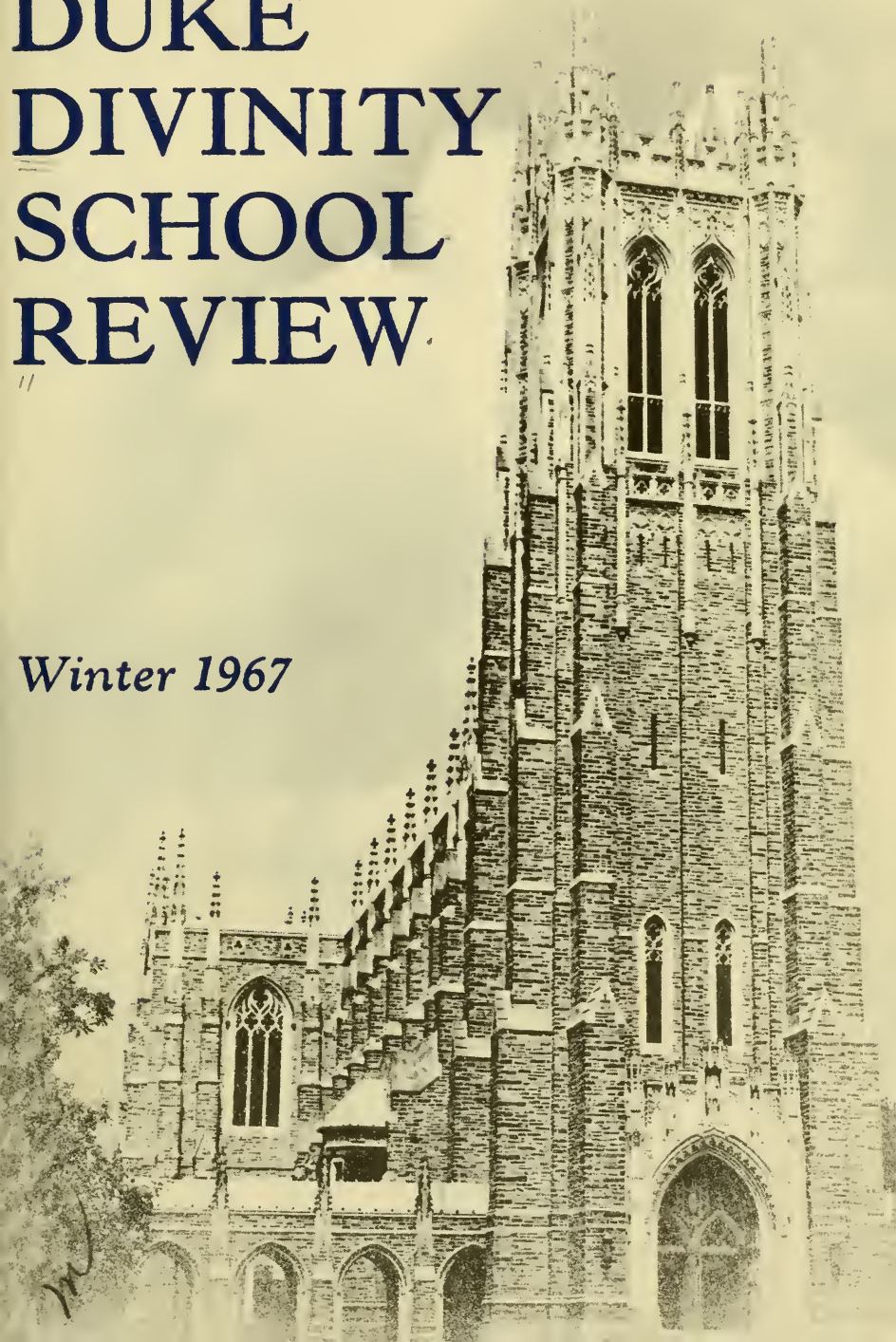
Duke University Durham, N. C.

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Winter 1967



A Bidding Prayer For Saint Luke's Day

(A Service For Those Who Serve In Medical Communities)

I bid your prayers for the Practice of Medicine in its preventive, scientific, research, and diagnostic endeavors.

I bid your prayers for the doctor: his profession, his family, the tension of being sought by so many and the minimal time left for his own.

I bid your prayers for the nurse and technician, that theirs may not be mere auxiliary aid, but caring aid, loving aid, necessary aid.

I bid your prayers for the orderlies and those who by comparison provide the menial task, the simple task, the human task.

I bid your prayers for those who work within the social problems of illness: the social worker, the family worker, that they may remember the painful relationships incurred by illness and separation.

I bid your prayers for the patient we would desire to return to a fully functioning life: for those who grieve, for those who ask 'why' and do not ever know, for those who will die, for those whose sufferings do not include death, for those who trust and cooperate, for those who neither trust nor cooperate, for those afraid and lonely, for those destitute and poor, for the cystic child, the psychically ill, the unremarkable illness, remarkable only because it belongs to a person.

I bid your prayers for medical discovery: for the projects, grants, and research.

I bid your prayers for the new problems inherent in projects, grants, and research.

I bid your prayers for the discouragement of mind that comes from not having the solution to all problems—and the weariness of being looked to as a god.

I bid your prayers that the Practice of Medicine may never fragment the individual needs of those sick.

I bid your prayers for patience to deal with the chronically ill, the tubercular, the old and infirm.

I bid your prayers that our bringing together our convictions and our practice will be real and not sterile, be filled with struggle and not simple, be open to doubt and honest question, and not content with even this Holy Communion as the only Christian expression or activity.

I bid your prayers for the Chaplain of the Medical Center that he may provide loving reaction to the personal threat of illness, and draw into personal dialogue the language of the troubled.

I bid your prayers for the parish church, that it may be the foundation out of which one can prepare for sickness, suffering, grief and death.

Finally, Brethren, I bid your prayers for those concerns of our special life, unified and connected with the whole state of Christ's Church.

—Chaplain William C. Spong

(The Bidding Prayer was offered on the occasion of a special Holy Communion Service for the Medical Society of Lynchburg, Virginia, and a similar Service for medical personnel in Chapel Hill, N. C.)

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Pastoral Psychology

Volume 32 Winter 1967 Number 1

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Foreword

This issue of *The Duke Divinity School Review* highlights Pastoral Psychology. As the Staff of the Division of Studies in Pastoral Psychology, we are grateful for this opportunity to share with our alumni and friends some of the exciting programs, issues, and recent publications related to this field. Articles have been selected to present both Staff and Programs. The Staff, representing a varied background of training, experience, and interest, carry on rich, broad, and balanced programs. The student contributions to the *Review* enhance our understanding of the value of these programs.

This past year has been a particularly significant one. We gained two staff members. One of our members was certified as a Chaplain Supervisor with the Institute of Pastoral Care, the Clinical Pastoral Education Program was accredited by this group, and the Divinity School became a member seminary. An experimental project in parish-centered clinical training was begun. Proposed new courses provide strength and depth in theoretical, conceptual, and research areas, and add to our practicum and clinical work. This increased emphasis upon the total theoretical contexts, especially the theological and psychological, within which pastoral care takes place, has led us to propose that the heading for our area be changed from Pastoral Care to Pastoral Psychology. The Master of Theology major in Pastoral Psychology has been expanded. For the past five years the major took formal coursework in the Divinity School and participated in a program of Clinical Pastoral Education throughout a calendar year in the Medical Center. We are now able to add a parish-centered program in pastoral counseling for a select group of clergymen. The proposed program will also be a calendar year beginning with a summer quarter of Clinical Pastoral Education. During the academic year the candidate will be assigned to a Durham church as an Associate in Pastoral Care and Counseling. Emphasis will be upon developing skills in care and counseling with individuals, families, and groups, with special reference to marriage and family life. Thus the Master of Theology major in Pastoral Psychology will be able to participate in supervised training in either the institutional or the local church setting. We welcome this opportunity to provide training in

the ministry of pastoral care within the framework of the local church.

Following is a listing of the Staff and Programs:

I. The Staff

A. From the Divinity School

Richard A. Goodling, B.D., Ph.D., Director, Studies in Pastoral Care; Associate Professor of Pastoral Care

Donald S. Williamson, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Pastoral Care

B. From the Medical Center

P. Wesley Aitken, B.D., Th.M., Director of Clinical Pastoral Education and Chaplain, Medical Center; Assistant Professor of Pastoral Care

Robert B. Claytor, B.D., Th.M., Assistant Chaplain, Medical Center; Instructor in Pastoral Care

John C. Detwiler, B.D., Th.M., Assitant Chaplain, Medical Center; Lecturer in Pastoral Care

William C. Spong, B.D., Th.M., Episcopal Chaplain to the Medical Center; Lecturer in Pastoral Care

C. From Affiliated Training Programs

Douglass W. Gilbert, B.D., Th.M., Minister, Thomasville District, Western North Carolina Conference; Parish Supervisor

William R. Steininger, B.D., S.T.M., Chaplain, Dorothea Dix Hospital; Lecturer in Pastoral Care

II. The Programs

A. A major in the Ministry of Pastoral Care is provided for B.D. candidates.

B. The Master of Theology degree with a major in Pastoral Psychology is a calendar year program beginning the first Monday in June. All candidates spend the summer in a quarter of Clinical Pastoral Education certified by the Institute of Pastoral Care, Inc. The candidate's program is planned in terms of his ultimate professional objectives. After the summer quarter of CPE candidates choose a program in further preparation for the parish ministry or a specialized ministry in either an institutional setting or in pastoral counseling.

C. A summer quarter of CPE is available beginning the first Monday in June for qualified B.D. candidates. Certification is through the Institute of Pastoral Care, Inc.

D. A summer quarter of Parish Clinical Education is available to a limited number of students enrolled in the Divinity School and serving in churches in the Rural Church Program under the Duke Endowment.

E. A one-year certificate or non-degree internship program in CPE is available through the Duke Medical Center for those who hold the B.D. degree. These trainees may enroll in the Divinity School as Special Students for a course or two each semester. Such training provides two quarters of CPE credit through the Institute of Pastoral Care, Inc.

F. A two-week clinic in Pastoral Psychology is provided each summer as part of the Divinity School's continuing education program for men with the B.D.
G. One and two-day workshops are available for local ministerial groups who wish to establish volunteer pastoral visitation programs in local hospitals.
H. Two and three-day workshops are provided for ministerial groups and church organizations who seek to understand, rethink, and renew their community life and achieve a more satisfying personal and professional identity.

—Richard A. Goodling

Unconscious Motivation and the Vocation of the Ministry*

Donald S. Williamson

"I want to do something for other people . . . I want to help other people get right with God . . . I'm going into the ministry because God has called me . . . I'm going because I want to serve suffering humanity . . . This is something I know I just have to do . . . I am going to seminary because something inside me tells me to go out and preach and I can't resist . . . Woe unto me if I preach not the gospel . . . Here I am, I can do no other."

These kinds of statements are often made by young men considering or already having chosen to enter seminary. But what do comments like these mean and what do they reveal? Obviously, there are two sides to the experience of becoming a pastor. It is a "calling" and the pastor is "chosen" but on the other hand, he also chooses and makes a personal decision. The "called young man" makes a response to the call which he experiences. In this paper we shall try to understand some of the dynamic psychological forces which influence the fully human response to the call of God. The psychological dimensions of this decision in no way detract from the important religious and theological meanings of the event. By contrast, theology and psychology have a profound need for each other if we are to achieve more than a superficial understanding of the subtle interacting processes which comprise the call to the ministry. Pastoral psychology affords us some insight into what is going on at many levels of the human personality in this decision-making process. It can study the conflicting aspects of personality being expressed through this decision and the personal needs being served by it. It can also study the constructive or destructive relationship between the decision and the growth or integration of this particular human being as he moves in the direction of his own destiny. But it cannot and does not try to validate the call religiously or theologically, since this is the task of

*A revised statement of a talk presented at the annual retreat of the faculty of the Divinity School, Duke University, in September, 1966.

the whole church. However, it is one source of a deeper understanding of the human life and existence of the one who feels called.

When a man stands still in a moment of time and says, "I have been called by God," such an interpretation of the complexities of his own experience implies a decision. And such a decision is usually the upshot of dynamic psychological processes which are both conscious and unconscious. It reveals the needs, drives, personal relationships and basic life-style of the person making the decision. And whatever the conscious, intellectual and theological meanings of the decision may be for the individual, the deeper emotional meanings will inevitably express the pattern of his basic personality structure and historical life experience. Consequently, the vocational decision made by any young pastor is likely to have both healthy and unhealthy meanings and to have both constructive and destructive elements in it. And this is not a negative moral evaluation, but is simply a statement of probable fact. To the degree that unconscious motivation is working and the more controlling unconscious motivation is in the decision-making process, then the likelier it is that this man will have a relatively more difficult and more troubled career of preparation for the ministry.

While not denying the significance of the divine dimension of the call to the ministry, we recognize that fully human and unconscious motivation is sometimes more determining and overdetermining than we dare to admit. The second generalization which can be safely risked, is to say that the content and quality of the seminarian's relationships with parents and other significant adults throughout his developmental years, has been a potent factor influencing his vocational decision. With these particular assumptions providing a frame of reference, we can go on to distinguish at least six different patterns of unconscious motivation. These motives may be present in various combinations and in varying degrees of intensity within the unique style of life of a given individual. And the meanings and uses of these motivations are always so highly individualistic and personally idiosyncratic that no generalized statements can be applied validly to a particular person. However, to facilitate conceptualization, these six patterns can be projected. It should be emphasized that these motives are usually working at a level deeper than the conscious awareness of the individual concerned.

1. *A young man may enter the ministry in order to please his family.* If he belongs to a family which has a long tradition of produc-

ing clergymen, then although there may be no overt verbal pressure put upon him, yet the pressure of environmental expectations may be overwhelming. It is not uncommon to meet a seminarian who says that he was "dedicated to God by his parents" even before he was born and this is probably enough to "scare the devil" out of anybody. Most young people, unless their family experience has been unusually destructive, have a consistent and appropriate desire to please and reflect credit upon their parents. This internal pressure may then move a man in a particular vocational direction, and the frightening perhaps but necessary moment may come when he realizes that he does not know just why.

2. *A boy who is a member of a very different kind of family may "choose" the ministry as a vocation not to please but to hurt and provoke his parents.* They may be religiously intolerant or indifferent and disinterested. For him to become a clergyman is then an excellent way to dissociate himself from them and to make it clear that he wants to be a very different kind of person. This can be an effective way of denying and rejecting the standards and values of his family and may be a "nice way" of sticking pins in them while at the same time doing something completely worthy.

3. *A youth may become a pastor in an attempt to find love and warmth in what has been perceived by him as a relatively loveless existence.* Since the church is the source of love and the community of love and uses the language of love, he may expect to find there that which he has been unable to perceive or find or accept at home. He may feel that Christianity offers a philosophical world-view which helps him make sense out of the sin, sickness and tragedy which is for him not simply a part of life but a vividly personal experience. However, if he then lives with such a deep sense of personal deprivation, he will find it very hard to "give of himself" in his work as a pastor. Like every other human being, he will relive and replay the primary family drama in every subsequent important social situation of which he is a part. Since his early family experience has been unusually disappointing or conflicted, the re-enactment of it in the parish situation is likely to be similar. It may be difficult for him to work with those who have authority over him. It may be difficult to relate to those who seem cold or distant or manipulative. Some important laypeople in the local church may be experienced as rejecting of him or unresponsive to his ministry or as being disinterested in him, his family and his work. Others seem to be trying to control him or to

take away his freedom. In a word, this man unconsciously identifies those who represent father and mother, brothers and sisters in the parish community, as he relives the primary family drama hoping that there will be a better resolution this time around. But his typical way of relating to people may be so stereotyped and his way of perceiving people may be so distorted that this is unlikely to happen. And he begins to wonder just why he is in the ministry and begins to wish that he were anywhere else on earth. Perhaps for a given individual the only way in which he was able to handle difficult personal problems, was by committing himself to a way of life in which he used his time and energy trying to help others solve theirs. This often influences a man to move not simply into the ministry, but into the specialized ministry of pastoral counseling. But sometimes the deeper pain of his own situation subsequently immobilizes his pastoral ministry or one day suddenly breaks through in an overwhelming way into his own self-consciousness. He had hoped that the church might have been a "good mother" to make up for the human mother "who failed him." Now he has to make his peace with the fact that the former is as human as the latter.

4. *Another unconscious motivation influencing some to become clergymen, is the need to cope with and, if possible, to expiate intense guilt feelings.* For a variety of reasons, some adolescents struggle with intense guilt feelings which are out of all proportion to the behaviors in which they have engaged. This may be partly the result of accepting and internalizing family mores or the local church culture. Some adolescents feel very guilty because they have normal and universal drives, impulses and emotional reactions. There are at least a few who feel very guilty, not because of specific behaviors but because they respond to what they perceive as a hostile environment by feeling guilty simply for being alive. To such a person, to be alive means to be a burden and a nuisance to other people. For this they feel guilty.

One way for a person to handle this intensity of guilt feeling which has to be coped with somehow, since it is emotionally unbearable, is to enter the ministry. The hope is that if he gives himself, his life and his all to God and the church, then perhaps God will be willing and able to forgive such a terrible person as he feels himself to be. After all, "forgiveness" is the church's business, and so if a man throws himself completely into the life and work of the church, surely some measure of forgiveness will flow his way. A man who is

a holy minister of God cannot be all bad. After all, saving another soul from death will cover a multitude of sins.

5. *One further reason why some men move towards the ministry is in order to find a social status and a position of power and prestige in a local community.* This is likely to be true where an individual has strong feelings of personal worthlessness and inferiority. If a firm and healthy sense of his own personal value does not arise from deeply internalized feelings about himself, then he may look to the external community around him for affirmation of his own being and existence. Although the clergyman is no longer the high-status figure he once was in society, he is still a special person to many people, occupying a unique position and having been set apart to perform and serve a particular important purpose. Consequently, the man who feels that he never amounted to much within his own family, and so is unable to generate spontaneously feelings of his own value, may look forward with anticipated relief to the day when he will be known by everybody around as "the pastor." He hopes that if he can qualify for a certain social and professional role then with any luck he may achieve a clear awareness of his personal significance as well. Undoubtedly this sometimes works for a young person, although probably it more often results in a weary pastor and a hollow man. He may know in his mind that the hairs of his head are numbered and that not a sparrow falls unnoticed, but in his heart he believes the message which he heard in his earlier social experience. He may be afforded some relief by being identified with God, the angels and heaven, and with a world-wide community which has a unique tradition, history and faith. But the sense of power and the position of prestige offered him by his pastoral office desert him in his solitary moments. He will be tempted at times to use his power and his position in destructive if not vicious ways in order to reassure himself and to remind those around him that he has it. It goes without saying that this pattern of motivation will be a poor basis for a pastoral ministry.

6. *Lastly, a man may be drawn to the vocation of the ministry as a way of handling and coping with his basic human impulses and drives.* For example, a man whose destructive impulses and aggressive feelings are frightening and unacceptable to him, may find himself drawn to a way of life and to a community which constantly uses the language of love, and which emphasizes the importance of love and peace in human relationships. A man who needs to deny

to his own consciousness, normal impulses to engage in virile competitive striving, may like the idea of turning the other cheek, going the second mile, and handing over his cloak also.

The same phenomenon can be observed in another context. This is the instance of an adolescent boy who has had to repress and drive underground the normal adolescent rebellion against parental mores and values. He may consequently approach adulthood, actively and anxiously seeking a way of life which will support him in the attempt to deny and control the impulse to angry rebellion. This boy is often the product of a devoutly religious home. Such a home may espouse a style of family living which makes it difficult for children to claim or express angry feelings. This man may then be attracted to a profession where aggressive male activity is not so obviously required as in many other places. He may be attracted to a profession where it appears (at least from the outside), that minimal competitive endeavor takes place. The ministry may be perceived as a professional community where "maleness" is not so sharply defined or so explicitly necessary. He may feel that as a pastor he will not be expected to ever act aggressively, but simply to constantly "love people."

Of course, none of this is so regrettable in itself. But inevitably the seminarian or young pastor who has bypassed the normal adolescent rebellion will find himself fighting with professors, or the administration of the theological school, or the district superintendent, or the bishop, or the local conference, or any representative of parental authority. In this way he can displace and cream the top off and therefore find a way of tolerating the angry feelings towards parents which could not find open expression during the teen-age years.

The late teenager begins to achieve a sense of separate and distinct identity through a process of rebellion against his parents. He can separate from them and leave the womb, only by becoming something uniquely himself. And he does this by questioning who they are and what they stand for. Parental standards and values have necessarily been imposed upon him during his early developmental years. Now he becomes an adult by choosing his own standards and values and in the process he differentiates himself from his parents and from their particular way of life. If this process of growth into independence is too threatening to the parents, or if they are people who need to keep a tight control over their children, they

may react to this healthy rebellion by putting the screws on more tightly. Sometimes, this appears to work and the young man may be a "model son." But this may simply mean that he has completely internalized the rebellion. There will be a price to be paid somehow someday. Some repress the personal rebellion because the implicit parental threat to withdraw affection and support is overwhelming. This has been the experience of certain seminarians, and often the rebellion which has been driven underground continues to fester throughout a man's seminary years and sometimes throughout his entire pastoral career. From time to time he seeks indirect, disguised and symbolic ways of expressing this rebellious anger.

As it is with aggressive impulses, so it is with sexual feelings and impulses. A man may submerge himself in the life and work of the church as a way of coping with sexual feelings and impulses which make him anxious. He may like to see himself as being "married to the church," and so be relieved of the full responsibility for a virile male response in his marriage. Unquestionably some sexual energy is in a healthy and appropriate way channeled into the practice of the individual religious life. But it is probable that some men unconsciously choose and use the vocation of the ministry as a way of controlling or avoiding the full implications of their own sexuality.

Again, this is not intrinsically unfortunate, since any person has the right to engage in any coping behavior which works for him. The point is rather, that the clergyman is often tempted to use the religious life to support the inhibition of his emotional life in general and of his aggressive and sexual feelings in particular. The tragedy of this is that such a man is living as much less than a fully functioning human being. Insofar as he is dissociated from his deeper feelings, he is depriving himself of important dimensions of his own humanity. He is denied the satisfaction of being fully alive.

Whatever else it may be, it is clear that "the call to the ministry" is not a matter of simple fact. It is rather, the way in which this unique individual interprets the complex constellation of processes and experiences which comprise his life. If unconscious motivation is overriding and is in conflict with the conscious feelings and desires of a young seminarian or pastor, then he will not be free to minister. In any vocational decision, unconscious as well as conscious factors are operating. And often the really controlling and determining elements in the decision are unconscious. The unconscious forces may be healthy or unhealthy, but sometimes because of their intense

and somewhat mysterious nature they are interpreted or misinterpreted as the working of the Holy Spirit.

All of this has one central and critical implication, and it is this. During the three or four years which a young man spends in seminary education, he needs to be given and he must find for himself an opportunity to make a conscious and rational decision. This is the decision either to be and to become or not to be and not to become a pastor. To recognize the influence of unconscious motivation in his choice of a career, in no way degrades a seminarian or sets him apart from his peers. Perhaps it does quite the opposite. Rather than denying his humanity and his individuality, it affirms and describes it in its richness and complexity. It highlights the need for conscious choice to be fused with and in control of unconscious drives, as these are increasingly embraced into awareness. The seminarian becomes a person before he becomes an effective parson and there is no shortcut available.

Clinical Pastoral Education

P. Wesley Aitken

On October 19, 1966, in Atlantic City, the two largest national groups involved in Clinical Pastoral Education joined together once more to hold their annual meeting. These two groups, the Council for Clinical Training and the Institute of Pastoral Care, have been in a carefully planned and scheduled process of merger which will culminate with a new association within the next two or three years. At this meeting there were also representatives from the Southern Baptist Association for Clinical Pastoral Education and from the Lutheran Committee on Clinical Pastoral Education. It appears now that at least the Southern Baptist group will merge with the Institute and the Council, and it was hoped by most of the persons attending the meeting that all training groups in the United States could merge into one national Association for Clinical Pastoral Education.

Duke Divinity School is a "member seminary" of the Institute of Pastoral Care. Duke Medical Center is an accredited Clinical Pastoral Education center and the senior chaplains are either certified or in the process of becoming certified as Chaplain Supervisors with the Institute of Pastoral Care.

For those of you who wish to be more familiar with the Clinical Pastoral Education movement, its founder, and the fascinating events that led up to the happenings at Atlantic City, let me share with you this resume.[1]

Anton T. Boisen is generally acclaimed as the founder of the Clinical Pastoral Education movement. He died on October 1, 1965, at the age of 89. In the early 1920's, Boisen struggled through a severe mental illness. He was hospitalized at Worcester State Hospital, Worcester, Massachusetts. In his lengthy struggle to regain his health, he so impressed the hospital superintendent, Dr. William A. Bryan, with his sincere searching questions and ideas about men-

1. The historical facts have been acquired from two main sources: Seward Hiltner, "The Heritage of Anton T. Boisen," *Pastoral Psychology*, Vol. 16, No. 158 (November 1965), pp. 5-10. Manuscript of an address by Dr. Carroll A. Wise, *Clinical Pastoral Training—The Early Years*, Joint Fall Conference, Council for Clinical Training and Institute of Pastoral Care, Miami Beach, Florida, October 1965.

tal illness and religious experience that Dr. Bryan permitted him to begin serving as a minister to the other patients. At that time Boisen had not fully recovered; he was both patient and chaplain. Boisen found much lasting help from psychoanalytical insights and treatment, and from what we know today as the behavioral sciences. He acquired a strong conviction that theological students should become familiar with this body of clinical knowledge and with these insights, and that they should study the "living human document" by ministering to and working with the mentally ill. Boisen continued as chaplain to Worcester State Hospital and in 1925 he had four theological students come to work and study with him during their summer vacation period. This marked the beginning of what we know today as Clinical Pastoral Education.

A contemporary of Anton Boisen's was Dr. Richard C. Cabot, a prominent surgeon at Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, and a member of the faculty of Harvard Medical School. Dr. Cabot was a man of deep convictions and of strong religious attitudes. He, too, saw the value of clinical training for theological students. He wrote an article in 1925 pleading for a clinical year for clergymen comparable to the internship of the physician. However, there was one serious disagreement between him and Boisen. Cabot believed that all mental illness was due to organic causes and was incurable. For him the only function of a minister in a mental hospital was to provide recreation for the patients. This was quite contrary to the experience and belief of Boisen and since both were men of strong convictions, the raw energy of two major thrusts in Clinical Pastoral Education can be seen even before it took the form of a two-pronged movement. In the beginning it was a single movement represented by one organization known as the Council for Clinical Training. It was formed in 1930. Dr. Richard Cabot was president, Dr. Flanders Dunbar, a psychoanalyst, was medical director and Philip Guiles, a minister and one of Boisen's first students, was Field Secretary. There was unanimous agreement among all that some form of clinical training and experience should be provided for theological students and ministers. There were strong differences of opinion about the nature of the training and how it would be accomplished. These differences soon led to a split in the founding group.

Dr. Cabot gradually separated himself from the clinical training program at Worcester State Hospital and from the Council for

Clinical Training as well. He established a Clinical Pastoral Education program at Massachusetts General Hospital, with Russell Dicks as chaplain, in 1933. (The late Dr. Russell L. Dicks was professor of Pastoral Care at Duke Divinity School from 1947 to 1958. The last Clinical Pastoral Education program he supervised was held here at Duke in 1957.) At the September 1933 meeting of the Council for Clinical Training, Dr. Richard Cabot was not reelected as president and he severed all formal relationships with the Council for Clinical Training in 1934. These two significant events in 1933 and 1934 marked the beginning of a second major training group which did not come into formal existence until ten years later, 1944.

Cabot and Dicks collaborated in writing *The Art of Ministering to the Sick* which for many years was the "handbook" for ministering to hospital patients. It is still the classic text in the field; no one has surpassed it even though it is now out of print. The title of this book discloses the important assumption about Clinical Pastoral Education made by Cabot and Dicks which Anton Boisen and the Council for Clinical Training were not willing to make. For Cabot and Dicks, ministering to the sick was an "art." They believed that all theological students and clergy had the ability to learn as apprentices in hospital ministry and could become "artists" in ministering to the sick. For Cabot and Dicks it was essentially an intellectual and educational process in which skills were learned. Cabot, especially, was a man of strong and rigid convictions and a man of great will-power. He believed that if a minister made up his mind to become such an "artist," he could become one. The key to successful training was the wilful decision on the part of the student. The opposing thrust of the movement was not as optimistic. It held to the growing conviction that Clinical Pastoral Education should have a therapeutic emphasis for the benefit of the student himself—the idea being that a minister would be freer to help other people with their problems if he first could identify and understand his own inner conflicts and struggles. A minister may have the potential to become an "artist," but becoming an "artist" is not just a matter of learning skills. The minister's ability to fulfill his potential may be seriously thwarted by his own emotional makeup. The possibility of this, and its effects on the student, would have to be considered in the training process. This could be accomplished by a closely supervised program which

focused attention on the person of the minister as well as on the patient and the relationship between the two of them.

These two training concepts continued to gain strength in their separate locations. The Council for Clinical Training located its offices in New York City. The Cabot-Dicks concept of training was concentrated in the Boston-New England area. Dicks was succeeded by David R. Hunter as chaplain at Massachusetts General Hospital, and in 1943, Hunter was succeeded by Rolin J. Fairbanks. Fairbanks felt the need for more organized backing for his clinical program and turned to the Council for Clinical Training. As might be expected at that time, the Council for Clinical Training was not receptive to his inquiry and in 1944 he, and a group of theological educators in the Boston area, founded the Institute of Pastoral Care. Thus a second clinical training group was formed. The Institute of Pastoral Care through the years has grown to become a group of equal prominence and stature with the Council for Clinical Training.

A national conference on Clinical Pastoral Education was held in October of 1953. Attending this meeting were representatives from the Council for Clinical Training, the Institute of Pastoral Care, the Lutheran Advisory Council on Pastoral Care, and the Association of Seminary Professors in the Practical Fields. This group of conferees succeeded in establishing a set of minimum standards for Clinical Pastoral Education which became the yardstick for measuring the quality of such education across the nation for a number of years. These standards have been raised throughout the years but they have never been lowered. To my knowledge, this conference also represented the first formal attempt to resolve the philosophical, theological, and conceptual differences that existed between the two major groups, the Institute and the Council. This effort, begun in 1953, is finally coming to fruition in the merger that is taking place now. It would be difficult to say what happened between 1953 and the present merger, but the results of it are evident. The strong differences which caused the splitting of one group into two, in 1934, and blocked any possibility of merger in 1953, appear now as two important foci in the training philosophy embraced by both groups. In order that you can appreciate the integrity of the effort being made to form this merged group, the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education, I want to share with you portions of a document pertaining to its structure. (This is taken from a draft that was presented for formal adoption. It is not a finally adopted document. The

adoption of a final document will probably take place next year at a combined meeting.)

> Historically it has been the responsibility of the Church to provide for the education of her ministers. This task from time to time required new structures, new methods, new and creative efforts to insure the proper preparation of the clergy both in the historic faith and tradition and in emerging areas of knowledge in the world. Clinical Pastoral Education is one such creative movement within the Church. It has its roots in the efforts of pioneers who sought to bring the theological student into supervised encounter with man in crisis in order that "living human documents" might be studied, that the shepherding task of the ministry might be experienced, and that scientific knowledge of human relationships correlated with theological insights might be brought to bear on the pastoral task.
>
> Out of this emerging emphasis on theological education has developed an increasingly complex network of relationships among theological seminaries, ecclesiastical bodies, health and welfare institutions, governmental, private, and church related agencies, supervisors of Clinical Pastoral Education, theological educators, and other professional persons either directly or indirectly engaged in the task of Clinical Pastoral Education. Such a venture requires a coordinating agency that can provide a bridge by which these relationships may be fostered for the good of the Church and the education of her clergy. It is for this broad purpose that the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education is formed. . . . The Association for Clinical Pastoral Education is organized to facilitate the mission of the Church in the field of Clinical Pastoral Education.

The partial truths in what appeared as "opposing thrusts" in the early days have been gleaned, more clearly understood, and joined together to become the leaven for the new group.

The contribution of the behavioral sciences to theological education was at one time frowned upon and rejected by the Church. At that early date, Anton Boisen and his colleagues and students saw and appreciated its relevance to their ministry and to theological education even though they did not understand it fully. In spite of the fact that occasionally theological students come out of Clinical Pastoral Education sounding and feeling more like junior psychiatrists than ministers, the Church has recognized and has accepted the importance of Clinical Pastoral Education, with its inherent traps, as an integral part of the theological education. Some denominations require at least three months of Clinical Pastoral Education as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the basic theological degree. Most theological schools require students to have some extensive

course study in Pastoral Care and Pastoral Psychology even if they do not require a formal block of Clinical Pastoral Education.

It was once believed that Clinical Pastoral Education could only be conducted in health and welfare institutions. We now believe that it can be conducted in a variety of other settings, beginning with the parish, so long as the content of the program is carefully planned and the process is adequately supervised. Clinical Pastoral Education has an exciting and challenging future.

Clinical Pastoral Education in the Parish

Richard A. Goodling

Grave concern has been expressed in recent years over the nature of the church, its ministry, and preparation for that ministry. Characterizations of the contemporary church run from that of the faithful remnant to that of the social club. There is widespread dissatisfaction with the relevancy and effectiveness of theological education. Some ten years ago, Richard Niebuhr, in his study of preparation for the ministry in the United States and Canada, wrote: "Neither ministers nor the schools that nurture them are guided by a clear-cut, generally accepted conception of the office of ministry, though such an idea may be emerging."[1] The response to that challenge has gone far beyond Niebuhr's proposal that the office of ministry be redefined in terms of the pastoral director. Lively experiments in group, team, and multiple ministries, in store front, factory, and coffee house contexts, seek a relevant ministry, while risking a break in historical continuity and loss of professional identity.

Redefinition of the church and its ministry is crucial. But equally important is the concern for the person of the minister. The problems of ministry are not to be resolved solely by a redefinition of the church and the discovery of new expressions of its ministries. Definition, role, tasks, stir deep levels of the emotional life of the minister as a person and must also be considered.

The past decade has seen widely publicized concern over the personal well-being of the minister. Ten years ago Wesley Shrader, in his article, "Why Ministers Are Breaking Down,"[2] asserted that unrealistic expectations by church members established a fear-frustration-guilt cycle which leads to breakdown. Samuel Blizzard[3] described the dilemma in terms of the conflict between professional

1. Niebuhr, Richard H. *The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry.* New York: Harper and Bros., 1956, p. 50.

2. Shrader, Wesley. "Why Ministers are Breaking Down." *Life,* August 20, 1956.

3. Blizzard, Samuel. "The Minister's Dilemma." *Christian Century,* April 25, 1956, pp. 508-509; also "Minister's Self-Image and His Master Role," *Pastoral Psychology,* December, 1958, Vol. 9, No. 89, pp. 25-32.

role requirements and the minister's interests and preparation. This theme was elaborated upon by James Moore who saw ministers leaving the ministry to resolve ". . . the conflict between the role the minister is expected to play as a minister and the kind of life he wants to live as a human being."[4]

Why is the minister vulnerable, tyrannized by unrealistic expectations, caught in the dilemma between personal and professional loyalties? To answer this question we would need to consider the depths at which ministers are called upon to live, often with inadequate preparation, their professional and personal lives. Few other professionals are called upon to integrate so thoroughly their personal and professional lives, to represent a professional model which is basically a personal model as well. Few other professionals are called upon to live emotionally, with others, at such deep levels. Furthermore, the minister, called upon to provide sustaining and healing relationships for others, usually finds himself cut off from such resources. He believes he must hide his doubt, his fear, his anger, his need for intimacy, his guilt. As a result the minister finds himself the loneliest person in his congregation. The problem is not basically that ministers are buffeted by doubts, by felt inadequacies, by guilt, by anger, by unmet needs for love, but that these must be faced alone.

Ministers, as is true to some extent of all persons, may be strangers to themselves, afraid of their feelings and emotions, afraid of the feelings and emotions of others, inadequately prepared for a vocation which is essentially interpersonal in nature, with limited opportunities to continue to develop their skills and competency.

What emerges from this brief survey is the necessity to find the means to assist ministerial students and ministers in the search for personal and professional identity. The search for personal identity is the search to find a clearly defined sense of self, an acceptable emotional life, a sense of both uniqueness and commonality, a sense of continuity in the midst of change, a sense of competency and worth, a sense of satisfaction in interpersonal and social relations. The search for professional identity is the search to achieve the ability and felt competency to assume the roles and tasks of ministry without loss of unity and integrity as a person, able to participate in the heritage of the church and its ministry as a person.

4. Moore, James. "Why Young Ministers are Leaving the Church." *Harpers*, July, 1957, p. 65.

I: CLINICAL TRAINING

The search for personal and professional identity has been at the heart of the goals of the clinical pastoral training movement. This movement's training intent is to bring the student (1) to an understanding of himself, his characteristic way of relating to people, especially in pastoral relations; the motive patterns which support his life style and some awareness of the nature of the experiences which have shaped these motive patterns; (2) to an increased understanding of people, their basic personality patterns and interactions, and the ability to assess their strengths and weaknesses; (3) to the development of professional skills, particularly those of personal and interpersonal relationships which provide sustaining and healing resources; and (4) to the mastery of the body of knowledge, especially from the theological and psychological disciplines, which inform a pastoral ministry.

It is true that clinical training still connotes, for some, merely professional skills training in a specialized ministry. However, there is growing appreciation for the broader contribution which such training makes, to the preparation for ministry, the identification of faith issues, and the development of a body of theoretical material relevant to training and service.[5]

Supervision is the crucial feature in clinical training. Only in close, intensive supervision can the trainee's growing edge be discovered, modes of interaction revealed, the meanings of the learning experience examined. Most crucially, supervision is essential if the trainee is to hear, to interpret, to assimilate what is threatening personally and might otherwise be lost in the learning experience.

The relationships of the trainee and patient, trainee and fellow trainee, trainee and supervisor, provide the raw material, so to speak, for clinical training. These relationships provide the student with the confrontation he needs in order to wrestle with his personal and professional identity questions and to provide growth opportunities.

5. Note: Clebsch, William A. and Jaekle, Charles R. *Pastoral Care in Historical Perspective.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1964.

Browning, Don S. *Atonement and Psychotherapy.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1966.

Clinebell, Howard. *Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling.* Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966.

Oden, Thomas. *Kerygma and Counseling.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1966.

Williams, Daniel Day. *The Minster and the Care of Souls.* New York: Harper and Bros., 1961.

The student must ask, 'Who am I?' He must ask this question personally and professionally. As these identity questions are asked within the training relationship he finds himself in possession of insights, strengths, and new responsibilities. Both personal and professional search for identity lead inevitably to ultimate questions. These questions, and the process of formulating answers to these questions, are also aspects of clinical training, but such training does not begin with these questions. Training begins with the effort to discover the person who is called to ministry. It is only after this process is underway that the theological question is asked: 'Who is He who comes to you in the deepest moments of life, in whose name one ministers, and in whose name one is ministered unto?'

At the heart of clinical training is the assumption that being a minister develops when the student (a) has the responsibility of being a pastor (b) in relationships with troubled persons (c) exposed to their anxieties (d) and his own anxiety (e) under supervision. Clinical training requires the student's participation in pastoring tasks, related as a pastor to a parishioner, hearing something of the hurt in critical moments, hearing something of his own response in such moments, and wrestling with the personal and faith questions which beg to be answered.

Thomas Klink has suggested eight criteria for a clinical training center: (1) a center where persons are in crisis; (2) a center where there are rich ancillary resources and well-perfected techniques for enlarging and objectifying the student's personal acquaintance with the subject (patient, inmate, client, or parishioner); (3) a center where there is a competent supervisor; (4) a center with a supervisor who is intimately enmeshed with the structure of the training setting; (5) a center which allows and calls for realistically significant tasks from the learner; (6) a center where the theological student can function in roles appropriate to his status as a proto-clergyman; (7) a center where the experience (and/or data of training) allows and facilitates transfer of training; and (8) a center which supports the student financially.[6]

The purist sees clinical training as a ten or twelve-week full-time program in a hospital setting wherein the trainee spends approximately half his time visiting patients as a chaplain-intern, writes verbatim accounts of his visits, has these reports criticized by a trained

6. Klink, Thomas. "Choices in Education for Practice." *Theological Education*, Autumn, 1966, pp. 203-217.

supervisor and by his fellow trainees, is involved in intensive interpersonal relationships within a training group of from three to eight members, and attends seminars and case conferences staffed interprofessionally. As a rule, trainees meet daily for one and one-half hour group meetings and an hour a week in individual conference with their supervisor. The supervisor, in turn, spends from half to three-quarters of his time in the training program, providing group and individual supervision, reviewing trainee verbatims, and arranging seminars and case conferences.

II: PARISH CLINICAL TRAINING

There is to be noted a growing restlessness with a structure which excludes the parish as an appropriate setting. In the early years of clinical training its leaders insisted that such training could take place only in the institutional setting with its interprofessional staff, its control of chaplain-patient relationships, its crisis situations, and its intensive supervision. At present, however, there is a growing conviction, supported by some half dozen parish training programs, that clinical training does not necessarily have to take place in an institutional setting.

Dr. Otis A. Maxfield, senior minister and chaplain supervisor, provides a six-week parish pastoral training program accredited by the Institute of Pastoral Care in the First Community Church, Columbus, Ohio. His trainees spend each afternoon in parish work, attend "growth groups" meeting four times each week, take field trips to community agencies, and attend lectures by resource people surveying parish responsibilities.

A one-year parish internship program is provided through St. Michael's Cathedral, Boise, Idaho, the Very Reverend William B. Spofford, Jr., Dean. This program, involving one to three students each year, has the student spend his first three months in other than a "large, well-staffed urban parish" and then nine months in St. Michael's parish. The program, loosely structured, provides one "free floating" dynamics group meeting and one individual supervisory hour each week with additional hours upon request which, apparently, come with some frequency.

The Program in Religion and Psychiatry of the Menninger Foundation offers a one-year training program in pastoral care and counseling through the cooperation of several large urban

churches. The trainee is placed on the staff of a cooperating church as an associate. This program is committed to the concept of clinical training in a parish setting and one of its current goals is to develop an effective model for the training of clergymen in a parish.[7]

Granger Westberg has proposed a joint program in clinical training in hospital and parish at the Institute of Religion. A student in the Institute's program will (1) be related to a local church for a total of fifteen to twenty hours a week (with supervisory meetings with the senior minister and with a lay group), (2) spend four afternoons a week as a chaplain assigned to a hospital under a qualified chaplain supervisor who coordinates the student's total weekly activities and provides a supervisory hour for each student, and (3) spend four mornings a week in the academic work of the Institute (seminars, group discussions, tutorial sessions).[8]

A comprehensive effort to relate field work, clinical training, and academic instruction and to subject this effort to empirical analysis is that of Homer L. Jernigan and Richard A. Donnenwirth of the Boston University School of Theology. In their Project CAPT (a pilot program combining Clinical, Academic, and Parish Training for Pastoral Leadership) Jernigan and Donnenwirth established a two-year Master of Theology program combining supervised parish experiences and formal academic instruction. The parish setting was an "inner city" church in a transitional area. Practicum consisted of weekly seminars on the nature and function of the ministry in the parish, a supervisory seminar on the experiences of the students in their efforts to organize and lead groups in the parish, and a "Christian Growth" group. To study the outcomes of this program, test results for the CAPT group were compared with two other groups, a group of students in a master's program in pastoral care without the clinical parish emphasis, and a group of ministers. The researchers concluded: "The CAPT group tended to (1) change in psychological development and professional growth in the direction of the 'model' group and even to surpass it in performance; (2) to change more than did the control groups; and (3) to change at least partly because of the training process, although other factors such as therapy certainly contributed to the measured changes."[9]

7. *Ibid.*

8. Westberg, Granger E. "A Joint Program in Clinical Pastoral Education in Hospital nad Parish." A Mimeographed Proposal.

9. Jernigan, Homer L. and Donnenwirth, Richard A. "Summary and Evalua-

For a number of summers a program of clinical training has been conducted by the Reverend Ian F. McIntosh, Minister of St. Margaret's Presbyterian Church, South Shields, England. Each year three trainees engage in a comprehensive eight or nine weeks' program which includes two-hour daily seminars on pastoral theology and pastoral care, assigned readings, a weekly psychiatric case conference, relationships with community agencies, and "full participation" in the life and work of a congregation. Each trainee is assigned twenty families which he serves as minister. The trainee writes four verbatims each week and makes a case study of one person or family. The trainee has the responsibility for a weekly discussion group of eight or nine laymen. McIntosh concludes: ". . . there seems no *a priori* reason why the goals of clinical training as outlined should not be achieved in a parish setting. Indeed, it seems to offer certain distinctive values and advantages."[10] In brief, McIntosh asserts that (1) the parish is the setting in which most students will exercise their future ministry; (2) the parish setting deals more nearly with the whole of life and presents persons 'whole'; (3) the parish provides for the 'natural tempo' of life, not only with its crises but in its routines; (4) the parish confronts the student with the total work of ministry and the demand that every facet of the minister's work be encountered; (5) the parish enables the student to participate in the church as a redemptive fellowship of concerned Christians; (6) the parish enables the student to participate in the ministry of the laity, to each other and to the ordained.

III: THE TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROJECT

During the summer of 1966 the Duke Divinity School joined these pioneering ventures in parish clinical education with a training and research project. The training phase is intended to develop through the Divinity School a program of clinical training in the parish setting comparable to a similar program in an institutional setting. The research phase is intended to compare some of the changes which occur in a parish program with those occurring in three other settings: (1) a summer quarter of clinical training in the general hospital; (2) a day-a-week hospital visitation course during

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tion of a Pilot Program Combining Clinical, Academic, and Parish Training for Pastoral Leadership." Boston School of Theology: p. 63.

10. McIntosh, Ian F. "Clinical Training in the Parish." *Pastoral Psychology*, Vol. 17, No. 163, April, 1966, p. 46.

an academic semester; and (3) a traditional summer field education program.

The project is supported by the Divinity School through the Office of the Work of the Rural Church Under the Duke Endowment in cooperation with the Western North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church. The writer serves as Project Director and the Parish Supervisor is the Reverend Douglass Gilbert, minister to the Shady Grove Methodist Church, Wallburg, North Carolina, in the Thomasville District. Mr. Gilbert took an intern and residency year in clinical pastoral training in the Duke Medical Center and at Memorial Hospital in Chapel Hill and received his Th.M. from the Divinity School.

The training program brings together each summer for three summers (1966-68) a group of six to eight theological students. Each student is assigned to a local church for his parish responsibilities. General supervision is provided through the pastor of the church to which the student is assigned. The students meet daily as a training group for one and one-half hours for a ten-week period. One meeting each week involves a field trip to a community resource agency such as a mental health clinic, a county welfare department, a law enforcement agency. One meeting each week is devoted to a discussion of an article such as "The Natural History of Faith" by Klink,[11] "The Covenant and Pastoral Care" by Becker,[12] and "The Church as a Matriarchy" by Ashbrook.[13] Three meetings each week are given to "personal concerns." Each student writes three verbatims each week. In this context, the verbatim is conceived of in more general terms than in the institutional setting. Any record of pastoral involvement is acceptable and the student is encouraged to sample a variety of pastoral tasks for verbatims. Each student meets individually an hour a week with the Parish Supervisor. Each student is asked to preach in the church in which he is serving and to meet with six laymen and laywomen, together with the senior pastor and the Parish Supervisor to discuss his sermon. The student is provided with room, board, and travel expense by the church he serves. In addition, he is eligible for a $1,000.00 grant-in-aid

11. Klink, Thomas. "The Natural History of Faith." *Journal of Religion and Health*, Vol. 4, No. 2, January, 1965.

12. Becker, Arthur H. "The Covenant and Pastoral Care." *Journal of Pastoral Care*, Vol. XIX, Spring, 1965, No. 1.

13. Ashbrook, James B. "The Church as a Matriarchy." *Pastoral Psychology*, Vol. 14, No. 136, September, 1963, pp. 38-49.

through the Office of the Work of the Rural Church Under the Duke Endowment.

The students take a battery of tests at the beginning and end of the training period which cover self-evaluation, vocational interest, social attitudes, and attitudes toward laymen and other professional groups. Each student keeps a diary of his reactions to the group meetings, does sociometric ratings at the end of each fifth of training, and writes a reaction report at the end of the program.

IV: OUTCOMES

1. Relations with Cooperating Churches.

The Parish Supervisor began informal conversations in the fall of 1965 with parish ministers within a radius of twenty-five miles of the church he was serving. From his contacts and from recommendations submitted by the Field Education Office of the Divinity School, a list of churches suitable for project purposes was developed. The Parish Supervisor visited the ministers of these churches to explain the nature of the project and to invite participation. From the beginning the project was warmly received. Churches which had had Endowment students the previous summer accepted without hesitation the invitation to participate. Some churches which had not had an Endowment student previously were not prepared to provide the financial support or program responsibilities to warrant a student assistant. In one instance the project held out the promise of providing supervision for a student in a district-sponsored special ministry to a lake resort. Several weeks before the start of the training period the Project Director and the Parish Supervisor met with the participating ministers, the District Superintendent, and the Director of the Work of the Rural Church Under the Duke Endowment, to review the training program, to discuss the supervisory relationship of senior minister to his student assistant and of Parish Supervisor to trainee, and to coordinate schedules. Interest remained high and support was firm. It was clearly understood that the training program would demand approximately fifteen hours a week of the student's time. Anticipated resistance at this point did not materialize. Rather, the ministers seemed to feel that a program of such intensity was desirable. There was not reported a single instance where the student's participation in the training program interfered with or limited his fulfillment of parish responsibilities.

In spite of the fact that the six students were involved in a variety of parish responsibilities over the ten-week period in six different parishes, schedule conflicts were minimal. With the exception of one week when the training group met in the early afternoon, all group meetings were held from 8:30 to 10:00 in the morning. Although additional meetings with the group of participating ministers throughout the summer was considered, none seemed necessary. The Parish Supervisor did meet individually with each minister at least once during the summer. There were also supervisory visits once or twice during the summer with each student and his senior minister by faculty members on behalf of the Field Education Office.

It is significant that the training program could be carried on without conflicting with normal parish responsibilities and without complicating the normal senior minister-student assistant pattern. The impression was that the senior ministers welcomed the supervision provided through the training project. The project may, therefore, have relieved the senior minister of a responsibility which he did not want to assume. It is the writer's impression that the typical senior minister-student assistant relationship does not involve close personal supervision but is task oriented and informal, even casual in nature. Whether the compartmentalization in supervision will continue to be the style and what its advantages and disadvantages are is still open to question. Unlike the institutional setting, the parish setting provided little opportunity for the trainee to meet informally and socially with the Parish Supervisor. Trainees left the setting for their parishes as soon as their scheduled meetings were over. Toward the end of the summer there was a tendency on the part of the trainees to linger after the group meetings were over and there was an occasional suggestion that the group plan an "outing" but the trainees seemed able to tolerate restricted social and informal associations while maintaining an intense formal training group life.

The experience of the first summer did suggest that difficulties may arise when the senior minister is transferred during the summer and his replacement is confronted with a student and a training project not of his choosing.

2. Relationships with the Laity.

None of the participating churches had a local committee charged with the specific responsibility to consult with the senior minister

regarding the student assistant's work. The training project did draw a group of the laity into the program through a sermon conference. (One hoped-for outcome of the sermon conference was that it would encourage efforts toward the establishment of such lay consulting committees.) The senior minister, usually in consultation with the student assistant, invited five or six laymen and laywomen to meet with the Parish Supervisor and the Project Director to discuss the student's sermon. When possible, the Project Director attended the worship service at which the student preached, to hear the actual presentation, and to meet members of the congregation, especially those who had been invited to the sermon conference. These lay people took their responsibility seriously and often came to the conference with notes. They appreciated the invitation to assist the Divinity School in the student's education, were modest about their competency to criticize preaching, and seemed apologetic over how little they felt they remembered about the sermon. The Parish Supervisor and the Project Director, on the other hand, were pleasantly surprised to discover how competent these small groups of lay people were in discussing the sermon. Discussion usually began with delivery but moved toward content with minimal guidance. Salient points, expressed by lay people in lay terms had more relevance and impact than formal comments of homiletics instructors. Not unexpectedly, the senior ministers gained valuable insights into what the laity expects and receives from preaching. Laity in turn saw, perhaps for the first time, sermonizing from the viewpoint of the minister, wrestled with the intent of the sermons, and provided rich illustrative material in their discussions of the themes.

In each instance the student's style of relating to the congregation was revealed in sharp detail both in the comments which members of the congregation made to the Project Director after the service and in the sermon conferences. Congregations, in turn, revealed their way of relating to the student: as relieved and proud parents whose son "had come through," as disapproving parents to be appeased by 'Bible-centered' preaching, as guilt-riddened who appealed to the preacher to "step on our toes."

3. Test Data.

Any report of test results must be presented most tentatively. Research data is available on only one group of six trainees. Such

limited data does not justify more than tentative conclusions about possible trends which may or may not be supported by more complete data. Furthermore, the most significant analysis of data may be on an individual rather than on a group basis. Averaging scores for a group masks individual variation. For example, the training group average on the Edwards Personal Preference Inventory showed no gain in its understanding, support, and concern for others. Slight increases in scores for five of the six trainees were masked by the sixth member whose expressed concern showed a marked drop. What may be significant for individual trainees would be lost when the scores for the group are averaged.

The experience with this first group does raise the question about the value of such a program for every seminarian. Research with other types of groups suggests that certain personalities may not be ready for or may not benefit from intensive personal concerns-type groups. While all members of the group may come to a better and clearer understanding of their characteristic ways of relating to others and the relative effectiveness of these styles, the rigid, defensive, hostile person who relies upon intellectual defenses may alienate members of his group, become an isolate, and grow more rigid and defensive.

a.) Personality.

In general, the personality test results[14] confirm the findings of the CAPT Project. During the training period the trainees described themselves as more emotionally secure (decrease in signs of anxiety, conflict, guilt). Achievement orientation increased with such orientation seen as less "driven." There seemed to be increased interest in exploring the meaning-of-life issues. Greater confidence was expressed in group leadership responsibilities. The trainees appeared to be less subservient and more independent. They became less authoritarian in outlook, felt more accepting of others, and felt more acceptance from others. Similarly, there was a tendency to be more open to sustaining type relationships, both in seeking such relationships and in providing these for others.

b.) Laity.

The trainee was asked at the beginning and at the end of training to indicate (1) the extent to which he felt laymen *actually do* assume

14. The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, The Edwards Personal Preference Inventory, The Theological School Inventory, The S-O Authoritarian Scale.

responsibility for ministerial activities and (2) the extent to which he felt laymen *should* assume responsibility.[15] Activities considered were: counseling, scholarship, evangelism, educational administration, preaching, visiting the sick, parish administration, prophetic or social concern, spiritual guidance, teaching, priestly functions, and church music. It was apparent that while the trainees felt that these ministries should be the shared responsibility of laity and clergy, they perceived the laity as not meeting their share of the responsibility. The trainees did assign, both before and after training, greater responsibility to the clergy for counseling, preaching, and priestly tasks, and greater responsibility to the laity for educational administration. At the end of the training period the laity were perceived as taking even less responsibility for counseling and spiritual guidance than originally assumed. Also, while at the end of the training period the clergy were still expected to assume more responsibility than the laity for counseling and priestly tasks, there was a shift toward assigning more responsibility for these tasks to the laity.

c.) Interprofessional Perceptions.

Some tentative conclusions emerge from the way in which the trainees view the ministry in relation to six other professions: Law, Medicine, Nursing, Psychiatry, Social Work, and Teaching.[16] The greatest professional distance expressed by the trainees was with Law; the least professional distance expressed was with Psychiatry. While the Ministry is held in high regard by the trainees for its contribution to the other professions and to society generally, they viewed the ministry as no more than average in terms of professional competency and ranked it among the two professions out of the seven whose professional identity is least well defined.

d.) Vocational Interests.

Trainees completed at the beginning and at the end of the training period "An Inventory of Religious Activities and Interests"[17] under three different instructions: (1) preference for each activity, to establish *Stated Interests*; (2) the importance or significance of each activity for the ministry, to establish the *Model* for ministry; and (3) felt adequacy to participate in or perform each activity, to establish *Adequacy*. The following scales constitute the Inventory:

15. The Laity Scale developed by the author.
16. The Interprofessional Scale developed by the author.
17. Webb, Sam C. "An Inventory of Religious Activities and Interests."

Counselor, Scholar, Evangelist, Educational Administration, Preacher, Visitor, Administrator, Prophet, Spiritual Guide, Teacher, Priest, Musician.

The training period produced little change in the ranking of these scales in terms of *Stated Interest.* Strongest preferences both before and after training were for Scholar, Counselor, Spiritual Guide, Priest. Noticeable, with training, was a general drop in preference strength. The strength of preference remained the same or dropped for all scales except for Musician and Educational Administration. The drop in strength of preference was greatest for Spiritual Guide, Visitor, Evangelist, Priest, Administrator, and Counselor.

In terms of the *Model* of ministry, all scales were rated less important at the end of training. Counselor decreased least and remained highest in assigned importance. The highest clustering both before and after training was for the pastoral ministry: Counselor, Visitor, Spiritual Guide.

In terms of *Adequacy* there was no gain or slight gain for all scales except Priest where less adequacy was expressed. Greatest felt adequacy both before and after training was for the activities of the Priest, the Preacher, and the Teacher.

The data could also be analyzed in terms of discrepancies: the discrepancy between *Stated Interest* and *Model,* between *Stated Interest* and *Adequacy,* and between *Model* and *Adequacy.*

Prior to training, sensed *Adequacy* exceeded *Stated Interest* only in Educational Administration and Administration. After training, there was less discrepancy between *Adequacy* and *Stated Interest* in all areas but Music. Priestly tasks joined Educational Administration and Administration as areas in which *Adequacy* exceeded *Stated Interest.*

Prior to training, sense of *Adequacy* was less than the *Model* in all areas. After training there was less discrepancy between sense of *Adequacy* and *Model* in every area. However, only in Preacher and Administrator did *Adequacy* emerge greater than *Model.*

Prior to training, *Stated Interest* exceeded *Model* for Scholar and Preacher. After training *Stated Interest* had become closer to the *Model* in all but Counselor, Evangelist, Administrator, and Spiritual Guide. After training, *Stated Interest* exceeded *Model* on Scholar, Preacher, and Musician.

