despair of self requisite for entire dependence on God. The emphasis on "free grace" and its role is Wesley's answer to determinism in salvation. At the same time, Wesley denies all natural free will in man, and ascribes all good to the sovereign grace of God. Here, he says, we come to the "very edge of Calvinism".[86]

Edwards and Wesley

If Edwards was acquainted with any of the written works of Wesley, the evidence verifying the acquaintance has not come to light. There are, in the available writings of Edwards, no references or statements which provide conclusive indication that he had a first-hand knowledge of any of the sermons or treatises published by Wesley. It is highly probable that Edwards simply never read any of Wesley's published works.[87]

This does not mean that Edwards had no knowledge of Wesley and his ideas. In all the Edwardsean corpus, however, there is only one specific reference to Wesley. In *Some Thoughts,* Edwards gives a description of the life and character of one of the persons whom he believes to be a true convert. There is in this person, says Edwards,

> A great alteration in those things that formerly used to be the person's failings; seeming to be much overcome and swallowed up by the late great increase of grace to the observation of those that are most conversant and most intimately acquainted: In times of the brightest light and highest flights of love and joy, finding no disposition to any opinion of *being now perfectly free from sin* (*agreeable to the notion of the Wesleys and their followers,* and some other high pretenders to spirituality in these days) but exceedingly the contrary.[88]

It is clear from this that Edwards at least knew about Wesley and something of his thinking about the doctrine of perfection. Edwards comments concerning the doctrine no doubt reflect his fear that perfectionism would tend to undermine the believer's awareness of his sinful condition and therefore, also, his dependence upon the sovereignty of God.

It would have been possible for Edwards to have read some of Wesley's early statements on perfection before publishing *Some*

86. *Ibid.,* VIII, p. 285.

87. Possibly the as-yet-unpublished works of Edwards—the "Miscellanies" and "Letters"—will give further evidence on his knowledge of Wesley's work and ideas.

88. *The Works of President Edwards,* IV, p. 118 (italics mine).

Thoughts in 1742.[89] It is more likely, however, that Edwards' knowledge of Wesley's position came through the interpreted mediation of George Whitefield, rather than through first-hand reading. In 1740, while on a preaching tour in America, Whitefield wrote several letters to Wesley, dealing largely with matters of doctrine. In May of that year, he expressed regret to Wesley over the rising tide of disagreement between them concerning the doctrines of predestination, universal redemption, perseverance, and Wesley's teaching in regard to man's freedom not to commit sin.[90] The following September, in a letter addressed to a "Mr. A", Whitefield stated,

> Sinless perfection, I think, is unattainable in this life. Shew me a man that could ever justly say, "I am perfect." It is enough if we can say so when we bow down our heads and give up the ghost. Indwelling sin remains until death, even in the regenerate. . . . There is no man that liveth and sinneth not in thought, word, and deed.[91]

Whitefield was evidently much concerned with what he believed to be Wesley's "sad errors". Within a week of the above letter, he had sent two others to Wesley attempting in part to prove that the doctrine of "sinless perfection" was not a scriptural doctrine.[92]

Less than a month after writing these letters Whitefield spent three days in the village of Northampton as a house-guest of Edwards, preaching several time in the Northampton church and others in the vicinity.[93] It seems inconceivable that Whitefield, in conversation with Edwards, should not mention Wesley and his own intense concerns about Wesley's views.

In the light of these criticisms, a word should be said about Wesley's understanding of perfection. The 1741 sermon on "Christian Perfection" does contain Wesley's claim that, according to Scripture, a "Christian is so far perfect, as not to commit sin."[94] Those truly born of God are "made free" from both outward and in-

89. Wesley's sermon on "Christian Perfection" was published early in 1741, more than a year prior to *Some Thoughts*. In addition, Wesley had, in 1739, published a volume of hymns which was prefaced by a statement on the concept of perfection. Cf., *Works*, XIV, pp. 323-327. Also, Wesley's *An Abstract of the Life and Death of the Reverend Learned and Pious Mr. Tho. Halyburton* (London, 1739) contained a preface in which the Christian's freedom not to sin was affirmed. Cf., *Works*, XIV, pp. 211-214.

90. *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield*, (London, 1771), Vol. I, pp. 181-182.

91. *Ibid.*, I, p. 209.

92. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 210-212, 216-217, 219.

93. *George Whitefield's Journals*, (London, The Banner of Truth Trust, 1960), pp. 475-477.

94. Wesley, *Works*, VI, p. 15.

ward sin in the sense that they are not under the necessity of committing it.[95] In the same sermon, however, he declares that no perfection or holiness is ever attained which "does not admit of a continual increase".[96] There is always the need to grow in holiness and the love of God. Wesley does not accept the term "sinless perfection" as an adequate description of his views, since it is clear that some vestiges of sin do remain in the life of believers. However, he insists that the indwelling character of sin in man does not prove that it cannot be overcome.[97] The point of Wesley's doctrine is that holiness of heart and life is a vital part of Christianity. The love of God with all one's heart and strength is the proper and ultimate conclusion of faith.[98] Even though man must continue throughout life to grow in grace and love, Wesley would not say that perfection is impossible in the course of earthly life. Through the power of grace, it is possible in principle to attain perfect love, and for this men should unceasingly strive. The doctrine of perfection is Wesley's radical testimony to the sovereignty of grace.[99]

Conclusion

The relationship between Wesley and Edwards was clearly indirect rather than personal, depending upon intermediate sources—literary and human. Wesley knew a great deal about the thought and work of Edwards, and found much value in his reports and ideas on the revival. On the other hand, Edwards, so far as we know, had only a single response, and that negative, to Wesley. A study of the relationship between the two men gives helpful insight into the nature of the agreements and conflicts between Wesley and Calvinism. On some doctrines, such as unconditional election, perserverance of the saints, and perfection, the two men were unalterably opposed. On others—the human condition, salvation by grace alone through faith, and assurance—they were not a "hair's breadth" apart.

95. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 7.
96. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 5.
97. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 7-8, 12; *Cf.*, also, XIV, p. 213.
98. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 207-208, 211-212.
99. *Cf.* Albert C. Outler, *John Wesley* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 252-253.

The Doctrines in the *Discipline*:

a study of the forgotten theological presuppositions of American Methodism

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I. The Birth of the American Methodist Church.

The hastily summoned Methodist preachers who huddled together in a wintry Baltimore that Christmas of 1784 issued their own declaration of independence. For all the thousands of miles of ocean separating them from England they had so far followed the precedents and accepted the oversight of Mr. Wesley. So it had been for more than a decade. Now, apparently with Wesley's agreement, and even on his suggestion transmitted by Dr. Thomas Coke, they made a deliberate attempt to erect a specific organization for American Methodism, fraternally linked with British Methodism but quite independent of its control. Now at last they had their own spiritual leaders in Coke and Asbury—technically equal in authority, but far from equal in the allegiance of their colleagues. (One of the ambitious little doctor's drawbacks in the eyes of the American preachers was that he functioned as Wesley's shadow, albeit a very substantial shadow, and one that, like Peter Pan's, occasionally slipped out of the control of its owner.) In 1784 the Methodist Episcopal Church secured its own national leadership, its own power to perpetuate a ministry, its own ecclesiastical organization, and also took an immense step forward in creating its own ethos.

A few of the preachers doubted whether the throwing off of parental restraints (and support) by this eager Methodist adolescent was wise and timely. Thomas Haskins spoke for others when he confided to his journal: "Oh, how tottering I see Methodism now!" Their two bishops managed to hold a precarious balance on the ecclesiastical fence without falling off, either on the one side of retaining full theoretical control of American Methodism for Wesley, or on the other of denying him any voice at all. At the very least they insisted that the decencies should be preserved and that, having successfully thrown Mr. Wesley to the ground, they should not kick him. He was therefore indulged with an occasional kindly reference but no actual power. Not until 1787 did the preachers explicitly

reject their 1784 agreement "in matters belonging to Church government to obey [Wesley's] commands." Perhaps, however, this original agreement should have been regarded rather as a courteous gesture than as a firm commitment.

The first official document embodying the organization of the new church used the title and followed the pattern of its British equivalent, though with the names of Coke and Asbury replacing those of the Wesleys. It was published in 1785 as *Minutes of several conversations between the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury and others.* The extent to which this depended upon Wesley's so-called "Large Minutes" is convincingly demonstrated by the parallel arrangement of the two documents in the appendix to Bishop Tigert's *Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism.* The ferment of independence was strongly at work, however, in what was omitted, what was altered, and what was introduced, including especially the subtitle—"composing a Form of Discipline". The second edition appeared in 1786 as an appendix to the "American" edition of Wesley's *Sunday Service.* This also retained some reminiscence of the British pattern, but experimented with a different title, which retained little of Wesley's apart from the word "Minutes": "The General Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, forming the constitution of the said Church." Thereafter, for the remainder of Wesley's lifetime, his example was completely forsaken, and the following five editions of the American Methodist preachers' ecclesiastical handbook discarded Wesley's title for their own sub-title, being published as *A Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers, and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.*

All this time the administrative discipline of American Methodism was evolving, and echoes of Wesley in specific regulations steadily and inevitably diminished. The one area where his influence persisted was that of doctrine. Here conditions in America were not markedly different from those in England, and indeed some of the theological battles of the parent society were later re-enacted by her daughter church, when the old weapons forged by Wesley proved to have retained their cutting edge. The dependence of American Methodism upon Wesley's theology has been both deliberately obscured and strangely forgotten by succeeding generations, and only in our own day is it once more receiving careful attention. The extent of this dependence is somewhat difficult to trace, but one of the most interesting clues is to be found in the history of the *Discipline.*

We have seen that the founding fathers of the Methodist Episcopal Church transformed Wesley's *Minutes* into their *Discipline*. At the American Conference next but one after his death another significant change was made in the title. Instead of *A Form of Discipline* the eighth edition of 1792 introduced the title that became the standard or model for most branches of American Methodism until our own day: *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.* The operative word in this change, of course, is "doctrines". The dead founder of Methodism is rarely mentioned in the volume, but in its doctrines, thus emphasized by the altered title, we become aware of his dominating though unseen influence, a ghost walking the *Discipline* for all succeeding generations, his teaching enshrined though his identity almost forgotten. Even when in 1812 Wesley's theological bones were disinterred from the *Discipline* and buried in a grassed-over grave exceedingly difficult for later Methodists to discover, his spirit could not fully be exorcised. Here, however, I suspect that my analogy is somewhat hard to follow for those who have not shared with me the excitement of searching out Wesley's doctrinal resting place in a mysterious publication entitled, accurately but inadequately, *A Collection of Interesting Tracts.* I will therefore return from the realms of fantasy to the prosaic task of the historian, endeavoring to trace the thread of Wesley's theology through the maze of the successive issues of the Methodist *Discipline.*

II. Doctrinal Sections in the Disciplines.

The *Minutes* of 1785 contained no formal outline of belief, but the document did echo most of the doctrinal passages of Wesley's "Large Minutes". Three sections in particular call for mention. A *verbatim* reprint of Wesley's statement about the rise of Methodism, published originally in the annual *Minutes* for 1765 and incorporated with some minor changes into the "Large Minutes" from 1770 onwards, appeared thus:

> In 1729, two young men, reading the Bible, saw they could not be saved without holiness, followed after it, and incited others so to do. In 1737 they saw holiness comes by faith. They saw likewise, that men are justified, before they are sanctified: but still holiness was their point. God then thrust them out, utterly against their will, to raise an holy people. When Satan could no otherwise hinder this, he threw *Calvinism* in the way; and then *Antinomianism*, which strikes directly at the root of all holiness.

At the very least this makes clear the double Methodist emphasis upon evangelical theology and the pursuit of holiness, as well as drawing attention to some of the snares waiting to entangle the feet of unwary Protestant pilgrims who believe that salvation comes and stays by faith alone. Certainly it offers no encouragement to those Methodists who would banish theology from the pew and even from the pulpit, to languish only in the rarefied atmosphere of the seminary. The sentence about Calvinism and Antinomianism was omitted from the *Disciplines* of 1787, 1788, and 1789—presumably to remove an additional snare from the path of the unlearned rather than because Satan no longer wielded those weapons. In the 1790 *Discipline* this section was transferred to the opening address, "To the Members of the Methodist Societies in the United States", though it was not made clear that the American Methodist bishops who signed that address were not in fact the authors of the statement, but had employed the services of a ghost-writer. Not until 1796 were quotation marks added, together with a footnote which stated, "These are the words of Messrs. Wesleys themselves." And not until 1948 was this "historical statement" replaced by one emphasizing Wesley's Aldersgate experience.

Other unacknowledged statements from Wesley's publications, similarly stressing points of doctrine, were carried over from the 1785 *Minutes* into the later *Disciplines*. The two most important were deemed worthy of publication as separate sections in the volumes of 1787 and its successors. "Of the Rise of Methodism" formed Section I of the 1787 *Discipline*, "Against Antinomianism" Section XVI, and "On Perfection" Section XXII. Of these latter doctrinal sections the first emphasized the need for good works as at least a *condition* of entering into and remaining in a state of salvation. The second urged: "Let us strongly and explicitly exhort all believers to go on to Perfection." Both were taken almost word for word from Wesley's "Large Minutes" by way of the 1785 American *Minutes*. Strangely enough, although these two important statements formed an integral element of the official constitution of American Methodism from 1784 until after the epochal General Conference of 1808, their existence was completely overlooked by the classic historians of the *Discipline*, Robert Emory and David Sherman, and only partly realized in the masterly work of John J. Tigert, who incorrectly speaks of them as having been introduced in

1792 and omitted before the passage of the restrictive rules by the General Conference of 1808.[1]

The *Discipline* of 1792 re-organized the numerous small sections of previous editions into three chapters, the third containing miscellaneous matter, mainly doctrinal, of which the re-titled "Of Christian Perfection" was section 4, and "Against Antinomianism" section 5. This arrangement was continued in the *Disciplines* of 1797 and 1798. To that of 1798 were added "explanatory notes" by Bishops Asbury and Coke. Those to these particular sections were very brief: "In respect to the doctrine of christian perfection, we must refer the reader to Mr. Wesley's excellent treatise on that subject;" and "The subject of antinomianism has been so fully handled by that great writer, Mr. Fletcher, that we need not enlarge on it, when it has been so completely considered by him." With the removal of the section on education in 1801 they moved up to become sections 3 and 4, and in 1804 were promoted to the head of Chapter 3, which was limited to doctrine and liturgy.

Contrary to Bishop Tigert's statement, this matter was still retained in the *Discipline* of 1808, when almost plenary powers were secured for General Conferences, subject only to a handful of restrictive rules. The first of these ran: "The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our articles of religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine." This well-meant attempt to petrify the theological *status quo* left a heritage of uncertainty.

III. The Doctrinal Standards: their nature and identity.

What are these "existing and established standards" of Methodist doctrine, which, like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, may not be altered? They are apparently like the common law, taken for granted by all, yet capable of accurate and complete definition by none, and never summarized in any authoritative document.

1. See John J. Tigert, *Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism*, 6th edn, 1916, p. 146. Their place and manner of appearance varied greatly, however, so that omission and error can readily be understood. In the 1785 *Minutes* they appear without any titles, the discussion of antinomianism forming the questions and answers of the two closing sections, 80 and 81, while the statement on perfection forms the lengthy closing paragraph of the answer to question 73. (See Tigert, pp. 585-6, 600-2). In 1787 their order was reversed, "Against Antinomianism" forming section 16 and "On Perfection" section 22, as noted above. This remained true until 1790, when each was elevated one step, to slip back once more in 1791 through the insertion of a new section on Band Societies.

At the present time the candidate for full connection in the American Methodist ministry undergoes an examination modelled on that given by John Wesley to his preachers. Questions 8-10 of the nineteen asked on this occasion run thus:

(8) Have you studied the doctrines of The Methodist Church?
(9) After full examination do you believe that our doctrines are in harmony with the Holy Scriptures?
(10) Will you preach and maintain them?[2]

Similarly the British Methodist minister is challenged every year of his ministry with this question, asked at the May Synod: "Does he believe and preach our doctrines?" This sounds exemplary, but it does not answer the question, "What *are* these doctrines which we must believe and preach?"

The accepted practice of the American Methodist Church seems to be to treat the Articles of Religion as "our doctrines", with a vague suspicion that something additional is implied. The British Methodist Church has a radically different approach, refusing to make a credal statement, taking general orthodoxy of belief for granted, and thinking of "our doctrines" as that something else implied but not stated in American Methodism. What, then, is this "something else"? Perhaps a closer look at the present position in British Methodism, clinging so much more tenaciously to ancient traditions, will enable us to visualize more clearly the doctrinal standards of our Methodist forefathers in this country, standards bequeathed to us, indeed forced upon us, by the first restrictive rule of the 1808 General Conference, and loyally accepted by the 1939 Uniting Conference.

The doctrinal standards of British Methodism are set out in the Deed of Union adopted by the three uniting churches in 1932 and, unlike everything else in that deed, may never be altered by the Conference, though the Conference is the final authority in their interpretation. This is much the same as the position of the modern American General Conference, though the uniting Conference provided for a possible amendment of the first restrictive rule. (*Discipline*, Pars. 9.1, 10.2.) Yet in this British Deed of Union the doctrines are never listed nor defined, any more than they were in any of Wesley's legislation. They are concerned with the spirit rather than with the letter of the law of God. It is taken for granted that the Methodist preacher accepts "the fundamental principles of the

2. *Discipline*, 1964, Par. 345.

historic creeds and of the Protestant Reformation", and he is expected to emphasize especially "the doctrines of the evangelical faith . . . based upon the Divine revelation recorded in the Holy Scriptures." Though these are never strictly *defined*, they are *illustrated*, in Wesley's manner and from Wesley's writings: "These evangelical doctrines to which the preachers of the Methodist Church both ministers and laymen are pledged are contained in Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament and the first four volumes of his sermons.*" The Model Deed of the British Methodist Church stipulates that no doctrines contrary to these may be preached in any Methodist Church. The significance of this lack of precision is thus spelled out in the Deed of Union:

> The *Notes on the New Testament* and the *Forty-Four Sermons* are not intended to impose a system of formal or speculative theology on Methodist Preachers, but to set up standards of preaching and belief which should secure loyalty to the fundamental truths of the Gospel of redemption, and secure the continued witness of the Church to the realities of the Christian experience of salvation.

The voice is indeed Wesley's voice, though the words are those of his followers. For this was the principle on which he tried to ensure the loyalty of Methodism to its evangelical calling, and these were the very documents which he legally established as exemplars of evangelical doctrine.

Exactly this pattern was followed at first in American Methodism. Gradually the Articles of Religion came to occupy a distinctive place as a formal and specific doctrinal standard, and eventually were regarded by many as the *only* genuine standard. As a statement of the theological emphases of Wesley and his American colleagues, however, the Articles are clearly defective, for where is Christian Perfection to be found? The Methodist Protestant Church tried to remedy this defect by a 26th Article on Sanctification, but, although this is printed in the present *Discipline,* its status is left deliberately vague, and it clearly does not have the authority of the original twenty-five. No longer are Wesley's *Notes* and *Sermons* mentioned. Their place in the trust clause for Methodist property is now replaced by a general statement that the premises are held in trust "subject to the discipline and usage of the said church, as from time to time authorized and declared by the General Conference." (*Discipline,* Par. 174) This does not in fact mean—as I hope to show—that Wesley is not present on Methodist premises, but that he is concealed therein, a dusty skeleton in a dark cupboard.

To see the early American situation fully we need to go back behind 1784 to 1773, to the first Methodist Conference held on American soil. The preachers present agreed that "the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists, as contained in the *Minutes*," should be the sole rule of their conduct. In thus accepting the *Minutes* they knew that they were accepting the principle that the trust deeds of Methodist chapels should contain a clause restricting them from preaching any other doctrines therein than those "contained in Mr. Wesley's *Notes upon the New Testament*, and four volumes of Sermons." This was made slightly more specific in the challenging opening question of the 1781 Conference: "What Preachers are now determined . . . to preach the old Methodist doctrine, and strictly enforce the discipline, as contained in the notes, sermons, and minutes published by Mr. Wesley?" This same loyalty was demanded by the Conference of April-May 1784 as an essential prerequisite before any European preacher could be accepted into the American work.

Unfortunately the *Minutes* of the American conferences during the eighteenth century are little more than statistical bones with only an occasional shred of historical flesh clinging to them, so that they do not enable us to reconstruct the body of this primitive church. It is to the *Disciplines* that we must turn for fuller information. Even here, however, we find the merest crumbs of theological leaven scattered in the disciplinary lump. The Christmas Conference of 1784 asserted the virtual independence of American Methodism, instituting indigenous episcopal government and several modifications of Wesley's discipline. But his theology remained untouched, almost unmentioned. A few incidental scraps of doctrinal teaching were retained, such as the somewhat inadequate summary (in a brief section on pastoral duties) of "our doctrine" as "repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ". Wesley's doctrines seem to have been regarded as almost inviolable; the main thing was to give attention to the discipline.

Both doctrine and discipline, however, were vulnerable. That this was realized may be seen from the caution against elaborate building plans for new chapels, which might give rich men undue influence—"And then farewell to the Methodist Discipline, if not Doctrine too."[3] One important casualty on the way from Wesley's *Minutes* to the 1785 *Discipline* was the stipulation about naming Wesley's *Notes* and *Sermons* in trust deeds as the Methodist doctrinal standards. For a time the American Methodist Conference had no explicit doctrinal

3. Tigert, *op. cit.*, p. 592.

policy apart from the three doctrinal sections carried over from Wesley, "Of the Rise of Methodism", "Against Antinomianism", and "Of Perfection".

IV. The Doctrinal Tracts incorporated with the Discipline, 1788-1808

This deficiency was remedied by the greatly enlarged fourth edition of the *Discipline,* published in 1788. The reference to the *Notes* and *Sermons* as defining the general area of Methodist theological emphasis was restored. This *Discipline* did more, however, much more. The title-page drew attention to "some other useful pieces annexed"—which in fact comprised two-thirds of the volume. These five "useful pieces" illustrated characteristic Methodist teaching from the writings of Wesley. The first addition was mainly historical and disciplinary in function—*The Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America*—an almost exact reprint of the Wesleys' *General Rules* of 1743, though their signatures are replaced by "Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury. May 28, 1787." In 1789 this document was moved up into the general body of disciplinary regulations, and has remained there ever since, forming the subject of the fourth restrictive rule of the 1808 General Conference: "They shall not revoke or change the General Rules of the United Society."

The second tract appended in 1788 was "The Articles of Religion, as received and taught in the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout the United States of America." Once again this was in substance John Wesley's work, his abridgment of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* into the twenty-five of the *Sunday Service of the Methodists.* Once again this was incorporated into the general body of the Discipline, though not until 1790, along with other doctrinal tracts. Once again it was named as a inviolable part of the Methodist constitution by the restrictive rule of 1808.

The third tract dealt with Cokesbury College and does not here concern us. The fourth was *The Scripture Doctrine of Predestination, Election, and Reprobation. By the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*[4]—an antidote against some of the dangers of Calvinism noted in the statement on the rise of Methodism. Like the Articles, this was incorporated into the body of the *Discipline* in 1790, and was presumably part of the doctrinal standards set up in 1808 as inviolable.

4. Actually it was not Wesley's own composition but extracted by him, probably from the work of William Wogan.

The same is true of the fifth tract. Once more it is Wesley, though Wesley in disguise. His original treatise had been entitled *Serious Thoughts upon the Perseverance of the Saints,* but his editors apparently found it necessary for American consumption to expound the word "perseverance" and to expunge the word "saints". The resultant title appeared as "Serious Thoughts on the Infallible, Unconditional Perseverance of all that have once experienced Faith in Christ." (They nevertheless allowed the word "saints" to stand in the second paragraph, where Wesley defined the term.)

To the 1789 *Discipline* a most important addition was made, augmenting generously the minute section on sanctification. This was no other than that spiritual classic *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, from the year 1725 to the year 1765,* which filled nearly ninety pages.

The year 1790 saw an important change of policy. All the doctrinal tracts were included as numbered sections of the official constitution, and to signalize the change a parenthetical phrase was added to the title, which thus became *A Form of Discipline . . . (now comprehending the Principles and Doctrines) of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.* Once more an addition was made to these tracts, though this time it was not from the pen of Wesley. It was entitled *A Treatise on the Nature and Subjects of Christian Baptism. Extracted from a late Author.* This had in fact been published in Philadelphia two years earlier by Moses Hemmenway (1735-1811) as *A Discourse on the nature and subjects of Christian baptism.* John Dickins printed about half the contents as a separate work of seventy-one pages in 1790, and it seems quite possible that the perusal of Dickins' extract led to its official adoption by his colleagues as a doctrinal standard in this insufficiently covered area.

The *Discipline* of 1791 continued to proclaim itself as "comprehending the Principles and Doctrines" of Methodism, but added nothing farther to the doctrinal sections. In 1792 the parenthetical sub-title became a part of the main title, and from that year to this the volume has remained *The Doctrines and Discipline* of the church—on the title page at least. This same Conference of 1792—the first to be claimed as a General Conference, though the term had not yet been invented—re-arranged the material in its newly-designated *Doctrines and Discipline.* The formal statement of doctrine in the twenty-five articles was promoted to first place in Chapter I, after the description of the origin of the church, while the lengthier doctrinal commentary contained in the tracts was relegated to the

closing sections of Chapter III. A further addition was made to these, in the shape of what we now know as the ritual, but which was then described as "Section X. Sacramental Services, &c." For some reason a few copies appeared without the bulky doctrinal tracts, so that "The End" could be printed on page 72.

In their preface to the 1792 *Discipline* the bishops (Asbury and Coke) differentiated between the two parts of their doctrinal standards, though insisting on the importance of both, in what amounts to a recital of the titles of the tracts:

> We wish to see this little publication in the house of every Methodist, and the more so as it contains our plan of Collegiate and Christian education, and the articles of religion maintained, more or less, in part or in the whole, by every reformed church in the world. We would likewise declare our real sentiments on the scripture doctrine of election and reprobation; on the infallible, unconditional perseverance of all that[5] ever have believed, or ever shall; on the doctrine of Christian perfection, and, lastly, on the nature and subjects of Christian Baptism.

Nevertheless they were not prepared to treat this supplementary matter as sacrosanct. Early in 1797 Asbury wrote about a task apparently entrusted to him and Coke by the 1796 General Conference: "We have struck out many to us exceptional [i.e. exceptionable] parts of the tracts. These we did not hold as sacred as the discipline, which we did not alter a word."[6]

In fact, however, the bishops' bark was worse than their bite. However vigorously they wielded the blue pencil, the published results remained the same through subsequent editions, with the one exception that Hemmenway's treatise on baptism was removed from the 1797 *Discipline.*

The 1798 edition was unique in furnishing "explanatory notes" by Coke and Asbury, who estimated that the discipline proper occupied seventy pages and their notes one hundred pages, so that even with the removal of Hemmenway's treatise and the ordination services from the tracts the resultant volume would reach three hundred pages.[7] In the event, however, it was decided to publish the notes in very tiny print, and to omit the tracts from at least this edition, so that the 1798 *Discipline* turned out to have slightly fewer pages than that of 1797. Not everyone was happy about the changes, and at the General Conference of 1800 "Brother J. Stone-

5. Altered to "who" in 1798.
6. *Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (1958), III: 159.
7. *Ibid.*

man moved that the explanatory notes be left out of the next edition of the Form of Discipline, except the notes upon the Articles of Religion." After pondering the matter for a weekend the conference reached a compromise: that the *Discipline* and the notes should be printed separately, so that preachers could have them bound together if they wished. In the following eleventh edition of the *Discipline* (1801) the notes were accordingly omitted and the tracts restored, and so it remained for the editions of 1804, 1805, and 1808.

V. The Doctrinal Tracts separated from the Discipline.

Another major change was ordered by the General Conference of 1812, its manner apparently dictated by the first restrictive rule of the preceding General Conference of 1808. As we have seen, this rule sought to fix for all time the "present existing and established standards of doctrine". These clearly included the Articles, and apparently also—though not quite so clearly—the doctrinal principles relating to *Notes* and *Sermons,* the doctrinal sections, and the doctrinal tracts—possibly even the Ritual. All these had been incorporated in the *Discipline* at the time of the restrictive rule. The mass of day-to-day legislation, however, was becoming embarrassingly large. (If only they could have seen the tightly packed little *Discipline* of a century and a half later!) To continue to publish these lengthy tracts in the *Discipline* was difficult, to add to them impracticable, to do away with them henceforth illegal. The delegates meeting May 1-22, 1812, eventually accepted a neat solution for their dilemma, one foreshadowed and possibly suggested by the treatment of the bishops' "explanatory notes". They would publish their authoritative doctrinal commentary in a volume separate from their doctrinal creed. On the very last day of the protracted Conference Jesse Lee moved and the delegates approved this resolution: "That the tracts on doctrine be left out of the future edition[s] of our form of Discipline, and that the following tracts be printed and bound in a separate volume, viz., : 'Predestination Calmly Considered', 'Scripture Doctrines on Election and Reprobation', 'On Final Perseverance', 'A Predestinarian and his Friend', 'Christian Perfection', and 'An Antinomian and his Friend'." In effect it might be said that the *Doctrines and Discipline* was henceforth to be published in two volumes, Vol. 1 dealing mainly with Discipline and Vol. 2 with Doctrine.

Bishop Tigert did not seem unduly surprised to discover (as he thought) that at least the latter half of this Conference direction had

been overlooked for twenty years—and the apparent neglect of the 1800 Conference's injunction to publish the bishops' explanatory notes in a separate volume would give some color to this belief. (Indeed I understand that even in these enlightened and efficient days it is not unknown for a General Conference to pass resolutions which are immediately forgotten, even by their promoters.) In this particular instance, however, fairly prompt action was taken. The first thing was to issue the revised fifteenth edition of the *Discipline* without the tracts, and this was done that very year of 1812, followed up by a sixteenth edition in 1813. The unwary student tracing these volumes in a card catalogue, however, would hardly realize that extensive cuts had been made, for the volumes retained almost exactly the same number of pages, by the simple expedients of reducing the size of the paper and increasing the size of the type. With these two diminished *Disciplines* under his belt the Conference printer, John C. Totten, turned to the supplementary volume, which one hopes was eagerly awaited.

In 1814 there duly appeared the first edition of the "Doctrinal Tracts", and subsequent editions continued to be given that designation on their leather labels, though never on their title pages. The title remained constant (with minor variations in the second sentence) through at least fifteen editions covering the best part of a century: *A Collection of Interesting Tracts, explaining several important points of Scripture Doctrine. Published by order of the General Conference.* The preface pointed out that these tracts had been omitted so that the quadrennial issue of the *Discipline* "might be small and cheap"—an unfortunate phrase that was amended in 1825 to "that they might still be within the reach of every reader."

This volume was almost twice the size of its companion *Discipline* and contained 360 pages. The reason was that Jesse Lee's resolution had been followed not strictly but generously, even to the end of the second mile and beyond. In addition to the original three doctrinal tracts added by 1789, Lee had requested and been granted three more of Wesley's smaller publications (the dialogue between a Predestinarian and his friend, and the two between an Antinomian and his friend) and another of his major works, *Predestination Calmly Considered.* So now there were seven—or would have been had not the two Antinomian tracts been forgotten—or deliberately omitted. Already there was matter here for a volume slightly larger than the *Discipline.* As if to atone for the omission with a work of supererogation, no fewer than nine other items were added, almost doubling the

size of the volume. Six of these were by Wesley, including his controverted sermon on *Free Grace*, his satire on Toplady's predestinarianism entitled *The Consequence Proved*, and a "pinch-hitter" for the tract on antinomianism (a word carefully avoided) with the somewhat fanciful title *A Blow at the Root, or Christ stabbed in the house of his friends*. The most considerable of the non-Wesley items was "A Short Method with the Baptists, by Peter Edwards, several years Pastor of a Baptist Church, at Portsea, Hants.", which filled over thirty pages and had originally appeared in England in 1793 as *Candid Reasons for renouncing the principles of Antipaedobaptism*. (Possibly a change in title was indeed called for!)

There must have been a reasonably good sale for this volume, because an unaltered second edition appeared in 1817. Eight years later yet another edition was needed. This time there was a general revision. The Methodists were still seeking an antidote to the pernicious doctrines and annoying success of the Baptists. Hemmenway's *Discourse* had been discarded. Now Edwards' *Short Method* was shed. Maybe Mr. Wesley could do as well; at least they would give him a try. And so the preface announced: "In the present edition some new Tracts are added, and Mr. Wesley's short Treatise on Baptism is substituted in the place of the extract from Mr. Edwards on that subject." As always, the preface was unsigned, though it was dated, "New-York, October 5th 1825." This volume was remarkable for the fact that each of the thirteen tracts was presented as a distinct entity, its pages numbered and its gatherings printed separately from its companions, though the gatherings were signed consecutively—with figures instead of with letters. Probably many of the items were in fact sold separately. This was certainly true of the last, Wesley's *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, which was described on the title page as "Tract No. XXXVI of the New-York Methodist Tract Society." Any surplus pages at the ends of the tracts were filled with appropriate (though little-known) poems by Charles Wesley, or with additional prose material. Even more was added to Wesley's *Treatise on Baptism* (which was in fact mainly the work of his father); this was supplemented by another tract, an extract from William Wall's *History of Infant Baptism*, which Wesley had published in 1751 under the title of *Thoughts on Infant Baptism*, together with "Remarks on Infant Baptism, by H. S. Boyd, Esq." (an English patristic scholar).

The demand for these doctrinal tracts continued, and in 1831 this same collection appeared in consolidated form, the gap-filling Charles

Wesley hymns omitted, and the other material printed consecutively on 388 pages. Strangely enough even the 1825 preface is reproduced exactly as in the original, complete with the earlier date and the statement that "two editions have been published and sold"—a statement which now contained the truth, but not the whole truth.

The following year the lasting need for such a collection was recognized by the provision of a stereotyped edition. This followed the somewhat condensed pattern of 1831, still more compressed into 378 pages. The editor deserves a hearty pat on the back for at last restoring the original title of Wesley's *Serious Thoughts upon the Perseverance of the Saints.* The preface was almost unchanged except for the re-writing of two sentences, one about the two former editions, the other about "several new tracts" (a phrase replaced by "some new tracts") and the alteration of the date to "New-York, July 5, 1832." Indeed this change of date is the only evidence we so far possess that an 1832 edition was in fact published, no copy of the volume itself having been discovered. This preface appears in a reprint, presumably from the stereotypes, after a title-page dated 1834. Copies are also known dated 1836, 1847, 1850, 1854, and 1856, and one undated.

In 1861 the volume was once more revised, and the new preface closed somewhat optimistically: "We hope the circulation of the book will be extended until the errors it so ably explodes shall be fully banished from the Church. The Publishers. New York, January 1, 1861." This revision included a caustic defense of Wesley against an attack by a Presbyterian who had been misled by a misprint and his own ignorance. The main alteration, however, was once more in the area of infant baptism. Even Mr. Wesley had not won the day, and he in his turn was dismissed for an anonymous modern writer, apparently a Methodist, who cited not only a liberal Calvinist like Dr. Leonard Woods of Andover, but also long-discarded Peter Edwards. There were at least two reprints of this revised edition, one in the 1870's and another about 1892.

VI. The Disappearance of the Doctrinal Tracts.

In the face of at least fifteen editions of the *Collection of Interesting Tracts* it is somewhat amazing that Bishop Tigert, writing his *Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism* in 1894, had never seen a copy, and in his revised issue of 1904 expressed surprise at meeting with even one edition. This contained the 1832 preface, from which he incorrectly deduced that the book agents had

waited twenty years to carry out the Conference injunction—a somewhat excessive delay even in those unenlightened days. He decided to supply the supposed lack of early initiative by himself issuing the original tracts in two small volumes of what he could then describe as the "well-known series of 'Little Books on Doctrine' ", entitling the volumes *The Doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.* In spite of his confident optimism, this work also is now so extremely rare that I have not so far been able to find a copy.

Maybe Methodism needs still another Bishop Tigert to reawaken us to our lost heritage. Our own generation is at length realizing that the methods of Methodism are far from being her only glory, that the *Discipline* as it stands at present has more affinities with Leviticus than with Luke, and that the real secret of an effective Methodism is spiritual and theological. Perhaps we need once more to study our evangelical foundations, so much taken for granted that they have too often been neglected. As we do this we should surely realize that John Wesley's gospel as well as his creed, not only in its spirit but in its literary expression, long remained and apparently still remains an integral though forgotten element in the "present existing and established standards of doctrine" which form an essential legal part of the constitution of the Methodist Church in America. True, "present existing" might at first glance seem to refer to 1939, or 1964, or 1966. In fact, however, it is the most recent successor of an unbroken line of exact quotations, all General Conferences having vowed to maintain the "present existing" standards of the predecessors, and thus in effect having vowed to maintain the doctrinal standards existing in 1808. In theory at least Methodist theology did not change its eighteenth-century oil-lamps for gaslight in the mid-nineteenth century, nor for electricity in the twentieth; like the Olympic runners, through the quadrenniums it has handed on the torch kindled at John Wesley's warmed heart. Nor need this cause us disgust—or even distress. Methods may change, but the message of God's eternal saving love in Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever.

[*Acknowledgments:* I wish to record my indebtedness to the librarians of the following libraries, who made it possible for me to have access to their treasures, including the editions of the *Collection of Interesting Tracts* listed: American Antiquarian Society (1814, 1817); Library of Congress (1814, c.1856-60 [Carlton & Porter], c.1872-80 [Nelson & Phillips]); Bangor Theological Seminary (1825): DePauw University (1836, 1856, c.1856-60

[Carlton & Porter]); Drew University (1814, 1817, 1831, 1836); Duke University (1814, 1817, 1825); Emory University (1814, 1817, 1825); Garrett Theological Seminary (1817, 1861); Methodist Publishing House, Nashville (1817, 1836, 1850, 1856, c.1892 [Hunt & Eaton, etc.]); Methodist Theological School in Ohio (1847); Southern Methodist University (1814, 1834, 1850, 1854); Syracuse Univerity (1825); Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary (1847); Vanderbilt University (1814, 1850).]

Frank Mason North: Ecumenical Statesman

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At the bicentennial of American Methodism church leaders of today will be paying bountiful tribute to the "founding fathers". But if one were asked to name outstanding Methodists in the "middle century"—say, 1816-1916—who would come to the fore? Melville Cox, the first foreign missionary; Wilbur Fisk of Wesleyan University; John R. Mott as a twentieth-century layman? What bishops, even, would be remembered apart from their episcopal office: Matthew Simpson, friend of Lincoln; McCabe, Mouzon, William Taylor?

Probably few Methodists would nominate Frank Mason North—or even recognize his name. Yet when he died in 1935, he was one of only two living poets to have three hymns in *The Methodist Hymnal:* "O Master of the Waking World" (#480), "The World's Astir!" (#562) and "Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life" (#465). Yet the third of these, written in 1903, may well have been sung by more Christians in more languages than any other hymn of the twentieth century. Frank Mason North, however, deserves a lasting place in the history of American Methodism, not for his hymns alone, but as an active spokesman for the Social Gospel, as a far-sighted mission administrator, and as a pioneer in the ecumenical movement.

I

Born in exactly mid-century, 1850, North was in many respects a typical Victorian clergyman. After graduating from Wesleyan University, he worked for less than a year in his father's business before deciding—in defiance of medical advice—that he must be about his Heavenly Father's business. For nearly twenty years he served pastorates in New York and its suburbs and finally in Middletown, Connecticut. In those days a classical education sufficed for formal theological training, and the scope of his early sermons bears witness to the breadth and depth of his reading and culture.

In the realm of personal ethics, this generation would consider North hopelessly "square". He knew that "pasteboards" with red and black symbols are not sinful in themselves, but he believed that card-playing led to many forms of evil. Convinced that most playwrights and actors lead immoral lives, he regarded the theater as a center of corruption. Dancing he referred to as "midnight gymnastics" or "agility at the expense of intellect". Attributing a large proportion of poverty and crime to liquor, he declared that major responsibility for drunkenness in society rests on those who themselves never get drunk, but "every drop that goes into the system drives just that much true manhood out." His favorite sermon text in this area seemed to be: "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh . . . ;" his favorite illustration, a mountaineer whose skillful leaps across dangerous chasms tempt others into fatal attempts at imitation. In the search for a "new morality" such an ethical criterion deserves more attention than it receives today.

Frank Mason North was not a systematic theologian. In fact, he had conscious and conscientious reasons for avoiding dogmatic controversy. First, that beyond the simple faith in Christ which is basic to salvation, God's ways are mysteries which man cannot presume to fathom. Second, that freedom of thought and responsibility of action are essential to true religion. Third, that theological speculation and debate may divert Christians from their central purpose of active service and neighbor love.

Nevertheless the basic tenet of North's belief was man's partnership with God. In sharp distinction to Calvin's doctrine of election, he affirmed his Wesleyan Arminian conviction that salvation is conditional upon the believer's response and responsibility as a free moral agent. God calls, but He does not coerce. Essential for true discipleship, he insisted, was the freedom to choose or to reject, to give or to get, to follow or to disobey. For Frank Mason North, Jesus could never be merely historical or merely an ideal. "We need to feel that Christ is this morning an actual being—a personality as truly as you and I are, that he thinks, feels, perceives." (1878)

Refuting many a critic of the Social Gospel, this abiding consciousness of a personal Christ runs throughout North's words and works. Salvation by faith, he declared at the end of his first year of preaching, involves not education, intellect or wealth; not sacraments or ecclesiastical organization; not ritualism or moralism or intellectualism or aestheticism; not even "union with the Church" or "well-regulated

life". It consists of personal union with Christ. When he insisted that salvation was *entirely* dependent on Christ, he meant *necessarily* but not *solely*. He meant that Christ's role was essential but not automatic. Each individual has his responsibility for accepting and following the Master. In fact, North once asserted flatly: "He could not save us without our consent, but He could die for us and by that death prove to us the Father's love." (1875)

Yet man's stubbornness, denial or rejection cannot change the reality of God and His love. To the "death of God" theologians North would probably say, as he did in 1879: "Walk if you choose in your own shadow. Hide yourselves—you cannot hide the Sun. Burrow into your rocky caves—the Sun is no less shining. Hurry into your idol temples and peer through the stained windows of your superstition—and yet—the Sun is risen." Though North believed firmly in justification by faith, he was equally convinced that faith without works is dead. "Conversions which still leave men liars, cheats, covetous, worldly-minded are not counted in the Kingdom of God," he wrote.[1]

In his pastoral ministry, as at every stage of his varied career, North took positions and revealed insights far ahead of his time. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when evolution and biblical criticism were shocking many segments of the Church, Frank Mason North accepted both calmly and fitted them easily into his pattern of faith. Of the English Revised Version (1881-1885) he assured his congregation:

> No great doctrine has been touched—nothing in any way essential to Salvation has been left out—the Bible as it has entered into the hearts of the masses for these centuries is the same Bible. . . . The scheme of salvation is untouched by the latest criticism. . . . [It should be received as] not a new Bible nor a rival of the old [but as] an incentive to study . . . [and a] testimony to the power of God to preserve His truth. . . .

In the progressive outlook of Frank Mason North there was never a conflict between science and religion—not between true science and true religion. "Science is good," he affirmed at the very outset of his ministry, "when used to illustrate the truth of revelation." (1873) What did offend the young cleric was any attempt to displace religion by science. Though often ridiculing those who feared and avoided scientific hypotheses, he maintained that science could explain the how of nature but not the why, the laws but not the cause. Whatever

1. *The Christian City*, Vol. XI, No. 9 (September, 1899), p. 146.

future scientific research might reveal, he was sublimely confident that it need not and would not jeopardize Christian truth. "Philosophy can hew no tomb which can hold the Son of God," he declared; "Science can roll no stone against the sepulchre large enough to keep Him prisoner." (1879)

The most striking impression to emerge from a perusal of literally hundreds of North's sermon notes and manuscripts is this: one of the greatest exponents of the Social Gospel in the early twentieth century seldom if ever made direct social applications in his early preaching. Furthermore, in his wide-ranging use of biblical texts (all but four New Testament books and fourteen in the Old Testament) the prophets were largely neglected. Yet, though he made little mention at that time of a social or evangelistic mission for the Church, the young preacher was not unmindful of it. "The Church must be 'in the world'—and the world shall hate it—but not overcome it," he warned in 1878.

Reviewing *Systematic Theology: A Complete Body of Wesleyan Arminian Divinity* by Thomas O. Summers of Vanderbilt, Frank Mason North disagreed with many of the professor's stands, including rejection of evolution. But he proclaimed his hearty overall acceptance of—

> a scheme of theology . . . originating as a distinct system in the views of Arminius upon human freedom and the doctrines of grace . . . rebuking, modifying, and at times conquering the prevalent ultra-Calvinism. Its strong appeal to the tribunal of human consciousness against the metaphysical subtleties which damned men by logic whom God would save by mercy, won . . . a large support from the class of thinkers who . . . were beginning to throw off the chains of scholasticism. . . . It was in Wesleyanism that Arminianism became practical, vital, regnant; and the living energy of Methodism . . . is at once a magnificent protest against metaphysical misinterpretation of the divine character, and a mighty demonstration of the Scriptural integrity of its own Arminian creed.[2]

II

For two decades in middle life, Frank Mason North not only articulated the "Social Gospel" in poetry and prose; he put it into daily practice. In 1892 he became Secretary of the New York City Church Extension and Missionary Society. This agency existed—and still exists—to initiate, supervise and coordinate numerous "inner-city" projects of Methodism in the great metropolis. The

2. "Wesleyan Arminian Divinity" ("By An Arminian Divine"), *Christian Union*, May 9, 1889.

famous Church of All Nations was founded during this period, and separate congregations were organized for most of the diverse ethnic or linguistic immigrant groups: Germans, Italians, Poles, Russians, Chinese, Japanese. Problems of crime and vice, of political corruption and economic exploitation, multiplied rapidly as commerce and urbanization accelerated. (In 1904, in his house organ, *The Christian City,* North speculated about the probable effects of the new subway which could transport passengers from 125th Street to Brooklyn Bridge in twenty to twenty-five minutes. He did not envision the chaos created when it might cease to transport its millions of passengers!)

"In haunts of wretchedness and need," across "shadowed thresholds dark with fears" and grief and greed, Frank Mason North walked the city streets, a tall, dignified man with a Prince Albert coat—and a heart of compassion as large as the parish he served. Through his editorial columns in half a dozen church magazines, from the platforms of Carnegie Hall or Union Square, in countless pulpits, North pled for a recognition of Christian responsibility amid urban needs. As early as 1892, fifteen years before Walter Rauschenbusch published his first influential book, Frank Mason North deplored the fact that "there are people who do not perceive that God is at work in the secular world as truly as he is in the religious." Is the Christian, he asked repeatedly, "to rejoice in the growing light of the suburbs while the shadows deepen and lengthen upon the heart of the city?" (No wonder it has been said that Harvey Cox's concern for the secular city is merely a return to the insights and the sensitivity of the early Social Gospel.)

As a senior in college North had composed an essay on Socialism which deplored its atheism, its license, its conformity, its impersonal system that "makes society a machine, man a cipher, God a bungler!" But he recognized, too, "a germ of truth which . . . threatens to revolutionize . . . the world . . . to break down the barriers of caste, to secure for *all* men equal and political rights." In 1891, however, he published in *Zion's Herald,* a Methodist periodical, one of the most important writings in the entire Social Gospel movement, a series of four articles on Socialism and Christianity.[3] Pointing to a number of parallels between these two faiths, North acknowledged the dangers and limitations of Socialism, restricted by its concern for one world instead of two. But he insisted that its best ideals were those of true Christianity, that the Church was guilty of propagating the "funda-

3. *Zion's Herald,* Vol. LXIX, Nos. 2-5 (January 14-February 4, 1891).

mental misconception" that the Gospel is "a divine contrivance for redeeming men *from* this present world rather than *in* it," and the half-truth "that Christ came to rescue the individual, not to reform society."