Overall, there was a decrease in the discrepancies between *Stated Interest* and *Model,* between *Stated Interest* and *Adequacy,* and

between *Model* and *Adequacy*. These decreases in discrepancy scores, as an operational definition of reduction in vocational conflict, were the result of the interaction of all three factors: change in *Model*, shift in *Stated Interest*, change in sensed *Adequacy*. In relative terms, the decrease in discrepancy scores was due to the lowering of the *Model* (relative weight of 3.5), to a shift in *Stated Interest* (relative weight of 2.5) and an increase in sense of *Adequacy* (relative weight of 1.0).

4. Through the Eyes of a Student.

The following comments were made in an unstructured interview with one member of the parish training group six weeks after the end of the program. The comments are presented with only minor editing. The writer provided general labels for the themes found in the comments.

(a) Supporting Fellowship. "There were times during the summer when our guts were out on the line and we were afraid of each other. I really wouldn't want a program without that fear. Now that the summer is over I feel a real rapport, a common bond with these five guys. We're not as close now as at the end of the summer because we are not in close association now. But if the occasion arose, I know I could go to any one of them. I have a feeling of trust toward those guys. At our last meeting when we talked about the death of the group I said I was not interested in continuing the group this fall. Now I see I was afraid of spoiling what we had by trying to continue the group in another context. We don't have to continue the group and I still feel the bond with the guys."

(b) Self-Awareness. "I might still resort to the political fence but I have a lot more control over this facet of my personality. If the opportunity arose I could still use the political tools but I find a greater freedom to decide when to use them. This is not to say I wouldn't drop back at times."

(c) Professional Identity. "I've found myself forced into a re-examination and re-evaluation of the decision to enter the ministry. I felt this especially in the preaching course this fall but more generally in the context of seminary. I stop and think, 'Jack, is this a valid decision?' Before I would have said, 'Oh sure, sure.' The summer has forced me and helped me to come to grips with this problem again. I have to work out my own feelings again about

standing up and preaching. The summer has helped me to make this evaluation."

(d) Attitude Toward Self and Others. "I find myself more serious and more responsibly introspective. It's not necessarily the tools I have received to be introspective but the atmosphere within which to explore. I have the feeling that since others can look at me and be honest and still love me, I ought to be able to do the same.

"One of the things I took away from the group was the ability to have a group of laymen string out my sermon. Ooh, it made me angry at the time but I could hear them and not hold a grudge. . . . I really blundered the way I approached one of my talks. I tried to approach it in a detached, scholarly manner, to protect myself, to throw out pearls in an uninvolved way. I was incensed when they attacked me but they were justified."

(e) Openness as a More Satisfying Way of Relating. "After I left this summer I wondered what I would be like. With my girl I risked more honesty than with anyone before. . . . I can understand and accept whatever comes out of that relationship now. . . . I did feel very alone for a while. I said to myself, 'You broke all the political rules by being honest.' But honesty and openness is a much more satisfying way of living. . . . I find this openness has carried over to the guys I room with. We're willing to sit down and talk, to share our feelings."

(f) Further Growth in a Personal Ministry. "I'm afraid of the hospital visitation course next semester. It's one thing to be this way with your friends and another with patients. 'Will I be able to relate to people in crisis situations?' The hospital situations are far more formidable than crises in the dorm. Fearful anticipation is the way of expressing it. My reading has stimulated this fearful anticipation. You can see the possibilities for the ministry in such situations, for yourself and for the other, and how much could come of it. . . . I see now the possibilities in personal relationships."

V: AN APPRAISAL OF PARISH CLINICAL TRAINING

The initial summer parish training project supports the conclusion of McIntosh and others that the parish is a viable option for clinical training. Furthermore it buttresses the assumption that the parish setting offers certain distinctive values and advantages. More specifically:

1. The parish setting can meet the criteria established by Klink

for a clinical training center and provides another context within which clinical training goals can be achieved.

2. Clinical training, as a methodology, is not limited to a particular setting or context. Nevertheless, the parish, the hospital, other institutional settings and contexts, may each provide with its special problems, issues, relationships, a distinctive contribution to the preparation for ministry.

3. Parish clinical training is a viable option for theological students who serve pastorates, supplementing field education supervision, drawing pastoral experiences into the educational process, and striking at the dualism between the classroom and the parish, between learning and serving.

4. Parish clinical training is a viable option for ministers serving pastorates whose parish responsibilities need not be or cannot be interrupted.

5. Parish clinical training provides the opportunity to develop in theological education a unique professional training model in its distinctive professional setting, the local church, in contrast to a medical model appropriate to a clinic or institutional setting, or a teaching model appropriate to the classroom. (Such a development would parallel the post-Rogerian stage in the development of a uniquely pastoral counseling model.)

6. Parish clinical training provides as a professional model the parish minister rather than the chaplain, the psychiatrist, the teacher, or the social worker.

7. Parish clinical training relates the theological student to a community organized for worship and for service, the local church, and participates in sustaining and renewing relationships not only with individuals but with those who seek to be the church.

8. Parish clinical training relates the theological student to parishioners and laymen (in contrast to clients, patients, inmates). As such, laymen are not merely those to be ministered unto (which supports the clergy-laity distinction) but are participants in ministry (the ministry of the laity). In another sense, theological educators, who are professionals training professionals, are joined by non-professionals, laymen, in the educational enterprise.

9. Parish clinical training aids in the development of team and group ministries as it enhances the ability of ministers to be open with one another as persons and as professionals and to contribute to and draw upon the resources of interpersonal and group living.

Cowles, for example, has suggested that, "The biggest roadblock to the discovery of the more excellent way for multiple ministry is our believing that things are all right in a typical senior-assistant relationship."[18]

10. Parish clinical training provides for broader interprofessional relationships than with the medical specialties of the hospital or clinic setting. The parish provides the broad spectrum of professional relationships: lawyers, labor leaders, executives, etc.

VI: A PROPOSAL

The development of parish clinical training to any significant degree depends upon qualified parish supervisors. The clinical training movement in its forty-year history has provided qualified chaplain supervisors and accredited institutional training programs sufficient to enroll upwards of a thousand trainees in any one summer. Hospitals and other institutions have provided the jobs and the facilities for these chaplain supervisors and their training programs. The Church must provide comparable support if parish clinical training is to become a significant movement.

The Parish Supervisor may be viewed as a parish specialist in pastoral care and counseling: serving a local church, supervising parish clinical training groups, and serving as a pastoral care and counseling resource person for the ministers and their families of an area or district, under a conference director of pastoral care. Such parish supervisors, strategically located in parishes across a conference, would be an invaluable contribution to the initial and continuing education of the ministry and to the pastoral care and counseling of ministers and their families.

Each district might support a minister, selected for his competence as a parish minister, his personal maturity, and his potential for an interpersonal ministry, for a two-year training period. Training would include a program of clinical training in the hospital and in the parish, supervised training in pastoral care and counseling in the local church, and supporting course-work toward the Master of

18. Cowles, Ben Thompson. "Multiple Ministries: Problems and Possibilities." *Pastoral Psychology*, Vol. 14, No. 132, March, 1963, p. 11.

The reader is also referred to a recently published book by Kenneth R. Mitchell with the title *Psychological and Theological Relationships in the Multiple Staff Ministry*. A review of this book appears in the *Christian Advocate*, December 29, 1966 issue, p. 19.

Theology degree. Upon completing his training he would receive a parish assignment in his district which would enable him to have a group of theological students for a summer quarter and a group of ministers serving churches in the area during the winter months. (For example: a daily ten-week program; a three-day-a-week program over twenty weeks; a day-a-week program from September to May.) He would also be available as a pastoral counselor to ministers and their families within the district. The programs of these parish supervisors could be coordinated by the conference director of pastoral care if such a position were established.

Such a proposal draws together the mutual concerns of the theological seminary and the church for those who serve in the ministry: their preparation, their continuing professional development, and their personal well-being.

Selfhood and the Chosen One*

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Paul Tillich suggests that each man experiences three existential conflicts in his personal history: first, the conflict between his personal and cultural backgrounds, that is, the crisis of identity; second, the conflict between his personal situation as it is and his personal situation as it ought to be, that is, the crisis of vocation; and finally, the conflict between the determination of his finitude and the freedom of God's infinitude, that is, the crisis of ultimate acceptance.[1] Each of these three crises corresponds to an appropriate theological motif: the crisis of identity corresponds to a theology of the Incarnation; the crisis of vocation corresponds to a theology of *Heilsgeschichte*, and the crisis of ultimate acceptance corresponds to a theology of the Resurrection and the Church, that is to say, to a theology of the Holy Spirit.[2]

Although it is a legitimate assumption that each personal crisis corresponds in some measure to every other theological motif, it is both helpful and instructive to narrow the issue down to a precise category of cross-reference. Consequently, we must ask which of these three personal crises and which corresponding theological motif is most adaptive to a discussion of "Selfhood and the Chosen One." According to Wayne Oates, the most appropriate category for this discussion is the cross-reference between the crisis of personal vocation and a theology of *Heilsgeschichte*.[3] Given a descriptive analysis of who the self is presently (which is the crisis of identity), the concern

* This article is based upon a paper presented in January, 1966, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Pastoral Care 174: The Church and Mental Health—The meaning of the self and the resources of the church in doctrine and worship in self-fulfillment.

1. Wayne Oates summarizes this Tillichian analysis of personal history. See Wayne Oates, *Christ and Selfhood* (New York: Association Press, 1961), p. 37.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 37, 74f.

3. *Ibid.*

now shifts to a vocational analysis of who the self is called to be and what the self can eventually become.[4]

There are at least three dialectical patterns within which this discussion of "Selfhood and the Chosen One" can be moved: the dialectics of process and fulfillment, isolation and relation, and universality and particularity.

THE DIALECTIC OF PROCESS AND FULFILLMENT

It has been suggested that the self is not a static phenomenon, but rather a dynamic one. That is to say, the self is in a continual state of process.[5] It constantly moves from potentiality to actuality, from becoming to being, from hope to fulfillment, from "isness" to "oughtness." Richard Goodling has suggested that the self is neither potentiality nor actuality, but rather the process which moves from potentiality to actuality.[6] The self is *at once* both potentiality and actuality, being and becoming, hope and fulfillment, "isness" and "oughtness." It resides in the tension state of this process dialectic anxiously wondering if its hope will be fulfilled and if its potential will be actualized. And it is at this point that one begins to sense the *Angst* implicit in the vocational crisis to which a theology of *Heilsgeschichte* must address itself.

But what is the movement of this process ontology? What specifically is it that the self seeks to become? The answer to that question is both simple and profound: the self seeks to become and to be, personal. Charles Stinnette focuses upon this apogee of human experience when he says this of contemporary man:

> The desire to be real involves the simultaneous knowledge that I am, and that my "realness" is sustained only in and through jeopardy. "I know that I am," wrote Augustine, "but at the same time I know that once I was not." This shock of existence which is involved in the knowledge that I am, that once I was not and that death, even in the midst of life, is a continuing possibility, is one of the drives behind the passionate search of every person to be real. As we have seen, this

4. Karen Horney, *Neurosis and Human Growth* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1950), p. 15. Horney contends that man is victimized by his own frantic pursuit of idealized images. She holds that man's self-realization and his personal values evolve in the process of striving to realize his potentialities.

5. Carl Rogers, *On Becoming a Person* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. 27.

6. Reference is made here to Dr. Richard Goodling's lecture in Pastoral Care 174, Duke Divinity School, for October 4, 1965.

search for identity—this effort to reclaim the self from anonymity—is one of the prevailing preoccupations of contemporary man.[7]

The self yearns to be personal, to be genuinely real, and to reclaim itself from the faceless horror of anonymity. But even in the midst of its yearning and hoping to be personally fulfilled, the self is confronted with the terrifying possibility of non-being. Mircea Eliade spoke of this depersonalizing threat as "the terror of history" which dawns upon the self with its awareness of the irretrievability of historical time.[8] And W. H. Auden seemingly concurs with this insight when he suggests that the fundamental problem of personhood is to redeem time from insignificance.[9]

It is interesting to notice that this psychological drama of the self corresponds to the historical drama of the Bible.[10] Just as the self moves from the opaque impersonality of its infancy to a more definitive personality in its adulthood, so does the biblical drama move from the impersonal to the personal. Like the self, biblical history is not cyclical and therefore static, but rather linear and therefore dynamic. It is also in a process of becoming: it moves from Law to Gospel, from Israel's hope to Israel's Messiah, from the multiplicity of the prophets to the singularity of the Chosen One, from an abstract idea of God to a personal incarnation of God.

Biblical scholarship would be horrified by the assumption that the Law of the Old Covenant was impersonal. And indeed, it would be both naive and irresponsible to assume that it was. But the critical distinction between the relationship of Law and Gospel to the personal can be made in this way: namely, that whereas the Law *points* to the personal, the Chosen One *embodies* the personal. In the Law, the personal is yet a conceptual category, that is, a reality which has not yet been fully actualized. But in the Chosen One, the personal becomes a person and the Word becomes flesh. And it is only when the idea of the personal becomes flesh and blood in a person on earth that the possibility of a full and true communion

7. Charles Stinnette, *Faith, Freedom, and Selfhood* (Greenwich, Connecticut: The Seabury Press, 1959), p. 52.

8. Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History. The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959), pp. 3-6.

9. W. H. Auden, "For the Time Being," (Epilogue) *Modern British Poetry*, edited by Louis Untermeyer (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc. 1962), pp. 467-468.

10. Oren Baker, *Human Nature Under God* (New York: Associated Press, 1958), p. 27-175. The thesis of this section of Baker's book is that the historical drama of Israel is really the psychological drama of every man.

between God and man is affected. For as Carl Rogers has pointed out, selves never relate primordially to ideas but to the emotive, nonrational world of the personal.[11] The hope which is at the core of the self corresponds to the Messianic expectation which is at the core of Israel's self-consciousness. It is the hope that its capacity for the personal will eventually be fulfilled. It is the hope that the contradiction and seeming insignificance of its own history will finally be overcome at the appearance of the Chosen One and the dawning of his *Heilsgeschichte.*

Having located the source of one's salvation in God's Chosen One, that is, in the Embodiment of the Personal, it now becomes an issue of one continually relating to him. And that moves the discussion to the second consideration: namely, to the dialectic of isolation and relation.

THE DIALECTIC OF ISOLATION AND RELATION

According to Gotthard Booth, the self is mentally ill to the extent that it is preoccupied with itself and mentally healthy to the extent that it is able to get beyond itself and relate successfully to the world of other persons.[12] Reflecting upon this theme, Stinnette says that

> Every "I" requires a prior responding "you." Before the child asks, "Who am I?" he has firmly established from the quality of relationship as well as quantity, his own answer to the question, "Who are You?"[13]

And Paul Pfeutz, reflecting upon the theology of Martin Buber, puts the theme a bit more poetically when he suggests that

> the essence of human life is what happens between man and man in community. For human existence is essentially dialogue, claim and counterclaim, demand and response.[14]

Human life insofar as it is personally fulfilled is a matter of encounter and confrontation. It is defined by the "inbetweenness" of its interpersonal relationships. The dialectic of isolation and relation fuses

11. Carl Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23. See also Wayne Oates, *Christ and Selfhood*, p. 36.

12. Gotthard Booth, "Health from the Standpoint of the Physician," in *The Church and Mental Health*, edited by Paul B. Maves. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), pp. 3-4.

13. Stinnette, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

14. Paul E. Pfeutz, *The Social Self* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1954), p. 131.

indissolubly at this point with the dialectic of process and fulfillment: the self hopes insofar as it is isolated from satisfactory interpersonal relationships and it is fulfilled insofar as it discovers satisfying interpersonal relationships. Selfhood requires the other —even in a one-dimensional universe!

But relationship is more than standing in close proximity to other people. In order to be a genuinely interpersonal relationship, a unique quality of penetrating interaction must be present. There are many people who mingle in the most sociable of crowds and yet are terribly alone and isolated from any meaningful and sustaining interpersonal relationships. These persons disguise their inability to relate to others by their constant and insatiable chatter, boisterous laughter, and crude jokes. They hide their personal insecurity behind a jigger of bourbon, a fraternity pin, or a stylish evening gown. They mingle in crowds and yet are alone and isolated. Theirs is not a genuine, interpersonal relationship which penetrates beneath the surface. It is merely a kind of "cosmetic conversation."

Moving from a psychological to a theological perspective, it is interesting to note that the biblical confirmation of man's identity is disclosed in the meaning of *Imago Dei.* This concept does not describe something substantive about human nature as the medieval scholastics tried to do, but rather it suggests something of the innate capacity of the person for relationship.[15] God and man are relational terms in the Bible, and from within the biblical perspective neither God nor man can be discussed apart from their fundamental relationship to one another. Consequently, to say that man has been created in the image of God is to say among other things that man stands *in relationship* to God.

But the God-man relationship in the Bible is never proffered on a purely one-to-one basis. It is rather a *mediated* relationship involving an agent of communication. Moreover, biblical faith contends that God both appoints and anoints his agent of communication, and that that agent of communication is known as God's "Chosen One." From a psychological perspective, God might be understood as the notion of personal perfection whereas the Chosen One might be understood as the embodiment of personal love. This makes a vast difference for the maturation of selfhood because the self is incapable

15. Emil Brunner, *The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption. Dogmatics: Vol. II.* Translated by Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952), p. 59.

of sustaining an interpersonal relationship with the idea of the personal whereas it is quite capable of sustaining a highly satisfying and even redemptive relationship with a flesh and blood incarnation of the personal. God's Chosen One fulfills that need.

It might be argued that the Chosen One is likewise more ideological than existential to the extent that it is enshrouded in the mythology of the New Testament *kerygma*. Moreover, it might be argued that *Heilsgeschichte* is more faith-interpretive and therefore ideological than it is empirically actualized and therefore genuinely existential. But perhaps these arguments will subside when one recognizes the fundamental relationship between myth and reality. Goodling has pointed out that man cannot interpret reality as it is in and of itself, but must employ a myth form to enable him to do so.[16] The psychiatrist who attempts to demythologize personal existence is ironically dependent upon the Oedipal myth to interpret and disclose the meaning of man's behavior. Man cannot handle reality as it is in and of itself, but must objectify that reality into a myth form—which is really a profoundly personal form—in order to undersand it. Perhaps this is what Ernst Fuchs meant when he said of biblical hermeneutics, "We don't demythologize the text; the text demythologizes us!"[17] Pablo Picasso reportedly once said that "modern art is a lie which depicts the truth of reality much more accurately than a photograph."[18] What Picasso and Fuchs are suggesting from two widely divergent perspectives is that the essence of myth is that it portrays the inner meaning of reality much more vividly than any kind of coldly, scientific statement. One stands before a myth much like one stands before a mirror. Without a mirror, one's physical appearance would forever be an enigma to him. Likewise, without a myth, the meaning of one's personal life would also be an enigma to him.

Perhaps now one can begin to discern the profound psychological

16. Reference is made here to Dr. Richard Goodling's lecture in Pastoral Care 174, Duke Divinity School, on October 4, 1965.

17. Ernst Fuchs, "Schluss der Vorlesung über das Johannesevangelium" in *Erganzungsheft zu die Hermeneutik* (Berlin S. S.: 24-7, 1958), p. 13. Another interesting and arresting quotation from Fuchs which followed this one is the following: "Who now is the object of demythologizing? Neither God, nor Jesus, nor the world, nor even language oriented toward walking, but rather man caught in a distorted relation to himself, at a standstill, indeed in collapse, who thinks either too highly or too lowly of himself. . . ."

18. Samuel Miller, guest convocation preacher for the Gray Lectures and North Carolina Pastor's School, quoted Picasso at this point in a sermon delivered in the Duke Chapel on Tuesday evening, November 2, 1965 entitled "On Seeing Miracles."

truth in Dietrich Bonhoeffer's statement when he said, "There is no salvation in my history, but only in the history of Jesus Christ."[19] The self, to the extent that it is locked within itself, is mentally ill. But the self, to the extent that it is related outside of itself, is mentally and emotionally healthy. Or to paraphrase Bonhoeffer's statement, there is no salvation within the isolation of one's own personal history but only in the relation of that history to the history of another. At this point, history becomes *Heilsgeschichte*, that is, the redemptive and eventful encounter of "I and Thou."

THE DIALECTIC OF UNIVERSALITY AND PARTICULARITY

The word "relationship," although a highly suggestive and imaginative term, does not do full justice to the peculiarly unique relationship which exists between the self and the Chosen One. The Bible uses a better term for that relationship, and that term is "covenant." Covenant implies commitment. It transcends dialogue and interaction in that it becomes a compact of indissoluble loyalty between the contracting partners. The biblical relationship between God and man is more than a *communication* between God and man; it is a *commitment* between God and man. It is a *covenant.*

It might be noted here that the covenant relationship provides the self with more security than the merely interpersonal relationship. In forming a covenant compact with the Chosen One, the self is given the feeling that it will not and cannot be abandoned under any circumstances. Thus, in the resurrection experiences, the disciple who has entered into a covenant with the Chosen One is given the tremendously satisfying assurance that he cannot kill the other, that he cannot lose the other. Hostility toward the other will not destroy him because the covenant has been sealed by a mutual commitment.[20]

But why establish a covenant relationship with a particular Chosen One; namely, with Jesus of Nazareth? Why not be free to play the field and to relate to many different religious figures? What is the psychological value of dogmatic theology as opposed to eclectic theology? Certainly there are many reasons, but Soren Kierkegaard has placed on the most comprehensive one when he suggests that the

19. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Life Together* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1952), p. 44.

20. Reference to Dr. Richard Goodling's lecture in Pastoral Care 174 on September 27, 1965.

particular is higher than the universal.[21] What Kierkegaard means to say is that commitment constitutes a more fulfilling form of relationship than indiscrimination. The man who is committed to a particular relationship is far more apt to discover self-fulfillment in that commitment than the man who is victimized by the myriad demands and complexity of all his relationships. The marriage relationship is a good analogy. The man who has unreservedly committed himself to one woman is far more apt to discover the intrinsic meaning of marriage than the one who has random relations with many women.

Jesus spoke of this distinction between the particular and the universal as being the distinction between the participant and the spectator.[22] To his question, "Who do men say that I am?" there was the nebulous reply that he was but another religious prophet. But to the question, "Who do *you* say that I am?" there was the affirmation that he was the Christ, God's Chosen One. The meaning of Christ's identity could not be discerned by the spectator on the outside, but only by the participant on the inside. The particular is higher than the universal, commitment is more than communication.

But what does all of this say about the self? What is the self saying about himself when he chooses to be committed to the particular Chosen One rather than to the universal host of prophets? Very simply, the self's commitment to the Chosen One is correspondingly the self's choice to be a "someone" and not an "everyone." Stinnette suggests that the mentally healthy person is a well defined and/or definite person.[23] He is not a conglomerate distillation of a faceless crowd, but rather one who has a personal core of integrity that distinguishes him from the anonymity of the crowd. He is "inner-directed" rather than "other-directed." Thus when the individual commits himself to the particularity of the Chosen One, he is affirming among other things his desire to be particular "someone" rather than faceless "everyone." Kierkegaard caught this idea with precision when he said

> The tragic hero renounces himself in order to express the universal, the knight of faith renounces the universal in order to become the individual.[24]

21. Soren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1954), p. 65.
22. Matthew 16:13-20.
23. Stinnette, *Faith, Freedom, and Selfhood,* p. 105.
24. Kierkegaard, *op. cit.,* p. 86.

And Stinnette echoed that Kierkegaardian sentiment in these words:

> Man must come before the eternal Thou as the single one. But here it is important to remember that in order to be the single one—an individual—he must have a self to give.[25]

The person who focuses sharply upon the Chosen One is saying in effect that he chooses to be a well defined person rather than an echo of his social environment, a "someone" rather than a faceless and nameless "everyone."

The Bible invites one to a freedom from duplicity precisely because it offers one the freedom for commitment. "With singleness of heart" the disciple is called to follow the Chosen One.[26] Thus, when Peter took his eyes off Christ, he began to perish in the stormy sea; and when he later compared his situation to that of the beloved disciple, Jesus rebuked him and said, "If it is my will that you should remain until I come, what is that to you? Follow thou me!"[27] Kierkegaard was absolutely right, the particular is higher than the universal, the participant is more personal than the spectator, commitment does transcend communication, and to be a "someone" is infinitely more valuable than trying to be an "everyone." Selfhood finds a real basis for definition and for completion in God's Chosen One!

25. Stinnette, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
26. Acts 2:46, Ephesians 6:5, Colossians 3:22.
27. John 21:20-22.

Counseling and Its Meaning for the Man of Faith

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EDITOR'S NOTE:

For the past six years, our divinity students have been introduced to pastoral counseling through the client-centered orientation of Carl Rogers. Pastors, generally, have relied heavily upon the contributions of Rogers to develop their skills in counseling and have, hopefully, grown with the Rogerians from the initial stage of non-directiveness with its rigid verbal technique orientation, through its second stage of client-centeredness with its emphasis on the attitude and orientation of the counselor, to the present emphasis on personhood and on openness and mutuality in counseling. Indeed, pastoral counseling is now moving into the "post-Rogerian" era, drawing upon its Rogerian heritage but developing a uniquely pastoral counseling model and stance. In the book review section reference is made to Clinebell's latest book, *Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling*, which presents systematically such a model.

Growth in counseling does not occur without a struggle. Students agonize over the tension between their basic personal orientation and that proposed by the counselor model, between their basic attitudes toward others and those held to be therapeutic, between their pastoral setting and that of the professional counselor, between their theological commitment and humanism, between the transcendental language of faith and the immanental language of a behavioral science.

Following is a report by a student at the end of an introductory counseling course concerning his search to reconcile the personal, professional, and theological issues raised. The reader who wishes to explore in depth the implications of counseling theory and practice for theology are referred to two books, both published by the Westminster Press: Daniel Day Williams, *The Minister and the Care of Souls*; and Thomas C. Oden, *Kerygma and Counseling.*

I.

There are, of course, techniques in counseling to be learned by the counselor: that of learning to read feelings behind words and acts, of hearing what the other person must be experiencing as he talks through his feelings, of selecting what is to be responded to at the moment, of saying what is to be said. These have to be learned. More basically, however, counseling is a way of relating as a person to persons. The value of training in counseling is not based upon the mastery of these techniques, but upon the way it affects one's way of relating to other persons. I believe the pastor becomes a counselor by learning to become a person-centered person. Training in counseling must assist the counselor to be a person and to become increasingly aware of the being of another—not so much to make his mind a blank slate upon which the other person may write, but to open his own innards to the possibility of being a person and responding as a person to the life-experience of another.

II.

The counseling event is a human event—that of two human beings learning to relate to each other. The humanity of the event must be fully understood and appreciated. Yet the meaning of this event for the man of faith is that it is the work of God, the relating of two creatures in dependence upon each other and upon the Lord. For the man of faith, all the power is that of his Lord, and all the healing is by the Spirit of God. This is the faith he lives by, and the faith which makes counseling an activity which has meaning for his life at a level more comprehensive than that of the situation defined factually from an empirical point of view. This faith-confession sustains him in his counseling and may keep him in hope when there seems to be no hope, and in relationship when he is tempted to condemn the other to the perdition of his troubles.

This is but a sketchy summary of the theological view of the counseling event. With the readings and class discussions as background I should like to reflect further upon a theological view of counseling.

Early in the semester the question was raised whether or not we could take the Rogerian method as a technique and baptize it into the work of the Christian minister, applying a secular method to a Christian work. The issue seemed to be that of taking a method which

was the means of achieving one end and fitting it to another end, namely, a Christian one. The form of the question and the answer changed as the semester progressed. As our emphasis shifted from "nondirective counseling" through "client-centered therapy" to "person-oriented relationship," we seemed to find that the work of counseling came closer and closer to being a way of Christian living within which the minister acts out in life his concern for persons. This is consistent with biblical theology: both Testaments witness to the healing and restoring of the person to integrity of life and interrelationship with other persons. When a man is cleansed of demons or of leprosy he may return to healthy society, able to relate to other people. Of course, the humanist can say as much. We have not yet fully answered the question, 'How is God related to the counseling process?'

The counseling relationship is a deeply human relationship. Healing of the person takes place in that fully human relationship. For the healing process to occur, it is not prerequisite to insist that God must be mystically present, nor is there any reason to insist that there are two different healing processes, one for the mind-body and the other for the soul. The counseling event is a unitary event. The Christian's response to that event is a faith-response. The Christian is living a life of response in faith which enables him to view life as a gift of God rather than a fateful journey to nothingness. In this faith he is able to confess that as he relates to persons, the healing that takes place—the growth that comes about, the integrity that is more fully realized—is the work of the grace of God. He can talk shop with the secular psychiatrist—who may well be a humanist (though hardly less)—without having to posit God as a precondition for the discussion. The work of person-centered counseling is that of men relating to men, not demigods or supermen relating to subjects or inferiors; the Christian can say *confessionally* (i.e. theologically, from the faith-interpretive viewpoint) that the Spirit of God is present, and that the healing power of faith is manifest. After all, what gives greater life-reason for the counseling work than the glad response of faith to what one confesses to be the call of God? The work of counseling is a fully human experience; were it not, it would be less real. Yet to the minister of faith, working in a theocentric witness to the greater work of Christ, it is a process which he confesses to be possible only by the grace of God, who frees all men to him and thus to each other. Thus one could have a counseling relationship with an agnostic or an atheist, and call it the working of the

Holy Spirit, even though the counselee might think the whole religious idea nonsense.

It seems to me that psychological processes have more meaning for the man of faith than for the man of unfaith. Where is there greater opportunity not to wave the flag of black magic and invoke mystery but to affirm the working of God in the healing and integrating of human life? The genius of the person-centered method is the realization that healing in persons comes about through relationships. Here is the process of the whole of a person, including his religious commitment, relating to the whole of another, with the purpose of making possible a healing relationship.

III.

The introductory course in conseling has made some differences in my entire way of relating to persons. The person-centered orientation has made less distinct the line of demarcation between specific counseling situations and personal relationships in general. With a growing realization of the fuller, more personal nature of counseling, ordinary non-counseling relationships have taken on a new dimension and one becomes better able to listen to what persons are experiencing. Hopefully, this will not result in one's becoming 'counselish' in all his personal relationships, nor will the counseling orientation make us morbidly curious or personality collectors. Instead, one hopes for results in terms of more meaningful personal relationships based on better understanding and greater willingness to put aside defensiveness and to be open to each other. Defensiveness is the main block to meaningful personal relationships and is in itself a source of tension and anger between persons. Of course, one does not cast out defensiveness simply by deciding to become less defensive. In my case the growing possibility of becoming open to persons has begun to dissolve the block of defensiveness; this is perhaps another way of saying that one becomes less self-centered as he becomes other-centered. At any rate, the dissolution of defensiveness is accomplished (or begun, or furthered) by a positive possibility of opening toward something else—namely, the needs and feelings of others. This is not simply other-centeredness at the expense of the self, but it is a fulfilling of the self in relationships, even as one himself wears the label of counselor, seeking to open others to healing and fulfillment in relationships. If this is the overcoming of alienation, the finding of integrity and identity, the healing of persons, then so be it, and the glory be to God.

Feelings of Anger and Pastoral Counseling

John C. Detwiler

Anger is a very uncomfortable feeling. Universally people have been and continue to be troubled over its presence in their lives and those around them. Particularly has the understanding and handling of anger been important within the Christian Church and more recently in the psychological sciences. "Hate," "resentment," "retaliation," "hostility" and "anger" are words commonly used to describe our everyday experiences. Some people with consciences molded by particular Christian traditions find it necessary to view anger as alien to them. They are the ones who are most likely to have trouble when their hidden anger breaks through.

The contemporary psychotherapeutic approaches to mental and emotional malfunctioning give much consideration to a variety of human feelings such as anxiety, fear, trust, mistrust, love and anger, but none is more common than anger. The long-held importance of *all* of these feelings has been re-affirmed. One of the significant recent discoveries is that behind many difficulties in living are unrecognized, pressing angry feelings.[1] Furthermore, they have shown

1. There are two significant theories of anger that need mentioning. a) The Freudian which proposes that there is within each person an instinctual motivation which aims at overcoming the loving impulses and thereby destroys life in one's self and others. (See Freud, S., *Beyond The Pleasure Principle*, London, 1948 and Freud, S., *Outline of Psychoanalysis*, New York, 1949.) b) The "frustration-aggression" theory of the Yale studies of aggression (Dollard, J., *et al., Frustration and Aggression*, New Haven, 1939). This theory is stated well by Holland: "aggression in one form or another is the universal response to frustration. . . . 'Anger' is the emotion associated with the thwarting or blocking of movement toward or away from an object, and the correlated impulse would be to attack the source of frustration. . . ." (Holland, G. A., *Fundamentals of Psychotherapy*, New York, 1965, p. 42.) Another helpful essay along the lines of the "frustration-aggression" theory is to be found in Salzman, Leon, "Love, Hostility and Depression," *Developments in Psychoanalysis*, New York, 1962. As will become increasingly clear from my own statements I accept the "frustration-aggression" theory as at least the most helpful and perhaps the most valid theory of anger.

that in psychotherapy symptoms are favorably modified and people become happier (though not happy!) when the angry feelings are felt and understood for what they are, namely, desires to retaliate, to hurt in return that which has hurt and frustrated the person, particularly in the person's attempts to establish sexual and affectionate relations with other people. Along with this understanding comes the verbal and non-verbal "pouring forth" (ventilation) of the angry feelings and the sources of the frustration. The anger is "drained off." The childhood hurts are desensitized and the person expands his ability to handle with minimal hurt potentially frustrating experiences. There is an increase in interpersonal satisfaction and hostility is reduced. Concern for protecting the self becomes less and mutual involvement with others increases.

Anger has its redemptive, beneficial, and constructive uses. Basically this means that the presence of anger points to a problem. Anger can point to a problem having to do with the unalterable structures of human existence, more particularly unavoidable sickness and death. Anger can then be the stimulus for a reaching inward and outward for sources of faith to bear what may seem unbearable. Or anger can point to a problem of human relationships where the possibilities of love and growth of the self and others have not been actualized but might have been so. Here anger acknowledged by the self can be the stimulus to continue moving toward people and the future actualization of a loving community with them which satisfies the deepest human needs to cherish and be cherished. Anger expressed to the person who is the object of the anger can awaken both to the realization that each is a distinct person, that neither wants or will tolerate action which denies that distinctiveness. The distinctiveness having been recognized there is a resurgence of value for the person. Genuine love-in-mutual-relationship is then beginning to happen.

Denial of anger within one's self and others is, from a psychotherapeutic perspective, an evil, though recognition and the expression of anger cannot be said to be the final good. The final good is the working out of a life pattern which affirms the value of one's self and others and the mutual community established between them.

As clergymen, whether in the parish or institutional ministry, we are all called upon to be helpful with people attempting to function satisfyingly and purposefully in life. There are many different kinds of help that we may offer—preaching, teaching, worship, sacra-

ment or counseling. Any of the first four may be the best means of help for some. Sermons by enlightened ministers, as well as teaching and sacraments may comfort, clarify problems and offer solutions. Worship itself can soothe and heal the rawness of life. The helpfulness of worship, teaching, preaching and sacraments is part of the experience of many.

However, I am referring to pastoral counseling help which is offered and received in a different manner, though it bears distinct similarities to preaching, teaching, sacraments, and worship. Pastoral counseling begins in different ways: informally when pastor and parishioner, for example, may get together for a cup of coffee; or formally, when the parishioner asks to speak with the pastor in his office. The topic may be approached by the parishioner also in varying ways: "Your sermon started me thinking about . . . ," or, "I just need to talk to you and get your ideas about something," or, "I need somewhere to let my hair down," or, "I'm worried and I need someone to listen," etc. Ministers will know well the situations to which I am referring. Such is the setting for pastoral counseling.

As the situation unfolds cues are given that the person who wants to talk is struggling and agonizing over resentment and anger, with high levels of anxiety and guilt caused by these feelings. He comes to the pastor in no small part because the pastor is a symbol of morality, judgment, and forgiveness.

People vary in the knowledge that they have of their feeling—reactions and the reasons motivating their reactions. Only the most unusual person will recognize the full extent of the motivation for his anger. There will be many who can be aware of their angry feelings, and if the angry episodes are infrequent and pass without destructive consequences we may feel reasonably confident that they are not in trouble with their anger. Most often they do not need pastoral counseling but pastoral listening.

The problems which call for pastoral counseling are those in which the person is mostly unaware of his intense feelings of anger, anxiety, and guilt. Also there are those who are aware of intense anger but cannot identify the frustrations and stress causing it. Several typical situations can be noted: a) Some people recognize their anger but the initial reasons stated for being angry are not the basic reasons for their anger. The stimulus for the anger is as yet unconscious. b) Some people, being unaware of their anger, will come complaining of being guilty for certain misdeeds which they

point to as ample justification for their guilt. After further pastoral work it becomes evident that the "misdeeds" were motivated by resentment and it is the intense resentment over which they feel so guilty. The pastor should not allow himself to assume a simple causal relationship between feelings of guilt and perceived misdeeds. What the person is aware of is important but what he is unaware of may be even more important.

We may formulate the goals of pastoral counseling in these situations by saying that we wish to make intense, unconscious anger, guilt and anxiety conscious; identify the stress which is kicking off these feelings; enable the person to make decisions and realistic moves to alleviate the stimulus situations; help the person learn to gain need satisfaction in other situations; and desensitize the person to the frustrations.

A word of caution should be offered. There are situations which almost universally provoke anger in people. Maltreatment of children would be such a case. However, there are many situations which provoke anger in an intensity which only with difficulty could be understood by a neutral observer. My point is that the situations which repeatedly stimulate stress and anger in a given person most likely are symbolic of his own early history, of hurt and situations he was unable to handle and could not flee. The caution to be offered is this: one should attempt correlating early experience and present experience with patients only when the pastor is well trained and experienced. Much help can be offered by dealing with current factors, keeping in mind that the etiology of the problem begins early in life. Good work with current material can be hurt by getting into childhood issues and memories which may only confuse both pastor and parishioner. However, if the pastor is well trained in counseling (meets American Association of Pastoral Counselors standards) then counseling effectiveness may be increased through a correlation of present stress and early childhood experience.

At this point I would like to share with the reader some of my own experiences in working *collaboratively* with psychiatrists.[2] The patients with whom I worked were all being treated psychotherapeutically. When I have gotten referrals to see these patients, the

2. In addition to being the primary counselor with some parishioners the pastor also may have counseling relationships in which he collaborates as adjunct counselor in working with people who have another professional such as a psychiatrist as their primary counselor.

accompanying explanation would be—"This patient needs permission to recognize his angry feelings." The formulation of the emotional dynamics goes like this: the patient's fear and guilt over his anger is causing him to deny and repress it. The anger then shows itself in disguised form as psychiatric symptoms like anxiety, depression, phobias, etc. The symptoms, in turn, sometimes are passive forms of punishment directed at those with whom he is angry.

The thinking behind the referral to the chaplain (in my case) is that the patient needs an authority figure who represents morality, e.g., the pastor, to communicate verbally and non-verbally to him that it is acceptable to have feelings of anger and to acknowledge them. We also point out that it is unacceptable to lose control of anger and hurt one's self or others. There is a healthful middle ground between denial and loss of control. When this communication is accepted by the patient we have observed that the symptoms are lessened. There is an acceleration of the process of becoming open to all of one's inner needs and reactions. The person begins anew the slow but many times exciting search for satisfaction-in-mutual-relationships between a genuine "I" and an authentic "thou" (and "Thou"), which relationship had once gone awry but now hopefully will continue beneficially in the main for the rest of life.

Let us return now from the hospital to the pastor's office where sit a pastor and one or more parishioners. Particularly do I have in mind those parishioners who chronically are unable to cope with anger and its associated guilt and anxiety. These people present the most challenge and difficulty. It is with them in mind, primarily, that I make the following suggestions about the *pastor's perspective* as he enters into a counseling relationship with them. What should constitute the pastor's "mind-set" as he views the person who comes to his office with difficulty over angry feelings? I suggest four important pastoral attitudes: 1) Sympathetic and informed understanding of human motivation and conflict. 2) Acceptance and permission for people to have angry feelings. 3) Respect for the religious traditions of the parishioner and the issues with which he is struggling. 4) Acceptance of the moral authority given the pastor by the parishioner. Let us look at each in more detail.

1) Sympathetic and informed understanding of human motivation and conflict. Human motivation and conflict can at times be confusing, even for the most sympathetic and informed person. The skill to collaborate with a parishioner as he grapples with his anger is

subtle and almost always the product of arduous examination of one's self and others.[3] By such examination ought to come the crucial and indispensable knowledge that nothing people think, say, or do is irrelevant or purposeless. He ought to learn that long established patterns of life are difficult to change, at times impossible, but that change can come when the conditions are right and the internal and external pressures motivate it. Because of the stubborn, residual nature of our early learned patterns of behavior the pastor needs patience that he not get prematurely frustrated and conclude that the person cannot be helped. He may frustrate and threaten the parishioner by expecting a faster rate of progress than is possible for him.

The pastor ought to expect and be prepared for the paradoxes which will present themselves. Paradox and contradiction are the rule rather than the exception. Two paradoxes come to mind relating to what has been said about the difficulty of change and the need for patience. Change is slow and difficult, yet we have found that a *slight* modification of behavior often brings grand and pleasing results. Again, the pastor needs the gift of patience, but we know that frequently his impatience can be a significant, all-important stimulus for healing.

2) Acceptance and permission for people to have angry feelings. The pastor needs to let the parishioner know by verbal and non-verbal means that it is "OK" to be angry and that he, the pastor, is not intimidated by or rejecting of the anger which is felt. Positive loving and tender feelings are also acceptable. There are times when the fear and guilt over these feelings is equal to that felt about anger. Our concern at this point, however, is to deal with the anger. If necessary, one can then look with the parishioner at the relation between anger and frustration of positive feelings, but this is not a necessity. If the guilt and anxiety over anger can be lessened the person often handles his positive feelings much better; they, so to speak, take care of themselves.

3. The most desirable way to gain this skill is through *supervised* experience in counseling. The best experience offers the opportunity for the pastor to interact with more highly trained professionals and fellow pastors who also are learning to be helpful. Reading the literature from pastoral psychology, psychiatry, clinical psychology, and sociology, as well as drama and novels can be stimulating for depthful understanding. However these materials need to be interacted with and tested against the insights of philosophy, theology, and the biblical writings.

3) Respect for the religious traditions of the parishioner and the issues with which he is wrestling. It is not necessary that the pastor agree with the conclusions and theology of the parishioner. What I have observed to be significant is that both pastor and parishioner are concerned with similar issues. The answers need not be compatible but the reasons for the difference in answers are very important. One may initially think that the respect and similarity of concern would be automatic, but I think this is hardly the case anymore with the ever-widening gap between clergy and laity.

This respect is necessary for three reasons: a) religious traditions often reinforce the guilt a person feels and condemn him for his anger. Hence the religious traditions need to be considered. b) Religious traditions may carry within them the seeds of a healthier outlook such as acceptance of one's self and point to justice for the self as well as others; religious faith may alleviate anxiety by stimulating trust in the trustworthiness of self, others, and the world.[4] c) Religious traditions are closely tied to the early childhood experiences and hence are much a part of the person who possesses them. To reject these traditions would be to reject a highly significant aspect of the person. It is difficult to reject any such significant tradition without running the risk of the parishioner feeling that he himself has been rejected.

Several items of religious tradition need to be highlighted. A reverent respect for the biblical writings is needed, though I have found that even with conservative people a liberal interpretation on the part of the pastor is permissible. At times people reject my interpretation of the Bible but in the act of doing so may be gaining more autonomy and may provide rich material for the discussion of the anger present in the current pastoral relationship and the reasons that the parishioner becomes angry and rejecting.

In addition to having a reverent respect for the Bible it is crucial that the pastor take most seriously all language by means of which the person tries to communicate himself. Most vital for some people is that we understand the religious language they use. We should

4. Erik Erikson has written meaningfully about religion and tradition from a psychological perspective: "the psychological observer must ask whether or not in any area under observation religion and tradition are living psychological forces creating the kind of faith and conviction which permeates a parent's personality and thus reinforces the child's basic trust in the world's trustworthiness." ("Identity and the Life Cycle," *Psychological Issues*, Volume I, No. 1, 1959, p. 64.)

not be caught in the trap of being able to understand only a psychological language and idiom. Religious language can tell us much about the personal conflicts of psychological, moral, and religious nature.[5] The most potent and personal language for those of us nurtured since childhood in the Church may be the language of the Bible: of guilt, grace, sin, punishment, jealousy, condemnation, redemption, salvation, healing, anger, love, perfection, and imperfection. We could go on seemingly *ad infinitum*. These words speak deeply to and about human confusion and the answer thereto. I often discuss religious ideas with patients or counselees. For example: when the person is unduly self-derogating I may point out that he seems to have overlooked the "image of God" within him or that he acts as if he had an emotional doctrine of "total depravity." When the person feels that it is unforgivable to make mistakes or is compulsively perfectionistic I may say to him that he acts as if salvation came by "works" rather than by "grace." This approach can be quite effective provided that we do not forget this intermingling of "flesh and spirit" called a person, and thus unknowingly slip quietly into words alone!

4) Acceptance of the moral authority attributed to him by his parishioners. Even people who are highly ambivalent about religion attribute moral authority to the minister and will seek him out for that reason. At a given point in the life of the parishioner, when he comes to the pastor, he may need a moral authority who can help relieve the intense demands of his distorted conscience and the consequent anxiety and guilt over the angry feelings. In essence the pastor must be willing to have as much influence as the superego, i.e. the parents, childhood teachers, and pastors who were so influential in the early formation of the parishioner's conscience. The pastor is identified in the mind of the parishioner as being a moral authority and when he gives permission for angry feelings it carries no small influence.

Later, however, the pastor must help the parishioner to become his own moral authority and to gain "ego-strength" to evaluate right and wrong on the basis of his own experience when compared with the experience of others—no longer merely on the authority of influential persons from childhood. The process of the parishioner assuming

5. See Meyer, G., *et al.*, "On the Diagnostic Value of Religious Ideation," *Archives of General Psychiatry*, Volume 13, September, 1965.

authority for himself must be enhanced and fostered or he is left feeling that always he must go to someone else for approval—be it person in the present or his own unconscious—when the moral decisions that we all face must be made. I believe that when we have achieved the freedom to take responsibility for our own moral decisions we then have recovered the latent "image of God" in each of us.

No essay of this nature would be complete without an attempt to consider more explicitly where one may come out theologically and religiously if he understands anger in ways similar to that set forth here. Therefore I want to share with the reader some significant understandings that I have reached.

There are important ethical considerations. Anger can be destructive, let there be no question about that! The problem is one of learning how to recognize and use one's anger for constructive purposes. Denial and repression of anger is not the most beneficial alternative in coping with it for it may only eliminate its *overt* destructiveness while in disguised and passive form it can still harm one's self and others. Often in child rearing this happens when parents who have repressed their own anger gain satisfaction from the childish temper-tantrums of their offspring. Then they fail to apply consistent discipline and controls where necessary. Other parents, being unduly anxious over anger, severely punish and condemn any self-assertion or angry expression by their children. In the latter case, parents often draw upon the Christian ideal of "loving one's neighbor as one's self" to condemn and control the self-assertion and anger of children. "God doesn't like you when you do that," is a disapproval often heard. Built up within the child is an unattainable ideal of the way he or she ought to be—loving and giving, not angry and demanding. The "as one's self" is either overlooked or poorly understood. The Christian provisions for failure to achieve the ideal, for imperfection, namely acceptance and forgiveness, come to be attitudes that the child tries to have for other persons. He fails to recognize that these are for "I" as well as "thou." Hence he accepts imperfections in others and fails to accept them in himself.

By and large the psychotherapeutic approaches to personal distress would agree with the Christian goal of "growth in love." Sigmund Freud's famous statement sets the tone for much of the psychotherapeutic community: "We must begin to love that we may not fall

ill, and must fall ill, if in consequence of frustration, we cannot love."[6] Other psychotherapists would insist that we not overlook the importance of recognizing and expressing anger appropriately. The point at which the psychotherapeutic community would cry "No!" is when moralistic, restricted, unrealistic elements of the Christian community assert that it is possible for people to have no anger, hate and resentment. What is being emphasized is that we can most fully give and receive love when some of the thorns that unclaimed anger sticks in our flesh have been removed. Some thorns are removed when a person can say at least, "Yes, the anger is mine!"

There are anthropological considerations in addition to the ethical ones above. Like it or not, anger, resentment and hate are present in all people at sometime. We may wish that it were not so. We may feel uncomfortable with it. We may remove it from our awareness by repression and denial. But the residual fact is that anger is a part of being human.

Anger is present because we live in a finite, limited, and limiting environment where the created needs cannot always receive full and lasting satisfactions. The frustration breeds the anger. While the basic human response of anger to frustration and that which caused the frustration cannot be removed, the excessive anger which is a response to excessive frustration can be lessened. The excessively, chronically angry person is one whose early basic needs have not been met to the full extent of their possibility even in this finite world. Frustration is always present in some areas of life and we all must learn to tolerate a degree of it. But there is such a thing as intolerable frustration and many people have received more than their share! Basic needs could often have been more fully gratified than they were.

I am willing, and at times think it clarifying, to understand anger as a sympton of *sin* provided that sin is understood as a state of life in bondage and finitude which produces conflicted human beings rather than as wrong acts and feelings. Such would be a true description of the human situation.

In regard to *faith*, it is faith which makes us able to confront our own anger or that of others—a faith which is natural, as anger is natural. Faith in this instance is the trust that God has allowed nothing to be a part of our being which cannot be harnessed under

6. Freud, S., "On Narcissism: An Introduction," *Collected Papers*, ed. J. Strachey, London, 1950, IV, 42.

the guidance of loving action. Faith speaks to the human situation of bondage and finitude by assuaging the anxiety which is a concomitant of our situation. Faith does not remove all bondage and limitations. This is an analogy of the way anger is resolved. Faith does not remove anger but it helps us to bear the anxieties which anger causes while we brave the struggle to understand it, to lessen it when possible and to use it beneficially. Often it is the faith of the counselor which is the stimulus that activates the latent faith of the parishioner.

When people, whether pastor or parishioner, learn to recognize, feel, and use their anger redemptively they can live with freedom from chronic, denied anger and be relatively free to respond to the present moment, to care for and love some people, and to be part of the growth of an ever-widening community of healing.

The Volunteer Hospital Chaplaincy

P. Wesley Aitken

In recent years a number of community hospitals have established volunteer chaplaincy programs as valid attempts to meet more effectively the religious needs of their patients. These programs usually have been planned carefully and are the results of the combined efforts of the county ministerial association, medical society, and hospital staff. Too many of these programs have failed or continued to exist only because of the dogged dedication of a few. Why has this happened? A physician at a hospital where such a program had failed shared his explanation of the failure with me. He claimed that the ministers were just lazy—that they had not been willing to work hard enough for the program to succeed. He had invited the volunteer chaplains, when on duty, to make rounds with him each morning and the ministers had not even responded to that. He finally gave up and went back to his old and reliable procedure of calling upon two of the clergy of the community when he needed help with any of his patients.

Volunteer chaplaincy is a demanding program, but most clergy know this before they volunteer. Therefore, I do not believe laziness provides a valid explanation for the failures. Downheartedness, loss of enthusiasm, and lethargy have set in after some programs have been underway for a while, but this is not laziness. It may appear as laziness but it is not.

The problem is a serious one, and a difficult one, because it involves the very identity of the clergyman who volunteers. There is a solution, but it is as complex as the problem is difficult. At the risk of over-simplifying, I would state the problem this way. A clergyman in his parish is familiar with one particular identity and wears one kind of "hat." When he assumes the role of Volunteer Hospital Chaplain, he puts on another kind of "hat." (If many physicians invite volunteer chaplains to accompany them on medical rounds, those chaplains will be faced with the problem of putting on a third "hat.") Wearing these "hats" is far more complicated than it might

appear and if the complexity is not understood, disappointment, disillusionment, and disinterest can be the results. Certain expectations are placed on clergy, as Volunteer Hospital Chaplains, that are not placed on them as parish clergy. Let us examine these different expectations.

A clergyman serving in a local church represents a particular interpretation of life and how it should be lived. He is an advocate of that particular way of living with its prescribed set of values and its traditional attitudes. His orientation to ministry thus far is restricted to one religious group. As a Volunteer Hospital Chaplain he will be called upon to provide some form of ministry for people of other religious groups or for people of no religious preference at all. What justification has he for this? Has he the right to minister to someone of another religious group? If he is Protestant, has he any right to minister to a Jewish patient? If he is a Roman Catholic, has he any right to minister to a Protestant patient? The answer might be given that this question was voted upon by the Ministerial Association and that representatives of all religious groups had approved the procedure. It could be answered that the patient or family member must grant the chaplain permission, or the chaplain might try to avoid the problem by visiting only patients and families of his own religious preference. These answers would all be superficial and would not speak to the deeper question.

One important purpose of the Volunteer Hospital Chaplains program is to make available to the hospital staff an able and authorized clergyman when urgent and emergency needs occur in the hospital. The "Chaplain for the Week" must be in the hospital, or available by telephone, every minute of the week he is on call. If an emergency occurs while the Volunteer Chaplain is in the hospital, must he call another clergyman if he is not of the same religious preference as the injured? What about the patient who has no religious preference? What rights and privileges has the Volunteer Chaplain with him? Will the Volunteer Chaplain try to add one to his fold?

The main question that underlies all these other questions is twofold. Does a clergyman have a ministry to people who are not of his own religious preference and, if he does, what is it? This is the complex question that is posed when a clergyman puts on the "hat" of a Volunteer Hospital Chaplain. If a person of another religious preference comes to his church, the clergyman may find it easier to

answer the question since the person seems to be granting the clergyman certain privileges by choosing to come to his church. Traditionally the clergyman would attempt to win the person to the membership of his church and to the beliefs embraced by the membership of the church. If the clergyman meets that same person in the hospital when that clergyman is serving as Volunteer Chaplain the answer is not so simple. The more complex question is present whether it is recognized or not. A clergyman who does not recognize this question or does not attempt to answer it usually will fall into one of three traps when he attempts to minister to a patient of another religious preference. He will conduct a social visit and nothing else; he will try to convert the patient, thus making the hospital his church; or he will find reasons or rationale for not visiting the patient at all. If the last of the three occurs, and he fails to visit when it is requested, the requests will cease and the Volunteer Chaplaincy program will collapse in a short period of time. If the second happens and he begins evangelizing and proselytizing, the program will die quickly of an internal explosion, the fuse being ignited by an angry colleague or physician. If the first happens, social visiting, the program might go on indefinitely because it then would be similar to an organized program of lay visitation, and most people enjoy this, if they are not too sick. The fact that the program does not fail completely may provide enough satisfaction to last the clergyman for a while but his interest will wane and he will find it increasingly difficult to keep the remainder of his busy schedule from crowding out his opportunities to participate in the program. In order to answer the question I have posed, we must look carefully at who the clergyman, as Volunteer Chaplain, can *be to* the patient rather than concentrate on what he can *do for* the patient. I am referring to a clergyman's basic or pastoral identity rather than to what I would call his clerical identity. This basic or pastoral identity is common to all clergy, without exception. A clergyman as pastor or as Volunteer Chaplain, should be a person of sufficient emotional maturity and a person of sufficient knowledge and training in his own special field to be able to minister effectively in the midst of chaos and distress as well as in the midst of peace and quiet. I realize the complexity of this statement. For example, I speak of emotional maturity knowing that there are clergy who are so engrossed in their own personal struggles that they cannot hear or see the struggles of others; or they attempt to help, and get their parishioners' struggles so mixed up

with their own that it becomes impossible to discern who is assisting whom. These clergy would find it very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to grant patients sufficient freedom or "emotional distance" to struggle by themselves when necessary. Their intentions would be good, but they would not be able to help themselves.

The Volunteer Chaplain need not convert the person to his belief in order to help him. If the Volunteer Chaplain can be the clergyman I have described, the patient will be able to accept him as reliable and trustworthy. Only then will the patient feel safe enough to share with him his deeper, more painful, and frustrating concerns growing out of his struggle in the hospital. Once the patient can trust the chaplain because of who he is as a person, the fact that he is a Methodist minister, Rabbi, or Priest, will become incidental. The chaplain's clerical identity will be important to the patient as evidence that the chaplain has arrived at this particular advanced point in his search for meaning to life, but it will be incidental to the patient's immediate concerns and problems. The patient will not fear coercion to a certain set of beliefs. The chaplain will be a special person to the patient—someone who is familiar with the struggles in the valley of chaos and distress. As this person, the chaplain can accompany the patient, conversationally, as he trudges through the valley, even when the valley has strong shadows of death. The Military Chaplain in combat who is able to be this person to servicemen provides a good illustration of this. The Protestant boy dying in a field hospital finds comfort and assurance from the person of the clergyman whose hand he holds regardless of whether that chaplain is a Rabbi or a Priest.

The Volunteer Chaplain, by his presence, will be encouraging the patient to struggle through his valley and will be granting the patient the freedom to come out of the other end of the valley at a point that may not be the same as his. It will be a different matter when the Volunteer Chaplain returns to his church. I believe this is an important distinction. When people come to his church, they, by choosing his particular church, grant him permission to guide them to a particular point at the end of the valley. In other words, they grant him the privilege of influencing them to choose his particular religious beliefs. Whether this is proper or not is questionable. However, it is traditional. In the church the parishioner is saying clearly, "Lead me." In the hospital, the patient is saying more clearly, "Walk *with* me." The latter request will not threaten the

Volunteer Chaplain because he will be strong enough in his idenity to permit the patient to be different from him in his beliefs, if he chooses.