With his transfer to New York, Frank Mason North became the supreme example of "the city missionary". Yet his was no shallow humanitarianism. "This man with a mission to the cities must be evangelical in faith and evangelical in method," North wrote; "he will be a gospel-man in what he believes and in what he does."[4] But he must also "be awake to the progress of social and economic ideas. . . .He needs to see humanity in the mass as well as the individual in the masses."

He stands in some dark, fetid court . . . reeking with the filth and immorality of human degradation and he is bound to scrutinize that precious idol of the economist—the right of private property. He kneels at the bedside of the dying child, who lies scorching with scarlet fever or choking with diphtheria, and with his very prayer mingles indignant protest against the neglect of sanitary science by landlord and municipality. He traces everywhere the relation of the corner liquor saloon, protected by law, to the vice of the brothel and the squalor of homes. . . . He deals with working men. He is familiar with the red flag. . . . It is through his heart, warm with the divine love, and his mind, intelligent with the wisdom which is from above, that the world must gain the knowledge requisite for the solution of the mighty problems which confront its progress. . . .

Out of such scenes of misery and despair came North's masterpiece of hymnody. He never lost faith that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, incarnate in human beings, could overcome these social sins. He never lost faith that the Church has a vital obligation to serve as Christ's instrument in the world. "Methodism must reach both ways," he insisted; "she must touch God on one hand and on the other the people. Nay, the figure is false. God is with the people, and Methodism can find each only by seeking the other." How contemporary that sounds! How slow we have been to recognize that truth!

The Church of *Christ*—of Christ who went about *doing good*—must walk about the streets, and go down upon the East side, and enter into poverty's home, and chat with the working man over his hardships, or enter into his aspirations for a better job; it must help the bright boy to an education and the bad boy to escape from his surroundings; it must, by a membership vital with the divine life, establish relations of sympathy and helpfulness, in

4. *Central Christian Advocate*, January 4, 1893.

all possible ways, with the individuals in the dense mass of humanity which, like an impenetrable wall, confronts it. . . . It must wipe out the fine distinction between *iniquity* and in-*equity*.[5]

Fifteen years later Frank Mason North joined with half a dozen younger colleagues to organize the Methodist Federation for Social Service, an agency which more recently has drawn controversial attack, but which initially earned the overwhelming though unofficial support of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The following year, 1908, members of the Federation (including North, Herbert Welch, and—most actively—Harry F. Ward) composed the ten-point bill of rights for labor which was adopted by the Methodist General Conference as its Social Creed. Six months later Frank Mason North took this statement, incorporated it into a stirring theological treatise on Christian social responsibility, and presented it to the first meeting of the Federal Council of Churches as a report on "The Churches and Modern Industry". There North's larger formulation, officially adopted, became "The Social Creed of the Churches", a milestone in American Christianity.

What distinguishes the Social Creed—in spite of later distortions by friends and critics alike—is the unequivocal affirmation of "the supreme authority of Jesus Christ . . . not merely to reform society but to save it." As the Preamble asserts: "The Church becomes worthless for its higher purpose when it deals with conditions and forgets character, relieves misery and ignores sin, pleads for justice and undervalues forgiveness." But the reason for this concern North made abundantly clear: it is rooted in the nature and purpose of the Gospel itself. "The Church does not lay the foundations of a social order," he declared; "it discloses them. They are already laid. . . . Nothing that concerns human life can be alien to the Church of Christ."

Thus for twenty years Frank Mason North moved among the penniless immigrants and the wealthy philanthropists of New York City. By his challenge to Christian justice and compassion, by his personal character and commitment, he not only attracted large donations for the work of the City Society, but he persuaded prominent citizens to visit the rescue missions, to kneel in prayer among so-called "Bowery bums", to talk with union leaders and Tammany politicians. "No organization or order of men on the face of the earth,"

5. "The Gospel for the City; Larger Ideals as well as New Methods," address to the first session of the National City Evangelization Union, November 17, 1892.

he believed, "must be permitted to usurp the place of the Church of the Christ as the champion of human rights."[6]

III

After exactly two decades in the City Society, North was elected by the General Conference of 1912 as one of three Corresponding Secretaries in the Board of Foreign Missions. To this new appointment he brought a firm faith in the missionary enterprise and an unusual administrative talent. To supplement these with first-hand knowledge of the overseas mission program he set out in 1914 on a tour of the Asian field which took him on around the world. Though his original sailing from San Francisco was delayed and his later itinerary disrupted by the outbreak of war in Europe, he completed an arduous trip and vastly strengthened not only his own understanding of the world mission of the church, but also sympathetic trust between the missionaries and the home office.

Frank Mason North's pioneer vision shone as brightly through his missionary administration as it had in the inner city, though he was already in his sixties. His belief in Christian responsibility for world service and evangelism rested again on his Wesleyan theology. "Men should be the instruments for saving men," he declared; in fact, man is "the sole medium by which the Gospel can come to the unsaved humanity." (1882) In language which strikingly anticipates present-day mission theology, he asserted in a youthful sermon back in 1881: "The Church is a Mission"—a far more dynamic concept than simply that the Church *has* a mission. Furthermore, North regarded this mission as an *essential* element in any genuine religious experience. "The call to tell the Glad Tidings," he said, "is as surely a part of personal salvation as is the forgiveness of sins." (1889) As Jonah discovered long, long ago, the summons to mission is inescapable; the only question a faithful Christian need consider is where? or how?

Even more remarkable, North's concern for the mission of the church was not based on any narrow nineteenth-century pietism. His entire life and thought found its purpose and power in a personal experience of Jesus Christ. But this was an eternal and living Christ, as relevant to the present and the future as to the past. Thus, significantly, Frank Mason North confronted the world mission of the church from a new theological frontier in his attitude toward non-

6. "City Missions and Social Problems," *Methodist Review*, Vol. LXXV, No. 2 (March-April, 1893), pp. 237-238.

Christian religions. Most nineteenth-century missionaries had responded to Christ's call with the clear conviction that all those individuals—of every nation, race and creed—who did not consciously and openly accept the Christian faith (presumably expressed in baptism and church membership) were doomed to eternal punishment. Even today, those who try to fathom the mysteries of salvation are often perplexed by the seeming contradiction between inclusive love and exclusive judgment in the Gospel.

North did not presume to offer logical answers, but he did have clear theological convictions. One of these, in regard to non-Christians, was that "God will not condemn them because they do not believe in truths they have never heard." Expressing the hope that "such exceptions need not be made in a Christian land," he nevertheless took the still more radical position that "I care not whether they are in the church or not. . . . God requires of us only according to our light." In other words, the conditions for Christian salvation are always a conjunction of opportunity and responsibility. Incidentally, in this connection, North did not hesitate to link with the "poor, degraded heathens" the "man of prejudiced habits of thought and life", both standing equally in need of redeeming grace.

The mission of the church, therefore, is not to *take Christ* to the man of superstition, whether the superstition be rooted in ignorance or bigotry, for Christ is already there, already Lord of all nations and all cultures. The missionary is called to witness, in deed as well as word, to that Christian presence in the world. To take this modern theology of mission one step further, one might say the Christian is called to *be* that presence of Christ, that love made manifest, in Chinatown, in South African ghettoes, or among Hindu burning ghats. (North would have rejoiced, as others did, at the news that the choir of Christ Methodist Church in New Delhi sang Christian hymns while the body of Prime Minister Shastri lay in state early in January. This was a unique but meaningful kind of Christian presence.)

Far back in his pastoral ministry Frank Mason North had expressed progressive mission attitudes and policies which have only very slowly been accepted and implemented. For example—

> The sooner we escape from the artificial sentiment which reckons other lands, as it formerly regarded remote parts of our own, as missionary territory to which embassies are to be sent, and recognize them as part of the commonwealth of the world, for which we bear a given responsibility no different in kind from that which rests upon us for our own nation, the

more rapid will be the mobilization of the forces which are to conquer the world for Christ.[7]

Or again, long before North assumed administrative responsibility for the foreign mission program of the church, he recognized that true evangelism includes far more than proclamation. "The belief in the Divinity of our Lord is no more distinctly an essential element in the fundamental concept of the Christian church than is the spirit of ministration," he declared in extreme but confident language. He went on to explain this "new concept" of mission in graphic terms:

Men who have begun with no conscious call save to declare the holiness of the Lord have found themselves intensely occupied ere long with building up a highway, bridging streams, leveling mountains, draining morasses, gathering out the stone. John Wesley, starting as an evangelist, soon became a promoter of education and a philanthropist. . . . General Booth . . . inaugurated an army of invasion and very quickly found it necessary to establish also an army of occupation. . . . The picture of a man with the Bible standing on a sandy shore beneath a solitary palm tree, preaching to a little group of unclothed savages, has given place to photographs of groups of children from orphanages and schools, and of medical missionaries in their dispensaries, and of colleges, hospitals, and havens of refuge.[8]

It may not be inappropriate for this professor of missions to add that North was equally concerned with the centrality of mission in the life of the Church. Speaking for nine professors from eight seminaries of five denominations, he wrote in 1897:

We are of the opinion that some earnest efforts should be made to secure more time on the seminary curricula for instruction in the whole subject of missions; that its Biblical, historical, philosophical, practical and personal aspects should be carefully and extensively set before seminary students, to the end that their affections may be roused and that their minds may be educated to broad and thorough knowledge of the missionary spirit of Christianity and of the development of missions in the past and the present claim of missions upon the ministry and upon all the churches of our Lord.[9]

"The work of the Gospel is one," North told his parishioners as early as 1881, "whether at our doors or at the Antipodes. . . . It is not more true that Missions need us than that we need Missions."

7. "Comments on Dr. Leonard's Proposed New Departure" (undated memorandum); Dr. A. B. Leonard, father of Bishop Leonard, was North's predecessor in the Board of Foreign Missions at the start of this century.

8. "The New Era of Church Work in the City of New York," *The Christian City*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January, 1897), pp. 1-2.

9. Editorial Notes, *The Christian City*, Vol. IX, No. 7 (July, 1897), p. 205.

IV

Still another arena for Frank Mason North's statesmanship was the ecumenical movement. As early as the eighteen-nineties he had been active in interdenominational federations. With such noted churchmen as Washington Gladden and Josiah Strong, he was one of the founders in 1894 of the Open and Institutional Church League. The "open" referred to their effort to abolish the pew rent system as inefficient, undemocratic and un-Christian. The "institutional" indicated an attempt to utilize church buildings during the week for social, recreational and educational programs of many kinds. Out of this league and other local and national federations came the planning for a Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, inaugurated in 1908, the forerunner of the present National Council of Churches. As North put it in one of his Council reports:

> We waive no right or privilege, we break with no sound tradition, we surrender no precious heritage, but . . . the Church has but one inalienable right, the right of finding Christ in the world of today and interpreting Him in all His sacrificial and triumphant power to that world. . . . It is not in their history, their traditions, their formulae that the churches of Christ can be one; it is alone in the Christ Himself.

During the first quadrennium of the council, Frank Mason North served as chairman of the Commission on the Churches and Social Service, under Bishop Eugene R. Hendrix of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the first Council President. From 1912 to 1916 North was Chairman of the Executive Committee, and in December, 1916, as the war clouds spread from Europe to the United States, he was elected President of the Council for a crucial four-year term. Although the churches rallied more enthusiastically around the war effort in 1917 than they have in later years, North's was always a voice of restraint, of sympathy for the foe, of hope for world brotherhood and world organization beyond the horrors of war.

The church press—especially the Methodists—hailed North's election jubilantly. The *Central Christian Advocate* editoralized: "When the diplomats meet to decide the issues of the war, in particular when they are debating how to abolish war, then must the voice of the Christianity of this nation be heard. Who shall speak that word? There is no adequate voice but this Federal Council of the Churches. Who must vocalize that council? The president thereof."[10] And the

10. *Central Christian Advocate*, December 20, 1916.

Christian Advocate (of New York) claimed, with perhaps unseemly pride: "Methodism does a real service to the Federal Council of Churches in providing it with a president for this quadrennium. . . .We may fairly congratulate ourselves that Methodism possessed the one man who could best serve all the churches."[11]

Attacks on the churches and their councils for social pronouncements are not new. Contrary to some prevailing opinion, they cannot be blamed on modern times or contemporary personnel. Frank Mason North faced the same sort of vehement protests, and one major denomination threatened to withdraw from the Federal Council at its 1916 meeting on the ground that speaking for the churches even on peace and prohibition was an "improper encroachment upon the sphere of the State".[12] In an interview soon after his election, North made his personal and presidential position unequivocal:

> There are two perils in this kind of work. One is that the more conservative church members, and the more conservative churches, may think we are going outside our proper realm, if we take any action bearing on legislation. And you cannot go very far in industrial work without getting into questions of legislation. . . . The other danger is that the more extreme of the labor leaders will say, 'Why don't the churches do something, instead of always talking?' I have always taken the ground that the church has a right, at least, to give active support to legislation that plainly comes within the Decalogue. . . .[13]

Still more bluntly North had written in 1898: "It is neither socialism nor paternalism for the Christian body to demand of government just provision for the physical and social welfare of the people whom, in God's name, it governs."[14]

Within a month after America's declaration of war in 1917, the Federal Council of Churches called a special meeting in Washington, with John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, and Henry Churchill King among the principal speakers. In his Presidential Address North declared: "I believe the greatest need of the great American Church today is a realization of the immediate, constant, indwelling presence and power of the personal Christ." The Council's message on "The Duty of the Church in this Hour of National Need" affirmed: "We enter the war without haste or passion, not for private or national

11. *Christian Advocate,* December 14, 1916.
12. *The Presbyterian* (Richmond), December 27, 1916.
13. Interview by Carlos Hurd (undated clipping, 1916 or early 1917).
14. *The Christian City,* Vol. X, No. 10 (October, 1898), p. 650.

gain, with no hatred or bitterness against those with whom we contend."[15]

Very shortly after the Armistice, Frank Mason North journeyed to Europe on a multiple mission: to survey opportunities for expanded Methodist work, especially in France; to inspire and coordinate relief and rehabilitation programs; and to deliver to the Versailles Peace Conference the Federal Council of Churches' appeal for a League of Free Nations as "the political expression of the Kingdom of God on earth". So generously did Christians in America respond to relief needs in devastated Europe that Herbert Hoover as administrator sent an official letter of gratitude, and North and his General Secretary, Charles S. Macfarland, were awarded high national honors by France and Greece. In all the practical details of war-time responsibility, North kept constantly in mind the ecumenical dream, the underlying questions—

> whether the inheritance of the splendid but narrow conscience of our fathers necessarily creates for us a proper barrier between ourselves and Christians of another name; whether, after all, the essentials in which we are all one, if they are really set on fire, may not burn the barriers away and give us a common life in the fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ.[16]

Two days before his seventieth birthday Frank Mason North turned over the presidency of the Federal Council of Churches to another ecumenical statesman, Robert E. Speer. In his valedictory North rejected "the lure of the reminiscence" in these words: "The backward glance belongs to leisure, not to action . . . better the mood of the starting post than that of the goal. These have been years of experiment and discipline—now for the race." But he went on to list four outstanding assets of the Federal Council as he had found them in twelve years of intimate association:

(1) a high estimate of personality, in which oneness of faith and logic of action overcome most differences;

(2) a self-testing by three sins of mind and will which Christ condemned: intolerance (aggressive or indifferent), intellectual pride (or Pharisaism), covetousness (grasp of power);

(3) values of denominational life recognized, not denied or ignored;

(4) the essential oneness of the churches affirmed in the charter,

15. Charles S. Macfarland, *Christian Unity in the Making* (New York: Federal Council of Churches, 1948), pp. 124-128.

16. Manuscript of an address delivered on February 22, 1918.

yet acknowledging that "it [the Council] has received no mandate from its constituents to promote organic union or a common creedal statement."

"The good of all must come not by the negation but by the affirmation of the values of each," he declared in an aphorism as appropriate for the ecumenical movement today.[17]

V

For four years more North continued to direct the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, and retained an advisory capacity still longer. In the last decade, before his death in 1935, he taught missions at Drew University (which his father had helped to found), began a history of Methodist missions,[18] and continued to serve actively on various boards and agencies. In his eighty-third year he presented to the Federal Council a revised Social Creed. This committee report included among progressive new provisions, just *prior* to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal: freedom to dispense birth control information, recognition of broader grounds for divorce, "wider and fairer distribution of wealth", social insurance, and "social control of the economic process".

Although he seldom used the term "Social Gospel", Frank Mason North was unquestionably Methodism's greatest spokesman for that period and that outlook. Although he shared the humanitarian concern and the progressive optimism of that day, he never deserved the caricatures of the Social Gospel which have often been drawn. His personal faith and his concept of the Church's task were always Christocentric, as earlier quotations have indicated. In one of his most powerful addresses he declared that the mission of Jesus was not "the satisfaction of the outraged justice of God," not "to select from humanity some chosen spirits [for] a new commonwealth of the skies," not to "upbuild upon the earth an institution to conserve his truth"— but "a mission to humanity . . . to establish a Kingdom of God, that is, the reign of God in human hearts and so in human life and institutions." If that is the true meaning of salvation, it is even more the Christian mission in the world.

To this mission Frank Mason North gave himself through a long lifetime: in his pastoral ministry, in his work amid urban slums and

17. Manuscript of an address by the retiring President, December 1, 1920.

18. Cf. *History of Methodist Missions*, first three of six projected volumes edited by Wade Crawford Barclay (New York: Methodist Board of Missions, 1949-1957).

settlement houses, in directing the world outreach of the Methodist Church, in strengthening the bonds of Christian unity. It may be an oversimplification but it is not inaccurate to say that while Walter Rauschenbusch taught the Social Gospel in Rochester Seminary, while Washington Gladden preached it in Columbus, Ohio, Frank Mason North practiced it on the sidewalks of New York.

But it is safe to predict that, when all of his social and institutional and ecumenical achievements are forgotten, Christians of many races and creeds will be singing the greatest of North's poems, appropriately entitled "A Prayer for the Multitudes". He did write other stirring hymns besides those contained in *The Methodist Hymnal.* One of his earliest, "Jesus, the calm that fills my breast" (1884), included in the 1905 Hymnal, was dropped in 1935, to the profound regret of missionaries and others who still to this day protest its omission. North's last two published poems commemorate outstanding events in American Methodism: the sailing of Melville Cox to Africa in 1832 ("The Anniversary Hymn")[19] and "The Christmas Conference, 1784"[20].

It is "Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life" (also called "The City Hymn"), however, which proclaims the central tenet of North's faith: that behind the common human concern for wretchedness and need, for famished souls and burdened toil, stands the loving kindness of the Son of God who is also Son of Man. (North deplored the error, committed often today, of skipping to the last stanza, for without the preceding one, it contains no subject, no independent verb, no Master!) The cup of water is not enough unless it helps men to see His grace. The welfare programs, the civil rights, the ministries of teaching and healing, all are essential expressions of Christ's mission. But the Church fails in its task if *through* them it does not help the multitudes to see "the sweet compassion of [His] face".

19. *Carrying Christ to Africa* (Norfolk: Committee on Historical Pamphlet, 1958), p. 29.

20. *Zion's Herald,* September 26, 1934, cover.

FRANKLIN SIMPSON HICKMAN

FRANKLIN SIMPSON HICKMAN passed from this mortal scene, characteristically, without ostentation and with but slender prior notice to his attending wife and friends. He went quietly but decisively, as he had done in life. The place of his departure was Angola, Indiana, where, with Mrs. Hickman, who survives him, he had made his home on 809 West Maumee Street since his retirement in 1953.

The life and work of Frank S. Hickman belong to and are wrought into the founding years and early development of Duke University. Coming as he did to the faculty of the Divinity School in 1927, in the second year of its establishment, he was a prominent, high-minded, and steady contributor to its institutional and instructional development until his service of twenty-six years terminated in an emeritus status September 1, 1953. During the earlier years he served as professor both of Preaching and of the Psychology of Religion. In the latter field he had received his doctorate of philosophy from Northwestern University in 1923. While his formal instruction in preaching was finally relinquished in the early forties, he continued until his retirement to instruct in the psychology of religion, and, from the pulpit of Duke University Chapel, he maintained in an exemplary way his notable mastery of pulpit utterance and style.

Dr. Hickman was, it should be remembered, and in collaboration with the late President William Preston Few, the creator of the powerful order of Christian worship in the then new Duke University Chapel. He was the first of Duke's "Preachers to the University" and the first Dean of the Chapel, which title and responsibilities he relinquished in 1948. In the zenith of his powers he was doubtless among the most eminent university preachers of the day and, certainly, of the entire Southeastern region. And when he came in 1945 to welcome a colleague to the University pulpit in the person of Dr. James T. Cleland, he received his fellow preacher with entire gladness and grace that was never failing.

On his retirement as Dean of the Chapel in 1948 a Resolution of the Church Board contained the following summary words: "To Dr. Hickman all of us are today deeply indebted for our opportunities in religious worship and service. We herein acknowledge the debt we owe, and acclaim his works among us. And finally, we resolve that

we to whom some portion of his responsibilities may now have passed, shall fulfill our charge with his exemplary fidelity and devotion."

Frank Hickman was born September 14, 1886, in Fort Wayne, Indiana, of parents of stalwart but humble circumstances. He was graduated with the A.B. degree in 1917 from DePauw University, and from Boston University School of Theology with the S.T.B. in 1920. His ministry had begun in 1911, when he was admitted on trial in the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. There he served a number of pastoral appointments. Before he came to Duke Divinity School, he had also served as instructor in the Chicago Training School for City, Home, and Foreign Missions, 1920-24, and Hamlin University, 1924-25. Occasional teaching appointments in subsequent years included Emory University, Hampton Institute, Iliff School of Theology, and, during his one sabbatical leave from Duke University, a semester of teaching at Soochow University, China, in the spring of 1937.

Author of a number of books on the psychological approach to religion, Frank Hickman also made a considerable literary contribution to the subject of education and religion and, from 1943 to 1965, he provided a devotional column entitled "Just a Minute" for the *Durham Morning Herald*. This appeared daily for twenty-two years to the edification of very many people. He was the father and founder in 1931 of the Phillips Brooks Club, an interdenominational society of faculty and ministers devoted to ecumenical discussion that continued a lively and valued existence for well over two decades.

In the earlier days of his retirement he maintained his scholarly studies, working at two manuscripts which were never finished—one entitled *Ecce Homo* and another on the meaning of *imitatio Christi*, which profoundly engaged his interest from the psychological but also from the ethical point of view.

Dr. Hickman was trained in the era of "liberal theology". Probably he never saw cause to pass beyond that general standpoint. All the same, his Christianity belonged to the classical tradition of Protestant evangelical piety. He was, perhaps, above all a man of character and a churchman whose affiance to Christ was a personal realization and whose concern and service to his fellows was an axiom of Christian profession. When he spoke or preached, one could hear echoes of the thunders of Sinai and the limpid sureties of the Sermon on the Mount. Here was a man of personal sensitivity with a sure and unfaltering commitment to the main pillars of the Christian message.

As I knew him and remember him with gratitude, I am sensible that the same centralities were the woven fabric of a dedicated mind, a resolute will, and a purposeful and consecrated life. In him was the living granite of a Protestant American tradition that knew its own mind. He is remembered with tenderness, with admiration, and with utter respect. About his manner and his mind there was a transparent nobility that was not dimmed despite life's exigencies and attendant disappointments.

He left his mark upon this University and upon colleagues and generations of students. His final official act as professor of the Divinity School was his address to the graduating class Sunday evening, May 31, 1953. He recalled a circumstance of his student days at Boston University—the unveiling of an artist's portrait of Christ with a finely painted scroll bearing the words, "As the Father hath sent me, even so I send you." It was a valedictory. He had fought a good fight. He was now fully authorized to invite his students into the succession in which he had valiantly served.

Yet the breadth and largeness of his mind is perhaps ever so visible in the following quotation that remains seasonable for us today. It is from a sermon preached in Duke Chapel in the fall of 1951, and it was a memorial sermon for Dr. Elbert Russell, then recently deceased and under whose deanship Dr. Hickman had served 1928-41:

> In such a time as ours institutional religion is not enough. What matters it that we build great churchly systems, and that we adorn our services of worship with all manner of high ritual, if there be no living light on the altar of every believer's heart? In our Protestant world a new spirit is beginning to stir; it gives evidence of rising into a mighty movement. I refer to the spirit of restlessness with respect to the divisions so sadly evident in our Christian world, the rising desire for some sort of unity which shall heal our schisms and enable us to present a common front to the paganism of our times. We do not deny that the various denominations have served great and worthy purposes. We do not deny that there ought to be some variety in church organization and order of worship, to fit the wide diversity of human nature and culture to which Christianity makes its appeal. But Protestantism nevertheless seeks for some underlying spirit of unity which shall send its life out through all the divergent branches of the Protestant Christian Church. There must arise in all parts of the Christian world a new spirit of brotherhood rooted deep in the life of Christ our elder Brother, and giving evidence of its oneness in a suffering world by the light which it sheds upon all our dark and baffling problems.

Perhaps it will serve best to conclude this retrospect with the

Resolution of the Faculty of the Divinity School, presented to Frank Hickman on the eve of his retirement:

> Circumstances provide from time to time occasion to speak more openly of the quiet sentiments with which we live from day to day. This is such an occasion.
>
> So to you, Frank Hickman, our colleague of many years, we of the Divinity faculty are moved to make expressive our tribute, on this occasion of your retirement from our midst and from the round of duties that have so long been our common responsibility.
>
> Successive milestones are reminders of the journey already achieved. We remember now your long and worthy service, more than a quarter of a century of the highest devotion to a challenging duty. Perhaps with a little surprise, we realize that your service to our beloved Divinity School extends almost from the beginning, for she was born only a year before you came to help nourish her life. You have been among those who especially endured the burden and heat of the day. What our young school has so far attained is due in part to the full share you have so admirably contributed.
>
> We remember especially your versatility, upon which the young school laid claim. In a day when our faculty numbered fewer, you responded to the need to develop several areas of instruction and training. And when especially there came the day of dedication of our glorious University Chapel, in the fall of 1932, we remember that it was you who first served as its Dean and who through difficult, formative years led in the development of its services and subsequently in the establishment of the University Church. . . .
>
> We remember that it was your initiative that founded the Phillips Brooks Club in 1931. In characteristic generosity with time and energy, you extended the service of our school to many preachers in the field. Through depression and war, your devotion to this effective organization has been unflagging even to the present hour. The gratitude of many ministers belonging to a number of denominations throughout this area, is witness enough to the extended influence you have exerted. . . .
>
> So, through the years, as teacher and preacher, the labors you have so conscientiously performed laid a foundation for the upbuilding of school and church within and beyond the University community. Always you have held a noble conception of our purposes, maintained a discipline in the life of learning, and proclaimed the essentials for the life of the spirit.
>
> But memory goes beyond our official life together, to the cherished recollections of personal associations through the years. We remember picnics together in the open air, visits in your home, and the charm and hospitality extended to us all. Nor is all of our tribute reserved for you alone, Frank, for men know always—and sometimes admit—how great a part wives play in their achievements. In praising you, we praise your wife, Veva; and here especially our wives join us. You have both become so much a part of our community that we shall all miss you both. . . .

FOCUS ON FACULTY

DONALD J. WELCH, Assistant to the Dean:

It was my privilege to be a member of the last class in Psychology of Religion taught by the late Professor Frank S. Hickman. Many readers may recall that one of the requirements of the course was a "spiritual autobiography". Except for the usual biographical material furnished to college and university news bureaus, this course requirement was my last attempt to write about myself. I hope to avoid the mistake made by a classmate of mine who entitled his paper for Professor Hickman, "From Childhood to Adultery, The Story of My Life." My life began in childhood but thus far it has reached no such exciting or morally unacceptable climax.

We were a family of eight children, two parents, and a grandmother who all lived together in Ashland, Kentucky. I was the sixth child of a bookkeeper for a steel mill. My father was not only able to provide food and clothing for his large family in the midst of the depression, but, as the choir director and treasurer of the Methodist Church across the street, he made sure that all of us were nurtured by its Sunday School, converted by its evangelists, and bored by its ministers. We each in turn sang in the choir and served as officers in the Methodist Youth Fellowship. The fact that of all eight children only I found a vocation in the ministry of the church is one of the greatest arguments ever mounted against the deterministic doctrine of behaviorism.

I entered Union College in Kentucky in 1948; there I majored in history and minored in a job as youth and choir director in a nearby Methodist Church.

Throughout college I rarely deviated from a ministerial career, but toward the end of my senior year I was excited by the prospect of a three-year term of service in India as a short-term missionary for the Methodist Church. I promptly applied and began my training in Hartford, Connecticut, during the summer of 1952. The summer ended and I waited patiently for a visa from the young nation of India. Since I had no qualifications other than my youthful desire to propagate the Christian faith, Mr. Nehru's government, with a legiti-

mate fear of the massive influx of Western missionaries, delayed my visa. I spent the fall as a traveling secretary for the Student Volunteer Movement, recruiting missionaries from college campuses throughout the south. In February, 1953, I gave up my wanderlust and entered Duke Divinity School, from which I graduated in the summer of 1955.

I have always had a peculiar concern for the people of Appalachia; therefore, I returned with my wife (the former Mary Nancy Wilder, whom I had married during my last year at Duke) to Kentucky, where I became pastor in a small mountain town, the seat of a Baptist College. My future became apparent. As much as I loved the pastorate, I was destined to be drawn away. First, I assumed part-time responsibilities as an instructor in music at Cumberland College. (The bizarre details of this incident would make a good novel.) Soon I was commuting sixty miles three times each week as a part-time instructor in Religion and Philosophy at Union College. After three years, I became Dean of Men of that institution and later changed my status to that of campus minister and Assistant Professor of Religion and Philosophy. With no academic qualifications beyond my Duke B.D., I saw no future in the academic world and made one last try to return to the pastorate in Berea, Kentucky, where I also served as Wesley Foundation Director at Berea College, but, alas, I was soon teaching again as a visiting lecturer in Religion and Philosophy.

If anyone has read the above with an idea of finding some qualifications for an Assistant to the Dean of a Divinity School, he will have as much difficulty as I have had in figuring why I am here. Perhaps I should write a volume on "How to be a Theological Seminary Administrator without Really Trying." On the other hand, there is a job to be done here, and, as I have found in every other appointment, the task is exciting and challenging. I cannot imagine anyone who could possibly believe that God has destined him to be an Assistant to the Dean, and yet I have believed this about every other appointment I have held. Why stop now?

LOOKS at BOOKS

The Reformation: A Narrative History Related by Contemporary Observers and Participants. Edited and introduced by Hans J. Hillerbrand. Harper & Row. 1964. 495 pp. $7.50.

Professor Hillerbrand has provided students of the Reformation with a scholarly as well as lively narrative account of the period by having contemporary participants and observers relate in English the important events. But this is more than a source book of readings. To bring all the selections together into a coherent and meaningful story, the editor presents his materials in conventional chapters, providing each one with an introduction which lays the background and explains the roles played by each of the narrators. He gives each source, in turn, a heading which connects the new statement with what has preceded. The introductions alone comprise an account of the period of considerable length.

Recent interests and concerns are reflected in Hillerbrand's choice of documents. In addition to the usual selections, he has a solid chapter on the "Radical Reform Movements," in which he has many representatives of the left-wing reformers speak for themselves, and one on "Catholic Response and Renewal," which he treats not only as a Counter Reformation but also as a reform movement reaching back into the fifteenth century. The selection of sources was made with such great care that one misses few of one's favorites.

Although there is a certain unevenness because the author uses English translations and sixteenth-century English documents from various sources and provides us with a number of new translations of his own, one's interest is sustained throughout the book. Its value is enhanced by good bibliographies and the use of more than sixty illustrations, including contemporary oil portraits, cartoons, woodcuts, and documents. It deserves to be widely read by laymen as well as by Reformation students.

—Harold J. Grimm
The Ohio State University

History of Philosophy: Selected Readings. George L. Abernethy and Thomas A. Langford, eds. Dickenson. 1965. 620 pp.

Professor Abernethy of Davidson College and Professor Langford, Chairman of the Department of Religion at Duke and former Instructor in the Divinity School, have again co-operated to produce a collection of readings from primary sources designed to serve as a textbook for undergraduate college instruction. Unlike their previous editorial collaboration (*Philosophy of Religion: A Book of Readings.* Macmillan. 1962), this book does not undertake to bring the reader all the way to the contemporary scene. Usual course-outlines as well as the great scope of potentially relevant material have dictated the terminus of the material in the nineteenth century. The selections run from Thales to J. S. Mill, including representations of twenty-one major figures in addition to a number of the Pre-Socratic and Hellenistic philosophers.

Whenever one browses through any collection of readings, he will almost inevitably note that a few of his own "pets" are missing. In this case the

reviewer noted the omission of Lucretius and Pascal as well as the absence of any excerpts from Plato's *Apology* and of the central passages expressive of Kant's contributions (negative and positive) to philosophical theology.

Nevertheless this work on the whole meets quite well the three major requirements of a textbook of readings: (1) over-all balance of figures chosen, (2) representativeness and centrality of passages selected, and (3) adequacy of translations used. An added bonus is the brief bibliography of relevant paperback works included at the end of each section.

Even the reader with "no background" in the subject matter may, through the guidance of some standard secondary textbook (several of which are available in paperbacks: e.g., the Harper Torchbook two-volume edition of Windelband's *A History of Philosophy*), find in a thoughtful study of these passages an exciting enrichment of both the scope and depth of his understanding of our common Western heritage of thought.

—Charles K. Robinson

Worship in Scripture and Tradition. Edited by Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. Oxford. 1963. x, 178 pp. $4.50.

There are two reasons why this book means much to me, and the same reasons apply to you our alumni. First, three of the seven authors are Duke men: two at present on the Divinity School faculty, one a former member and a Ph.D. graduate. (These three essayists have inscribed my review copy with a personal and appreciated greeting.) Moreover, another has been a Gray Lecturer. Your loyal interest should be aroused.

Second, this book is great stuff. It is a compilation of papers by members of the Theological Commission on Worship (North American Section) of the Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches. Joseph Sittler, of the University of Chicago, writes the Introduction, stressing the meaning of worship: specific recollection for repetition and renewal; cultic recovery in variety and unity; theological insight which transcends the propositional. These six pages should be read six times.

Dean Cushman, with clarity and pungency, elucidates the idea of "Worship as Acknowledgment," the acknowledgment of God which is both the alternative to self-affirmation and the sublimation of self-affirmation. Man, in worship, consents to the higher sovereignty which fulfills his own personhood within a covenant community. Consent leads to responsibility, to the obedience of the whole life both in ethical living and in liturgical exercises. Worship is the celebration of the *fulness* of our willing sacrifice to God and man. Such an essay makes one wish that Robert Cushman were in two persons: one in the Dean's office, the other in the classroom.

Professor Rylaarsdam, of the University of Chicago, roots Christian worship in the Old Testament ("The Matrix of Worship in the Old Testament"), and then gently scolds the churches for forgetting the cultic, corporate, objective, theo-centric, this-wordly emphasis of Judaism, due to the influx of pietistic, personal "experience" and false optimism.

Frank Young of Princeton University, still a Duke man at heart, delighted us this year with a lecture on worship in the New Testament. If you did not hear him, you may read some of his reflections in the essay, "The Theological Context of New Testament Worship". He shook us with his thesis that there was no Christian holy place, spatially. God is present wherever the believer is. The primary actor is God revealed in Jesus Christ, "crucified-risen-coming," who is met *in the world.* (I'm not quite sure what this does to the building of churches).

Fred Herzog and I have had a running battle, in love, on his chapter: "The

Norm and Freedom of Christian Worship." With scholarship and gentle insistence, he establishes his norm: "Primarily important is the death of Jesus." I just don't believe it! Primarily important, for me, is the resurrection of Jesus. But I know why he wrote what he wrote, and I sympathize with him. He is protesing against a comfy, all-is-well, pain-avoiding, Easter-without-Good-Friday cultus. He is tired of aesthetic glamor and longs for holy sacrifice. Can we blame him?

Massey Shepherd, the editor, who probably knows more about worship than any other Protestant in the U.S.A., writes on "The Origin of the Church's Liturgy". Here is history made vivid. How can any one man know as much as he knows, and how can anyone transmit it to a reader so interestingly and arrestingly?

The last essay, by Alexander Schmemann of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary, "Theology and Liturgical Tradition", battles the old-new problem of the primacy of "liturgical theology" or "the theology of liturgy", pitting each against the other in an exciting debate. Is liturgy the living source of theology, or is liturgy the object of theological inquiry and definition? He accepts neither alternative. For him "liturgical tradition . . . is the ontological condition of theology" (175). The job of theology is to purify the liturgy; the job of the liturgy is to give back to theology "that eschatological fulness which the liturgy alone can 'actualize'." This essay should be read seven times.

Do you want a book on worship which will be forever on your shelves and often on your desk? This is it—written for professionals, for folk like us.

—James T. Cleland

Theological Transition in American Methodism, 1790-1935. Robert E. Chiles. Abingdon. 1965. 238 pp. $4.

A living faith, even though rooted in an historic event, must bear its fruit amid the changing cults and cultures of mankind. If it is to retain its hold on the soil, and especially if it is to take over new territory, it must adapt itself to new situations. This is the problem of "Christ and Culture." This is also the problem of the book before us, one set on a narrower stage than that of Richard Niebuhr, and of fullest importance to Methodists, yet not to them alone.

Dr. Chiles confesses that he began his studies with the conservative assumption that Methodist theology ought to remain constantly and perhaps invariably true to John Wesley, especially as Wesley was intent on renewing the primitive Christian faith. Yet the author came more and more to realize both the inevitability and the desirability of continually restating this faith in terms of contemporary thought. At the outset he rightly asserts the importance of theology to Wesley, and the folly of seeing Methodism merely as unthinking warmhearted "do-goodism". Thus convinced, he approaches the problems of change within Methodist theology—both the nature of this change and its value. He does this by representative samples both of doctrines and of theologians in American Methodism during the last 150 years.

For his doctrines Dr. Chiles bypasses some of the narrower traditional emphases of Wesley's theology (justification by faith, the witness of the Spirit, sanctification) in favor of categories which overlap and to a large extent encompass them—revelation, sin, and grace. Of his representative Methodist theologians the first was British, though wielding enormous influence in America—Richard Watson; the others were American, John Miley and Albert Knudson. Each was a *systematic* theologian, and each was identified with a different historical period.

In general the first period was characterized by a strong and sometimes uncritical allegiance to Wesley's theological teachings, an allegiance frequently qualified during the second period by a desire both to systematize and to revise his thought so that it could be more readily applied to contemporary culture. By the beginning of the 20th century references to Wesley's theology almost disappeared, lost in the general conflict between modernism and fundamentalism, theology itself being overshadowed by the philosophy of religion, and "liberal evangelicalism" giving place to "evangelical liberalism."

In Chapter III Dr. Chiles outlines the progress in American Methodist theological thought "From Revelation to Reason." He has some important things to say about Wesley's attitude both to the Bible and to theology, and shows how for him religious knowledge was intuitively apprehended, but tested by Scripture and reason. He goes on to show how with Watson there was a subtle change of mood, the scriptures still conveying a revelation of God to man, but their message being grasped by critical reason rather than by a sensitive spirit. With Miley there was an outright insistence upon the priority of intellect that could not but undermine (however reluctantly) Wesley's emphasis upon the centrality of an immediate awareness of God. Knudson saw this awareness as a native religious phenomenon, a specimen to be examined under the cold light of reason, and then classified along with similar phenomena from other realms of knowledge, the possibility of error being constantly borne in mind. For Knudson any emphasis upon a direct revelation of God was liable to dismissal as "theological irrationalism". Similarly Dr. Chiles traces in Chapter IV the change of emphasis "From Sinful Man to Moral Man", and in Chapter V "From Free Grace to Free Will". In each case, of course, these are descriptions of tendencies, not of absolute transformations, and in every instance it is

possible to point to thinkers who refuse to follow the trend.

The closing chapter avowedly follows Wesley's homiletical method of a practical application. Of especial practical value to this reviewer is the author's summary of his thesis, and no apology should be needed for quoting it at length (p. 185):

> The first transition, 'from revelation to reason,' began with Wesley's conception of scriptural, experimental religion and moved through Watson's efforts to authenticate Scripture, and Miley's arguments for the scientific certitude of theology, to Knudson's rational justification of faith by means of personal idealism. Increasing importance was attached to reason, natural theology, and philosophical demonstration, as priority shifted from the revelatory encounter, and its description, to the reasons for and the reasonableness of that which was revealed.
>
> 'From sinful man to moral man,' the second major transition, delineated the change from Wesley's classical view of the nature and consequences of sin to an ethical redefinition of sin in terms of free moral agency. The guilt of original sin was placed in doubt very early and eventually denied, along with any inheritance of depravity. The realities which Wesley attributed to prevenient grace were gradually incorporated into man's created nature, depreciating his estrangement and helplessness apart from God. Sin ceased to be the presupposition of every human act and came to specify only those voluntary acts which violate known obligation.
>
> The third major change in Methodist theology, 'from free will,' began with the Wesleyan doctrine of grace as free for all and in all and as the sole power of salvation. Steadily the areas of achievement assigned to man's freedom were increased. The atonement ceased to be the indispensable means of salvation objectively required by God and man. Instead, it found its ground in governmental necessity and finally was valued primarily for its subjective moral influence. Repentance and, eventually, faith came to be considered essentially human acts, not God's gifts, and salvation proper became man's divinely assisted effort to moralize and spiritualize his life.

In this closing chapter Dr. Chiles also engages in some interesting theorizing about the nature of theological transition, and closes with an exhortation that we should seek to understand our past not merely for academic satisfaction but in order to fulfil our role in God's purposes: "in far-reaching ways, the future of Methodism may depend on its recovery of the past." It should be unnecessary to add that this is not a volume of "pure" theology unrelated to any pastoral purpose—and for some readers this may well prove an attraction. Nor does it set out to be a systematical history of the systematic theology of American Methodism. There are the occasional errors of fact or perspective from which no scholarly work is exempt. Nevertheless Dr. Chiles here provides us with insights and stimulation that should greatly help us to a sympathetic understanding of our forefathers' experiments in theological pathfinding, and thus enable us to walk more assuredly along the highway of our own spiritual destiny.

—Frank Baker

The Dramatic Story of Early American Methodism. Frederick E. Maser. Abingdon. 1965. 107 pp. $.70.

This modest historical primer is occasioned by the coming celebration in 1966 of the bicentennial of the beginning of American Methodism. Appropriately brief, selective, and simply written for popular circulation, it is a rehearsal and celebration rather than

a critical examination of the tradition. The author is pastor of historic Old St. George's Church in Philadelphia.

Methodist ministers should not look for surprises in this familiar story but may welcome such a readable sketch of his heritage for the layman. The "dramatic story of early American Methodism" of course looks back to the earlier ministries of the Wesleys and Whitefield in this country, but begins properly with the work of Robert Strawbridge in Maryland, Philip Embury in New York, and Captain Thomas Webb in Philadelphia, as well as an early Methodist society in Leesburg, Virginia. In anticipation of union soon between Methodist and Evangelical United Brethren, the author recognizes also the ministry of Philip William Otterbein and Martin Boehm among German colonists. The sending of Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman to America in 1769, the decisive work of Francis Asbury, the development of Methodist itinerancy and organization, the relation of American Methodists to the American Revolution, the Sacramental Controversy, the contributions of rugged pioneer preachers, the plan of Wesley for American Methodism, the ordination and sending of Thomas Coke and the Christmas Conference of 1784—all these familiar developments are rehearsed for the layman's benefit. Included also is a brief Epilogue to bring the story up to date.

It remains to be seen whether this book and the bicentennial celebration generally will serve to bring the story up to date in another sense. Consider this quotation: "In short, the Methodists, in place of the sacraments, were sending forth a man, Francis Asbury. Possibly this is the secret of Methodist success. Methodism is a man going forth with good news about God—a man who requires no altar upon which to provide the sacraments, who needs no sanctuary in which to proclaim his message, who needs no vestments in which to present his truth; who needs only persons, persons who want to hear about God, persons who feel their need of word from God" (p. 83). Will such historical retrospect encourage redoubling of ways and words that served such persons in mid-eighteenth-century frontier society; or will it contribute to the renewal of the church and its freedom "to serve the present age" and the changing decades ahead?

—McMurry S. Richey

Religion in America. Winthrop S. Hudson. Scribner's. 1965. 447 pp. $7.95.

Any writer who attempts to survey the whole 350-year history of American Religion (including the three major faiths) in a volume of 450 pages faces an almost insuperable task. Yet Professor Hudson has accomplished this feat amazingly well. Moreover, the literary style is distinguished.

Structurally, the volume is framed in four parts: I. The Formative Years (1607-1789); II. The New Nation (1789-1860); III. Years of Midpassage (1860-1914); IV. Modern America (1914-). Four chapters are devoted to each part.

Among the more distinctive features of Professor Hudson's treatment are the following:

First, the author weights the contents in favor of post-colonial developments. Specifically, he explores the developments of the first 182 years in 102 pages. This may seem too compressed to satisfy some readers, but Hudson reveals exceptional knack at condensing a great variety of ideas and events in a few succinct sentences.

Second, denominational distinctives, although not ignored, are subordinated to an emphasis upon those tendencies of life and thought which reflect the basic unities of the various religious bodies. The ecumenical value of this approach is obvious.

Third, instead of seeking to say a little something about everything in American religion, Hudson concentrates upon what he considers the more significant phenomena and analyzes

them in considerable detail. His choices may not please everyone, but this reviewer is impressed with his selections in most instances.

Fourth, Hudson is primarily concerned to depict the religious life of the American people, but at the same time he often presents illuminating theological interpretations.

Fifth, instead of adding a general bibliography at the end of the volume the author happily provides suggestions for further reading in the footnotes. Many of his references are to primary sources.

The total result is a most refreshing book. It deserves (and will receive) a wide reading. It is unquestionably the best one-volume introduction in its field.—H. Shelton Smith

Man's Nature and His Communities. Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's. 1965. 125 pp. $3.95.

The master Protestant ethicist of our day turns his hand to a volume of essays on the human condition as seen through the eyes of the Christian faith. If the phrase "a mellowed Niebuhr" be not self-contradictory, it can stand to describe the mood of the book. Whatever the limitation of physical infirmity, his mind has lost none of its dialectical skill in the apt and pithy generalization, the deft movement from one epoch to another, the sharpness of his scalpel in cutting into the anatomy of motivation.

His introduction promises a statement of revision of earlier rash opinion. The substance of the essays confirms a qualification more than a retraction of the insights with which his name has been connected. Many familiar Niebuhrean themes are here rehearsed: his strictures against simplicism, rationalism, idealism, perfectionism. The positive pivot on which he swings his dialectics is that man's communities are made and sustained by a perennial mixture of moral motives, the angelic and the demonic. Both the "realistic" and "idealistic" impulses in man must be reckoned together to account for the strange mixture of his ways. So too his tribalism and his universalism are apparent at once, for example, in the American pattern of race relations. His capacities for self-seeking and for self-giving, likewise, provoke Niebuhr to an extended historical exegesis on the gospel paradox about losing and finding life.

It is significant that the volume closes on the note of "grace" rather than "judgment". Niebuhr is impressed by the resilient process of history, beyond man's doing, "common grace", restoring new communities out of the old broken ones. The "mellowing" of Niebuhr's mind is no softening of critical acumen, but a deepening acknowledgment that the final word of the Christian faith is one of salvation.

—Waldo Beach

Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man. George D. Kelsey. Scribner's. 1965. 178 pp. $4.50.