Can a clergyman do this and still be faithful to his calling? I think he can unless he believes that all other persons are lost if they do not subscribe to his beliefs or the beliefs of his particular group. If a clergyman is of this conviction, I would suggest that he not attempt to become a Volunteer Chaplain. He will be placing expectations on himself that he cannot possibly fulfill. This will only lead to great frustration and disappointment for him. If a clergyman can approach Volunteer Chaplaincy with the conviction that a patient has the right, and the responsibility, to struggle to his own conclusions about life, and how to live it, then he can be a Volunteer Chaplain and carry out his responsibilities in good faith, being loyal to himself and to the trust of all the religious groups involved. In short, when a Volunteer Chaplain goes to a patient in a crisis, he goes to a person who is struggling with great questions of life and attempting to find meaningful answers. It would be very simple for the Volunteer Chaplain to give the patient his answers, but this would not work. In order that the patient handle his crisis healthily and productively, he must struggle to claim his own answers and put them to work for himself. He may end up with the same answers as the Volunteer Chaplain but he may also have different answers. The chaplain's responsibility and privilege is to accompany the patient in the struggle, supporting him and helping him, while he attempts to find answers and apply them to his experiences. In desperation the patient may ask the Volunteer Chaplain to give him simple answers as if such answers can be given with ease. In actuality, the patient knows better and is only voicing his despair. If the patient claims and voices answers that are different from the Volunteer Chaplain's, it may be appropriate for the chaplain to call upon a clergyman of the faith group which embraces the answers of the patient when the crisis is passed, or when the patient requests it. In any case, the Volunteer Chaplain must be willing to grant the patient the freedom to struggle on his own. This freedom under the controlling influence of the struggle to be personally honest, does not result in greater chaos. Instead, those persons who are granted the freedom to struggle with honesty, and without coercion, do in fact arrive at and validate basic religious principles which are common to all faiths.

To become a professional Hospital Chaplain a clergyman must

complete twelve months of Clinical Pastoral Education. In addition to this, there are requirements for graduate education and parish experience. Perhaps such standards as these raise the question of whether Volunteer Hospital Chaplaincy programs are attainable at all. Certainly, local clergy can not take time to fulfill the minimum standards for professional Hospital Chaplaincy. Volunteer Chapaincy programs, with reasonable orientation and carefully planned continuing education, can provide significant ministry in hospitals where full-time chaplaincy programs are not possible. The requirements for professional Hospital Chaplains can suggest important areas to be considered by the clergy when they are establishing a Volunteer Chaplaincy program. Emotional maturity, knowledge and training, and depth of pastoral identity growing out of a combining of all these with a parish experience, can provide a helpful standard.

The Inefficiency of Emotional Inhibition

(A Seminary Faculty Takes a Thoughtful Second Look)

Donald S. Williamson

About two years ago the members of the faculty of a denominational theological school in the British Isles, decided that something was wrong. No one knew quite what was wrong, but everybody agreed that the total organizational life of the seminary community was increasingly disappointing and frustrating to all concerned. If everything else was in doubt, it was agreed that "something had to give." But just what and where and how was unclear. And so the community began to look around for a method and process of curative intervention. After considering several alternatives, they finally invited a team of pastoral psychologists and psychiatrists to come and lead a five-day workshop.

In the words of one seminary professor, "This community carries a self-image of being an intellectual elite." During an initial exploratory visit by members of the workshop team, another faculty member described the basic problem as being that of authoritarianism. The administrator of the school spoke of the tendency to make him take upon himself the whole burden of change and then others would become discouraged if his behavior did not attain the ideal. One observer noted that the Dean of Students, "broke into a very animated discussion of the lack of warm, affective, intimate, human relationships and complained of the cold, distant, intellectual life which existed among faculty members and which he believed was inculcated in students." Another professor complained of a schedule so tight that he could not find time to speak to students even when he wanted to. Another responded to this by saying that while personal investment with students was helpful, yet students kept on leaving after every few years. There was broad agreement that faculty members did not feel that they were appreciated either as persons or because of the value of their professional work. Listening to the faculty discuss the community problems in this exploratory visit, one observer noticed what he called "the sandpaper syndrome." By this he was

referring to the fact that when one professor made a statement or put forward a proposition no one really disagreed with him. It was rather a case of "Yes, but. . . ." In other words, his peers would respond by apparently agreeing with him but would keep whittling off the sharpness and distinctiveness of his comment until it began to sound like what everyone else was saying. The observer took this to mean that the community could not tolerate any divergence from the group norms.

The chairman of the mental health team wrote to the members of the seminary faculty after this exploratory visit, and in anticipation of the coming workshop, he said this:

> In workshops of this kind, we see our function as that of providing leadership and resource persons to help you understand and work upon your own unique problems. We shall make available our resources to help you understand the dynamics of both human relationships and organizational relationships as these exist within a community such as your seminary. As we offer these ideas and principles in the context of the problems faced by a seminary faculty, we hope that you will be able to move in the direction of a solution of some of these problems.

It was tentatively decided that the topic for the workshop would be, "Toward Understanding the Student as the Recipient of Theological Education." While the workshop team members were convinced of the appropriateness of this title for the workshop, they were not at all sure that it would prove to be particularly relevant. As they prepared to begin the five-day workshop, they wrote the following summary statement.

> As we see it, this faculty would like to deny or ignore the affective and relational elements in any educational venture. They would like to think of the student merely as an intellect and of the faculty member as one speaking clearly and logically to this intellect. When this does not operate effectively they are frustrated. Accordingly, in the lecture presentations we shall begin with the dynamics of human personality, and then move on to the psychodynamics of organizations and institutions. We shall provide for two small group discussion periods each day, to give them an opportunity to react to the material and to integrate it into their own frame of reference. We expect them to be both eager for and resistant to, personality theory and the theory of psychodynamics of organizations. We expect that they will use the defense of intellectualization heavily. We expect them to be highly motivated in making use of this workshop.

While all sorts of individualistic and unconscious agendas were stirring around, the invitation to the mental health team was some-

thing like this. "Come to this seminary community and live among us for a week and talk to us about the processes of professional education from the perspective of behavioral science." The workshop began on a Monday and ended on Friday. The first formal sessions began on Tuesday morning.

I

TUESDAY

Three lectures were presented on Tuesday. The first was an overview of the nature of human motivation. The second spoke about the dynamic meanings and uses of anxiety and conflict in human experience. During these first two presentations there was postural, attitudinal and intellectual resistance to the material and ideas being presented. Many members of the community drank water and "fussed" about taking notes, while one man went so far as to fall off his chair upon the floor. The cognitive dissonance was acute. Many listeners were applying the material they were hearing to themselves and feeling uncomfortable. Some, either realistically or by a process of projection, were identifynig various kinds of psychopathology in bosses, friends, and colleagues.

A significant change of mood came in the afternoon during the third lecture. This dealt with the coping mechanisms which the human personality uses and also outlined the development of the moral dimension of the human personality from childhood into adulthood. The third speaker related himself and his talk to the immediate, pressing, existential situation of these theological educators. He referred to the identity confusion of the clergyman in this age, and to the related identity confusion of the teacher of clergymen. Man-in-general and moral man in particular was seen in a rich, sophisticated, and complex light. Not only does he have hidden unconscious depths to his being but he also acts in a thoughtful, personally meaningful and self-consciously choosing way. During this presentation the intellectual and emotional distance, so obviously dividing the theologians from the mental health team, began to close.

In all four small group sessions on this first day, the members were anxious, mutually protective, over-intellectual in a defensive way, and externally focused.

The faculty met for an unstructured and informal discussion on

Tuesday evening. It was clear that different people had heard and felt different things during the day. Some said that they had decided at the beginning not to be critical, and had come to the workshop to give the team a hearing. But they had no intention of becoming engaged with the content of what they were hearing, at any but an intellectual level. A few indicated that they would respond only to seek clarification. Others felt that everything they had heard was quite compatible with their own basic philosophies and theologies, and was really saying the same things in another language system. By identifying such a notion as "ego functions" with the "soul" they felt they could easily translate from one language system to another. They did not anticipate anything startling to come, or anything that would demand change or new personal styles of behavior. Others took issue with the content that had been presented, wondering about the place of "free will" and "initiative" and "conscious man." Some wondered why a man could not just "love spontaneously," without having to fuse and channel destructive impulses and feelings into constructive behaviors. They found it hard to accept the idea that forces of hate and destruction are part and parcel of human personality and are as natural as impulses and feelings of love. Others wondered what their role was to be during the week. Were they to be listeners only? And anyway, could anyone who did not belong to this denomination and did not teach in this seminary and was not himself a theological educator, really understand seminary life and seminary problems so as to be able to speak helpfully about these? So ended the first day.

WEDNESDAY

The lecture presentations on Wednesday discussed personality integration and disintegration, and the relevance of these ideas to the behavior of students in college or seminary. The workshop community was very restless and again resisted these lectures on Wednesday morning. They were not a bit sure about the usefulness or even the truth of all this stuff, although it was stimulating and novel.

In the final lecture, some of the resistance and ambivalence mobilized itself and focused in an angry response to the lecturer. Wednesday ended with a small group session and here the intense feelings which had been building up became clearly visible. According to the leaders, "All hell broke loose." The participants wanted

to know what was going on in this workshop and what was going on in these groups and what was "being done to them." They wanted to know who the leaders were and why the leaders didn't lead more. In all four groups the leaders were attacked. Anger, depression, and resentment, plus a plea for more leadership and the opportunity to be more dependent upon the leaders were the order of the day.

In an informal meeting late Wednesday evening, twenty of the faculty members got together and stayed together until the early morning. They expressed both directly and indirectly, both cleanly and symbolically, angry and hostile feelings toward each other. Some of the most intense feelings which they had about themselves, and each other, and their work together and the work and life of the seminary as a whole, were now expressed in graphic and vivid ways. A deep reservoir of repressed feelings which had built up over several years was suddenly flowing free. And so Wednesday night ended in the early hours of Thursday morning.

THURSDAY

Perhaps the explosive and cathartic release of feelings the night before resulted in a new freedom to express positive feelings. On Thursday morning the group established a mutually empathic relationship with the lecturer-discussion leader, and there was much more verbal participation. There was more laughter, and in general a more relaxed response. In the plenary discussion, members raised questions about the uses of power and expressions of intimacy within the seminary community; about the professional and social subgroupings within the faculty; about faculty-student interaction; about the faculty member as an identification model for his students; about the "fathering and mothering" functions of faculty members; about how members of the faculty can handle their own dependency needs, and power needs, and needs for intimacy; about how a faculty member can combine "fun" with "discipline."

The Thursday lectures dealt with the theory of the personality or character of organizations, such as a seminary community; secondly, with the concepts of interdependence and emotional distance within the organizational life of such a community; and finally, with the peculiar strengths of an organization which happens to be a religious organization.

All four group leaders reported a new openness and honesty, and a spontaneous expression of feelings in the Thursday sessions with

the small groups. All of the groups were concerned about the issues of *power* and *intimacy*. They wondered about the uses of power within their organizational situation, and felt the need for clarification as to who has what power over whom and in what circumstances. They were also concerned about the decision-making processes within the organization as these related to the uses of power. Secondly, they were interested in the question of intimacy, asking who gets close to whom and by what right and in what situation. There was discussion of what are and are not legitimate dependency needs on the part of students toward the faculty, or on the part of faculty members toward each other and in relationship to authority figures. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of interpersonal relationships within the community. This included the relationship between the seminary and its own denomination, between students and faculty, between faculty members on a peer basis, and between faculty members and administrative and authority figures. One group was very concerned about the relationship between dependency, interdependence, and emotional distance within the organization. Another was concerned with the professional identity of the theological educator in this day and age. In another, there was a frank admission that faculty members used religion and the religious life, and the rigid structures of seminary life, to help them deny, minimize, or control aggressive and sexual feelings and impulses. Group leaders were surprised and impressed by the degree of non-hostile supportive sharing between the members of the groups on Thursday.

In an informal and unstructured discussion on Thursday evening, faculty members asked how they could use this kind of group experience in the future, and how they could build this kind of process into the organizational life of the seminary community. There was a generalized feeling that some kind of healthy change and breakthrough was being achieved in the style and form of interpersonal relationships, and there was great fear that this change and momentum might not be maintained and sustained.

FRIDAY

The three Friday lectures dealt with the meaning of structures within an organization, with students' expectations of faculty members, and thirdly with the faculty's expectations of students. The discussions following the lectures had some of the characteristics of

group process. Questions were again asked about the handling of dependency needs and the building up of trust in interpersonal and interprofessional relationships. How do faculty members serve as models and how do they relate freely to students both inside and outside of the classroom? Some men felt themselves resting on a plateau and wondered how it is possible to make forward progress professionally after a man reaches thirty-five to forty years of age. Some felt that they made impossible intellectual demands of themselves in an unsuccessful attempt to achieve and feel their professional identity through intellectual prowess. Another important question asked was how these theological educators might achieve personal emotional gratification in life. How much gratification is legitimate and possible through teaching? How much can they appropriately expect back from students? How can they use the affective side of their own persons in offering growth relationships to students?

Towards the end of the day, the faculty accepted the suggestion that they were experiencing their organizational structures as having caught them in a bind. They also realized, though not without feelings of discouragement, that they would be responsible for getting themselves out of this bind.

The final small group meetings which took place Friday afternoon, were described as being "a wide and open confrontation each of the other with a free expression of both hostile and positive feelings." In one group, the community life of the seminary was described as being a system of defensive structures. Members of all four groups affirmed that "feelings are legitimate facts" and are to be taken seriously. But the agonizing question then became: how could this open and honest style of expressing personal feelings be maintained within the organizational life of the seminary? There was concern that this process would not continue and one man spoke for many when he said, "That would be tragedy because now I feel clean and I want to stay this way." The men in one group recognized that they had handled much of their aggressive and hostile feelings by displacing them onto students. They said they did not know how to express these feelings directly in relationships with people with whom they lived and worked day by day.

The final meeting of the workshop took place on Friday evening with a presentation on the mental health of the clergyman. Several men were impressed by the idea of "preventive psychiatry," having previously thought of psychiatric treatment as the picking up of the

pieces after someone had fallen apart. It was a novel notion to recognize that the behavioral sciences have much to say about the processes of health and how one lives a full and rich life. The workshop members heard with both surprise and relief the message that significant personal gratification must be achieved and can be achieved outside of their professional work. They were responsive to the suggestion that there are not two kinds of people in the world, the sick and the well, but in fact only one group of conflicted human beings, and this includes everybody. However, although emotional problems and difficulties are an inevitable and universal part of every life process, it was emphasized that change and resolution can and do occur. As the group listened and responded to this final presentation, they seemed to become increasingly accepting of their own humanity with all that this involves, and to be finding this a very liberating experience.

II

THE DYNAMIC CYCLE WITHIN THE FIVE-DAY WORKSHOP

On Monday evening when the workshop began, this seminary faculty was characterized by ambivalence and confusion. On Tuesday, at least until mid-afternoon, it showed strong resistance and intense discomfort, as it made a continuing self-reference with the psychological material being presented. There was a striking impression of cognitive dissonance between the mental health team and the theological seminary faculty. The small groups were characterized by dissonance and anxiety. In the evening after dinner, the group felt loaded down with negative effect and intense emotional discomfort. They weren't sure what was being done to them but they knew they didn't like it very much.

There was a continuing resistance to the content of the three lectures presented on Wednesday, but then everything broke loose and began to flow free in the small group meetings late Wednesday afternoon. In each case the leadership was attacked and group members asked for a more obvious and more dependable leadership and for a clarification of the work contract between the team and the community. Late Wednesday evening, a majority of the faculty members gathered into one room and had an explosive and cathartic bull session.

On Thursday morning there was a new empathic spirit and a new responsiveness within the group, and between the group and the members of the teaching team. Group members entered feelingly and personally into the discussion periods, asking questions about intimacy and dependency which had been the issues struggled with in the small group sessions the day before. For the first time, they now began to relate this new kind of interpersonal behavior to the organizational life of the seminary community.

On Friday morning the workshop participants began to apply some of these new dynamic psychological understandings to the structures and power processes of the seminary organization. Friday afternoon had the fervor of an evangelistic meeting, as the men mobilized personal and organizational resources to go off on a mission intended to bring about necessary internal and external changes in the life-style of this seminary. In the final small group sessions of Friday afternoon, there was no longer any denial of personal feelings, but open recognition of how things are, and have been and are likely to continue to be within the organizational life of this community. This was followed by mutual appeals and assurances that things should be different and could be different. There was still anxiety as to whether or not these new ways of being together could be sustained.

The final meeting of the workshop on Friday night spoke directly to the existential mood of the community. They heard and felt that the world of psychiatry and therapeutic psychology was really on their side in the struggle toward adulthood. They need not be afraid of it or anything it has to say. They heard that both personal and organizational change could take place and that something could be done about the problems that they were struggling with at personal, interpersonal, and organizational levels. Now the community seemed ready to go back to work to see if any of this stuff really made sense. "Intellectual man" had been complemented and supplemented by "emotional man." Feelings are facts and must be taken seriously. All behavior is emotionally conditioned. People are more important than ideas, and these theologians had to have compassion for themselves, if they were to be able to treat other people as being important. Before they could listen to others, these theological educators had to learn first to respect themselves and their own feelings. So they began to develop a healthy skepticism about the proposition that "man is a rational being." They now felt more free to hate and

consequently more able to love. They could no longer so closed-mindedly use power, or be abused by power. They could no longer either seek intimacy or refuse intimacy, without having an awareness of some of the meanings of their behavior. In a word, "intellectual man" was now seen as a dynamic, emotional organism perpetually in a state of tension or conflict. This seminary faculty had faced the fact that when feelings are so completely inhibited, there is always a high price to be paid, in terms of both personal and organizational experience. While it would not be easy to change the forms and styles of the communication systems within the community, they could never again be so unaware of the Inefficiency of Emotional Inhibition.

As these seminary professors looked thoughtfully at the total organizational life of their community, each became more aware of his own idiosyncratic way of resisting, or appeasing, or obstructing the figures who held power and authority. Each became more consciously sensitive to his own intense human need for intimate and supportive relationships with his peers. At least a few felt that they now had a better grasp of the dynamic processes of "salvation" than when they came. Their evaluations (made twelve months later) suggest that they found some ways of living and working and being together which reflect a new style of organizational life. Consequently, their community life is sometimes less destructive and occasionally more creative than before, in its influence upon the lives and destinies of those who belong to it and those whom it exists to teach and to serve.

FOCUS ON FACULTY

P. WESLEY AITKEN, Assistant Professor of Pastoral Care:

I was born on August 19, 1924 at Colver, Pennsylvania, a small mining town in the western part of the state. There were six children in my family and I am the third born. I lived the first eighteen years of my life in Colver. I left there in the spring of 1943 because of World War II. When I think of my parents I think of hard working, conscientious people. My father is what society would call a self-made man, and in many ways I would agree. He quit school in the eighth grade in Scotland and went to work in the coal mines. He worked his way through the ranks and when he retired just a few years ago, he retired as president of a mining company. I do not like hard work, but I believe my respect for it comes from my father.

I cannot think back to my childhood without remembering my maternal grandparents. From the time that I was eight years of age, until World War II, some of us children always spent the summers with my grandparents on their farm in southern New Jersey. My grandparents were simple conservative people. They invested much time, energy, and affection in us children as we visited them over the years. They played a very important part in helping me to become a young man with some degree of confidence and respectability. As a result of those summer experiences away from home, leaving home in 1943 to enter the Air Force was no great problem. It was frightening but not devastating when I said good-bye to my parents at the train station. I was eighteen.

The three and one-half years I spent in the Air Force Weather Service marked the first time in my life that I actually was on my own. At least I thought I was on my own. It was not until I was discharged in 1946 that I realized just how much the military took care of my needs and even thought for me.

It was too late to enter college in the fall of 1946. So I delayed until fall of 1947 and enrolled in Morris Harvey College, Charleston, West Virginia. I had not decided what I wanted to study; actually, I had not decided who I wanted to be. My relationship with the Church was always a satisfying one even though there were periods

when the Church was much more important to me than others. I was prompted during the war to give rather serious thought to some of the crucial issues in life. I was greatly impressed by an Air Force Chaplain and then immediately following the war I was equally impressed by the minister of the Methodist Church which I attended in Charleston. Mix with this my own personal struggle for meaning and purpose in life and in the spring of 1948 I made my decision to enter the ministry. I took another very important step in 1948. I married Ruth Ellen McLoughlin on August 25. I graduated from Morris Harvey College in 1951 and came to Duke Divinity School that same year.

The parish ministry has provided a variety of experiences for me including two years as student-pastor of a station church, three years as student-pastor of a five-point circuit and one year as full-time pastor of a three-point charge.

Except for one year, July 1955 through June 1956, I have been associated with Duke either as a student or as a staff and faculty member since 1951. I assumed the position of Chaplain to Duke Hospital in July, 1956. That position has changed through the years and is now Chaplain to Duke University Medical Center and Supervisor of Clinical Pastoral Education. Since 1963 I have been Assistant Professor of Pastoral Care in the Divinity School.

I have often said that I consider myself to be a very fortunate person. First, I have a lovely wife and two fine, healthy sons. Second, my position with Duke, from the beginning, has provided excitement and challenge and almost limitless potential for program development and expansion. Add to these the great personal satisfaction I have realized in working and interacting with my colleagues and students and one would have to say that I could not ask for more.

ROBERT B. CLAYTOR, Instructor in Pastoral Care:

In reflecting upon what would be the important things to include in a short focus or autobiography, I realized that first of all a few facts need to be stated, such as dates and places of birth, education, marriage, vocational and professional experiences.

I was born in Bluefield, West Virginia, on September 24, 1933, a not too convenient time in the depression, but my father had a job, and there were only two boys in the family, so we made it. I was the younger son by eight years. I spent all of my childhood and adolescent years in this town, as we never moved any or traveled much.

Thus, I was reared and educated through the junior college level right in Bluefield. The next two years I attended Berea College, in Berea, Kentucky, and worked summers in Cincinnati, Ohio. Receiving my B.A. degree from Berea in 1955, I entered Duke Divinity School that fall semester, and have remained at or near Duke since. During several years at Duke, I served as a student pastor at the Community Methodist Church in Butner, N. C. I received both my B.D. and Th.M. degrees from the Divinity School, completed two years of Clinical Pastoral Education in the Duke Medical Center, with some affiliated time at Dorothea Dix Mental Hospital in Raleigh and the Keeley Alcoholic Institute in Greensboro, and then became the Assistant Chaplain to the Medical Center in 1961. In 1964, I received the additional appointment of Instructor in Pastoral Care in the Divinity School.

During all of this, I did have time for some extra-curricular activities. A young nursing student whom I met a Berea, consented to join with me on this travel through life. We also felt it to be in good taste to marry, which we did in August of 1956. Thus, Miss Joan Irwin became the Mrs. It was a good thing too, because in 1958 and in 1964, daughters were born, and we named them Lynn and Suzanne.

Some of the other, dominant interests of mine were in athletics, music, and drama. I spent a great deal of time in music, both instrumental and vocal, but never saw this as a professional vocation as many felt I should. Instead, I began giving more serious attention, vocationally, to that part of myself which has been present and influential since I can remember. It was a strong interest in people. I was drawn continuously to people by my interest in them, and a need for them, so that as I reflect upon the past, its influences and experiences, the focus of meaning centers upon people. I soon began to realize that if there is anything of real, lasting value to be found in this world, it can only be found in the human personality, in persons with whom I can relate and be related to in return. I had nothing more than a nominal relationship with the Church until my senior year in high school, when a very influential (and to me a very sensitive) man became the minister of our church. He took a personal interest in me, but not in a forceful way. He helped stimulate me to direct my interest and aspirations into the Church, to see more realistically the value the Christian way of life contains in meaningfulness, and to make the decision to be a minister. I was ordained

into the Methodist Ministry as a Deacon in 1956 and as an Elder in 1960. I have continued to move professionally in the directions that gave me the most opportunity to work closely with people, and this has led me, very satisfyingly, into my present work.

JOHN C. DETWILER, Lecturer in Pastoral Care:

In this focus I want to let the reader know what are the most obvious facts of the personal and professional steps which have brought me to the present moment, without even hoping to communicate the inner, more personal meanings of these steps. I was born thirty-one years ago in Columbia, South Carolina where our family lived throughout my childhood and adolescence. After attending Columbia City Schools I entered Wofford College. During my junior year at Wofford my wife, Lessie, and I were married. We have two daughters—Laura, age seven and Jennifer, age four. After concentrating my studies in English, psychology and the physical sciences I graduated in 1959 with the Bachelor of Arts degree. During the last two years at Wofford I was pastor of a small Methodist congregation in Spartanburg, South Carolina.

I entered Union Theological Seminary, New York City, after graduation from Wofford. After three very gratifying years I received the Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1962. The years were gratifying because of the sense of oneness of faculty and students in the Seminary community, the encouragement of intellectual integrity and the genuine religious conviction which was part of the motivation of the faculty inside class and outside of it. It was there, with Dr. Earl Loomis, a psychoanalyst who felt himself to be much a part of the historic Christian Church, that I was first seriously confronted with psychoanalytic theory and its intricate understandings of human nature and conflict. From Daniel Day Williams I was stimulated to look for the incarnations and concrete nature of the divine activity within everyday life.

When our very pleasurable years in New York City came to an end, I entered a new phase of professional education at Duke University Divinity School in the Master of Theology program in Pastoral Care, from which I was graduated in 1963. With Dr. Richard Goodling I came to know Carl Rogers, not in person but in books. The impact of this psychological approach, new to me, was powerful and conflicted at significant points with the earlier psychoanalytic thought which I had learned. Out of this conflict has come my own

effort to think integratively about human nature and behavior, drawing upon my own clinical experience, with Freud and Rogers as points of reference. I was introduced by Dr. William Poteat to a new method of understanding theological and psychological statements by taking a closer look at the uses of words in these areas of inquiry.

Equally significant as the academic phases of my preparation has been my clinical training. My first quarter was at Grady Memorial Hospital in Atlanta (1961). During 1962-63 I was Chaplain Intern at Dorothea Dix Hospital (psychiatric). The following year I continued at Dix as Chaplain Resident. Later I came to Duke Medical Center for a general hospital residency.

In June of 1966 I received full ordination in the Methodist Church and hold my membership in the South Carolina Conference. Since July I have been Assistant Chaplain at Duke Medical Center and Lecturer in Pastoral Care in the Divinity School. My functions are very much in line with my interests: ministry to patients undergoing the experience of illness; research in pastoral care; pastoral counseling; leadership of chaplain intern training groups; teaching B.D. students in a hospital ministry course; and leadership of a small group of B.D. students working on problems of personal and vocational identity.

There is much that could yet be communicated but space and the nature of this "focus" will not allow it. Suffice it to say that in my functioning as chaplain and teacher I draw upon religious, psychological, and theological resources to be as effective as I may be in helping people, whether patients, counselees, or students to be as effective with their goals as they may be.

at LOOKS BOOKS

Horace Bushnell. Edited by H. Shelton Smith. (Library of Protestant Thought.) Oxford, 1965. 407 pp. $7.00.

"With the exception of Edwards, Bushnell was probably the most creative Protestant theologian that America produced before the twentieth century." This judgment by Professor Smith may seen extravagant to those not well acquainted with Bushnell, and Bushnell is probably more remote than Edwards for most modern Americans. Bushnell dealt with issues which had arisen within New England Calvinism in the early years of the nineteenth century, a Calvinism whose literary remains seem now almost to have been written in a dead language, and he spoke in an idiom that was difficult even for his contemporaries to understand. He met violent opposition and ministerial ostracism in his own day; but in his last years, after the Civil War, he was discovered by a generation of young ministers who credited him with delivering them alike from Calvinism and skepticism. One of them, T. T. Munger, exalted him as the theological naturalist who fathered modern liberalism; thus began an interpretive tradition which was uncritically parroted for half a century. Bushnell has been, unfortunately, more often praised or blamed on the basis of the tradition than actually read, especially since World War I. *Christian Nurture*, considered by many the Magna Charta of the religious education movement, is probably the only work of Bushnell which has been reprinted during the last fifty years. With the eclipse of that movement and the liberalism which looked to Bushnell, his alleged theological creativity has become difficult to appreciate or appropriate.

If Professor Smith's estimate of Bushnell is just, as it seems to me to be, Bushnell ought to be made available beyond the circle of professional historians and theologians. This volume seeks to do just that by allowing Bushnell to present his main theological ideas in his own words. In the general introduction (only 36 pp. long), the four major issues discussed in Channing's "Unitarian Christianity"—Trinity, Christology, depravity, and atonement—are treated with economy and clarity so as to delineate the New England theological scene in Bushnell's youth. After sketching Bushnell's religious development, Smith proposes that the chief clue to Bushnell's thought is his theological method; this is then described in terms of his conception of religious knowledge, his theory of language, and his method of "comprehensiveness." Most of the special introductions are very brief; they explain why the specific passages were chosen and provide additional historical or theological background.

The edtior's distaste for anthologies of "snippets" is well known to his students and colleagues. Bushnell's discourse is often so protracted, however, that his many theological concerns cannot be represented in so short a compass without abbreviation. But this has been accomplished with such intimate knowledge of Bushnell's argument that the author is enabled to speak for himself at what still remains a leisurely pace. Even so, three of the twelve selections are given entire and others (including the essay on language) with only minor deletions.

The first three selections exhibit Bushnell's theological method, the other nine his restatement of various doctrines. The texts have been selected, so far as possible, from Bushnell's most characteristic and mature writings. "Dogma

and Spirit" and the essays on language and the divinity of Christ come from the controversial volume *God in Christ* (1849). *Nature and the Supernatural* (1858) provides Bushnell's description of the human condition. The sections dealing with the work of Christ are taken from the first two parts of *The Vicarious Sacrifice* (1866) and from *Forgiveness and Law* (1874), which Bushnell intended should supersede the rest of the former volume. The 1847 discourse on Christian nurture which Smith includes became the first chapter in the definitive 1861 edition of *Christian Nurture*. Thus in a single volume are contained most of Bushnell's prime theological essays, each complete enough to convey his message and accompanied by sufficient editorial assistance to render it comprehensible to the serious reader. This is no mean achievement; the apparent ease and simplicity of the result partially conceal the virtuosity with which it has been accomplished.

Since *Faith and Nurture* (1940), in which he accepted—albeit with qualifications—W. M. Horton's characterization of Bushnell as "the Schleiermacher of American liberalism," Professor Smith has increasingly stressed the evangelical and orthodox aspects of Bushnell's thought. This can be seen clearly in the chapter on Bushnell in *Changing Conceptions of Original Sin* (1955). The general introduction to the present volume is noteworthy for at least two special emphases. First, Smith takes seriously Bushnell's own statement that an understanding of his theological method, especially his conception of language, is essential to a comprehension of his theology. Second, he stresses certain Puritan elements in Bushnell's thought. While admitting the influence of Coleridge and romanticism, he insists on the close similarity of Bushnell's doctrine of religious knowledge to that of Edwards, whom Bushnell knew both directly and through Samuel Hopkins. Thus Smith contributes at important points to the better informed and more balanced estimate of Bushnell which is emerging today.

Horace Bushnell is also a superb pedagogical tool. There is simply nothing like it for introducing students to the range of Bushnell's thought, and the excellent bibliography and notes make it an invaluable guide to further study. It is probably safe to predict that this volume will be one of the most widely used in the Library of Protestant Thought.

—Thomas A. Schafer

McCormick Theological Seminary
Chicago, Illinois

Understanding God. Frederick Herzog. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966. 191 pp. $4.50. (Paperback edition $2.95)

Professor Frederick Herzog has continually manifested his theological and personal worth to our university community. Now, with this book, he has carried his work from our intramural discussions into the wider realm of current theological dialogue. It is only honest to say that I am pleased both for our theological community and for the wider discipline—for his contribution is significant.

This volume is marked by two impressive characteristics: an insightful survey of current theological activity and a fresh proposal about theological methodology. The historical over-view is both comprehensive and judicious. Relevant materials from American, Continental and British theologians are included and, throughout, the struggle to understand correctly and to represent fairly is evident. For one who wants to be introduced to the present discussion, this book is a valuable guide.

The historical description is enhanced by the fresh suggestion about theological method. On the basis of investigations into historical forays and ontological

probings, Professor Herzog argues that both approaches intersect at the point of fundamental questions, that is, in an "aporia" (in English usage aporia would mean doubt, in Greek it would mean helplessness, lack, distress, difficulty; in this book it has primarily the Greek meaning, though doubt is also present). He states his thesis succinctly:

> Man's attempt to come to grips with being ends in puzzlement. As man tries to understand the history of Jesus he is no less at a loss, especially if he takes the cross into account. There is no way of avoiding the ontological and historical aporiae. Being and history as such are unable to give lasting meaning to Jesus' life. Only as they are joined in a creative act, not controlled by man's ingenuity, does meaning break forth.
>
> (page 83, see also pp. 56-7, 64, 85, 100-1, 133)

In elucidating this quote we can indicate the major strands of the argument. Man encounters a reality (Being) not commensurate with himself; he becomes aware of another pole of his being which gives him a sense of primordial communion. But as one attempts to decipher this awareness of being he fails to achieve clarity in regard to his experience. Man is puzzled by his attempt to articulate this pre-rational dimension. Is he self-deceived? Why react in any explicit manner to this Being? Questions press upon one. There is aporia. In the same manner, as one attempts to understand Jesus as historically depicted and transmitted, one is left with the question: why is this particular historical person taken to point beyond himself to God? It is not simply a matter of course that Jesus should be understood as having unique significance or as being the object of loyal devotion. Once again, as man attempts to indicate the role of Jesus, he is puzzled; he is at a loss for rational, logically precise explanation of the significance of this man.

The intersection of ontological and historical awareness takes place in aporia, in the sense of puzzlement: why being? why Jesus? Nevertheless, by pursuing these two approaches to this end, we come to the peculiar position of one who hoped to understand. He stands receptively-questioning, hopefully-puzzled and, finally, helplessly distressed. "Man's understanding of God presupposes a complete lack of understanding." (p. 43) Man's search ends in failure. But the very failure portends a change! The puzzled moment becomes fertile in possibility for a creative act by the Spirit of God. By his own initiative, God as Spirit draws these two streams together: being and the historical Jesus are creatively joined; Jesus is the revelation of the heart of reality. This synthesis is achieved by the Spirit; the insight (gestalt) which arrives is the gift of the Spirit. No methodology—either historical or philosophical—can bring about this conclusion; the union of being and history is rooted in the miracle of God's self-revealing and self-interpreting Spirit. And this miracle is crucial, for by it we are drawn into the understanding of God.

There are a number of very positive comments which I want to make about this presentation. First, the major importance of this study is that it points the way to a possible synthesis of some of the more important but divergent contemporary theological discussions. This suggestion of a way to deal with ontology and history is itself enough to make this study significant. Second, Professor Herzog's approach is radically (and consciously) biblical; the Gospel of John provides the methodological key for his study. Third, the knowledge of God remains a revealed knowledge, it is self-presenting and self-authenticating. Fourth, the understanding of the task and nature of systematic theology is clear and challenging. For all of these reasons, the book is a substantial contribution to the present discussion.

I also have several comments and questions. These have to do primarily with the facet of Professor Herzog's position in regard to ontology. My basic interrogation is the result of my lack of clarity as to what is meant by "being." Sometimes the reference seems to be some substance called "Being"; sometimes it seems to refer to "a relationship between my being and a counterpart (though incommensurate) being." What are its connotations and denotations? Is "Being" something separate from particular beings which manifest it? Are the question of the Pawnbroker who asks about his being and the question of the Gospel of John which asks about the nature of reality the same question? Are "being" and "meaning" interchangeable?

Another question which is basic to the book may be put: what does the hermeneutic of God yield? Hermeneutic should uncover, open-up, reveal. If one follows the development of this presentation, can he say anything about ontology or the being of God? He can say, according to Professor Herzog, that God's being is love. (p. 139) But is this enough of an ontology? What is the exact relation between love and being? In the last analysis, it appears, man cannot speak directly of anything other than Jesus. And this is significant talk! What has been done is to relate Jesus to "reality." But can one say anything more than this? Ontological aporia ends in ontological silence. Is there any recovery after the work of the Holy Spirit? Could this approach lead to a descriptive metaphysic? (This question is raised in the book in the discussion of "Hermeneutic and Ethics.") Is the cross a metaphysical key? Is diakonia (service) the door which leads to ontology? I think this is what is being said. But if this is so, then is it not important that the ontological implications be more thoroughly drawn out?

These are the leading questions in my own mind. I am bold to speak directly because of the strength of this book. The care and thought which have gone into this volume are evident and enhance the present theological discussion. And I, for one, am stimulated to further reflection by its thesis.

—Thomas A. Langford

Department of Religion

Readings in Christian Thought. Abingdon. Hugh T. Kerr, ed.: 1966. 382 pp. $7.95.

To put the impressive sweep of Christian writings from Justin Martyr to Pope John XXIII into the brief space of less than four hundred pages —almost all the sources quoted were themselves longer than that—is an undertaking that should stagger the imagination. I doubt if it can be done successfully. All the same, as an initial introduction to the great writings of the Christian tradition the present volume accomplishes its purpose. The important names and significant titles are represented; the introductions are competent; the excerpts are judiciously selected. The purpose of the volume must be to whet the reader's appetite to read more; ten pages of Calvin, three of Harnack, or even six of Bultmann are hardly sufficient. References to additional literature would have therefore enhanced the value of the volume.

—Hans J. Hillerbrand

The Art of Pastoral Conversation. Heije Faber and Ebel van der Schoot. Abingdon, 1965. 223 pp. $3.75.

Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling. Howard J. Clinebell, Jr. Abingdon, 1966. 318 pp. $6.00.

Kerygma and Counseling. Thomas C. Oden. Westminster, 1966. 186 pp. $5.00.

Atonement and Psychotherapy. Don S. Browning. Westminster, 1966. 288 pp. $6.00.

These four books, along with several others which have appeared in the past two years, reflect the growing maturity of Pastoral Psychology. In a sense, Pastoral Psychology has had foster parents. Hospitals and clinics with their critical human moments have cradled it. It has been nourished on medical, psychiatric, and psychological data. It has been disciplined and challenged by sensitive and dedicated chaplains. With increasing awareness of its theological and pastoral heritage and an appreciation of its unique contributions, Pastoral Psychology is achieving a sense of identity and integrity. Each of these four books, in its own way, reflects this achievement. The first two seek to define the pastoral model in helping conversations, whether across the broad spectrum of pastoral care or in the formal, structured framework of pastoral counseling. Clinebell's book, especially, may be seen as a response to the warning which Oates issued in 1962: "Pastoral Counseling is in peril of becoming repetitious, the next step beyond which is sterility." (*Protestant Pastoral Counseling*, 1962, Westminster Press, p. 13)

The Art of Pastoral Conversation, first published in a Dutch edition in 1962, discusses, from a Client-Centered or person-centered orientation, the nature of the relationship which gives conversation its sustaining and healing character. The pastor is presented with a view of conversation as personal encounter rather than as verbal manipulation. While it must be said that the illustrations of pastoral conversation seem more a play with words than personal encounter, the authors' intent comes through. In addition to the psychological dimensions of conversation, the authors consider the uniquely pastoral dimensions of conversation in terms of the aims and unique resources of the Christian faith and community. This is a helpful introductory book in the area of pastoral conversation.

For the minister with some degree of counseling sophistication, *Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling* is a "must." Viewing each person's indispensable need to be that of experiencing "authentic love in a dependable relationship," Clinebell sees counseling as an instrument of renewal through reconciliation. He structures a uniquely pastoral counseling model which he calls "relationship-centered counseling." His model emphasizes supportive methods to strengthen the person's resources to relate more satisfyingly to others, to cope with present situations and plan for the future, and to consider values and ultimate meanings in both horizontal and vertical relationships.

With this relational or interactional emphasis, the methods presented as appropriate to the pastoral model are mainly group or multi-person centered. For the serious student of counseling Clinebell lists at the end of each chapter pertinent readings and provides a "reality-practice" or role playing situation to assist pastors in developing their skill in the procedures outlined. A listing of the pastoral counseling methods explored will indicate the richness of this book: Informal and Short-Term, Role-Relationship Marriage Counseling, Family Group and Transactional Analysis, Supportive, Crisis, Referral, Group, Confrontational, Educative, Religious-Existentialist, and Depth Pastoral Counseling. For each method Clinebell

reviews recent relevant developments in counseling and psychotherapy and then outlines, on the basis of the stresses to be dealt with and the pastoral heritage and setting, a pastoral counseling approach in terms of its distinctive goals and processes. One chapter, on the layman's ministry of pastoral care and counseling is tantalizingly brief but does refer to lay participation in such projects as the half-way house and the Christian service center, and on "grief therapy" committees.

The last two books are valuable contributions to the development of pastoral theology and assist in resolving the tensions pastoral counselors feel between their theoretical orientation in counseling and psychotherapy and their Christian faith commitments. As was the case with the first two books, the psychologial and psychotherapeutic background is Rogerian or Client-Centered. In each case the effort is made to respect the integrity of both kerygma and counseling although both writers seem more familiar with their kerygmatic materials. Neither author makes the naive claim that psychotherapy is equivalent to divine salvation nor that psychological acceptance is the equivalent of God's justification of man in Jesus Christ. Both see categories of classical theology recapitulated in an analogous fashion in psychotherapeutic experiences. Each seeks a rapprochement without violating either the language of revelation or the language of therapy.

In *Kerygma and Counseling*, Oden seeks to reconcile, through the ontology of acceptance, the psychotherapeutic process of human self-disclosure and the revelatory self-disclosure of God in Christ. The author finds that the implicit assumption in all effective psychotherapy is made explicit by God's self-disclosure in Christ, namely, unconditional acceptance.

The author's central analogy is between human self-disclosure and God's self-disclosure. Other analogies are considered as well. This stimulating and helpful book is marred by his tendency to force his psychotherapeutic data into an analogous structure. For example, to present human self-disclosure and divine self-disclosure as his central analogy, he must define therapy as a type of Socratic achievement of insight. He must also overlook the complex communications which occur through "permissiveness" if he is to view permissiveness as communicating acceptance and therefore analogous to divine grace.

Nevertheless, this is a valuable contribution to the field of pastoral theology. After exploring several analogies he presents a chapter on the theology of Carl Rogers, a chapter on Barth's doctrine of analogy, and a concluding chapter on kerygma and therapeia in which he affirms that to say Jesus is the Christ ". . . is to affirm that the reality which we meet in the *now* is the reconciling, forgiving, renewing reality which is proclaimed and celebrated in the therapeutic ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. Thus if psychotherapy exists in quest for the Christ, the *kerygma* announces the end of all our Christ quests." (p. 170)

In *Atonement and Psychotherapy*, Browning presents psychotherapeutic insights which enhance our understanding of the atoning work of Christ. The psychotherapeutic framework is Rogerian but he is able to consider other psychotherapies in analyzing the essential structure of the therapeutic relationship, the dynamics of this relationship, and the nature of human brokenness. The three representative theories of atonement are those of Irenaeus, Anselm, and Bushnell. Browning is not willing to let psychotherapy alone define issues; rather, he attempts to define the issues with which the theories of atonement deal. He believes that only when careful consideration is given to the entire range of theological issues relevant to a theory of atonement can the ade-

quacy of an analogy from psychotherapeutic material be determined.

After presenting the Classic, the Latin, and the Moral Influence theories of Atonement, and key elements in the therapeutic process, Browning constructs a theory of the atonement based upon the concept of unconditioned empathic acceptance. But this is easier said than read. Browning's reconstruction of a theory of the atonement is that of the theologian informed by psychotherapy and not that of the psychotherapist who uses a few catch phrases and translates them into theological language. Finally, Browning tests his view of the atonement by discussing briefly its implications for the death-of-God debate. This is a book worthy of the serious pastoral theologian.

—Richard A. Goodling

The Meaning of Pastoral Care. Carroll A. Wise. Harper and Row, 1966. 144 pp. $350.

Carroll Wise is no stranger to the pastor and student who read seriously in the Pastoral Care field. He has contributed several, very significant books out of his experience as pastor, chaplain, and teacher. This book is a worthy addition, especially in his venture to focus careful attention beyond the techniques and concepts of Pastoral Care, as it is applied to persons in specific crisis experiences, to the meaning of Pastoral Care in communicating the Gospel to the growth of personality in all stages of life—infancy to old age. Pastoral Care should undergird the total relationship the pastor has with his people. In his introductory remarks to this book, Dr. Wise states the problem thusly: "What does Pastoral Care have to offer persons, and how is it given? How and under what conditions do the various structures of religion become meaningful to persons?" He directs his emphasis to the communication of the Gospel in and through pastoral relationships.

The foundation of his approach lies in the Incarnation, God's communication to man in the redeeming love of Jesus Christ. God took the initiative, out of love and care for man, to empty himself into human life, to become involved in relationship with man in Jesus Christ and His ministry. Pastoral Care is the totally involved activity of person to person, pastor to people, that demonstrates, verbally and non-verbally, the communication of God's redeeming act in Jesus Christ. The minister's task centers on his expression of involvement in love with persons and their needs, a love that points to redemption. Dr. Wise interprets the existence of the work of the Holy Spirit as Christ's present reality in this redemptive relationship.

A refreshing element in this book is the clear, flowing movement of continuity from chapter to chapter. In the first two chapters he sets forth his basic premises as reviewed above. Having clearly established the object of Pastoral Care as persons, he then investigates the value of understanding personhood. He acknowledges the great service the empirical sciences have contributed in identifying the dimensions of personhood both individually and corporately. He discusses several of these dimensions under the areas of privacy, uniqueness, awareness and autonomy, expanding each one from his theological perspective. He creatively maintains the proper tension between the minister's own self-understanding and personal growth with his ministry to persons in their needs for growth and understanding. Thus, as the minister can discover that which is unauthentic within his existence in order to discard it, he becomes open to genuine pastoral relationships.

This moves Dr. Wise to focus on the process of pastoral conversation as verbal and non-verbal communication in relationships. All forms of pastoral activity seek to communicate the Gospel to persons at their points of need and growth, but such communication

becomes real only as pastor and people are in relationship. Successful communication by the pastor means he must deal with his own inner obstacles to clear communication. Dr. Wise believes that inherent in the process of pastoral conversation is the process of growth for both pastor and persons. He then moves toward a brief summary of the growth process of the individual from birth to death, using Erikson's theory as his basis.

In his last chapter, "The Making of a Pastor," Dr. Wise seems to throw out a personal challenge to seminaries in their education of students as pastors. Since his basic approach is grounded in relationships, he suggests that this be an essential part of the students' theological education—involvement in relationships with persons. He suggests further that each professor need be involved deeply with a congregation on a part-time basis, with students as his assistants, affording greater opportunity for creative learning experiences in their education.

The reader of this book will probably not be astounded by Dr. Wise's thought as something prophetically new, but will find it invaluable as he seeks to struggle in depth with the meaning of his ministry. Dr. Wise has systematically written out that which, I am convinced, is becoming the contemporary salvation of the ministry—the care of persons.

—Robert B. Claytor

Communication With the Fatally Ill. Adriaan Verwoerdt. Charles C. Thomas, 1966. 183 pp. $7.50.

Dr. Verwoerdt of Duke's own medical faculty has given us a book wherein he attempts to relate to the problem of *dying* while at the same time preserving a sensible, non-emotional overview. He himself describes his work as focusing clearly upon the challenge as well as the opportunity of communicating with the fatally ill. The book is designed to elicit a non-emotional (as well as non-rigid) attitude toward the complexity of caring for the dying person. As a psychiatrist, Dr. Verwoerdt is freed from the encumbrances of a system of metaphysical assumptions that would insist that he conform to particular views or life styles. Working out of the context of ego psychology and psychophysiology, he has written an empirical work with good success which is highly useful as a guide or, indeed, primer which provides a "cohesive framework" in which persons might apply outlined suggestions.

Whereas the purpose of the book is subtly to point the finger of sensitivity at those who maintain the "holy task" of listening and observing the clues of a fatally ill person, he sounds the clarion call for a new view of relating to the death process, wherein a man might have a more fitting death. This he contends can indeed be a possibility with a step by step relief of physical suffering (as much as possible) and the systematic preparation for the recognition and the acceptance of the "fatal" reality of life. If by patience and understanding these steps are acknowledged, then the last phase of life (death) can be undertaken with "credit and dignity."

These movements in patient care are not simply achieved, however, but involve the constant sensitivity to both a life *style* and movement. Such movement as the emotional turmoil of identifying a frightening symptom that ultimately introduces one to the death reality is of heightened importance if the death relationship is to be a creative one, which gives credence to man as a total person. Man's totality comes to bear in his movement from health to unhealth to death. In order to understand this movement, the clinician as well as the clergyman (or any other who feels keen responsibility for persons at this stage of life) needs to respect the many factors that threaten man and make his death the "intolerable" thing that it often seems to be.

In order to facilitate this "sensitive approach" Dr. Verwoerdt sets forth an outlined scheme of psychological reactions or defense mechanisms as well as emotional reactions and their management. It is of value for any person to acknowledge regressive mechanisms, hopelessness, repression and suppression, denial, rationalization, depersonalization, projection, and defenses aimed at mastery and control. By virtue of their defensive character, however, one is warned severely that the "coping agents" are not arbitrarily assumed but are practically demanded by individual personality structure. It is of significance to note that defense mechanisms might indeed be reinforced if they enable the oncoming death to be dignified and not subject to "dehumanizing disintegration." Dr. Verwoerdt strongly concludes, "The patient can make one last gift to those around him in his struggle with fate—his acceptance of death as an affirmation of life."

Clergymen will be interested in some religious considerations (Chapter IX) which Dr. Verwoerdt makes. Clinging to his own view that the book is an "objective observation," he undertakes to observe the patient's religious considerations as measurable phenomena, and thus excuses himself from theological sophistication. In so doing, he is able to assert the need for mutual understanding between the clergyman's task (helping the patient understand as well as transcend the temporal limits of existence), and the doctor's task (maintaining an active fight against illness and therapeutically dispensing temporal hope "in order to help fill the need of the ego for anticipation of attractive prospects in the foreseeable future by offering relief from pain, release into sleep and the satisfaction of other similar needs"). Since both persons may occupy heightened places of importance in the mind of the patient, both are called upon to act "maximally" within their own role limits.

Whereas Dr. Verwoerdt has written an empirical work with theoretical insights held to a minimum, it is interesting to observe that his conclusions are the same as those derived by pastoral theologians during the past two decades. Whether or not he was led to investigate these resources does not repudiate the value of his clinical findings. Any clergyman would find this book a helpful guide to understanding issues confronting the fatally ill and his movement toward that moment.

The book is easy to read, simple in its language, and dreadfully clear. Any person who reads it, however, whether he be doctor, clergyman, clinician, nurse, etc., stands warned that man has a right to die fittingly and freely. Whereas one may think that he has a view, a set of values, a theology, or a life style, that if superimposed may make that death a better experience, he stands warned that the highest acceptance is to allow the man to die as a legitimate act of life—one day at a time with "a reasonable degree of conscious awareness up until the time death is close at hand, and the actual presence of his family around him at the end." This is man's dignified giving of self to the very end. This is Dr. Verwoerdt's concept of a "fittting death."

—William C. Spong

The Quest Through the Centuries: The Search for the Historical Jesus. Harvey K. McArthur. Fortress Press. 1966. 173 pp. $3.75.

Here is another volume on the problem of the historical Jesus. It is quite readable and will serve a very useful purpose in introducing students and ministers to the problems involved in the "Quest." The "unique" feature of this work is that the author has discussed various attempts to solve the problem in the distant past which most persons would not immediately connect with the "Quest." Chapters two through four contain most of this material.

One of the chief strengths of this

work is the ability of the author to write clearly. In fact the statement in chapter one, "The Inevitability of the Quest," is as clear a statement of the problem as one could want, and a statement which the minister could use to introduce intelligent laymen to this area of New Testament studies. Chapter five, "The Modern Phase of the Quest," presents the situation from Reimarus to the present.

The last chapter is the author's own contribution to the whole area and is unfortunately the weakest part of the book. This is not to say that his arguments are weak or incoherent; they are simply not new or especially enlightening. The strength here lies in the fact that his "Principles and Persuasions" may serve as a good starting point for students not familiar with this area of New Testament scholarship.

This book will be a great help to the parish minister who wishes to know something of this problem as well as to new students in this area. It is a very clear statement of the problem for which the author is to be commended.

—James M. Efird

The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective: Essays in Memory of G. H. C. MacGregor, Hugh Anderson and William Barclay, editors. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1965. 280 pp. 45s.

This particular volume in memory of the late Professor G. H. C. Macgregor of Glasgow University contains a collection of essays on various aspects of New Testament studies. And like most collections of this kind the quality of the work varies. There are articles dealing with text and canon, articles in the general area of inspiration and the unity of the Bible, articles on specific problems of New Testament studies, and a survey article on trends in New Testament theology today.

There are several articles included in this volume which can and will be quite valuable and provocative for the parish minister. The reviewer thinks immediately of J. S. Stewart's article, "The Christ of Faith," which attempts to give an evaluation of R. Bultmann's position on the question of the "Life of Jesus." It is "pure" Stewart which will be good news to some, not so good to others; but the article will be well worth reading.

The survey article by A. M. Hunter, "Modern Trends in New Testament Theology," will be rewarding for those who wish to continue to be aware of some of the things going on in New Testament theology and interpretation.

Probably the best article was written by one not unfamiliar to the readers of this *Review*, Dr. Hugh Anderson. This essay, "The Easter Witness of the Evangelists," discusses the passion narrative of each of the Gospels in an attempt to find the theological emphasis of the writers highlighted in this specific part of their Gospels. It is, of course, the new trend toward *Redaktionsgeschichte*.

Some readers may be interested in the article by A. Q. Morton. "The Authorship of the Pauline Corpus," which discusses and analyzes the problem of authenticity in the Pauline Corpus. The interesting feature is that this study was made by a computer, and many charts are set forth to illustrate the procedure and conclusions. Many are familiar with this study from various newspaper and magazine accounts, but it is much better to read the statement straight from the man who did the work.

In summary it can be stated that there are some worthy and interesting articles in this tribute to a great figure in New Testament studies of the previous generation. It may also be stated that not all of the essays are of the same high quality as the man whom they are honoring.

—James M. Efird

A New Introduction to Moral Theology. Herbert Waddams. Seabury. 1965. 240 pp. $2.25.

An "introduction" to anything is seldom indifferently done; more often it's either good or bad. This one, by the Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, is good. It is both sound and well-written, and can be commended to laymen as well as clergymen who want and need a book that introduces moral theology.

The aim of Canon Waddams' volume is to demonstrate, despite the tendency of some moderns to dismiss and abandon it, that the traditional approach to moral theology and Christian ethics is still viable. He thus discusses, in the light of certain contemporary criticisms, the classical categories of Christian morals: natural law, conscience, virtues and vices. The second half of the book is devoted to treatment of certain moral problems (marriage and sex, the use of force, the sanctity of life, and problems of wealth) as illustrative of the application of the Christian ethical principles to specific cases. That some of these latter chapters sometimes show Waddams to be less at home in concrete problematics than in theory does not, as many seem too quick to conclude, prove the futility of the classical approach. Casuistry at its best is intended to be suggestive and tentative but not definitive.

This is much too brief a review to comment upon the book in detail, but two features merit special mention in conclusion. The first is that Waddams has instructively included pithy and perspective criticisms of Helmut Thielicke and Paul Lehmann and a longer, more thorough, analysis of H. A. Williams' essay, "Theology and Self-Awareness," which appeared in *Soundings*. The second is that this book serves a need to recover and reform moral theology, a discipline which has suffered abuse at the hands of professionals and laymen alike. Despite the excesses of legalism that are so often associated with classical casuistry, decision-making still stands in need of the coherence and clarity which precise moral reflection brings; and this is what moral theology is all about.

—Harmon L. Smith

Understandings of Man. Perry LeFevre. Westminster. 1966. 177 pp. $2.45, paper.

"What is wrong with man? What is human fulfillment? What is the way?" (p. 28) With these basic questions the author analyzes typical views of ourselves and others which shape our personal and corporate existence. After exposing the implicit assumptions about man which pervade popular culture—as exemplified in detective fiction, mass market magazines, and comic strips—he undertakes to sharpen up the reader's critical understanding by study of representative secular and religious interpretations of man. He parallels the evolutionary humanism of Julian Huxley with the Christian evolutionary thought of Teilhard de Chardin, and follows the influential secular faiths of Marx and Freud with the major theological anthropologies of Kierkegaard, Buber, and Reinhold Niebuhr. To these he adds his own view of man as "meant to become a center of freedom and of love" (p. 135) but resistant, turning away, in bondage, unable to love, needing divine transformation "toward the kind of trust that brings reversal of direction and the freedom to love" (p. 151). Perhaps his best chapter is the final one on "unanswered questions" on the nature and destiny of man. This reviewer plans to introduce some of these questions into his courses.

Dr. LeFevre is Academic Dean and Professor of Constructive Theology at Chicago Theological Seminary and former member of the Religion and Personality team of the Federated Theological Faculty. But this adult study guide, without sacri-

ficing scholarly competence and insight, is lucid, unpedantic, and sparing of quotes and academic impedimenta. He feels his way into the mind and material of his subjects and presents their thought engagingly for the serious layman. It is to be hoped that the readers will turn to the major sources and wrestle with the enduring questions about the human situation.

—McMurry S. Richey

Francis Asbury. L. C. Rudolph. Abingdon, 1966. 240 pp. $5.00.

The 1966 bi-centennial of American Methodism was an occasion of much introspective investigation and nostalgic rumination about Methodist beginnings. While this modest volume was published too late to contribute to the actual celebration, its perusal will be of service in refreshing some Methodists, and in instructing others, about early Methodism's attempts to evangelize the American frontier. Certainly Bishop Francis Asbury was the key figure, and his journals and letters provide an unparalleled source for knowledge of this attempt.

The purpose of the volume is to provide, on the basis of Asbury's own writings, a biographical picture of the man at work in evangelizing, and in creating a church and ministry for America. Accordingly, Dr. Rudolph describes Asbury's arrival in America, his conflicts with other lay-preachers sent by John Wesley, his "exile" during the American Revolution, and the power-struggle in 1783-84, culminating in Asbury's insistence at the 1784 Christmas Conference on being *elected* superintendent by the American preachers—a move which effectively established his authority over that of Thomas Coke in America.

The work of Bishop Asbury is described at some length by Dr. Rudolph. The foundation of Asbury's leadership in Amercia was his first-hand knowledge of the country and the people, enabling him to preach relevantly and to "superintend" the classes and preachers with unusual effectiveness. His participation in revivals and camp-meetings, and his concern for establishing educational institutions are duly noted and discussed. None of this is really new or surprising information. It is part of the mythology of American Methodism. What is distinctive and significant is Dr. Rudolph's study of Asbury's theology, based on his own pronouncements, his extreme denominational consciousness, and his views and policy on slavery. Since Asbury left no sermons or treatises, his theology is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish with precision. Certain general motifs are pointed out by Dr. Rudolph, namely, Asbury's emphasis on the doctrine of justification by faith, and especially on the necessity of conversion and holiness in order to salvation. His view of the superiority of Methodism over other denominations is examined by the author although this attitude, to be sure, was not held by Asbury alone in this period. But the delineation of Asbury's views and decisions relating to slavery is perhaps the most important contribution of the volume. How Asbury's position changed from a strong stand against slavery, including a plan for emancipation of slaves by lay and clerical Methodists, to a position of "local option" on slavery, and the program of evangelization rather than emancipation of slaves, is a tragic story.