This is no mere run-of-the-mine book on race relations. Rather, it is qualitatively comparable to Kyle Haselden's excellent work, *The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective*, first published in 1959. Both books probe racism in spiritual depth.

Racism is, says Professor Kelsey, "a modern phenomenon" which "emerged as a sort of afterthought, a byproduct of the ideological justification of European political and economic power arrangements over colored peoples." In the course of time, however, racism "developed into an independent phenomenon, possessing meaning and value in itself and giving character to all the institutions of some societies."

Kelsey takes sharp issue with those who ascribe racism to ignorance or to cultural lag. Instead, he views racism as a pernicious evil that stems from an idolatrous worship of one's ethnic group as the ultimate object of meaning, value, and loyalty. As such, it is not essentially alterable by any form of cultural development. Racism, ac-

cording to the author, involves a decisive value judgment with respect to the essential being of one's own race in contrast to that of another race. In Kelsey's words, "the fundamental racist affirmation is that the in-race is glorious and pure as to its being, and out-races are defective and depraved as to their being." This deification of one's own race in effect denies that all men are created in the image of God and thus bear an essential likeness in being to one another. Hence, racism alienates mankind on the deepest possible level.

All this and much more the reader will encounter in Professor Kelsey's penetrating volume. Unfortunately, the author did not supply an index. Although a general bibliography is also missing, the footnotes cite numerous works of value.—H. Shelton Smith

White Protestantism and the Negro. David M. Reimers. Oxford University Press. 1965. 236 pp. $5.

If one agrees with Santayana's aphorism that those who don't know history are damned to repeat its mistakes, the merit of this book is almost immediately apparent. In less than 200 pages Professor David Reimers, of the Brooklyn College Department of History, traces more than 150 years of White Protestant-Negro relations in the United States.

Reimers does not venture to discuss the role of theology as a factor in the shaping of race relations. Instead, his work describes, from the early 1800's to the 1960's, how American Protestantism has responded to the "stranger in its midst". In addition, he has provided a useful bibliographical essay for those who want to read more.

No one alert to the present racial struggle should really be surprised by the general impression created by the book, nor by its conclusions. White Protestantism has been, and in some large measure continues to be, very reluctant to become genuinely inclusive racially. Gary Player's response to the disqualification of a black competitor in a recent golf tournament in *apartheid* South Africa ("I play golf—I don't meddle in politics.") illustrates one familiar (and hallowed) Protestant attitude toward race. Reimers' book describes several more and shows how, together, they have developed. What most of us will see, perhaps for the first time here, is careful and judicious documentation of the historical record of American Protestantism's failure to deal creatively and constructively with racial sin.

A pastor knowledgeable of this book (and of Dr. H. Shelton Smith's 1965 Gray Lectures) should be able significantly to help his congregation understand *where* we are now by knowing *how* we got here.—Harmon L. Smith

The Freedom Revolution and the Churches. Robert W. Spike. Association Press. 1965. 128 pp. $2.95.

When Robert Spike wrote this little book, he was Director of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race. He is now on the faculty of the University of Chicago Divinity School as chairman of the Department on Ministry. One suspects that his academic tenure, like his previous work, will not be cloistered in an ivoried (or even ivyed) tower; and we can be glad for this. It was (and is) his active involvement in the "freedom revolution" that has allowed him to write with authority and perception about very concrete as well as conceptual issues.

The strength and attraction of the book is its admitted tractarian character. And, in this respect, not only the failure of the churches but also the conspiracy of white extremist groups (including the Hargis and McIntire variety together with Citizens Councils and the KKK) receive deserved, if not always penetrating, criticism.

This general approach, however, is not without its own dangers and difficulties, and the logic of the tactician is occasionally confused by the elo-

quence of the exhorter. Spike argues (pp. 71 ff.), for example, that "propositional theology" is intrinsically unsuited to deal constructively with racism; but he later claims (p. 98 ff.) that the Church's greatest opportunity lies in the South because there pietist and fundamentalist religion still plays "a large part in the lives of people". One might ask (at the risk of pedantry!) whether American religious liberalism and the Social Gospel did, in fact, speak any more meaningfully to racism than "propositional theology"? Moreover, one's impression is that Spike writes rather more from the vantage point and about the involvement of the NCC's Commission in the freedom revolution than of "the" church or parish churches. The blurb on the jacket flap (that this is "a 'why' and 'what to do' action manual") is thus accurate only in a very general sense.

The place of this book in the current discussion and situation is somewhat uncertain. Nevertheless, it is an interesting, and sometimes moving, tract and one can read it with profit.

—Harmon L. Smith

Missions in a Time of Testing. R. K. Orchard. Westminster. 1964. 212 pp. $4.50.

As London Secretary of the International Missionary Council (now the Division of World Mission and Evangelism in the World Council of Churches), Ronald K. Orchard has been on the frontiers of mission and ecumenicity. This book is by far the best of several recent attempts to bridge "the gap between theological reflection and practical decision", to interpret the relationship between God's act in Christ and our participation in that mission.

Naturally, Orchard is fully cognizant of the new perspectives: that "mission is presence before it is action," that human relationships must precede explicit witness, that the Christ-event must be mediated to men in their secular and cultural experiences. Unlike some extreme mission theologians, he does not claim *all* of life in Christ for mission; he recognizes the place of worship and service as well. He asserts that "neither the parish nor the gathered congregation . . . is capable, by itself and in its present form, of carrying the Christian mission, much less of expressing the totality of the Christian life in any locality in the circumstances of our day." But he believes equally strongly that there is need for churches and mission organizations as focal points, as servants of the mission, as "the *part* for the whole."

Orchard's central thesis lies in his recurrent definition of mission as "the explicit and direct telling to men the name of their Redeemer." To some readers, this will sound theologically narrow, especially when he specifically excludes compassion, personal commitment, establishing churches, etc. as valid motives for engagement in mission. Others, agreeing with him in theory, will find it difficult to reconcile this emphasis on proclamation with his proposal for an "order" of mission to include many Christians in "secular" occupations. This ministry to men in society would *not* be for the primary purpose of making converts, but to explore the meaning of the Christ-event within "the rightful, limited but genuine autonomy" of these human activities. Still other readers will be less optimistic than Orchard that such witness will *always* be given an opportunity to answer *Why?*—and thus to "tell the name" and thereby validate the mission.

A couple of chapters may be too technically aimed at mission administrators, but the book as a whole is bound to stimulate all of us to new insights on the meaning and opportunities of vital evangelism. For the mission Ronald Orchard discusses so freshly and cogently involves the Church and every Christian in a time of testing.—Creighton Lacy

The Thickness of Glory. John Killinger. Abingdon. 1964, 1965. 158 pp. $2.75.

This volume of sermons so appeals to me that I wish I had written it. I have already recommended that the author, who has just gone to Vanderbilt in homiletics, be invited to preach in the Duke Chapel. The ten transcribed sermons concentrate on God: unknown yet known; concealed even when revealed; demanding more than we give, yet accepting us in mercy. Each sermon leads to the next; there is continuity in diversity, as Killinger wrestles with "the ultimate mystery of God" as set forth in the Bible. He knows the contemporary world too: its promise and its threat; its satisfactions and its anxiety. He is bi-focal: he says that his father taught him about "the real world of theology and horses" (p. 5). This bi-focal approach is clarified by a dramatic style which chuckles and sparkles and encourages us to apprehend even when we cannot comprehend. Each proposition is illustrated from all kinds of places and people. Killinger knows current letters; he has already written two books in which he reflects on modern literature and theology. In addition, he structures his sermons for our remembrance.

Any criticism? Of course. One section in chapter 1 should be omitted; the exegesis of the Fourth Word from the Cross in chapter 7 is doubtful; chapter 10 is eisegetically allegorical. Moreover, he must give us another volume, consciously and emphatically stemming from the Resurrection revelation. He has shaken the foundations; now he must tell us, at equal length, about the new being in the risen and indwelling Christ.

There are not many of us who are going to preach these sermons because most of us are not ready for them either in the study or the pulpit. They will search us and try us. If we wrestle with them, they will bless us before we let them go; and we shall give God the glory and Killinger our thanks.—James T. Cleland

Are You Running with Me, Jesus?—Prayers. Malcolm Boyd. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1965. 119 pp. $3.95.

This small book may be a scandal to the sanctimonious and a stumbling block to the "sophisticated", but it may also be a blessing to those who realize with regret that they are failing to speak honestly with God. Malcolm Boyd shocks us into a painful acknowledgment of our defensivenes and artificiality of thought and language which we seldom put aside even in a private audience with our Lord who knows us well.

In lucid, contemporary speech these prayers deal with the emotions and personal experiences that we all find important to us. It becomes obvious in this book that we are not speaking politely to a distant deity: in the presence of the living God a man must speak directly about the joy and fear, doubt and despair that are found in human life day by day.

The main theme of this collection of prayers is *freedom*, the freedom that God intends for the individual in solitude and in society. Our lives seem to consist of dashing about, caught in a cycle of self-centered busyness, and we are indeed enslaved unless it is Jesus who is running with us, sharing our frustrations and strengthening our concern for each injury, each injustice that we see crippling another human being.

Mr. Boyd has structured the book in a way that reflects his own involvement in many areas of modern life. There are prayers for one's self and for society, for racial freedom, for those who need love and sexual health, for people in the city and in the university. There is a section of perceptive meditations on films which utilizes current motion pictures as depictions of the human situation.

The book closes with prayers on

more traditional Christian themes, the final one being a moving prayer of repentance that includes the petition: "Take our imperfect prayers and purify them, so that we mean what we pray and are prepared to give ourselves . . . along with our words. . . ." May it be so indeed.

—Harriet V. Leonard
Reference Librarian

Understanding the New Testament. Howard Clark Kee, Franklin W. Young, and Karlfried Froelich. (2nd ed.) Prentice-Hall. 1965. 490 pp.

The New Testament: Its Background, Growth, and Content. Bruce Manning Metzger. Abingdon. 1965. 288 pp. $4.75.

Both these books are intended to introduce the reader to the New Testament. Kee and Young—now Kee, Young, and Froelich in the second edition—is not explicitly put forward as a textbook, but it will probably continue to find a large market as such. It was originally commissioned by the Society for Religion in Higher Education and Metzger by the Council for Religion in Independent Schools. Of the two, Kee, Young, and Froelich is handsomely illustrated with photographs, maps and charts, while Metzger is without any illustations save a few charts and a couple of maps.

The fact that Metzger is aimed at a somewhat lower academic level (secondary school and college freshmen) than Kee, Young, and Froelich (general college and university) is reflected in two ways. First, it is a shorter book; second, critical questions are not treated extensively but resolved by the author without any attempt to survey the full range of argumentation. Nevertheless, in style and content Metzger is not an especially easy book. The average college student would not be insulted by it.

The revision of Kee, Young, and Froelich has been thorough, and we are confronted with what is substantially a new book. The "blurb" announces that 65% of the book has been rewritten, and this is certainly no exaggeration. Greater justice is done to the complexity and difficulty of historical and theological issues surrounding the origin and character of the New Testament books, and the perspectives and results of recent scholarship have been fully taken into account. For example, a discussion of the gnostic question has been added to the opening chapter on the Hellenistic antecedents of early Christianity. Chapters 3-6 are a substantially new treatment of Jesus and the problem of the historical tradition in the light of form criticism and redaction analysis. Justice is now done to the problem of the character and transmission of the Jesus tradition and the nature of the gospel material. Moreover, three entirely new chapters dealing with Mark, Matthew, and Luke-Acts correct a glaring deficiency in the first edition. These chapters (11-13) are placed where they belong in a treatment such as this, namely, after the chapters on Paul and the early church. The chapters on Paul have been considerably revised (especially 7, 8, 10), and the chapters on John, I Peter and James, the Catholic Epistles, and Hebrews and Revelation have been reworked and reorganized. The bibliography is more extensive, as are the footnotes.

Unquestionably, the new revision represents an improvement on the original in terms of adequate treatment of critical problems and questions. Consequently, the book will possibly appear somewhat more complex to the beginning student. Yet it is certainly not outside the range of the college student, and to the seminary student it affords, *inter alia*, a nice consensus —insofar as such is possible—of the views of the New Testament critics and interpreters who are presently in the ascendancy.

While the new Kee, Young, and Froelich represents an increased awareness of the problems and uncertainties of New Testament study, one

gets little hint of such things from Metzger. The learned Princeton Theological Seminary *Neutestamentler* gives the reader the usually conservative views on historical and other matters with the principal arguments for the same. Although these arguments are frequently plausible, and in many cases doubtless right, one becomes uneasy at the regularity with which they demonstrate the historical reliability of the New Testament. The further one reads in the book the better he is able to predict how Metzger will decide almost every critical question, that is, in favor of tradition or, at least, traditional critical views. At the same time, Metzger gives a brief, fundamentally positive, description of form criticism (pp. 84-88), acknowledges the importance of the contributions of the evangelists to the Gospels (88-96), and indicates that Luke may have had a rather large share in the composition of the speeches reported in Acts (177). Yet he ventures, on the one hand, to reconstruct the ministry of Jesus in three chronological periods—an incredible feat according to the prevailing current of scholarly opinion—and, on the other hand, appears scarcely willing to venture the judgment that Paul did not write the Pastorals, finally falling back on the fragment hypothesis.

All in all, Metzger's book is the fruit of a kind of scholarship which sees as its chief task the establishment and chronological fixing of the data of early Christian history as given in the New Testament. The perspective and character of Metzger's book is implied in the following tabulations. Almost one-fourth of the entire volume is devoted to the historical background of the New Testament (pp. 17-70), proportionately much more than in Kee, Young, Froelich or James Price's comparable work, *Interpreting the New Testament*. Another fourth of the book is devoted to the life and ministry of Jesus (pp. 102-166). Two chapters (pp. 181-214) are essentially a summary of the Book of Acts, with references to Paul's letters. The last two chapters (pp. 215-272) contain brief descriptions of the historical setting followed by short summaries of the letters of Paul and the remaining books of the New Testament. The reviewer is compelled to ask whether such a format encourages the reading of the New Testament itself, or to what extent it allows the student to substitute the reading and study of the textbook for a mastery of the New Testament.

Kee, Young, and Froelich will, as a rule, be used by teachers or ministers who are willing to risk allowing their students or laymen to explore the many faceted world of New Testament criticism, with all its dangers and pitfalls. Metzger will be chosen by those who are concerned to disturb as little as possible traditional and non-critical approaches to the New Testament.

—D. Moody Smith, Jr.

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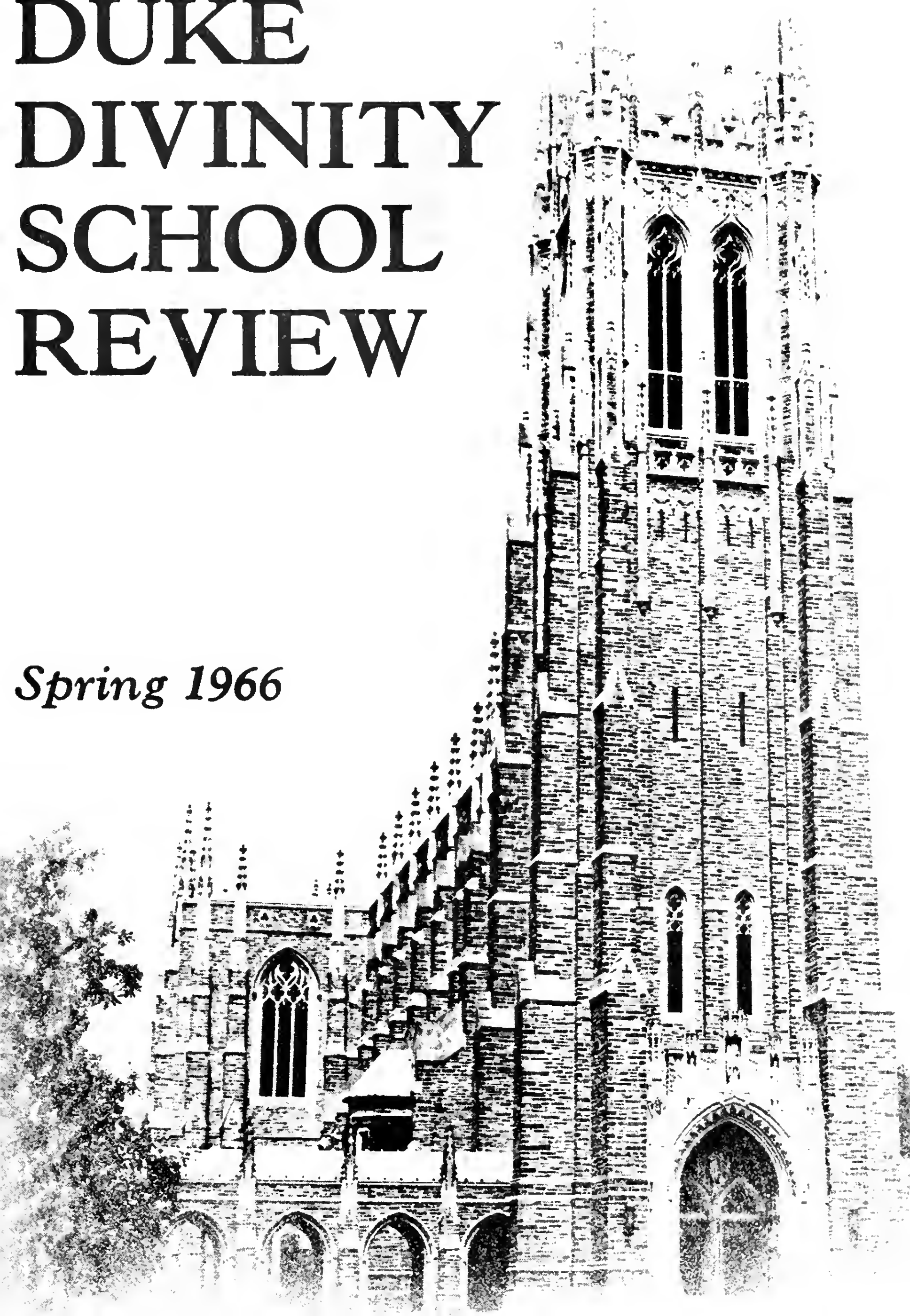
THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Spring 1966



A Prayer of Thanksgiving and Intercession for Duke Missionaries in Service

Almighty and Eternal God, our heavenly Father, who didst send Thy Holy Spirit unto the apostles, to teach them and lead them into all truth, that they might go forth unto all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, we thank Thee for the unending line of Apostles who have, in every age, received Thy Spirit, and have made the world into one parish.

In gratitude, we remember them, men and women of all countries, all centuries, and all colors, who swore to be Thy Son's missionaries and did not swear in vain.

For their vision of one world under Thee; for their courage in the face of all hindrances; for their faithfulness even unto death; we thank Thee.

For Thy word, translated, taught, and preached in many tongues; for churches, schools, and colleges in many lands; for orphanages and hospitals in remote corners of the world; we thank Thee.

For quiet, disciplined lives of Christian service; for hearts big enough even to love their enemies; for the life of Christ reborn in countless places; we thank Thee.

We give Thee glory for them. We honor them who lived only to honor Thee.

And, we ask Thy blessing upon them who still live in militant devotion to Thee, of every church, in every corner of the foreign field.

Especially do we make our prayers of intercession for those of our own Divinity School and University, whose names we place before Thee on Thine altar, whose names we speak in honor in Thy presence and in the company of Thy worshipping people. (insert names).

Bless Them, O Father, who didst give them. Bless them, O Christ the Son, whose name they bear. Bless them, O Holy Spirit, whose work they share. Be with them, O Triune God, in all perils by land or water, in weariness and painfulness, in discouragement and persecution.

Let them see the travail of their souls, and be satisfied.

Even while they labor let them hear Thy encouraging words: "Well done, good and faithful servants."

Strengthen them in Thy loving power, until Thy Gospel is known and loved and lived all over the earth, and Thy Kingdom has come in its fulness.

Hear these our prayers of thanksgiving and intercession, for our brethren, Thy servants and children, for we offer them in the name of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, their Lord and our Lord. Amen.

—James T. Cleland

(Used annually during the Symposium on Christian Mission since 1951)

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

The Christian Mission Today

Volume 31 Spring 1966 Number 2

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So This Is Mission?

MRS. PORTER BROWN
General Secretary, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church

There is no point in my taking your time or mine today in making a brief for the renewal of the church. I think we all will agree that, if the church is to get even a toehold in the world in which we are living, it is going to have to change its ways. The ecclesiastical word for it is "renewal".

It is difficult for us to contemplate, but the fact is that the people who are making the impact in the shaping of today's world are largely people who have only the most casual interest in religion of any kind. They are acting; we are making pronouncements—on war, poverty, the open shop, prayer in the public schools, etc. After these have been published in *The Christian Century* and a paragraph or two in *The New York Times*, who cares what we have said? Open and courageous encounter with the world, in witness and in renewal, cannot be had by simply making pronouncements.

The attitude of many churchmen, when confronted with the need for action rather than words, is well illustrated in the old question-and-answer, "Mother, may I go out to play?" "Yes, my darling daughter, hang your clothes on a hickory limb, but don't go near the water." The church has got to get into the water.

The renewal that I am talking about is the kind that makes for unrest and discomfort, that causes hot arguments between friends, that makes people do those things which impel Official Board members to write letters to the General Secretary of the Board of Missions saying that, if the Board does not stop stirring up trouble and encouraging such unorthodox behavior, they are going to cut off their contributions. Rather than being frightened or discouraged, I believe this is the spirit of God at work making all things new.

Historically, the mission of the church was defined as personal salvation and evangelization, "taking the Gospel to the heathen". This may have been adequate for another day; it is not adequate for today. We can no longer put our trust in the institution—the estab-

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An address delivered at the Symposium on Christian Mission, February 8, 1966.

lishment. The church of this day exists only in relation to something. It must be conceived of only at the operational level.

Following the second World War, as you know, theology retreated into a safe shelter with a transcendent God in charge. This was natural. But time has shaken that shelter and done something to that God. Some say He is dead. Some say He is different. Or, as a smart Jewess said to us recently, "God isn't dead; maybe he has just removed Himself out of your churches." Maybe He has.

D. T. Niles has asked the question, "Where today is Jesus offering Himself?" And answered, "Sometimes in the most unexpected places." I submit that today He may be offering Himself in a court of law, where a defense attorney is pleading for the life of a human being; or in the office of a housing authority, where a concerned citizen is protesting the presence of rats and the lack of toilet facilities in a slum dwelling; or in the armories in New York City, where two hundred people sought refuge from the cold in zero weather because their buildings had no heat last week; or in Mississippi, where a group of sometimes bearded or black-stockinged college kids are helping underprivileged citizens to register to vote. Jesus may be offering Himself in some of our closed, ingrown church edifices, only to say, finally, "I never knew you."

If we are to be the Church, the new voice in mission, we must become sensitive, listening people, seeking to find where God is at work, and then become obedient channels of service in that work.

Where and to what must the Church relate itself? I will be specific. Where there is war. Does the fact that my government is involved in war in Viet Nam; that innocent men, women, and children are dying every day; that rice fields are being burned, and food that would keep people from starving is being destroyed; concern me as a Christian in mission? Am I agonizing before God for my government and the United Nations, that they may be led to a settlement?

Do I remember that I am part of the family of God when I think of my millions of brothers and sisters in China, to whom I cannot even speak? Do I love my enemies even if they live in Moscow? Is this mission?

What about the famine in India? Am I affected by the knowledge that not thousands but millions of people are going to starve to death in India this year? Our government now estimates that one bushel of wheat out of every six will have to go to India this year, and yet

they will starve. This is only one of many illustrations I could use to ask again whether this is mission?

What of the poverty and unemployment in the United States; the drug addiction among the desolate young of our cities; alcoholism at all strata of our society; my callousness and lack of concern for my brother if he is in trouble; dishonesty in high places, often among official members of our churches; indifference about the employment, health, and housing of the poor, while others are making inordinate profits; the denial of the rights of citizenship to some of our population? Is it the concern of the Church that, even in our affluent society, the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer?

Do we believe that we are one people of one Lord, that we are drawn together by knowledge of the same Christ, and that we have experienced something of the same redeeming love? I say to you that if we deny our obligations of discipleship at these points then the Church as we have it will die.

If we are to be in mission, there are other areas which must be our concern. I will just enumerate them, for you have heard them talked of and have seen them written about: rapid communications, the technological revolution, urbanization, secularization, the passing of the colonial era, hatred and suspicion of the West. All of these remind us forcefully that old patterns of life and mission just will not do.

Some of us believe that mission must mean the training of leadership to operate in this new world. We have moved from the day of the general practitioner, who treated everything from corns to dandruff; where we could buy anything from cheese to chicken feed and overshoes in the general store; where all eight grades were educated in one room with one teacher; when it took three months to get from New York to Tokyo. Most of us know and accept that there must be change in all areas of life. We live in houses with all-steel kitchens. We drive air-conditioned cars with seat belts and collapsible steering wheels. We have IBM computers tell us what we owe the government. And yet we, the same people, are content to operate a Board of Missions under an aim that was written by John R. Mott forty years ago.

I have on my desk right now letters from members of the Board of Missions complaining about our reexamination of the present "Aim of Missions". In no other field would anyone say that all was known in 1928 that was ever going to be known. Or that every-

thing was known that was ever going to be known in 1966, for that matter. Yet, they behave as if this were true in the area of theology and church administration. Now, thank God, this is not true of everyone. There are many, many committed churchmen today courageous and vocal in their desire to see true renewal. I believe we are getting it. Whether we are getting it fast enough may be another question. We are talking about the laity in mission. Why don't we use the skilled layman in the areas of his skill? When a man wants to witness, we say teach a Sunday school class. But he has skills in selling intangibles or in public relations or writing publicity, etc.

You no doubt have gathered that I am concerned for the whole man. I believe that Christ is sufficient for all of life; that if I am a disciple, I must be a missionary; that I must proclaim by deed as well as by word His saving grace for ALL OF LIFE. It is our job as church leaders to help make possible that proclamation in the most effective way.

In our conviction that there must be change, there is danger of sweeping the little chicks out with the eggshells. We say that the world is getting so close together that our problems are common ones. This is true, but with exceptions.

Nations are the same, having great cities and agricultural areas, but they are different too. Japan and the United States are alike and yet not alike. India and Brazil and the United States and other countries are being urbanized, yet there are millions of people still living on the land or in villages, and they will continue to live that way for a long time to come. We must not forget them.

The impact of similar forces—such as, cybernation, secularization, intellectual revolutions, etc.—is being felt in almost all countries. But because of differing cultural backgrounds, they are not producing uniform results. Life would be much simpler if we could put all people into the same mould, but we cannot. One of our great dangers in planning is the tendency toward depersonalization. We shall do so at our peril if we assume that a Japanese, a Rhodesian, and a South American are alike and can be compelled to fit into our one program. We shall also become impotent if we fail to recognize and value the differences in ancient cultures and religions of such countries as China and India and the emerging countries of Africa.

No more can we have one National Division approach to problems. The needs of the people living in Harlem and the people living on a reservation in Montana or in the mountains of Appa-

lachia are not the same. All of this leads me to the obvious conclusion that we cannot be tied to an organization and administrative details if we are to be the Church in the world. If geographic location is no longer a deciding factor in planning, we should move from that kind of concept into a functional method of operation. This the Board is attempting to do through functional secretaries skilled in specific areas. If the inner city or the rural areas need special knowledge and skill, then the Board should provide training to equip both clergy and laymen to serve. This we are planning to do under the MUST program (Methodists United for Service and Training) for training leadership through direct in-service experience in the city and through the Hinton Rural Life Center training program. Both of these are Methodist seed-financed but operated on an interdenominational basis, with Bill Webber, of *God's Colony in Man's World*, directing MUST (Metropolitan-Urban Service Training) in the city area and Cornelia Russell at Hinton.

We believe that missionaries can no longer stand aloof from political and social needs either in the United States or overseas. This may prove costly both in personnel and money. The Board of Missions is feeling the loss of financial support because of its position on social issues, where we feel we must take a stand if we are not to betray our Lord.

The Church must find a more adequate way of using its lay apostolate—men and women—who want to give a portion of their lives to the service of the Church either at home or overseas. The Peace Corps has made it crystal clear that people can be challenged to the servant role in the interest of their fellowmen. What is the matter with our system that we cannot get the same kind of response? Do we have too much creaking old machinery to which we cling and which is hampering us in making the witness we are being called to make?

When some of you fellows haven't anything much else to do, I wish you would sit down, wipe from your minds all present Church structures, and draw up a plan for the proclamation of the Gospel and the witness of service on which you would like to see the Church embark. Then send it to me.

There are some exciting pilot projects now in operation: the teams in the Congo and Bolivia, doctors giving service of a year or so at their own expense where needed; a missionary asking to be removed from the active list of missionaries so he can help a government in its agricultural development plan; another who wants to

retain his status as a missionary but not be paid a salary. He thinks he can share his faith better raising chickens, marketing his produce, talking with the people about how to raise better chickens that will produce more eggs, etc.

What is the future of the missionary? I don't know. I do know that there are yet millions of people who have never heard of Christ. There are millions still sick and ignorant and hungry. There are opportunities to witness in the secular world which we have never really explored. The job is still with us; our task is to find the way to do it.

Up to now, it seems to me, we have been long on the gathering into our own churches in tight little segregated groups—racially, economically, socially, denominationally—and into our seminaries, pouring over theological and philosophical theories. It is time that we put more time in learning how to scatter into the world.

> The essential precondition is that we all remember constantly that the mission is Christ's, not ours. For that reason it transcends our organizations. We all stand alike under His judgment and mercy, and none can claim finality or perfection. To seek first to safeguard the interests, the activities, the sphere of influence of our church, our mission board, our confessional body is in the end a denial of mission, a refusal to be a servant.... We must ask of any proposal for new work, new developments, new patterns of cooperation, not 'How will this affect us?' but 'What is God's will in this situation?' Since the mission is not ours but Christ's, any kind of claim to the sole control of any area in the interests of one ecclesiastical body... seems to us incompatible with a recognition of our common calling in Christ.... (Gibson Winter)

Since the light has dawned in both the Catholic and the Protestant churches, and we are aware that our Lord's prayer "that they may be one so that the world may believe" can become reality if we want it badly enough to sacrifice our parochialism in the interest of that unity, I believe a new day of mission is upon us. Let us not back away from it.

At the invitation of the Pope, through the Secretariat for Unity in Rome, three American women were asked to participate with thirteen other Protestant women and fifteen Roman Catholic women from around the world in a consultation on "The Role of Women in Today's World" during the last session of Vatican Council II. I was privileged to be one of the three American women.

One of the Catholic leaders confessed that Catholic women were not experienced in organizing for action. The meeting itself was a

new experience. She commented on other innovations. The Mass was a new experience for all of us. When the officiating priest asked for prayers from the congregation, including the Protestants, and we sang, "Come by Here" (Kum-Ba-Yah), while two women carried the wine and the bread for Communion to the altar, we Protestants also knew we were in a new day.

The question of the place of women in the church came to the floor of the Vatican Council only when the subject of "The Church in the Modern World" was discussed. The clergy had a bad conscience when they had to be reminded that women are also part of the church. However, the new role of women within the church and the new possibilities for ecumenical contacts were explored freely and honestly at the consultation.

All of the women, Protestants and Catholics alike, were hungry for fellowship and the opportunity to find together the place of women in the new world of cybernation, the family in a changed society, the status of the working mother, the Christian responsibility for social issues, and the role of the lay apostolate in the church.

A high point in the entire period was attendance at the session of the Vatican Council on October 28, 1965, when five important schemata were voted. Witnessing the display of medieval splendor which accompanied the ceremony of the voting, which was done by IBM cards and counted by machines, and the celebration of the Mass by Pope Paul, I was a little shaken with uncertainty about where Protestants and Catholics could find common ground.

Then I remembered preceding days—days of mutual sharing of hymns and prayers, days of deep concern as people of God for the life of the Church—and I became convinced again that there would be a day when our Lord's prayer that "they may be one even as your Father and I are one" could become reality.

Arthur Moore in *WORLD OUTLOOK* observes, "Vatican II says clearly that reformation is not something that took place in the 16th century (or the 18th, or whenever we date our own institutional beginning). Reformation is now and always, and it is never easy. By the light of Vatican II, we can see how dim our torches have grown and how sound asleep we have fallen while waiting for the bridegroom."

And Albert Outler, a Methodist contribution to the Council of which we should be justly proud, writes, "In a world literally perishing for redemptive love, we all have need of mutual exhortation and

each the right to rejoice at all charisms of the Spirit—now so abundant in your midst—and hope for their full fruition.

"There will be no more meetings of this sort again in our lifetime. Our ways from here lie in a thousand directions—all in God's keeping, thank God. The splendors of Vatican II—this strange interlude when we have been so strangely one—will fade and be filed in the archives of our memories. But a new advent of the Holy Spirit has happened in our world in our time—an epiphany of love that has stirred men's hearts wherever they have glimpsed it incarnated. . . ."

To quote Dr. Outler further, "Our confidence is not in ourselves, our vocations are not for ourselves and cannot be exercised by ourselves. We are Christ's and our mission is in and for the world for which Christ died."

Let us place a priority on compassionate concern for people—pastoral care, and on learning to witness to a Gospel of love and redemption, of reconciliation, and of hope to a nearly hopeless world.

Let us get out of these big, affluent, mouldy edifices built for a day when people lived generation after generation in the same place and be on our way as pilgrims confident that the work we do is His. We are His and those whom we serve are His also, wherever they are and under whatever conditions.

So what is mission? It is to be obedient to the servant Lord. There we must leave it, trusting Him to bring the harvest.

Islamic Reflections on Contemporary Theology

KENNETH CRAGG
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"And when My servants question thee (i.e. Muḥammad) concerning Me—I am near to answer the call of the caller, when he calls to Me: so let them respond to Me and let them believe in Me." So runs Surah 2: 186 of the Qur'ān. The verse is quoted by Rashīd Aḥmad in an article contributed, from within Islam, to a recent symposium of articles in *Twentieth Century*[1] on the "mortuary theology". It is worth pondering. For it suggests that in the end we are closer to the issues when we speak *to* God, rather than *about* Him. The issue is not ultimately faced in merely discursive terms, so that the loss of God (if such it be) can never be simply the end of an idea. At least, the Qur'ānic instinct here is to direct the questioner into 'Godwardness' as an activity. "I am near to answer the call of the caller." Men will never be 'callers' of God, that is, theologians with doctrines and affirmations, until they are 'callers upon Him' with yearnings and doxologies. For God, in the magnificent phrase of Hebrews 4:13, is "He with whom there is to us the word." It is in 'addressability,' the Qur'ān insists, that the reality of God is to be known. Such 'addressability' is only the other side of 'responsibility', our capacity, that is, to kindle to the blessed accessibility of the ultimate and the eternal.

Our purpose, however, from these beginnings, is not primarily to analyze or retail Muslim expressions of reaction to our Western pre-occupation with the survival of God. Our title, deliberately is 'Islamic,' rather than Muslim.[2] The time is hardly ripe for any discussion of what Muslims say on these themes. Rashīd Aḥmad is only taken here as a sample and portent. But it is both possible and legitimate to ponder the sort of reaction implicit in Islamic faith and

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An address given in York Chapel, April 13, 1966, by the Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury.

1. No. 1027 (Autumn, 1965).

2. The distinction between 'Islamic' and 'Muslim' is a very useful one: the former has to do with the ideological, the ideal, the definitive, within Islam; the latter with the actual, the empirical, what obtains among particular Muslims, approximating, more or less, to the authentic.

outlook, and it is entirely feasible to venture some formulation from without of what that reaction will involve and its likely direction of concern. For both are readily ascertainable from the themes and emphases of the Qur'ān. There is, of course, plenty of 'secular' experience within the Muslim world and some very deliberate occasions of 'secularization' of the state, as in Turkey under Atatürk. But this political movement towards the 'secular' should be carefully distinguished from 'secularization' in the total sense, the will to relativize all existence and to exclude the theological, the ontological or the metaphysical dimension (however it be termed), and with it to banish as irrelevant and *démodé* the whole Godwardness of human life, technology and experience. For Islam, by its very nature, stands in and with the conviction that "there is no god but God" and that all relativities, therefore, must confess and acknowledge their partiality under Him, which, of course, they cannot do if their pluralism is all. Islam, as long as it is true to itself, will never 'secularize' in those terms. Our purpose, then, is to reflect on the implications, of this 'Islamic' passion for unity and sovereignty in God, for the current 'Western' scene, where, for some time, there has been the sinister assumption (to use Chesterton's familiar paradox) that "everything matters, except everything" and where some theologians are vociferously finding in this exclusion of ultimacy both a virtue and a liberating wisdom.

The Theme of God Belongs to All

A heading that, surely, is redundant. *Cela va sans dire.* One would think so. But one of the strangest aspects of current theological exchanges in the Christian West is their almost entire neglect of other faiths as having an 'interest' in their content and direction. The death of God, we might say, is not to be unilaterally announced. So our first task here, which ought not to have been necessary, is to plead for some Western attention to other religions in these matters. We must beware of assumptions that are marked unmistakably with the legend 'Made in technology', at any rate to the extent that they ignore, and perhaps despise, the whole significance of the world's religions. We must have a mind for the psychology of human relationships and beware of a kind of perpetuated 'imperialism' of *our* secularized and secularizing assumptions. We in the West must be on our guard lest we try to subdue all humanity to what is no more than the rule of our super ego. As O. Mannoni has written in

Prospero and Caliban,[3] other cultures may well "accept everything in detail and refuse our civilization as a whole". There is too much about our recent thinking, as in A. Van Leeuwen's *Christianity and World History,*[4] that is in grave danger of seeming like the persistent and unhappy arrogance of Western man, his assumption (threatening to all human dignity, his own included) that he was born and taught to set the course and call the tune for all mankind. It is, no doubt, true that technology shapes all societies on all continents and that its impact has an irreversible and irresistible quality. This fact of 'Westernization' of the world is not in question. Yet 'Westernization' of the whole is, plainly, a misnomer and we must give due, and shall I say humble, weight to this truth of our whole humanity. We need to listen as well as to lecture, to hearken rather than to hector. The world of the religions in Asia and Africa has more significance than to be treated as an 'adolescence' outgrown simultaneously with our arrival in technocratic force. If this is to state the matter too passionately, there is ample reason for the passion.

Harvey Cox, for example, in *The Secular City* makes a visit of less than two pages (out of 276) to New Delhi and "streaks away from it" (as he puts it) "in a matter of a few hours" to Rome, Prague and Boston (significant cities all, to be sure), having discussed only one facet of his whole problem, namely the multi-religious political community. There is similar short shrift to the real core and essence of Asian faiths in Paul Tillich.[5] When the reader pauses to ponder how much in fact he has encountered the other faiths in these discussions of 'encounter' the answer has to be extremely modest. Dr. Van Leeuwen, despite the wide range and erudition of his *Christianity and World History,* does not bring his reader into the 'experience' of Hinduism, or Buddhism or Islam, into the enlightenment, the self-disposition, the discipleship, their peoples seek. Nor does he appear to set any store by that sort of concern. Rather, he writes:

> We seem (saving word maybe) to be witnessing the arrival of a new type of man ... the modern technological revolution is part only of a larger revolutionary process which seems likely to uproot and destroy the corner stone of all human society as we have known it hitherto ... that corner stone is religion.[6]

3. Translated from the Italian (New York, 1964), p. 23. A very penetrating work on the psychology of colonization.
4. Translated from the Dutch (London, 1964).
5. E.g. *Christianity and the Encounter of World Religions,* 1963, and *Ultimate Concern: Tillich in Dialogue,* 1965.
6. *Op. cit.,* pp. 401-2.

In this same context the faiths of Asia and Africa are "nothingness."[7]

We have here, it would seem, a very serious tendency to a sort of corporate Western 'egoism' in the assessment of human existence. There must surely be a distinction always alive in our minds between the ubiquity of technology on the one hand and the universal pretensions of pragmatism, or technocracy, or whatever be the Western preference, on the other. This distinction surely rides with very profound considerations, of psychology and humility, to which we are indifferent at our peril.

It is striking to note in this connection that the deeper, dramatic and poetic, 'explorers' of the West in the West have been involved, in their attitudes, if not in their terminology, and in their unwitting, if not their conscious, expression, with the burdens and wistfulness of Eastern thinkers. They are raising, perhaps in particular European form, the wistful questions of ancient Asia about the meaning of individual personality and the frustrations of desire. Our very technology and our 'scientism' have sharpened the 'loss of selfhood' which so much Eastern philosophy has known oppressively over long centuries. Had this phenomenon been recognized and truly measured, it might have stayed the eager, sometimes almost vulgar, optimism and Continental parochialism of some contemporary theologians who make so obvious a virtue of their religious independence of the rest of wistful mankind as mirrored in the ancestral questionings of the religious world beyond the white orbit. We would do well to get away from the notion that the religious future of man is subject only to *our* prognostications and get on to some more terrestrial range of counsel and conjecture about the future and God.

When we do so, it may be highly salutary for our thoughts as it will be healthy for our humility. One random example must here suffice. We take it from the discipline nearest to hand, namely Judaism. Writing in *Judaism*, Dr. Eugene Borowitz early this year remarks:

> If in the name of honesty and clarity religion must undergo a major reconstruction, should there not first be an honest and clear statement of how one can be certain that the secular mood is fundamental, not superficial, permanent, not ephemeral?[8]

The question is most apposite and the raising of it only one of the services Jewish instinctive thinking holds for extra-Jewish discourse about God. We are all so familiar with the culture-stance, the time-

7. *Ibid.*, p. 416.
8. *Judaism*, Vol. 15, 1 (1966), p. 89.

subjectivism of earlier writers, we are often quite incapable of recognizing our own. We know, for example, that Jeffersonian philosophy was shaped by the necessity to shape and subdue a continental unknown, and that, therefore, God tended to be conceived as the supreme artificer, the great fashioner of things and the rewarder of the diligent.[9] We have had so much longer than previous generations to appreciate the time-climate within which our thinking proceeds. Yet all too readily our secularizers persist in absolutizing themselves. So the first question has to be whether in truth the religious dimension *is* archaic, passé, outgrown and effete. And in this fundamental issue we must beware of the all-too-frequent suggestion these days that there is only one conclusion open to the 'honest'. We have had enough of this adjective as a quality to be denied our neighbors: we need to make it exclusively apply to a searching of ourselves. For, plainly, if one says with Altizer: "They who refuse the death of God do so in bad faith"[10] (and this refrain is repeated by implication in all such phrases as "the only honest thing to do is. . ."), then whoever disagrees is, *ipso facto*, short on integrity (or of course just stupid—massive ignorance, if not vested interest). But serious theological discourse is foreclosed if all who diverge from oneself are rogues or fools. To have this implication is to damage all intercourse and to deprive ourselves, most unhappily, of the relevance of our neighbor's obstinacy. In making this plea, here, for a return to theological courtesy, modesty and gaiety (the word is not misplaced for there is so much stridency in our time), I am simply drawing attention to the implications it has for a more patient, attentive, Christian sense of the other faiths, in their ultimate significance and their human susceptibility. Our discussions of God are not domestic matters. Indeed it is fair to say that where theology is the concern there are no outsiders. It is indeed a perverted notion of 'election' for any to imagine, or imply, that they have a sole prerogative, not to serve God, but to bury Him. Much of Western secularity gives the impression of such a delusion and must, therefore, be repudiated not, here, for merits or demerits in the argument itself, but for sheer pretension in the monopoly of it.

If, then, we need to hearken much more to the silence beyond our words, to unspoken religiousness around our assertive "beyond-Godness", Islam will plainly be among the most significant areas of

9. See, for example, D. J. Boorstin: *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (1948).

10. In "Theology and Contemporary Sensibility."

our relationship. For there is no greater commitment in all human history to the sense of sovereign Lordship and inalienable Divinity. So we return where we began, to a desire to set down in some brief form some themes of an Islamic reaction to the thinkers and publicists these pages have in mind. The hope is that as well as illustrating the potential of this inter-religious engagement over 'religion', the summary themes that follow will also serve to exemplify and illustrate the content of Islamic faith. We begin with the fact that was first in Muḥammad's mission and dominant in the whole purpose of the Qur'ān, namely the fact of idolatry as cardinal sin.

Islam against Shirk

The insistent and perpetual conoclasm of Islam belongs with the whole mysterious 'possibility' of idolatry, and it is important for us to recognize its significance. This is a world in which it is freely possible for men to be idolaters, and the very meaning and reproach of idolatry is that it is an alienation from a true worship. Both facts must be held together. If there is no proper worth-ship, there is no idolatry. The latter is inherently a perversion, a misdirection of what rightly belongs elsewhere. The uncompromising Islamic quarrel with the idolatrous exposes this profoundly significant fact about the God in Whose Name, and from Whose claims, it censures the idolater; namely, that this is a world, a human world, in which false worships are entirely feasible, feasible as part of the whole situation which demands and admits of a true one.

Much is written these days as if it were a 'discovery' that men can get along very well without God. There is no 'discovery' in this option: it has been implicit always in the very nature of the theological situation. Possibly in purely intellectualist terms God is no longer seen (or in that sense 'required') as the 'cause' of what we are able to explain. (Though we must add that God, rightly understood, has never been a supersedable 'explanation' that science would progressively eliminate. God's being has to do, by contrast, with explicability as a whole, with the dependability and rationality of a 'cosmos' within which 'natural,' i.e. non-superstitious, 'causations' can be sought, found and harnessed.) But a God, thus intellectually invoked for causal functions and now dispensable, has always been morally and spiritually 'negligible' if men so opted and desired. For this operative 'negligibility' of the living God is the central moral fact of man's vocation to the love of Him. Thus we hear too much about 'liberation' allegedly resulting from the elimination of the

Divine dimension and of 'imposition' while it lasted. "Behold I stand at the door and knock" has always been a deep truth of the Christ and for that very reason an abiding 'shape' of the Divine relationship to man. Nothing is clearer from the Old Testament than the fact that the real atheism is not the God we deny so much as the God we ignore, the God for Whom we make substitutes and from Whom we divert a due obedience. He is at once the God Who can only be 'had' as God in a free worship and from Whom to pseudo-gods we may turn at our behest. As the Qur'ān has it, "there is no compulsion in religion," and there is nothing involuntary in the kingdom of Heaven.

To this fact of the theological 'situation' we are clearly and urgently directed by the Islamic controversy with the idolaters. Men may embrace, if they so intend, their plural, selfish, separatist, 'absolutes' falsely so invoked and served. Thus the very credal confession of the living God, the right ultimate, the worthy absolute, can only be made in a negative repudiation of the false deities. "There is no god" stands, then, as the necessary prelude to the affirmation, "but God." And it is not a denial that can be simply and effortlessly made in merely technological terms or from 'technocratic' 'freedoms'.

That ontological declaration, in both its negative and positive concern, "There is no god but God," holds within itself the profoundest religious issue. "There is no. . ." involves as a statement the deepest struggle for the transcendent. For the 'gods' which do not exist yet do exist. A fear that has no warrant can yet terrorize. Likewise a worship that has no true authority can yet dominate, asserting and asserted without right. "An idol," says St. Paul, "is nothing," a non-entity. Yet, for all that, the 'non-entity' may be 'had' by perverse or mistaken man as a veritable idol. Idols are, in fact, the foci of men's desertion of God. And while a sound and 'rational' theology, or a 'secularity', may deny or scout their existence, they still epitomize man's waywardness. This of course is the reason for the significant distinction between saying, in terms of the Islamic *Shahādah*, "there is no god. . ." and, in the language of the Decalogue, "having none other gods but" Him. The whole logic of Muḥammad's career, his invocation of power and his decision to reach for statehood, are bound up with this crucial difference between the preacher's denial of the deities and the apostle's achievement of a 'dispossessing' of them by and in his listeners. Or, put in other terms, the issue of the transcendence of God is not merely propositional, still less

rhetorical. It requires a moral and spiritual unification of the soul's awareness of truth and troth. It is, in a word, 'religious'. Idols will still be anarchically 'had' by men long after they have been credally exposed or intellectually disqualified.