Dr. Rudolph has given us a candid and fair picture of Francis Asbury. The book has depth and lucidity; it combines scholarship with an informal style of writing. *Francis Asbury* is to be recommended to both ministers and laymen who are interested in history. It can help contemporary Methodists to learn from, rather than to idolize, the past, and can encourage them to seek ways to be the church in the present.

—Charles A. Rogers

Duke Divinity School Clinics

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Five clinics, running concurrently, will be conducted for ministers of all denominations at the Duke Divinity School, July 17-28. These are designed to supplement seminary education through two weeks of intensive training in one selected subject. No academic credit is given. Participants are expected to attend the full two weeks from the opening dinner to the closing luncheon.

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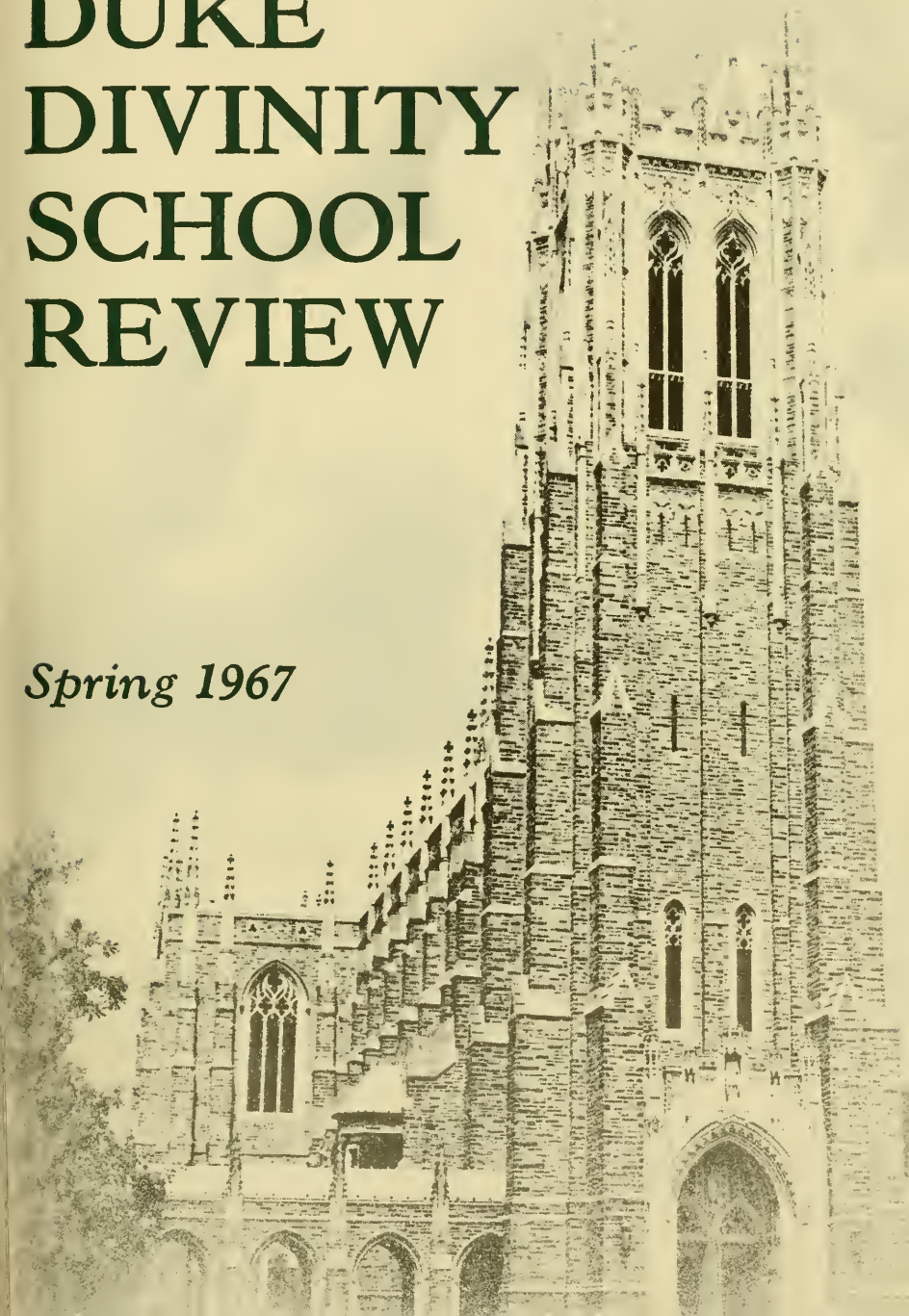
THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Spring 1967



Prayer

O Thou eternal, omnipotent and Holy God, who art our Father; whose thoughts are not our thoughts, yet who art manifest in all our thinking; whose ways are not our ways, yet dost mark our every coming and going; who createst the unbounded heavens by which the imagination of man is prostrated, yet who art not so readily spanned as they; who art the author of the deeps of the sea, yet art not so readily sounded; who numberest the hairs of our head and the beatings of our heart—which no *man* can number, yet art not so readily grasped by us as these; who never wearieth of seeking us, even though we never tire of fleeing thee; whose power hast established the foundations of the earth and the world, so that apart from thee they vanish into the abyss, yet whose love enables every creature, so disposed, to call thee Father; who are nearer to us than we are to ourselves, even when we are far from thee; enable us to pray.

Receive us again into thy fellowship: wound us at the broken places in our self-esteem and heal our broken and fragmented lives.

Manifest thyself to us by thine absence; appear to us in the bankruptcy of all our partial confidences; make our captivity unto ourselves captive unto thee, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.

Forgive us for the arrogance and pride that turn us from thee and against our neighbor; for the self-absorption that makes us to rejoice in evil and apathetic in the presence of suffering; for the subtle but vicious and now forgotten unkindness to those whom we love; for the unconcealed contempt for those who have no claim upon us except that they are thy sons.

For we recognize that as creatures we must adore thee, as debtors we must render thee thanks, being culpable we must make amends and being needy we must implore thee.

O God, our Father; uproot from our hearts those things that we would perversely plant there for ourselves, in order that thou mayest plant therein, with thine own hand, the tree of life, loaded with fruit—for we offer our prayers through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

—William H. Poteat

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An Appreciation of Kenneth Willis Clark[1]

Hollis W. Huston
Minister, First Church in Windsor (United Church of Christ)
Windsor, Connecticut

Among my vivid recollections of Kenneth Clark, I think most often of a morning in April, 1949. For the previous several days, the Huston residence at 2310 Woodrow Street in Durham had been converted into a "Thesis Factory" as all the resources of the family, our friends and neighbors, and several teachers, were devoted to the seemingly endless task of physically preparing my dissertation to meet the deadline at 5:00 p.m. that day.

At Dr. Clark's Greek typewriter, on a shaky card table in front of the fireplace, Joyce Lockhart (now Mrs. Donn Michael Farris) was typing the last few of the four hundred and sixty-five pages of Greek collation which accounted for most of the bulk of the book, and most of the production problems which had brought us to this last-minute finish. A week earlier, Joyce had stopped attending classes and had moved into our house, and literally spent all her waking moments typing.

Other typewriters were also busy. In the "office"—a central hallway in the little house, where we had placed a desk and filing cabinet—my wife, Annie Laura, was completing the typing of the English text which explained and interpreted the evidence of the

1. I am indebted, without always fully noting this obligation, to the following people, who have been good enough to share with me their personal appreciation of Kenneth W. Clark, or to pass on to me information which I would otherwise have lacked: Professor Savas Agourides, Professor Hugh Anderson, Professor Waldo Beach, Dean Jerald C. Brauer, Professor Milton P. Brown, Jr., Professor Rudolph Bultmann, Professor Henry J. Cadbury, Dr. Howard Carroll, Professor John V. Chamberlain, Mrs. Adelaide D. Clark, President Ernest Cadman Colwell, Dr. William F. Davidson, Professor Donn Michael Farris, Dean Milton C. Froyd, Mr. Carl E. Geiger, Bishop W. Kenneth Goodson, Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, Professor Norman A. Huffman, Bishop Earl G. Hunt, Jr., Headmaster Albert L. Kerr, Professor Ray C. Petry, Professor R. H. Sales, Dean Ernest W. Saunders, Mr. John L. Sharpe, Professor William F. Stinespring, Dr. Howard M. Teeple, Professor Dan O. Via, Jr., Professor W. C. van Unnik, Dr. William R. Wilson, and Mr. Earl W. Wolslagel.

collation. On the dining-room table, two other typewriters were clattering. At one, another Greek language machine, Adelaide Clark added headings to the pages of the collation which Joyce had finished, made corrections, and inserted Greek words and phrases into the body of the English text. At the other, any unwary friend or neighbor who came to our door found himself put to numbering the completed and corrected pages. Chick Sales, Bill Brownlee, Joe and Eleanor Porter, and Walter MacDonald all served time at this machine.

At one more typewriter—my battered portable placed on another card table in a corner of the living room—I was engaged in the final rewriting of Preface, Bibliography and Autobiographical Sketch, so that Annie Laura could have them later that morning.

On the only uncluttered flat surface in the house—the couch in the living room—sat Kenneth, surrounded by neat piles of paper. Those on one side contained my copy from which the typists had worked; on the other were the multiple copies of the finished work. For nearly twenty-four hours, since his last class of the day before, he had been ensconced there, proofreading my collation.

These were not the first or the only contributions the Clarks had made to this task. A couple of days before, about the time normal family routine had utterly collapsed, Adelaide and Kenneth had arrived late one afternoon with a hamper containing a complete dinner, had served it, and disappeared (lest we feel constrained to make a social occasion of it), to return later and clean things up while Joyce, Annie Laura and I returned to the typewriters.

We were a strange looking crew that morning. The women, whose coiffures had lost the battle hours earlier, were in sweaters and slacks or robes, the men in rumpled sport shirts which had long since pulled out of their baggy slacks. All except Kenneth.

As he and Adelaide prepared to go to their home for a quick breakfast, his hair was still perfectly combed. His trousers had neither lost their crease nor acquired any wrinkles; his suit jacket looked freshly pressed, though he had not removed it in twenty-four hours; his collar had not wilted. The only visible sign of the ordeal was a sprouting stubble of beard and a slight redness of the eyes, both of which had been repaired when, less than an hour later, Kenneth returned freshly showered and clothed to help us finish the job.

And finish it we did—with no time at all to spare. After a late-afternoon race across Durham in Bill Brownlee's car, a very brief stay at the bindery at the Seeman Printery, and a mad dash to the

campus through rush hour traffic, I handed in the finished product at the Graduate School Office five minutes before closing time—to a secretary who accepted the books pretending to think that the glue in the binding was dry and who kept a straight face as she piled weights on the copies to prevent undue damage when it really did dry.

I do not mention this incident simply to engage in an orgy of reminiscence, but rather because it illustrates some of the characteristics of Kenneth Clark as I have known him and as he is recalled by former students and associates who have been good enough to share their recollections with me.

First, Kenneth was there because it was important for me to finish on time, and he could help to bring it off by working with me. Repeatedly, he has shown a deep sense of responsibility for his students which goes far beyond classroom instruction or direction in his own academic discipline. He has always been concerned for us as human beings, and this has been equally true in his relationships with his colleagues and other friends. What we have needed he has sought to give—whether help in proofreading a thesis or aid in locating a position, whether support in times of personal tragedy or suggestions of new directions for research which has somehow bogged down.

Almost instinctively, when Kenneth undertook to help me, he chose to read proof. The integrity of scholarship is essential to him, and it was therefore important that my dissertation should not be marred by typing errors. He gave it the same scrupulous attention he has paid to all his scholarly work.

The reason we were rushing to finish the dissertation was because Kenneth would soon begin a year of intensive research abroad. I had been willing, a few weeks earlier, to bow to reality and to delay the completion date for the dissertation until summer, thus scheduling my oral examinations for the following year. Kenneth now had agreed to spend a year in Jerusalem as Annual Professor at the American School of Oriental Research, and to undertake two exciting microfilm projects. Rather than have me mark time for an additional year because of his absence, he and Adelaide were doing all they could to help me meet the Graduate School deadline.

Finally, it was characteristic of Kenneth that his appearance was impeccable, even after working all night. This extreme care in dress and grooming may seem an insignificant detail, but almost every former student and associate recalls it first when he speaks of Kenneth Clark. W. C. van Unnik, for instance, remembers that when

they first met in Greece in 1951, "Dr. Clark had just returned from an expedition to Mount Sinai, but looked as though he had just come from the best tailor in the world!" Student banter twenty years ago referred to him, not without envy and respect, as the "fashion plate." So much is this a part of the picture of Kenneth which we carry in our minds that Ernest W. Saunders remarks: "One has real difficulty imagining him in dirty attire and ruffled hair, climbing to a monastery on Mount Sinai or Mount Athos!" We know he did the climbing, but I suspect that he was neither dirty nor ruffled when he did it.

R. H. ("Chick") Sales has had perhaps a better chance than most of us to observe this side of Kenneth's nature, since Kenneth used to beat him frequently at tennis—and Kenneth's pastel sport shirt was buttoned at the collar throughout the game. Chick is right when he observes that Kenneth's "meticulous nature" which was most obviously seen in his dress "carries over in a real way in his scholarship and his love for the meticulous work of the textual critic."

Not long after that school year closed, Kenneth and Adelaide were embarked on a year which was to be rich in accomplishment. Most of Kenneth's time as Annual Professor at the American School was to be spent in a most ambitious and remarkably successful project to make available to world scholarship previously inaccessible primary source material for the study of antiquity. During that year, Kenneth was to sift, prepare and microfilm the most significant portions of two of the world's most important and least accessible collections of manuscripts, and to photograph selected portions of yet a third.

Shortly after arriving in Jerusalem in mid-August, 1949, Kenneth began negotiations with the Greek Patriarch, His Beatitude Timotheos II, and the Holy Synod, and the late Patriarch, His Beatitude Guregh II, and afterward with the Locum Tenens, His Grace Archbishop Eghishé, and the Armenian Synod. In these conversations, arrangements were completed for the photographing of materials in the libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem. Work in the Greek Patriarchate got under way in December, but was suspended when time came for members of the expedition to prepare to journey to Sinai.

Extensive advance preparations for the Sinai work had been accomplished in consultations between Wendell Phillips, President of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, and Archbishop Porphyrios III and his Synod. Late in December, arrangements were

complete, and the expedition gathered in Cairo, ready to embark on a major project of photographing manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery in the wilderness of Sinai. The Photoduplication Service of the Library of Congress provided photographic equipment, personnel and materials for this expedition, as well as for the work in Jerusalem.[2]

Since the sixteenth century, many expeditions have found their way to the Monastery. Italians, French, English, Russians, Greeks, and Americans have come. There have been consular representatives, ecclesiastical officials, and finally competent Biblical scholars. These previous visits were made by small groups, who stayed for only brief periods, and who pursued limited objectives.

Unlike those earlier expeditions, the party gathering at Cairo did not intend to search for special treasures, nor to acquire manuscripts for western libraries, nor yet to prepare a catalogue of the Sinai collection. The purpose, rather, was "to examine the entire library of manuscripts in all languages and to select the most important texts to microfilm, in order that this selected portion might be made accessible to all scholars and be submitted to manifold researches."[3]

The working group which left the Cairo headquarters on January 5, 1950, had more personnel, more diversified specialists, and made a longer stay at the Monastery than any previous expedition. Some twenty persons,[4] in four cars, made the two-day journey to Sinai, and

2. Dr. Clark has told the stories of these expeditions in "The Microfilming Projects at Mount Sinai and Jerusalem," *The Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions,* Vol. 8, No. 3 (May: 1951), pp. 6-11 (hereafter cited as "Microfilming"); in "Exploring the Manuscripts of Sinai and Jerusalem," *The Biblical Archaeologist,* Vol. XVI, No. 2 (May: 1953), pp. 22-43, reprinted in G. Ernest Wright and David Noel Freedman, eds., *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader* (Chicago: 1961), pp. 262-283 (This article is hereafter cited as "Exploring." Page references for each printing are indicated by *BA,* for the original appearance in *The Biblical Archaeologist,* and *BAR* for the reprint.); and in the Introductions to *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950* (Washington: 1952), pp. vii-x (hereafter cited as *Checklist . . . Sinai.*), and *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem, Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949-50* (Washington: 1953), pp. vii-x (hereafter cited as *Checklist . . . Jerusalem.*).

3. "Exploring," *BA,* p. 24; *BAR,* p. 264.

4. Field Director of the expedition, for the American Foundation for the Study of Man, was William Terry. The photographer, for the Library of Congress, was Wallace Wade. Kenneth, as General Editor, was assisted by Howard Kee and by Adelaide Clark. Editor for Arabic MSS was Dr. Aziz Shryal Atiya of Farouk I University in Cairo. Professor Gerard Garitte of

transported two generators, a refrigerator, a radio, cameras, and great quantities of fuel, medical and office supplies, food and film.

They found the library recently established in modern fireproof quarters, and well cared for (in contrast to the conditions reported by some earlier visitors). They were provided with a good work room, where they were to spend seven hours a day, six days a week at work on the manuscripts. Still, there was time only to photograph about half the library, so careful principles of selection had to be adopted. Kenneth, as General Editor for the expedition, had direct responsibility for editing the Greek manuscripts (about two-thirds of the entire manuscript library),[5] and also superintended the work in other categories.

For the first time, the entire manuscript collection was examined in detail. "Before the project ended the shelves had been combed thoroughly."[6] The principles by which manuscripts to be filmed were selected insured that the microfilm collection would include all the really important items in the library. Every Biblical manuscript was photographed, regardless of its age. Beyond this, the basic criterion was to obtain pictures of all manuscripts copied before A.D. 1600, except that for the very abundant liturgical manuscripts the limit was placed at A.D. 1400. Priority second only to Biblical texts was accorded Biblical commentaries and patristic texts. Special attention was given to Byzantine musical documents. All dated manuscripts up to A.D. 1600 were photographed, thus greatly enriching the resource materials available to palaeographers. Hundreds of colophons were collected, and some 2500 miniatures were photographed. Manuscripts of secular content were filmed in entirety and, since they included works of grammar, lexicography, law, medicine, history, geography, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, and musical theory, they make available valuable research material in a number of disciplines. Works of many classical authors are included in the collection, and were filmed. All representatives of smaller language groups—Georgian, Slavonic and Ethiopic—were photographed. In addition, attempts were made to fulfill every request for texts needed for research already under way.

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the University of Louvain edited the Syriac, Georgian and Slavonic collections. Professor Murad Kamil of Fouad University edited Ethiopic MSS. Turkish firmans were edited by Professor Ibrahim Sabri of Farouk I University. The Abbot, Father Joachim, supervised the work for the Monastery, and several members of the Monastery family gave assistance.

5. Most of the rest were in Arabic and Syriac.

6. "Microfilming," p. 7.

Mutilated manuscripts frequently had to be reconstructed or repaired before they were ready for the cameras. Often, books bound in disorder required special instructions to the photographer, so that the microfilm copies might be in the original order.

Many Arabic and Turkish firmans (official documents in which Muslim rulers guaranteed the protection of the Christian community on Sinai) were discovered and photographed.[8]

After the work at the Monastery was completed in May, 1950, the interrupted project at the Greek Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem was resumed. This composite library[9] contains some 2400 manuscripts in eleven languages, of which about 1000 were photographed, following approximately the same policies as were employed at Sinai. During this work, a previously unlisted complete New Testament in Greek, dating from the eleventh century, was discovered.

A further week was spent in the Armenian Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, where by special request microfilms were made of thirty-two manuscripts out of a collection of about 4000, and four hundred twenty-four miniatures were photographed.[10]

In the year's work which Dr. Clark directed, more than 2700 manuscripts were micrifilmed in their entirety, more than 2450 miniatures were photographed, and microfilms were made of the 1742 firmans at Sinai. It is because of results such as these (and because of inevitable associations with St. Catherine's Monastery) that S. Vernon McCasland has said, "I consider Kenneth Clark the Tischendorf of our time. I doubt that any other person has spent so much time in the relentless search for new manuscript materials."

Certainly, it is Constantine Tischendorf, the great German New Testament scholar of the nineteenth century, discoverer of Codex Sinaiticus at St. Catherine's Monastery, and producer of a notable series of critical texts of the New Testament, of whom one is re-

7. Of the 2291 Greek manuscripts, 1087 were filmed, as well as 305 out of 600 Arabic and 159 out of 257 Syriac manuscripts. Single manuscripts were found in Armenian, Latin and Persian, and were photographed.

8. The full variety of the Sinai materials photographed and their importance for research in a variety of disciplines has been summarized in Kenneth W. Clark, "Research Resources in St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai," *Papers of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists* (Moscow: 1962), Vol. I, pp. 517-522.

9. Including the libraries from the Holy Sepulcher, the Monastery of St. Saba, Holy Cross Monastery, the Chapel of the Resurrection, and the Chapel of Abraham, as well as some private collections.

10. Many of the Sinai personnel also participated in the work in Jerusalem. Additional help came from Dr. Lucetta Mowry, Dr. Dmitri Baramki (Arabic and Slavonic MSS) and Dr. Umhau Wolf (Syriac, Georgian and Ethiopic).

minded by Kenneth Clark's extensive travel and exploration, and by his careful, accurate scholarship.

But where Tischendorf could only copy by hand, collate or carry away the manuscripts he saw, Kenneth Clark had at his disposal that magnificent aid to scholarship, the microfilm camera, and he had the knowledge and the industry to make full use of that tool. As a result, in one year's work in the Near East, Dr. Clark placed at the disposal of the world's scholars much more original source material than Tischendorf was able to transmit in a lifetime of dedicated labor. Furthermore, whereas Tischendorf's transcriptions, excellent as they are, are not without errors, the microfilm records Kenneth brought from Sinai and Jerusalem are much more valuable since they reproduce the original materials.

The year 1949-50 was a worthy climax in the life of this servant of scholarship, but it was neither an end nor a beginning. It was, rather, a coherent incident in a career which has continued to flower in the active years since 1950, and which had long before established its cannons of integrity and industry.

Kenneth Willis Clark was born in New York City, January 11, 1898, the son of Willis Henry and Jennie Knapp Clark. His was a church family, and young Kenneth seems always to have been deeply involved in the church's life.

As a youth, he worked for a time as a runner for a brokerage firm in New York City. This work gave him close acquaintance with the work of the stock exchange, but also seems to have convinced him that he would never be satisfied with a career in business or finance.

So it was that when he enrolled in the Peddie School in Hightstown, New Jersey, in 1916, it was with the intention of preparing himself for a religious vocation. At Peddie he stood at the top of his class for four years, and was chosen to deliver the student address at his graduation exercises. A considerable list of prep school honors won by Kenneth includes the Latin prize in his Freshman year, geometry prize as a Sophomore, and two second prizes and one first prize in the Winters Prize Speaking Contest.

Carl E. Geiger, who taught at Peddie while Kenneth was a student there, remembers him as "a quiet, modest, law-abiding citizen, too intelligent to get into trouble," who therefore did not leave behind him an oral tradition of the usual schoolboy escapades. He did, however, leave the excellent academic and scholarly record which has just been noted, and an astonishing list of activities. He sang

second bass in the glee club, double and single quartet; he was a member of the YMCA cabinet and a delegate to numerous student religious conferences; he was secretary of his class; he was a member of the House Committee (the student governing board); he was on the Interfraternity Council; he was on the Board of the *Peddie News;* and he was a member of the track team.[11]

With what sounds like some awe, Mr. Geiger further notes Kenneth's best accomplishment of his Peddie years: "In spite of Ken's excellent scholastic record and his varied extracurricular activities, he found time to court the attractive Hightstown young lady, Adelaide Emeline Dickinson." This courtship was another success, since Kenneth and Adelaide became engaged while he was a student at Yale, where he went upon graduating from Peddie in 1920.

At Yale he continued his record of fine scholarship, and his interest in music. He was a member of the choir and of the glee club, and with the latter group made several trips around the country.

It was at Yale that the next step in his career decision was made. Impressed by his academic achievements, several professors warned that he would never come to terms with the intellectual strait jacket so often imposed by the parish, and urged that he ought rather to make a career in teaching. The psychology professor wanted him to be a psychologist; the philosophy professor saw him as a philosopher. But Kenneth was a churchman, and was already in love with the New Testament.

Thus, when graduated from Yale in 1924, he enrolled in the Rochester Theological Seminary where, as the files of the school show, "he was a busy young man and a conscientious student." Of course, he continued his record of academic excellence, and in addition served the Disciples Church in Rochester as Minister of Education. In this post, he so distinguished himself that his work became a matter of special notice to the President of the seminary. He also found time to work with the local YMCA.

Near the end of his first year at the seminary, Kenneth was stricken with a severe case of typhoid fever, which for a time impeded his academic progress. Kenneth and Adelaide were married the day he came out of the hospital, July 23, 1925, and Adelaide helped nurse him back to health.

During the following year, Kenneth was given special per-

11. When, in 1955, Peddie celebrated its nineteenth anniversary, Kenneth was one of fourteen alumni awarded citations for outstanding service in their fields.

mission, because of his excellent academic record and because his health was still precarious, to attend only alternate meetings of his classes. Yet his high standards of attainment continued. Adelaide, too, audited several classes at the Seminary that year.

In 1926, Kenneth and Adelaide moved to Holley, New York, where Kenneth assumed the pastorate of the Baptist Church, and was ordained. Though this was a full-time pastorate, and the church expected all regular parish duties to be performed, Kenneth had the privilege of continuing his classes at the Seminary. Holley is thirty-five miles from Rochester, and Kenneth commuted by streetcar. He must have been again in robust health to survive the schedule which this imposed. On Friday, he would travel from Rochester to Holley, where he spent Saturday in visiting parishioners, and conducted two services on Sunday—besides running the church school and leading two young people's meetings. He returned to Rochester on Sunday nights, since classes met early on Monday mornings, but each Wednesday saw him back in Holley to conduct a prayer meeting. A trolley which left Holley at 5:00 a.m. on Thursday mornings got him to Rochester in time for classes. It goes without saying to anyone who has served a student parish while married that Adelaide was busy keeping the church affairs going while Kenneth studied.

As if this rigorous schedule were not enough, the problems were complicated by what President Clarence A. Barbour called "a fundamentalist faction [in the church] which was not easy to live with." Holley was a conservative community, and the church a conservative Baptist congregation. Fundamentalist-modernist strife was raging, and in that kind of battle Kenneth Clark could not remain a noncombatant. Nor could he escape without some honorable wounds of conflict. The infighting is never dirtier and more vicious than when carried on by partisans of a cause which has already died. When one can no longer really trust in the inherent rightness of his position, it becomes all too easy to substitute personal attack for rational argument. Despite all the difficulties, however, the Clarks established cordial and meaningful relationships with most of the members of their congregation.

Kenneth completed his seminary work and received his B.D. degree from Rochester in 1927. He then accepted a call to the Webster Baptist Church in Webster, New York. Webster, another small town in the Rochester area, was a very different community from Holley, and Kenneth and Adelaide happily settled in for what should have been a relatively easy schedule after the demanding pastor-

student combination at Holley. This was to be a time of marshaling resources, financial and otherwise, for the graduate work which was already projected.

The pastorate at Webster did not long remain simply a matter of routine parish duties. A young teacher in the high school was incapacitated with pneumonia, and Kenneth was asked to assume his duties. For the remainder of the year, he again carried two responsibilities, and he must have done both well, for he was invited to continue in Webster, serving both church and school.

At the end of a year in Webster, the Clarks decided, however, that the time had come for Kenneth to begin his graduate work. This was to be study in New Testament; that had been decided at Rochester.

Good teachers cannot but wish to enlist promising young men to teach in their own disciplines, and Rochester, like any other school, had its academic empire builders. The professor of systematic theology wanted Kenneth to be a theologian. But Dr. Ernest Parsons, the Professor of New Testament, by the standards of scholarship which he instilled, and his demonstration of the quality of the scholar's life, became the influence which matured Kenneth's long-time interest in New Testament into a firm resolve to enter graduate study in this field.

The Clarks' savings were not enough to underwrite three years of graduate work, but there was an offer of a scholarship at Yale, and there was the possibility at the University of Chicago (if a first year of work showed enough promise) of earning a fellowship in New Testament. It was the opportunity to work with Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed at Chicago which swung the decision, and Kenneth enrolled in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago for the autumn quarter, 1928. During the three years they spent at Chicago, Adelaide was employed as executive secretary in the Nutrition Department of the University of Chicago Clinics.

It was at Chicago that Kenneth was first introduced to the study of Greek New Testament manuscripts. His masterful command of the Greek language, his willingness to pay attention to important minutiae, his ability to grasp and deal with intricate textual relationships, and his patience to persevere despite long periods of seemingly unproductive investigation were recognized as qualities which particularly fitted him for the painstaking labors of the textual critic.

Kenneth approached his work at Chicago with characteristic vigor and success. He quickly established his reputation as an

outstanding student, but still found time to participate in the Beta Theta Pi fraternity, the New Testament Club and the Chapel Choir.

At the end of his first year at Chicago, he was elected a Divinity School Fellow. As Dean Jerald C. Brauer explains, "there are only a handful of Divinity Fellows elected each year, and they represent the best students in the school. The students are elected to this position by a formal faculty vote, thus you can understand the quality involved." Kenneth was assigned to work with Dr. Harold R. Willoughby, a relationship which continued for two years, during which time Kenneth gathered information for a pioneering corpus of miniatures.

Ernest C. Colwell remembers the Kenneth Clark of those days as "an intense and conscientious student." Colwell and Clark have maintained since their student days the friendship which began at Chicago. Colwell recalls engaging Kenneth in vigorous debates on various New Testament questions—discussions which continued after class "all the way to the corner of the street outside the apartment building in which we lived." Such arguments were terminated, he says, "only by our wives' appearing and dragging us into the building for lunch."

Former students who have on occasion drowsed during one of Kenneth's more detailed lectures may now be able to shed the burden of guilt they have carried over the years, since Colwell confesses that he and Kenneth distinguished themselves in one seminar by falling asleep each afternoon. There were extenuating circumstances: they had signed up for a lecture series, but shifted to the seminar (which needed students) at the "suggestion" of the Department Chairman; the class met just after lunch; the subject was Orphism, and was discussed in a monotone by a heavily-accented visiting Italian professor. Drastic action was necessary, since slumbering on the seminar table before a professor expounding the mysteries of Orphism is not calculated to build a reputation for diligence and interest—or even to earn a passing grade. Both students, therefore, decided to delay lunch until after the seminar. "Believe it or not," Colwell says, "this kept us both awake and we both passed the course."

Kenneth and Colwell were sent by the New Testament Department to the University of Michigan, where they spent an entire Christmas vacation surveying and cataloguing the extensive collection of New Testament manuscripts owned by the University. In this work the beginnings were made on the catalogue which Kenneth was to publish a few years later.

In 1929 the University of Chicago acquired a praxapostolos, a Greek manuscript containing the Acts of the Apostles, the letters of Paul, and the Catholic Epistles, dating from ca. A.D. 1200. Kenneth made the study of this manuscript the subject of his dissertation, which he completed in 1931. His description of the manuscript and conclusions were later privately published,[12] and are a model of scholarly precision and economy of language.

Kenneth was awarded his Ph.D. degree on August 28, 1931, and shortly thereafter came to Duke. Teaching in the Divinity School has since been his career, punctuated by a notable series of travels, explorations and honors.

Norman A. Huffman recalls characteristics and actions of the young teacher which should be familiar to all who have studied with Kenneth Clark during these thirty-six years. "He always was on hand and available; he would teach a single student the same as a roomful." He possessed "the ability of a superior teacher."

Huffman was working on an M.A. in 1931, and at Kenneth's suggestion undertook the first textual examination of the recently acquired Duke Manuscript Gr. 1 (Greg. 1780)[13], a study which uncovered some interesting characteristics of the Duke manuscript. The following year, when Kirsopp Lake lectured at Duke, Kenneth recommended Huffman's work to Lake's attention, and introduced the two men—with the result that Huffman soon went to Harvard (on scholarship) to study with Lake and there to earn his doctorate. "I am sure," Huffman rightly remarks, "that many of Duke's alumni who have taken higher degrees in the Biblical field have similarly had Clark helping them along."

There are, to be sure, reasons why some students have spent three years in the Duke Divinity School without realizing Kenneth's concern for and devotion to his students. Some have felt a gulf between themselves and him, but it was of their making, not his. Some have mistaken his invariable courtesy for aloofness, or disinterest, or a rejection of intimacy. Some have found it difficult to follow Kenneth's lectures which assume a broader liberal arts background than is possessed by students less well equipped than Kenneth was as a seminary student. Some have been made profoundly un-

12. Kenneth W. Clark, *Codex 2401—The Theophanes Praxapostolos* (Chicago: 1933).

13. Norman A. Huffman, *The Text of Mark in the Duke New Testament* (unpublished M. A. thesis, Duke University: 1932).

comfortable by a professor who expects his students to share his own high standards of scholarship.

The truth is that Kenneth gives his students more than many want—not more than they will need to function in their profession, not even more than they need as educated human beings—but more than they want. Some have personal standards of excellence less demanding than his, and as a result settle willingly for less than he seeks to give.

All of us have been deflated when some piece of work of which we were proud failed to come up to Kenneth's standard. Milton P. Brown, Jr., for instance, recalls that Kenneth's "red pencils were employed with a flourish, and I used to think extravagantly on this student's papers, and chapters of my dissertation would come back looking like an interlinear text, more red than black." Such deflations can, though, impart perspective and humility. As Brown continues, "we are too slow to appreciate the virtues of such precision and concern for 'the little things.'"

Brown also reminds us of that annual humiliation of a portion of the student body—the English Bible Examination—and of Kenneth's subsequently publishing a "dictionary" listing words misused or misspelled. "This demonstrated," he says, "the exacting, yet patient (and even humorous), prodding of a good teacher. Dr. Clark's criticisms may have been incisive, but they were always made good-naturedly and in the best interests of his students."

I encountered these characteristics in the introductory New Testament course when I drew the short straw and became spokesman for a group of students protesting an assignment which required introductory essays and summaries of each book of the New Testament. Characteristically, we were late in preparing term papers required in other courses, and when this assignment was added, we were in trouble. As I started to plead for some relaxation of the schedule, my poorly phrased remarks seemed to imply that the New Testament course was less important to us than these other courses.

Kenneth's answer was quick and polite—but very explicit: the Professor, not the students, set requirements in the New Testament course. A student's options were to submit the work as required, or take the consequences. As I recall, there were also a few remarks about adequate standards of scholarship and proper work habits.

His words were directed to me, as spokesman, and, in the anger they produced, I determined to show him that they were unjustified. I read three times as many books as he assigned, worked straight

through several nights, and submitted (on time) papers much longer and more inclusive than he had required.

In fact, I was pretty proud of the minor New Testament introduction I had produced, and confident that its bulk would get me a good grade for the semester. But I learned something about rigor and grace when Kenneth ignored the fact that I had done a work of supererogation, and simply graded the *worth* of the larger job I had assigned myself. Instead of the "E" I thought the quantity had earned, I got the "G" the quality deserved.

Furthermore, the standards which make most students (and some colleagues!) respect a professor are simply inadequate to judge Kenneth's kind of scholarship fairly. He has not written a textbook nor has he written the popular and sensational books which, when featured in the Sunday supplement earn their writers the respect of uncritical students. He could, to be sure, have written them, but he had more essential things to do.

Too few of us have recognized how much integrity it takes for a man to devote his scholarly labors to a most demanding discipline whcih promises little or no recognition. The textual critic's research requires time, and unrelenting attention to a mass of details. His results, though invaluable, are often that most colorless type of publication—the collation. His most important conclusion may be the unexciting negative report that nothing new has been found.

Unless he has the sheer good fortune to visit Sinai as a monk prepares to burn Codex Sinaiticus as waste, or to be at the American School in Jerusalem when someone knocks on the door bearing the first of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the textual critic's labors may completely escape public notice. Yet the trustworthiness of every biblical translation the public reads depends on the accuracy of his work.

When in October, 1948, Kenneth addressed a group of New Testament scholars gathered at the University of Chicago to honor Professor Goodspeed and to make preliminary arrangements for the preparation of a new critical apparatus of the Greek New Testament, he pointed out several future needs in New Testament manuscript research.[14] More manuscripts are needed, he said, better catalogued and dated. More collators are needed, to bring to light the contents of known but as yet unexplored manuscripts. A new *apparatus criticus* is needed, on the basis of which scholars can work to meet

14. "The Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament," *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. Merrill M. Parvis and Allen P. Wikgren (Chicago: 1950), pp. 1-24 (hereafter cited as "Manuscripts").

the final need—a new critical text. Discovery of new manuscripts depends largely on chance, and the new apparatus and the new text will be possible only after the necessary preliminary steps have been properly taken. Thus, the crucial need was for "a large corps of trained men willing to collate for collation's sake. . . . We need more and more of accurate collations, done minutely and completely, once and for all to use."[15]

This was no new discovery in 1948. Kenneth had recognized that need from the beginning of his scholarly career, and having seen that collations are essential to any real progress toward a better text, he characteristically set out to collate as many manuscripts as possible. The price of that devotion has been to be immersed in a publicly obscure discipline; its highly important result will one day be a new critical text of the New Testament, based on greatly expanded knowledge of the manuscript tradition.

During his early years at Duke, Kenneth engaged in extensive travel (which a young teacher could ill afford) to complete research on the catalogue of American New Testament manuscripts which had begun with his student trip to the University of Michigan.[16] The *Catalogue* appeared in 1937, and has ever since been an indispensable tool of the New Testament textual critic. Particularly, it demonstrated that the materials existed in America for New Testament text studies to become a major research field in this country, as they had been in Europe for a century. As Professor Goodspeed noted in the Introduction to the *Catalogue,*[17] Kenneth's investigations unearthed in America many more manuscripts than anyone had suspected were here—seven times as many as C. R. Gregory had noted in 1909. In preparing this publication, Kenneth located manuscripts which had been thought lost, and identified scattered portions of several codices. Clark had, Goodspeed said, "laid in this book a

15. *Ibid.,* p. 15. In that lecture, Kenneth also pointed to the need for a new approach to the manuscripts pre-dating the great fourth-century uncials. He has himself contributed to this revaluation in "The Text of the Gospel of John in Third Century Egypt," *Novum Testamentum* (V: 1962), pp. 17-24. In a lecture, "Today's Problems with the Critical Text of the New Testament," delivered to the 100th anniversary celebration of the University of Chicago, he spelled out the necessity for New Testament textual criticism to free itself from the "new *textus receptus,*" the Westcott-Hort text of 1881, and elaborated possible techniques for penetrating to an earlier level of textual history than that represented by Westcott-Hort.

16. Kenneth W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago: 1937).

17. *Ibid.,* p. viii.

solid foundation stone for New Testament manuscript study in this country."[18]

Four years later, another publication appeared which again reflected Kenneth's commitment to the priority of basic research.[19] This was a collation presenting the readings of eight praxapostoloi in American collections. Combined with Sir Frederic Kenyon's publication of P^{46} and Henry A. Sanders' publication of **016**, this book presented to scholars the total textual evidence provided by this type of manuscript in America.

Fidelity to the same principle was again demonstrated when, after their return from Mount Sinai and Jerusalem, Kenneth and Adelaide devoted their labors, not to popular and reputation-building reports on the epochal expeditions themselves, but to the demanding task of preparing checklists of the microfilms for the Library of Congress. Such a catalogue is only slightly more exciting reading than a collation, but these lists had to be made at once because they were the indispensable keys to unlock the riches of Sinai and Jerusalem to world scholarship. Nothing was withheld to become the subject of future individual monographs—it was more important that this treasure-trove be opened to exploration by the scholarly community than that Kenneth Clark should win acclaim.

This behavior is in marked contrast to that exhibited by some who, on the basis of a brief and even accidental brush with the Qumran documents, rushed into premature, sensational and ill-advised publication. They, in fact, hampered the proper evaluation of the important materials they dealt with. Kenneth's priorities and his integrity demanded that the Sinai and Jerusalem materials be made available so that the whole world's scholars might participate in the exploration and evaluation of the manuscripts his work had brought to light.

Perhaps it is too much to expect, but one cannot but feel that an academic community ought to possess the critical judgment to place a more proper evaluation on that kind of integrity and that method of work. It is unfortunately true that those who bestow academic honors and preferments in American institutions of higher learning need standards more catholic and more varied than usually pertain. Had the academic world rewarded the long and exacting toil reflected in collations and checklists as generously as it has the work which goes into less esoteric publications, some of us might have been helped

18. *Ibid.*, p. ix.
19. Kenneth W. Clark, *Eight American Praxapostoloi* (Chicago: 1941).

to recognize more quickly and easily Kenneth Clark's imposing scholarship.

Many of us did recognize it, and uncomfortably we stood in awe of it. That is part, at least, of the reason why we have cherished and joked about his foibles. If we could look upon Kenneth's precision in dress as an idiosyncracy, we were a little less uncomfortable in his presence with the imprecision of our own scholarship. We pretended to believe that his fairly regular patronage of Quadrangle Pictures included more "leg shows" than any other category, because to think so made him seem a little less Olympian. We jested about a professor who could for twenty minutes lecture to a seminar on textual criticism against the din of the Chapel carillon just outside the third-floor classroom, when the first stroke of a bell was supposed to signal the end of the late-afternoon class. Our joking helped us to escape our envy of a man who so deeply loved the work he was doing.

Kenneth's career at Duke has encompassed the period of this country's most complete recent changing of the theological guard. John V. Chamberlain recalls what happened in the period when theological fads were changing at Duke: "This cast Clark in the role of a conservative, while all of his instincts were liberal—the old liberalism defending its assumptions and methods against an aggressive neo-orthodoxy which was more appealing to the students, not because of its superior logic but because it enabled the students to hold on to traditional beliefs—albeit only some of their traditional beliefs and on different grounds from before." What was not always apparent to some who found themselves estranged from Kenneth as they floated with the new theological tide and he maintained his previous position was that Kenneth had examined their assumptions more carefully than many of them had examined his. He had to deal honestly with the theological limitations imposed, it seemed to him, by the imperfect historical foundation provided by the New Testament record, and this prevented his accepting the claims advanced by his more free-wheeling students.

To be considered "conservative" must have seemed strange to a man who bore a Young Turk's scars from Holley, that latterday skirmish in the fundamentalist-modernist warfare. Too often it has happened, as it did in Holley, that defenders of a position whose support is eroding have in their insecurity engaged in petty and vicious retaliations against those who follow the newly popular thought. Some "Liberals" of the late forties and fifties were astonish-

ingly illiberal in their dealings with people who could no longer agree with them.

But let the record show that Kenneth Clark never denigrated his theological opponents. He had no need to. He had studied their positions as objectively as he could, and was secure in his own resulting conviction that his foundations were firmer than theirs.

We shall all have to live through a few more years before the judgment of history puts this controversy in final perspective, but those of us who still account ourselves basically liberal can take pride in the way this classic liberal has acquitted himself.

It is most unfair to assume, as is sometimes done, that the function of any textual critic is a scientific (or even mechanical) discipline seeking only to reconstruct an ancient document, and uninterested in and unimportant for the meaning of the text thus recovered. Rather, "it is the great responsibility of textual criticism to refine the New Testament text toward an ever increasing purity. It must lay the foundation on which alone doctrinal interpretation of the New Testament may be soundly based."[20] How important is that responsibility Kenneth demonstrated, in the article just cited, by calling to attention nine Pauline passages where the interpretation of an important Christian doctrine depends on the critic's choice between significantly differing manuscript readings.[21]

In the classroom, Kenneth is at his best when the subject is Greek or textual criticism. Neither of these is—Alas!—in our day considered essential equipment for the compleat clergyman, so many a Duke Divinity School graduate never really saw Kenneth in his native scholarly habitat.

These comments about Kenneth Clark have thus far concentrated largely on the teacher and the scholar, but they should reach their climax in referring again to what Hugh Anderson calls "that too little publicized side of his character, his charity as a Christian gentleman and the quietly performed acts of kindness and friendliness." Over and over, student and colleague alike have spoken with warm appreciation of finding in Kenneth and Adelaide "the deep friendship we needed," of sharing "good conversation and good food" in the Clark home, of "the pastoral concern of the Clarks for all their friends, both faculty and student."

Howard Carroll warned me that my present task is impossible:

20. Kenneth W. Clark, "Textual Criticism and Doctrine," in *Studia Paulina, in Honorem Johannis de Zwaan, Septuagenarii* (Haarlem: 1953), p. 65.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-64.

"No essay can reproduce us, our doubts, emotions, relationships in a real or truly warm sense." Rather, "the teacher remains the person he was daily." My words, I am sure, have proved him right. But nowhere do I feel so much as here how clumsy and inadequate a tool of communication language is. What words can really tell of encouragement which rescues a disheartened student who is about to abandon his studies, of wholehearted welcome to a colleague strange to American society, of sorrows intimately shared and triumphs generously honored? Let economy be the better part of rhetoric, and let us simply state our gratitude that Kenneth Clark was and is our teacher, our friend, our pastor.

These things Kenneth Clark has been to the Duke family, but as Ray Petry reminds us, "the people here at home have never quite sensed the intensity of regard for him that is held by friends abroad. . . .[22] It is always hard to get the full measure of the whole man on too close a range of vision." In particular, he notes that "Dr. Clark has brought great honor to the University in his long continuing and recently accelerated service to the International Greek New Testament Project. To this day, the full significance of this venturesome undertaking is hardly perceived by any of us."

The International Greek New Testament Project had its beginnings in the 1948 meeting in Chicago when Kenneth outlined the needs of New Testament textual study for the present and the future. Its goal is to publish a new *apparatus criticus* to the New Testament, much more extensive than any predecessor, and carefully selected to present all available relevant information. When

22. Some examples of the esteem in which Kenneth Clark is held throughout the scholarly world: he was one of about twenty British and American scholars invited by the Orthodox Church to participate in the pilgrimage in celebration of the nineteen hundredth anniversary of St. Paul's coming to Greece, and again to go to Mt. Athos for the 1000th anniversary of the founding of the Great Lavra. He has been invited to lecture before the British Society for New Testament Studies, the British Society for Old Testament Studies, the Twelfth International Congress on Byzantine Studies, the Twenty-fifth International Congress of Orientalists, the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki and the University of Marburg; he has served on the editorial boards of *Novum Testamentum* and of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas; in 1951-52 he was chosen National Lecturer of the Archaeological Institute of America; he was a contributor to *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. George A. Buttrick (Nashville: 1962); he was asked to provide authoritative articles on the New Testament text for two recent major commentaries: "The Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *Peake's Commentary on the Bible,* ed. Matthew Black (New York: 1962), pp. 663-670, and "The Transmission of the New Testament," *The Interpreter's Bible,* ed. Nolan B. Harmon (Nashville: 1957), Vol. XII, pp. 617-627.

finished it will be, in fact, the apparatus which Kenneth called for in Chicago as a necessary step on the way to the needed better critical text of the New Testament.

Of its extent and complexity some idea can be gained from the fact that in the Gospel of Luke, the first volume which will be published, some 25,000 variant readings will be shown, cited from about 300 selected manuscripts. To prepare this volume, each manuscript had to be collated more than once, and repeatedly checked, to insure absolute accuracy in the reported readings.[23] At least 150 scholars across the world have been enlisted to make these collations and checks. The editorial labor necessary to transfer these readings accurately from the collator's copy to the printed apparatus is immense.

When a group of American New Testament scholars decided that this gigantic task was necessary, it was to Kenneth Clark they turned for the road map which would chart the way they would have to go.[24] Kenneth has been a prime mover in the Project from its inception. He helped form the vision which launched it; he has given it his time, his effort, his research; he has prodded and encouraged; he has assumed tasks which others undertook and neglected. He has served the Project as a member of its Editorial Board, as Co-Director, and now as Editor. As Fulbright Scholar to Greece he gave his 1961-62 sabbatical year to the Project, and as Fulbright Scholar to Great Britain during an earlier sabbatical of 1954-55 he devoted much time to its work. He has turned over to the project without reservation the results of thirty-five years of research, thus effectively foregoing publications which would have brought wider acclaim.[25] The Project was and is simply more important; it is the

23. Whenever it has been difficult, from microfilm or photograph, to determine a reading, the passage has been checked in the original manuscript. Kenneth gave his 1957 summer vacation to this work, traveling with Howard M. Teeple, then of the Project staff, across Europe to examine a long list of questionable passages in the original manuscripts.

24. "Manuscripts," pp. 13-22.

25. In this emphasis on Kenneth's unselfish devotion to textual work, his real competence and numerous writings on nontextual subjects should not be overlooked. Cf., e.g., "The Gentile Bias in Matthew," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. LXVI, Pt. II (June: 1947), pp. 165-172; "The Sins of Hermas," in Allen Wikgren, ed., *Early Christian Origins, Studies in Honor of Harold Willoughby* (Chicago: 1961), pp. 102-119; "Worship in the Temple After A.D. 70," *New Testament Studies,* Vol. VI, Pt. 4 (July: 1960), pp. 269-280; and "The Making of the Twentieth Century New Testament," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Vol. 38, Pt. 1 (Sept.: 1955), pp. 58-81. The point I am seeking to make is summed up by Bishop Nolan B. Harmon: "Because of [Clark's] highly specialized scholarship, he has felt it his duty to give his time to that sort of work rather than to material which might be

way to serve the priority which he recognized in Chicago nearly forty years ago.[26]

Kenneth has himself told the story of his work in Greece in 1961-62, in an article printed elsewhere in this issue of the *Review,* and it need not be recounted here. It is worth noting, however, that the objectives chosen for that trip were again completely consistent with the priorities which we have seen operating throughout Kenneth's professional life. His activities were carefully organized for maximum usefulness to the International Project. He brought up to date and clarified available information about manuscript repositories on the Greek mainland and islands, thus identifying those collections which require further investigation and study. He sampled as many as possible of the New Testament manuscripts located, to establish which contain texts important enough to include in the work of the Project. Of these, he himself collated the entire Gospel of Luke whenever it was possible. Even the negative results Kenneth reports are of great value, since they show where the Project need not spend future time and money.

Savas Agourides, who was with Kenneth when the explorations in northern Greece were made, adds a comment which importantly supplements Kenneth's own objective report of that work: "It was in those visits that I saw Kenneth Clark at his best. I remember his taking the manuscripts in his hands, as if he were officiating in the liturgy and had in his hands the holy elements of bread and wine!" Others who have observed Kenneth at work with an ancient manuscript will recognize the aptness of this description. And why not? If the Word of God is a sacrament, then surely these writings, laboriously produced by men of faith and for so long used to elicit and guide the worship of the faithful, are in truth the elements of that sacrament! Serious and respectful study of such records can evoke as few other experiences an encounter with the Communion of Saints.

Because of Kenneth, the International Project now has an office at Duke, and this is an association which will do honor to the Uni-

published in a more popular way. His feeling of duty in this regard kept him from becoming more widely known as an author, as he might indeed have been, had he been able to give his time to less specialized work."

26. A good estimate of the importance of the Project, as well as an interim description of its procedures and progress was given in Kenneth W. Clark, "The Effect of Recent Textual Criticism Upon New Testament Studies," in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (Cambridge: 1956), pp. 48-51.

versity so long as men value accurate and careful investigation of the source documents of the Christian faith.

He has lately become the Project's Editor, assuming the difficult task of bringing his initial vision into being in the form of an invaluable tool of scholarship. So important a task could not be in better hands.

Kenneth's contribution to Duke University has gone far beyond his role as teacher. He has enthusiastically supported the cultural life of the campus in many facets. More important, he has worked to enhance the library of the University.

Throughout his long career at Duke, he has been among the most interested and influential of the faculty architects of the University's collection of rare books and manuscripts, two parts of which particularly bear the stamp of his knowledge and interest: the outstanding group of Bibles and the collection of thirty-seven Greek manuscripts, which is the third largest in the United States. Of the latter, it can truly be said that Duke would not have this impressive array of manuscripts were it not for Kenneth Clark's vigilance.

He has constantly urged that these collections be enlarged and strengthened, and through his knowledge of the materials and his familiarity with the rare book and manuscript markets and dealers the world over, he has been able to offer invaluable assistance in these acquisitions.

His bibliographical and collecting interests have not been limited to Bibles and biblical manuscripts. His interest in both the Greek and Latin church fathers and in classical authors has always been felt in the University's collection of books and manuscripts in these fields; and his concern for every aspect of the Divinity School Library's collection has been deep, constant, and significant during his entire career at Duke.

He has recently contributed to the Rare Book Room of the library a significant collection of material in the Manx language, with other items of information about Manx culture. His accumulation of these things began when Kenneth sought to obtain a copy of the first printed Bible in the Manx language. This Celtic dialect was the language of the Isle of Man, but is now rapidly disappearing as the island becomes increasingly Anglicized. Kenneth recognized the future importance of documents preserving this culture, and so made several journeys to the Isle of Man to discover and acquire such items. Included in the collection he amassed is the first edition of

the Manx Bible, the search for which first brought him in contact with this unique civilization.

The wish to support all worthy research has led Kenneth to contribute to scholarly and professional organizations. Since 1930, he has been a member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, serving as its secretary from 1947 to 1950 and as its president in 1965. Within the Society, he organized the American Textual Criticism Seminar. Henry J. Cadbury recalls Kenneth's conscientious participation in the meetings of the Society, "particularly one meeting in New York when the snowfall there was so great that [the Clarks] had to leave their car outside the city, and yet they came on by train and as usual faithfully attended the sessions. His participation was marked by dignity and clarity; his papers were well prepared." In the same way, he has participated in the American Schools of Oriental Research, the National Association of Biblical Instructors (now the American Academy of Religion), the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Oriental Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, and others.

In the midst of all his many other involvements, Kenneth has found time to be a devoted churchman. Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, who was Kenneth's bishop for eight years in the Western North Carolina Conference of The Methodist Church, speaks with warm appreciation of his many contributions to the life of the church. "I found him an excellent Conference member, giving his time and attention to the affairs at hand when Conference was in session, and serving on such committees as we put him on." Kenneth's articles and reviews often appeared in the Methodist journal, *Religion in Life,* while Harmon was Book Editor of the Methodist Church.

In the same spirit, Kenneth has directed the Duke Divinity School Seminars, bringing to Methodist clergymen of the Carolinas the stimulation of contact with the greatest of world Christian leaders, and he has himself participated in the leadership of these sessions. Now he has recently returned from teaching a course on Ephesians for the Protestant Chaplains Professional Development Seminars, on invitation of the Chief of Chaplains of the United States Air Force. This teaching took him to the Air Force bases in London, England, in Ramstein, Germany, and in Izmir, Turkey.

In much of what has been said here, for "Kenneth" we ought to read "Kenneth and Adelaide" and for "he" we should read "they," for Adelaide has from the first been a full partner in Kenneth's career. She has worked along with him, whether in a troublesome

Baptist Church in upstate New York or in the work room of the Monastery on Mount Sinai. In Greece, she accompanied him to all but the monasteries most physically difficult to approach. She has shared his goals, enjoyed his triumphs as much as he, and perhaps suffered more in his disappointments.

Undoubtedly, this will continue to be true in the years to come. For Kenneth and Adelaide, retirement will in all likelihood mainly mean increased freedom to advance the work of the International Greek New Testament Project, to which so much of their life together has already been given. Kenneth will continue to share its leadership, to direct its office at Duke, and to edit its initial volume.

Savas Agourides reports that he and his colleagues hope to have Kenneth with them again in Greece for an extended stay, to begin the training of a corps of textual critics there. One would guess that the chance to teach textual criticism to those who know nothing of it, plus the lure of uncollated manuscripts in the Greek collections, will take the Clarks back to Greece when the work for the Project will permit.

In any event, one can be certain that Kenneth's career will still be guided by the priorities which have always pertained, that the future will be consistent with the past. That continuity will as before manifest itself in disciplined pursuit of demanding research, that through such work men may finally know more perfectly their Bible, their God, their history and themselves.

> The recognition that a textual critic must be also historian and theologian has obvious corollaries. There must be co-ordination between all three: the investigation of textual data, the study of theological history, and research in ecclesiastical history. This threefold alliance is advantageous, even essential to each field of research, as it serves to extend and to inform each specialization with greater comprehension and refinement. Collaboration of the three fields would make more comprehensive the scholarship of each.
>
> Many new vistas of research await such joint exploration. . . . In any case, we should not fear but rather should welcome the light that may be cast by textual criticism upon the history, upon the theology, and indeed upon the current faith of scholar and layman alike.[27]

27. Kenneth Willis Clark, "The Theological Relevance of Textual Variation in Current Criticism of the Greek New Testament" [Presidential Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature on December 30, 1965, at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee], *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. LXXXV, Pt. I (March: 1966), p. 16.

New Stones for Old Tombs

Harmon L. Smith

There are current indications that the "death of God" controversy, which raged so prominently over the past year, is itself about to expire. Theologians (*mirabile dictu*) have responded to it; and the popular press (*mirabile visu*) has found it a suitable surrogate for lead stories. In a nation and time in which real death is still treated as largely illusory, nobody will probably presume to deliver the *coup de grace*—that would be heartless. Even so, the autopsy is now in progress.

There is always an element of the tragic attendant upon death; and this also is doubtless appropriate even to the death of the "death of God." In this case, the tragedy may well be that those responsible for bringing the matter to our attention have done a sloppy job of describing just how it happened. The thesis of what follows is that in the eclectic theology of the so-called "Christian atheists" there are certain definite historical antecedents—antecedents which, when understood as the informing precommitments of these men, may assist us to more adequate understanding and assessment of what they are saying.

There are many such antecedents, but I propose to examine only two of them—existential nihilism and kenotic Christology. Even this much may tend to confirm the suspicion that the "death of God" syndrome is deviate; but it may also indicate that a post-mortem is premature.

Proponents of the "radical theology" have themselves acknowledged the absence of a systematic construction of their thinking on the grounds that they are still working through the implications of basic motifs. There is need, nevertheless, that they make rather more explicit at least some of the presuppositions with which they are working since they, like others, do not come to important human problems as a *tabula rasa* but with particular questions and definite ways of proposing to answer them which have rootage in previous as well as present human history.

Professor Thomas Altizer has described the two crucial assumptions which inform his view of theological inquiry in our contemporary situation as follows:

(1) The foundations of Western civilization—and of Christendom itself—are collapsing about us, and the root ideas and values of this civilization no longer have validity or relevance to the authentically contemporary man. (2) Christianity as we know it historically has been integrally related to Western civilization, and therefore insofar as Christian theological categories are a product of Western civilizations—regardless of the effect which Christianity itself has had upon this civilization—they have neither validity for nor relevance to the contemporary Christian.[1]

Since the relationship between Western civilization and Christianity is supposed to be so thoroughgoing, one could probably reduce these assumptions to a single syllogism: Western civilization and Christianity are coterminous; Western civilization is deteriorating and its ideas and values no longer have validity or relevance for contemporary man; therefore, Christianity is no longer a viable framework for the conduct of human affairs and it is impossible any longer to speak in traditional theological categories (e.g., Creation, Incarnation, Salvation, etc.) so as to retain in a meaningful way their earlier classical significance. Altizer will nevertheless retain some of the traditional vocabulary—e.g., "Incarnation"—but he will *not* be able to *make out the case* that this meaning is the earlier classical significance. In order to show this and other features of the "death of God" theology, I want to begin an investigation of some historically important antecedents which have been situationally prior to these assumptions—well summarized by Altizer—that inform the "doing" of the "new" theology in the contemporary setting.

I

The first of these antecedents—"first" for the analytical purposes of this essay, whether or not "first" for the "radical" theologians themselves—is a kind of modern philosophy and/or literature which may be broadly indicated by the phrase "existential nihilism."

In the July 7, 1965, issue of *The Christian Century,* Professor Altizer, in an article titled "Creative Negation in Theology," asserts the thesis that: "If ours is truly a history in which God is no longer present then we are called upon not simply to accept the death of God with stoic fortitude but rather to will the death of God with the passion of faith."[2] This, of course, is not offered as an entirely novel

1. Thomas J. J. Altizer, "Nirvana and Kingdom of God," *New Theology No. 1,* ed. Martin E. Marty and Dean G. Peerman (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), pp. 150-1.

2. *The Christian Century,* LXXXII/27 (July 7, 1965), pp. 864-7.

thesis. Friedrich Nietzsche, in the 19th century, proclaimed that "God is dead!" But there may be at least this much difference worth noting: whereas Nietzsche merely *announced* God's death, Altizer and his colleagues in "Christian atheism" venture explicitly to *will* the death of God as well. This, one assumes, means more than simply saying that the traditional language which Christianity has employed to talk about God is obsolete. It means to say this, to be sure. But more strikingly it means also to argue that it is no longer *possible* for contemporary man even to think *meaningfully* about (much less believe in) a transcendent Deity who acts in human history, and that we must, therefore, in the language of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "live as men who can get along very well without him (i.e., God)."[3]

Now if all that is being contended for were emancipation from certain cultural encrustations, or if what is wanted by the "death of God" theologians were only the freedom of Christianity from various kinds of idolatry which obscure the genuine and authentic message of the Gospel, that would be one thing. But if the new theological program advocates taking its cue from the nihilism of philosophical existentialism, this is something else again. Professor A. Czegledy responded to Altizer's article in *The Christian Century*[4] and one need here merely refer to his statement.

There is no doubt that "creative negation" has long held an honored and distinguished place in Christian theological reflection, but traditionally this is a negation made possible only in response to the utterly positive expression of God's presence in Jesus Christ. The faith that informs this classical Christian procedure, however, is no longer available to us, according to Professor William Hamilton in his essay, "Thursday's Child: The Theologian Today and Tomorrow."[5] One may indeed look to Jesus as the model or paradigm for conduct in a world beset by the absence of faith, but Jesus can no longer be viewed as the revelation of a transcendent God. Jesus, in fact, "is best understood not as either the object or ground of faith, and not as person, event, or community, but simply as a place to be, a standpoint."[6] And in the time of the death of God this place is thought to be not before an altar but in the world and the city with the needy neighbor and the enemy.

3. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 219.
4. *The Christian Century,* LXXXII/44 (November 3, 1965), pp. 1351-2.
5. *Theology Today,* XX/4 (January, 1964), pp 487-95.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 494.

We shall return again to the "kenotic Christology" of the "radical theology" and Hamilton in particular, but for the moment we are concerned with another antecedent, namely, existential nihilism. The supposition of this type of modern philosophy is that something positive emerges—if at all—only when we face the horror of the void, that there is no certainty except the acceptance of uncertainty. It is not the way of either the mystical *via negativa* or of the sense of personal "undoneness," unworthiness, and awe one feels when facing the *mysterium tremendum* of the Divine Reality. Both these latter experiences are pre-conditioned by the faithful assurance that self-fulfillment occurs only after self-emptying. St. Augustine's aphorism that God always wants to give us something but He cannot so long as our hands are full appears to be wholly inappropriate to the way of negation proposed by the "radical theologians."

"Creative negation" is not thought by its advocates to be chiefly pessimistic, however. Altizer himself is rather enthusiastically optimistic about the many virtues of the death of God.

> Once we accept the death of God as a final and irrevocable event, then we can open ourselves to the full actuality of our history as an epiphany of the Word of faith. . . . God must die to make possible faith that would live in the present. . . . Whatever contemporaneity is present in modern theology derives from its mute witness to the death of God.[7]

On closer examination this sort of talk may impress one as an exceedingly ambivalent version of "hope" which supports its "assurance" only at the radical price of abandoning any definite content for the alleged certainty.

William Hamilton also wishes to assume an optimistic stance. In "The Shape of Radical Theology"[8] he lists "optimism" among the three defining characteristics of the new movement in theology and remarks that

> radical theology is both describing and relating itself to . . . a conviction that substantial changes in the lives of men can and will be made. This new optimism is trying to discipline itself to say Yes to the world of rapid change, new technologies, automation and mass media.[9]

In an extended treatment it might be fruitful to probe the meanings of "substantial" and "discipline" in this passage. However, a general

7. *The Christian Century,* LXXXII/27 (July 7, 1965), pp. 864-7.
8. *The Christian Century,* LXXXII/40 (October 6, 1965), pp. 1219-22.
9. *Ibid.,* p. 1221.

comment will have to suffice here: the nihilistic presupposition of the radical theology is, to be sure, ostensibly qualified by an "optimistic note" of sorts; but upon closer examination this "optimism" may turn out to be markedly shallow in foundation and superficial in content. In the final analysis, it constitutes no serious qualification of the new theology's loss of faith in the classical spectrum of Western values—especially as these have been focused by Judeo-Christian faith in the ultimacy of the personal and interpersonal at the level of Deity and accordingly also at the level of humanity.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, from whom these men apparently take much of their cue, always confessed an ultimate surety underlying the penultimate doubt. That is, God is always present for Bonhoeffer, however much that presence takes the form of hiddenness. The *deus absconditus* is a possibility only in view of the *deus revelatus.*[10]

"Our coming of age," Bonhoeffer wrote in *Letters and Papers from Prison,* "forces us to a true recognition of our situation *vis-a-vis* God. God is teaching us that we must live as men who can get along very well without Him. *The God who is with us is the God who forsakes us. The God who makes us live in this world without using him as a working hypothesis is the God before whom we are ever standing. Before God and with him we live without God.*"[11]

There is a crucial distinction between fidelity to this God who is with us even while forsaking us and fidelity to the void, the nothingness, the meaninglessness of existential life in the world. If there ever was doubt whether such a distinction applies, Altizer dispelled it when he wrote:

> We cannot open ourselves to a new form of faith while remaining bound to the primordial God who has once and for all revealed his Word; we will never pass through a new reformation until we liberate ourselves from the God of our Christian past.[12]

One is bound to say that the delicate balance and dialectic with which traditional theology, and Bonhoeffer may be included here, affirms the absence of God in the world is, on the whole, missing in the denial of the "Christian atheists" that there is a God whose presence is witnessed to by his absence.

10. Cf. William H. Poteat, "The Absence of God," *The Hibbert Journal,* LV/2 (January, 1957), pp. 115-23. This article is an impressive systematic analysis of the matter. Poteat states (p. 121) that "The *absence* of God itself testifies to his *presence as absent.*"

11. Bonhoeffer, *op. cit.,* p. 219. Italics mine.

12. *The Christian Advocate,* October 7, 1965, p. 10.

The unqualified rejection of the classical dialectic between presence and absence in Biblical theism is clearly stated by Hamilton in his *Christian Century* article:

> But I believe that the 'death of God' as a metaphor is to be preferred to and distinguished from similar phrases in theological discourse such as 'absence of God,' 'disappearance,' 'eclipse' or 'the hidden God.' A real loss, something irretrievable, is portrayed by the metaphor of death. . . .[13]

And in entire agreement, Altizer, in his *Theology Today* essay, "Word and History," builds up to a couple of his typical "musts":

> The theologian must fully acknowledge that the Christian God is dead; God is not simply hidden from view, nor is he lurking in the depths of our unconscious or in the boundaries of our infinite space, nor will he appear on the next turn of a historical wheel of fate. . . . The contemporary Christian must accept the death of God as a final and irrevocable event.[14]

Such indeed is the issue, though the cry of "must," even with a very loud voice, is not the complete equivalent of a cogently reasoned argument on the basis of carefully weighed experimental evidence.

II

A second line of evidence that not even "new" theology eventuates from a historical vacuum has already been indicated in this brief discussion of the influences of existential nihilism, and this is the presence of some kind of kenotic Christology. Such a view of the person and work of Christ is at least as old as the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries.

William Hamilton was cited earlier as one who argues that Jesus can no longer be viewed as the revelation of a transcendent God, that Jesus is properly defined "not as a person or an object but as 'a place to be.'" In *The New Essence of Christianity,* Hamilton maintains that the titles given to Jesus (e.g., "Christ," "Son of God," "Son of man," etc.) are indeed very misleading. They are problematic not only because of the extreme reticence Jesus had in accepting them but, as particularly in the case of "Son of God," because the title "does not refer to participation in a divine nature or substance, but to a divine calling or obedience."[15] The New Testament, it is further

13. *The Christian Century,* LXXXII/40 (October 6, 1965), pp. 1220-1.
14. *Theology Today,* XXII/3 (October, 1965), p. 382.
15. William Hamilton, *The New Essence of Christianity* (New York: Association Press, 1961), p. 80.

argued, is not concerned so much with titles and prerogatives of divinity and humanity: "it is more concerned with Jesus' *function* than with "divinity.' "[16]

Hamilton then goes on to say that Jesus' own selfawareness is of impotence and suffering. Because the title "Son of man" was the one to which he himself most readily responded and with which he most often identified himself, the appellation of "Lord" involves "an incredible assertion," *viz.*, "that Jesus is for the Christian what God himself is for the Jew" and that such a title states "that a Christian can have no other lords, *kyrioi*. . . ."[17] Nevertheless, the early church called Jesus "Lord," but in doing so it expressed the tensions between exaltation and lowliness, presence and absence, that are inescapable when a lowly and humiliated man who was killed on a cross is called by such an eminent title. It is this weakness and ignominy and impotence and humiliation that Hamilton regards as the definitive criterion for speaking meaningfully of Jesus.

In fact, "Christian divinity" is said to be the complete abdication of and withdrawal from "all claims to power and authority and sovereignty, and consenting to become himself the victim and subject of all that the world can do."[18] Or again, divinity is "a full consent to abide in the world, and to allow the world to have its way with it."[19]

If it be asked whether such a posture intends to accomplish any redemptive work in terms of the conformation of the world to God's intention for it, Hamilton answers[20] that this is chiefly an eschatological question and that we may speak of lordship in terms of victory and power only proleptically; in this present we speak of lordship in none other than the form of suffering and hiddenness and humiliation.

Such an interpretation of the person of Christ is certainly no stranger to Christian thought; indeed, all the "orthodox" attempts to speak meaningfully of Jesus have implied the general notion of a *kenosis*. He who was God became man. St. Paul in Philippians 2:6-8 (following perhaps an earlier Christian hymn) has given the idea classic expression. Hamilton is surely correct in asserting that this is not intended as an explicitly metaphysical or ontological proposition. St. Paul clearly regards the *kenosis* primarily as a moral act ("Have this mind among yourselves, which you have in Christ

16. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 113.

Jesus") in which Jesus freely and voluntarily undertakes the humiliation and self-surrender which culminates in the cross.

But, important as this understanding is, it does not exhaust the New Testament (or even Pauline) witness to the Incarnation and one is left to wonder why Hamilton has ventured either to reject or to ignore other features of the portrait of Jesus in the Gospels and Epistles. The doctrine of Incarnation would be meaningless without confession of how Jesus Christ was made in the likeness of men. Nevertheless, phrases like "made of himself no reputation," "took upon him the form of a servant," "was made in the likeness of men," "humbled himself," and "became obedient"—all these suggest an antecedent reality which though in some sense "renounced" is nonetheless real. That is, the personal renunciation of a "form" does not require a corresponding annihilation of the person (or Person) who does the "renouncing" and he who takes these differing forms is simultaneously he who gives them. Renunciation of the "form of God" may make possible the "form of a servant" but Christ continues to be Christ, for it is none other than he himself who takes the form of servant.

Altizer shares with Hamilton the assumption that some kind of kenotic theory can enable a "theology without God" (and thus no "theology" at all, in any precise or ordinary sense!) somehow to muddle through so as to preserve some sort of "Christology." In his essay, "Creative Negation in Theology," he lays out the imperatives and universals with a few bold—though perhaps a little vague—strokes of the pen (which often seems to be the new theology's equivalent of that which is "mightier than any two-edged sword"):

> We Christians are called upon to be loyal *only* to Christ, only to the Incarnate Word who has appeared in our flesh, and therefore we *should* already have been prepared for the appearance of *Christ without God*. . . .[21]

This kind of language is not merely "paradoxical"; it is plainly theological double-talk and gobbledygook. A *consistently* kenotic Christology along *these* lines would offer us the rather remarkable thought of a self-existent Creator God metamorphosing himself into a creature and thereby (wittingly or unwittingly) committing suicide. If this kind of language were allowed to stand as an example of the new "consistency," theology would be reduced to the semantic level of Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky."

21. *The Christian Century*, LXXXII/27 (July 7, 1965), p. 866. Italics mine.

The problem, of course, is not only with what Hamilton and Altizer say, but more directly with what they fail to say—indeed *cannot,* on their "God is dead" premises, say. We have, it is said, an "incarnation," yet *not* an Incarnation *of God* since there "is no" God to become incarnate. The divine "Word" or "Spirit" becomes, it is said, *really* no divine Word or Spirit after all, who *could* accordingly *become* flesh or become anything.

However, even if we were to ignore the logical nonsense of the attempt to devise a doctrine of Incarnation "without God" (though the central rallying cry of the new theology will scarcely allow us to ignore this), a kenotic Christology will still be left with problems enough. The error of kenotic Christology is that it emphasizes one facet of the truth about Christ to the neglect of other equally impressive and necessary affirmations. It is not, one thinks, a faithful rendering of the New Testament to refrain from speaking of resurrection, ascension, and exaltation. *Christus Rex* is not only the fulfillment of but the presupposition for *Christus homo;* and hermeneutical presuppositions which inform the selectivity of New Testament texts, preferring one for the other, are far from explicit in either Hamilton or Altizer. Philippians 2:6-8 does not stand alone; the verses following affirm the exaltation of the name of Jesus as "Lord" and his dominion over all things. God has highly exalted him and every tongue, therefore, should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, *to the glory of God the Father.*

III

The analysis given here has not presumed to be an exhaustive delineation of historical antecedents of the new theology. It mainly suggests that novelty is itself indebted to the past and *subject to criticism along the same lines appropriate to its predecessors.* If advocates of a new theology are responsibly to continue the discussion, a serious and sustained examination and systematizing of presuppositions as well as conclusions seems in order. At this point, I think it not unfair to say that from the viewpoint of the "radical theology" man appears to be rather completely in control of the conversation, the master of his fate, the captain of his soul. The source and norm of meaningful and purposeful existence are supposed to be discoverable to him with reference to the immediate world alone; he abjures metaphysics and ontology; he is no longer concerned with reality except as it manifests itself to him under the guise of the coincidence of opposites; he is supremely confident of his capacity

to discern the truth about himself by reference to himself, because he supposes that all truth is relative to the historical and cultural environment in which it is formulated.

One may certainly appreciate a certain truth in all this, and particularly in the position taken regarding historical relativism, viz., that truth or meaning, in order to have value, must be related to one's own historical moment and circumstance. It does not follow, however, that the truth about Jesus, for example, is exhausted by the truth which he has for me in my history. The claim of the Church is and has been that, far from Jesus' being validated by my history, my history may receive its final intelligibility only by reference to Jesus. That is, the truth about Jesus is not only the direct bearing which he has upon my existential moment; it is that he illuminates my present historical moment because he bears directly upon *every* historical moment.

In the end, however, the "Christian atheist" celebrates God's death—not so much because he has worked out a consistent set of convictions according to which God might actually have died, but because he no longer has need of God. He acknowledges no need for grace because he does not articulate his experience in terms of a need for forgiveness; and he does not experience the need for forgiveness because sin is understood chiefly as ignorance or stupidity. Jesus, as God's good news to the world, God's truth to the world about itself, is irrelevant—except perhaps as an "as-if" model or paradigm for a strictly optional style of life.

Exploring for New Testament Manuscripts

Kenneth Willis Clark

It was easily possible to predict my sabbatical year of 1961-62. Looking ahead, I sought the answer to this question: "If I had but one sabbatical year, where would it best be spent?" It is obvious that the answer was "Greece," but the reasons that led to this answer form a background for the results reported here and lend greater significance to the conclusions finally drawn.

In the study of Greek New Testament manuscripts the land of Greece represents the most notable neglect. The massive collection in Egypt at St. Catherine's Monastry on Mt. Sinai, although accessible only with great difficulty, has nevertheless been completely surveyed and largely committed to microfilm.[1] The next largest collection in the Near East, which is in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jordanian Jerusalem, where conditions for study are difficult, also has been fully examined and the significant portion microfilmed.[2] The Greek New Testament manuscripts in both of these large collections have already been collated for inclusion in the International Greek New Testament *apparatus criticus* now in preparation.[3] But the country which possesses the greatest number of ancient Greek manuscripts is Greece itself; and yet this compact area with about 18,000 Greek manuscripts including 1,600 copies of New Testament text has had no general exploration.

The famous monastic libraries on Mount Athos which possess

1. Kenneth W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai* (Library of Congress, 1952). The Greek manuscripts in this library number 2,291 of which 1,087 have been microfilmed. In the collection are 175 Greek New Testament manuscripts and all are on microfilm in the Library of Congress.

2. Kenneth W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem* (Library of Congress, 1953). The Greek manuscripts in the Orthodox library number 1,866 of which 692 have been microfilmed. In the collection are 120 Greek New Testament manuscripts.

3. Merrill M. Parvis, "The International Project to Establish a New Critical Apparatus of the Greek New Testament," *Crozer Quarterly* 27 (1950), 301-8.

about 11,000 Greek manuscripts including 1,000 copies of New Testament text have been at least catalogued[4]—and yet considerable changes there have taken place in the intervening decades. Many scholars have made their way to Mt. Athos for brief visits in the course of the years and yet the textual research done there has until recently been infinitestimal among the vast resources. It is true that significant progress here has resulted from the recent microfilming project of Ernest W. Saunders, who copied about 200 texts for the International Project.[5]

In all the rest of Greece very little scholarly attention has been given to the abundant manuscript resources. Even in comfortable Athens, where thousands of Greek manuscripts repose, comparatively little textual study has been accomplished. The largest repositories in the National Library[6] and in the Boulé or Parliamentary Library[7] have been catalogued but otherwise have largely failed to yield their textual testimony. The same is true of several smaller collections of Byzantine witnesses, within the city of Athens; such as the Byzantine Museum,[8] the Benaki Museum,[9] and several others. These collections in Athens were surveyed for their published catalogues about twenty years ago by the indefatigable Marcel Richard, Director of the Institute of Research and History of Texts, in Paris.[10] Throughout the rest of Greece there are institutional and private collections which have never even been catalogued.

But the area of greatest uncertainty, with reference to extant

4. Spyridon P. Lambros, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Holy Mountain,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1895); Sophronios Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura* also, *in the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1924-25), in *Harvard Theological Studies,* vols. XI and XII.

5. Ernest W. Saunders, *A Descriptive Checklist of Selected Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos* (Library of Congress, 1957).

6. J. and A. Sakkelion, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the National Library of Greece* (Athens, 1892). The Greek collection with many later additions now numbers about 2,500 manuscripts. There are about 300 New Testament codices.

7. Spyridon P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Codices in the Library of Parliament in Athens,* which first appeared in *Neos Hellenomnemon,* vols. I to VI (1904-09). Here are about 250 Greek manuscripts.

8. N. A. Beis, *Catalogue of Manuscript Codices of the Christian Archaeological Society of Athens,* which first appeared in *Deltion,* vol. VI (1906); D. I. Pallas, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Byzantine Museum of Athens,* which first appeared in *Praktika,* vols. II and III (1933-55). This lists 157 manuscripts.

9. No catalogue of the Benaki manuscripts has yet been published.

10. See Marcel Richard, *Répertoire des Bibliothèque et des Catalogues de Manuscrits Grecs* (Paris, 1948).

manuscripts, has been the monasteries. It is reported that there are even now five hundred active monasteries in Greece, on the mainland and on the islands.[11] A few of these are especially notable[12] but most of them are inconspicuous. Many of them possess manuscripts but catalogues have been prepared for only a few. In general, one is required to make a personal visit in order to learn the facts; and this is especially true of monasteries hidden away in the mountains on the islands. Nearly all the monasteries are difficult of access, approachable only by special transportation by private car or on mule-back, and always finally on foot.

This was the general condition visualized when contemplating the plans for the year of research on manuscripts in Greece in 1961-62.[13] It was evident that the resources were of great abundance, too great for more than limited selected objectives. Three objectives were chosen:

First: To explore for discovery and verification as widely as opportunity could be made, especially in the monasteries and most particularly on the islands. This had to be done in the spring and summer when transportation would be less problematic.
Second: To make numerous sample collations (always in the Gospel of Luke because of the immediate needs of the International Project) searching for the clue to a notable textual witness.
Third: To select a number of the more promising texts, especially from earlier centuries, in order to collate the complete text of Luke for inclusion in the *apparatus criticus* of the International Project.

My hope and expectation were, of course, to find a few manuscripts of special textual value as yet unknown, and among them a few of higher textual quality. It seemed certain, also, that several acquisitions could be made privately, to add to the manuscript resources in America. To what extent such hopes and expectations were fulfilled the following report will reveal.

The Program in Athens

With residence established in the fall of 1961 at the American School of Classical Studies, it was deemed wise to begin the in-

11. See the *Large Ecclesiastical Map of Greece,* edited by Basil M. Bellas, designating active and defunct monasteries, Byzantine churches and educational institutions.

12. Among the notable monasteries are Megaspileon and Kalavryta in the Peloponnesus, the group known as Meteora in Thessaly, and St. John Theologos on the Island of Patmos.

13. The execution of these plans was greatly promoted through the Athens office of the United States Educational Foundation, under whose direction the writer fulfilled the research program as a Fulbright research scholar.

vestigation in the established libraries in Athens. The National Library near the University possesses 850,000 volumes, and includes perhaps 2,500 Greek manuscripts.[14] About 300 contain New Testament text, including those transferred in recent decades from other libraries in Macedonia such as the Monstery of the Prodromos in Serres.[15] These manuscripts were included in Gregory's *Textkritik* in 1909, and yet it was surprising to realize that no more than twelve were written as early as A.D. 900-1100. Among these twelve no unusual text was found. I collated completely the earliest copy of Luke, in a Tetraevangelion of about A.D. 900 listed by Sakkelion as No. 132 (Gregory 1417). Although this is the earliest copy of Luke in the National Library, its text is a steady witness to the traditional Ecclesiastical form. Of 285 variants from the 1873 Textus Receptus, 61% are merely orthographic leaving only 112 of importance and even these are characteristic of the Ecclesiastical text.

The next exploration was made in the Boulé (Vouli) which serves as the Library of Parliament and is housed in the Old Palace in Athens. Its million volumes exceed the number in the National Library. Its Greek manuscripts were catalogued by Spyridon Lambros in 1904-09 to the number of 241, and among them are twelve New Testament texts which were listed by Gregory in 1909. But again we find that only four fall between A.D. 900 and 1100, and sample collation of these showed three of them to be quite orthodox Textus Receptus. The other (Lambros MS 2 and Gregory 804) was copied about A.D. 1100, and this was collated in the entire text of Luke. Its 527 variants from the T.R. base include 281 significant departures. The chief clue to its character is seen in frequent agreement with the critical text of Lachmann (1842-50). This manuscript alone in the Boulé caused some special curiosity and it will be included in the International Project.

Somewhat more intriguing is the collection in the Byzantine Museum in Athens. This has been catalogued by Nikos Beïs (1906) and Demetrios Pallas (1933-55) and contains 138 Greek manuscripts and 19 fragments. Twenty-five of these, plus eight fragments, are of New Testament text. Three of them have come from the Prodromos in Serres, one from the Monastery of Soumela of Trebizond, and one from Adrianopolis in Thrace. The oldest of all is a mutilated Lectionary of the Gospels, of the tenth century in uncial. Sample

14. See footnote 6.

15. Linos N. Politis, *The Manuscripts from Serrai in the National Library,* which first appeared in *Hellenika* IV (1931), 525-6.

collation in Luke was made in three twelfth-century Tetraevangelia—one of which (MS 227) is a recent uncatalogued accession—thus disclosing three more standard Ecclesiastical copies. MS 8 is an eight-folio fragment of Luke (9:31-LL:31) of the fourteenth century, which I completely collated (with the same result). Some heightened interest in this library, however, is found in its series of fragments. They include two uncial Evangelia of the ninth century, formerly used as coverguards, which I transcribed. Another is an eleventh-century text of Luke 4:10-21 and 6:6-17. Complete collation of this shows the same Ecclesiastical text.

But the best find here is a new leaf belonging to Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N = 022), listed by Kurt Aland in 1957 (*ZNTW* 48, p. 159), having first appeared in the 1955 catalogue of of Pallas (vol. 3, pp. 97f.). This leaf had been preserved in Cappadocian Caesarea (modern Sarmousakle) whence in 1896 the Czar acquired the main portion (182 folios) of Codex N, into which portion this leaf fits. Other portions of the manuscript are found in at least five libraries. The Athens leaf now remains on exhibit under glass, from which the Director, Mr. Hatzidakis, kindly had it removed for examination. My collation of this sixth-century uncial text written in silver upon the purple parchment shows only twelve variants from the 1873 T.R. of which seven are merely orthographic. Yet in this short passage of nine verses the five significant variants are supported three times by BC (two of these also by D), twice by the Old Latin and Old Syriac and Coptic, four times by Eusebius, and three times by the Caesarean group. This is the most significant bit of text that has so far been found in these three largest collections in Athens which total about 350 N.T. manuscripts.

The investigation was next carried to the remarkable Benaki Museum, in one room of which two large cases display twelve Greek manuscripts, which are also under the care of Mr. Hatzidakis. These have not as yet been catalogued. The most notable of them is a Psalter of the twelfth century with 159 miniatures on 198 folios. There are only three Tetraevangelia, two of which date in the twelfth century and these were sampled by collating. The result? Two more standard Byzantine texts.

The Gennadeion Library is an excellent Byzantine collection in its own fine building at the American School of Classical Studies. It was the gift of Ambassador Gennadeios who collected much of it during his assignment to London. The hours for work in Athens are peculiar to an American because everything closes down about one

P.M. until five o'clock. Therefore during the fall and winter in Athens my typical daily schedule consisted of three phases: a downtown library from its opening until lunchtime (with no afternoon hours available), then work at my desk at home from lunch until five, and finally the neighboring Gennadeion from five until eight prior to the late Greek dinner hour. Dr. Francis Walton is Director of the Gennadeion having succeeded Peter Topping in the summer of 1961. The first catalogue of its books is now being prepared for publication. The Director graciously assigned to me a desk in an alcove where a shelf of books might be kept at hand. Such books included both the usual and the rare catalogues for the many manuscript collections throughout Greece, which were indispensable in plotting the course of exploration throughout the year. The personal counsel there afforded could not be excelled. Although my Fulbright affiliation was with the University of Athens, this did not involve a course of lectures. At the American School of Classical Studies, the Director Henry S. Robinson designated me as a Research Fellow with no formal duties but with access to the school library. These conditions provided an ideal center of operations, engendering a sense of deep gratitude.

The Gennadeion Library is chiefly noted for its rare editions, and includes also nine Greek manuscripts; among them a Praxapostolos of about A.D. 1300 and three Tetraevangelia. Of the last, one was written in 1315 and another in 1226, and both of these were collated in Luke for the Project during the year. In fact, work on the earlier codex (Aland 1797) was actually begun in 1951 and the interrupted task was completed last year. The codex was written by Vasileios in Caesarea of Cappadocia, and bears both Greek and Armenian colophons. Sixty years ago it was in the Vienna library of Nicholas Dombas, and was described in publications of Carl Wessely and Eugen Zomarides. Nevertheless, its text has never been published and, despite considerable departure from the 1873 Textus Receptus (1100 variants in Luke alone), it is basically the Ecclesiastical text. It has not been determined what particular type of text it has, and it promises to reward further analysis.

Two notable private libraries in Athens have been collected in a previous generation, by the brothers Dionysios and Spyridon Loverdos. Both have died and the private libraries are now maintained by their daughters. The Dionysios Loverdos Museum building nestles among tall modern structures on busy Academia Street in the heart of Athens. Once inside, one finds a fabulous Byzantine

museum quietly preserving treasured icons and ecclesiastical antiquities. Among the books are 239 Greek manuscripts from the Kolybas collection, at least ten of which have New Testament text. Four of these are Tetraevangelia all of which are fragmentary. In the single brief visit there, six manuscripts were examined. The owner is receptive of visiting scholars and this collection greatly needs attention, although Spyridon Lambros did publish a catalogue in 1914-22.[16] The Spyridon Loverdos Library is spaciously located in the northern suburb of Kifissia, and can be visited by arrangement on four days a week, when a curator is present. Its 75 Greek manuscripts were catalogued by Bouboulides only in 1960-61. Seven are of the New Testament, all Gospel texts, and it was possible to examine them all. They range from the twelfth to the sixteenth century and appear upon brief examination to contain no unusual text. Aland has listed six of the Dionysios Loverdos manuscripts, but none of the brother. Both of the Loverdos libraries are little known, even locally.

There are a number of other small, public and private collections of Greek manuscripts in Athens. It is difficult to trace some that were reported by Gregory half a century ago. Certain of them seem lost for the present, others have gone into the market to appear elsewhere, and a number have been absorbed in the National Library. It does not appear that present collections are acquiring many new manuscripts. Only one such acquisition came to my notice during the year, when a private Tetraevangelion of the twelfth century was offered to the Byzantine Museum. In Athens today there are about 3,300 Greek manuscripts known, including under 400 copies of New Testament text. The latter number compares closely with the entire listing in the United States, but in quality of text and art the Athenian collections are less distinctive than in libraries of the West. The latter have been acquired selectively by purchase, whereas the former are the survivors within the Byzantine region. Yet we must recognize that there is much textual work to be done on the manuscripts in Athens.

Expedition to the Islands

The spring and summer were the seasons for expeditions to the islands where scores of old monasteries are still maintained. The map is thickly dotted with crosses marking the sites of about 175

16. Spyridon P. Lambros, *Codices in the Library of Alexios Kolybas,* which first appeared in *Neos Hellenomnemon* XI-XVI (1914-22).

monasteries on forty islands, and initial expectation was high that additional source materials would be found in such reclusive repositories. Travel to the islands is difficult and time-consuming, because few are served by Olympic Airways and only the major islands are on the routes of regular steamers, even in the tourist season. One cannot island-hop without a private vessel because all lines of transportation in Greece, by plane, by rail, by steamer, radiate from Athens-Piraeus. It is necessary to go out and back, and out again, because very few provincial towns or islands have direct connection between them, and even that service is infrequent.

A program was drawn up for the month of July (1962) to explore five major islands with forty monasteries: Corfu which could be reached by plane; and by steamer Andros, Patmos, Chios and Mytilini. Nearly every monastery is at the tip of a cape, or on the peak of a mountain, or hidden away in a valley, and beyond the end of a rocky trail. Once upon an island, one may sometimes travel by antique bus on infrequent and unreliable schedule, or by a personal taxi, by mule, and on foot. Stout shoes, a sunshading hat, and a briefcase of equipment were requisite.

Corfu (Kerkyra), off the northwest coast of Greece, is less than two hours from Athens by plane, but after that one relies on taxi and bus and hiking. For two days, by taxi, the route led from monastery to monastery, calling at eight of them in different parts of the island. In the extreme south, Pantokrator had become inactive, and the two nuns of Agia Trias reported no manuscripts, and also *en route* we found that Zoödochou Pigi is now inactive. On the west coast, an hour's walk over the rocks along the east resulted in no manuscripts at Myrtiotissa. The same was true of Paraskevi where six nuns live. But at Panagias, on an island off Palaiokastritsa, was found the only manuscript in any of the Corfu monasteries, a most worthy twelfth-century Tetraevangelion. Thirty kilometers northeast of the town of Corfu we reached another Pantokrator after an hour's climb up the mountain. One first arrives at the *spiti* where the two monks live and where there is a small library of old printed books which are never consulted. The old monastery itself is now a ruin on the very peak at 3047 feet altitude. This region facing Albania requires a special police permit to enter.

In the town of Corfu itself there are four monasteries, no one of which possesses a manuscript. The public library was destroyed by fire in 1943. Nevertheless, three manuscripts were discovered there. The Old Palace is now the Archaeological Museum which

houses a library in the able keeping of George S. Dontas, the Ephor of Antiquities. He produced two manuscripts formerly on Mt. Athos, smuggled out during the war in 1939. One of these is a fifteenth-century Evangelion with miniatures of Matthew and Mark inserted, kept on display in the icon room. The other is a Tetraevangelion of the twelfth century, somewhat mutilated, and with the unusual feature of three miniatures (Mark, Luke and John) later painted *over* the original *kephalaia* lists. Upon arrival in Corfu, I first paid a visit on the Archbishop Methodius. When he learned my mission he at once revealed that there was a fourteenth-century Evangelion in the bookcase near us. So the total find on the island of Corfu was four Gospel manuscripts, quite certainly of Ecclesiastical text. None of Gregory's 1909 listings was identified in Corfu.

Another day brought the voyage to the island of Andros, the largest of the Cyclades. The steamer "Rena" put in at Gavrion on the west coast, thus requiring a bus ride of an hour and a half to the town of Andros on the east coast. There are three monasteries whose manuscripts total about 200 according to the catalogues of Spyridon Lambros. Gregory in 1909 listed twenty-one New Testament codices among them. One disappointment was experienced in the failure to reach St. Nikolaos after three repeated bus journeys to the take-off village of Apoikia, because the sole monk could not be located. His library of 45 manuscripts should have a New Testament with Psalter, on paper, of the fourteenth century; and a sixteenth-century Evangelion. But this could not be confirmed. A two-hour mule-back ride brings one to the 2000-foot height where stands the monastery of Panachrantou (locally called Panteleïmon). Its library of forty manuscripts includes three lectionaries, a Tetraevangelion of the fourteenth century and a complete New Testament of the eleventh century. This last contains a miniature of John and Prochoros. It is notable for the inclusion of the Apocalypse, being therefore one of about fifty such codices extant. Add to this its early date, and one recognizes an extremely choice manuscript.

The other Andros library is in the Convent of the Holy Virgin (also called Zoödochou Pigi). It is approached by mule from Batsi on the west coast. The library had 104 manuscripts according to Lambros in 1898, including ten lectionaries and four Tetraevangelia. Of these four, I briefly examined three. Gregory had dated MS 56 in the fourteenth century, but it appears to belong to the twelfth including the illuminated headpieces. MS 53 was written in 1539 by Evtelis and contains three portraits of evangelists (lacking John).

MS 30 is a two-folio fragment of Matthew, from the twelfth century. Unhappily the choice manuscript of this library (MS 32) is admittedly lost: a Tetraevangelion written in A.D. 1156 by Manuel Hagiostephanites for the Archbishop of Cyprus.

On the islands of Crete and Rhodes there are forty-eight active monasteries, yet very few Greek manuscripts have been attributed to them. These islands were not included in the program of exploration, but an incidental discovery was made on each of them. In Heracleion the Historical Museum was recently presented to the city by a private collector. It now contains eleven uncatalogued Greek manuscripts, including two unlisted New Testament texts. A quick review of the showcase would include a sixteenth-century paper Evangelion of about 400 folios, and a parchment fragment of Luke written about A.D. 1200. In the old city of Rhodes, a chance inquiry at the Public Library turned up a parchment Evangelion of the twelfth century, somewhat mutilated.

The visit to Patmos last July was unexpected. It resulted from the invitation of Athanasios Kamines to join his team there, during an annual microfilming operation for the Royal Research Foundation, which seeks to record on film the entire collection of about 900 manuscripts. This offered a more extensive opportunity among some seventy New Testament manuscripts than on a previous visit: not adequate for collating but sufficient to check a number of manuscripts—seventeen, in fact. For example, MS 59 is a pure minuscule text of Chrysostom's Gospel Commentary, of about A.D. 900 (the Gospels in "Western" order). MSS 15 and 16 are Praxapostoloi of eleven and tenth centuries, and MS 263 is Chrysostom's Commentary on the Praxapostolos dating from the tenth century. I examined nine Tetraevangelia between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, five of which have the evangelist portraits. MS 275 was reported by Gregory as dated in A.D. 1082, but it should instead be read as A.D. 1282. There are three uncial manuscripts. MS 61 is an uncial Paul with a minuscule Commentary, written in the tenth century. MS 62 is the same, except that it was copied in the twelfth century; its late uncial letters have an artificial appearance. This may well be the latest uncial extant. The chief treasure of the monastery is the 33-folio portion of the sixth-century Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus, which extends from Mark 6:53 to 14:25 with four lacunae. This beautiful old fragment has been recently bound in old red velvet and adorned with bright brassy ornaments in high relief featuring a late conception of the crucifixion. The Hegoumenos Pavlos and his as-

sociate Meletios were most understanding and helpful in our research. Of course, we have long known this great collection on Patmos, and selected studies have been made in it; and yet the substantial research remains to be done.

The last island trip was made by steamer to Chios and Mytilini. On Chios the formidable task of exploring seventeen monasteries lay ahead, and the initial action was to pay a call on Bishop Iavovos at the Metropolis. He confidently informed me at once that not a single manuscript would be found among the monasteries on the island. Its only manuscripts were housed in town, in the oldest library in Greece which was founded in 1709 by Adam Koraïs. This manuscript collection was catalogued in 1933 by Stephanos D. Kabbada, who has been the Director since 1938. Of New Testament text there are only two fragments of Evangelia, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one of which had been badly shuffled and required two hours to restore to original sequence. Director Kabbada assured me that he personally had explored all the Chios monasteries and had found no manuscript anywhere. It appeared useless to repeat such an exploration, and therefore on the following morning I took the steamer "Karaiskakis" to Mytilini (Lesbos).

Mytilini has six monasteries, and since four of them are in the West I took a public taxi to the convenient center of Kalloni. While visiting at the Metropolis with Bishop Constantinos, he produced a Tetraevangelion dated in 1283 which Gregory (MS 2236) had located in the local Church of the Zoödochou Pigi. The western-most monastery of St. John Theologos near Antissa possesses 57 manuscripts, including two Evangelia and a Tetraevangelion all of about A.D. 1200. The last (Gregory 2238) is a deluxe item in two volumes, whose four miniatures have the unusual feature of portraying each evangelist (except Luke) with his secretary or scribe. The longest visit on the island was made at St. Ignatius (which Gregory called Leimonos). The fine collection of 300 manuscripts (catalogued by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1884-8) has included 25 New Testament codices, but there is evidence of some losses and of problems of identification. For example, Treasury MS 2 was not to be found, a Tetraevangelion of the twelfth century, with its numerous miniatures and the first page of Matthew in gold. This manuscript as well as MSS 35, 354 and 355 are now replaced by substitutes. I examined especially eight Gospel manuscripts dating from the tenth to thirteenth century, and a Praxapostolos with the Apocalypse written in the tenth century. The Hegoumenos Pavlos was eager for counsel

about his manuscripts and persuaded me to remain overnight, meanwhile extending the most friendly hospitality. Back again in the town of Mytilini, the priest at the Church of St. Simeon disclaimed any knowledge of Gregory 1378, another Tetraevangelion of about A.D. 1000 with many miniatures. But in the Boy's Gymnasion two listed Tetraevangelia were found safe. One of them Gregory (MS 1379) described as tenth-century minuscule, but must rather be judged twelfth century.

These island explorations found 1600 manuscripts, which included 130 of New Testament text, fifty of which received personal examination. The earliest texts found were a few exceptional codices or fragments of the tenth century. No remarkable text was discovered among them, although analysis of Byzantine recensions remains to be made.

Istanbul and Ochrid

During the year opportunity arose to examine two manuscript collections beyond the Greek border. Early in March (1962) Professor Robert E. Andry of Butler University began a three-month microfilming project at the Greek Orthodox Patriarchal Library in Istanbul, under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks. I was able to join him there for a week. The manuscript collection is a composite of three libraries: Panagia Kamariotisses, Agia Trias, and the Theological School of Halki. The manuscripts have been recently catalogued, for the most part, and total today 467 ranging in date from ninth to nineteenth century. Of the entire library 90% are now on microfilm at Dumbarton Oaks. There are 44 New Testament texts, chiefly lectionaries but including an eleventh-century Praxapostolos and one complete New Testament (without the Apocalypse) with the Psalter, copied in the twelfth century. The earliest text is a palimpsest fragment of an Evangelion, written about A.D. 900, which was deciphered by Professor Andry.

The other such opportunity came while attending the XII International Congress on Byzantine Studies in lovely Ochrid in southwestern Yugoslavia. The National Museum there published a special catalogue for that occasion, in which V. Mošin described about eighty Greek manuscripts. Time was found to visit this excellent Museum repeatedly, and to examine the twelve New Testament texts all written between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. The most unusual codex among them is an Apostolos combined with the Apocalypse, of about A.D. 1200.

The Greek Mainland

Among the more romantic monasteries of Greece are Megaspileon and Kalavryta, in the mountains on the south side of the Gulf of Corinth. One entrains at the town of Diakofto on the rack and pinion mountain railway which climbs slowly (14 miles in two hours) through the magnificent Vouraïkos gorge. Halfway up, the train reaches Zachlorou from which an hour's foot trail rises to Megaspileon. Or one may go on, as I did, to the top and the town of Kalavryta 2300 feet high. This is the town where the successful revolution of 1821 started, and after its destruction in 1943 by the Nazis it was largely rebuilt. High above the town the Lavra has survived, having been founded in A.D. 961. Politis in 1939 reported here a collection of 35 manuscripts, three of which are New Testament, and chief among them is a complete New Testament without the Apocalypse.

From the town of Kalavryta one may proceed by car over rough mountain road to Megaspileon. Thirty years ago Professor Beïs found 235 Greek manuscripts there. Originally constructed in the fourth century across the mouth of a great cave, the monastery has suffered repeated fires, and most recently in 1934 after which date the present sumptuous structure was erected. It is sad to discover that today the monks claim only eight Greek manuscripts. Whereas they once possessed 32 New Testament manuscripts there now remain only four: one Evangelion and three Tetraevangelia with miniatures, all of which date about the eleventh cenutry. Westward along the Gulf coast an hour's journey by train there lies Patras, the third city of Greece. In the country round about it are six monasteries, none of which is found to possess a single manuscript.

Northern Greece

In the North of Greece, Saloniki is the cultural center. Formerly there were substantial collections of manuscripts in the city itself but today none of these remain. The same thing is true of the eastern region bounded by the Aegean and Bulgaria. From Saloniki a journey was made by car to Ouranoupolis, in order to pay another visit to Mt. Athos. This time the four great monasteries south of Dalphni along the southwestern coast were visited: Simopetra, Grigoriou, Dionysiou and Pavlou. At Simopetra the monks insisted that their library had been completely destroyed by fire. At Dionysiou the librarian proudly exhibited his choicest manuscripts. No attempt

was made to settle down for study on this occasion and therefore there is nothing more to report. The abundant manuscript resources of Mt. Athos are well known, although we actually know very little as yet about the texts themselves.

To the west of Saloniki, however, newly discovered libraries of manuscripts are known. Five hours by train brings one to the Macedonian town of Kozani. By courtesy of an army Jeep and chauffeur another three hours over almost impossible mountain trails brought our party to the charming Monastery of Zavorda, at the top of the gorge cut by the Aliakmon River. Two years earlier Linos Politis of the University of Thessaloniki had discovered in this library the first complete text of the Lexicon of Photius. Now with three of his colleagues I was privileged to share in the initial exploration of this uncatalogued library in its disarray, to investigate what New Testament texts might be found. We remained overnight and worked through parts of two days. It was found that the library consists of more than 200 Greek manuscripts, of which 31 are of parchment. One copy of Saints' Lives (MS 3) was signed by the famous scribe Theodore Hagiopetrites who flourished in the late thirteenth century. Two copies of the popular John Climacus were found. Thirteen New Testament texts were identified: eight Tetraevangelia and four Praxapostoloi, all dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Though not extraordinary, these are valuable Byzantine representatives.

Much more surprising were discoveries in a small village in Thessalia. From Larisa, gateway to the beautiful Vale of Tempe, it is only ten miles to the northwest within view of Mt. Olympus to the village of Tyrnavo. Pursuing a recent report that a manuscript collection was to be found in the Demarcheion, our party called upon the Mayor there. Surely enough, he produced an exclusive key which unlocked two bookcases and also a checklist of the 41 Greek manuscripts recently bequeathed by a private collector. The best of these were three parchment manuscripts: a Tetraevangelion dated A.D. 1115, The Lives of Saints and a deteriorated Evangelion of the fourteenth century. It had been reported also that in this same town there was another private collection, equally unknown and uncatalogued. We were not successful in confirming this and it still remains to investigate the report. Along the same highway another twenty-five miles northwestward, the village of Elasson is the site of the Monastery of Olympiotissa (or St. Dionysios). Bishop Jacovos introduced our party to the Hegoumenos Petros, who showed

us a collection of about 220 manuscripts without numbers assigned, although an Athenian scholar proposed to make a catalogue soon. These manuscripts had been brought from the Monastery of Spermou 4300 feet high on the slope of Mt. Olympos. It is not an impressive collection, judging from the examples selected: a three-folio fragment from the end of Matthew (twelfth century), a fifteenth-century Psalter, and a late Evangelion.

The monasteries of Meteora are fabulous, atop the granite peaks which rise 1800 feet out of the Thessalian plain. Established in the fourteenth century the community once consisted of twenty-four monasteries; fifty years ago it had been reduced to six, and today only four remain active. Bishop Dionysios of Trikala holds authority over them and retains the unpublished and now antiquated checklists by Beïs. Our first visit was to Agia Trias, now occupied by a single monk, and revealed that it no longer possessed its collection of 124 manuscripts. Although we were informed that these had been transferred to Varlaam, that monastery denied any knowledge of them. We then visited St. Stephanos, which is now a convent for nuns, and in the course of our browsing among its 142 manuscripts, we noted especially an Evangelion and a Praxapostolos of the twelfth century, and a Tetraevangelion of about A.D. 1400. But the most startling discovery there was a separate cabinet containing the entire Agia Trias collection which for us had been mysteriously missing.

The oldest and top-most monastery is Metamorphosis. Once the proud leader of this community, it is occupied today by Father Sophronios alone. In order to unlock the library it was necessary to have the bishop in Trikala dispatch an archimandrite with keys which in combination with the abbot's key should permit access. But unfortunately on this visit in March the keys brought did not fit and so we then failed of entrance. It was explained that occasion for this maneuver arose but rarely. A second try in April succeeded, when it became possible to examine a few chosen volumes such as a ninth-century Chrysostom and an eleventh-century Tetraevangelion. But our host knew nothing about his collection and was unequal to our special interest so that the result was less than satisfactory. The library has had 642 manuscripts but it is obvious that substantial loss has been suffiered.

The leading monastery of Meteora today is Varlaam, resuscitated by the support of the Zoë movement. A dozen eager monks under the Abbott Kallinachos comprise an active community. The librarian, Christodoulos, knows his library and seeks further understanding of

it. Three Tetraevangelia of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were on display under glass. Special advice was requested concerning another small Tetraevangelion which purports to be signed by Constantine Porphyrogenitos, Emperor about A.D. 950. The script of the volume, however, cannot be earlier than the twelfth century, which suggests that the colophon may have been copied from a tenth-century original. Altogether the four active Meteora monasteries must possess now about a thousand manuscripts. We require a published catalogue in order to assay the true value of them, and the intention to produce this catalogue has been expressed by the Greeks.

Conclusions

Now finally, in summary, we may draw the conclusions indicated by the year's experience. It is not surprising to know that the manuscript resources in Greece are vast. A hundred libraries explored in the course of the year possess 7,000 Greek manuscripts, including 600 of the New Testament. In addition, there are the 11,000 on Mt. Athos, with 1,000 New Testament codices. It is now possible to speak with confidence about monastic libraries, having visited one out of five. Contrary to my original assumption, most Greek monasteries now possess no manuscripts. Most of what they do have are of late date and of little intrinsic value. Furthermore, Greece as a whole has only Byzantine texts. Even the few uncial codices or fragments, such as Codex Purpureus (N), represent the common Ecclesiastical text. There is no ancient uncial comparable to the great Egyptian codices: Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Vaticanus. There are no papyrus texts to represent the earliest centuries. At my desk in Athens I worked with facsimiles of P^{66} and P^{75}, and these texts created a strong sense of contrast.

Nevertheless, Greece is the happy hunting ground for studies in the Ecclesiastical text, for which numerous copies are required for the reconstruction of Byzantine transmission. Parvis has properly insisted that the critic "should value the readings of his late manuscripts . . . All are part of the tradition; all contribute to our knowledge of the history of Christian thought."[17] For this interest Greek libraries offer abundant resources. I may, however, report the impression that copies of the Gospel of Luke made in Greece show a high degree of conformity among the Byzantine recensions.

17. Merrill M. Parvis, "The Nature and Tasks of New Testament Textual Criticism: an Appraisal," *Journal of Religion* 32 (1952), p. 172.

Our experience shows that there are still a few collections yet to be exposed, of the same character as we already know. However, there are not many manuscripts to come out of hiding. The fugitive collections are already being gathered into major libraries. It does not appear that acquisitions for Western libraries will be numerous in the future. In the past the Greek scholar has rarely been interested in textual study. Few have the interest or training for it, and the Orthodox Church has never encouraged it. Yet we know several busy cataloguers, such as Spyridon Lambros and Sakkelion, and this activity is still carried on by such men as Politis and Kamines. The latter is engaged in microfilming the large Patmos collection. When recently an American group proposed microfilming at Meteora, the response indicated that this would be accomplished as a Greek project. Perhaps the Zavorda manuscripts will be done in a similar project. Hence it is evident that Greek authorities are assuming increasing responsibility for the preservation and servicing of Greek manuscripts. But the task of definitive study is immense and could well be advanced through voluntary American collaboration. The final word is simply this, that one year was all too little for my own task which perforce was of exploratory character.

European Lay Academies and the American Religious Scene

O. Kelly Ingram

In our efforts to find a way for the church to act effectively within the structures of society in America it has become evident that our ecclesiastical orientation in this country presents difficult obstacles. The two great impediments are denominationalism and the church's residential base. Even when we rise above the institutional preoccupations that characterize the denominational church, there remains the difficulty of such a church in speaking to and acting within a pluralized society in which it is a minority. Furthermore, based as it is in residentially orientated congregations the preponderance of the church's concern is necessarily privatized as Gibson Winter has observed (*The Suburban Captivity of the Churches*).

Clearly the need is for supra-denominational approaches to the church's task. That is to say, while such approaches are desirable for positive reasons, it is imperative that the church find a way to minister at the crisis points in the world without incurring the antipathies that are attracted by denominational efforts. The European academies seem to represent one type of model. They have succeeded in getting at public issues in a way we would like to, and often without the handicap of sectarianism.

Perhaps it is for this reason that occasionally the question is asked, "How can we get European type academies started in America?" The answer is, "We shouldn't." We should not attempt to duplicate Europe's organizations and activities. Those academies have much to teach us about how to involve the church in the worldly concerns of humanity, but it is doubtful that their way should be ours. Our academy work should utilize the resources peculiar to this country, and it should address itself to circumstances unique to America, a principle followed by Europe's academies.

I share with Franklin Littell (*The German Phoenix*) the judgment that no one type of European academy or their system in general is suited to the American scene, because our situation is different in important respects. In the first place, the divorce between church

and world assumes a different character in this country. In Germany until recently pastors, in whom the work of the church has centered to too great an extent, have had little time (if they had the inclination) to address themselves to the worldly affairs of their congregations. The theological schools in which they received their training have led the world in traditional theological studies but have demonstrated little interest in the workaday concerns of contemporary man. In Europe there was a gap to be bridged between church and world, hence Margaret Frake's description of the academies as *Bridges to Understanding.*

While not necessarily better, the American picture is different. The church and the world in America have come to terms in a cozy kind of way that inspired Peter Berger (*The Noise of Solemn Assemblies*) to write of the "social functionality" of the church. Here the church has *served* society by providing religious sanctions for the implied values of our culture.

In America the job is not to build a bridge, but to release the church from its subservient cultural role in order that it may, with necessary autonomy, minister to the victims of a culture that is demonic in some respects. Here we find a criterion for an effective American approach: *Our academies should be able to function autonomously without fear of reprisals from the economically or politically strong or ecclesiastical vested interests that have much to lose by "disestablishment."* The question of how such academies could be financed will be discussed later.

Imitation of the older academies is further complicated by the fact that they present no common model. They vary according to the countries in which they are located and no two in the same country are alike. They reflect the personalities of their leadership, the environments in which they originated, the needs to which they found it necessary to respond, and their type of church relatedness.

Many owe their distinctive character to unique and *charismatic leaders.* The quiet, sensitive and aesthetic Kirchenrat Gerhard Hildman at Tutzing has naturally developed at Schloss Tutzing beside the Starnberger See a program and style quite different from that of the vigorous and aggressive Eberhard Müller at the Bad Boll Akademie in the Schwäbisch countryside. And here is the second principle: *American academies should express the unique talents of their leaders.*

Cultural settings, likewise, play a part in determining ministries and techniques. The Tutzing academy near Munich where life is

more agrarian, artistic and scientific seeks to serve the needs of persons in that ethos, while Bad Boll located in a highly industrialized area near Stuttgart specializes in industrial and political problems. Here is our third principle: *American academies should serve the needs at hand.*

Academies differ also in their *church relatedness,* some even questioning the desirability of any church ties. The German academies were organized with the blessings of ecclesiastical authorities and aided with church funds. Several academies in The Netherlands, on the other hand, have been organized under non-church auspices for the purpose of serving the Socialist Labor Party. When Dr. A. van Biemen, Director of Arbeiders-gemeenschap der Woodbrokers, was asked what his academy has in common with the German academies, he replied, "We have the same Bible." After inspecting both types, one concludes that is about all they have in common.

A director of one of the German academies said to me, "Please report that we are here as the church. We are the church at work here. We want to say what the church would want us to say." He was referring to the doctrinal positions of his particular church, anxious to have it understood he represents the stated positions of his sponsoring ecclesiastical group. Not all German academies feel as comfortable in their identification with their parent ecclesiastical bodies. Some feel that, while acknowledging the church as their origin and their willingness to carry on a mission in its name, there is need for them to differentiate themselves from the church in order constructively to criticize and initiate independent approaches to the world that the church may not always condone.

I became concerned about the question of church relatedness and sought the advice of a leader of a Netherlands' academy about the advisability of church ties. He frankly counseled pursuing a course completely independent of the church. When it was suggested that such a course was schismatic, he shrugged saying, "Perhaps, but we usurp nothing. We simply do the job." Dr. Jacob Nussbaumer of the Reformierte Heimstätte at Gwatt in Switzerland summed up the case for and against church relation, "The closer to the church the more financial suport and the less freedom to experiment." Pointing to the two Swiss academies, he suggested that one is too independent of church control and the other too much within the church. The ideal, he suggested, would be church financial support that imposes no restrictions on the freedom of the academies.

Objectives and styles of work also distinguish academies from one

another. These vary to such an extent that it is difficult to see how they can all be joined in any kind of association. The fact is that they seem to be dedicated to doing whatever needs to be done, and there are many things that need to be done. In some parts of Germany immigrant laborers require instruction in the simple amenities, and at least one academy provides the service annually. Automation is resulting in more free time, and Tutzing is engaging in *Freizeit* studies. Vocational training, family life and almost any problem in the province of social ethics may become the object of study.

The common denominator is hard to find. Mark Gibbs, who knows more about academy work than any other English speaking person involved in such work, says that the thing they have in common is that they are all engaged in *adult education*. Their business is helping people responsible for the life and work of the world to understand more about the values at stake in their work. They educate laymen, not for their Sunday tasks, but for their Monday through Saturday activities, says Gibbs. Traditional religious themes are subordinated to such mundane considerations as job, family life and free time.

Further variety is observable in the place accorded *worship* and *Bible study*. Generally they play an important part in the academy style of life but do not serve as the primary reason for a group's gathering. It is at this point that a commonly accepted philosophy of academy work becomes manifest. The academies are saying in their treatment of Bible study and worship, "We are to be unself-consciously Christian and, like the One we follow, forget ourselves in the service of the world." Most conferences are set up, therefore, to meet some secular need. In many instances the majority of participants are not practicing churchmen. Rather than sacred church ground, they gather on neutral academy territory. And their purpose is to talk about worldly things, not "religious" subjects. The emphasis on Bible study and worship varies, but generally they are offered as central in the life and experience of the staff but not required of participants who are simply informed that in these religious activities one may find essential resources for his life and work.

Academy work can be classified in terms of the *types of groups* being served or in terms of the problems being considered. Gwatt focuses on the church laity, offering them theological education to enhance their service. Woodbrookers specializes in a ministry to the Socialist Labor Party, though by no means exclusively. Foreign

workers in Germany have attracted the attention of the academies because they need assistance in making the language and cultural transition. Spanish mothers must be told that one does not bathe her babies in the public fountain.

Another type of academy work is conceived initially in terms of *content.* Bad Boll looks out upon German life and selects what it considers the most pressing problems, not necessarily excluding any question though specializing in industrial and political questions. Others recognize perennial problems such as sex, courtship, marriage and family problems, choice of and preparation for vocations and on the job training. Clientele is not always the same, but the objects of ministry are always there.