This, of course, is the reason why themes of theology admit of no neutrality. The "god of the gap" notion, the 'god' who becomes progressively redundant with the increase of man's empire of explanation, is for this reason so sore a travesty, so trite a confusion. What is significant is the god of the no-vacuum, (if the phrase is feasible), the god, that is, whom men will 'enthrone', be he race, class, profit, party, self, business, Baal, Mammon, Venus or Mars. One cannot look to these to abdicate in favor of a kind of pragmatic neutrality, where men will enjoy some benign sort of plural tolerance of diversified preferences. On the contrary, the confession of the pseudo-quality of all false absolutes and, what is even more crucial, their dethronement only happen in the confession and submission before the true, a conclusion to which the whole inner logic of Islam moves. One cannot affirm God without in concept and loyalty saying a decisive 'No' to every false pretender. And, by the same token, it is only such a 'No' which validates and preserves the substance within those false 'absolutes' and gives them their authenticity as relative. For there are no idols, however primitive, which could have acquired that perverted status without a relatively proper place in human life and love.

All these lessons are latent in the Islamic militancy against *Shirk*, against every alienation of what is Divinely due so that it is falsely 'rendered'. They are, it may be added, exemplified most clearly in the explicitly 'religious' field itself. Even a denunciation of deities can become itself idolatrous: we may use God, as well as 'gods', to escape Him. As Bonhoeffer has it, he who is guided by duty alone will find himself doing duty to the Devil.[11] That religions run the perpetual risk of establishing the most chronic idolatries is no marvel; it is the hazard of their meaning and their business. But neither their business nor their hazard are understood if we blithely suppose that the one cancels out the other—which seems to be the conclusion of some contemporary thinking.

So we return to ponder the Islamic concern about the idols. It is one from which we can never escape into 'atheism'. For 'atheism' has meaning (and very much meaning indeed) only as a controversy about the right worship. The progress of religion is emphatically

11. See *I Loved This People* (London, 1965), p. 20.

strewn with the wreckage of deities. There is always the God beyond God, the No! for the Yes! and the Yes! in the No! But it is Yes! in the end and only so the case for the No! "The death of God" insofar as it has meaning is a theme within His livingness. And 'religionlessness', where it is not a delusion or a presumption, is none other than the critical self-awareness of faith. There is much to justify the claim that Islamic concepts of *Shirk* as an alienated worship in which men are 'falsified' in misdirected 'godwardness' provide a remarkable and still, for our part, little used touchstone for our present concerns. For, as the Qur'ān implied where we began, questions of God are really issues of worship.

'Signs' and Significance

Another, and kindred, field of Qur'ānic thought, of which we do well from outside Islam to take patient stock, is that of "the signs of God". From one angle there is nothing Biblically new or unfamiliar about this emphasis. On the contrary, it is plainly within one instinctive Hebraic kinship. The realm of the natural order, for the Qur'ān, is a sphere of experience of mercy and compassion. We have to do with events, harvests, pregnancy, spring and autumn, wells and winds, flocks and farms, and in that perennial sequence of 'natural' sustenance and 'preservation' are invited, if we are observant and grateful, to perceive and confess a related grace. There is nothing new in this attitude and it can readily be dismissed as 'religious' and 'enchanted'. Yet it persists and we with it. It suggests that there is a sort of sacrament in which the natural order bespeaks another, in which the garden-gardener relationship (in mutuality) is acknowledged for a 'reciprocity'. There is nothing of course 'unscientific' in this. For the emotion pre-supposes the exploiting right and competence. Yet it is, of course, profoundly religious and constitutes another of those persistent simplicities with which the Qur'ānic reader is confronted. Nature, he is told, is a realm of Divine signs in which the events of the one realm are the intimations of another and where we are most 'technological' as manipulators we may also be most reverent as receivers and dependents.

What is involved here can perhaps, with some risk, be brought to focus through an incidental discussion of the word 'profane'. Let Harvey Cox take over:

> *Pro-fane* means literally 'outside the temple', thus 'having to do with this world.' By calling him 'profane' we do not suggest that secular man is sacrilegious, but that he is unreligious. He views the world

> not in terms of some other world but in terms of itself. He feels that any meaning to be found in this world originates in this world itself. Profane man is simply this-worldly.[12]

The desire here to penetrate to an etymological original in the word is quite legitimate, though in point of fact *profanus* is already in Latin 'sacrilegious', 'hostile to the temple'. If, however, we want to recover implications from its genesis as a word, we had better do so more radically and doing so, find a clue, slight perhaps but yet entire, to our whole problem. *Pro* is strictly, not 'outside' (cf. *extra*) but 'in front of' or 'before'. *Pro-fanum* is, then, 'in front of the temple' and by etymological device would invite us to visualize the world in which the temple stands as the porch to it.[13] So then the entire world makes the precincts of sanctity. There is, extensively, around the shrine, what is intensively within it. (It should be noted that 'profanity' in this analysis is not '*con*fanity' or '*extra*-fanity'.) Then the sacred is not some abstraction from this world but the world itself under one essential aspect. It is just this to which "the signs of God" in the Qur'ān refer.

From this perspective we begin to detect the fallacies in Cox's sentiments—fallacies that are rampant in our time. We, with him, are viewing the world in terms of itself, but these do not exclude a 'eucharist' within the visible, a sacramental within the scientific. 'Sacrilegious' it is agreed is excluded. Yet ignoring the sacral, which is the meaning of sacrilege (if ignoring is not too mild a word), is, it would seem, just what 'secular' in Cox's context seems to be required to mean. Meaning, of course, "originates in this world", for that is where our senses are; and a 'sacramental' perception is deeply this-worldly but, *for that very reason*, must pause and wonder, stoop and admire, stay and praise. If by 'unreligious' we mean a utilitarian, obtuse, or simply casual, neglect of this situation then we are neither, in the strict sense, *pro-fanum*, nor human, nor scientific.

Whether or not the particular etymology here will carry all that either Cox or I intend, the main issue is unmistakable. In the last analysis the whole concept of the 'secular' (not sacrilegious) depends upon the sacred. We cannot have the one posture towards reality if there is no other. Were 'secularization' so one-sidedly urgent it could never have been identified as a necessity. It is, at best, a cor-

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 60-1.

13. One might perhaps compare the remark of Thomas Traherne about the world of his senses as "the visible porch and gateway of eternity."

rection of improper piety (of which more a paragraph on), at worst a tragic misconception.

So, I would plead, let us have done with this much invoked 'disenchantment'. Whatever Max Weber may have initially meant by this, it has been most pathetically distorted by our contemporary "demise of God" school to the great impoverishment of the poetry, the music, the joyousness, even the impishness, of our lives. Since man has decided no longer to bother about them, are there no more any mysteries? The world, emphatically, is not 'disenchanted'—least of all in technology. Let us invoke St. Éxupery, or Dag Hammarskjöld, figures of the modern world indeed, and ask with them why it should be supposed that men with their machines were only 'religiously oriented' while they remained respectively ploughmen and ploughs, or why the planets should be fascinating only to shepherds and not to astronauts. 'Defatalization'? Yes! The end of the *deus ex machina*? Yes! But the end of perpetual surprise? No! Or of the urge to be cosmically grateful? No! We have great need to distinguish resolutely between a world subject to man and a world devoid of God; a world explained and exploited by science and a world drained of religious delight and reverent awe. For they are not identical. The former is a legitimate and exciting fact, the latter a fiction of a damnable opaqueness of human sensitivity, not to be exonerated by pleas of emancipation from 'religion'. What is valid in secularization is not rightly identified that way.

Where, then, does its validity lie? It lies, simply, in the rejection of the dichotomy the other way round, the refusal of an abstracted piety which fails to live in this world, which either through timidity or pride withdraws from the concreteness of daily life and prefers some kind of censure or aloofness *vis-à-vis* the ordinary world of things and fellows. This is the context in which, with Bonhoeffer (otherwise so sadly maligned by his supposed devotees), we may urge a holy worldliness, a confidence in God within history that need not shrink from present situations either in nostalgia or reproach, a will fully to be contemporary and to receive the technological 'shape' of things with positive energy and hope. But these postures will still need their focus and their 'intensification' in cult and prayer, in sacrament and song. These instruments of their expression, however, will not become ends in themselves, or excuses for withdrawal.

You may remember, in Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* the old man's burial on the great trek and the fear of his family lest they be

suspected, through an impromptu, private disposal of the corpse, of foul play, and who, accordingly, insert a 'clearing' statement with the body that he died of natural causes and they had no resources for official burial. Then one of the women-folk suggests they add a text to this recital, "so", as she explains, "so as it'll be religious". Everything valid in the 'secular' protest is implicit in the insistence that these acts of a reverent family are already 'religious' and that no texts or flourishes can add to that essential quality. Their sense of awe in the midst of death, their simple solidarities, even their worthy fears about being misunderstood, their urge to a reverent, 'clean' honesty— all these bear unmistakably the mark of 'religious' integrity. As an addendum "making their activity 'religious' " the text would be little short of blasphemous. Or as Lincoln might have put it: "We cannot hallow, . . . we cannot consecrate this ground. . . ." There lies the essential irrelevance of the artificially 'religious' form which "can neither add nor detract". Nevertheless, given that inner quality, the external 'token' or 'rite' or 'quotation' (whatever it be) may serve to 'intensify' and communicate the intangible emotion and seal it in its bearers' breasts.

Or, in other language, one cannot absolutize the negation of the sacred; one can only castigate its perversion. If one quotes from Jesus, for example: "The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath," the second clause is clearly only true in the meaning of the first. In one sense, "man is made for the sabbath;" he is, that is, the sort of being for whom a hallowing of intermittent rest is due and mete. He is "made" a being congenial to the sabbatical benediction. If this is not so, the first and ruling clause also collapses. The point becomes clearer if one says: "Love was made for man, not man for love." Outside the import of the first clause here, the second becomes a tragic falsehood. Or consider the statement so apposite to secular science: "Theory is made for experiment, not experiment for theory." The first clause sets down the paramountcy of empirical investigation which no mere hypothesis can or should impede. Yet empiricism itself is impossible except there be some theory, albeit properly subordinate, to prompt and suggest experiment.

It is in something of this order that "the sacred was made for the secular, not the secular for the sacred," though properly in this case the propositions are indeed reversible: "The secular is made for the sacred, not the sacred for the secular." But the really imperative thing is that they be seen as inseparable and the choice between the two pairs determined, in large measure, by the current opaqueness or obtuseness.

It is just in a right holding together of our hallowed and our exploitable world that the Islamic concept of "the signs of God" in nature may truly help us.[14] Christianity, for internal reasons relating to priesthood and grace, has been of all the monotheisms most prone to tension at this point. Islam, at all events, and Judaism even more, can educate us in a better sense of the goodness of creation and the inter-dependence of both the dimensions which much of our thinking has lately set in competition.

This theme of nature is important for another reason. There has been, in quite diverse quarters in Christian theology, a sharp imagined, or asserted, cleavage between nature and history. The God of the Bible, we are told, is "the God of history, not the God of nature". This is a fantastic verdict. "The heavens declare the glory of God," sang the psalmist. "O Lord, how manifold are Thy works," he went on with the external world in mind. Truly there is the 'history': the Exodus and the Exile, the "holy history" in which, as the Bible declares, God is disclosed, directly to "His people", the participants in that Exodus, and via the Scriptures descriptively to the rest of us. The pivotal New Testament history is experienced and mediated in the same sense and there is incorporation now by re-enactment in the *kerygma* and the fellowship. Yet none of this displaces or repels the awareness of God and His wisdom accessible in the natural order. It is, moreover, the natural order which, unlike the sacred history, "makes all men kin", since they are all by immediacy its denizens. There are endless diversities of natural habitat, but there are no "chosen people" in respect of "life out of the dust of the ground". "The signs of God" are of One with Whom indifferently we have all to do. There is no adequate consensus to discount them in our private, or current, refusal or inability to be impressed.

Man, the Khalīfah.

Our final field of necessary openness to Islamic criteria has to do with Qur'ānic doctrines of man. The crucial term here is the *khalīfah* (Surah 2:30). Man in creation is seen Qur'ānically as God's 'deputy'. He actually takes the place of God. (The more familiar political Caliphate of rulers to Muḥammad is no concern of the Qur'ān. What matters there is Adam's 'dominion'.) Man in the world is seen as servant-master. Not the one without the other.

14. For brevity here one may refer to the writer's *The Dome and the Rock* (London, 1964), where this theme is more fully documented.

He is over things because he is under God. His being in mastery and submission belong together; the stuff of his kingship is the material of his obligation. This leaves room for all that is valid in the 'secular' emphasis, but sees it within the claims we know as 'religious'. Even science itself may be seen, in a vital sense, as an activity of worship, since it proceeds always by a self-surrendering fidelity to truth, an 'oblation' of one's mind in the discipline of objectivity. Certainly the works of science applied to the making of cities, the shaping of civilization, the possession of the good earth, are 'responsible', in their impact in the human situation, to criteria beyond the mere question of technological feasibility. It is all 'contextual' and broadens out into the economic, the social, the legal, the cultural, the educational, the poetic. In all these realms it is also on the ubiquitous frontier with the ultimate, the eternal, and with the claims of an accountability that is more than utility, more than preference, more than passivity, more than politics. Or, if it is only these things, they and it are idolatrous, with an idolatry that not only defies God but denies man. For in the last analysis we shall only know what we mean by God when we are fully alive to what we mean as men. The Qur'ānic role of the *khalīfah*, Adam, is the point of their inter-section.

For many contemporary thinkers the world of man is somehow only authentic as man has it to himself: This, finally, is what 'secularization' means. There is, too, a corresponding complaint that the old world of Divine presence no longer makes sense. It is puzzling sometimes to understand how what has no place has yet to be studiously denied and outspokenly talked out. Yet the puzzle has a disconcerting secret if it be read as the form that present doubts have required our experience of God to take. If so the latter will yet again ripen into fresh conviction, not by the loss of the sacred but by the recovery of the secular, not by any antithesis of human freedom and Divine worship but by the single repossession of both.

Meantime it will be our wisdom to refrain from a pontifical Western monopoly of the diagnosis of man and a proud Western sufficiency in the disposal of God.

The Embassy of Christ:
The Church's Ministry in International Relations

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There may have been a time when the subject of Christianity and international relations had little status and could expect only a cool reception from men of affairs. But recent events have put a new face on the subject: it is now definitely "in"—it has status and prestige. The remarkable Convocation on *Pacem in Terris* a year ago gave it a very big boost. Among the boosters were Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, who addressed the Convocation's opening session in the UN's General Assembly Hall. His effort was typically earnest, impassioned, and long-winded. When he at length concluded, Assembly President Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana sought to compliment the Vice-President. "Your inspiring words tonight," he said, "have reminded me of other memorable speakers whose eloquence has sounded in this great hall in the past. Eleanor Roosevelt—may she rest in peace. Dag Hammarskjöld—may he rest in peace. John F. Kennedy—may he rest in peace. Nehru—may he rest in peace. Nikita Khrushchev—may he . . . uh . . . that is . . . who has also spoken here." The uncertainty concerning Mr. Khrushchev's whereabouts and welfare that evening just three months after his fall from power made the invocation of his memory a bizarre intervention in the Convocation, to say the least.

Last fall, Pope Paul VI came to speak in the Assembly Hall. It was an auspicious occasion not only for Catholics but for all men of religious faith. The Pope said: "We are very ancient; We here represent a long history; We here celebrate the epilogue of a wearying pilgrimage in search of a conversation with the entire world." That remarkable phrase, the Church as a "pilgrimage in search of a conversation with the entire world," is my point of departure in this

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paper. Without presuming to know all that the Pontiff intended by the phrase, I find it filled with meaning for the conception I have of the Church's ministry in international relations. It suggests that the Church must be engaged in a relentless dialogue with the political communities of all the earth.

Reuel Howe has written that both religious people and politicians tend to think and to speak *monologically*, exaggerating their own claims to truth while falsifying the aims and character of their opponents. "An all too prevailing attitude among church people is that the Church has much to say to the world but that the world has nothing to say that the Church should hear. . . . Those who proclaim [the Word of God] have as much responsibility to understand the word of man as they do the Word of God in order that they may help men to recognize and accept their need of God's word." Their great need is to open themselves up to "the miracle of dialogue".

To say that Christianity must engage the world of nations in dialogue is to say that both religious and political commitments are important, that these commitments must be related, but that neither must swallow up the other because each needs the other. God speaks through both, not just through the Church. Christopher Fry's recent play about Thomas à Becket, *Curtmantle*, contains a striking dialogue between Henry II and Becket, then serving as Chancellor but whom Henry also proposes now to make Archbishop Canterbury. Becket at first resists the invitation:

BECKET:

One thing is simple.
Whoever is made Archbishop will very soon
Offend either you, Henry, or his God.
I'll tell you why. There is a true and living
Dialectic between the Church and the state
Which has to be argued for ever in good part.
It can't be broken off or turned
Into a clear issue to be lost or won.
It's the nature of man that argues;
The deep roots of disputation
Which dig in the dust, and formed Adam's body.
So it's very unlikely, because your friend
Becomes Primate of England, the argument will end. . . .

HENRY:

. . . . Together we have understood
The claims men have on us
And how to meet them. Whatever your office
This truth is unalterable, the truth being one.

BECKET:

> The truth, like everything else,
> being of three dimensions,
> And men so placed, they can stake their lives
> on the shape of it
> Until by a shift of their position, the shape
> Of truth has changed.

But, of course, Becket finally relents. He accepts his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury, only to be caught in the power struggle he feared and finally to be martyred. Yet Becket's original insight was profound. There are three dimensions of historical truth. The "shape of truth" inevitably changes when one moves from the religious to the political stance. It is in the nature of man and history that there should be "a true and living dialectic between the Church and the State which has to be argued for ever". God uses each order to judge and redeem the other, just as the enemies of ancient Israel were used to judge and redeem her. The Church must argue with the State whenever the State claims too much for itself. The State must resist the imperial claims of the Church and must be prepared, through its own secular witness, to show the Church the meaning of justice and freedom.

Christian dialogue with the world of nations is a most vital function of the office of "ambassadors for Christ" engaged in "the ministry of reconciliation". It is but a slight embellishment of these marvelous phrases of St. Paul to speak of the Church as "the Embassy of Christ"—as the very place where people come to know what human relationships are intended to be, above and beyond all the brokenness and bitterness of the world which does not know itself to be in Christ. I am not a theologian, but here at the very core of Christian faith is the infinitely creative doctrine which unites theology and politics, faith and power, love and justice: the ministry of reconciliation.

The distinctive work of the Embassy of Christ must always be done in the very places where personal relationships are most estranged. It is to identify with the stake of human struggle in all of its hostility and anguish and alienation and fear. Yet so often and so sadly this special work has not been done. The Protestant churches of the 19th and early 20th centuries never really understood the grievances of the laboring classes in America until, in a

sense, it was too late—and labor's own leadership in its secular success had become frankly hostile or indifferent to the church. White Protestant churches never mobilized their resources to redeem the common life of the inner city until they had run away and left vast ghettoes of the black and the poor. Protestantism never seriously plunged into the struggle for civil rights until, as Ralph McGill has put it, the drama was nearly over and there was only a bit part left to play.

What is the distinctive work of the Embassy of Christ in international relations? I cannot give you the memoirs of a veteran of this ministry speaking from his long experience, but only the testimony of a tenderfoot as to his aspirations.

I

The first, most distinctive, and least dramatic task of the Embassy of Christ is to nurture its own people in the disciplines of dialogue itself. This is more than a matter of pedagogical method: it is a whole-souled cultivation of the preconditions of authentic Christian community in a world which is rapidly losing all remnants of tribal community under the onslaughts of technology, mobility, and revolution. It is to prepare in a radically new way for the encounter of person with person in ever-deepening levels of mutual criticism and mutual appreciation. It is a *human* possibility only because it is first of all a *divine* gift. It is to be made ready, even and especially in the modern world, for the miracle of reconciliation. It is a profoundly *grace-ful* nurture in which men, women, and children grow in their capacities to articulate the fragments of truth which they perceive and to do so with courage and with modesty; to listen receptively to the offerings of other men, women, and children to the common treasury of the conversation; and to be responsive to every significant possibility of agreement and action. It is to know when to stand up and speak and when to sit down and shut up. It is to make possible what Martin Buber called "experiencing the other side". It is to be spiritually equipped to face controversy creatively and even gratefully.

This may not sound like the international relations ministry of the church. It seems remote from the substantive issues of foreign policy. And, to be sure, it is a task which ranges far far beyond the feeble resources of specialized staffs in New York and Washington and all of the social commissions whom we serve. It must engage

pastors and laymen throughout every aspect of the life of congregations and the wider realms of church life. It is perhaps more the province of worship and preaching, pastoral care and Christian education, than it is the province of the social action bureaucrats. Yet it is a vital *pre-political* task with vast consequences for the way in which Christian people engage the world.

There are patterns of dialogue which are the special concern of the international relations ministry. Two of these patterns are closely related: closing the gap between ministerial and lay opinion leaders and between religious professionals and government professionals. The social action crowd has too long been a line-up of preachers and women confronting lay men whose churchmanship consists principally of raising money, recruiting members, and protecting their institutional investments in both money and membership—all worthy tasks which, however, in isolation from the whole gospel foster a stifling conservatism incapable of true dialogue in a world rampant with revolution.

During the late summer of both 1964 and 1965, it has been my privilege to cross the Atlantic and to share in the life of the Conference on Christian Approaches to Defense and Disarmament—a group whose title may be conveniently if unfortunately reduced to the initials "CCADD". This is originally an Anglo-German fellowship which invited American participants to Friedewald Castle near Bonn and to Ditchley Park near Oxford. Quite apart from the rewards of international conversation, about which we shall say more presently, the exposure to conversation among German churchmen and among English churchmen themselves was revealing. One of the revelations was the capacity of religious professionals, on the one hand, and policy-makers and military officers on the other to communicate with each other as *Christians*—and to communicate graciously at levels of profound concern and insight. In the case of the Germans, I believe that the dialogical experience of the lay academies in the twenty years since the "zero hour" of a shattered but renascent German Church accounts largely for the capacity to communicate. In the British case, it may be more of a reflection of the extent to which that tight little island is a city-state centered in London where churchmen, scholars, politicians, civil servants, generals and admirals all seem to move in a single orbit and can approach each other familiarly and fraternally. There is also a conspicuous absence in the process of British policy-making of that jungle of lobbying which, in the

United States, often seems to force the churches into a belligerent sectarian activism which alienates them even from their own constituents who happen to serve in government or the military. These national comparisons may be overdrawn, but I do believe that the Protestant Churches of America can learn from British and German experience some of the secrets of Christian dialogue in matters of foreign policy, even if we cannot reproduce the same religious and political environments.

One of these secrets is a capacity for *restraint* in religious pronouncements upon political issues. Pronouncements there must be, especially when representative church leaders achieve a high degree of consensus on both the urgency of their speaking and the content of their judgment. It is when the churches themselves are sharply divided that religious leaders should speak with an extra measure of restraint. Abraham Lincoln's old complaint about churchmen who claim equally to represent the will of God but whose prophetic voices proclaim the most opposite opinions serves as eternal reminder of the moral burden of the policy-maker. American policy-makers today have good reason to complain about the lack of restraint in moral discussion of their policies in Viet Nam when the churches themselves are lacking in significant agreement.

There are other good reasons for restraint on occasions when the urge rises to pronounce prophetic judgments, such as understanding the limitations within which any particular government official must work.

II

The Embassy of Christ, second, must always bring the dimension of historical meaning to its dialogue with the world: God's history, man's history, and the encounters between God and man and between communities of men. It is not really very difficult for us to state important Christian principles which bear upon international relations. What is terribly difficult is to perceive the embodiment of these principles in the concrete historical life of nations and governments and policy-makers. In the human world of the policy-makers, faith and its principles must engage established policies, new facts, conflicting evidence, competing claims, limited resources, laws, jealousies, uncertainties, confusion, the necessities of compromise, pressures from above and below and from allies and enemies, guilt and pride concerning the past, hope and fear concerning the future—

and all of these and more in a unique historical configuration in every moment of choice. It is not enough to have "ethical principles" which can be "applied" to the problems of foreign policy. One must put one's self, as far as possible, on the inside of the dilemmas of government and work steadily to cultivate that indispensable resource in all statesmanship: *wisdom*—wisdom concerning the how, and the when, and the wherewithal high principles may be actualized, incarnated in the living arena of historical struggle where no human victory is ever complete or permanent. Nothing is more fatuous on the part of Christian moralists than a fervent preoccupation with "principles" to the disdain of the singular junctures which are God's earthen vessels for the *in-historization* (if I may use that wonderful word which I once heard some smart theologian pronounce!) of His almighty purposes.

Ethics which does not take history seriously is not Christian ethics. A nineteenth-century German chaplain, offended by the political behavior of German statesmen, once put to Bismarck this question: "Don't you think politics should be more moral?" To which Bismarck replied: "Yes, but then morality would have to become more political." The prevailing morality of American Protestantism, as it confronts the problems and the challenges of foreign policy, is rather paltry in its grasp of historical and political wisdom—almost as if Reinhold Niebuhr never lived or spoke or wrote.

All of this is to say that meaningful dialogue in the realm of foreign policy has to do with real *decisions* in a real world. One of the reasons for the lack of a significant debate over the issues of American involvement in Viet Nam is the unwillingness of many of the most impassioned critics of U. S. policy to focus upon decisions, to provide constructive and realistic alternatives, to wrestle with the "if-then" questions which the policy-makers cannot ignore.

Unhappily, the common variety of moral education in our churches, our schools, and our homes does not sufficiently nurture the capacity to make decisions creatively and responsibly. Moral education still has a fixation upon the authoritarian mode of cramming "principles" into young minds and old ones, too, rather than cultivating the resourcefulness of free moral agents to engage the infinite number of factors which give unique shape to each historical moment of choice and commitment. Here, too, we may seem to be roaming far beyond the purview of the international relations ministry. But our work in this specialized area is very much affected by the

most elementary moral conditioning which our people bring to us. We in all areas of social action have a tremendous stake in the program of Christian education, of family life, of lay activities for which other instruments of the Church bear a heavier burden than do we. This is a stake which we should be willing to explore continuously and to build upon together in every fruitful way.

III

A third point I wish to score is that Christian dialogue in international relations must be *international*. This seeming redundancy contains a judgment upon much of the Church's education and action. When American churchmen meet to discuss African problems, they are carrying on a monologue, not a dialogue, unless Africans meet with them. When a conference is called on Southeast Asia, without Southeast Asian leadership, the conferees, although they may differ from each other on fundamental issues, are still trapped by the limits of monologue. And when Christians gather to talk about the Communists of Eastern Europe, Asia, or Latin America, their talk suffers the most serious limitations if Communists are not gathered with them. Of course, the presence of the "foreigner" or the "enemy" may impose its own limitations upon the possibilities of open dialogue. But the Embassy of Christ has an overriding imperative to persist in precisely the most difficult, the most frustrating, the most exasperating, the most hostility-laden confrontations among men. Referring to American-Soviet relationships, Reuel Howe has said: "The only hope for the future rests in a relentless effort to keep open the lines of communication and on an acceptance of double-talk, rejection, and distortion as a part of the dialogue."

In Berlin, right at the ugly Wall itself, there is an incredibly appropriate symbol of what the Embassy of Christ must be and do. There is a place in Bernauer Strasse where the Wall slices through the front of a churchyard. On each side of the churchyard, the gun positions of Communist guards are mounted high in abandoned tenements. Several refugees have been shot just there and memorial wreaths mark the spots where they have fallen. The church itself is on the east side in the Soviet Zone, but facing west. High above the church door and the Wall itself stands a figure of the Christ, hand upraised in benediction. The church itself is closed. The name of the church today is what it has been for generations: "The Church of the Reconciliation."

Here, indeed, is the special work of the Embassy of Christ: it is to see the face of Christ on the other side of every wall of hostility. It is to keep reminding us that no nation, no people, no man is an absolute enemy. History keeps scrambling our "allies" and our "enemies". Blame and guilt for violence and for revolution are most ambiguously distributed among the nations. Any war is a civil war within the human family. There are redemptive forces at work in any community of God's creatures and there are bonds of common interest among all communities. The Embassy of Christ must never tire in searching out those redemptive forces on the other side of the wall and those bonds of common interest.

If I may speak more personally, I have long preferred to imagine myself to be a "political realist" with considerable degree of skepticism about the prospects of soothing the hostilities of either Russia or China. I have been troubled by what I know, second-hand, of some of the East-West encounters fostered by churchmen in which it has seemed that many of the Western participants express a naive view of world politics and are distressingly eager to join Eastern denunciations of American policy. But I have come increasingly to believe in the essentiality of Christian participation in such conversations, not because I have inflated hopes concerning their immediate influence, but because I have a deepening conviction that there are profound theological and ethical imperatives involved in them which, in this historical stretch, cannot be evaded and which may yield long-term fruits. The risks are great, of course, not simply to the participants but also to the reputation and support of the Church in a society where McCarthyism has enjoyed such a widespread resurrection. But a Church which cannot accept grave risks cannot be saved by a reputation for playing it safe. And those of us who take a fatuous kind of pride in considering ourselves to be "realists" because we are non-pacifists would do well not to abandon the works of reconciliation to the pacifists to bear alone.

If international conversation is imperative across the walls of hostility between enemies and across the vast cultural chasms between American Protestantism and the Third World, it should never be taken for granted as existing satisfactorily among so-called "allies." One of the great values of the conferences at Friedewald and at Ditchley has been the discovery of significant differences in priorities between American and European delegates. The haunting memories of Nazism and of war, the continuing despair over a divided

nation, and the fear of a resurgent rightist fanaticism play upon German churchmen in ways which deserve the most careful study and constant respect from outsiders. In Britain, the adjustment to the loss of empire and wealth, the vulnerability to nuclear attack, and the ambivalent yearning for a radical new involvement in Continental affairs, largely frustrated by the French, inevitably touch all discussions of foreign policy by English Christians. But one does not have to cross the ocean in search of a conversation with allies: it would be most helpful for the American churches to multiply many times their conversation with the Canadian churches in international matters. As close as our cultural and economic ties may be, Canadian Christians tend toward distinctive views in Asian and Latin American policy which we would do well to hear continually.

Herbert Butterfield has said: "What society needs is every possible variation and extension of the art of putting oneself—and actually feeling oneself—in the other person's place." This art, which has always been of cardinal importance to the profession of diplomacy, has in our time become a necessity for all those segments of the general public which aspire to responsible leadership and influence in foreign policy. It is not enough for the churches to match technical knowledge with ethical theory in their international affairs ministry: they must bring American churchmen into increasing contact with their counterparts in other countries. The process of exposure must get out beyond the church bureaucrats to the hundreds if not thousands of laymen who are or must be enlisted in this ministry. It is a process which can make use of the expanding company of foreign nationals at work in the States, but it should also bring representatives directly from other national churches for extended visitations and it should magnify the opportunities for travel-seminars and short-term work and study projects abroad. Of course, such programming costs money, but just as the churches must not shy away from the fires of controversy, so they must not shrink from the costs of doing what their mission as the Embassy of Christ compels them to undertake for the sake of its conversation with the entire world.

IV

The churches have their own distinctive *intelligence* function to perform in international relations. They cannot hope to match the government in gathering daily the quantities of data and especially of crisis information which are absorbed by the various intelligence services. The point to be made, however, is not that the churches

are inferior in their intelligence function; it is that they have a unique capacity for certain kinds of intelligence operations which government itself lacks the resources to perform. It is to mobilize their own best resources for a continuing conversation concerning the ethical dimensions of foreign policy. It is to perceive and interpret the historical influence of religious institutions and values upon political life. With increasing candor, American policy-makers have confessed that there is a great void beyond the limits of secular intelligence, beyond the competence of technical expertise, beyond the range of the awesome computers. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 marked a critical turning point in this regard. It was the earth-shattering qualities of modern weapons which set the stage for the crisis, with highly sophisticated aerial photography providing the documentation and with mathematical games upon the computers programming the various contingencies. Yet the crucial determinations amounted to a kind of leap of faith: they had to do with the nature of the American purpose and character and with the ways in which the enemy himself might be permitted to share in a solution which would not destroy his most vital interests. John Bennett observed some months later that our statesmen had displayed a moral sensitivity far beyond the capacity of the general public.

How can the churches tool up for the augmenting of moral intelligence among their constituents and within the government? They cannot do so in isolation from secular intelligence. Church leadership must grow in its ability to assimilate the best information available from governments, from the United Nations, and from private sources such as the press, citizen organizations, and the universities. Lord Chalfont, the British Minister for Disarmament, who came over from Geneva to last month's conference at Ditchley, remarked that in the closely related realms of defense and disarmament there had been a sharp escalation of intellectual demands, adding that Christian scholarship must respond with its own escalation if it would remain relevant to the issues of world affairs as they take on new form and shape. One could not, for instance, pursue disarmament negotiations in Geneva leading to a non-proliferation treaty on nuclear weapons simply in the context of a common interest between the Anglo-American Allies and the Soviet Union. The whole strategic structure of Western Europe, including especially the participation of West Germany in either a multilateral force or an Atlantic nuclear force, must be brought under review, not to men-

tion Red China's exclusion from the UN, or the mounting pressures in India to develop nuclear weapons in the face of conflicts with both Pakistan and China, nor the temptations to a besieged Israel to hold its Arab antagonists at bay through nuclear deterrence. The churches have repeatedly sanctioned disarmament negotiations, but they are not likely to contribute to wise disarmament policy if they cannot keep up with the policy contexts within which progress toward disarmament may be realized. In a world of kaleidoscopic changes, the churches cannot simply live off the moral formulations of the past.

The churches have more to learn from their own worldwide network of communications than they have yet come to appreciate. To the extent that their own sources of information help to free them from absolute dependence upon official and secular sources, their intelligence operations will acquire increasing moral integrity. The churches possess an enormous investment in seminaries, colleges, and universities which, by means of curricula, research, and special projects, can better coordinate the inquiry into the relevance of theological discourse to policy problems. Denominational and ecumenical staffs are challenged to play a catalytic role in refining this investment. I have recently proposed a research consultation in ethics and foreign policy which might give birth to a more sustained and coordinated intellectual effort in this realm. I know that many persons both in and outside of the churches remain to be persuaded that the dialogue between ethics and foreign policy is intellectually necessary or promising. At one side are those who are concerned with arousing moral passion but not with scholarly progress; at the other are those for whom ethical inquiry is not accorded a status worthy of any scholarly attention. There is thus an unwitting conspiracy between battalions of moralists within the Church and legions of positivists within the social sciences. I like to think that, although I thoroughly enjoyed my years of college teaching, I now have more incentives than ever to be a competent political scientist in the service of the Church.

V

Finally, the Church's conversation with the world is more than a matter of dialogical or intellectual skills. It is made truly earnest only insofar as the Embassy of Christ is faithful to two closely related imperatives. I refer to the acts of sacrifice and reconciliation within the Church itself.

Seven decades ago, George Herron, one of the early Jeremiahs of the Social Gospel, proclaimed that the need of the hour was the assertion of the Cross as the eternal principle of all divine and all human action. The driving forces of the universe itself, he said, are sacrificial and redemptive. "Christianity is the realization of the universal sacrifice, of the philanthropy of God, of the redemptive righteousness of Christ, in society. . . . The fulfillment of Christianity will be the mutual sacrifice of God and his world in the society of a common need." Herron was preoccupied with the domestic issues of economic justice. But surely the principle of sacrifice which was the central theme in his evangel has something to do with regard to the international issues of economic justice. If we cannot push our government too far in the direction of sacrifice, as some economists like to warn us, the churches can at least do everything possible to free our government from the most narrow conceptions of "the national interest" in such matters as economic assistance, foreign exchange, tariffs, commodity agreements, and the like. But the more compelling application of the principle of sacrifice has to do with how far the churches and individual Christians themselves are willing to go in committing their own treasure, even to the point of privation and suffering freely endured for the sake of the disinherited among the remotest of God's children. The present levels of international philanthropy by American Christians, while generous by some measures, fail to satisfy St. Paul's appeal to "make our bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God".

The Embassy of Christ cannot address its ministry of reconciliation to the nations without practicing that same ministry within and among religious communities. The historical power of concrete acts of reconciliation has been wondrously demonstrated by Pope John XXIII. As a newcomer to the Church Center for the United Nations, I have mused as to why that imposing facility was not established as an interfaith center. If there is one single place in the world where universalist religions should be able to engage in at least some common ministry, it is across the Plaza from the United Nations. But now we have a Protestant Center, three blocks up the street is the Catholic Center, and a new Jewish Center is building at some distance. It was all made strikingly clear on dedication day at the Church Center in the imperial language of one speaker who enthused about "this Christian center, this outpost of Christian influence, this citadel of Christian witness"—and then the guest speaker was

introduced: Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, then President of the General Assembly.

The late Dag Hammarskjöld seldom made public reference to his religious faith, although his *Markings* now testify posthumously to the richness of his spiritual life. Nevertheless it was my privilege to hear Hammarksjöld address the 1954 Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, when he spoke freely as a Christian man. There are passages in that address which, to my mind, are unsurpassed in their theological and historical insight into international politics, and I wish to conclude with several of them:

> Let us not get caught in the belief that divisions of our world between the righteous and the wrong-doers, between idealism and materialism, between freedom and slavery, coincide with national boundaries. The righteous are to be found everywhere—as are the wrong-doers....
>
> The conflicts behind the surface of international—and for that matter also of national—politics, are conflicts whose battlefield always has been, is and always will be the hearts of men. In a certain area, in a certain period, those in power may predominantly represent one or the other tendency. But we would lack in historical sense and psychological insight, if the experience we have gathered during our short span of time would lead us to believe that this or that people is to be considered as an enemy forever of our ideals, or if we were to believe that ideals which we feel should dominate our own society, will survive without an honest and continued fight for their supremacy in our own public life....
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> For the Christian faith 'the Cross is that place at the center of the world's history... where all men and all nations without exception stand revealed as enemies of God... and yet where all men stand revealed as beloved of God, precious in God's sight.' So understood, the Cross, although it is the unique fact on which the Christian Churches should base their hope, should not separate those of Christian faith from others, but should instead be that element in their lives which enables them to stretch out their hands to peoples of other creeds in the feeling of universal brotherhood which we hope one day to see reflected in a world of nations truly united.

The Minister as the Man-in-Between

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Although the title, very well sets the theme for this Alumni lecture, I would like to suggest also a subtitle, "A Contribution Toward Personal and Vocational Identity in the Ministry."

One of the oldest and most frequently given bits of moral advice, going back at least as far as Socrates and the Old Testament, is the simple injunction, "Know thyself." I have recently been engaged in a long delayed reading of that devotional classic, *Theologia Germanica*. In one of its sections I was delighted to read the other day this sentence, "And a voice came from heaven saying, 'O man, know thyself.'" Recently I have been picking up a few books in the fields of psychology and sociology, perusing some and reading others, and have become quite interested in the concern which experts in these fields have for personal identity in our current culture. While their approach is somewhat different, certainly more analytical, than that of the old philosophers and mystics, the concern is essentially the same.

I am assuming that there are two kinds, or levels, of identity with which we must interest ourselves in the spiritual quest of knowing ourselves. The first is personal, which I shall designate as primary identity. The second is multiple and includes such basic indentifications as that of the vocational and marital roles. We are concerned now with only one secondary identity, the vocational, which is for us the ministerial.

I. The Importance of Finding Identity or Knowing Who You Are.

I find myself in deep agreement with the ancient injunction, "Know thyself," and am keenly interested in the present approach which modern students of human nature and culture are making in seeking meaning in identity. It is perhaps easier for us to understand how important it is for other human beings to know who we are, and to have an image of us which is clear and fair. Most of us here

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have at some time or other been wrongly identified, and have doubtless sometimes suffered some embarrassment or some confusion because of it. I recall several rather humorous episodes of wrong identification which remain with me primarily as conversation pieces, but are still illustrative of what I am trying to say. I am one of those old-fashioned preachers who gets out in the afternoon and rings a few doorbells. I confess with you that sometimes I do not punch the bell quite so firmly the second time and am thankful for those blessed little cards which we leave at people's doors. On one occasion the door was opened by a very friendly lady who showed all signs of recognizing me, her new minister. But she did not follow this recognition with an invitation to come in. I gave a slight tug on the screen door latch but found it fastened. We stood and made small talk through the screen door for a short while, until there came a slight awkward lull in our conversation. This she broke with the announcement, "I don't believe I need anything in your line today." I knew then that there must be a short circuit somewhere, so I asked, "Lady, who do you think I am?" She instantly replied, "Why I would know you anywhere in the world, you are my Fuller Brush man." In another similar setting soon after I had rung the doorbell a young mother holding a baby opened the door with obvious anticipation, but as soon as she recognized me spoke in considerable disappointment, "Oh, I thought you were the Di-dee man." Obviously I did not complete my pastoral call in this situation, but went away mumbling to myself about my adult nursery, generally known as the First Methodist Church.

I think that this importance of having other people know who we are is more strongly pointed up in the realization that we project certain images of ourselves and seek to live into those images as the basic goals of our lives. Most of us here have discovered also that we sometimes are required to live into images which others have of us which do not correspond exactly to the images which we project of ourselves. Here is an illustration out of my own experience in the ministry. I once served as a pastor of a church which was in a rapidly growing community. We undertook a major church extension work and were able to sponsor five new Methodist churches in our county. This caused the Bishop and the District Superintendents, who make the appointments and in whose images of us we are perforce required to live, to think of me as a very good administrator. Yes, you have anticipated it. I was made a District Superintendent! I had never imaged myself in this role, and it

was a departure from my line of career projection. Fortunately, the Bishop got me back into focus and let me off for good behavior after two years.

As important as it is to have other people have a clear image of us, it is a thousand times more important for us to know ourselves who we are. I believe from reading some of the current studies of our contemporary culture that many of its perceptive analysts would agree that the greatest affliction from which we are suffering now is that so many people simply do not know who they are. The word which is used to describe this condition is *alienation*; the condition varies in degree from a simple poor identity of oneself to a pathological nonacceptance, or even rejection and hatred of oneself. Many explanations have been given for the riots by Negro people in Los Angeles several months ago. The most perceptive which I heard was given by Martin Luther King in a televised interview. He pointed out that the young Negro people who were involved in this riot were suffering from a radical alienation. This alienation came out in their declared hatred of the white man simply for his whiteness. But behind that was a hatred of themselves and of their own blackness. This is radical alienation.

At the general and more obvious levels of our vocation as ministers, we are not usually conscious of this kind of alienation. Generally the distortion of our own self image runs the other way and has at its center a premature self-acceptance and even inflated self-evaluation. You will forgive me if I confess for myself and for our profession that we are especially prone to this. I was told in my first year in the ministry by an older neighboring pastor that I had a good future. I believed this and went on the strength of that meat for several difficult conference years. Under an ego drive impelled by this good image of myself, I once dared to ask the Bishop and District Superintendent, "When does my future begin?" There is a story in Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes' book, *I Was Made a Minister,* which illustrates and counters this tendency on our part. One of his preachers came to him to seek advancement in his appointment. In seeking to further improve the Bishop's image of him, he said, "Bishop, you know that there are many people who consider me among the ten outstanding preachers of Methodism." The Bishop's reply, quick and devastating, was, "Yes, who are the other eight?"

I discovered during my brief tenure as District Superintendent that many of the brethren suffer from inflated self-image. I also learned that frequently these images are uxorially aided and abetted.

If a brother has a tendency toward this sort of over-evaluation of himself, plus a wife who pumps more pressure into the balloon, he can run into real difficulty in the appointment system, and sometimes suffer a real kickback in his own mental and spiritual state. Fortunate indeed is the man who has a wife who serves as a brake and a deflater in this respect. I am myself one of those fortunate preachers married to such a wife. When I was given my honorary Doctor of Divinity degree I at last had it made! Proudly I donned the Doctor's hood, resplendent in its red, black and white colors, and processed proudly down the aisle as we approached the Lord in supposed humility. Later I asked my wife, "Honey, how did I look wearing my new hood?" Her reply was a salutary and quick slaughtering of my clerical pride: "I thought you looked like a woodpecker." On another occasion after she had ridden the district with me for several Sundays and heard the same sermon over and over again, she quietly suggested, "Don't you think you ought to get yourself up another sermon; you have preached that one so many times it can walk alone."

There are few of us who do not suffer at some time or other in our lives experiences which drive us to a re-evaluation of ourselves. These usually occur at the level of our secondary identities, especially that of vocation, personal ambition, and career fulfillment. Frequently these are quite traumatic and kick back upon us even to the level of primary identity. If at this primary level we have achieved what is called an authentic selfhood and have not invested the basic stuff of our personal being in secondary identities, we shall be able to withstand the shocking experience and may even emerge from it with more courage to be, and more established in our primary identity. Some of us, unfortunately, become exceedingly defensive, especially where a rejection at a secondary level threatens to reveal what we really are at primary level. Most of us are skilled in this kind of defensiveness, the primary tactic of which is to cry out against the unfairness of others in failing to recognize our true worth.

I realize that I am being strongly presumptuous at this point and am treading on tender territory, and could be moving in where angels fear to tread. But we are here together as ministers of the Gospel and it is good for us to take an honest look at ourselves. I was recently called a Preacher's Preacher. Having heard a prominent lawyer called a Lawyer's Lawyer, and a successful Doctor called a Doctor's Doctor, I took this as a great compliment. Later

on I read of a cannibal who was a Cannibal's Cannibal. As I stay for a while in this holy ground where all of us live, I hope you will think of me as a Preacher's Preacher discussing common concerns in a brotherly manner, but if you must, you may think of me as a Cannibal's Cannibal daring to chew you up a bit.

I believe that I can enforce the distinction between our personal and vocational identity or between the primary and secondary levels of self realization by a play on two words which etymologically are the same word but for our purposes now may be sharply distinguished. The one is *person* and the other is *parson.* You already understand that by *person* I mean our primary identity in authentic selfhood, and by *parson* our secondary identity in vocational role. It seems to be a common phenomenon that human beings who have a weakness in primary identity either consciously or unconsciously seek and even strive for self realization at the level of secondary identities. We ministers share this common human pattern and procedure whereby we enter roles which yield status and recognition and become substitutes for deeper self realization. Indeed it is possible that a man pours all of himself into a secondary role and has nothing left over for his soul-self. I recall that as soon as I received my first local preacher's license as a sophomore in college, one of the first things I did was to buy myself a black suit. I really wasn't anybody much as a person, so I wanted all the more to be parson. In my more mature years I am greatly concerned about men in our vocation, especially younger men, who seem to reach out eagerly for the clerical identification. Without intending to disparage the round collar, may I suggest that it is frequently used for this very purpose; and do we not sometimes wear the stole for the ornamentation of the parson rather than to represent servitude of the person to the Lord? I have already observed that this whole pattern of striving for status is shared by us with human beings in general.

I am so convinced of the importance of this identification as person that I think it must not be lost even in the role of husband or wife. I observe that there are some women who marry preachers and enter into the role of preacher's wife with might and main. Some submerge their personhood in this secondary identity and some submerge the husband as they seek their identity in this role which some women seem to covet. I learned early in my own marriage that my wife was desperately determined to be herself first and a preacher's wife second. By a spiritual and psychological principle which seems always to work, she is a far better wife, and

even preacher's wife, because she has struggled and succeeded in the realization of authentic selfhood.