Both the above-mentioned types of work represent services to people with personal problems. Still another type of academy work consists of conferences of an *ad hoc* nature that address themselves to specific social problems. An academy staff may recognize a need to reconcile certain groups such as the military and the clergy (a sensitive question in postwar Germany undertaken with some trepidation by Tutzing); scientists and theologians (an oldtime favorite), artists and radio and television executives whose value systems are at variance. A staff may become concerned about what seems to be insincerity in the Christian Democratic Union's insistence on German unification, or, in the case of The Netherlands, the increasing contention of the Provos (youthful rebellious intelligentsia) that established authority must legitimate itself.

In dealing with such problems the academies are highly pragmatic. They gather information, locate people whose social roles permit them to participate in altering existing social arrangements, convene these effective members of society and encourage discussion. In some cases, particularly Bad Boll, they hold several conferences concerning the same issue and eventually produce a position paper based on a consensus of the conferences.

What are the academies? They are ways of getting needed jobs done devised by gifted men who were impatient with the limitations imposed by existing provisions. The important thing is not their *way* but that there are in Europe impatient men who, with their Master's compassion, share the suffering of humanity and find ways to talk intelligently and, hopefully, Christianly about that suffering.

It is in the spirit of the academies for us to ask, "What are they doing that we should be doing?" The answer seems to be

1. providing theological training for church laymen,
2. seeking the secular significance of the Gospel through their own Bible study to which others are invited,
3. helping people with their problems of life and work,
4. seeking an understanding of, and responsible ways of dealing with, the issues of the modern world, and
5. providing opportunities for worship in a setting of worldly concern.

To be sure, one reads this list of services and recognizes immediately that these are things the church ought to be doing these days. This, of course, is precisely the point. The church, as we know it, needs help with these tasks at the present time. When the time comes that it meets these needs in the course of its ordinary life, the academies should be prepared to abdicate their temporarily assumed roles and go out of business or move on to new tasks. One suspects, however, that the institutional church, by its very nature, may be unable to serve as the agent of revolution and may always stand in need of the assistance of an *avant garde,* self-appointed if necessary, that operates outside the institutional framework, often to the dismay and disgust of the ecclesiastical powers that be at the moment. On the other hand, academies that set themselves up today should not expect to be immune to the disease of "morphological fundamentalism." For them, as for any other institution, "time makes ancient good uncouth."

The services of the European academies suggest types of work that are needed here. In one sense, the various programs undertaken in the War on Poverty have narrowed the field of service that needs to be assayed. On the other hand, it has alerted us to some problems of which we were not previously mindful. Groups of people are still inadequately served if at all. The plight of migrant workers is so desperate that nothing short of a migrant mission can establish the necessary pattern of redemptive relationships. Despite widely publicized efforts in a few glamor districts, the church, continues to ignore some members of society as being beyond the pale, such as bartenders, gamblers, night club entertainers and homosexuals. If these needs were being adequately served, there would still be a whole range of problems in the realm of personal and social ethics that is being ignored for all practical purposes outside the academic classroom. Individuals and society desperately need guidance in thinking through the meaning of the responsible person and the responsible society.

Two types of academy work, then, need to be undertaken. First,

there is need for seminars dealing with the ethical issues that perplex individuals in their interpersonal relations, assisting them to develop well-formed, responsible attitudes toward sex, family, work and free time. And, second, there is need for Christian presence in the structures of government, industry and science-technology the function of which would be to convene the decision-makers from all levels of those systems to reflect in an ethically sensitized atmosphere on the work they are doing and the "righteousness" of the system in which they function. The professions, arts and services might be served in a similar manner.

It would be out of order to ask if academies appropriate to our needs can be established in this country, for there are a number already in existence. The most conspicuous examples, however, appear to be majoring in work with ministers and students. There are efforts to make theologically informed penetrations into the everyday affairs of the laity, but the scope of such efforts is not extensive. Denominational attempts have proliferated, but most have suffered because the issues that are most pressing cannot be approached most effectively from a denominational base. There are human needs that can be addressed effectively within the confines of a communion, and, for this reason, denominations should not hesitate to employ the academy approach, but neither should they have any illusions about the limits imposed upon their effectiveness.

One would be less that candid if he did not acknowledge that financing is the rock that wrecks the dreams of most who would establish academies. Sources of support in America often entail restrictions on program. If a denomination provides support, it wants to participate in planning and institutional interests intrude themselves. If private or foundation philanthropy is sought, the academy is likely to find itself doing business with the most conservative element in society. As many of us who are sympathetic to the movement know, some of the American academies depend upon a widespread solicitation of funds and thus upon a broad base of support with the expectation of relatively small contributions from individual donors; but the number who are favorably disposed is so small that only a few academies can maintain themselves in this fashion. From the standpoint of financial support, the picture is not encouraging.

An academy's autonomy is as important as that of a college or university. Financial support must be given and received with the understanding that the privilege of free investigation, discussion and

proclamation are in no way impaired. It is conceivable that there are foundations or individuals who could and would endow academies and leave them with sufficient freedom, but it is yet to be demonstrated. Perhaps the National Council of Churches should prime the pump with a pilot project the value of which might attract foundations and private sources to underwrite additional academies.

The Gwatt Academy in Switzerland relies heavily on income from renting its attractive alpine retreat. The financing of German academies is complicated. At first the Bad Boll Academy relied on voluntary contributions from its visitors. Later they received substantial assistance from Presbyterian and Lutheran churches in America and the Church of Württemberg. More recently various government agencies have underwritten 29% of the budget. 46% comes from the combined sources of a private foundation, friends and participants. Only 25% of the budget comes from the church.

The Netherlands academies are unique in that they are legally qualified to call on government funds for 60% of their operating costs because they are engaged in adult education. The situation in America is obviously different in that neither acceptable church nor government funds are available.

When the financial hurdle has been surmounted, serious consideration should be given Franklin Littell's suggestion that academies might advantageously be established within or in conjunction with universities. In the United States universities traditionally have penetrated culture because of their scientific and technological usefulness as well as their entrée to politics. Economics professors now move with ease from the academic world to the arena of decision and back again, and there is an unbroken continuum from the teaching hospital to the general practitioner in the healing arts. Many university professors are already accepted in the systems of secular society because of their competence and regular participation in those systems.

Academies could logically, at one and the same time, use the talents of such persons and their entrée into the world. A professor of law, for example, who is contributing to law journals articles dealing with legal ethics could serve as the magnet to attract lawyers to an academy program and serve as a helpful resource person in any discussion of their ethical concerns.

While utilizing university talent and capitalizing on its drawing appeal, the academy could serve the university in two ways. For one thing, it could organize, to some extent, its effective penetration of

culture. For another, it could bring to that penetration the value of an "unqualified humanism" by which I mean what we usually refer to as "Christian love." It goes without saying that state universities may balk at such an arrangement for fear of "establishing religion," but I think such fear unwarranted in the case of non-sectarian ventures. Private universities may have some trepidation because potential donors may be offended, but they could protect themselves by insisting on independence for the academies in which case they should not be held responsible for unpopular actions.

On many university campuses denominational chaplains could serve as the organizing geniuses and board of directors for academies. As a rule, they have the required vision and social concern necessary to provide the dynamic. They are not official university personnel and their actions do not threaten the university's interests. At the same time, they have access to faculty and can use the respect they command to coopt talent. This is one way the job could be done. Another would be for a seminary or group of university seminaries to band together to "spawn" academies.

However an academy is originated, the board of directors should form a prospectus, consult experienced persons, *e.g.,* Mark Gibbs and directors of academies in this country, secure necessary financial support and then seek the finest talent available. It has been customary for American directors to make a tour of inspection of Europe's academies, an exercise and privilege I heartily recommend.

Whether we call them "academies" or something more descriptive of the services they perform, we should add to our already existing supra-denominational missions designed to minister effectively to personal and social needs in American life. There is no contention that such missions should replace the residentially based congregation for which there is continuing need. The new styles of ministry should be seen as the progeny of such traditional congregations, the fruit of consciences inculcated by the church's preaching and teaching, even when they find it necessary to behave like rebellious adolescents indignant at their parents' complacency in the face of need and injustice. Indeed, residentially based churches should rejoice in the work of academy-like groups even when such ministries have had to make their own way like disinherited children with no church support, for it may very well be that the best "church work" in the future will be work for which the institutional church can claim no credit. It will be "church work" because it is done in the name of the Lord of the church.

Four Decades of the Divinity School

Kenneth Willis Clark

I. Beginnings

At Sinai Moses gave to the Hebrews the admonition (Dt 8:2): "You must remember all the experiences through which the Lord your God has led you for the past forty years . . . to test you." Today we of the Divinity School of Duke University may well take such an admonition to ourselves, since it was forty years ago that this school began its sojourn and its initial period of testing. To review the way by which we have come is to perceive how well we have tested.[1]

In 1926, only one out of twenty ministers in the United States attended theological seminary to acquire the distinctive professional training. Almost all ministers found their preparation in college, or in many cases gained it quite informally. In that year the first catalogue of the Duke school explained that "Christian work has now expanded to the extent that it covers far more than the work of a preacher or minister." It announced a post-B.A. course of three years "on a strictly graduate basis."

In 1926 there was as yet no West Campus but only unbroken forest. The entire operation of a two-year-old university was confined to the limited area of the original Durham campus, and the earliest plan contemplated expansion in the neighborhood of our East Campus. There the construction of a new oval of colonial buildings took place in 1925-1927 even while the new university carried on its growing activities. There it was, in the midst of razing and erecting, that the theological school began its work in 1926.

The school was first named "School of Religion," a broad ap-

1. This account is neither a history nor an autobiography, though it contains something of both. It is rather an informal recollection of the more significant experiences in our history, selected and set forth from my personal vantage point. Such personal accounts by my colleagues would remind us instead of many other strategic moments and circumstances. As for history, a more systematic and comprehensive account of our school would become appropriate in 1976.

pellation reflecting the contemporary fashion of thinking about religion in relation to our society.[2] From the beginning a basic conflict of judgment existed between the dean and the president. President Few believed that every teacher in the professional school should teach a course also in the college, whereas Dean Soper contended for a separate faculty. Although the Dean resigned after two years to accept the presidency of Ohio Wesleyan University, it was his theory that determined the course of the school. Some compromise appeared when all the teachers in the Trinity Religion department were in time attached also to the school; but to this day the basic educational principle followed is for separate organization of the college department of religion and the professional graduate school.

The first faculty meeting convened on September 18, 1926, on a Saturday afternoon at three (mirabile dictu), meeting in the Dean's office in East Duke Building. The Minute Book reveals the pressure of business especially during the first year, for before Christmas there were twelve meetings and during the year twenty-two sessions were held. Seven members composed the faculty that first year; two of them later resigned, and the other five in turn became dean over a period extending to 1958 (a date which history may well mark as the end of Chapter I). This original faculty formulated a traditional curriculum of forty courses. They set the requirement at ninety hours plus a thesis (eighteen hours in Bible), and forty-two hours were prescribed for all. Actually, there was no catalogue when the school opened, for the first one issued was for 1927-28. The founding dean was Edwin D. Soper, Professor of the History of Religions and University Vice-president of Student Affairs, who within the first two years gave the school its basic form.

A period of settling ensued during the long deanship of Elbert Russell (Biblical Interpretation), 1928-1941, who served under President Few (d. 1940). Paul Garber who had been recruited from the Duke history department served under Russell as Registrar and Secretary of the Faculty. He succeeded as dean (1941-44) and as a church historian emphasized the school's relationstip to the Methodist Church. The next dean, Harvie Branscomb (1944-46), expanded the relationship to interdenominational seminaries as well. James Cannon (1950-58) followed newcomer Harold Bosley (1947-50) and concentrated upon curricular and internal organization; he

2. Other institutions of comparable date also adopted this style, such as the Vanderbilt School of Religion and Pacific School of Religion. In later years a different trend caused Duke and others to change to "Divinity School."

resigned because of poor health and his death occurred two years later (1960).[3]

In the fall of 1926, there were twenty-three students enrolled; five years later when Professor Shelton Smith and I joined the staff, the student body had grown to about 150 and the faculty numbered twelve including three who taught also in the college religion department. The university was called non-denominational. Following the long period in which Trinity College had been sponsored and supported by the North Carolina Methodist Conference, the independently endowed university has continued to be reported as one of the Methodist institutions. The School of Religion was recognized as one of the official Methodist theological seminaries. From the beginning both the faculty and the student body have been predominantly Methodist, and yet have been interdenominational.

In the catalogue issued for 1931-32 the curricular offerings were restricted to Biblical and historical studies (five men); religious education and psychology (three men); the rural church, missions, and Christian doctrine (one man each). Probably fifty percent of that staff would be classified as liberal. In those early years the student body was more provincial, coming mainly from a few neighboring states, and also more conservative theologically. Few students in pre-World War II days were married, and they lived scattered about the university dormitories. As yet, not many served as pastors in the area, and the Duke Endowment program of financial aid was restricted to single men.

The West Campus was first occupied in 1930, a year before my own arrival. In contrast to the simple crowded quarters abandoned in West Duke, our new Gothic building adjoining the main library was palatial, especially for the small school. In the original plans the entire structure between the library and the chapel was intended for the School of Religion, but the depression of 1929-33 curtailed the immediate execution of the plans. The one building under the same roof became two—Religion and Gray, the latter to serve the university as a general classroom and office building. The college faculty was crowded in the small offices and had cause to feel envious of the School of Religion faculty many of whom had an office alone. In turn, the School of Religion felt invaded by the noisy flow of college

3. After serving at Duke, Soper assumed the presidency of Ohio Wesleyan University, Garber was elected a bishop, Branscomb became Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, and Bosley succeeded Ernest Fremont Tittle as minister or the First Methodist Church in Evanston, Illinois.

population through its corridors (no dividing doors then existed). The theological library as a separate collection first consisted chiefly of the "200" books already found in the general library. The task of building up a first-class theological and research library was just beginning.

Our theological library during the first twenty years, incredible as it now seems, operated where now are the circulation desk and card catalogue and the librarian's office with only those stacks lying beneath. The present large reading room and the stacks under it then consisted of six classrooms—one of which was converted into the Duke Endowment office for Professor Ormond. York Chapel was used for the university Vesper Service on Sunday afternoon, for a small congregation that always included President Few. The beautiful cathedral in the middle of the new campus was opened for worship only in 1932, and the carillon of fifty bells was installed during the Christmas vacation of 1931, yielding its first concert at the 1932 Commencement. The first M.D. degrees were awarded in 1932, and the first Ph.D. degree was granted in 1928. The first doctorate in religion was earned in 1939. Those were years of beginnings and the entire parade of events has been viewed by many an observer still among us.

The original West Campus was a small and neatly compact compound in 1931. To visualize that campus, shining with promise and excited with plans though it was, you must omit Allen Building and Few Quadrangle opposite, and the first library addition with tower and Rare Book Room, the present Oak Room and Old Trinity dining room, Wannamaker Quad and the Indoor Stadium at the south end, and at the north all of the rapidly growing Medical Center beyond the original school and hospital of 400 beds. The Men's Graduate Center and the nurses dormitories did not then exist. There was as yet no construction outside the encircling drive. The whole of the original West Campus was erected at a cost of about $20,000,000 in 1928-1930, and completed after the 1929 financial "crash." Flowers Building then housed Administration, Gray was thronged with the college classes, the Language Building was the original Law School and opposite were botany and biology. Such was the simple compact house in which lived and worked 5,000 students and 200 faculty members. The university administration in those early years might have been described as a "troika," consisting of President Few and two Vice-presidents (Treasurer Flowers and Dean Wannamaker). The President held a strong interest in the

School of Religion, frequently attending to "chair" its regular faculty meetings.

The School of Religion from the beginning was a graduate school and required a prior B.A. with the minimum average of a B grade. The school originally granted two degrees: the basic Bachelor of Divinity, and the Master of Arts in collaboration with the Graduate School. It was then possible to secure the M.A. after two years of the B.D. curriculum by receiving double credit for basic courses and submitting a Master's thesis prior to the required B.D. thesis. It was then permissible also, at Duke as at other typical universities, for the college senior to take a semester of theological studies for double credit and so anticipate a portion of his B.D. program, thus telescoping the B.A. and B.D. in six years. The principle of double credit was discontinued in 1932.

The first B.D. graduates had presented credits from Duke and Chicago to gain advanced standing in 1926, and the graduating class in 1927 numbered two: Walter Ball and Hersey Spence. The last had been teaching courses in religion at Trinity since 1912. Walter Kelly was awarded the only B.D. in 1928, but in 1929 there were ten and the numbers grew steadily thereafter. The great majority of our B.D. graduates have served in the pastorate, and especially in the Methodist Church.

II. Innovations: 1926-1940

In this review of the course our school has followed, perhaps the best procedure is to select the more significant matters as we have passed down the years. The unusual character of such a review lies in the fact that this was a university in the making. From the very beginning the School of Religion possessed a highly effective instrument in the Rural Church Duke Endowment program, provided in Mr. Duke's indenture. By it a large portion of the student body is thus enlisted during the summer (later, the winter too) in pastoral duties in churches throughout North Carolina, as assistant to the pastor and under supervision from the school. The values of this program are several: the church receives the services of the student, the student gains from the counsel of the pastor and secures experience in successive seasons, the program is integrated in the school's curriculum as clinical training, and the remuneration helps to finance his studies. At first only single men were eligible and they received a $400 stipend. Later, married students too were approved, with a stipend of $600. Today the stipend has been doubled to $1,000, for

all. This program over the years has increased to about 120 men and has been strengthened in execution, engaging the supervisory assistance of many members of the faculty.

When the Clarks arrived in 1931, Mrs. Clark came with fresh experience as a member of the "Dames" at the University of Chicago, a strong organization of graduate wives. Mrs. Few and Mrs. Russell requested her to organize the "Duke University Dames." There were not then many married students at Duke, for in those days few students married while yet in school even for advanced degrees. There had earlier been a small group of wives in the School of Religion, known as the Duke Divinity Dames ("the three D's"). It was fifteen years later, however, that wartime conditions brought hundreds of marriages among Duke students, and the original Duke University Dames was gradually replaced by a half-dozen organizations corresponding to the professional units. Mrs. Clark served as sponsor of the central organization until this transition was completed, although during the War years she was the Executive Secretary of Civilian Defense in Durham. Her "Dames" sponsorship ended when she left for the Near East in 1949, accompanying her husband on a sabbatical.

In 1932, two ceremonial occasions marked the progress of the university and its religious program. The beautiful central cathedral was first opened for service, and the fifty-bell carillon gave forth its first concert performed by Anton Brees who would thereafter return from the Bok Tower every year for a quarter-century as official carilloneur. The transfer in 1932 of the Sunday Vesper service of the campus, from York to the new Chapel on a Sunday morning, was a liturgical jolt. York Chapel then as originally furnished was a simple Methodist meeting-house, pulpit-centered, plain and bare; its services were as simple as the American frontier. The first services in the formal cathedral retained the same form—which was shockingly incongruous! The liturgical "order of worship" for the University Chapel has evolved gradually, and has gone through a long period of revisions to arrive at the present form—which surely will not be the last. The formal Service of Dedication of the Chapel was held on June 2, 1935. Professor Frank S. Hickman was the first Dean of the Chapel. The cross and candles on the altar came at a later time, not without some grumbling about "popery."

I watched the hanging of the bells in the chapel tower at Christmas in 1931. It was necessary to remove the wall dividing two windows in order to move in the great bell. The steel frame on

which the bells hang had then to be constructed because the idea of a carillon was a later conception when Trustees Allen and Perkins made the gift. The bells first were played only on special occasions, but in later years Anton Brees spent the summer here and played daily for the summer students in the cool of the evening hour. For some years now, student carilloneurs have been appointed and one may now respond to the melody of the bells daily at five as workers depart for home.

It was in 1932 also that Professor Frank Hickman inaugurated a non-credit course for ministers of the area, meeting at the School of Religion. As founder and sponsor he gave regular weekly lectures or arranged for visiting lecturers. This was an early project of "continuing education." It was also ecumenical including ministers from all denominations. In turn, this movement gave rise to the formal Phillips Brooks Club under Dr. Hickman's direction, which continued until his retirement in 1953.

The year 1932 brought also important beginnings that involved the writer. In that fall, Branscomb and Clark constituted the first "department" to have two men, in New Testament studies. With the increase of personnel it was possible to have an increase of offerings. The new courses included New Testament Greek and the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament. Greek had earlier nearly disappeared from the colleges, and it became necessary for the graduate theological school to assume responsibility for it, especially the Hellenistic stage of the language in which the New Testament documents were composed. Our first class consisted of two pioneers,[4] and voluntary election of the course in time grew to about seventy. Happily, the study of Greek has again recovered strongly among college pre-theologs, many of whom continue the Greek in advanced courses in the Divinity School. A course in Textual Criticism first offered here in 1932, was to be found then in very few of our seminaries and graduate schools. The chief center for this special discipline was then at the University of Chicago where I received the training that made possible such a course at Duke. Furthermore, a beginning was then made in building a collection of Byzantine manuscript copies of the Greek New Testament, when we acquired a thirteenth-century text which had been released from a monastery in Northern Greece. Several students in the

4. W. McFerrin Stowe (B.D. '35) recently elected a bishop of the Methodist Church, and Daniel Montgomery now pastor of St. James in Spartanburg, S. C.

School of Religion wrote theses based on their studies in this manuscript. Through the years our Greek manuscript collection has grown to about forty items, both codex and roll, canonical and liturgical, dating between A.D. 1000 and 1700. Our Greek manuscript collection is of special note and value, among the largest and best in American libraries. At Duke it has served as research materials for numerous students in their textual training.

In 1933, opportunity came for me to offer another new course, in Hellenistic Religions. This study too was rarely offered in American seminaries, but I had had the opportunity at Chicago to pursue it under specialists Shirley Jackson Case and Harold R. Willoughby. Its primary purpose was to fill in the strong and popular religion that formed much of the environment of Christian beginnings, other than Jewish and Christian. The course continued to be offered for three decades in alternate years. Of less importance was my appointment even in 1931 as a member of the faculty's social committee, but I record it here with some amusement because it was the one committee on which I served almost continuously, for a period as chairman, from beginning to end.

The year 1933-34 brought unusual circumstances for the School of Religion. Dean and Mrs. Russell left on a sabbatical world tour, and Professor Gilbert Rowe served as Acting Dean. At the time Russell was the only man teaching Old Testament, because an unfortunate conflict had earlier resulted in the departure of Allen H. Godbey. Godbey had come in 1926 from the University of Chicago, and he maintained that Duke had called him to develop here an "independent department of Old Testament Languages and Literature," such as the Oriental Institute with its farflung program of excavations. After a period of debate and "Open Letters" by Godbey, he was separated from the faculty in 1932. It was thus that it happened that I was recruited for 1933-34 to teach the basic course in Old Testament, which I found to be exciting and valuable experience. Another of the extraordinary events of that year was the decision in a conference of the Christian-Congregational Church to "adopt" our school for the training of its ministerial candidates. It was a time of beginnings and of growing pains for the young school.

The late 'thirties were filled with notable developments. The faculty felt the need for a school publication, especially to maintain contact with graduates. At first only a grudging approval was gained, to utilize space in the Alumni Register (April, 1935). In February of 1936 *The Duke School of Religion Bulletin* was launched, under

the editorship of Hersey Spence. This quarterly still continues although the name was changed in 1941 to *The Duke Divinity School Bulletin* and in 1964 to *The Duke Divinity School Review.*

The faculty has repeatedly dealt with the question of how best to grade the work of students. Reflecting a stubborn dissatisfaction, recurrent proposals or changes have occurred, spanning the extremes of a simple "Pass or Fail" and at the other end fifteen levels from A plus to F minus. In 1935-36 the school adopted the Graduate School system (E G S F) but soon returned to the Trinity College form, except that at present a plus or minus is not recorded on the transcript. Minutes show that few problems have demanded faculty attention as much as the grading problem. The frequent revision, however, seems never to solve either the teacher's dilemma or the student's frustration.

Once again I would insert a personal notation. It was in the late thirties that Dean Russell asked if I would be willing to teach a group of Negro ministers. The State of North Carolina assumed initiative in dealing with inter-racial relations, and Dr. N. C. Newbold of the State Department of Education directed a fine program. He was highly respected by both white and colored people, and developed an effective program in inter-racial concerns. Many were the inter-racial conferences periodically held at Duke in which a number of our faculty participated. Elbert Russell was among the Duke teachers who volunteered to meet the group of Negro ministers including ten college graduates, and I agreed to succeed him. We met weekly at Shaw University and North Carolina College for two years, and I affirm that that experience was one of the most satisfying that I recall. The ministers appeared to approve it, for they presented a desk lamp in appreciation—a happy memento even now on my desk. I lectured and preached at several Negro institutions: Livingston College in Salisbury and St. Augustine in Raleigh, as well as North Carolina College in Durham. There were two years (1940-42) as a Visiting Lecturer at Shaw University, offering a course in the regular curriculum which met for a double period every Friday. It was therefore a return to a familiar setting in 1966 when representing the Society of Biblical Literature at the installation of President Cheek. Such activities on the part of many, decades ago, have been too little remembered today.

A development of high importance matured in the mid-'thirties when the first doctoral program in religion began. Trinity College had begun Master's studies in 1918, and the university included a

Graduate School of Arts and Sciences for doctoral studies in certain fields. Under the leadership of Professor Shelton Smith a limited program was formulated in 1931 and the Graduate School announced a Department of Religious Studies in 1935, and the first doctoral degrees were awarded in 1939.[5] Since then about one hundred "doctors" have gone forth chiefly into teaching and administration (including a number of college or university presidents, vice-presidents, and deans).[6] About forty of these graduates now belong to faculties in the State of North Carolina. My own first doctoral candidate in New Testament received the degree in 1943.[7] So far, the Graduate School program in religion has been confined to the areas of Biblical, historical, or theological studies. Admission to doctoral studies has generally required the prior B.D., and the normal schedule requires three years—or six years beyond the B.A. In addition to the allotment of university grants, the graduate program in religion was given greater strength by the gift of an endowment for fellowships, begun by Gurney Harriss Kearns and furthered by his sons; and the Kearns Fellowships have carried a high distinction.

Extra teaching duties fell to my lot about this time. Duke University sponsored a Summer School in Durham, chiefly for the training of public school teachers. A branch of this school was held for six weeks at Lake Junaluska, and with it was combined the Junaluska School of Religion. In early June a truckload of our library books was transferred to that scenic mountain site, where the Mission Inn (now Lambuth Inn) served as school for about 200 students. I began to serve on this summer faculty in 1936 and returned each year until the War put an end to it. During the year 1937-38 my colleague Harvie Branscomb was on leave, and in 1938 he became Director of the University Libraries. Such developments removed him from consistent teaching duties and I was often called upon to fill the breach, especially in the basic required course in New Testament. For several years New Testament instruction once again was reduced to a one-man task.

5. The first recipients were Paul Leslie Garber, Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia; and Albea Godbold, secretary of the Methodist Historical Society, Lake Junaluska, N. C.

6. Approximately one hundred more have earned the M.A. degree in religion.

7. Ernest William Saunders, now dean at Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois. His research was based upon Duke MS Greek 7, a Byzantine copy of the Four Gospels written about A.D. 1200. During the period 1943-1966 more than forty of our Ph.D. graduates have specialized in Biblical studies.

There have been innumerable committees in the course of the years but none has set forth a proposal of greater import than the Committee on Development and Expansion in 1937. It recommended that the School of Religion withdraw from its original building and establish "a separate campus in the neighborhood of the University Chapel." A variant of this idea was favored by a few who felt that the school should move out to the fringe and erect its own dormitories. A decision on such a matter was truly crucial to our role in the university. Perhaps the answer then depended largely upon financing new construction, but I felt that the decision to remain was clearly the right answer. It is a fortunate circumstance that placed the theological school between Chapel and Library. It is of functional importance that our students share housing with all others, and that the theological community remains a part of the common life. The decision to stay has issued fortunately in the recent renovation of Divinity-Gray for the entire program in religion, college-graduate-professional. The Kilgo Porch has re-oriented the Divinity School and pointed to early expansion on the original site, in fortunate proximity to Chapel and Library.

It is natural and wholesome that students too desire to publish an instrument of self-expression, and this has happened repeatedly in our theological school. The first major effort was *Christian Horizons,* a respectable quarterly that ran for eight years (1938-46) which is a long life for such a student venture. It began in the administration of Russell and continued under Garber and Branscomb. The next effort was made in 1955 under the Cannon deanship, entitled *Encounter,* but this lasted only a year. The current medium of student thought has been more durable; in mimeograph form the monthly *Response* has regularly served since 1957, beginning under Cannon and continuing with the Cushman administration. This stimulating paper is supported with student funds, and is renewed each year with a new editorial board. As I write, *Response* is conducting a poll on Vietnam and we may learn the results this spring. With reference to extra-curricular energies, let it not be overlooked that Divinity teams have competed well in intramurals and the display cases have long since overflowed with trophies. Occasionally, B.D. students have been of varsity calibre.

A high point in Duke history was the year-round celebrations in 1938-39 of our centennial, figuring from Brantley York's Union Institute of Methodists and Quakers. Various divisions of the uni-

versity sponsored successive conferences during that year.[8] The School of Religion on March 20-21, 1939 held a Convocation on "Modern Religious Problems." Top-flight speakers participated, including Canon Raven of Cambridge, George Buttrick (then President of the Council of Churches of America), C. C. Morrison (Editor, *The Christian Century*), Paul Douglas (Editor, *Christendom*), Robert Calhoun of Yale, and Emil Brunner of Zurich. Effectively blended were the lively contemporary and the rich historical when this fourteen-year-old university celebrated a full century of memory and service.

The year 1939 brought the historic decision for unification of three large branches of Methodists: Methodist Episcopal North and South and Methodist Protestant. Influential in that decision was a monograph by Paul Neff Garber, entitled *The Methodists Are One People* (1939). Garber had been widely applauded for his earlier article on "The Legal and Historical Aspects of the Plan of Union" which helped to clear away the legal obstruction set up by opponents. It was not surprising that his star ascended with the cause of unification, and in 1941 Garber succeeded Russell as dean and in 1944 was elected bishop serving initially in Geneva for eight years.

For Duke University the opening chapter of beginnings ended in 1940 with the death of President Few.[9] Only a few months later Elbert Russell withdrew from the deanship.[10] It was the end of an era.

III. 1940-1950

Finimus pariter renovamusque. The new president, naturally, was Robert L. Flowers (1941).[11] The new dean of the theological

8. The major conferences of the year were as follows:

Oct. 6, 1938	General Observance
Nov. 17-18	Symposium on Economics
Dec. 2-3	Symposium on Law
Mar. 20-21, 1939	Symposium on Religion
Mar. 31-Apr. 2, 1939	Symposium of the Woman's College

9. William Preston Few was born in 1871; following study at Harvard he began to teach English at Trinity College in 1896; was appointed dean in 1902 and president in 1910.

10. Elbert Russell also was born in 1871; he began to teach Biblical Interpretation in the School of Religion in 1926; was appointed dean in 1928 and was also Preacher to the University (1932-45).

11. Robert Lee Flowers came directly from the Naval Academy to Trinity to teach Math (1891-1934). He became Vice-president in 1910, served as Treasurer and then President until 1949 when he was made Chancellor. He died in 1951.

school, equally naturally, was Paul Neff Garber.[12] But a changed spirit was evident in the heightened stirring of events. Our school changed its name in 1940 and became the Duke University Divinity School, thus following a trend that has affected many seminaries. To the tune of "Finlandia," in 1941, I wrote verses entitled "Consecration" which were first used at the Garber installation. Placed in the cover of the hymnbook, they were often heard in the lusty male congregation in York Chapel and were sung also in the University Chapel. Anton Brees cut a record which included "Dear Old Duke" and "Consecration." The latter hymn was printed on the carillon program honoring Harold Bosley when he was installed in 1948.

In the fall of 1941, Branscomb and I teamed up for a sequence of new courses. In the fall I offered "The Apostolic Fathers," a collection of primitive non-canonical writings (A.D. 90-140). Then in the spring he continued with "Early Christian Apologists." Instruction in these early works was to be found in few seminaries in the United States. The former course was offered in alternate years for a quarter-century, but the latter passed through various vicissitudes and languished, leaving a lacuna in the study of Christian origins. In the fall of 1943, I was accepted in the Methodist Annual Conference of Western North Carolina. I had been ordained in the Albion (N.Y.) Association of the Northern Baptist Convention, in 1926 while still a student at Rochester Theological Seminary, upon assuming my first pastorate in Holley, New York. According to the practice and courtesy of the Methodist Church "Elder's orders" were recognized and I entered into "full connection" at the Conference held in Greensboro. In 1943, I succeeded Branscomb as Secretary of the Faculty, serving until a sabbatical in 1949. Another memorable assignment was as Chairman of the Chapel Committee, memorable because our committee undertook to transform the York "meeting house" into a sanctuary for an improved ritual. The pulpit was moved to one side and the communion table placed against the chancel wall as an altar. Later, heavy red drapes covered the window above the altar, and carpeting was laid down the aisle (the gift of trustees). A memorial altar set was placed upon a fair linen cloth.[13]

12. Garber came directly from doctoral studies at Brown University in 1924 to teach history. In 1926 he became Professor of Church History and Registrar, then Dean until elected Bishop in 1944.

13. The altar set was the gift of George B. Ehlhardt, in memory of his grandmother, Emma Hahn Brinkmann; and dedicated Nov. 18, 1946. The fair linen cloth was spirited away one night and never recovered.

Dean Cannon secured the gift of an organ (1954).[14] After years of borrowing from the University Chapel, we received the gift of a communion service for our very own.[15] York Chapel so stands today, named for the principal of Union Institute, commemorating the lives and devotion of many. Daily chapel is held there, and yet it has become inadequate for the life of the school.

The Divinity faculty was forced finally to recognize that the new generation of students lacked knowledge of Biblical content. Unwilling to incorporate this elementary training in a graduate program, it was decided in 1944 to impose an annual test of such knowledge to be passed by every candidate on his own efforts. Two examinations must be successful in Old and New Testament, and Stinespring and Clark were charged with administering the tests. In the first 1944 tests less than half the group passed, but twenty years later the hurdle has been met with greater success, fulfilling its objective. Even while more technical studies proceed this elementary test must be satisfied—and the requirement still remains in force.

The second World War changed the American campus greatly, for better and for worse. The Divinity School had its special participation in the Navy V-12 program, for which a citation was awarded "for effective cooperation . . . in the training of officer candidates for the chaplaincy." We were all under an emergency speed-up schedule which ran even through the summer. A few peace-time standards suffered temporary abeyance, and yet one recalls clearly of those days the serious application and superior achievement of those students in uniform. Even in war-time important innovations transpired. That was when the Master of Religious Education degree was introduced (1944), intended especially for women and to supply the pressing need for pastoral assistance in the educational program of the church. As a graduate course beyond the B.A., it was at first a one-year program; and there were two graduates in 1945. But in 1952 the course was expanded to two years, and this degree program has produced some of the finest lay leadership in our churches; but the demand far exceeds the supply as the churches search for such as these M.R.E. graduates.

Another historic beginning was made in 1944, in the establishment of a Ministers' Loan Library, through the beneficence of Librarian George Ehlhardt's family. In fact, Ehlhardt was the first of

14. The organ was the gift of the Doris Duke Foundation.

15. The communion service commemorates the Reverend James Cleland (1869-1916), father of Dean Cleland; it was dedicated on May 9, 1951.

our librarians who had a theological training (Duke B.D. '44). Under his direction (1944-50) the Divinity Library matured and achieved distinction among the seminaries of our nation. Today the separate Divinity collection amounts to about 130,000 volumes and in quality ranks in the top half-dozen institutions. The Loan Library was permanently established in 1947 through a trust fund to honor the late Henry Harrison Jordan: two thousand volumes selected for current reading with additional titles being added. Its usefulness is attested by more than 1,000 readers during the last year. The Divinity School is fortunate in having one of the foremost theological librarians, Donn Michael Farris, to direct its service and its growth since 1950.

A new dean took over in 1944 when Garber was elected a bishop. The changed administration was marked by several notable decisions. It was an experiment when Judah Goldin was appointed as a visiting instructor. Actually, the appointment lay outside the Divinity School but the expectation was fulfilled that ministerial students would elect his courses. Although Christianity had clearly separated from Judaism by the second century, both faiths share in a common origin. The Hebrew language and the "Old Testament" (i.e. the Jewish Bible) are basic also to Christian theological studies. This particular experiment lasted only a year, for superficial reasons and not as a failure at all; and Branscomb's conception was a good one. After the latter became Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Judah Goldin again taught there for a time and has now matured as a respected scholar. The idea of ecumenical instruction might well be applied in future to the Orthodox and Catholic traditions as well, especially encouraged by recent religious developments worldwide.

In 1945 four new faculty appointments were made including three who are still among us: Cleland, Cushman, and Rudin. The last previous appointment had been made in 1937 (except for one, by then departed) and this provided a great lift to the work of the school. At the same time, Shelton Smith who originally held the chair of Religious Education redefined his field, as Professor of American Religious Thought. This was a pioneer move into a specialization that has produced a long series of specialists. When he retired in 1963, one of his own students had been appointed to continue the tradition here.

One of the chief concerns of our theological faculty over the years was "the thesis." When this school was founded, seminaries generally required a thesis for the B.D. degree. Yet even then the wind of change was blowing and several schools had abolished it (includ-

ing my own, Rochester Theological Seminary, by 1927). So an insistent challenge confronted us at Duke repeatedly, and the Minutes are heavily spotted with the record of debate. The original 1926 requirement was further defined in 1929 and 1930, requiring that each thesis be examined by three faculty readers two of whom must approve including the adviser. The faculty requested in 1934 that I should make a survey of seminary practice and posture toward the thesis. The report was made on May 18 during the interim deanship of Gilbert Rowe, and it attested that already half of the seminareis had dropped the thesis and the trend was clearly that way.

Dr. Garber polled our B.D. alumni who responded in numbers, largely in support of the thesis (to our surprise). It was then proposed to retain the thesis, and set up Thesis Seminars under the supervision of Branscomb's Thesis Committee. Ultimately the matter came to a head during Branscomb's deanship (and my chairmanship), and a major change was voted in 1945 reducing the thesis to 50-75 pages and awarding three hours of credit in addition to the Seminar. Then in 1950, it was enacted to grant the senior a choice between writing a thesis or enrolling in a "Senior Seminar" conducted by two or more professors. After it became customary for all to choose the Seminar, even that disappeared in the midst of curricular revisions. One actually hears today, occasionally, that perhaps the thesis should be re-introduced.

Another sign of change during the war-time was a proposal that we explore the values of the quarter system for the Divinity School. Dean Branscomb appointed a committee of Stinespring, Shelton Smith, and Clark (who had first raised the point); but nothing came of this.

The first annual Convocation was held on Feb. 11-13, 1946, promoted by Dean Branscomb. It was a star-studded program which gathered about 600 ministers to hear such speakers as Henry Sloan Coffin, Harold Cooke Phillips, Bishop Oxnam, H. G. Werner (bishop-to-be), Reinhold Niebuhr, Senator Fulbright, and Henry Luce. Librarian Ehlhardt set up a book exhibit for the occasion, with a very special feature. The first day, Feb. 11, was the publication date of the long awaited RSV New Testament, and Ehlhardt had a tower of a hundred copies of that first edition. A hundred fortunate people somewhere possess today rare first editions, "first-day copies." Beginning in 1946 I served a four-year stint as Secretary of the Society of Biblical Literature, and during that period the national office of the SBL was located here at Duke. It was

within that period that membership passed the one-thousand mark, then an impressive figure although today the society numbers nearly 2,500. It was while I was secretary that the SBL approved a Southern Section, and it was organized at Duke in 1948. The twentieth annual meeting returned to Duke in 1967.

For the strengthening of the Biblical Ph.D., in 1947, appeal was made to the Classics Department. Truesdale and Rogers began to offer a sequence (#257-258) on the Social and Cultural History of the Hellenistic and the Graeco-Roman World. For many years now Rogers has taught both semesters, and this "minor" has enriched the graduate agenda for twenty years, while he has collaborated on scores of doctoral examinations.

It was also in 1947 that our school instituted the first Divinity Baccalaureate, on the Sunday night of Commencement week-end. Twenty graduation classes with parents and wives and others have experienced this significant final service, as well as the congenial gathering afterward at the dean's reception. Some of us remember too that 1947 brought the death of Dr. James Shepard, first and founding President of North Carolina College. He was a large-calibre personality, a leader of wisdom and dignity who greatly advanced the welfare of his people and created mutual respect between the races.

Under Dean Bosley there occurred another of the periodic revisions of curriculum, far more thorough-going than others had been. When Cannon succeeded we again went through a process of change, re-ordering and integrating a curricular pattern. Cannon had served many years on the Curriculum Committee and brought to it long experience and much wisdom. The earliest curricular re-vamping had come when Branscomb was dean, and the latest one is going on even now. The most persistent concern through forty years has been curriculum revision, which quickly responds to changing pressures in the society. Curricular schemes do have importance but whether or not the pattern is altered the true adjustment to social change must be made at the professional desk.

Another "first," in 1948, was the Divinity School Library Lecture delivered by William Warren Sweet on Feb. 27. This lectureship was established by Dr. George Ehlhardt and for nearly twenty years has remained one of the fixed events on the Divinity schedule. During that year the library itself had its first expansion. And Bosley announced the gift of James A. Gray to the Divinity School, an endowment fund for the promotion of our work in this area. It has

been put to good use, in support of the Gray Lectures, the "external" Seminars, and several summer clinics. That was the year too when President Edens entered upon his regime. The natural sequel was a great drive for funds, under the slogan: "Brains, then Books, then Bricks."

It was Bosley's idea that the Divinity School sponsor a Seminar in the field. The idea was born when he was invited to address the Methodist ministers of the Charlotte District, when E. H. Nease, Sr. was Superintendent. I was appointed chairman of a committee, which set up not one but two Seminars—at Charlotte at Dilworth Church and at Kinston at Queen Street Church. That first subject, "Our Faith," was related to the quadrennial program, and the two leaders were Thomas Kepler of the Oberlin School of Theology and Dean Bosley. In 1960 the Seminar program was extended to South Carolina, and in 1966-67 to Virginia. The two-day program gradually expanded with three or more leaders. I have this year relinquished the chairmanship to my committee colleague, Professor McMurry Richey.

In the fall of 1948, I received an invitation to participate in a meeting at the University of Chicago Divinity School. The group was called to consider an invitation from British scholars to collaborate in preparing a new *apparatus criticus* for the Greek text of the New Testament. Nearly a century had passed since the Tischendorf edition, and newly discovered manuscripts were numerous. My own United States catalogue listed 260 manuscripts dating from the third century onward. The group voted for the project and it was referred to the American Textual Criticism Seminar (December, 1948), which in turn recommended it; and at the national meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature an Editorial Board was set up, and an Executive Committee on which I have served. For nearly twenty years now the project has progressed, and students and faculty at Duke have made a substantial contribution to this formidable endeavor. In 1963 an office for the project was established at Duke, collaborating with an office at Claremont School of Theology. President Colwell at Claremont has served as the president. I have been Chairman of the Greek Manuscripts Committee, Director of the Duke office, and recently Executive Editor to collaborate with the British editor in preparing the first volume, on the text of Luke.

For me, at least, a sabbatical year in 1949-50 made a break in the course of events at Duke. The first Arab-Israeli conflict paused

in a truce in 1949, a long pause but only a pause. It was then possible once again in Jerusalem (Jordan) to resume the activities of the American School of Oriental Research. I was appointed Annual Professor for 1949-50, and requested to proceed at once to assume direction of the school (accompanied by Mrs. Clark). The first Qumran cave had been discovered before "the Troubles" that had prevented any further visits to it, and our group made the first return to it in November 1949. My own assignment which continued for fifteen months was to direct expeditions to St. Catherine's Monastery near the southern tip of Sinai, and to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem. A Library of Congress photographer with us supervised four cameras while our specialists in a dozen languages explored 5,700 manuscripts and selected about 3,000 for microfilming. These films can be consulted in the Library of Congress, and also a duplicate set at the University of Manchester in England. The International Greek New Testament Project promptly acquired copies of New Testament manuscripts. It is relevant also to add that Professor Ernest Saunders of Garrett (Duke Ph.D., 1943) serves on the International textual project and spent a sabbatical (1952-53) in Greece, microfilming manuscripts in some of the monasteries on Mt. Athos; and Professor Jack Suggs of Texas Christian University (Duke Ph.D., 1954) is a member of the Executive Committee of the project.

IV. Since 1950

The Divinity School has often reached out to secure scholars from abroad. In the Biblical field, for example, Welshman W. D. Davies was brought from Bradford Training School in England. He remained at Duke for five years, and now after a long sojourn at Princeton and Union Theological Seminary, he returns to Duke this fall (1967) having gained a preeminent reputation. The Scot Hugh Anderson came to us from Glasgow in 1957; after resisting numerous invitations in the U.S. and in Britain he did decide to return to Scotland in 1966 to teach at the University of Edinburgh. Englishman John Strugnell, Semitist of repute and Qumran specialist, joined our staff in 1960; he has been on sabbatical leave and, alas, has elected to teach in the Harvard Divinity School. Again, there is the Yorkshireman (with refined dialect) Frank Baker with us since 1960; foremost expert and editor of Wesleyana who has built up notable collections on this subject both privately and university owned.

We are glad to have also a continental contingent, in the field of theology: Associate Professors Grislis (1959), Hillerbrand (1959), and Herzog (1960). A Scandinavian theologian, too, came from northerly Larvik in Norway; after studies at the University of Oslo, Thor Hall spent five years at Duke to earn the M.R.E. and Ph.D. degrees and accepted appointment here in 1962.

Recall also a number of foreign Biblical scholars of prominence who have lectured here. The roll includes Britons T. W. Manson and H. H. Rowley both of Manchester, G. D. Kilpatrick and John Marsh and G. H. Davies all of Oxford, and G. H. C. Macgregor of Glasgow; Germans J. Jeremias of Göttingen, E. Dinkler and G. Bornkamm (recently Rektor) both of Heidelberg, and W. G. Kümmel of Marburg; Swiss scholars E. Schweizer of Zurich and Bo Reicke of Basel; H. Clavier of Strassbourg, J. Munck of Aarhus, F. W. Beare of Toronto, S. Agourides of Greece (Duke Ph.D., 1950), and K. Stendahl who though currently of Harvard will soon return to Sweden as Primate of the Church. This recital of names, creative scholars of our time, does demonstrate that the Divinity program keeps contact with the theological world, despite our location away from "the beaten track." I would add only that we must do more to sieze and to create such opportunities to bring itinerant scholars to our community of learning, and the observation to students that a true ecumenicity of learning thus comes to focus where we live and work.

A new theological school began in our neighborhood in 1951, the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest, established by the Baptist Convention of North Carolina. We at Duke welcomed this neighbor, although we had for years assisted in the training of Baptist ministers. It is gratifying to review the cordial relations we two have enjoyed during the regimes of Stealey and Binkley, well illustrated by the action of our faculty affirming the transfer of credits. Since 1957 the two faculties have met annually for a dinner, alternating as host, and each year one of the group presents a lecture at the host school followed by discussion. It was also that year of 1951 that Elbert Russell died, at eighty.[16]

When the new West Campus was planned before 1930 Dr. Flowers explained: "We are building for fifty years." Long-range planning was not yet fashionable and to think ahead a half-cenutry was truly plunging. But alas only two-thirds of that projection has

16. His *History of Quakerism* (1942) is a perceptive commentary on his times.

passed and already that proud quadrangle is augmented to several times its size, and still today additional construction will require five times the original cost, as the great forest retreats. Who in 1930 could have predicted our times? The Divinity School has been part of this growth, in its larger community, its expanded activities, and its improved procedures. A major renovation of the Divinity School area was carried out in 1954, a feature of which was the more spacious library facility. Again in 1964 a thorough rejuvenation was accomplished and all of Gray and Divinity were assigned to Divinity-Religion, housing three separate divisions: the undergraduate Department and the graduate studies in Arts and Sciences, and the Divinity School (administrations, faculty offices, classrooms). But a greater transformation is now in the planning, to construct an extension from the original Divinity building northwestward, in order to fill the requirements of "a new day and age."

Mrs. Clark and I left for England in 1954-55, especially for research in the John Rylands Library in Manchester. I was affiliated with the University of Manchester as Visiting Fulbright Research Professor, but also was invited in the spring to lecture to the classes of T. W. Manson while he was on a lecture tour in America. At home, our Ph.D. graduate, John Chamberlain, did excellent work in my stead. While mentioning the foreign extension of researches, I would refer in passing to the notable summer of 1960. First a month was spent in investigating the text of the newly acquired Greek papyrus of the Gospel of John, from Egypt of the third century (P75) and now in the private Bodmer Library in Geneva. Then a short stop in Germany to see the Oberammergau Play. Finally, departure from Vienna by Aeroflot to Russia for further manuscript investigations in Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow. The climax was a week's session of the International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow, participating in the Byzantine Section by reporting on the manuscript resources at Sinai. En route homeward, a brief stop was made in the lovely university town of Aarhus (Denmark) to attend the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas. In 1958 an ailing James Cannon was succeeded in the deanship by Robert E. Cushman; Dean Cannon succumbed in 1960—the last survivor of the original faculty.

It was in 1960-61 that Duke University opened the door fully for Negro students. The issue at Duke was almost thirty years old, for the records of the thirties reflect a restless conscience. In the course of the years petitions came from all directions and groups, young and

old. Within the university opposition seemed minor, but cautious trustees distrusted external reaction. The Divinity School was by no means alone but its faculty and students appealed again and again. Finally in 1961-62 came Trustee approval and the first Negro entered the Divinity School that fall. Today I count eight in the Divinity School who have qualified and all are doing satisfactory work; the transition has been peaceful and gratifying.

A new degree was instituted in the Divinity School in 1960-61; the Master of Theology one-year program was designed as an advanced "professional" terminal degree, that is, for the minister who has no intention of teaching. That was the year too in which my regular sabbatical fell, when Mrs. Clark and I settled in Athens through the courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies. As a Fulbright Research Fellow I was affiliated with the University of Athens. The year began with a summer's visit in Arab Jerusalem at the American School of Oriental Research, where we caught up with developments since 1950—including the fascination of exploring the Qumran area. In the fall we went to Yugoslavia where I participated in the quadrennial meeting of the International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Then we were ready to settle in Athens for the year, as the center for manuscript explorations in all directions, mainland and islands, libraries and monasteries. The results were reported at a special session observing the centennial of Princeton Theological Seminary in the spring of 1963.

Another "first"! The "Faculty Lecture" was instituted by Dean Cushman in 1962, and the senior faculty member, Professor Shelton Smith, led off; he would retire the next year. The University selected a new president in 1963; Douglas Knight succeeded Deryl Hart who had served for a three-year interim following the resignation of Hollis Edens. In this interim a considerable reorganization of the university had taken place. When the new president was installed, high on the agenda was the Fifth Decade (1965-75) campaign to secure $187,000,000. Long-range planning had occupied university attention for years past, which has issued in a schedule of new construction already well under way. The immediate goal of three years (1965-68) was $102,000,000, and of this sum $2,000,000 is marked for the Divinity School (administration, chapel and auditorium). The Divinity School alumni have undertaken to raise $100,000 for the campaign. No less significant is the impressive achievement of the Loyalty Fund, founded only twenty years ago. This year the goal is $800,000; and in 1967-68 the aim will be a

million. The Fund stands high among American institutions. Divinity alumni are organized to do their part. When the enlarged university library is completed in 1968, this will involve additional space also for the Divinity library. Do we dare to paraphrase that "what is good for the University is good for the Divinity School"?

V. Today

What are the chief interests presently developing? For one, there is the recently organized (1964) Coordinating Council (nicknamed Co-Co). This venture is to integrate both students and faculty in one council rather than operate with two parallel sets of committees. For another, there is the current revolutionary revision of the curriculum. The attempt is to loosen up the program, increase both freedom and responsibility for the student, permit greater individual expression and initiative. The plan will include an Honors program for those who qualify. It is intended that the plan will be increasingly relevant to the ministerial role and to contemporary requirements. For still another, there is the move to "up-grade" the theological degree. This issue too has been long under debate throughout the country. Academic degree nomenclature is not systematic and has long since become inconsistent. At last, under the leadership of the American Association of Theological Schools, action is taking place—perhaps too fast and too far. The AATS recommends the use of a Master degree where the graduate B.D. has been in use. There is considerable opinion favoring a doctorate for these three years beyond the B.A., and some seminaries have already adopted this. A third choice is to offer in sequence programs that lead to both a basic Master of Divinity and an advanced professional Doctor of Theology. I would hazard a prediction that this third choice will be the ultimate one at Duke, although for the present only a first step may be taken—to replace the B.D. with the M. Div.

Yet another interest develops today at Duke. The term for it is "Continuing Education." A committee has been at work, to develop a non-credit program of post-seminary study in order that the minister may have opportunity for intellectual refreshment. Such a program has already begun in some seminaries. Indeed, our own Divinity School has long carried on such a program. Today, however, the effort is more deliberate, more systematic and more thorough. If our alumnus can not again enter upon the new curriculum and can not again pursue the higher nomenclature, he will have opportunity in the years ahead to continue his education both

on campus and in the field, in longer and shorter courses, under unified direction.

The last thing I have to record here is that my retirement occurs the end of August. In the changes of the years I have more than once enjoyed teaching both father and son, and these pairs are vivid in memory bridging the years. This reminds me to reveal to you that our enrollment for 1967-68 is definitely upward, although the reason is not yet apparent. The need for ministers has been greater than our seminaries have supplied and it is to be hoped that other seminaries too will report an increase.

Former students of Professor Kenneth Willis Clark will receive with surprise, and along with his faculty colleagues, with regret, the announcement of Dr. Clark's retirement following the close of the present academic year. With the forthcoming June commencement, Dr. Clark will have given thirty-six years of distinguished teaching and scholarly service to the Divinity School of Duke University, while in those same years he acquired international reputation as a New Testament scholar. Joining the faculty in 1931, in the formative years of the life of the Divinity School, Dr. Clark advanced in his command of the field of New Testament textual criticism until in recent years he has justly deserved recognition as among the world's most knowledgeable men in his field.

A native son of New York City, Dr. Clark's secondary education involved four years in The Peddie School, from which he graduated in 1920 as valedictorian of his class. His undergraduate studies were at Yale. He received his B.D. degree from Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. He served two years as pastor of Baptist churches in the Rochester area before undertaking his doctoral studies at the University of Chicago under Goodspeed and other luminaries of that period. He was appointed Instructor in New Testament in 1931 in the same year that he received the Ph.D. from Chicago. Since then Dr. Clark has been intimately involved with the life and work of Duke Divinity School. His service upon committees has been exemplary for insight and acuteness of understanding and unfailing concern.

Outstanding has been Dr. Clark's contribution to the program of the Divinity School Seminars since their beginning in 1949, with the bequest of James A. Gray that made possible a pioneering effort in the continuing education of the ministry of this immediate region. Throughout the succeeding eighteen years Dr. Clark has tirelessly devoted himself to the formulation and conduct of the seminar program, which now serves both Annual Conferences of North Carolina and those of South Carolina and Virginia. To Dr. Clark's attention to subject matter and detail of preparation the success of these seminars must plainly be attributed. For this fidelity to a constructive educational effort, the faculty, as well as very many ministers, are abidingly in his debt.

Under Dr. Clark's leadership also significant innovations in the public worship of the school were inaugurated to the continuing good

of the school in the mid-forties, and his service to the work of admissions has been outstanding through many years. It would be culpable neglect not to signalize especially Dr. Clark's truly distinguished service to the Divinity School Library through many years, not alone as Chairman of the Library Committee (1935-41), but as the one principally responsible for the acquisition of a notable collection of Greek manuscripts that are not only among Duke's richest holdings but have served as most useful resources in the advancement of text-critical studies for doctoral students in New Testament and others.

To adequately take notice of Dr. Clark's services and honors beyond the environs of the University is hardly possible in this necessarily restricted statement. As visiting professor he has labored both near and far: at Shaw University, Garrett, the University of Manchester, England, and as Annual Professor of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem (1949-50). He was founder and president of the American Textual Criticism Seminar (1946-47) and president and founder of the Southern Section of the Society of Biblical Literature. He has been successively secretary, vice president and president (1965-66) of the National Society of Biblical Literature, a mark of uncommon devotion to the interests of that notable organization.

In the years 1949-50 extraordinary confidence and honor was conferred upon Dr. Clark in his directorship of the Expedition to the Greek Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem and his appointment, jointly by the Library of Congress and the American Foundation for the Study of Man, as General Editor of the Expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai. There, over a number of months, the priceless collection of manuscripts was first catalogued and then microfilmed under Dr. Clark's direction. Through these associations and others, including two expeditions to Mount Athos, Greece, Dr. Clark became widely known and esteemed by the highest representatives of Greek Orthodoxy as a trusted friend and scholar of the West. He was a trustee of the Palestinian Archaeological Museum of Jerusalem, and since 1950 has been a trustee of the American Friends of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. These are both examples of the range of Dr. Clark's conversancy with Orthodoxy, its vast store of sacred literature, and its ecclesiastical leadership that includes no less a personage than Patriarch Athenagoras of Istanbul.

A Fulbright Research Scholar (1954-55), Dr. Clark has served

as special lecturer at such institutions of renown as Columbia, Oberlin, Western Reserve, the University of Wisconsin, the Oriental Institute, Oxford University, John Rylands Library, University of Moscow, Nottingham University, University of Marburg, Alsager College, England, and the University of Manchester. As a member of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas (international), he has also served on its executive committee, and his membership in the Annual Symposium on Byzantine Studies of Dumbarton Oaks suggests the scope of his interest and competence in the patristic era and in Byzantine culture.

When the International Greek New Testament Project was in need of coordination and vitalizing direction in 1963, Dr. Clark accepted assignment as co-director of the program and, by mutual arrangements between the Divinity School and the Executive Committee of the IGNTP, has directed research that is expected to lead to the publication of a Greek New Testament to supersede, by its inclusion of textual variants, all predecessors. The task will be arduous and long, but in this endeavor, that has largely occupied Dr. Clark's scholarly effort of late years, his unsurpassed competence has been the surest promise of fulfillment of this immense undertaking.

But in addition to these evidences of exceptional attainment together with international recognition that belong to Dr. Clark as New Testament scholar, it is fitting also to remark on his practicing churchmanship and extensive service to the Western North Carolina Conference, of which he has been a member since 1943. For nearly a decade he served as a member of the Conference Board of Ministerial Training and Qualifications. And, for many years, he has contributed of his learning to the Department of Ministerial Education of the Methodist Church as appointed consultant on New Testament curriculum for the course of study program.

It is characteristic of Dr. Clark to give himself wholly to every endeavor which engages his commitment. Yet he is always a gentle man. In his long and illustrious career as teacher and research scholar he has had the supporting comradeship of a constant companion in Adelaide Dickinson Clark, who is as able in typing Greek manuscript as anyone to be found. As retirement comes, the colleagues of the faculty salute both Kenneth and Adelaide Clark with abiding affection, high esteem and the wholly honest valediction: well done and fare well both now and always.

Robert E. Cushman

LOOKS at BOOKS

The Conscience of India. Moral Traditions in the Modern World. Creighton Lacy. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1965. 323 pp. $7.50.

On August 15, 1947, independent India came into existence. Scarcely had the confetti from "victory celebrations" been swept from the streets of New Delhi when many Westerners and some Indians were asking whether the new nation would survive. The subcontinent had been partitioned into two bitterly antagonistic nations. India was beset with internal divisions of the most difficult sorts; communal, regional, religious, linguistic, and political. How could all the disparate and devisive elements comprising India unite—or be made to unite—as a nation? However, there was Gandhi (until he was assassinated the next year) and there was Nehru, and somehow their charismatic personalities worked to unite the people and to consolidate the political strength of the Congress Party.

Now, twenty years later, both Gandhi and Nehru are gone. The political power of the Congress Party, as the 1967 elections indicate, is waning and the unity of the nation is under assault by renewed demands for regional and communal privileges (as witnessed by the successful Sikh demand for a separate state and the violent Hindu agitation against cow slaughter). The question now asked anxiously by Indians and sympathetic Westerners is how much longer India can endure. Do the complex religious and cultural traditions of India provide her with the intellectual and moral resources to promote national identity in the Twentieth Century and to enable her adaption to the swiftly changing social, economic, and political structures of the nuclear age? And if she has these resources does India possess the physical energies after the draining effects of vast poverty and famine to deal with the monumental problems confronting her?

Over the past few years a number of Westerners—scholars, journalists, and others—have sought to explore such questions: to search out the "mind" or the "heart" or the "conscience" of India. One attempt—which was banned in India immediately upon its publication in 1965—was a book, *The Crisis of India* (U. S. title: *The Anguish of India*) by the talented journalist, Ronald Segal. From what he admitted to be a materialist's standpoint in which "no sense of mystery or grace of manner, no delicacy of movement and form, can compensate for the massive damage done by Indian hunger," Segal surveyed the bewildering and often frightening spectacle of contemporary India—the almost unimaginable poverty of the masses, the unrelieved hunger, the filth of the villages and cities, the crushing oppression of caste, the moral decay and rampant corruption in government. Unlike the muck-raking productions of some Western observers, Segal's book was, for all its materialistic critique and stark realism, profoundly sympathetic and filled with a deep concern for India. The answer implicit in Segal's discussion regarding India's future is, as one reviewer puts it, "a blood curdling one."

Starting with an entirely different viewpoint—that of a Christian to whom mystery and grace do matter—and possessing no less concern or sense of realism, Creighton Lacy considers the future of India by exploring her spiritual and moral resources, both as present in the cultural and religious traditions and as they are being expressed in contemporary India. Thus in the first part

of his book he surveys the contributions to Indian social conscience of Hinduism and Islam, of Christian missions and British rule, and of outstanding Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century religious and social reformers. Throughout this section Professor Lacy's presentation is sharp and insightful. As he rightly points out, while British rule during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century made many positive contributions to Indian culture and to her social conscience, undoubtedly "the moral influence of British rule would have been far greater if liberal ideas had been practiced as well as they were taught, and if they had not been imposed with an air of condescending superiority." (p. 66) Likewise the Christian missionaries did much to enliven the ethical concern of India and were a major stimulus to the reform movements of the Nineteenth Century, but their influence could perhaps have been even greater if many of them, in asserting the total truth of Christianity, had not assumed the total falsity of non-Christianity. It is interesting to note that British liberals at home and missionaries in India desired and confidently expected the complete collapse of Hinduism and traditional culture and the triumph of Christianity through the English "scientific" education they established. Little wonder Indians have often regarded the charitable enterprises of Western Christianity with suspicion and bitterness.

In the second part of the volume Professor Lacy examines contemporary expressions of India's conscience as expressed by religious and political leaders, in the Constitution, and in Indian Christianity. His discussion of Nehru, Bhave, Radhakrishnan, and others prominent in Indian public life is greatly enriched by the reports of personal conversations he had with these people. Especially engaging is Lacy's analysis of Nehru and his "scientific humanism." Nehru was the strange "cultural hero" who was violently opposed to many of the basic ingredients of his culture. Nehru had the crushing task of promoting the modernization of India (including rapid industrialization) without completely sacrificing the traditional culture, all in the face of unceasing opposition from the right and the left!

With refreshing candor Lacy assesses the health and role of the Christian community in India today. Although Christians have established schools, hospitals, and other charitable enterprises "with conspicuous exceptions the Christian Church has become an ingrown, self-protective clique—a caste of its own with relatively little social or evangelistic outreach. The real tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that the Church as a whole does not know that it has become irrelevant." (p. 245) Christianity's failure in India is in part attributable to the nature of Indian society. Indian society is largely Hindu society, with traditionally established patterns of occupation and personal relationships (caste). Conversion to Christianity has meant total separation from this society (including family) and from traditional culture. In other words conversion has meant a virtual loss of cultural identity for the Indian Christian. The failure has also been due to a fear, on the part of Indian Christians, of syncretism and absorption by Hinduism. This fear has produced a ghetto-mentality in Indian Christianity. "But the Church cannot live its life in a ghetto in India or anywhere else. For over a century Christianity has been fearful of its pagan environment. It has isolated its converts from their culture and insulated them from knowledge of other faiths with a great wall of protective prejudice." (p. 249) It is clear that, as Professor Lacy says, "if the Church in India is to contribute wisdom, compassion, and fellowship during the next forty years," it will need a greater understanding of Indian culture, of ethical responsibility and of "the manifold workings of the Holy Spirit." (I have found it ironic and saddening to hear Western residents in India say that they would always prefer Hindus or Muslims to Christians for

their servants because the Christians are too often untrustworthy, unreliable, dishonest, and lazy!)

What is India's future? Does she possess the moral and spiritual resources for survival as a democratic state? Professor Lacy suggests an answer in terms of a number of ominous "ifs." If, for example, Nehru's successors are unable to hold the regional, linguistic, and religious elements together, if religious and political reactionaries gain in power, if internecine struggles afflict the Congress Party, and if economic and social welfare programs do not succeed significantly, then the religious and moral traditions of India will not prevail and India will be easy prey for "the materialistic might of Karl Marx." Given these "ifs," the events in India in recent months (including the national elections) and the dark analyses of such acute observers as Ronald Segal do not suggest a bright future.

There may be some disagreement with Professor Lacy's characterizations of Hinduism and his estimate of its contributions, actual or potential, to India's conscience. It can be objected, for example, that he has perhaps depicted Hinduism too much in terms of the intellectual doctrines of Indian philosophy and not sufficiently in terms of the ancient though living devotional traditions of sectarian Hinduism in which the world is *not* regarded as illusory, in which divine love and mercy are *really* experienced and in which (in the language of the *Bhagavata Purana*) "he who loves and serves his fellow, loves and serves me (God) best." Also some scholars would dispute Professor Lacy's assertion that "the psychological, moral and religious ingredients for democracy and social welfare cannot be derived from traditional Hinduism." (p. 275) Although caste (and "untouchability") as a religio-social structure does militate against the establishment of a democratic society as we understand it (whether or not we practice it!) it is not necessarily true that the other doctrines and religious practices of Hinduism conflict with democracy or social concern.

This is a very valuable study of present-day India. It is written with keen perception and profound sensitivities. One feels throughout that the author is a man of great compassion who has referred the troubling matters of which he writes not only to his mind, but to his heart.

—H. P. Sullivan

Studies in Luke-Acts. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn, editors. Abingdon, 1966. 316 pp. $8.50.

As the title page states, this volume consists of "essays presented in honor of Paul Schubert, Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation at Yale University." No more appropriate or useful *Festschrift* could have been compiled. It is appropriate because it honors a distinguished teacher and scholar whose interests have for many years centered in Lucan studies and useful because it brings together significant contributions to the study of Luke-Acts from internationally renowned colleagues. In conception and format this *Festschrift* overcomes the deficiency of most such books, namely, lack of unifying concept and purpose. Keck and Martyn have done a superb job in planning and executing the volume and have thus made a substantial contribution to New Testament study.

Since it is impossible to enter upon serious discussion of the many proposals, questions and problems propounded or raised by the nineteen essays, this review will necessarily be limited to a survey of the contents of the volume and a summary evaluation of its significance. The book consists of three parts devoted, respectively, to general articles on Luke and Acts, studies of specific passages or issues and questions concerning Luke's con-

tribution to, and place in, early Christian history. While the quality of the essays is almost uniformly high, those of more general interest will probably first claim the interest and attention of the reader. Yet the other more specialized studies should not be overlooked, for aside from their specific contributions they frequently have important implications for the study and interpretation of the Lucan corpus.

W. C. van Unnik's opening essay, "Luke-Acts, A Storm-Center in Contemporary Scholarship," succinctly and fairly describes the recent history of Lucan studies, showing how interest has shifted from questions about history and historical accuracy to questions about the author's literary method (Dibelius) and theological purpose (Vielhauer, Conzelmann, Haenchen, *et al.*). No one who has followed the course of Lucan studies will find anything very surprising here—not even van Unnik's own concluding questions about current trends. At the same time all will be grateful for this competent summary statement, which should prove useful as an introduction to the present state of Lucan scholarship. van Unnik's article is followed by the important essay of P. Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts." Originally published in German some fifteen years ago, it was unavailable in English until recently, when it was translated by V. Furnish and W. Robinson and published in *The Perkins School of Theology Journal.* Happily, the translation of this influential article, in which Vielhauer distinguishes Luke's Paul very sharply from the historical figure, will now be accessible to a wider circle of English readers.

The third essay, contributed by the late E. R. Goodenough of Yale, will doubtless raise many eyebrows. We find Goodenough implicitly denying that Luke is representative of early Catholicism (Käsemann), and more explicitly rejecting the views that Paul had been carefully schooled in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel (van Unnik), that his thought is deeply rabbinic (Davies), and that he was a Roman citizen (Ramsey, not to mention Luke himself!). Against almost everyone from Baur to Vielhauer and others before and since, Goodenough would explain Luke's failure to record Paul's ultimate fate by the contention that he wrote in the early sixties and before Paul's death (cf. Harnack and C. S. C. Williams)!

From the standpoint of the theological appropriation of the Lucan materials, the most important contribution is the fourth and concluding essay of Part I, U. Wilckens' "Interpreting Luke-Acts in a Period of Existentialist Theology." A disciple of Pannenberg, Wilckens is sharply critical of the depreciation of the theological value of Luke-Acts which is common in the Bultmann school. Moreover, the Pauline justification for this attitude is rejected as a misrepresentation of the historical Paul. "It is Paul, interpreted existentially, who is so sharply set against Luke as the great but dangerous corrupter of the Pauline gospel. But the existentially interpreted Paul is not the historical Paul. And the essential points of theological criticism leveled against Luke are gained not so much from early Christian tradition itself as from the motifs of a certain modern school of theology which disregards or misinterprets essential aspects of early Christian thought."

Part II begins with an investigation of four features of the Greek style of Luke by the renowned American contributor to Lucan research, Henry J. Cadbury. This is followed by a brief essay "In Search of the Original Text of Acts," by A. F. J. Klijn, who documents the rather disquieting conclusion that "with the acceptance of the eclectic method of choosing the original reading there has never been so little agreement about the nature of the original text as at the moment!" Paul Minear's study of Luke's use of the Birth Stories is aimed at showing the integral relation of the birth

stories to the rest of the work. Thus Minear scores Conzelmann for bracketing these out of his study and argues that their inclusion would have necessitated a needed modification of the thesis that Luke divides salvation history into three strictly separate periods. In his article on Luke 8:4-21 William C. Robinson, Jr. studies the way in which Luke appropriates and alters his Marcan *Vorlage* so as to apply Mark's interpretation of Jesus' parabolic teaching to the preaching of the church. Nils A. Dahl investigates "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts" with results bearing interesting implications for the assessment of Luke's method as historian and theologian. C. F. D. Moule's essay, "The Christology of Acts," is an attempt to show that Luke makes distinctions in the distribution of Christological titles and the formulation of Christological statements which significantly differentiate the Gospel from Acts, as well as various Christologies within Acts. He also points out some interesting relations between the Christological formulations of Acts and those of other New Testament documents, especially the Pauline letters and I Peter. In the first of two brief articles, E. Schweizer considers "The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and its Old Testament Background." In the second he analyzes the speeches in Acts in order to show their structural similarity, which he attributes to Luke. Between the two Schweizer articles comes Günther Bornkamm's interesting comparison of "The Missionary Stance of Paul in I Corinthians 9 and in Acts." Bornkamm concerns himself particularly with the "all things to all men" passage (I Cor. 9:19-23), asking what Paul really means and to what extent his self-description corresponds to Luke's portrayal. While espousing a view similar to Vielhauer's in delineating Luke's Paul from the real one, Bornkamm nevertheless sees in the Acts 21:17-26 account of Paul's participation in a Nazarite purification ceremony a genuine instance of his becoming a Jew to the Jews (I Cor. 9:20). Quite correctly Bornkamm maintains that Paul did not oppose observance of the law among Jewish Christians. Part II concludes with the first of Hans Conzelmann's contributions, an exegetical analysis of the Areopagus address of Paul (Acts 17:16ff.). Conzelmann ignores B. Gärtner's attempt to show the Pauline character of the speech and pursues the line of Dibelius and Eltester in understanding the speech as a Lucan literary and theological construction.

Part III consists of five essays dealing with various aspects of the question of Luke and early Christianity. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, the only Roman Catholic contributor, draws certain parallels between the Jewish Christianity portrayed in Acts and the Qumran Scrolls. While scholars will differ in their evaluation of these parallels most will at least agree with Fitzmyer that they provide concrete evidence of a Palestinian matrix of the early church as described in Acts. Fitzmyer is understandably skeptical of Cullmann's efforts to relate the Hellenists of Acts to Qumran ("It is difficult to see how such strict living Essenes, rigorously observant of the Torah . . . could give to others the impression that they were *hellenidzontes*, 'living like Greeks'.") and he is more guarded in drawing positive connections between the organization of Qumran and that of the early church than was S. Johnson in an earlier study in K. Stendahl's *The Scrolls and the New Testament*. Ernst Haenchen's essay on "The Book of Acts as Source Material for the History of Early Christianity" is distinguished for its perceptiveness and for the complete absence of footnotes. Haenchen's keen judgments will surprise no one who is familiar with his magisterial commentary on Acts in the Meyer series. The absence of footnotes is perhaps due to modesty, since almost any footnote would have had to refer back to that work. It is good to

have many of the most important conclusions at which Haenchen arrived in the commentary in handy English form. In "Acts and the Pauline Letter Corpus" John Knox rejects that part of the Goodspeed theory of the origin of the Pauline letter collection according to which the reading of the newly published Book of Acts supplied the directions and inspiration for the collector. Rather, Knox thinks that the author of Acts knew the letters, but deliberately kept silent about them because of their heretical use and associations. For Knox, Acts was the Orthodox, anti-Marcionite counterpart to the Pauline letter corpus, originally employd as the second half of a two-fold canon whose first part was the Gospel of Luke. That this theory involves a relatively early dating of Marcion and a late date for Luke will not escape the notice of critics, who will nevertheless be unable to deny the continuing originality and creativity of its proponent. Ernst Käsemann points out similarities in ecclesiological emphasis in Ephesians and Acts, both of which he regards as representative of the transition from the apostolic era to the early Catholic. While it is scarcely possible to disagree with Käsemann that in both Ephesians and Acts the church itself becomes more and more the content of theology, one does not have to look far for a rejection of his characterization of Acts as "early Catholic." The last essay in Part III and the concluding contribution of the book is Conzelmann's exceedingly rich and closely knit article, "Luke's Place in the Development of Early Christianity." Since almost every sentence is a judicious summary statement of Conzelmann's position or that of another scholar with whom he agrees or disagrees, it would be futile to attempt to summarize or briefly characterize this many-faceted but well-integrated article. Suffice it to say that although Conzelmann views Luke as a "third generation" Christian (Luke 1:1-4), he places the date of his literary productivity between 70 and 90 A.D. and rejects Käsemann's view that he embodies the perspective of early Catholicism.

Studies in Luke-Acts presents no single viewpoint, but may be said to stand in a tradition of criticism and interpretation that began with Cadbury's *The Making of Luke-Acts* (1927) and Dibelius' groundbreaking *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (dating from as early as the 1920's, but published in a single volume in English translation in 1956). As van Unnik points out in his essay, its emphasis has fallen less upon the historical than upon stylistic, literary and theological considerations. Along with the works of Cadbury and Dibelius, the chief documents of this movement have been Conzelmann's *The Theology of St. Luke* (English title of *Die Mitte der Zeit*), his very recent commentary on Acts in the Lietzmann *Handbuch* series and Haenchen's great commentary on Acts. Also to be mentioned are the important articles of Vielhauer (reprinted here) and Schubert's own study of Luke 24 (published in the 1954 Bultmann *Festschrift*). Alongside these works *Studies in Luke-Acts* will find its place. The positions which have emerged are now re-stated, re-evaluated, qualified and criticized, but never simply rejected. Recognition of the continuing viability of the historical problem is to be seen in different ways and to different degrees in the contributions of van Unnik, Dahl, Moule, Bornkamm and Fitzmyer, as well as that of Haenchen. Some of the studies, while only indirectly relevant to the central thrust of this dominant trend, are thereby nonetheless important and informative: e.g. the articles of Cadbury, Klijn and Knox. Others go so far as to suggest or imply important alterations: e.g. the articles of Goodenough, Minear and Moule. Yet this volume stands not only as a monument to Paul Schubert, but also to what we may call the now dominant movement in the study, criticism and interpretation of

does not seem to be an obscure paragraph or a dull sentence in the volume. From Christopher Columbus and the Age of Exploration on to the contemporary scene the narrative sparkles with animation, sensitive portrayal, and provocative insight. It is a meaty and "fortified" book, replete with nearly 400 paragraph-length, primary source quotations—most superbly apt—and enriched with an equal number of illustrations. A concluding section on "Suggestions for Further Readings" is a valuable bonus.

The reader will find a well-balanced treatment of major faith groups and the full sweep of religion in American history. Gaustad begins, quite properly, with Roman Catholic explorations and settlements and the contribution of Spanish and French civilizations in the moulding of the nation. His sustained attention to the phenomenal growth and role of Roman Catholicism in this country is a welcome corrective to the commonly Protestant-oriented histories. Equally gratifying is Gaustad's success in overcoming "chronological drag" by moving quickly into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and devoting the major portion of his work to this frequently neglected period. Since he writes from a modern stance, as one conversant with many facets of contemporary life in the United States, his work has more than the usual relevance for the reader who seeks the source, the present location, and the direction of American idealism.

It is inevitable, of course, that each reader will look for something in the *History* which is absent from the book or present in short measure: Greek Orthodoxy, Judaism, Pentecostal Holiness, Church of God, Baha'i, theosophy, "new theology," the ecumenical movement, and so on. There is simply more in the religious tradition in American than can be packed into a moderately sized one-volume history. But as much as any other man, and in a number of unique ways, Gaustad has proven equal to the task of presenting the incredibly rich and diversified phenomena of our religious heritage. He merits the admiration, appreciation, and applause of the religious community and—beyond that—of the entire citizenry, for whom, I suspect, the book is rightly intended.

—Barney L. Jones

God Is For Real, Man. Carl F. Burke. Association Press, 1966. 128 pp. $1.75 paperbound. $3.50 hardbound.

The fact that the material in this book exists at all is a tribute to the rapport that Mr. Burke has established with the neglected children and youth of the inner city. The author is the chaplain of the Erie County Jail in Buffalo, New York, and his co-authors are the young inhabitants of various urban areas who spoke or wrote the paraphrases contained in this small volume.

Mr. Burke tried to communicate to the young people, individually and in group situations, how God can work for good through unpleasant experiences in their lives just as he acted with the people in Bible narratives. In their struggle to understand, the children responded with re-statements of Biblical passages which use words and ideas that are real in the world they know.

The book is arranged in sections of paraphrases linked together by Mr. Burke's commentary and ends with a glossary of terms unfamiliar to most middle-class readers. Some of the paraphrases are amusing, shrewd, worldly-wise; some are wistful, and almost all reflect the need of the young people for a person in their lives who wants them and will care for them.

The boy who phraphrased the Twenty-third Psalm felt that no one in his experience could be said to care about him except perhaps the Probation Officer. Therefore he says:

"The Lord is like my Probation Officer,

He will help me,
He tries to help me make it every day. . . ."

A need for approval and encouragement underlies this phrasing of Jesus' call to the disciples in John 1:35-51:

"Jesus didn't tell them how stupid they were
Or call them retards.
He talked to them like they were real important-like."

Here is a straight-forward restatement of Jesus' saying about seeing the log in your own eye (Luke 6:39-42):

"Why does it bug you so much when you see
Something wrong with another guy
When you ain't so hot yourself?"

The concept of salvation came to be expressed as "getting pulled out," referring to being rescued from drowning by a person who didn't have to do it. John 3:16-21 was stated, in part:

"God loved everybody
So much that he sent his son, Jesus,
To pull us out
So we would always know where we are going."

It is made clear to us again that the task of ministers and Christian educators must be to break through the barriers of language and attitude that keep people—such as these young people—from knowing and trusting their Heavenly Father. The task will, as always, involve discovering new methods in answer to newly-felt needs. To quote *God Is For Real, Man* once more, interpreting Proverbs 1:7:

"Trusting God is the first step in getting wised up
And only some kind of a nut
Don't want to learn new things."

—Harriet V. Leonard

Zion Reconsidered. Jacob J. Petuchowski. Twayne Publishers. 1966. 143 pp. $4.50.

Our readers will recall the issue of Autumn 1965, in which this reviewer called attention to two excellent books on the Palestine problem by Jewish authors: *The Other Side of the Coin* by Alfred M. Lilienthal and *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* by Moshe Menuhin. Both of these authors are sensitive to the highest ethical insights of the Jewish religion and both are protesting the harm done by political Zionism not only to the dispossessed Arabs but also to the Jews and the Jewish religion. Worst of all, to these authors, is the attempt by the Zionists to identify their political movement with Judaism, as though all Jews were Zionists, and as though the establishment of the State of Israel and the expulsion of the Arab owners of most of the land were moral triumphs of the Jewish religion.

Lilienthal and Menuhin are laymen, the former a lawyer and political scientist born in the U.S.A., the latter a retired business manager born in Russia. Now comes to join the discussion a Jewish theologian and philosopher born in Germany, Dr. Jacob J. Petuchowski, Professor of Rabbinics at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati. His book is more philosophical, has less moral indignation, at least on the surface, and throughout weighs calmly the place of Zionism in the Jewish religious tradition.

In a recent appearance on "Meet the Press," the former Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, said that any American Jew who would neither emigrate to Israel nor give Israel financial and moral support was no Jew at all. Dr. Petuchowski's book is largely directed against this exclusivistic claim of the Israeli Zionists. Such an interpretation of Judaism is ridiculous, if not outrageous, according to Petuchowski. At the best, Israel can contain only a small percentage of the world's Jews since it has small territory with little chance of expanding; and at

the worst, it may yet be liquidated by the Arabs, especially if the attention of the Western Powers should be diverted to some other part of the world. To say, then, that Judaism depends for its existence on the State of Israel is to disregard the history of Jewish survival in ancient, medieval, and modern times. In a realistic mood, the author calmly points out that Jerusalem, Israel, over which so much sentimentality is poured out and which gets so much advertising in the U.S. press, is not "the Jerusalem of history," the "City of David," but is barely a century old; whereas the real, historic Jerusalem is in the Arab Kingdom of Jordan.

Our author also devotes some space to the less than ideal conditions in the so-called Jewish state, the details of which we cannot recount here. Suffice it to say that Israel is by no means the only place where a truly Jewish life can be lived, and one feels safe to say that the author much prefers New York or Cincinnati in this respect. As a matter of fact, a former president of Hebrew Union College once remarked something to the effect that he did not need to go to Jerusalem, for Cincinnati was his Zion.

It must not be supposed that Petuchowski is hostile to Israel or wishes to see it destroyed. If it should survive, he has kindly words of advice for it. It did receive some refuges from Hitler's persecutions as did other countries. But it also stirred up trouble for Jews in Muslim countries and may have ruined the future of Jewish communities in the whole Muslim world. It should stop trying to put pressure on Jews everywhere to leave home and migrate to Israel. It should settle down to making a place for itself among the peoples and nations of the Near East. It cannot be the one and only "spiritual center" for all Jews, but it could become one of the various spiritual centers of world Jewry if it would de-emphasize politics and give more attention to spiritual matters.

The author follows with a challenge to American Jewry also to make itself more of a spiritual center and less of a center of propaganda for political Zionism. In fact, American Jewry probably has the greatest opportunity of all time to develop a Jewish spiritual center in the best sense of that term. Our author has no fears of Jewish survival in free America. He also feels that Israel may have a good chance of survival to become another spiritual center. But in both cases the emphasis must be more on "spiritual" and less on "political" values.

This is another heartening contribution to the attempt of Judaism to rid itself from within of the dangerous growth of political Zionism and to stand forth with other religious groups to try to stem the tide of materialism and political panaceas that threaten to overwhelm us all.

—W. F. Stinespring

Elements for a Social Ethic. Gibson Winter. The Macmillan Company, 1966. 304 pp. $7.95.

Those attending the World Council of Churches Conference on Church and Society at Geneva last summer reported that the most vocal participants in the discussions were, by and large, not the theologians but the social scientists, the economists and political scientists. While some were disappointed in the lesser role of theology in the deliberations, the very presence and volubility of experts in the human sciences was significant. Genuine dialogue between theology and the social sciences is beginning to take place. This book marks what appears to be the threshold of a new and fruitful period in Christian ethics. Gibson Winter moves beyond polemics to partnership between social science and social ethics. He provides a programmatic sketch of an emerging style in theological and

social ethics which delineates the common ground for social science and social ethics in a more comprehensive understanding of man as a social being.

Until recently there was little disposition on the part of social ethicists and social scientists to engage in serious and open dialogue. A tendency toward closed systems marked both camps. Theological ethicists showed little interest in, and sometimes antipathy toward, the work of social scientists. Conversely, social scientists, in their eagerness to establish their discipline on a respectable scientific basis shied off from theology. Many of them confined themselves to factual description, eschewing evaluation and prescription. Winter challenges the dogmatism and exclusivism of both parties.

Winter describes three dominant styles among social scientists in the last century: behavioristic, functionalist and voluntarist. The behavioristic, or physicalist, was the first, patterned on the assumptions and methods of the natural sciences. The objectification of the subject, man-in-society, continues to plague social science. Talcott Parsons (with whom Winter studied) is a leading representative of another style, the functionalist. C. Wright Mills was a spokesman for the third style, the voluntarist. Winter himself takes a phenomenological approach, a style which is characterized by the word "intentional." He draws on the pioneering work of Husserl, Scheler, Heidegger, Merlean-Ponty and others in seeking to illumine the essential structure of sociality which is given in experience. Intentional analysis can contribute to both social science and social ethics Winter contends by relating the scientific aspects of each. Ideological debate can be overcome when the scientific models are relativized from the intentional perspective. Man's concrete social experience is the criterion of adequacy for any science of man. Winter examines the ordering principles and value-premises and also the notion of social fulfillment which inform these scientific models and gives a critical evaluation of them from the intentional perspective.

Human science deals with the *past*, formulating the meaning and identity of society in terms of process, with its regularities and typifications. In intentional analysis of human action, the meaning of the self's actions in its "projects" is seen in light of the *future*. Winter leans heavily on the contribution of Alfred Schutz in moving from George Herbert Mead's notion of the "social self" to the root concept of the "intentional self." The intentionality of the self is the source of the social world and human action. Intentional analysis clarifies the historical character of ethical reflection by its illumination of "lived" experience. "When we develop the notion of the responsible society, we are addressing ourselves to this human search for temporal integrity in which the past becomes the material for fashioning a future through human decisions." (p. 257) Here social science and social ethics have a complementary contribution to make to social policy (a classical instance is Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*). They share a responsibility for human fulfillment in society.

This summary can convey only the gist of Winter's carefully argued book. One reason is the rich suggestiveness of his description of the styles in social science, the relation of their ordering principles and the application of phenomenological analysis to social science and ethics. The other is the style of the book. His analysis is often abstruse and is loaded with technical terms.

Winter's analysis and constructive statement is both eclectic and individualistic. It is not always possible to discern the points at which he is developing his own formulation, differing from or going beyond others. As he notes, there is no one phenomenological theory or school of thought. There are also other approaches possible such as the White-

headian (which he mentions) and that of Michael Polanyi, which has affinities with Winter's own. It is not yet clear as to which approaches will be the most illuminating and most widely adopted. Winter's book is a major event in social ethics. Even so, the price is inordinately high.

—Thomas E. McCollough

Psychological and Theological Relationships in the Multiple Staff Ministry. Kenneth R. Mitchell. Westminster. Philadelphia. 1966. 273 pp. $6.50.

This is one of those rare books with something for everyone, clergymen and laymen. Both will find the easily understood principles of group dynamics and the analysis of the developmental needs of individuals keys to more effective group participation. And clergymen involved in multiple staff ministries will learn why the kinds of relationships in which they are sharing are, more often than not, unstable and unsatisfying.

The author, whose credentials are primarily in the area of pastoral psychology, explores three hypotheses. First, he suggests that successful multiple staff ministries are those in which participants relate to one another pastorally as well as administratively. Second, he proposes that there are two types of authority, pastoral and administrative, the former expressive of grace and the latter of law. And, third, he contends that ". . . the group and the institution exist in the service of the personal."

To establish his hypotheses empirically Dr. Mitchell sets up several types of criteria drawn from group and individual psychology by which to analyze and evaluate the five multiple staff ministries described in Chapter Five. The controlling norm is the ideal church fellowship defined in terms of relationships rather than structure. Later, he turns this around and sees the staff relationships as ideally and actually paradigmatic of the relationships of the church in which the staff functions. Of the three types of groups he discerns, *i.e.*, authoritarian, democratic and *laissez faire*, the democratic have been demonstrated to have the greatest pragmatic value and show more consistently the marks of church fellowship. The type of group a particular staff will be is determined largely by the kind of leader the senior pastor is, how he conceives and exercises authority. The author also lists principles of group coherence and functioning, so that he sets up four ways by which to study groups: (1) in terms of the type of leadership; (2) in terms of the character of the group; (3) in terms of the developmental problems being demonstrated in the behavior of individual participants; and (4) in terms of group coherence and functioning.

I think the title of this book should be modified to read, *Multiple Staff Ministry Relationships Viewed from a Psychological Perspective*, for psychology is really the controlling viewpoint. Many of the conclusions of the book would be different if it had begun with a theological understanding of the church, its mission and its ministry. The focus would be on mission (not fellowship), witness and service (not interpersonal relationships within the fellowship); function would be valued more highly; and structure would be recognized as essential to functioning. Nor would the author be as inclined to equate grace so exclusively with the pastoral as opposed to the administrative.

Dr. Mitchell has given us a useful set of standards by which to appraise the psychological relationships within the multiple staff ministry and the church in general, for that matter. It seems, however, that he has overstated the "fellowship" character of the church and the "pastoral" role of the minister at the expense of the "missionary" character of the church and the "leadership" role of the minister.

After entering these demurrers, I must hasten to knowledge the value of the book for me. While I feel that theologically our relationships are prescribed by the task to which we are summoned and that those relationships should function pragmatically in relation to our objectives, we must acknowledge that there are psychological preconditions which determine the success or failure of any group. And this book provides many of the psychological insights one needs to understand the dynamics of his group, hopefully in order to improve the group's coherence and functioning, to be sure, but, above all, to assist the church to become truly a servant church.

—O. Kelly Ingram

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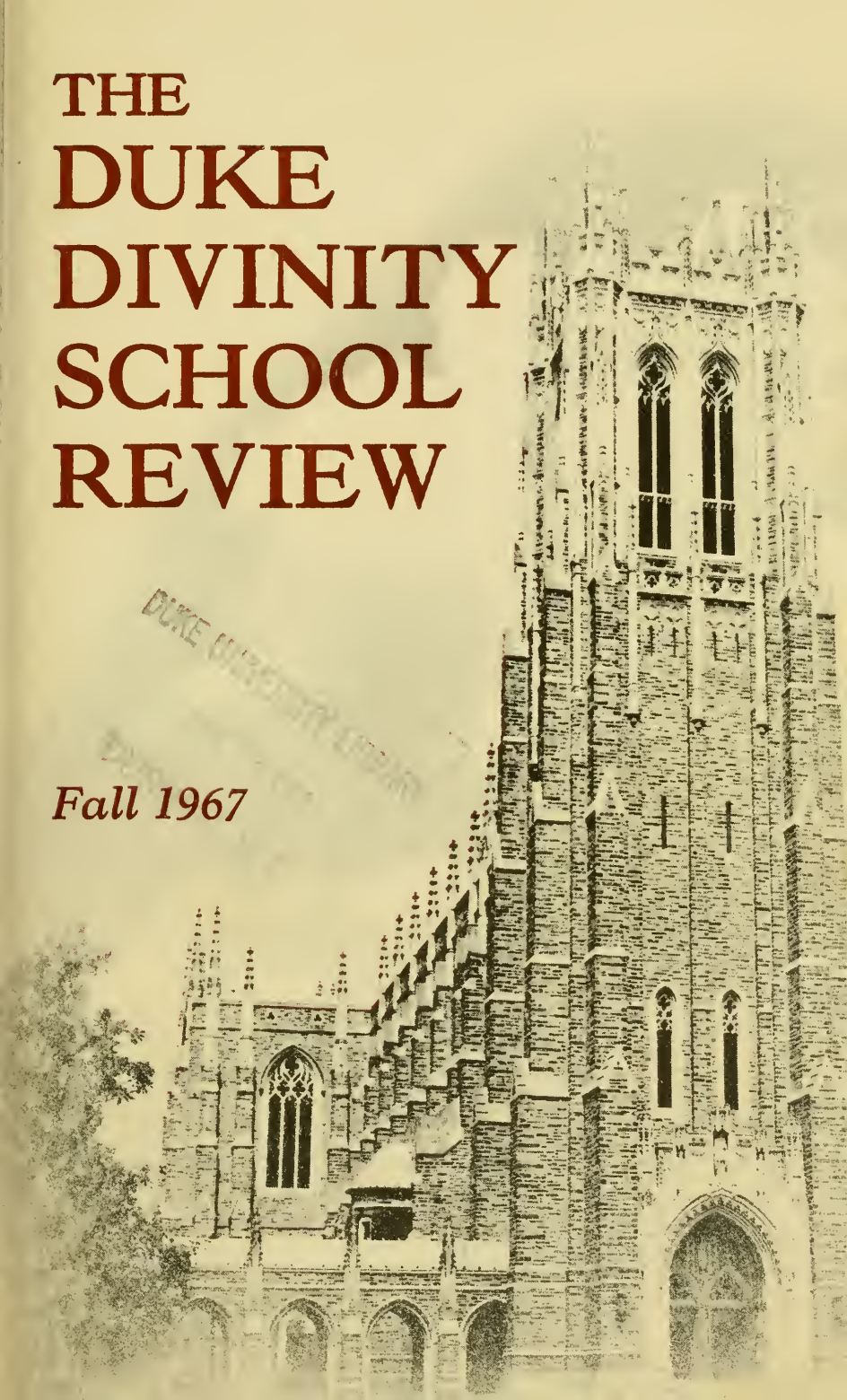

A Prayer of Confession

[*Editor's Note:* Apart from deletions on account of space, the idiom of this prayer—both linguistic and contextual—has been left in its original Indian form, in the hope that its fresh spontaneity may awaken similar penitence within our Christian community.]

O Lord God, King and Master of all creation, Father of all mankind, we come in your light so that we may be examined under your probing rays, and that we may be made clean, whole and healthy in your sight, according to your divine standards.

We confess before you that we are an ingrown society of those who call themselves followers of Jesus Christ. We are so much engrossed in the trivialities of our church committees, sessions, councils and other bodies that we hardly pay any attention to those outside the fold of Jesus Christ. We spend our time in hair-splitting issues which only matter to us and to our welfare, but never look at the tremendous needs of humanity. In the name of religion we have spent hours together being complacent about our so-called achievements, instead of helping others in the name of Christ. And if at all we looked at others we saw them with pity, rather than with love; with a feeling of miserable creatures going for damnation, rather than with a concern as the children of our Father; with an outlook of "Am I my brother's keeper?" rather than with "For I could even pray to be outcast from Christ myself for the sake of my brothers."

LORD, FORGIVE.

We confess to you that we have always looked at the social revolution whirling around us with apathy and indifference. We have watched the struggle of human beings for their rightful dignity with coldness of heart and without any emotional reaction. We watched the ill-paid sweepers going in a procession for an overdue and legitimate raise in their wages, but we did not leave our comfortable sofa seat to see what happened afterwards. We did not stop, on our way to the church service on a Sunday morning, to inquire about the condition of the ten women on the seventh day of their fast in front of the millowner's palatial bungalow who rendered them jobless unjustly. We came to the respectable church building to meet you, while we should have sought you in the jail, State Home for Women, the Beggars' Home, in the School for the Blind, the orphanage, in the illegally operated whisky-shop and the brothel.

LORD, FORGIVE.

We confess to you that we continue to proclaim with our lips that there is no difference between people in the sight of God, but vehemently practice and guard the caste system even within the Church . . . . We did not attend the funeral of the next door

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Suffering and Faith

Egil Grislis

Where the boundary lines of my family's estate touched, toward the East, a neighbor's property, there had always been a long and wide meadow. Summer after summer cows grazed on it for short periods of time; what little grass there grew was consumed very quickly. If I ever think of barren soil, that stretch of land comes to my mind—nothing but gravel and sand, held fast by sticky yellowish clay. It was from there that one day our neighbor decided to take some gravel for a road he was building. After several tries he eventually found a spot where there was just enough gravel and no clay to hold it. Having excavated several truck-loads, all of a sudden he came upon what looked like a layer of quicklime; under that there was what he had already started to suspect—layers of skeletons. As the news of this spread through the neighborhood, it was suddenly recalled that the barren meadow was known to have been used as a burial ground for the victims of a plague epidemic which ravaged Latvia—and with it much of Northern Europe—sometime early in the 18th century. I remember how I hurried to the site of discovery. To a boy of about ten this was fascinating indeed. I stood and watched, but my imagination, while indeed aroused, failed to lead me from what had happened to how it had happened. I wanted to know this very badly, and yet realized that I did not know. During the following winter, back in the city, I filled in this gap by the resources of my father's library. Yet just as I thought that I had completed my investigation, a more disturbing thought occurred: why did plagues happen anyway?

One of the more recent meditations on the plague, written by Albert Camus, approaches it as an instance of human life as a whole. In this paradigm the clinical details are meticulously observed and painfully recorded. It is in this fashion that Camus comes to explore the meaning of human suffering. Without suggesting that I would want to be called a follower of Camus, I must nevertheless acknowledge that I find his analysis of the universe exceedingly profound. Above all, Camus' willingness, as he puts

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[An address delivered on April 19, 1967, in a Student-Faculty Series sponsored by the Co-ordinating Council for Community Life.]

it, "to take the victim's side" appears to me to be the right approach. By contrast, analyses that rather rapidly turn to a supra-historic, ultimate perspective, and explain human suffering as if from the point of view of God, seem to overlook that to us, initially, only a human point of view is granted.

As Camus describes the imagined out-break of pestilence in Oran, a North African town, he uses this occasion to meditate upon the fact that dire calamities descend upon mankind with harrowing regularity:

> When a war breaks out, people say: "It's too stupid; it can't last long." But though a war may well be "too stupid," that doesn't prevent its lasting. Stupidity has a knack of getting its way; as we should see if we were not always so much wrapped up in ourselves.
>
> In this respect our townsfolk were like everybody else, wrapped up in themselves; in other words, they were humanists: they disbelieved in pestilences. A pestilence isn't a thing made to man's measure; therefore we tell ourselves that pestilence is a mere body of the mind, a bad dream that will pass away. But it doesn't always pass away and, from one bad dream to another, it is men that pass away, and the humanists first of all, because they haven't taken their precautions.[1]

And when in Oran the plague is finally over, the author's spokesman records the final warning in the very last paragraph of the book: "The plague bacillus never dies or disappears for good. . . ."[2] Therefore mankind never lives in the freedom to shape its destiny within the limits given to it. Thus ". . . no man will ever be free so long as there are pestilences."[3] Camus does not suggest that all human actions are determined in a mechanistic fashion. He believes in the possibility of genuine human initiative and activity. But Camus thinks that at the same time genuine freedom is possible only when the world itself partakes of the same mind and rationality as do men at their very best—which is obviously not the case. Therefore men only imagine that they are "free men" and have "the power of choice."[4] Human plight thus becomes very clearly apparent as Camus focuses attention on the condition of one individual in this plague-ridden community: "like all of us who have not yet died of the plague he fully realizes that his freedom and his life may be

1. Albert Camus, *The Plague* (New York: The Modern Library, 1948), pp. 34, 35.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

snatched from him at any moment."[5] We should notice that Camus' struggle is not primarily with moral evil. His concern goes to nature itself, to the very matrix out of which all life arises. And here he is compelled to recognize that microbes are "natural." They exemplify the built-in surd, the active force of destruction, present in all nature, that defies any positive explanation. To be sure, we could attempt to explain the origin of Camus' thought and suggest that most likely he has but introduced the Bergsonian notion of a life-force, and placed a negation sign in front of it.[6] But to explain the history of an idea is not to explain the idea itself. Thus the problem remains. Just take a look at that paradigm *par excellence*, the slow and painful death of a child which Camus describes as follows:

> They had already seen children die—for many months now death had shown no favoritism—but they had never watched a child's agony minute by minute, as they had now been doing since daybreak. Needless to say, the pain inflicted on these innocent victims had always seemed to them to be what in fact it was: an abominable thing. But hitherto they had felt its abomination in, so to speak, an abstract way; they had never had to witness over so long a period the death-throes of an innocent child.[7]

A priest, who is present, suggests to the medical doctor, Camus' spokesman, that although such suffering is indeed incomprehensible—"perhaps we should love what we cannot understand."[8] Camus refuses: "until my dying day I shall refuse to love a scheme of things in which children are put to torture."[9] I quote this observation, because I find it realistic, honest, and inescapable except for the help that faith can give.

To read the record of human history is not to turn to selected verses of inspirational poetry. Instead, such reading may bring us down, body and soul, into the darkest night of complete despair from which there may not even be a return. To be sure, in saying this I do not mean to claim that statistically misery outranks happiness. The ratio seems to vary from time to time, from individual to individual, as well as clearly to fluctuate through the centuries. I have no objections to listening when selected verses are read, or even turning to them on my own initiative. Thus, for example,

5. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 193.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197.

when I encounter such an exuberant, perceptive, mature, and optimistic *Hymn of the Universe* as written by Teilhard de Chardin,[10] and recognize in his thought the profound Thomistic observation that nature can serve as a magnificent mirror in which God's majesty and glory are reflected—I do experience a genuine appreciation and delight. Yet I think that history presents no single meaning that could be obtained by way of empirical observation. Rather, in life there is both the good and the evil, the very beautiful and the very ugly, order and chaos—all this in infinite variations and for a little while; but then, as life always has the first word, so death has, inevitably, the last.

But if such is life, a witness of very basic conflicts, how are we to speak and think of God? More precisely, how can we with a measure of consistency ascribe to God both goodness and power, if we at the same time cannot exclude from the record the presence of natural evil and human misery?

Bishop John A. T. Robinson in his characteristically pointed but oversimplified fashion puts the problem in this way:

> Any glib notion of a God who "causes" cancer or "sends" the streptococcus *is* blasphemy. Most traditional theodicy, so far from justifying the ways of God to man, has the effect of strengthening atheism. "Whatever your sickness is," the priest is instructed to say in the seventeenth-century Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, "know certainly that it is God's visitation." Who can speak like that today? Atheism has done its purifying work. For there is nothing that provokes our generation to doubt or blasphemy more than the idea of a Being who sends such events into the lives of individuals.[11]

To be sure, many of the major theologians of the Christian heritage have employed deterministic models of thought. It is not difficult to find even more radical quotations from St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Luther, and Calvin, speaking about God as the First Cause, and all created activity as secondary causation, at every moment dependent on the First Cause. E.g., relying on St. Augustine, Luther says in his *Bondage of the Will*:

> So man's will is like a beast standing between two riders. If God rides, it wills and goes where God wills . . . . If Satan rides, it wills and goes where Satan wills. Nor may it choose to which rider

10. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Hymn of the Universe* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

11. John A. T. Robinson, *The New Reformation?* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965), pp. 113, 114.

it will run, or which it will seek; but the riders themselves fight to decide who shall have and hold it.[12]

Yet to observe such a use of deterministic models of thought need not imply that these men either intended to be philosophical determinists, or always succumbed to determinism despite their various attempts to escape from it. Above all, the observation that these men theologized as they did dare not serve as a charge that they superficially imagined to "solve" the problem of suffering by a mere appeal to determinism. They did not bypass the need for our faith to wrestle with the existential problem of how a good and omnipotent God can allow suffering and evil into his world.

At the same time, if John A. T. Robinson, and perhaps the modern world as a whole, should find traditional language distasteful, I could try to restate the case. I am willing, at least for a moment, to entertain the possibility that the creating and preserving activities of a good God do not engulf everything that exists. Perhaps a measure of self-limitation is compatible with an affirmation of divine omnipotence. Perhaps God did endow men and matter with the freedom and ability to develop further—for better or for worse. At least, let us say that for the time being, it just might be possible to have a theology which proclaims that God did not create germs and viruses, and that, strictly speaking, God therefore does not inflict these on anyone. But do such qualifications really help? I hardly think so. To my mind comes the shrewd insight of Marcion the heretic who borrowed the Gnostic idea that God was not the creator of this universe but only its redeemer. Marcion thought that if God was to be called the creator of the universe, then he had to be seen as responsible for his creation—and then we were immediately again observing that this universe did not display such responsible and good concerns of a loving God! I am quite clearly not inclined to side with Marcion, but I do think that this reference to the idea of responsibility is an unavoidable one as long as we speak about God as loving and ascribe to him at least some power. If then God is responsible for his creation—what are we to say, e.g., in face of that torture of a child, as described by Camus? To be sure, we did suggest, provisionally, that God does not cause evil and suffering. But this suggestion does not exclude our immediate desire to know why does not God assist mankind in discovering some means to neutralize the harrowing effects caused by viruses and germs! While

12. Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, tr. by J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston (Westwood, N. J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1957), pp. 103, 104.

from an aesthetic viewpoint, meditating upon the grandeur of all creation, it is indeed inspiring to recall, e.g., that God in his eternal patience spent nine billion years in carving out the Grand Canyon —from the perspective of a suffering humanity, what is truly longed for is not divine patience, but instant activity and help! Similarly, in terms of appreciating the genuine progress that modern science has made, it is worth while to observe how many germs and viruses medicine can now cope with; yet he who is afflicted with those that no one yet really knows how to neutralize may inquire why God seems to be so far off from his plight, and taking so long to come to his aid?

Therefore, even when we give up saying that God "causes" torture, we are still left with the same problem, namely, a good and very powerful God, whose so-called love clearly contradicts the best human standards that we have. When encounters with such a God happen to hurt us, it is not very surprising that we question, despair, even doubt the existence of God. Moreover, it is therefore quite understandable that many men think it an act of kindness to deny the very existence of God; to affirm it would be to blaspheme, that is, to speak of an evil God.

Yet, we have not sought to reflect on Suffering and Unbelief, but rather on Suffering and Faith. Can that still be done?

II

It was Martin Luther who during the days of the Reformation called attention to the New Testament category of the "heroes of faith." We may note this emphasis in Galatians 3:6, but perhaps most explicitly in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 11:4ff.: "By faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, through which he received approval as righteous, God bearing witness by accepting his gifts . . . . " And so it continues—"v. 5. By faith Enoch . . . . v. 7. By faith Noah . . . . v. 8. By faith Abraham obeyed when he was called to go out to a place which he was to receive as inheritance; and he went out, not knowing where he was to go." Luther noted that true faith is not a mere belief in the existence of God, the *credere Deum*; nor is faith only an assent to the truth of the Scriptures or the creeds, the *credere Deo*. Rather, suggested Luther, when speaking about real faith we are referring to the *credere in Deum*—namely, a complete personal commitment and trust in such a setting where there is no visible and convincingly provable evidence.

You will remember that it was with the help of this concern for the "heroes of faith" that Luther transformed the understanding of the Blessed Virgin from a Queen of Heaven into a simple Jewish maid, who did not comprehend and grasp everything that was happening to her when the archangel confronted her with the divine message, but who nevertheless responded in obedience, in trust to God even when she did not understand the full purpose of divine action. In having and living such a faith, Luther thought, the Blessed Virgin, assuredly, whatever else she was, was primarily a great hero of faith. Most importantly, Luther applied this perspective also to Christ. Luther noted the temptations in the desert, the dark night of the soul which occurred in Gethsemane, and finally, that awful cry from the cross: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Mt. 27:46) During the various settings of his spiritual tribulations, despite the lack of any outward evidence of divine concern and love for him, Christ nevertheless remained faithful and trusted in the power and goodness of God the Father.

At the same time, God-directed as Christ's faith obviously was, obtaining from God, as it were, its strength and power, it did not close Christ's heart toward the world but rather opened it. Christ, whose own commitment to God was unwavering, could and did become completely concerned with the lives of those whose relationship with God was clearly broken or diseased. Anders Nygren has aptly summed up Luther's thought when he states that in Christ we recognize that our "fellowship with God [rests] on the basis of sin, not of holiness."[13] In order to meditate upon the intensity and depth of Christ's love we may look to the cross, where Christ, intentionally, sacrificed his life for others and at the same time forgave his torturers. Yet, likewise, we may observe this same and unique love radiating through the entire life of Christ. The leper, untouchable according to the law, was reached by the outstretched hand of Christ (Mt. 8:3). Rotten, ugly, repulsive, foul, such flesh is now accepted as lovable and is thus restored. Moreover, the morally sensitive Christ, who understood the subtlest point of every temptation, who was viewed by his followers as sinless—["Which of you convicts me of sin?" Jn. 8:46. "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin . . . ." II Cor. 5:21. "For we have not a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses, but one who in every respect has been tempted as we are, yet without sinning." Hebr. 4:15]—such a man as utterly pure

13. Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, London: S.P.C.K., 1954, p. 684.

and noble as Christ was, nevertheless could be called "a friend of tax collectors and sinners." (Mt. 11:19) And this is also how Christ understood his own mission: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." (Mt. 9:13) Christ truly loved the unlovable. When Anders Nygren published his monumental *Agape and Eros*, he was widely criticized for investing the word *agape* with the kind of superlative and unique meaning that could not be lexicographically supported. This may very well have been the case, and yet Nygren need not have erred, ultimately speaking. If not the single term *agape,* then surely the cumulative effect of the entire New Testament speaks of Christ as one who was uniquely able to devote himself, unqualifiedly and completely, to loving sinners.

Thus in an anticipatory way in all the heroes of faith, yet completely, fully, and uniquely only in the person of Christ, we encounter such faith and such love that unwaveringly affirms and proclaims, in life and in death, the ultimate power and goodness of God. Clearly, while here we do not have, strictly speaking, a complete explanation of the rationale of suffering, we are given something even greater: a way of life that victoriously faces up to suffering, accepts it, and even in the midst of the very wrath of God, finds the faith to believe in a loving and omnipotent God. Thus, while the response of our inquiry "why?" is not given to us in this life, to us is nevertheless revealed the "how": how we, by following Christ, through days good and evil, even through the cross, may come to share in his victory and his vision. When St. Paul understood this truth, and heard the Lord say to him, "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness," then he was enabled to respond, in faith, and cope with his suffering: "For the sake of Christ, then, I am content with weakness, insults, hardships, persecutions, and calamities; for when I am weak, then I am strong." (II Cor. 12:9-10)

Now the Early Church, when it viewed such a response to the problem of theodicy, became fully aware that the whole case rested with the uniqueness of the person and mission of Christ. Namely, having observed that the faith and the love of Christ were utterly unique—yes, hoped for, fleetingly and momentarily anticipated in the heroes of faith, but never fully obtained and sustained throughout a lifetime, in death, and beyond death—the Early Church went on record in affirming, with the New Testament, that what we see in the life and teachings of Christ is revelation from God by God. [Cf. the familiar Jn. 3:16: "For *God* so loved the world that *he* gave

his Son. . . ."] The point being, that if Christ was merely a man who aspired or was thought to aspire toward perfect faith and love, his personal intention, real or imagined, does not help us any in our suffering; in other words, if the life and teachings of Christ are but a courageous but wild guess, then in following him and drawing, as it were, strength from him, we accomplish nothing more but nurture a particular kind of delusion. The Church has always known this: ". . . if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain." (I Cor. 15:14) Hence the high Christology of the Early Church is essentially inseparable from its concern with the problem of suffering. Such a Christology is, finally, the only answer that we can confess to have within this life.

As a result, I am therefore completely unwilling to belittle or dismiss the Christological thinking of the Early Church as it culminated in the Nicene and Chalcedonian creeds. I do not think that these creeds are "dated" because of their use of philosophical terminology; rather, I view them as very clear and still valid summaries of biblical thought. In the formulation of such statements, the Fathers reasoned in faith, in an inspired trust that knew itself to have originated from the infinite power and love of God, revealed in Christ. To put this another way, it is surely correct that in one sense faith and evidence are contraries. Thus it is entirely proper to speak about a "blind faith" if by such an expression we mean to contrast—as in Hebrews 11:1—our present existence, characterized by hope, and our future life, in the midst of the heavenly joys. Likewise, it may be applicable to call as "blind faith" that continuous trust in God which is sustained during those periods of spiritual tribulation when the power and goodness of God are not directly experienced. Yet in another sense, however, faith and evidence need not be always contraries. True faith differs from a mere hypothesis defined as a possibility whose probability cannot be in any way asserted. Believing is not such thinking that is unsupported by any facts whatever, but rather, a new way of thinking that has been evoked (and sometimes even provoked!) and then so sustained in us that we must confess ourselves to be captive to an experience, a vision, an event that has transformed our mind and heart and consequently radically re-directed our commitment. To put it another way, it appears to me that the resurrection of Christ and our own conversion are correlated. Without the resurrection, conversion is not possible. If Christ has not risen from the dead,

if here perfect faith and love were not actually vindicated by God beyond the grave, in short, if his divinity is not genuine—then instead of a conversion we should more precisely speak of our own delusion. Yet, on the other hand, if God has not turned us around and toward the risen Lord, if we have not encountered and felt the power and love irradiating from the resurrection, then we are spiritually blind and view Christ as but a fellow human being for whom, as for us in unbelief, resurrection and an empty tomb appear impossible.

Thus the circle is complete: in faith, trusting the power and goodness of God, revealed in Christ, we can acknowledge the power and the goodness of God even in the midst of our own suffering and death. On the other hand, without faith, without this personal experience of the power and goodness of God in Christ, we cannot recognize it anywhere, least of all in the midst of human suffering, grief, and death.

To say this, however, is not to suggest that the problem of suffering cannot be solved for those who want to find a solution, and is already solved for those who do not any more ask for an answer. This would only be the case if unbelief and faith were mutually exclusive and limited to different periods of time—which is not the case. To be sure, we may speak about a "before" and "after" if we refer to our first experience of conversion; likewise, we may distinguish between life "outside" and "inside" the Church. Yet if to the original correlates—resurrection and conversion—we add one more set—namely, unbelief and faith—then our account may be more precise and dynamic as well. In other words, I suggest that conversion needs to be seen as an ongoing experience, and our faith as an affirmation of trustful belief in the midst of unbelieving despair. The Christian therefore might be defined as an unbeliever with a difference, this difference being his encounter with the power and the love of God, revealed in Christ, in the midst of his own personal life, in some genuine yet always fragmentary way. That the believer is prepared, on the basis of this limited evidence to generalize, results, objectively, from the persuasion that he chooses not in his own strength but in the grace supplied to him, and subjectively, from his courage not to reject or abuse what God has given to him.

Viewing the Christian life of faith in such a perspective, I do not imagine that to be in the so-called "state of faith" is a passive looking at one fragment of the redemptive reality which has been personally experienced, and then, automatically, to be able to see

the remainder in a rosy light. Rather, the widening of the scope of faith appears to be an active, day-by-day endeavor. It involves our daily need to respond in love, and hence to grow in love. It presupposes the necessity to face up, in faith, to the forever emerging new data of apparent denials of the power and love of God. Indeed, the dynamics of faith may even include such periods of time, short or prolonged, when we fail to recognize ourselves as believers, but are, at that moment, only unbelievers with a memory of past faith. Sufficiently many Christians have reported this experience and therefore I am unprepared to write it off as a mere exception to the rule, or an aberration from the same. All of which is to say that faith is never "easy," that its joys abide in the midst of utter sadness, that the victory is by way of a severe combat. Perhaps it is for this reason that Christian life has been so often, traditionally, described as "the bearing of the cross."

Yet in so far as the living in faith is seen as an activity, patterned by the strength and after the example of Christ, it is never a solitary affair. *Vis-à-vis* unbelief, outside and inside the Church, I see the continuous need for the Church to proclaim, in faith and love, the redemptive centrality of Christ, crucified and risen, the Son of man and the Son of God, truly human and truly divine. And I view this proclamation as anything but a one-way street, from the pulpit to the pew. Rather, it seems to me that genuine sharing is of the essence of the life of faith and love.

Now it is this primary concern with Christ which, at least as far as I am concerned, relegates all other problems to a respectable but clear secondary role. Thus I am prepared to admit that, even though to me personally the problem of suffering has been of continuous and vocal interest, I do not thereby mean to single it out as the universally best or even necessary way to appreciate the meaning of orthodox Christology. At the same time, I do want to record my conviction that a Christology that neglects to say something essentially relevant about suffering might very well be in dire need of drastic improvement.