As we come to our own relationship with God as His ministers we are first persons, human beings, men—created in the image of God and redeemed by His grace in Jesus Christ. Here we find who we are and from this identity of *person* we move into the role of *parson*, persons called into the work of the ministry. If we come to the role of *parson* in weakness as *person*, we are always in danger of the stereotype, and possibly even of the phony. More conscious of being *parson* than of being *person*, we move among our people with calculated manner, posing, image-protecting, and, to use a phrase already used today on this platform, in danger of becoming "paid professional religious men." Any sort of stuffed shirt is obnoxious, but the worst of all is that of the *parson* who has failed to become *person*.

II. The Minister as the Man-in-Between His People and Time.

All of us who have served in the pastorate in various situations know that even in these challenging and rapidly moving times many of our people are still living in a provincialism of space and of time. It is also apparent to us that much of this is willed provincialism. There is widespread reluctance to revolution among our people. In some instances this is doubtless due to ignorance. Possibly a greater cause is disturbance and fear at the threat of radical changes in their "way of life." Some will go so far as to deny that there is a revolution at all and to label as leftists or Communists even those who recognize that world revolutions are going on. Many of these people are supporting their positions by religious and patriotic sanctions, and if they could stop all kinds of social and political changes, and even undo some of the developments of recent years, they would rejoice to do so. They are what Teilhard de Chardin calls the "immobilists." Many of us have heard the statement that the worst thing in the world is ignorance. You have also heard someone say that the worst thing in the world is really the ignorance of ignorance. I have a third observation in this line which is that the worst thing in the world is a human being who has reached out for a religious and/or patriotic sanction for the conclusions he has reached out of the ignorance of which he is ignorant.

Granted the reality of his identity as person and the genuineness of his commitment as parson, the minister of our day finds himself between his people and time. Since they are living in a provincialism

of time as well as space, one of his primary responsibilities as a teacher of the truth is to lead them into a larger historical setting for their lives. We are very fortunate that we have a Biblical structure for doing this. There is a philosophy of history set up in the Biblical story which readily provides a structure for our giving people a sense of being involved in a long historical process. We can remind them that we serve the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that the drama of divine redemption has its primary essentials in certain times and places, and that we are today the heirs of centuries of Judaeo-Christian life, experience and discovery. When they ask us to "give them the Bible," they have opened the door to a wonderful opportunity for us. A radical use of its basic historical spread will help the preacher to lead them out of their obscurantist discontinuity, and to teach them that "old-fashioned religion" is much older really than nineteenth-century revivalism. I have discovered that even some of our well-educated and quite self-conscious sophisticated people suffer from historical discontinuity at this point. Along with their less-informed neighbors they need to be reminded that wisdom did not begin with our century. Here is a place for the minister to stand between his people and time past and remind them over and over again that they are set down in a great sweep of history.

It is not difficult for us to understand the anxieties of people concerning the swiftly moving world in which we live. There is no other ready word to describe what is going on all across the earth than the word revolutionary. Barbara Ward says in her book, *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations,* that there are ten or twenty revolutions now going on and that they are intertwined. In addition to our normal human resistance to change, people are disturbed about some of the directions in which we are moving. They are not ready to accept, for instance, the pluralistic nature of our society. Almost all of our people are white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants—or WASPS, as the sociologists call us. In our community we have not only owned our churches, but also the courthouse and the school house, and have been able to dominate cultural patterns and preserve our way of life. Now, with the whole wide world as well as the federal government moving in on us, we are understandably frightened. Things are simply moving too fast for us. Some would use the words which are the title of a recent musical comedy on Broadway to express their basic immobilism, "Stop the World, I Want to Get Off." Our people may not be too ready to listen to us as we

stand between them and time passing, but the nature of things demands that we assume this role. In addition to the basics of the ministry which I have discussed, I must strongly underscore that at this point we simply must do our homework and become knowledgeable about what is happening to our small earth if we are to do a good job as prophetic interpreter.

I suppose that none of us knows exactly the nature of the new world which is in process of coming. There are certain broad lines which are becoming more and more recognizable, including what is called the process of urbanization and the introduction of the democratic process into all levels of our common life. To some of us these lines lead into a possible promised land, but to others they lead into some kind of welfare state which threatens to deny us privileges which we have long assumed are ours by right. Some of these people remind me of a character in a little story Dr. Gilbert T. Rowe told our Pastors' School in Florida a few years before his death. Two mountain boys, Bud and Zeke, are sent by their Ma across the valley and creek to load the ox cart with apples. While they are there a heavy rain comes and the creek rises. On their way back the ox and cart are stalled in the middle of the stream while it is still rising. To the consternation of Bud and Zeke the apples are being floated out of the cart downstream. Bud runs home to tell Ma about it and she asks, "Where is Zeke and what's he doin'?" Bud tells her, "He ain't doin' nothin' but sittin' on the bank and cussin'."

What an apt description of so many of the people in our churches in these days. If we presume to stand between our people and time to come, we must win their confidence as real persons and genuine parsons, men of God committed to honesty and redemptive truth. Then they may let us lead them into the new day, so rapidly dawning upon us.

III. The Minister as the Man-in-Between His People and God.

The old roles of priest and prophet still help us to understand the major role of the modern minister. Both priest and prophet were in-between human beings and God, one seeking to lift the needs of men up to God and the other declaring the will and judgment of God to men. In order to gain a better focus for our understanding of the minister in these traditional major roles, I must narrow the discussion to the setting of worship and preaching.

My major disappointment as a District Superintendent when I

went about among the churches participating in their Sunday services was the widespread poverty of worship. Broken-down orders of service, extremely poor liturgical sense, an occasional informality that was disrespect to Deity, all of these and more brought distress to my mind. I had already had experiences of attending service and not really finding genuine worship going on. I recall one occasion when my wife and I attended church and came away quite empty. I soon confessed that I had not worshipped and she admitted a similar failure. Together we sought the explanation. We came fairly quickly to the simple conclusion that the basic cause was that the minister himself was not at worship. He was so obviously playing a little role with a high degree of self-consciousness and even of self-exhibition. We all know that the essential presence at a service of worship is the presence of God. But if the service is loaded with too much presence of the man in the pulpit or an over-awareness of the presence of human beings in the pews, it is so easy to leave no room at all for the presence of Deity. So many of our church services fail at this point. I have known of ministers who suffered from such a degree of pathological egocentricity that they were sustained in their role as parson by the adoration of their people. Services of worship that such men conduct are not services of divine worship at all. I have also known it the other way around where the pastor manifests a dependency toward his people and usually is to be found thanking them for coming out to church. I once was in a service where the minister thanked the people three times for coming out as if thereby they had favored him and the Lord. One could ask, where is the Lord high and lifted up? Where are the angels declaring the glory of God saying "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of hosts?" Where is the sense of mystery? Where is trembling in the presence of the Most High?

I am primarily concerned with the role of the preacher as he becomes the man in-between God and other men when he preaches. As I understand his role here, I believe a good word to use is involvement. The preacher has dared to involve himself in the Gospel transaction. His responsibility is to produce some kind of divine-human encounter, and to create for his hearers an evangelical confrontation. As good pastor of his flock he will be not unmindful of his people in their sins and will not become so prophetically aggressive that he fails to see the sins of his people in the light of God's mercy and so to preach that they will see their sins, and see them well, in this light.

I think that a very large number of us actually seek an avoidance of this involvement. The presumptuousness of it seems too great, and we quietly withdraw from it and surrender for lesser levels of pulpit functioning. Also the involvement is itself a painful thing. To declare God's judgment and offer his mercy and grace seems too great a treasure in these earthen vessels, and to allow ourselves to be involved in sins and troubles of our people is to lose our own ease and take upon ourselves some of their hurt and anxiety and guilt. One of my associates, just out of seminary, commented after hearing me preach for several Sundays, that I was violating something he had been taught in seminary, that I was preaching in the first person while he had been taught to preach in the third person. I don't know who his homiletics teacher was, but I must say that I do not see how one can really preach without preaching in the first person. One can lecture, one can make an address, all this in the third person, but how can a man preach without involving himself in his Gospel message?

I am interested in how some men avoid this evangelical involvement. There are several ways to do it. One is to cast your ministry into some role other than the prophetic or the priestly. Perhaps the most common of these other types is that of the promotional ministry, into which many men of my acquaintance have directed the basic drive of their ministry. Of one such promotional type minister a discerning member of his church remarked one day, "His announcements at church are always much more interesting than his sermons." I suppose we always evaluate our predecessors, and I would not want to confess to you today some of the things which I have thought—and sometimes said—about some of my predecessors. But the most devastating thing I ever heard one man say about his predecessor was, "As I understand his ministry, he is basically a cheer leader." I know a man who had all of the gifts which are commonly supposed to make for success in the ministry. He was tall and handsome, robust and masculine, personable and magnetic, and endowed with a marvelous voice which had been skillfully trained. But this man suffered a defeat in the midst of what should have been a highly successful pastorate. The essence of his failure was at the point of his non-involvement when he preached. In a moment of anxiety he confessed to me what his best lay friend had said to him in the dead of night following an unpleasant confrontation with his Pastoral Relations Committee. The layman said, "Tom, when you preach everyone in the congregation is listening

except you." I realize that I am in a very sensitive area and I pass from it with a quotation, the source of which I have forgotten: "No man can exhibit himself and Jesus Christ at the same time."

There remain a few things to say about the in-betweenness involved in the preparation and delivery of sermons. I went to church one day and heard a sermon which I fear is typical of much of today's preaching. The preacher knew how to put things together and produce a fairly symmetrical whole. He had quite obviously read sermons on this subject from other preachers along with the *Reader's Digest* and other such literature. As I listened to him preach I tried to find the degree of his involvement and to sense the involvement of the congregation in the act of preaching. But he himself was not involved. He had snipped and clipped and assembled all this assorted stuff, but it had none of his own sweat and blood and tears in it. The people seemed to be listening very politely, but so obviously they were not pulled into the concern of the sermon. Because he was not painfully involved, neither were they involved at all. There was no impingement on their consciences, no real reaching of their souls, no laying of the claim of God upon their lives.

This raises the question of where we get the stuff for our sermons. It seems tragic to me that some of us are busy reading each week for next Sunday's sermon. And that our main diet is books of sermons. I believe that if we could declare a moratorium on the buying and reading of such books it would improve preaching all across the church and bring the kingdom that much closer. I once said this in a panel at our own Pastors' School, knowing that with me on the panel was Dr. Wallace Hamilton and that outside on the bookstore display his own books of sermons were in stacks higher than any other books. One of his books was called *Ride the Wild Horses.* When I made this statement he intervened with a friendly, "Don't say that!" I had an inspiration of the moment and replied, "But you know what happens. When the brethren ride your wild horses, they turn them all too quickly into Shetland ponies." I am sure that it would be difficult to have one rule that covers everyone, but as a general principle I think we ought to be doing reading this year for next year's sermons. Once I repeated the little routine previously given about ignorance to a bright young Doctor of Philosophy. He instantly replied, "Oh yes, that comes right out of the heart of Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Nature and Destiny of Man.*" I did not deny the possibility, but remembered that I had read this work at least ten years before the time I came up with what I thought was an

original gem. This illustrates and supports my main point. Few ideas can ever be original to us, but if we have made them our own, even though the gestation period be unusually long, they are more effective when we speak them.

When we preach, we should be preaching out of the level of the person, out of our authentic selfhood, and what we are giving out, even though it may be original with someone else, we shall have ingested, absorbing it into our own thought and faith system, so that when we speak the words, they bear the witness of meaning for us and in us. I like the analogy of the spider weaving his web for illustrating preaching. The spider has eaten certain foods which have gone into him, have been absorbed into his system, and now are extruded by him to form a web of beauty and usefulness. I think that when a man really preaches in this sense he is breaking off a little piece of himself and leaving it with his people, and at the same time leaving with them the impression that when he reappears for another service of divine worship he will have been renewed wholly out of powerful resources which are in him and out of God through him.

I believe that I can conclude what I have tried to say in three propositions. The first is that the most important thing in the world is my identity as a human being who by the grace of God has become a Christian person. The second most important thing in the world for me and for you as ministers is our vocational identity as good ministers of Jesus Christ. The third and principal thing I have tried to say to you is that we can never really be the second, the *parson*, in any of his functions, unless we have become deeply the first, the *person*.

Coffee House Christianity

Jerry H. Gill
Candidate for the Ph.D. in Religion, 1966

With all due apologies to Soren Kierkegaard, I would like to borrow the titles of his major works for pegs upon which to hang the following discussion. I leave it to the reader to decide whether or not Kierkegaard would object to such procedure.

Attack upon Christendom

I will not punish any of us by dragging out all the too-oft-repeated phrases which have been used to express my first point. We have heard and seen enough of "post-Christian era", "God is dead", "the world come of age", and the like. Suffice it to say that in recent times the relevancy of the Christian Church has been strongly challenged by nearly every aspect of human existence. Although this is by no means a new challenge, it is nonetheless a very real one.

The chaotic events of our beloved cold-war carry with them an implicit, but odious, question—just where is the Lord of History? The rebellion and pessimism found in the world of contemporary art also reflects the "relevance-gap" between the church and society. Both of the main branches of contemporary philosophy, Logical Empiricism and Existentialism, reject the Christian message as "nonsense" and "escapism" respectively. Even some of the leaders of the Church itself have almost given up on it. An increasing number of seminary graduates are seeking a place of service outside of the institutional church, and theologians sometimes claim that the Church speaks a language which no one understands, and to problems which no one has. There can be no denying the seriousness of this full-orbed "attack upon Christendom."

The Point of View

It would be ostrich-headed to contend that the Church has done nothing by way of a positive response to this now famous "attack". The "Christian Renewal" issue of *Time Magazine* (December 25, 1964) provides a good summary of a wide variety of constructive efforts to make the Christian message relevant. One significant development which has received a minimum of attention is the Christian

Coffee House "underground" ("movement" sounds too institutional). My purpose in this article is to explore the basis, strategy, and results of this development.

Although I will of necessity base most of what I say upon my own first-hand experience with one such Coffee House, there is good evidence that most of the others have had similar experiences. The religion page of *Newsweek* for January 20, 1964, supports this claim, as does an unpublished summary of some half-dozen church-related Coffee Houses compiled by Mrs. Carol McDonald, who was the driving force behind the origin of such a Coffee House in St. Louis. The *Potter's House* operated by The Church of the Savior in Washington, D. C., *The Edge* in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, *The Door* in Chicago, *Encounter* in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, *The Threshing Floor* in Greenwich Village, and *The Precarious Vision* in San Francisco, are all efforts to relate Christianity to a certain segment of society which has pretty generally written off the organized Church.

My own experience with this unconventional development has been in connection with *Le Rapport* Coffee House in Seattle, Washington. I had the good fortune of serving as program chairman during the first year of its operation. The idea for this Coffee House was born in a young couples' discussion group in the Woodland Park Presbyterian Church. The basic motivation was a conviction that far too often Christian people talk to each other, instead of sharing their perspective with, and learning from, those outside of the Church. Moreover, by and large, Christians expect non-Christians to come into the church building to hear the Christian point of view. Why not meet them where they are, in an atmosphere of openness?

The enterprise was quickly, and rather informally, underway in September of 1963. *Le Rapport* is run on a non-profit (in plan and most certainly in fact), volunteer basis. About one-half of the financial support comes from individual gifts. The operation includes a first-rate art exhibit and occasional co-operation with a local film society. Although not in one of the main business or university centers, *Le Rapport* is located next door to *The Ridgemont* art-film theater, and has received a great deal of assistance from its owner. Fortunately and unfortunately, the Coffee House has no official connection with the organized church. This is fortunate because it has allowed for great *strategical* mobility. It is unfortunate because it has resulted in limited *financial* mobility. Most of the above mentioned Coffee Houses seem to be more closely related to the established

Church. As of 1965, however, *Le Rapport* is receiving $200 per month from the Seattle Presbytery budget.

Philosophical Fragments

The programs of the coffee houses are quite varied, but most include group discussion of contemporary ideas, art exhibits, jazz and folksong performances, dramatic and poetry presentations, and film showings. In addition, a great deal of spontaneous, informal discussion takes place. The unique thing about *Le Rapport's* program is its regular public discussions on week-end evenings. Mr. and Mrs. Leon Arksey (a local college professor and his wife) have had the responsibility of scheduling the discussions. Most of these discussions begin at 10 p.m. and continue into the early morning hours. The discussion topics are chosen on the basis of their significance in religion, the various arts, and contemporary culture. Lively and significant discussions have been held on such issues as: civil rights, liturgical jazz, sex-love-and-meaning, existentialism, disarmament, political conservatism, Bertrand Russell and Christianity, the Bible and modern science, James Baldwin, Ingmar Bergman's theological trilogy, and the McCarthy film, *Point of Order.*

The discussion leaders are chosen from various aspects of Seattle's religious and cultural life. They usually begin with a brief introduction to the topic and then open it up for questions and statements of conflicting points of view from those present. To date, the discussions have been led by local political leaders—including former Governor Rossellini and present Governor Evans—scholar-teachers from Seattle colleges and universities, actors and director Stuart Vaughn from the Seattle Repertory Theater, and a large number of local ministers. The late Carl Michalson, theologian from Drew University, participated once, and there has been a good deal of Catholic-Protestant dual-leadership as well.

The clientele of *Le Rapport* is perhaps a bit different from that of most of the other coffee houses mentioned. Whereas they seem to attract mostly students and/or some form of "cultural rebels", *Le Rapport* attracts mostly young business and professional people, as well as some graduate students. This difference is probably more a function of location than of choice. Nevertheless, many unchurched persons who are active in the intellectual, political and cultural life of Seattle have taken an active part in the discussions. The number of participants varies between twenty-five and two hundred. The "fragments" of personal philosophy which have been shared at *Le Rapport*

have made an actuality out of its stated "creed", borrowed from Albert Camus:

> ... that the world needs real dialogue, that falsehood is just as much the opposite of dialogue as is silence, and that the only possible dialogue is the kind between people who remain what they are and speak their minds. This is tantamount to saying that the world of today needs Christians who remain Christians.

Either/Or

Well, what sort of impact has this adventure had on its surrounding society? Both the *Newsweek* article and Mrs. McDonald's summary indicate that the other coffee houses are having a good deal of success in closing the "relevancy-gap" between Christianity and society. There are four main values being realized in *Le Rapport's* ministry to its culture. First, the very fact that church people are involved in such an enterprise has been a strong witness to the Church's concern to be identified with the contemporary world. One person who became a frequent and active participant said, "I never thought the Church had it in itself to do such a thing." Second, since a very strong effort is made to keep the programming on an interdenominational basis, real growth in understanding and co-operation is being achieved among a large variety of denominations. This is especially true with regard to Protestant-Catholic relationships.

Third, a real cultural service is being rendered to the city of Seattle at *Le Rapport*. In a way, the coffee house could be classified as large scale adventure in adult education. The quality of the discussion leadership is very high, and outstanding people from nearly every area of the Seattle scene have been eager to participate. *Le Rapport* is one of the few places in Seattle where public discussion is held on significant and timely issues.

Finally, and most importantly, real dialogue and encounter between individuals is taking place at *Le Rapport*. Very often, long after the public discussion has ended, small groups and couples will continue to discuss the issues on a personal level. Much friendship and understanding have been experienced over a cup of coffee—often by persons who were complete strangers at the outset.

In all of this the Christian perspective on life and its concrete problems is being presented. Sometimes in a theoretic way, sometimes in a practical way, but nearly always in such a way as to make the decisive, "either/or" nature of the Christian life quite clear. No attempt is made to screen the discussion leaders, nor "guide" the discussion

into a Christian interpretation. The hope is that *Le Rapport* provides a place where Christians and non-Christians can discuss issues of mutual importance. If the Christian witness is to be expressed, Christians must be present and express it. At this coffee house, they are and do!

Purity of Heart

In addition to its cultural impact, the *Le Rapport* adventure is making valuable contributions to the lives of those Christians who are participating in it. The hearts of these participants are being "purified" on at least three levels. To begin with, a new depth of understanding is being achieved, and that in a two-fold fashion. A new understanding of exactly what the unchurched person thinks, and why he thinks it, is taking place continually. Needless to say, many well-protected stereotypes have had to be jettisoned! Moreover, a new understanding of exactly what it is that the participating Christian believes, and why, also takes place. Here too, a great deal of growth and modification almost invariably results.

A second value is obtained on the level of personal honesty. As Camus points out in the above quotation, real dialogue presupposes personal honesty. In the type of discussions, both public and private, which are taking place at *Le Rapport,* insincerity and lack of mutual acceptance are quickly unmasked. The type of personality transparency that is experienced and cultivated in honest dialogue with those of varying basic commitments is seldom achieved within the structures of the ecclesiastical establishment.

A third value has to do with the proper method of sharing the Christian gospel. Far too often Christians are content to praise, state, and examine the Christian message in a vacuum, as if it were some sort of abstract entity. In addition to the fact that the best witness to the dynamic of the gospel is the quality of the life lived by the Christian, it is also the case that the best way to clarify the gospel is to show its implications for the various aspects of concrete experience. The proper way to demonstrate the value of a light is to shine it on the path which is being walked, not upon the light itself (assuming this were possible)! Those Christians engaged in sharing Christianity with others at *Le Rapport* are learning that the most effective witness is the one which attempts to delineate the implications of the Christian perspective for the crucial issues of human existence.

I have *not* tried to say that the established church should be exchanged for a chain of coffee houses. I *have* tried to say that Christians need to seek ways of sharing the Christian life which are honest and integral to both Christianity and God's unchurched world. Each individual must seek creative ways of communicating his faith. Coffee house Christianity is more than an idea or an interesting experiment; it is a way of life!

There are indications on every side that theological education is in for a thorough and systematic self-assessment in the next few years. We have already begun the process here at Duke. The precipitating causes are many. Superficially considered, an immediate stimulant is the forthcoming debate concerning the name and nature of the basic theological degree which will be a principal issue before the biennial meeting of the American Association of Theological Schools in June. After some unilateral action on the part of a few schools, such as Claremont, Chicago Divinity School, Boston, and Wesley, and with at least four years of study and debate in the official channels of the Association, it is rather clear that a major step may well be taken to "up-grade" the basic theological degree to the "Master's" level.

Claremont instituted a Doctor of Religion, four-year degree, some three years ago, defended with customary vigor and resourcefulness by its President Colwell. Boston University School of Theology announced nearly two years ago its intention to institute an S.T.M. beginning in 1966 and including an altered curricular program and involving extended time requirements over the conventional three academic years. The University of Chicago Divinity School has announced a four-year program leading to a Doctorate of Ministry, and now Wesley Theological Seminary has announced a Master of Theology as the basic degree beginning this fall.

On the whole, the older and long-established institutions have taken a conservative line, but the issue will be decisively joined at the AATS meeting in June with a commission recommendation on the agenda to make the basic theological degree either a B.D. or an M.Div. (Master of Divinity). Meanwhile, it has been the declared judgment of this faculty that any "up-grading" of the basic theological degree must necessarily carry with it a genuine "beefing-up" of the admissions, curricular, and academic performance standards of theological schools. It is for this reason, in part, that the structure, aims, and end-product of theological education are bound to come under scrutiny, at least among those schools and faculties which take the proposed "up-grading" as something more than façade or status building.

But, apart from the issue as raised by the prolonged discussion of "degree nomenclature", there is an increasing awareness that theo-

logical education is long overdue a pretty thorough-going renovation. Basically, it is caught between the inevitably, even properly, competitive aims of academic *vis-à-vis* professional concerns. Long ago we might have discerned that theological education must become soundly professional, perhaps even "clinical", while embracing academic integrity demanded by inescapable dependency upon historical and systematic disciplines. It is now past time for candor in this matter. Among other things, this means that if real competence is to be acquired on both the professional and academic sides, as is imperative, then the comprehensive survey-type of the theological studies program must be rather radically modified.

I may be mistaken, but I would venture the judgment that graduates of theological schools ought to go forth with an enhanced measure of self-esteem that in part is fostered by the inner assurance that within a delimited domain they are moderate masters of some discipline within the continuum of theological knowledge and understanding. It may be New Testament exegesis; it may be psychotherapy and the Christian message; it may be the history of Christian art or the shape of present-day Christological discussion; it may be ministry and ecclesiastical government. Whatever it is, it will contribute to the inward assurance that characterizes the educated man. But this will call for some radical revision of the theological program, and I believe we are in for it.

* * *

It is with very genuine regret that the Dean and faculty of the Divinity School will be obliged to give "hail and farewell" to Professor Hugh Anderson at the end of the current academic year. He has accepted the New Testament Chair in the succession of James Stewart at New College, University of Edinburgh, Scotland. When his countrymen called, "Come over to Caledonia and help us," Hugh Anderson, with an apostolic sense of stewardship and a Presbyterian sense of divine election, was disposed to comply. He goes to one of the notable theological posts of Scotland and with a sense of responsibility and mission to the cause of ministerial education in his home country.

Dr. Anderson joined the faculty of Duke University Divinity School as Associate Professor of Biblical Theology in the fall of 1957. He was promoted to Professor of Biblical Criticism and Theology in the fall of 1963. He has been valued as a colleague by all the faculty, greatly sought by students, and a principal contributor to New Testament studies leading to the doctor's degree. Dr. Ander-

son's contribution to the American pulpit has been notable, and his eloquence and authentic Christian witness will be long remembered in many churches of the land. He has brought luster to the name of Duke Divinity School by his several important publications, most notably by his distinguished book, *Jesus and Christian Origins* (Oxford University Press, 1964). We shall miss his wife, Jean, as well as Hugh, and we wish them both, and their three children, Gordon, Kenneth, and Louise, Godspeed as they resume the common ministry in Old Scotia.

—Robert E. Cushman

LOOKS at BOOKS

He Died As He Lived. James T. Cleland. Abingdon. 1966. 79 pp. $2.

Dr. James T. Cleland, Dean of the Chapel and James B. Duke Professor of Preaching at Duke University, has published another book. To those who have read his previous volumes, *Wherefore Art Thou Come?* and the Warrack Lectures, *Preaching to Be Understood*, that simple statement is sufficient to arouse their interest in reading his latest volume. Having devoured this homiletical chef's T-bone and rib-eye offerings, they will now be ready to taste his filet mignon!

He Died As He Lived is a group of meditations dealing with the crucifixion. They are seven in number, treating The Seven Last Words, but with a Prologue and an Epilogue.

Dean Cleland owed this book to his students and former students, and to the Chapel congregations who hear him preach from month to month. The cross and Christ's words spoken from it are so central to the meaning and acquisition of our salvation that they should be continually re-interpreted by our best preachers. One volume on The Seven Last Words by—say, T. E. Green—published sixty-seven years ago, is not enough. We have since had books on these Words from Almon Abbott, Gaius Glenn Atkins, George Buttrick, Clovis Chappell, J. A. McElroy, Carlyle Marney, Fulton J. Sheen, and many others. It is good, now, to have this fresh interpretation from our Scottish colleague, who excels in freshness.

As is the case with other preacher-authors, Dean Cleland lets us look at our Lord Jesus Christ on the cross, but he also helps us to understand that through His Words Christ is also looking at us. Perhaps the most noticeable and consistent difference between Dean Cleland's treatment and the treatment given by these other authors is his delineation of the teachings and acts in Christ's earlier ministry which were in harmony with His dying words on the cross. Indeed, the author has a thesis for the seven meditations which he states succinctly: "... what our Lord said from the cross is an echo, a reiteration of what he said during his ministry."

If that is Professor Cleland's thesis, what is his central affirmation? I think it is a statement made in his comment on the Second Word: "... we don't get into heaven because we're good. We get into heaven because God is good."

This volume is free from the undefined technical jargon which often clogs the writings of contemporary theologians who ask the layman to read what they publish. (He does not hesitate to furnish the Greek word for "It is finished," but he translates it clearly.) The word, technopolis, does not appear in this book, nor will the reader find such theological hammers and shovels as demythologize, hermeneutics, typology, or soteriology. Cleland's volume is laced with profound insights, but the author does not attempt to gain a reputation for profundity by the cheap route of obscurity. (As was said of Abou Ben Adhem, "may his tribe increase!")

Students of the Bible will be surprised—and rejoice!—to discover that Dean Cleland notes his Biblical references and quotations, thus making it easy for the reader to refer to the passage being used. This little book offers

provocative thought: both Gehenna and Paradise are defined as suburbs of Sheol. The author coins a number of welcome, dictionary-type definitions: "A person is merciful when he feels the sorrow and misery of another as if it were his own."

The individual who absorbs this book may feel occasionally that he is more a listener than a reader, as he encounters a *delivery* style of writing. Preacher Cleland knows how to handle a one-word sentence, even in type! For instance: "The family table and the family pew are furniture in the *one* home. Good." Or again: "He had praised a father who welcomed his prodigal son home, when the boy didn't deserve it. Mercy."

Duke's adopted Scot sees both the Fourth and Fifth Words as confirming footnotes to the doctrine of the Incarnation. He views the Fourth Word as a cry of spiritual pain from the soul of a forsaken man, and the Fifth Word as a cry of physical pain from the body of a tortured man.

This small volume contains exposition and exegesis, yet it is not primarily a scholarly work on the Biblical text. It is the work of a master homiletician, yet it is not chiefly a feast of homiletics. Rather, it is basically a reverent book of worship, of thoughtful and penetrating insights which pierce the conscience and galvanize the will. The reader is almost predestined to be a better Christian!

—Howard C. Wilkinson
Chaplain to Duke University

Situation Ethics: The New Morality. Joseph Fletcher. Westminster Press. 1966. 176 pp. $1.95 (paper).

All the advance notices promised that this would be lively, exciting, provocative, occasionally vexing, sometimes even irritating, reading. It is. It is also the most cogent and coherent argument for situation ethics yet to appear in print. For these reasons alone, it will become standard reading in my courses.

The so-called "new morality" continues to incite a very great deal of popular misunderstanding which this book ought to do much to correct. For more than a decade now, Christian moralists have become increasingly preoccupied with whether Christian ethics is chiefly imperative or indicative, with whether the basic question is "what *ought* I to do in obedience to God's command?" or "what *am* I to do as a believer in Jesus Christ?" The choice may seem an indifferent one, but ink and blood have been spilled over less vital questions. Protagonists for both positions argue that the starting-points of the decision-making process are appropriately polarized by these questions and that it makes a profound difference whether one opts for authority, law, and a metaphysically and intrinsically oriented value system (the imperative mood) or freedom, grace, and an existentially and situationally shaped ethics (the indicative mood).

Joseph Fletcher introduces this book with an argument in favor of situation ethics as a way of approaching decision-making that will not fall prey to the dangers in either of these extremes but be a genuine *via media*. Instead of asking what *ought* I to do or what *am* I to do, he argues that the "very first question in all ethics" is "What do I want?" (p. 42) The primary problem is thus obviously a value problem, the choice of one's *summum bonum* (p. 43). By putting the ethical question this way, Fletcher intends that situation ethics be juxtaposed to both "legalistic" and "antinomian" approaches, which enter decisive moments either forearmed with inviolable rules to be applied always and to everybody alike or wholly without any principles and entirely reliant upon the situation to offer its own solutions.

Situation ethics enters the decision-making context armed with principles,

but they are hypothetical and not categorical, i.e., they are not to be treated as inviolable laws but have validity only in the measure to which they are applicable in a situation. And "if love seems better served by doing so," principles may be either compromised or abandoned (p. 26).

If one asks, "What guides decisions when principles are abandoned?" Professor Fletcher answers that "*Christian* situation ethics has only one norm or principle or law . . . that is binding and unexceptionable, always good and right regardless of the circumstances. That is 'love'—the *agapé* of the summary commandment to love God and the neighbor. Everything else . . . (is) only *contingent,* only valid *if they happen* to serve love in any situation." (p. 30)

This, in sum, is the substance of the book. What follows in the remaining 140 pages is chiefly explication and illustration of the situational method. It is perceptive and passionate and provocative writing; and no one would be more surprised than Joseph Fletcher if this book failed to excite critical response, because he knows better than most just how *un*-traditional his approach really is. The first thing to be said about this book, then, has to be a word of thanks. It is engagingly written and betrays throughout the compassionate and critical temper of the man who wrote it. I expect this book to be around for awhile because the position it takes will probably not be better stated anytime soon. In brief, I suspect that Professor Fletcher has argued the case for situationism as convincingly as one (in our situation) can.

This is not to say that the case is convincing. At least there are several questions which deserve to be raised and an observation or two to be made.

In the first place, this book does not manage to maintain the mediating position which it claims for itself. Its emphasis is plainly on teleology (cf. p. 43), and a role for deontological ethics is very uncertain indeed. The only imperative which Fletcher acknowledges merely enjoins one to will whatever in the situation may be right; but what is right is to be calculated in terms of a *summum bonum* which, for the Christian, "is neighbor-centered first and last" (p. 31).

This procedure itself, however, is mistaken if one recalls that the *summum bonum,* in Christian thought, has been seen as integral to the *summum esse*; and that, therefore, to ask the question of the highest good is to speak within both ontological and hierarchical categories. Yet Fletcher maintains that the neighbor's good cannot be anticipatorily prescribed by reference to any such *esse* but can only be decided in each "definite, yet unconcluded, unique and transient situation" (p. 33). The reason for this may be got at, provisionally perhaps, by a closer look at Fletcher's understanding and use of *agapé.*

What guides one in willing the neighbor's good in the situation is, of course, "love". But this is love regarded as a "predicate" only, i.e., as non-substantive and formal, as a principle which expresses "what type of real actions Christians are to call good" (p. 60). *Agapé,* Fletcher argues, is nothing "given" or objectively real or self-existent in the context of our existence. "Only in the divine being, only in God, is love substantive. With men it is a formal principle, a predicate. Only with God is it a property. This is because God *is* love. Men, who are finite, only *do* love." (p. 62) With this Fletcher has affirmed a "transcendent form" in the classical Platonic-Aristotelian tradition and, having allowed the rules of the game to be so set, he is beaten before play begins—unless he can devise some way by which the "real" can be experienced and evaluated without reference to the "ideal".

But what Fletcher wants to do cannot be done in the way he has chosen. He has so defined "situation" as to make it ready-made, a simple "that's how

it is", just as Platonic-Aristotelian thought defined the being of man as ready-made. What was non-being to Plato, namely, the world of becoming, is simple being for Fletcher; and Fletcher's non-being (i.e., that which cannot be structured) is consciousness. But both are ahistorical because both are excarnate ways of thinking about being and value. There is no intrinsic communion between being and non-being, or between the decision-maker and the situation in which he finds himself. For Fletcher, one is not embodied in a situation; he is simply "up against" a situation. What one does, therefore, "in" the situation has no intrinsic corrolary to what the person becomes. The irony of the situational approach is that it is not situational enough! The situation, as "objective circumstances" (p. 14), is really alien; it is "the case" or "what is".

One would want to argue here that love cannot simply be taken or placed outside the world and then brought back via situational ethics. If *agapé* is not "given" in the context of our existence, one must always regard the situation as extrinsic to *agapé*; and if this be the case, then the problem of the "good" can never arise because *agapé* cannot become embodied in acts in which the person, his situation, and his decision are all in deep communion and mutual dialogue.

Whatever else Fletcher's understanding and use of *agapé* may mean, it certainly suggests to me that *agapé* is not a human possibility and that therefore we do not, in any serious sense, genuinely participate in the redemptive love of God. My incapacity for the love of which only God is capable (for which there is no explanation or accounting by Fletcher, but only the positing) thus makes meaningless the command "to be like God, to imitate him" (p. 63). But, in addition, it limits my decisions and acts to a kind of heroic fatalism.

Urgent questions, moreover, are certainly raised about the reality and bearing of Incarnation upon this way of doing ethics. Christian ethics has traditionally held not only that the *imitatio Dei* is a distinct possibility for one who acknowledges that God was in Christ, but also that obedience to that prototypal divine love manifested in him is explicitly commanded. If we are indeed incapable of expressing *agapé* particularly and concretely, then it needs to be shown how this is so in view of the Incarnation. Meanwhile, it is a more tenable view that love, like conciousness, is always incarnate, that is, it is a being-in-the-world through my being-in-my-body; and, as such, this being is fluid without being groundless, structured and structuring without being substantive and forever the same. The *agapé* of which Fletcher speaks is excarnate and for that reason non-situational.

To return for a moment to the assertion that love is a principle which expresses "what type of real actions Christians are to call good": Professor Fletcher points out that these actions, as indicative of value, are worthy only because the action "happens to help persons (thus being good) or to hurt persons (thus being bad)" (p. 59). He argues, further, that "Apart from the helping or hurting of people, ethical judgments or evaluations are meaningless. . . . Christian situation ethics asserts firmly and definitely: *Value, worth, ethical quality, goodness or badness, right or wrong—these things are only predicates, they are not properties.*" (p. 60) In other words, situation ethics is nominalistic, but with a twist: whereas medievalists argued that good is good because God regards it as such, Fletcher argues that man makes this judgment. Objective value theory, in whatever guise, is of course rejected.

It deserves remarking in this connection that throughout the book too many basic problems are too easily dismissed. Fletcher regards the ease with which situational casuistry resolves problems as one of its advantages; but it is precisely the ease with which decisions and acts are applauded or condemned that makes me uncomfortable.

There are also other questions which, however awkward, merit asking. One of them is: How does one know that he is doing (or has done) the loving thing (to do) in the situation? What judges decision and action? Given Fletcher's definition and use of principles (i.e, that they are "illuminators" but not "directors"), one wonders whether in this sense they retain whatever it is that denominates them "principles" at all? Situation ethics, it is argued, "does not ask *what* is good but *how* to do good for *whom*; not what *is* love but how to *do* the most loving thing possible in the situation." (p. 52) Is it really the case that one is so entirely void of any notion with respect to what love demands? It is certainly true that every new decision is called for in the light of its own peculiar and unique circumstances and that, therefore, no inflexible rule or guide for right decision-making may be supposed as the sole (or even most important) criterion for determining or shaping duty. But one comes to every new moral decision with the resources of both principles and judgments which have been formulated in previous decisions. Neither value system nor situation can thus be said to be autonomous in the decisive moment; and what love *is* will then shape how one is to *do* it, and vice versa. One may agree with Fletcher that obligation in the situation cannot be identified with objectively "right" acts while insisting nevertheless that one ought to try to decide what is right or good in this objective sense. The "deposit" of value judgments brought to new moments of decision cannot be either dismissed or given inferior status in the decision-making process.

Traditionally, Christian ethics has been thought to be inseparable from a religious milieu in which God has something to do with the meaning of right and wrong, good and bad, and from which the moral norms which assess human conduct derive. Whether the neighbor is helped or hurt, then, may not depend upon reason operating apart from the religious tradition, i.e., whether self or neighbor gets what he wants out of this decision/act. How the neighbor is (to be) treated may rather be formulated and assessed by reference to God's intention for him. That the neighbor is to be loved and what it means to love him are thus, it would seem, antecedent to doing it. The error of the situationist approach may lie in the extravagance rather than the exclusiveness of its claim that "Christian action should be tailored to fit objective circumstances, the *situation*." (p. 14) In either case, it promises more than it can produce. For if alternative courses of action are wholly judged according to the circumstances of the existential moment and my possibility for transcending this limitation be entirely excluded, then freedom becomes only a solicitous platitude and I am victimized by the most brutal kind of contextual and impersonal determinism.

Finally, a quotation will illustrate the functional worth of a value system (as I think Fletcher's "nonsystem" to be) derived from precommitments to pragmatism, positivism, and relativism: *"The situationist holds that whatever is the most loving thing in the situation is the right and good thing.* It is not excusably evil, it is positively good." (p. 65) Thus, if a lie be told unlovingly, it is wrong; but, if it be told in love, it is good.

It has long been recognized that we often are confronted by a limited range of act-possibilities over which we exercise little or no control, but it has not been argued before that necessity in the form of situational problematics can make otherwise ambiguous choices Christianly and positively good! The empirical and casuistical temper of situationism has led it, at this point, to a value theory both unwarranted and untenable.

It is unwarranted because the range of moral understanding is not exhausted by assuming that what appears best under the circumstances can be called "positively good." It cannot be consistently maintained, for example, that "killing 'innocent' people might be right." (p. 75) Killing innocent peo-

ple, perhaps in wartime, may be unavoidable; it may even seem to be relatively good as the better course to take among limited alternatives; but it cannot be assigned unambiguous moral value. Rather, if "justification by grace" be taken seriously, one need not exonerate from moral responsibility by calling equivocal acts "right" or "positively good". Their contingent and provisional character can be recognized and accepted for what it is, namely, morally ambiguous however necessary! Forgiveness permits us to live without the choices we would have preferred but didn't have. But it is precisely this quality of the moral life that one misses in the situationist's baptism of existential necessity with the waters of normative relativism.

The value theory advocated here is, further, untenable because it establishes the base for the methodological model upon the exceptional case. Although Professor Fletcher introduces the method of situation ethics with deference to the place of principles in the decision-making process, every case which he cites as illustrative of the situational approach demonstrates abandonment of generally accepted maxims. For example, he relates parallel stories of two women whose crying children threatened the safety of their respective wagon trains moving west (p. 125). One woman killed her baby "with her own hands", and she and her companions reached the sanctuary of the fort; the other woman tried unsuccessfully to soothe her baby, and she and her party were discovered and destroyed by Indians. Fletcher's altogether rhetorical question, "Which woman made the right decision?", is much too simplistic in its implied answer. Moreover, he is guilty of doing precisely what he elsewhere condemns, namely, asking one to generalize value judgments without careful scrutiny of the whole range of contextual configurations. But, beyond all else, it is not inconceivable to me that a group of people might deliberately choose almost certain death (whether at the hands of Indians, Nazis, or the KKK) rather than submit to existence bought at a cost which would reduce life to animality.

What emerges from *Situation Ethics* is a way of doing ethics which is certainly a corrective to old-line legalism and pietism. But if it were widely accepted and practiced, both Professor Fletcher and I would be put out of our jobs. For what is offered here requires no reflection from the "professional" moralist and theologian. Indeed, it is plain that the theologizing task is undertaken by anyone who thinks about "God", although this thinking need not be done within the perspective of systematic, historical, or dogmatic Christian reflection. What, precisely, this "God thinking" comes to is far from clear.

What is more certain is that one of the most serious weaknesses of this book is its radical individualism and its limited capacity to deal significantly with social issues. These issues, in fact, are only infrequently mentioned, and one is left to wonder how the situationist method would take shape in such problem areas as race, war, and the like. Another large question-mark deserves to be placed by Fletcher's implied anthropology. It may be granted that man *can* respond to the love of God; the urgent question is whether he *does* in any manner consistent with the character and authority which Fletcher apparently wishes to assign him.

This review has been written in the context of an imminent printing deadline, so there is more to be said and written. Nevertheless, and at the risk of concluding rather obliquely, the prevailing mood of *Situation Ethics* (in my situation) seems well represented by a remark from the defense attorney in the recent and celebrated Mossler murder trial. Said Percy Forman: "My clients want freedom, not justice." (*Life*, April 1, 1966) That, in a nutshell, just might be the *credo* of the new morality in general, and this book in particular.

—Harmon L. Smith

The Satanward View: A Study in Pauline Theology. James Kallas. Westminster. 1966. 152 pp. $4.50.

Here is a new work on the theology of Paul which will be applauded in some circles and damned in others with varying shades of each in between. It is a study of Paul's views from what the author calls the "satanward view"; that is, that the central essence of Paul's thought (as well as that of Jesus) revolves around the hub of demonology-eschatology. Jesus' work was aimed at Satan not at God, as so many scholars have argued. This involves taking demonology (". . . the belief in a limited dualism", p. 22) very seriously.

One can readily perceive that this involves many modifications in the interpretation of Paul's thought (a chart is supplied illustrating these on pp. 30-31). This point can be clarified by the author's statement concerning the resurrection.

> The resurrection, from the Godward view, can no longer be seen as a victory, but must instead be seen within the light of a transaction within the Godhead, a sign of God's approval of or acceptance of the work of Christ, already completed in his suffering on the cross. Indeed, in the Satanward point of view, it is the resurrection that is vital, central, the place of triumph over Satan. But in the Godward view the emphasis moves from the resurrection, which is merely a corroborative sign, to the crucifixion itself. (p. 27)

The author asserts that both emphases are present in Paul's thought but that the Godward is secondary and derivative, whereas the Satanward view is primary and determinative. He then proceeds to interpret Paul's life and thought in the succeeding chapters (3-7). His final chapter is entitled, "A Study in Demythologizing", in which he concludes that Rudolf Bultmann has sold a "bill of goods" and that ". . . no demythologizing is necessary" (p. 149). In fact the great tragedy of contemporary theology, he feels, lies in its failure to accept the "hub of demonology-eschatology" (p. 133).

This is not the place for detailed argument with the author, but suffice it here to say that Professor Kallas has argued well, but in the mind of this reviewer he has definitely overstated his case. There are many interpretations of various passages which are at best "strained" (cf. his interpretation of Romans 3:25; I Cor. 12; his interpretation of faith, sin, and death, to cite only a few). His critical acceptance of Ephesians as Pauline demands more than a brief statement in the preface, especially since he makes so much of Ephesians as one of the last of Paul's letters (p. 124).

There are many technical errors in this publication, indicating perhaps some hasty editing and proofreading. There are errors in the transliteration of certain Greek letters; there are instances where entire lines are omitted or there are misprints of significant proportion; there is a place where a Greek plural occurs where the singular is evidently in order. In addition to these there is no bibliography (except for the footnotes), nor is there an index of any description. Either or both of these would have made the book more useful.

In spite of these negative points the book will probably serve some useful purposes. The reader will find some interesting ideas and interpretations therein, and even if he disagrees, Professor Kallas has warned us against too heavy a reliance on the "Godward view" in the thought of the great apostle.

—James M. Efird

The Eschatology of Paul in the Light of Modern Scholarship. Henry M. Shires. Westminster. 1966. 287 pp. $6.95.

"Behind the words of Paul lie certain basic conceptions and beliefs that

constitute the center of his eschatology. It is this core that we seek to discover." (p. 21) In these words the author sets forth his purpose in writing this particular work. He then proceeds to examine the major categories of Paul's eschatological thought in the succeeding chapters; he discusses such topics as "The Coming of the Lord" (chapter II), "Beginning the New Life" (chapter VII), for example. Finally he concludes with a chapter relating Paul's thought to the present time and presents four central affirmations which mediate Paul's eschatology to the modern world. These are:

1. History is a primary medium of God's activity and revelation.
2. Christians are directly related to the future as well as the past through hope and judgment.
3. The Christian life is marked by paradox and apparent logical inconsistency.
4. God's supreme gift to all is life. (Cf. pp. 222-232)

There are numerous questions which arose in the mind of this reviewer during his reading of this work, many of which were never really answered. For example, it is very unclear just what the author regards as the coming age" in the mind of Paul (cf. p. 229). It is also a debatable point as to whether the apocalyptic element in Paul's thought can be played down as much as the author would seem to suggest. "But it is not thereby to be assumed that Paul regards these pictures [apocalyptic imagery in I Thes. 4:13-18] as literally true. In fact, it is most unlikely that he ever did so." (p. 218) Really? It is also questionable whether Paul divides history into five ages (p. 216) or that election in Paul is "to salvation" (p. 122). There are many other points which could be raised, but these will suffice to show something of the author's viewpoint.

The overall value of the work would have been greatly enhanced if the footnotes had been placed at the bottom of each page rather than at the back of the book (as is so popular today). There is a very good bibliography included, which is probably the most valuable part of the book, as well as several indexes which will prove helpful to those using this work.

—James M. Efird

Saint Francis of Assisi. Omer Englebert. (Translated by Eve Marie Cooper). Franciscan Herald Press. 1965. xii + 616 pp. $8.50.

This is a book to make one's heart leap. As a biography, its soundness and charm are well known. The narrative has delightful movement accelerated by copious extracts from the sources, both those more critical and ones less so. In its present form the liveliness of the basic account has added to it the updating of notes together with a technical foreword, research guide, and invaluable appendices. The larger part of the foreword and guide to researchers on St. Francis from 1939 to 1963, as well as most of the appendices I-VII, are by Raphael Brown of the Library of Congress, assisted by Ignatius Brady, O.F.M. They are models of discriminating comprehensiveness and critical acumen. The solidity, ingenuity and downright common-sense keying in of sources and secondary literature of every description provide one with an unprecedented research tool and a warm feeling of admiring appreciation. About every conceivable ramification of critical sources both old and new, and virtually all topical aspects of Franciscan studies are listed and briefly annotated. The appendices alone compromise over one-third of the book. The translation is reliable and idiomatically flowing. The present commentator bows in grateful salute to a magnificent achievement. To say that the work is indispensable is an understatement.

—Ray C. Petry

Style and Content in Christian Art. Jane Dillenberger. Abingdon. 1965. 239 pp. + 82 plates. $2.95 (Paperback).

This review is particularly appropriate for two groups involved in this journal: namely, well-trained pastors and intelligent laymen. The title is honest, the approach logical and effective. The author knows what she is doing, both artistically and theologically. Often grubby matters like iconography, form, composition and meaning in works of art are clearly and interestingly handled in the section called "Looking at Paintings". It is a model of common-sense lucidity. The eras of early Christian and Byzantine, as well as Medieval and Renaissance art are assessed historically and with sensitive insight. The discussion comes down through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italy through Rembrandt and into the twentieth century. In some ways the last part is unduly abbreviated. The present reviewer would have been grateful for more stress on the creative as well as the less edifying aspects of modern art. Having been engaged, however, in a wide-ranging discussion with discriminating laymen in a church school, he is appreciatively aware of the many choice guide lines woven into the section on contemporary art.

The text treatment of Bruegel, Giotto, El Greco, Michelangelo, Tintoretto and Rembrandt, for example, are first-rate—as are the illustrative plates. Interpretative evaluations of the roles of such twentieth-century masters as Nolde, Rouault and Matisse are excellent. Preachers should not "bone up" on a book like this and then do secondary "handouts" by way of an "illustrated" lecture. The whole church in groups, preferably with the pastor joining in a systematic study of plates in regard to the text, should engage in a genuine confrontation of their whole past, present and future together.

This work, used together with Nathan, *Art and the Message of the Church* and the Getlein's *Christianity in Modern Art* would provide a rich year-long study of painting, sculpture and architecture such as every Christian church, large and small, should have. (See my article in this BULLETIN, November, 1963, pp. 210-16). As a church historian and, I hope, a practicing confessor in the Christian tradition, I recoil more every day at the smug idea so long implanted in us; namely, that Biblical texts and "pulpiteering" are enough. The Bible, itself, is meaningless without pictures —the ones it creates and the ones that recreate its spirit. A little less "inspirational" claptrap, however "spiritually" denominated, and much more of "indoctrination" in the true heritage of the arts would help make better Christians of us all for our age of searching contemplation and vicarious action. "Preachers", "pastors", and "teachers" need to collaborate in church and school at doing the kind of thing this book exemplifies. The plates are good, though there are not enough contemporary ones, I fear. The appendix on "Buying Art Books" is very useful, though necessarily contracted. So is the index.

—RAY C. PETRY

Contemporary Continental Theologians. Paul Schilling, Abingdon, 1966. 277 pp. $5.00.

In this excellent book Professor Schilling of Boston University School of Theology introduces the reader to some leading representatives of contemporary continental theology. The four parts of the study deal respectively with Protestant, Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox thinkers, and finally, in summary fashion, with "Current Movements in Perspective". The section on Protestantism is subdivided into discussion of "Theologies of the Word of God" (Barthian types), the "Theologies of Existence" (Bultmann and associates), and "Neo-

Lutheran" theologies. (For the sake of symmetry Schilling might well have added a section on such neo-Reformed theologies as that of G. C. Berkouwer of Amsterdam.) Each theologian is presented objectively and appreciatively in a style that is pleasing and clear.

The ecumenical range of this book dramatizes the new situation in modern Christian theology, for the reader will discover that Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox theologians, by their recognition of the final authority of scripture, have become dialogical partners with Protestant theologians. Indeed, the distinguished Jesuit, Karl Rahner appears to address himself in refreshing and ecumenical terms to the hiatus between Barth's orthodoxy and Bultmann's existentialism which has too long troubled Protestant theologians. It is, in a way, distressing to realize that competence in Protestant theology can be assured no longer by merely keeping abreast of Protestant literature,

Hopefully to whet the reader's appetite, let me offer some impressions gained from this book: First, that if one knows Karl Barth at all well, he will find little new or enlightening in Hermann Diem and, to a certain extent, in Joseph Hromadka; secondly, that Gogarten and Ebeling, able as they are, evidence more than anything else the creative power of Bultmann; third, Gustav Wingren's neo-Lutheranism suggests the idolatry of tradition, whereas Edmund Schlink reflects a disciplined respect for it; finally, it is evident that there is little in common between existentialist theologies and the Church theologies of Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy, so that Church-oriented Protestant theologies, especially those of Barth and Schlink, seem more promising for ecumenical conversation than the others.

This work suffers, of course, limitations imposed by its concept. Doubtless many readers will wish that certain other theologians had been heard from, perhaps from among the younger set, such as Wolfhart Pannenberg of Mainz, Germany. Those who identify with a school or a theologian may feel that their master has been caricatured at points, if not misunderstood. I, for instance, cannot attach much meaning to Schilling's effort to contrast Barth's anthropology with that of Rahner, who "sees human nature so permeated by divine grace that there is no such thing as a purely natural man" (p. 273). I suffered a bit of disappointment with the final section, which is little more than a statement in comparison and contrast. One might well ask, "So what?" The big question remains: whence comes and whither goes contemporary theology? Perhaps Schilling would leave that judgment to the reader.

I am grateful to Professor Schilling for this fine book, which is essential to the thinking preacher's library. Perhaps the author's most distinguishing achievement is the commitment of his thorough scholarship in the service of honest objectivity rather than sectarian polemics. You will enjoy and profit from the reading of this book.

—Robert T. Osborn
Department of Religion

The Message and Its Messengers. Daniel T. Niles. Abingdon. 1966. 128 pp. $2.50.

Even to the many admirers of D. T. Niles, this will come as a very slim book—in quality as well as quantity. The author admits in his Preface that "there is no developing argument and . . . seemingly unrelated themes are dealt with in succession." But the explanation that "the Christian Mission must take into account a whole developing history and the many concerns which that history points up" still does not justify the disjointed thought and style. "The thrust of the spoken word" (at the Methodist Mission Consultation in Gatlinburg, 1964)

unfortunately turns out to be, for the most part, neither orderly Bible study nor systematic lectures, but rambling, anecdotal homilies.

D. T. Niles always has some brilliant and perceptive things to say—even if (as he acknowledges) he has said some of them before. The challenges of ecumenicity, the presence of Christ even where he is not openly confessed, the temptations of "coexistence" and "Judaizing" and "accommodation" for the sake of security, the inclusiveness of the "circle of reality" with Christ at the center—these and many other perspectives are vividly presented. Niles fits no convenient category of liberal or orthodox. He stresses salvation of human history and the whole universe, not simply of the Christian individual, yet declares that "the doctrine of predestination, the doctrine of election, and the doctrine of the last judgment must be held together" (p. 31). He sharply condemns the world structures of denominationalism, yet asserts that "we are not allowed . . . to change the Church" (p. 19).

Those who hope for a distillation of D. T. Niles' wisdom on "Missions Today and Tomorrow" (the subtitle) will be disappointed. Those who are "panning" for scattered nuggets of Christian insight, to stimulate their own thinking or their digging into Niles' other more substantial ore (eg. *Upon the Earth*, McGraw-Hill, 1962) will find real gold—but perhaps not two cents' worth per page.

—Creighton Lacy

Planning for Protestantism in Urban America. Lyle E. Schaller. Abingdon. 1965.

Long-range planning as a rational administrative process has become generally accepted by business, government, education and most professions. Adoption of a formal planning process, however, has only recently been noted in church circles, and then primarily on the denominational level rather than in the local church. Thus an easily read yet profoundly insightful book applying relevant planning principles to church decision-making is more than welcome.

By training and experience the author is adequately prepared to write in the field. A professional city planner with master's degrees in political science, American history and urban planning, Mr. Schaller entered seminary and obtained a B.D. from Garrett Theological Seminary "with distinction". He now serves as director of the Regional Church Planning Office of Cleveland-Akron, Ohio, a fourteen-denominational approach to a multiple metropolitan region.

A recent trend in the planning profession is the insistence that "planning is for people" rather than for design, beauty or efficiency alone. Schaller draws attention to new factors in planning which emphasize this person-centered approach. Some theological-ethical contributions have been: an increased concern with the "why" or philosophy of planning; interest in the church's theological role as well as its sociological one; a doctrine of man which clarifies and systematizes a planner's role; and an insistence on the important of values and norms in the decision-making process.

The author presents an excellent historical review of "comity" and other early forms of interdenominational planning, pointing out limitations of rigidly following set rules, suggesting instead a research-planning approach which can be flexible enough to recognize variances in specific situations.

Two major contributions of the book are the author's proposals (1) that the "urban region" rather than a state or city be the unit of study in church planning in spite of present administrative boundaries, and (2) that the relevance of denominational decision-makers be recognized by those engaged in planning.

In calling attention to dangers inherent in the institutionalization of religion, the author appears to be but an echo of the popular attack of recent years on the church as an institution. Perhaps it is time for an objective author to review the religious and social benefits of institutions without which society could scarcely exist.

Mr. Schaller rightfully stresses the difficulty of applying urban planning principles to a voluntary institution like the church. Yet when he attempts to list "obvious" and "self-evident" church planning principles, he forgets this cautious attitude. In thirteen out of fourteen instances he fails to document his statements by reference to actual research, some of which this reviewer knows runs contrary to the proposed principles. A statement such as "There is only one effective way to limit the size of the membership in a local church"—"sending out colonization teams" (134f.) is difficult to believe without considerable experimental evidence, none of which is given.

Another weakness is that illustrations are drawn primarily from the urban areas of the Midwest and New England states where interdenominational cooperation has received fairly wide acceptance. Questions naturally follow as one wonders if the same principles or approach will apply equally well in the South or Far West, whether rural areas or small towns can profit from the same principles.

A thought provoking chapter is the final one on "The Church of Tomorrow". Projections of current trends are used to substantiate a hypothetical look at the future of the urban church. Mr. Schaller foresees a growing specialization within the ministry, a rise of denominational control over clergy and local program as well as in church extension, and a decrease in the importance of church buildings *per se*. These changes should permit more effective long-range planning, he claims. Also expected are improved religious education for the laity and increased secular competition for our expanding leisure time.

Planning for Protestantism in Urban America has much to offer the denominational administrator, the parish minister and the thoughtful layman alike. Certainly sound planning procedures are necessary in an age of rapid social change. There is a danger, however, that if a reader's contact with the planning process is limited to this one volume "planning" might be viewed as a defensive posture the church assumes in the face of decisions originating outside itself, rather than a guide in self-determination employing Christian goals.

—DANIEL M. SCHORES

Mental Health Through Christian Community. Howard J. Clinebell. Abingdon. 1965. 300 pp. $4.75.

Howard Clinebell has given us a much needed book. There continues to be uncertainty as to how the activities of the individual local church can be enhanced and tapped for the fostering of emotional maturity and religious understanding. Often the activities of worship, church school, committee meetings, etc. are done as matters of routine, without much "depth" benefit to the participants. The author here scrutinizes the Christian message, worship, preaching, prophetic ministry, the church school, group life, church administration, family life, pastoral counseling, the mentally ill and their families, and minister-layman collaboration, always trying to answer the question, "How can this area of the life of a church make the maximum contribution to the spiritual health and growth of persons?" (p. 15) He is searching for a "person-centered ministry" that will foster "wholeness" in local churches, which "wholeness" includes religious and emotional growth. The local church emphasis of the book, with its specific recommendations, constitutes its uniqueness and increases its merit.

The unpleasant truth, however, is that one cannot simply read this book and then do what Clinebell is suggesting unless as a minister or layman one possesses competence in understanding people at very basic levels, psychologically and religiously. Many of our church leaders, both clergy and laity, are lacking in such understanding. Adequacy in the understanding of people at these basic levels comes only with intense struggle. If a church wants this kind of wholeness, it must have as its leaders people who have wrestled with psychological and existential aspects of being human. Regretfully we have not done what we might have done to bring to the center of our churches the knowledge and grace which can be received when one struggles to understand oneself and others.

In reflecting upon the leadership requirements for such a "person-centered ministry" and the difficulties involved, Clinebell writes:

> Optimal training for a person-centered ministry includes three things: (a) Experiences which lead to the understanding of one's religious heritage (through the study of Bible, theology, and church history), of contemporary revelation regarding man (through the study of developmental psychology, anthropology, group dynamics, education, abnormal psychology, and so forth), and to the ability to meaningfully correlate these two bodies of truth. (b) a period of clinical pastoral training, and (c), opportunities to discover or resolve one's inner problems (through individual or group psychotherapy), and to develop a tough, growing faith. (p. 270)

Obviously these are high standards, but are they too high, considering the enormity of the task? Clinebell thinks not (and I agree with him). Yet I would want to add that an adequate period of clinical pastoral training can happen in a supervised parish experience as well as in a more traditional hospital setting, provided of course that the parish experience has within it the elements necessary for growth, such as small training groups, etc.

This is a programmatic book which ministers ought to read and have available for reference. Through it one can gain stimulation and perspective for new growth experiences in local churches.

John C. Detwiler
Resident Chaplain
Duke University
Medical Center

Alumni in Missionary Service

(NB: Those on furlough would enjoy seeing friends and classmates, those on the field always welcome letters; where no address is given or furlough dates indicate change, use Methodist Board of Missions, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027.)

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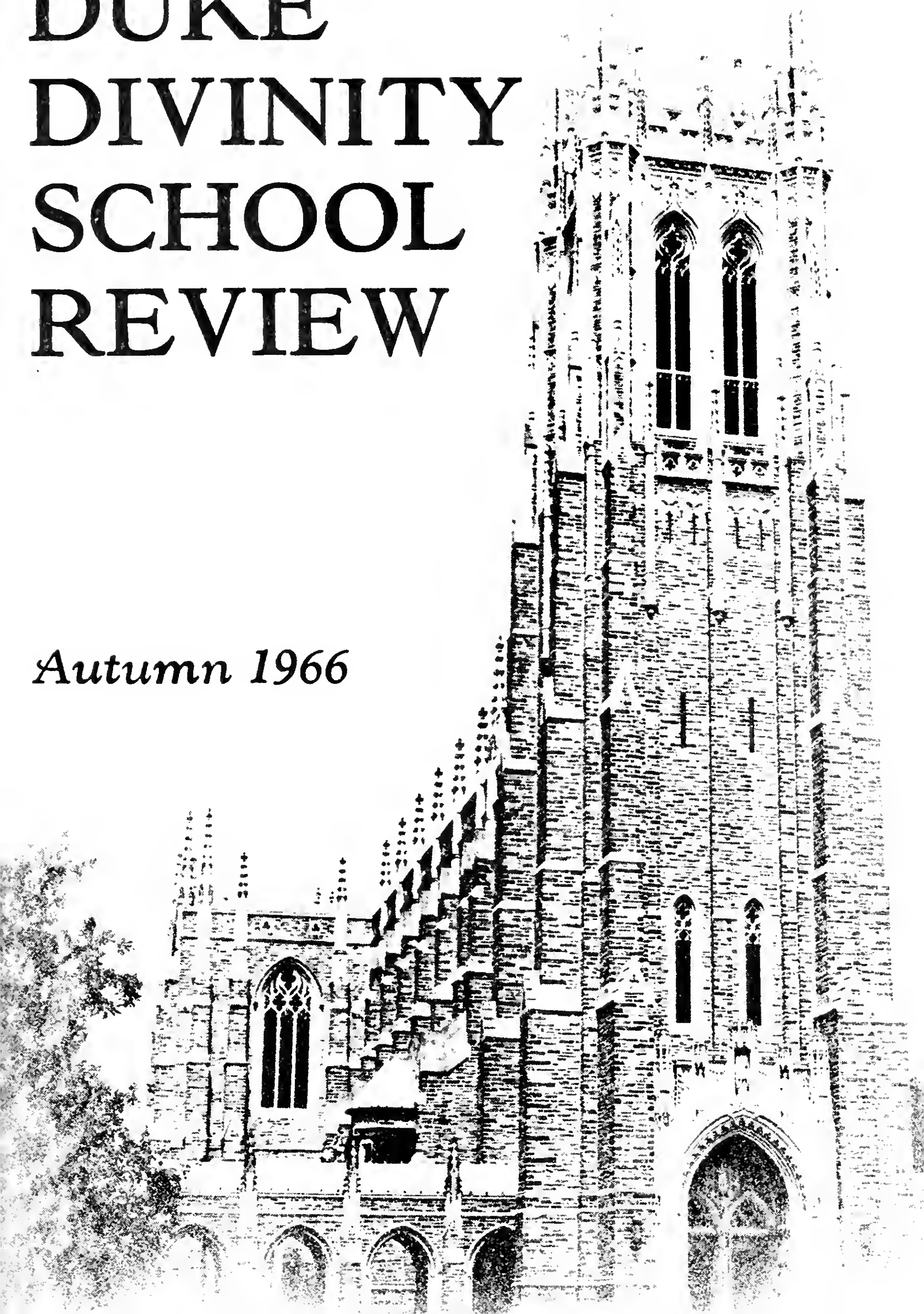
THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Autumn 1966



Prayer

Almighty and ever blessed God, Ancient of Days, yet ever new, who didst call Thy people of old by many mighty acts of salvation, Thou didst so fashion Israel that always, when she thought she had reached the goal, she had to take to the road again, and march toward the future, singing always new songs of expectation.

And in this latter day Thou hast called us as heirs in Christ of the unending way of the pilgrim people of God.

So at this season of ending, enliven us afresh with the promise of new beginnings, turn us toward the future with quiet courage and steadfast hope.

We have inherited the wisdom of all the ages, but we do not yet understand the truth. We are wise, but weary. We have spoiled our sight in poring over many books, while the greatest secrets of the human heart remain unread by us.

We acknowledge our gratitude before Thee for all those students this year and every year committed to our care. We pray Thee to raise up in these days from among them an increasing number of godly men, filled with the old prophetic fire and with apostolic zeal, to bless Thy people and edify and revive Thy Church.

We praise Thee for the goodly fellowship we here enjoy. Forgive us if we have been harsher in criticizing and judging our colleagues than in judging ourselves. And save us again, as Thou hast saved us in the past, by enabling us to see in each other a brother for whom Christ also died—we are all of us frail vessels in constant need of his grace.

Comfort us today by the assurance, that wherever our paths may lead, neither the ravages of time nor the separation of distance can break the tie that binds us together in Christ. He dwells in us and we in him, and nothing can separate us from his love.

And to Thee, O God, be the glory.

Amen.

—Hugh Anderson

Delivered at the final Divinity School faculty meeting of the 1965-66 academic year.

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A Protestant View of Vatican Council II in Retrospect

Robert E. Cushman

The II Vatican Council is now an event of the past. As I stood with perhaps eighty other observers before the massive facade of St. Peter's Basilica on the last great day of splendid ceremonial, the 8th day of December, 1965, I was deeply conscious of high privilege. So were my colleagues beside me. We had been witnesses and participants in one of the epoch-making events of modern church history. The Council had begun under the inspired leadership of the aged and beloved Pope, John XXIII. It was my own good fortune to begin observership in the 2nd session of 1963 and to return to the third and fourth, or final, session of 1965. Close, even intimate were the associations and friendships that had been formed, not only with fellow observers but with our hosts, the Roman Catholic brethren. The unfailing courtesies and consideration shown to the observers by the staff of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, under the presidency of Augustine Cardinal Bea and the executive direction of Bishop J. Willebrands, will remain a lifetime of pleasant heart-warming memory.

How shall we forget the many vivid hours spent in travels, conversation and dining together? Together we shared the hospitality of monasteries and their monastic brotherhood. Ancient precedents were set aside, and our wives accompanied us. They dined at tables in refectories where women had never set foot. It was so at the Franciscan Monastery of Assisi, at Subiaco, at Montecassino, at Florence, and most memorable of all, at Casa Mari, a Cistercian Abbey to the south of Rome, where we were feasted and serenaded by a most engaging band of young monks—for all the world reminiscent of my own seminary students.

But space fails me. It is only to be said that, as the observers returned session after session, the friendships and interchange with their Catholic hosts became warm, vital and ever more fruitful. In the final discussions of the fourth session, we were marvelously engaged with emancipation of mind and spirit in candid discussion in

which Catholics often held variant views among themselves, Methodists sided with Orthodox against Calvinists, and Lutherans were quite as likely to gainsay an Anglican as they were a Roman. In the closing session of the Council we were really "mixing it up" with candor and unembarrassed good will that was the fruit of mutual trust and personal understanding nurtured by prolonged association.

So, at the Council's closing, December 8, 1965, it seemed to us observers, and I believe to most Council Fathers, that John XXIII's courageous risk in inviting non-Catholic observers had paid off. Quite apart from the indirect influence on Council debate, quite apart from formal and informal conversations with committees of Catholic bishops interested in observer judgment and opinion, quite apart also from actual if indirect contribution to the shape and emphasis of some conciliar documents of first importance, the presence of the observers had created a new ecumenical reality. It was the reality of living personal exchange, abiding friendships and the heartening experience of Christian fellowship that had grown to ripeness over and above acknowledged doctrinal differences. It was fellowship that asserted its reality, vouched for itself and for its own possibility despite ancient misunderstandings and predisposing suspicions and hostilities. These things, bred of a long past, were somewhat transcended. They were transcended in being together, in worship at St. Peter's, in debate, in informal gatherings, in the sheer momentum of a common concern for the truth of Christ and the advancement of his Kingdom in a secular world, and perhaps above all, in common prayer. In the II Vatican Council, Catholics and non-Catholics learned that they could pray together, indeed, that they could hardly avoid praying together because it had become almost embarrassingly plain that they owned a common Lord.

So, the self-conscious approach of the first session of the Council, the earlier rather circumspect attention to protocol and nicety, gave way in the later sessions to the *openness* which had come to be the new spirit of the Council itself. Whereas the observers were known at first as the "separated brethren," it is quite important to note that Pope Paul VI, in his last and farewell audience, with the observers addressed them as "Brothers, brothers and friends in Christ."

So it came about in those prolonged and sustained interrelationships of Christian with Christian, of man with man, in the Council days that the question before us was and remains how to grasp our divinely-given unity in Christ so as to overcome our actual historical

disunity. Too long it has been a disunity in which Christians have been not only content but stubbornly resolved to live. For many years, very many I suppose, we shall be occupied with "the nature of the unity we seek."

Christians will be probing this question. But there are one or two things in particular to note: First, the II Vatican Council actually marks a radical change of course in world Catholicism. Present-day Catholicism not only now seeks but has come to acknowledge at least in foretaste, not simply the possibility, but the actuality of Christian community above and beyond ancient ecclesiastical divisions and long intrenched devisive suspicion and hostility.

Secondly, with the historic service of common prayer held in the sanctuary of St. Paul's without the walls December 4, 1965, the highest possible official authorization was given to the practice of common worship short of sacramental communion. Thus was implemented by papal action and precedent the permissive legislation of the Council's decree *On Ecumenism.* Over obstacles and obstruction, opposition and maneuver, this decree eventually passed. In peril and often in doubt as to its outcome, it was finally adopted to the profound relief of the observers and the deep satisfaction of Cardinal Bea and his staff in the third session of the Council in 1964. With the service of common prayer at St. Paul's December 4, 1965 (at which I was privileged to be present), the "word" of *De Oecumenismo* "was made flesh" by the Pope himself.

So, John XXIII's revolution of openness has in this respect prevailed. It has prevailed in others, such as religious liberty, the "collegiality" of the bishops, the reconstruction of the sacred liturgy, the *Constitution* on the Church, the enlarged place and responsibility of the laity, and many others. But my concern here is to mark the revolution of openness which now replaces the withdrawal and introversion that, on the whole, characterized post-Tridentine Catholicism in theory, spirit and practice until these recent days.

A few weeks past a friend sent a clipping from Holyoke, Massachusetts. The headline read: "Over 2,000 attend historic joint religious services here as Christian Unity Week begins." The article states: "Over 2,000 people filled Second Congregational Church Tuesday night for the first of two joint ecumenical services . . . . Several hundred residents were turned away when all available room in the church building had been filled. Walls were lined three-deep with people, and doorways, platforms, and the pastor's study were

crowded with the overflow crowd . . . . Msgr. James J. Fitzgibbons, Pastor of the Sacred Heart Church, welcomed the large congregation . . . . and invited the faithful to come to a similar service at Sacred Heart on January 25.

"The Rev. F. B. Carr of Grace Congregational Church delivered the homily. Rev. James J. Anilosky of the First Presbyterian Church offered prayers; confession of faith (probably the Apostle's Creed) was led by Rev. Donald H. Gustafson of the First Methodist Church. The Old Testament lesson was read by Fr. John Kelly of Holy Family Parish; the New Testament lesson was read by Fr. John Vaughn of Sacred Heart Parish." And it goes on: the Litany by an Episcopal rector; intercession, Lord's Prayer and blessing by the Baptist minister.

A friend who attended the service was all but stunned by the experience. He is an old-time Protestant in a rather Catholic city. Nothing like this had been heard of! He called it a "miracle." Well, this miracle has been happening. It is happening elsewhere. I well remember my amazement when, with the late Bishop Ferdinand Sigg of Zurich, of noble memory, I attended such a service at the University of Montreal when the justly celebrated Émile Cardinal Léger was host to the Faith and Order Conference of 1963. As this truly ecumenical service of common praise and prayer proceeded, our astonishment deepened. Since then, I have seen Cardinal Léger's informed and consecrated leadership in the Council at Rome. But while what happened at Montreal is truly historic, it is now to be remembered as but a prophecy of what was to come. Yet without the II Vatican Council it could not have come, certainly it could not have survived.

The Catholics, one might say, have joined the common Christian World. They will give it leadership. One can expect the pace of this leadership to accelerate. We may even see shortly a revitalization of the old-line Protestant churches in America. They will need a renewal of their witness and their life. If they have a distinctive message, it will behoove them to possess it, to know it and to publish it. The well-worn ruts and the time-honored routines will hardly suffice in the days ahead, for former times have passed away.

And, therefore, if you ask me what is the consequence and outcome of the II Vatican Council, I would point first of all to the Holyoke service of Christian unity. It symbolizes and prophesies, I believe, a new day in world Christianity. It signifies, at least in its beginnings, the passing away of the post-Reformation and counter-

Reformation eras. The most palpable effect of the II Vatican Council is a new readiness and openness for Christian community and common Christian effort, on the part of world Catholicism. Just as Methodists or Lutherans do not expect forthwith to become Anglicans by having fellowship or common worship, so neither a Methodist nor a Roman Catholic shall cease to be such by mutually acknowledging the common Christian commitment of the other and sharing with him in the measure that doctrine and conscience allow.

Accordingly, in this domain we are, I think, about to live in a different Christian world. It will not be one of complete unity in the foreseeable future, but, it will be increasingly a world of enlarged understanding, enhanced good will, fellowship and common efforts and purpose. Its effect on Protestantism will, I believe, be among other things, renewed theological awakening and renewed vitality of doctrinal discussion and inquiry. This will have its effect both upon the conception of ecclesiastical and institutional structures and upon worship or liturgical practice. It will also have an effect upon the social concern and action of the churches in the world and a deepening of their consciousness of responsibility for the world.

II

If, with this background, we ask more narrowly what is the import of the II Vatican Council for Protestant Christianity, for the several Protestant communions, my first answer would be this: Protestant Christians of all denominations should mark well the new and unprecedented openness of Catholicism toward other Christian communions. It is of utmost importance to recognize that the Roman Catholic Church has officially decided to enter into dialogue with the world: first of all, with non-Catholic Christians; secondly, with non-Christian religions; and, thirdly, with the whole of the modern world in its agonies, defeats and triumphs. This seems to me to be a revolution when compared with the Catholicism of the First Vatican Council or even with the Pontificate of Pius XII. It is a reversal of the standpoint of censure, defensiveness and withdrawal that marked the prevailing tone and temper of the nineteenth-century official Catholic teaching and ecclesiological policy.

The recent journeys of Paul VI to India in 1964, and to New York in the fall of 1965, his address to the United Nations, his urgent and deliberate effort to mount a peace offensive in the face of the Vietnam crisis and, most recently, his encyclical letter on peace and

supportive of the United Nations (September 19, 1966) are indications of the new dialogue with the world. Also the *Declaration on the Relations of the Church to non-Christian Religions* (Council Document, 9, October 28, 1965) contains not only the long controverted *Declaration on the Jews* but also statements of appreciation for the values of non-Christian religions through which men (no longer depreciated as unbelievers) seek to discover and to relate themselves to the Supreme Being. "The Catholic Church," it declares, "rejects nothing that is true and holy in these religions. She regards with sincere reverence those ways of action and of life, those precepts and teachings which, though differing in many aspects from the ones she holds and sets forth, nonetheless often reflect a ray of the Truth which enlightens all men."

But, above all, the dialogue is commended with respect to non-Catholic Christians. It is plain that Roman Catholicism finds its closest affinity, on doctrinal and ecclesiological grounds, with Eastern Orthodoxy. A central aim of Paul VI's trip to the Holy Land in January, 1964, was to find the proper place of meeting with the spiritual leaders of Orthodoxy. The mutual and simultaneous lifting of the ban of excommunication of Paul VI and Athenagoras of Istanbul on December 7, 1965, was at once a fruit of the Palestinian journey and a further important step toward reconciliation of Eastern and Latin Christianity. The ban had been mutually imposed about 900 years ago in 1054 A.D. It was lifted by a mutual exchange of letters on the final day of official business of the Vatican Council in St. Peter's Basilica. As, the next day, I walked to the closing ceremonies with Bishop Aimilianos, representative of the Patriarch to the Council, I was assured that this was a most important beginning of a process which could, in the providence of God, lead to eventual re-establishment of communion between Eastern and Latin Christianity. The way may be long, but the two ancient churches are presently on the march in the direction of one another.

But what of dialogue with Protestant Christians? Well, it has begun already in the four years of Vatican II. It will be attended by increasing occasions of common prayer or worship, short of sacramental inter-communion. The signs of this are numerous. Since the close of the Council, reaction on the part of conservative Catholics has been in the press. But the Father DePauws cannot subvert the spirit and the declaration of the II Vatican Council. Catholic ecumenism is here to stay, at least until it is rescinded by another Council. Un-

critical and excessive Catholic enthusiasm for the recent ecumenical emancipation may embarrass constituted authorities in the Church responsible for conservation of authentic tradition. There is bound to be internal stress, but the new ecumenical outreach has conciliar authorization and its deliberate advancement may be expected.

III

Now, then, what are some achievements of the II Vatican Council that both make dialogue possible with Protestant Christians and also constitute some of its important presuppositions? What, in other words, are some of the things affirmed or sanctioned by the Council which Protestants ought to bear in mind as they contemplate both dialogue and closer associations with their Roman Catholic brethren? What are the things they must regard as altered and changing within the mind of Roman Catholic Christianity that, as it seems to me, markedly distinguishes it from the 400-year-old defensive posture of the counter-Reformation era? What are Protestants to understand if they are not erroneously to hold and be guided by clichés and consequent animosities and suspicions of the past?

Here are a few such changes and such emergent positions, officially adopted by the Council, that require our notice if we are not, like Don Quixote, to fight windmills or confound ancient hostilities with real and important issues and differences:

(1) In the first place, we must bear in mind that the II Vatican Council was conceived and aimed and now has succeeded in turning the search-light of *self-criticism* upon the ancient Roman Church. I do not think we can escape the fact that the II Vatican Council represents the most thorough, searching and sustained self-examination to which any branch of Christianity has subjected itself since the 16th Century Reformation and counter-Reformation. The 18th Century Wesleyan self-examination was long and sustained, but it was neither heeded nor shared by the Anglican establishment and by confluence of historical circumstances became a schism. This Roman self-scrutiny and self-criticism is also marked by a monumental and theologically informed intellectual output probably unequalled in modern ecclesiastical history. Protestants, in undertaking dialogue with Catholics today and tomorrow, must understand not merely that some Catholics have really done their homework, but also that it has been honestly and remarkably self-critical.

(2) Secondly, Protestants should realize that the II Vatican

Council, again and again, has adopted the principle that the Church is perpetually in need of self-renewal and reformation, that the unfaithfulness of men clouds and obstructs the redemptive mission of Christ through his Church. Cognate to this was and is the rejection of what Archbishop De Smedt of Belgium in the first session of the Council denominated "triumphalism" in the Church. Triumphalism is not simply the disposition to pomp and vain-glory. It is not simply pride of mind and ecclesiastical snobbery or complacency. Basically, "triumphalism" was deprecated as a tendency to identify the Church on earth, the Church militant or the embattled Church, with the Kingdom of God, itself. In its place a new sobriety is accepted about the Church. It is the "pilgrim people of God." It is the people of mission. It is the servant Church, not one asserting its claims or affirming its prerogatives but one accepting anew its responsibility for service in Christ's name to the world. This is a central acknowledgment of *The Constitution on the Church.* The II Vatican Council rejects "triumphalism." It is a fair question, I think, whether American Protestantism has yet fully recognized its own need to do so.

(3) In the third place, Protestants must recognize that a new understanding of the nature and role of the Church has been strenuously debated and defined by the Council. The Church is viewed more nearly in Biblical, Pauline and Augustinian terms. It is, first of all, "The People of God." It is the body of Christ. It is no longer the hierarchy. In includes *all* believers, among whom the laity have an integral and indispensable "apostolate." Correspondingly, "clericalism" has been officially checked and disapproved. The distinctive role of the ordained clergy is reaffirmed but always in company with the laity, who are also servants of Christ in mission, word and deed. The sacramental ministry as a distinctive service of bishops and priests is affirmed but with the understanding that even in sacramental worship the congregation and the laity have an integral and active part.

(4) Fourth, the doctrine of the Church has been altered by greater clarification of the function of the episcopate. The absolute sovereignty of the See of Rome, affirmed in the decrees of the First Vatican Council, has in my judgment been modified in practice and precedent and, perhaps, in constitution. First, in the "collegiality" of all bishops as (1) holding the highest order of ordination and as (2) conjointly *with* the Pope, exercising the supreme governing and teaching role in the Roman Church. The limited autonomy of national and regional conferences of bishops has received formal authorization. Provision

for a Synod of Bishops, world-wide in composition, has been made by Paul VI for ordinary and extraordinary convocation and business. Thus, the absolute or almost absolute power of the Roman See and, more particularly, its administrative and adjunctive arm, the Curia, has been, both in principle and in fact, limited and modified. A far more pluralistic world Catholicism is to be looked for in the future, even though it will not be attained without struggle. The monolithic absolutism of the first Vatican Council has, as I see it, been breached. Finally, while the doctrine of Papal "infallibility" (adopted over weighty protest from within its own membership by the First Vatican Council) remains, I will hazard the opinion that it has been modified by the Second Vatican Council *in fact* rather than *in theory*. This seems indicated on two scores: first it has been *broadened to include* conciliar declarations and, secondly, it, accordingly, has been explicitly shared with ecumenical councils such as the Second Vatican Council.

(5) A fifth reality which Protestants must come to understand is a newly established centrality of the Bible and of Biblical authority as normative for the determination of faith and practice, doctrine and worship. The mainspring and source of the liturgical reform and renewal represented by the Council's *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* adopted in 1963 is undoubtedly a renewal of Biblical study, exegesis, and theology among Roman Catholic theologians over the past half century. Catholic Biblical scholarship is rapidly catching up with and overtaking this prominent achievement of Protestant scholarship. But our interest centers in the fact that the new definitions of church, ministry, worship, revelation and Catholic ecumenism (represented by several important Council documents) are the result of the somewhat recent vital thrust of Biblical research and understanding among the generality of Catholic scholars, theologians and clergy. It is of extreme significance that in Schema XIII, *The Church and the Modern World*, it is said that the church in its life and faith is always subject to the judgment of the Gospel. This is to acknowledge the stone of stumbling which made Luther's break with Rome inevitable in the unequal balance of forces of the 16th Century. The centrality of the Scripture is both a cause and the fruit of the Second Vatican Council.

(6) Cognate to this, and in the sixth place, Protestants must study carefully the long controverted and finely chiseled Schema *On Divine Revelation* adopted almost at the end of the Council after four years

of constant debate, amendment and review. So nicely juxtaposed are the complementary authorities of *Tradition* and *Scripture* that the knowledgeable modern Protestant will find very much to commend in the balance of Scripture with tradition that is attained. The relation is one of dialectical tension, so that the crude superiority of tradition over Scripture, characteristic of counter-Reformation Catholicism, is greatly modified. The position attained is, I think, not far removed from that of many contemporary New Testament scholars of Protestant origin.

Quite apart from what this suggests by way of reconciliation of long-standing Protestant-Catholic differences and even hostilities, it must now be recognized that the Second Vatican Council has quite definitely adopted a Biblical basis as fundamental in restructuring its life and doctrine as a Church. This is official; it is no longer the aspiration of liberalizing Catholic scholars or theologians. It is, with Vatican II, the acknowledged position of the Roman Catholic Church. In September, 1966, addressing a group of eminent Catholic theologians, Paul VI stressed the Scriptural foundation of Christian doctrine, reminding the assembled group of "the great importance the Council always attached to Sacred Scripture in doctrinal explanation . . . ."

(7) In the seventh place, it is now official policy and doctrine of the Catholic Church that it participate in the ecumenical movement of modern times. Whatever uncertainties attach to regional implementation, and there are many, Catholic ecumenism is policy. It is more fully and thoroughly defined and avowed than presently exists among many of the churches of the Reformation. I mean to say that, now, the aim and effort toward Christian unity is a mandate upon all Catholics, not just clergy but the whole of the laity and as a real part of "the lay apostolate." The division and disunity of Christendom is declared contrary to the will of Christ for his Church, and while it is affirmed that the Roman Catholic is the authentic church of Christ, it is by no means supposed or declared that the reunion of Christendom is to be understood simply as return to Rome. I would venture to say that in his words to the observers in the fall of 1964, the Pope plainly intended something else. The words he used were "recomposition in unity" to suggest, I believe, a new conception of the nature and way to the unity we seek.

And, finally, in this connection it is of importance for non-Catholic Christians to notice carefully a phrase which appears in the Council

documents. It is the proposition that "the one true religion *subsists* in the Catholic and Apostolic Church." We should mark it well that: (a) the true Christian religion is not exhaustively identified with the Roman Catholic Church but *subsists* in it, and (b) that "The Catholic and Apostolic Church" is *not* exhaustively identified with the Roman Catholic Church. From these seemingly small distinctions an unforeseeable harvest of ecumenism may grow, for what is evidently allowed for is the possibility that true Christian faith or religion may "*subsist*" in some measure also in other churches of Christendom. And just this, in fact, is what is allowed and affirmed in the decree *On Ecumenism.*

These distinctions may seem insignificant. The phrase of Paul VI, "recomposition in unity," may give small satisfaction to those impatient for immediate and unambiguous solutions to long controverted issues. This is understandable, yet it should be realized that in the solemn context in which the words were uttered, as a direct address to the observers and by the supreme reigning authority of the Roman Church, such words are not to be taken as casual but as deliberate and finely chiseled vehicles, not merely of ideas agonizing to be born, but as usable instruments for the "easement" of eventual policy and action. If I may refer to my own experience, there are three things with which, in the context of discussion and deliberation, I became quite conscious: first, the profound sense of inescapable responsibility entertained by Catholic officialdom, and pre-eminently by the Pope, to be faithful to the venerable *consensus* of Catholic doctrine; secondly, the long, long look ahead and readiness to discover vehicles for the future emerging in the conjunction of ancient truth with present urgencies. And, in the third place, consonant with Newman's theory of the development of doctrine, but added to it, was a remarkable disposition to open small "growing edges" into the future with confidence in the leading of the Holy Spirit to find pathways into larger truth, aspired after, but now not yet visible. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the decree *On Ecumenism*; but it is worthy of notice that this perspective, fostered and nurtured by Cardinal Bea and the staff of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, was not only a presiding rationale in the formation of the document but gradually created, I believe, a pervasive spirit of acceptance among the Fathers of the Council that made its adoption possible.

There is one other and last matter to be mentioned, in the seventh place, which Protestant Christians should have in mind as dialogue

and fellowship between Catholics and Protestants develop. Protestants should understand that, however belatedly in their view it has come to pass, it is now true that after a most interesting and vigorous contest very full of suspense, the Second Vatican Council did adopt—against the lag and drag of centuries of contrary theory and precedent—the principle of religious freedom for both individuals and communities. The dignity of man, according to natural and revealed law, supports the right of conscientious worship. Men can be constrained neither by ecclesiastical nor political power to assent or dissent in matters religious. The inviolability of conscience and man's vocation before God is affirmed against all coercion whatsoever.

The importance of this reaffirmation of historic Reformation and, one may say Puritan principles, is great in this period of the Twentieth Century. In and with it is contained a most wholesome corrective against forces in our time that have mocked and traduced the essential dignity of man. Man's dignity is once again grounded upon his responsibility and calling under God.

But over and beyond this laudable emphasis is the implied acceptance of the disestablishment of religion as a protectorate of the state. The medieval doctrine of the "two swords" which made the state the servant of the Church is silently relinquished. But it is also relinquished in principle, in the explicit affirmation that religion, and Christian faith in particular, are matters transcending the power of man or institutions to establish or dissolve. Religious liberty is a corollary of the basic Christian tenet that religious faith is a transaction between God and the individual person, that it cannot be enforced or coerced, and that the truth of the Christian religion must convict and persuade by the transparency of its own light. Accordingly, the primary work of the Church and its ministry and laity is witness, mission, proclamation in word and deed. One can reasonably say that, with this standpoint, Roman Catholicism and Evangelical Christianity are again standing more nearly upon the same New Testament and Apostolic ground.

These, then, are some of the things that are results of the Second Vatican Council. They have obvious implication for all Protestant or non-Roman Catholic Christians. Collectively, they compose an astonishingly different and unprecedented standpoint from which quite unexpected but promising conversations and *koinonia* between Catholics and non-Catholics may unfold in the years ahead. If so, *Deo gratias*: God be thanked!

John Wesley's First Marriage

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To those familiar with the story of John Wesley's frustrated courtship of Grace Murray and his rebound into the jealous arms of Mrs. Mary Vazeille the title may sound a trifle odd. "But Wesley was married only once," they will say. "What is the man talking about? Surely not about Grace Murray!" That, however, is the case. The fascinating book which Professor Augustin Leger entitled "Wesley's Last Love" could more correctly have been entitled "Wesley's First Marriage." In this lecture I am not attempting to psychoanalyze either Grace Murray or John Wesley, nor even to recount in minute detail the tortured twistings of their strange love affair. Rather I am trying to throw light on the forgotten marriage laws of Wesley's England, and the way in which he became entangled in them. It is a study of Wesley's first marriage as a legal contract rather than as a personal relationship.

An understanding of Wesley's relationships with Grace Murray and his rival John Bennet is impossible without ridding ourselves imaginatively not only of twentieth century social customs but of twentieth century laws. We have become accustomed to a legal system which makes divorce easier and marriage harder than they were during the first half century of Wesley's life. The line of demarcation in English marriage law is 1754, when Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act came into operation. This "introduced for the first time the principle that marriage was a civil contract in which the State as well as the Church was concerned."[1] Previously marriage law was an ecclesiastical jungle into which only the bravest dare venture at peril of their sanity as well as their fortune.

The curious may follow in the pages of that great ecclesiastical jurist—and Wesley's opponent—Bishop Edmund Gibson, how in 1541 King Henry VIII secured the legalization of marriages celebrated in the Church of England and consummated, even though there existed a previous contract of marriage, so long as this had

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1. *English Historical Documents*, Volume X, 1714-1783, ed. D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome, London, 1957, pp. 242-7.

not been consummated. This was a minor aspect of the severage of the umbilical cord which joined the Church of England to mother Rome, though Roman law remained the happy hunting ground for legal precedents. Gibson's *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* also shows how seven years later this Act was repealed in order to safeguard such unconsummated contracts of marriage, or "spousals." "The king's Ecclesiastical Judge" was empowered to try all contested cases, and where the existence of a contract was proved "to give sentence for matrimony, commanding solemnization, cohabitation, consummation and transaction [i.e. treatment], as becometh man and wife to have." Refusal to comply with his order was punishable by excommunication and permanent imprisonment. A further Act of 1603 made bigamy a capital felony, and insisted that private spousals or marriage contracts were true marriages, even though they did not have the full weight of marriages duly solemnized in the Church.[2] Such private marriages remained legal and binding until 1754.

It is necessary to distinguish between a private *promise of marriage* and the private marriage itself. Writing of marriage contracts in his *Ecclesiastical Law*, Richard Burn put the matter thus: "Spousals *de futuro* are a mutual promise or covenant of marriage to be had afterwards; as when the man saith to the woman, I will take thee to my wife, and she then answereth, I will take thee to my husband. Spousals *de praesenti* are a mutual promise or contract of present matrimony; as when the man doth say to the woman, I do take thee to my wife, and she then answereth, I do take thee to my husband."[3]

Like Gibson, Burn urged that contracts of marriage ought to be undertaken before witnesses and in the presence of a congregation. Nevertheless, though ecclesiastically irregular, a marriage contract made in words of the present tense was until 1754 a legal marriage, with or without a written agreement, with or without witnesses, with or without a religious ceremony, with or without consummation. Even though it was somewhat simpler to nullify a marriage unaccompanied by these features, especially consummation, the essential element was the declaration of the two contracting parties. In 1749 John Wesley entered into such "spousals *de praesenti*" with Grace Murray, so that she thus became his legal wife, technically

2. Edmund Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, 2nd ed., London, 1761, pp. 416-447, 1274-77; cf. Henry Swinburne, *A Treatise of Spousals*, London, 1686, pp. 231-2, and William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4th ed., London, 1771, vol. 1, p. 439.

3. Richard Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, London, 1763, vol. 2, pp. 16-19.

subject to all other matrimonial procedures and duties under pain of death.

Wesley realized the legal ramifications of what he was doing on this occasion far more clearly than the vast majority of his contemporaries, let alone the post-1754 general reader. Especially was this true because he had been vicariously dragged through the tangled undergrowth of English marriage law as a young Oxford tutor many years before he met Grace Murray. He had served as intermediary in a dispute which to some extent foreshadowed the circumstances of his own tragic experience, and whose outcome undoubtedly furnished one of the reasons why he was content to leave his own lawful wife in the arms of another. After a brief introductory glance at Wesley's own first marriage, we will return to it after studying this earlier incident which gives it much fuller significance, yet has so far remained unknown to his biographers.

Twice-widowed Grace Murray, the 32-year-old housekeeper at Wesley's headquarters in Newcastle, engaged in a remarkable triangular dance with him and one of his preachers, John Bennet, linking hands first with one and then with the other until the spectators grow dizzy. In August 1748 Wesley lay ill in the Newcastle Orphan House, and his enforced leisure gave him more appreciative eyes for his housekeeper, who also served as his nurse. About August 12 he spoke the first tentative words: "If ever I marry, I think you will be the person." Shortly afterwards he proposed to her "more directly," and she gave him a "voluntary and express promise" of marriage. This was a contract *de futuro*.[4]

Less than a month later, on September 7, Grace Murray similarly promised herself to John Bennet, to whose enquiry "Is there not a contract between you and Mr. Wesley?" she answered, "There is not." This she did "partly out of love to him [i.e. Bennet], partly out of fear of exposing" Wesley. To their request for his blessing Wesley returned "a mild answer, . . . supposing they were married already." In fact this was yet another contract *de futuro*.[5] The following spring and summer Grace Murray accompanied Wesley on his

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4. A. Leger, *Wesley's Last Love*, London, 1910, pp. 1-3, 12, 59; John Wesley, *Journal*, Standard ed., ed. N. Curnock, London, 1938, vol. 3, pp. 365-7. For the various editions of Wesley's account of his relations with Grace Murray, see Frank Baker, *Union Catalogue of the Publications of John and Charles Wesley*, 1966, p. 208. The original manuscripts is in the British Museum, but Dr. Leger's version is reliable and reasonably accessible.

5. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4, 11-12, 60; Wesley, *op. cit.*, III, 376; John Bennet, MS diary in Methodist Archives, London, Sept. 7, 1748.

biennial preaching tour around Ireland, both as "servant and friend" and as "a fellow-labourer in the Gospel." During this time she exchanged no correspondence with John Bennet, and his name so seldom cropped up in their conversation that Wesley was convinced that no obstacle remained to his renewed and deepened affection. In Dublin, about the middle of July, 1749, they took a step from which in his mind at least there was no drawing back: "The more we convers'd together, the more I lov'd her; &, before I return'd from Ireland, we contracted by a Contract *de praesenti.*" Whether or not they privately used a part of the "Form of solemnization of matrimony" in the *Book of Common Prayer*—and this remains at least possible—Wesley and Grace Murray alike repeated a formula in words of the present tense signifying that henceforth they were man and wife, probably the words, "I take thee to my wedded wife" (or husband").[6]

Hardly had Grace Murray set foot on English soil, however, before a passing fit of jealousy caused by gossip about her newly-espoused husband prompted her to write to Bennet. He renewed his pursuit of her to such good effect that on September 2 she completely ignored her Dublin contract, which in fact constituted a legal marriage, and said, "I *will* marry John Bennet"—the "will" implying futurity rather than insistence. This took place, strangely enough, in Wesley's home town of Epworth, and apparently with his acquiescence, for Bennet had persuaded him that Grace wanted to renounce her employer in favour of another of his lay employees. On the face of it this seemed a more suitable match, and Bennet claimed that Grace was much more deeply in love with him than with Wesley. It seems certain that Wesley already knew from a study of the standard work on marriage contracts, Henry Swinburne's *Treatise of Spousals*, that a contract *de praesenti* could in fact be dissolved by mutual agreement, provided that sexual intercourse had not taken place.[7]

The following day, however, Grace herself told Wesley that she loved him better than Bennet, but was afraid that Bennet might "run mad" if she didn't marry him. In the light of this revelation Wesley pondered the advisability of pressing his legal rights, and her legal duty. After three days of hesitation, on September 6 he urged her to make up her mind. She replied, "I am determin'd by Conscience, as well as Inclincation, to live & die with *you.*" Wesley nevertheless gave her time for still further consideration. Then on September 21

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6. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 62-3.
7. Swinburne, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

they solemnly renewed their Dublin contract *de praesenti,* this time in the presence of a witness, another of his preachers, Christopher Hopper. Wesley rode off contentedly, assured that there could now be no possible hitch; they were legally married, in fact twice legally married, even though as yet there had been no church ceremony and no consummation.[8]

Wesley had reckoned without a strange series of misunderstandings and maneuverings which culminated two weeks later, on October 3, 1749, with the solemnization of Grace Murray's marriage to John Bennet. The consummation of John Wesley's first marriage was frustrated alike by John Bennet's near-blind frenzy of desire, by Grace Murray's vacillation and her vagueness about her true legal standing, by Charles Wesley's impetuous fears for Methodism, and by John Wesley's deliberate sacrifice of dreams of domesticity to the claims of his apostolic ministry. Wesley knew without any shadow of doubt (as Grace Murray possibly did not) that in the eyes of the law they had been married ever since their first contract *de praesenti* in July, particularly as two months later it had been confirmed before a witness, and thus made easily susceptible of proof. There would have been little difficulty in overthrowing her union with John Bennet as bigamous. Experience had already taught him, however, to what extended heartache and frustration such matrimonial litigation might lead. This knowledge reinforced the urges of Christian charity and the desire to protect the good name of Methodism, and so for the third time he was content to let her go.[9]

It was through one of the least known members of the "Holy Club" that Wesley had been introduced to a similar tragic matrimonial entanglement in 1731. One of his Oxford notebooks was later used to record the names of the band members of the Foundery Society, including that of Grace Murray. By coincidence the chosen volume also summarized the important events of the year 1731, including the following cryptic note: "July 29. Mr. B. married Mr. G.'s wife."[10] "Mr. B." was John Boyce, son of Sir John Boyce, three times Mayor of Oxford. He had matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in July, 1727, aged 16, and became one of Charles Wesley's pupils, graduating in 1731. While still an undergraduate he had fallen in love with Margaret Hudson, a girl of his own age, the only

8. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8, 12, 62-3, 77; cf. Bennet's diary, Sept. 2, 1749.
9. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-98, especially pp. 78, 87, 89.
10. *Wesley Studies*, London, 1903, pp. 53-4; the notebook is in the Methodist Archives, London.

daughter and heiress of Dr. John Hudson, late Librarian of the Bodleian. Her twice-married, twice-widowed mother, Mrs. Hall, strongly disapproved of their courtship, and the couple had not seen each other for sixteen months when Mrs. Hall and Sir John Boyce suddenly brought them together. Less than a week later, on July 29, 1731, they were married in the parish church at Cowley by Fifield Allen of Christ Church.[11]

Mrs. Hall and her daughter lived at Eynsham, and the "Mr. G." of Wesley's note was their vicar, the Rev. John Goole. At the time of the wedding he was away in Oxford. On his return he at first refused to believe the shattering news, for he was himself espoused to the girl by a contract *de praesenti*. When the forty-year-old widower had first "addressed himself" to Margaret Hudson, aged eighteen, at Eastertime, 1730, she first blew hot, then cold. A year later, however, she welcomed his advances, and although they agreed to defer a public ceremony until she was twenty-one, on June 10, 1731 they entered into a "most binding and sacred engagement," in which they used the office of Matrimony in the *Book of Common Prayer*. At the time, however, neither of them realized that this contract made in words of the present tense did in fact constitute a valid marriage, although the word "spouse" was used between them.[12]

Once convinced that his betrothed had indeed married Boyce, Goole complained in writing to her mother, and on September 15 served a writ on Boyce and his bride, sueing them for damages of Ł3000. This may well have hastened the ailing Mrs. Hall's death shortly afterwards. In November, 1731, the Court of Common Pleas awarded him Ł200 damages, the cost of the expensive trousseau which he had bought.[13]

Meantime Goole's attention had been directed to Henry Swinburne's *Treatise of Spousals*, and he realized that his case was far stronger than he had originally thought. Even a hasty glance at the preface would convince him of this:

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11. John Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, "John Boyce"; Oxford Historical Society, vol. 41, pp. 347ff.; Rawlinson MSS, Bodleian 15072, vol. 5, pp 30ff.; MS letter of Charles Wesley, June 11, 1731, in Methodist Archives, London; *Dictionary of National Biography*, "John Hudson (1662-1719)"; John Goole, *The Contract Violated*, London, [1734], pp. 3-5, 41, 46, 60-79, 88-9.

12. Goole, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-20, 28, App. 5-10, 14-31; Foster, *op. cit.*, "Goole, John."

13. Goole, *op. cit.*, pp. viii-ix, 21-4, 32-8; "Goole and Boyce," eight documents forming a file of forty pages in the Court of Arches Archives, Lambeth Palace Library, London, especially November 3, 1732, items 5-8.

> There is no difference in substance betwixt *spousals de praesenti* (which make up a principal part of this book) and matrimony; only the publick office, and the greater solemnity of the act, together with a benediction of the minister, are by law requisite to compleat the matrimony, before it be capable of those legal effects of dower and legitimation of issue. But *in foro conscientiae* [before the tribunal of conscience] they are as much man and wife, as if all legal requisites and solemnities had been performed. Nay, as to some legal effects also, a contract *de praesenti* has the same force that a lawful *marriage* has; for the contract is indissoluble so long as the parties live; and if either party shall after such contract attempt to marry elsewhere, that marriage is null and void *ratione praecontractus* [*by reason of a precontract*].[14]

This made him seriously doubt whether it was legally possible for him to agree to the negotiated settlement being urged by Sir John Boyce, and he told Boyce's emissary that "he believed he should be obliged to part Mr. Boyce and Miss Hudson."[15]

Goole sought legal advice from Dr. Henry Brooke, a barrister better known to later generations as the friend of John Wesley and the author of *The Fool of Quality*, a novel so successfully abridged by Wesley that it became a best-seller. Boyce also consulted Brooke. He told them both that in his opinion Goole was unable to release Margaret Hudson from her contract in order to legalize her subsequent marriage to Boyce, but that the case was "nice," so that it was desirable to secure other opinions. For these Boyce offered to pay, whereupon Dr. Brooke drew up the following "State and Queries" for submission to Doctors Commons, the London headquarters of the Doctors of Civil Law:

> *A. B.* Single woman, aged nineteen and upwards, without consent of friends, enters into an absolute contract *de praesenti* of marriage with *C. D.* After such contract *A.B. de facto* [actually] marries *E.F.*
>
> 1. *Q*[*uery*]. Is it in the power of *C. D.* to give *A. B.* such a release from the contract aforesaid, as will make her marriage with *E. F.* legal and valid?
>
> 2. *Q*[*uery*]. If such a release may by law be given to *C. D.*, would it not be proper for *A. B.* and *E. F.* to solemnize matrimony over again?[16]

John Wesley was enlisted as Brooke's envoy. He duly visited London, secured the opinions, and on January 17, 1731/2, made certified transcripts. That from Dr. William Strahan confirmed Brooke's judgment:

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14. Swinburne, *op. cit.*, pp. [iv-v].
15. Goole, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-9, App. 58, 61.
16. Goole, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, 43, 48-50, App. 2-4.

> A contract *de praesenti* is a real marriage, and only wants the outward form and ceremony: and it is not in the power of the contracting parties to release one another from such contract. I don't think the woman's being a minor . . . will much vary the case. For she was of sufficient age to contract matrimony; and altho' she ought not to have entered into such contract without the consent of her parents or guardians, yet the want of such consent does not destroy the contract, no more than it would destroy a marriage solemnized in the face of the church.

Dr. George Paul's opinion was to the same effect:

> By the canon law, as it is received in England, and become part of the laws of the realm, a contract in words of the present time, seriously and solemnly made, is, in truth and substance, matrimony indissoluble. It has been the general opinion of learned divines and lawyers, that, *tho, there should be no evidence, according to the rules of the law, of such spousals*, the parties having really, tho' secretly, contracted themselves, yet they are thereby become so far man and wife before God, that neither can, with a safe and good conscience, marry elsewhere, so long as the other party liveth.
>
> A woman may contract herself absolutely when she is *pubes*, which is deemed at law a ripeness of age fit for marriage, in women at 12, in men at the age of 14 years.
>
> Upon the whole case therefore, I am of opinion, that *A. B.* aged 19, by entering into an absolute contract of the present time with *C. D.*, may be compelled, by ecclesiastical censures, to solemnize a marriage with him in the face of the church; and that the marriage with *E. F.* will (upon proper proofs of the above-stated contract) be adjudged null and void in law.[17]

The opinions were placed before both Boyce and Goole at a meeting in Dr. Brooke's chambers, with Wesley also present. Boyce clearly recognized the weakness of his position, and seemed determined not to cohabit with Margaret Hudson until it had been legally settled whose wife she was, though he was later dissuaded from that honest course, especially as she was already pregnant. Boyce also agreed to let Goole have copies of the legal opinions in return for copies of Margaret Hudson's letters to Goole, the attested copies in each case to be prepared by their mutually acceptable go-between, John Wesley. Accordingly Wesley's diary for January 17, 1731/2 records: "Monday 17th. 12½ at Mr. Goole's, in talk. 1 dinner. [2?] read M. Hudson's letters; in talk. 4¼ set out."[18]

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17. Goole, *op. cit.*, App. 2-4.

18. Goole, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3, 76-8, App. 2-4; Wesley's MS diary, Methodist Archives, London, transcribed by the Rev. Wesley F. Swift.

John Goole sought a final decision at the highest level, the Court of Arches, constantly insisting that this was his moral duty, in order to warn the Boyces and those similarly placed of the mortal as well as immortal danger of living in sin.[19] By this time Margaret Hudson was well on in pregnancy, and bore a child as the case against her was in its opening stages; he was baptized John on May 14, 1732.[20] (Incidentally, it is remarkable how many Johns appear in this story: Goole, Boyce, and their intermediary Wesley were all named John; so was Margaret Hudson's father; so was Boyce's father, and now his son; so also was the man who later stole John Wesley's own wife from under his nose.)

The case dragged on. By the time it came to trial in June, 1733, Margaret Hudson was nearing the birth of her second child. These two children seem to have furnished strong though irrelevant arguments in her favour, supporting the pressure and possible bribery that Goole suspected. Certainly trickery was used against him; apart from the lavish and unimpeded blackening of his own character, her advocates managed to find a weak link in the ecclesiastical law. Her minority was no more a defense than the lack of witnesses, but Swinburne's *Spousals* made it clear that "when these words of the present time are uttered in *jeast* or *sport* . . . such wanton words are not at all obligatory in so serious a matter as is matrimony." Accordingly she pleaded that her contract was undertaken as a joke—even though it involved the solemn use of the prayer book and the acceptance of expensive presents. The Dean of the Arches, Dr. John Bettesworth, was clearly much in sympathy with the young woman. Even Dr. Paul forsook his earlier written opinion and signed the final judgment that the "pretended marriage contract . . . was and is null and void and altogether invalid in law." Goole even had to pay the legal costs on pain of excommunication.[21]

Immediately this sentence was passed John Goole declared that he would publish his vindication. In six or seven weeks it was ready, and on July 26 he sent it to Wesley, asking him to read it, and to communicate the contents to Boyce. On August 1 or 2, Wesley replied:

19. Goole, *op. cit.*, pp. v. 42-5; cf pp. 67, 76.
20. Court of Arches, "Goole and Boyce," especially Goole's deposition, November 3, 1732, item 4.
21. "Goole and Boyce," Court of Arches; cf. Goole, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 62-75, 87-9, App. 32-6.

> Sir,
>
> I sent Mr. Boyce word yesterday, that I was apt to think you were so far from the desire of revenge, which he had been informed you every where shewed, that if he could propose any other way of satisfying that desire of clearing your reputation which a Christian ought to have, you would yet desist from your design of publishing your case.

Goole did indeed ask Margaret Hudson (now legally Boyce) to sign a testimonial to his "justice, fidelity, and honour," but heard nothing until October, when the desired satisfaction seemed no nearer. In December 1733, therefore, he set about publishing *The Contract Violated*, which in his dedication "to all lovers of truth, sincerity, and honour" he described as an "unparallel'd case."[22]

The *Gentleman's Magazine* entered a simple announcement of Goole's 170-page pamphlet in the issue for May, 1734. His avowed end of seeking to expose the dangers of secret marriages, however, as well as the sluggishness of the ecclesiastical courts, was more fully served by the *Grub Street Journal*, which serialized the case. Issue No. 248 for Thursday, September 26, 1734, described it as "of such an extraordinary nature that it deserves to be more generally known. It may hinder persons from rashly entering into private solemn contracts; in the performance of which they will probably meet with great difficulties and inconveniences. And it may divert those who have been perfidiously deceived, from vainly exposing themselves to very great trouble and charge by seeking a redress at law."[23] John Wesley learned the second lesson, if not the first.

Until the 1754 marriage reform, however, others continued to fall into the same trap, and the unfortunate results occasionally appeared even in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which Wesley frequently read. He would surely shake his head in sympathy in 1740 when he read of a young man whose secretly contracted wife was similarly married in church to another man. High ecclesiastical authorities again supported the first husband, but he refused to press his claim, saying, "I knew I could have done myself justice afterwards, but that being impossible without exposing her to the whole nation, I chose rather to suffer myself than that she should."[24]

In a similar position to this young man John Wesley found him-

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22. Goole, *op. cit.*, pp [iii], v-xii; the prohibition of its publication and sale in Oxford caused difficulty and delay; see pp. xv-xvi.

23. Copy in Rawlinson, MSS, vol. 5, p. 42, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

24. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1740, pp. 172-5; cf. 1748, p. 329, and 1751, pp. 328, 570.

self a few years later. Repeatedly Grace Murray urged that their Dublin contract should be sealed by public matrimony, but Wesley insisted that three prior steps were necessary: he must get the matter straight with her other suitor, John Bennet; in accordance with a longstanding agreement he must secure the consent of his brother Charles; and he must seek the understanding prayers of the Methodist preachers and people. Grace agreed to wait for a year. And so at her request they renewed the contract *de praesenti* at Hindley Hill, Northumberland, with trusty Christopher Hopper as witness. That on this occasion they used a part of the prayer book order receives some confirmation from one of her letters four days later: "If Mr. Bennet comes . . . I must not see him. It will tear my soul to pieces; seeing I can by no means help him now. For whom God hath join'd together, no man can put asunder." An hour after the simple but solemn ceremony Wesley took horse for Whitehaven "with not one uneasy thought, believing God would give us to meet again, at the time when he saw good." This was on Thursday, September 21, 1749.[25]

A tiny cloud of foreboding on the horizon, however, loomed nearer, heavy with tragedy. The following night Wesley was disturbed by a dream in which John Bennet hinted that Grace Murray was living with him. On the Saturday, without any conscious realization of what he was doing, Wesley began his first letter to his doubly-contracted spouse with the lines:

> There is I know not what of sad presage
> That tells me we shall never meet again.[26]

On Sunday words in the first lesson pierced his heart like a sword: "Son of man, behold I take from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke!" Immediately, he says, "a shivering ran thro' me, & in a few minutes I was in a fever."

Wesley had written other letters designed to hasten the date of his public union with Grace Murray. That to John Bennet, however, went astray, and the one to Wesley's brother sent Charles into a panic of activity to prevent a step which he was convinced would ruin their work. On the Monday Charles burst upon John in Whitehaven, denouncing this unsuitable match with a woman already betrothed to another. For some reason, probably because Charles

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25. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 62-3, 89.

26. Cf. Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ii. 2. 142-3, "Farewell: if heart's presages be not vain,/We three here part that ne'er shall meet again."

was too heated to think clearly, John was unable to convince him that his own marriage contract with Grace Murray was both prior to Bennet's and more binding. In any case Charles did not possess John's intimate knowledge and vicarious experience in this matter. Eventually they agreed to sleep on it, and then to submit the issue to their venerable friend, the Rev. Vincent Perronet of Shoreham.

The following day, however, Charles unexpectedly left ahead of John, and when John arrived at Hindley Hill it was to hear that Grace Murray had ridden off behind Charles two hours earlier. The foreboding grew stronger. He exclaimed with Job, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away! Blessed be the name of the Lord!" Abandoning his first intention of pursuing them, yet realizing that this was "giving up all," he returned for his week-end activities in Whitehaven. On Sunday, October 1, he confessed, "I was in great heaviness; my heart was sinking in me like a stone." Only in the services did he find any relief. That night he prayed for a sign of God's will, and in a dream saw Grace Murray executed. The following evening he received a message from his old pupil and friend George Whitefield pressing him to come to Leeds, where Charles also would meet them. Accordingly the following day, Tuesday, October 3, he rode to Leeds, arriving at nightfall. He did not know it, but this was his wife's wedding day.[27]

Charles Wesley was determined to save John from folly and the work of God from disruption. Leaving his brother at Whitehaven he had ridden posthaste to Hindley Hill, bursting in upon a Grace Murray already perplexed and distressed by John Wesley's foreboding letter. He gave her a pastoral kiss, said "Grace Murray, you have broke my heart!", and promptly fainted. On recovering he handed her an accusing letter which he had written the previous day, and was thus delivering in person. She apparently assumed that it conveyed the sentiments of John as well as of Charles, and agreed to go with him to Leeds to meet the two claimants to her hand. Nearing Durham, they learned that Bennet was at Newcastle, and on her request (or at least with her agreement) turned north once more to seek him out. Charles Wesley similarly took Bennet by storm, to such effect that on the following morning, Tuesday, October 3, he and Grace were married by the Rev. Richard (?) Brewster in St. Andrew's Church, Newcastle.[28]

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27. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-6, 79-86.
28. Bennet, MS diary, October 3, 1749, which names "Mr. Bruister"; for

When John Wesley arrived for the Leeds rendezvous Whitefield tried to break the news gently: he was certain that Charles would not show up until he had seen Grace and Bennet married, in spite of Whitefield's own attempts to persuade them to wait. He himself was quite convinced that Grace was Wesley's wife, but (as he expressed it) Charles's "impetuosity prevail'd & bore down all before it." Sure enough, Charles did not arrive for their meeting on Wednesday. On Thursday morning an advance messenger brought the news—"they were married on Tuesday." An hour later came Charles himself, still hot with indignation against his brother. He called John a villain and renounced all ties of Christian friendship, while Whitefield and John Nelson tried tearfully to reconcile them. At length Charles was brought to his senses, seemed "utterly amaz'd" to discover the true contractual relationship between his brother and Grace, and began to lay all the blame on her.[29]

Little by little, patiently and painfully, John Wesley was able to unravel the tangled threads and to see how a series of misunderstandings in the minds of all the chief participants had led to this bewildering and saddening mix-up. Describing his interview the following day with Bennet and Grace, when for a long time they "sat weeping at each other," John Wesley summed it all up: "Between them both, I knew not what to say or do. I can forgive. But who can redress the wrong?"[30]

Certainly John Wesley himself was not prepared to redress the wrong. Better than most people he knew that the law was fully on his side. He would have had far less difficulty than John Goole in proving his contract *de praesenti* with Grace Murray, and thus annulling her bigamous union with Bennet. Granted, there remained a little uncertainty as to how an ecclesiastical court would react, even in the clearest of cases. In his favour, however, were not only the strongest legal arguments, but his own prestige, over against that of his lowly preacher. Surely he must have won his case! Yet there seems no evidence that he ever seriously pondered bringing the matter before the courts. Swinburne's *Spousals* allowed for the dissolution even of a contract *de praesenti* by the mutual agreement of the parties before consummation. This course would bring least suffering to the two friends who had thus injured him, least damage to the work

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the probable identification with Richard Brewster see Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; no suitable candidate offers in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

29. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

30. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-98.

of God. This course he followed. He bowed his head to the bitter blow and poured out his heartbreak in tearstained verse.[31]

It would be pleasant to end our story with a paragraph describing how all concerned lived happily ever after, but this would fall short of the whole truth. A hasty summary of their fortunes, however, seems in order. John Goole later repented the publication of *The Contract Violated*, terming it "an inaccurate apology, wrote perhaps under too quick a sense of irreparable wrongs"; he himself faded into obscurity, and his death is not recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[32] John Boyce left the area to become rector of Saintbury, Gloucestershire, where he died in 1776, seventeen years after his wife Margaret. Their first child survived to young manhood; two other boys, including their second child, William, entered the Anglican ministry and served their father's parish for a time; three others of their eight children died in 1748, probably during some epidemic.[33] John Bennet remained on friendly terms with Charles Wesley, but his relationships with John were always strained; he left the Methodists to become an independent minister, and died in 1759. Grace survived him until 1803, writing in her diary on the 48th anniversary of their marriage, "What seas of grief God has brought me through none but he and myself know." Their first child, born August 22, 1750, was also christened John; another son lived to write a biography of his mother.[34]

As for the bereft John Wesley, yet another convalescence gave him leisure to study yet another widow who used a gentle hand in nursing him, and to whom he proposed marriage. Once more he was married under a cloud of secrecy, which has not yet been fully pierced, with results that were notoriously less congenial and less fruitful either for him or for Methodism than his marriage with Grace Murray might well have been. That, however, is another story.

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31. Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-105.
32. Rawlinson MSS, vol. 5, p. 31, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
33. D. MSS, "Boyce," Society of Genealogists, London.
34. William Bennet, *Memoirs of Mrs. Grace Bennet*, Macclesfield, 1803, pp. 22-4, 71; cf. John Bennet's MS diary, Methodist Archives, London.

What We Expect from Young Ministers

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The topic which Thor Hall suggested for our discussion this morning was most appealing, at least at first glance. What Methodist layman, particularly the son of a Methodist minister, would not relish the opportunity to turn the tables and tell a whole roomful of preachers what he expects of them? Thor did have the foresight to limit me to twelve minutes. But the exact topic, "What We Expect from Young Ministers," has a troublesome pronoun. It is always hard to know when we are speaking for others and when we are speaking only for ourselves. I can't claim to be a *typical* layman—I don't know what that is. My father is a minister, my uncle is a minister, my cousin Wannie is studying here with you, and I almost became a minister myself—any number of times. Many of the members of your fine faculty are closer friends of mine than some of my own colleagues on the law faculty. So perhaps I am closer to the clergy than most laymen; still, I believe that I speak for an appreciable number of laymen in my general age group and urban situation. At the very minimum I speak for myself, and I count it a great privilege to have been asked to tell you briefly of my hopes for you once you have completed your course of study here.

First I hope that most of you will go into the parish ministry. I don't mean to disparage a teaching career; I left law practice to teach law. I don't disparage foreign missions; I have visited foreign mission fields and been profoundly impressed by the selfless labors I saw there. I know the worth of the hospital chaplaincy, the campus ministry, and urban missions. I simply appear today as a representative of the pew—of the congregation—and hold up the parish ministry as a vitally important calling. Just in order to get it behind us, I'll mention first the practical argument: that all of the other phases of the Christian ministry are underwritten financially by the parish church. I prefer to appeal to you by arguing that the parish ministry

Remarks delivered in York Chapel, April 19, 1966.

is a most challenging and most difficult and, therefore, potentially a most rewarding form of ministry. If it appears to you to be softer or easier than other forms, you, my friend, don't understand the problem. Have you ever thought how much easier it is to approach the African native who pathetically hungers for shelter, education, and medical care than it is to approach the middle-class nominal Christian who thinks he has no needs except pulpit platitudes and an occasional pastoral visit? And, speaking of challenge: compare ministering to the wretched inhabitant of the urban slum who either never has been churched or has long since left the church because he found it inadequate, with ministering to that middle-class character in the pew who finds the church quite adequate for his needs because he does not understand the Christian Gospel and does not even perceive his needs. And, if anyone deserves your help and ministry, is it not the church member who fully appreciates the inadequacy of the church but who stays with it out of hope, habit, and helpless affection? Finally—and the argument comes back full circle in a way—consider the comparative efficiency of your going alone into the foreign mission field or urban slum and your mobilizing an entire congregation of Christians to show genuine Christian social concern.

So, you are needed in our churches to wake up the great mass of church members who are afflicted with Sunday morning religion, and you are also needed to minister to the comparatively few but steadily growing number of church people who are ready for church renewal. Never has dynamic pastoral leadership been more desperately needed!

Now, what do we want from you when you come to our churches as pastors?

First we hope for a relevant and tough-minded pulpit, and I put that first without hesitation. I am not speaking primarily of dynamic delivery or winsome pulpit personality, although they are important—I speak mainly of sermon content. Different ages perhaps call for different pulpit emphases. This age is not one for "Norman Vincent's happiness peales"; nor is it one for Upper Room bromides—not from the pulpit—although these fine little meditations written by highly regarded men and women of the church have an appropriate role to play on the contemporary scene. What does this age demand from our pulpits?

First, preach the Christian Gospel. We are starved for doctrine; we want to hear theology spoken from the pulpits. We are fairly

well educated these days. We have even dipped into Bonhoeffer or read a bit of Tillich. At least we have followed the "God is Dead" movement as best we can in *Time* and *The New Yorker*. You must be sure when you come to us that you have read more deeply and understood more fully. Interpret the Gospel to us. Show us what Jesus of Nazareth has to do with modern theology. Show us what Christianity offers which sets it apart from secular humanitarianism. Don't preach fundamentalism to us—not even New Testament fundamentalism. Preach a modern, relevant Christian theology.

Second, preach a social gospel. Get us to stop thinking so much about the after-life, which is a mystery, and persuade us that our calling is to minister in this life, which is a present and perplexing and provocative reality. Do *not* steer clear of the controversial, no matter what you may have heard about the district superintendent. *Do* rock the boat! There is no church too far south to accommodate brotherhood sermons. And if you preach in the north, preach against complacency and against intolerance toward the southern brethren. The wealthier your congregation, the more important it is to emphasize the obligations of wealth. The poorer your congregation, the more important it is to preach self-improvement and individual initiative. If most of your hearers agree with all you say, you are missing the mark.

Third, preach personal morality. I take issue with the excesses of the so-called new morality. I gather that the fashionable approach to Christian ethics is pretty specific and pretty absolute in terms of social sins. We must work for racial equality, world peace, and the alleviation of poverty. Amen! But the new approach to personal morality is a good deal more general. It is not popular to discuss personal virtues and vices; the modern Christian moralist is reluctant to identify anything as a personal vice or sin. Instead, he invites us to face life's problems—"existential situations"—by pondering the commandment of love and to do whatever seems likely to enrich our interpersonal relationships and further the "I-Thou" relationship. That formula isn't adequate for, say, a young person facing adult temptations. It isn't even adequate for us adults. Christ did say that the first commandment was to love God and the second to love thy neighbor; but that isn't all he taught us about Christian life and living. I recall other rather specific ethical injunctions: "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone." "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." And so on. And what of the

teachings of Paul and the rules of Wesley? If you say to me, we are not *bound* by these ancient precepts, I agree. I am skeptical of timeless truths and immutable principles. We lawyers feel that courts are not rigidly bound by precedent. But we also feel that the decisions of predecessors, taken after sober reflection, are useful guides in similar situations. I always find it refreshing to hear a minister or layman subscribe unblushingly to the good old Methodist principles of marital fidelity and abstention from the use of alcoholic beverages. I find these principles supportable in reason as well as authority. Don't preach at us to follow rules just because they have been laid down, but you might try to show us the rationality and meaning of the unique Christian life—different from other lives in that it is lived in response to God's grace in Christ.

A word of warning. Whether you are preaching social or personal morality, don't expend all of your ammunition on the first Sunday in a new pastorate. Warm up to your folks a bit first. Hold back your big guns until you have married a few, baptized a few, and buried a few. Love them for a short time, then rear back and let 'em have it. If you love your people genuinely, if you practice as well as preach Christian love and tolerance, they will take whatever you dish out. Avoid two errors—one is to start too fast without establishing rapport; the other is never to get started at all. The errors are equally egregious, the end result the same: an ineffective pulpit.

I wish there were time to get beyond the pulpit into what else we expect of our young ministers. Let me just say that preaching, while important, is not enough. In a sense it just gets our attention so that we can work together in the vineyard. As we work together, we need spiritual leadership from the pastor. In all the affairs of the local church and the connectional church, laymen will be found who will take the lead in material matters, such as a new roof on the parsonage, new carpet in the sanctuary, or new furniture for the nursery. You ministers must prod us on missions and other benevolences. Keep us turned outward toward others, not inward on ourselves.

To put the whole matter very shortly, what we expect of you as young ministers is that you should come to us and tell us and show us by your life and ministry with us what Christ expects of us. That is a tall order. I wish you Godspeed.

The Eclipse of God and the Vocation of Godliness

OPENING CONVOCATION ADDRESS, 1966

Robert E. Cushman

As the Divinity School community reassembles, I have a text for the day and, perhaps, for the year. It is St. Paul's admonition to the Ephesians: "Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil . . . . and having done all, to stand." But before "opening" this text, I do wish to exercise a dean's high privilege of welcoming one and all to the society of this school and to invite each of you to grasp the opportunities of another year for the perfecting of our common vocation. We are glad to have returning faculty, lately on leave, restored to us. To new members of the faculty who join our ranks we express our earnest wish that you may shortly come to feel at home, and we assure you that we shall be looking to you for new vision and leadership in the burden and heat of the days of our years that lie ahead.

To returning students, we commend what has been well accomplished and look to larger and riper fulfillment for you in the days ahead. To entering students, we extend the same warm welcome we have extended to your predecessors. You are not the first class for which the faculty has cherished high expectations. It is always this way! However the faculty may stand with reference to the three cardinal Christian virtues, they are unfailing in hope regarding their students however much their faith and love may have been recurrently and sorely tried. Although chastened by the years—some of them with more years than others—they join me in giving you hearty welcome. Together, I believe, we offer the assurance that, while the road to intellectual and spiritual integration is uphill all the way, these years can be unparalleled opportunity to possess one's soul, as well as to clear one's mind and acquire relevance!

So, we welcome one and all today in this our opening convocation. It is a tradition with us to celebrate in the presence of God the reassembly of the Divinity School community. It is a community of seekers and scholars, of study and research, of teaching and learning and, of course, as much as possible of "dialogue"! It is also a

community of self-discipline, of mutual chastening, and some disillusionment. It is a community that endeavors to dismantle idols and dissolve obstructions, not alone to a better apprehension of the living God, but to a timely obedience of Him. Indeed, as a community of Christian faith, it has always been committed to the paradox that clearer apprehension of God waits upon willing obedience toward God. Still, it is also true that this is a community where faith is ever seeking larger understanding. Hopefully, it may be made unto us a place of vision and an auditory of prophecy, yet it should become not too much a sanctuary but always a point of departure, for it is only by reponse to the Divine Summons (amidst the urgent actualities of our time) that the vision of God is kept in focus and fades not away. It is only in *doing* the Truth that we can keep on knowing it. God is always fading to vision in the measure we are disregarding and blunting his imperatives. Is this not the principal sickness of much Christianity in our time; *i.e.*, that it is not "obedient to the heavenly vision"?

II

This leads me to say then, no, rather affirm, that this community we reassemble today is a community committed to the everlasting relevance of what *Second Peter* commends and calls "godliness." He does not come wide of the mark either, respecting the proper aim and purpose of theological education, when he enjoins us to give "diligence to make our calling and election sure" (II *Pet.*, 1:10). The nature of this he describes: "In your faith," he says, "supply virtue; and in your virtue knowledge (that is the right order!); and in your knowledge self-control; and in your self-control patience; and in your patience godliness; and in your godliness brotherly kindness; and in your brotherly kindness love." (vv. 5-7).

The calling and election of Christians then is godliness, and the substance and sign of godliness is love. This community is committed to the nurture and advancement of such a vocation. But godliness and the world, at least as the world represents itself, do not seem to have much in common. From the standpoint of the world, godliness seems to have decreasing pertinence. In a world which allegedly "has come of age," godliness seems more and more like a Quixotic archaism or a quaint survival of mainly antiquarian interest. There are some indications that godliness appears to be a decliningly exciting vocation to the young. Some who once espoused it do not know

what to do with it. And potential aspirants, seeking their way and positive usefulness of life in today's world, are hesitant to invest their future in what appears to be a vocation of diminishing influence, prestige, or reward.

How can the advancement of godliness greatly attract by comparison with other vocational lures whose incentives are often immediate and spectacular and have assurance of a far "better press" even in so-called religious publications? And what is advancement of godliness in an age that plainly measures achievement by precision "linkups" of a Gemini II with an orbiting satellite only half a second off calculated rendezvous in space and time? What is godliness in comparison with return "on target" from a million miles of ellipses in outer space?

From Bacon to Marx, and from Marx to the present, it seems to be the mastery of space, man's place in the cosmos, which headlines the overwhelming aspiration of our time. Technology and social control are the instruments; government and industry are the agents, and medical science (with the aid of both) may be credited with an "assist" in improving and extending man's time-occupancy of space. What need have we for more in a world "come of age"? Moreover, as has been said, "music hath charms to sooth the savage breast" and even professors of church history may possess themselves of precision instruments unsurpassed for surveying the medium that tranquilizes the passions and may yet probe even "the music of the spheres"! And all of us have transportation! The poorest student may have to "bum a ride". But man's place is manageable! The future seems open to our freedom. What need we more!

III

On the very same day and the very same front page that carried exultant news of the precision rendezvous in outer space, I read the following account, not of what men are planning, but of what some men are doing:

Grenada, Miss. (AP) September 12, 1966—"A throng of angry whites wielding ax handles, pipes and chains surrounded two public schools that were integrated Monday and attacked Negroes who attempted to leave when classes were over. A Negro youth, 12, ran a gauntlet of cursing whites for a full block, his face bleeding, his clothes torn. He finally escaped limping. Another boy was not so fortunate. As he tried to leave the school grounds, he was thrown

to the sidewalk, kicked and beaten. 'That'll teach you, nigger,' yelled one white man. 'Don't come back tomorrow.' The boy answered, 'I didn't want to come here anyway. My mother sent me.' 'You tell her if you come back tomorrow, she'll be a dead nigger,' the man responded. A city policeman who witnessed the violence made no move to help the boy." The article continues: "Men did all the beating, but many women were present cursing and yelling." And we are further informed: "About two hours after the white children left, the Negro children were taken out in groups of 25 led by the Sheriff. Two highway patrol cars escorted the students down back streets in columns of twos to the Bell Flower Church, about one mile away. The church is the headquarters for civil rights groups who became active this summer in Grenada when Dr. Martin Luther King held a voter registration drive here."

This happened last week in a society premised upon better things like: liberty of conscience and the declaration "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed by their creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These may be divine endowments, but the history of man's way with man has been more nearly one of frustrating this inalienable heritage. As for liberty of conscience, the current temper is more nearly liberty *without* conscience.

Ours is a fearful and dismaying society. On Christian premises it does not show much promise of being a great one. It has largely forsaken its originative principles in the interest of the power of self-maintenance. Its true greatness is probably behind it. In one day it can bring off a stunning technological feat in outer space—a rendezvous one-half second off calculated time at 20,000 miles per hour. Simultaneously, in a town below—a town we may suppose long familiar but evidently heedless both of Law and Gospel—grown men attack children with clubs and chains because the children are black. Women curse and yell, and, with murderous threats, some shout "nigger." And there is only one frail center and sanctuary, the Bell Flower Church! It is not the First Methodist Church, or the Second Baptist Church, or the Third Presbyterian Church, or St. Mary's of the Sacred Heart. It is just the Bell Flower Church—anonymous with men but not with God; and it stands a wistful and beleaguered sentinel to a godliness that evidently is uncomprehended in Grenada or is deemed *passé* and irrelevant.

IV

There are several ways to "will" the death of God. A minor one, and least blasphemous, is to proclaim with the fervor of a new messiah the sacred "gospel of Christian atheism"; to affirm absolute contradiction under the high sounding rubric of *coincidentia oppositorum* whereby the total negation of "the Christian God" is said to prepare an "epiphany" of some greater but unnamed splendor. The idea here is to negate the sacred and will the profane so that the sacred may appear. More serious far and more deceptive are the common and age-old idolatries, whereby men worship and serve, as St. Paul declared, the creatures rather than the Creator; and there is good reason to surmise that the brash gospels of "Christian atheism" are but ingenious rationalizations of the prevailing idolatries of our epoch.

But the greatest blasphemy of all, in which we all participate in our several ways, times and measures, is to live and behave overtly as if God were in fact dead. So far as I can see, the men and women of Grenada, of whom we have report, do in fact will the death of God in their deeds. If we are to heed the gospel of Christian atheism, then Grenada really shows us how. And, lest we miss the "beam in our own eye," we may ponder the likelihood that the frenzied outburst of Grenada is but a public manfestation of the festering guilt of a whole unrepented people. For is not the barbarism of Grenada the ugly exhibition of an endemic depravity that, despite its claims to conventional piety, unveils a secret preference to be done with God? And, further, it is just possible that the final course open to the intransigently impenitent is precisely the denial of God, for to will the death of God seems to promise freedom from the intolerable burden of guilt. As Nietzschés Zarathustra said, "If God is dead, all things are permitted." Then guilt would be robbed of its meaning and thus shorn of its disruptive power. "Situation ethics," too, would have *carte blanche*. It would no more be embarrassed by the Divine antecedence and such priorities as set limits to the allowable.

Thus, we may suppose, ungodliness relishes the "new freedom" of the death of God, indeed proclaims it to the purpose, and glories in a "coincidence of opposites" whereby men may call good evil, and evil good. For Isaiah this is the ultimate perversity and, for Plato, it is "the lie in the soul." Yet, in various forms, it is offered to us as the way, the truth and the life. In the theology of "coincidence of opposites" we are assured that "the very profane *Existenz* which our destiny has unveiled may yet prove to be a path to a universal

form of faith" (T. J. J. Altizer in *Radical Theology and the Death of God,* p. 20). Let us will ungodliness, then, that godliness may be revealed. Let us sin that grace may abound! In the history of philosophic literature, save one, there is hardly an instance of such frenzy!

V

But setting aside this extremity of *hybris,* this community devoted to the nurture of godliness is in fact confronted with a pervasive spirit of ungodliness. Here, a vocation is cultivated for which there is but modest comprehension and but passing and vagrant interest in the world without. With soberness, we may listen to Martin Buber when he writes: "Eclipse of the light of heaven, eclipse of God—such indeed is the character of the historic hour through which the world is passing." (*The Eclipse of God.* Harper Torchbook, p. 23). And E. W. Shideler in his brilliant analysis, "Taking the Death of God Seriously" may well be right in saying that "Insofar as this theology describes an audience to which the Gospel must be declared, we can take it with complete seriousness." (*Theology Today,* July 1966, p. 187). He is utterly perceptive in the telling criticism that this so-called radical theology "is more than a diagnosis." It has the astonishing character of a "prescription which offers the disease as the cure." (*Ibid.*)

But what shall we say to these things? One way to get to the heart of the issue between the Christian believer and the current "Gospel of the profane" is, first, to recognize that an unequal marriage between Christianity and culture (which has been the bane of religion in the South) has always meant a capitulation to the profane on the part of Christians despite pious protests to the contrary. It has actually been a betrayal of Christianity, for it has resolved the perpetual and inevitable tension between Christianity and culture by accommodation of the former to the latter. That is why Grenada and Selma are possible.

The second point is this: Christians have always to face the dilemma which confronts the believer ever since their Lord prayed for his disciples that they be in the world as the vehicles of God's love for the world but always so as to be preserved from the evil that is in the world. Thus, Jesus prays for divine support for a radically dialectical life of unending tension and constant stress. Authentic Christian life is being *in* the world and *for* the world but not *of* the world. Our Lord knew that this was an impossible voca-

tion without the divine Comforter. For it is a life in continual temptation. Specifically, it is under temptation to resolve the vexing dialectical tension either by sundry accommodations to the world or, conversely, by radical denial and flight from the world. Since Kierkegaard's attack on Christendom, it has been widely recognized that much "official Christianity" tends to resolve the dialectic tension by easy accommodation to the world. This made slavery possible, and makes integration tedious. In this role, Christianity is already half profane.

Relaxation of the tension may be accomplished, on the contrary, by flight, or withdrawal. Flight is represented by some varieties of cloistered quietism or ecstatic gospelism. Withdrawal may be represented by some forms of monasticism, high-church sacerdotalism, clericalism, or by preoccupation and almost obsession with the structures of churchy associations and program. This last may be called institutionalism. It is a characteristic malaise of modern Protestantism.

It was to this latter group of aberrations—resolving the authentic tension and dialectic of the Christian life—that Dietrich Bonhoeffer has been heard to speak by so many disturbed and thoughtful youth of our time when he allowed "that the church has fought for self-preservation as though it were an end in itself." (*Letters and Papers from Prison.* Macmillan, p. 187.)

Bonhoeffer's "religionless" Christianity, which has captured the imagination of honest Christian discontent, is really a protest against the illicit, unauthorized, and escapist relaxation of the radical, unending dialectic of authentic Christian existence, namely, existence for God *in* the world, *for* the world, but never *of* the world. This Bonhoeffer was groping to affirm in declaring, "It is not some religious act" (I would add quietistic, ecstatic, sacerdotal or housekeeping) "which makes a Christian what he is, but participation in the suffering of God in the life of the world." (*Ibid.*, p. 223).

Again, on the other hand, there is the release of authentic tension in the Christian life by acculturation, the accommodation of Christ to culture. Thus, the pervasive secularism of our day is in part attributable to the pseudo-godliness of a host of Christians who want Christianity without tension, that is, consolation without service and privilege without responsibility. Nothing has become plainer than that this cannot muster as Christianity at all. It is very close to capitulation to the world. At the best, it is heretical Christianity.

It is close, perilously close, to affirmation of our profane *Existenz*. Why, then, should churchmen be so shocked when reckless theological opportunism proposes to be honest and go the whole way? True, it prescribes the disease as the cure, but after all, there is truth in the claim that God has died in our history insofar as Christians have eased the dialectical tension of authentic godliness in accommodating the rigors of the Christian life to the prevailing culture. If "the eclipse of God" is, as Buber says, "the character of the historic hour through which the world is passing," then to the door of pious but irresponsible and impenitent Christians partial blame is rightly laid. It is laid at the doorstep of Grenada, and Grenada is potentially most anywhere. For just insofar as Christians claim the privileges of faith without accepting responsibility, for participating in Christ's sufferings in and for the world, they have not added to patience godliness, and to godliness love. Indeed, the "patience" which adds godliness is just exactly suffering. It is suffering with Christ for the redemption of the world.

On the other hand, tragic, cheap and self-destroying, I think, is the brash capitulation to the world: the espousal of profane *Existenz*; the frenzied world-affirmation that looks for salvation in the denial of God and enjoins it; that glories to embrace the "Antichrist" as man's hopes, and warns oracularly that "Apart from free acceptance of the death of God, there lies no way to our profane present." (T. J. J. Altizer, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

To the pagan Socrates this would appear the abyss of human evil, for it has lost all sense of *aidos*, shame. To resign one's self to atheism is one thing, and, one may suppose, the ultimate sorrow open to our humanity. To will atheism, on the other hand, to embrace the death of God with rapture has, from the Greeks been regarded as "titanism" verging upon lunacy. This let not even *The Christian Advocate* ask me to take seriously as an issue for sober theological reflection. It has gone beyond the pale of presuppositions and premises of which, for my part, I can take respectful heed. It partakes of the ultimate perversity that calls evil good and good evil. It is the radical "transvaluation of values" fathered by Nietzsche but without even the reserve of Nietzsche's irony or the misery of his divided mind.

Yet we must face the eclipse of God in our time. It is both the absence of something positive and the presence of something negative. It is a lassitude, a failure of nerve, a loss of confidence, a creeping paralysis. It is the dispirited waiting for "Godot." Men look for God but do not know where to look that they may find him. The Word

is not easily heard among us. It does not resound in our time. There is only the strife of many words and the confusion of strident tongues. Philosophy is busy with words about words or can only speak of human "self-understanding" bracketed off from any transcendent reference. Without such a reference there is no way to break up the overwhelming plurality and incomprehensible continuum of our human existence and restore to it meaning and verve by the rediscovery of a hierarchy of significance or a scale of commanding priorities. In our world there is nothing prior but the incessant jangling of conflicting claims.

In short, human existence has flattened out into insignificance for many, and it is hard to say whether it is flat because of God's absence or God is absent because it is flat. Meanwhile, the frenzy to enhance man's occupancy of space escalates as perhaps the remaining distraction still open to us against the onset of pervasive societal boredom. This is the world, I think, as it has "come of age," and, to keep the figure, it may be a world in the advanced stages of senility. It could even be that western society even now is the Tower of Babel "writ large." It is no wonder then that Professor Shideler should conclude: "If God is dead it is because some lesser myth has come to be adequate to sustain and to create a smaller (I would say flatter) kind of human life than that which is declared and given in the resurrection of Jesus Christ." (*Op. cit.*, p. 199). Flat worlds, we might say, must make do with flat myths!