III

Finally, let me direct at least a few words toward the meaning and role of eternal suffering, namely, the damnation in hell. Now I have already noted that I cannot rationally explain how temporal suffering could be seen as readily compatible with the existence of a powerful and good God—even though I accept it in a christocentric

faith. Thus instead of an explanation of the ultimate rationale of temporal suffering, I found in the cross, Christ's and ours, a victorious way of coping with suffering. It is, then, from such a vantage point that I am obviously also unprepared to dismiss the idea of hell only because it, too, would appear to be incompatible with the power and goodness of God.

I know, of course, that some very astute problems have been brought up precisely at this point, questioning at length how a loving God could establish an eternal hell, or, similarly, how could any truly compassionate Christian be "happy" in heaven when there are others who at the same time suffer eternal torment.[14] I must say that I subscribe to the existence of hell not because I could resolve these tensions, but on the grounds that the reality of hell is taught both by the letter and by the spirit of the Scriptures. Foregoing at this time the listing of the major passages which speak about eternal suffering in hell, let me nevertheless note that I do not think that Christ's suffering on the cross was something like a mere shadow-boxing against the stage of eternity. I believe that from this very radical manner of Christ's divine intervention we may infer something of the likewise radical nature of the human plight in sin to which Christ sought to minister. Moreover, the persistent and clear biblical invitation to make up our minds whether to accept or deny Christ, suggests to me that on Calvary we do see both divine action, and correlatedly, over the years to come, human re-action. One without the other denies the grace-restored freedom that we have. To speak of a "choice" in which all participants are equally "winners," suggests that no contest over life or death has taken place, and ascribes to God the initiation of a cruel and meaningless torture of his Son.

In our own day, of course, much has been also said why the notion of eternal suffering in hell is a very unhealthy one. Therefore it just might be in order to conclude this meditation on the meaning of suffering by pointing out at least four positive insights regarding hell.

First, if we believe in the genuine possibility of eternal suffering, it is far easier to bear temporal suffering. I note that in bygone centuries, when many men still believed in hell, they often were able to accept and appreciate the relative goodness of our present life far

14. One of the most perceptive discussions of this problem is by Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1948), pp. 266-283. The most recent study is by John Hicks, *Evil and the God of Love* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

more easily than seems to be the case today. When the most vicious pain and absurd agony is viewed against the background where hell is thought to be a reality, it is possible to sigh even with gratitude that the present misfortunes shall last but a short while and that hereafter we shall encounter eternal joy—rather than eternal torment.

Secondly, I think that fear, in this case fear of hell, need not always be in itself degrading, but might serve as a positive catalyst as well. To be sure, constant fearfulness and a life of anxiety might be destructive, but now and then the fear of the Lord—as of the law—has had a very salutary function. Of course, it might be that some of the old-fashioned hell-fire sermons were but a pathetic occasion in which a preacher projected with vengeance his personal rejection of those people whom he had been called to love and serve. Yet, if there is a hell, are we really being kind in not speaking about it? Last but not least, I take a dim view of that type of compassion which seems to want to out-do Christ, who loved us as we cannot love him or others, and yet who spoke of hell.

Thirdly, let me observe that the contemporary unwillingness to speak about eternal suffering in a "literal" manner—just as also recoiling before "real" pearly gates and golden streets—is, strictly speaking, nothing very new. The wiser theologians of the Church have always known that our language was earthbound, yet its direction, at best, heavenward. With them, I am prepared to speak concretely, without desiring at the same time to confine God's realities to the measures of this finite world now so very familiar to us.

Finally, while not necessarily seeking to imply that those who do not accept the reality of eternal suffering just could not concern themselves with salvation in a serious way, it nevertheless appears to me that an acceptance of the idea of hell can underscore that the Christian calling to tell the Good News relates not only to the temporal welfare of men, but concerns their eternal beatitude as well. Hence such an emphasis may serve to present the Christian message in an ultimately decisive and dynamic way.

The Tunnel

A Response to 'New Stones for Old Tombs'

Wayne B. Hamilton, '66

In the Spring, 1967, issue of the *Review* there appeared an informative article, "New Stones for Old Tombs," by Harmon L. Smith, which investigated two historically important antecedents which were seen as informing the precommitments of certain "death of God" theologians—namely, Thomas J. J. Altizer and William Hamilton.[1] The two antecedents examined were existential nihilism and kenotic Christology.

In this essay I will re-examine the first of these antecedents. Specifically, I wish to show that what these "death of God" theologians are saying is not essentially different from an authentic protest against idolatry, and I hope to do this by demonstrating that their negative theology does have the positive reference which Dr. Smith finds lacking.

I

Regarding the expositions of Altizer and Hamilton, Dr. Smith sets down the following:

> Now if all that is being contended for were emancipation from certain cultural encrustations, or if what is wanted by the 'death of God' theologians were only the freedom of Christianity from various kinds of idolatry which obscure the genuine and authentic message of the Gospel, that would be one thing. But if the new theological program advocates taking its cue from the nihilism of philosophical existentialism, this is something else again.[2]

This statement seems to have two related parts: The first implies that the "death of God" theologians are doing something more than protesting against idolatry. The second implies that they take their cue from existential nihilism and that that is not the same

1. For purposes of response I shall hold the discussion to these two men as representatives of the new "radical theology".

2. Harmon L. Smith, "New Stones for Old Tombs," *The Duke Divinity School Review*, Vol. 32, no. 2 (Spring, 1967), p. 126.

as protesting against idolatry. Now, unless we are willing to take Dr. Smith's statement to mean simply that "idolatry-protesting" differs from "cue-taking" (and, of course, he means much more than that), we must ask if the one precludes the other. That is, before investigating what is for our purposes the most important part of Dr. Smith's argument—that which speaks of existential nihilism and its relation to the "death of God" message—a preliminary word about idolatry is in order.

First of all, it seems to me that, whatever else they may be doing, our "death of God" theologians are indeed contending against certain forms of idolatry. William H. Poteat (to whom Dr. Smith refers) suggests that an idol is that which "contains" or limits God by concealing him within the limits of human imagination (whether he manifests himself as absent or present).[3] Following this definition it seems clear that Altizer vehemently opposes a particular kind of idolatry, namely that which fixes on one single form or manifestation of God. Specifically, he attacks an idolatrous clinging to the past. He identifies regression as "the intrinsic enemy" of the Christian faith on the grounds that "it is the supreme temptation of a faith that celebrates the forward movement of the World."[4] Because he sees God as a perpetual and forward-moving process of what he calls "kenotic metamorphosis", he necessarily views a rigid adherence to an eternal and "primordial" God who *forever remains bound* to his original identity, as idolatrous. He rejects any attempts to contain and limit God to prior expression, especially those which freeze God into a static form.

Likewise William Hamilton makes it clear that it is a *certain kind* of God who must be declared dead, namely the God who has been objectified into recognition.[5]

The goal for both men is to be ever open to truly new manifestations of the Divine Reality.[6] Although the way they take may be ambiguous, the thrust is certainly anti-idolatrous.

Now, Dr. Smith did not say, in so many words, that Altizer and Hamilton were not protesting against a form of idolatry; but he implied it, and his following argument was intended to support this

3. William H. Poteat, "The Absence of God," *The Hibbert Journal,* LV/2 (January, 1957), p. 121.

4. Thomas J. J. Altizer, *The Gospel of Christian Atheism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), p. 83.

5. William Hamilton, *The New Essence of Christianity* (New York: Association Press, 1961), p. 42.

6. E.g. see Altizer, p. 84.

implication. The essence of this argument is as follows: The "creative negation" of "orthodox" Christian reflection such as the mystical *via negativa* or the sense of personal unworthiness and awe experienced in the face of the *mysterium tremendum* of the Divine Reality, is a negation "made possible only in response to the utterly positive expression of God's presence in Jesus Christ."[7] In Dietrich Bonhoeffer's terms, there is always an ultimate surety underlying the penultimate doubt. God is always present even though his presence may take the form of hiddenness.

On the other hand, Smith continues, the negativity of philosophical existentialism (and therefore that of the "death of God" theologians) is entirely dissimilar to the "creative negativity" of a theology which is a response to a positive expression of God's presence. Philosophical existentialism is so submerged under "the horror of the void" that its most salient supposition is that there is no certainty except the acceptance of uncertainty.[8] Likewise, the negative thought which willfully demands the death of God is devoid of all unambivalent hope, for it has abandoned any definite content for its ground; it lacks a substantial reference. "There is a crucial distinction," Smith concludes, "between fidelity to this God who is with us even while forsaking us and fidelity to the void, the nothingness, the meaninglessness of existential life in the world."[9]

In the face of this argument, I maintain, quite bluntly, that such is not the case: Is there not something positive—some substantial reference—behind the negativity of the theologians under scrutiny which would render their faith every bit as hopeful as fidelity to an absent God?

II

Let us assume for the sake of discussion that the negative "affirmations" of the "death of God" theologians do indeed "take their cue" from existential nihilism and that this means what Dr. Smith says it means.[10] In the article, "The Absence of God", to which

7. Smith, p. 126.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
10. In all fairness to William Hamilton it must be acknowledged that he has written against the approach which Smith associates with existentialism. For example: "We would do well to be careful in using the approach to Christian apologetics that seeks to place men in extreme situations of suffering or despair so that the impossible word of faith may be spoken," *op cit.*, p. 48. Cf. p. 74.

Smith refers, Dr. Poteat has shown that expressions of existential nihilism may be of revelatory value when they are understood in terms of an absent God. Dr. Smith undoubtedly agrees with this.[11] Yet, he would quickly add that there is nothing behind the "death of God" theology to be revealed; "death" is not synonymous with "absence". "Absence" refers to something substantial, albeit an absent God who has (momentarily?) withdrawn. "Death", on the other hand, points back to nothing.

But is not such a thesis somewhat specious? What *really* is the difference between the "absence" of God and the "death" of God? Leaving aside the numerous philosophical problems involved in manipulating the metaphorical terms "absence" and "death" when applying them to "God", we wish to state flatly that, *au fond,* they amount to the same thing.

God's "absence" suggests either:

1. God is still the creator and sustainer of all the universe; everything is still in his hands (including you and me, brother), and without him there would be nothing even now. But he has turned his back on us temporarily. (In which case we might bungle around for a time, but we need not worry unduly because, in the end, everything is under his control anyway.)
2. God has *gone,* i.e. really and truly *gone,* and as far as you and I are concerned, he has relinquished his control over everything; he has washed his hands of the whole mess and is never coming back. (In which case "absence" amounts to "death" as the term is used by the "death of God" theologians.)

The point is this: If we sincerely experience nihilistic despair and if we are true to our feelings, then there is really no need to speak of an "absent" God (unless of course we mean to speak of a "dead" God).

We are led then to re-state the question with which we want to deal in this brief essay. Can there really be anything substantially positive behind the "death" suggested by genuinely felt expressions of nihilism and by the "death of God" theologians?

III

We submit, contrary to the opinions of Smith, that there is such a "referent" behind the "creative negation" of the "death of God" movement, a "referent" more substantial than the one ostensibly lost. It is the world. By "world" we mean the material stuff

11. Hence his point that "the *deus absconditus* is a possibility only in view of the *deus revelatus.*" *Op. cit.,* p. 128.

(earth, air, fire and water, if you please) as well as our existential relationship to it. It is the massive and moist being, the fullness of which we are in relation to through and through. It is what the French philosopher M. Merleau-Ponty has called "the inalienable presence."[12] The "death of God" theologians display no real fidelity to the "void"; on the contrary, they seem to count quite heavily on the plenum.

Now, to the reader who cries out, "We ask for God, and you offer us the world," and who genuinely laments the loss of a transcendent reference, we answer with all reverence that the world itself is the true transcendental.[13] Pierre Thévenaz has effectively described this transcendance when he wrote: "All consciousness, all knowledge, all human undertakings are drawn on an ever present substratum: the world, a world that is always already-there, radically primary."[14]

The "death of God" theologians hunger and thirst after the world. Altizer calls for a faith that is "wholly and inseparably embedded in the world".[15] "Christian theology," he writes, "cannot survive apart from a dialogue with the world . . . faith cannot speak to the world unless it is prepared to be affected by that world with which it speaks."[16] So dear is the world to these men that they dare to place God himself in the midst of it. Hamilton preaches: "We have come to this: the world is God's. Jesus is Lord of the world; this lordship is received by the Christian as he stands and works in the world. . . ."[17]

To conclude, I feel that there is indeed a positive supporting reference behind the "creative negation" of the men and the movement in question. The transcendental substratum of the world is at least substantial enough to support their admittedly gangling theology.

Two further points need to be appended to my conclusion: First, it should be acknowledged that our theologians' adoption of the world has a biblical foundation. Christians have always allocated the highest significance to the world by maintaining that God created it (and the creation was good). Furthermore, they have ratified

12. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception,* tr. by Colin Smith (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p. vii.
13. See *ibid.*, pp. 364-65.
14. Pierre Thevenaz, *What Is Phenomenology?*, ed. by James M. Edie (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1962), p. 84.
15. Altizer, p. 17.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Hamilton, p. 108.

this belief with the doctrine of the Incarnation (which ought to be seen, not only as a revelation about God, but about the world as well). Transcendant and ultimate significance has been bestowed upon the world, and given a theistic point of view no greater honor is possible. It is no accident that our theologians have made the Incarnation central to their thought.

Secondly, it should be admitted that, even though we find the world to be a positive support, ambiguity and uncertainty are not eliminated. We all know that being in the world, especially being in it with other people, is often a confusing thing. There is an openness about the world and about our relation to it that makes ambiguity and uncertainty necessary. The world may be the source of our confusion; it may be also the source of our certainty.

Near the end of his book Altizer puts forth this thought:

> The radical Christian calls us into the center of the world, into the heart of the profane, with the announcement that Christ is present here and he is present nowhere else. Once we confess that Christ is fully present in the moment before us, then we can truly love the world, and can embrace *even its pain and darkness* as an epiphany of the body of Christ.[18]

The world—the truly positive transcendental reference—is able to support, far more substantially than an "absent" God, the desperate affirmations behind the "creative negation" of any of the "death of God" theologians.

18. Altizer, pp. 155-56. My italics.

An Obligation to Goodness

Harmon L. Smith

After it became known that the invitation to deliver this address had been accepted, one of the members of the Senior Class told me what he thought I ought to say—which was fair enough since these roles have often enough been reversed! Seminary, he said, raised more questions for him than it had provided answers, given him more bibliography than biography, been more critical than constructive, and now it was high time (if not indeed past time) that somewhere along the line somebody stopped posing problems and gave some solutions, stopped criticizing and offered some positive alternatives.

It may help you to understand why I paid more than casual attention to this admonition if I tell you that this earnest plea conformed precisely to opinions expressed recently in three other contexts. The first of them occurred several months ago when a group of scientists, who for two years now have been engaged in monthly discussions with theological colleagues, were asked to describe the work of these respective disciplines. To a man, they answered: "The scientist is a question-asker; the theologian an answer-giver." More recently, I was presented at the conclusion of a two-day symposium on medicine and moral responsibility as the Christian moralist who would, in fifteen minutes, answer the doctor's dilemma. And only last week, I was introduced to a Sunday school class this way: "If you have any problems, just ask him; he's got all the answers."

You can understand, I'm sure, how this kind of flattery is calculated to flatten even the most unregenerate ego. It would not, of course, if one had reason to think that anybody really believed that he had all the answers. But most of us know ourselves, and what others think of us, well enough to detect that the real meaning is probably, "He *thinks* he has the answers"!

I don't doubt for a minute that our uninhibited professional charisma has often suggested omniscience, and I acknowledge that this kind of popular image of the theologian is increasingly and painfully clear. But I am not yet willing to concede that we either can or should be content with this image, or that we should allow it to

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be perpetuated without challenge—any more than I am willing to grant that the Church is more concerned with liquor legislation than abortion and capital punishment simply because North Carolina Christians were vociferous about the one and torpid about the others! There are a good many matters about which we really recognize that we cannot speak with finality, and there are a good many others about which we *ought* to confess to the lack of the last word. Indeed, it may be precisely at this point that the Resurrection speaks most directly to the decision-maker: Easter reminds us that we cannot judge all of life by a mere fragment, that we cannot be too sure, that we cannot judge too quickly, that we cannot anticipate too precisely, that with eyes ready for death we may see life, and that having seen it we can never again be unequivocally certain when and where it will emerge, and that therefore we had best be alert so that we can see new life when it appears.

I have jealously guarded one *bona fide* theological anecdote which may illustrate the point. Seward Hiltner tells about a young woman who elected to make her own wedding night-gown and was searching for material in the fabrics department of a large store. When she had found just the right fabric with just the right color and texture, the salesgirl asked how much of the material she should cut from the bolt. "Oh, about forty yards, I think," said the bride-to-be. "But two yards will be more than enough for a wedding night-gown," responded the salesgirl. "No," said the bride-to-be, "I need the full forty yards. You see, both my fiance and I are Unitarians and for us Unitarians the search is more exciting than the discovery."

Now there may have been a time when discoverers could consummate their search, when philosophers could speak of "real kinds", and when theologians could and did speak *ex cathedra* on every subject from aardvark to Zululand. But a Renaissance and a Reformation, an industrial and scientific revolution, an information explosion and a knowledge implosion—all these and the other revolutionary changes that have characterized the last few centuries make that time no more. We can try to remain in the past and seek the traditional consolations which once were appropriate; but, if so, we will be engaged in what Kenneth Keniston calls "romantic regression" and only walk reluctantly backward into the future.

This is not to say that the past has no value—that would be to affirm one of the gross absurdities of a thoroughgoing existentialism. Still, it is indisputably clear that whereas one might have backed up his model-T on a country road with little risk, he cannot

do it in his Thunderbird on a four-lane freeway. We live in a time when nothing can any longer be taken for granted, least of all old answers to new questions; when an almost insatiable curiosity and inquisitiveness, and the means to begin to satisfy them in ways previously foreclosed to us, open vistas of intellectual sophistication and technological innovation that raise morally significant questions about all the treasured certainties.

The questions may in generic ways be old, but they confront us in distinctly modern problematics. And that means that the old answers can be only more or less adequate to the new problems, so that we are obligated to seek what the scholastics would have called *adequatio*—truth which is adequate to the reality of *our* situation and *its* problems.

War, for example, is at least as old as human history, and generation after generation of Christians has wrestled with the morality of armed conflict. But the days of localized war, of noncombatant immunity, and all the diplomatic and military protocols that established the proper conduct of such wars are gone forever. Total war on the scale that we are now able to prosecute it—*blitzkrieg*, atomic and nuclear weaponry, missiles, chemical and biological warfare and all the rest—total war on the scale that is now technologically feasible is uniquely *our* problem. And the tests of discrimination (noncombatant immunity) and proportionality (that the good intended be at least as clear and as great as the evil done), tests that once could be appealed to as criteria for the conduct of a just war—these are only modestly susceptible to the conditions of modern guerrilla warfare. One could cite also the phenomenon of "wars of national liberation" as uniquely *our* contemporary problem to solve. Or an even more urgent question, as it seems to me, is the by-product of this whole business which issues in conscientious objection to particular wars; a position which mediates in complex ways between a thoroughgoing pacifism, on the one hand, and "my country right or wrong," on the other. Never before in our nation's history have so many young men overtly refused to acknowledge their obligation to the national policy *in a particular armed conflict* while simultaneously disclaiming conscientious objection to war in principle! These are uniquely the children of our time! And whether theologians like you and me can speak meaningfully to these and other sorts and conditions of men will depend in great measure upon our capacity to entertain the possibility that we do not have all the answers, and that we are willing to join the search for

experimental and provisional structures which are especially pertinent to our circumstance.

To be sure, this pervasive sense of ambiguity is not restricted to the public sector but applies with equal intensity to many areas of private choice as well. I think particularly of innovations in medical technology and bio-medical engineering which offer potentials both hubristic and agapeic. Artificial insemination, for example, represents a dramatic new remedy for some barren marriages; but it also raises urgent questions about marriage and parenthood and the status of children conceived by this method. What is distinctly human life, and what is its authentic genesis? When does it occur? Do theologians and moralists have either the right or obligation to comment upon embryonic gestation in an artificial uterus?

The development of electronic and prosthetic devices for the prolongation of life beyond senescent levels, while certainly a boon to some patients, raises profound questions for theological ethics about human life processes. Whether an indefinitely extended comatose state, now feasible owing to mechanical metabolizing by heart-lung preparations, is apposite to Jesus' word about the "abundant life" strikes me as having high priority among the urgent bio-medical questions now confronting us. When is death? Neither the law nor ethics can presently answer that question adequately. Medicine has outstripped both of them. One could go on, almost endlessly, to speak of human experimentation, genetic manipulation, organ transplantation, oral abortifacients, contraceptive devices, and all the other quite remarkable successes of medical technology and bio-medical engineering which are uniquely the occasion for a distinctly modern moral quandary . . . and there are still unmentioned those emerging areas of patient care that involve computer diagnosis, mounting costs, welfare legislation, insurance charges and compensation. But you see the point; we do seem to have more than we can say grace over. And the prospect, if one may prophesy, is for acceleration, not diminution, of the range of questions and problems to confront the philosopher and theologian from the scientist and technologist and politician and economist.

Is there reasonable hope that we can responsibly approach the overwhelming complexities and ambiguities of our immediate and future time? Two of the alternatives have been stated in limericks by William Temple. The first one might be called acquiescence:

In the church after Freud hit it,
Said a vicar, 'There's no use to quit it.
We can't be adjusted,
So don't be disgusted,
Just baptize your neurosis and forget it.'

Some would call the other alternative 'realism'; others wouldn't. It goes like this:

At Stanwick when Niebuhr had quit it,
A young fellow said, 'Now I've hit it—
Since I cannot do right,
I must find out tonight
The right sin to commit, and commit it.'

For my own part, I would rather opt for a way that does not capitulate either to the determinism of the past or the paralyzing ambiguities of the present; a way that speaks of a duty to love and is, I think, rather well-expressed in the collect for the fourth Sunday after Easter:

> O almighty God, who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men; Grant unto thy people, that they may love the thing which thou commandest, and desire that which thou dost promise; that so, among the sundry and manifold changes of the world, our hearts may surely there be fixed, where true joys are to be found; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

This seems to me a way of saying that there is a moral alternative to graceless moralism, on the one hand, and normless relativism, on the other; an alternative which is grounded in an obligation to goodness.

If this sounds like a strange juxtaposition of words, it may be only because we have so long insisted upon an artificial and unfortunate division between duty and value. Ethics texts, of course, usually begin with classifications of deontological and teleological ethics; and students early learn that, historically, the ethics of obligation reflects the legacy of Hebrew religion and begins typically by asking, "What is required by the law or the lawgiver?"; while the ethics of the good originates with the Greek philosophers and characteristically seeks the solution of Aristotle's question of the end to be striven for, the goal to be sought. The problems always occur, of course, when these distinctions are extrapolated from the contingencies and limitations of human finite existence and given some

presumed inviolable metaphysical status. It is doubtless this attitude that gives birth to the kind of ethical legalism which insists that there are some acts which are, always and for everybody alike, right and good; and, correspondingly, that there are other acts which are, always and for everybody alike, wrong and bad. It is then little wonder that, for lack of wit or imagination, the alternative to legalism is supposed to be a lawlessness in which experience is the only wisdom and pragmatism the sole judge of conduct. In both cases the emphasis is upon self-justification—one knows that he has done the right if his conduct conforms to antecedently prescribed modes of behavior, or knows that he has done the good if his conduct reflects the determinants of his existential predicament. The biblical word for both is idolatry.

It may be appropriate that we continue to distinguish between the good and the right as ways of speaking about indicatives and imperatives in decision-making; but it will be catastrophic, I think, if these distinctions are made in such a way as to perpetuate a profound discontinuity between the transcendent God who is the source of the eternal ought and human persons who are the arbiters of immediate value.

Now I know that there are certain dangers toward anthropomorphizing God when one speaks this way; but they seem to me neither novel nor heterodox if one also takes seriously the Incarnation. Indeed, there is a sense, as Gunther Bornkamm rightly says, in which "one cannot speak of [God's] love in too human, too 'anthropomorphic' a way. Only then is the full wonder apparent, that God's longing becomes his self-giving." (*Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 116). I know, too, that sinfulness tends always to corrupt the essential spirit and intention of our action, and that even the object of our devotion is selfish and limited and ambivalent. But I also believe that this "no" to the possibility of humanly expressing the divine will must not go unqualified, and that a sharp and irrevocable dichotomy need not be made between God's work of redemption and the variety of activities in human culture. The good which the Kingdom of God intends is not separated from the imperfect goods for which men strive; for what Christ reveals to us is nothing else than our own authentic good, a good to which we are commanded to respond in obedience.

What is needed, therefore, is not some categorical imperative to which one can commit himself with the assurance that all general ethical problems will be *ipso facto* solved. The personal problem

in ethics is solved only by conversion to a good which is more universal and inclusive than the particular and partial goods of self-assertion; and it is to this task that the work of Christ has traditionally been assigned. Through God's self-revelation in Jesus such a power and an attraction breaks in upon man's will as that he is called upon to desert self-centeredness. By the performance of God's acts within the conditions of finite existence, Jesus elicits and wins the freely offered love and obedience of men. In this moment the apparent and the real good become one and the same, inasmuch as Jesus is the word made flesh, the real good made apparent and specific in human history. After such a fashion as this the moralist can speak meaningfully of man's chief obligation as neither to seek nor to admire goodness, but *to be good.*

The precursory commitment to being able to talk this way is an acknowledgement of the cosmic consequences of God's presence in history, incarnate as Jesus, which enables us to recognize that the locus of our existence is a transformed world. The truth about our situation and our destiny is not that we are the bastard offspring of a faithless Adam or the "poor banished children of Eve", but sons and heirs with Christ. And where we are, historically and existentially, is then in grace; and if we find ourselves in sin, it is because we have opted for it despite God's decision in Christ for us. Our failure to love, our lack of love, our disobedience, our sin is, therefore, in the truest sense a *denial* of our real situation and not, as it has so long been supposed and taught, an affirmation of it. It is the good news of the Gospel that what the world has so long awaited in labor and travail is, in Christ, a present existential fact: God accepts the world, claims it, and reconciles it to himself.

To speak this way of God's decision for us carries with it religious and moral implications that are, I suppose, revolutionary. Legal religion emphasizes what God *demands* and what man *does*; situational extemporism focuses on what man *wants* and how he gets it. Biblically, the emphasis is upon what God in Christ does, and the consequences of this mighty act for the conduct of human life—consequences which are formulated in terms of correspondence and continuity between God's intention for rule in the heart of man, of the expression of this intention in human conduct, and of justification by grace alone.

It need not be scandalous to talk this way—that is, of God's value for us particularizing and concretizing itself in human life—but it may continue to seem so because even self-conscious obedience

to God's will does not eventuate in moral action which escapes his judgment, in decisions and behavior which can be said to be unequivocally good. Still, we can live with that ambiguity in the measure to which we know that judgment and grace are inextricably bound up together. And we can reasonably accept full responsibility for what we know in advance to be morally equivocal choices and actions, but only because we also acknowledge God's presence in the flux and change of the moral struggle and that our behavior, while assessed in the moment by intention and consequence, is finally before God justified by his grace alone. This means simply that we know forgiveness while living within the frustrations of ambiguous decisions, and that we can accept the apparent necessity of certain choices without having to justify the risks which unavoidably accompany them.

This is a distinct possibility for us because it is, as Emil Brunner says, "the great inversion of existence. Previously, life, even at its best, is always a life directed *towards* God; now, henceforth life is lived *from* God as its centre." (*The Divine Imperative,* p. 76.)

I would be less than honest with you if, in conclusion, I failed to confess my joy that that Senior student does not have all the answers to all the questions. I'm even reassured to think that nobody really believes that I have all the answers! What I cherish most for him, and for all of us, is that along this way we have begun to acquire and employ the means and the moral stamina to deal with our existence in distinctly humane and purposive ways.

We will, of course, make mistakes; but that is a risk that enjoys a long and distinguished tradition, all the way from Abraham's going out "not knowing where he was to go" (Hebrews 11:8) to Martin Luther King's boycott of the Montgomery transit authority to the Apollo space program. The only alternative to risk-taking is a kind of moral paralysis; and if action be the end of theology, and the very heart of ethics, that would be too high a price to pay. So we cannot be content with quietism in either theology or ethics because we are, as James Sellers describes us, an "ageric" people, an action-prone culture, constantly on the move, deploying our imagination and initiative in a thousand different ways. We cannot amass all the present data, we must even be selective about what we will remember and forget from the past, and we certainly cannot predict with unerring accuracy all the future consequences of our decisions and actions. Even a coalition with technology and cybernetic systems will not put us theologians or anybody else in positions

of absolute certainty, though it may allow us to function increasingly in situationally relevant ways.

Donald Shriver reminded me recently of Karl Barth's whimsical remark to a reporter. If I hadn't been a theologian, said Barth, I would have liked to be a traffic cop; what a thrill, he mused, to stand at an intersection and tell all those cars where to go!

It somehow isn't too difficult for me to picture Barth in this role, but I frankly cannot imagine a 12-volume *handbuch* for traffic cops. In any case, his fantasy crystallizes our problem. Shriver puts it this way: ". . . the traffic-cop image of theology is as problematical as the old image of the queen of the sciences . . . . In a time of rapid social change, *no* science seems to occupy a stationary, Archimedean point from which it can give authoritative direction to the flow of change. The problem is: Does the traffic have a director?"

In our time, the likelihood is that the traffic will never again have a single director, but a number of competing traffic cops who will only leave us in a hopeless snarl unless mutually complementary ways of contributing to a smooth and orderly and purposive flow can be worked out. And this is a fact as true of theological education in particular as it is of ideological and professional systems in general.

That we acknowledge the confusion and ambiguity and absence of certitude about all these things, that we embrace a world come of age, may in itself be the first positive step toward intellectual and spiritual maturity. For we are, all of us, as it were, pilgrims for whom guaranteed progress toward the realization of God's purpose for our lives cannot be a foregone conclusion; it is, instead, a tentative and provisional and experimental searching and working in the persevering hope that the kingdoms of this world will, in fact, be transformed into the Kingdom of our God and of his Christ. Our persistent peril, of course, is that we will suppose our own wisdom and probity to have the moral character appropriate for the inheritance of that kingdom; our destiny, however, consists in the knowledge that our life, our searching and working, even our very self, is a gift from God and not a straining after him.

After Civil Rights—What?

Frederick Herzog

The Civil Rights legislation of the past two years has brought change to the South—just how much, remains to be seen. A recent report of the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee claims that resentment among lower- and middle-class Negroes has been growing since the passage of the Civil Rights Act. There are several reasons. One example: only between five and six per cent of the Negro children in the South are estimated to attend classes with White children.

Many aspects of life are not covered by legislation as yet. Some of these aspects are quite pressing and contribute to the resentment. What can be done in the present "lull" of legislative action? Let me call attention to three areas where work still needs to be done: employment, unemployment, and housing.

Of the problem of employment Duke University affords an example. For years some of the janitors, maids and maintenance men have been restive. In February, 1965, an independent union was organized, the Duke Employees' Benevolent Society. It usually represents its story as follows.

After organization of the society negotiations seemed possible. Pay raises came through. Apparently also a job classification system was established with different pay scales for service employees. It soon became apparent, however, that more organization was needed than was afforded by a "benevolent society". So on September 1, 1965, the society affiliated with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO as Local 77. During the past two years the arrangement has had its ups and downs. But it proved workable.

The reasoning of the union points to elementary concerns of labor. The University is not subject to the Taft-Hartley Act.

[Author's note: Although I wrote this brief piece for a few friends concerned with the same problem over a year ago and some of the data have changed since, I believe its publication is still justified because my feeling of having no answers has increased rather than decreased during the past year and my puzzlement reflects the puzzlement of a growing company struggling with these issues. In our exchange of ignorance perhaps some light will dawn.]

Employees cannot call on the NLRB to examine what they consider unfair labor practices. The power of the union rests entirely in the unity of its members. On January 1, 1966, a small pay raise was granted and a grievance procedure instituted by the university, but without final arbitration of grievances by a third party from the outside. The union feels that the progress, though ultimately not satisfactory, was due to its prodding. Early last year the grievance procedure was put to a test. Two longtime women employees who were members of the union were dismissed. The union credits itself with negotiations that led to the reinstatement of one of the women. It believes that the reinstatement enhanced its standard in the eyes of all employees. Meanwhile other grievances have been processed by the union with varying degrees of success.*

At the moment the key issues between the union and the University appear to be whether the university will adopt a plan of seniority, agree to final arbitration by a third party, provide for voluntary payroll deduction of Local 77 dues, and agree to a bilateral contract with Local 77. The University has not accepted these proposals thus far. On July 1, 1966, it announced, however, pay raises for all of its non-academic employees of five to fifteen per cent and offered fringe benefits, such as a minimum vacation period of two weeks for all employees. The added annual cost to the university is $3.5 million. Wages are now at $1.15-1.50 an hour, according to the union, $1.15-1.25 for maids, $1.35-1.50 for janitors.**

Local 77 is continuing to operate. Basic to its struggle is the quest for dignity. Thus far it is difficult to locate a knowledgeable interpretation of the struggle. The employee is fending for himself. This is all to the good. He wants to fend for himself. But the facts of the situation need to be examined more fully by all concerned. The struggle of Local 77 is not an isolated incident. Wages in the South are generally considerably lower than in the nation as a whole. What is the responsibility of educational institutions for analyzing the situation, suggesting ways of change and introducing change?

Obviously no one single individual or group today has created the dilemmas of labor we are faced with in many areas of the South. We are inheriting the past. But this does not mean that we can

* A description of the grievance procedure can be found in the *Personnel Handbook* of Duke University (revised 7/1/66).

** It ought to be stated that some gains were made in 1967, especially in the area of arbitration. Even so, there is some point to remembering just where matters stood only a few months ago.

afford to live unimaginatively and uncreatively with its dilemmas and mistakes.

Besides the struggle of the employed there is the agony and the hope of those who wish they could work at all. The story of one man must stand for all, William Edwards of Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina. Having become a paraplegic in 1954, he is now a bilateral amputee. In and out of the hospital from 1960 to 1964, only since spring 1965 has he been able to do a little "work," making potholders on a small frame, belts and similar items. Before his illness a steamboiler fireman, he is now 54 years old.

Initially friends and relatives bought some of his products. But there soon came a saturation point. A Woman's Exchange agreed to take some of his work. But what it could sell thus far has been minimal. A local store sold some of the potholders around Christmas and Easter.

It takes Mr. Edwards an hour to make a potholder. That means at best 30c. More often it will be less, something like 19c or below. That is not much for an hour! And Mr. Edwards does beautiful work. But he does not give up. He continues to work—and to hope.

Where there are no jobs, could we not create them, if people have the deep longing to work, to use their time fruitfully? Should not men like William Edwards be able to get a break? Are there businessmen who would be able to employ William Edwards even from a distance, so that he could work more or less regularly, however little the work might be that he could do? Could perhaps another type of Goodwill Industries be created, a Goodwill Industries for the homebound? What men like William Edwards need is not charity, but a chance.

Programs for the homebound, to the best of my knowledge, are not as yet fully developed. A ray of hope is *Project Earning Power* (P.E.P.) under the direction of Arthur Rissman, Chicago designer and business executive. It is an experimental project, apparently planned for several years' duration. Eventually it might mean the possibility of making a living for 2,500,000 disabled Americans. At least this is the way the story is told. But the marketing opportunities for the project are still being investigated. And the question is: what can be done right now, so that enterprising individuals could help themselves?

Not everyone among the unemployed is as fortunate as William Edwards, who at least was able to build his own home before he

became incapacitated. The story of poor housing in America has been told over and over again during the past months of the anti-poverty campaign. There is no need to add much to the tragic story. But often—in spite of all the publicity—the responsibility for poor housing is not clearly grasped.

In a report of an area of Durham one can read of one home after the other, summaries of conditions which might just as well describe those in other American cities: "All rooms leak. Floors rotten. Bathroom on back porch. Water in yard. Rent raised from $7 to $8 per week for board to cover one leak." Does the raising of the rent mean that the standards of the housing code have been met? Who is concerned that the housing code be enforced? Whose responsibility is it? To most of these questions a goodly number of our citizens could not give an answer.

After Civil Rights—what? Some of the poor can fend for themselves, others cannot. Harvey Cox wrote in the May 16, 1966, issue of *Christianity and Crisis* about the anti-poverty war: "It is the spunk of the poor, not the charity of the rest of us, that will win it in the end." Besides spunk, responsibility is on the spot. Organization among the poor as a new center of countervailing power is a good thing. Local 77 proves it. Some new neighborhood councils prove it. What of those, however, who cannot organize themselves—as yet? They do not need our charity. But they challenge our responsibility: not charity, but a chance!

As I pondered drawing out other implications of the above "data" I became more and more baffled. What after all really can be done? I have been rereading Reinhold Niebuhr's pioneering work in the area of social change. It does help to understand the difference between love and justice. So one begins to work for penultimate solutions, not for perfection.

Even so, the puzzlements that remain are legion. The thing that baffles me most is the near impossibility to come to grips with the anonymous brutality of our social structures, a brutality that seems to make individual action innocuous. Nothing is recognizable in many of these structures that would remind one of what traditionally has been known as God. The structures reveal nature—red in tooth and claw. The factual irrelevance of the Gospel to modern man is nowhere more apparent than in our slums—and in suburbia populated by those who contributed to creating the slums when they left the city.

Can something concrete be done? Perhaps one important thing

that can be done in the present "post-legislation" period is to bring the remaining trouble spots out into the open, to discuss them publicly and thus to introduce them into the democratic process. We must learn to speak in terms of specifics. Our concern today should primarily not be with principles, but with people, especially people we know.

"Principles," of course, are involved. The principle of power is moving more and more into the foreground of the problems at hand. It is not by chance that the word "power" is part of the phrase *Project Earning Power*. Then there is the discovery of "black power". We must learn to appreciate the all-comprehensive reality of power, its permeative character in society, its imbalances and its temptations. Ignorance of the problem of power contributes a major share to our social dilemma. In fact it creates the major ethical issue in our cities today.

Not all citizens understand that social structures can be changed. Many—subconsciously or otherwise—still operate with the idea that these structures are divinely ordained. Some who wake up often mistake sheer force for power. Only as people in neighborhoods become concerned about their specific problems can we hope to discover that political power which as organized power can make a dent on the city as a whole.

As the human struggle in the city continues one would hope that the Gospel could find its way into the structures of society as a transformer of power. In order to be effective it must find a new form in the nonecclesiastical realities of poverty and want. The altar-call is no longer the focus of salvation. Can a man be saved from the clutches of society? This is the core question of salvation today. As we try to find an answer we might also find new meaning in the word "God". In the midst of the brutalities of our existence we might discover a reality that is already battling for our wholeness: for salvation as renewal of our entire life.

One is impressed and humbled by the fact that people not committed to the Christian faith today are also working at the salvation of man in the city. They can teach us that salvation in the city is not a vague reconciliation of man with a neighbor he does not know as neighbor, but living space, dignity, a chance to live decently, in a word, wholeness. The renewal of man is not the exclusive prerogative of organized Christianity. The power that is working at man's renewal is bigger than our puny religious systems.

The Gospel seems only one instrument of the power that is work-

ing for man's complete renewal. Circumstances of the environment, however, are often such for many people that they find it nearly impossible to become renewed in their entire being. The structures of society themselves must be renewed. The task "cut out" for the Gospel seems staggering. It involves creating the external conditions that contribute to a complete renewal of man. This sounds like a nice program. In the "nitty-gritty" of life it can quickly founder. But the sisyphean struggle of humanizing life must continue. The Gospel urges us on.

LOOKS at BOOKS

The Unfinished Pyramid. Charles P. Bowles. Edited by Thor Hall. Parthenon. 1967. 93 pp. $2.50.

Why does one buy a book? Because it is recommended by somebody whose judgment he trusts? Because it is necessary for making a living? Because it is helpful in re-creating a life? Because it is useful for recreation, for fun? Yes, yes, yes, and yes. But it may be because he admires, knows, and loves the author who has become words which talk and sing and sparkle. I think that is why we would want to own this book: so that our friend, Charles P. Bowles, being dead, may continue to live for us and with us.

Dean Cushman wrote the Preface, stressing that Dr. Bowles was a man of conscience, of Christian conscience: enthusiastic, yet sober; angular, yet judicious; a man with his eyes on the variegated present. President Knight wrote the Foreword, appreciating the loyalties and the concerns of his Board member: dedicated, courageous, unsatisfied. President McLarty of Brevard wrote a biographical sketch, stressing Dr. Bowles' preeminence as a pastor, his persuasiveness as a pulpiteer, his genuineness as a friend. These three men have put us in their debt by acting as ears and eyes for us as they share their appreciated memories of Charles Bowles.

Then follow ten sermons, selected by his sons, and edited by Professor Thor Hall, with the assistance of Professor Charles K. Robinson. What about these sermons? The Gospel is here, though it is assumed rather than exegeted, and applied rather than expounded. Texts are usually employed as mottoes. The contemporary situation is here: in the Duke Chapel; at a Baccalaureate service; on the Protestant Hour. Dr. Bowles thinks in pictures and advises with practicality, which suggests that, in his religious perspective, he is a Hebrew rather than a Greek. He is as able as Shakespeare in mixing a metaphor, as pertinent as Fosdick in the use of an illustration, and something of a Scot in his pawky humor. He is "listenable-toable", even in print.

You will be glad to own this little book about, and from, a busy man of God, who cared for people and had time for everybody, including us.

—James T. Cleland

Frank Mason North. Creighton Lacy. Abingdon. 1967. 291 pp. $6.50.

Our prolific Creighton Lacy turns his research and writing talents now to biography, in this case a prominent church leader of the Social Gospel period, Frank Mason North. The book is a first-rate study and fills valuably a niche in American church history. We know all too little about these giants of the early 20th century who rescued Evangelical Protestantism from rural irrelevance and showed the high relevance of personal religion of devotion to Christ to the burgeoning problem of urban life.

Lacy's method is a topical rather than chronological organization of material, and it comes off very well. He treats fully North's perspectives and activities as pastor, church executive, ecumenist, missionary, etc., a bewildering array and an exhausting range of organizational activity. North's influence was tremendous, though now he is chiefly remembered as the author of the hymn, "Where cross the crowded ways of life".

North was the child of his age in many ways, to be sure: he held a

progressive, optimistic view of history and lived in the hope that the City of our God would come. In fact, the name of the journal he edited was "The Christian City", not "The Secular City". He also displayed, at least early in his pastoral career, some of the signs of a prim Methodist pietism. But in the large, he was way ahead of his times in his social thinking. As executive of the New York City Missionary Society, as author of the Social Creed, in his unflagging efforts at church union and cooperative interdenominational ventures, he emerges as a towering leader. Lacy's book combines all of these in his portrait. He was a far-visioned prophet of courage and dogged determinism, yet sage, prudent, cautious, and a master of organization. Lacy writes with a fine verve, a sharp critical sense together with a warm appreciation.

In his Foreword, Lacy explains how "In a sense I owe my life to Frank Mason North," through his missionary father's connection. This reviewer may be pardoned a word of personal reminiscence of connection, too, with Mr. North, through Wesleyan University, of which North was a graduate and a member of the Board of Trustees. At the fraternity initiation banquet when I was taken into the fraternity in my freshman year at Wesleyan, I have a distinct memory of hearing a brief talk by this revered churchman, whose name had become a household word in my Methodist family home. This was two years before North's death. To have been initiated into my fraternity by such an older brother represented some kind of ordination that I may not have appreciated at the time, but do now much more fully.

—Waldo Beach

American Religious Heretics. George H. Shriver, editor. Abingdon. 1966. 240 pp. $5.00.

The Christian Church has seemingly always had its heretics, and its champions who pursue the wayward brethren with a vengeance. The churches in America have had their share of both. In this volume, containing essays by George H. Shriver, Pope A. Duncan, Max Gray Rogers, Harmon L. Smith, and Hugh M. Jansen, Jr., some of the occurrences of heresy and trial in America are examined again for a generation largely unfamiliar with such phenomena.

The errors attributed to the American heretics concerned various and generally profound matters of doctrine. In the 1840's Philip Schaff was incautious enough to suggest to a strongly self-conscious German Reformed Church that medieval Roman Catholicism could not be ignored in the study of the development of Christianity, and was accused of being a Rome-symp. Crawford H. Toy, a Southern Baptist, dared to insist that perhaps the Holy Spirit might have communicated truth to the writers of Scripture in ways other than by direct verbal inspiration. Similarly, the Presbyterian C.A. Briggs denied the "orthodox" notion of verbal inspiration of Scripture, at the same time maintaining that Scripture is the authority and infallible rule of faith and practice, but that human reason and the tradition of the church are essential for understanding the truth contained therein. The Methodist theologian Borden Parker Bowne suggested that it is an error to identify God's revelation with the precise words of Scripture, but that the truth of the Gospel, while mediated through Scripture, nevertheless transcends all verbal propositions and is made known to man most authentically by the Holy Spirit at the personal level. The intense concern of A.S. Crapsey, an Episcopalian clergyman, for personal commitment and moral living led him to so strong an emphasis on the example of the human Jesus that his brethren thought they perceived a virtual denial of Jesus' divinity. Each of these men was called upon to answer to the charge of heretical teach-

frank and interpersonal encounter. Moreover, Rogers states boldly that the sense of self-identity is the consequence of the internalization of cues given in important evaluating relationships. Secondly, an overriding Rogerian principle says that psychotherapy takes place to the degree that a client's self-esteem increases. And, self-esteem increases as the client experiences acceptance and affirmation in the relationship with the counselor. In short, if anything can be said confidently about Rogers, it is that both his theory of personality and his style of psychotherapy are interpersonally oriented. In fact, the six kinds of response subsumed under the rubric of "responsive counseling", sound really very similar to the Rogerian ethos. All of this is to say that I do not think that "responsive counseling" comes through as a theory of counseling which is clearly separate and distinguishable from client-centered therapy.

One thing which bothers me about this book is the constant reminder of the deadly seriousness and high responsibility of the ministry of pastoral counseling. This is of course a crucial attitude which needs to be caught by the student as he works under intensive supervision. However, this can get to be an awful bore, and an attitude of great seriousness can mislead a student into aiming for perfectionism rather than professionalism. And what client, or colleague, or student could tolerate being around perfection? So I would like to make certain responses to the author at this point, being stimulated to do this by the dialogical tone of the whole book as well as the open invitation to respond.

The counselor must have some social distance from all of his clients, and considerable distance from a few. However mutually involved both are in the process, and however much the counselor himself may gain from it, he needs to remember that the client is the one with the problems to be worked on and not himself. Then he is able to see and accept the fact that clients are sometimes hostile, and narcissistic and manipulative—which is to say that they are human. Rather than feeling that he has to "love them", the counselor can be more concerned about being useful to them. It is unrealistic to maintain that the counselor either needs to or is likely to learn as much from the process as is the client. Nor must he nor can he listen every second of every minute of every counseling hour to everything said. If he hears 35 or 40 minutes out of every 50, perhaps that is a good batting average. It is not enough for the counselor to be able to trust persons (although it is essential) if he is not able to have "a dirty suspicious mind" at times as well. And whether or not a client seems to be making progress on a given day, the counselor can still go home to dinner and find that his soup tastes more or less the same. His clients need him, but in certain important ways he does not "need" them. In short, an important characteristic of professionalism is the counselor's ability to identify and live with appropriately modest and realistic goals for both himself and his clients.

Now that this comment has been made, I want to end as I began by saying that this has been a delightful and provocative book to read. There is an open and listening mood in it, an invitation to respond, a compassionate heartbeat, and a refreshing absence of any hostile polemic.

—Donald S. Williamson

The Local Church in Transition: Theology, Education, and Ministry. Gerald H. Slusser. Westminster. 1964. 204 pp. $4.75.

This book, purportedly dealing with the local church, is really a series of interesting, well-written essays on a number of subjects. It is worth reading for the wealth of information and rewarding insights that greet the reader throughout. The first two

chapters serve to refresh our memories concerning the development of theology and Christian education in the last two hundred years, although, in the opinion of this reviewer, Slusser is much too cavalier in his easy dismissal of Shelton Smith's *Faith and Nurture.*

The chief value of the book lies in its effort to understand the implications of the communication problem for theology. In this connection, he writes, "Faith is primarily expressed in an *understanding of life* . . . upon which one's personality is organized." (pp. 101, 102) He shows how the Christian conceptions of God and Christ function within the framework of such an understanding of faith, and he pleads for a two-way hermeneutics resting on two foundations: ". . . the one, Biblical expressions of faith and elaborations of these in the history of the church; the other, the contemporary witness of the Spirit in the heart of man to the contemporary Christ." (p. 189)

I can recommend this book for its homiletical and catechetical values, but I also feel constrained to insist that there ought to be a law against misleading titling of books. The central problem with which Slusser deals is the understanding and communication of Christian faith. While his point is that the modern pastor should view his role as theologian-educator, he does not relate this contention to the total life of the church sufficiently to warrant the use of the title, *The Local Church in Transition.*

—O. Kelly Ingram

The Cooperative Parish In Nonmetropolitan Areas. Marvin T. Judy. Abingdon. 1967. 208 pp. $4.25.

"There is far more to a cooperative parish than sociological forces, maps, graphs, and statistics. There is more to a cooperative parish than careful, well-planned meetings. There is more to a cooperative parish than good leadership requirements. The larger parish is a philosophy. It will work only as long as the leaders possess the spirit of service—service to all persons within the parish by all ministers and congregations. The spirit of Christ must permeate the entire procedure, or techniques and methods simply become tools inadequate to do a task so desperately needed in the nonmetropolitan United States." This quotation from the Epilogue is an excellent introduction to the concept of the cooperative parish and to Marvin T. Judy's book, written to meet the growing needs in this field of churchmanship. Though directed primarily to the nonmetropolitan community, the philosophy, the concepts, the procedures, and the patterns of operation are no less applicable to metropolitan areas where cooperation is so essential.

The Cooperative Parish in Nonmetropolitan Areas replaces an earlier book, *The Larger Parish and the Group Ministry* (1959), and incorporates a pamphlet entitled *Parish Development Aids* (1964). Out of personal experience in a cooperative parish and extended study and research, Mr. Judy speaks clearly to laymen as well as ministers and administrators. The book is designed for study purposes at the local church level but should be a requirement for all church leaders in nonmetropolitan areas. The first two chapters, dealing with the nature and trends of the nonmetropolitan America, portray clearly the challenge of the church in these rapidly changing communities. With half of the counties in the United States classified as "rural" and with some experiencing a decline in population and others a rapid increase, the church faces the problem of blending urban and rural cultures.

To have a strong program, church leaders must have a clear concept of community, community structures, and community leadership. Likewise they must have full knowledge of the impact of change on society and a vision of the ways and means by which both ministers and congregations may join in a uniting of energies to fulfill the

mission. However, it is only after careful study, research and extended planning that such patterns should be adopted. Judy provides the basis for gaining these insights and implementing the program.

By no means are the suggested patterns of operation limited to a single denomination. The book is thoroughly ecumenical. The cooperative ministry makes possible leadership development, the utilization of existing facilities and the development of Christian stewardship practices by which the local parish may witness effectively at home and to the world.

By nature this reviewer looks with favor upon such a book because of the tremendous opportunity afforded through cooperative ministries. Judy's description of parish structures and cooperative patterns is most helpful. The directives and examples might have been expanded to include a wider variety of experiences and an evaluation of the cooperative parishes after five to ten years of operation. How were the perplexing problems overcome? To complement Judy's contribution and to avoid making the structure the end rather than the means, there needs to be thorough study of the theological, philosophical, and ethical bases for congregational cooperation. In reality, congregations face not so much the question, "Why cooperate?", but, because of the very nature of the Christian Community, the question, "Why are you not cooperating?"

"In a day when massing of people in an impersonal society is permeating all of life, the survival of the primary group is in jeopardy as never before in history. Only can the great qualities of love, affection, and moral integrity be passed on from generation to generation in the primary group, basically, the family, neighborhood, and church. . . . The cooperative parish forms a framework for such a ministry."

—M. Wilson Nesbitt

The Mind of Christ. Harold A. Bosley. Abingdon. 1966. 143 pp. $2.75.

Whether one agrees with Harold Bosley or not, there is one verdict which is more or less unanimous concerning him: he is a pulpiteer. Our ex-Dean knows the Why? and the How? of the pulpit. He reveals that, once again, in this volume.

The sub-title is the key to this collection of seven sermons: "A Personal Pilgrimage of Discovery with the Disciples." The search is determined by the "Why?" which initiates the title of each sermon. *We,* through scholarship and imagination, are the disciples seeking to understand the *mystery*—both the enigma and the revelation—which is Jesus the Christ. So we wander with him on in his ministry, asking why he had a ministry; why some listened, some doubted, and some believed; why he and his opponents both sought a showdown; and why he lives again. Bosley wants us to go on this pilgrimage so that we post-resurrection folk may, like Paul, have the mind of Christ. This is the obvious need and necessary aim of all Christians; this is the ecumenical hub of all churches; this is the *sine qua non* of preaching.

Bosley is still a pacifist, with the emphasis on the "fist"; he is still a liberal, and still an evangelist; he is still an angry man who loves his Lord and his congregation. He is still worth listening to, even when we shake a negative head.

Let me make a suggestion. Read this collection of sermons and then ask yourself: "Is this a good textbook for a Lenten discussion group?" Some of you will answer in the affirmative.

—James T. Cleland

In the Biblical Preacher's Workshop. Dwight E. Stevenson. Abingdon. 1967. 223 pp. $3.95.

In a review of a previous volume by Dwight E. Stevenson, I remarked

that I wished I had written that book. I almost feel the same way about this one. He and I think along the same lines as teachers of preaching, though he plays on the right wing, while I keep meandering out to the left.

Here is the twofold purpose of the book in the author's own words: "to help bridge the gap between the exegetical and homiletical treatment of the Bible;" and "to give practical guidance in the handling of scripture passages of intermediate length" (p. 7). Part 1 is labelled "Design," and is developed in an Introduction and 5 chapters which deal with the purpose of the Bible; the relationship of the Bible to the Word of God; some presuppositions in biblical interpretation; and the minister as both biblical student and preacher. Part II, "Production," shows us how to preach on persons, parables, miracles, short texts, a psalm, perplexing passages, and a major biblical theme. There is an Epilogue on the minister as "Servant of the Word," followed by two useful Indices.

The book is a serious attempt at making the preacher a scholar and the scholar a preacher. It discusses homiletical theory, based on exegesis, with detailed sermonic outlines which do not forget that the setting is the 20th century. Sermonic content and method are inseparable from the eternal Word and the present day. The pulpit and the pew are in the text, and the text is in the minister and the congregation.

Who is the author? He has been the professor of homiletics at Lexington Theological Seminary since 1947, and you ought to possess two of his earlier volumes: *Preaching on the Books of the New Testament* and *Preaching on the Books of the Old Testament.* I find them a constant support. I think I'll keep this book, too, though I cannot accept it *in toto.* There I go meandering out to the left wing, again.

—James T. Cleland

The Gospel in a Strange, New World. Theodore O. Wedel. Westminster. 1963. 141 pp. $3.75.

Canon Theodore A. Wedel, Episcopal minister, who has taught English in various colleges, and was Warden of the College of Preachers at the National Cathedral in Washington, D. C., offers us here his Kellogg Lectures in preaching delivered in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. That thumbnail sketch of the author and his vocation will help us anticipate the content of the volume, provided we add one other fact: he is what Professor Shelton Smith called an "ecumaniac".

The first chapter, which reveals wide reading, helps us to understand the "strange new world" in which the gospel has to be preached. Then follows an almost terrifying section entitled: "Hell is Other People." We live in a neighborhood rather than in a brotherhood. Wedel has read Sartre and Bonhoeffer as well as Pascal and Luther. The Christian answer to this is, simply and profoundly, "Redeeming Grace"; so he knows the Bible and Luther and Barth, too. Chapters 4 and 5 now diagnose the Church in its twofold aspect as "the *Gathered* People of God" and "the *Scattered* People of God." Following his "footnotes", collected in 6 pages, is an Annotated Bibliography of 7 pages with concise brief reviews of recent volumes on the craft and content of preaching.

This is a useful volume for ministers who have not the time to read all the active, contemporary names in the ecumenical church's thinking. Wedel is a quoting and a quotable man, as he looks at the eternal gospel in the contemporary situation.

—James T. Cleland

(continued from inside front cover)

neighbor . . . and justified ourselves with "after all he might be our neighbor but he did not belong to the Christian community" . . . . We from the so-called high caste have not put our burden of belonging to a superior caste down, even within the Christian fold. Jesus Christ has destroyed the walls, but we make every effort to build them up again.

LORD, FORGIVE.

We confess . . . that we have not taken any positive part in the building up of this society and nation, in any new form except those which are given to us by the overseas missions. We always have offered an excuse of our being a handful in this country for not making any contribution, and we have neglected the valuable ministry of a lonely voice in the labyrinth of society. When the laborers complained that the atmosphere in a particular place and the working conditions in the factory caused asthma, lung cancer, and other chest diseases, we pretended not to have heard them and did not raise our voices on their behalf. On the contrary we blamed the laborers for being Communists, convincing ourselves that democracy is the only God-given form of government, while Communism is the God-damned form; and instead of making ourselves open-hearted and willing-to-learn Christians, we turned ourselves into cocksure, know-all Christians.

LORD, FORGIVE.

Lord, our God, our heavenly Father, you are the origin of all the social revolution that is sweeping everything around us; you are the one to make all things new; you lead the human society into newer paths; your hand is revealed in industry, in political revolutions, and in military coups; in the emancipation of the oppressed and in the uplifting of the down-trodden; in the eradication of poverty, misery, disease, deprivation, injustice and all man-made barriers. Give us the light of your Holy Spirit, that we may see things as you see them. Take away from us all complacency, self-righteousness, and the feeling of superiority which springs forth from the notion that we are your peculiar possession and that you are our peculiar possession. Take away from us the false notion of peace, and give us a constant prodding that we may always be on the move for your task. If our religiosity becomes a barrier to others and to you, break it, that we may cling to no floating debris, but only to the certainty in Jesus. Take us right out there where Jesus Christ, our example and our leader, is awaiting us to take a formidable stand and be in the thick of the battle.

HEAR US, FOR WE PRAY TO YOU THROUGH JESUS. BE IT SO.

(From the *United Church Review*, Nagpur, India, Vol. 37, No. 9, September, 1966.)