VI

I do not know that the thread of these reflections is visible enough to clarify to us the vocation of godliness or that it sharpens the claim of that vocation to relevance and more respectful consideration by a secular world. How it may appear to the secular world is not, after all, the test that interests me today. The question is rather more, what do I see and what may you perceive about this vocation and the propriety and right of its claim upon us?

If it is true, and it apparently is, that we live in an age of an "eclipse" of God, the Christian should be among the last, along with his Jewish brethren, to be taken by surprise. Long ago, the Christian was warned to "put on the whole armor of God that he might be able to stand in the evil day," but Christians have not taken the true measure of the enemy. Instead, they have been demythologizing "the world rulers of this darkness and the spiritual hosts of wicked-

ness in heavenly places," which could be pre-eminently themselves. Furthermore, not attaining to the "full grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ," they do not escape being "tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine" (*Eph.*, 4:13 ff.). So it is that we are all suffering from pseudo-Christianity, our own and much of that lately pervading the churches, although I think the tide is turning. But, contrary to Jesus' caution to his disciples, we have been bred in a Christianity that did not count the cost of building a tower and are dismayed that now all who behold the unfinished structure begin to mock us." (*Lk.* 14:28). In our confusion one way to cover is, of course, to join in the laughter and affirm our profane *Existenz*, concealing thereby our chagrin under the "great lie" of the "coincidence of opposites," that is, let us now affirm the sacred by exalting the profane!

The Christian answer and with it the Christian vocation of godliness is somewhat more subtle, infinitely more difficult and not *contradictio ad absurdum*. It forcefully rejects otherworldly retreat. It espouses the wisdom of God which is wiser than men. It takes up the hard and repulsive vocation of participating in the sufferings of Christ for the world—for man's liberation from bondage to the flat world of unrelieved insignificance in which nothing is false because everything is true and all things are permitted. It does this because it is overpowered by the hint and sign of a transcendent reference in the adorable majesty of the self-evidencing goodness of Jesus Christ. He is made unto the Christian, in the foolishness of God, wisdom—the inescapable ground of faith, hope and love. He becomes the norm of human significance, who gives illumination and structure to the flat-world from a fulcrum beyond the flat-world. The Christian lives and serves under the vocation of Christ Jesus as the only vocation that can affirm the world and restore the world without succumbing to the flatness of the world. It is a vocation of incomparable difficulty and irresoluble tension and is supportable only insofar as the Christian is rooted deep in a wider reality of which the flat world is a dependent derivative.

I know that, at what must be the end of this discourse, I have introduced the real theological problem, the issue of transcendence which has been "in the wings" all along. This is the vexing problem of more than a century of theology, and there is much more honest work to be done about it. But let us be clear, if the so-called profane world exhausts the range of Being, then there is no vocation of god-

liness, as the apostles of profanity have flatly affirmed; and this school has no further reason for being. If, on the contrary, existence is but a segment of the total continuum of Being, then existence need not be flat and empty, without limit. In due time indeed in God's good time, it will reopen to the fullness of Being which is its source and ground and fulfillment. With such an openness, godliness becomes again a vocation. But the decision is ours; it is man's; our age is in the crisis of decision. I agree with Martin Buber: "He who refuses to submit himself to the effective reality of the transcendence as such—our *vis-a-vis*—contributes to the human responsibility for the eclipse (of God) (*Op. cit.*, p. 24).

For today, the vocation of godliness is, above all, openness to transcendence. That includes prayer. It is also participation with Christ in his sufferings for the world. The way of *Openness* and *participation* is the secret of the godly life. It is to this life that this Divinity School is irrevocably committed. Today openness and participation are the pressing meanings of obedience, and it is upon this obedience to God that depends a clearer apprehension of God—by us in our day and by any men in any day.

Members of the entering class, I offer you a seasoned conviction: the vocation of godliness today is still open to all of us. It is what it always has been from Abraham until now: It is openness to transcendence. It is also, since Christ, participation with him in his absolute affirmation of the world—not the world in its flight from God, but the world in the intent and purpose of God for it.

Anxiety, Courage and Truth

William H. Poteat
Professor of Christianity and Culture

Graham Greene, whose sensibility can discern intimations of something sinister in even the quiet movement behind him of a rabbit, in the dark, on the croquet lawn of an English public school, tells in an autobiographical essay, "The Lost Childhood," of his loss of innocence forever in the discovery one summer that he could read.

There then opened before him the whole universe of literature. "All a long summer holiday I kept my secret, as I believed: I did not want anybody to know that I could read. I suppose I half consciously realized even then that this was the dangerous moment."

First there was Ryder Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* and the evil sorceress, Gagool: "Didn't she wait for me in dreams every night in the passage by the linen cupboard, near the nursery door? And she continues to wait, when the mind is sick or tired, though now she is dressed in the theological garments of despair."

Later, it was Elizabeth Bowen's *The Viper of Milan*: "At the end. . . della Scala is dead, Ferrara, Verona, Novara, Mantua have all fallen, the messengers pour in with news of fresh victories, the whole world outside is cracking up, and Visconti sits and jokes in the wine light. . . . (I learned) in Miss Bowen's novel the sense of doom that lies over success—the feeling that the pendulum is about to swing. That too made sense; one looked around and saw the doomed everywhere—the champion runner who one day would sag over the tape; the head of the school who would atone, poor devil, during forty dreary undistinguished years; the scholar. . . and when success began to touch oneself too, however mildly, one could only pray that failure would not be held off for too long."

This reminds one of a reality too hastily suppressed in the modern climate of the mind, so much a creature of science, technology and the optimism they breed: the radical connection between anxiety, courage and the achievement of truth.

The modern age was ushered in by the Baconian motto: Knowledge is power. It has been deeply underwritten in our whole sensibility by even that most theoretical of men, Rene Descartes, the

so-called "father of modern philosophy" who wanted to start from scratch by thinking out everything clearly while sitting in a stove!

For us knowledge tends to be associated with heroism and unqualified beatitude. Everywhere in our imagination there rises up from its depths the belief that man is *saved*, not damned, by knowledge and by standing in the truth.

On hundreds of American campuses there are buildings upon which have been engraved, snatched wholly from their profounder context, the words: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Upon seeing them, my natural rejoinder is: "The Hell it does." In the context of compulsive modern optimism these words lose all sense of paradox.

Our universities and the Great Society spend millions of man-hours, billions of dollars in uncritical support of this belief.

Yet—it has not always been held, nor is it true.

A deeper human sensibility has known that truth is not only won at a price, but *painful* when won; that knowledge is always an ambiguous good, concealing a *threat*; that catastrophe is associated with the loss of innocence.

Recognition of this may be absent from our public myth, but in our private struggle with ourselves and our world it's there. It's always there, even when it has no name.

There are three great myths in our tradition in which the link between catastrophe and the loss of innocence is embodied. The myth of Oedipus, the myth of Adam and the myth of Faust.

In the very name of Oedipus, the whole story is compactly told. Oedipus means "the swollen footed"—a name conferred upon the son of Laius because of the permanent scars left on his ankles by the leather straps by which his legs were bound together when he, an infant, had been left upon a hill to die. There is a profound pun in the name. *Pus* means foot and, taken with the riddle of the sphinx (what is it that *walks* on four *feet* in the morning, two *feet* at noon and three *feet* at night), suggests that Oedipus' very herosim is bound up with the image of the being who *walks*. But this is yet another pun, for *oida*—swollen—suggests there is something basically "unnatural" in the creature who has the power to walk upright. Even more, the verb *oido,* in one of its meanings, is defined as: to be swollen with knowledge. And we know that Oedipus *was* swollen with knowledge, not only possessed of the power of reason by which

he is enabled to answer the riddle of the sphinx, but proudly possessed of it, swollen with it—again, "unnaturally" so.

It is by the power of reason that Oedipus is able to destroy the Sphinx, that beast part bird, part lion and part woman, which symbolized for the ancient world all the dark, irrational, nameless and inhuman terrors that threaten man. This he does by answering the riddle into which is compactly built a profoundly disturbing image of the greatness ("what it is that walks?") and the ultimate transiency (morning, noon and night) of human life. He answers: Man! And at a stroke he exhibits the power of human reason to plumb the secret of human life and finds that painful secret to be human mortality. Swollen with proud knowledge, he assails the riddle and discovers the tragic truth about existence. The loss of innocence leaves him with the painful, perhaps the crushing truth: I have been cast into existence and, one day, I shall be torn from it. What value can this respite have in a close prison where my life is a continual going out to the place of execution?

The Adam-myth, perhaps more familiar but not better understood, exhibits, in ways appropriate to its own essence, the same motif: catastrophe and the loss of innocence, truth and danger. Eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, Adam becomes—as God?—not quite. But he becomes man—now at enmity with the world, itself forever hostile to him. Cast out of Eden, naked as no animal is, vulnerable, mortal.

The Faust legend is the typical modern myth. It expresses modern man's peculiar desire for power, a desire for "guns, gold and girls" to satisfy which no impiety is too great a risk to run. It expresses, too, the secret connections between the animus of science and that of black magic.

Karl Shapiro has seen the irony of the Faust myth symbolized in the terror of an atomic age which made a pact with the prince of darkness in return for the final secret of the physical world. He writes:

"Backwardly tolerant, Faustus was expelled
From the Third Reich in nineteen thirty-nine.
His exit caused the breaching of the Rhine,
Except for which the frontier might have held.
Five years unknown to enemy and friend
He hid, appearing on the sixth to pose
In an American desert at War's end
Where, at his back, a dome of atoms rose."

By each of these we are reminded of what we easily forget: anxiety and courage are very much involved in our apprehension of the truth. Knowledge, because it is always associated with a loss of innocence, is an equivocal good. Who is there who has never thought so? Who has ever thought so with untroubled conscience in face of our public modern myth?

I think certain historical confusions are in part to blame for this uneasy simple-mindedness: The seventeenth century's identification of truth with the science of physical nature; the eighteenth century's identification of mind with consciousness; our contemporary identification of truth with particular contingent truths discovered by what is too uncritically thought to be a value-free, neutral "scientific" method. It is clear, is it not, that if truth is understood in terms of this model, thus construed, then it is difficult for us to concede that anxiety and courage are in any way involved. Value-free reason apprehending such truths is subject to no anxiety and hence stands in no need of courage.

The Ancient and Medieval imagination saw truth to be, in the last analysis, bound to *sapientia*, that is, to sapience, the endowment in virtue of which is *homo sapiens*: the sole creature who grasps his total situation in the world—at once great and wretched. Plato explicitly argued that only the good man—it would not be unfaithful here to say, the courageous man—can know the truth. This is why he spoke of the radical coming into the truth as a *metanoia*, a turning round of the soul, a "thinking reversely."

But we need not go so far for a qualification of our contemporary public myth. So-called Depth-psychology has rehabilitated many of these ancient insights for us. It shows us quite explicitly that mind is not just consciousness, that we are neither transparent nor tractable to ourselves. Augustine's utterance could well be the motto of Sigmund Freud: "Man is a great deep. It is not possible to number the hairs of his head. Yet it is easier to number the hairs of his head than the beatings of his heart."

From this—and it is no accident that Freud's dominating concept is an elliptical story, the Oedipus complex—we learn that we are not simply available to our own conscious management; that we are in fact mysteries to ourselves. We learn too that there is painful, threatening, anxiety-producing truth about ourselves and about our human condition which we repress, concerning which we rationalize, from which we are forever in flight. And finally, we learn that none

of us can face these without courage—indeed a courage which itself appears to us unbidden from our own intractable depths.

Perhaps I will not mislead you if I explicitly resort to a psychoanalytic analogy. There is a sense in which we may say that the neurotic is the creator of a world of his own "imagination" to which he then becomes subject—incarcerated as a prisoner. The job of the therapist is, as an outsider, to invade that world and to enhance his patient's wish to be free. The invasion is a kind of incarnation, for the therapist enters the neurotic world from the outside and remains, while in it, an outsider, lest he, like his patient, become the subject of that world, powerless against it.

Now, expand the analogy. In one sense, each of us, like the neurotic, is the prisoner of his own picture of what the world is like. This is what is meant by idolatry—the imprisonment of ourselves in any given picture of the world. It is God who invades this world, threatening us ultimately, but also setting us free.

We, each of us have a stake in this picture. It is ours. We are defensive before every invasion of it. We are threatened by every claim that challenges it. Every new truth makes us anxious because we have made an investment of our personhood in the old "truth." If any of us ever succeeds in facing this challenge, it is because courage has come to us.

We are simple idolaters—imprisoned in our imaginations—who can be set at liberty only when that imagination is ravished by Reality or by God.

Pagan man could not finally face three facts: the fact of existence, the fact of freedom, the fact of death.

If it is not possible for you to adopt a positive attitude to these three radical facts, then it is impossible for you to take persons seriously—which is to say, impossible for you to take yourself seriously.

In *The Concept of Dread*, Kierkegaard characterizes *inwardness* as seriousness, which is for him the diametric opposite of *despair*. To illustrate, he then quotes the lines written by Shakespeare for Macbeth, when, having murdered the King he is in despair:

> ". . . from this instant
> There's nothing serious in mortality:
> All is but toys: renown and
> grace is dead."

Pagan man could not face *existence* because it was, in its nature, *hybrid*—the very act of existing was itself a disordering of a primal

order, to which all existing things would "make reparation for their injustice according to the disposition of time."

Pagan man could not face *freedom* because it introduces, in his view, an anticosmic contingency, disorder, chaos, a threat of non-being, and hence guilt and terror. This is the meaning of the great sigh of relief at the end of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*:

> "You that live in my ancestral Thebes,
> Behold this Oedipus,
> Him who knew the famous riddles and was a man most masterful;
> Not a citizen who did not look with envy on his lot—
> See him now and see the breakers of misfortune swallow him!
> Look upon that last day always.
> Count no mortal happy till he has passed
> The final limit of his life secure from pain."

Finally, pagan man could not take death seriously as an ultimate and genuine threat to all meaning. Therefore meaning for him had to reside finally in an immortal and hence impersonal order. If you cannot take death seriously as a genuine threat, then neither can you take our finite life with seriousness. Only when death is the last and the greatest enemy can life be cherished as worth living. D. H. Lawrence, as a novelist and pamphleteer, obsessed, perhaps, by our culture's capacity to assimilate and thereby neutralize all criticism of itself; to cerebralize and remove the sting of ultimate mystery, has Mrs. Whitt, in *St. Mawr*, say: "Now listen to me. . . I want death to be real to me. . . . I want it to hurt me. . . . If it hurts me enough, I shall know I was alive." This puts my point very well—and points up the neopaganism of our mind against which Lawrence was here railing.

It was the very opposite of this attitude that one finds in the Greek saying: "It is best never to have been born, next best to take leave of this life."

Where existence, freedom and death cannot be positively appropriated, *persons* can never matter.

The impact of the Judeo-Christian faith upon this pagan imagination produced Western culture.

In this faith there is no recoil from these painful truths about the human condition. In *Job* we read:

> "My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and are spent without hope. Oh remember that my life is a breath."

In this view, man is made out of the dust. His life is a tale that is told.

At the same time, with seeming paradox, guilt is sin, sin is the expression of man's freedom, and his freedom is a gift of God!

The Christian declares that Jesus Christ has overcome sin and death. What, in the light of what I've said, can this mean?

It means that *now* we can accept existence as God's gift; sin as the sign of our freedom; and life as that which has been saved from meaninglessness. Now, we are able to take persons seriously. Given an ultimate courage to face the most painful truth about ourselves, there is no longer any truth we need fear.

You are all familiar, I am sure, with St. Paul's words in his Epistle to the Romans where he says: "For I am persuaded that neither life nor death, nor things present nor things to come, nor angels nor principalities nor powers, nor height nor depth, nor anything else in the whole creation, can separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus."

Perhaps it has not occurred to you to remark the relevance of these words to the life of the mind.

There was no such thing as a college or a university, in our sense, in the culture which nurtured St. Paul. On the contrary, it was precisely the faith of St. Paul, expressed in these words, out of which such institutions came: the faith, namely, that Jesus Christ had overcome both sin and death; that He had deprived them of their binding power upon the human imagination. This faith nurtured the university in the Western world.

For this faith declares that the guilt that infects all existence and all freedom has been removed—if not in fact, at least in hope. The whole world of nature and of human culture is seen to be God's creature. Henceforth we can seek to discover its mystery without anxiety. The wound inflicted by our loss of innocence has been healed. Human reason is now beyond tragedy, because "Christ is God's and ye are Christ's; therefore all things are yours."

This is the regenerate mind. No student wholly lacking it; no university unleavened by it can survive.

If wisdom be grasping our total situation in the world; and if dreadful existence, anxiety-producing freedom and meaning-threatening death are facts we have to meet on the way; then only those who have a faith which takes the dread out of existence, the anxiety

out of freedom, and the threat of meaninglessness out of death can have the courage of the regenerate mind.

In the posture of this faith such a one will be able to say with St. Paul: "I am persuaded that neither communism nor fascism; Freudianism nor Jungianism; Einsteinianism nor the theory of an ever-expanding universe; neither historicism nor impressionism, existentialism and logical positivism; the theory of deficit finance nor the principle of complementarity can separate me from the love of God in Christ Jesus."

Being delivered from anxiety, he then can explore, examine, criticize or appropriate any of these, knowing that his ultimate security is not bound to the transient career of these penultimate truths.

The world of nature and human culture are therefore his to understand and love with a regenerate mind.

Whenever he is armed with such ultimate courage, he is beyond anxiety: the loss of innocence ceases to be an equivocal good.

* * * * *

Does anyone have this faith? Is the higher learning still the fiduciary of this legacy?

I confess I do not know. But I do believe the hour is already very late.

So now we have the new theology, in paperbacks by the hundreds of thousands, upon the racks along with *Greek Tragedy, A House is Not a Home* and *Candy*.

"The death of God," this is the kind of total claim from which I turn away in horror. It now seems too large a matter for my sensibilities.

I am affronted by the total claim delivered in an apocalyptic tone, especially when overnight it comes to be uttered by a thousand voices and then becomes chic. And everyone becomes Jean-Baptiste Clamence, judge-penitents, haranging each other with wild eyes in coffee-houses, bars and student unions, filling the air with "the death of God" and with "anguish" while silently all about them are students and colleagues dying in a quiet, humble despair for want just of hearing their own *names* called.

The great engine of higher learning is fully throttled up in the Great Society. And the whole ghastly enterprise would be a farce at which we could all laugh, if it were not in fact so dangerous.

It is not easy to know what the words of St. Paul mean; perhaps even more difficult to subscribe to them.

For myself, I must tell you that sometimes they resonate with the deepest things that are in me; at others they fall equivocally upon a tin and complacent ear.

Yet—even for me, guilty over my too modest goals, it *is* possible at least for me to pray:

"Give us this day our daily bread."

May it be at least as well with you.

CHARLES PHILLIPS BOWLES died suddenly August 30, 1966. With this lamented event, the Divinity School lost one of its staunchest alumni supporters whose sustained concern and service to the school and, as trustee to Duke University, over all the years since his graduation with the B.D. degree in 1931 has been uncommon and far beyond the line of duty. A powerful churchman, pastor, and preacher, Dr. Bowles was an enlightened champion of progressive causes in all domains. It was my privilege to have his ardent leadership and suggestive guidance as Trustee Chairman of the Divinity School Board of Visitors Committee, initiated and authorized by the University Trustees in 1963. But, for years, Dr. Bowles has given of himself, his energies, and his mind to urgent issues affecting the destiny of Duke University. While pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, and before that, as District Superintendent of the Charlotte District, and as pastor of the West Market Street Methodist Church, Greensboro, N. C., Dr. Bowles was continually imposed upon to give diligent attention to pressing developments associated with Duke University. The Divinity School laments his untimely death; the University will miss him; the Church shall have lost a sturdy and courageous son whose reward must now be: "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Amen.

We have been greatly deprived in the resignations of Professor Hugh Anderson and Associate Professor John Strugnell from the faculty of the Divinity School. As already announced, Professor Anderson accepted the chair of New Testament at New College, University of Edinburg, Scotland, and assumed teaching duties there this autumn. Dr. Strugnell accepted a position at Harvard Divinity School, effective this current fall, as Associate Professor of Christian Origins.

I am pleased to record in the *Review* an announcement already made public during the summer months that Dr. W. D. Davies, until recently Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, has accepted appointment as George Washington Ivey Professor of Advanced Studies and Research in Christian Origins on the faculty of Duke University Divinity School. Among our alumni there will be many who studied under Dr. Davies when he came first to the United States and taught at the Divinity School during the years 1950-55. Subsequently, he

taught four years at Princeton as Professor of Graduate Studies in New Testament, and since 1959 has pursued his teaching and research at Union, New York.

Dr. Davies' volume *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, first published in 1948, brought him immediate international attention as a scholar and chartered the lines for his subsequent researches in the Jewish background of early Christianity, which he has and will continue to utilize for the illumination of key documents of the New Testament corpus. His monumental work, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge, 1964, was reviewed with high approbation by Professor Anderson some time past. Dr. Davies' recently published semi-popular introduction to the New Testament, entitled *Invitation to the New Testament*, Doubleday, N. Y., 1965, was a Religious Book Club selection during the current year.

Professor Davies, in coming to the Divinity School faculty, sets for himself a formidable program of research as well as of teaching. To his extensive and continuing collaboration with Jewish scholars in America and Israel he adds the distinction of being member of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Congress for World Studies. A member of numerous American and European societies for Biblical Studies, his international scholarly stature is signified in his election in 1964 as Burkitt Medalist of the British Academy.

We look forward with high expectancy to the contribution of two younger scholars who join the faculty this fall. Dr. Gene M. Tucker comes to us as Assistant Professor of Old Testament from the Graduate School of Religion of the University of Southern California. A Texan and a graduate of McMurray College, Dr. Tucker received his B.D., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Yale. His command of his field of study and instruction is already indicated by the number and competency of scholarly articles to his credit.

Dr. Donald S. Williamson joins the faculty as Assistant Professor of Pastoral Care to bring important and urgently needed instructional support to our flourishing program in this constructive discipline. A native of Ireland, schooled and educated for the Methodist ministry in Belfast, Dr. Williamson completed doctoral studies at Northwestern University and was a highly respected two-year resident in the notable pastoral care program under the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas.

Robert E. Cushman

FOCUS ON FACULTY

D. MOODY SMITH, JR., Associate Professor of New Testament:

Since it is probably impossible for a person to write about himself without being self-conscious, he may as well throw caution to the winds and give as good an account of himself as possible. Perhaps in the theological world this can best be done, not by speaking of one's life as if it were a good or at least a neutral quality, but by speaking of one's sin. Good precedent for this has already been established by Augustine, if not by the Apostle Paul. Yet even in this regard I can make no impressive claims, nor can I bring forth spectacular revelations. Augustine's sinfulness was of a sort to arouse most men's imaginations, and Paul in his zeal for Judaism had persecuted the church of God. Have I done anything comparable? Scarcely. Perhaps at best I have on occasion harbored a few lascivious thoughts or cursed my elders under my breath. But such accomplishments are commonplace, and not worthy of serious attention.

The most penetrating and disturbing assessment of my life might be that I have retreated from the world to the church, from the church to the clergy, and from the clergy to the groves of academe, in each instance justifying the withdrawal with reasons plausible to men. It is hardly a defense against this judgment, but nevertheless true, that had I stopped anywhere along the way things might not have been fundamentally changed. For at any point in this or any other pilgrimage the basic question remains the same, namely, whether one will serve God or Mammon. No vocational commitment or institutional loyalty can, in and of itself, guarantee the right choice in advance—certainly not theological teaching, where there are real temptations to *hubris* or humility, along with the distinct possibility of making one's self useless and superfluous. And this quite apart from the fact the theological professor is in any case a marginal person in this world.

Nevertheless, I am still convinced that the theological task is potentially a very meaningful and significant one, and I have no great illusions about my being able to serve God better "in the church" or "in the world". For, as a matter of fact, the theological teacher

remains in the world and in the church, and has a place and a role in both. This despite the fact that neither may want to acknowledge his presence. His temptations and perils are matched by the possibility and opportunity of bearing witness to the reality and truth of the church's faith within and without the temple courts. Admittedly, when one has withdrawn into the intellectual bastion of the household of faith, the theological faculty, he confronts the startling seriousness and difficulty of the issues which the modern world poses for the church. If he is to maintain his intellectual integrity, he has to recognize this state of affairs and work at coming to terms with it. While his professional task may therefore be complex, things remain somewhat simpler with respect to himself and his vocational understanding. He is still confronted with the decision of whether he will believe the Gospel and live out of this faith, or whether he will try to build himself some kind of empire. There are academic, as well as political, ecclesiastical, and financial empires, and they vary in size and shape. Some may be administrative, pedagogical or bibliographical, others personal. But there is one common factor. As ends in themselves they represent practical abandonment of the Gospel in favor of the world.

Such considerations as these constrain me from rejoicing excessively over either my internal or external histories. The latter, for the record, is unexceptional. I was born in Murfreesboro, Tennessee; lived in various Southern towns before I was six; attended public schools in Spartanburg, South Carolina. After Davidson College, I came to Duke for a B.D. and went on to Yale for doctoral study in New Testament. Then followed five happy years on the faculty of the Methodist Theological School in Ohio, one of which was spent on a theological busman's holiday in Europe. Last fall I joined the faculty of Duke Divinity School, an institution of great potential, not all of it yet realized.

I had the good fortune to marry a wife who is little interested in theology, but nevertheless has a keen eye for hokum in the church and in me. We have four children. In a world like ours, joy over even such things as these must realistically be tinged with uncertainty, indeed with fear and trembling. Yet who can afford to be anxious? For in such anxiety lie the greatest temptations of all: to excuse one's self from all decisive action and commitment because of "responsibilities"; to try to make one's own life secure when worldly security is an impossible and therefore illusory goal; to forget who has overcome the world; to forfeit the right of being more than conquerors through Him.

LOOKS at BOOKS

The Heritage of Christion Thought: Essays in Honor of Robert Lowry Calhoun. Edited by Robert E. Cushman and Egil Grislis. Harper and Row, 1965. 243 pp. $6.00.

Some teachers are known for their own accomplishment, others are known for the students they produce. A very special few are known equally well for both these qualities, and among this small band may be numbered Robert L. Calhoun. For a long time, all students of theology have known of the work of Robert Calhoun: his lectures in historical theology and the history of philosophy at Yale represent impressive achievements; the unpublished (but widely circulated) notes from these lectures are a part of the modern "oral" tradition; his few small books and articles have made their own contribution. Now, in this collection of essays we have an opportunity to witness the influence of a great teacher on distinguished students, and the results are impressive.

The influence of the teacher may been seen in the philosophical orientation of the essays. While there are several exceptions to this generalization, one of the most obvious characteristics of Calhoun's own interest in the history of doctrine was its philosophical component, and this concern is reflected in the contributions to this volume. Since each of the articles is discrete—and since they range widely over the field of historical theology, which means that they range widely indeed—we shall only look at several examples of the types of articles which were contributed to this *festchrift.*

Of the strictly philosophical contributions, several are of special interest. George A. Lindbeck's exploration of "The *A Priori in St. Thomas' Theory of Knowledge,*" brings together materials from an on-going discussion in Roman Catholic scholarship and points to the way in which the rejection by Thomas of *a priori* knowledge in one particular situation has been continued into another philosophical era, transposed to a rejection of all *a priori* knowledge, and thus to opposition to the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (perhaps the encyclical *Pascendi gregis* is the most blatant example of this). But Lindbeck also shows with historical thoroughness and philosophical sophistication that there are possible ways of relating Thomas and Kant, and that upon this admittedly limited collusion rests a distinct hope for advancement in Roman Catholic philosophical theology. Roger Hazelton explores "Pascal's Wager Argument" and affirms his conviction that it remains a creative contribution to the philosophical interpretation of theology. The views expressed are not new, but as a survey and a suggestive discussion it has much merit. William Christian's article in "Spinoza on Theology and Truth," reflects the author's interest in the truth value of theological statements (which he has developed in his *Meaning and Truth in Religion*), but it also provides a probing analysis of Spinoza's argument in which Spinoza separates philosophical speculation from the mandates of piety. The terribly complex and difficult-to-follow argument of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* is exhibited with clarity and candidly assessed.

Of the more theologically orientated articles three were particularly interesting to me. The essay by Robert E. Cushman in "The Christology of Paul Tillich" only makes us aware, once again, of the need to hear his voice more often in the current theological discussion. I would judge that this article represents one

of the most substantive criticisms of Tillich's position which has appeared and that future Tillichian studies must take into account the investigations of this article, especially Cushman's analysis of the relation of essence to existence, the dominant character of Tillich's ontological monism, the subsumption of the historical Jesus into receptive ecstasy on the part of the believer(s), and the consequent co-ordinate relation of Christ and the church in the event of revelation. Other interpretations of Tillich are possible, but no one can support an alternative point of view without facing squarely the explications found in this article.

Another of "our own," Egil Grislis, has contributed an article on "The Role of *Consensus* in Richard Hooker's Method of Theological Inquiry." Egil Grislis has already established himself as the most thorough and perceptive interpreter of Hooker with whom I am acquainted. The carefulness of the explication is impressive and the subtle play of the various influences which went into Hooker's thought and the relation of the Anglican "Great Father" to his context are additional strengths of the discussion. I see Hooker with fresh eyes after reading each of the articles Grislis has written and none of his contributions to Hooker research has been more central in its focus than this one. The article by Carl Michalson on "The Hermeneutics of Holiness in Wesley," may be of interest to readers of this *Review*. Not so much, however, for its work on Wesley, *per se*, but as a way of seeing how a theologian who is caught up in the work of the "new hermeneutic" understands the thought of a significent forebear and how this new hermeneutic discussion may be seen as operative even in a past figure.

Of the more directly historical articles, the one which I find especially interesting is the lead article by Albert C. Outler, "The Sense of Tradition in the Ante-Nicene Church." For those who are already familiar with Outler's work, the distinctions about the meaning of tradition—as a deposit and a process—will be familiar. But to see how some of these themes functioned in the early Church Fathers is both intriguing and important. I feel the need for delineations which are not provided by the patristic theology, but the rudiments of continually significant theological work are made obvious by Outler.

This book was a pleasure to read, and not least of all because of the care of the editors. Someone had checked and doublechecked the footnotes, the order brought some purpose to the completely independent articles and the dedication was tasteful and moving.

THOMAS A. LANGFORD

Worship: Its Theory and Practice. J. J. von Allmen. Oxford 1965. 317 pp. $6.50.

I began reading this rather forbidding tome by a Swiss theologian-teacher reluctantly. But I am glad that I read it. For within the austere style and drab European format I discovered that rarity in America—a theologian who is also a liturgist and a pastor, who reminded me of the Biblical and theological bases of worship, and revealed the richness of "the variegated grace of God" in the uses of the Catholic Church, Reformed.

Thus I was led into an ecumenical dialogue such as many of us have had, in which, beyond the accidents of accent and *ethos* we discover our common experiences in God, and the richness of the European Reformed common life.

I shall not attempt to glamorize this book; the chapter headings will suggest its solid quality. The first half, "Problems of Principle," treats: Christian Worship as the recapitulation of the history of salvation; as the epiphany (the manifesting forth) of the Church; the cult (corporate worship) as the end and future of

the world; and the approach to liturgical forms.

Here are the Biblical bases of our common worship—The Father's invitation and our participation as "our bounden duty and service" in Christ's obedient and perfect self-offering, which he "liturgized" in the Last Supper and commanded his Church to continue "till he come."

Of course, the primary form or mode of such *Koinonia* is the *Koinonia*, the Lord's Supper, the Eucharist. And any renewal of our common life in Christ must begin with recovery of the Eucharistic and communal fullness of our offered worship. For it is through our offered liturgy that the Spirit of Christ is pleased and enabled to act in his gathered Church. And impoverished worship limits His gracious ministeries.

In part two, "Problems of Celebration," we are reminded of: the Components of the cult (Word, Lord's Supper, and the prayers); the participants (God, the faithful, the angels, and the world and its sighs); the time of the cult (Sunday and throughout the liturgical year); the place of worship (as a locale for and as a witness to the presence of Christ); the order of worship (its "shape", the historic ante-Communion-Communion actions, and its qualities simplicity and corporate reality and joy).

These central *motifs* suggest a bracing and biblical objectivity, uncongenial to us, yet needed by all of us who, lacking such norms, consult our personal preferences and feeling-tones.

More difficult to communicate here are the pastoral wisdom and liturgical sensitivity of the Jewish-Christian-community, now coming to our attention—to our surprise—in both Roman Catholic and Reformed liturgical literature. But had we "informalists" thought of the gracious salutations, invitations and Sursum Cordas in the services, not as "formality," but as "brotherly encouragement as we together draw near the throne of grace." (p. 173)?

And should we Methodists think prayerfully about compatible social and spiritual "styles" of our worship, lest "we insult and limit the grace which has quickened and strengthened the Church . . . by continuing to worship in an artificial and spurious poverty, instead of rejoicing more appropriately in our blessings in Christ" (p. 177)?

And let us, often accused of sentimentality and carelessness in permitting children to commune before they "have joined the church," at once take heart, clarify our theological reasons, and correct our terminology, as we ponder this line of thought: that God claims and welcomes children; they are members of the family of God, and should not be "excommunicated" pending their becoming "full and responsible members" by confirmation; and "we must insist upon their right to communicate the more because children are unable to claim for themselves the right that is theirs" (p. 187).

(If you are moved by this too-hasty summary to either agreement or argument, attend the January seminars on Baptism and Confirmation, sponsored jointly by the North Carolina Conference Commission on Worship and the Board of Evangelism, when the richness of our Methodist heritage will be explored, as we recover our churchly vocabulary, and study "confirmation into full and responsible membership in the Church of Christ and the Methodist Church.")

Thus this representative of another tradition says to us: Christ is Lord of the Church; we are his grateful and obedient people; let us therefore participate without fail and as our central "work" in Divine Worship and Holy Communion. For through our offered praise, prayer and preaching and in shared bread and cup we commune with Him, are fulfilled in Him, and are enabled to participate in our full humanity in His life and work in His world.

This volume will interest a small minority, but the essentials of Church

renewal it expounds are adapted to our needs and available to us in our revised *Hymnal* and *Book of Worship.* "Let us use the grace Divine" by adopting the revised Services therein and leading our people back into that Eucharistic gratitude, reality and joy which is *our* birthright no less than that of Dr. von Allmen.

—John J. Rudin, II

Christianity in World History: the Meeting of the Faiths of East and West. Arend Theodoor van Leeuwen. (Translated by H. H. Hoskins.) Charles Scribners' Sons. 1966. 487 pp. $8.50.

In the *Foreword* Hendrik Kraemer hails this book as an "event," and the very breadth and sweep of the author's approach and the volume of subject matter merit this unusual claim. It is Christian apologetics, church history, missionary critique and comparative religions all woven into an analysis of the history of the Church and its role in the modern world.

The reader should be warned at the outset that he is encountering a Calvinist view of God, man, Christianity and history. In this connection it might be remarked that a firm Calvinist faith can offset a great deal of anxiety about the human condition as well as much enervating concern about what God intends for the human race. Also one should not be put off by an outdated emphasis upon the peculiar nature of the Hebrew language as evidence for the spiritual truth which it conveys—e.g., "In fact Hebrew thought cannot possibly envisage a dimension of eternity which would be timeless" (p. 49), or apparently scholarly statements on the meaning of Hebrew words clinched with references to Karl Barth. At the same time, van Leeuwen evinces a thorough knowledge of cultural history and makes creative use of this knowledge to work out a philosophy of history which is fresh and challenging.

He divides all civilizations into two categories, the ontocratic cultures of the nations as opposed to the theocratic culture of ancient Israel. Just as the Tower of Babel illustrates man's continuing *hybris* in attempting to "be as the gods," so biblical religion refuses to compromise with any other civilization, be it Egyptian, Babylonian, Canaanite, Persian, Greek or other great ontocratic civilizations of India and China. The Bible alone is historical, all other religious traditions are mythological and cyclical, repeating the endless story of rebirth, growth, decay and rebirth. Van Leeuwen makes the startling claim that whereas non-biblical religions are concerned with mythological cosmogonies, "Genuine myth indeed has never been concerned with the theme of creation" (p. 62). Thus there is no myth in the Bible: the Genesis account is about creation, and therefore not mythological!

If I understand his central thesis the author is pointing to the insight that an ontocratic civilization (one which is monistic in its cosmology and is caught up in cyclical repetitions) finds this world of time and space to be monotonous and essentially meaningless, wherein the goal of life is to escape from the ceaseless rounds of existence. In contrast, the biblical revelation involves just that—the breaking into this monotonous cycle by the creator God whose revelation through Israel and the Christ gives both meaning and a goal to this world of time and space, *i.e.*, existence becomes *historical.* This, of course, is not news, but in addition van Leeuwen is of the opinion that a new kind of man has appeared which he calls the "fourth man." He here is following an anthropologist, Alfred Weber, for whom the first man preceded homo sapiens, the second man was neolithic, while the present dominant third man goes back to the Indo-European Aryan pastoral peoples who built cultures beyond that of agricultural man. The emerg-

ing fourth man is technological man, Western man, the man of the future. But, interestingly enough, this new man is not trapped in meaningless cycles; instead he builds and plans for the future—he is secular man, communist man, scientific man, for whom Christian eschatology has opened up the future. "Are not all the 'non-religious' elements of Western civilization—modern technology, science, democracy, capitalism, socialism, nationalism—which have thrust their way into non-Western countries and been welcomed there, among the fruits of that very civilization which was formed and driven forward by the dynamic spirit of Christianity?" (p. 16)

Although van Leeuwen thinks that this fourth man is totally a product of Christian, Western civilization (he never quite faces the question as to why only Western Christianity has produced technology except to weld it to the Greek tradition), he also holds that "technological progress has always borne the mark of Cain," as witness the atomic bomb. At the same time and paradoxically he points to "the inescapable reality of the fact that the Lord goes on working in history. The Gospel is preached from Jerusalem to the ends of the earth; world history is *en route* from Stone Age to Atomic Era; in and through that history Christianity moves on." This leads him to assert that "one of the most urgent lines of Christian service is to make ready, materially and spiritually, for the arrival of modern civilization" (p. 424). Thus it is important to see "that Christian Church has a sound theology of secularization," and he adds that "what we now most desperately need is a clear theology of 'materialism', a theology of wealth." Clearly, whatever becomes of the Church, Christianity will go marching on.

What can we say to all this? Since biblical support is claimed for this thesis what response can one make on a biblical basis? Van Leeuwen's historical criticism leaves much to be desired. Thus he assigns Genesis 1 to the Elohist rather than to the Priestly source. In the New Testament the Book of Acts is utilized as a primary source for Paul's thought and the author's theme that Christianity must be spread to the ends of the earth is predicated on Acts. The use of the symbolism of the Tower of Babel is fuzzy and inconsistent since he uses the symbol as one of idolatry, yet also as indicative of the creativity of the "fourth man" who will, willy nilly, carry Christianity with him as he constructs a technological Tower of Babel. Why not rather contrast to the Tower of Babel the New Jerusalem of John of Patmos, *coming down out of heaven* as *God's* victory over man's chaos and warfare?

Because of the inherent optimism of this book one could wish that there were more grappling with the ambiguities of history, with the problem of theodicy, with the condemnation by both Amos and Jesus of the ways of man and this world. Would that in his fine discussion of the glories of the classical age of Greece he could have mentioned that it was based on a slave economy; that he had not assumed that to quote the Gospel of John were sufficient to indicate self-authenticating truth; or that an almost mechanical conception of the necessity of the Gospel spreading to the ends of creation were not so basic to his thesis. In addition one must fault the analysis for almost ignoring the dualism of much Indian thought, and for the narrow, out-of-date description of Confucius as advocating the supremacy of a hereditary nobility, especially since it is possible that proper treatment of those subjects might have been an embarrassment to his overall thesis. At the same time there are several admirable sections on the role of Islam in world history, especially vis-a-vis Judaism and Christianity, and there is a fascinating description of Communism as "the Islam of the technocratic era."

We are very much in the author's debt for a thorough and serious study which should serve as the basis for continuing creative discussions of the role of Christianity in world affairs. His emphasis upon religionless Christianity should help to guide some of the current "death of God" and "post-Christian era" argumentation into more fruitful channels. We are confronted with a formidable challenge to many of our unexamined premises about the nature and significance of Christianity in world history. We also are helped in the reading of a demanding book by H. H. Hoskins's excellent translation, as well as by two helpful indexes.

—David G. Bradley
Department of Religion

Theological Ethics. James Sellers. Macmillan, 1966. 210 pp. $5.95.

This is one of the few books I've read through (footnotes too!) at one sitting; and, although I need not suggest that posture or schedule, I do commend this volume to readers of this *Review.*

It is, as its title indicates, a book about ethics—but not the conventional effort to reinterpret (or resurrect!) an archaic approach to modern problems. It is, instead, a fresh, stimulating, sometimes provocative, often suggestive attempt to provide a systematic frame for ethics which takes account of a distinctively American and twentieth-century theological stance. In the process, James Sellers debunks (perhaps entirely unintentionally) a number of popularly-held, and sometimes firmly-entrenched, myths; among them that Christian ethics is mainly a how-to-do-it-practicum, that laymen are lousy theologians, and that Deans are professors gone to seed!

There is not space enough here for an extended review of this book; and yet, among a number of notable features, the treatments of faith, sanctification, and eschatology deserves a word of special mention, however brief. All three of these—but especially the latter two—have been either neglected or ignored in large measure by most modern moralists. They are discussed in this book with both insight and feeling; and their recovery both enriches the discipline and corrects some of its formulations. The author's suggested "stance" of "promise and fulfillment" is less successful, I think; and he, like many others of us, simply begs the question of natural evil. But these are relatively minor matters, and the book deserves serious attention by those of us concerned to relate theology to action, and vice versa.

When I reviewed Dean Sellers' *The South and Christian Ethics,* I ventured to observe that it failed to deal adequately with either the South or Christian ethics. I want to say that *Theological Ethics* is what its title advertises, and that thoughtful pastors and churchman owe it to themselves (and perhaps a wider audience!) to read it.

—Harmon L. Smith

The Layman in Christian History. Stephen Charles Neill and Hans-Ruedi Weber, editors. Westminster. 1963. 384 pp. $7.50.

"'Never before in church history, since its initial period, has the role and responsibility of the laity in Church and world been a matter of so basic, systematic, comprehensive and intensive discussion in the total *oikoumene* as today.' This discussion 'is a totally new phenomenon', it 'implies a new examination and general reshaping of all ecclesiologies which we have had for centuries' and it 'is the most important aspect of the longing for the renewal of the Church which arises in the Churches all over the world'" (p. 377). Thus editor Weber, former missionary, Executive Secretary of the Department of the Laity, World Council of Churches, and now Associate Director of the Ecumenical Institute, Bossey—quot-

ing verteran theologian of the laity Hendrik Kraemer. It may surprise the reader, as this reviewer, to read Neill's statement that this may be "the first general survey ever made of the life and witness of the lay membership of the Church of Christ" (p. 11). This is a long overdue notice of an important book much needed to correct our preoccupation with the clergy as Church, and to provide background for the current rethinking of the role of the laity.

The composite character of the book virtually defies (and has so long delayed) a brief and significant review. Perhaps a bit of name-dropping will suffice. Stephen C. Neill surely is well known to our readers, as Angelican missionary bishop, ecumenical theologian, lately Professor of Missions at the University of Hamburg. As an editor, he contributes a substantial introduction as well as a later chapter on the laity in Britain, 1600-1780. Weber is authority on "The Younger Churches" and "The Rediscovery of the Laity in the Ecumenical Movement." Other familiar names include George Hunston Williams of Harvard, E. Gordon Rupp of Manchester, Martin Schmidt of Mainz (a Lutheran authority on Wesley), Franklin H. Littell (on "The Radical Reformation"), and Howard Grimes (on the laity in this country). Others offer informative treatments of "The Orthodox World," "The Roman Catholic Church," and "The Laity in the Latin American Evangelical Churches, 1806-1961." These and other chapters vary in format, focus, categories, mode of treatment, and quality of contribution, but a more coherent and uniform development by a single author might not afford so rich a content. It is sobering to realize how little we have known about most of the People of God!

—McMurry S. Richey

The Social Gospel in America, 1870-1920: Gladden, Ely, Rauschenbusch. (A Library of Protestant Thought). Edited by Robert T. Handy. Oxford University Press, 1966. 399 pp. $7.00.

One cannot get at the heart of the social-gospel movement in America without an acquaintance with the contributions made to it by Washington Gladden (1836-1918), Richard T. Ely (1854-1943), and Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918); and the editor of this magnificant volume has supplied the most appropriate source readings for this purpose. In addition to an over-all introduction to the period as a whole, there are three biographical essays as well as brief introductions to the several documents. While all three of the biographical essays are good, the one on Ely is, I venture to say, unexcelled by any other short introduction to that author's social thought.

Professor Handy has wisely reproduced, as a rule, the less well known writings of his subjects, especially where the major books are still in print or else generally available. But he has not followed this principle at a sacrifice of the dominant social views of these men; for indeed many of the pieces here reprinted give the gist of their thinking more clearly than is the case in their better known books.

Although three authors are represented, the book reveals a remarkable unity from the standpoint of social principles and theological premises. All three, for one thing, concentrated upon questions, such as capital and labor, which were raised mainly by the industrial revolution; and their proposed solutions were much alike. All three, again, fell close together in their belief that doctrinaire socialism was not an adequate answer to the economic predicament arising out of rigid laissez faire economics. They saw more hope in a mixed economy, in which as much as possible would be left to private enterprise and only certain naturally monopolistic enterprises would be collectively owned. An economic democracy was their

ideal. On the negative side, they also had much in common in that none of them gave much attention to the tragic social and economic plight of the post-bellum Negro. Once again, in so far as they were at all theologically concerned, they were most at home in Protestant liberalism. Finally, all three were avowedly evangelical churchmen, with a firm conviction that the gospel of Christ was the final hope for individual and social salvation.

Professor Handy is at his best in exploring the social aspects of American religion, a fact which leads the reviewer to hope that he will eventually give a full-length treatment of the subject, beginning at least as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. University and seminary teachers are greatly in need of such a book, and Professor Handy is exceptionally well qualified to produce it.

—H. Shelton Smith

A Defense of Theological Ethics. G. F. Woods. Cambrige. 1966. 136 pp. $3.95.

Probably because in recent years ethicists have generally been preoccupied with the broad interests of "social" ethics, there is beginning to appear (by way of compensation?) a number of books devoted to "theological" ethics. This small volume of six chapters, The Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge for 1964, was written by the Professor of Divinity at the University of London.

The burden of this book is to show that those who accept moral standards and take seriously responsible conduct will find a more reasonable and adequate ground in Christian theism than in secular humanism. This in itself is unquestionably a laudable aim, and especially so in a time when heteronomy in ethics is being encouraged in both professional and poplar literature.

The immediate threat to which Professor Woods addresses himself is from the quarter of secular humanism, a philosophy which he believes has a high sense of moral responsibility but no commitment to God or personal immortality. He therefore devotes his energies to showing the unreasonableness, and hence inadequacy, of such a view and (subordinately) the rational necessity for an alternative in Christian theism. This effort, one thinks, does not really fulfill the book's stated aim partly because theism and personal immortality alone are not the urgent questions for the secular humanist, but more specifically because the omission of any serious or systematic attention to the doctrine of Incarnation leaves Professor Woods to answer the deficiencies of a philosophy with concepts limited by those same deficiencies. We surely need an *apologia* to the secular humanist, but this is a viable possibility only if the category of Incarnation is introduced and gives thereby to this serious moral philosophy what it otherwise lacks, namely, a purposiveness capable of transcending the limitations of temporal immediacy. *A Defense of Theological Ethics* is a step in the right direction, but still some distance from its stated destination.

—Harmon L. Smith